THE NEW DOCUMENTS IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

Volume Two

In 1952 Michael Ventris deciphered the script found on the Linear B tablets from Crete and the Greek mainland, thereby revealing the earliest known form of Greek. In 1956 he and John Chadwick published *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, which gave an account of the decipherment, of the language of the tablets, of the society and economy revealed by the documents, and a series of chapters giving texts, translations and commentary of the most important tablets. Though partially updated in 1973, *Documents* is now very much outdated: there has been a vast accrual of bibliography on the subject since 1973 and discoveries of tablets at new sites. This new survey, written by fourteen of the world's leading experts, will bring the reader fully up to date with developments in all aspects of Mycenaean studies, concluding with a new glossary of all the more complete Mycenaean words.

John Killen F.B.A. is Emeritus Professor of Mycenaean Greek, Cambridge University. He collaborated with John Chadwick, Jean-Pierre Olivier and others on the *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (4 vols, 1986–98), and his collected papers on Linear B were edited by Maurizio Del Freo (3 vols, 2015).

THE NEW DOCUMENTS IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

Volume Two
Selected Tablets, Transcription, Translation, Commentary
Endmatter

EDITED BY
JOHN KILLEN
University of Cambridge

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VOLUME TWO

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* Drawings marked (MV) are by Michael Ventris

PREFACE

In 2003 Anna Morpurgo Davies and I were invited by Michael Sharp of Cambridge University Press to undertake the compilation of a new edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. The task was a daunting one: *Documents*, published in 1956 by Michael Ventris, the decipherer of Linear B, and his linguistic collaborator John Chadwick, and written in an astonishingly short space of time, is distinguished for its learning, its mastery of Linear B in all its aspects, its excellent judgement and its pellucid presentation, and rapidly became established as the 'bible' of Linear B; while John Chadwick's second edition (1973), which preserves nearly all of the first edition, to which he adds an 'Additional Commentary' of 139 pages, together with a new glossary, bibliography, index and set of concordances, is the work of a master of his subject, and shows the same qualities of learning, clarity and sound judgement as the original book. But in the years since 1956, much of the detail of *Documents*[1] has become outdated; and even since 1973 there has been a vast increase in the bibliography of the subject. It was clear to us therefore, in contemplating the task that would lie before us if we accepted the Press's invitation, that we should have to write more or less a new book; and that if we were to complete the volume in reasonable time we should have to enlist the help of a number of colleagues, each expert in different aspects of the subject. On this basis, we decided to embark on the task, and set about selecting the texts for comment in Part III of the book and drawing up a list of scholars we wished to see contributing to the project. It is pleasing to report that almost all those approached were able to accept our invitation to participate; and warm thanks are due to all our authors for the promptness with which they have submitted their chapters, and for keeping closely to the guidelines that we set them for their contributions.

* * *

Because of her many other commitments at the time, Anna Davies was unable to contribute to the early stages of writing and editing the book, though she provided wise advice when certain problems arose. She was determined, however, to contribute substantially to the later stages of the project. Tragically, however, her wishes were frustrated, first by serious illness and then by her death on 27 September 2014. She is very greatly missed by Linear B scholars and philologists more widely for her profound knowledge of the Greek language and

its Proto-Indo-European origins, for her penetrating intelligence and shrewd judgement, and for the great clarity of her thought and expression.

* * *

This editor has yet to catch up with the digital revolution and has had to rely on the kindness of others for help with the parts of the book which involve an IT element. Maurizio Del Freo produced the ideogram 'boxes', one or more of which can be found in each of the text chapters, and also arranged for the transmission, each carefully annotated, of the drawings of the tablets by Louis Godart which appear in Part II. Rupert Thompson added the annotations in the left-hand margins of pages, for an explanation of which see the 'Note on Marginal Annotations' on p. xvii. He also, most helpfully, created a 'skeleton' of the Glossary in which words were assigned their *New Documents* tablet numbers. Moreed Arbabzadah, besides herculean labours on the bibliography, helped in a great number of other ways. Anna Judson inserted the Linear B signs into Michael Ventris's Chapter II.

To all these I owe heartfelt thanks. And I owe a particular debt of gratitude to the person without whom the book would never have been completed. Over the years in which it has been in preparation, Denise Bilton has turned my scruffy scribblings into elegant typescript with phenomenal accuracy and an eagle eye for inconsistency which has saved me from many errors. Thank you, Denise, for all your help, and for your patience and good humour throughout the process.

* * *

The reader may be disappointed to learn that, unlike another technologically challenged Cambridge author who notes in his preface that he had written his ms. with a fountain pen before handing it to the Faculty secretary to type, this author has written his material with a pen of the kind that was brought to perfection by that distinguished Argentinian–Hungarian inventor, Mr László Bíró.

* * *

Besides those who helped with IT, several colleagues have kindly read and commented on draft chapters for me. They are: John Bennet, Stephen Colvin, Maurizio Del Freo, Caroline Murray (who besides holding a Ph.D for work on Linear B is familiar with the requirements of publishers from her career, latterly as a director, at Cambridge University Press), Cynthia Shelmerdine and Jörg Weilhartner. I am extremely grateful to them. In addition, Maurizio Del Freo most helpfully checked the references in two of the chapters, thus adding further to my already considerable debt to him.

Another major debt of gratitude is due to those who have provided images: Louis Godart, who has generously allowed me to use his drawings of tablets in

Part II, including some of his drawings of Pylos tablets, which will appear in his and Jean-Pierre Olivier's forthcoming *Corpus*; Georgia Flouda and Alessandro Greco, who have very kindly supplied the colour image of Knossos tablet Le 641 which appears on the cover of Volume One; and José Melena, who has very kindly supplied the colour image of Pylos tablet Un 138 which appears on the cover of Volume Two. José Melena also generously gave me permission to reproduce the texts of Pylos tablets that are to be found in *PoN* IV.

Warmest thanks are also due to the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge University, and to Jesus College, Cambridge, for generous subventions to the costs of producing the book.

Finally, I am extremely grateful to Michael Sharp for his patience in waiting for the book to be completed, and to him and his editorial assistants for their help and advice during the writing of the book and the various stages of its production.

John Killen

NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It should be noted that three of the chapters that follow will also be found in other publications. The details are as follows.

Chapter V: The Linear B Documents (Maurizio Del Freo). = M. Del Freo (a) 'I documenti in lineare B', (b) 'I find-spot e la cronologia dei documenti in lineare B' in Del Freo, M. and Perna, M. (eds), *Manuale di epigrafia micenea. Introduzione allo studio dei testi in lineare B*. Padua 2016, 169–97.

Chapter VII: Geography (John Bennet). = J. Bennet, 'The Geography of the Mycenaean Kingdoms' in Duhoux, Y. and Morpurgo Davies, A. (eds), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World* II. Louvain-la-Neuve 2011, 137–68.

Chapter XIV.2: The Pylos 'Dosmos' Tablets (Pia de Fidio). = P. de Fidio, 'A reassessment of taxation on sacred lands in the Linear B corpus' in Carlier, P., Joannès, F. R., Rougemont, F. R. and Zurbach, J. (eds), *Palatial Economy in the Ancient Near East and in the Aegean. First steps towards a comprehensive study and analysis. Acts of the ESF Exploratory Workshop held in Sèvres 16–19 September 2010. Pasiphae* 11, 2017, 121–39.

TEXTUAL NOTES

NOTE ON MARGINAL ANNOTATIONS

The following symbols are used in the left-hand margins of pages of the book to indicate indebtedness to *Documents*[1] and *Documents*[2]:

D The text to the right is wholly or partly derived from *Documents*[1].

D[2] The text to the right is wholly or partly derived from *Documents*[2].

* The text to the right is not indebted to either *Documents*[1] or *Documents*[2].

Text derived from a variety of sources is shown as (e.g.) D/D[2]/*.

A symbol continues to be applicable until cancelled by the next symbol.

NOTE ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A full bibliography will be found in Volume Two, pp. 1057–117.

In addition, many chapters, and parts of chapters, contain notes, indicated by a superscript 'b' (for bibliography), of: (a) references to the tablets discussed in the chapter, etc. in the main works of commentary on Linear B texts, viz:

Documents[1]:	M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1956)
Documents[2]:	J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. Second edition (1973)
Interpretation:	L. R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963)
Textos:	J. L. Melena, *Textos Griegos Micénicos Comentados* (2001)
Anthology:	Y. Duhoux, 'Mycenaean anthology', in Duhoux, Y. and Morpurgo Davies, A. (eds), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World* I, pp. 243–393 (2008);

and (b), marked as 'Studies', the most important other discussions of the topic(s) in question.

A list of the abbreviations used in the bibliography and in the book as a whole follows on pp. xix–xxvi.

NOTE ON CONSISTENCY

Whereas contributors to the book have been asked to follow certain guidelines regarding the presentation of their chapters, e.g. the form of their bibliographical references, no attempt has been made to impose standardisation in cases where there is more than one possible view of a matter, as in the following cases:

1. *Transcription of a Mycenaean term*. Among the cases in point here are the transcriptions of the word *do-e-ro*, 'servant, slave'. Scholars regularly transcribe this both as /*doelos*/ and as /*dohelos*/; since, however, there is no evidence to confirm that the word did involve a medial /*h*/, no decision is made as to which to prefer.
2. *Technical terminology*. In *Documents*[1] Ventris and Chadwick use the term 'ideogram' to refer to the pictorial signs used in the script to denote commodities. Some scholars prefer to retain this term, but others prefer 'logogram'. Since it is arguable which should be preferred (for discussion, see Ch. IV.4), no decision is made in the book between them.

NOTE ON ABSOLUTE VALUES OF THE SYMBOLS FOR WEIGHT AND VOLUME

Except where stated otherwise, the absolute values of the symbols for weight and volume that are adopted in the book are those found in *Documents*[1]. For further discussion, see Chs IV.6, IV.7.

NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

The author of a translation is given at the end of the passage. Where no name is given, the translation is that of the editor.

ABBREVIATIONS*

2nd Cretological Congress = 1968. Πεπραγμένα Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου. Athens.

3rd Cretological Congress = 1973–75. Πεπραγμένα Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου. Athens.

8th Cretological Congress = 2000. Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου. Heraklion.

9th Cretological Congress = 2006. Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου. Heraklion.

12th Cretological Congress = 2019. Πεπραγμένα ΙΒ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου. [Published online: https://12iccs.proceedings.gr/].

55 Años = Varias García, C. (ed.) 2012. *Actas del Simposio Internacional. 55 Años de Micenologia (1952–2007)* (*Faventia* Supplement 1). Bellaterra.

Acta Mycenaea = Ruipérez, M. S. (ed.) 1972. *Acta Mycenaea. Actes du cinquième Colloque international des études mycéniennes, tenu à Salamanque, 30 mars – 3 avril 1970* (*Minos* 11–12 (1970–71)) (2 vols). Salamanca.

Aegean Scripts = Nosch, M.-L. and Landenius Enegren, H. (eds) 2017. *Aegean Scripts. Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, Copenhagen, 2–5 September 2015* (Incunabula Graeca 105) (2 vols). Rome.

AGS = Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi.

Anthology = Duhoux, Y. 2008. 'Mycenaean anthology', in *Companion* I, 243–393.

Archives Before Writing = Ferioli, P., Fiandra, E., Fissore, G. G. and Frangipane, M. (eds) 1994. *Archives Before Writing. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Oriolo Romano, October 23–25 1991*. Rome.

Aspects = Duhoux, Y. 1976. *Aspects du vocabulaire économique mycénien (cadastre – artisanat – fiscalité)*. Amsterdam.

Atti Pavia = Meriggi, P. (ed.) 1958. *Colloquio internazionale di studi minoico-micenei. Atti del 2 Colloquio internazionale di studi minoico-micenei, Pavia, 1–5, IX 1958*. Pavia. [= *Athenaeum* 46, 295–436].

Boisacq[3] = Boisacq, É. 1938. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes. 3. édition augmentée par un index*. Heidelberg/Paris.

Briciaka = Duhoux, Y. (ed.) 2003. *Briciaka. A Tribute to W. C. Brice* (Cretan Studies 9). Amsterdam.

Cambridge Colloquium = Palmer, L. R. and Chadwick, J. (eds) 1966. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*. Cambridge.

* Items not included here can be found in the list of abbreviations for standard reference works in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (*AJA*).

Cambridge Companion = Shelmerdine, C. W. (ed.) 2008. *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*. Cambridge.

Chaumont Colloquium = Risch, E. and Mühlestein, H. (eds) 1979. *Colloquium Mycenaeum. Actes du sixième Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel du 7 au 13 septembre 1975*. Neuchâtel/Geneva.

CHIC = Olivier, J.-P. and Godart, L., with the collaboration of Poursat, J.-C. 1996. *Corpus Hieroglyphicarum Inscriptionum Cretae* (Études Crétoises 31). Paris/Rome.

CIV = Sacconi, A. 1974. *Corpus delle iscrizioni vascolari in lineare B* (Incunabula Graeca 57). Rome.

CIV Suppl. = Godart, L. and Sacconi, A. 2017. *Supplemento al corpus delle iscrizioni vascolari in lineare B* (Biblioteca di *Pasiphae* 11). Pisa/Rome.

CMS = Pini, I. et al. 1964–2009. *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*. Berlin.

Colloquium Romanum = Sacconi, A., Del Freo, M., Godart, L. and Negri, M. (eds) 2008. *Colloquium Romanum. Atti del XII Colloquio internazionale di micenologia: Roma, 20–25 febbraio 2006*. Pisa/Rome.

CoMIK = Chadwick, J., Godart, L., Killen, J. T., Olivier, J.-P., Sacconi, A. and Sakellarakis, I. A. 1986–98. *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Incunabula Graeca 88) (4 vols: I 1986, II 1990, III 1997, IV 1998). Cambridge/Rome.

Companion = Duhoux, Y. and Morpurgo Davies, A. (eds) 2008–14. *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World* (3 vols: I 2008, II 2011, III 2014). Louvain-la-Neuve.

Concilium Eirene = Oliva, P. and Frolíková, A. (eds) 1983. *Concilium Eirene XVI. Proceedings of the 16th International Eirene Conference, Prague, 31.8–4.9. 1982* (3 vols). Prague.

DAIS = Hitchcock, L. A., Laffineur, R. and Crowley, J. (eds) 2008. *DAIS. The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference/12e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25–29 March 2008* (Aegaeum 29). Liège/Austin, TX.

Davis = Davis, E. 1977. *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware*. New York/London.

Der Neue Pauly = Cancik, H., Schneider, H., Landfester, M. et al. (eds) 1996–2003. *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Stuttgart.

Desservants = Olivier, J.-P. 1960. À propos d'une 'liste' de desservants de sanctuaire dans les documents en linéaire B de Pylos. Brussels.

Dictionnaire = Chantraine, P. 1968–80 (2009[2]). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* (5 vols: I 1968, II 1970, III 1974, IV.1 1977, IV.2 1980). Paris.

DMic. = Aura Jorro, F. (ed.) 1985–93. *Diccionario griego-micénico* (2 vols). Madrid.

Documents[1] = Ventris, M. G. F. and Chadwick, J. 1956. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. Cambridge.

Documents[2] = Ventris, M. G. F. and Chadwick, J. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek. Second Edition by John Chadwick*. Cambridge.

Dosmoi = de Fidio, P. 1977. *I* dosmoi *pilii a Poseidon. Una terra sacra di età micenea* (Incunabula Graeca 65). Rome.

Early Destruction = Driessen, J. M. 1990. *An Early Destruction in the Mycenaean Palace at Knossos. A New Interpretation of the Excavation Field-Notes of the South-East Area of the West Wing*. Leuven.

Economy and Administration = Killen, J. T. 2015. *Economy and Administration in Mycenaean Greece. Collected Papers on Linear B, Edited by Maurizio del Freo* (Incunabula Graeca 104) (3 vols). Rome.

Economy and Politics = Voutsaki, S. and Killen, J. T. (eds) 2001. *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States. Proceedings of a Conference Held on 1–3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge* (*PCPS* Supplement 27). Cambridge.

Emporia = Laffineur, R. and Greco, E. (eds) 2005. *Emporia. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference/10e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004* (Aegaeum 25) (2 vols). Liège/Austin, TX.

Epi ponton plazomenoi = La Rosa, V., Palermo, D. and Vagnetti, L. (eds) 1999. Ἐπὶ πόντον πλαζόμενοι. *Simposio italiano di Studi Egei dedicato a Luigi Bernabò Brea e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (Roma, 18–20 febbraio 1998)*. Rome.

Études = Ruijgh, C. J. 1967. *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien. Amsterdam*.

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FGrHist = Jacoby, F. et al. (eds) 1923–. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.

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Gif Colloquium = Lejeune, M. (ed.) 1956. *Études Mycéniennes. Actes du Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens, Gif-sur-Yvette, 3–7 avril 1956*. Paris.

GORILA = Godart, L. and Olivier, J.-P. 1976–85. *Recueil des inscriptions en linéaire A* (Études Crétoises 21) (5 vols). Paris.

Gr. Gr. = Schwyzer, E. and Debrunner, A. 1934–50. *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik*. Munich.

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HOCHYMIN = Olivier, J.-P. and Vandenabeele, F. 2007. Édition holistique des textes chypro-minoens (Biblioteca di *Pasiphae* 6). Pisa/Rome.

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ICS[1] = Masson, O. 1961. *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique commenté* (Études Chypriotes 1). Paris.

ICS[2] = Masson, O. 1983 (repr. with suppl.). *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique commenté* (Études Chypriotes 1). Paris.

IDA = Vandenabeele, F. and Olivier, J.-P. 1979. *Les idéogrammes archéologiques du linéaire B* (Études Crétoises 24). Athens.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

ILA = Brice, W. C., Evans, A. J. and Myres, J. L. 1961. *Inscriptions in the Minoan Linear Script of Class A*. Oxford.

Index = Bennett, E. L., Jr. 1953. *A Minoan Linear B Index*. New Haven.

Inscr. Cret. = Guarducci, M. (ed.) 1935–50. *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio F. Halbherr collectae* (4 vols). Rome.

IP = Gallavotti, C. and Sacconi, A. 1961. *Inscriptiones Pyliae ad Mycenaeam aetatem pertinentes* (Incunabula Graeca 1). Rome.

Interpretation[1] = Palmer, L. R. 1963. *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*. Oxford.

Interpretation[2] = Palmer, L. R. 1969. *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*. Oxford.

JC = John Chadwick.

Kosmos = Nosch, M.-L. and Laffineur, R. (eds) 2012. *Kosmos. Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 13th International Aegean Conference/13e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Copenhagen, Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research, 21–26 April 2010* (Aegaeum 33). Leuven/Liège.

KT[1] = Bennett, E. L., Jr., Chadwick, J. and Ventris, M. (eds) 1956. *The Knossos Tablets*. London.

KT[2] = Bennett, E. L., Jr., Chadwick, J., Ventris, M. and Householder, F. W. (eds) 1959. *The Knossos Tablets*. London.

KT[3] = Chadwick, J. and Killen, J. T. (eds) 1964. *The Knossos Tablets*. London.

KT[4] = Chadwick, J., Killen, J. T. and Olivier, J.-P. (eds) 1971. *The Knossos Tablets*. Cambridge.

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LSCG = Sokolowski, F. 1969. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris.

LSJ = Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Jones, H. S., McKenzie, R., Glare, P. G. W. and Thompson, A. A. 1996. *A Greek–English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement*. Oxford.

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Mélanges Glotz = 1932. *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* (2 vols). Paris.

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Mémoires I = Lejeune, M. 1958. *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne. Première série*. Paris.

Mémoires II = Lejeune, M. 1971. *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne. Deuxième série* (Incunabula Graeca 42). Rome.

Mémoires III = Lejeune, M. 1972. *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne. Troisième série* (Incunabula Graeca 43). Rome.

Mémoires IV = Lejeune, M. 1997. *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne. Quatrième série* (Incunabula Graeca 99). Rome.

Metron = Foster, K. P. and Laffineur, R. (eds) 2003. *Metron. Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 24). Liège/Austin, TX.

Minoan Roundel = Hallager, E. 1996. *The Minoan Roundel and Other Sealed Documents in the Neopalatial Linear A Administration* (Aegaeum 14) (2 vols). Liège/Austin, TX.

Minoica = Grumach, E. (ed.) 1958. *Minoica. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Johannes Sundwall*. Berlin.

MLS = *Minutes of the London Seminar*.

MP = Furumark, A. 1941. *The Mycenaean Pottery. Analysis and Classification*. Stockholm.

MT I = Bennett, E. L., Jr. 1953. 'The Mycenae tablets', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 97, 422–70.

MT II = Bennett, E. L., Jr. (ed.) 1958. *The Mycenae Tablets II, with an Introduction by Alan J. B. Wace and Elizabeth B. Wace. Translations and Commentary by John Chadwick* (*TAPS* 48.1). Philadelphia.

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MT IV = Olivier, J.-P. (ed.) 1969. *The Mycenae Tablets IV. A Revised Transliteration*. Leiden.

Mycenaean Feast = Wright, J. C. (ed.) 2004. *The Mycenaean Feast* (*Hesperia* 73.2). Princeton.

Mykenaïka = Olivier, J.-P. (ed.) 1992. *Mykenaïka. Actes du IXe Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens organisé par le Centre de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine de la Fondation Hellénique des Recherches Scientifiques et l'École française d'Athènes (Athènes, 2–6 octobre 1990)* (*BCH* Supplement 25). Paris.

OED = *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

Oxford Handbook = Cline, E. H. (ed.) 2010. *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean: (ca. 3000–1000 BC)*. Oxford.

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Polemos = Laffineur, R. (ed.) 1999. *Polemos. Le context guerrier en Égée à l'âge du bronze* (Aegaeum 19). Liège/Austin, TX.

Politeia = Laffineur, R. and Niemeier, W.-D. (eds) 1995. *Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference/5e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April 1994* (Aegaeum 12) (2 vols). Liège/Austin, TX.

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PoN I = Blegen, C. W. and Rawson, M. 1966. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia. Volume I: The Buildings and Their Contents*. Princeton.

PoN II = Lang, M. L. 1969. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia. Volume II: The Frescoes*. Princeton.

PoN IV= Bennett, E. L., Jr., Melena, J. L., Olivier, J.-P., Palaima, T. G., Shelmerdine, C. W., Bennet, J., Firth, R. J., Palmer, R. and Pluta, K. (forthcoming). *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia. Volume IV: The Inscribed Documents*.

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Primo Congresso = Gallavotti, C. (ed.) 1968. *Atti e Memorie del 1º Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia (Roma 27 settembre – 3 ottobre 1967)* (Incunabula Graeca 25). Rome.

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PT I = Bennett, E. L., Jr. (ed.) 1951. *The Pylos Tablets. A Preliminary Transcription.* Princeton.

PT II = Bennett, E. L., Jr. (ed.) 1955. *The Pylos Tablets. Texts of the Inscriptions Found, 1939–1954*. Princeton.

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PTT II = Bennett, E. L., Jr. and Olivier, J.-P. (eds) 1976. *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed. Part II: Hands, Concordances, Indices* (Incunabula Graeca 59). Rome.

PTT[2] = Olivier, J.-P. and Del Freo, M. 2020. *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed. Deuxième édition*. Padua.

Pylos Comes Alive = Shelmerdine, C. W. and Palaima, T. G. (eds) 1984. *Pylos Comes Alive. Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace*. New York.

RE = Wissowa, G. et al. (eds) 1893–1997. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart.

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Sandy Pylos[2] = Davis, J. L. (ed.) 2008. *Sandy Pylos. An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino. Second Edition*. Princeton.

Schwyzer, *Dial.* = Schwyzer, E. 1923. *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*. Leipzig.

Scribes Cnossos = Olivier, J.-P. 1967. *Les scribes de Cnossos. Essai de classement des archives d'un palais mycénien* (Incunabula Graeca 17). Rome.

Scribes Pylos = Palaima, T. G. 1988. *The Scribes of Pylos* (Incunabula Graeca 87). Rome.

Secondo Congresso = De Miro, E., Godart, L. and Sacconi, A. (eds) 1996. *Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* (Incunabula Graeca 98) (3 vols). Rome.

SGDI = Collitz, H. et al. 1884–1915. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Göttingen.

SM I = Evans, A. J. 1909. *Scripta Minoa. Volume I: The Hieroglyphic and Primitive Linear Classes*. Oxford.

SM II = Evans, A. J. and Myres, J. L. 1952. *Scripta Minoa. Volume II: The Archives of Knossos*. Oxford.

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Studia Mycenaea Brno = Bartoněk, A. (ed.) 1968. *Studia Mycenaea. Proceedings of the Mycenaean Symposium, Brno April 1966*. Brno.

Studies Aura Jorro = Bernabé, A. and Luján, E. R. (eds) 2014. *Donum Mycenologicum. Mycenaean Studies in Honour of Francisco Aura Jorro*. Louvain-la-Neuve.

Studies Bennett = Olivier, J.-P. and Palaima, T. G. (eds) 1988. *Texts, Tablets and Scribes. Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy Offered to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.* (*Minos* Supplement 10). Salamanca.

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Studies Shelmerdine = Nakassis, D., Gulizio, J. and James, S. A. (eds) 2014. *KE-RA-ME-JA. Studies Presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine* (Prehistory Monographs 46). Philadelphia.

Syll.[3] = Dittenberger, W. 1915–24. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum a Guilelmo Dittenbergero condita et aucta nunc tertium edita* (4 vols: I 1915, II 1917, III 1920, IV 1924). Leipzig.

TEXNH = Laffineur, R. and Betancourt, P. (eds) 1997. TEXNH. *Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18–21 April 1996* (Aegaeum 16) (2 vols). Liège.

Texte aus Theben = Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and Panagl, O. (eds) 2006. *Die neuen Linear B-Texte aus Theben*. Vienna.

Textos = Melena, J. L. 2001. *Textos griegos micénicos comentados*. Vitoria-Gasteiz.

TFC I = Aravantinos, V. L., Godart, L. and Sacconi, A. 2001. *Thèbes, Fouilles de la Cadmée. I. Les tablettes en linéaire B de la* Odos Pelopidou*: édition et commentaire* (Biblioteca di *Pasiphae* 1). Pisa/Rome.

TFC III = Aravantinos, V. L., Godart, L. and Sacconi, A. 2002. *Thèbes: Fouilles de la Cadmée. III. Corpus des documents d'archives en linéaire B de Thèbes (1–433)* (Biblioteca di *Pasiphae* 3). Pisa/Rome.

TFC IV = Aravantinos, V. L., Del Freo, M., Godart, L. and Sacconi, A. 2005. *Thèbes: Fouilles de la Cadmée. IV. Les textes de Thèbes (1–433)*: *translitération et tableaux des scribes* (Biblioteca di *Pasiphae* 4). Pisa/Rome.

Thalassa = Laffineur, R. and Basch, L. (eds) 1991. *Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques (StaReSO), Calvi, Corse (23–25 avril 1990)* (Aegaeum 7). Liège/Austin, TX.

The Role of the Ruler = Rehak, P. (ed.) 1995. *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992)* (Aegaeum 11). Liège/Austin, TX.

Thera and the Aegean World III = Hardy, D. A. et al. (eds) 1990. *Thera and the Aegean World III. Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3–9 September 1989* (3 vols). London.

TITHEMY = Melena, J. L., and Olivier, J.-P. 1991. *TITHEMY. The Tablets and Nodules in Linear B from Tiryns, Thebes and Mycenae. A Revised Transliteration* (*Minos* Supplement 12). Salamanca.

Tractata Mycenaea = Ilievski, P. H. and Crepajac, L. (eds) 1987. *Tractata Mycenaea. Proceedings of the Eighth International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, Held in Ohrid, 15–20 September 1985*. Skopje.

Traffici micenei = Marazzi, M., Tusa, S. and Vagnetti, L. (eds) 1986. *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo. Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica*. Taranto.

TT II = Spyropoulos, Th. G. and Chadwick, J. 1975. *The Thebes Tablets II* (*Minos* Supplement 4). Salamanca.

VC = Ventris and Chadwick.

Weights in Context = Alberti, M. E., Ascalone, E. and Peyronel, L. (eds) 2006. *Weights in Context. Bronze Age Weighing Systems of Eastern Mediterranean* (Studi e Materiali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica 13). Rome.

Wilbour Papyrus = Gardiner, A. H. 1941–52. *The Wilbour Papyrus* (4 vols: I 1941, II 1948, III 1948, IV [Index by R. O. Faulkner] 1952). London.

Wingspread Colloquium = Bennett, E. L., Jr. (ed.) 1964. *Mycenaean Studies. Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium for Mycenaean Studies, Held at 'Wingspread', 4–8 September 1961*. Madison, WI.

PART III

SELECTED TABLETS TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION, COMMENTARY

EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE PRESENTATION

NUMBERING

For discussion here, 346 of the most interesting Mycenaean tablets have been chosen; they include 136 from Knossos, 186 from Pylos, 11 from Mycenae, 10 from Thebes, 2 from Tiryns and 1 from Khania. Also discussed are four Linear B inscriptions on stirrup-jars (ISJs). The texts have been arranged in groups according to their subject matter and given consecutive numbers from **1** to **350**. These numbers are intended to help the reader of this book, but E. L. Bennett's letter classification is everywhere added (e.g. **1** = Aa 62). Of the texts discussed here, 273 were also discussed in *Documents*[1] or *Documents*[2]. A concordance will be found on pp. 1135–40 showing which numbers (if any) in *Documents*[1] and *Documents*[2] correspond to the numbers and tablets in the present edition.

TRANSLITERATION

Following the *New Documents* number and the letter classification, the bracketed numeral to the right indicates the scribal hand as shown in the standard editions of the tablets, viz. for Knossos, *CoMIK* and *KT*[5], for Pylos, *PoN* IV, for Tiryns, Thebes pre-1995 and Mycenae, *TITHEMY*, and for Thebes post-1995, *TFC* I. At Pylos the hand number (e.g. H 1) can be preceded by a stylus number (e.g. S312) or replaced by a class number (e.g. Ciii). For an explanation of 'stylus' and 'class', see *PTT* I p. 223.

Tablets composed of joined fragments are shown under the lowest serial number involved, and other numbers are added after the sign +. The abbreviation *fr*. indicates that an unnumbered fragment has been joined to the tablet; more than one such fragment is indicated by *frr*., and if more than two the number of fragments is given in parentheses. The sign [+] indicates that the fragments concerned belong to the same tablet, but do not physically join. The sign ⊕ indicates that the fragments concerned belonged to the same tablet before the scribe cut them apart.

The transliteration proper has been made to conform with the 'Wingspread Convention' adopted by the Third International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies held at Racine, Wisconsin, U.S.A., in 1961, and amended and supplemented by the decisions of subsequent Colloquia.

Phonetic signs are transcribed in roman script except for *18, *19, *22, *34, *47, *49, *56, *63, *64, *65, *79, *82, *83 and *86. These signs are represented by numbers prefixed by an asterisk. A table of signs, showing only a standard

form of each, is to be found on pp. 96–97. The signs making up a word are separated by hyphens. A change to a smaller size of script is indicated by /, to a larger by //. The divider is represented by a comma (,).

Ideographic signs are transcribed in SMALL CAPITALS by the Latin words conventionally adopted as the recognised designation; they do not necessarily imply any judgement on their precise meanings; where no Latin transcription has been agreed, the ideogram is transcribed by its number, on the standard list, preceded by an asterisk and italicised to avoid confusion with numerals. The entry VAS is attached to ideograms designated by numbers which denote vessels. A list of all ideograms will be found on pp. 127–29. Phonetic signs used as ideograms are printed in *ITALICISED CAPITALS*; when used as adjuncts to modify the value of a following ideogram, they are in *lower-case italicised*. Phonetic signs ligatured together or to an ideogram are indicated by the sign +. Superscript numerals added to the ideograms TELA, **146* and **164* indicate the number of strokes in the lower fringe.

The most important weights and measures are transcribed conventionally as small capital letters:

Weight	L M N P Q
Dry measure	T V Z
Liquid measure	S V Z

The standard epigraphic convention is observed of placing dots under letters or figures to mean that the sign in question is not sufficiently well preserved for its identification to be wholly certain. A dot is placed under each letter used to transcribe a sign. If numerals are dotted, this indicates doubt extending only to the dotted figure: e.g. 1ṣ0 means that the figure of 100 is certain, but the tens following it are only probably two, and there is no trace of unit signs.

The point at which a tablet becomes illegible (ordinarily the broken edge) is indicated by square brackets at left and right, thus:

]*to-so*	No epigraphic evidence for the completeness of the word.
]-*to-so*	Epigraphic evidence for a sign immediately preceding *to*.
] *to-so*	The word appears to be complete.
]*to-so* ṣ	The word is almost certainly complete, given the physical characteristics of the document (in this case, we are very near the beginning of the tablet).

These conventions extend to numerals:

]31	Number not less than 31 (possibly 61, 91, 131, etc.).
31[	Number not less than 31 (possibly 32, 33, etc.).
] 31 [	Number apparently complete.
31[ṣ	Number almost certainly complete, given the physical characteristics of the document (in this case, we are very near the end of the tablet).

Half square brackets ⌊ ⌋ are used, though as yet not systematically, to indicate that there is sufficient space, in a small lacuna, for a divider.[1]

If the upper or lower edge of the tablet is broken off and missing, this is indicated by the words *sup*(*ra*) *mut*(*ila*) or *inf*(*ra*) *mut*(*ila*).[2] An uninscribed space is indicated, where necessary, by *vac*(*at*). Traces of unidentifiable signs are shown as *vesti(gia*). All notes appearing in the text are in *Latin*.

Erasures are indicated by double square brackets ⟦ ⟧. Any signs enclosed within these brackets were deleted by the scribe but remain legible. Where the text is written over an erasure, this fact is recorded in the notes. {*to*} indicates a superfluous sign added in error by the scribe, <*to*> a sign accidentally or deliberately omitted by the scribe.

ARRANGEMENT

Line numbering follows the division of the original tablet by guide lines. The line number .0 indicates the presence of a dividing line preserved above the first inscribed line. The obverse (*recto*) is not especially indicated, except at Pylos when the reverse is also inscribed; the reverse (*verso*) is shown, when inscribed, by *v*.[3] or *verso*, the edges by *lat*(*us*) *sup*(*erius*), *inf*(*erius*), *dex*(*trum*).[4]

Where the tablet begins as a single line and is then divided into two or more lines, these are shown as .A, .B, .C. Lines of writing not separated by dividing lines are shown as .a, .b, .c. The different faces of a sealing are listed as .α, β, γ. A small annotation above the line of writing is shown thus: '*do-e-ra*', generally placed after the text of the entry over which it stands.

TRANSLATION

An attempted English rendering of each tablet is added, except where it consists entirely of repetitive phrases. Doubtful and controversial translations of words and ideograms are printed in italics, without which a number of the tablets would appear as an impenetrable forest of question marks.

Proper names which do not have a possible Greek explanation are printed in the transcription form; otherwise they are 'translated' into an approximation of the contemporary Greek form. Where the assumed Classical parallel is obscured by phonetic changes (e.g. *po-ru-qo-ta* = *Poluk*^{w}*hontās* = Πολυφόντης), the reading can be checked in the Glossary (pp. 921–1056).

[1] When the ⌊ ⌋ do not touch the signs, we are sure of the presence of two different words; when they *do* touch the signs, we perhaps have to do with one word only.

[2] When the indication *sup. mut.* or *inf. mut.* is dotted, this means that only the back of the edge is preserved.

[3] The direction of rotation is indicated by arrows: ↓ for rotation along the horizontal axis, → for rotation along the vertical axis and ↗ for irregular rotation.

[4] l.s., l.i. and l.d. in the notes.

NOTES

It was felt that a complete Greek version of each tablet would demand both excessive space and a premature finality in the interpretation. Where the equivalent Greek vocabulary and syntax are not obvious from the transcription and translation, they will be discussed in the Notes on the first appearance of the formula. The suggested Greek pronunciation and etymology of every word appearing on the published tablets can in any case be checked against the Glossary.

Greek type will be used only for Classical forms and quotations, the approximate Mycenaean pronunciation being indicated in Roman letters on the lines discussed in Chapter IV.

INTRODUCTION

INTERPRETING LINEAR B

JOHN KILLEN

* As Michael Ventris emphasises in Chapter II (pp. 47–48), the interpreter of Linear B tablets is faced with a number of difficulties, not least of which is the opaque nature of the writing system. At the same time, however, there are several factors which work in his/her favour.

I. ANALOGIES WITH THE RECORDS IN OTHER SIMILAR SOCIETIES

D In the introduction to Chapter V of *Documents*, The Evidence of the Tablets, VC write as follows (p. 106):*

> Following our *JHS* 1953 article, valuable surveys of the picture resulting from the then published Mycenaean tablets were made by Furumark (1954a, b), Pugliese Carratelli (1954a) and others.
>
> Similar summaries, based on more complex but more certainly interpreted material, have been published for the Akkadian tablets from the Hurrian palaces at Nuzi ('Epigraphical evidences of the material culture of the Nuzians', Lacheman 1939) and at Alalakh (Wiseman 1953, pp. 1–17). Together with the alphabetic and cuneiform tablets from Ugarit (published piecemeal by Virolleaud 1953 in *Syria*, and to be re-edited in the forthcoming definitive volumes on Ugarit), these contemporary records present the most useful and significant analogies with the Mycenaean tablets, and will often be found quoted in our commentary. In spite of some differences in climate and culture, the similarities in the size and organisation of the royal palaces and in the purposes for which the tablets were written ensure close parallels, not only in the listed commodities and their amounts, but even on occasion in details of phraseology and layout. Some direct knowledge of each other's scribal methods, through the medium of Mycenaean traders, cannot be entirely ruled out. Some earlier cuneiform sets may also provide useful material for comparison, particularly the Akkadian tablets from Ur of the third dynasty (Legrain 1937) and of the Old Babylonian period (Figulla and Martin 1953).

* Since Ventris and Chadwick wrote the above, scholars working on the tablets have continued to draw analogies both with Near Eastern texts and with records from societies further afield. J. T. Killen (1964b) has elucidated the purpose of the sheep on the Knossos *D* tablets by pointing to records of sheep on larger

* Note: small changes have been made in what follows to bring the conventions of the paragraph more into line with those of the rest of the book.

estates in Medieval England, and particularly to the targets for wool and lamb production set for these animals. As F. R. Kraus (1966) has shown, targets of the same type – and in some cases of the same size, e.g. 80 lambs per 100 ewes – are found in records of the Ur III period. In his excellent *Bronze Age Bureaucracy: Writing and the Practice of Government in Assyria* (2013.412), J. N. Postgate compares the Mycenaean *ta-ra-si-ja*, *talasiā*, work-assignment system with the Assyrian *iškāru* contracts 'under which raw materials belonging to the palace were issued to craftsmen, textile workers (some of them women) and other employees of the state'. (For an earlier though less expert comparison of *ta-ra-si-ja* and *iškāru*, see Killen 1999a.325–28.) As shown by Killen (1983c), light can be shed on the system of recruiting the crew of a ship listed on the Pylos record An 1 by comparing the record CTC, 79 (UT, 83), which is discussed by M. Helzer in his *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (1976).

One great value to the interpreter of Linear B of material drawn from comparable societies, whose records may be more extensive and less laconic than those of the Mycenaean palaces, is that it can suggest possible explanations of tablets which would otherwise be opaque. Among the tablets at Knossos in hands 103 and 115, many of which are concerned with textile production, are records of men; and pointing to the records of Ur III textile production, which have been admirably elucidated by H. Waetzoldt (1972), J. T. Killen (1979a.168) suggests that these may be finishing workers comparable to the Ur III *aslag*, male workers whose duties included fulling and the repair and decoration of cloth. While in some cases comparison with the Near East and elsewhere is helpful in suggesting the explanation of the Linear B records being compared, without confirming that this is their purpose, in this instance we also have virtual confirmation of their function, since among the other records in hand 115 are the entries on the reverses of the *Lc*(*2*) tablets, which record WOOL 'for finishing' (*toukhāi*), and Od 485, 486, 487, which list wool for decorating (]*o-nu-ka*, etc).

For an excellent discussion of the use of Near Eastern analogies in interpreting Linear B texts, see P. de Fidio, 'Mycènes et Proche-Orient, ou le théorème des modèles' in *Mykenaïka* (1992) 173–96.

II. EVIDENCE OF SCRIBAL HAND

As J.-P. Olivier brilliantly showed in 1967 (*Scribes Cnossos*), many of the scribes at Knossos can be shown to be specialists, concentrating their activity entirely or largely on a single branch of the palace economy. As he showed, for instance, scribe 103 is the scribe *par excellence* of the palace textile industry, writing records of cloth, wool and textile workers. Given the preponderance of his textile interests, it is attractive to guess that his three *E*(*2*) records, which list large quantities of WHEAT and OLIVES, are concerned with rations for the textile workforce.

The only records that scribe 103 writes that are not concerned with textile production are his records of religious offerings from a different sector of the palace (G1). These include offerings of honey, but also objects with a textile connexion: cloth (M(1) 720, M(1) 1645) and wool (Od(2) 714, 715, 716, 718). Gg(1) 7369 lists both wool and honey, thus forming a bridge with scribe 103's honey records. Pausanias (VIII, 42) describes the worship of Demeter near Phigalea in Arcadia, where fruit, honeycombs and wool, with its natural grease unremoved, were placed upon an altar.

Another specialist at Knossos was scribe 135, who wrote records of cyperus, coriander and honey. Given the large quantities involved in many of the records (see p. 420 for the importance of the numbers they carry for establishing the purpose of tablets), and given that all three of cyperus, coriander and honey are known on the tablets as ingredients in unguent-boiling, it is reasonable to conclude that this 'set' as a whole is concerned with the supply of working materials to unguent-boilers. (Note the initial datives on several of the records.) And this in turn leads to the conclusion that *ku-pi-ri-jo* on these records is a personal name, presumably that of a palace official, and the same person as is named on Fh 5246 as delivering 100 units of oil, presumably as the base for unguent, to one *ma-ro*.

This 'set' of records provides a good example of what is true of many groups of records in the same hand: that they follow the same pattern, thus making it likely that terms occupying the same position or 'slot' on the documents have the same function. As we noted above, several of the records in hand 135 begin with a dative singular (*ma-ri-ne-we* Gg(2) 713, *ma-ki-ro-ne* Gg(2) 995,]*ṃạ-ri-ne-we* Ga(1) 674, *wa-na-ka-te* Ga(1) 675); and this makes it probable that the terms in the same position on other records in the same 'set' likewise indicate the recipient of the commodity dealt with, even though these themselves are not datives. Thus *tu-wi-no* Ga(1) 517 (*Twinōn*) is a nominative of rubric; and *tu-wi-no-no* Ga(1) 676 is a genitive (*Twinōnos*), here signifying the workshop of *T*.

We also have evidence for scribal speciality by subject at Pylos (Bennett, *MT* II.90), though less than at Knossos, since the two most prolific writers at the site, Hands 1 and 2, are non-specialist administrators. Identification of hand can, however, sometimes provide a guide to the content of a record. In *Scribes Pylos* (107) T. G. Palaima classes 1406 as Mb, and tentatively attributes it to Hand 43. The great majority of tablets in Hand 43, however, are *Ea* land-tenure records; and the text of 1406 is consistent with this being the 'set' of the record:]*ke-ta* , *e-ke*[. With *e-ke*[, compare the regular *e-ke* 'he holds' of the *Ea* tablets; and while there can be no certainty of how]*ke-ta* should be restored, it is tempting to wonder whether it is *ra-wa-*]*ke-ta* in view of the common description of landholders in the *Ea* series as *ra-wa-ke-si-ja* 'of the *ra-wa-ke-ta* ("leader of the host")'. For the suggestion that]*ke-ta* might be *ra-wa-*]*ke-ta*, see Lang 1961.160; for the

proposal that 1406 should be reclassified as Ea, see Killen, *PoN* IV ad loc., Del Freo (2002).

III. THE EVIDENCE OF NUMBERS AND AMOUNTS

John Chadwick has stressed (1976a.27) 'that what mattered most to the users of these documents was the numerals. The numbers and quantities are the important details which cannot be confided to the memory'. It is the numbers and amounts, too, which can sometimes provide a clue to the function of a record, or to the identity of a person named in it. The following examples can be cited.

The text of KN Od(1) 562 reads as follows:

(103)

.1]ọ-pi , no-nu-we , 'a-ti-pa-mo' pe-re LANA 91
.2]ṣi-da-jo , pe-re 'po-ro-to' LANA 42
.3 a-po-te , pe-re LANA 69

The text records the delivery (*pe-re*, *pherei*) of wool, and is the work of scribe 103, the major writer of wool and cloth tablets. Among this scribe's other records are the *Lc(1)* records of 'stints' or requirements for the production of cloth. Among the cloth in question is CLOTH + *TE* or *te-pa* cloth, the great majority of which is shown by the wool figures on the records to have required seven units per piece to make. It is immediately noticeable therefore that the first two amounts of wool on Od(1) 562, 91 and 42, are multiples of seven (13 × 7), (6 × 7), suggesting that these are deliveries of wool to weavers of CLOTH + *TE*. And while the amount of wool in the third entry (69) is not a multiple of seven, we have evidence to indicate that the sub-variety of CLOTH + *TE* qualified as *pe-ko-to* took ten, rather than seven, units of wool to make: see Lc(1) 527, where two units of *pe-ko-to* and (probably) nineteen units of 'ordinary' CLOTH + *TE* are listed as requiring 153 units of wool, viz. 2 × 10 = 20 plus 19 × 7 = 133 units. It is attractive to suppose therefore (see Killen 1974) that the third wool figure on Od(1) 562 envisages the production of two units of *pe-ko-to* TELA + *TE* (the same amount as on Lc(1) 527) plus seven units of 'ordinary' CLOTH + *TE* (2 × 10 = 20; 7 × 7 = 49; 20 + 49 = 69).

IV. THE EVIDENCE OF LATER GREEK

A crucial source of evidence that can be used in the interpretation of Linear B is, of course, Greek of later periods. In using this evidence, two points should be borne in mind.

(i) In the interval between the Mycenaean period and the first attestation of a term in later Greek a word may have changed its meaning. Among clear examples of this is Myc. *a-mo* 'wheel' but later Greek ἅρμα 'chariot'. [For a similar semantic

shift see Skt. *rátha-* , Tocharian A *kukäl*, both meaning 'chariot' and both derived from an IE word for 'wheel' (*Documents* 372).] It follows therefore that, unless there is positive evidence to the contrary, there cannot be confidence that the meaning of a term in Classical Greek will also be that of its ancestor in Mycenaean.

(ii) In looking for evidence to help elucidate Mycenaean terms, it is necessary to consult not only mainstream Classical authors but also (a) inscriptional evidence and (b) the evidence provided by lexicographers, particularly Hesychius, who, though probably writing in the fifth century A.D., clearly drew on earlier sources. Thus the only Classical evidence for the land-tenure terms *ktoinā* (Myc. *ko-to*(*-i*)*-na*), *ktoinetās* (Myc. *ko-to-ne-ta*) and *kamas* (Myc. *ka-ma*) are in the two sources just mentioned. Both *ktoinā* and *ktoinetās* are found in Rhodian inscriptions; and both *ktoinā* and *kamas* are glossed by Hesychius, the first as δῆμος μεμερισμένος or subdivided deme, the second in the form καμάν· τὸν ἀγρόν. In these cases the inscriptions and glosses add little or nothing to what can be deduced about the meaning of the terms from the tablets on which they are found. In other cases, however, inscriptions and/or Hesychius play a more important role in establishing the sense of a Mycenaean word. First, Hesychius' gloss ὑπο(ϝ)έστης· χιτών makes it likely that the term *u-po-we* standing before the ideogram TUN(ica) + *RI* on KN L 178 is the name of the commodity being recorded, rather than a term of some other category. Second, Hesychius' gloss υἱήν· τὴν ἄμπελον ἢ ἀναδενδράδα helps identify ideogram **174* as 'vine' by way of the term *we-je-we* which stands before the sign on KN **167** = Gv 863.2. Third, Hesychius' gloss οἰνάδες· ἀμπελώδεις τόποι shows that *wo-na-si* on the same tablet is likely to mean 'in the vineyards'. And, finally, encouragement for the belief that *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* on PY **176** = Er 312.7 and PY **178** = Un 718.11 is a possessive adjective based on a MN *ϝροικίων (Chadwick, reported by Killen 1983a.84) is provided by the appearance of the name in the form Ῥοικίων in an inscription from Samos: *SEG* I, 367. (See also the MN *wo-ro-ko-jo*, probably /*Wroikoio*/ (gen.) on PY Sa 763.)

V. THE INTERPRETATION OF INDIVIDUAL WORDS

Even when the position of a term on a record makes it likely what its general category is, it still remains to be established how precisely it should be interpreted. I discuss below some of the principles which should be followed in proposing interpretations, taking as a case study some of the terms which stand in initial position on the *Aa*, *Ab* WOMEN records at Pylos, whose context makes it likely they are feminine plurals in /*-ai*/ describing the women who are enumerated at the end of each record. For the purpose of this study I discuss the interpretations of each of the terms in question offered by L. R. Palmer in *Interpretation* and VC in *Documents*[1].

LRP

1. *a-ra-ka-te-ja*. E(thnic); also an ethnic at Knossos; cf. Ἠλακαταῖον in Thessaly.
2. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo.* P(lace-name). Poss. Λεϝοτροχόϝοι Bath(s); cf. Aix, Bath.
3. *we-we-si-je-ja.* Group of women, probably belonging to 'textile' groups. See *we-we-e-a*.
4. *pa-ke-te-ja*. E(thnic).
5. *ka-ru-ti-je-ja*. E(thnic); cf. Κάρυστος.
6. *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*. P(lace-name); not 'headband-makers'.
7. *ra-wi-ja-ja*. Group of women. Probably an ethnic; not 'captives'.

VC

1. *a-ra-ka-te-ja*. *ālakateiai* 'spinning women'.
2. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo. lewotrokhowoi* 'bath-attendants'. λοετροχόος *Od*. xx, 297+.
3. *we-we-si-je-ja.* A woman's trade: *werwesieiai* 'wool-workers'? [Cf. *we-we-e-a*, 'woollen' and εἰρεσιώνη.]
4. *pa-ke-te-ja*. No satisfactory explanation. Poss. deriv. of πηκτίς.
5. *ka-ru-ti-je-ja*. The form suggests a feminine from a masculine in -εύς.
6. *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*. A class of women: *ampuk(o)worgoi* 'headband-makers'?
7. *ra-wi-ja-ja*. A class of women: *lāwiaiai* 'captives'. [Cf. ληϊάδες *Il*. xx, 193+.]

DISCUSSION

1. LRP compares with *a.* at Pylos *a-ra-ka-te-ja* in initial position on the Knossos CLOTH record Lc(1) 531. Apart from this and *e-ro-pa-ke-ja* in initial position on Lc(1) 534, which like 531 records cloth prefixed by **161*, the mysterious *ne-we-wi-ja* and several designations in terms of an 'owner' or 'collector', all the terms in initial position on the *Lc(1)* tablets are clearly ethnics, as is made evident by the presence on other tablets at Knossos of the place-names from which they are derived, e.g. *ri-jo-no* > *ri-jo-ni-ja* (Lc(1) 529), *tu-ri-so* (Tulisos) > *tu-ri-si-ja* (Lc(1) 533). Despite, then, *a-ra-ka-te-ja* occupying the same 'slot' in the *Lc(1)* series as *ri-jo-ni-ja*, etc., it has a different ending from the clear ethnics in the 'set'; and there is no evidence elsewhere at Knossos of a place-name from which *a-ra-ka-te-ja* (or *e-ro-pa-ke-ja*), if it were an ethnic, could be derived. In addition, it would be entirely without parallel in the records for the same ethnic to appear at two different sites. The closest we come to this is the hapax *a-mi-ni-so* on PY An 233 as compared with the common place-name *a-mi-ni-so* at Knossos. Finally, since all the terms in initial position on the *Lc(1)* tablets are references to textile workers, it would fit this context if *a-ra-ka-te-ja* were *ālakateiai* 'distaff women', a derivative of ἀλακάτᾱ, Ion. ἠλακάτη. [Note: in 1967 C. J. Ruijgh (*Études* 99) asked the question whether

Mycenaean used feminine ethnics in *-e-ja* besides those in *-i-ja*. His reply is a categorical 'no': the only examples of *-e-jo/-ja* and *-i-jo/-ja* coexisting with each other are in the adjectives of material.]

2. Many of the entries on the *Ab* tablets take the form (a) place-name (b) description of the women. See, for example, Ab 578 *pu-ro pe-ki-ti-ra*$_2$ MUL 7 where *pe-ki-ti-ra*$_2$ is generally agreed to be *pektriai*, 'combers' (of wool or cloth). VC's interpretation of *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* as *lewtrokhowoi* 'bath-attendants' (cf. λοετροχόος *Od.* xx, 297+) fits this pattern exactly (on *λεϝο- > λοε- see Ruipérez 1950). Moreover, a parallel for a group of domestic workers in this position is provided by *me-ri-ti-ri-ja*, *meletriai* 'corn grinders' Aa 62, Aa 764. In contrast, if LRP were correct in taking *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* as a place-name we should have on Ab 553 the entirely unparalleled sequence of place-name 1 place-name 2 and no description of the women:

   Ab 553

   .A GRA 11 T 1 *DA TA*
   .B pu-ro , re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo 37 ko-wa 13 ko-wo 15 *NI* 11 T 1

3. Both VC and LRP interpret 3. *we-we-si-je-ja* as a trade-name involving the term which appears in Classical Greek as εἶρος 'wool'. But as M. Lejeune has pointed out (*Mémoires* IV.63–66), it is difficult on this hypothesis – and despite Classical εἰρεσιώνη 'a harvest wreath wound round with wool' – to account for the *-s-* element (contrast the adjective *we-we-e-a*, *werwe(h)e(h)a* 'woollen' with loss of the *-s-*). With this problem in mind, J. T. Killen (1976b.260, 1979a.176) and A. Morpurgo Davies (1979.100 n. 52) have suggested that this is a possessive in *-e-jo* (*-eii̯o-*) based on a personal name, viz. that these are women 'of' the man *we-we-si-jo*. On possessives of this type, first recognised, though not in the *Aa*, *Ab*, *Ad* records, by L. R. Palmer (*Interpretation*, Glossary s.v. *a-te-jo*, *e-se-re-e-jo*, *pe-ri-qo-te-jo*, *sa-pi-ti-nu̯-we-jo*, *sa-pa*$_2$*-re-jo* (*pa*$_2$ = *qa*)) and J. T. Killen (1964b.15), see the full discussion in Ruijgh, *Études* 258–64.

   Other descriptions in the *Aa*, *Ab*, *Ad* series can readily be explained as showing the same formation (see Killen 1983a *passim*).

4. *pa-ke-te-ja* can neatly be interpreted as an *-e-jo* derivative of the MN *pa-ke-ta* (KN U 4478.21) (on the absence of secure evidence for an ethnic in *-e-ja*, as LRP proposes, see 1 above.).

5. *ka-ru-ti-je-ja*, standing in parallel to *pa-ke-te-ja* on Ad 671, can likewise be explained as an *-e-jo* derivative of a MN **ka-ru-ti-jo*, *Karustios.* Though the name itself is not attested on the records, the use of ethnics as personal names is a widespread phenomenon on the tablets, as witness e.g. *pa-i-ti-ja* (< *pa-i-to*) WN at Knossos (Ap 639.4) and *mi-ra-ti-jo* (<Miletus) MN at Thebes (Fq 177.2+). Finally, *a-so-qi-je-ja*, read on Ad 689.a by Killen on photographs in

1976b (*JHS*) and adopted by Bennett in 1992 (*Mykenaïka* 116), can neatly be explained as another possessive in *-e-jo*, based on the MN *a-so-qi-jo* which is attested on KN B(5) 803.2.

6. Ab 210

.A GRA 3 T 6 *TA*[
.B a-pu-ko-wo-ko MUL 8 ko-wa 7 ko-wo 8 *NI* 3 T 6 [

Ad 671

.A ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o-qe *o* VIR 5
.B pu-ro , a-pu-ko-wo-ko, pa-ke-te-ja-o-qe VIR 3 ko-wo 4

Though *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* on Ab 210 might be a place-name (it stands alone), it is difficult to take it as such on Ad 671, where it follows *pu-ro* and is accompanied by *ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o-qe* and *pa-ke-te-ja-o-qe*. There is no evidence that *pu-ro a-pu-ko-wo-ko* forms a 'double' place-name, like *pu-ro ke-re-za* or *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo*; and the possessives *ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o-qe* and *pa-ke-te-ja-o-qe* are most readily taken as qualifying *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, whose interpretation as 'headband-makers' is well in keeping with the number of names of textile workers found elsewhere in the series. (Note how *a-so-qi-je-ja* on Ad 689 stands above and evidently qualifies *mi-ra-ti-ja-o*.) Finally, the interpretation 'headband-makers', as against a place-name, seems to be confirmed by the recently discovered VOL X 1, a record of women from Volos (Skafida, Karnava and Olivier 2012.60–63, 71) where *a-pu-ko*[is attractively restored as *a-pu-ko*[*-wo-ko*.

It would be remarkable to find the same place-name at Pylos and Volos; whereas occupational names regularly occur at more than one site.

7. On Ab 586 *ra-wi-ja-ja* follows the 'double' place-name *pu-ro ke-re-za* and is followed by MUL 28; the same group is clearly referred to on Aa 807 (*ke-re-za ra-wi-ja-ja* MUL 26) and on Ad 686 (*pu-ro ke-re-za ra-wi-ja-ja-o*). VC interpret it as *lāwiaiai* 'captives', derived from *Λᾱϝίᾱ 'booty' (cf. Ionic ληίη and the Homeric expression ληϊάδας δὲ γυναῖκας (*Il.* xx, 193); for discussion of other less plausible proposals, see Killen 2006b.90–91). LRP suggests an ethnic. C. J. Ruijgh argues (*Études* 229) that either interpretation is possible: it could, for instance, be an ethnic Λᾱϝιαῖος, derived from a place-name *Λᾱϝίᾱ. Since, however, as the star indicates, we have no evidence for this toponym in either Mycenaean or later Greece, whereas we do have evidence for prisoners of war in the female workforces in ancient Near Eastern societies (Gelb 1972b.2–3), VC's proposal must clearly be regarded as the likelier alternative.

CONCLUSION

Successful interpretation involves matching the spelling of a term with its context(s) in the records, not least the terms which occur in parallel position in the

same 'set' of tablets. In so doing, it is essential to avoid proposing interpretations which involve forms that are alien to Greek (or the language of the tablets), e.g. taking *ka-ru-ti-je-ja* Ad 671 as an ethnic of Κάρυστος. As the spelling in *-ti-je-ja* shows, this is not an ethnic, which would be spelt **ka-ru-ti-ja*, but a possessive derived from a MN *Karustios* which itself is based on an ethnic. As we have seen, possessives in *-e-ja* based on personal names are a common phenomenon on the tablets.

CHAPTER XI

LISTS OF PERSONNEL

JOHN KILLEN

1. WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT PYLOS (Aa, Ab, Ad)[b]

* The *Aa* and *Ab* tablets are a census of women workers and their children (*korwai*, *korwoi*), over half of whom are located in Pylos, the remainder at a number of other places, especially Leuktron, which appears to be the 'capital' of the Further Province. The *Ad* records list adult sons of these women, together with some male children, in the same locations as their mothers.

* Study of the scribal hands of the *Aa* tablets enables us to divide them into two 'sets' corresponding to the two Provinces, the first by scribe 1, the second by scribe 4. In at least twenty-two cases, the headings in the *Aa* tablets (as supplemented from *Ad*) are repeated in the *Ab* series, which also provides rationing information, and there is a general resemblance in the figures which suggests that the two series record the numerical strength of the same groups at different times. There does not seem to be any means of gauging the interval between the two counts.

* The question arises as to why we have two sets of records dealing with the same groups of women but showing different figures, given that it seems to have been the normal practice of Mycenaean scribes to destroy previous records once fresh information had come to hand. One suggestion is that the *Aa* tablets were written earlier than the *Ab* records, and have been preserved because the latter series is not yet complete, since there are no tablets dealing with the Further Province (Chadwick 1988.65). A difficulty for this explanation, however, is the differences in the figures between the two series, which mean that the *Ab* rationing records cannot have been based on the information on the *Aa* tablets. It seems more likely therefore that each series has a different purpose; and one possibility is that the *Aa* tablets were written early in the accounting year, and were used by scribe 1, who it is attractive to suspect was the head of the 'office' dealing with women workers (cf. Chadwick 1988.75) and was himself responsible for compiling the 'major' *Aa* series dealing with the Hither Province, to check

[b] *Documents*[1] 155–62, *Documents*[2] 418–19, *Interpretation* 113–24, *Textos* 21–22. Studies: Tritsch 1958 (status of women), Killen 1983d (*TA* and *DA*), Killen 1984b.55–61 (location of workgroups), Uchitel 1984a (status of women), Chadwick 1988, Killen 2006b (status of women).

that the rations being recorded (and approved?) by scribe 21, the writer of the *Ab* tablets, who there is evidence to suggest was a less senior official (Palaima, *Scribes Pylos* 84), were at least of the right order of magnitude. It is true that we also have evidence that scribe 4, the writer of the 'minor' Aa census records dealing with the Further Province, was subordinate to scribe 1 (*Scribes Pylos* 72); we know too little, however, about the precise relationships between the scribes to be certain that this is a fatal objection to the hypothesis.

* The absence of the Ab records dealing with the rationing of the groups in the Further Province is most probably due to the relevant information not yet being to hand. Palmer (*Interpretation* 113) has suggested that it is because the rationing of these groups was organised and recorded at the local palatial centre, Leuktron. While, however, the groups in the Further Province may have been fed from grain and other food stores at Leuktron, it seems unlikely that the palace at Pylos did not keep a record of the allocations, given that it records the numbers in the groups, and that the label Wa 114, found with the 'minor' records, contains the term *me-ni-jo*, which is likely to refer either to a monthly ration or to a monthly accounting period, which would also point to monthly rationing (see pp. 537–39).

* The total of the numbers preserved on the *Aa* tablets is 639 women, 407 girls and 275 boys (Chadwick 1988.76). Allowing for missing tablets and figures, the true total of women must have been of the order of 750 (Chadwick 1988.76). Women of the Hither Province outnumber those of the Further Province in the ratio of 7 : 2, but there are relatively more children in the Further Province, about 1.5 children per woman, as against 0.9 in the Hither Province (Chadwick 1988.76).

D/* The groups of women are described in four main ways, which may be variously combined. The description often begins with a place-name, though this is regularly omitted in the *Aa* series when the record concerns Pylos itself or Leuktron. Then the group is normally described by its craft or other occupation, e.g. *lewotrokhowoi* 'bath attendants', *meletriai* 'corn-grinders', *ampukworgoi* 'headband-makers', *ālakateiai* 'distaff women', presumably spinners, *pektriai* 'combers' (of wool) or 'shearers' (of the nap of cloth). In some cases an ethnic adjective replaces the occupation, e.g. *ki-ni-di-ja*, evidently *Knidiai* (Knidos), *mi-ra-ti-ja*, evidently *Milātiai* (Miletus), *ku-te-ra*$_2$, probably *Kuthērai* (Kythera), *ra-mi-ni-ja*, evidently *Lamniai* (Lemnos), *ti-nwa-si-ja*. In the *Ad* tablets an ethnic and an occupation may be coupled: e.g. *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o* (a variant form of *ti-nwa-si-ja*) *i-te-ja-o* '(sons) of the loom-women (= weavers ?) of T.' A further possibility is for a possessive adjective in *-e-ja*, indicating in some sense the ownership of the group, to replace the ethnic or craft, e.g. *we-we-si-je-ja*, probably 'women of (the owner) *we-we-si-jo*', *pa-ke-te-ja*, probably 'women of (the owner) *pa-ke-ta*' (Killen 1983a). On one *Ad* tablet, Ad 689, a possessive adjective (*a-so-qi-j̣e-j̣a*, 'women of (the

owner) *a-so-qi-jo*') and an ethnic (*mi-ra-ti-ja-o*) are coupled, the first written as a superscript gloss. On two identical *Ab* tablets, Ab 745, 746, a possessive adjective, *pa-ke-te-ja*, and a craft, *ri-ne-ja*, *lineiai* 'workers in flax or linen', are combined. Finally, two of the groups consist of a single woman only (Aa 785 = Ab 388, [Aa 955] = Ab 575); here, the terms at the beginning of the record, *a-da-ra-te-ja* and *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta*, are probably the names of the two women, although *a-da-ra-te-ja* might alternatively be a possessive adjective.

* For discussion of the identity of the owners on these records and elsewhere, see pp. 502–07.

D/D²/* Tablets of both the *Aa* and the *Ab* series end with a formula which has the usual form *DA* 1 *TA* 1 (*Aa*) or *DA TA* (*Ab*); the distinction is not, however, absolute, and within each group either part or the whole formula may be omitted; the order may also be reversed. As Palmer (1959a.137–42) and Ota (1959) were the first to demonstrate, the presence of these entries correlates with increases in the rations shown on the *Ab* tablets as allocated to the groups. The supplements are: T 2 correlating with *TA*; T 5 correlating with *DA*; T 7 or T 9 both correlating with *DA TA* (i.e. T 7 = *DA* 1 *TA* 1, T 9 = *DA* 1 *TA* 2). (The same signs appear on the *Ak* records of working women at Knossos – see p. 437 – where *TA* is sometimes followed by 2.) It is attractive to conclude that the persons receiving these rations are work-group supervisors, but there has been much discussion of what sex these supervisors are, and whether they are external to the groups or drawn from within their ranks. There appears to be evidence, however, that the *DA*s attached to similar groups at Thebes are male (*TT* II.92), which makes it likely that the same holds good at Pylos and Knossos; and it is possible that a *TA*, who receives the same allocation as an adult woman on the *Ab* tablets, is female, though we also have evidence for a man's ration of T 2 at Mycenae (Au 658). It is still unclear, however, whether if *TA* is a woman she is external to the group or one drawn from it who is given an extra T 2 in respect of her supervisory duties. For a survey of the debate on the two signs, see Killen 1983d.

DA Male supervisor

TA Female supervisor

* The ration figures on the *Ab* tablets are based on an allocation of T 2, of both wheat and figs, for each adult woman and of T 1 for each child. It is difficult to doubt that this is a monthly ration. **93** = PY Fn 7 shows rations for male workers which are calculated on both a daily and a monthly basis (*o-pi-me-ne*, *opi mēnei* 'per month'), and the monthly figures there (T 3.75 per man) are comparable with the woman's ration here. Moreover, as we noted above, the label Wa 114, found with the 'minor' set of *Aa* tablets and written in the same hand (S240 H 1) as the 'major' set, contains the term *me-ni-jo*, which is likely to be *mēnion* and mean 'monthly ration' (Chadwick 1958b.2) or 'monthly statement', which would again point to monthly rationing.

GRA WHEAT

NI FIGS

* We cannot be certain whether a fig ration was given every month or only occasionally, including in the month currently being dealt with. It may be significant that ration records for women at Knossos show only wheat, and that the rationing record Fg 368 at Pylos, where the recipient is the woman *ke-sa-da-ra*, records figures of WHEAT 5̣ FIGS 5, whereas Fg 828, which deals with the same woman, lists only WHEAT 5.

D Rations of figs are not unknown in antiquity. Two Cretan inscriptions (*Inscr. Cret*. IV, 79 and 144) give yearly rations (possibly for a group) which include 100 *medimni* of figs and 200 *medimni* of barley; cf. also IV, 77. Cato (*Agr*. 56) recommends a reduction in the ration of bread for slaves 'when they start eating figs'.

* There has been much debate over the years about the status of these women. The view offered in *Documents*[1] and *Documents*[2], that they are fully dependent, 'virtually if not legally slaves' (Chadwick 1988.92), has been challenged, first by Tritsch (1958) and more recently by Uchitel (1984a) and in part by de Fidio (1987.138). These scholars suggest, either that they are recently arrived refugees who are currently being assigned work at Pylos (Tritsch), or that they are non-fully dependent corvée workers (Uchitel, de Fidio: though the latter suggests this for only some of the groups). We can almost certainly reject Tritsch's suggestion: the existence of closely similar groups at Knossos suggests that the Pylos women are part of the normal, standing workforce of the palace, not exceptional groupings; and analogies from Knossos also undermine Tritsch's argument that the lack of a trade-name on some of the records shows that the women in question do not currently have an occupation. (The same holds good for many of the records of women in the *Ak* series at Knossos, who we know from the *Lc*(*1*) and *Le* records to have been active workers in the textile industry there: see Section 2, pp. 437–44.) A slightly stronger case can be made for seeing some of the women, if not all, as part-time corvée workers who have sources of livelihood other than the palace, though fed by the centre during their service. It is likely that there were some female corvée workers at Pylos who were involved in textile production, as many of the *Aa*, *Ab* women were; one of the records from the Megaron area, Ae 634, which is written in the same scribal hand as many of the cloth records from this location, qualifies women as *o*(*-pe-ro*) 'missing', and persons so indicated are a regular feature of corvée records elsewhere in the archives. Yet none of the much more numerous women on the *Aa* and *Ab* tablets are noted as *o*; and there are a number of other pieces of evidence which point to the conclusion that these are fully dependent workers, though none can be regarded as finally conclusive. These are as follows.

* First, the term *ra-wi-ja-ja*, found as a description of the group on Aa 807 (see also **12** = Ad 686), is plausibly interpreted as *lāwiaiai* 'captives, prisoners of war': which in turn has led to the suggestion that the women described as Milesian, Knidian, etc. elsewhere in the series are not so much captives as slaves purchased

in those areas (Chadwick 1988.92). Though this interpretation is merely an 'etymological' one, prisoners of war are regularly attested as members of comparable textile and other workgroups in the ancient Near East (Gelb 1972b.2–3), and none of the alternative suggestions, that the term is a derivative of λήιον 'cornfield' meaning 'harvesters' or the like (Tritsch 1958.428, Uchitel 1984a.275) or of λαός 'people, host' meaning 'workers of λαός land' (Heubeck 1969.543) or that it is an ethnic (Palmer, *Interpretation* 114, 121, 452), carry particular conviction. There are no other references to agricultural workers in the *Aa*, *Ab* series, and no obvious interpretation as an ethnic suggests itself.

* Second, the term *do-e-ra*, whose Classical continuant is δούλη 'slave', is found on two tablets at Knossos which are likely to relate to female workers in the textile industry there, the records of whom in the *Ak* series have many characteristics in common with the *Aa*, *Ab* records, and are likely therefore to be concerned with women of similar status (see Section 2). On **22** = *Ai*(*3*) 824, which though not certainly a record of textile workers has many features in common with the *Ak* tablets, thirty-two women of an 'owner' *a-pi-qo-i-ta* are described as *do-e-ra*; and the term also appears on Ap 628, which lists *do-e-ra* of various 'owners' and is written by scribe 103, the scribe *par excellence* of the Knossos textile industry. Though some *do-e-ra* and *do-e-ro* (masc.) in the Mycenaean world, such as the 'servants of the god' on the Pylos landholding records, are clearly of relatively high status (cf. Finley 1957a.158), others are clearly chattel-slaves, as witness the records of purchases of *do-e-ro*, *do-e-ra* in the *Ai*(*3*) and *B* series at Knossos (see **30** = B 822); and the (unnamed) *do-e-ra* on these two records seem likelier to fall into the latter category than the former.

* Third, as has often been observed (see e.g. Lentsman 1963.144–90, Gelb 1972b.3, Killen 1979b.133), there are remarkably close similarities between the women-and-children workgroups at Pylos and Knossos and the many women-and-children (*gemé-dumu*) workgroups recorded in ancient Mesopotamian archives. Like most of the Mycenaean workers, many of these Mesopotamian workgroups are involved in textile production, in their case in temple and palace workshops, as well as in milling, another of the professions mentioned on the *Aa*, *Ab* tablets (*me-re-ti-ri-ja*, *me-re-ti-ra*$_2$, *meletriai*); and many of the features of the records which list them (the recording of rations for the groups, the preponderance of girls over boys among the children, the references to workgroup supervisors, etc.) are also characteristics of the Mycenaean texts. Given these resemblances, it is tempting to suppose that the women who make up these groupings in the two areas are of closely similar status: as Gelb (1976.202) has put it, 'anybody who has only glanced at the Mycenaean ration lists and lists of personnel finds so many parallels with the corresponding early Mesopotamian texts that one is almost forced to the conclusion that the same, or at least a very similar, type of labor class must have existed in both areas'. It may be significant therefore that,

while Uchitel (1984a) has argued that the women on Mesopotamian records are best explained as part-time, corvée workers, most scholars expert in this area think it more likely that they are fully dependent, and work for their institutions (palaces and temples) all the year round. See e.g. Gelb 1965, 1972a and b, 1976, Waetzoldt 1987, 1988.

* For a fuller account of the debate on status summarised above, see Killen 2006b.

* The *Ad* records of the adult sons of the *Aa*, *Ab* women are the work of a fourth writer, H 23, and cover both Provinces. Besides the sons (*ko-wo*, *korwoi*) who are denoted by the MAN sign, the records refer to *ko-wo* not so designated, who are clearly younger male children of the women who have recently been transferred from the women-and-children groupings. As Chadwick has shown (1988.67), if we combine the total of boys on these records with the total of boys on the corresponding *Aa* (or *Ab*) tablets where the figures are preserved, we arrive at a grand total of 261 boys, or virtually the same as the number of girls on the *Aa*, *Ab* texts (251).

* It is unclear how the males on the *Ad* tablets were employed. A superscript gloss on **10** = Ad 697 reads *e-re*[ ]*qe-ro-me-no*, and may refer to men 'willing to row' (*erehen* g^w*ēlomenoi*) or 'being rowers' (*eretai* k^w*elomenoi* = πελόμενοι), while a note on the edge of **11** = Ad 684 may describe the fathers of the men on that record as 'rowers at *a-pu-ne-we*'. In view of the connexions of many of the mothers of these males with textile production, it may be significant that on As(1) 5941 at Knossos, which is written by scribe 103 and is almost certainly therefore connected with the textile industry, the gloss *e-re-ta*, *eretās* 'rower', appears above three of the MAN entries on the tablet. Rowing, however, was doubtless only a seasonal activity, and was clearly combined in many cases with landholding (see Section 14, pp. 474–91). It is likely therefore that the 'sons' on the Ad tablets had some other occupation, and while they may all have held plots of land (see p. 300), some at least may have been involved in textile finishing processes, such as washing the completed cloth. There are many references to male *aslag* 'fullers' in ancient Mesopotamian textile records (see e.g. Waetzoldt 1972.168), and the men recorded by scribes 103 and 115 at Knossos may well have performed similar duties (Killen 1979a.167–68): see further **35** = As(1) 609. We should therefore have expected to find references to comparable workers at Pylos; apart from the men on the *Ad* tablets, however, no obvious candidates suggest themselves.

* On four *Ad* records the term *o*(*-pe-ro*), *o*(*phelos*) 'missing, owing', appears, twice erased (see Ad 679, Ad 690) and twice intact (see Ad 357, **9** = Ad 671). This suggests that the adult sons of the *Aa*, *Ab* workers had a different status from their mothers, and worked for the palace on a part-time, corvée basis. On the regular appearance of *o*(*-pe-ro*) entries on records of levies of (part-time) corvée workers like the Pylos *Ac* tablets, see pp. 460–61. As Gelb (1973.91–92) has noted, it was

common in early Mesopotamia to settle male prisoners of war on the land, so as to give them a stake in society and thus avoid uprisings; and there may have been a similar policy at Pylos with regard to the adult sons of the probably fully dependent women on the *Aa* and *Ab* tablets.

1 = Aa 62 (S60 H 4)

me-re-ti-ri-ja MUL 7 ko-wa 10 ko-wo 6

D/* *Seven* corn-grinding women, ten girls, six boys.

* A member of the 'minor' group of *Aa* tablets dealing with the Further Province. The absence of a place-name suggests that the group here is at Leuktron, as can be shown from the *Ad* tablets to be the case with similar records in the 'set', and this makes it likely that Ad 308, which mentions corn-grinding women at Leuktron, records the 'sons' of the same workers.

D/* *me-re-ti-ri-ja*: the identification of this word depends on the interpretation of *me-re-u-ro* as 'flour' in PY **178** = Un 718 (see Glossary, p. 988). Corn grinding is one of the tasks commonly undertaken by women; cf. γυνὴ … ἀλετρίς (*Od.* XX, 105) and the frequent references to women millers in early Mesopotamian texts (see e.g. Gelb 1976.199, Waetzoldt 1987.124). All the women on the *Aa*, *Ab* records who are involved in domestic, as distinct from 'industrial' work, including as millers, bath-pourers and 'servants' (*a-pi-qo-ro*, *amphik*^{w}*oloi* = ἀμφίπολοι), appear to be located either at Pylos or at Leuktron, viz. at the chief palatial centres in the two Provinces.

2 = Aa 240 (S240 H 1)

a-ra-ka-te-ja MUL 21 ko-wa 25 ko-wo 4 *TA* 1[

D Twenty-one spinning-women, twenty-five girls, four boys; one *TA*.

* A member of the 'major' *Aa* series dealing with the Hither Province. The corresponding *Ad* tablet, Ad 677, confirms that the group is at Pylos. Aa 89 records a further group of *a-ra-ka-te-ja*, in this case doubtless at Leuktron.

D/* *a-ra-ka-te-ja*: a derivative of ἠλακάτη 'distaff'.

3 = Aa 717 (S240 H 1)

ro-u-so , a-ke-ti-ri-ja MUL 32 ko-wa 18 ko-wo 8 *DA* 1 *TA* 1

D/* At Lousos: thirty-two women decorators (of cloth), eighteen girls, eight boys; one *DA*, one *TA*.

* *ro-u-so*: a place in the Hither Province, probably quite close to Pylos. Not Λουσοί in Arcadia. As often in these records, it is unclear whether the name is in the dative-locative or the nominative of rubric.

* *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*: very likely *askētriai* (< ἀσκέω) 'women decorators (of cloth)' (Killen 1979a.165–67). Though most of the women who are involved in highly specialised

textile production, as distinct from the probably more generalist *ri-ne-ja*, *lineiai* 'flax (or linen) workers', are located at either Pylos or Leuktron (Killen 1984b.58–59), this group of specialist finishers is at Lousos, which may have been a place that specialised in finishing work of various kinds; note the mention on the bronze-working record Jn 832 of a group of *a-ke-te-re*, perhaps *askētēres* and the masculine equivalent of *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*, at the same location (Killen 1984b.59–60).

4 = Aa 792 (S240 H 1)

ki-ni-di-ja MUL 21 ko-wa̤ 12 ko-wo 10 *DA* 1 *TA* 1

D Twenty-one Cnidian women, twelve girls, ten boys; one *DA*, one *TA*.

* A member of the 'major' *Aa* series; Ab 189, which records the rations for the group, and Ad 683, which lists the 'sons' of the women, both confirm that the group is at Pylos.

D/* *ki-ni-di-ja*: *Knidiai*, ethnic of Κνίδος. No occupation is mentioned on any of the three *Aa*, *Ab*, *Ad* records dealing with these women. **13** = An 292, however, where they are again mentioned, may reveal that they are *si-to-ko-wo*, *sītokhowoi* 'grain pourers' or *sītokowoi* 'grain superintendents': see pp. 436–37.

5 = Ab 379 (S186 H 21)

.A GRA 2 T 8 *TA DA*
.B e-u-de-we-ro MUL 8 ko-wa 2 ko-wo 3 *NI* 2 T 8

D At Eudewelos: eight women, two girls, three boys; 336 l. of wheat, 336 l. of figs; *TA*, *DA*.

D/D²/* *e-u-de-we-ro*: a Hither Province place-name, which recalls the Homeric epithet εὐδείελος. Strabo (IX, 415, 1) mentions Εὐδείελος as a name of Aspledon. García Ramón 2002 analyses *e-u-de-we-ro* as a possessive compound to **deu̯-elo/ā-* meaning 'having nice late afternoons', whence 'well distinct at sunset'. He then explains εὐδείελος as due to metrical lengthening for *εὐδεελος following the loss of the **-u̯-* of **/Eʰudewel-/*.

6 = Ab 553 (S186 H 21)

.A GRA 11 T 3 *DA TA*
.B pu-ro , re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo 37 ko-wa 13 ko-wo 15 *NI* 11 T 1

D/* At Pylos: thirty-seven <women> bath-pourers, thirteen girls, fifteen boys; 1332 l. of wheat, 1332 l. of figs; *TA*, *DA*.

D The tablet is remarkable for the omission of the ideogram for WOMEN before the numeral thirty-seven, clearly an oversight in view of the extreme regularity of this class.

D *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*: *lewotrokhowoi*, Hom. λοετροχόος (*Od.* XX, 297). Their number is not excessive if their duties included the carrying of all the water required in the household.

The apparent metathesis of the first two vowels is unexpected but not inexplicable. Ruipérez (1950) explains the disyllabic aorists of the type στορέσαι as arising from a metathesis of *στερόσαι. On this basis he is prepared to accept *λεϝόσαι > λοέσαι; thus the original base may have been λεϝο-. The same vowel order is shown by the adjective *re-wo-te-re-jo* **270** = Tn 996.

7 = Ad 670 (H 23)

e-u-de-we-ro , ri-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR 4 [

D/* At Eudewelos: four sons of the flax- or linen-workers.

* The text records the adult sons of the women at Eudewelos listed on **5** = Ab 379, who this tablet reveals are flax- or linen-workers.

D/* *ri-ne-ja-o*: *lineiāōn*, a derivative of λίνον.

8 = Ad 676 (H 23)

pu-ro re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo ko-wo VIR 22 ko-wo 11

D/* At Pylos: twenty-two sons of the bath-pourers, eleven boys.

* A record of the sons of the women bath-pourers at Pylos listed on **6** = Ab 553.

D *ko-wo*: this word is used on these tablets in two senses: (*a*) 'son (of)', (*b*) 'boy' (as opposed to grown man).

9 = Ad 671 (H 23)

.A ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o-qe *o* VIR 5̣

.B pu-ro , a-pu-ko-wo-koʟ⌋pa-ke-te-ja-o-qe VIR 3̣ ko-wo 4̣

D/* At Pylos: *three* <sons> of the headband-makers and the women of *Pa-ke-ta* (?) and the women of Karystios (?), *four* boys; deficit *five* men.

* A record of the sons of three groups of women, two of which we know from the *Aa*, *Ab* tablets: see Ab 210 (*a-pu-ko-wo-ko*), Aa 662, Ab 745, 746 (*pa-ke-te-ja*).

* *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*: *ampukworgōn*. Although we have evidence for leather headbands for horses on **300** = PY Ub 1315, the word is also used in Classical Greek to mean a headband worn by women (*Il.* XXII, 469), and this is more likely here, given the large number of textile workers recorded on these tablets (Chadwick 1988.78).

* *pa-ke-te-ja-o*, *ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o*: both these terms are probably best understood as possessive adjectives in *-e-jo* derived from personal names, indicating the ownership of the women (Killen 1983a.80). Such adjectives are common at Knossos, e.g. *pe-ri-qo-te-jo* < MN *pe-ri-qo-ta*, and probably recur elsewhere in the present series, e.g. *we-we-si-je-ja* Aa 762, Ab 217, probably < MN *we-we-si-jo* (a name at Knossos) and *a-so-qi-je̤-ja̤* Ad 689, probably, if the reading is correct, < MN *a-so-qi-jo* (KN B(5) 803.2). *Pa-ke-te-ja* can readily be explained as a derivative of this type from the MN *pa-ke-ta* (KN U 4478.21); an alternative explanation, that it is an occupational term derived from *pa-ko-to* PY **260** = Ta 709.1, the name of a vessel, is less convincing, particularly since the parallel *ka-ru-ti-je-ja* can also

readily be explained as a possessive, in this case derived from a man's name **ka-ru-ti-jo*, equivalent to the ethnic Καρύστιος. *Ka-ru-ti-je-ja* can hardly itself be an ethnic (Palmer, *Interpretation* 114), since no known ethnic in Mycenaean has this ending (Ruijgh, *Études* 99).

* *o*: on the 'deficit' entries on the *Ad* tablets, here in the abbreviated form *o* (= *o-pe-ro*), see Introduction pp. 431–32.

10 = Ad 697 (H 23)

.a e-re[ ]qe-ro-me-no
da-mi-ni-jaɹ.ɹi̤-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR

D/* At Damnia: sons of the flax- or linen-workers; *serving as rowers*.

* *da-mi-ni-ja*: Aa 96, where the name is plausibly restored, probably shows that this is a place in the Further Province. It may be significant, in view of the possible reference to rowing on the record (see next note), that *da-mi-ni-jo*, men of *da-mi-ni-ja*, are mentioned on **53** = An 610.13, which is a list of rowers.

* *e-re*[ ]*qe-ro-me-no*: as we have noted in the Introduction, it is tempting to restore this gloss either as *e-re-e qe-ro-me-no*, *erehen gʷēlomenoi* 'willing to row', or as *e-re-ta qe-ro-me-no*, *eretai kʷelomenoi* 'becoming (or being) rowers' (cf. Hom. πέλομαι). The second is perhaps the likelier restoration (Chadwick 1988.87–88): the *ē* grade of the verb 'to wish' is found only in West Greek and Aeolic, and the absence of a numeral after the MAN ideogram could be explained if the men were currently absent on rowing service.

11 = Ad 684 (H 23)

Latus superius

a-pu-ne-we e-re-ta-o ḳo̤-wo

Recto

pu-ro ti-nwa-ti-ja-o i-te-ja-o ko-wo VIR 5 ko-wo 2

D OBVERSE

At Pylos: five sons of the *Ti-nwa*-tian *weavers*, two boys.

UPPER EDGE

Sons of rowers at *A-pu-ne-we*.

D/* *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o*: a variant spelling of *ti-nwa-si-ja*, the ethnic used to describe the mothers of these men and boys on Aa 699, Ab 190. In common with the other ethnics found as descriptions of women in the *Aa*, *Ab*, *Ad* series, *t.* is derived from a place-name which is not attested on the records, though the ethnic recurs on **208** = Jo 438.21 as the description of a *ko-re-te*. On the problems in locating this place in the main Pylian kingdom, and for the suggestion that it may have been a frontier area loosely attached to the kingdom or even an 'overseas' possession, see Chadwick 1988.83.

D/* *i-te-ja-o*: probably *histeiāōn*, a derivative with the suffix *-eia* from ἱστός. If so, it probably means 'weaver' (cf. ἱστουργός) rather than 'maker of looms'. The masculine equivalent may be attested by *i-ṭe-ẇe̤* **345** = Un 1322.

D/* *a-pu-ne-we e-re-ta-o ko-wo*: *a-pu-ne-we* is probably a variant of the place-name *a-po-ne-we* mentioned on **52** = An 1.6, **53** = An 610.10, in both cases as providing rowers. Though the syntax is odd ('At *a-pu-ne-we*: sons of the rowers'), this entry on the edge of the tablet appears to provide us, exceptionally for these records, with a note of who the fathers of the men and boys are: possibly some of the same rowers as are listed on **52** = An 1, **53** = An 610.

12 = Ad 686 (H 23)

.a o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-[.] , ka-wo-ta-ra-[ ]-p̣o-ṛo
pu-ro ke-re-za , ra-wi-ja-ja-o⌊ko-wo VIR 15

D/* At Pylos, *in the Cretan quarter*, fifteen sons of the *captives*; K... did not present himself.

* *ke-re-za*: since this is not a genitive plural, it cannot be *Krētsai* 'Cretan' and part of the description of the women. Evidently some sub-division of Pylos: *Krētsā* < **Krētyā* 'the Cretan quarter'??

* *ra-wi-ja-ja-o*: for discussion of the meaning of this term, see Introduction.

* *o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-*[.] , *ka-wo-ta-ra-*[ ]-*p̣o-ṛo*: the first term is attractively restored as *o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-to*, *ou parogeneto* 'did not present himself' (*Documents*[1]); indeed, Bennett (1992.116) reads the last sign as a possible *to*. What follows it remains obscure. Killen (1999c.345) reads the fifth sign as a doubtful *to* and suggests a division as *ka-wo-ta ra-to-p̣o-ṛo*, taking the first term as a personal name and comparing the second with]*ra-to-po-ro* on TI Al 7.8, KN X 5513. It is uncertain, however, whether the latter is complete at the beginning at Tiryns and is even to be read at all at Knossos (Killen ibid.), and a division as *ka-wo ta-ra-ṭo-p̣o-ṛo* also remains possible.

13 = An 292 (S240 H 1)

.1 si-to-ko-wo
.2 ka-pa-ra$_2$-de MUL 24 ko-wo 10
.3 ḳọ-ro-ki-ja[ ] MUL 8 ko-wo[
.4 ki-ni-di[-ja MUL] 21 ḳọ[-wo

D/* Grain-*dispensers*: twenty-four *Ka-pa-ra$_2$-de* women, ten boys; eight *Ko-ro*-kian women, *x* boys; twenty-one Cnidian women, *x* boys.

* *si-to-ko-wo*: usually interpreted as *sītokhowos*, comparing Greek σιτομέτρης and *Od.* II, 380 γρηὺς … δέ οἱ ἄλφιτα χεῦεν, though the second element might alternatively be *-kowos*, as in *e-pi-ko-wo*, *epikowos* 'watcher' (Gr. κοέω), giving a sense 'grain superintendent'. The translation above follows *Documents*[1] in taking the term as nominative plural and a description of the women listed beneath, who are also listed by the same scribe on Aa 788 (*ka-pa-ra$_2$-de*), Aa 354 (*ko-ro-ki-ja*) and Aa 792 (*ki-ni-di-ja*), where the numbers recorded are identical, except that the 'girl' and 'boy' entries are here subsumed in a single *ko-wo* entry. Chadwick (1962.342–43) has argued that the term is better taken as singular (dative or nominative of rubric) '(for) the grain-dispenser', i.e. that this is a note for the official

responsible for allocating rations to enable him to calculate how much to give to these groups. He bases this view on the number of women involved, which he feels is much too large for these all to have been grain-dispensers, particularly since he thinks that the tablet is incomplete at the bottom, and that mention of many other groups originally followed. Since Chadwick wrote, however, Av 104, which appears to record a minimum of forty-six male *si-to-ko-wo*, has been discovered at Thebes; and it is also now clear that An 292 is complete as it stands, since it has been cut or neatly broken along the rule at the bottom (*PoN* IV). It does not seem inconceivable therefore that the women here, none of whom is recorded elsewhere as having any other profession, are indeed grain-dispensers, or persons responsible for guarding grain.

D/* *ka-pa*$_2$*-ra-de*: probably a feminine ethnic in -άδες. The singular *ka-pa-ra*$_2$ on KN Ak(1) 5009 appears to be a man's name based on the same term.

D *ko-ro-ki-ja*: probably another feminine ethnic. Hardly from κρόκος or κρόκη (acc. κρόκα Hsych.).

2. WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT KNOSSOS (Ai, Ak, Ap)[b]

* Although they are much more fragmentary, the tablets in the *Ai* and *Ak* series at Knossos have many features in common with the *Aa*, *Ab* records at Pylos, and clearly record a closely comparable workforce. Like the *Aa*, *Ab* tablets, they record (unnamed) women and children, with girls listed before boys; as at Pylos, many of the groups are accompanied by *TA* and *DA*, who are almost certainly supervisors; and as at Pylos there is evidence that the groups received rations from the palace (see p. 439). There are, however, some minor differences between the sites. First, while it is clear that many at least of the Knossos women are involved in textile production, like their counterparts at Pylos (see p. 438), we have no evidence for domestic workers, like millers and bath-pourers, there, nor is a large part of the workforce concentrated at Knossos itself. Second, at Knossos boys and girls are regularly sub-divided into 'older' (*me-zo-e*, *medzohes*) and 'younger' (*me-wi-jo-e*, *me-u-jo-e*, *meiwyohes*). Third, there is much use of abbreviations at Knossos, many at least of which appear to give details of the state of training of the women and children (see pp. 438–39).

* The great majority of the women and children records are classed as *Ak*, and fall into three sub-groups, written by different scribes. The largest sub-group, the *Ak*(*1*) records, is the work of scribe 103, the major scribe of the textile industry at Knossos. The smaller groups, *Ak*(*2*) and *Ak*(*3*), are the work of scribes 108 and 102 respectively. Though there are some differences in scribal practice between the three writers – scribe 102, for instance, writes in full the term *di-da-ka-re* (see p. 441) which his two colleagues always abbreviate to *di* – these are

[b] *Documents*[1] 162–64, *Documents*[2] 419, *Interpretation* 124–26, *Textos* 28. Studies: Killen 1966b (links with *Lc*(*1*) records), 1966a (abbreviation *tu*, function of *Ap* records), 1972 (*Ak* 'sets', abbreviations *ne*, *pa*, *pe*, *za*), 1991 (function of *Ap* records).

very minor, and we can effectively regard the *Ak* tablets as forming a single 'set' of records.

* The *Ak* tablets begin with a description of the women being listed. Most of these are of types already familiar from Pylos. First, many of the groups are described by means of an ethnic adjective: in the case of Knossos always derived from a Cretan place-name, and probably indicating where the group is currently located, rather than its original provenance, as with the ethnics on the *Aa*, *Ab* tablets. See e.g. *ri-jo-ni-ja* **16** = Ak(1) 624, from the Cretan place-name *ri-jo-no*. Second, a group can be described by means of an occupational term, e.g. *ạ-ra-ka-te-ja* Ak(1) 5009, *ālakateiai* 'distaff-women', 'spinners', a term also found at Pylos. Third, a group can be described in terms of an 'owner': either, as apparently also at Pylos, by means of a possessive in *-e-ja* (exceptionally in *-i-ja*) derived from the 'owner's' name, or by means of the name itself, quoted in the nominative (of rubric) or the genitive. For examples, see *da-te-we-ja* **15** = Ak(1) 612, probably < 'owner's' name *da-te-wa* (Killen 1983a.78–79),]*we-ra-ti-ja* **19** = Ak(3) 784, probably < 'owner's' name *we-ra-to* (Killen 1983a.82–83),]*a-no-qo-ta* Ak(2) 615, a MN also found in the nominative and genitive in the 'owner' position on Knossos *Dq* sheep tablets, *we-we-si-jo-jo* Ak(2) 622, a name also frequent as that of an 'owner' on sheep tablets. In some cases, an 'owner's' name is accompanied by a place-name, e.g. *da-*22-to a-no-zo-jo* **17** = Ak(2) 627; a place-name or ethnic can also accompany an occupational term, e.g. *a-mi-ni-so e-ne-re-ja*[Ak(1) 638, *da-wi-ja ne-ki-ri-de* Ak(3) 780.

* We have clear evidence that many at least of the groups which are identified by an ethnic or 'owner' reference alone are workers in the textile industry, like the *a-ra-ka-te-ja*, *e-ne-re-ja* and *ne-ki-ri-de* mentioned above, this page. (For discussion of the meaning of the last two terms, see Glossary.) Among the many other tablets written by the scribe of the *Ak(1)* records, scribe 103, are the *Lc(1)* records of cloth and wool; and it can be shown that these set out the targets for cloth production for many of the same women as are dealt with in the *Ak* series (Killen 1966b). A number of the descriptions of women in the *Ak* series recur on the *Lc(1)* records; and although few records in either series are complete, making comparison between them difficult, **15** = Ak(1) 612 lists nine women described as *da-te-we-ja*, while Lc(1) 540 almost certainly records a target of nine units of cloth for a group of the same description, which makes it difficult to doubt that these are the same women in both cases.

* The main group of women on an *Ak* text is often accompanied by one or more smaller sub-groups, distinguished by means of a word written in full (e.g.]*ḍẹ-di-ku-ja* **14** = Ak(1) 611) or by one or more abbreviations (e.g. *de* Ak(1) 610, *pe di* **18** = Ak(2) 616) or by a word and an abbreviation combined (e.g. *di-da-ka-re pe* Ak(3) 783). Children may also be noted as *de* or *di* (e.g. Ak(1) 610, Ak(1) 624). These words and abbreviations evidently relate in some cases to the training of the

women, and may do so in all cases. *Di-da-ka-re* is plausibly explained as *didaskalei*, a locative of the type of οἴκει, meaning 'at the teacher's, under instruction' (Ventris); and although Chantraine (1957.243–44) has suggested that *de-di-ku-ja* is the perf. pple. of the root of δείκνυμι, 'assigned (to work)', the parallel with *di-da-ka-re* suggests that VC's alternative explanation, that it is an error for *dedidakhuiai* 'having (recently) completed instruction' is probably to be preferred. (For this sense of the perfect, see Ruijgh 1991.208 (=1996b.667).) As regards the abbreviations, *di* seems certain to stand for *di-da-ka-re* and *de* for *de-di<-da?>-ku-ja*; and since it can be shown that *pe di* and *di za* occur only on tablets by scribe 108 (e.g. **18** = Ak(2) 616) and *pa di* and *ne di* only on tablets by scribe 103 (e.g. Ak(1) 614, Ak(1) 624), it is attractive to conclude that these are equivalents, and to suggest that *pe* stands for *perusinwai* 'last year's' and *za* for *za-we-te-ra*, *tsāwe(s)terai* 'this year's', while *pa* abbreviates *palaiai*, literally 'old', but here indicating 'last year's', and *ne newai* 'new, this year's', in all cases referring to the length of time that the women in question have been (adult) members of their workgroup (Killen 1972.433–40). The abbreviation *au*, only attested on Ak(2) 617, remains enigmatic.

* Though most of our evidence for the rationing of women workers at Knossos comes from the fragmentary *Ai(2)* texts, which list women, children and wheat rations, there are also indications that the women and children on the *Ak* tablets received food from the palace. First, E 847 records rations for three groups of workers, one of which, the women of the 'owner' *a-no-qo-ta*, is likely to be the same as the group of this description on Ak(2) 615 (cf. Godart, Killen and Olivier 1970.153). Second, an entry on the edge of Ak(2) 613 relates to a commodity recorded in dry measure, which it is difficult to believe is not a ration, presumably of wheat, figs or olives. It is also likely to be significant that the three *E(2)* tablets, **90** = E(2) 668, E(2) 669 and E(2) 670, which record large quantities of wheat and olives, are the work of scribe 103, the major scribe of the textile industry. These texts probably record food due to be distributed to the textile workforce – though this included men as well as women (see pp. 453–54).

* See above, pp. 429–31, on the question of the socio-economic status of the *Ak* workers.

14 = Ak(1) 611 (103)

.1 to-te-ja , *TA* 2 '*DA* 1' MUL 10[ ]de̤-di-ku-ja MUL 1[
.2 ko-wa , / me-zo-e 4 [ ] ko-wo , / me-wi-jo 1[
.3 *vacat* [

D/* Women *x*-workers: 2 *TA*, 1 *DA*; ten (+ ?) women; one (+ ?) (recently) trained woman; four older girls, one (+ ?) younger boy.

* *to-te-ja*: most likely an occupational term, rather than a possessive based on an 'owner's' name; if the sign-group *to-te-we-ja-se-we* MY Oe 106.1 is to be divided *to-te-we ja-se-we*,

the first term could be the masculine equivalent (dat. sing.) (Ruijgh, *Études* 252–53). The absence of a place-name may mean that the group is at Knossos itself.

TA, *DA*: on these signs, probably denoting workgroup supervisors, see above, p. 428.

*]*de̤-di-ku-ja*: on this term, see Introduction.

* *me-zo-e*, *me-wi-jo*: the distinguishing of 'older' and 'younger' children may be because age determined what work, if any, a child carried out and/or what rations he or she received. On the rations given to children in early Mesopotamian workshops, see Waetzoldt 1987.132–35; there, children received 10 litres of barley per month up to about the age of 5, 15 litres between 5 and 10 and 20 litres between 13 and 15. Waetzoldt suggests that children are likely to have begun working at around 5 or 6 years of age.

15 = Ak(1) 612 (103)

.A *TA* 1 '*DA* 1' MUL 9
.B ko-wa , / me-zo 1 ko-wa / me-u-jo 1
.C da-te-we-ja / ko-wo / me-zo 1 ⟦ko̤-wo̤ / me̤- ⟧

* Women of *Da-te-wa*: one *TA*, one *DA*; nine women; one older girl, one younger girl, one older boy.

* *da-te-we-ja*: as noted above, probably a possessive based on the man's name *da-te-wa* KN V(2) 147 (Killen 1983a.78–79). On the connexion between this record and Lc(1) 540, also by scribe 103, where *da-te-we-ja* again stands in initial position, see p. 438.

16 = Ak(1) 624 (103)

.1 ri-jo-ni-ja , *TA* [ ] '*DA* [ ]'[
.2 *ne di* 3 ko-wa , / me-zo-e [
.3 ko-wo , *di* 3 ko-wo , / me-zo-e ḷ[

D/* *Ri-jo*-nian women: *x TA*, *x DA* …; three *this year's* women under instruction; *x* older girls …, three boys under instruction, *x* older boys ….

D/* *ri-jo-ni-ja*: feminine ethnic of the place-name *ri-jo-no* (Ap 629, etc.). Lc(1) 529, which again concerns *ri-jo-ni-ja*, records the cloth production target for the group.

* *ne di*, *di*: on the meaning of these abbreviations, see Introduction. Since *ne di*, to judge by its position on the records, seems only to be applied to adult women, with the WOMAN ideogram always omitted, we should doubtless also understand MUL(ier) here. It is unclear which occupation the *di* boys on l. 3 were being apprenticed in. It can hardly have been as *te-pe-ja*, makers of *te-pa* cloth, which Lc(1) 529 shows was their mother's craft, since we have no evidence for male makers of *te-pa*. One possibility is that they were apprentice finishers, which is likely to have been the occupation of many of the men recorded in textile contexts at Knossos (see pp. 418, 453–54); if so, however, we might have expected them to have been recorded with a male grouping, like the boys recorded with men on **34** = Am(2) 819 and V(3) 482, which since it is in hand 115 is likely to deal with textile workers (see p. 738).

17 = Ak(2) 627 (108)

.1 da-*22-to , / a-no-zo-jo *TA* 1 '*DA* 1' MUL[ ]9 *pe di* 2
.2 ko-wa / me-zo-e 7 ko-wa / me-wi-jo-e 10
.3 ko-wo / me-zo-e 2 ko-wo / me-wi-jo-e 10

D/* At *Da-*22-to*: women of *A-no-zo*; one *TA*, one *DA*; nine (+ ?) women; two *last year's* women under instruction; seven older girls, ten younger girls, two older boys, ten younger boys.

* *da-*22-to*: from its associations elsewhere on the records, it seems likely that this is a place in the more westerly part of central Crete: see p. 259.

* *pe di*: for the suggestion that *pe di* on tablets in hand 108 is the equivalent of *pa di* on tablets in hand 103, see Introduction.

18 = Ak(2) 616 (108)

.1]36 *pe* '*di*' MUL 2 *di* '*za*' MUL 2 [
.2 me-]u-jo-e 8
.3] me-u-jo-e 13

* … thirty-six (+ ?) (women); two *last year's* women under instruction; two *this year's* women under instruction ...; ... eight younger (girls ?), … thirteen younger (boys ?).

* *di za*: for the suggestion that *di za* on tablets in hand 108, here contrasted with *pe di*, is the equivalent of *ne di* on tablets in hand 103, see Introduction.

19 = Ak(3) 784 (102)

.1]we-ra-ti-ja [ ]2
.2]me-zo-e , di-da-ka-re[ ]11
.3]me-zo-e , di-da-ka-re[ ]15

* … *x* women of *We-ra-to*; … two (+ ?) … women (?); …*x* older girls (?) under instruction, … eleven … (girls ?), … *x* older boys (?) under instruction, … *fifteen* … (boys ?).

*]*we-ra-ti-ja*: probably complete and an alternative form of the possessive *we-ra-te-ja*, attested as a description of women, very likely members of the same group as is dealt with here, on **20** = Ap 618 in hand 103 (Killen 1983a.82–83). The name]*we-ra-to*, from which this description may well be derived, is attested on De 1136, where it is almost certainly complete.

*]*me-zo-e di-da-ka-re*: since older girls and boys are never additionally described as *di* on records in hands 103 and 108, this appears to be scribe 102's method of writing what scribe 103 at least writes as *ko-wa di*, *ko-wo di*, referring to young persons senior to older girls and boys.

20 = Ap 618 (103)

.1 a-pe-a-sa / i-ta-mo , 'do-ti-ja' , MUL 1 ki-nu-qa
'*56-ko-we' MUL 1 [
.2 ṭị-wa-ti-ja / a-*79 'a-no-qo-ta' MUL 3[ ] ko-ma-we-to
MUL 2 we-ra-te-ja MUL 2 [

* Absent women: at *Do-ti-ja*, *I-ta-mo*; at **56-ko-we*, *Ki-nu-qa*; *Ti-wa*-tian *women* – (supervisor ?) the woman *A-*79* – in the ownership of *A-no-qo-ta*, three (+ ?) women; women of (the 'owner') *Ko-ma-we*, two women; women of (the 'owner') *We-ra-to*, two women.
* This is one of three records in hand 103 dealing with various sub-categories of women and children which in most cases are also mentioned on the *Ak* tablets. The others are: (a) Ap 629, which lists (i) women qualified as *tu*, perhaps *tu-ka-te*, *thugatēr* 'daughter, young woman' (Killen 1966a) (ii) women qualified as *ne di* and (iii) children; and (b) Ap 5876, which deals with children under instruction (*di*). Their function is evidently either to correct information given on individual *Ak* tablets (Killen 1966a) or, perhaps more likely, to collect it together, with appropriate changes where the details have altered (Killen 1991).

* *a-pe-a-sa*: *apehassai*, nom. plur. fem. participle. Though the masculine equivalent *a-pe-o-te*, *apehontes*, is used on **54** = PY An 724 of men absent from obligatory corvée service as rowers, and the verb *a-pe-e-si*, *apehensi* 'they are absent' probably appears on An 614, which is also likely to relate to corvée service (see pp. 480–91 on the *An* 'coastguard' records), the presence of this term here and on the probably related Ak(2) 615 (see below, this page) is not necessarily an indication that the women on the *Ak* records are part-time corvée workers. There is evidence in early Mesopotamian records for the practice of deploying the almost certainly fully dependent women weavers, etc. in state and temple workshops for temporary, seasonal work elsewhere (as sheep-shearers, etc.) (Waetzoldt 1987.127, 1988.35); and it is possible that the absences here result from similar re-deployment of full-time employees.
* *ṭị-nwa-ti-ja a-*79* '*a-no-qo-ta*': this lemma is puzzling. The suprascript *a-no-qo-ta* clearly identifies the *Ak* group from which the three 'absent' women in the entry are missing, viz. the group of the 'owner' *a-no-qo-ta* recorded on Ak(2) 615 (note the mention of 'absent' women there also, though in much larger numbers than here (24[+ ?]). But what of *ṭị-wa-ti-ja* and *a-*79*? *A-*79* recurs as a woman's name on MY Oe 123, and *ṭị-wa-ti-ja* might be another. However, although the entries on l. 1 do quote the names of the 'absent' women, there are three (+ ?) women in the entry here, not two. Therefore is *ṭị-wa-ti-ja* perhaps an otherwise unattested ethnic qualifying the three women (compare the Pylian ethnic *ti-nwa-ti-ja* / *ti-nwa-si-ja* and the possessive adjective *we-ra-te-ja* qualifying the women in the third entry on the line); and is *a-*79* the name of the woman supervisor of the group??
* *ko-ma-we-to*: gen. of the MN *ko-ma-we*, like *a-no-qo-ta* the name of a prominent 'collector' at Knossos (see pp. 503–07). Though not mentioned on the surviving *Ak* tablets, the women weavers of *ko-ma-we* also appear on Le 5629 (h. 103), which locates them at Phaistos.

* *we-ra-te-ja*: doubtless a variant form of the possessive]*we-ra-ti-ja*, 'women of *we-ra-to*', attested on **19** = Ak(3) 784.

21 = Ai 739 (207?)

.1 ra-su-to , 'a-ke-ti-ri-ja' MUL 2
.2 ko-wa 1 ko-wo 1

D/* At *Lasunthos*: two women decorators (of cloth), one girl, one boy.

* *ra-su-to*: a place, perhaps in the south-central region of Crete (McArthur 1993.241–42), possibly to be identified with the modern Lasithi (Driessen 2001.100, who refers to an inscription from the Symi sanctuary which mentions a tribe of Λασυνθίων, cf. Kritzas 2000). The ethnic *ra-su-ti-jo* on the cloth record L(9) 761 evidently refers to men from this place: cf. *ra-je-we*, the nom. plur. masc. ethnic derived from *ra-ja*, a place evidently in the same area as *ra-su-to* (McArthur ibid.), in parallel position on L(9) 7400.

* *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*: for discussion of this term, also spelt *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ at Pylos and *a-ze-ti-ri-ja* at Knossos, see **3** = PY Aa 717.

22 = *Ai(3)* 824 (-)

.1 a-pi-qo-i-ta / do-e-ra MUL 32 ko-wa , me-zo-e 5
ko-wa me-wi-jo-e 15
.2 ko-wo me-wi-jo-e 4

D Amphik^{w}hoitas: thirty-two female slaves, five older girls, fifteen younger girls, four younger boys.

* Though not in the same hand as any of the *Ak* tablets, this text is closely similar to those records in content and format, and may well record a comparable work-group, perhaps in the textile industry.

D/* *a-pi-qo-i-ta*: only here in this spelling: elsewhere *a-pi-qo-ta* (C(2) 915, etc.). The name of the 'owner' of the women, quoted in the nominative of rubric; cf.]*a-no-qo-ta* Ak(2) 615. The reference on C(2) 915 may be to the same 'owner' (cf. Killen 1994.76–77); note that that record also refers to a male slave or servant (*do-e-ro*) of *a-pi-qo-ta*.

* *do-e-ra*: *dohelai*. Though some *do-e-ra*, *do-e-ro* mentioned on the tablets, like the *te-o-jo do-e-ra*, *do-e-ro* on the Pylos *E* records, hold land, and thus can hardly be chattel-slaves, others are the subject of sales and purchases (see **30** = B 822) and are presumably therefore fully dependent. The unnamed *do-e-ra* here seem likelier to fall into the latter category than the former. There are also references to (unnamed) *do-e-ra* on Ap 628, which is in hand 103 and likely therefore to record textile workers, and possibly also on Ak(2) 7022 (h. 108): see ?*do-*]*e-ra* MUL[on l. 3. It would be dangerous, however, to conclude from this that all the women on the *Ak* tablets are likely to be *do-e-ra*, and hence very likely chattel-slaves, and that it is merely by chance that this is not normally indicated on the records. All three tablets just mentioned record women 'owned' by 'owners' (*a-pi-qo-i-ta* on *Ai(3)* 824, *a-ke-wo*,]*ro* and]*ne-o* on Ap 628 and *ḍo̤-ki* on Ak(2) 7022); and since records of *do-e-ra*, *do-e-ro* in Linear B normally include a reference to the 'owner' of the slaves/servants in question

(see further p. 447), it would seem highly unlikely that any of the many groupings on the *Ak* records which are described by means of an ethnic or trade-name, and not in terms of an 'owner', consist of or contain *do-e-ra* (Killen 1979b.133). Note that the numerous women-and-children workgroups in early Mesopotamian society contain relatively few chattel-slaves (*arád*, *sag*) (Gelb 1976.196), and that the great majority of the women, while still almost certainly fully dependent, are technically of a different status, perhaps semi-free (Waetzoldt 1987.119 n. 19).

3. MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT KNOSSOS (Ai, Am)[b]

* In contrast to the *Ak* records, where there is no mention of men accompanying the women, other than the mysterious reference to two men qualified as *pe* on Ak(3) 780, at least one tablet at Knossos records what appears to be a family, including the male partner: see **23** = Am(2) 827. Others, in the Ag series, also list a man, in most cases a woman (in one instance, two women) and – usually – at least one child, and probably have a similar explanation, though we cannot finally exclude the possibility that the man's name which precedes the VIR entry on these texts is the name of an 'owner' of workers, rather than the name of the man indicated by the ideogram, and that the man and woman or women are his slaves *vel sim.*, who are perhaps not related to each other. On the man's name on **24** = Ai(1) 63, which has a slightly different format, see below, this page.

23 = Am(2) 827 (-)

.1 si-mi-te-u VIR 1 a-wa-ti-ka-ra MUL 1 [
.2 ko-wo 1 [

* The man Smintheus, the woman *A-wa-ti-ka-ra*, one boy (son ?).

* *si-mi-te-u*: *Smintheus*. The epithet of Apollo in *Il.* I, 39, here used as a personal name; also probably on V(5) 1583 (*si̤-mi-te-u*).

24 = Ai(1) 63 ("124" b)

.a pe-se-ro-jo , e-e-si
.b MUL 1 ko-wa 1 ko-wo 1

D (The slaves ? family ?) of *Psellos* are: one woman (wife ?), one girl (daughter ?), one boy (son ?).

D/D[2] *pe-se-ro-jo*: perhaps *Psellolo*, though Ψελλός as a name is only late (as adj. Aesch.+); also on MY Ge 602.1

D/* *e-e-si*: *ehensi*, 3rd pers. plur. of pres. ind. of εἰμί. Like the introductory names on the *Ag* tablets (see Introduction), the phrase here is ambiguous, and may refer either to the partner of the woman or to the 'owner' of a group of slaves.

[b] *Documents*[1] 165, *Documents*[2] 419, *Interpretation* 125, *Textos* 28.

4. GROUPS OF WOMEN AT KNOSSOS (Ap)[b1]

* Whereas the *Ak* tablets each record women with a single occupation, the following tablet from Knossos lists small numbers of women of various descriptions.

25 = Ap 694 (-)

.1]ja , / ko-u-re-ja MUL 1[
.2]ka-ra-we MUL 1[
.3] a-ze-ti-ri-ja MUL 1[
.4] *vacat* [

* *ko-u-re-ja*: also at Knossos on Ak(1) 643, Lc(1) 550 and probably Lc(1) 548 (all h. 103) and on Lc(2) 581; a feminine trade-name derived from the cloth name (*pa-we-a*) *ko-u-ra*, widely attested on the Lc(1) 'production target' records (h. 103), where it is a relatively light or small fabric, and is always denoted by the 'plain' or unsurcharged form of the CLOTH ideogram. *ko-u-ra* is also attested at Pylos (La 623 reverse) and at Mycenae (L 710, where it is preceded by *pa-we-a*$_2$).

*]*ka-ra-we*: *grāwaes* 'old women'; also attested on Ap 5868, where the hand (103), like the parallel terms here, points to a textile context.

* *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*: very likely *askētriai* 'women decorators (of cloth)', viz. a variant spelling of *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*, *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ (see **3** = PY Aa 717, **21** = KN Ai 739). Also on KN E 777 reverse, Ln 1568 lower edge (h. 103), M(1) 683 (h. 103), Xe 544 (h. 103), Xe 657 (h. 103), X 7737.

5. GROUPS OF WOMEN AT PYLOS (Ae, An)[b2]

D/* Some lists from Pylos record groups of women without children; these are classified according to occupation or origin.

26 = Ae 303 (S8 H 42)

.a i-je-ro-jo
pu-ro , i-je-re-ja , do-e-ra , e-ne-ka , ku-ru-so-jo MUL 14[

D At Pylos: 14 (+ ?) female slaves of the priestess on account of sacred gold.

D *i-je-re-ja*: *hiereiās*. We find a woman named *e-ra-ta-ra* described as 'slave of the priestess' on **126** = Eo 224.6.

* *do-e-ra*: on the use and meaning of *dohelā* = δούλη in Mycenaean, see **22** = KN *Ai*(*3*) 824.

D *e-ne-ka*: *heneka*, despite the presumed *ἕνϝεκα of the etymologists.

D *ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo*: *khrusoio hieroio*. The nature of the transaction is obscure; were the slaves given to the priestess in return for some gold which had been offered? Or are they allocated to look after the gold ritual objects?

[b1] *Documents*[1] 165.

[b2] **26** = Ae 303: *Documents*[1] 166, *Interpretation* 127, *Textos* 22–23, *Anthology* 295–96. **27** = An 607: *Documents*[1] 166–68, *Documents*[2] 419–20, *Interpretation* 127–29, *Textos* 23–24. Studies: Bennett 1961 (incl. epigraphy), Deger-Jalkotzy 1973, Heubeck 1985.

27 = An 607 (H 1)

.a ja
.1 me-ta-pa , ke-ri-mi-ja , do-qe-ja , ki-ri-te-wi-
.2 do-qe-ja , do-e-ro , pa-te , ma-te-de , ku-te-re-u-pi̤
.3 MUL 6 do-qe-ja , do-e-ra , e-qe-ta-i , e-e-to ,
.4 te-re-te-we MUL 13
.5 do-qe-ja , do-e-ro , pa-te , ma-te-de , di-wi-ja , do-e-ra ,
.6 MUL 3 do-qe-ja , do-e-ra , ma-te , pa-te-de , ka-ke-u ,
.7 MUL 1 do-qe-ja , do-e-ra ma-te , pa-te-de , ka-ke-u ,
.8 MUL 3
.9 *vacat*
.10 *vacat*
.11 *KA*
.12 *vacat*
.13 *vacat*

* At Metapa, *in the ke-ri-mi-ja*: *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* women *of Do-qe-ja*. Six women, their father a slave *of Do-qe-ja* and their mother at *Ku-te-re-we*; thirteen women, slaves *of Do-qe-ja*, *have been sent* to the Followers *at Te-re-te-u*. Three women, their father a slave *of Do-qe-ja* and their mother a slave of Diwya; one woman, her mother a slave *of Do-qe-ja* and her father a smith; three women, their mother a slave *of Do-qe-ja* and their father a smith.

* Two epigraphical points should be noted at the outset. As Bennett (1961.6–9) has shown, the entries on ll. 5–8 were added after the rest of the text, and the numeral on l. 4 has been altered from 6 to 13, probably at the same time. This makes it plausible to suggest, as Bennett does, that the seven women on ll. 5–8 are included in the figure of 13 on l. 4; for the same suggestion, see previously *Documents*[1] 168. It is also possible, although it would again involve the assumption that the same women are recorded twice on the same tablet, that the figure on l. 4 includes the six women on ll. 2–3 (Bennett 1961.11); it is consistent with this suggestion that the entry on ll. 3–4 is of the same pattern as those on ll. 5–8.

D[2]/* *me-ta-pa*: Metapa, one of the nine chief places in the Hither Province.

* *ke-ri-mi-ja do-qe-ja ki-ri-te-wi-ja*: *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* recurs on **146** = Eb 321.A/**142** = Ep 704.4 as a description of a group of women landholders whose associations both there and elsewhere (see particularly KN Fp(2) 363) suggest they have connexions with cult. Since the term is here probably part of the heading of the tablet, and not part of the entry on l. 2 (Bennett 1961.8), it is likely to be a description of some or all of the women listed beneath. VC suggest that *ke-ri-mi-ja* and *do-qe-ja* are further such descriptions, quoted in asyndeton. Although, however, *ke-ri-mi-ja* recurs on KN **225** = Lc(1) 535, one of two totalling tablets for the *Lc(1)* cloth production target records in h. 103, where it might be a description of women weavers, other possibilities remain open. In particular, since Lc(1) 535 may be the totalling record for the targets set for workgroups 'owned' by 'collectors' (Olivier 1967b.91; for 'collectors', see pp. 503–07), it might be a feminine noun indicating

the type of workshop that 'collectors' (and divinities ?) 'owned', and the reference here might be to a workshop of this type at Metapa where the women are located (Heubeck 1985.63–65, who notes that the 'collector' *a-pi-me-de* at Pylos is also probably an *e-qe-ta*, 'Follower', and that Followers are mentioned on l. 3 of the tablet, perhaps as recipients of women: see below, this page). Again, while *do-qe-ja* could be explained as a feminine agent-noun derived from δόρπον 'dinner', which may possibly involve an Indo-European root *dork^{w}-* (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v. – note also the MN *do-qe-u* KN B(5) 804, which could be the corresponding masculine), it is perhaps easier to provide a coherent explanation of the record as a whole if we take it, not as a description of the women, but as the genitive of a goddess's name, as Palmer, Bennett and others have suggested: see below, next note.

* *do-qe-ja do-e-ra pa-te ma-te-de ku-te-re-u-p̣i*: this entry and those on ll. 5–8 evidently indicate the parentage of the women they concern; *pa-te ma-te-de* is clearly *patēr mātēr-de* 'the father is …, the mother is …'. Since it is the normal – perhaps invariable – practice on the tablets to state the 'ownership' of a *doulos* or *doulē* (cf. Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.75), and since the entry on ll. 5–6 mentions a slave of the goddess Diwya, it is tempting to take *do-qe-ja* in all these entries as a reference to another divine 'owner' (Palmer 1957b.566, Bennett 1961.10; cf. Adrados 1957), and not as a description of the women (see above). If it is, the purpose of these notes of parentage is presumably to indicate how the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* of Metapa mentioned in the heading come under the 'ownership' of *Do-qe-ja*: which in turn would explain why the father is mentioned first both in this entry and in that on ll. 5–6, but the mother first in the two final entries: it is through the parent who is a slave of *Do-qe-ja* that 'ownership' by the goddess is derived (Palmer, *Interpretation* 128).

* *ku-te-re-u-p̣i*: a place-name (instr. plur.) on Na 296, and presumably therefore also here: 'the mother is at *K*.' On the absence of evidence that the *-pi*, *-phi* (= -φι) termination in Mycenaean place-names ever has ablative force, see pp. 238-39; Glossary s.v. *po-to-ro-wa-pi*. There is no fully convincing explanation of the name. *Kuthēreuphi*, viz. an ethnic in -εύς < Κύθηρα, encounters the difficulty that ethnics with this ending are exceptionally rare in Mycenaean, and that *ku-te-ra*$_3$, probably *Kuthērai*, on the *Aa*, *Ab*, *Ad* tablets does not show it. But *Khutreuphi* < χυτρεύς 'maker of pots' (χύτρα) is also problematic, since the word is not attested earlier than Plato, and the standard Mycenaean term for 'potter' is *kerameus*.

* *do-qe-ja do-e-ra e-qe-ta-i e-e-to te-re-te-we*: if this entry applies to all the women dealt with on the tablet (see p. 446), it may give us the reason why the record as a whole has been compiled (Deger-Jalkotzy 1973.158). Though far from certainly interpreted, *e-e-to* may be a form of ἵημι, perhaps 3rd pers. plur. perf. pass. *hehentoi* 'they have been sent' (Palmer 1957b.566, Chantraine 1967a.19, Ruijgh, *Études* 365 n. 66); and there are examples elsewhere in the records of notes of the transfer of workers to particular workgroups/'owners' (e.g. **43** = An 1281). Here, the transfer would be to Followers (*e-qe-ta-i*, *hek^{w}etāhi*), on whom, see pp. 294–95.

* *te-re-te-we*: very uncertain, but possibly a place-name (Palmer 1957b.566, Bennett 1961.12); for the form, cf. the toponym *te-re-ne-we* **49** = An 18, *te-re-ne-wi-ja* An 852, Cr 868. Or a personal name or occupational term indicating an intermediary: 'to *T*. (or the *t*.) for the Followers'?

* *di-wi-ja*: *Diwyās*; also in the spelling *di-u-ja* on **309** = Tn 316 reverse 6. VC compare ΔιϝΙ[α] (= Magna Mater according to Meister) in a Pamphylian inscription (Schwyzer,

Dial. 686, 1). If *do-qe-ja* is also a divine name, both parents of the three women listed on ll. 5–6 will be slaves of a goddess; since, however, the daughters are slaves of *Do-qe-ja*, not *Di-wi-ja* 'the claim [to ownership] through the father is apparently decisive' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 128).

* *ka-ke-u*: *khalkeus* 'bronzesmith'.

6. GROUPS OF WOMEN AT MYCENAE (V)[b]

28 = V 659 (*61*)

.1 wo-di-de-ja , de-mi-ni-ja 1
.2 ma-no , a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-ka 2
.3 ri-su-ra , qo-ta-qe 2
.4 e-ri-tu-pi-na , te-o-do-ra-'qe' 2
.5 o-to-wo-wi-je tu-ka-te-qe 2
.6 a-ne-a_2 tu-ka-te-qe 2
.7 pi-ro-wo-na ki-ra-qe 2
.8 pṵ-ka-ro ke-ti-de-qe 2
.9]-ri-mo-qe 2
.10]ma-ta-qe 2
.11]*8̣2̣ 1
.12]qẹ 2
.13] *vac.*
inf. mut.

lat. dex.] , i-ri-[.]ị ke-ra-so , ki-ra-qe 2

* A tablet dealing with named women, mostly recorded in pairs, who may be workers in the textile industry (see p. 449).

D²/* *wo-di-je-ja*: a woman's name also found at Knossos and Pylos, probably *Wordieia* (cf. ῥόδον 'rose': Petruševski 1959.104).

D²/* *de-mi-ni-ja*: there is a striking parallel in PY Vn 851, a list of names each (as far as we can tell) with the numeral 1 or 2 and a check mark but no ideogram, headed by a line of which nothing remains but the word *de-mi-ni-ja* at the right. This is not followed by a numeral, which suggests that it is not another name. Notice that in the present record, too, *de-mi-ni-ja* cannot be a woman's name, since the numeral is 1 (i.e. *wo-di-je-ja*), and all lines containing two names have the second ending in *-qe*. The interpretation *demnia* = δέμνια 'beds' or 'bedding' imposes itself. Were these women requiring accommodation and being issued with bedding?

* Both here and on Vn 851 the numerals almost certainly refer to the beds, not the persons receiving them (cf. Chadwick, *MT* III.64). While MAN ideograms are sometimes not written in records of named personnel – as distinct from records of issues to personnel – at Knossos, and are also absent from the *Jn* records at Pylos even in cases

[b] *Documents*² 425–26, *Anthology* 289–94.

where no BRONZE is being issued, they are invariably present at Mycenae and elsewhere at Pylos, and WOMAN is always written in records of this type at all three sites. Note, too, that on Vn 851 *ma-so-ni-jo* (l. 13) is unlikely to be plural, given the certain dative singulars in other entries on the record, so that the 2 after the name almost certainly indicates the number of beds he receives (one for himself and one for his son: cf. the present record lines 5 and 6??).

D²/* *ma-no*: this name, together with *a-ne-a*$_2$, *pu-ka-ro*, *ke-ra-so* and perhaps]*ma-ta* (l. 10) and]*82 (l. 11), recurs on **96** = MY Fo 101, where the presence of the textile trade-names *e-ro-pa-ke-ja* and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* '(to the) decorators' may indicate that these too are textile workers.

D² *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-ka*: the last sign is damaged but looks more like *ka* than *qe*; if so, it is clearly a scribal error. The name is *Alexandrā*.

D² *te-o-do-ra-qe*: *Theodōrā kʷe*.

* *o-to-wo-wi-je*: since there is now evidence at Thebes for *i*-stem datives in *-je* (e.g. *ma-di-je*), it is attractive to accept Risch's suggestion (1987.290–91) that this is dative of an *i*-stem *Orthwōwis* (the feminine equivalent of masc. *o-tu-wo-we*, *Orthwōwēs* PY Jn 658.7, also spelt *o-to-wo-*, *o-two-*) despite the lack of agreement with the following *tu-ka-te*(*-qe*) (see next note), which is presumably a nominative of rubric (as some of the names on the tablet may also be). Women's names in *-e* are extremely rare.

D² *tu-ka-te-qe*: *thugatēr kʷe* 'and daughter'. That this is not a name is evident from its repetition in successive lines. The same argument might be applied to *ki-ra-qe* (l. 7, edge), and this may represent a noun: *gillā* 'infant'; cf. νεογιλός and the name Γίλλος.

* *ke-ti-de*: more likely dat. of a name in *-is*, *-id-* (Risch 1987.290–91) than nom. of a WN in *-e*.

D²]*ma-ta-qe*: restore perhaps [*ko-*]*ma-ta-qe*; cf. **96** = Fo 101.6.

*]*82: restore perhaps [*a-na-*]*82; cf. **96** = Fo 101.2.

D²/* *ke-ra-so*: perhaps *Kerasos* or *Kerasō*; cf. κερασός 'cherry'.

7. INDIVIDUAL MEN AT KNOSSOS (Am, B)[b]

D/* In some cases at Knossos and Pylos men are recorded singly; in such cases the name is usually given, sometimes followed by the occupation and/or other specification, e.g. location.

29 = Am(2) 821 (-)

.1]ra-jo , / e-qe-ta-e , e-ne-ka , e-mi-to VIR
2 // ki-ta-ne-to , / su-ri-mo , e-ne-ka , 'o-pa' VIR 1
.2 si-ja-du-we , ta-ra , / i-je[-re-]u , po-me , e-ne-ka ,
'o-pa' X VIR 1 // ko-pe-re-u , / e-qe-ta , e-ki-'si-jo'
VIR 1
.3] *vacat*

[b] **29** = Am(2) 821: *Documents*[1] 168–69, *Documents*[2] 420, *Interpretation* 129, *Textos* 29. **30** = B 822: *Anthology* 252–54. Study: Olivier 1987.

D/* … two Followers on account of … ; *Ki-ta-ne-to* at *Su-ri-mo* on account of *finishing obligations*; at *Si-ja-du-we*, *Ṭa-ṛa*, priest and shepherd, on account of *finishing obligations*; *Kopreus*, Follower, of *Exos*.

*]*ra-jo*: perhaps to be restored as an ethnic, possibly *e-ra-jo* or *qa-ra-jo*; cf. the ethnic *e-ki-si-jo* in l. 2.

D/D²/* *e-qe-ta-e*: dual; the termination of the consonant stems has been extended to the masculine *a*-stems. For discussion of the role of Followers, see pp. 294–95.

* *ẹ-mi-to*: the reading is very uncertain; the supposed horizontal strokes of *e* may be marks of erasure, and *ṭi* is also possible. Because of this uncertainty, no translation has been offered.

D/* *ki-ta-ne-to*: the name recurs as that of a 'shepherd' at *su-ri-mo* on Da 1108, where the same person must be intended; note the reference to a shepherd (*po-me*, *poimēn*) in the next entry here.

* *o-pa*: perhaps (*h*)*opā*, containing the same **sep*- root as ἕπω. The term appears to refer to an obligation, often imposed on important persons, which may involve a finishing operation of some kind, such as the decoration or refurbishment of artefacts or the fattening of animals for consumption (Killen 1999a; see also Melena 1983a). Since both of the entries here which contain the term concern a shepherd, the duty in their case may have been to fatten sheep; note the appearance of *o-pa* on KN Dm 1184, which lists sheep described as *e-ka-ra-e-we*, which Lejeune (*Mémoires* II.364–67) suggests is *engrahēwes* (γράω) 'animals for fattening', and on the *Wu* sealings from Thebes, which record animals sent to the palace for consumption (pp. 559–61).

* *si-ja-du-we*: this place-name only occurs elsewhere on sheep records, five of them *Dl*(*1*) tablets listing animals described as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, sheep 'of' the goddess Potnia or 'of' a priest of Potnia. Does the shepherd here, who is also described as a priest (*i-je-re-u*, *hiereus*), have connexions with Potnia?

D *ko-pe-re-u*: a man's name also found at Pylos; = Κοπρεύς *Il.* XV, 639?

D *e-ki-si-jo*: the word has been split to leave room for the ideogram and numeral. Ethnic adjective from the common place-name *e-ko-so*.

30 = B 822 (-)

.1a] po-ḍạ-qe-re-ṣị-je-wo
.1b]p̣ị-ro / si-ra-ko , qi-ri-ja-to // ku-te-ro / ku-ro$_2$-jo ,
do-e-ro , VIR 1
.2] *vacat*

* This tablet evidently records the purchase of a slave. For an excellent analysis of it and the closely similar B(1) 988, together with tablets in h. 204 which concern men and women slaves, see Olivier 1987. It may, however, be excessive to suggest, as Olivier does, that the record is an extract from a Mycenaean legal document.

*]*p̣i-ro si-ra-ko qi-ri-ja-to*: this phrase appears to identify the purchaser; *qi-ri-ja-to* is probably *kʷriato* 'he bought'; cf. πρίατο *Od.* I, 430 of buying a slave, and]*p̣i-ro* is presumably the

purchaser's name: cf. the MN *pa-qo-si-jo* in parallel position on B(1) 988. *si-ra-ko*, however, is less transparent. On Ai(3) 5976 (h. 204), the term again precedes *qi-ri-ja-to*, and *si-ra*, which is most readily explained as an error for *si-ra-ko*, stands before it on B(1) 988. No certainty is possible, but it may be an occupational term, used as a personal name on its only other appearance on the tablets, as a 'shepherd's' name on KN Db 8352. Alternatively, as Y. Duhoux has suggested (*Anthology* 252–54), it may be a personal name on all its occurrences, and on B 822, B(1) 988 and Ai(3) 5976 the name of an agent who has carried out the purchases in question 'for']*p̣i̤-ro*, *pa-qo-si-jo* and]*ko* i.e. on behalf of these individuals.

* *ku-te-ro*: as Olivier emphasises, this term is highlighted by being written in larger signs than what precedes or follows it; it is clearly the name of the slave being bought.

* *ku-ro*$_2$*-jo*: MN (gen.), perhaps *Kūrioio*; a note of the previous 'owner' of the slave. *ko-ma*[-*we-*]*t̤o* in parallel position on B(1) 988 is the name of a prominent 'collector'; none of the persons called *ku-ro*$_2$ elsewhere at Knossos and Pylos seems to be of comparable importance.

* *po-d̤a̤-qe-re-s̤i̤-je-wo*: obscure. Gen. of adj. qualifying *ku-ro*$_2$*-jo*?

8. INDIVIDUAL MEN AT PYLOS (Ae)[b]

31 = Ae 264 (S8 H 42)

pi-ra-jo , a$_3$-ki-pa-ta , su-ra-te , du-ni-jo , me-tu-ra su-ra-se V̤I̤R̤ 1

D/* Philaios the goatherd (who is acting as ?) *skinner has skinned* the *cattle* of *Dunios*.

D *a*$_3$*-ki-pa-ta*: *aigipa(s)tās*? The first part of the compound is obvious; Palmer (1954a.24) derives the second from the verbal root **pat-* 'see', found in Cypr. glosses, and in the reduplicated form παπταίνω.

D/* *su-ra-te*: apparently the agent noun from the verb to which *su-ra-se* belongs. The identification with συλάω seems hard to avoid, but the sense here is unclear. VC tentatively suggest 'seizer' and a reference to cattle-raiding, but comment that while this is not to be excluded, 'the use of a formal agent noun added to the trade-name is puzzling'. M. Del Freo (pers. com.) suggests that this might be a reference to seizure of goods in recompense (cf. Classical σύλη, σῦλον 'right of seizure in reprisal'), in which case the use of the agent noun would be more comprehensible. In Homer, however, συλάω always has the sense 'take off, remove', and is regularly used of stripping an enemy of his armour; is this a reference to the skinning of dead animals, or possibly the castration of living ones??

D^2/* *du-ni-jo*: since the phrase *du-ni-jo-jo me-tu-ra su-ra-se* is found on two other tablets in this group (Ae 8, Ae 72), this is presumably an error for *du-ni-jo-jo*. The name is common at Knossos and Pylos; since PY **110** = Un 138 is written by the same scribe as the present tablet, the *du-ni-jo* there is likely to be the same person as here. For the tentative suggestion that the *du-ni-jo* who is described as a *du-ma* (a local official) on An 192 is again this person, see Lindgren, *People* II.146–47.

[b] *Documents*[1] 169–70, *Documents*[2] 420, *Interpretation* 126–27, *Anthology* 294–95.

D/* *me-tu-ra*: presumably the object of *su-ra-se*; = μίτυλα 'hornless cattle' (VC)? Or a term meaning 'carcass(es)' related to the Homeric verb μιστύλλω 'to cut up (flesh) for cooking'?? In either case, we would have to assume the *i/e* alternation common in words of non-Greek origin.

D *su-ra-se*: aor. *sūlāse* or fut. *sūlāsei*?

32 = Ae 134 (S8 H 42)

.a o-ro-me-no
ke-ro-wo , po-me , a-si-ja-ti-ja , o-pi , ta-ra-ma-o qe-to-ro-po-pi VIR 1

D/* *Ke-ro-wo* the shepherd at *A-si-ja-ti-ja* watching over the animals of Thalamatas.

* *ke-ro-wo*: the 'shepherd' *ke-ro-wo* mentioned on **61** = Cn 655.3 is in a different location (*ma-ro-pi*, probably in the Hither Province, not *a.* in the Further Province) and is presumably a different person.

D/* *ta-ra-ma-o*: an error for *ta-ra-ma-ta-o*, found in the same formula on Ae 108 and Ae 489.

D/* *qe-to-ro-po-pi*: *k^we^tropoppi* (<**pod-phi*) 'four-footed animals' = τετράποσι.

9. WORKGROUPS OF MEN AT KNOSSOS (Am, As)[b]

* The following records from Knossos list groups of men, some collectively without their names but others individually by name. Although one tablet in particular, As(2) 1516, has been differently explained by some scholars, all are likely to deal with men involved in 'industrial' activity of various kinds.

33 = Am(1) 601 (103)

.a e-te , e-so-to , a-mo-ra-ma
.b to-so , / a-mi-ni-si-jo , VIR 9

D/D²/* Total men of Amnisos: nine; *they will arrive from there each day*.

* Since the tablet is in h. 103, it is likely to deal with men involved in textile production, perhaps male finishing workers (Killen 1979a.167–68).

* *e-te e-so-to a-mo-ra-ma*: VC tentatively interpret *a-mo-ra-ma* as *harmolāma* 'food levy', comparing ἁρμαλία 'ration', and translate the phrase as 'the *rations* are to be from there' (*enthen estō*), though they also note the possibility that *e-so-to* is *essontoi*. (In *Documents*², JC notes that the future is preferable to an imperative 'because of the absence of orders on the tablets'.) As Mühlestein (1968b) points out, however, a serious difficulty for this approach is raised by the closely similar Am(1) 600, which concerns men of Knossos. Here *to-so*, which is presumably again *tos(s)oi* 'so many', stands on l. a, clearly as part of the *e-te*, etc. phrase, but cannot be construed with *a-mo-ra-ma* if this is a noun. Mühlestein therefore suggests that *e-te* is a noun †ἕτες, related to ἑταῖρος, meaning 'companions',

[b] *Documents*¹ 170–72, *Documents*² 420–21. Studies: **33** = Am(1) 601: Mühlestein 1968b, Killen 2000.141–44; **36** = As(2) 1516: Driessen 1985, Hooker 1988.

and that *a-mo-ra-ma* is *āmōr āmar* (cf. ἦμαρ 'day', and for the ending of *āmōr* see τέκμωρ besides τέκμαρ) and means 'day by day'; cf. *we-te-i we-te-i* 'year by year' on the Pylos *Es* (*do-so-mo*) tablets. If, however, this is the correct explanation of *a-mo-ra-ma* – and it cannot be regarded as certain – a preferable approach may be to interpret *e-te* as *enthen*, as VC do, and to take the phrase as a note that the men will be present (at Knossos ?) from there (Amnisos) on a daily basis (*enthen es(s)ontoi āmōr āmar*), and will not therefore require overnight accommodation (Killen 2000.141–44).

34 = Am(2) 819 (-)

.A] we-ke-i-ja VIR 18 'ko-wo' 8
.B]qạ-ra / si-to LUNA 1 HORD 9 T 7 V 3

D/* At *Qạ-ra*, *a workgroup*: eighteen men, eight boys; grain for one month, 1170 l. of barley.

D/*]*qạ-ra*: probably complete, and the place-name *qa-ra* attested on Da 1098+.

D/* *we-ke-i-ja*: obscure; perhaps a derivative of ἔργον (cf. ἐργασία in the sense 'craft-association', 'guild').

* *si-to*: *sītos*; also on MY Au 658 and TH Av 100, followed by WHEAT, and on TH Av 101, also in a rationing context. *Si-to* on TH Ft(1) 220+, before OLIVES, remains obscure; if this is again *sītos*, it will entail a sense of 'food' (Hom., Hdt.) rather than 'grain' for the term, in this context at least. There has been much discussion of how the rations here (a total of 97½ T) have been calculated. Palmer (*Interpretation* 119) suggests that the men receive T 5 each and the boys T 1 apiece, except for one who is given T 0.5; he compares here the children described as 'younger' and 'older' on the Knossos *Ak* records. Chadwick (1964b.323–24), however, argues that boys old enough to work with their fathers would have been given a full adult ration, and notes that if this is assumed the *per capita* allowance (T 3.75) works out at Z 90 a month or Z 3 a day. Chadwick's explanation is probably to be preferred, since we now have confirmation that the man's ration of Z 3 which he notes (1976a.118) on **93** = PY Fn 7 is indeed, as he suggests, a daily allowance (Melena 1999b.171–76).

HORD BARLEY
LUNA MONTH

35 = As(1) 609 (103)

.1]*vest.*[ ]re-po-so [
.2 ka-ri-ṣẹ-u [VIR 1] wi-jẹ-mo VIR 1 pi-ro-qa-wo[
.3 qe-te-se-u VIR [1] no-da-ro VIR 1 a-ku-ri-jọ[
.4 *vac.* [ ]ṭọ-so VIR ?

* One of a number of *As(1)* and *V(4)* records in hand 103 which list named men. For the suggestion that these and the men recorded on similar tablets by scribe 115, all of whose other output appears to concern the decoration of cloth, are male finishing workers, comparable to the male *aslag* mentioned in early Mesopotamian records, whose work involved washing and repairing cloth and

perhaps also decorating it (Waetzoldt 1972.168–69), see Killen 1979a.167–68. Note that one of the men listed here,]*re-po-so*, may recur on Xe 5540, also in hand 103, where *re-po-so* follows *e-ta-wo-ne*, which appears to be a reference to the 'owner' of a major cloth finishing establishment (Killen 1979a.159–62).

D/D²/* *ka-ri-se̤̤-u*: *Khariseus*. For other possible Greek equivalents of names here, see Glossary.

36 = As(2) 1516 (101)

.1]dụ-ru ḷ ḳọ[
.2 ko-no-si-ja , ra-wa-ke-ja , a-nu-wi-ko VIR 1[ ]*vest.*[
.3 a-ra-da-jo VIR 1 pi-ja-si-ro VIR 1 dạ-nạ̤̤[ ] VIR 1
.4]wẹ-ro VIR 1 po-to VIR 1 si-pu$_2$ VIR 1 pu-te VIR [1]
ja̤-sa-no VIR 1
.5 qa-me-si-jo VIR 1 mi-ja-ra-ro VIR 1 mi-ru-ro VIR 1
.6 [.]-ki-wa-ta VIR 1 u-ra-mo-no VIR 1 pi-ri-no VIR 1
.7 qa-to-no-ro VIR 1 pe-te-ki-ja , VIR 1 ko-ni-da-jo VIR 1
.8 a-ko-ra-jo VIR 1 wa-du-[.]-to VIR 1 qo-te-ro VIR 1
.9 i-te-u VIR 1 pu-to-ro VIR 1 ka-ri-se-u VIR 1 a$_3$-ko-ta VIR 1
.10 ka-ke VIR 1 ru-na VIR 1 pu-wo VIR 1 a-ta-ze-u [VIR 1
.11 a-ra-na-ro VIR 1 si-ja-pu$_2$-ro VIR 1 to-so X VIR 31
.12]-ti-jo , a-nu-to [qa-]si̤̤-re-wi-ja , VIR 1 su-ki-ri-to
VIR 1
etc., etc.
.19 pi-ja-se-me VIR 1 to-so X VIR 23
.20 se-to-i-ja su-ke-re-o , qa-si-re-wi-ja VIR 1 ku-to VIR 1, etc.

D/* This, the largest Knossos tablet, consists of an enumeration by name of at least sixty-nine men under three headings: *ko-no-si-ja ra-wa-ke-ja a-nu-wi-ko* (l. 2),]*-ti-jo a-nu-to* [*qa-*]*si̤̤-re-wi-ja* (l. 12) and *se-to-i-ja su-ke-re-o qa-si-re-wi-ja* (l. 20). *Ra-wa-ke-ja*, almost certainly an error for *ra-wa-ke-si-ja*, and *qa-si-re-wi-ja* are clearly feminine collective nouns derived from *lāwāgetās* and *g*^{w}*asileus* respectively, and appear to indicate groupings or establishments connected with these persons (see pp. 454–55). The names associated with these terms, *a-nu-wi-ko* (l. 2), *a-nu-to* (l. 12) and *su-ke-re*(*-o*) (l. 20), appear to be those of persons in charge of these groups (see p. 455); and the terms at the beginning of each rubric evidently indicate their location: Knossos (l. 2), *ku-ta-to* or *ra-to* (l. 12: see p. 456) and *se-to-i-ja* (l. 20). *Qa-si-re-wi-ja* is found elsewhere on: (i) PY Pa 398, 889, in connexion with the commodity **169*, probably beds or footstools (Sacconi 1973b, Manessy-Guitton and Weill 1976, Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 172–76, Vandenabeele 1982.29–32); (ii) KN **218** = K(1) 875.1–6, in connexion with vessels, perhaps of metal (Palmer, *Interpretation* 227–28, Godart 1985.190, Killen 1987a.63); (iii) PY **94** = Fn 50.1–3 (cf. Fn 837.3), where *a-ta-no*, one of the 'owners' of the three *g*^{w}*asilēwiai* mentioned, is perhaps to be identified with the *a-ta-no* of *pa-ki-ja-ne* referred to on PY Vn 130

in parallel with a_3-*ki-e-u* of *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, who is listed on Jn 605 as an 'owner' of bronze-workers (cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* 370); and also almost certainly (iv) TH Ug 42 (*qa-si-re-wi*[ ), where the context may be bronze-working, though this cannot be confirmed (Chadwick 1970a.122). In addition, all the certain attestations of *qa-si-re-u*, the term from which *qa-si-re-wi-ja* is derived, are in contexts involving metal: PY **208** = Jo 438, where a *qa-si-re-u* contributes gold, and the Pylos *Jn* records of bronze and bronze-workers. Against this background, it is attractive to conclude that a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* is a workgroup or workshop involved in 'industrial' production (Palmer, *Interpretation* 227–28, *Documents*[2] 439, Godart 1985.189–193, Killen 1987a), and hence that a *ra-wa-ke-<si->ja* is a similar grouping or establishment. The hand (h. 101) and find-place of As(2) 1516 may provide support for this conclusion. First, there are links, in terms of the men they record, between V(7) 1523, another of the few records in h. 101, and one of the tablets by h. 105 (As(2) 1520), at least one of whose other records, V(7) 1521, is concerned with furniture, perhaps its production (Olivier, *Scribes Cnossos* 127). Second, while their exact find-places remain uncertain, As(2) 1516, V(7) 1523 and As(2) 1520 are all from the Domestic Quarter, and both V(7) 1523 and As(2) 1520 may be from the Corridor of 'Sword Tablets' (Firth 2002.244–50). Once again, therefore, the evidence, such as it is, appears to point in the direction of furniture, and perhaps also of metal; note that besides the *Ra* sword tablets, which were certainly found there, the Corridor of 'Sword Tablets' may also be the location of Og 1527, which records lead (*mo-ri-wo-do*): Firth 2002.244–50.

* Other explanations of As(2) 1516 seem less convincing. For cogent arguments against Driessen's contention (1985) that the men on the record are high status individuals in the retinues of the *lāwāgetās* and two *g*^{w}*asilēwes* who are being sent to Knossos, perhaps to serve in the royal guard, see Hooker (1988), who himself favours the 'workgroup' explanation.

* *a-nu-wi-ko*: as VC note, the first MAN ideogram in each paragraph does not seem to be included in the totals. This suggests that *a-nu-wi-ko*, *a-nu-to* and *su-ke-re*(*-o*), the persons to whom these ideograms refer, are non-working supervisors or the like. It is supportive of this explanation that we also find *a-nu-wi-ko* on the sealing Ws 8754, where it doubtless refers to the same person (Olivier 1968.181–83), and where the name is preceded by the preposition *o-pi*. For the suggestion, made before the full publication of Ws 8754, that *o-pi* (= *opi* = ἐπί) plus personal name on textile and other records means 'chez', 'in the workshop of' X, and refers to a workgroup supervisor, see Killen 1968a. Since it is attractive to identify *a-nu-to* and *su-ke-re*(*-o*), not as 'ordinary' supervisors, but as the *qa-si-re-we* implied by the description of 'their' groupings (with *su-ke-re-o* (gen.), compare the genitives *a-ki-to-jo*, etc. which are followed by *qa-si-re-wi-ja* on Fn 50.1, etc.), Olivier (1968.183) has suggested that *a-nu-wi-ko* may actually be the *lāwāgetās*. It would perhaps be surprising, however, if such a clearly significant figure as the *lāwāgetās* was himself involved in supervising a workgroup; and the names that are governed by *o-pi* elsewhere

in the records do not seem to be those of leading figures in the state, in contrast with the persons whose names feature in *pa-ro* formulae, some of whom at least appear to have been 'collectors' (Killen 1994.76–77).

*]-*ti-jo*: the sign at the left may be *ṭạ* or *ṛạ*; since, however, there appears to have been room for a further sign before it, *ku-ta-ti-jo* (< *ku-ta-to*) is a likelier restoration than *ra-ti-jo* (< *ra-to*).

* *a-nu-to*: although Morpurgo (1960.43) and others have suggested that this is an *o*-stem genitive in -*ō*, it seems much likelier that it is nominative, and that the fluctuation in case between it and *su-ke-re-o* (gen.) reflects two different choices by the scribe between the possible ways of treating these persons: (a) as 'owners' of their workgroups or (b) as members of the groups, listed in the nominative like the men in the following entries (Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1127–28). As M. Del Freo points out (pers. com.), the fact the scribe has prefixed this section of the record with the nom. plur. ethnic ?*ku-ta*]-*ti-jo* 'men of K.(?)' is likely to have influenced his decision to put the following term (*a-nu-to*) also in the nominative.

* *su-ke-re-o*: the name recurs on As 40 (also h. 101), where it is again associated with *se-to-i-ja*, and where the same man is clearly intended. Note that As 40 has the same find-place as Ws 8754, which also has links with As(2) 1516 (see pp. 455–56): Olivier 1968.181.

37 = As(2) 1517 (102?)

.1	]no , re-qo-me-no ,				
.2	[.]si-re-u	1	a-di-nwa-ta		1
.3	[.]-sa-ta	1	ti-qa-jo		1
.4	da-wa-no	1	[. .]-wo		1
.5	qi-qe-ro	1	wi-du[ ]		1
.6	ku-ra-no	1	ṛạ-wi-[.]		1
.7	e-ru-to-ro	1	ku-ṭạ-i-jo		1
.8	ku-pa-nu-we-to	1	qa-ra-jo		1
.9	ri-zo	1	pa-na-re-jo		1
.10	ke-ka-to	1	to-so	VIR	17
.10*bis*	*vacat*				
.11	o-pi , e-sa-re-we , to-ro-no-wo-ko ,				
.12	po-to-ri-jo	1	pe-we-ri-jo		1
.13			a_3-ni-jo		1
→					
v. .1	*vacat*				
.2	za-mi-jo			VIR	9
.3	*vacat*				
	reliqua pars sine regulis				

* Another record of men from the Domestic Quarter, perhaps the Corridor of 'Sword Tablets' (Firth 2002.246–50). Since at least one of the *V*(*7*) tablets from this area deals with furniture (see on **36** = As(2) 1516), it may be significant that this record mentions a chairmaker or chairmakers (see p. 457).

D²/* *re-qo-me-no*: *leik*^{w}*omenoi* 'left behind or over', 'unassigned'. A description of the men on ll. 2–10, who are presumably contrasted with those on ll. 12–13, who are in service as chairmakers (see below, this page).

* [.]*si-re-u*: it favours a restoration of this as [*qa-*]*si-re-u* that it stands at the head of the list of men; cf. *a-nu-to* and *su-ke-re-o*, who may well be *qa-si-re-we*, in the same position on **36**

D/* = As(2) 1516.12, .20. Unlike them, however, [.]*si-re-u* is counted in the group total, which encourages caution, and we cannot exclude the possibility that it is merely a personal name.

D/* *o-pi e-sa-re-we to-ro-no-wo-ko*: for the suggestion that *o-pi* plus personal name means 'chez' X, and refers to a workgroup/workshop supervisor, see **36** = As(2) 1516 s.v. *a-nu-wi-ko*. Elsewhere on the records, e.g. on the Pylos *Na* tablets, where it is associated with the term *ke-u-po-da*, *e-sa-re-u* is likely to be a title (Killen 1995a; see further Melena 1999c.418–19); it is unclear whether it is also a title here, or a personal name based on a title. It is also uncertain whether *to-ro-no-wo-ko*, *thronoworgos* 'chairmaker' is dat. sing. in agreement with *e-sa-re-we* or nom. plur. qualifying the men, but the practical effect is slight, since the three men in the workshop of a chairmaker presumably follow the same trade.

10. WORKGROUPS OF MEN AT PYLOS (Ac, An)[b]

38 = An 261 (H 43; S615 H 1)

Recto

.1]we , ke-ke-tu-wo-e
.2 o-two-we-o , ke-ro-si-ja a$_3$-nu-me-no VIR 1[
.3 o-two-we-o , ke-ro-si-ja qo-te-ro VIR[1
.4 o-two-we-o , ke-ro-si-ja , a$_2$-e-ta [VIR 1
.5 o-two-we-o , ke-ro-si-ja o-du-*56-ro [VIR 1
.6 a-pi-jo-to , ke-ro-si-ja , ku-te-re-u VIR[1
.7 a-pi-jo-to , ke-ro-si-ja , o-wo-to VIR 1
.8 a-pi-jo-to , ke-ro-si-ja , a-ra-i-jo VIR 1
.9 a-pi-jo[-to] ke-ro-si-ja , ri-zo VIR 1
.10 ta-we[-si-jo-]jo , ke-ro-si-ja , wa-[ ] VIR 1
.11 ta-we-si[-jo-]jo , ke-ro-si-ja , [ ] VIR 1
.12 ta-we-si-jo-jo , ke-ro-si-ja [ ]wa-ne-u VIR 1
.13 a-pi-qo[-ta-o] , ke-ro-si-ja , a$_3$-so-ni-jo VIR 1
.14 a[-pi-qo-ta-o] ke-ro-si-ja , a[ ]te VIR[1
.15]ke-ro-si-ja , a[ ] VIR 1
.16 ke-ro-]si-ja , [• •]-ka-[•] VIR 1
.17 ke-ro-]si-ja , o-pa-[ ]*vacat*[VIR 1
.18 *vacat*[ ] *vacat*
.19 *vacat*[ ] *vacat*

[b] *Documents*[1] 172–74, 178–79, *Documents*[2] 421–22, 424, 483–84, *Interpretation* 133–34, 226–29, *Anthology* 296–98. Studies: **38** = An 261: Deger-Jalkotzy 2002; **39** = An 35: Baumbach 1987; **42** = An 830: Godart and Olivier 1975.47–49.

Verso

.1	ta-we-si-jo-jo , ke-ro-si-ja , te-ṿạ[		VIR 1
.2	ta-]ṿẹ-si-jo-jo , ke-ro-si-ja , tu-ru-we-u		VIR 1
.3	] *angustum*		
.4	ta-]ṿẹ-si-jo-jọ , ke-ro-si		VIR 20
.5	a-pi-qo-ta-o , ke-ro-si-ja		VIR 17
.6	a-pi-o-to , ke-ro-si-ja		VIR [1]8
.7	o-to-ṿọ[-o ke-]ṛọ-si-ja		VIR [1]4
.8	*angustum* [ ] [ ]		
.9	ka-ma-e[-we]		VIR 1̣0̣

* The tablet is the work of two scribes. H 43 wrote the obverse and ll. 1–2 of the reverse; H 1 wrote ll. 4–9 of the reverse and added *-ke-tu-wo-e* to l. 1 of the obverse. The word division on l. 1 is uncertain; Bennett (1992.109) suggests]*we-ke ke-tu-wo-e*, and is followed by the editors of *PoN* IV; but the *PTT* reading]*we , ke-ke-tu-wo-e* is also possible. If the latter reading is correct, scribe 1 may have added *-ke-tu-wo-e* to provide elucidation of what scribe 43 had written in abbreviated form as *ke*: though if Bennett (ibid.) is correct in seeing traces of erasure beneath *-ke-tu-wo-e*, this may instead be a correction of what scribe 43 had previously written.

* The purpose of the record remains uncertain. VC take the repeating term *ke-ro-si-ja* as *geronsia* (= γερουσία), which they render as 'council of elders', and since one of the four 'owners' of *ke-ro-si-ja* named on the tablet, *a-pi-qo-ta*, has the same name as the *qa-si-re-u* at *a-pe-ke-e* mentioned on Jn 431 they suggest that 'these four are *basilēwes* or local chieftains, and the list records some of their counsellors'. Palmer, however (*Interpretation* 228–29), stressing the bronze-working connexions of *qa-si-re-we* (see **36** = KN As(2) 1516) and other possible connexions of the record with the *Jn* tablets (see pp. 458–59), takes the context to be an 'industrial', workgroup one: a view accepted by others, e.g. Lindgren, *People* II.79 (tentatively), Deger-Jalkotzy 2002. Support for this general view of the tablet is provided by evidence which became available only after Palmer wrote on the *Ug* tablets at Thebes, which while their precise purpose remains unclear (Chadwick 1970a.121–22) were found next to a room containing bronze objects. The entries on each of these records follow the same pattern as the individual entries here, viz. a name in the genitive which is repeated in several records/entries, followed by a non-repeating name in the nominative; and the gloss *qa-si-re-wi*[on Ug 42 makes it likely that the man in the second entry is a member of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* 'belonging to' the 'owner' named in the first entry, just as the men on this tablet belong to *ke-ro-si-ja* of different 'owners'. Although, given its similarities to the *Ug* records and the almost certain presence of *qa-si-re-wi-ja* on the latter, An 261 probably deals with 'industrial' workgroups, considerable caution is needed before we conclude that the

workers it lists are specifically involved in bronze-working. There is nothing to confirm that the *a-pi-qo-ta* on this record is the same person as the *a-pi-qo-ta* on Jn 431, much less that *a-pi-jo* and *o-two-we*, two of the other 'owners' of men here, are the same persons as the 'ordinary' bronzesmiths with these names on Jn 725. Nor, even if *ke-ro-si-ja* is *geronsia* and derived from *gerōn* 'old man', can we adduce the appearances of the latter elsewhere on the records in support of the proposition. Though *ke-ro-te*, quite likely *gerontes*, appears in an entry on Jn 881 probably listing contributors of bronze, it is clear from the parallel entries that the persons mentioned on that record, who include one or more *o-pi-su-ko* and one or more *a-to-mo* (see Glossary), need not themselves be involved in bronze-working; and the erased *ke-ro-te* on KN B(5) 800 is also uninformative. Though the context of the *B(5)* records may again be 'industrial' – note the term *ke-do-si-ja* in the heading of B(5) 799, B(5) 804 and probably B(5) 8206, whose form is reminiscent of *qa-si-re-wi-ja* and *ke-ro-si-ja* – there is no clue, even if it is, to what kind of worker is listed on these texts.

* *ke-ke-tu-wo-e*: if read correctly, this is likely to be nominative plural of a perfect participle active, perhaps with passive force (see p. 245), qualifying the men listed. Plath (1989) suggests *khekhethwohes* (< **ghedh-*), meaning 'brought together'.

D²/* *o-two-we-o*: probably *Orthwōwehos* (gen.) (Doria 1959.18–19). The name is spelt *o-tu-wo-we* (nom.) on Jn 725.5 (see above, this page) and *o-to-wo-o* (gen.) on Un 616 reverse (see l. 4), where the entries on An 261 reverse 4–7 are repeated. The latter is clearly an error for **o-to-wo-we-o*; cf. *a-pi-qo-o* for *a-pi-qo-ta-o* on Un 616 reverse 2. It is uncertain whether we should restore *o-to-ẓọ* [*-o* or *o-to-ẓọ* [*-we-o* on An 261 reverse 7.

* *a-pi-jo-to*, *a-pi-o-to*: as with *o-two-we-o*, *o-to-wo<-we>-o*, the difference in spelling reflects the difference in hand.

D/* *ka-ma-e-we*: 'men who have a *ka-ma* landholding': see pp. 574–75.

* It is unclear how the entries on the reverse, which are repeated on Un 616, relate to those on the obverse, which attribute far fewer men to each of the four 'owners' of *ke-ro-si-ja*.

39 = An 35 (H 3 / -)

.1 to-ko-do-mo , de-me-o-te
.2 pu-ro VIR 2 me-te-to-de VIR 3
.3 sa-ma-ra-de VIR 3 re-u-ko-to-ro VIR 4
.4 *vacat*
.5 a-ta-ro , tu-ru-pte-ri-ja , o-no
.6 LANA 2 CAP^f 4 **146* 3 VIN 10 *NI* 4

D Masons who are to build: Pylos two, to *Me-te-to* three, to *Sa-ma-ra* three, Leuktron four.

D/D²/* To *A-ta-ro*, payment for alum: 6 kg of wool, four she-goats, three tunics, 360 l. of wine, 480 l. of figs.

LANA		WOOL
CAP^{f}		GOAT^{f}
**146*		A garment
VIN		WINE
NI		FIGS

D *to-ko-do-mo*: *toikhodomoi*. The Classical distinction between τοῖχος and τεῖχος is not necessarily to be read into this compound. It is not impossible that this is an attempt to put the defences in order, though it may relate merely to normal building operations.

* *de-me-o-te*: *demehontes*. The form of the future participle shows that 'build' and 'tame' have different IE roots, **demh*$_1$- and **demh*$_2$- respectively (Morpurgo Davies 1985.77).

D/D^2/* The distinction between the places which have the suffix of motion -*de* and those which have not is explained by the fact that Pylos and Leuktron are the administrative capitals of the Hither and Further Provinces respectively (see p. 426). *Me-te-to* is probably in the Hither Province, and *sa-ma-ra* is in the Further Province (Sainer 1976.46, 56): were the masons shown in these two entries sent to these places from Pylos and Leuktron respectively?

D^2/* *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*: *struptēriās* (= στρυπτηρία, a rare variant of στυπτηρία; see Pugliese Carratelli 1962.7, Chadwick 1964a.23). The commodity, used *inter alia* as a mordant in dyeing, was probably imported into mainland Greece (Killen 1985c.265); it is also mentioned on PY Un 443, where it is again followed by *o-no* (see next note), and on TI X 6.

D^2/* *o-no*: there is little doubt that the meaning of this term is approximately 'object given in exchange', 'consideration' and thus equivalent to 'price' or 'payment'; see Chadwick 1964a.21–25, Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.310–12. It is most readily explained as containing the same root as Gr. ὀνίνημι; this is also probably found in the Mycenaean terms *o-na-to*, *a-no-no*, etc., which are plausibly explained as descriptions of land held with or without benefit (usufruct): see pp. 581–82. As R. Palmer points out (1994.100–01; further Killen 1995b.220–21), the commodities listed as the payment here, some of which, like figs, would hardly have justified the cost of long-distance transport, suggest an internal transaction, perhaps with a middleman.

D^2/* The second entry (ll. 5–6) is possibly by a different scribe from the first, and may be unconnected with it. Baumbach (1987) notes the passage in Herodotus (II, 180) which describes the gift by Amasis of Egypt of 1000 talents of alum for the temple of Apollo at Delphi; it is unclear, however, whether this was used for the building of the temple, e.g. for impregnating the wood, or was sold to provide funds.

40 = Ac 1277 (S1272 Ciii)

a-ke-re-wa VIR 10 o-pe-ro VIR 6

41 = Ac 1280 (S1272 Ciii)

me-ta-pa VIR 22 o-pe-ro VIR 7

* Two of a set of nine tablets from the Northeastern Building which deal with the conscription of men. Since many of the tablets from this location deal with 'industrial' production, they may well be 'workmen for some activity of which [this] was the headquarters' (Lang 1958.190). Some, indeed, might be identical

to the men shown on **51** = An 1282, also from this area, as assigned to chariots, wheels, etc., presumably for making or repairing them (Tegyey 1984.70).

D²/* The place-names preserved in the series are *ka-ra-do-ro*, *pi-*82*, *a-ke-re-wa* and *me-ta-pa* (all among the Nine Towns of the Hither Province); two tablets begin with ethnics, *pe-ti-ni-jo* (from *pe-to-no*, one of the Nine Towns) and *te-mi-ti-jo* (from *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*, see Glossary, one of the Seven Towns of the Further Province). The place-name or ethnic is followed by MEN and a number ranging from 10 to 25 and, in every case but one, *o-pe-ro* MEN and a small number. In Ac 1276 *o-pe-ro* was written immediately after the place-name and then deleted; though a small piece of the tablet is missing at the right, it is unlikely that an *o-pe-ro* entry followed the main MEN entry here. It would seem that the groups were almost all below strength; for the use of *o-pe-ro* 'deficit', 'not present' in lists of persons, cf. Ad 357 and its abbreviation *o* in **9** = Ad 671. The number of men to be supplied by each district appears to have been calculated using the same relativities between places as were used in calculating the tax assessments on the Ma tablets and elsewhere (Lang 1958.190, Bendall 2003.206 n. 138).

42 = An 830 (S615 H 1)

.1] *vacat* [
.2]ke-ke-me[-no
.3]di-ri-wa-ṣạ[
.4 ma-ra-ti-sa [
.5 *vacat*
.a -no
.6 a-te-re-wi-ja , e-so , ko-re-te-ri-jo , ke-ke-me- *DA* 30[
.7 *vacat*
.8 e-sa-re-wi-ja , ro-ro-ni-ja , te-u-po-ṛọ[ ] *vacat* [
.9]no *DA* 50 [ ] *vacat* [
.10]qọ-ụ-kọ-ṛọ VIR 28 [ ] *vacat*
.11 qo-]u-ko-ro , ra-wa-ra-ṭị-ja VIR 66
.12 o-pi-da-mi-jo , pi-*82 , qo-ụ[-ko-]ṛọ VIR 60
.13 a_2-ki-ja , qo-u-ko-ro VIR 60[
.14 *vacat* [
.15] *vacat* [

D²/* The tablet lists *g^woukoloi* 'cowherds' in four places, one at least in the Further Province (*ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*) and one at least in the Hither Province (*pi-*82)*, together with *DA*, which in both cases where the place-name has been preserved are located in the Further Province: see *a-te-re-wi-ja* l. 6, *e-sa-re-wi-ja* l. 8. Since the *DA* entry on l. 6 contains a reference to land, here qualified as *ke-ke-me-no* (see pp. 570–71), it is likely that *DA* on this record has the same value as *DA* on **121** = PY En 609 and on the Knossos *Uf* tablets, where land and its holders are again the subject. Though *DA* in these contexts has sometimes been identified as a unit of surface measurement, severe difficulties

for this explanation are raised by **171** = TI Ef 2, where *DA* 1 is followed by *to-sa-pe-mo* GRA 6, which is itself clearly a measurement of land, presumably indicating the size or taxable capacity of this particular *DA* (Godart and Olivier 1975.47, Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.193–95). Two alternative possibilities remain: that it indicates a parcel of land of a particular (privileged?) type, or the occupant of such a parcel (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.162–66, 194–95). Lejeune favours the first option, and suggests that the sign is an abbreviation of *δαιμᾱ́ (a derivative in *-mā* from the root **dai-* 'divide'). Most other commentators, however, including VC and Bennett (1956b.119–20), think it more probable – and this does seem likelier – that *DA* abbreviates *da-ma-te*, the term which precedes it in the heading of **121** = En 609 and which the preceding *to-sa* indicates is feminine plural. The question then arises of how this should be interpreted; and the most plausible suggestion – though no certainty is possible – is that it is *damar*(*tes*) and means 'household(s)', with the Classical sense of δάμαρ, viz. 'wife', being a specialisation from this (Pugliese Carratelli 1954a.92, 1954b.225). For suggestions as to which land or its holders the 40 *DA* on En 609.1 might be, see Bennett 1956b.118–20, Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.155–74, Ruijgh 1987.311–19.

D²/* *e-so*: conceivably *ensō* = εἴσω with *a-te-re-wi-ja* genitive or accusative 'inside A.'. Or adverbial (*Od.* VII, 13+), added parenthetically.

D²/* *ko-re-te-ri-jo*: adjective from *ko-re-te* (a local official) qualifying *ke-ke-me-no*. Cf. **202** = Nn 831, where a *ko-re-te* contributes flax, almost certainly in respect of land he occupies (p. 688).

* *qo-u-ko-ro*: it is noticeable that the same term appears on **171** = TI Ef 2, where a *DA* entry follows (cf. the *DA* entries in ll. 6, 9 here) (Godart and Olivier 1975.47–49, Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.194–95, Del Freo 2005a.201 n. 25). Are the ox-herds here also *DA*, thus explaining their presence on a tablet which also contains *DA* entries?

o-pi-da-mi-jo: *opidāmioi* = ἐπιδήμιοι. As Godart and Olivier point out (1975.49), there is heavy emphasis in the text on the *dāmos*, 'village community' or the like (see Glossary s.v.). Besides the cowherds *opi dāmōi* here, note the two references to *ke-ke-me-no* land, holdings in which are regularly described on the *E* tablets as *pa-ro da-mo* 'in or from the *dāmos*', and the second of which is described as 'of the *ko-re-te*' (see above, previous note).

43 = An 1281 (H 12)

.1 po-]ti-ni-ja , i-qe-ja
.2]-mo , o-pi-e-de-i
.3 a-ka , re-u-si-wo-qe VIR 2
.4 au-ke-i-ja-te-we ⟦ ⟧
.5 o-na-se-u , ta-ni-ko-qe VIR 2
.6 me-ta-ka-wa , pọ-so-ro VIR 1
.7 mi-jo-qa[ ]e-we-za-no VIR 1
.8 a-pị-e-ṛạ to-ze-u VIR 1

.9]-a-ke-ṣi̯ , po-ti-ni-ja , re-si-wo VIR 1
.10 au-ke-i-ja̯-te̯-we̯[ ]ro VIR 1
.11 mi-jo-qa , ma-ra-si-jo[ ] VIR 1
.12 me-ta-ka-wa , ti-ta-ra-[ ] VIR 1
.13 a-pi-e-ra , ṛu̯-ko̯-ro VIR 1
.14–15 *vacant*

D²/* To the Mistress of Horses, *at her abode*: A. and R.: 2 men.

For *Augeiateus*: O. and T.: 2 men.
For *Metakawa*: P.: 1 man.
For *Miokʷa*:… 1 man.
For *Amphiera*: T.: 1 man.
For the Mistress at …: R.: 1 man.
etc.

* The tablet lists the transfer of men to one or more goddesses and to humans, including *au-ke-i-ja-te-u*, who recurs on **249** = Ub 1318, also from the North-eastern Building, as the recipient of skins for making leather objects. In his case at least, the men listed here are likely to have been recruits to an 'industrial' workforce, and the same may therefore have been true of the others listed on the record. There is no difficulty for this conclusion in the fact that three of the men are destined for the goddess Potnia (ll. 1–2, 9); these could be workers being transferred to an industrial establishment 'owned' by the goddess. On the bronze-working establishments 'owned' by Potnia on the *Jn* tablets, see Ch. XVI; on an unguent-boiler described as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, see also Ch. XVI, under **246** = Un 249.

D²/* Discussing the purpose of **312** (now **43**) = 1281 in *Documents*² (p. 483), J. Chadwick classes the tablet among records of miscellaneous offerings at Pylos, and suggests that where the names of some of the recipients it mentions (such as *mi-jo-qa*) recur on **94** = Fn 50 'the implication [is] that the owners of the slaves there are probably priests or religious functionaries of some sort'. In making this observation, Chadwick is presumably influenced by the pattern of **43** = An 1281, with the names of the recipients on ll. 4–8 (*au-ke-i-ja-te-we*, etc.) repeated in the same order on ll. 10–13, and with each sub-group of names headed by a reference to Potnia. This patterning might have the significance Chadwick suggests, and it is certainly possible that workers supplied to Potnia had originated in dedications to the goddess. But there is no evidence that the groupings listed on **94** = Fn 50 have any religious connexions. As will be seen later, they include members of *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, *gʷasilēwiai*, probably bronzesmiths (and not smiths 'owned' by Potnia) and workers probably involved in catering duties during secular work feasts. (On these, see **48** = An 39 pp. 467–69.) Nor again can evidence of a religious connexion be gleaned from the fact that two of the

'owners' common to **94** = Fn 50 and the present record are women: see further below on *mi-jo-qa* and *a-pi-e-ra*.

D² *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja*: *Potniāi hikk^{w}eiāi* = ἱππείᾳ. This seems the obvious interpretation of the adjective, and Palmer (1966.276) has collected the evidence for a horse-deity worshipped in the Peloponnese in Classical times.

*]*-mo*: JC suggests a restoration *do-so*]*-mo*, *dosmos*; this would fit the space and the context (transfer of workers to Potnia; compare the appearance of *do-so-mo* in the context of offerings to Poseidon on **178** = Un 718, etc.), but unfortunately cannot be confirmed.

* *mi-jo-qa*, *a-pi-e-ra*: Olivier (*Desservants* 134–35) offers the suggestion that these are priestesses; as he notes, the fact that on **94** = Fn 50 (cf. Fn 837.12), which mentions slaves of these persons, their genitives are in *-a* must mean that both names are feminine (cf. *Documents*[1] 217), and priestesses, he observes, are the only females, apart from goddesses, who are ever mentioned on the tablets as 'owners' of personnel. Since Olivier wrote, however, a series of joins by J. L. Melena involving PY An 435 (see *PoN* IV ad loc.) has shown that this record probably records the distribution of men by the 'collector' Alksoitas to a woman Kessandra, who is likely to be the same person as is mentioned on the rationing records Fg 368, Fg 828. Since we have no evidence for priestesses playing the same important role in manpower deployment as Kessandra appears to do here, she may well be a secular figure; and it follows that Olivier's contention is probably no longer valid.

D²/* *o-pi-e-de-i*: the unelided *i* of *o-pi* suggests the presence of *h*; cf. *o-pi-a$_2$-ra* **55** = An 657.1. Perhaps therefore to be taken as two words, the preposition *o-pi* and the dative *hedehi* of ἕδος 'seat', 'abode' especially of a deity (such as Olympus in Homer). (The specialised sense 'shrine', 'temple' is post-Homeric.) For a similar writing, see *o-pi-me-ne*, *opi mēnei* 'per month' **93** = Fn 7.

* *re-si-wo*: it is curious that the name of the man allocated to Potnia in this entry is so similar to that of one of the men allocated to Potnia in l. 3 (*re-u-si-wo*); and we do have a parallel – though only one – for the omission of *-u* in the writing of an *e-u* diphthong: *ke-po-da* for the much more common *ke-u-po-da* in PY Na 568.

11. WORKGROUPS OF MEN AT MYCENAE (Au)[b]

44 = Au 102 (*52*)

.0	*vacat*	
.1	wa-ra-pi-si-ro , i-jo-qe ,	VIR 2
.2	na-su-to	VIR 1
.3	te-ra-wo , ka-ri-se-u-qe ,	VIR 2
.4	e-ke-ne , e-u-po-ro-qe ,	VIR 2
.5	au-ja-to , ko-no-[•]-du-ro-qe	VIR 2
.6	ke-re-no	VIR 2
.7	wa-a$_2$-ta , de-u-ki-jo-qe	VIR 2

[b] *Documents*[1] 179, *Documents*[2] 425, *Textos* 29–30.

.8	mo-i-da	VIR 1
.9	o-ri-ko	VIR 3
.10–13	*vacant*	
.14	a-to-po-qo [ ] *vacat*	
.15	*vacat* [ ] *vacat*	

D/* Though certainty is impossible, the tablet probably records workers. Apart from the puzzling reference to a baker or bakers on l. 14 (see below), a number of the names here recur on the *Au* records in h. 62, one of which, Au 658, lists a ration of T 2 per man, and is not therefore likely to concern persons of high rank. Where an entry here involves two men, the second is linked with -*k*^{w}*e*; cf. the similar practice on **28** = V 659, where at least some of the women listed are textile workers.

D/D^{2}/* *i-jo-qe*: it is uncertain whether *i-jo* is a man's name (VC) or (*h*)*ios* 'son', viz. a variant of *i-*65*, if to be read *i-ju* (JC). As JC notes (*Documents*^{2} 425), the strongest argument for *i-jo-qe* = 'and son' is the parallel of *tu-ka-te-qe* 'and daughter' in the list of women on **28** = V 659. As he observes, to accept this interpretation it is necessary to suppose that two words, an *o*-stem **hios* and a *u*-stem **huius*, had become contaminated, with different results in Mycenaean and Classical Greek. He regards this as possible, but unprovable. This still remains the case, though the discovery since he wrote of *u-jo* as a word for son at Thebes (Gp 227) does make it clear that there was at least some diversity in the form that this word could take in Mycenaean (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.258).

D^{2}/* *au-ja-to*: as noted above, some of the names here recur on the *Au* tablets in h. 62: *na-su-to*, *te-ra-wo* and *mo-i-da* among nine names on Au 657, *e-ke-ne* and *te-ra-wo* on Au 653, *na-su-to* on Au 660. This suggests that *au-wi-ja-to* on Au 653 and Au 657 is a variant spelling of *au-ja-to* (if this is not simply an error, but the scribe is different). The name might be *Auiātōr* (for **Auto-iātōr* 'self-healer'): see Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.197.

* *ke-re-no*: this is followed by MAN 2; is it perhaps a dual in -*o*, referring to two men of the same name or called after the more prominent member of the pair (Palmer 1959b.431, Killen 1981.41–42)? Compare *pi-we-ri-si̤* **96** = MY Fo 101.5, where the OIL figure that follows suggests an allocation to two women, both perhaps called *pi-we-ri*, a name which appears on MY Oe 103.5.

* *o-ri-ko*: followed by MAN 3; possibly *olīgoi*, with the sense 'small' (*Il.* XIV, 376+) and referring to younger men; cf. the *korwoi* listed after adult males on **34** = Am(2) 819, etc. (Killen 1981.42–45).

* *a-to-po-qo*: it is unclear whether this is a separate entry, listing one or more *artopok*^{w}*oi* 'bakers', or is a global description of the men above. VC (p. 179) suggest the latter (though see Chadwick in *MT* II.106), and restore MAN 17, viz. a totalling entry, in the break. However, if this were a summation we should expect it to be prefixed by *to-so*, *tos*(*s*)*oi*, and the space is hardly large enough for this.

12. LISTS OF MIXED WORKERS AT KNOSSOS (Am, B)[b1]

D/* These texts usually record a place-name followed by numbers of men analysed by occupation.

45 = Am(2) 826 (-)

.1 a-pa-ta-wa-jo , / te-re-ta VIR 45[
.2 te-ko-to-ne VIR 5 [

D/* Men of Aptara: forty-five (or more) *te-re-ta*, five carpenters.

D *a-pa-ta-wa-jo*: *Aptarwaioi*; cf. *a-pa-ta-wa* Aptarwa KN **85** = C 902+, = Ἄπταρα in Western Crete. The etymology of this name is unknown; the form Ἄπτερα is clearly due to popular etymology.

D²/* *te-re-ta*: almost certainly *telestai*; cf. τέλος and τελεστά nom. sing. Olympia 6 B.C. A class of landholders (see pp. 372–73).

D *te-ko-to-ne*: *tektones*.

46 = B(4) 101 ("124")

.1 ko-wi-ro-wo-ko VIR[ ] a_3-te-re VIR 8[
.2 *vacat* [

D/* *ko-wi-ro-wo-ko*: probably *kowilowrgoi*, but the nature of the craft remains unclear. Perhaps 'makers of hollow-ware'; cf. κοῖλος ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός Theopomp. *Hist.* 283a 'silver and gold plate' (*LSJ*). Or 'engravers' of wood or metal (cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* 431)? Further Bennet 2008b.161 'seal and/or stone mould carvers'.
a_3*-te-re*: possibly the agent noun from the verb the participle of which appears as *a-ja-me-na* 'inlaid' or 'veneered'. On the possible etymology of this, see García Ramón 1997.

13. LISTS OF MIXED WORKERS AT PYLOS (An)[b2]

D/* These are similar to the parallel group at Knossos though longer and sometimes containing additional information. The full significance of many of the occupational terms cannot be grasped, even when they are etymologically clear. It is uncertain whether the lists deal with men who worked for the palace in their own districts or who did so at Pylos or another central location. It is not impossible that the four goldsmiths on **50** = An 207.10 carried out palace assignments in their own locality, like the bronzesmiths on the *Jn* tablets (see pp. 710–20); it is less easy, however, to believe that the single builder listed as at – or rather (temporarily?) absent from – *te-re-ne-we* on **49** = An 18.6 can have worked under

[b1] *Documents*[1] 179–80, *Documents*[2] 426.

[b2] *Documents*[1] 180–83, *Documents*[2] 426–27, 521–22. Studies: **47** = An 427, **48** = An 39, **50** = An 207: Olivier, *Desservants*, Weilhartner 2017b.

palace supervision in his – evidently rather minor – village, rather than being recruited from there for work in a larger grouping. (It is just possible, indeed, that he is currently absent from home on service of this kind.) For further discussion, see **50** = An 207, Killen 2006a.77–85. With very few exceptions, the places mentioned on these records whose location we can establish are situated in the Hither Province.

47 = An 427 (S298 H 3)

.1 a-pu$_2$-we , da-ko-ro VIR 5 e-ri-no-ẉo̤[-te VIR
.2 pa-ko , me-ri-du-ma-te VIR 5 a-ke-r̤e̤[-wa VIR
.3 a-to-po-qo VIR 2 pi-*19-te , pu-ka-wo VIR 3 [

At *A-pu*$_2$ five *temple-servants*; at *E-ri-no-wo* …; at *Pa-ko five superintendents of honey*; at *A-ke-re-wa* … two bakers; at *pi-*19* three fire-kindlers ….

* Three of the occupational terms on this record recur on **48** = PY An 39, which records two similar lists of what Olivier (*Desservants*) has suggested are temple servants ('desservants de sanctuaire'). JC, however, (*Documents*^{2} 426) argues that 'there does not seem to be a sufficiently large group of titles with expressly religious implications to make this convincing'. For further discussion, see **48** = An 39.

D^2/* *a-pu*$_2$*-we*: one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province; not *Aipu* (see Glossary).

D/* *da-ko-ro*: perhaps *dakoroi*; cf. ζάκορος 'temple-servant'. <**dm̥-koro-* ?

* *e-ri-no-ẉo̤[-te*: also probably in the Hither Province (Sainer 1976.39), though in view of its association with *a-si-ja-ti-ja* on PY Cn 4 perhaps in a border area.

* *pa-ko*: a toponym not attested elsewhere.

D/D^2 *me-ri-du-ma-te*: one of the compounds of *du-ma* (see Glossary), here with *meli* 'honey'; also found on **48** = An 39.8 in the spelling *me-ri-da-ma-te*.

* *a-ke-re-wa*: another of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province.

* *pi-*19-te*: a place *pi-ru-te*, evidently in the Hither Province (Sainer 1976.50), is mentioned on An 519.14; if this is a variant spelling of *pi-*19-te*, it will suggest a sound value for **19* somewhere in the vicinity of *ru* or *lu* (p. 105).

D/* *pu-ka-wo*: *purkawoi* (cf. πυρκαεύς, etc.); for discussion of the implications of this term, see **48** = An 39.

48 = An 39 (Ci, Ciii)

Recto

.1 pu-ka-wo x VIR 16
.2 me-ri-du-ma-te VIR 10 x
.3 mi-ka-ta x VIR 3
.4 o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we VIR 4 x
.5 e-to-wo-ko x VIR 5
.6 ka-sa-to x VIR
.7 pu-ka-wo x VIR 23
.8 me-ri-da-ma-te , VIR 6

.9 o-pi-]te-u-ke-e-we , VIR 5 x
.10 mi-ka-]ta , VIR 6 x
.11 e-]ṭọ-wo-ko , VIR 4 a-to-po-qo VIR 3

Verso
.1 po-ru-da-ma-te VIR 4
.2 *vacat*
.3 qa-ra$_2$-te , VIR
.4 pu-ko-ro , VIR
.5 a-ko-so-ta , VIR
.6 pi-ri-ja-me-jạ VIR
.7 e-ni-ja-u-si-jo VIR
.8 pṭẹ-jo-kọ VIR qo-ta-wo VIR [
.9 a-ta-rọ VIR te-o-po-qọ[VIR
.10 *vestigia* [

* The absence of a place-name may indicate that the record concerns persons at Pylos itself. As noted on p. 467 (see **47** = An 427) the obverse of the record and l. 1 of the reverse show two largely identical lists of workers. The trade-names found in the two lists are *pu-ka-wo* (lists A and B), *me-ri-du-ma-te / me-ri-da-ma-te* (A, B), *mi-ka-ta* (A, B), *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* (A, B), *e-to-wo-ko* (A, B), *a-to-po-qo* (B), *po-ru-da-ma-te* (cf. *po-ro-du-ma-te* PY **94** = Fn 50) (B). As noted earlier, J.-P. Olivier interprets these terms, albeit etymologically, as the names of temple servants ('desservants de sanctuaire'); and his explanation has been accepted by J. T. Killen (2001a, 2006d.91–110). The details are as follows:

pu-ka-wo / purkawoi /; cf. πῦρ, καίω: 'guardians of the sacred fire'.
me-ri-du-ma-te , *me-ri-da-ma-te / melidamartes/*, cf. μέλι, δάμαρ: 'superintendents of the sacred honey'.
mi-ka-ta / miktai /; cf. μείγνυμι: 'mixers of liquid offerings'.
o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we / opiteukhehēwes /; cf. ἐπί, τεῦχος: 'controllers of the kitchen of a sanctuary'.
e-to-wo-ko / entoworgoi /; cf. ἐντός, ἔργον: 'those who perform their (sacred?) duties in the interior (of the temple?)'.
a-to-po-qo / artopok^{w}oi /; cf. ἀρτοκόπος: 'bakers of cakes for offerings'.
po-ru-da-ma-te, *po-ro-du-ma-te / prodamartes /*: 'deputy supervisors of a sanctuary'.

* J. Weilhartner (2017b), however, while agreeing that Olivier's interpretations are likely to be correct in terms of the Greek equivalents proposed, argues against the conclusion that this is a list of persons connected with religion. Instead, noting with approval J. T. Killen's interpretation of *o-pi-te-(u-)ke-e-u* in the heading of **111** = PY Un 2, which as we shall see below records provisions of meat and vegetable foodstuffs for a state-sponsored sacrificial banquet, as 'a person who was in charge of the (palace?) cooking vessels or dining services (or, conceivably, of the chests in which stores of foodstuffs needed for banquets,

etc. were kept)' (Killen 1992b.376), he identifies the remaining individuals in the lists on An 39 recto and verso 1 as persons engaged in related activities: *a-to-po-qo* as bakers of bread to be consumed by participants in a secular feast, *mi-ka-ta* as mixers of water and wine for secular use (and not for libations), *pu-ka-wo* as fire-kindlers engaged in work on open fires or charcoal for cooking purposes and *me-ri-du-ma-te* as persons responsible for providing honey to sweeten wine and other foodstuffs (and not responsible for sacred honey). As Weilhartner convincingly argues, this secular explanation of the lists is supported by evidence elsewhere at Pylos. Not only do references to these persons occur on other *An* tablets in parallel to records of skilled secular workers, e.g. *pi-ri-je-te-re* / *prientēres* /, 'sawyers', *ke-ra-me-we* / *keramēwes* /, 'potters', *ku-ru-so-wo-ko* / *khrusoworgoi* /, 'goldsmiths', *to-ko-so-wo-ko* / *toksoworgoi* /, 'bow-makers' and *ra-pte-re* / *rhaptēres* /, 'sewers (of leather)', all on An 207: while the interpretation of *da-ko-ro* here and on An 427 as 'temple servant' is not so certain as to suggest a different conclusion. In addition, as Weilhartner points out, the numbers of *pu-ka-wo*, etc. recorded in the An series is much easier to reconcile with a secular than with a religious explanation of the terms. As he notes, on four documents of the *An* series there are altogether 58 individuals who are described as *pu-ka-wo*. It is difficult to believe that there were 58 'guardians of the sacred fire' in the kingdom, and much easier to envisage 58 'stokers' involved with the fires that would have been needed for cooking the large amounts of food, particularly meat, that we know was consumed at state-sponsored banquets. (See **111** = Un 2, which lists the menu for a banquet for what we can estimate was 2000–3000 persons.)

* Finally, Weilhartner notes J. T. Killen's observation (2001a.439–40, 2006d.95–97), based on earlier work by L. R. Palmer (*Interpretation* 232–33) and J. Chadwick (1976a.118–19), that the figures for the issues on two of the *Fn* records, Fn 79 and **330** = Fn 187, when expressed in terms of V units, are multiples of five and three respectively, and point, Killen suggests, to the existence of festivals lasting five and three days. In addition, Killen notes (2001a.441, 2006d.97), there is similar evidence which suggests that Fn 324 and **94** = Fn 50 (where many of the occupational names on **47** = An 427, **49** = An 39, etc. recur) may record daily allocations, either because they deal with one-day festivals or because the figures they list served as the basis on which allocations for a longer period could be calculated. Weilhartner accepts Killen's explanation of these figures; but rather than taking the festivals in question as having a religious purpose, as Killen proposes, instead takes them as work feasts, of a kind familiar in many societies, designed to ensure the goodwill of corvée workers towards the palace.

* The tablet is apparently the work of three different scribes. The first wrote obverse ll. 1–5 and possibly the original l. 6; the second wrote obverse ll. 7–11 and the whole reverse; and the third wrote obverse l. 6 after the erasure (*PoN* IV ad loc.). Almost all the

entries on the obverse include a check mark; these are possibly the work of the second or third scribe (ibid.).

* *e-to-wo-ko*: perhaps *ento(s)worgoi* 'workers within'; cf. *e-ko-so-wo-ko*[KN *Xd* 299, perhaps *eksōworgos*, *-oi*, 'worker(s) outside' (Olivier, *Desservants* 66–68). A sense 'armourer' is less likely: see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v. ἔντεα.

D/* *ka-sa-to*: the absence of a numeral shows that this is a personal name (Xanthos), not a description; cf. the list of names on the reverse.

* *po-ru-da-ma-te*: obscure; possibly a variant spelling of *po-ro-du-ma-te* (there dative singular) **94** = Fn 50.7.

* *qa-ra$_2$-te*: although this is dative of the MN *qa-ra$_2$* on TH Of 38.1 and perhaps also on **93** = PY Fn 7.7, a nominative would seem more probable here, since the closest parallels for this and the following entries appear to be the many records in the archives which list men's names, always in the nominative, followed by VIR 1 or 1; see e.g. **35** = KN As(1) 609, **36** = KN As(2) 1516.

D/D^2/* *a-ko-so-ta*: perhaps *Alksoitās* (Palmer, *Interpretation* 81–82); the name of an important Pylian official (see e.g. **160** = Eq 213), though it is unclear whether he is intended here. Note that at least one of the names in this list, *pu-ko-ro*, recurs on PY Fn 837, which also mentions *me-ri-du-ma-te*; this makes it a good guess that *a-ḳo*-[.]-*ta* there is again *a-ko-so-ta*, and that *pi-ri*[(Fn 837.1) should be restored as *pi-ri-ja-me-ja* (*IP* 75).

49 = An 18 (H 11)

.1 e-re-u-te-ri-[
.2 te-ko-to-na-pe VIR [
.3 i-na-ni-ja VIR 1[ ]ja VIR [
.4 re-si-we-i VIR [ ]1 a-se-e VIR 1
.5 *vacat*
.6 te-re-ne-we , to-ko-do-mo a-pe-o VIR 1
.7 i-na-ne VIR 1 te-ko-to-na-pe 1
.8 *vacat*
.9 qo-u-ko-ro ti-no VIR 90
.10 *vacat*
.11 pa-ki-ja-si , to-so , te-[
.12 VIR 256[•] *vacat*

D/* The tablet is fragmentary, and little is clear except that we are told of some cowherds and a missing builder, *toikhodomos apehōn* (l. 6). The numbers in the last two entries are surprisingly high. Reference to men and women who are 'missing' is also made on KN B 823, **54** = PY An 724, KN Ak(2) 615, **20** = KN Ap 618 and probably PY An 614; see, too, the men qualified as *o*(*-pe-ro*) on **9** = PY Ad 671+. Similar annotation to miscellaneous lists of craftsmen is seen in the Ur tablets (e.g. Legrain 1937, no. 1486):

Sculptor, goldsmiths (one missing, two at the smithy), … Ibni-Adad the bow-maker, two smiths (one missing): those of the scale-control. Goldsmiths, fullers, hired tailor, caulkers, two rope-makers (one ill): those in the workshop.

* *e-re-u-te-ri*-[: if the next sign is *ja* (*PTT*) or *jo* (*PoN* IV), possibly a place-name or description derived from the term *e-re-u-te*, very likely a title; cf. the place-name *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, evidently derived from *e-sa-re-u*, almost certainly a title (Killen 1995a), and the description *ko-re-te-ri-jo* **42** = An 830, clearly derived from the title *ko-re-te*.

* *te-ko-to-na-pe*: also attested in the form *te-ko-to-a-pe* on An 5.1–5. Although VC and others take this as *tektōn apēs* 'a carpenter was absent', the term is probably – though not certainly – to be read on Cr 868 + 875 in a context which would exclude this interpretation and would support Palmer's view (*Interpretation* 33, 132) that it is a place-name (Killen 1999b). If this is correct, the variation in the spelling will presumably be due to the name being either (i) a juxtaposition of two terms, *tektōn* perhaps being the first, and the spelling with *n* reflecting sandhi (as VC suggest for *tektōn apēs*) or (ii) a compound, with *te-ko-to-na-pe* showing the expected treatment of a final -*to* (<*-*tn̥*) in the first element before a following vowel, and *te-ko-to-a-pe* showing an analogical extension of the pre-consonantal treatment without the *n* (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.238 and n. 69).

D/D² *i-na-ni-ja*: a place-name; cf. PY Ae 8, 72; the simpler form *i-na-ne* is in l. 7 and on An 5.8 (*i-na-pi*, instrum.- loc.).

* *te-re-ne-we*: a place-name in the dative or nominative plural of rubric; cf. *te-re-ne-wi-ja* An 852, Cr 868, fragments which also list other places found on this tablet. Given these links (on which, see further Killen 1999b), it is attractive to restore *a-se*[on An 852.4 as *a-se-e*, here on l. 4: see *PTT* ad loc. Note also that *qe-re-me-ti-wo* on An 5, Cr 868 appears to be a variant form or spelling of *qe-re-me-ti-re* on Cn 4 (with *mu-ta-pi* in the previous entry there, compare *mu-ta-pi* in the entry before the possibly erased *i-na-pi* on An 5.8). If it is, this will suggest that all the places in this section of An 18 are in the Further Province or close to it; Cn 4 is headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, one of the seven chief towns of the Further Province.

* *ti-no*: almost certainly a place-name; also perhaps on Xa 565, Fr 1223.1 (]*ti-no-de*: *ti-no* plus allative -*de*?).

D/* *pa-ki-ja-si*: loc. plur. -*ānsi* (cf. *pa-ki-ja-ne* Vn 19, Xa 113) of a variant form of the place-name *pa-ki-ja-na*, almost certainly to be located close to Pylos.

50 = An 207 (H 43)

.1–2	*desunt*	
.3	]mi[	
.4	]-jo[ ]]	VIR 10 [
.5	]pi-ri-je-te-re	VIR 2 [
.6	re-ka-ta-]ne , a-de-te-re	VIR 2
.7	ṛẹ-ka[-ta-]-ne , ke-ra-me-we	VIR 2
.8	re-ka-ta-ne , da-ko-ro	VIR 12
.9	wa-a_2-te-we , po-ku-ta	VIR 10
.10	a-nu-wa , ku-ru-so-wo-ko	VIR 4
.11	]ḳọṭ ⌋me-ri-da-ma-te	VIR 2
.12	]pị-jo , to-ko-so-wo-ko	VIR 5[
.13		]VIR ị[
.14		VIR]3
.15	a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo	VIR

.16 so-ro-pe-o , ra-pte-re [VIR
.17 ko-ri-si-jo⌊ ⌋ra-pte-re [VIR
.18 ka-ro-ke-e , ra-pte-re [VIR
.19 ra-ni-jo-ne , ra-pte-re VIR [
.20]ka-si-da , ra-pte-re VIR 20[

D/* A list of workers prefixed by place-names and in one case at least by an ethnic adjective (*ko-ri-si-jo*, *Korinsioi* from *ko-ri-to*, Korinthos l. 15; other possible ethnics include *re-ka-ta-ne* (ll. 6–8) and *ra-ni-jo-ne* (l. 17), though these might alternatively be place-names in the dative-locative). Very few of these places are recorded elsewhere; *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (l. 13; Nn 228+) is in the Hither Province, and *ko-ri-to* (Ad 921) is possibly in the Further Province (Sainer 1976.43). *Wa-a*$_2$*-te-we* is perhaps to be connected with *wa-a*$_2$*-te-pi* (Na 1009, Xa 1377), though it is difficult to explain the relationship. (Since Na 1009, Xa 1377 are by different scribes, it is difficult to
* believe that *wa-a*$_2$*-te-pi* on both is an error for **wa-a*$_2$*-te-u-pi*). As noted on pp. 466–67, it is unclear whether the craftsmen who are listed here are men who worked for the palace in their own areas or workers who were recruited from these places for service at Pylos or some other centre. It is noticeable that the figures in the entries on ll. 4–11 are all multiples of 2, which might indicate that this is a record of an assessment for corvée service; note, however, that the same is unlikely to be true of the figure in l. 14, where the arrangement of the units suggests 3, 13 or the like. Against this, however, it may not be an accident that just as the *wa-a*$_2$*-te-we* entry on l. 9 records ten *po-ku-ta* so the *wa-a*$_2$*-te-pi* entry on Na 1009 records ten units of flax (*SA*) (M. Del Freo pers. com.), recalling the links between numbers of men on the *An o-ka* tablets and the numbers of *SA* in the same places on the *Na* tablets, which in the case of the *o-ka* records appears to involve persons liable both to provide corvée service and to contribute taxes in flax.

* *pi-ri-je-te-re*: probably *prientēres* 'sawyers'. The singular *pi-ri-je-te* is found on the Knossos sword tablets, where it is contrasted with *ka-si-ko-no* and appears to refer to a specialist involved in weapons production, and may be a sawyer of ivory for the hilts of swords (Biraschi 1978). *The pi-ri-(j)e-te-re* on **93** = PY Fn 7, however, are listed there with *toikhodomoi* 'builders' and may simply be sawyers of wood. It is unclear what type of sawyer is intended here.

D/* *a-de-te-re*: probably an agent noun in *-tēr* (nom. plur.); the singular *a-de-te* is twice attested on PY Eq 36. The sense is uncertain.

D/* *ke-ra-me-we*: *keramēwe* (dual) or *keramēwes* (plural) 'potters'.

* *da-ko-ro*: see on **47** = An 427.

D/* *po-ku-ta*: also attested on **53** = An 610 and widely at Knossos on the *B(3)* and *C(4)* records; sense obscure. *pos-khutai* 'wine-pourers' is improbable, partly because there is no evidence for the apocope of Myc. *posi* (Arc. πός). The adjective *po-ku-te-ro* C(4) 911 can be explained only if the base is *po-ku-* to which the suffixes *-tās* and *-teros* are added.

D *ku-ru-so-wo-ko*: *khrusoworgoi* 'goldsmiths'.

* *me-ri-da-ma-te*: see on **47** = An 427.

D *to-ko-so-wo-ko*: *toksoworgoi* 'bow-makers'.

D²/* *ra-pte-re*: probably 'sewing-men'; cf. *ra-pi-ti-ra*$_2$ PY Ab 555, almost certainly *rhaptriai* 'sewing-women'. Perhaps men who sew leather rather than cloth = 'saddlers'; cf. *ra-pte-ri-ja a-ni-ja* PY **300** = Ub 1315 'reins with saddlers' work'.

51 = An 1282 (Ciii)

.1 a-qi-ja-i VIR 18 a-mo-si VIR 18
.2 ki-u-ro-i VIR 13 po-qe-wi-ja-i VIR 5
.3 do-ka-ma-i VIR 36
.4 *vacat*

D²/* The whole tablet has been written, deleted and re-used; but the final readings are perfectly clear. It is evident from *a-mo-si* = *harmosi* 'wheels' and *po-qe-wi-ja-i* = *phorg*^{w}*ēwiāhi* 'halters' that we have a list of items, which include equipment for chariots and horses, with varying numbers of men assigned to each. The items are all in the dative plural. The problems are to account for the other three words and to explain the numerals. There is clearly a basic unit of 18, which occurs in line 1, is split into 13 + 5 in line 2 and is doubled in line 3. If we assume that the number of men is somehow related to the amount of labour needed to make them, then it is reasonable that more than three times as many men will be needed to make wheels as halters. On the possibility that the men listed here are among those recorded on the *Ac* corvée tablets, which were found like this record in the Northeastern Building, see on **40** = Ac 1277, **41** = Ac 1280.

D² *a-qi-ja-i*: it is almost irresistible to conjecture a scribal error and to emend to *i-qi-ja-i* 'chariots'. The equal number of men assigned to chariot-frames and to wheels is probably intelligible; though larger, a chariot requires less work to construct than a pair of wheels.

* *ki-u-ro-i*: this may show a variant spelling of the term spelt as *ki-wa-ra* (neut. plur.?) in two entries on PY Vn 1341, which is also from the NE Building (Killen 1999c.347–50). The word may be *skiwron* and be related to σκῖρος, σκίρρος; if so, it may denote either some hard material like flint (for arrowheads?) or wickerwork (for use in chariot construction?) (Killen ibid.; the second suggestion is Chadwick's).

* *do-ka-ma-i*: this recurs in the case-form *do-ka-ma* on the sealing PY Wr 1480.γ, where the term *pa-ta-jo*, *paltaion* 'dart, arrow', appears on face β. Although no certainty is possible, *do-ka-ma* might there be *dorkhmai* (cf. δραχμή, lit. 'handful'), with the sense 'shafts' (lit. 'handles'), and *pa-ta-jo* a genitive plural dependent on this (Shelmerdine and Bennet 1995.131–32). If this interpretation is correct, it would fit with the explanation of *ki-u-ro-i* on the preceding line as a reference to flint arrowheads; note, too, that *pa-ta-jo* (here also genitive plural?) probably recurs on Vn 1341 following the two references to *ki-wa-ra*. JC objects to a connexion of *do-ka-ma*(*-i*) with δραχμή that this is from **dr̥k-smā*, and the parallel of *a*$_3$*-ka-sa-ma* = αἶχμή shows that the *-sm-* would have been preserved. As

Chantraine (*Dictionnaire* s.v.) observes, however, the etymology of δράσσομαι is unknown, and it is uncertain therefore whether we should analyse δραχμή as from **dr̥k-smā* or from **dr̥kh-mā*.

14. ROWERS AND COASTGUARDS AT PYLOS (An)

D/* The following group of tablets falls into two parts: one maritime, the other probably para-military. The maritime records are considered first.

(1) RECORDS OF ROWERS[b]

D/* The subject matter of the maritime tablets is indicated by the word 'rowers' which appears in the first line of all three. The first (**52** = An 1) is a list of the number of rowers to be provided by various towns for an expedition to Pleuron. The second (**53** = An 610) is probably somewhat similar, but the heading is almost all lost, and the numerals are much larger; in all 443 men are recorded, and some numbers are obviously missing in the lacuna at the right-hand edge. Some of the places mentioned on the first record recur on the second, and there appears to be a regular relationship, of approximately 1 : 5, between the numbers of men that are attributed to these places in the two contexts (Killen 1983c). Many of the men listed on the second record are described as *ki-ti-ta*, *ktitai* 'settlers' or the like, or as *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*, *metaktitai* 'fellow or new settlers', while the third tablet (**54** = An 724) almost certainly records the exemption from service of *ktitai* who are noted as being under an obligation to row. All this makes it attractive to surmise that **53** = An 610 is a list of the men in the places named on the tablet who are liable to provide service as rowers, in some cases at least in respect of their land holdings (Killen 1983c, Chadwick 1987), while **52** = An 1, which has the same hand and stylus, is a levy, based on these larger figures, for a particular expedition (Killen 1983c). It is possible that the thirty men specified on the tablet is the complement of a Mycenaean ship, though the evidence of Homer suggests a figure of fifty oarsmen per ship (Thomson 1949.423). A record from Ugarit (CTC, 79 (UT, 83)) discussed by Heltzer (1976.22–23) describes what appears to be similar conscription for marine service levied on various villages; lines 10–18, for instance, list the crew of the ship or ships of one *bn Abdḫr*:

Crew of the shi[p] (or ships)
(of) *bn Abdḫ*[*r*]
People of (the village) *Pdy*
five men

[b] *Documents*[1] 183–84, 185–88, *Documents*[2] 430–32, *Interpretation* 129–32. Studies: Chadwick 1987; **52** = An 1: Killen 1983c; **54** = An 724: Del Freo 2006.

People of (the village) *Snr*
nine me[n]
People of (the village) *Gbʿl*
four m[en]
People of (the village) *Ṯbq* [x men].

* It is unclear whether the rowers listed on these texts were recruited for naval duties or for more peaceful operations. VC suggest that the large numbers on **53** = An 610 'make it certain that we are not here concerned with a peaceful mercantile venture, but a naval operation; and it would be unlikely that the business of trade would be thus organised by a central authority'. Caution is perhaps advisable, however; in early Mesopotamia, 'it seems … that down to and including the Ur III Dynasty the merchant class was … partly in the direct employ of the institutions [palace, temples]', though it 'could [also] have been engaged in independent trading of its own' (Postgate 1992.220). It is not inconceivable therefore that the Mycenaean palaces exercised similar control over external exchange, and organised the recruitment of crews for particular trading expeditions. On the other hand, however, it may be a pointer towards a naval context for these tablets that one of them, **54** = An 724, is written by the same stylus (S657) as well as the same hand (H 1) as the second group of tablets examined in this section, the *An o-ka* tablets, which probably record para-military dispositions.

52 = An 1 (S1 H 1)

.1	e-re-ta , pe-re-u-ro-na-de , i-jo-te	
.2	ro-o-wa	VIR 8
.3	ri-jo	VIR 5
.4	po-ra-pi	VIR 4
.5	te-ta-ra-ne	VIR 6
.6	a-po-ne-we	VIR 7
.7	*vacat*	

D Rowers to go to Pleuron: eight from *Ro-o-wa*, five from Rhion, four from *Po-ra-*, six from *Te-ta-ra-ne*, seven from *A-po-ne-we*.

* A join by Melena (1995.307–08) has confirmed that the numeral in l. 6 is complete, giving a total of thirty men (see p. 474).

D/D²/* *eretai Pleurōnade iontes*: possibly the Homeric Pleuron in Aetolia (*Il.* II, 639+), but there is no evidence to support a positive identification. The five place-names in lines 2–6 are all probably locatives; there is nothing to confirm that *-pi*, the ending of *po-ra-pi*, ever has ablatival force (see pp. 476–77). The men are at these places, but will soon leave. All the toponyms are mentioned elsewhere; *ri-jo*, *te-ta-ra-ne*, *a-po-ne-we* and possibly *ro-o-wa* recur on **53** = An 610 (see pp. 476–77). None is satisfactorily interpreted except *ri-jo* = *Rhion*, a common place-name, which is associated with Asine in Messenia (the modern Koróni).

53 = An 610 (S1 H 1)

.1]ne , e-re-ta [ ]*vacat* [
.2], ki-ti-ta VIR 46 [
.3 me-]ṭa-ki-ti-ta VIR 19 [ ]*vac.*
.4]wa , ki-ti-ta VIR 36 [ ]*vac.*
.5 mẹ-ta-ki-ti-ta [ ]VIR 3 [
.6 e-wi-ri-po VIR 9 po-si-ke-te-re [VIR
.7 a-ke-re-wa VIR 25 wo-qe-we [VIR
.8 ri-jo VIR 24 wi-nu-ri-jo [VIR
.9 te-ta-ra-ne VIR 31 me-ta-ḳi[-ti-ta VIR
.10 a-po-ne-we VIR 37 me-ta-[-ki-ti-ta]*v.*[VIR
.11 ma-ra-ne-nu-we VIR 40 po-ti-ja-ke-e VIR ι6[
.12 zạ-ku-si-jo VIR 7 za-e-to-ro VIR 3
.13 da-mi-ni-jo VIR 40 e-ke-ra$_2$-wo-no VIR 40[
.14 we-da-ne-wo VIR 20 ko-ni-jo 126 me-ta-ki-ti-ta VIR 26
.15 po-ku-ta VIR 10 we-re-ka-ra , te-qa-ta-qẹ VIR 20
.16–19 *vacant*

* Melena (1995.316) notes that the fragment Xn 1151 'is most probably the upper left-hand corner' of this tablet; if he is right, line 1 will read *me-za-*[ ]*ne* , *e-re-ta* [ ]*vacat* [. There is room for one sign between *me-za-*[and]*ne*, so *me-za-*[*wo-*]*ne* is a possible restoration; cf. *me-za-wo-ni* (dat.) **110** = Un 138.5, *me-za-ne* **94** = Fn 50.4, perhaps an error for *me-za-wo-ne* (Olivier, *Desservants* 118). It is conceivable therefore that the tablet began with a note that the men listed beneath are 'for M., [going] to M.', but no certainty is possible.

D²/* Despite the uncertainty about the heading, the pattern of the tablet is clear. The men listed belong to various towns, perhaps all on the coast, and are sometimes further specified by classifications: *ki-ti-ta*, *ktitai* 'settlers' (whatever the special value of the term), *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* 'joint or new settlers', *po-si-ke-te-re*, possibly *pos-ik(e)tēres* 'immigrants', *po-ku-ta* (meaning obscure: see **50** = An 207). Entries so introduced refer to the last place named. There is also a category of men introduced by a man's name in the genitive: *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-no*, *we-da-ne-wo*. Both of these men are clearly important personages elsewhere on the tablets (e.g. **178** = Un 718, **173** = Es 644). This leaves a few terms obscure: *wo-qe-we*, also on **54** = An 724, place-name or occupational term?; *wi-nu-ri-jo*[, place-name or ethnic? *We-re-ka-ra-*<*ta*>, if rightly restored, and *te-qa-ta* are perhaps occupational terms (see p. 477). *Ko-ni-jo* is probably an ethnic from the place-name *ko-no* **160** = Eq 213; the omission of MAN is due to erasure and re-writing in a cramped space. It may be significant that the land at *ko-no* recorded on **160** = Eq 213 is five times the size of the land at *a-ke-re-wa* listed on the same tablet; note that the number of rowers described as *ko-ni-jo* here (126, plus 26 *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*) may have stood in a similar relationship to the number listed as at *a-ke-re-wa* (25, plus perhaps some *wo-qe-we*, if this is an occupational term).

*]*wa*: perhaps to be restored as *ro-o-wa*, possibly the port of Pylos. This is found on **52** = An 1, where all but one of the place-names that follow also appear on the present record, in the same order. Note, too, the approximate ratio of 5 : 1 between the thirty-nine men of]*wa* here and the eight men of *ro-o-wa* on **52** = An 1. For the similar ratio of approximately 5 : 1 between the numbers of men listed at other places mentioned on this record and those listed at the same places on **52** = An 1, see the Introduction.

* *we-re-ka-ra*: compare *we-re-ka-ra-ta* PY An 298.3, which the context suggests is an occupational term.

54 = An 724 (S657 H 1, Cii)

.1 ro-o-wa , e-re-ta , a-pe-o-te ,
.2 me-nu-wa , a-pe-e-ke , a-re-sa-ni-e ⟦ ⟧
.3 o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de , ki-ti-ta , o-pe-ro-ta , ⟦ ⟧
.4 e-re-e VIR 1 VIR
.5 e-ke-ra$_2$-wo-ne , a-pe-e-ke , a$_2$-ri-e , ⟦ ⟧
.6 o-pe-ro-te , e-re-e VIR 5
.7 ra-wa-ke-ta , a-pe-e-ḳẹ[ ]ẹ VIR [
.8 ta-ti-qo-we-u , o-[ ]qe-[•]-j̣ọ , VIR 1
.9 a-ke-re-wa , ki-e-u , o-pe-[ ]ẹ , a-ri-ja-to VIR 1
.10 ki-ti-ṭạ VIR 1 o-ro-ti-jo , di-qo , a-[
.11 o-pe-ṛọ, [ ] , e-ko-si-qe , e-qe-ta , ka-ma[
.12 e-to-ni-jo , e-nwa-ri-jo VIR 1
.13 wo-qe-we , ḍi-qo-te , ru-ki-ja , a-ko-wo ṾIṚ [
.14 ri-jo , o-no , e-qo-te VIR ḷ0[

D²/* There are frequent traces of erasure and re-writing on this tablet; on l. 4 after MAN 1 another MAN has been written faintly by another hand (Cii). The frequent corrections lead us to suspect that scribal errors are present. For instance, MAN 1 in line 4 is preceded by *o-pe-ro-ta e-re-e*, which is apparently *ophêlonta* and an infinitive (probably *erehen* 'to row'); but MEN 5 in line 6 has *o-pe-ro-te e-re-e*, where the first word seems to be nominative plural, *ophêlontes*, unless we adopt the suggestion of Risch (1958b) that *-es* functions as both the nominative and accusative plural termination of consonant stems. It seems on the whole easier to believe that the syntax is incoherent. [For an excellent discussion of the paleography and contents of the tablet, see Del Freo 2006.]

D²/* It is clear that the text divides into sections, each beginning with a place-name: ll. 1–8 *ro-o-wa*; ll. 9–12 *a-ke-re-wa*; l. 13 *wo-qe-we*, if this is really a place; if not, this line belongs to *a-ke-re-wa*; l. 14 *ri-jo*. All these toponyms certainly or possibly recur on **53** = An 610. *A-pe-o-te* in the heading is *apehontes* 'absent'; since *a-pe-e-ke* (ll. 2, 5, 7) can readily be interpreted as *apehēke* from ἀφίημι, '(he) discharged, released', it is likely that the entries record the reasons why certain men are not present. It also seems certain that the service in question was expected in respect of landholdings; like **53** = An 610, the tablet describes some of the men listed as *ki-ti-ta*, *ktitai* 'settlers' or the like, and the entry on ll. 11–12 refers to a *ka-ma*

e-to-ni-jo, which evidence elsewhere shows is a particularly privileged type of landholding (see p. 583), thus perhaps explaining the exemption here.

* Despite these areas of relative certainty, however, many of the details of the record remain obscure. While it is likely that *me-nu-wa* (l. 2), *ra-wa-ke-ta* (l. 7) and *ta-ti-qo-we-u* (l. 8) are the names or titles of important persons who have granted the exemptions described, and in the first two cases are the subject of *a-pe-e-ke*, a problem arises over *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-ne* in parallel position in l. 5, where we should again expect a nominative. Chadwick (1987.80) plausibly suggests that this is a scribal error or, perhaps more likely, an attempt to render the final *-n* of the name; we do have parallels for this, though the vowel is usually *-a* (e.g. *ki-to-na* KN Ld(2) 785.2 = *khitōn*,]*ka-ra-te-ra* MY Ue 611.2 = *krātēr* and probably]*-ḳẹ-ra*$_2$*-u-na* **311** = PY Un 853.1, which there is good reason to believe is a variant spelling of *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*). Other problems, however, are less tractable: see pp. 478–79.

* *me-nu-wa*: also on KN Sc 238, Xd 7702 (*me-nu-wa*[ ); also, in the spelling *me-nu-a*$_2$, on PY **341** = Aq 218.14, Qa 1293, Qa 1301. On the *Qa* tablets it is certainly a title, and it may be this in all contexts; while most of the terms in parallel position on the *Sc*, *Vc(1)*, *Xd* tablets are personal names, they also include *wa-na-ka* and *mi-ka-ta*, which may be titles (Driessen 1992.205) rather than names derived from titles.

* *a-re-sa-ni-e*: like *a*$_2$*-ri-e* in l. 5, also following *a-pe-e-ke*, this remains obscure. An infinitive might follow ἀφίημι, and *a*$_2$*-ri-e* is reminiscent of *a*$_2$*-ri-sa*, which might be an aorist participle or infinitive, on **160** = Eq 213, but no convincing interpretation suggests itself. Alternatively, both might be datives of *i-* stem personal names, since we now have evidence that the regular (?) dative of *i-* stems is in *-i-je* (see p. 204), and the scribe of this record sometimes omits a *j* glide, writing *i-e-ro* for *i-je-ro* and *a-pi-o-to* for *a-pi-jo-to* (Killen 1999d.218). But personal names in *-i* are extremely rare on the mainland (Morpurgo Davies 1999.396), making this explanation somewhat unlikely.

D/* *o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de*: only found again, without the *-de* suffix, in a very fragmentary context on An 615, which is possibly another list of rowers; with]*o̤-no e-qo-te*[on the lower edge, compare *o-no e-qo-te* on line 14 of the present tablet, and with]*ta* in the heading on An 615 compare *e-re-ta* in a similar position on **53** = An 610. Indeed, An 615 could be a detailed census of persons in various places who are liable to serve as rowers, including the man at *o-pi-ke-ri-jo* whose exemption and permission to return home (*o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de*, 'to *O.*') is recorded here.

D/* *ta-ti-qo-we-u*: a man's name, *Stātig*^{w}*oweus*, recurring as that of one of the commanders on the para-military tablets (**56** = An 654), perhaps but not certainly the same person as here (see p. 487).

D *a-ke-re-wa*: a new section must begin here with the change of scene.

D/* *ki-e-u*: almost certainly a man's name; cf. *ki-e-wo* (gen.) **340** = Aq 64.16, *ki-je-u* KN Xd 94. Given the spacing, the following *o-pe-*[is likelier to be *o-pe-ro*, *ophêlōn* than *o-pe-ro-ta*, *ophêlonta*, and Chadwick (1987.81) suggests that *ki-e-u* is the name of the man who owes service and *a-ri-ja-to* at the end of the entry a verbal form (3rd singular middle), though 'there does not seem to be any Classical form to which it could be referred'.

It is possible, however, that *a-ri-ja-to* is the name of the man owing the service and *ki-e-u* the person granting the exemption, like *ta-ti-qo-we-u* in the same position in the previous entry, with the names here quoted in asyndeton, which would explain the nom. *ophêlōn* if this refers to *a-ri-ja-to*. For a similar asyndeton, see *o-pe-ro-te* l. 6. M. Del Freo (2006.153), who favours the identification of *a-ri-ja-to* as a rower, and *ki-e-u* as the person giving him an exemption, points out that it may not be an accident that, just as *ta-ti-qo-we-u* may be the same person as the *o-ka* commander *t.* on **56** = An 654, so *ki-e-u* may be the same person as the *ki-e-u* mentioned on **340** = Aq 64, with its links with the *o-ka* tablets.

* *ki-ti-ta*: possibly an addendum to the previous entry, identifying the absent rower as a *ktitās*, rather than a fresh entry.

* *o-ro-ti-jo di-qo a-*[: obscure. If *di-qo-te* is the correct reading in l. 13 (Bennett), it would be tempting to take *di-qo* as a participle in *-ōn* and as singular, but no interpretation suggests itself and the reading of *di-qo-te* is too insecure to use. Line 13 is again unintelligible.

e-nwa-ri-jo: it is uncertain whether this is the name of the man indicated by VIR; cf. *a-ri-ja-to* in parallel position in l. 9, which may have this explanation (JC suggests MN *Enwālios*; cf. Ἦλις), or is dat. of the theonym Enualios attested on **328** = KN V 52. Del Freo (2006.154–56), opting for the latter explanation, compares **142** = Ep 704.5 (*e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja e-ke*) *e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o*, which is perhaps to be rendered 'and she claims to hold the *e-to-ni-jo* for her god' rather than 'claims that her god holds an *e-to-ni-jo*'. A closer parallel, however, for the *e-qe-ta* … *e-to-ni-jo* phrase here may be **151** = Eb 473 (mentioned by Del Freo ibid.), which notes that *a-pi-me-de* holds an *e-to-ni-jo* (in his own right, not on behalf of a god); as Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.107–11) has demonstrated, *a-pi-me-de* is likely to be an *e-qe-ta*.

D *wo-qe-we*: perhaps another place-name: also on **53** = An 610.

D/* *a-ko-wo*: perhaps *akorwos*, *-oi* 'without a son/sons' (Hom. ἄκουρος); cf. *Documents*[1] 188 ('hardly ἄ.'), Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.292 n. 22 (more positive). Del Freo (2006.158), accepting the interpretation, suggests as one possibility that the term implies that since the rower(s) in this instance lack(s) a son/sons, he/they is/are obliged to go on service himself/themselves. Given, however, that the record concerns, for the most part at least, landholders who have been exempted from rowing service in respect of their holdings, a preferable explanation may be that *a-ko-wo* (which may also have been mentioned in the same position on l. 10: Del Freo ibid.) refers to landholders who have been exempted from rowing service because they have no son who can manage their land (deal with the harvest, etc.) in their absence.

D *ri-jo*: another change of scene.

D/* *e-qo-te*: possibly *hek^{w}ontes* with active inflexion = ἑπόμενοι governing *o-no* = *onon* 'payment' (see **39** = An 35) in the dative 'following for a reward' (Chadwick 1999.300 [Killen]). Or *onon hek^{w}ontes* 'seeking a reward' (Chadwick ibid.)?? Or, taking *hek^{w}ontes* as from **sek^{w}*- 'say' (cf. ἐννέπω), 'naming their reward' (Ruijgh 2004.42–43)?? Or, again taking *hek^{w}ontes* as from **sek^{w}*- 'say', 'claiming a benefit (which entitles them to exemption)'??

(II) RECORDS OF COASTGUARDS[b]

* The function of the second group of tablets appears to be shown in the heading of **55** = An 657, which was presumably therefore the first tablet in the 'set' to be written. The phrase here, *o-u-ru-to o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra e-pi-ko-wo*, is normally interpreted as *hō wruntoi opihala epikowoi* 'thus the watchers guard the coast' (VC, Palmer 1956a). It is true that this is an 'etymological' interpretation, and as such is incapable of final proof; but each element in the translation receives mutual support from the others, and it is in keeping with the interpretation of *o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra* as 'coastal regions' that four of the places that are named in the series, *ro-o-wa*, *a-ke-re-wa*, *po-ra* and *za-e-to-ro*, are also found on the 'rower' tablets. Other proposals are much less attractive. Deroy's suggestion (1968) that the 'set' is a record of tax collectors encounters a number of serious difficulties. For instance, Deroy compares *o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra* with the term ἐπίαρον in the Elean inscription Dittenberg *Syll.*[3] I, 9 and renders it as 'profit postérieur', viz. a form of tax revenue. But as Panagl (1971) points out, ἐπίαρον is almost certainly a compound of ἰαρός 'sacred', and this term appears in Mycenaean only as *i-je-ro* or *i-e-ro*, ἱερός, not *i-ja-ro*. Nor is it credible that all 780+ men on these records were involved in the collection of taxes. Uchitel (1984b), in contrast, thinks that these men were all merely agricultural workers, and compares the *erín* records in early Mesopotamian archives, in which military terminology is applied to work-teams. It is true that, as he notes, some of the groups and individuals listed on these texts also appear: (i) on the *Na* flax records, probably as occupants of flax-producing land (see p. 683); (ii) on the diptych **340** = Aq 64, **341** = Aq 218, which refers to landholdings and the commodity **171*, probably the plant cyperus (see pp. 899–900); and (iii) on **78** = Cn 3, which is concerned with oxen: though since they are recorded singly, rather than in pairs, these animals are likelier to be intended for sacrifice and/or food than for ploughing, as Uchitel suggests they are (see pp. 519–20). As we have seen on pp. 474, 476, however, many of the men on the 'rower' tablets are described as *ktitai* or *metaktitai*, and presumably owed part-time service as rowers in respect of their landholdings; and there seems no reason therefore why the men on the present records should not have been landholders subject to similar obligations, in their case to serve as coastguards. Indeed, it is clear that the Mesopotamian *erín*, or obligatory service personnel mentioned by Uchitel, again worked part-time for the state, a month at a time, sometimes at tasks such as dike-repairing and canal-clearing (Postgate 1992.237), but also instead or additionally as soldiers (Waetzoldt 1987.120; cf. Driessen 2000.202 n. 9). Although some *erín* were city-dwellers (Postgate 1992.237), others held allotments

[b] *Documents*[1] 184–85, 188–94, *Documents*[2] 427–30, 432, *Interpretation* 147–63, *Textos* 24–25. Studies: Mühlestein 1956, Risch 1958a, Deroy 1968, Lejeune, *Mémoires* III. 60–69, Schmitt-Brandt 1968, Deger-Jalkotzy 1978.14–52, Uchitel 1984b, Killen 2007a.

of land which they 'would have been able to work … themselves with the help of their family and rented oxen' (Waetzoldt 1987.129). Nor does Uchitel offer a persuasive alternative explanation of the heading of **55** = An 657; it is difficult to accept his suggestion (1984b.163) that *wruntoi* might mean 'supervise' rather than 'guard, protect'.

D²/* The total number of men listed on this 'set' (excluding those named) is not less than 780; several figures may be incomplete. All the units are multiples of 10 and range from 10 to 110. The fact that all the figures are exact multiples of 10, and that no deficits or absences are noted, makes it likely that this is a record of an ideal situation: a muster which is envisaged, rather than one which has already taken place. Another tablet in the archive, An 614, which is in the same hand and stylus as **55** = An 657, etc., may well deal with an actual muster. Though this is very fragmentary, it contains the terms *ẹ-qe-ta* and *ko-ro-*]*ḳṵ-ṛạ-i-jo*, which are both prominent in the 'coastguard' records (see pp. 483–85), and it also refers to men 'absent' (]*a-pe-e-ṣḭ*[, *apehensi*). The figures in the 'set' are also sufficient to disprove the suggestion that the documents record the mobilisation of the Pylian army. For even if it were as small as this, which is highly improbable, it would be madness to divide it into small units, not one of which could be expected to hold off for long a large raiding party. It is therefore clear that the purpose of this organisation is not strictly defensive but to provide an early warning system to guard against an unobserved landing.

D²/* These 780 or more men are spaced out irregularly round the coast (*opihala* 'coastal regions') in ten sectors, which are described as *o-ka*. The interpretation of this term remains uncertain. The most widely accepted suggestion is that it is *orkhā* = ἀρχή 'command'; cf. Homeric ὄρχαμος 'leader'. Since, however, the etymology of ὄρχαμος remains uncertain, we should not perhaps exclude *okhā* (VC), viz. an action noun from ἔχω of a type common in Mycenaean (see Glossary s.v. *o-pa*, *to-u-ka*, *wo-ka*), here meaning 'possession' and referring to the men who are held or commanded by the person whose name, in the genitive, precedes the term.

D²/* The location of these *o-ka* is not always clear, partly because the place-name does not always occupy the same position in the formula, and also because many of the place-names do not recur elsewhere. In §1 (see the translations on p. 486) the place-name *o-wi-to-no* stands immediately after the heading *ma-re-wo o-ka*; in §2 there is no place-name here because the two detachments of troops are at different places, twenty men at a_2*-ru-wo-te* and ten at a_3*-ta-re-u-si*. Where Nedwatas, the commander of the *o-ka*, had his headquarters is not specified, perhaps because it was too well known to the writer. §3 is remarkable since the location of neither the *o-ka* of Klumenos nor his detachments of fifty and sixty men is specified. Since the first are natives of *me-ta-pa*, it may be presumed that they

are in that general area; it may similarly be presumed that the second, which is described as *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, are in the general area of U-pi-akron. Again it may have been sufficiently obvious to the writer where Klumenos, who was the *ko-re-te* of *i-te-re-wa* (**340** = Aq 64), would dispose his guards.

§4 also departs from the normal formula; it is unclear whether *to-wa* is a place or a man. *Wa-wo-u-de* is likely to be a topographical term, but whether it is the location or place of origin of the troops can only be guessed. The detachment of sixty men is, exceptionally, made up of five separate units. In §5 the *o-ka* of Tros is at *ro-o-wa*, but the 110 men of his detachment are at a_2*-ra-tu-wa*. §6 is made more difficult by lacunae; perhaps *ka-ke-*[is the beginning of a place-name, and line 10 is apparently irregular, leaving us in doubt which of these words, if any, is a place.

D² §7 is more regular. The *o-ka* of Wapalos is located at *ne-wo-ki-to*, but the number of his detachment is not given, for *sa-pi-da* takes the place of the usual MEN + number. It is tempting to search for some word as an interpretation which could serve as a substitute for a number (e.g. 'as required', 'as available'), but no plausible suggestion has been made. A subsidiary detachment of twenty men is at *ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja*; if *wo-wi-ja* is *worwia* = ὅρια 'frontier', this will perhaps make sense.

D²/* In §8 Dwoios has his *o-ka* and main detachment at *a-ke-re-wa*, an important town; but a small force of ten, specifically called young, are at *u-wa-si*. §9 repeats the pattern of §2: no location for the *o-ka*, but troops at four different places. Finally, Erkhomenatas in §10 has his headquarters at *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*, the only town named which is known to be in the Further Province, but his detachment is being sent to Nedwon (probably the only name with allative -*de*, but cf. *wa-wo-u-de* in §4).

D² Each *o-ka* has also a short list of named men. A number of these reappear on other Pylos tablets, but there is always the danger that the name is borne by two men (cf. *ma-re-u* in §10 who duplicates the name of the commander of *o-ka* §1). Thus the recurrence of some of these names among the bronzesmiths (*Jn* tablets, see pp. 710–19) is probably without significance. But the presence of six of these names on the diptych **340** = Aq 64 and **341** = Aq 218 is hardly likely to be an accident: *ma-ra-te-u*, *e-ta-wo-ne-u*, *de-wi-jo* (if really a name), *e-ru-ta-ra*, *po-ki-ro-qo*, *pe-ri-me-de*. Two also recur on **208** = Jo 438: *e-ke-me-de* and *po-ki-ro-qo* again, in the company of *ne-da-wa-ta*, commander of *o-ka* §2. All this suggests that they are people of consequence, at least on a local level, and this confirms the idea that they are the subordinate officers of the *o-ka*, no doubt in charge of the various detachments.

D² The fact that many of the place-names are not mentioned elsewhere is understandable if we remember that the function of these detachments is to act as lookouts. They will not therefore be posted in sheltered bays and harbours where settlements are likely, but on uninhabited cliffs and promontories; they

would, however, still have been based upon the nearest town. This fits well with the pattern seen on the tablets.

D²/* Divided among the ten *o-ka* are eleven *e-qe-ta*, each introduced with the formula 'and with them (is) the *e-qe-ta* So-and-So'. But they are not regularly spaced out, one to each *o-ka*. §8 has no less than three, while §7 has two; §§1, 4 and 5 have none. JC suggests that since this is the last item in the enumeration and clearly refers back, there is no reason why the *e-qe-ta* should not be attached to all the detachments between him and the previous one. If this were so, and if the order of the tablets is as suggested in *Documents*² (see p. 485), *a-e-ri-qo-ta* would cover not only §2 but §1 as well; JC suggests that this may be why his location is stated separately, at *e-ra-po ri-me-ne* = *Elaphōn limenei* 'Deer-harbour'. Similarly, *ro-u-ko* would cover the whole of §5 and §6 as well as §4 on the previous tablet. It might seem unlikely that a single *e-qe-ta* should be involved with no fewer than three different *o-ka*; but if *ta-ti-qo-we-u*, whose *o-ka* is recorded in §4, is the same *ta-ti-qo-we-u* as is mentioned on **54** = An 724 in connexion with the place *ro-o-wa*, this could be because all three *o-ka* were located close to one another. Although it is unclear where the *o-ka* of *ke-wo-no* (§6) is located, the *o-ka* of *to-ro* (§5) is again at *ro-o-wa*. It is impossible, however, to confirm JC's suggestion; and it may be that *e-qe-ta* were associated only with the single group of men in the immediately preceding entry, or at most with some or all of the groups in the same *o-ka* where these do not themselves have an accompanying *e-qe-ta*.

D²/* Nor can we be certain of the function of *e-qe-ta* on these records. The use of patronymic adjectives with their names implies that they were persons of importance; they possessed slaves, and textiles and chariot wheels are named after them (see Glossary, s.v. *e-qe-si-jo*). In contrast with the 'commanders' and 'officers' of the *o-ka* (see pp. 481–82), they appear to have ties with the central palace administration rather than the local one; thus *a-pi-me-de*, one of the 'collectors' on the Pylos *Cn* sheep records, is probably the same *a-pi-me-de* as the person of that name on the *Eb/Ep* land records, who in turn is plausibly identified as the owner of the *e-qe-si-jo* slaves in the same series and the *e-qe-ta* mentioned on **155** = Ed 317 (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.107–11). Although no certainty is possible, 'collectors' are most plausibly explained as members of the ruling elite: important palace administrators like *a-ko-so-ta* at Pylos (see **160** = Eq 213); members of the royal family, etc. (see pp. 502–07). The title itself, 'Follower' (Classical ἑπέτᾱς from ἕπομαι), may refer to followers of the king. Against this background, JC suggests that 'their allocation to duties in connexion with coast-guards must therefore be to provide liaison with the king's headquarters at Pylos'; and concluding from the references to *e-qe-si-ja* wheels that *e-qe-ta* owned chariots, he suggests that these were used as the means of communication. While, however, this is possible, we cannot be certain that *e-qe-si-ja* wheels were intended for chariots owned by *e-qe-ta*, and were not merely a variety which for some reason or other (e.g.

historical) was called after the *e-qe-ta*, but was not actually used by them (Ruijgh, *Études* 120). We might compare here the term *wa-na-ka-te-ra*, which is used, like *e-qe-si-ja*, as a description of cloth at Knossos. While these might be cloths which were actually used by the king, they may only be fabric of a particularly high quality; for a comparable use of 'royal' in ancient Mesopotamian textile records, see Veenhof 1972.192–93. Nor do their appearances elsewhere in the archives support the contention that the *e-qe-ta* had a predominantly military role, much less that they were the commanders of the army, as JC further suggests. While, therefore, the *e-qe-ta* may have served as the palace's representatives with the *o-ka*, it is possible that their role was less a military than a civilian administrative or supervisory one.

D²/* The mysterious words *o-ka-ra* (*o-ka-ra*$_3$), *ke-ki-de*, *i-wa-so*, *o-*34-ta*, *ku-re-we*, *pe-di-je-we*, *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*, *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* seem all to be descriptions of the troops used for these duties. Some look like ethnic adjectives, but if so the places from which they are named are not elsewhere mentioned on the tablets, and they contrast with the real ethnics such as *o-wi-ti-ni-jo* (**55** = An 657.4) or *ku-pa-ri-si-jo* (**55** = An 657.8, 10) from known places. Only one offers a plausible etymological explanation: *pe-di-je-we* is likely to be *pediēwes* from πεδίον 'plainsmen'. None of the guesses made for the rest are convincing. But some of these names reappear on the *Na* tablets (see p. 683), where the groups of *ke-ki-de*, *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* and *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* are said to 'possess' something: almost certainly, flax-producing land. Moreover, as Mühlestein (1956.16–18) was the first to point out, there are several apparent correspondences between the number of FLAX units on the *Na* records mentioning groups whose names recur on the *o-ka* records and the numbers of men in the groups in question as shown on the *o-ka* tablets. **193** = Na 514, for instance, lists FLAX 30 at [*ku-*]*pa-ri-so* with the note *ke-ki-de e-ko-si*, while **55** = An 657 lists two detachments of *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de* of twenty and ten men respectively. Na 1027, again, has the entry *e-na-po-ro* FLAX 70, while **59** = An 661 reads *e-na-po-ro i-wa-so* MEN 70. Although JC initially queried the significance of these figures, he was later inclined to accept it (de Fidio 1987.139 n. 37); and they are perhaps most readily explained as showing that the groups in question were expected to provide both tribute in flax and service as coastguards in respect of their landholdings (Killen 1985c.248–49, de Fidio 1987.141). If we regard the names on the *o-ka* tablets not as varieties of soldiers but as tribal names, their appearance as landholders on the flax tablets would require no special explanation. It is possible therefore that these men are drawn from communities resident within the kingdom of Pylos, but not part of the normal Greek population. They may well have retained their non-Greek language from the time before the settlement of the area by Greek-speakers; but even if they had become linguistically assimilated to their masters, they would doubtless retain their old pre-Hellenic names, though adapted to Greek declensions. It is

consistent with these terms being tribal names that *ku-re-we* recurs at Knossos in parallel with *i-ja̤-wo-ne̤*[, which if the reading is correct is almost certainly *Iāwones* 'Ionians' (Hom. Ἰάονες): see B(4) 164, a record of large numbers of men. Moreover, *i-wa-so* may be *Iwasoi*; cf. Ἴασον Ἄργος *Od.* XVIII, 246, where the epithet may be an ethnic (Heubeck 1961b.51).

D²/* One conclusion from these documents seems inescapable: that Pylos feared an attack or attacks coming by sea. What, however, is less easy to determine is the nature and source of these attacks. It is still not clear what led to the destruction of the Mycenaean centres, including Pylos, at the end of the LH IIIB period (invasion, climate change, internal conflict – or perhaps a combination of different factors: Treuil et al. 1989.451–56), so it would be dangerous to conclude that the precautions described on the tablets were against a major seaborne invasion, and that because the palace was destroyed later in the same year those preparations had proved to be in vain. The possibility must remain open that what was being countered was piratical raids on the coast; and there is nothing to show whether the depositions described were made on a regular, routine basis or were designed to counter an immediate emergency. In this connexion, it is of interest to note that a MAN record at Knossos, As <4493>, appears to contain information which is strikingly similar to some on the *o-ka* tablets. Line 1 reads]*e̤-pi-ko-wo e-qe-ta̤ e-re-u-te̤*[; and it is immediately attractive to compare with this: (i) *e-pi-ko-wo* 'watchers' in the heading of **55** = An 657; (ii) the frequent references to *e-qe-ta* in the *o-ka* tablets; and (iii) the phrase *e-re-u-te-re di-wi-je-we* on **78** = Cn 3, a tablet with very close links with the *o-ka* tablets (see pp. 519–20), which in turn makes it probable that *di-wi-je-u* there is the *e-qe-ta* of that name on **58** = An 656. Given these links, and the difficulty of believing that Knossos also was facing an emergency, it seems reasonable to conclude that the dispositions at Pylos, even if they were designed to counter a sudden threat, were not devised on a wholly *ad hoc* basis, but were based on systems of manpower deployment which were in regular use in Mycenaean kingdoms.

* *Note*: The texts below are shown in the order proposed by VC, except that An 654 is placed before rather than after An 519, as suggested by JC. Although other orders have been suggested (see e.g. Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.60–63, Schmitt-Brandt 1968), this seems the most plausible sequence in the light of the order of places on **207** = Jn 829, **53** = An 610, **54** = An 724, etc. No certainty is possible, however, and Lejeune and Schmitt-Brandt could be correct in placing An 656, and not An 654, after An 657 and before An 519, in view of the presence of an *e-qe-ta* and troops described as *a-pu-ka*$_2$(*-ne*) on 656, and the mention of troops with the same description on the second last line of 657 (see pp. 486–87, 489). Note, too, that *a*$_3$*-ko-ta*, the *e-qe-ta* mentioned on 657.14, may well be the brother of the *e-qe-ta di-ko-na-ro a-da-ra-ti-jo* mentioned on 656.14 (see p. 487).

55 = An 657 (S657 H 1)

.1 o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a_2-ra , e-pi-ko-wo ,
.2 ma-re-wo , o-ka , o-wi-to-no ,
.3 a-pe-ri-ta-wo , o-re-ta , e-te-wa , ko-ki-jo ,
.4 su-we-ro-wi-jo , o-wi-ti-ni-jo , o-ka-ra_3 VIR 50
.5 *vacat*
.6 ne-da-wa-ta-o , o-ka , e-ke-me-de
.7 a-pi-je-ta , ma-ra-te-u , ta-ni-ko ,
.8 a_2-ru-wo-te , ke-ki-de , ku-pa-ri-si-jo VIR 20 VIR [[10]]
.9 *vacat*
.10 a_3-ta-re-u-si , ku-pa-ri-si-jo , ke-ki-de VIR 10
.11 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , ke-ki-jo ,
.12 a-e-ri-qo-ta , e-ra-po , ri-me-ne ,
.a o-wi-
.13 o-ka-ra , -to-no VIR 30 ke-ki-de-qe , a-pu_2-ka-ne ,
.14 VIR 20 me-ta-qe , pe-i , a_3-ko-ta , e-qe-ta ,

D/D² How the watchers are guarding the coast.

§1 *Command* of *Maleus* at *O-wi-to-no*: *Ampelitawon*, Orestas, Etewas, *Kokkion*, *Su-we-ro-wi-jo*.
Fifty *o-ka-ra_3* men from *O-wi-to-no*.

§2 *Command* of Nedwatas: Ekhemedes, *A-pi-je-ta*, *Ma-ra-te-u*, *Ta-ni-ko*.
Twenty Kuparissian *ke-ki-de* men at *Halwon*, ten Kuparissian *ke-ki-de* men at *Aithalewes* (and with them the Follower *Aherik^{w}hoitas* son of *Ke-ki* at Deer Harbour),
thirty *o-ka-ra* men at *O-wi-to-no*,
and twenty *ke-ki-de* men from *A-pu_2-k-* (and with them the Follower *A_3-ko-ta*).

D/* *hō wruntoi*: an athematic 3rd plur. present indic. (cf. ῥῦσθαι). The mobilisation described on these tablets is envisaged rather than actual (see p. 481); for a present in a similar context, see e.g. *o-u-di-do-si* **179** = Ma 90, a record of an assessment for tribute (p. 673).

D/* *opihala*: 'the coastal regions' (Classical ἔφαλος; e.g. Κήρινθόν τ' ἔφαλον *Il.* II, 538, and cf. τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια).

D/D² *epikowoi*: cf. Delph. πυρκόοι 'watchers of the sacred fire'. *O-pi-ko-wo* Jn 881 may be a variant form.

D *o-wi-to-no*: clearly a place-name with medial *-t(h)n-*; cf. the adjective *o-wi-ti-ni-jo*.

D/* *su-we-ro-wi-jo*: it is not clear where the list of names ends; this word may be an 'officer's' name or go with what follows, and indicate the location of the group (a place-name?).

* *ma-ra-te-u*: in view of the presence of *ke-ki-de a-pu_2-ka-ne* in the same *o-ka* (see l. 13), this may well be the same individual as the]*ma-ra-te-u a-pu-ka* on **341** = Aq 218.15.

* *a_2-ru-wo-te*: *Halwontei*? Cf. Ἅλοῦς (< *-*owens*)? Ruijgh (*Études* 303 n. 65) prefers to explain it as a non-Indo-European formation of the same type as Νέδ(F)ων.

D² *Kuparissioi*: from [*ku-*]*pa-ri-so* **193** = Na 514, Κυπάρισσος (cf. Κυπαρισσήεις *Il.* II, 593).

* *pe-i*: probably *sphehi* rather than *spheis* (see Glossary s.v.).

* *ke-ki-jo*: almost certainly a patronymic derived from the man's name *ke-ki* (Jn 692+). The *a-e-ri-qo-ta* at *o-wi-to-no* listed on **341** = Aq 218 between two *e-qe-ta*, both of them mentioned on the *o-ka* tablets, can hardly be other than the *e-qe-ta* here; the damaged]*jo̤* after the name on **341** is presumably to be restored as *ke-ki-jo*. For the unusual order patronymic + name, cf. **58** = An 656.6.

* *Āherik*^{w}*hoitās* [Hom. ἦρι, ἠέριος; -φοίτης.]: the alternative explanation *Aherik*^{w}*hontās*, lit. 'he who kills with the sword' (Hajnal 1992), involving as the first element a hypothetical *e*-grade variant of ἄορ 'sword', is less convincing.

* *Elaphōn limenei*: for a possible reason for the mention of a place-name here, see p. 483.

* *a-pu*$_2$*-ka-ne*: an ethnic in *-ānes*; cf. *a-pu-ka* **341** = Aq 218, probably a variant spelling of the singular *a-pu*$_2$*-ka* **58** = An 656. The status of *a-ṗṳ*$_2$*-ka* KN Uf(1) 111 is uncertain.

* *a*$_3$*-ko-ta*: doubtless the same person as the Follower *a*$_3$*-ko-ta a-da-ra-ti-jo* on **341** = Aq 218.

56 = An 654 (S657 H 1)

.1 ku-ru-me-no-jo , o-ka , pe-ri-te-u ,
.2 wo-ne-wa , a-ti-ja-wo , e-ru-ta-ra ,
.3 o-*34-ta , me-ta-pi-jo , ke-ki-de ,
.4 VIR 50
.5 *vacat*
.6 u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo , ku-re-we , VIR 60
.7 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta ,
.8 a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo , e-te-wo-ke-re-we-
.9 i-jo ,
.10 *vacat*
.11 ta-ti-qo-we-wo , o-ka , to-wa ,
.12 po-ki-ro-qo , pe-ri-no , de-u-ka-ri-jo ,
.13 ra-pe-do , do-qo-ro , pe-ri-ra-wo ,
.14 e-no-wa-ro , to-so-de , pe-di-je-we ,
.15 wa-wo-u-de , ke-ki-de , VIR 10
.16 u-ru-pi-ja-jo VIR 10 ku-re-we VIR 20
.17 i-wa-so VIR 10
.18 o-ka-ra$_3$ VIR 10

D/D²/* §3 *Command* of Klumenos: *Peristheus*, *Wo-ne-wa*, Antiawon, Eruthras, *O-*34-ta*.
Fifty *ke-ki-de* men from Metapa,
sixty *ku-re-we* men *at u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*,
(and with them the Follower Alektruon son of Eteoklewes).

§4 *Command* of Statig^{w}oweus: *Thowans*, Poikilok^{w}s, *Perinos*, Deukalion, *Ra-pe-do*, *Do-qo-ro*, Perilawos, *E-no-wa-ro*.
The following number of plainsmen:
Ten *ke-ki-de* men *at Wa-wo-u-* ,

ten *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* men,
twenty *ku-re-we* men,
ten *i-wa-so* men,
ten *o-ka-ra*$_3$ men.

D/* *Klumenoio*: Homeric name; he is described as *mo-ro-qa*, perhaps *mo(i)ro-kk*^{w}*ās* 'possessor of a share', and *ko-re-te*, the title of an important local official (see pp. 295–96), on **340** = Aq 64.

* *o-*34-ta*: a man's name (= ethnic ?) on TH Of 33 (gen.), Ug 3 and perhaps also here and on **57** = An 519, though it might alternatively be an ethnic, qualifying *me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de* here and *u-ru-pi-ja-jo o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo* on **57**.

* *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*: it is unclear whether this is a place-name (cf. *pu*$_2$*-ra*$_2$*-a-ki-ri-jo* Na 425, *a*$_2$*-ka-a*$_2$*-ki-ri-jo* **59** = An 661) or an ethnic qualifying *ku-re-we*.

D *Alektruōn*: another Homeric name, recurring on **172** = Es 650. He is presumably the brother of *ne-qe-u*, another son of Eteocles mentioned on **340** = Aq 64.

D *to-wa*: a man or a place?

* *wa-wo-u-de*: analogy suggests that this is a place-name or ethnic, but it might alternatively be an allative (cf. *ne-do-wo-ta-de* **59** = An 661).

57 = An 519 (S657 H 1)

.1 to-ro-o , o-ka , ro-o-wa ,
.2 ka-da-si-jo , mo-ro-qa , zo-wo ,
.3 ki-ri-ja-i-jo , wa-tu-wa-o-ko , mu-to-na
.4 o-ka-ra$_3$, a$_2$-ra-tu-wa , VIR 110
.5 *vacat*
.6 ke-wo-no-jo , o-ka , ka-ḳẹ[
.7 tu-si-je-u , po-te-u ẹ-ṭạ-wo-ne-ụ[
.8 a-pi-te-wa , i-wa-so VIR 6̣0[
.9 *vacat*
.10 a$_2$-te-po , de-wi-jo , ko-ma-we ,
.11 o-*34-ta-qe , u-ru-pi-ja-jo ,
.12 o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo VIR 30
.13 *vacat*
.14 pi-ru-te , ku-re-we VIR 50
.15 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , ro-u-ko
.16 ku-sa-me-ni-jo , [

D/D^2 §5 *Command* of Tros at *Ro-o-wa*: *Ka-da-si-jo the share-holder*, *Zo-wo*, *Kiljaios*, *Wastuaokhos*, *Murtonas*.
110 *o-ka-ra*$_3$ men at *A*$_2$*-ra-tu-wa*.

§6 *Command* of *Ke-wo-no*: …, *Tu-si-je-u*, Ponteus, Etawoneus.
Sixty *i-wa-so* men at *A-pi-te-wa*.
A$_2$*-te-po*, *De-wi-jo*, Komawens and *O-*34-ta*.
Thirty *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* men from *O-ru-ma-si-ja*,

fifty *ku-re-we* men at *Pi-ru-* ,
(and with them the Follower *Ro-u-ko* the son of *Kussamenos*).

* *mo-ro-qa*: probably the title (= *mo*(*i*)*ro-kk*^{w}*ās* ?) rather than a man's name based on it, as suggested by Merlingen (1958.248) and tentatively by Lindgren (*People* II.99, 208). Note that four men are described as *mo-ro-qa* on **340** = Aq 64.2–5, which has very close links with the *o-ka* tablets.

D² *Kiljaios*: this might alternatively be *Kirjaios*; cf. Κίλλαιος, Κιρραῖος.

D a_2*-ra-tu-wa*: also spelt a_2*-ra-tu-a* **78** = Cn 3, pointing to a glide.

* *ka-ḳe*[: it is unclear whether this is a place-name or the first of the 'officers'' names.

D²/* *tu-si-je-u*: an assibilated form of the name spelt as *tu-ti-je-u* on PY Cn 4.

* a_2*-te-po de-wi-jo*: the identification of these terms as 'officers'' names is very uncertain; *de-wi-jo* appears to be a patronymic when it recurs on **341** = Aq 218.

D/* *o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*: a derivative of **Orumansia*, itself derived from *o-ru-ma-to* **78** = Cn 3, where the same group of *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* is evidently referred to; cf. Ἐρύμανθος.

* *pi-ru-te*: this place-name (also on **78** = Cn 3) may also be found in the spelling *pi-*19-te* on **47** = An 427.

D/* *ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo*: also on **341** = Aq 218.

58 = An 656 (S657 H 1)

.1 wa-pa-ro-jo , o-ka , ne-wo-ki-to ,
.2 ⟦ ⟧ e-ri-ko-wo , a_2-di-je-u ,
.3 a-ki-wo-ni-jo , ⟦ ⟧
.4 wa-ka-ti-ja-ta , ke-ki-de , sa-pi-da
.5 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta ,
.6 pe-re-qo-ni-jo , a-re-i-jo ,
.7 ne-wo-ki-to , wo-wi-ja , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo ,
.8 VIR 20 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta ,
.9 di-wi-je-u ,
.10 *vacat*
.11 du-wo-jo-jo , o-ka , a-ke-re-wa ,
.12 a_2-ku-ni-jo , pe-ri-me-de , ⟦ ⟧
.13 pu_2-ti-ja , a-pu_2-ka-ne , ke-ki-de , po-ra-i VIR 20
.14 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , di̤-ko-na-ro , a-da-ra-ti-jo
.15 u-wa-si , ke-ki-de , ne-wo VIR 10
.16 me-ta-qe , pe-i , pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo , e-qe-ta ,
.17 *vacat*
.18 a-ke-re-wa , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo VIR 80
.19 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , ka-e-sa-me-no ,
.20 a-pu_2-ka ,

D/D² §7 *Command* of *Wapalos* at *Ne-wo-ki-to*: *E-ri-ko-wo*, A_2*-di-je-u*, *A-ki-wo-ni-jo*.
... *ke-ki-de* men *of Wa-ka-ti-ja*,
(and with them the Follower *Arehios* son of *Pe-re-qo-no*).
Ne-wo-ki-to borders:

Twenty *ko-ru-ku-ra-i-jo* men,
(and with them the Follower Diwieus).

§8 *Command* of *Dwoios* at *A-ke-re-wa*: *A*$_2$*-ku-ni-jo*, Perimedes, *Phutias*.
Twenty *ke-ki-de* men from *A-pu*$_2$*-k-* at *Po-ra*, (and with them the Follower *Di-ko-na-ro* son of Adrastos).
Ten young *ke-ki-de* men at *U-w-* ,
(and with them *a* Follower *from Pleuron*).
Fifty *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* men at *A-ke-re-wa*,
(and with them the Follower *Kahesamenos* from *A-pu*$_2$*-k-*).

* There are gaps at the beginning and end of the list of 'officers' in ll. 2–3 where entries have been erased. The entry at the beginning originally read *di-wi-je-u* (cf. l. 9).

* *sa-pi-da*: obscure; perhaps a term replacing the entry giving the number of men (JC) or a place-name.

D/D^2 *wo-wi-ja*: probably *worwia* = ὅρια. Elsewhere apparently a second member of a place-name, the first part of which is a man's name in the genitive; cf. *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* PY Mn 456, *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja* Na 1053, probably *Lunkēwos worwia* 'the boundaries of Lynceus'.

D *Pleurōnios*: ethnic or name? Elsewhere *e-qe-ta* precedes the name (except for **55** = An 657.14), so the variation may be significant; cf. the mention of Pleuron on **52** = An 1.

* *a-da-ra-ti-jo*: the Follower *a*$_3$*-ko-ta a-da-ra-ti-jo* on **341** = Aq 218 (cf. **55** = An 657.14) is presumably a brother of *di-ko-na-ro* here (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.68 n. 45).

59 = An 661 (S657 H 1)

.1 e-ḳi-no-jo , o-ka , e-o-te-u ,
.2 a-ti-ṛọ[•] , i-da-i-jo , e-se-re-a$_2$,
.3 e-na-po-ro , i-wa-so VIR 70
.4 ạ-o-ri-jọ , ḳọ-ṛọ-ḳụ[-ra-]i-jọ VIR 30
.5 ka-ra-do-ro , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo VIR 10
.6 za-e-to-ro , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo VIR 20
.7 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jọ
.8 *vacat*
.9 e-ko-mẹ-na-ta-o , o-ka ,
.10 ti-mi-tọ-a-ke-i , ma-ṛẹ-u , dạ-qo-ta ,
.11 a-ke[ ]u , a-ke-wa-to ,
.12 a$_2$-ka-a$_2$-ki-ri-jo , u-ru-pi-ja-jo ,
.13 ne-do-wo-ta-de VIR 30 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta ,

D/D^2 §9 *Command* of *Ekhinos*: *E-o-te-u*, *A-ti-ro*, *I-da-i-jo*, *E-se-re-a*$_2$.
Seventy *i-wa-so* men at *E-na-po-ro*,
Thirty *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* men at *A-o-ri-jo*,
Ten *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* men at Kharadro(s),
Twenty *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* men at *Za-e-to-ro*,
(and with them the Follower *Wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo*).

§10 *Command* of *Erkhomenatas* at *Ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*:
Maleus, *Da-qo-ta*, *A-ke*[ ]*-u*, *A-ke-wa-to*.
Thirty *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* men at A_2*-ka-*a_2*-ki-ri-jo* (going) to Nedwon,
(and with them a Follower).

* *a-ti-ro*: if the reading is correct, cf. the MN *a-ti-ro* KN Dv 1272.

* *a-o-ri-jo*: perhaps, if the reading is correct, a place-name derived from ἄορ 'sword'; this is probably attested by way of the MN *a-o-ri-me-ne* PY **343** = Qa 1296, probably *Ahorimenēs*, lit. 'he who is steadfast with the sword'.

D/D² *ka-ra-do-ro*: probably *Kharadros* (VC) or *Kharadrō* (dual; JC) 'Ravine(s)'.

D²/* *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*: this is written as two words, *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*, on Cn 600; the second element is perhaps ἀγκέhει 'in the valley', the first possibly *tirminthōn* 'of the terebinth trees' (Palaima 2000c). It may be significant that just as *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i* is the only place mentioned on these records as the location of an *o-ka* which is known to be in the Further Province (see p. 482), so *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i* is the only Further Province place referred to on the surviving *Ac* records of levies of men, although on two of these tablets the place-name has not been preserved.

D/D² *Nedwōn*: evidently the river Νέδων in Eastern Messenia.

CHAPTER XII

LIVESTOCK

JOHN KILLEN

IDEOGRAMS[b]

D/* This chapter must begin with a discussion of the ideograms for livestock which are set out below:

BOS		OX	OVIS		SHEEP
BOS^{m}		OX^{m}	OVIS^{m}		SHEEP^{m}
BOS^{f}		OX^{f}	OVIS^{f}		SHEEP^{f}
BOS+*SI*		OX+*SI*	OVIS+*TA*		SHEEP+*TA*
CAP		GOAT	WE		YEARLING
CAP^{m}		GOAT^{m}	SUS		PIG
CAP^{f}		GOAT^{f}	SUS^{m}		PIG^{m}
CERV		DEER	SUS^{f}		PIG^{f}
EQU		HORSE	SUS+*KA*		PIG+*KA*
EQU^{m}		HORSE^{m}	SUS+*SI*		PIG+*SI*
EQU^{f}		HORSE^{f}			

D/* The domestic animals of the tablets are four, if we exclude the deer which appears on only two tablets (PY Cr 591, 868 + 875). To these may be added the horse, which appears mostly in connexion with chariots, though a tablet from Knossos (**84** = Ca 895) gives a separate list of male and female horses and asses, together with young animals (*po-ro*, *pōloi* 'foals') which may be their progeny. Both asses and foals are denoted by the standard forms of the HORSE ideogram; on the form of the sign used to denote the foals, see p. 526. The signs for the horse and the deer are self-evident; that for the pig is almost as clear, and was recognised by Evans (*PoM* IV. 722). The identifications of the other three signs, though once much disputed, are now also generally accepted. OX^{m} occurs in pairs on a series of Knossos tablets (e.g. **87** = Ch 896) and is qualified by the word *wergatai* 'working' (e.g. KN **86** = Ce 59, cf. βοῦς ἐργάτης Archilochus 35 West, etc.). The final proof is probably provided by **78** = Cn 3, where five of these animals are enumerated, the heading containing the word *qo-o*; this is almost certainly a part of the word corresponding to βοῦς, the best suggestion being that it is a *scriptio plena* for *g^{w}ōns* (acc. plur.) which has been used to avoid writing a monosyllable (Risch in Mühlestein 1955a, Ruijgh, *Études* 131

[b] *Documents*[1] 195–96, *Documents*[2] 432. Study: Godart 1971.

and n. 163). It is also observable that the ideogram, though stylised, clearly shows a horn.

D/* It would seem likely therefore that the remaining two signs should represent sheep and goats, and the problem becomes merely that of deciding which is which. SHEEP^{m} and ^{f} are much more numerous than GOAT^{m} and ^{f}; and they are repeatedly associated with the sign **145*, regularly with nothing intervening and with a fixed relationship in evidence between the totals of the two items (see pp. 514–15). This in turn is associated with textiles (see pp. 721–45), and the animal product most likely to be used in garments is wool. Goats' hair is not impossible, and it might be referred to by the term *po-ka*, probably 'pluckings' or 'combings', which is likely to qualify **145* on **77** = Dp 997, Dp 7742, though this could equally well be used of wool. Obviously, however, it is less likely to be a common commodity, and WOOL is now generally accepted as the value of the ideogram. Finally, we may point to the appearance of GOAT^{f} on the *Mc* taxation records at Knossos in company with two further signs: (i) **150*, part of the drawing of which involves the GOAT ideogram; and (ii) **142*, whose drawing Evans (*PoM* IV. 833) attractively identified as depicting the horn of the agrimi goat.

D/* The use of sign **75* = *WE* for a kind of sheep suggests an abbreviation of *wetalon* 'yearling'; support for this identification appears to be provided by Dl(1) 934, where the figures suggest an equivalence between *WE* and *ki* SHEEP^{m}, which appears to denote 'lamb' or the like (see p. 497) (Killen 1987c.327–28). The sign may also be used of goats, but this is much less certain: see further on PY **79** = Cn 418.

COMPOUND SIGNS[b]

D/* The question of the compound signs is now very largely resolved. The signs indicating sex are certainly identified; those with two horizontal bars indicate male animals, those with a bifurcated stem females. Evans (*PoM* IV.723) had already conjectured that these signs represented the sex and had correctly interpreted them; his interpretation was, however, attacked by Sundwall (1936.25–38), who reversed the sexes, taking SHEEP^{m} for instance as 'cow'. The sexes were finally determined by Kober (1949.398) who demonstrated that the word for 'total', now read as *to-so*, *to-sa*, showed grammatical inflexion, and that the SHEEP^{m} were counted with the same form as MEN, and SHEEP^{f} with the same form as WOMEN. The undifferentiated forms of the livestock signs have been transcribed by the name of the species; but it is possible that these in fact indicate the young animals: note the use of the undifferentiated HORSE following *po-ro* 'colt' on **84** = Ca 895 and the undifferentiated SHEEP and GOAT following the adjunct

[b] *Documents*[1] 196.

ki, which is likely to indicate a young animal (see p. 497), on KN C 7088, Dl 47, Do 7079, etc. While in all these cases the signs could alternatively have the value of 'horse, goat, sheep in general', viz. could relate to animals of both sexes where there was no need for further specification (note that elsewhere in the *Dl*, *Do* records *ki* is followed by SHEEP^{m}, which in this context almost certainly has this value: see further p. 497), this meaning is less likely in the quite numerous cases where SHEEP, etc. is found in what appear to be 'religious offering' and 'banqueting' contexts (e.g. KN Ce 152, Uc 161), where we might have expected the sex of adult animals to have been specified. Note, however, that in a few instances the writing of SHEEP, etc. may simply be due to the careless omission of the cross-strokes of SHEEP^{m}, etc. Besides being used to denote a mixture of both male and female animals, the male forms of the livestock signs can evidently be used of both entire and castrated animals. OX^{m} is used to denote the castrated working ox on KN **86** = Ce 59, etc., and SHEEP^{m} probably refers to wethers on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* 'flock' records at Knossos (see further p. 496).

* Of the remaining compound signs, OX and PIG ligatured with *si* almost certainly refer to fattened animals; PIG + *SI* is specifically coupled with the word *sihalos* on PY **206** = Cn 608, and both this and OX + *SI* always occur in contexts, such as the *Wu* sealings at Thebes and PY **79** = Cn 418, **110** = Un 138, where the animals concerned are likely to be intended for sacrifice and/or consumption. SHEEP + *TA* figures only on PY Cn 4, Cn 595, both of which have the introductory word *ta-to-mo*, very likely *stathmos*, though its precise implication here remains unclear. PIG ligatured with *ka* only occurs in three entries on PY **310** = Un 6, which lists offerings to Poseidon and the divinity *pe-re-*82*, and in one entry on Un 853, by the same scribe, which lists offerings to Poseidon; both contexts make it likely that a male pig is intended. Though complete certainty is impossible, it is attractive to conclude that *ka* stands for *kapros* or *kaprios* (cf. σῦς κάπρος, κάπριος in Homer), perhaps referring, like 'boar' in English, to an uncastrated male (see further p. 848). GOAT + *E*, finally, if this is to be read on PY **79** = Cn 418. 4, 8, may denote a young animal, and might abbreviate *e-po*, a term found in company with SHEEP on KN Ce 283, which is perhaps to be interpreted as **erphos*, viz. a syncopated form of *eriphos* 'kid' (Scafa 1977).

ADJUNCTS[b]

D/* In addition to the compound signs, adjuncts written before the ideogram are frequently used (always at Knossos, where none of the ligatured animal signs are attested). The following table shows which occur:

[b] *Documents*[1] 197, *Documents*[2] 433. Studies: Killen 1964c (adjuncts to SHEEP), 1972 (adjuncts to WOMAN).

SHEEP	*o*		*pe*	(*o*) *ki*						
SHEEP^{m}	*o*	*pa*	(*ki*) *pe*	(*o*) *ki*	(*ki*) *ne*	(*ki*) *za*	*sa*			
SHEEP^{f}	*o*							*se*		
GOAT				*ki*						
GOAT^{m}							*sa*		a_3	
OX										*ta*
OX^{m}					*ne we*					*mo*

o is certainly here as elsewhere an abbreviation of *o-pe-ro* (or the like) and means 'lacking, deficient'. Of the other adjuncts to the sheep ideogram, *pa* may abbreviate *palaios* 'old', found as a qualification of sheep at Pylos; *pa* has this value when it is applied to WOMEN at Knossos, though its implication there is almost certainly 'last year's' rather than 'aged'. *pe*, *ne* and *za* are also found as adjuncts on the women records, and probably have the same sense here as they do there, viz. 'last year's' (*perusinwos*), 'new, this year's' (*newos*) and 'this year's' (*za-we-te-ro*, *tsāwe(s)teros*). *ki*, also found with GOAT, seems certain from the context to denote a young animal (lamb/kid or the like: see further p. 497); it may conceivably abbreviate *γιλλός; cf. νεογιλλός and *ki-ra* in the Glossary. *se*, found only before SHEEP^{f} in the *Do* records, though perhaps not functioning as an adjunct to the ideogram, is an abbreviation of the place-name *se-to-i-ja*: see further **75** = Do 5010. Of the adjuncts to the OX signs, *ta* before OX on C(1) 901 is evidently *ta*(*uros*) 'bull' (*Documents*[2] 583); *mo* before OX^{m} on C 7067 is doubtless *mo*(*nwos*), viz. a single working ox, as distinct from the more normal pair (*ZE*: cf. *MO* and *ZE* in WHEEL records at Knossos and Pylos and *MO* in the same context at Tiryns); and *ne we* before OX^{m} *ZE* 1 on **87** = Ch 896 is likelier to stand for *newō wergatae* 'young working' (dual) than for *newō wetalō* 'young (or this year's) yearlings': see further p. 531. Two rare adjuncts, *sa* before SHEEP^{m} and GOAT^{m} and a_3 before GOAT^{m}, remain enigmatic.

PURPOSE OF THE TABLETS[b]

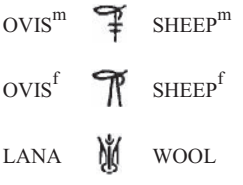
(a) *KNOSSOS*

* Most of the progress in understanding the purpose of the records of sheep in the archives has come at Knossos, where it is now clear that the palace's interest in the great majority of the animals listed on the tablets focuses on their wool. In *Documents*[1], VC argue that the tablets in the *D*- series are records of incoming tribute of animals for consumption, on the grounds: (i) that many of

[b] *Documents*[1] 197–205, *Documents*[2] 433–35, *Interpretation* 164–81, *Textos* 31–32, 34–35. Studies (general): Killen 1984b, 1993, Halstead 1993, Rougemont 2004; (Knossos): Killen 1964b, Young 1965, Killen 1968b, 1969, Halstead 1999c, 1999d, 2001; (Pylos): Doria 1958, Lang 1966, Ilievski 1968, Godart 1970a, 1975, 1977.33–40, Godart and Tzedakis 1992.224–34, Thompson 1998.229–35.

the tablets record a round number of animals, most often 100; (ii) that on both the records as a whole and on the great majority of individual tablets far more male animals than females are recorded; and (iii) that a number of the records contain references to deficits, indicated by the abbreviation *o*. As pointed out by Killen (1964b), however, not only does the 'tribute' hypothesis involve a remarkably large number of animals being supplied to the palace each year as taxes (something of the order of 80–100,000, all from the central area of the island), and the assumption that meat was consumed in Mycenaean Crete on a scale for which there is little to prepare us elsewhere on the tablets, but also all three characteristics of the tablets which have just been mentioned could readily be explained if the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* 'sheep only' tablets were flocks of wethers (castrated males), and mixed wethers and ewes, of a type which were kept on a large scale in Medieval England for wool-production purposes. On Medieval English estates, flocks of this kind were handed out to shepherds in round numbers; and since flocks of this type are not capable of self-regeneration, it is common in accounts of this period to find references to flock numbers falling below those originally allocated, which could, Killen suggests, be a parallel for the 'deficit' entries on the Knossos tablets.

* Moreover, Killen argues, support for the view that the Knossos documents record real flocks is provided by the tablets in the *Dk*, *Dl* and *Do* classes. Taking first the *Dk* records, these contain wool as well as sheep entries; and one can show that the standard 4 : 1 ratio between the sheep and wool totals on the tablets is the equivalent of one sheep to c. 1.6 lbs (0.75 kg) of wool. Since this figure is well in line with figures for the average wool production of sheep both in Medieval England and in other societies before the introduction of selective breeding, it is difficult to doubt that the purpose of these tablets is to record wool-production targets for the sheep in question, with the wool 'present' figures on the texts indicating the amounts which have already been received by the palace at the time of the compilation of the records, and the wool deficit entries found on almost all these tablets notes of the amounts that are still outstanding. Moreover, in the case of several of the *Dk* records, it can be shown that the text concerns the wool-production target which has been set for one of the same flocks as is recorded on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* tablets: see e.g. **73** = Dk(2) 1076, which records the target for the 200 sheep of the 'shepherd' *ti-mi-za* at the place *ku-ta-to* that are recorded in more detail on **69** = Df 1121. And this in turn makes it difficult to doubt, given the great similarity between all the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* records in terms of both their content and layout, which makes it likely that all had a similar purpose: that for each of the records of this type there would normally have been a *Dk* 'shearing' counterpart. It is well in keeping with this conclusion



that, as Olivier (1967b) has demonstrated, the amount of wool likely to have been available to the palace each year if the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* animals were all set similar production targets is of the same order of magnitude as the amount of wool likely to have been needed to produce the cloth listed in the *L* series as made, or due to be made, in palace-directed weaving workshops (see Ch. XVI).

* The fact that the archives contain records of wool-production targets similar to those set on Medieval English estates when flocks were distributed to shepherds for pasturing, and for which there are also many parallels in ancient Mesopotamian archives (see e.g. Kraus 1966), clearly provides considerable encouragement for the view that the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* tablets are records of real flocks. And further encouragement for this belief is provided by the records in the *Dl* and *Do* groups. Many of the *Dl* tablets are similar to the *Dk* records in containing wool entries, but they differ from them: (a) in showing equal numbers of male and female animals; (b) in qualifying all the male animals as *ki*: and (c) in showing a sheep : wool ratio of 10 : 1, as against the 4 : 1 on the *Dk* tablets. All these facts, Killen suggests, can readily be explained on the assumption that these are records of breeding flocks, kept to provide replacements for the predominantly wether flocks on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* tablets. The fact that ewes are always listed first on these records is well in accord with this explanation; and if it is assumed that the *ki* male sheep entries refer to lambs (with the male sheep ideogram here being used to denote animals of both sexes, as it clearly does on the *Dk* 'shearing' tablets), the standard 1 : 1 ratio between ewes and *ki* animals on these records can again readily be explained as reflecting a production target, in this case one of one young animal for every adult ewe held in a breeding flock. And support for the conclusion that *ki* OVIS^{m} does in fact denote a young animal is provided by the sheep : wool ratio of 10 : 1 on these records. If *ki* sheep were expected to provide little or no wool, as obviously might be the case if they were lambs, the sheep : wool ratio changes to c. 5 : 1; and a shearing target for ewes slightly smaller than that set for wethers or mixed wethers and ewes (4 : 1) is well in accord with what we know of the wool-production capacity of female as compared with male sheep. For an example of a *Dl* record, see **74** = Dl(1) 943; and see **75** = Do 5010 for an example of a *Do* record. The latter texts again record ewes followed by *ki* animals, but normally show a ewe : *ki* animal ratio of 100 : 80, evidently reflecting a target of 80 lambs per 100 breeding ewes, a lambing target commonly found in ancient Mesopotamian records (Kraus 1966.18).

* However, although this explanation of the sheep records is now generally accepted, and is likely to be correct in broad terms, a few problems remain over details. In particular, as noted by Killen in a later discussion (1993.211–12), there must now be a real question as to whether the *o* entries on the 'flock' records simply reflect losses from the flocks that are due to natural causes. First, subsequent research on Mycenaean has failed to produce much evidence

that the term *o-pe-ro*, here abbreviated to *o*, can be used in the neutral sense of 'absent': rather, it appears always to refer to a deficit in a payment to the palace, whether of taxes or of manufactured goods that are due to the centre following an earlier allocation of raw materials. Second, whereas losses from flocks might be expected to run at an average level of c. 15 per cent per annum (see Kraus 1966.36–38 for this as the allowance for losses given to shepherds of centrally owned flocks in early Mesopotamia), the figures in the *o* entries on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* (and *Dq*) records show a quite different pattern. On the great majority of the records, no *o* entry at all occurs; and where *o* entries are present, the figures in them are often (a) multiples of ten and (b) either well below or comfortably in excess of 15 per cent of the total number of animals in the flock.

* One possible explanation of these phenomena (Killen 1993.211–12) is that *o* on these records relates to losses, noted at an annual census, for which the palace holds the 'shepherd' responsible, and that the absence of *o* from most of the records reflects the fact that the 'shepherds' on these tablets are not so much menial herders of sheep as substantial owners of animals, who were expected to make good losses – or withdrawals from the flocks for other purposes (see Halstead 1999d.154) – with the help of their own resources. (For the obligation of herders in ancient Mesopotamia to make good losses in the 'state' flocks they held which exceeded the allowed limits, see Kraus 1966.63, Postgate 1975.6–7, Morrison 1981.284.) If so, the deficits that remain would merely reflect cases where the 'shepherd', for one reason or another, was unable to make good the shortfall, and where the palace itself was obliged to step in, with the help of the produce of the *Dl*, *Do* breeding flocks. Indeed, the rarity of deficits could explain the relatively small numbers of breeding flocks – though this, like the absence of large numbers of *Dk* shearing records, could simply be due to an accident of preservation. Even, however, if this is the correct explanation of the data, one problem at least remains unresolved, viz. why, as Rougemont (2009a.372, forthcoming) has observed, there is a disproportionately large number of deficits in the tablets relating to certain 'collectors'. (On these persons, named in addition to the 'shepherd' on c. 30 per cent of the 'flock' records, see further pp. 503–07.) While, however, some of the problems relating to deficits would arguably be more tractable if the tablets as a whole were records of sheep supplied to the palace by way of tribute, whose fleeces when shorn were expected to average a certain weight, and which after shearing were either used for consumption or returned to their owners (the 'shepherds'), it remains very doubtful whether this can be their explanation. As we have noted earlier, the very large number of animals involved in the series, and the small number of sheep in 'consumption' contexts elsewhere on the records, makes a 'butchery' explanation improbable; and whereas the setting of shearing and lamb production targets for centrally owned animals let out under herding contracts is a common phenomenon in

many societies and periods, including early Mesopotamia, Medieval England and modern Africa, it is difficult to point to parallels for the setting of similar targets for animals that are being supplied to a centre by way of taxation.

(b) *PYLOS*

* The *Cn* livestock tablets at Pylos record just over 10,000 sheep, just over 1800 goats and just over 500 pigs. There are a number of points in common between the sheep records in the series and their counterparts at Knossos. The numbers in the individual 'flocks' are of the same order of magnitude, and sometimes involve round hundreds, though much less frequently than at Knossos; there are similar proportions of male and female animals on the records as a whole; some of the entries on the tablets involve an individual other than the 'shepherd' who is reminiscent of the persons in the 'third term' or 'collector' entries on the *D* tablets (see further pp. 503–07); and there are regular references to sheep described as *pa-ra-jo*, evidently *palaioi* 'old', just as there are mentions of *pa* animals on the *D* tablets, which it is tempting to suppose are again references to old animals. There are also, however, differences between the sites. At Knossos, *pa* animals are relatively infrequent, and do not constitute entire flocks, like the *pa-ra-jo* sheep at Pylos; and – a particularly striking difference – all the flocks at Pylos contain animals of a single sex only: there are no parallels for the mixed flocks of males and females found on many of the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* records. There remain, however, enough similarities between the sites to make it likelier than not that the two sets of records have a broadly similar purpose; though the recording of goats and pigs on the same tablets as the sheep at Pylos does encourage some caution about this conclusion.

* A number of those who have discussed the *Cn* tablets have concluded that they record tribute, and list animals for consumption. These include Palmer (*Interpretation* 169), Lang (1966) and Ilievski (1968). Lang, for example, noting that a number of the 'shepherds'' names found on **60** = Cn 131 recur on **61** = Cn 655 and **62** = Cn 719, usually 'in connexion with the same sex', suggests that the former is a record of an assessment and the latter a note of the actual payments. A full list of the correspondences between **60** and **61**, **62** is set out beneath:

Tablet	'Shepherd'	ovis^{m}, etc. nos	Tablet	ovis^{m}, etc. nos
131.2	*o-ku-ka*	ovis^{m} 1̣30[	719.5	ovis^{m} 70
131.3	*ku-pi-ri-jo*	ovis^{m} 50	719.7	ovis^{m} 60
131.4	*ko-ru-no*	ovis^{m} 100	719.9	ovis^{m} 66
131.3	*a-ka-ma-wo*	ovis^{m} 120	719.11	ovis^{m} 96
131.6	*to-ro-wi*	ovis^{m} 130	655.2	ovis^{m} 133[

131.7	*ke-ro-wo*	OVIS^{m} 130	655.3	OVIS^{m} 85
131.7	*ra-pa-sa-ko*	OVIS^{m} 91	655.4	OVIS^{m} 69
131.14	*pu-wi-no*	CAP^{f} 55	655.5	OVIS^{m} 190
131.10	*e-ti-ra-wo*	OVIS^{m} 100	655.9	OVIS^{m} 70
131.10	*a-ta-ma-ne-u*	OVIS^{m} 140	655.10	OVIS^{m} 60
131.8	*a-ri-wo*	OVIS^{m} 100	655.12	OVIS^{m}]!4
131.11	*se-no*	OVIS^{f} 44	655.19	OVIS^{f} 40

* As pointed out by Killen (1993.213), however, while Lang's proposal does have some attractions (most of the numbers on **60** are larger than those on **61**, **62**, and involve more multiples of ten), it also encounters major difficulties. First, two of the SHEEP^{m} figures on **61**, **62** are larger than those on **60**, and it is difficult to believe that 'shepherds' would have contributed more animals than the palace required them to. (See Cn 131.3 *ku-pi-ri-jo* SHEEP^{m} 50 vs Cn 719.7 *ku-pi-ri-jo* SHEEP^{m} 60; Cn 131.6 *to-ro-wi* SHEEP^{m} 130 vs Cn 655.2 *to-ro-wi* SHEEP^{m} 133[.) Second, on **60** a herder *pu-wi-no* is mentioned in connexion with 55 she-goats, while on **61** a person of the same name is mentioned in connexion with 190 male sheep. Clearly, if this is the same person in both contexts Lang's hypothesis will become untenable. She herself argues that they are two different persons; but given the large number of names that are shared in common by these records, all of them clearly referring to the same person, it is difficult to believe that this can be a departure from that regular pattern.

* Other scholars, in contrast, have argued that these are records of real flocks: Doria (1958) (whose claim, however, that they contain evidence for transhumance is open to criticism) and Godart (1970a, 1971, 1975, 1977.33–40; see also Godart and Tzedakis 1992.224–34). Like Lang, Godart bases his case on numerical evidence. First, he observes that the total number of *pa-ra-jo* animals listed on Cn 40 and **61** = Cn 655 in connexion with the place *ma-ro* is exactly equal to the number of SHEEP^{m} shown on the same records and on **62** = Cn 719 in connexion with (a) *ma-ro* and (b) *a-ne-u-te* (a place which there is good reason to suspect lay close to *ma-ro*), including SHEEP^{m} in entries which contain a 'collector's' name, but excluding those in entries which contain both a 'collector's' name and the term *a-ko-ra*. Second, he notes that the same equality exists if a similar calculation is made for sheep in the same categories listed on Cn 40 and **62** = Cn 719 in connexion with *pi-*82*, *wa-no-jo wo-wo*, *e-ko-me-no* and *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$ (all of them places which there is good reason to suspect lay close to *pi-*82*). The details are shown in the following table (cf. Godart 1971.94 n. 14).

PLACE	*Pa-ra-jo* OVIS^{m}		OVIS^{m}	
(a) *ma-ro* district				
ma-ro-pi	Cn 40.8	150	Cn 40.9	85
			40.10	80
	Cn 655.1	136	Cn 655.3	85
	655.2	133[	655.4	69
	655.7	70	665.17	90
	655.8	95	655.18	100
	655.9	70	719.1	40
	655.10	60	719.2	82
a-ne-u-te			40.7	83
TOTAL		714		714
(b) *pi-*82* district				
wa-no-jo wo-wo	Cn 40.1	140	Cn 40.3	70
			40.4	60
e-ko-me-no	Cn 40.5	80	40.6	70
*pi-*82*	Cn 719.4	230	Cn 719.5	70
			719.6	90
			719.7	60
wi-ja-we-ra$_2$	Cn 719.9	66	719.11	96
TOTAL		516		516

* From these data, Godart concludes, first, that the same animals are recorded twice on these tablets and, second, that the reason for this duplication is that at some stage in the year under review certain flocks of male sheep were withdrawn from their shepherds and reorganised into *pa-ra-jo* groupings: animals which their description would suggest were due for replacement because of age. Clearly, if Godart is correct, we shall have here evidence for the management of real flocks. However, while the coincidences he points to do seem remarkable at first sight, some doubts at least must remain. First, it is puzzling, if Godart is correct, that it is only male flocks that appear to need replacing, and that all the animals in these flocks have reached the age for replacement at the same time. If the *pa-ra-jo* entries do represent 'old' animals being assembled for butchery, it would surely be easier to explain them as drawn from a much larger number of flocks, only some animals in which needed replacing each year (cf. Ilievski 1968.621–22). Further doubts arise over the details of Godart's calculations. First, while the presence or absence of *a-ko-ra* in 'collector' entries might have

the significance that Godart gives it, it could well have a purely mechanical explanation: that the scribe of **61** = Cn 655, having carefully written *a-ko-ra* in the first five 'collector' entries on the tablet, does not trouble to write it in subsequent entries, since the presence of a 'collector's' name automatically entails that the flock is an *a-ko-ra* one (Thompson 1998.233). For a comparable phenomenon elsewhere in the *Cn* series, see the omission of the place-name *a-ka-na-jo* after the first three entries on Cn 328, with only the initial *a* written in the fourth entry. Second, no account is taken in the calculations of animals at *a-pa-re-u-pi* **62** = Cn 719.10 and *re-pe-u-ri-jo* Cn 40.11, even though these places appear to be connected with *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$ and *ma-ro* respectively (Thompson 1998.233). Some doubts must also remain about Godart's further suggestion (Godart and Tzedakis 1992.232–33) that the number of sheep in *a-ko-ra* entries on **61** = Cn 655 equals the number of SHEEP^{m} in entries on Cn 40 and Cn 600 concerning the places *re-pe-u-ri-jo*, *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* and *re-qa-se-wo wo-wo* (all of which, he suggests, are in the Further Province): from which he concludes that the *a-ko-ra* animals are replacements, drawn from breeding centres in the Further Province, for the old animals listed in the *pa-ra-jo* entries. However, not only does Godart's equality in numbers depend on a restoration, albeit a plausible one epigraphically (of]ṭ14 on **61** = Cn 655.12 as 144); it involves the problematic assumption that *re-pe-u-ri-jo* Cn 40.11 is a place in the Further Province, despite its apparent connexions with *ma-ro* (see Cn 40.8.9.10.12). It is true that Cn 40.14 lists sheep at *a-te-re-wi-ja*, which if it is the same *a.* as is referred to elsewhere on the records will be a place in the Further Province; there is no evidence, however, to confirm that the same holds good for *re-pe-u-ri-jo*.

* It would thus seem safest to conclude that the purpose of the *Cn* tablets still remains an open question. If the *pa-ra-jo* sheep on some of the records are old animals literally speaking, they seem easier to explain in terms of real flocks, perhaps of animals being fattened for slaughter, than of tribute, for it is not easy to believe that the centre would have required contributions from shepherds which consisted exclusively of old males. Further than this, however, it does not seem possible to go.

THE 'COLLECTORS'[b]

* As we have already seen, a number of entries on the *Cn* records contain, in addition to the place- and 'shepherd's' name, a reference to a further individual whose name, normally quoted in the genitive, is sometimes accompanied by the term *a-ko-ra*. Four persons are involved in these entries, *a-ke-o*, *a-ko-so-ta*, *a-pi-me-de* and

[b] Studies: Killen 1964b.15, Olivier 1967b, 1972, Killen 1976a, 1979a.176–79, Olivier 1988a.264–67, Bennet 1992, Carlier 1992, Driessen 1992, Godart 1992, Killen 1995b, Olivier 2001, Rougemont 2001b, 2009a.249–534, forthcoming.

we-da-ne-u; and since *a-ke-o* recurs, again in a livestock context, on **63** = Cc 660 with the name followed by the term *a-ke-re*, it is difficult to doubt that this is a variant formulation of *a-ke-o-jo a-ko-ra* on the *Cn* tablets: that *a-ke-re* is the verb *agêrei* (= ἀγείρει) 'he collects', and that *a-ko-ra* is the corresponding action noun *agorā*, though its precise significance ('collection'? 'flock'?) remains uncertain.

* As we have also noted, a number of the *D* tablets at Knossos again contain 'third term' entries, involving a name in the nominative or genitive, e.g. *we-we-si-jo*, *we-we-si-jo-jo*, or alternatively a possessive adjective derived from a name, e.g. *pe-ri-qo-te-jo* < *pe-ri-qo-ta*, a name which is itself found in the 'third term' position on Dq(3) 42, 46. It seems difficult to doubt that these individuals play a similar role in connexion with livestock to their counterparts at Pylos. As is not true of *a-ke-o*, etc. at Pylos, however, a number of these persons also appear on woman and textile records as 'owners' or the like of weaving workgroups. Thus *e-me-si-jo*, named in the 'third term' position on De 1381, recurs on Lc(1) 551, L(1) 8159, where the name, in the genitive, appears at the beginning of the record, in the position occupied on other records of the same type by an ethnic or occupational term describing the workgroup responsible for the cloth production listed on the tablet. (Although the descriptions of workers on the *Aa*, *Ab* records at Pylos include references of the same type, e.g. *we-we-si-je-ja*, almost certainly a possessive derived from the name *we-we-si-jo*, they do not involve *a-ke-o*, etc.) Nor are the appearances of *e-me-si-jo* confined to sheep and textile contexts: the name also appears on E 843 and E 7338 as the 'owner' or the like of considerable tracts of land (or large quantities of wheat).

* There has been a great deal of debate over the years about the precise function and identity of these individuals, and there is as yet no general agreement about either. In *Documents*[1] VC note that two of the four individuals concerned at Pylos, *we-da-ne-u* and *a-ko-so-ta*, appear from their occurrences elsewhere in the records (*a-ko-so-ta* as performing various administrative functions) to be people of importance, and they conclude that all four are likely to be officials or representatives of the palace who 'are in some way responsible for "collecting" the cattle' (which as we have seen they take to be tribute). However, although VC's term 'collector' continues to be used as a conventional description of these persons, it is difficult to explain why, if these are palace officials performing some administrative role like collecting tribute, they are only mentioned, at both sites, in connexion with some of the flocks, not all; at Knossos, for example, they only appear in connexion with c. 30 per cent of the animals (Olivier 1967b). Any satisfactory explanation of these persons must also take account of three further facts (cf. Killen 1964b.15, 1995b.213):

1. Their activities are recorded in the central palace archives, which indicates that the centres have a close interest in and almost certainly control over them.

2. 'Their' flocks and textile workgroups are treated by the central administrations in a precisely similar manner to all other flocks and workgroups recorded in the archives (given the same rations, assigned the same targets for production), except that separate totals are kept for 'collector' and non-'collector' activity. (On the evidence for this, see **71** = Dn 1094, **225** = Lc(1) 535.)
3. In some contexts, references to 'collectors' are found in parallel with references to what are certainly or probably references to divinities. Thus in the *Dl(1)* sheep and wool records at Knossos we find references to 'collectors' such as *ra-wo-qo-no* and *e-se-re-a*$_2$, and in parallel position on other records in the same group references to sheep almost certainly 'of' the goddess Potnia (*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*), with which we may compare the reference to Potnia in connexion with 100 sheep and 190 pigs on PY Ce 665 and the references to sheep 'of' Hermes (*e-ma-a*$_2$*-o*) on KN D 411, a record in some ways similar to the *Dl(1)* tablets.

* The following are among the suggestions as to who these individuals are:

(a) *Owners of sheep*

This proposal is due to Palmer (*Interpretation* 165, 177), who suggests that the contrast between 'collector' and non-'collector' flocks in the *Cn* and *D* records reflects a contrast between flocks owned by persons other than the king and those owned by the monarch himself. This possibility is also independently mooted by Killen (1964b.15), who also, however, notes the difficulty for the proposition that the 'owners' are independent of the palace that 'their' flocks are 'recorded in the normal way by the palace bureaucracy', and therefore suggests that, while the animals in question were managed by the palace, their produce may have been made over to others.

(b) *Beneficiaries of flocks*, *textile workshops*, *etc*.

Killen's idea that the 'collectors' are not so much independent 'owners' of property as persons who have been given a beneficial interest in it by the palace has gained wide acceptance. Those who have reached broadly similar conclusions include Chadwick (*Documents*^{2} 434, 1976a.129), Godart (1992) and Driessen (1992), though others, like Olivier (1967b.84), while not rejecting the idea, take a more cautious stance. Killen himself in subsequent discussions (1979a.176–79, 1995b) has developed his ideas further, suggesting that the 'collectors' are 'prominent members of the ruling élite (members of the royal family, high palace officials and the like) who have been assigned part of the productive capacity of the kingdoms for their own benefit (that share, however, still being managed on their behalf by the central authorities' (Killen 1995b.213)). As he points out (1995b.213–14), among the owners of sheep and wool besides the king himself

who are mentioned in records in Ur III Mesopotamia are the queen, prominent state officials such as the *ensi* (city governor) and the temple of Nanna, the last two of which recall: (i) *a-ko-so-ta*, one of the four 'collectors' at Pylos, whom we also know as a major palace administrator; and (ii) the *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* sheep, almost certainly sheep of the goddess Potnia, which are recorded in parallel with 'collector' flocks at Knossos. Moreover, support for the suggestion that 'collectors' are members of the palace elite is provided by the fact that *we-da-ne-u*, another of the Pylos 'collectors', appears elsewhere in the archives as an 'owner' of men conscripted as rowers (An 610), as a recipient of *dosmoi* on the *Es* records and probably as an 'owner' of flax-producing land (Na 856, Na 1041); while his fellow-'collector' *a-pi-me-de* is probably – though not certainly – the same *a-pi-me-de* as can be deduced from evidence elsewhere on the records to have been an *e-qe-ta* (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.107). It is noticeable, too, that some names of 'collectors' probably occur at more than one site (e.g. *we-we-si-jo* at Knossos and almost certainly at Pylos; *a-ka-i-jo* at Knossos and probably at Thebes): which might reflect the fact that these are members of a single Mycenaean nobility who drew their names from the same, limited stock (Killen 1979a.176–79, Olivier 2001). Others who regard the 'collectors' as members of the ruling elite include Driessen (1992), Godart (1992) and Palaima (2004.234).

(c) *Entrepreneurs/contractors*

One weakness in the case for taking the 'collectors' as 'beneficiaries' is that we are unable to point to clear evidence for any of these persons receiving a benefit (wool, cloth, etc.) from the flocks, textile workshops, etc. with which his name is associated. It is possible that at Knossos, just as 'collector' animals make up c. 30 per cent of the total number of sheep listed in the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* records, so the wool woven in 'collector' workshops constituted a similar proportion of the total listed on the *Lc(1)* textile records (Olivier 1967b.91, Killen and Olivier 1968.137, Killen 1976a.118–19, 1979a.155–56), thus opening up the possibility that 'collector' wool was woven into cloth in 'collector' workshops. Note, too, the fleeces described as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja* on **77** = Dp 997, which it is difficult to doubt have been produced by the sheep of the same description on the *Dl(1)* tablets, which are the work of the same scribe. There is still, however, nothing to confirm that 'collectors' received the cloth that was produced in 'their' workshops – though this might simply be due to an accident of preservation. It is with this lacuna in mind that Carlier (1992) has suggested an alternative explanation of the 'collectors': that they are important figures in the kingdoms to whom the palace contracts out responsibility for a proportion of its flocks (c. 30 per cent at Knossos), and who benefit from this entrepreneurial activity by being allowed to retain any surpluses in production above certain minima, which at Knossos are indicated by the wool targets on the *Dk* records and the

lambing targets in the *Dl*, *Do* records. However, although Carlier suggests that the targets at Knossos (1 lamb per ewe on the *Dl* records, 80 lambs per 100 ewes on the *Do* tablets and c. 750 g of wool per adult sheep on the *Dk* tablets) are sufficiently modest to have allowed a contractor regular opportunities for profit, there must be serious doubt as to whether this is the case. Since we do not know what the normal wool yield of Mycenaean sheep was, it is difficult to establish whether the *Dk* wool target is modest, though yields as low or lower than 750 g are common in the ancient Near East: see e.g. Waetzoldt 1972.5 for an average yield of 1.4 minas = 707 g from 66,095 fat-tailed sheep at Girsu. But it is clear from comparative evidence that a lamb target of one per ewe is likely to have been a demanding one. In early Mesopotamia, for instance, while shepherds of palace-owned sheep in the Ur III period were set a target of 80 lambs per 100 ewes (the same as on the *Do* records), contractors in the Neo-Babylonian period, who expected to make a profit from the flocks they leased from the central authorities, were set a target of only 66⅔ lambs per 100 ewes (Kraus 1966.18–19). Nor is it easy to see what room there would have been for contractors in the management of *Ak/L* weaving workgroups, which we know were provided with both working materials and rations by the palace, the first at least evidently at the same level as were given to non-'collector' groupings. Moreover, it seems much more straightforward to explain the presence of 'religious' flocks in parallel with 'collector' ones at Knossos in terms of animals that were allocated for the benefit of religious interests (shrines and their priests) than as reflecting entrepreneurial activity by such interests: something which it is difficult to envisage, given the evidence elsewhere in the records for the relative unimportance of 'religious' economic activity and the apparent subordination of religious interests to those of the central power. And, finally, while it is true that we may have evidence at Knossos, Thebes and Pylos for 'collectors' supplying the centre with small numbers of animals for sacrifice and/or consumption (see KN **81** = *C(2)* 913, TH **108** = Wu 52, PY **79** = Cn 418), there is nothing to show that any of the livestock listed on these records has anything to do with the flocks attributed to 'collectors' on the Knossos *D* and Pylos *Cn* tablets, and hence lends support to the idea that the 'collectors' were the independent owners of these flocks. Note in particular that the animals 'chez' or from *ko-ma-we* on **81** = *C(2)* 913, who may be the 'collector' of that name on the *Da-Dg* tablets, include a male goat, which is not a type of animal ever represented on Knossos 'flock' records.

(d) *Members of the local elites*

A fourth and final explanation of the 'collectors', at Knossos at least, has been suggested by Bennet (1992), who notes that the flocks and workgroups associated with these persons tend to occur with particular frequency in more

remote areas of Crete, such as the Far West of the island and Phaistos in the South. Though some have questioned this finding, particularly as regards West Crete, it does have validity: see further on **88** = Co 907. Bennet therefore suggests that the 'collectors' are members of local elites, who own and manage the flocks in question, but 'within the overall economy based on the palace at Knossos'. Here again, however, the problem arises, as it does with Carlier's 'contractor' explanation, of how these 'owners' would have gained any benefit from 'their' flocks, given the size of the production targets set for the animals. Nor is it easy to explain what role such local 'owners' might have played in the management of 'collector' weaving workgroups, given that the palace appears to have maintained and directed such groups in precisely the same way as the non-'collector' groupings. Indeed, there is no clear evidence on the records that the 'collectors', *qua* 'collectors', ever performed any management or administrative duties. Though the terms from which they derive their conventional description, *a-ke-re*, *agêrei* and the related *a-ko-ra*, *a-ko-ra-jo*, might refer to an administrative action, it is not possible to confirm this; and while *a-ko-so-ta* at Pylos is known both as a 'collector' and as a major palace administrator, there is no evidence that his administrative duties extended to 'his' flocks, and that he does not, like the *ensi* in Ur III Mesopotamia, appear as an owner (or beneficiary) of flocks simply because he is a significant figure in the central palace hierarchy.

1. FLOCKS OF SHEEP AND GOATS AT PYLOS (Cc, Cn)[b]

D/* The first example is one of a group of *Cn* records showing the term *we-re-ke* in the heading, in all cases but one preceded by a place-name. The others are Cn 202, Cn 285 (where *we-re-ke* is presumably to be restored after the initial *ro-u-so*), Cn 328 and Cn 441 (where *we-re-ke* was presumably followed by a place-name). All are by the same hand and stylus (S131 H 1), as is Cn 436, which lacks a heading but has a similar format. *we-re-ke* is not certainly interpreted, but is possibly *wreges* (nom. plur.) 'enclosures' or 'herds' (cf. Skt. *vrajaḥ* 'enclosure, herd') (Palmer 1957b.569); cf. KN C(1) 989, where oxen are probably described as *we-re-ki-ja* 'of the *we-re-ke*', a term which on KN C [formerly Ai(3)] 1012 is evidently contrasted with *we-ka-ta*, *wergatai* 'working', on which see **86** = Ce 59, **87** = Ch 896. The place-names occurring in the 'set' are: *pi-*82*, *ro-u-so* (twice) and *a-ke-re-wa*, all of them among the nine chief towns of the Hither Province. In the text quoted, each entry consists of *pa-ro* followed by a man's name in the dative; in l. 6, the entry is preceded by the place-name *ma-ro-pi* (dat. loc. plur.), which is doubtless to be understood in each of the subsequent entries and clearly refers to a place within the *pi-*82* district.

[b] See under 'Purpose' p. 495.

60 = Cn 131 (S131 H 1)

.1	pi-*82 , we-re-ke			
.2	pa-ro , pi-me-ta ,	x OVIS^{m} 200	pa-ro , o-ku-ka ,	OVIS^{m} 1̣30[ ]x
.3	pa-ro , ku-pi-ri-jo ,	OVIS^{m} 50 x	pa-ro , a-ka-ma-wo	OVIS^{m} 120 x
.4	pa-ro , ko-ru-no	OVIS^{m} 100 x	pa-ro , ne-ri-to	OVIS^{m} 30 x
.5	pa-ro , po-ro-u-te-we	OVIS^{m} 90 x	pa-ro , o-wa-ko	CAP^{f} 54 x̣
.6	ma-ro-pi , to-ro-wi	x OVIS^{m} 130 x	pa-ro , a-no-po	OVIS^{m} 130 x
.7	pa-ro , ke-ro-wo	OVIS^{m} 130 x	pa-ro , ra-pa-sa-ko	OVIS^{m} 91 x
.8	pa-ro , po-ke-we	OVIS^{f} 27 x	pa-ro , a-ri-wo-ne	x OVIS^{m} 100
.9	pa-ro , a-we-ke-se-we	OVIS^{m} 170 x	pa-ro , po-ko-ro	OVIS^{m} 100 x
.10	pa-ro , e-ti-ra-wo	OVIS^{m} 100 x	pa-ro , a-ta-ma-ne-we	OVIS^{m} 140 x
.11	pa-ro , se-no	OVIS^{f} 44 x	pa-ro , ko-ro	OVIS^{f} 24 x
.12	pa-ro , do-qo-no	x OVIS^{m} 80	pa-ro , wo-ki-to	x OVIS^{m} 73
.13	pa-ro , me-te-we	OVIS^{m} 163 x	pa-ro , ke-sa-me-no	OVIS^{f} 40 x
.14	]p̣ạ-ro , pu-wi-no	CAP^{f} 55		

* *pa-ro*: though clearly the equivalent of Gr. παρά, it is uncertain whether this has the sense 'from' (cf. παρά + gen. in Attic-Ionic, ἀπύ, ἐξ + dat. loc. in Arcado-Cypriot: Chadwick 1954.13, *Documents*[1] 199, 403) or 'chez, in the hands of' (cf. παρά + dat. loc. in Attic-Ionic; cf. Householder 1959b, Vilborg, *Grammar* 122) or whether both senses are attested in different contexts (Thompson 2002).

* *ke-ro-wo*: it is unclear whether this is the same person as the *ke-ro-wo* described as a shepherd (*po-me*, *poimēn*) on **32** = Ae 134, but the difference in location, *ma-ro-pi* probably in the Hither Province here, *a-si-ja-ti-ja* in the Further Province there, encourages much caution about any identification.

D/* The next tablet deals with the same area and eight of the personal names are the same (see Introduction). In this case the sheep are not recorded *pa-ro* a person, but the place-name is followed by a man's name in the genitive (ll. 1–4) or nominative (ll. 5–20), which is in turn followed in some entries by (i) the term *pa-ra-jo*, probably *palaios* 'old' or (ii) a 'collector's' name, followed in the first five entries where one occurs by the term *a-ko-ra*. For discussion of both these types of entry, and of possible reasons for the absence of *a-ko-ra* from the entries on ll. 14–20, see Introduction. Most of the text is by the same scribe as the previous record (H 1), but lines 1–2 are by a second writer (H 21), who appears to have been a subordinate official (Palaima, *Scribes Pylos* 84). Other tablets of the same general type as this, though in some cases showing *pa-ro* entries, include: (i) five more by scribe 1, **62** = Cn 719, Cn 643 (both evidently continuations of **61** = Cn 655), Cn 437, 485, 702 (cf. also the single-entry Cn 286 by the same writer); (ii) Cn 40, 45, 254, 600, all by scribe 21; and (iii) Cn 599, written by both scribes. These texts also contain *pa-ra-jo* and 'collector' entries (though always here without *a-ko-ra*); there are also references to sheep qualified as *wo-ne-we* (see Glossary). Unlike the *we-re-ke* tablets, these records list pigs as well as sheep and goats. The pattern of recording is particularly consistent on records

by scribe 21, where the animals in each district are taken as a single group, and are normally listed in the order SHEEP^{m}, SHEEP^{f}, GOAT^{m}, GOAT^{f}, PIG^{m}, PIG^{f} (Lang 1966.250–51). On tablets by both scribes, *pa-ra-jo* sheep always appear first or very early in the relevant village's stock-list.

61 = Cn 655 (S719 H 1, S4 H 21)

.1	ma-ro-pi , qe-re-wa-o pa-ra-jo	OVIS^{m} 136
.2	ma-ro-pi , to-ro-wi-ko , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^{m} 133[
.3	ma-ro-pi , ke-ro-wo-jo	OVIS^{m} 85
.4	ma-ro-pi⌊ ⌋ra-pa-sa-ko-jo	OVIS^{m} 69
.5	ma-ro-pi , pu-wi-no , a-pi-me-de-o , a-ko-ra	OVIS^{m} 190
.6	ma-ro-pi , i-wa-so , we-da-ne-wo , a-ko-ra	OVIS^{m} 70
.7	ma-ro-pi , ti-ṛẹ-wo , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^{m} 70
.8	ma-ro-pi , o-ka-ri-jo , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^{m} 95
.9	ma-ro-pi , e-ti-ra-wo , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^{m} 70
.10	ma-ro-pi , a-ta-ma-ne-u , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^{m} 60
.11	ma-ro-pi , qi-ri-ta-ko , a-ke-o-jo , a-ko-ra	OVIS^{m} 90[
.12	ma-ro-pi , a-ri-wo , a-ke-o-jo , a-ko-ra [	]ḷ4
.13	ma-ro-pi , ṛọ-ḳọ-j̣ọ , we-ḍạ-ne-wo a-ko-ra [	]80
.14	ma-ro-pi , o-pe-re-ṭạ , we-da-ne-wo	OVIS^{f} 86
.15	ma-ro-pi , po-ro-qa-ta-jo , we-da-ne-wo	OVIS^{f} 63
.16	ma-ro-pi , to-ru-ko-ro , we-da-ne-wo	OVIS^{f} 88
.17	ma-ro-pi , ma-ma-ro , we-da-ne-wo	OVIS^{f} 90
.18	ma-]ṛọ-pi , ma-du-ro⌊ ⌋we-da-ne-wo	OVIS^{m} 100
.19	ma-ro-]pi , se-no , we-da-ṇẹ-wo	OVIS^{f} 40
.20	ma-ro-]pḭ , ta-ta-ke-u , [we-]ḍạ-ne-wo	OVIS^{f} 30

* The first two lines of the tablet were written by H 21, the remainder by H 1.

* *a-ko-ra*: for discussion of the meaning of this term ('collection'? 'herd'?), see Introduction.

* As noted above, the next tablet is evidently the continuation of **61** = Cn 655. Continuing the pattern of the final section of **61** = Cn 655, 'collector' entries do not contain *a-ko-ra*. Note the recording of *pa-ra-jo* animals in the first of the entries for both *pi-*82* and *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$.

62 = Cn 719 (S719 H 1)

.1	ma-ro-pi , ka-do-wo , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^{m} 40
.2	ma-ro-pi , to-si-ta , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^{m} 82̣
.3	ma-ro-pi , me-ta-no , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^{f} 60
.4	pi-*82 , ma-ra-ni-jo , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^{m} 230
.5	pi-*82 , o-ku-ka , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^{m} 70
.6	pi-]*82 , ra-mi-ni-jo , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^{m} 90
.7	pi-*82] ku-pḭ-ri-jo , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^{m} 60
.8	pi-*82 ku-]ka-ra-so , a-ko-so-ta-o	OVIS^{f} [ ]30

.9 wi-]ja-we-ra$_2$, ko-ru-no , pa-ra-jo ọ̣vị̣ṣ^{m} 66
.10 a-pa-]re-u-pi , pạ̣-pa-ro , a-ko-so-ta-ọ OVIS^m 100
.11 wi-ja-we-ra$_2$, a-ka-ma-wo , a-ko[-so-]ta-o OVIS^m 96
.12 wị̣-ja-we-ra$_2$, a-ke-ta , wọ̣[-ne-]we OVIS^m 100

* The final tablet, by scribe 21, deals with 30 male goats at *me-ta-pa*, and shows the formula *a-ke-o a-ke-re*, *A. agêrei*, clearly the equivalent of *a-ke-o-jo a-ko-ra* on **61** = Cn 655.11–12.

63 = Cc 660 (S4 H 21)

.a a-ke-o , a-ke-re
me-ta-pa , pa-ro ka-ra-su-no CAP^m 30

2. FLOCKS OF SHEEP AT KNOSSOS (Da-Dg, Dn)[b]

D/* All the tablets of this group are the work of the same scribe (117) and are really alike, varying only in the different ways in which the total is built up. They begin with a man's name written in tall characters, presumably the shepherd or other person responsible to the palace for the animals listed. (On the possibility that these 'shepherds', as it is convenient to call them, were relatively significant figures, owning their own animals as well as pasturing palace flocks, see Introduction.) Then the tablet is usually divided by a horizontal line, the top line containing the name of the 'collector', where one is present, in the nominative or genitive (or, in the case of *pe-ri-qo-te-jo* < MN *pe-ri-qo-ta*, in the form of a possessive adjective), and the number of male and/or female sheep; the lower line usually gives the place-name and any minor entry, such as the deficit. These positions, however, are not invariable. Unlike most of the Pylos tablets, there is a separate tablet for each entry. The numbers are as a rule round hundreds, or a series of lesser numbers adding up to a round total. In these cases the sum is never shown on the tablet. A few examples will illustrate the principle:

									Total
Da 1147	SHEEP^m	100							100
Dc 1148	SHEEP^m	95				*pe*	SHEEP^m	5	100
Dd 1150	SHEEP^m	70	SHEEP^f	29		*pa*	SHEEP^m	1	100
De 1151	SHEEP^m	264	SHEEP^f	22		*o*	SHEEP^m	14	300
De 1152	SHEEP^m	46	SHEEP^f	22		*o*	SHEEP^m	12	80
Dc 1154	SHEEP^m	91				*o*	SHEEP^m	9	100
Db 1155	SHEEP^m	86	SHEEP^f	14					100

[b] *Da-Dg* records: see under 'Purpose' p. 495. *Dn* records: *Documents*[1] 209–10, *Documents*[2] 437, *Interpretation* 180, *Textos* 34–35. Studies: Olivier 1967b, 1972, 1988a.264–67.

For the suggestion that *pa* = *palaios* 'old' and *pe* = *perusinwos* 'last year's', see Introduction, p. 495. For discussion of the function of the *o* (= *ophelos*) 'deficit' entries, see p. 496.

D/* At least thirty places are mentioned on these tablets. The only ones which can certainly be located geographically are Phaistos and Tulisos, though *ra-su-to* may be Lasunthos and a reference to the modern Lasithi (Driessen 2001.100, 101 n. 25) and *e-ko-so* may be Axos (Chadwick 1976a.56). None of the places mentioned appear to have been in West Crete; since sheep and other livestock at Kudonia, Aptera and other places not mentioned on the *Da-Dg* tablets are listed on the *Co* records in hand 107, it appears that scribe 117 confined his attention to animals in the central region of the island. For a similar division of scribal responsibility between the Far West and the centre, see the *Lc*(*1*) and *Lc*(*2*) cloth production records by scribes 103 and 113/115 respectively. While the *Lc*(*1*) tablets deal with workgroups in the central region, at places such as Knossos, Amnisos, Phaistos and Tulisos, the *Lc*(*2*) records seem only to concern groups in the Far West, including at Kudonia.

D/* The 'collectors' are more numerous than at Pylos, but a large number of tablets do not bear this entry; see further on **71** = Dn 1094. The two most frequently occurring names are *u-ta-jo* and *we-we-si-jo*, the former in connexion with sixteen places (*da-wo*, *da-*22-to*, *do-ti-ja*, *e-ko-so*, *e-ra*, *ku-ta-to*, Phaistos, *qa-mo*, *qa-ra*, *ra-ja*, *ra-su-to*, *ri-jo-no*, *ru-ki-to*, *su-ri-mo*, *tu-ni-ja* and *56-ko-we*), the latter with nine (*da-ra-ko*, *da-wo*, *da-*22-to*, *di-ro*, *e-ko-so*, *ku-ta-to*, Phaistos, *ru-ki-to* and *su-ri-mo*), with a particular concentration of 'his' flocks at Phaistos. Since there is considerable overlapping we cannot suppose that the 'collectors' were each responsible for separate areas.

* Besides the *Da-Dg* tablets by scribe 117 and the more fragmentary members of the same series classified as *Dv*, there are a few records of flocks containing *ki* animals in hands 117 and 120 classed as *Dh* and a few other flock records in other scribal hands, classified as *Dq*. It should be noted, however, that there is a possible wool entry following the SHEEP^{m} entry on Dq(3) 442, raising the possibility that the records by this scribe (217) may be shearing rather than flock records, and should hence be reclassified as *Dk*. On the *Dk* shearing records, see further pp. 514–15.

64 = Da 1221 (117)

.A OVIS^{m} 200
.B a_3-ta-ro-we , / *56-ko-we ,

D/* Aithalowens: 200 male sheep at *56-ko-we*.

D *Aithalowens*: = αἰθαλόεις; the name recurs at Pylos.

* *56-ko-we*: from its associations elsewhere in the records, it seems likely that this is a place in the more westerly part of the central region. It has particularly close links with

*da-*22-to* (**66** = Dc 1129+), which is possibly in the area of the modern Rethymnon (cf. Wilson 1977.107).

65 = Db 1232 (117)

.A OVIS^{m} 23 OVIS^{f} 27
.B na-pu-ti-jo , / ti-ri-to , pe-ri-qo-te-jo ,

D/* Naputios: twenty-three male sheep, twenty-seven female sheep at *Ti-ri-to*; of (the 'collector') *Pe-ri-qo-ta*.

D *Nāputios*: = νηπύτιος.

D/* *ti-ri-to*: recalls Τρίτ(τ)α, the old name of Knossos according to Hesychius. Whatever of this similarity, the place seems likely to have been close to Tulisos, and hence to Knossos; for the so-called 'Tylissos' group of places, a recurring set of toponyms which includes *ti-ri-to* and in once instance *tu-ri-so*, see **349** = E 749, Og 833 and the *Pp* records (Hart 1965.3–4).

D/* *pe-ri-qo-te-jo*: possessive adjective in *-e-jo* (probably *-eiios*) based on the 'collector's' name *pe-ri-qo-ta*, attested in the simple form on Dq(3) 42, 46 (*pe-ri-qo-ta-o*). For its identification as a possessive, see Palmer, *Interpretation* 444, Killen 1964b.15, 1983a.67–68. Note the unusual arrangement. The numbers add up to 50.

66 = Dc 1129 (117)

.A u-ta-jo OVIS^{m} 37
.B po-ro-u-te-u / da-*22-to , *o* OVIS^{m} 63

D/* Plouteus: at *Da-*22-to*, thirty-seven male sheep, deficit sixty-three *sheep*; ('collector') *U-ta-jo*.

* *o* OVIS^{m}: on the possibility that the SHEEP^{m} sign in subsidiary entries on these tablets denotes 'sheep' in general, see the next record.

67 = Dd 1171 (117)

.A OVIS^{m} 20 OVIS^{f} 72
.B po-ro / pa-i-to *pa* OVIS^{m} 8

D/* *Pōlos*: at Phaistos, twenty male sheep, seventy-two female sheep, eight *old sheep*.

* *pa*: if, as is likely, *pa* stands for *palaios*, it seems improbable that all the old sheep in the flock would be males: which suggests the possibility that SHEEP^{m} in this and other subsidiary entries on these records denotes 'sheep' in general, as it evidently does on the *Dk* shearing records, in the *ki* SHEEP^{m} entries on the *Dl* and *Do* records and on the *Dn* records of area totals (see further pp. 513–14).

68 = De 1648 (117)

.A we-we-si-jo-jo , OVIS^{m} 58 OVIS^{f} 2
.B a-te-mo , / ku-ta-to *o* OVIS^{m} 50

D/* *Anthemos*: at *Ku-ta-to*, fifty-eight male sheep, two female sheep; deficit fifty *sheep*; of (the 'collector') *We-we-si-jo*.

D/* Here the name of the 'collector' stands in the genitive. The total is 110.

69 = Df 1121 (117)

.A da-mi-ni-jo , OVIS^{m} 143 OVIS^{f} 36
.B ti-mi-za / ku-ta-to , *pe* OVIS^{m} 21

* *Ti-mi-za*: at *Ku-ta-to*, 143 male sheep, thirty-six female sheep, twenty-one *last year's sheep*; ('collector') *Damnios*.

As noted earlier, **73** = Dk(2) 1076 is the shearing record for the flock whose details are given here.

* *pe*: this stands over an erased sign, probably *o*. The total is 200.

70 = Dg 1158 (117)

.A we-we-si-jo , OVIS^{m} 63 OVIS^{f} 25
.B a-ni-ja-to , / pa-i-to , *pa* OVIS^{m} 2 *o* OVIS^{m} 10

D/* Aniatos: at Phaistos, sixty-three male sheep, twenty-five female sheep, two *old sheep*; deficit ten *sheep*; ('collector') *We-we-si-jo*.

* *o* SHEEP^{m} 10 : 10 has been corrected from 12. The total is now 100.

* As J.-P. Olivier has brilliantly demonstrated (1967b, 1972, 1988a.264–67), the purpose of the *Dn* records of area totals, in the same scribal hand as the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* records, is to provide figures for all the animals, including both female sheep and those in subsidiary entries (*pa* SHEEP^{m}, etc.), in each of the places mentioned on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* tablets, except for those listed on texts containing a 'collector' entry. As Olivier also shows, at least two further *Dn* tablets, also by scribe 117, appear to give totals for the 'collector' flocks. Dn 2016, which begins]*-jo-jo*, and where the shape of the break supports a reading]*si̤-jo-jo*, is likely to record the total for the animals 'of' *we-we-si-jo* or *e-me-si-jo*; while Dn 5668, which begins]*qo-te-jo*, is likely to give the total for the animals listed as *pe-ri-qo-te-jo*, viz. the sheep 'of' *pe-ri-qo-ta*. Comparison of the figures on the area records with those on the surviving *Da-Dg*, *Dv* records dealing with the same places reveals that approximately 80 per cent of the latter have been preserved. This in turn enables Olivier to calculate that the total number of sheep originally recorded on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* tablets was ± 62,000, with a further ± 30,000 listed on other Knossos sheep records.

71 = Dn 1094 (117)

.1 pa-i-to OVIS^{m} 1509
.2 da-wo OVIS^{m} 2440

* At Phaistos: 1509 sheep.
At *Da-wo*: 2440 sheep.

* OVIS^{m}: it is clear in the light of Olivier's calculation that SHEEP^{m} here, as also on the *Dk* shearing records and elsewhere, indicates 'sheep' in general, i.e. subsumes both male and female animals.

3. SHEARING AND LAMBING RECORDS AT KNOSSOS (Dk, Dl, Do, Dp)[b]

D/D^{2} The first three records in this group are similar in general form to the preceding series, but differ in having an entry with the ideogram **145*, whose identification in this context as WOOL is now generally agreed (see Introduction, p. 493). It has been suggested that elsewhere (e.g. PY **245** = Un 267, **246** = Un 249) the same sign has a different meaning; but a plausible explanation of the presence of wool among ingredients for ointment can be given (see p. 747), and there is no justification for doubting that the sign has the same meaning in all contexts.

D^{2} It has been suggested that WOOL should be regarded as a ligature of the syllabic signs *ma* and *ru*. The ideogram is sometimes hardly distinguished from *ma*, but when carefully written has a small element at the upper centre which resembles *re* or *ro*, rarely *ru*. It seems certain that the ideogram was taken over from Linear A, in which it is quite clearly a ligature of the signs corresponding to *ma* and *ru*; but this is no justification for importing this analysis into Linear B where the second element has been reduced in size and distinctiveness to a point where it cannot seriously be regarded as forming a ligature. Whether *maru* represents a Minoan word for 'wool' or 'fleece' which was borrowed by Greek as μαλλός is purely a matter of speculation.

D The amount of wool is proportionate to the number of sheep, the deficits being noted in the usual way. The proportion is shown between the number of sheep and the total amount of wool, and the deficit of wool is not proportionate to the deficit of sheep. On the first two records below, and elsewhere in the same series, classed as *Dk*(*2*), the proportion is 4 sheep : 1 unit of wool.

	SHEEP	WOOL				
Dk(2) 1070	100	7	+	18	=	25
Dk(2) 1071	50	6	+	6⅓	=	12⅓
Dk(2) 1072	100	13⅓	+	11⅔	=	25
Dk(2) 1073	50	6⅔	+	5⅔	=	12⅓
Dk(2) 1074	100	19	+	6	=	25

[b] *Dk*, *Dl*, *Do* records: see under 'Purpose' p. 495. *Dp* records: *Documents*[1] 205, *Documents*[2] 435. Studies: **76** = Dp 1061: Olivier 1967b.90–91. **77** = Dp 997: Killen 1962a, 1963, Melena 1987a.443.

D/* The approximation of 12⅓ to the correct 12½ indicates that division was not customary except into thirds. This is readily understandable, since one WOOL unit equals 3 M, and finer measurement would have involved a descent into smaller fractions (N, etc.).

* The *Dk(2)* records are the work of scribe 119; the single-line *Dk(1)* tablets, which normally show the same sheep : wool ratio, are in hand 120. Note that in both series only sheep denoted by SHEEP^{m} are recorded, and that, while deficits in wool are almost invariable, deficits in sheep are never found.

* As shown in the Introduction, the purpose of these tablets is evidently to record targets for the wool production of the sheep, set at a level (c. 750 g per animal) comparable to known yields of sheep distributed under herding contracts in early Mesopotamia and Medieval England. The WOOL total shows the target, the amount 'present' the amount so far contributed at the time of the compilation of the record and the *o* entry the amount still required. The apparent absence of female sheep from these records, and the fact that sheep are never noted as in deficit, is explained by the comparison of a number of the *Dk* tablets with 'flock' records in the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* series which clearly relate to the same animals. This reveals that the SHEEP^{m} ideogram is used on the 'shearing' records with the sense of 'sheep' in general, and subsumes not only any ewes in the flock but also animals in subsidiary, including deficit, entries. See further on **73** = Dk(2) 1076.

72 = Dk(2) 1072 (119)

.A X OVIS^{m} 100 LANA 13 M 1
.B ka-te-u / ku-ta-to *o* LANA 11 M 2

D/* *Ka-te-u*: at *Ku-ta-to*, 100 sheep; 40 kg of wool; deficit 35 kg of wool.

D X is a 'check mark' here as on **60** = Cn 131.

73 = Dk(2) 1076 (119)

.A X OVIS^{m} 200 LANA 33
.B ti-mi-za / da-mi-ni-jo *o* LANA 17

* *Ti-mi-za*: at *Ku-ta-to*, 200 sheep; 99 kg of wool; deficit 51 kg of wool; 'collector' *Damnios*.

* This is clearly the shearing record for the flock of the 'shepherd' *Ti-mi-za* at *Ku-ta-to* which is listed in detail on **69** = Df 1121, with the 200 SHEEP^{m} entry here giving a summation of the 143 SHEEP^{m}, 36 SHEEP^{f} and 21 *pe* animals recorded there: 143 + 36 + 21 = 200. For a full list of the correspondences between the *Dk* records and the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* records, see Olivier 1967b.88–89.

D/* The next tablet is one of the *Dl* records, mainly by scribe 118, which differ from the *Dk* tablets in recording female animals first, and in always recording SHEEP^{m}

qualified as *ki*. There is normally a 1 : 1 relationship between the ewe total and the *ki* SHEEP^{m} total; and the sheep : wool ratio is regularly here 10 : 1, not 4 : 1 as usually on the *Dk* tablets.

	EWES	*ki* SHEEP^{m}	TOTAL	WOOL	TOTAL
Dl(1) 933	40 + *o* 20	*o* 60	120	3 + *o* 9	12
Dl(1) 938	50	40 + *o* 10	100	7 + *o* 3	10
Dl(1) 943	90	*o* 90	180	11 + *o* 7	18
Dl(1) 946	70	*o* 70	140	7 + *o* 7	14
Dl(1) 947	80	10 + *o* 70	160	11 + *o* 5	16

* As we have seen, these characteristics can readily be explained on the assumption that these are records of lambing and wool targets for breeding flocks, and that *ki* denotes a young animal, with the following SHEEP^{m} denoting 'sheep' in general. The 1 : 1 ratio between ewes and *ki* animals represents a lambing target of one lamb per year for each ewe held; and the 10 : 1 ratio between sheep total and wool total reflects the facts (a) that ewes yield slightly less wool than wethers or mixed wethers and ewes and (b) that lambs produce little or no wool.

74 = Dl(1) 943 (118)

.A po-ti-ni-ja-we OVIS^{f} 90 LANA 11
.B a-ko-i-da / qa-nwa-so *o ki* OVIS^{m} 90 *o* LANA 7

D/* *A-ko-i-da*: at *Qa-nwa-so*, 90 female sheep, 33 kg of wool; deficit 90 *lambs* and 21 kg of wool; *belonging to the Mistress*.

D/* *po-ti-ni-ja-we*: shown by other similar tablets (Dl(1) 930+) to have lost its final *-jo*. The meaning is difficult. It is clearly a derivative of *po-ti-ni-ja* Potnia, and shows the *-e-jo* possessive suffix found in derivatives of 'collectors'' names, including *pe-ri-qo-te-jo* < *pe-ri-qo-ta* on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* 'flock' records and *e-se-re-e-jo* < MN *e-se-re-a*$_2$ (PY **59** = An 661.2) and *sa-qa-re-jo*, both of which occupy the same 'collector' position as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* does here on other records in the *Dl*(*1*) 'set'. The *-w-* element is puzzling, however, and Lejeune (*Mémoires* II.363–64), Ruijgh (*Études* 123, 259–60) and others suggest an explanation as *Potniarweios* (cf. ἀρά 'vow' and Arcadian κάταρϝος 'cursed'), with the sense of belonging to the domain of Potnia (Lejeune) or to the priest of Potnia (Ruijgh). While, however, this would account for the spelling, the presence elsewhere in the records of flocks of Hermes (KN D 411) and Potnia herself (PY Cc 665) encourages the suspicion that, whatever the precise explanation of its form, this is a direct derivative of the theonym.

* The next tablet is one of a further group of records, evidently again of breeding animals and their progeny, which are the work of a different scribe, no. 106, and which unlike the *Dl* records do not contain a wool entry. Here the ewe : *ki* animal

ratio is normally 100 : 80, a figure for which there are exact parallels in early Mesopotamian records of lambing targets (Kraus 1966.18).

	SHEEP^{f}	*ki* SHEEP^{m}	TOTAL
Do 927	100	19 + 30 + *o* 31	80
Do 929	100	*o* 80	80

However, there is also evidence for 100 : 40 (**75** = Do 5010) and, in a sub-set of records by the same scribe showing the 'collector's' name *ka-to-ro*, two examples of 100 : 50 (see Do 7079, 7087). Note that in this series no deficits in ewes are ever recorded, and that *ki* sheep are regularly sub-divided into *pe* and *za* animals, plausibly explained as 'last year's' (*perusinwoi*) and 'this year's' (*za-we-te-ro*, *tsāwe(s)teroi*).

75 = Do 5010 (106)

.A *ki pe* OVIS^{m} 10 *o* OVIS^{m} 30
.B wo̤-ro̤-to̤ / *se* OVIS^{f} 100 *za* OVIS^{m}

* *Wo-ro-to*: at *Se-to-i-ja*, 100 female sheep, 10 last year's *lambs*, no this year's *lambs*; deficit 30 *lambs*.

* *se*: since all the records certainly or probably in hand 106 contain either *se* and no toponym or the place-name *se-to-i-ja*, it is difficult not to conclude that *se* is an abbreviation of *se-to-i-ja* (Killen 1964c.89–93).

* *za* OVIS^{m}: here and elsewhere in these records a zero figure for animals of this category is shown by a blank space following the ideogram. Note also the blank following *ki pe* OVIS^{m} on Do 919, 924, 929. Though *za* is not normally preceded by *ki*, confirmation that this is to be understood here (as it doubtless should also be in the deficit entry; cf. *o ki* on the *Dl* records) is provided by Do 927, where a majuscule *ki* stands to the left of *za* and is clearly to be taken both with it and with the *pe* entry immediately above it.

* The two final tablets in this section record totals for wool. The first, **76** = Dp 1061, which may be by the scribe of the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* flock records (117), lists wool, possibly ewes' wool, qualified as *pa-i-ti-ja*, 'of Phaistos'. Another tablet by the same writer, Dp 5508, is likely to record wool 'of Knossos' (*ko-no-si-ja*). On **76** = Dp 1061, the quantity recorded is at least 456 wool units; and if Dp 5508 is part of the same tablet as X 2011, and does record wool, this will have listed at least 330 units. Though final certainty is impossible, it is attractive to surmise that the wool in question has been shorn from the sheep on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* flock records. There are no sheep at Knossos recorded on those tablets, and relatively few non-'collector' sheep at Phaistos (see **71** = Dn 1094.1, which gives a total of 1509 such animals); if therefore these tablets do deal with wool from the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* animals they may record totals for wool stored at Knossos and

Phaistos, which has perhaps been shorn from animals run in a number of places surrounding these two centres.

76 = Dp 1061 (117?)

]sa / pa-i-ti-ja OVIS^{x} LANA 456[

* So much wool from *female* sheep at/from Phaistos: 1368 (+?) kg.

D/*]*sa*: probably to be restored as *to*-]*sa* 'so much', the usual introduction to a total.

* OVIS^{x} : the ideogram before WOOL is possibly SHEEP^{f}, but cannot be SHEEP^{m}.

* The second text of this type, **77** = Dp 997, is in the hand of the *Dl*(*1*) records of targets for lamb and wool production (118), and gives a total for wool of *po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja* ewes, which several of these texts record; see e.g. **74** = Dl(1) 943. The SHEEP^{f} ideogram before the break to the right was doubtless followed by a WOOL ideogram and numerals; cf. e.g. **76** = Dp 1061.

77 = Dp 997 (118)

.a] po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja [
.b]to-sa , / ne-wa , po-ka OVIS^{f} [

* So much this year's *wool belonging to the Mistress*: (*wool*) from female sheep; *x*. kg.

* *ne-wa po-ka*: *newai pokai* 'this year's fleeces' (Killen 1962a, 1963) or perhaps better 'this year's wool', since 'fleece' unusually refers to the clip of a modern sheep which comes off the animal in a single piece, whereas the wool of Mycenaean sheep may have been gathered by plucking or combing rather than with shears or a knife (Melena 1975a.111, 1987a). Whatever its precise meaning, *po-ka* is an oxytone action noun from πέκω of a type common in Mycenaean; see Glossary s.v. *o-pa*, *po-qa*, *to-u-ka*, *wo-ka*, etc. It is attested in Classical Greek, alongside masc. πόκος, in the proverb εἷς ὄνου πόκας (Ar. *Frogs* 186), where, as Lejeune points out (*Mémoires* IV.57 n. 10), the tradition gives us the wrong accent (πόκας for ποκάς).

4. MISCELLANEOUS LIVESTOCK AT PYLOS (Cn)[b]

78 = Cn 3 (S608 H 1)

.1 jo-i-je-si , me-za-na ,
.2 e-re-u-te-re , di-wi-je-we , qo-o ,
.3 a_2-ra-tu-a , o-ka-ra_3 , BOS 1
.4 pi-ru-te , ku-re-we BOS 1
.5 e-na-po-ro , i-wa-si-jo-ta , BOS 1

[b] **78** = Cn 3: *Documents*[1] 206–07, *Documents*[2] 435–36, *Interpretation* 172–76, *Textos* 32–33. **79** = Cn 418: *Documents*[1] 207–08, *Documents*[2] 436, *Interpretation* 176–77. Study: Killen 1994.77.

.6 o-ru-ma-to , u-ru-pi-ja-jo , BOS 1
.7 a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo , u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo , BOS 1
.8 *vacat*

D/* How they *send* oxen *for the goddess Metsana* to Diwieus the *inspector*.

The *o-ka-ra*$_3$ men at *A*$_2$*-ra-tu-a*: one ox.
The *ku-re-we* men at *Pi-ru-*: one ox.
The *i-wa-si-jo-ta* men at *E-na-po-ro*: one ox.
The *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* men at *O-ru-ma-to*: one ox.
The *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* men of *A*$_2$*-ka-a*$_2$*-ki-ri-ja*: one ox.

D²/* The essential first step in analysing this tablet is to discover its syntax. It seems clear that *i-je-si* is a verb, preceded by the particle *jo-* = *hō* 'how'; that *qo-o* is its object = *g*^{w}*ōns* 'oxen'; that *di-wi-je-we* is the dative of a man's name (see further below, this page), though a title or even an ethnic cannot be entirely excluded, and that *e-re-u-te-re* is therefore likely to be a dative in apposition. The entries in ll. 3–7 consist of a place-name followed by a word which is elsewhere the description of a group of men, and is therefore likely to be a nominative plural here, rather than dative singular (*ku-re-we* and *o-ka-ra*$_2$ are the only forms which would distinguish singular from plural). If so, these men are the subjects of the verb *i-je-si*. More problematic is *me-za-na* immediately following the verb. JC suggests that this is a generic description of the men, and interprets as *Metsāna*(*i*?), connecting it with the Classical name of the area in which Pylos stands, Μεσσηνία; as he notes, the town was originally Μεσσάνα. In support of this approach both to *me-za-na* and to the remainder of the heading, JC notes that if this is the subject we shall then have the order: adverb – verb – subject – indirect object – object, which can be compared with PY **250** = Vn 10, where the order is adverb – verb – subject – accusative of destination – object, and a similar but more complicated example in PY **207** = Jn 829. We shall be returning to this proposal on p. 520.

* As has for long been observed (see e.g. *Documents*[1] 207, Mühlestein 1956.18–20), there are strong links between this record and the *An* 'coastguard' records. All five of the rubrics before the ox entries in ll. 3–7 recur in the same or similar form as the names of contingents on the *o-ka* texts, three on An 519 and two on An 661; and this makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that *di-wi-je-we* on l. 2 is the *e-qe-ta* of that name (or just possibly description) on An 656, particularly since, as VC note, the collocation *e-re-u-te-re di-wi-je-we* here is immediately reminiscent of the collocation *e-qe-ta e-re-u-te-re*[on the label Wa 917. It is clear therefore that the purpose of the record is to list oxen which have been contributed by some of the coastguard contingents to one of the *e-qe-ta* associated with these 'watchers'; and since it is hard to regard *di-wi-je-u*, despite his theophoric name and his association with Poseidon on the *Es* tablets, as anything other

than a human, it would seem much more likely that *i-je-si* is *hiensi* '(they) send' than that it is '(they) sacrifice', as Palmer (1954a.21, 53, *Interpretation* 422) has suggested.

* It remains uncertain, however, why the oxen are being sent and how we should interpret *me-za-na*. Since small numbers of oxen and other animals, often denoted by the undifferentiated forms of the livestock ideograms, like OX here, are regularly attested in what appear to be 'religious' contexts (see further on KN **85** = C 902), the oxen may have been intended as sacrificial victims; but as VC point out, 'less picturesque explanations, such as food-supply, can be imagined'. If, however, these are potential offerings, it is conceivable that *me-za-na* is the name of the divinity to whom they will be sacrificed (Palmer, *Interpretation* 175), and for whom they are being sent to *di-wi-je-u*, though we cannot accept Palmer's suggestion that her name is Melaina, which would involve an unparalleled representation of *l* by *z*. We appear to have evidence elsewhere in the archives for offerings being sent to a divinity via a human intermediary (see e.g. **178** = Un 718, where the offerings in the first paragraph are described as *dosmoi* both to Poseidon and to the *o-wi-de-ta*, who are evidently a group of priests or the like); and it is arguably easier to explain *me-za-na* both here and on **304** = Sh 736, where *me-za-na* recurs and may be the same term, as the name of a goddess than as a reference to an area, as JC suggests. If the phrase *me-za-na wo-ke* on **304** = Sh 736 involves the same term as here, and it is not the nominative of the name *me-za-ne* (dat.) on **94** = Fn 50.4, which may simply be an error for *me-za-wo-ne* (Olivier 1960.114–19), this could be 'in the house (*woikei*) of (the goddess) M.'; cf. *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de* 'to the house (= workshop) of (the goddess) Potnia' TH **244** = Of 36.2, and for the *-ei* locative compare, with Palmer (*Interpretation* 330), *di-da-ka-re*, evidently *didaskalei* 'at the teacher's' KN **19** = Ak(3) 784+. Indeed, it is just possible that the name of the goddess, if this is what she is, is Metsānā, and that this is the divinity after whom Μεσσάνα (and the later Μεσσηνία) was called, just as Athens (Ἀθῆναι) is named after Athene (Ἀθήνη) (Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1122–26). Nor, finally, can it be objected that if M. is a divinity the syntax of the heading would be unparalleled. While *hō* plus verb is regularly followed by the subject of the sentence (see e.g. pp. 619–20), PY **203** = Nn 228, which begins *o-o-pe-ro-si ri-no o-pe-ro* 'thus they owe flax: deficit', and where the subject of the verb is not stated explicitly but is implied by the series of place-name plus FLAX entries which stand below the heading, would follow a precisely similar pattern. It has to be stressed, however, that this explanation of *me-za-na*, for which see Hiller 1981.102–03 n. 52, Killen *Economy and Administration* III.1122–26, can only be regarded as extremely tentative.

D *e-re-u-te-re*: *ereutēr* (= ἐρευνητής) 'searcher, inspector' is the most plausible interpretation of this term; cf. Cretan ἐρευτάς *Inscr. Cret.* I IX.1 D 132.

D²/* *di-wi-je-we*: as noted above, clearly a reference to the *e-qe-ta di-wi-je-u* on **58** = An 656.8–9. The analogy of other *e-qe-ta* entries on the *An o-ka* tablets suggests that the term is most likely a personal name, though an ethnic is also just conceivable; cf. *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo* perhaps 'the *e-qe-ta* from Pleuron' **58** = An 656.16, although we lack evidence at Pylos for 'true' ethnics in -εύς. A title 'priest of Zeus' is also possible, but is much less likely; although 'double' titles are not unknown (see *mo-ro-qa* … *ko-re-te* 'share-holder? (and) mayor?' PY **340** = Aq 64.5, *i-je-re-u po-me* 'priest (and) shepherd' KN **29** = Am(2) 821.2), both these are applied to named individuals (*ku-ru-me-no*, Klumenos in the first instance, *ṭa-ṛa* in the second), and this would not be the case here.

D/* *i-wa-si-jo-ta*: cf. *i-wa-so* in the corresponding entry on **59** = An 661.3; probably an ethnic in *-iōtās*, derived in turn from an ethnic **i-wa-si-jo* (cf. the Classical toponym Ἴασος) (Ruijgh, *Études* 197). *I-wa-so* may be a hypocoristic of *i-wa-si-jo-ta* (Ruijgh ibid.).

D² *u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo*: the last syllable must be an error, an understandable case of dittography.

79 = Cn 418 (Ciii)

.1 pa-ro , we-u-da-ne-we
.2 ṛẹ-u-ko , a-ko-ro-we-e BOS+*SI* 2
.3 re[-u-]ḳọ , ma-ra-pị , pe-ko , a-ko-ro-we BOS+*SI* 1
.4]3 CAP^m 3̣[ ]*WE* 3 CAP+*E* 3 ⟦ ⟧[
.5]*vest.*[ ]2 [ ]3̣ ⟦ ⟧[
.6] *vestigia* [
.7 re-u-ko[ ]ṃạ-ra[-pi]pe-ko , a-ko-ro-we[
.8 OVIS^m 1 CAP^m 1 *WE*[ ]CAP+*E*̣[ ] ṣụṣ^x[

D/* *In the hands of We-u-da-ne-u*:

Two fattened oxen, *uniformly* white,
One fattened ox, *uniformly* white, *dark on the underbelly*,
Three …, *three* he-goats, three yearlings, three *kids*, etc.

* The references to fattened animals (OX + *SI* = *sialos*) indicate a 'consumption' context for the record (cf. the PIG + *SI* entries on **110** = Un 138, **111** = Un 2), while the small numbers of animals, and the repeated appearance of three in the numbers listed on l. 3, may indicate that its precise purpose is to record sacrificial offerings; cf. the similar regularity in the small numbers of animals recorded on **310** = Un 6.1, 3–4 (offerings to Poseidon and *pe-re-*82*). The careful specification of the colour of the animals may point in a similar direction; as JC notes in *Documents*² 'white animals … [are] often prescribed for sacrifice to the Olympian deities'. On this last point, see further Killen 1994.79.

* *we-u-da-ne-we*: perhaps a reference to the 'collector' *we-da-ne-u* of the *Cn* livestock records and elsewhere, with the spelling of the name due to differences in scribal hand (Palaima, *Scribes Pylos* 131 n. 200). While, however, an occasional spelling with *-e-* of what is normally written as *-e-u-* (e.g. *ke-po-da* PY Na 568 for the more normal *ke-u-po-da*) is readily understandable, the reverse would be much less so.

* *a-ko-ro-we-e*: dual; sense uncertain. VC suggest *akhrōwehe* 'pale' or more likely *hakhrōwehe* 'uniformly coloured'; Gallavotti (1956a.29) proposes 'with pointed ears', which is perhaps less likely if the context is a sacrificial one. Palmer's suggestion (1966.283) that the term is *akolouehe* (cf. κολούω 'dock, curtail') 'unblemished' encounters the difficulty that on KN Ch 7100]*a-ko-ro-we-i*, apparently a variant form of the dual, precedes OX PAIR 1, viz. a reference to a pair of (castrated) working oxen, and we should not expect a castrated animal to be described as 'unblemished', in the sense of 'undocked', unless, as Palaima (1989b.106–07) suggests, the docking in question refers to horns. While, however, as Palaima points out, the related κόλος is regularly used in Classical Greek to refer to hornless oxen and goats, there is no evidence for κολούω being used with the same restriction in sense, and if this were the reference here we might therefore have expected the horns to be specified.

D²/* *ma-ra-p̣i*: the reading of the last sign is uncertain, but if it is correct this could be *malāphi*, locative plural of the noun preserved in the Classical phrase ὑπὸ μάλης 'under the armpit'; that is to say, 'under the legs'. *Pe-ko* should then be an adjective of colour, and this suggests comparison with περκνός 'dark' and various forms invite the restoration of an earlier adjective *πέρκος. Thus 'white, dark in the μάλαι' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 432) is a possible, but not entirely convincing, solution. Palmer's assertion (*Interpretation* 405) that this reading rules out 'of uniform colour' is hardly justified; it is still possible to refer thus to an ox which is white except for dark patches underneath.

* GOAT + *E*̣: if this reading is correct, its discoverer (Melena 1997a.95–97) may well be right in suggesting that the *E* indicates a kid (Gk ἔριφος). As he notes, the preceding entry deals with *WE*, almost certainly = *wetalon*, perhaps here a yearling sheep (see below); a goat is among the animals listed earlier in this entry; and evidence to support this identification of *E* may be provided, first, by KN U 5717, whose format is reminiscent of the *Do* 'lambing target' records and which lists 40 *E* following 90 of what appears to be some type of female animal, and, second, by KN Ce 283, which records 40 sheep and 60 (+?) *e-po*, which Scafa (1977) has attractively suggested is *erphos*, a syncopated form of ἔριφος. If GOAT + *E* does indicate a kid, this will strengthen the case for concluding that *WE* always denotes a yearling *sheep*; though *WE* on ll. 4, 8 here is immediately preceded by GOAT^{m}, the scribe could have begun by listing adult animals of both varieties (SHEEP^{m}, GOAT^{m}: see l. 8), and then gone on with the equivalent young animals (*WE*, GOAT + *E*).

80 = Cn 1287 (H 31)

.1 a-*64-jo , a-ke-ro CAP^{f} 1
.2 te-re-do ka-na-pe-u CAP^{f} 1
.3 na-ma-ru-ko CAP^{f} 1
.4 qe-ta-ko ke-ra-me-u CAP^{f} 1
.5 da-u-da-ro , pe-re-ke-u CAP^{f} 1
.6 mu-ti-ri-ko , di-u-ja , do-e-ro CAP^{f} 1
.7 a$_2$-ra-ka-wo ke-re-ta-o do-e-ro CAP^{f} 1
.8 a-sa-ma-o CAP^{f} 1

.9 mo-ri-wo CAP^{f} 2
.10 ma-ni-ko CAP^{f} 1
.11 *vacat*

* *Aswios* the *herald*: one she-goat.
Te-re-do the fuller: one she-goat.
Na-ma-ru-ko: one she-goat.
Qe-ta-ko the potter: one she-goat.
Da-u-da-ro the *plaiter*: one she-goat.
Mutiliskos the servant of Diwya: one she-goat.
A_2-ra-ka-wo the servant of *Ke-re-ta*: one she-goat, etc.

* We cannot be certain whether the tablet records receipts or allocations of goats, or what the purpose of these animals is. It is noticeable, however, that the individual entries on the record are similar to those on the *Wu* sealings at Thebes, many of which concern a single animal that is being supplied to the palace from outlying areas for consumption at a state-sponsored banquet (pp. 559–61), and some of which mention the supplier, indicated by *pa-ro* plus personal name or personal name alone. This suggests the possibility that the tablet has been compiled from the information on a series of sealings, as may also have been true of the *C(2)* livestock records at Knossos (Killen 1994.73–74), which again normally involve small numbers of animals, and all of which appear to have contained at least one *pa-ro* plus personal name formula: see e.g. **81** = *C(2)* 913, **82** = C(2) 941. It is noticeable that, just as ll. 6 and 7 of the present tablet record a she-goat *pa-ro* slaves (*do-e-ro*) of Diwya and *Ke-re-ta* respectively, so C(2) 915 records ten she-goats *pa-ro* the slave of *A-pi-qo-ta*. It is true that the hand of this record is also that of Ub 1315, from the same location, which deals with skins and leather products; if this link is significant, however, all it may indicate is that the skins of the goats were used for leather manufacture after they had been slaughtered for consumption (Aravantinos 1990.162 and n. 85, Killen 1999a.334). In Classical Greece, the skins of animals consumed at sacrificial banquets were often sold to tanners by the organisers of the festivities (Killen 1999a.334).

* *a-ke-ro*: also Ea 136, Vn 493 (plur.); perhaps *angelos* or **ageros* 'collector' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 404).

* *pe-re-ke-u*: probably *plekeus*, but it is uncertain whether this is 'weaver' or 'plaiter' (of wickerwork). Although evidence for πλέκω in a weaving context may be provided by *pe-re-ke* KN L 520, male weavers, as opposed to finishers of cloth (as the *knapheus* on l. 2 may be), are rarely if ever attested on the records.

* *ke-re-ta-o*: it is unclear whether this is the name of a god, like Diwya in the preceding entry, or a human. A feminine plural is less likely; slaves normally, and perhaps invariably, have a single rather than a group owner.

5. MISCELLANEOUS LIVESTOCK AT KNOSSOS
(Ca, Ce, Ch, Co, C, Dm)[b]

OVIS^{m}		SHEEP^{m}	BOS		OX
OVIS^{f}		SHEEP^{f}	BOS^{m}		OX^{m}
CAP^{m}		GOAT^{m}	BOS^{f}		OX^{f}
CAP^{f}		GOAT^{f}	SUS^{m}		PIG^{m}
EQU		HORSE	SUS^{f}		PIG^{f}
EQU^{m}		HORSE^{m}			
EQU^{f}		HORSE^{f}			

81 = *C(2)* 913 (112?)

.1 pa-ro , e-te-wa-no , a_3 CAP^{m} 1[
.2 pa-ro ko-ma-we-te CAP^{m} 1 pa[

* The resemblances of the entries on this and other records of the same type, including **82** = C(2) 941 p. 525, to those on the *Wu* sealings at Thebes have already been mentioned on p. 523: see **80** = Cn 1287. Like the *Wu* sealings, the *C(2)* records usually concern small numbers of animals, and all appear to have contained at least one entry involving the preposition *pa-ro* followed by a personal name, a formula which recurs on a number of the sealings. Since we can be certain that the *Wu* sealings relate to animals being supplied to the centre for consumption at a state-sponsored (sacrificial ?) banquet, it is attractive to conclude that the animals on the *C(2)* tablets have a similar purpose; and support for this conclusion

BOS		OX	WE		YEARLING
BOS+*SI*		OX+*SI*	CAP^{m}		GOAT^{m}
OVIS^{m}		SHEEP^{m}	CAP^{f}		GOAT^{f}

[b] *C(2)* records: *Documents*[1] 209, *Documents*[2] 436–37, *Interpretation* 184–85. Study: Killen 1994.73–78. *Dm* records: *Documents*[1] 210, *Documents*[2] 437, *Interpretation* 181. Study: Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.364–67. **84** = Ca 895: *Documents*[1] 210–11, *Interpretation* 181–82, *Anthology* 254–56. **85** = C 902: *Documents*[1] 211–12, *Documents*[2] 437–38, *Interpretation* 182–83. Study: Godart 1999b.251–54. **86** = Ce 59: *Documents*[1] 212–13, *Documents*[2] 438. *Ch* records: *Documents*[1] 213, *Documents*[2] 438, *Interpretation* 182, *Textos* 33. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.379–86, Godart and Tzedakis 1993.235–45, Killen 1995c, Godart 1999b.249–51, Weilhartner 2006.257–62. *Co* records: *Documents*[1] 213, *Documents*[2] 438, *Interpretation* 184, *Textos* 34. Studies: Godart 1972, Killen 1976a, Godart and Tzedakis 1992.222–37.

may be provided by the appearance on **82** = C(2) 941 of the term *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, which can plausibly, if not fully certainly, be interpreted as *sphaktēria* 'for sacrifice': see further below, this page.

* As has also been mentioned on p. 523, it is possible that these tablets have actually been transcribed from sealings. For another possible example of the same phenomenon, see KN C(1) 5753, which lists male and female oxen and begins *ko-no-so-de* 'to Knossos'. Since we should not expect to find 'to Knossos' on a tablet written at Knossos, it is possible that the allative has been transcribed direct from a sealing or sealings written outside Knossos and sent to the centre with the animals it concerns; cf. *te-qa-de* 'to Thebes' on **107** = Wu 65 and other Thebes sealings, which were clearly written, presumably by peripatetic palace scribes (Killen 2001c.8), in outlying areas of that kingdom.

* a_3: presumably not *aiks*, since that would be tautologous, though see **178** = Un 718, where several of the commodities listed are designated both by name and by an ideogram.

* *ko-ma-we-te*: it is unclear whether this and *a-pi-qo-ta* **82** = C(2) 941, C(2) 915 are references to the 'collectors' of those names elsewhere at Knossos, *ko-ma-we* on SHEEP, WOMAN and CLOTH records, *a-pi-qo-ta*, in the spelling *a-pi-qo-i-ta*, on the WOMAN record **22** = *Ai(3)* 824. It would help settle the matter if *we-u-da-ne-we* following *pa-ro* on **79** = Cn 418 in what appears to be a similar context to this, viz. animals for consumption, probably sacrifice, were certainly the 'collector' *we-da-ne-u* of the Pylos *Cn* livestock tablets; unfortunately, however, as we have seen earlier, this is far from certain. Note, however, that it would be in keeping with the conclusion that all three are 'collectors' that a number of the Thebes sealings, which are plausibly seen as having a similar purpose to the *C(2)* tablets and **79** = Cn 418, contain the terms *a-ko-ra* and *a-ko-ra-jo*, which there is little doubt – though some have questioned it – relate in some way or other to the activities of 'collectors': see further **88** = Co 907. For discussion of the identity of *ko-ma-we* and *a-pi-qo-ta* here, see further Killen 1994.76–77.

82 = C(2) 941 (112)

.A OVIS^{m} ϱ[
.B pa-ro / a-pi-qo-ta , sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja OVIS^{f} 10 [

* *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*: in view of the likely purpose of the *C(2)* tablets, viz. to record animals for consumption, perhaps sacrifice, it is attractive to conclude that this is *sphaktēria* '(things) for sacrifice' (σφάζω) (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.203 n. 18, Killen 1994.74–76), in spite of the abnormal spelling (*sa-pa-* not *pa-* for σφα-; *-ka-te-* rather than *-ke-te-*, but cf. *wa-na-ka-te-ro*). A place-name (cf. Σφακτηρία in Messenia) is less likely; note in particular KN X 9191, which looks like a sheep tablet, where *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* is almost certainly to be restored on l. a, and where the place-name *u-ta-no* appears on l. b, making it unlikely that *s.* is also a toponym (Killen 1994.75.).

83 = Dm 1180 (117)

.A a_3-mi-re-we , OVIS^m 4
.B pa-i-to / e-ka-ra-e-we OVIS^m 20

* The *Dm* records, by the scribe of the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* flock records, list relatively small numbers of SHEEP^m qualified as *a_3-mi-re-we* and *e-ka-ra-e-we*, of which the latter are much more numerous than the former (Pugliese Carratelli 1954b.220–21). The purpose of these animals is uncertain. Lejeune (*Mémoires* II.364–67) suggests that *e-ka-ra-e-we* might be *engraēwes* (γράω) '(animals) being fattened', while Dm 1184 contains the term *o-pa*, which may be *hopā* (Gr. ἕπω 'to be busy with') and refer to finishing processes of various kinds, in this case 'finishing' in the sense of fattening for slaughter (Killen 1999a). [Note in particular its appearances on PY **304** = Sh 736, which appears to refer to the refurbishment of armour, and on KN L 695, which evidently relates to the decoration of cloth (Killen 1979a.173–74).] Caution, however, is in order: Lejeune's interpretation of *e-ka-ra-e-we* is merely an 'etymological' one; nor is there a convincing explanation of *a_3-mi-re-we*, which, as Lejeune (ibid.) points out, cannot be connected with αἷμα 'blood' and thence with sacrifice.

84 = Ca 895 (-)

.1 i-qo EQU^f 5 EQU^m 4 po-ro EQU [
.2 o-no EQU^f 3 po-ro EQU 2 EQU^m 4 [

D Horses: five mares, four (full-grown) horses, *x* foals.
Asses: three she-asses, two foals, four he-asses.

D/* The beginning of this tablet, containing the initial two words and half the horse's head in the second line, was found by Chadwick among some unpublished fragments in Iraklion Museum in April 1955. The join with the remaining piece, showing as it did that *i-qo* and *o-no*, which could readily be interpreted as *(h)ikk^{w}oi* 'horses' and *onoi* 'asses', were followed by ideograms which patently denoted equids, was an important confirmation of the correctness of the decipherment. The right-hand piece had already attracted much attention, and Evans (*PoM* IV.799) first pointed out that the foals are distinguished from the horses by being shown without manes. This distinction certainly holds for the last two entries of line 1, where the horse ideogram is the ordinary form on the chariot tablets (*Sc*), the mane usually being tied up into three 'top-knots'. On the other hand, none of the animals in the second line have manes, the first and third showing instead the usual marks of sex. This apart, no immediate differences in the ideograms are apparent, and the characteristic long ears of asses do not seem to be adequately represented. It is evident that HORSE (as we may suspect in other cases too) is merely a conventional form used alike for horse and ass, the distinction here being adequately represented by the initial words.

D/* In each case three sorts of animals are listed separately, though in a different order. In the second line the distinction is clearly between female, male and foals, and this is therefore likely to apply to the first line as well, with the maned HORSE indicating an adult male. Since female animals are listed first and foals are also recorded (cf. in both respects the *Dl*, *Do* records of breeding sheep and their young) the males may be entire (uncastrated) animals used for breeding purposes.

D *pōlō*: dual in line 2. Evans had suggested this reading on the basis of the Cypriot syllabary, but he was so convinced that the language was not Greek that he rejected it as illusory.

85 = C 902 (201)

.0	*sup. mut.*			
.1	mi-ru-ro / si-pe-we	BOS	*ne* **170* 12	
.2	o-du-ru-wi-jo / ko-re-te	BOS	*ne* **170* 12	
.3	wa-to / ḳọ-re-te BOS *ne* **170* 12 , wa-to / da-nu-wo			'BOS' **170* 12
.4	si-ra-ro / ko-re-te	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.5	*56-ko-we / e-ra-ne	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.6	o-du-ru-we / u-wo-qe-we	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.7	ri-jo-no / ko-re-te	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.8	ru-ki-ti-jo	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.9	a-pa-ta-wa / ko-re-te	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.10	ku-ta-i-to / ko-re-te	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.11	re-ri-jo / e-re-ta	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.12	] wa-to / we-re-wẹ	BOS 1	*ne* **170* 12	
.13	*inf. mut.*			

D/* *Mi-ru-ro* at *Si-pe-we*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *mayor* of *Odrus*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *mayor* of *Wa-to*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *da-nu-wo* of *Wa-to*: (one) ox, twelve *x*.
The *mayor* of *Si-ra-ro*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *e-ra-ne* at **56-ko-we*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *overseers* at *Odrus*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *mayor* of *Ri-jo-no*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *men* of *Ru-ki-to*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *mayor* of Aptara: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *mayor* of *Ku-ta-i-to*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *rowers* of *Re-ro*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.
The *we-re-we* at *Wa-to*: one ox, twelve *this year's x*.

* The tablet books single oxen and twelve items denoted by the otherwise unattested ideogram **170* against various individuals and groups, many of them

referred to by title, in a series of places of which four, *o-du-ru*(*-we*), *wa-to*, *si-ra-ro* and *a-pa-ta-wa* = Aptara (= Ἄπτερα), are in the Far West of Crete (p. 258). One of the titles, *ko-re-te*, found in six entries, is in the nominative, and it is likely therefore that all the terms in parallel position are in the same case. This is consistent with the view that the tablet records contributions of oxen, etc., but unfortunately does not confirm it; cf. **342** = On 300, where the entries in the second half of the tablet are similar to many here, e.g. *ra-u-ra-ti-ja ko-re-te* l. 9, but where, despite the nominatives, it is clear from the datives in the first section that the tablet deals with issues. On the other hand, as Godart (1999b.252) points out, it is attractive to compare with this record PY **78** = Cn 3, which deals with single oxen, denoted as here by the undifferentiated form of the OX ideogram, that are being sent by various coastguard contingents to the *e-qe-ta* Diwieus. It is true that not all tablets listing single animals booked against individuals and groups appear to concern deliveries; KN C 954, for instance, lists single sheep and goats in connexion with a number of individuals and groups, including a *mo-ro-qa* (l. 1), which the dative plural *di*[ ]*po-ro-i* in l. 3, perhaps to be restored as *di-pte-ra-po-ro-i* (**94** = Fn 50.6, etc.), suggests are all recipients. It remains true, however, that **78** = Cn 3 is the closest analogue to the present record in terms of both pattern and type of animal listed, and while there can clearly be no certainty in the matter, it seems likelier on balance that it records deliveries. Godart suggests that the animals it lists are intended for sacrifice, as may also be true of those on **78** = Cn 3; while, however, it is certainly the case that very small numbers of animals, often denoted by the undifferentiated forms of the livestock ideograms, like OX here, regularly occur in what are plainly or quite likely 'religious offering' contexts (see e.g. PY **310** = Un 6, TH Uo 121), less picturesque explanations, such as food supply, are also conceivable. For a similar conclusion about the purpose of the animals on **78** = Cn 3, see p. 520.

* It remains unclear what commodity ideogram **170* denotes. VC suggest 'calf', but do so 'without conviction'. Efforts to find something that oxen might have twelve of have not been fruitful, and it is possible that it is something that has no connexion with cattle. It may be significant that units of twelve are also found in other records at Knossos which may, like this, have a 'religious' connexion. On Ce 152 reverse, while the first register records one ox, one sheep and one goat, and there are similar entries on the obverse, the entry on l. 2 and probably that on l. 3 involve twelve oxen, twelve sheep and twelve goats. Note, too, the twelve objects, perhaps ox hides, recorded in company with small numbers of goats on C 5669. Is perhaps the significance of twelve that this is the amount which will enable an offering to be made once a month during the year (cf. the month-names on the Knossos *Fp* tablets, etc.), whereas one (ox or whatever) implies an annual offering (Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1130–31)?

D/* *mi-ru-ro*: a man's name, cf. **36** = As(2) 1516.5+.

* *si-pe-we*: apart from a possible occurrence on KN X 7966, not otherwise attested. Probably a place-name; since *mi-ru-ro* is a man's name, a plural title (cf. *u-wo-qe-we* l. 6, etc.) (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.204 n. 20) is excluded.

D/* *o-du-ru-wi-jo*: *Odruios*, the adjective of *Odruei* (dat.) line 6. The name recalls the Thracian Ὀδρύσαι (cf. Ὄθρυς and Hsych. ὄθρυν· Κρῆτες τὸ ὄρος). It is also attested on a Thebes stirrup-jar (TH Z 839) now known to come from W. Crete (Haskell, Jones, Day and Killen 2011.103); cf. *wa-to* (ll. 3, 12), found on TH Z 846+.

D *ko-re-te*: as at Pylos the name of some kind of local official, perhaps mayor. The Greek form is obscure; see Glossary s.v.

* *da-nu-wo*: also on KN C(4) 911, where parallels suggest that a description, e.g. title, is likelier than a personal name.

D²/* *u-wo-qe-we*: perhaps *uwok^{w}ēwes* 'supervisors' (cf. Cyp. ὐ- = ἐπί, Attic ἐπωπεύς) (Luria 1955.35, Palmer 1957a.117). Cf. *u-wo-qe-ne* V(2) 145, a tablet with several echoes of this one, including *u-du-ru-wo*, probably genitive to a variant spelling of *o-du-ru-we*, and *we-re-we*.

* *ru-ki-ti-jo*: adjective of PN *ru-ki-to* (precise location unknown, but evidently in the central region of the island). It is unclear whether this is plural, referring to the men of *R.* as a whole (cf. the ethnics on **99** = Ga(2) 415 etc. which may have this significance), or is a shorthand reference to the *ko-re-te* of *R.* (Godart 1999b.252).

* *e-re-ta*: although this is elsewhere *eretās*, *eretai* 'rower(s)', its presence here, in parallel with references to important local officials, has caused some puzzlement. Palmer (*Interpretation* 183, 419) takes it as a different word from *eretās* and the name of an official, while Chadwick (1976b) suggests that while the term is *eretās*, two different words underlie this form, one meaning 'rower', the other the title of 'some kind of official'. Later, Chadwick put forward an alternative explanation (1987.76–77), that the term is 'rowers', but that these were of higher social status in Mycenaean times than later, thus explaining their presence here in what Chadwick describes as 'exalted company'. As we have seen on pp. 518–20, however, there are close similarities between this record and PY **78** = Cn 3; and it therefore seems possible that just as the oxen on the latter have evidently each been contributed jointly by a contingent of coastguards, so the ox in this entry has been contributed by another group of persons involved in conscripted service for the state, viz. the rowers of **Re-ro* (Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1128–30).

re-ri-jo: this could be *Lerioi* from Λέρος, but since all the other places on this tablet of which we know anything are in Crete, we must assume another place of the same name rather than a reference to the island.

86 = Ce 59 ("124"c)

.1]ṃạ-sa / we-ka-ta BOS^{m} 6 // da-wo / we-ka-ta BOS^{m} 6
.2a ta-ra-me-to [.]-ṃọ
.2b ku-]ṭạ-to / we-ka-ta BOS^{m} 10 // da-*22-to / we-ka-ta BOS 6
.3a [.]-mo
.3b] tu-ri-so / we-ka-ta BOS^{m} 6 // ku-do-ni-ja / we-ka-ta BOS^{m} 50

At *Ma-sa*: six working oxen.
At *Da-wo*: six working oxen.
At *Ku-ta-to*: ten working oxen: *Ta-ra-me-to*.
At *Da-*22-to*: six working oxen: *X*. (?)
At Tulissos: six working oxen: *X*. (?)
At Kudonia: fifty working oxen.

* This tablet, from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, lists working oxen in various places, with the largest number at Kudonia. The Far West of Crete was clearly a major centre for cattle-rearing; besides the oxen listed on the *Co* records of mixed livestock, which deal exclusively with the Far West (see on **88** = Co 907), C(1) 5544 and C(1) 5753, by the same scribe and hence likely to concern the same area, list 91 and 13 oxen respectively, the latter being sent to Knossos, while C(1) 989, also by this writer, lists 14 (+?) cows at Kudonia described as]*-re-ki-ja*, probably *we-re-ki-ja* 'of the flocks' *vel sim*. (*we-re-ke*): see further Glossary s.v. Elsewhere at Knossos, working oxen are regularly listed in pairs, cf. C 1044, C 5734 and the tablets in the *Ch* series (see pp. 530–31); it is noticeable, however, that all the figures here are divisible by two.

D *wergatai*: 'workers', a word used especially of oxen (Pugliese Carratelli 1954b.219).

* *ta-ra-me-to*: apparently a man's name. There is no clue to the nature of the relationship between this person and the oxen in the relevant entry. If *t*. is a name, the terms in similar position in the following two entries are presumably the same.

87 = Ch 896 (110)

ta-za-ro / a_3-wo-ro 'ke-ra-no-qe' *ne* , *we* BOS^{m} *ZE* 1

D/D^2/* One of a 'set' of records in hand 110 listing pairs of oxen, with each animal identified by a term indicating its colour or some other physical characteristic; it is possible that these are actually the names of the animals: Blacky, Whitefoot, etc. The full list is as follows: *a-ko-ro-we-i* (dual?), perhaps *hakhrōwehe* 'of uniform colour' (see **79** = Cn 418); a_3*-wo-ro*, *aiwolos* 'dappled'; a_3*-zo-ro*, perhaps *aiskhros* 'ugly'; *ke-ra-no*, *kelainos* 'black'; *ko-so-u-to*, *ksouthos* 'tawny';]*pa-ko* (sense unclear); *po-da-ko*, *podargos* 'white-footed'; *to-ma-ko*, *stomargos* 'white-mouthed'; *wa-no* (sense unclear); *wo-no-qo-so*, *woinok^{w}sos* 'with wine-dark face' (cf. βόε οἴνοπε *Il*. XIII, 703) or *woinok^{w}orsos* 'with wine-dark rump'. For further discussion of these terms, see Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.379–86, Killen 1995c. It is difficult to doubt that the oxen are working animals (see further p. 531); the careful recording of the names/descriptions may have been designed to ensure that palace animals handed out to oxherds for ploughing would not be replaced by inferior beasts (Killen 1995c).

D *ta-za-ro*: the name of the ox-driver?

D/* *ne we*: abbreviations of *newō* 'young, this year's' and *we-ka-ta-e*, *wergatae* 'working' (cf. the preceding tablet)? Godart and Tzedakis (1993.235–45) and Godart (1999b.249–50), comparing representations of pairs of differently coloured oxen on an LM IIIB1 sarcophagus from Armenoi, suggest that the animals on the *Ch* records are intended for sacrifice, and that *ne we* stands for *newō wetalō*. As Killen (1995c.101 n. 2) points out, however, while working oxen are regularly recorded as a pair (*ZE* = *dzeugos*), like the animals here, this is never true of two animals listed in sacrificial/banqueting contexts (see e.g. **79** = Cn 418.2: OX + *SI* 2). Nor does 'young (or this year's) yearling' seem a likely explanation of *ne we*; since a yearling is an animal in the second year of its life, 'young yearling' would be tautologous and 'this year's yearling' contradictory. For further arguments against the 'sacrifice' explanation, see Weilhartner 2006.257–62.

88 = Co 907 (107)

.1 si-ra-ro / a-ko-ra-jo OVIS^{m} 202 OVIS^{f} 750
.2 CAP^{m} 125 CAP^{f} 240 SUS^{m} 21 SUS^{f} 60 BOS^{m} 2 BOS^{f} 10

* The tablets in this group list mixed animals at Kudonia, Aptara and other places, all evidently in the Far West of Crete (p. 259). As VC note, the males here 'are in a much sounder proportion to the females [than on the *Da-Dg*, *Dv* flock records], though still sometimes excessive for breeding purposes'.

* *a-ko-ra-jo*: 'of the *a-ko-ra*'; presumably masc. plur. qualifying both male and female animals, cf. *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, etc. on the *Dl* flock records. The variant *a-ko-ra-ja* (Co 903+) is probably neut. plur.; cf. *i-je-ra* TH Wu 44.β, a sealing recording a male goat, which probably, like *a-ko-ra-ja*, indicates the category into which the animal falls (here 'sacred things'). It is difficult to doubt that, whatever its precise meaning, the term relates to the activities of 'collectors' (Killen 1976a.122–25). As we have seen above, it is from their appearance in phrases with *a-ko-ra* on the Pylos *Cn* livestock records (e.g. *we-da-ne-wo a-ko-ra* **61** = Cn 655.6+) that 'collectors' derive their conventional appellation; and among several items of evidence elsewhere in the records which lend support to this conclusion is the appearance on B 798, in the same hand as the *Co* records, of a number of individuals who, given that they appear together on this tablet, can confidently be identified as the 'collectors' of the same or similar names elsewhere at Knossos (Killen 1976a.124–25). With *ạ-na-qo-ta* B 798.4 compare *a-no-qo-ta*(*-o*) Ak(2) 615, **20** = Ap 618, Dq(3) 45; with *ko-ma-we-ta* B 798.5 compare *ko-ma-we-to* **20** = Ap 618, Dk(1) 920+, Le 5629; with *ra-wo-qo-no* B 798.7 compare *ra-wo-qo-no-jo* Dl(1) 928+; with *i-se-we-ri-jo* B 798.11 compare *i-se-we-ri-jo* L(3) 473. It is also noticeable that, just as the livestock on the *Co* records, which appear to relate exclusively to the Far West, are described as *a-ko-ra-ja* / *a-ko-ra-jo*, so most of the textile workgroups whose targets for production are listed on the *Lc*(*2*) tablets, which again appear to concern the Far West, are clearly or probably 'collector' groupings (Killen 1976a.119–20). Godart (see Godart and Tzedakis 1992.229–30) has argued against a connexion between *a-ko-ra*, *a-ko-ra-ja* and 'collectors', suggesting that since we should not in his view understand *a-ko-ra* in the '*we-da-ne-wo* only' entries on **61** = Cn 655.14–20, we should not construe *a-ko-ra* with *we-da-ne-wo*, etc. in cases where the term is present. Even, however, if we accept Godart's explanation

of these non-*a-ko-ra* entries, it can hardly be the case that *we-da-ne-wo*, etc. does not depend on *a-ko-ra* when the two occur together, since it is difficult to reject the generally held belief, first formulated in *Documents*[1] (p. 200), that *a-ke-o-jo a-ko-ra* (**61** = Cn 655.11, 12) expresses the same underlying reality as *a-ke-o a-ke-re* (**63** = Cc 660) 'A. collects, herds *vel sim*.'. Nor can it be argued against the observation above about the *a-ko-ra-ja* flocks on the *Co* records and the high proportion of 'collector' workgroups on the *Lc*(*2*) records that one *Lc*(*2*) workshop, that on Lc(2) 512, is a non-'collector' grouping, the women of the place *si-ra-ro* (Godart and Tzedakis 1992.229–30, cf. Driessen 1992.210–12). The point concerns the high density of 'collector' groupings in the *Lc*(*2*) records, not their exclusivity: see Killen 1976a.120, who specifically mentions Lc(2) 512 as providing an example of a non-'collector' grouping in the series.

CHAPTER XIII

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE*

JOHN KILLEN

1. GRAIN HARVESTS AND RATIONS AT KNOSSOS (E, F, G)[b]

GRA		WHEAT
OLIV+*A*		OLIVES+*A*
OLIV+*TI*		OLIVES+*TI*
CYP+*O*		CYPERUS+*O*

* Many of the texts dealing with the cereal **120*, other than the records of landholdings discussed in the next chapter where **120* is used as a measurement of land, concern issues of the commodity: in the great majority of cases, as rations to workers. One such record at Knossos is examined below (**91** = E 777); comparable records at other sites include the *Ab* tablets at Pylos (see p. 428), Au 658, Eu 654 and Eu 655 at Mycenae, and Av 100 at Thebes.

* Besides these rationing records, the archives at Knossos contain a number of tablets listing large quantities of **120* and other commodities, including olives, some of which contain the term *a-ma*, plausibly – though not certainly – interpreted as *amā* 'harvest' (cf. ἀμάω). Though the presence of these records in the archives shows that the commodities they list are at the disposal of the centre, it still remains unclear how the palaces here and elsewhere gained control of these foodstuffs. While the centres clearly obtained some agricultural products, such as the condiments recorded on the *Ga* tablets at Knossos and the *Ge* tablets at Mycenae, by way of taxation (see pp. 553–54), none of the possible 'harvest' records contain any of the technical terms, like *apudosis* 'payment' or *ophelos* 'deficit', which are characteristic of taxation records; and the possibility therefore cannot be excluded that the centres obtained these commodities through the direct working of their own palace estates. Although, however, some support for this conclusion might be seen in the records of working oxen in the *C* series at Knossos, which clearly point to some palace involvement in the production of crops, these animals might have been lent to semi-independent cultivators to enable them to increase their productivity, rather than being used on directly farmed palace estates. Moreover, the presence of the term *da-mo*, *dāmos*, on one

* Other than flax, on which see Chapter XV, pp. 680–92.

[b] *Documents*[1] 213–15, 219, *Documents*[2] 438–39, *Interpretation* 233–34, *Textos* 42–43. Studies: de Fidio 1992.181–85, Halstead 1992b.65–67, 1995a.18, 2001.40–41, 49–50, Killen 1998b, R. Palmer 1999.481–83 (source of cereals listed); R. Palmer 1992, Halstead 1995b, Killen 2004a.163–68 (significance of ideograms **120*, **121*).

of the 'harvest' records, F(2) 845, may point to a taxation context, for this tablet at least, given the connexions which probably exist between the *dāmos*, 'village community' or the like, and the collection of taxes (see e.g. **206** = Cn 608); and further evidence pointing in the same direction may be provided by the *E(2)* records in hand 103 at Knossos: see **90** = E(2) 668 p. 535. For further discussion of this problem, see Halstead 1992b.65–67, de Fidio 1992.181–85, Halstead 1995a.18, Killen 1998b, Halstead 2001.40–41, 49–50.

* Finally, by way of introduction to these records, mention should be made of the continuing debate about the identification of the commodities denoted by ideograms **120* and **121*. While **120* is conventionally transcribed as GRA(num), wheat, and **121* as HORD(eum), barley, VC note in *Documents*[1] (p. 130) that 'it is conceivable that these identifications should be reversed', and R. Palmer (1992) has argued that **120* is in fact barley. However, as Halstead (1995b) has shown, her arguments are not conclusive; indeed, there is a reasonably strong case for retaining the traditional values for the signs. It is still not fully certain, however, which of the two is which, and while 'wheat' remains on balance the likelier value for **120*, there remain some possible pointers in the opposite direction (Killen 2004a.163–68); see further on **91** = E 777, **92** = G 820 pp. 536–37.

89 = F(2) 852 (-)

.1 da-wo / a-ma , e-pi-ke-re GRA 10̣300[
.2 OLIV+*A* 70 OLIV+*TI* 20 PYC+*O* 1̣2[

D/* At *Da-wo*: *harvest in hand*: 1,236,000 (+ ?) l. of wheat.
a- olives 8400 l., *ti-* olives 2400 l., *o-* cyperus 1440 (+ ?) l.

* One of the numerous records at Knossos recording large quantities of cereals, etc., all of which have a similar format. Other examples include E 848, 850, 1035, F(2) 845, 851, all of which contain the term *a-ma*, perhaps 'harvest' (see p. 533 and below, this page); cf. also E 843, 4466, 5000, 7338, 7340, F(1) 157, F(2) 844, 853, 854, 5001, 7050. On **90** = E(2) 668, E(2) 669, 670, see pp. 535–36.

* *da-wo*: its regular associations with *pa-i-to*, Phaistos, show that this is a place in the south central area of Crete. Duhoux (1974.32–33) estimates that the wheat listed on this tablet represents c. 10 per cent of the amount capable of being produced on the Messara plain in this region of the island.

* *a-ma e-pi-ke-re*: perhaps *amā epikhêrei* (or *epikherrei*) (Killen 1997b); for the writing of *epi khêrei* 'in hand' without word division, cf. *o-pi-me-ne*, *opi mēnei* (or *mennei*) 'per month' **93** = PY Fn 7. *Amā* (= ἄμη) *epikêlēs* 'bucket full to the brim' (Ventris) gives less satisfactory sense. VC's alternative suggestion, that *e-pi-ke-re* is a hypothetical *episkherēs* (cf. ἐπισχερώ 'in sequence') is also less persuasive, though it is true that olives would be harvested later in the year than wheat.

* It is uncertain what the *a-* and *ti-* varieties of olive are. Chadwick (1976a.122) thinks of 'wild' (*agrios*) and 'cultivated' (*tithasos*), but notes that the fruit of the wild olive is of

such poor quality that it is unlikely to have been harvested in quantity. Confirmation that these are varieties intended for human consumption is probably provided by **90** = E(2) 668, E(2) 669, 670: see further below, this page.

90 = E(2) 668 (103)

.1 ru-ki-ti-jo GRA 246 T 7
.2 tu-ri-si-jo GRA 261 ra-ti-jo GRA 30 T 5

D/* *Men* of *Ru-ki-to*: 29,604 l. of wheat.
Men of Tulisos: 31,320 l. of wheat.
Men of *Ra-to*: 3660 l. of wheat.

* One of three very similar tablets by scribe 103, the major writer of records of the textile industry at Knossos. The others are E(2) 669 and E(2) 670. VC suggest that 'although there is no indication whether these tablets record payments or receipts, the former seems more likely on general grounds, as the people concerned are often ethnic groups'. They also compare the OLIVE entries on E(2) 669, 670 with the rations of wheat and figs at Pylos (*Documents*[1] p. 214). There is, however, no fixed relationship between the amounts of wheat and olives on these records comparable to the 1 : 1 ratio between wheat and figs on the Pylos *Ab* tablets; and while the ethnics might refer to men who are receiving these foodstuffs, they are perhaps more plausibly understood as indications of the places which have supplied, or will supply, the commodities, or where they are currently in store. Note (i) that the olives on E(2) 669 are sub-divided as *a-* and *ti-* like those on the 'harvest' record **89** = F(2) 852; while these two sub-varieties are mentioned on other 'harvest' records, they do not recur on rationing tablets; (ii) that the first entry on E(2) 670 begins with the dative-locative *da-*83-ja-i*, 'at D.', rather than an ethnic. With this, it is attractive to compare (a) the place-name *da-wo* on **89** = F(2) 852 and particularly (b) the alternation between place-names and ethnics in *-jo* on the *Ga(2)* 'spice' tablets at Knossos, which certainly record contributions to the centre, and where the ethnics qualify either the men in the area who are responsible for supplying the goods or, less likely, the commodities themselves: see further **99** = Ga(2) 415.

* The hand of the *E(2)* tablets strongly suggests that there is a connexion between these records and the textile industry. Will the foodstuffs they list be used as rations for the male and female workgroups recorded by the same scribe (103) in the *A*, *L* and *V* series (cf. Olivier, *Scribes Cnossos* 132)?

91 = E 777 (-)

.1 ko-no-si-ja / ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i LUNA 1 GRA 100[
.2 a-mi-ni-si-ja LUNA 1 GRA 100[
.3 pa-i-ti-ja LUNA 1 GRA 100[

↓
v. .1 a-ze-ti-ri-ja GRA 1̣0̣[
reliqua pars sine regulis

D/* Women of Knossos (*to* the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* women): ration for one month 12,000 (+ ?) l. of wheat.
Women of Amnisos: ration for one month 12,000 (+ ?) l. of wheat.
Women of Phaistos: ration for one month 12,000 (+ ?) l. of wheat.

REVERSE

Women decorators of cloth: 1200 (+ ?) l. of wheat.

D/* The obverse of the tablet records rations for a month for various categories of women. Either the rations are very generous or large numbers of women are concerned: at least 500 at each place on the Pylos ration scale (p. 428).

GRA WHEAT
LUNA MONTH

D/* *ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i*: dative plural; its appearances elsewhere suggest that this may be a religious office: see on **27** = PY An 607. It is usually assumed that the description applies to the Knossian women mentioned at the beginning of the entry (see e.g. *Documents*[1] 214, *Interpretation* 233); if so, however, it is surprising that the terms are not in agreement. Note also that *ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i* is written in smaller signs than *ko-no-si-ja*, though this could be due to pressure of space: note that the LUNA entry which follows *k.* is also written small. The possibility therefore arises that the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, whose name may have connexions with *ki-ri-ta*, *krithā* 'barley' (see Glossary), are mentioned here as women to whom the rations for the *ko-no-si-ja*, and also perhaps for the other groups mentioned on the tablet, have been issued by the palace for safeguarding and/or distribution (Killen 2004a.166–67). This approach would have the advantage of enabling us to explain what appear to be the very large numbers of women implied by the ration figures, not as religious devotees, who we should not expect to be so numerous (Godart 1969.50–51), but as e.g. 'industrial' personnel: possibly textile workers, like the *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*, *askētriai* '(women) decorators of cloth' mentioned on the reverse.

92 = G 820 (-)

.1] , [.]-ṇạ , e-ko-si , a-pi , ku-do-ni-ja / pa-sa
'ki-ri-ta' LUNA 1
.2 i-ja-]pu$_2$-wi-ja-qe , *56-ko-we-i-ja-qe LUNA 4
.3 da-]*22-ti-ja , ku-ta-ti-ja-qe , po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja , a-pu ,
ke-u-po-de-ja
.4] LUNA 4

D/* … have in the region of Kudonia (all barley): one month's rations.
Women of *I-ja-pu*$_2$ and **56-ko-we*: four months' rations.
Women of *Da-*22-to* and *Ku-ta-to who are now* servants of Potnia *having previously been servants* of *Ke-u-po-da*: four months' rations.

* The tablet deals with rations for women, mostly at least in or towards the west of Crete; apart from Kudonia in the Far West, the places they come from include **56-ko-we* and *da-*22-to*, which seem likely to be in the more westerly part of the central region (p. 259). They may all be textile workers (Olivier in Godart et al. 1986.33–34); the only other references to women of *i-ja-pu*$_2$*-we* are on the textile tablets Lc(1) 541 and Lc 646, and no other activity is attested for this place.

* *ki-ri-ta*: *krithā* 'barley'. Elsewhere on the tablets, 'normal' rations for women are always of **120*, never of **121*, though **121* is given to women participants in religious festivals (see on **330** = Fn 187) and to male workers (Killen 2004a.156–60). Its appearance here might therefore be an indication that **120* is barley rather than wheat (see Introduction); alternatively, however, this may simply be the exception that proves the rule.

* LUNA 4: de Fidio (1992.188), noting the one- and four-month ration periods mentioned on the tablet, suggests that this is an indication that some women in the textile industry worked for the centres for only part of each year. Since, however, it seems certain that the women who received the one month's rations shown on the *Ab* tablets at Pylos worked for the palace for more than a month, as witness the different numbers in the groups when they are recorded on the *Aa* tablets (see p. 426), it is difficult to argue that the groups which are associated with the one- and four-month periods here worked for the palace only for the times in question, even though in this instance the amounts of the rations are not given. It is impossible to be certain of the precise purpose of the record, which might have been clearer if the first line had survived intact; it is conceivable, however, that it serves to note that while the women 'around Kudonia' received their rations on a monthly basis, those in more outlying areas were rationed (from Kudonia?) in four-month tranches.

* *po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja a-pu ke-u-po-de-ja*: the translation follows a tentative suggestion by Ruijgh (*Études* 262), and is particularly uncertain. On *po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja* and *ke-u-po-de-ja* as possessives in *-e-jo* (*-eiios*), see Killen 1983a.71–72, 73–74; on the likelihood that *ke-u-po-da* at Knossos and Pylos is a man's name rather than a title, see Killen 1995a.

2. GRAIN RATIONS AT PYLOS (Fn)[b]

93 = Fn 7 (H 3)

.1]2 OLIV T 2
.2] OLIV T 1
.3 to-]ḳọ-ḍọ-mo ḤỌṚḌ []Z 3 VIR 20[
.4 pi-ri-e-te-re HORD []Z 3 VIR 5
.5 pa-te-ko-to[ ] ḤỌṚḌ [ ]Ṿ 2 [
.6 *vacat* [
.7 qa-ra$_2$-te , o[-pi-me-]ṇẹ[ ] OLIV ọ
.8 pa-ka , o-pi-mẹ-ṇẹ , [OLIV

[b] *Documents*[1] 215–17, *Documents*[2] 439, *Interpretation* 225–33, 488, *Textos* 43–45. Studies: **93** = Fn 7: Melena 1999a.171–76; **94** = Fn 50: Perpillou 1976 esp. 68–70, Killen 2001a esp. 436–41.

.9 pa-te-ko-to , o-pi-me-ne[ ] ḤṌṚḌ 1[
.10 pi-ri-e-te-si , o-pi̯-me̯-ne[ ] ḤṌṚḌ 1̣ T 4̣[
.11 to-ko-do-mo , o-pi̯-me-ne[ ] ḤṌṚḌ 7̣[ ]5

* . . . *x* l. of . . ., 24 l. of olives.
. . . 12 l. of olives.
The builders: 1½ l. of barley; 20 (+ ?) men.
The sawyers: 1½ l. of barley; 5 men.
The *general carpenter*: 4 l. of barley.

Qa-ra$_2$*-te*, per month … 720 l. of olives.
Pa-ka, per month: …
The *general carpenter*, per month: 120 (+ ?) l. of barley.
To the sawyers, per month: 168 (+ ?) l. of barley.
The builders, per month: 900 l. of barley.

* The join to Fn 1427 (Melena 1999a.171–76) has revealed that this tablet, uniquely in the archives, lists rations for the persons concerned on both a daily and a monthly scale, thus confirming that *o-pi-me-ne* (ll. 7–11) is *opi mēnei* 'per month'. Although many of the barley and olive figures are damaged, they are sufficiently complete to make it clear that the rations in the lower section (ll. 7–11) are the figures for the same recipients as are listed in the upper section (l. 1–5) multiplied by 30. Thus the 5 sawyers in l. 4 are noted as each receiving a barley ration of 3 Z, giving a total for the group of 15 Z; while the same group is shown in l. 10 as receiving a minimum of 336 Z (BARLEY 1 T 4[ ), with BARLEY 1 T 8 V 5 = 452 Z a possible restoration, viz. 15 Z x 30 (450 Z) to the nearest appropriate V unit. Similarly, the 20 (+ ?) builders in l. 3 also receive 3 Z of barley each, giving a minimum total of 60 Z; and the same group is shown on l. 11 as receiving a ration which can readily be restored as BARLEY 7 T 5 = 1800 Z, or 60 Z x 30. It is difficult to doubt therefore that both the BARLEY figure on l. 11 and the MEN figure on l. 3 are complete. For probable evidence for a barley ration of 3 Z per day at Knossos, see **34** = Am(2) 819.

OLIV OLIVES
HORD BARLEY

* *pi-ri-e-te-re*, *pi-ri-e-te-si* 'sawyers': the term is also found on the Knossos *Ra* tablets, where it is likely to refer to sawyers of ivory (see **272** = Ra(1) 1548). Given the context here (builders, perhaps a kind of carpenter (see next note)) these are likelier to be sawyers of wood. For fluctuation, as here, between nominative of rubric and dative in a list of recipients, see **342** = On 300.

* *pa-te-ko-to*: perhaps *pantektōn* (Melena ibid.); cf. *pa-wo-ke* PY Aa 795, Ab 558, perhaps *panworges* 'maids of all work' (Milani 1966.404, Chadwick 1967a) rather than *parworges* 'auxiliary workers'. It is not clear, however, if the term is *pantektōn*, what precisely this signifies. The large ration suggests a highly skilled craftsman; is this perhaps a carpenter expert in all aspects of his trade?

* *qa-ra$_2$-te*: it is unclear whether this is dative of the MN *qa-ra$_2$* PY An 192, cf. *pi-ri-e-te-si* (dat.) l. 10, *qa-ra$_2$-te* (dat.) TH Of 38, or a nominative, as *qa-ra$_2$-te* **48** = An 39 rev. seems likelier to be; cf. *pi-ri-e-te-re* (nom.) l. 4, *to-ko-do-mo* (nom.) ll. 3, 11. Whatever its case, *qa-ra$_2$-te* is likely to refer to a group of workers 'owned' by this individual, cf. the names used to refer to 'collector' workgroups in the *A* and *L* series at Knossos; a monthly ration of 6 major units of olives = Z 1440 would be sufficient to feed 16 workers each given 3 Z a day. It is probable that l. 1 also referred to workers 'of' *qa-ra$_2$(-te)*; the OLIVES figure there, T 2 = 48 Z, is one-thirtieth of the OLIVES figure in l. 7.

* *pa-ka*: a man's name, also on KN V(7) 1523. This again probably refers to a group of workers; the OLIVES figure in l. 2, which doubtless referred to *pa-ka*, would feed 8 workers each given 3 Z a day.

94 = Fn 50 (S324 Ciii)

.1	a-ki-to-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD[		
.2	ke-ko-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD [		
.3	a-ta-no-ro , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD T[		
.4	me-za-ne	HORD V 2	a$_3$-ki-a$_2$-ri-jo	V 2[
.5	me-ri-du-te	HORD V 3	mi-ka-ta	HORD V 3
.6	di-pte-ra-po-ro	HORD V 2	e-to-wo-ko	V 2
.7	a-to-po-qo	HORD V 2	po-ro-du-ma-te	HORD V 2
.8	o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we	HORD V 2	i-za-a-to-mo-i	HORD V 3
.9	ze-u-ke-u-si	HORD V 4		
.10	*v*.[ ] *vacat*			
.11	au[-ke-i-]ja-te-wo , do-e-ro-i		HORD T 1	
.12	mi-jo[-qa] do-e-ro-i		HORD V 3	
.13	a-pi-ẹ-ṛạ do-e-ro-i		HORD V 3	
.14	]-ẉọ[ ]ṇẹ[do-e-ro-]i		HORD T 3	
.15–18	*vacant*			

D/* (Distribution of) barley:
for the *qa-si-re-wi-ja* of *Alkithos*: *x* l.
for the *qa-si-re-wi-ja* of *Ke-ko*: *x* l.
for the *qa-si-re-wi-ja* of Antanor: 12 (+ ?) l.
for *Medzawon*: 4 l.
for *Aigihalos*: 4 (+ ?) l.
for the *superintendent of honey*: 6 l.
for the *wine-mixer*: 6 l.
for the skin-*wearer*: 4 l.
for the worker *within*: 4 l.
for the baker: 4 l.
for the *po-ro- superintendent*: 4 l.
for the *major-domo*: 4 l.
for the *i-za-* officials: 6 l.
for the *ox-drivers*: 8 l.

for the slaves of *Au-ke-i-ja-te-u*: 12 l.
for the slaves of *Mi-jo-qa*: 6 l.
for the slaves of *Amphiera*: 6 l.
for the slaves of . . . : 36 l.

* The purpose of this and the remaining *Fn* tablets, which list allocations of barley and in some cases another foodstuff (olives, figs, perhaps flour) to both groups and individuals, has been discussed by Killen (2001a.436–41). He concludes that the issues are made in a religious context and, noting the evidence (see pp. 540–41) that the allocations relate to a three-day period (**330** = Fn 187), a five-day period (Fn 79) and probably a single day (**94** = Fn 50), suggests that the recipients are participants in religious festivals of varying lengths.

Among the items of evidence which Killen adduces in support of his explanation is the presence on a number of *Fn* records of references to Olivier's 'desservants de sanctuaire' (see **47** = An 427, **48** = An 39), as it will still be convenient to call them. As we have seen earlier, however, J. Weilhartner has shown good reason for doubting Olivier's explanation of these persons and, while accepting Killen's conclusion that the *Fn* tablets record allocations during festivals of varying lengths, argues that the latter are not so much religious (though they may contain religious elements) as work feasts, of a type familiar in many societies, designed to ensure the goodwill of part-time, corvée workers. It is difficult to doubt that this is the correct explanation both of the present record and of others in the *Fn* series which also contain mentions of 'desservants de sanctuaire': Fn 41 (*o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*), Fn 79 (*e-to-wo-ko-i*), Fn 837 (*me-ri-du-ma-si̯*), Fn 970 (]*mi-ka*[-*ta*). All these records are in H 45. In addition, while there are no references to 'desservants de sanctuaire' on Fn 324, this is in the same hand (S324 Ciii) as **94** = Fn 50 with its multiple mentions of 'desservants de sanctuaire'. We shall be discussing later whether the same explanation holds good for a final *Fn* record, **330** = Fn 187.

* As Perpillou (1976.70) points out, there are links between the present record and Fn 79 (H 45) in terms of the recipients named. With *a-ki-to-jo qa-si-re-wi-ja* Fn 50.1, compare *a-ki-to* Fn 79.14; with a_3-*ki*-a_2-*ri-jo* Fn 50.4, compare a_3-*ki*-a_2-*ri-jo* Fn 79.15; with *e-to-wo-ko* Fn 50.6, compare *e-to-wo-ko-i* Fn 79.13; and with *ze-u-ke-u-si* Fn 50.9, compare *ze-u-ke-u-si i-po-po-qo-i-qe* Fn 79.10. If the amounts in the barley entries on Fn 79 are expressed in terms of the v unit, all but one, where the reading is uncertain, are multiples of 5 v: which leads to the conclusion that this is a record of rations for a five-day period (Chadwick 1976a.118–19; Killen 2001a.439–40), which if the 'festival' explanation of the series is correct will presumably have been a five-day celebration (Killen ibid.). See further on **330** = Fn 187, where all the amounts issued are multiples of 3 v, and where a three-day festival may be involved. If this is the correct explanation of Fn 79, it is possible that the present record, where the amounts are appreciably smaller, lists rations for a single day; note that a_3-*ki*-a_2-*ri-jo* receives

T 1 V 4 = 10 V of barley on Fn 79, but V 2[here, which if the numeral is complete will be one-fifth of that amount.

* *a-ta-no-ro qa-si-re-wi-ja*: since the 'owner' of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* is presumably a *qa-si-re-u*, and there are very close connexions between *qa-si-re-we* and bronze-working (see on **36** = As(2) 1516), it is likely that *a-ta-no*(*-ro*) here is the same individual as the *a-ta-no* at *pa-ki-ja-ne* mentioned on Vn 130.7 in connexion with *a-ke-a*$_2$, probably (bronze) buckets or pails; in a parallel entry on l. 4, that tablet mentions *a*$_3$*-ki-e-u* of *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, who is referred to on Jn 605 as an 'owner' of bronze-working slaves (cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* 370). The absence of a place-name from the present record may mean that it records issues of barley at Pylos itself; is it significant that among the recipients is a group of workers likely to have been 'owned' by a *qa-si-re-u* at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, the major cult centre close to Pylos?

* *me-za-ne*: perhaps to be restored as *me-za-<wo->ne* (Olivier, *Desservants* 1960.118); cf. *me-ri-du-te* = *me-ri-du-<ma->te* l. 5. Cf. **110** = Un 138, where *M.* is mentioned in a 'banqueting' context.

* *di-pte-ra-po-ro-i*: perhaps 'wearers of skins' (dat.); probably not to be compared with the persons wearing animal skin skirts on the Agia Triada sarcophagus, given what we now know is the context here – though the term recurs on Un 219, where it is accompanied by several gods' names.

* *mi-jo-*[*ja*], *a-pi-ẹ-ṛạ*: for discussion of the identity of these – clearly female – owners of slaves, see **43** = An 1281 p. 464.

3. OIL RECEIPTS AND RATIONS AT KNOSSOS AND MYCENAE (Fh, Fo)[b]

Several tablets in the *Fh* series at Knossos record contributions of olive oil to the centre. These are characterised by the term *a-pu-do-si* 'payment', and in one case (Fh 370) by the verb *de-ka-sa-to* 'he received'. Fh 349 mentions the place *ru-ki-to*, while the payment on **95** = Fh 5451 is described as from Amnisos (*a-mi-ni-si-ja*); this, combined with the appearance of *a-pu-do-si* on the records, suggests that the oil has been supplied by these villages by way of taxation, like the contributions by village listed on the *Ga*(*2*) 'condiment' records at Knossos (see pp. 548–49). Unlike the *Ga*(*2*) tablets, however, none of the oil records mention a deficit in contributions (cf. the 'harvest' records), and it is unclear therefore whether these payments are the result of an earlier assessment or target for contributions, or reflect some other arrangement, such as a *pro rata* tax on users of communal village olive-pressing facilities. Since the term used on them is *a-pu-do-si* '(actual) payment', rather than (*a-pu-*)*do-so-mo* 'assessment for payment' (Duhoux 1968.94–95), the absence of deficit entries cannot reflect the fact that the payments are envisaged but have not yet arrived. Fh 366 gives a total for contributions; if, as seems probable, Fh 5503 is part of the same tablet, this will have been just short of 340 major units of oil (= 12,240 l. ?)

OLE OLIVE-OIL

[b] *Documents*[1] 217–18, *Documents*[2] 439–40, *Textos* 46, *Anthology* 256–57. Studies: **96** = Fo 101: *MT* II.96–97, 106–07, Killen 1981.38–41.

95 = Fh 5451 (141)

.a za-we-te [
.b a-mi-ni-si-ja / a-pu-do-ṣi̯ OLE 30[

* Payment from Amnisos this year: 1080 (+ ?) l. of olive oil.

* *za-we-te*: *tsāwetes* (< **ki̯āwetes*) = σῆτες, τῆτες (Palmer 1959c).

* Many tablets in the archives, particularly at Knossos and Pylos, record the distribution of olive oil, in a large number of cases as offerings to divinities: see especially the Knossos *Fp*, *Fs* and Pylos *Fr* tablets (pp. 850–66). Much oil, too, was doubtless used for the production of perfumed unguent (pp. 745–50); among the records in the *Fh* series at Knossos which probably list oil for this purpose are those which contain the man's name *ku-pi-ri-jo*, Kuprios (see pp. 552–53), or the term *zo-a*, *dzoā* (= ζόη), perhaps '(oil) for boiling' (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.129), though also conceivably 'oil from the second pressing' (Godart 1968a.605). At Pylos, **247** = Fr 1184 records a transfer of oil from one unguent-boiler to another, although in this case the oil may already have been perfumed (Killen 2001b.179–80). The presence both on this and on others of the *Fr* tablets of the term *e-ra*$_3$*-wo*, *elaiwon*, confirms the identity of the OIL ideogram.

* The following tablet from Mycenae is an oil distribution record of a different type. It lists small quantities of oil being issued to women, some of them at least workers in the textile industry. Both the size of the issues and the regularity in the amounts suggest that these are rations. It is also in keeping with this explanation of the record, rather than that the oil is for use in cloth production (cf. the reference in *Il.* XVIII, 596 to tunics 'glittering with oil'), that some of the women are given enhanced amounts, evidently as supervisors (see further p. 543); for enhanced rations for workshop supervisors in the ancient Near East, see Gelb 1965.233; and for the issuing of oil rations (î-*ba*) to workers in early Mesopotamia, see Gelb 1965.233–35. Some of the oil issued as rations to Near Eastern workers was 'for the purpose of anointing [themselves], not consumption' (Gelb 1965.234 on *HSS* IV 3 iii, 6466, a record of oil issued to women). It is possible that the same holds good for the issues to women here, though we unfortunately cannot confirm that the ideogram OIL + *WE*, probably to be read in the totalling entry on l. 15, denotes the oil qualified as *we-a-re-pe*, *we-ja-re-pe* on the *Fr* 'offering' records at Pylos, a term whose second element (-*aleiphes*) clearly refers to anointing. Several of the women on this tablet are also mentioned on **28** = V 659, where they are named as receiving beds or bedding.

96 = Fo 101 (*53*)

.0 *vacat*
.1 a-ne-a$_2$ V 3 pa-n̥a̯-ki V 1

.2 ma-no v 1 a-na-*82 v 1
.3 to-ti-ja v 1 we-i-we-sa v 1
.4 ke-ra-so[ ] v 1
.5 pi-we-ri-ṣi̤ s 1 tu-mi-[ ]ṵ 1
.6 ko-ma-ta v 1 na-ta-ra-ma v[1
.7 pe-ta-[•] v 1 pu-ka-ro ṵ[1
.8 o-ta-ki v 1[ ] *vacat* [
.9 e-ro-pa-ke-ja̤ OLE+*WẸ* 1
.10 a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i v 4
.11–14 *vacant*
.15 to-so OLE+*WẸ* 2 s 1 v 1
.16 *vacat*

D/* For *Ainea*: 6 l. of oil.
for *Phainax*: 2 l. of oil, etc.
for the *e-ro-pa-ke-ja*: 36 l. of oil.
for the decorators of cloth: 8 l. of oil.
Total: 86 l. of oil

* *a-ne-a*$_2$: like *ma-no*, *ke-ra-so*, *pu-ka-ro* and perhaps *ko-ma-ta* and *a-na-*82*, also on **28** = V 659. It is attractive to conclude that she is the supervisor of the six women listed in the first paragraph of the tablet (Killen 1981.41); note, with Bennett (*MT* II.97), the break after the *ke-ra-so* entry in l. 4. Not only is she named first in the group, as supervisors can be (see **36** = As(2) 1516.2): her oil allocation (6 l.) is three times larger than that of the other women in this group, each of whom receives 2 l.

* *pa-na̤-ki*: it is unclear whether this is dative of a WN in *-aks* or nominative (of rubric) of one in *-i*. The same applies to *o-ta-ki* (l. 8).

* *pi-we-ri-ṣi̤*: perhaps a reference to two related women, either both called *pi-we-ri* (the name occurs in the dative on MY Oe 103) or one of whom alone (the mother?) has this name (Palmer 1959b.431, Killen 1981.39–41). For the second possibility, cf. e.g. Δαμάτερσιν = Demeter and Persephone *Syll.*[3] 1031, Note 3. Like *a-ne-a*$_2$, the *pi-we-ri-de* are named at the head of a group of six women each receiving the standard issue of 2 l. of oil, and like her receive an enhanced ration, in their case of s 1 (12 l.), twice the amount *a-ne-a*$_2$ receives.

* *e-ro-pa-ke-ja̤*: like *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, *askētriāhi*, in the following entry, the description of a type of textile specialist; the term recurs on KN Lc(1) 534. The size of the oil allocation (36 l.) suggests that *e.* is likelier to be nom. plur. of rubric than dative singular.

4. WINE AT PYLOS (Vn)[b]

* Most of the references to wine in the archives are in clear 'distribution' or 'consumption' contexts. The following record from Pylos lists issues to each of the nine major towns of the Hither Province, and there are many references to wine

[b] *Documents*[1] 348–49, *Documents*[2] 503, *Interpretation* 369. Study: **97** = Vn 20: R. Palmer 1994.75–78.

on records of religious offerings, like the *Fs* tablets at Knossos and **178** = Un 718 at Pylos, and of 'menus' for large-scale banquets, like **110** = Un 138, **111** = Un 2 at Pylos and – probably – Uc 161 at Knossos. One tablet at Knossos, Gm 840, may deal with contributions of the commodity, which it records in large quantities; although the heading contains the term *a-pu-da-se-we*, possibly from **apudasseus* 'distributor' (δάσσασθαι, δατέομαι), this may be dative singular and refer to the recipient of the wine, viz. a palace official who will later distribute it (cf. R. Palmer 1994.81, 172). We cannot be certain, however, that it does not again deal with distributions. Our only other possible indication of how the palaces obtained their supplies of wine is the records of vines and fruit trees in particular locations on the *Gv* tablets at Knossos (see **167** = Gv 863, **168** = Gv 862) and **177** = Er 880 at Pylos, which may have served as the basis for assessments for taxes in grapes or wine.

97 = Vn 20 (H 25)

.1 o-a_2 , e-pi-de-da-to
.2 pa-ra-we-wo , wo-no
.3 pi-*82 -de 50
.4 me-ta-pa-de 50
.5 pe-to-no-de 100
.6 pa-ki-ja-na-de 35
.7 a-pu_2-de 35
.8 a-ke-re-wa-de 30
.9 e-ra-to-de 50
.10 ka-ra-do-ro-de 40
.11 ri-jo-de 20

D/* Thus the wine of *Pa-ra-we-* has been distributed:
50 to *Pi-*82*,
50 to Metapa,
100 to *Pe-to-no*,
35 to *Pa-ki-ja-ne*,
35 to *A-pu_2*,
30 to *A-ke-re-wa*,
50 to *E-ra-to*,
40 to Kharadro(s),
20 to Rhion.

* The wine on the record is distributed to the Nine Towns following the ratios between them observed in taxation records like the *Ma* tablets and **206** = Cn 608. Since wine is not mentioned in records of rations for dependent workers, it is possible that the issues here were destined for use in large-scale banquets in the towns concerned (cf. R. Palmer 1994.76).

D[2] *o-a*$_2$: the only example of this word. Since *a*$_2$ probably represents *ha*, it can hardly be *hoia*. More likely therefore the same word as *o-da-a*$_2$, but without the connective *d*(*e*), since this is an isolated tablet, not a continuation.

* *e-pi-de-da-to*: 3rd sing. perf. pass.: *epidedastoi*. On **215** = Jn 389, Jn 601, *e-pi-da-to*, probably *epidastos*, refers to an additional allocation of bronze; it is unclear whether the *e-pi-* of *e-pi-de-da-to* has similar force, or whether the verb simply means 'has been distributed'. For discussion of the meaning of δεκάτη δ' ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται Hesiod, *Th*. 789, see Morpurgo Davies 1983.299 n. 37.

* *pa-ra-we-wo*: also on An 37 following and probably governed by *e-ne-ka* 'on account of'. Unless we suppose that the following *wo-no* here shows a genitive in *-ō* (Risch 1968.692) or is an error for *wo-no-jo* (M. Del Freo [pers. com.] notes the possibility of restoring *wo-no-jo* after *pa-ra-we-wo* on An 37.2), a genitive *prāwewos* (πραύς) is impossible. A MN (gen.), however, though possible formally, would be surprising in the context. *Non liquet*.

5. SAFFRON AT KNOSSOS (Np)

* There are two 'sets' of records listing saffron at Knossos. The *Np*(*2*) tablets in h. 134 clearly record contributions of the substance; a number of the texts contain deficit entries, shown with *o* = *ophelos*, and all the figures on the surviving tablets are consistent with the conclusion that each of the contributors mentioned in the series was expected to supply N 1 of saffron (see further Killen 2005, Firth and Melena 2006.114–15). The *Np*(*1*) tablets, from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, probably have a similar purpose; since, however, none of these texts contain a deficit entry, they may record assessments for contributions rather than actual payments. The figures on these records are much more varied than those on the *Np*(*2*) tablets. Each of the *Np*(*1*) records appears to have begun with a place-name; two of the places in question, *ka-ta-ra* and *wa-to*, are in the Far West of Crete. This recalls Evans's observation (*PoM* IV.721) that a number of place-names in Crete, particularly in the west, are derived from the Italian term for saffron, indicating that they were centres for the production of the plant in the Venetian period. The eighteenth-century traveller Savary (1788.245–46) mentions the area round Rethymnon as particularly famous for its saffron production. Sarpaki (2001a.205) notes that wild saffron is nowadays found only in Western Crete, particularly on the Akrotiri peninsula of Chania. It is unclear whether the saffron mentioned on the tablets is the wild or the cultivated variety. If the twenty-eight tablets certainly classed as *Np*(*2*) are all parts of separate records, these will have listed a total assessment of c. 7 kg of saffron, which is likely to have been the product of between 700,000 and 980,000 flowers of the plant (Baumann 1993, quoted by Sarpaki 2001a.204 n. 66).

CROC SAFFRON

Saffron was used in antiquity for dyeing cloth, as a perfume, for medicinal purposes and as an ingredient in cooking (Robert 1960.333, Sarpaki 2001a.203).

There is nothing to confirm what the saffron on the tablets was used for. Np(1) 7423 lists saffron on the obverse and *ri-no*, *linon*, here probably linen thread, on the reverse; we cannot be certain, however, that the saffron was intended for dyeing the linen.

98 = Np(2) 856 (134)

]ṇṵ-po , / a-nu-ko CROC N 1

*]*ṇṵ-po*: none of the *Np(2)* tablets is intact at the beginning, so it is impossible to be certain how they began, although a number, like this, show traces of a term in majuscule to the left, followed by a man's name (here *a-nu-ko*) written in smaller characters. The analogy of the *Np(1)* tablets suggests the possibility that the first term was a place-name or other toponymic reference; and with the term ending in *-jo* on Np(2) 857, 5721 it is attractive to compare the ethnics in *-jo* at the beginnings of the *Ga(2)* 'spice' tablets at Knossos, which again record contributions to the centre, and where the ethnics indicate the provenance of the taxes (see **99** = Ga(2) 415, **100** = Ga(2) 427). It is possible therefore that]*ṇṵ-po* here is a place-name; if so, however, it is not one attested elsewhere on the records.

* *a-nu-ko*: also Ce 50, Db 1464+. It is unclear whether he and the other men mentioned on *Np(2)* tablets are producers of saffron or local officials responsible for collecting and despatching the amount levied on their area. Cf. the two men's names following the ethnic *da-wi-jo* on **100** = Ga(2) 427, for which the first explanation is slightly more probable: see pp. 549–50.

6. SPICES AT KNOSSOS (Ga)[b]

D/* All four sites with substantial surviving archives have produced written evidence of the use of spices or condiments, though in this case the richest find, in terms of the range of spices recorded, comes from Mycenae (see Section 7). The use of spices such as coriander and aniseed is attested archaeologically for the Bronze Age, and it is reasonable to suppose that many of the condiments used in Classical times for culinary or medicinal purposes had been known much earlier. Few have names with Indo-European cognates, and many were probably in use in the Aegean area before the arrival of the Greeks. Some have names of Semitic origin; *sa-sa-ma*, for instance, sesame, has cognates in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Phoenician and is clearly a loan-word in Greek, perhaps borrowed from Syrian (Phoenician?) sources (É. Masson 1967.57, Laroche 1972.83). The fact that the name of a spice is Semitic, however, need not mean that the commodity itself had to be imported into Greece; indeed, there are strong indications that all the spices listed on the records were produced locally. Not only do they all probably

[b] *Documents*[1] 221–23, *Documents*[2] 441, *Textos* 47, *Anthology* 261–62. Studies: Melena 1974b (cyperus), 1974c (*ki-ta-no*), 1975b (*po-ni-ki-jo*), 1976b (coriander), Murray and Warren 1976 (*po-ni-ki-jo*), Foster 1977a (general), 1977b (*po-ni-ki-jo*).

grow in modern Greece (Wylock 1972 *passim*), there is evidence on the tablets that all were obtained by way of taxes levied on local producers: see pp. 548–49.

D/* The ideogram no. 123, AROM(a), CONDIMENT, was taken by Evans to represent a building without eaves ('granary' sign – *PoM* IV.622), despite the presence in some forms of what is obviously a handle. For Myres (*SM* II.33) it was 'obviously a rick or granary' and in the form with a handle 'the cylindrical wicker-structure with lifting handle, still in use among the Southern Slavs'. For Vandenabeele and Olivier (*IDA* 196–200), it resembles more closely a cylindrical pot or wickerwork basket with a lid; it may be significant, however, that they compare in particular a clay pot found at Thera which Marinatos (1976) has suggested is a model of a barn or beehive. VC compare the modern pepper-pot; there is, however, no parallel for this in the archaeological record of the Bronze Age.

AROM CONDIMENT

From its pattern of distribution it seems clear that the sign serves as the ideogram for commodities measured by dry measure where there is no specific ideogram for the substance (Foster 1977a.23 [Melena]; cf. Bennett, *MT* II.100–01, Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.161). These are often, but perhaps not always (see e.g. **101** = Ga(5) 1530), spices. At Knossos, it is used only when major units have to be recorded (e.g. **99** = Ga(2) 415); at Mycenae, however, it is found used with smaller amounts (e.g. **104** = Ge 603.1).

* Besides being used for culinary and possibly medicinal purposes, which appears to be true of the spices on the *Ge* tablets at Mycenae (see pp. 555–57), spices also appear on records of religious offerings, such as **323** = Ga 953 at Knossos, and on records of ingredients for the production of perfumed olive oil. Besides the records at Pylos which explicitly refer to issues to unguent-boilers, such as **245** = Un 267, **246** = Un 249, tablets listing spices which almost certainly have this function, in part at least, include the *Ga(2)* records at Knossos, discussion of which follows.

99 = Ga(2) 415 (136)

ru-ki-ti-jo 'ko-ri-ja-do-no' AROM 1 T 6

D/D²/* *Men* of *Ru-ki-to*: 192 l. of coriander seed.

* The *Ga(2)* tablets are one of a number of 'sets' of records from the West Wing of the palace at Knossos which Foster (1977a), building on earlier work by Olivier (*Scribes Cnossos* 125–26) and Godart (1968a, 1968b, 1969.51–52), has convincingly argued come from a single administrative department dealing with perfumery and religious offerings. The others include the *Ga(1)*, *Ga(3)* records of condiments, the *Gg* records of honey, the *Fh* records of olive oil, the *Fs* and *Fp* records of religious offerings, the *Od(2)* records of offerings of wool to the goddess Eileithuia and four of the *M* records which deal with religious offerings. Of

these, the *Ga*(*1*) and (*2*) records of condiments, the *Gg*(*2*) records of honey and many of the *Fh* OIL records are likely to relate to perfume manufacture. Some of these texts, like the *Ga*(*2*), *Gg*(*4*) and some of the *Fh* records, e.g. **95** = Fh 5451, relate to the acquisition of condiments, honey and oil by way of taxation; others, including in particular those which contain the man's name *ku-pi-ri-jo*, are likely to concern issues of these commodities to persons and workshops involved in perfume-making.

* The function of the *Ga*(*2*) tablets as concerned with the taxation of condiments is shown by the appearance on several members of the 'set' of the term *a-pu-do-si*, *apudosis* 'payment', accompanied in some cases by a note of a deficit, shown by *o* = *o-pe-ro*, *ophelos*; see e.g. **100** = Ga(2) 427. It is uncertain whether the tablets which do not mention *a-pu-do-si*, e.g. **99** = Ga(2) 415, are assessment records, like the records in the *Ma* taxation series which do not contain the term (Killen 1984a), or whether they again list payments, and the scribe has not troubled to indicate the fact. A parallel for the latter situation would be provided by the *Le* cloth records in h. 103 at Knossos, where *a-pu-do-si* is found only in a few entries in the 'set', despite it being clear that all these tablets record deliveries (Killen 1966b). It is noticeable, however, that all the *Ga*(*2*) records which contain *a-pu-do-si* concern a single commodity only, whereas a number of the non- *a-pu-do-si* tablets are concerned with both coriander and *po-ni-ki-jo* (Foster 1977a.26–27), which might point to the latter being assessment records, though we cannot be certain that it is not simply an accident of preservation.

* *ru-ki-ti-jo*: it is uncertain whether the ethnics in *-jo* at the beginnings of most of the *Ga*(*2*) tablets – Ga(2) 417, in contrast, begins with the place-name *qa-mo* – qualify the commodity or commodities listed on the record, or refer to groups of men in the areas in question who are responsible for supplying it/them to the centre. We can be virtually certain that the ethnics in *-jo* and *-e-u* in a similar position in the entries on **101** = Ga(5) 1530, which list deliveries of *ki-ta-no*, perhaps terebinth, refer to men, since here the commodity is revealed by the totalling entries on the tablet (see *to-sa* l. 6, *to-sa-de* l. 7) to have a feminine or neuter plural name. It is also attractive to take the ethnics in *-jo* at the beginnings of the *Bg* records in h. 137, which record deliveries of *po-ni-ki-jo*, one of the two substances on the *Ga*(*2*) records, as referring to the men who are listed on these tablets before the *po-ni-ki-jo* entries, and who are plausibly understood as groups in their areas who are responsible for supplying the commodity (Godart 1970b.389–90). Although, however, the analogy of these series does make it more likely than not that the ethnics on the *Ga*(*2*) tablets also refer to men, we cannot exclude the alternative possibility, that they qualify the substance(s), in view of the evidence of the single-entry *Ga*(*5*) tablets in h. 221. All these records begin with an ethnic in *-ja*, e.g. *e-*]*ki-si-ja Ga*(*5*) 1533; and since they are likely to deal with the same commodity, *ki-ta-no*, as the multi-entry records in the same scribal hand, like **101** = Ga(5) 1530, it seems much more likely that the ethnics serve to qualify this commodity, cf. the *to-sa*, *to-sa-de* entries on **101** = Ga(5) 1530, than that they refer to groups of women who are named, in the nominative of rubric, as recipients of

the substance, as Foster (1977a.40) suggests. See further p. 551 for the suggestion that these tablets may be some of the assessment records which have led to deliveries of *ki-ta-no* of the type that are recorded on **101** = Ga(5) 1530, etc.

D/* *ko-ri-ja-do-no*: this word is found also at Pylos and Mycenae, where its plural is spelt *ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na* or, at Mycenae, *ko-ri-ja-da-na*. It is an ancestral form of κορίαννον, κορίανδρον, which may be derived from *koria(n)dnon* by assimilation and popular etymology. Coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*) is cultivated widely in the eastern countries of Europe, including Greece, and the Orient (Wylock 1972.135–36); its seeds are used as a condiment for flavouring and preserving food and, following extraction and distillation of an essence, in perfumery (Wylock 1972.136–37). Its use in perfumery in Mycenaean times may have been as an astringent (στύμμα) used to improve the scent of perfumed oil (Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry* 22). For its probable use at Mycenae for culinary purposes, see Section 7.

100 = Ga(2) 427 (136)

.1 da-wi-jo / a-pu-do-si po-ni-ki-jo di-ta-ka-so M 8
N[ ]o̤[
.2 e-pu$_2$-no / po-ni-ki-jo M 8 N 1 *o* M 1 N 1

* *Men* of *Da-wo*: payment of *po-ni-ki-jo*: *Di-ta-ka-so*, 8.25 (+ ?) kg, deficit *x* (kg); *E-pu$_2$-no*, 8.25 kg, deficit 1.25 kg.

* The tablet lists contributions of the second commodity recorded on the *Ga(2)* tablets, *po-ni-ki-jo*, perhaps *phoinikion*, from the place *da-wo* near Phaistos (pp. 513–14). The payments are made by two persons, each responsible for part (one-half?) of his district's contribution.

* *po-ni-ki-jo*: the identity of this commodity remains uncertain. Murray and Warren (1976) suggest that it is a red dyestuff, as does Foster (1977b), who further suggests that it was used both to colour perfumed oil and to dye cloth, and that it is intended for the first purpose on the *Ga(2)* tablets in h. 136 but for the second on the *Bg* tablets from the North Archive (h. 137). Melena's suggestion (1975b) that it is dates from the date-palm is difficult to reconcile with the probable purpose of the *Ga(2)* tablets, viz. to record commodities intended for perfumed oil production or for offerings to divinities. There is no mention of *po-ni-ki-jo* as an offering elsewhere, whereas there is good evidence for the use of red dye in ancient perfume manufacture. It is also possible – though no more than this – that the perfumed oil denoted by *PO* at Pylos has actually been dyed with *po-ni-ki-jo* (Foster 1977b.61–64, Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry* 23, 37).

* *di-ta-ka-so*: also Dl(1) 916, where it is the name of a 'shepherd' at *e-ko-so*. It is uncertain whether the names in this and comparable entries in the *Ga(2)* records, including *e-pu$_2$-no* on this tablet, are those of producers of condiments, etc., or of local officials responsible to the palace for the collection and despatch of their area's contributions, as the *ko-re-te-re* at Pylos seem likely to have been (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.186). (These alternatives are not of course mutually exclusive; note the presence of a *ko-re-te* among the producers of flax listed on PY **202** = Nn 831.) It slightly favours the first alternative that both this tablet and Ga(2) 419 record two such names (on *ri-wi-so*, a third name mentioned on Ga(2)

419, see further below, this note); although two different officials involved in supplying a single area's contribution is not wholly inconceivable (cf. the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te* responsible for each district's contribution on the BRONZE record PY **207** = Jn 829), it would still be surprising. Moreover, it is perhaps easier to explain the entry on Ga(2) 417 lower edge, which involves the man *ta-u-na-so* and a relatively small quantity of coriander, in terms of a producer of the commodity. No certainty is possible, however, although the two names on each of Ga(2) 419 and the present record probably rule out a further possibility envisaged by Chadwick (see Melena 1976b.145–46): that the persons concerned are central palace officials who are responsible for collecting the areas' contributions. It may be that one of the persons named on Ga(2) 419, which concerns the place *ku-ta-to*, is also mentioned as a 'shepherd' on the sheep tablets: with *ri-wi-so* (l. 2a) compare *ri-wi-so*, also at *ku-ta-to*, on Da 1114, Dv 1111 (Melena 1976b.141–44). Melena, who favours the 'producer' explanation of the names, suggests that this was the owner of a farm which was involved in both sheep-grazing and coriander production. It should be noted, however, that it is far from certain that *ri-wi-so* is mentioned on Ga(2) 419.2 as a separate contributor of coriander rather than as a gloss on the *tu-to* entry below it. Even therefore if he were a 'shepherd' who also produced coriander, the same would not necessarily be true of the other individuals named on these texts.

101 = Ga(5) 1530 (221)

sup. mut.
.1]-si̯-jo̯ / o-pe-ro̯[
.2 da̯-wi̯-jo̯ / ki̯[-ta-no
.3a [a-pu-]do̯-si
.3b ra-je-u̯ , [ki-]ta̯-no̯ AROM 1l̥ *o* 2
.4a a̯-pu̯-do-si
.4b pu-na̯-si-jo / ki-ta-no AROM 11 *o* 1[
.5 *vacat*
.6 to-sa AROM 58
.7 to̯-sa-de / o-pe-ro AROM 31
.8 *vacat* ?

* *Men* of . . . : deficit *x* (l. of *pistachio nuts*).
Men of *Da-wo*: payment *x* (l.) of *pistachio nuts* . . .
The man of *Ra-ja*: payment 1320 l. of *pistachio nuts*, deficit 240 l.
Men of *Pu-na-so*: payment 1320 l. of *pistachio nuts*, deficit 120 (+ ?) l.
Total: 6960 l.
Total deficit: 3720 l.

* Though certainty is impossible, this record and the closely similar Ga(5) 1532, both from the East Wing of the palace, may well record some product of trees of the *Pistacia* genus. Melena (1974c) has offered the attractive suggestion that *ki-ta-no*, the name of the product which is dealt with here, and which is measured in dry measure, is a metathesised form of κρίτανος, which Hesychius glosses as

τέρμινθος, terebinth. If κρίτανος was applied not only to the terebinth (*Pistacia terebinthus*) but also to other trees of the Pistacia family, including *Pistacia vera* and *Pistacia lentiscus* – just as in English the three varieties just mentioned are known collectively as turpentine trees (see *Shorter OED* s.v. Pistacia) – the most plausible identification of the commodity here is probably the nuts of the *Pistacia vera* (pistachio nuts) which would be measured in dry measure. Bass's suggestion (1987.727), based on the discovery of very large quantities of residue of resin from *Pistacia atlantica* in the Uluburun shipwreck, and the fact that 'no large quantities of *Pistacia* nuts have ever been found at a Bronze Age site', that the commodity here is the resin is difficult to accept, since this would not normally be measured in this way – unless it is resin in a form akin to that of the dried droplets ('tears') of resin harvested from the mastic bush (*Pistacia lentiscus*) in modern Chios and the coast of Turkey opposite, which could have been measured in dry measure. On this possibility see further Firth 2017.238–39.

* It is likely that the commodity recorded by dry measure on the remaining tablets in h. 221, Ga(5) 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 5020, 5021 and 5780, is also *ki-ta-no*, even though the term does not appear on these texts. Since none of these records show a deficit entry, it is possible that they record assessments for contributions levied on the places indicated by the ethnics in *-ja* at the beginnings of the tablets, which, as we have seen earlier, are most readily explained as qualifying *ki-ta-no*; cf. *to-sa*, *to-sa-de* in the totalling entries on ll. 6–7 of **101** = Ga(5) 1530. If so, *ki-ta-no*, like τέρμινθος, will be feminine.

* *da-wi-jo*: on the virtual certainty that the ethnics on these tablets refer to men in the areas concerned who are responsible for supplying *ki-ta-no*, see **99** = Ga(2) 415. Melena's alternative explanation (1974c.49), that the name of the commodity is neuter, and is used in the singular in the individual payment entries but in the plural in the totalling entries on ll. 6–7, both of which show *to-sa*(*-de*), is not easy to accept, even if we allow that an ethnic in -εύς (see below on *ra-je-u*) could be used to qualify a neuter noun.

* *ra-je-u*: also in the plural, *ra-je-we*, on *L(9)* 7400. This and]*se̤-to-i-je̤*[KN V<1631> are the only true ethnics in -εύς so far attested on the records (Killen 1987c.328–31, *Economy and Administration* III.1137–41), though the ending is also found in personal names which are based on ethnics, like *o-ko-me-ne-u*, *Orkhomeneus*, and in descriptions of persons that are apparently derived from geographical features, like *pe-di-je-we*, probably *pediēwes* < πεδίον 'plain' and *e-re-e-u*, *e-re-e-we*, perhaps *heleheus*, *helehēwes* < ἕλος 'marsh' (Killen 2007b). The fact that *ra-je-u* is singular need not of course imply that the same must be true of the other ethnics on the tablet. For a single individual responsible for the whole of his area's contribution(s), whether as producer or official (or both), see *a-ka-re-u* (MN) Ga(2) 416 and perhaps *a-ke-re-wi-jo* (E?) MY **104** = Ge 603, **105** = Ge 604 (cf. *a-ke-re-u-te*, probably 'from (the place) *A*.' **106** = Ge 606).

102 = Ga(1) 675 (135)

wa-na-ka-te , / ⟦ko⟧ pe-ma AROM 10

D/* To the king: 1200 l. of (coriander) seed.

* Unlike the tablets so far discussed in this section, which clearly refer to incoming supplies of condiments, etc., this and the other *Ga(1)* records in h. 135 are concerned with distributions (Melena 1976b.134–40, Foster 1977a.32, 34), all almost certainly to makers of perfumed unguent. Both of the commodities recorded in the 'set', cyperus (**103** = Ga(1) 517) and coriander, appear in the lists of issues to unguent-boilers on PY **245** = Un 267 and Un 616, and while *ma-ri-ne-we*, the recipient on Ga(1) 674, may be – though is not certainly – a god and *wa-na-ka-te*, *wanaktei*, the recipient on the present record, is named as a recipient of offerings on the *Fr* oil records at Pylos (p. 855), the amounts that they are issued with here, 10 major units (= 1200 l. ?) apiece, are much too large for these to have been religious offerings (Melena 1976b.137, Foster 1977a.34). They are best therefore understood as supplies for perfume-making workshops 'owned' by *ma-ri-ne-u* (Melena 1976b.138–39) and the *wanaks*. For *ma-ri-ne-u* as the 'owner' of a workshop at Knossos and of women, perhaps textile workers, at Thebes, see KN As(2) 1519, TH Of 35+ ; for a reference to a woman decorator of cloth, almost certainly described as 'royal' or 'of the king', who is mentioned in parallel to a decorator in the 'house' (workshop?) of the goddess Potnia, see **244** = TH Of 36. With the 10 units of coriander issued to *m.* and *w.* here, compare the 6 and 21 units issued to unguent-boilers on PY **245** = Un 267 and Un 616 respectively.

* *wa-na-ka-te*: if, as argued above, this is a reference to the 'owner' of a perfume-making workshop, it might be either the human king, who we know held land and 'owned' workers in his personal capacity, or a god with this title, as *wanaks* on the *Fr* tablets at Pylos may have been. For the goddess Potnia as an 'owner' of unguent-boilers, see PY **246** = Un 249.

* [[*ko*]]: since most of the *Ga(1)* tablets list coriander, and since the ideogram on the one clear exception, **103** = Ga(1) 517, is not CONDIMENT, as here, but CONDIMENT + CYP(erus), it is difficult to doubt that this is the commodity being listed on the record, and that the scribe originally began to write *ko-ri-ja-do-no* before changing his mind and erasing the *ko*. It is not clear why he did this.

* *pe-ma*: *sperma* 'seed'. Although *pe-ma* / *pe-mo* only appears before the WHEAT ideogram where land is being measured and the reference is evidently to seed corn, never on records of grain harvests and rations, its presence here and on Ga(1) 674, 680 is probably without significance, even though coriander is not gathered wild, but has to be specially sown and cultivated (Wylock 1972.136).

103 = Ga(1) 517 (135)

.a ku-pi-ri-jo
.b tu-wi-no , / ku-pa-ro AROM+*CYP* 1 [

D/* (To) Twinon, (*from*) Kuprios, 120 l. of cyperus.

* Here the issue is of cyperus, perhaps the root tubers of *Cyperus rotundus* (Melena 1974b.331).

D/* *tu-wi-no*: that this is probably *Twinōn*, quite likely an ancestral form of Classical Σίνων (see Glossary), is made clear by the genitive of the name, *tu-wi-no-no*, on Ga(1) 676, where *T.* is mentioned as receiving coriander, again probably from Kuprios (see next note).

AROM+CYP CYPERUS

* *ku-pi-ri-jo*: although *ku̯-pi-ri-ja̯* qualifying wool on KN Od 667.A is doubtless the adjective *Kupria* 'Cypriot' (Bennett et al. 1990.204 [Melena]), *ku-pi-ri-jo* here and on a number of other records of spices, honey and olive oil from the same area of the palace as the present record (e.g. Ga(1) 676, Gg(2) 995, Fh 372) is almost certainly a personal name (Olivier 1967a.327, Killen 1979a.178 (n.**), 1995b.215–21), and refers to a man Kuprios, named after but not necessarily from Cyprus, who has a major involvement in the unguent-boiling industry (Godart 1968b, 1969.51–53, Killen 1979.178 (n. **), 1995b.215–21). None of the commodities in question is likely to have been imported (all are found in taxation contexts), and *ku-pi-ri-jo* is also a personal name on PY **60** = Cn 131.3, **62** = Cn 719.7, Jn 320.3. Since in a number of the contexts in which *ku-pi-ri-jo* appears it is accompanied by a second name clearly or possibly in the dative, e.g. *ku-pi-ri-jo ma-ro-ne* Fh 5246, it is likely that K., both there and on the present record, is named as the person issuing the commodity.

* *ku-pa-ro*: the spelling probably reflects *kuparos* (or *-on*); though the variant *ku-pa-ro*$_2$ **245** = Un 267+ reflects a form *kuparyos*, which would later become *kupairos*, one of the forms of the word in Classical Greek, this development appears to have been post-Mycenaean (Ruijgh, *Études* 66–67 and n. 93).

7. SPICES AT MYCENAE (Ge)[b]

D/* The three texts quoted here are representative of a group of seven similar tablets found by Wace in the House of the Sphinxes in 1954. These records, numbered Ge 602–608, form part of a consistent series dealing with a range of commodities, most of which can be confidently identified with herbs and spices. Some tablets have an introductory phrase, but apart from this the text usually consists entirely of a list of personal names, each followed by specified quantities of the various commodities. The names in the lists vary in case, even on the same tablet: *pe-ke-u* Ge 602 (nom.), but *ka-e-se-we* (dat.) two lines further on; cf. *ka-e-se-u* Ge 605.

* As shown by Killen (1983b), building on earlier work by Bennett (*MT* II.100), Ge 602–606 are all taxation records, and follow the standard pattern for such documents elsewhere in the archives. As Bennett (*MT* II.100) demonstrated, **104** = Ge 603 and **105** = Ge 604, which are both largely by the same scribe and involve the same persons, are effectively parts of a single record, the first listing payments made, the second showing amounts still due. All the entries on **105** = Ge 604 are prefixed by the term *o-pe-ro*, *ophelos* 'deficit', and relate either: (a) to

[b] *Documents*[1] 225–31, *Documents*[2] 442, *Interpretation* 271–74, *Textos* 48, *Anthology* 282–84. Studies: *MT* II.99–102, 107–10, Marinatos 1958, Wylock 1972, Killen 1983b.

AROM		CONDIMENT	*KU*		Cumin
PE		Bunch ?	*MA*		Fennel
**155*^{VAS}		Basket ?	*MI*		Mint
**155*^{VAS}		CUP	*SA*		Sesame
KO		Coriander			

commodities which do not recur in the corresponding entry on **104** = Ge 603 (though they recur in other entries on 603 and elsewhere in the series and might therefore be expected to occur in a complete record); or (b) to commodities which, though they recur in the corresponding entry on 603, do so in quantities which are less than the maximum amount of that commodity recorded elsewhere on the tablet, or on other tablets in the group, but which when added to the quantity in the corresponding entry never exceed that maximum. Moreover, in a number of cases the amounts in the corresponding entries when added together exactly equal that maximum figure; as Bennett points out, for instance, the *MA* figure on 603.2 (z 2) plus the *MA* figure on 604.5, which relates to the same individual *pu-ke* (also z 2), equals the maximum figure for a *MA* entry elsewhere in the series, viz. *MA* v 1. (v 1 = z 4.) For full details of the comparison, see Killen 1983b.221–22.

* As Killen shows, however, it is not only **104** = Ge 603 and **105** = Ge 604 which form a complementary pair: the same holds good for Ge 605 and Ge 602, the heading of which begins with the term *jo-o-po-ro*, *hō ophlon* 'thus they owed'. For details of the comparison between these two records, see Killen 1983b.222–24. Moreover, a strong case can also be made for seeing a fifth record, **106** = Ge 606, as showing the original assessment for contributions for one of the individuals whose payments and shortfalls in payment are shown on **104** = Ge 603, **105** = Ge 604. Almost certainly, this record is headed by the term *do-si-mi-ja*, viz. a derivative of *do-so-mo*, *dosmos*, the standard term elsewhere in the archives for an expected contribution (Duhoux 1968.93–95, Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.103–13); and it is attractive to compare the term *a-ke-re-u-te* on l. 2 of the tablet, which is plausibly interpreted as an ablative in *-then* from a place-name *a-ke-re-u*, with the contributor's name *a-ke-re-wi-jo* on **104** = Ge 603, **105** = Ge 604, which can readily be explained as 'the man from *a-ke-re-u*', viz. a reference to an individual from this place who is responsible for supplying his area's contribution. In spite of some apparent difficulties, the figures on **106** = Ge 606 on the one hand and **104** = Ge 603, **105** = Ge 604 on the other can be shown to be consistent with this explanation; for detailed discussion, see Killen 1983b.227–29.

* It is clear from these parallels between the *Ge* tablets and taxation records elsewhere that the so-called 'Houses' outside the citadel walls at Mycenae are not, as Wace suggested, the residences of private merchants, but outlying 'offices' of the central administration. The fact that the commodities they list were acquired by taxation, like the spices recorded on the *Ga* records at Knossos, makes it probable that all were locally produced, and did not have to be imported.

* The palace at Mycenae is likely to have used these commodities for culinary and just possibly also for medicinal purposes (Killen 1964a, Wylock 1972). Marinatos (1958) and Palmer (1959b.432–33) suggest that they were used for the preparation of perfumed unguents, and in support of this proposal Palmer (1959b.433 n. 3) adduces Wace's observation (*MT* II.7) that one of the *pithoi* in the adjoining House of the Oil Merchant 'has an arrangement of an extra wall in front with an aperture apparently for putting some form of heating below it', which Palmer interprets as evidence for unguent-boiling. While, however, no fewer than eight of the commodities listed in the series were used in antiquity – and are still used nowadays – for culinary purposes, only one, coriander, recurs in the lists of issues to unguent-boilers on PY **245** = Un 267, etc., and two, sesame and safflower (if this is what *ka-na-ko* signifies: see pp. 555–56) have little or no smell (Killen 1964a.172). There are also severe practical problems in believing that the *pithos* in the House of the Oil Merchant can have been used for unguent-preparation (Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry* 53–55), and it is preferable to accept Wace's suggestion (*MT* II.7) that the heating arrangements beneath it were designed to prevent the oil in the jar congealing in winter: a practice for which there are parallels in modern Tuscany.

D/* Since the principal commodities recur frequently in the series, it will be convenient to discuss them before commenting on the texts.

D/* *ka-da-mi-ja*: apparently *kardamia*, a feminine or neuter plural form for κάρδαμον 'garden-cress, *Lepidium sativum*', the pungent seed of which was much used as a condiment especially in Persia (Xen. *Cyr.* I, 2, 8, Ael., *VH* III, 39). Since the only entry in which the substance is recorded breaks off after the word, it is unclear whether the seeds, the flowers or the leaves are intended. The plant grows in Greece (Wylock 1972.133).

D/* *ka-na-ko*: this occurs by itself or in the ligature *KANAKO*. More often, however, it is qualified by an adjective: *e-ru-ta-ra* = *eruthrā* 'red', or *re-u-ka* = *leukā* 'white'; *e-ru-ta-ra* may even stand by itself. *ka-na-ko re-u-ka* is always measured; *e-ru-ta-ra* is always weighed (weights from 1 to 3 kg). This is clearly the plant known as κνῆκος (original long ᾱ is attested by the Doric adjective κνακός), the gender of which varies between masculine and feminine. It is uncertain, however, which variety of κνῆκος is intended here. VC suggest *Carthamus tinctorius*, the florets of which are used to make a red dye. As Wylock (1972.119) points out, however, this cultivated variety of safflower, though known in Egypt, is not found in Greece (though see Murray and Warren 1976.53); and he suggests therefore (1972.124) that some wild variety is intended. Nor is it certain what the epithets 'red' and 'white' refer to. VC suggest that the measured white variety is the seed of the plant and the red

type the florets; and they note that this distinction in colour 'seems to be confirmed by the varying senses of the adjective recorded by Hesychius: κνηκόν· τὸ κροκίζον χρῶμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθους· ὅτε δὲ ἀπὸ καρποῦ, τὸ λευκόν'. ('The tawny-coloured dye comes from the flower, but when it is from the seed it is white.') Although, however, *Carthamus tinctorius* produces a red as well as a yellow dye, the florets are not themselves red, and it is questionable whether they would have been called this in a context where the plant is probably not being recorded as a dyestuff. Nor is much enlightenment to be derived from Hesychius' other gloss: λευκὸς καὶ εἶδός τε σπέρματος· καὶ πυρρός 'the white is a sort of seed; also the red'. It does seem probable, however, that the measured 'white' variety is seed, and it is also quite conceivable that the 'red' variety is the florets of the same or another related plant, though other parts might also be weighed. Of the wild varieties of safflower mentioned by Wylock (1972.119), *C. ruber* has red flowers and *C. dentatus* purple. Whatever its precise identification, the κνῆκος here is likely to have a culinary and/or medicinal use. Dioscorides (IV, 88) says that the flower of κνῆκος is used as a relish (εἰς τὰ προσοψήματα). On the modern use of safflower seed as a condiment, see the Introduction.

D/D²/* *ko-no* or once *ko-i-no*: this is counted (numbers from 2 to 12). *Ko-no* plus numeral entries are followed in several instances by entries involving the ideograms *DE* or *E*; the latter appears to be written in full as *e-ne-me-na* on **104** = Ge 603.2. Both these signs are followed by 1. On **104** = Ge 603.7 *DE* 1 follows directly after *ko-no* with no intervening numeral; on **106** = Ge 606.7 *DE* 1 directly follows *ko-i-no* and is itself followed by an entry of 11 units of a commodity whose ideogram is not read certainly but is probably **171*. *Ko-no/ko-i-no* is probably to be equated with Greek σχοῖνος 'reed, rush' (which is sometimes feminine); the numerals following the term presumably refer to standard-sized bunches. Since it is probable (see Introduction) that the entry on **106** = Ge 606.7 is related to that on **104** = Ge 603.5, where 10 units of *no-ko*, clearly a misspelling of *ko-no*, is probably followed by a *DE* entry, it is plausible to suggest that the ideogram on Ge 606.7 identifies the form of rush that *ko(-i)-no* refers to: though the matter is complicated by an entry on Ge 602.5B, where *ko-no-a-po-te-*[.] is perhaps to be read as *ko-no-a-po-te-ra* and taken as a reference to the two forms of rush (*skhoinoi amphoterai*). If the ideogram on Ge 606.7 is correctly read as **171*, this will show that in this case at least the rush is a member of the cyperus family: see KN *Ga*(1) 519, where *ku-pa-ro* precedes a **171* entry. Is it perhaps *Cyperus longus*, English galingale or sweet rush, an aromatic marsh plant which grows widely in Greece, recorded here as an item used in cooking? The fact that *DE* and *E*(*-ne-me-na*) seem always to be followed by 1 might be an indication that both are containers (cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* 416) rather than different varieties of *ko*(*-i*)*-no*; in the absence, however, of a convincing interpretation of *e-ne-me-na* it is not possible to confirm this.

ko-ri-ja-da-na, *ko-ri-a*$_2$*-da-na*: abbreviated *KO*, sometimes inserted in the CONDIMENT ideogram. It is measured (amounts from 12 to 24 l.). 'Coriander'; see on **99** = Ga(1) 415.

ku-mi-no, *ku-mi-na*: abbreviated *KU*; it is measured (amounts from 1 to 4 l.). κύμινον 'cumin'. The word is Semitic, though Akkad. *kamūnu* is alleged to mean 'caraway'. Although Lat. *cuminum* is evidently *Cuminum cyminum*, Wylock (1972.109–10) notes that this does not appear to grow in Greece, and suggests that *ku-mi-no* is *Lagoecia cuminoïdes*, which does. Apicius mentions the use of cumin to spice fish and meat sauces (Wylock 1972.112); it was also known in antiquity for its medicinal properties (Wylock 1972.113).

ma-ra-tu-wo: abbreviated *MA*; it is measured (amounts from ½ to 2 l.). *marathwon* 'fennel', to be equated with the Classical forms μάραθον or μάραθρον. The former is usually explained as derived by dissimilation from the latter; we may, however, suspect in the latter the influence of the suffix -θρον. The measured quantities clearly refer to the seed, which is used in cooking. Pliny the Elder (*HN* XX, 256) mentions its medical as well as culinary use. The plant grows widely in Greece.

mi-ta: abbreviated *MI* in two erased entries on **104** = Ge 603; counted in units (20) by scribe 59 and with *PE* (numbers 1 and 2) by scribe 57, which may mean that *PE* is a measure equivalent to 10 units (Killen 1983b.230). It may merely be a coincidence that *pe* is used in Cypriot as an abbreviation of the name of the coin πέλεκυς, which according to Hesychius (s.v. ἡμιπέλεκκον) is the equivalent of ten minae (τὸ γὰρ δεκάμνουν πέλεκυς καλεῖται παρὰ Παφίοις). The plant is obviously μίνθα, μίνθη, some kind of mint, a common and widely distributed plant, which is used in Classical antiquity for both culinary and medicinal purposes (Wylock 1972.142–44).

sa-pi-de: counted (numbers 6 and 12). The identification is uncertain, and it may be a container rather than a spice. The word recurs at Pylos (Vn 19), where numbers of these are mentioned in connexion with the Nine Towns; the numbers are damaged, those readable being 200 (+ ?), 80 (+ ?), 60 and 40. Possibly *sarpides* 'boxes'; cf. σαρπίς = σαρπός, *An. Ox.* II, 466, and σάρπους· κιβωτούς, Hsych. A connexion with σάλπη 'saupe fish' or σηπία 'cuttle-fish' seems much less likely.

D/* *sa-sa-ma*: abbreviated *SA*; measured (amounts 1 to 8 l.). Equivalent to σησάμη or σήσαμα. The word is Semitic, the Ugaritic form (ššmn) being nearest to the Greek. The oil resembles olive oil, but the small quantities of seeds here can hardly have been intended for pressing. The seeds are themselves eaten, and a sweetmeat called *halvás* is still made from them in Greece today. They were widely used in cake-making in Classical Greece (Wylock 1972.117). The plant grows in the Argolid and on the islands of Rhodes, Tenedos and Crete (Wylock 1972.115).

* *se-ri-no*: weighed (amount 2 kg). σέλινον: either celery (*Apium graveolens*) or parsley (*Petroselinum hortense* Hoffmann) (Wylock 1972.129–30). Presumably the stalks/leaves are intended here; Aristophanes (*Clouds* 982) and others mention the consumption of dill and σέλινον at banquets. Both celery and parsley are grown in Greece, the first more widely than the second.

104 = Ge 603 (*58a–59*)

.1a [ ]ka-ra-to **155*VAS 1
.1 ke-po , *ko* AROM T 2 / ka-na-ko , re-u-ka V 1 da-ra[ ]ṃị-ta-qe 20
ḳa̤-ṇa̤-ko , e-ru-ta-ra M 1
.2a ka-na-ko M 1 **155*VAS 1
.2 pu-ke-o *KO* T 2 *KU* V 2 *MA* Z 2 *SA* Z 2 ko-no 10 e-ne-me-na 1[
.3 i-na-o *KO* T 2 *KU* V 1 ⟦*MI* 20⟧ ko-no 10 *E* 1 ka-na-ko e-ru M
1 [ ] *vac.*
.4 ra-ke-da-no *KO* T 2 *KU* V 2 ⟦*MI*⟧ ko-no 12 *Ḛ* 1 **155*VAS 1
.5 a-ke-re-wi-jo *KO* T 2 *KU* V 1 *MA* V 1 no-ko 10 *Ḍḛ*[**155*VAS 1
.6 pe-ke-u *KO* T 2 *KU* V 1 Z 2 *MA* V 1 ko-no 10 *E* 1 ka-na-ko M 2
**155*VAS 1

.7 pu-wo *KO* T 2 *KU* V 2 *MA* V 1[ ] ko-no *DE* 1 **155*^{VAS}* 1
→
v.
.1 pẹ-[ ]2
reliqua pars sine regulis

D/* *Ke-po*: coriander seed 24 l.
white safflower 2 l.
. . . and mint 20
red safflower 1 kg
basket 1.
Pu-ke-o: coriander seed 24 l.
cumin 4 l.
fennel seed 1 l.
sesame 1 l.
rushes 10 *e-ne-me-na* 1 (+ ?)
safflower 1 kg
basket 1.
I-na-o: coriander seed 24 l.
cumin 2 l.
mint 20 (erased)
rushes 10 *e-* 1
red safflower 1 kg
etc.

* As noted in the Introduction, the purpose of the record is evidently to list payments of contributions by the individuals named, while shortfalls in these payments are listed on **105** = Ge 604, where the same persons are involved.

* The tablet is the work of two different scribes. One, h. 59, wrote the middle of l. 1 (*ka-na-ko* … 20) and the name and *KO* T at the beginning of the other lines; the other, h. 58a, wrote the rest.

D/* *ka-ra-to*: if the word is complete as it stands, this might be *kalathos*, i.e. a description of the ideogram which follows, which is probably no more than a handleless variant of the BASKET sign.

* *da-ra*[ ]*ṃị-ta-qe* 20. Restoration of the first word as *da-ra-ko*, which might be *dlākhōn* = γλήχων, βλήχων 'pennyroyal', *Mentha pulegium* L. (Melena 1976a.239), would fit the context admirably, but the surviving traces appear to exclude this reading.

* *pu-ke-o*: probably genitive of *pu-ke* **105** = Ge 604.5, likely to be the same name as *pu*$_2$*-ke* on Ge 602.2, 605.2 (Killen 1983b.230–32). For fluctuation between genitive and nominative in a list of names of contributors, cf. **173** = PY Es 644. This is the payment *of P.*

* *a-ke-re-wi-jo*: for the suggestion that this is 'the man from *a-ke-re-u*', viz. the person from this place who is responsible for making the contributions described as *a-ke-re-u-te*, seemingly 'from *A.*', which are shown on the assessment record **106** = Ge 606, see the Introduction.

* *no-ko*: an error for *ko-no*; cf. *pe-ro-ro* for *o-pe-ro* **105** = Ge 604.5

105 = Ge 604 (*58a*)

.0 *vacat* [ ] *vac.*
.1 ke-e-pe , o-pe-ro , ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra[ ]*DE* 1 *KU* V 1
.2 i-na-o-te , o-pe-ro *KU* V 1 *SA* V 1 ko-no 2 se-ri-no Ṃ 2 '**155*VAS 1'
.3 ra-ke-da-no-re , o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra M 1 *MA* V 1 *SA* V 1
.4 a-ke-re-wi-jo , o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra M 3
.5 pu-ke pe-ro-ro ka-na-ko M 1 *MA* Z 2 *SA* Z 2 ka-da-mi-ja [
.6 *vacat* [

D/* On this tablet the first three names, possibly the fourth and almost certainly the fifth, are in the dative, followed in each case by the word *o-pe-ro* 'deficit'. Since the payments are owed by these persons, the datives are presumably of interest ('for *K.*, in *K.*'s case: debt so much') or possession 'K. has the (following) debt'.

* *ke-e-pe*: doubtless an error for *ke-pe-e*; cf. *ke-po* (nom.) in the corresponding entry on **104** = Ge 603.1.

106 = Ge 606 (*57*)

.0 *vacat*
.1 [do-]si-mi-ja
.2 a-ke-re-u-te
.3a ka-na-ko
.3 AROM+*KO* T 2 *KU* V 1 re-u-ka V 1
.4 ma-ra-tu-wo V 1 / sa-sa-ma V 4
.5 e-ru-ta-ra M 3
.6 mi-ta *PE* 2
.7 ko-i-no , *DE* 1 **171* 11
.8 *vacat*

* For the suggestion that this tablet records the original assessment which has led to the payments by *a-ke-re-wi-jo* on **104** = Ge 603.5 and the shortfall noted on **105** = Ge 604.4, see the Introduction.

* [*do-*]*si-mi-ja*: also **184** = Ma 126; adj. from *do-so-mo*, probably neut. plur. 'things assessed for payment'.

8. MIXED SUPPLIES FOR BANQUETS AT THEBES AND PYLOS (Wu, Un)[b]

* The *Wu* sealings at Thebes, discovered in 1982 and published by Chr. Piteros, J.-P. Olivier and J. L. Melena (POM) in 1990, have thrown a whole new light

[b] *Documents*[1] 220–21, *Documents*[2] 440–41, *Interpretation* 258–59, *Textos* 71–72, 76, *Anthology* 390–91. Studies: Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990, Killen 1992b, 1994.

both on the function of sealings in Mycenaean administration and on the role played by large, state-sponsored banquets in Mycenaean society. The 56 sealings, found together in a single deposit, record animals (oxen, sheep, goats and pigs) and other commodities (*o-* cyperus, **171* and **190*) which there are clear indications, including the presence of the term *te-qa-de*, *Thēg^{ze}ans de* 'to Thebes' on **107** = Wu 65, etc., are being sent to the palace from various outlying places, including *a-ma-ru-to*, Amarynthos (Wu 58) and *ka-ru-to*, Karystos (Wu 55) in Euboea. Moreover, as POM brilliantly demonstrate, the purpose of these deliveries is made clear by a comparison of the numbers of animals of each type recorded on the sealings with the numbers of animals of the same types shown on the Pylos tablet **110** = Un 138, which also lists large quantities of various foodstuffs, thus making it clear that the animals on the tablet are intended for consumption. The details of the comparison, which plausibly assumes that each of the sealings records a single animal, are set out in the following table (see Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990.173).

	Ovis^m	Ovis^f	Cap^m	Cap^f	Sus^m	Sus^f	Sus	Sus+*si*	Bos^m	Bos^f	*We*
Un 138	15	1	13				12	1	2	1	8
Wu	14	2	7	7	6	2	1	2	1	1	3
			14		11						

Given these similarities, and the other points of contact between the sealings and the tablet, like the presence of *o*-cyperus on both, it is difficult to doubt that the animals in both contexts have the same purpose, i.e., are intended for consumption. Moreover, while the heading of **110** = Un 138 is itself uninformative about why the list of foodstuffs shown on the tablet was compiled, the heading of **111** = Un 2, a text which records a very similar list of commodities, contains the phrase *mu-jo-me-no e-pi wa-na-ka-te*, which, while its sense remains controversial, is most plausibly understood as a reference to the initiation of the king into the mysteries, *muiomenōi epi wanaktei*. The conclusion thus seems inescapable that the purpose of this record, and doubtless therefore also of **110** = Un 138 and similar texts, is to record the 'menu' for a major banquet held to mark an important state ceremony, and hence that the animals, etc. on the sealings are supplies for a similar event. In the case of **111** = Un 2, the ceremony, held at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, appears to have been a 'religious' one; it is possible, however, that the audit of furniture, vessels, etc., which is recorded on the Pylos *Ta* tablets, and which is stated to have occurred 'when the king appointed Augewas as *da-mo-ko-ro*' (see **258** = Ta 711), took place on the occasion of a similar banquet held to commemorate a secular event (Killen 1998a). There are many parallels for commemorative feasts of this kind in other societies, including in Classical Athens, where, as Detienne (1989.3)

observes, 'political power cannot be exercised without sacrificial practice. Any military or political undertaking – a campaign, engagement with the enemy, the conclusion of a treaty, works commissioned on a temporary basis, the opening of the assembly, or the assumption of office by the magistrates – each must begin with a sacrifice followed by a meal.' We cannot be certain that the feasts revealed by the Mycenaean records followed a precisely similar pattern, and in particular that they always involved a religious element. This will certainly have been the case if, as in Classical Greece, any killing of a domestic animal involved a sacrifice (Detienne 1989.3), since all the 'menus' and possible 'menus' for feasts which survive in the archives include some domestic animals among the foodstuffs. We cannot be certain, however, that this Classical 'rule' also held good in the Mycenaean world. It may be significant, however, that the commodity **190* in its counted rather than liquid form (see p. 890), which is listed on five of the *Wu* sealings, though it is not found on **110** = Un 138, **111** = Un 2, etc., seems often to occur in 'religious' contexts in the archives, including TH Uo 121, which it is difficult to doubt is concerned with religious offerings, given the amounts and substances it lists. These include a sheepskin denoted by ideogram **153*: a commodity which is only found elsewhere on the 'offering' record **178** = Un 718.

107 = Wu 65 (γ)

.α OVIS^{f} *supra sigillum* **D** [7]
.β te-qa-de
.γ qe-te-a$_2$

* *qe-te-a*$_2$: this term also appears in the heading of **110** = Un 138, further strengthening the links between that record and the *Wu* sealings. It is also found on the sealings in the form *qe-te-o* (Wu 49+); elsewhere, it occurs in the spellings *qe-te-jo* (PY Fr 1206+) and *qe-te-a* (KN Fp 363.1). Its interpretation remains controversial; but it may be *k^{w}eitehon*, *k^{w}eiteha*, neut. sing. and plur. of the verbal adjective of 'pay' (Mühlestein 1955b.131 n. 60), with *qe-te-jo* being a historical spelling, reflecting a stage before medial *j* became *h*. If so, the term may refer to obligatory payments in recompense (fines and the like) (Hutton 1993); with the animal categorised as *qe-te-a*$_2$ here (the plural evidently refers to the class of contributions into which it falls), one could compare the animals bought with the proceeds of fines levied on villagers in medieval Islamic society, which were then killed and the meat distributed to each member of the village (Ryder 1983.195). Although many of the examples of *qe-te-o*, etc. in the archives clearly refer to outgoings from the palace, some as religious offerings (Killen 1979a.169–70), these could be explained as referring to the later disposal by the palace of payments to the centre by way of fines or the like: some as food for communal feasts, others as gifts to the gods. For further discussion of the term, see, in addition to the articles already mentioned, Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.301–06, Ruijgh, *Études* 267, Risch 1976.316, Heubeck 1985.68, Hajnal 1992.292.

108 = Wu 52 (δ)

.α SUS+*SI* *supra sigillum* **F** [5]
.β a-ko-ra-jo
.γ *vacat*

* The animal here is a fattened pig (*si-a*$_2$*-ro*, *sihalos*: see **206** = PY Cn 608), again pointing to a 'consumption' context.

* *a-ko-ra-jo*: adjective from *a-ko-ra*; on the likelihood that the use of this term, whatever its precise meaning, shows that the animals it qualifies have a connexion with 'collectors', see **88** = KN Co 907. Note that the animals, likely to be for sacrifice, listed on **79** = Cn 418 are described in the heading of the tablet as *pa-ro we-u-da-ne-we*, i.e. may be connected with the 'collector' *we-da-ne-u* mentioned on the *Cn* flock records at Pylos, and that the animals described as *pa-ro ko-ma-we-te*, etc. on the *C(2)* animal records at Knossos may again be 'chez' or from 'collectors'; see further **81** = *C(2)* 913.

109 = Wu 55 (-)

.α SUS^{m} *supra sigillum* **H** [2]
.β ka-ru-to
.γ *vacat*

* Since Wu 58 mentions *a-ma-ru-to*, Amarynthos, which is also referred to on the wool record TH Of 25.2 (*a-ma-ru-to-de*, *Amarunthon de* 'to A.'), it can hardly be doubted that *ka-ru-to* here is Karystos, and that these are the places of those names in Euboea, as could not be confirmed in the case of Amarynthos when this alone was attested (*TT* II.94–95). We can thus regard as certain Chadwick's provisional conclusion (*TT* II.95) that 'Theban influence, if not control, extended to the nearer parts of Euboea at this date'.

110 = Un 138 (S138 H 42)

.1 pu-ro , qe-te-a$_2$, pa-ro , du-ni-jo
.2 HORD 18 T 5 po-qa OLIV 4 T 3 V 5
.3 VIN 13 OVIS^{m} 15 *WE* 8 OVIS^{f} 1 CAP^{m} 13 SUS 12
.4 SUS+*SI* 1 BOS^{f} 1 BOS^{m} 2
.5 me-za-wo-ni HORD 4 T 8 V 1 ka-pa OLIV 7

D/* At Pylos: *payments due in the hands of Dunios*: 2220 l. of barley, 526 l. of *eating* olives, 468 l. of wine, fifteen rams, eight *yearlings*, one ewe, thirteen he-goats, twelve pigs, one fat hog, one cow, two bulls.
To Medzawon: 578 l. of barley, 840 l. of . . . olives.

* *du-ni-jo*: for the likelihood that this is the same individual as is mentioned on three tablets in the *Ae* series, and the possibility – though no more – that he is also the *du-ni-jo* described as a *du-ma*, viz. an important local official, on An 192, see **31** = Ae 264.

D/D²/* *po-qa*: probably *phorg^{w}ā(i)* 'for eating'; cf. *po-qe-wi-ja*, *phorg^{w}eiai* 'halters' PY **300** = Ub 1315, **51** = An 1282 (dat.). Though φορβή in Homer refers to food for animals and *po-qe-wi-ja* is a horse's feeding-string, the term is used of human food in Herodotus, and this is presumably its sense here.

* *me-za-wo-ni*: VC and others take this as parallel to *du-ni-jo*, understanding *pa-ro* before the term. There appears, however, to be no parallel for such an omission: contrast the repeated *o-pi*s and *pa-ro*s with the pairs of names on the Knossos *C(2)*, *L(1)*, *Od(1)* and *Xe* tablets. Are the commodities in this entry simply 'for *M*.'?

* *ka-pa*: VC tentatively suggest a connexion with σκάφη 'trough', which they think could imply 'for pressing'; Sacconi (1998), basing her conclusions in part on the newly available evidence of the *Ft* OLIVES records at Thebes, several of which contain *ka-pa*, also suggests *skaphāi*, but with the sense of 'for the offerings dish'. No certainty is possible; since, however, there is no reliable evidence for the word here in contexts other than with olives (*ka-pa* on KN E(1) 71 may be a place-name; cf. the ethnic *ka-pa-jo* B(3) 5752), VC may well be correct in taking the term as 'the name of a different kind of olive [from *po-qa*]'.

111 = Un 2 (S2 H 1)

.1 pa-ki-ja-si , mu-jo-me-no , e-pi , wa-na-ka-te ,
.2 a-pi-e-ke , o-pi-te-ke-e-u
.3 HORD 16 T 4 CYP+*PA* T 1 V 3 *o* V 5
.4 FAR 1 T 2 OLIV 3 T 2 **132* S 2 *ME* S 1
.5 *NI* 1 BOS 1 OVIS^{m} 26 OVIS^{f} 6 CAP^{m} 2 CAP^{f} 2
.6 SUS+*SI* ḷ SUS^{f} 6 VIN 20 S 1 **146* 2

D/* At *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, *on the occasion of the initiation of the king*, the *major-domo* . . . : 1968 l. of barley, 18 l. of *pa-* cyperus, 10 l. of *o-* cyperus, 144 l. of flour, 384 l. of olives, 24 l. of . . . , 12 l. of *honey*, 120 l. of figs, one ox, twenty-six rams, six ewes, two he-goats, two she-goats, one fat hog, six sows, 732 l. of wine, two tunics.

HORD		BARLEY	FAR		FLOUR
OLIV		OLIVES	**132*		?
VIN		WINE	*ME*		HONEY
OVIS^{m}		SHEEP^{m} and other livestock ideograms	*NI*		FIGS
CYP+*PA*		CYPERUS+*PA*	**146*		A garment
[CYP+]*O*		[CYPERUS+]*O*			

D/D²/* *mu-jo-me-no e-pi wa-na-ka-te*: although the word order is surprising, probably *muiomenōi epi wanaktei*. *Mu-jo-me-no* appears to be present participle middle of a verb *μυίω (< **mu(s)-yō*), cf. μύω, but with the sense of μυέω, viz. 'initiate'. Replacement of simple

verbs by contract types is not rare (e.g. ὠθέω replaces *ὤθω, aor. ὦσα *Il.* 1, 220, στερέω exists alongside στέρομαι, etc.). Participles are used regularly in Greek to indicate time, especially in the genitive absolute, and with prepositions in expressions such as περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγοράν. Ἐπί + dat. = 'in the time of' is found in Arcadian.

* *a-pi-e-ke*: presumably 3rd pers. sing. of a verbal form, but its sense is unclear. Possibly *amphi-ekhei* 'encloses' ('keeps in safety'?) (VC). Or a part of the verb meaning 'sacrifice' or 'dedicate' perhaps to be seen in *i-je-to*, compounded with *apu-* or *amphi-* (JC)?

D²/* *o-pi-te-ke-e-u*: it is not impossible to interpret the word as written (*opistegeheus*, Palmer, *Interpretation* 258), but it seems more likely that it is an error for *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u* **48** = An 39+. For the suggestion that this compound of ὀπί = ἐπί and τεῦχος denotes an official in charge of vessels or stores, viz. a (palace?) butler or major-domo, see **48** = An 39.

D²/* *o* on l. 3 is probably not the ordinary abbreviation of *o-pe-ro* 'deficit' but a shorthand for the ligature of CYP(erus) + *O* which occurs elsewhere, including on Un 47, by the same hand and stylus as **110** = Un 138, which records a number of the other commodities listed here. Cf. *o* on Un 1185.3, another tablet by the same hand and stylus as the present record, which may well have the same explanation.

CHAPTER XIV.1

LAND TENURE[b*]

YVES DUHOUX

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

D²/* No class of Mycenaean documents has given rise to more argument than the land-tenure tablets, especially those of Pylos; yet they remain among the most difficult records to interpret. A first complication comes from our almost total ignorance about the background situation, of which the tablets record only marginal elements. Contrary to what has often been said, the land-tenure texts are definitely not a cadastre: they do not give us the exact location, surface, value and ownership of every plot recorded. A second and formidable difficulty is provided by the vocabulary: legal, administrative or agricultural terms related to the occupation and/or ownership of land are always complicated everywhere. But the Mycenaean texts provide few words known in the technical landholding lexicon of later Greek. Only two of them immediately give the impression of having the same form and meaning in both epochs: *a-ro-u-ra* 'corn-land, tilled land' (cf. ἄρουρα) and *te-me-no* 'official domain' (cf. τέμενος). The others are often extremely difficult both to understand and to interpret. The consequence is that we are unable to grasp satisfactorily the Mycenaean land-tenure system as a whole. Lastly, syntactic and orthographic ambiguities regularly complicate the interpretation.

D²/* From the beginning of Linear B studies, most of the attempts at a solution have started from a theory about the holding of land in Mycenaean Greece, and the evidence of the tablets has then been interpreted to fit this theory. It is fair to observe that without such a theory any total explanation is probably impossible; but the very small amount of hard fact which can be deduced from the documents allows the most extravagant varieties of interpretation. An attempt will be made here to extract the core of fact and no space will be wasted on discussion of the many implausible theories.

[b] *Documents*[1] 232–74, *Documents*[2] 443–56, *Interpretation* 186–224, *Textos* 35–43, *Anthology* 298–310. Studies: Bennett 1956b, De Fidio 1987, 1992, Deger-Jalkotzy 1988a, 1988b, Del Freo 2005a, Duhoux, *Aspects* 7–65, Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.107–11, IV. 69–85, 117–51, 155–74, 191–95.

[*] The absolute values of the symbols of volume adopted in this chapter are those of *Documents*[2], viz. e.g. GRA 1 = 96 l.

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LAND-TENURE SERIES

D/* The land-tenure series are among the most extensive at Pylos (*E*-), but are regrettably poorly represented at the other sites – elsewhere, their largest representation is in the small *Uf* series (Knossos). Their characteristic ideogram is no. *120* (GRA), which is measured in amounts varying in the Pylos land-tenure records from V 1 (1.6 litres) to 137 units (13,152 litres: **120** = Ea 59 rev.). This commodity is one of the staple cereal grains. Its official transliteration is GRA(num) and it has been translated here as 'wheat'; some scholars understand it as 'barley'.

GRA WHEAT

D/* Even before the decipherment it was possible to guess, from the complex arrangement of the Pylos *E*- texts, that they record hierarchies of different classes of persons on an apparently territorial basis. This was confirmed by the phonetic transcription: the word *ko-to-na* (Knossos *ko-to-i-na*), the detailed listing of which constitutes the primary purpose of the series, is evidently the Classical κτοίνα. Its dual form is *ko-to-no*, *ktoinō*, in the declension of which Mycenaean feminines do not show *-ā*, and its genitive plural is *ko-to-na-o*, *ktoināhōn*. Κτοίνα was used on Rhodes of a territorial unit equivalent to the Attic *deme*, and is glossed by Hesychius in the plural as δῆμος μεμερισμένος 'subdivided *deme*'. It is derived from the stem **ktei-* 'settle, with buildings and/or cultivation' (cf. Skt. *kṣitíḥ* 'settlement', Arm. *šēn* 'settled; village'; κτίζω 'to people, build, found, plant, establish, produce, create'). At Pylos *ktoinā* is the most common term referring to a unit of cultivation, a 'field' or, as we shall translate it here, a 'plot'.

D/D²/* We will see that the land-tenure tablets at Pylos register a wide range of occupants: the king and the second figure of the state, the *lāwāgetās*, with their 'official domains' (*temenos*; cf. τέμενος); the *telestai*, 'service-men', who were quite important figures; a sanctuary of Dionysus; high religious dignitaries; people linked to the king and to the *lāwāgetās*; a large number of 'theodules'; etc. On the whole, the people whose landholdings were recorded by the Linear B clerks were clearly members of the upper classes of Mycenaean society. If the scribes were concerned with the landholdings of less important people, they did not register it in the extant tablets. A similar conclusion is reached by comparing the food needed by the palace and the surviving records. Obviously the Mycenaean arable land must have been worked sufficiently to feed the population, but the details of the process escape us entirely. The palace issued large quantities of grain each month; the fragment PY Fg 253 with its total of WHEAT 192 T 7 is likely to represent the monthly ration of the women listed on the *Ab* tablets, and this is a quantity of about 18,500 litres. An efficient means of collection must have been used to supply this need, but we cannot find it in the surviving records at Pylos, though records at Knossos list impressive quantities of staples – once about one million litres of WHEAT (GRA 10̣300[) – which are described as *a-ma*

e-pi-ke-re, meaning perhaps 'harvest in hand' (Killen 1997b = *Economy and Administration* II.643–47).

* What was the purpose of the land-tenure tablets? In some cases, we are sure that they were used to calculate taxes, as in the *Es* series of Pylos (see **172** = Es 650 – **175** = Es 649). But this seems excluded at least for the king's 'official domain'. We must then suggest that they were a survey of the plots that the palace controlled. Was this control exercised because these pieces of land were the actual property of the king/crown/state? We will examine this difficult question below (pp. 583–85).

* The most important ensembles of land-tenure records at Pylos consist of two separate parallel recensions: large tablets (*En* and *Ep* series) by Hand 1 and small ones (*Eo* and *Eb* series) by Hand 41. We shall discuss these duplications later (pp. 590–91, 603).

2. LOCATION OF THE PLOTS

D/D²/* The Pylos *E*- texts are not a survey of the arable land of the whole kingdom or even its Hither Province, where Pylos is located.

D/* Most of the references on the Pylos *E*- tablets apply not to the centre 'Pylos' itself (thus excluding the palace and the seat of administration?), but to the satellite place of *Pa-ki-ja-ne* (there are several variants of this name). Most of the spellings of *Pa-ki-ja-ne* appear to imply a nominative plural in *-ānes*, which looks etymologically more like a clan or tribal name than primarily a place-name (cf. Ἕλλᾱνες, Ἀκαρνᾶνες). We shall provisionally adopt here the most likely transcription of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, *Sphagiānes*. Sphagianes was one of the nine major towns of the Hither Province which are frequently listed together in a fixed order. Thomson (1949.361–62) concludes from *Od.* III, 7 that the kingdom of Pylos consisted of nine δῆμοι; the possible connexion with the Nine Towns of the tablets has long been noted (although none of the places match). The name of Sphagianes appears in the first line of **121** = En 609 and forms the subject of the whole *En* series and its preliminary version, the *Eo* series, as well. It is clearly also the subject of the *Eb*/*Ep* texts, whose personal names recur quite frequently in *Eo*/*En*. The place of Sphagianes had a special relation with the king, as shown by the adjective *wanakteros* 'of the king', which appears regularly in *Eb*/*Ep* and *Eo*/*En*.

* Sphagianes figures in the religious document **309** = Tn 316.2 as the location of a shrine whose first divinity is the Potnia, 'the (divine) Mistress'. Is the god, *thehos*, who figures so largely in the *E*- records of this place, a local female tutelary divinity? This, together with the fact that so many of the persons listed on the main *E*- series have religious titles, justifies us in regarding Sphagianes as in some respects a special case. One of the *Eb* tablets, Eb 495, upper edge, may exceptionally indicate the precise location of a plot with the hapax *Mu-to-wo-ti*, *Murtowonti*, locative of a toponym literally meaning 'Myrtle place' (cf. μύρτος).

Several other Linear B place-names exhibit a *-wōn/-wontos* suffix, a typical Mycenaean development of the adjectival *-*went-/-wont-* found in place-names (cf. Σελινοῦς, etc.). Two other main series of land documents at Pylos (*Ea* and *Es*) apparently refer to different areas, but unfortunately we are given no means of locating them. We are, however, sure that the *Ea* area was closely tied to the second figure of the kingdom, the 'leader of the people', to whom several plot-holders 'belonged' (*lāwāgesios*). It is also obvious that the god Poseidon played an important role in the *Es* area.

D/* Why does no other place have such an extensive survey as the Pylos *E*- tablets? The existence of detailed series for Sphagianes, but apparently for none of the other Nine, is perhaps due to the accidents of survival; but it might also indicate that Sphagianes represents the largest fertile area close to 'Pylos'. 'Pylos' could be the name of the palace complex itself (or of the kingdom?), as opposed to the 'town', *wa-tu*, *wastu* (see **159** = Eq 36.1). It is in keeping with the view that the only plots listed are those close to Pylos that the places mentioned on the *Uf* records of individual plots at Knossos appear to have been close to the palace there (Killen 1987b.171–72 = *Economy and Administration* II.495–96).

* It is also possible, however, that the only areas listed are those in which special and urgent problems of tenure have arisen, and that surveys dealing with other localities were planned to take place later in the current year. If this were the case it would be extremely dangerous to generalise from the situation at Sphagianes, in so far as it can be deduced, for it may well be exceptional.

3. *KE-KE-ME-NA*, *KI-TI-ME-NA*, *KA-MA* LAND AND OTHER PLOTS

D/D²/* In the tablets, Mycenaean land is regarded as falling into one of two main categories, called *ke-ke-me-na* and *ki-ti-me-na*, terms which are almost always added to the basic word for a 'plot', *ktoinā*. Both terms are feminine participles ending in *-menā*, but *ke-ke-me-na* seems clearly a reduplicated perfect one, while *ki-ti-me-na* is an unreduplicated present. This aspectual contrast needs to be accounted for by any tentative interpretation of the terms. We will provisionally transcribe them as *ki-ti-menā* and *ke-ke-menā*. Both terms appear generally in different places, before *ktoinā* or after: *ke-ke-menā ktoinā* vs *ktoinā ki-ti-menā*. After a survey of their main characteristics, a more detailed discussion will take place.

Main characteristics

* Most of the *ke-ke-menā* plots of Pylos are registered in the *Eb/Ep* series. These pieces of ground are generally said to come 'from the *dāmos*' (*pa-ro da-mo*, *paro dāmōi*; cf. παρά and δῆμος, δᾶμος). It would be anachronistic to suppose that the Mycenaean *dāmos* expressed the same institution as the Attic δῆμος. Nor can we

understand it as 'township'. In a record of a dispute with the priestess, the *dāmos* (**142** = Ep 704.5–6) once replaces the board of twelve *ko-to-no-o-ko*, *ktoinohokhoi*, literally 'plot-holders' (**147** = Eb 297). We do not know what the function of these twelve men really was, but it was clearly a high level one: seven of them are *telestai*, 'service-men', quite a distinguished position (see p. 297). Since the very title of the 'plot-holders' encompasses the Mycenaean word for 'field', 'piece of land' (*ktoinā*), it shows clearly that the 'land' was an important concern of the *dāmos*. Furthermore, whenever it appears, the interests of the *dāmos* seem confined to agricultural realities. We shall therefore translate it provisionally as 'village agricultural community'. We will see later that some *ke-ke-menai* plots do not come *paro dāmōi*, but from individuals.

* The *dāmos* almost always hands every *ke-ke-menā* plot of *Eb/Ep* to a holder under different conditions of tenure, the terms for which include *o-na-to* (mostly) and *e-to-ni-jo* (rarely). There is one exception, however (Eb 818/Ep 301.1), and this is duly explained by a special label indicating this particular situation: *a-no-no*, *anōnos*, which signals that there is no holder at all. A *ke-ke-menā* plot's holder may himself pass a part of his plot as an *o-na-to* to a kind of 'sub-tenant', but this seldom happens. The whole *Eb/Ep ke-ke-menā* land was thus managed by the 'village agricultural community', which normally handed all the plots over to different individuals.

* The bulk of the *ki-ti-menā* land of Pylos is registered in the *Eo/En* series. These plots were not run by the 'village agricultural community'. In fact, there is no mention of any managerial authority and each piece of ground is described as being the *ki-ti-menā* plot of one of the 14 or 13 (see p. 593) main occupiers – for example, '*ki-ti-menā* plot of Aithiops' (*a*$_3$*-ti-jo-qo ko-to-ṇạ ki-ti-me-na*, *Aithiok*^{w}*os ktoinā ki-ti-menā*: **122** = En 74.11). None of these main occupiers is said to hold his land as *o-na-to* or *e-to-ni-jo*. Moreover, they had no obligation to hand parts of their holdings to 'sub-tenants', since three of them have no 'sub-tenant' at all and their entries do not mention *anōnos*. The remaining occupiers handed between one and seven plots to 'sub-tenants' as *o-na-to*. The whole *ki-ti-menā Eo/En* territory was thus allocated to a small group of thirteen or fourteen persons who frequently passed parts of their plots to several individuals.

D/D^2/* The general opinion prevails that it can hardly be a coincidence that *ke-ke-menā* is quite frequently confined to fields administered by the *dāmos*, viz. 'village agricultural community', while *ki-ti-menā* land gives the impression of being in the hands of individuals. While the exact translation of these two participles remains uncertain, there is thus a tendency to understand *ke-ke-menā* as effectively 'communal' and *ki-ti-menā* as 'private'. We will provisionally do so below in our detailed examination.

The technical terms: detailed discussion

Ke-ke-menā

D/* The *ke-ke-menai ktoinai* are mostly explicitly linked to the 'village agricultural community', but not always. We may overlook the cases where the *Eb/Ep* scribes simply forgot *paro dāmōi*, as shown for example by Eb 1187 (without *paro dāmōi*)/ Ep 539.10 (with). However, still in *Eb/Ep*, *ke-ke-menai* plots may be held 'from' (*paro*) some individuals (Ep 539.7). A similar situation appears at Knossos with *opi* 'chez' instead of the Pylos *paro* (**166** = Uf(3) 983). One such *ke-ke-menā* plot is held 'as a gift (*ḳẹ-ra*, *geras*; cf. γέρας) of the priestess' (**144** = Eb 416/**142** = Ep 704.2). Holders of a special category of *ke-ke-menai* plots, the *ka-m-as*, may get their land from an individual (Eb 159/**152** = Ep 613.10, Eb 173/Ep 613.12). We will see that the *ka-m-as* holders were bound to perform some work in their land (cf. pp. 574–76 for more details).

* In the *Ea* series, whose plots are situated in another area than the Sphagianes region of *Eb/Ep*, the names of some individuals in the genitive may be appended to a mention of *ke-ke-menā ktoinā* without the *paro dāmōi* formula (**120** = Ea 59.3, 305, 480, 757, 801, 802, 809). Moreover, both an individual name in the genitive and the *paro dāmōi* formula are absent from several *ke-ke-menā ktoinā* texts (**120** = Ea 59.2, 806). The same can happen in both *Eb* and their corresponding *Ep* texts (Ep 301.8–14, 539.14, **152** = 613.14, **142** = 704.1, 5–8). All these features could suggest that *ke-ke-menā* 'communal' had become a traditional label and was used for plots which used to be managed by the 'village agricultural community' in the past, but were no longer necessarily so at the time of the tablets. But who was the real owner of this so-called 'communal' land? We will discuss this question later (see pp. 583–85).

* How could the idea of something like *ke-ke-menā* land have developed in the mind of the Mycenaeans? We may imagine that long before the time of the Linear B tablets, the land occupied by the Mycenaeans' ancestors was an *ager publicus*, in the sense of being owned on a collective basis and subject to periodical redistribution. It is conceivable that the *ke-ke-menai ktoinai* merely represent the residue of such a system; perhaps 'land lying uncared for', whose ownership had lapsed due to death or punishment, and which only then reverted to the 'village agricultural community' for administration – as seems to be the case with the 'vacant' craftsman's land in the Hittite codes. Hittite land was in principle divided into two classes (see Gurney 1952.102–03). The inalienable land of the socman ('liege-man' or 'fief holder') was held under specific terms of service (*saḫḫan*), and on his death the fief returned to the palace, while the holding of the craftsman (lit. 'man of the tool'), or member of the artisan class, derived its title from the local authority, could be bought and sold, but reverted to the 'men of the village' when the title lapsed (see also Paroussis 1985). This situation may

help us to understand the Mycenaean *ke-ke-menā* system. Compare also Gardiner's remarks on the category of *khato* land in the *Wilbour Papyrus* (1948.II.210). For a theoretical discussion of primitive land tenure, see Thomson (1949.297–331). He argues that the δῆμοι represent the units of clan settlement, initially based on a collective administration of the land. The agglomeration of these original 'village agricultural communities' into centralised towns was evidently not far advanced in Mycenaean times: Thucydides (I, 5) preserves a memory of 'unfortified πόλεις whose people lived in scattered villages'.

D²/* Finally, what about the transcription and meaning of the perfect participle *ke-ke-menā*? We have seen that it is generally understood as designating something like 'communal' land, though at the time of the tablets it was more probably managed mainly by the 'village agricultural community' and subsidiarily by some individuals. Its interpretation as 'fallow' is not convincing (see p. 572). The two best current transcriptions are **khekhemenā*, from **khikhēmi* 'abandon' (cf. κιχάνω 'reach', χήρα 'widow', Skt. *jáhāti* 'leave'; see Ruijgh, *Études* 366) vs **kekesmenā* from the root **kes-* 'cut' (cf. κεάζω). **Khekhemenā* fits the theory of an *ager publicus* alluded to above. However, it has been urged by Heubeck (1967) that the development of meaning seen in the Classical representative of this verb, κιχάνω, is hardly likely to be post-Mycenaean. The **kekesmenā* reading is less objectionable. Its etymology implies that this special kind of land was 'cut' from the *ager publicus* by the 'village agricultural community' to be transferred to individuals under its collective control. Due to the uncertainty of its etymology, we shall continue to transcribe *ke-ke-me-na* as *ke-ke-menā*, but will translate it provisionally as 'communal', because the 'village agricultural community' was its first-line provider. The perfect tense chosen for this participle could be understood etymologically as 'irretrievably communal'.

Ki-ti-menā

D/D²/* *Ki-ti-menā* is the present participle of an athematic verb **kteimi* (cf. κτίζω 'to people, build, found, plant, establish, produce, create') whose transcription is *kti-menā*. Its root is **ktei-* just as in the Mycenaean term for 'plot', *ktoinā*. The Linear B texts provide another form of the verb **kteimi*: *ki-ti-je-si*, *ktiensi* 'they settle, bring into cultivation' (in an agricultural context), 3rd person plural of the present active indicative (**198** = Na 520). *Ktimenā* is formally identical with the later participle κτίμενος, which appears in Homer only in the compound ἐϋκτίμενος 'well founded, well cultivated':

Od. XXIV, 226: τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐν ἀλωῇ,
but he found his father alone in the well-ordered vineyard.

Od. IX, 130: οἵ κέ σφιν καὶ νῆσον ἐϋκτιμένην ἐκάμοντο,
who would have made of this isle also a fair settlement, etc.
(translation Loeb)

There exists an alphabetic antonym of κτίμενος, ἄκτιτος 'untilled', which appears in Linear B (*a-ki-ti-to*) in agricultural contexts, apparently with a similar meaning. *Ktiensi* and *aktitos* suggest that *ktimenā* could originally have meant something like 'inhabited' or 'cultivated'. It has thus seemed tempting to understand *ktimenā* as 'under cultivation', and *ke-ke-menā* as meaning 'fallow' (< 'empty': **khekhemenā*). This interpretation provides a neat opposition between two well-known categories of land and offers an easy rendition. However, an important objection is that we would then unexpectedly have no example of *ktimenā* land held 'from the *dāmos*'. The 'village agricultural community' would thus be exclusively associated with 'fallow' land, which looks strange. Another difficulty is that we do not understand why the palace should specify the actual agricultural status of the plots: they were bound to be either half fallow and half cultivated every year or totally cultivated/fallow every two years.

* Let us then come back to the basic fact that *ktimenā* is practically the opposite of *ke-ke-menā* 'communal', since the *dāmos* never appears in the *ktimenā* tablets. *Ktimenā* should then have characterised 'non-communal' land. This fits very well with the meaning 'private' which is widely adopted. Moreover, 'private' seems fully compatible with the standard formula in the *Ea* and *Eo/En* series, with a name in the genitive qualifying *ktoinā ktimenā* as in '*ktimenā* plot of Amaruntas' *a-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* (**121** = En 609.10). It is tempting to think that such a genitive identifies the real owner of the *ktimenā* piece of ground. One could then translate this formula as '"private" plot belonging to Amaruntas'. Finally, to 'cultivate' or 'inhabit' land, as etymologically expressed by *ktimenā*, was surely the very first way to become owner of waste ground. The present tense chosen for this participle could be understood literally as 'cultivation under way'. The meaning 'privately owned' seems therefore quite attractive. We should pause, however, and consider how the Mycenaeans of *Eo/En* could really have become owners of the *ktoinai ktimenai*. Was it simply through their cultivation of waste ground, as the theory requires? In fact, this solution must be excluded. Indeed, we know that all the fourteen or thirteen supposed 'owners' of the alleged 'private' *Eo/En* plots bore the title of *te-re-ta*, *telestās*. We thus have a concentration or, more exactly, an exclusivity of *telestai* among the supposed 'owners' of the seemingly 'private' plots of the *Eo/En* series. This would hardly have occurred in the case of really individual private appropriations, where we should expect a reasonably large diversity of status and/or function. Compare the twelve 'plot-holders' (*ktoinohokhoi*) of **138** = Ep 301.2–14. Half of them are *telestai*, but the others are not. Moreover, all the *telestai* of *Eo/En* are men, while women frequently appear elsewhere in the *E*- series: again, this looks as if the *Eo/En* situation was not the outcome of a spontaneous evolution. In fact, the *telestai* occupied at Pylos an extremely high rank in the hierarchy of the state: three of them come just after the king himself and the 'leader of the

people' (*ra-wa-ke-ta*, *lāwāgetās*) in a record of very large pieces of ground (**176** = Er 312.5–6). Also, each of these three *telestai* holds the same size of plot as the 'official domain' (*temenos*) of the 'leader of the people', who is the second figure of the state. The *ktoinai ktimenai* of the *Eo/En telestai* probably then resulted not from the historical cultivation of waste ground, but rather from the attribution of plots to a carefully selected panel of prominent people. The person responsible for this procedure could hardly have been anybody other than the king. But if the *telestai* received their *ktoinai ktimenai* from the king, did they own or simply occupy them? Before we discuss further, it is time to define two important legal terms, 'possession' and 'ownership'. Though both are often confused, they should be carefully distinguished because they imply *de facto* (possession) vs *de jure* (ownership) control over an item.

* 'Possession' is a *factual* notion: if someone holds a plot because he rents it, he possesses it because he controls it, but he is not its owner. 'Ownership' denotes a *legal* right: if somebody owns a plot, he has the entitlement to possess, use and dispose of it. The tablets do not tell who the owners of the *ktoinai ktimenai* were, but some hint might be provided by the formulae expressing the links between the *telestai* and their plots. The names of the *telestai* attached to *ktoinā ktimenā* are always in the genitive, as in *pi-ke-re-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* '*ktimenā* plot of *Pi-ke-r-eus*' (**122** = En 74.20). This expression contrasts with a much more common one with *hekhei vel sim.* (cf. ἔχω). *Hekhei* does not mean 'own' here, but only 'hold, occupy', as shown by frequent examples where people *hekhonsi* the plot of somebody else. For instance, six persons 'occupy the plot of Aithiops' *e-ko-si* a_3*-ti-jo-qo ko-to-na*, *hekhonsi Aithiok*^{w}*os ktoinān* (**122** = En 74.12–18). The Mycenaean *hekhei* formula thus expresses 'possession', viz. a physical control of a plot. Did then the genitive of the *ktimenā* occupiers indicate ownership of the ground? Unfortunately not necessarily, because the same genitive expression may qualify 'communal' (*ke-ke-menā*) land: 'Laodokos occupies a "communal" plot (plot of the oxherd)' (*ra-wo-do-ko e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na qo-qo-ta-o ko-to-na*, *Lāwodokos hekhei ke-ke-menān ktoinān* (*g*^{w}*og*^{w}*otāo ktoinān*): Ea 802).

* How can we solve this ambiguity? By coming back to the title of *telestās* that all the occupiers of the *Eo/En ktimenā* land bore. We have seen that it designates a very high rank. What about its etymological meaning? Since *telestās* never appears in typical religious contexts, we may safely exclude any relation with the later religious title τελεστής 'priest'. A much better match is provided by the word for 'magistrate' in Elean: αἴτε ϝέτας αἴτε τελεστά αἴτε δᾶμος 'whether a private citizen, magistrate or state'. *Telestās* and τελεστᾶς are probably akin to τέλη 'services due' (better than to τέλος 'fulfilment') and mean literally 'service-man'. The *E*- tablets quite seldom record the obligations of the occupiers of the land and the *telestai* are not an exception. But whatever their τέλη 'services due' were, the *telestai* were bound to fulfil them. We might therefore suppose that they

benefited from their *ktoinai ktimenai* only as long as they performed their services. In this scenario, the *telestai* did not enjoy ownership of their *ktoinai ktimenai*, but only possession.

* This leads to a tentative conclusion: contrary to the prevalent opinion, *ktimenā* would not mean 'privately owned', but 'privately owned (by the crown)', since we have concluded that the *telestai*'s plots were probably allocated by the king. This could perhaps clarify the problem of the fourteen *telestai* in **121** = En 609.2, while *En* apparently exhibits only thirteen of them (see p. 593). We could suppose that the fourteenth *telestās* had perhaps been deprived of his *ktimenā* plot because he did not own it. So far so good, but the *ktimenā* question is complicated and further discussions and/or data are needed to reach a general agreement. Anyway, *ktimenā* will provisionally be translated below as 'private' with the special meaning seen above. *Ktimenā* is apparently unknown at Knossos, which uses the adjective *phutēriā* (literally 'of a planter') instead. *Phutēriā* could be synonymous with *ktimenā* (see p. 623).

Ka-ma

D/* Some *ke-ke-menā* holdings bear a special name, *ka-ma*. The derivative *ka-ma-e-we* (nominative plural) excludes the possibility that *ka-ma* is a feminine stem, since this should yield **ka-me-we* (cf. *ko-to-ne-we* in PY Ae 995, from *ko-to-na*). It must therefore be a neuter sigmatic noun in *-as*. Two transcriptions of *ka-m-as* have been offered: **kam-as* (cf. Hesychius' Cretan gloss for 'field', καμάν· τὸν ἀγρόν) and **kham-as* (cf. the word for 'ground', 'earth' χαμαί). The meaning of χαμαί seems too general for a very specialised landholding and a reading *kam-as* (cf. κάμνω 'work', which can be used for agricultural work) is perhaps more likely: we will therefore provisionally adopt it. Although they were *ke-ke-menā* land, the *kamas* obviously had a particular status. (1) Their occupiers bear a specific name, *ka-ma-e-u*, *kamaheus* 'man of the *kamas*', 'holder of *kamas*'. (2) They are never described as issued *paro dāmōi* 'from the "village agricultural community"' – it even happens once that *pa-ro da-mo* is erased and replaced by *ka-ma-e-u*, showing that they were not collectively administered by the 'village agricultural community' (Eb 862). (3) They have a much larger surface area than most of the normal *ke-ke-menai ktoinai*. (4) *Ke-ke-menā* is only exceptionally associated with a *kamas*, but the recapitulative tablet **154** = Ed 236 explicitly links a large group of '*kamas* holders' (*kamahēwes*) with *ke-ke-menai ktoinai*. (5) Almost all the *kamas* holders are explicitly compelled (*o-pe-ro*, *ophellōn* 'being bound to' and its variants) to perform specified services in their plots (we only know of three exceptions: **152** = Ep 613.10–12). These services are expressed by several verbs: mainly *wo-ze* and its variants; less frequently *te-re-ja* and its variants; exceptionally *te-ra-pi-ke*; once probably *po-ṇe-to-*. More frequently than not, a *kamaheus* performs his duties, but if not, the scribes duly record it as on **142** = Ep 704.7 or **152** = Ep 613.4.

D/* The nature of the obligations of the *kamahēwes* and the transcription of the relevant verbs have been much discussed. The verb *wo-ze* (indicative), *wo-zo*, *wo-zo-te* (participles), *wo-ze-e* (infinitive) is used elsewhere apropos of wheels, and *wo-zo-me-na* is understood there as *worzomena* 'being worked on' – cf. the Homeric forms ἔρδω (< *ϝερζδω < *ϝεργjω) 'do'; ῥέζω 'act, accomplish (a deed), perform (a sacrifice)'; ἔργον 'work' (< **werg-*). This suggests that in the land-tenure records *wo-ze* could represent *worzei* and mean literally 'he works'. This 'work' was obviously linked to the plot of land, as shown by formulae such as … *hekhei* (*k*^{w}*e* …) *worzei k*^{w}*e* '… he both holds (the land) … and "works"' (**152** = Ep 613.6, 7, 9, 13). In alphabetic Greek, several words connected to *worzei* point to agricultural activity like ἔργα 'tilled land' (*Il.* XII, 283); ἐργάζομαι 'till' in Hesiod and γεωργός 'farmer'. In a land-use context, *worzei* could then express some agricultural work that a *kamaheus* had to perform on his *kamas*, with perhaps a technical meaning that escapes us. This obligation may seem strange, but would not be isolated in ancient Greece. For example, the city of Larisa (Thessaly) had detailed cadastral decrees (end of the third century B.C.). The law prescribed the 'cultivation' (φυτεύω) of certain plots. However, their occupiers did not always do it: instead of making them πεφυτευμένα 'in a state of cultivation', they had left them ἀφύτ̣[ευτα] 'uncultivated'. Accordingly, the city decided that the pieces of land not cultivated 'in compliance with the law' (καττὸν νόμον) should be sold by the treasurers (Helly and Tziafalias 2013). A much older text, Hammurabi's code (Pritchard 1950.§§ 42–43), envisages penalties for the non-cultivation of land:

> If a seignior rented a field for cultivation, but has not produced grain in the field, they shall prove that he did not work on the field and he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it. If he did not cultivate the field, but has neglected it, he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it; furthermore, the field which he neglected he shall break up with mattocks, harrow and return to the owner of the field.

The variations in the *kamas* formulae show that *worzei* is basically synonymous with the verbal forms *te-re-ja* (indicative) and *te-re-ja-e* (infinitive). Compare …*ophellonsa duouphi worzehen*, *ou worzei* '… being bound to "work" *duouphi*, she does not "work"' (**142** = Ep 704.7) with [… *ophellōn k*^{w}*e*]*duouphi teleiāhen*, *ouk*^{w}*e worzei* '… [and being bound] to *teleiāhen duouphi*, he does not "work"' (**152** = Ep 613.4). *Te-re-ja*(*-e*) comes from **teleiāmi* (cf. the Mycenaean name *Te-re-ja-wo Teleiā-wōn*). Forms such as τέλος 'service' and Homeric τελείω 'perform' suggest that *teleiā* (3rd sing.) and *teleiāhen* (infinitive) should mean 'perform', with, again, a possible technical sense.

D/* The numerals 'two' (*duouphi*) and 'one' (*hemei*; cf. ἑνί and **259** = Ta 641.1) in the dative-instrumental appear in several *kamas* entries:

> …]*duouphi teleiāhen*, *ouk*^{w}*e worzei*['… [being bound] to "perform (= *teleiāhen*)" on two (= *duouphi*), and he does not "work (= *worzei*)"' (**152** = Ep 613.4).

…]*ophellōn k*^{w}*e teleiāhen*, *ouk*^{w}*e teleiā duouphi de* ['…] and being bound to "perform", and he does not "perform", but … on two (= *duouphi*) …' (Eb 149 [+] 940).

… *ophellōn duouphi teleiāhen*, *hemei de te*[*lei*]*ā* '… being bound to "perform" on two (= *duouphi*), he however "performs" on one (= *hemei*)' (Eb 495).

The 'two "communal" plots' (with the dual number) of Eb 338/Ep 704.7 show that these numerals refer to the number of *kamas*. Both these texts offer the typical *kamas* formula, though the term *kamas* itself is lacking:

… *hekhei k*^{w}*e ke-ke-menō ktoinō dwō*, *ophellonsa de wor<ze>hen*, *ou worzei* '… and holds two "communal" plots, but being bound to "perform", she does not "perform"' (Eb 338).

… *hekhei ke-ke-menō*, *ophellonsa duouphi worzehen*, *ou worzei* '… holds two "communal" <plots>; while being bound to "perform" on two, she does not "perform"' (**142** = Ep 704.7).

Since the dative-instrumentals *duouphi* and *hemei* refer to 'two' and 'one' plots, their force could be locative and refer to the obligation of 'work' or 'perform' 'on one/two' plots.

* When the size of the *kamas* with a 'two' (= *duouphi*) formula is known, it is extremely large: GRA 10 T 1 (**152** = Ep 613.2) or GRA 10[(Ep 613.5) – the size of the two *kamas* on **148** = Eb 338/**142** = Ep 704.7–8 is unfortunately lost. The other *Eb/Ep kamas* measure only between GRA 1 and GRA 2. The 'two plots' *dwō ktoinō* of **135** = Eo 278/**124** = En 467.1, which are 'private', also have an impressive surface area: GRA 8 T 3.

D/* A third verb parallel to *worzei* and *teleiā* is *te-ra-pi-ke*, which appears twice (**153** = Eb 842/**152** = Ep 613.8) and is likely to represent *therapiskei*, 'he does (his) service' (cf. θεραπεύω 'do service'). *Therapiskei* appears to be a derivative of the stem of θεράπων, and is perhaps an earlier equivalent of θεραπεύω.

* **159** = Eq 36.13 offers a further verb which could have been used apropos of *kamas*, *po-ṇe-to-qe-mi*, very likely *ponĕtoi k*^{w}*e ṃin* 'and he is working it' (cf. πονέομαι; see p. 618).

* All the labour that the 'men of the *kamas*' were compelled to do adds some support to our etymological link between *ka-ma* and κάμνω 'work'.

Other plots

D/D^{2}/* There were other Mycenaean terms for land than those that we have just seen. We know of *da-ma-te*, *temenos*, *aroura* and *pu-te-ri-ja* and will discuss them later (cf. pp. 592–93, 646–47, 619–20, 623). *E-so* could perhaps be the designation of a *ke-ke-me-no* plot in PY **42** = An 830.6, but its interpretation is unclear. In PY Eq 146.2 *ko-ro* is more likely to be a man's name than ***khōros* 'piece of ground' (cf. χῶρος).

4. OCCUPIERS OF THE PLOTS

D/* The Mycenaean scribes tried to classify their information systematically. There is thus a clear tendency to group the plot-holders belonging to the same category: Ep 212 and 705 list no fewer than twenty plots and each of them is held by '"servants" of the god'; after its first line **138** = Ep 301 is entirely devoted to twelve 'plot-holders'. When the same person holds several plots, there is some tendency to group them together – for instance, *Po-so-re-ja* in Ep 539.4 and 5. The *Ea* series even has a few tablets listing different plots held by the same person (**120** = Ea 59.3–5, 481). Some attention may also be paid to the links between a plot's occupiers: *Po-so-re-ja* gets her plot from *Pa-ra-ko* and their two entries come one after the other (**152** = Ep 613.11–12: *Pa-ra-ko* and *Po-so-re-ja*); etc. There are, of course, exceptions to these tendencies: Hektor appears not only in Ep 212.3 but also in 705.8; etc.

D/* The tablets give the state of affairs in the area covered by each survey, with no explanation of the situation described. There are a small number exceptions, however. In **144** = Eb 416/**142** = Ep 704.2, the 'lease' of the plot could have been given as a γέρας 'a gift' if *ḳe-ra* is the right reading. The *Ea* series lists two plots that could have been given as compensation. They are held *eneka ikk^{w}oio* literally 'on account of the horse' (**120** = Ea 59.5; for the significance of this entry, see pp. 589–90) and *eneka anork^{w}hasiās* (?) 'on account of *a/the manslaughter*' (Ea 805). It is fascinating to discover that the name of the man who holds the large field of GRA 2 given 'on account of *a/the manslaughter*', *O-pe-te-r-eus*, reappears in **143** = Eb 294/**142** = Ep 704.1 as holding an even larger plot of GRA 2 T 5 '*in compensation*' (*qe-ja-me-no*, *k^{w}eiamenos* (?); cf. τίνομαι; his name is spelled once with a slight variation, *O-pe-to-reus*). For further discussion, see p. 602.

D/* We have already seen that the main holders of *ktoinai ktimenai* at Pylos (*Eo/En* series) were not only exclusively men, but also high officials called *te-re-ta telestai* 'service-men' (**121** = En 609.2). Most of them had 'tenants' (*onātēres*) enjoying a 'lease' (*onāton*: on these terms, see pp. 581–82). Several 'tenants' were members of the upper classes: a *telestās*; high-level religious figures like the chief priestess and an important priest. There was also a '"royal" fuller' (**122** = En 74.3, 23), who was 'plot-holder' as well (*ko-to-no-o-ko*, *ktoinohokhos*), viz. member of a board linked with the *dāmos*. There were also many slaves, but their status must be clarified. The Mycenaean word for 'slave', *doelos/doelā*, has two different uses. One of them means quite probably the same as the alphabetic δοῦλος in its main occurrences, viz. a human who is the property of another person or an institution and is considered as a chattel. A Mycenaean chattel slave could be sold, as shown by a purchase tablet such as KN B(1) 988. In this particular case, the name of the slave was given, but this is an exception: the scribes normally never write the names of chattel slaves; they simply count them. For instance, KN **22** = *Ai(3)* 824 records thirty-two female slaves; sometimes the name of

the owner is added as in PY **214** = Jn 310.11–12. The second use of *doelos/doelā* is quite different from the servile condition. It looks like a formal title and implied perhaps a kind of honorific position, though its precise status is obscure. We shall provisionally render such a 'metaphoric' *doelos/doelā* as 'servant', put between quotation marks to show the approximation. These 'servants' are characterised in our texts by their names, which are almost always given, and their title, mostly, '"servant" of the god' *te-o-jo do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra*, *thehoio doelos/doelā*. There are also 'servants' of Artemis, and of important figures (priestess, follower …), etc. It is tempting to compare the Mycenaean '"servants" of the god' with the name ἱερόδουλοι given to the farmers of temple lands in Egypt (Rostovtzeff 1941.274–92). Does the large number of Mycenaean 'theodules' (and of religious functionaries in the *Eb/Ep* series, cf. p. 603) imply that the land tenure recorded on these tablets is primarily connected with the organisation of religious institutions at Pylos? Or is it due to the fact that certain favoured craftsmen and temple acolytes were the only persons, below *telestās* level, who were allowed to hold 'leases' of land? Or are the *thehoio doeloi* just farmers, whose liability to pay temple dues is thereby recorded? Anyway, the alphabetic θεός suggests that the Mycenaean *thehos* was also connected with a god or a goddess, quite likely a goddess in Sphagianes (see p. 567).

D/* The holders of *ktoinai ke-ke-menai* at Pylos (*Eb/Ep* series) are both women and men. Some of them are high-level figures, like the chief priestess *E-ri-ta* (who in one case represents her god), the 'key-bearer' priestess *Karpathia*, the priest *We-te-r-eus*, the twelve *ktoinohokhoi* 'plot-holders' (of whom half are *telestai*: see pp. 373–74), Amphimedes, who could be the same person as an important 'sheep collector', and his 'servants'. The remainder seem to have a lower, though not humble, position: other priest(esses), craftsmen, '"servants" of the god' or of priest(esses). We have already met many of them as 'tenants' of *ktoinai ktimenai* in the *Eo/En* series.

D/* It should be stressed that the Mycenaeans certainly had more titles linked with the plots than the few examples that we have seen above. For instance, a hapax like *ko-to-ne-ta*, *ktoinetai*, literally 'men of the plots', is perplexing. Its transcription is as clear as its etymology; but what does it imply? We simply do not know. The same is true of the hapax *ko-to-ne-we* (PY Ae 995), which must somehow be linked with the *ktoinai* and could be transcribed as *ktoinēwes*, literally 'people of the plots'. Were they 'peasants', viz. people working on the *ktoinai*, or something else?

5. DIMENSIONS OF THE PLOTS

D/* The description of each plot always ends with an amount of WHEAT, regularly introduced by the phrase *to-so(-de) pe-mo* or *pe-ma*. Since *pe-ma* is applied to coriander in KN Ga(1) 674, it is natural to read it as *sperma* (cf. σπέρμα 'seed' or

'sowing', generally σπορά or σπόρος in Classical Greek). *Pe-mo* has obviously the same meaning: it appears as the normal spelling in Pylos. *Pe-ma* and *pe-mo* are more probably variants in *-ma* and *-mo* (from *-*mn̥*) than thematic forms.

D/* Do these amounts of seed wheat reflect a transaction (an issue from the royal granaries?) or are they merely a theoretical way of expressing the acreages of the land (being recorded for purposes of taxation?)? In either case there was evidently an accepted density of sowing which made it unnecessary to record the acreages in other measures of area. In fact, the evidence of the PY *Es* series confirms that the amounts of seed were a measure of the taxable capacity of the plots (see **172** = Es 650 – **175** = Es 649). In *Es*, the WHEAT quantities are used to compute various taxes (*do-so-mo*, *dosmos*, cf. Arcadian ἀπυδοσμός 'sale'). We should then translate *to-so*(*-de*) *pe-mo* as 'so much seed', viz. 'surface area' or 'so much taxable capacity'.

D/D²/* The practice of measuring land by the quantity of seed needed to sow it is widespread, from ancient Babylonia down to modern Mediterranean countries. The Nuzi texts use the Babylonian *imêru* 'donkey-load' to measure both amounts of grain and the acreages of fields. Lewy (1949) argues that the Sumerian system of land measure is similarly derived from the corresponding unit volumes of seed, and quotes the Arab lexicographers as defining units of surface area by the volumes of grain needed to sow them. In the Aegean islands it is still possible to hear of a vineyard described as 'two *pinakia*', where the *pinaki* is a measure of volume.

D/* The densities of sowing quoted for ancient times by Neo-Babylonian texts, by Cicero or Columella and by the Talmud are in agreement with those in use today, and generally vary between 150 and 200 litres to the hectare (1⅔ – 2¼ bushels to the acre). Lewy (1944) has shown, however, that the rate of seeding assumed in Mesopotamian records earlier than c. 1000 B.C. was very considerably less than the modern figure. She quotes 50 litres per hectare for the Neo-Sumerian and Kassite periods, 60 litres for the Nuzi texts. This amount is confirmed by an eighteenth-century fiscal survey of Ottoman-period Pylos with c. 52 litres per hectare (Lane 2009.111). Lewy (1944) adduces evidence from the Mishna for an earlier system of cereal culture in which 'instead of leaving an entire field fallow for one season, the farmers of the ancient Near East prevented the exhaustion of their soil by dividing their fields into one-furrow beds which were alternately tilled and left fallow'. The spacing of these sown furrows would be three times wider or more than that usual under the later system. Whether or not this explanation holds good for Mycenaean Greece, it may be of interest to see what acreages result for the Pylos lands if we take a sowing of 50 litres per hectare and the value of the wheat unit measure as 96 litres (i.e. a factor of 1.92 hectares per wheat unit measure): see Table 14.1. The figures for 'population

supported' are estimated on a five-fold consumable yield (which is the upper limit quoted for wheat on the Nuzi tablets: Lacheman 1939), and on a monthly ration of T 2½ = 24 litres. This result is not, of course, affected by variations in the rate of seeding which we assume. Here then is a tentative estimation of the sizes of a selection of the most representative plots recorded in the Pylos tablets.

TABLE 14.1. Acreages of the Pylos lands and population supported with a sowing of 50 litres per hectare and a value of the WHEAT unit of 96 litres

	Sowing of **Wheat**	*Area*	*Population Supported*
King's *temenos*	WHEAT 30 (2880 l.)	57.6 ha = 142.3 acres	50 men for a year
Total for *Eb/Ep* series (preserved numbers)	c. WHEAT 56 (5376 l.)	107.5 ha = 265.6 acres	93 men for a year
Medium-sized *Eo/En ktoinā ktimenā*	2 T 3 (220.8 l.)	4.42 ha = 10.9 acres	3.8 men for a year
Medium-sized *Eb/Ep* plot	T 1 (9.6 l.)	19.2 a = 0.47 acre	0.16 men for a year
Smallest *Eb/Ep* plot	V 2 (3.2 l.)	6.4 a = 0.16 acre	0.06 men for a year

Even at the rate of 50 litres per hectare, the holdings are extremely small, but this is perhaps not surprising for Greek terrain, and is paralleled on the Alalakh tablets (Wiseman 1953) and the *Wilbour Papyrus* (Gardiner 1941–52). The *Wilbour Papyrus* lists a plot of no more than 1.64 a (0.04 acre), which is about a quarter of the most modest *onāton* in *Eb/Ep* (6.4 a = 0.16 acre).

* Below, the dimensions of the Mycenaean plots will be given first in Linear B measures, followed by their estimated equivalence in modern units of capacity and surface area. E.g. GRA T 4 … 38.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 76.8 a): **117** = Ea 824.

D/* We have already seen (cf. pp. 566–67) that the surviving tablets evidently record only a very small fraction of the total acreage required to feed the population of Pylos and its outlying settlements. Some of the smaller 'tenants' probably had more land to support their families than the diminutive *Eb/Ep* plots recorded on the surviving tablets; or else these are no more than allotments with which they supplemented an income derived from other work. For comparison, in Anglo-Saxon times the normal holding for a peasant household owning two plough-oxen was a quarter-hide (30 acres = 12.1 ha), though 'cottars' might support themselves on 5 acres (= 2 ha).

D/D²/* How was the size of the plots computed by the Mycenaeans? There is no fixed equation possible between the WHEAT figure and the size of the plot because the ratio of seed to surface area varied widely according to the kind of land. A steep, stony hillside will clearly grow less wheat, acre for acre, than a rich, level plain.

However, if both are measured in terms of productivity, it is possible to equate holdings of different types. Presumably the average yield would be known to the Mycenaean scribes, and the quantity of seed would be a fixed proportion of this. The system has the same advantages as the Persian measurement of distance by the *parasang*, or the modern Greek practice of specifying a journey as so many hours rather than kilometres, which can easily be meaningless in very mountainous country.

6. LEGAL STATUS OF LANDHOLDING

D²/* The tablets list many people who 'hold' plots of land from another person or an institution. In the early discussions of the Pylos land-tenure tablets, the word 'feudal' was regularly used to qualify these cases. Though the term ought properly to be restricted to the medieval system of Europe, it has been used loosely to denote any system in which land is occupied in return for services. Since a non-monetary economy is virtually obliged to institute some such system, there is nothing remarkable (much less Indo-European) in the existence of such a so-called 'feudal' system at Pylos. It will arise spontaneously wherever parallel conditions exist. The specific features of medieval feudalism are either absent or at least unproved. There is, for example, nothing to show that any of the obligations imposed on occupiers of land include military service. (It is unclear whether the service as rowers which appears to be expected from landholders on PY **54** = An 724 – see pp. 477–79 – is military rather than commercial.) The Mycenaean land-tenure vocabulary uses two main terms to express the legal conditions of the plots' use: *o-na-to* and *e-to-ni-jo*. Since the tablets unfortunately do not allow us to grasp the precise meaning of these juridical terms, our translations will always be loose ones.

Onāton of land and the *onātēres*

D²/* Most of the occupiers of *ktimenai* and *ke-ke-menai* plots enjoyed an *o-na-to* (plural *o-na-ta*, evidently a neuter stem). These *o-na-ta* apparently constitute some kind of subordinate entitlement to the use of particular fields. One may be tempted to transcribe *o-na-to* as ὠνητόν (Dor. ὠνᾱτόν; cf. ὠνέομαι) 'bought, buyable', whatever precisely this means in a primitive economy. However, Skt. *vasná-* suggests that ὠνή should etymologically have an initial **w-* (cf. Aeol. ὄννα < *ϝόσνᾱ). Therefore, a derivation of *o-na-to* from ὀνίνημι 'bestow a benefit' is more probable (cf. ὀνητός) and we will transcribe it as *onāton* – literally a 'benefit'.

D/* We do not know on what conditions a Mycenaean *onāton* was granted, what were the rights and obligations of its beneficiaries, the duties of its managers, etc. Perhaps it was not too dissimilar from our modern 'lease'. Anyway, we shall provisionally use 'lease', between quotation marks, as a very approximate

translation. An *onāton* may perhaps originally have been a plot of land given to a retainer as a reward, cf. *Od.* XIV, 62–67:

… ὅς κεν ἔμ' ἐνδυκέως ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὄπασσεν,
οἶκόν τε κλῆρόν τε πολυμνήστην τε γυναῖκα,
οἷά τε ᾧ οἰκῆϊ ἄναξ εὔθυμος ἔδωκεν,
ὅς οἱ πολλὰ κάμῃσι, θεὸς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἀέξῃ,
ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ τόδε ἔργον ἀέξεται, ᾧ ἐπιμίμνω.
τῷ κέ με πόλλ' ὤνησεν ἄναξ, εἰ αὐτόθ' ἐγήρα.

… him who would have been always good to me and given me something of my own – a house, a piece of land, a good-looking wife, and all else that a liberal master allows a servant who has worked hard for him, and whose labour the gods have prospered as they have mine in the situation which I hold. If my master had grown old here he would have done great things by me.

(translated by Samuel Butler.)

If *ḳe-ra* is the right reading in]*ḳe-ra o*[-*na-to* (**144** = Eb 416) and *o-na-to* … *ḳe-ra* (**142** = Ep 704.2), it becomes tempting to understand that in this case the *onāton* had been given as a γέρας 'a gift'.

D/* We are sure that the *onāta* were not the only basis on which the land was farmed, since the surviving records tell us about another possibility, obviously more favourable for the holders, the *e-to-ni-jo* (see p. 583).

D/* Those who have *onāta* 'leases' of *ktoinai ktimenai* in the *Eo/En* series are called *o-na-te-re* (nom. plur.). The same is probably true of the people having 'leases' of *ke-ke-menai ktoinai*. *O-na-te-re* thus quite probably derives from ὀνίνημι like *onāton*. The suffix *-tēr* (cf. Classical ὀνήτωρ) suggests for *onātēr* the meaning of 'one who bestows a benefit' rather than the logically expected 'beneficiary'. This suggests that the *onātēr* was meant to bring some profit to the landlord in return for the land he held. What this profit was is not specified. Several possibilities exist: a share of the produce, some other 'rent', or some service. Anyway, the *onātēres* must have been something like 'tenants' or 'beneficiaries'.

Anōnon plots

D/* In the description of the *Eb/Ep ke-ke-menā* land, there is a plot which nobody holds 'from the "village agricultural community"' (**139** = Eb 818/**138** = Ep 301.1). This land is then qualified as *a-no-no*, *anōnon*. The same adjective is used for the plot either 'of so-and-so' (*Klu<me>noio melitēwos* 'of Klumenos, the bee-keeper': Ea 801) or 'held' by someone (*Amphihalos hekhei* 'Amphihalos holds (it)': Ea 922). In these texts, *anōnon* clearly designates a piece of ground 'without tenant'. If the main holders did not have any *onātēr*, they should normally have enjoyed the full use of the land themselves.

E-to-ni-jo of the land

D/* While the *onāton* 'lease' is the most common form of tenancy, another possibility is mentioned in the tablets, the *e-to-ni-jo*. It occurs only on **147** = Eb 297/**142** = Ep 704.5, **151** = Eb 473/Ep 539.14, and also on **54** = An 724.12 (see pp. 477–78). In *Eb/Ep*, the *e-to-ni-jo* concerns several large 'communal plots' held by two extremely important figures, the 'priestess of Sphagianes' and the likely 'sheep collector' Amphimedes. The *e-to-ni-jo* was obviously much more favourable for the holders than the *onāton*, as shown by the dispute between the priestess and the board of 'plot-holders' or the 'village agricultural community' (**147** = Eb 297/**142** = Ep 704.5–6). Both authorities dispute the priestess's claim that she holds her land as an *e-to-ni-jo* and contend that she has only an *onāton*. If ownership is excluded, what could have been more beneficial to a holder than an *onāton*, viz. quite approximately our 'lease'? Perhaps some contract like a free 'usufruct', viz. the right to enjoy at no cost the use (*usus*) and advantages (*fructus*) of another's property as long as this property is not damaged or destroyed. The precise sense of *e-to-ni-jo* is uncertain, however, and we shall not venture a translation. The contextual association of *e-to-ni-jo* with *onāton* and its …*o-n*… sequence make it tempting to try a link with ὀνίνημι 'bestow a benefit' and ἐτός 'true'. Its transcription could then resemble (*h*)*etōnion*, literally 'true benefit'. Still, this is no more than one of the possibilities and we must admit that *e-to-ni-jo* resists a secure transcription and translation.

Ownership of the land

D/* Who were the owners of the *E-* plots? There are at least three theoretical possibilities, which may have coexisted: (1) the highest ranking authorities, like the king himself; provided it is not an anachronism, the state; the *lāwāgetās*, who was the second figure of the kingdom, etc.; (2) less prestigious institutions, like the *dāmos*, the 'village agricultural community'; the 'town', *wastu* (**159** = Eq 36.1); temples, etc.; (3) individuals of varying social importance. Did the Mycenaean scribes express land-ownership and how?

D/* The verb ἔχω could obviously be a good marker of ownership if it meant 'possess' in our tablets. It may seem tempting to think it does, since ἔχω appears quite regularly in the description of Mycenaean plots. Its subjects are the occupiers of the land as in *e-ko-to* … *e-ke* …, *Hektōr* … *hekhei* … (**122** = En 74.17), etc. In fact, however, in these sentences ἔχω does not express the notion of property, but of control over or occupation of parcels. Its meaning must be 'hold', 'keep', 'have', as shown by lines 11–12 of text **122**, which state that the land of Hektor just mentioned above is, in fact, located in the 'plot of Aithiops'.

D/* Another possible way of indicating ownership could then be by the genitive, like *me-ri-te-wo ko-to-na*, *melitēwos ktoinā* 'plot of the bee-keeper' (Ea 771). Such

a genitive is regularly used in connexion with the occupiers of a *ktoinā ktimenā*, which is usually understood as 'private plot'. There is therefore a strong tendency to conclude that the occupiers of *ktimenā* were owners of their pieces of ground. We have, however, seen that there are some reasons not to exclude and perhaps to prefer another possibility: that the *ktoinai ktimenai* were 'privately owned (by the crown)' (cf. pp. 373–74). If so, how could *ktimenā* have got this meaning? 'Private' land (in our modern sense) must have existed well before our Linear B tablets. It was possibly called *ktimenā*, viz. 'under cultivation' or 'being inhabited', hence 'privately owned' because of the natural association between occupation and ownership. When the palace became the first economic power of the country and began to accumulate pieces of ground, did its clerks perhaps use *ktimenā* to qualify the land that they controlled?

* In the *Ea* series, which is concerned with a different (though unknown) area from *Eb/Ep* and *Eo/En*, one important piece of ground (c. 5 ha) is held by the 'sacrificial hearth of Dionysus', *Diwonusoio eskharā* (**118** = Ea 102). The *ktimenā* or *ke-ke-menā* nature of this land is not indicated, but it is tempting to believe that this temple had a permanent right to this plot. Was it an ownership? This seems quite possible and perhaps even probable, but we are not able to be sure: though entrusted to the temple, it could have been the property of another institution.

D/* Another potential landowner is the *dāmos* or 'village agricultural community'. It appears especially in the *Eb/Ep* series where the 'communal' (*ke-ke-menai*) plots are almost always said to be held 'from the "village agricultural community"', viz. *pa-ro da-mo*, *paro dāmōi*. We have seen, however, that some of these pieces of land could also be managed by individual people (cf. pp. 603–04). Also, the special category of ground called *kamas*, though recorded in *Eb/Ep*, was not granted by the 'village agricultural community'. The *ke-ke-menai* 'communal' plots of Sphagianes were then managed by at least three authorities: the 'village agricultural community', certain individuals and the unknown managers of *kamas*. Were they the real owners of the 'communal' plots? A hint is provided by the dispute between the chief priestess and the board of the 'plot-holders' or the *dāmos* about the legal status of several *ke-ke-menai* plots (**147** = Eb 297/**142** = Ep 704.5–6). The texts summarise the point of view of both parties, but give no decision. It seems therefore clear that neither the 'village agricultural community', nor the 'plot-holders', nor the priestess had full power over the *ke-ke-menā* land. They were certainly important administrators, but another authority had the last word. Which one? Quite probably the palace, whose clerks so minutely controlled the *ke-ke-menā* ground. Does this not mean that the palace was the real owner of all these lands? It is tempting to think so. We lack information about the 'town', *wastu*, which appears three times on the records: it should also have played a role in the management of the land, but we are unaware of the details.

D/* A further case which almost certainly implies real ownership is provided by the plots called *temenos* (τέμενος). In later Greece, the τέμενος was a piece of land 'cut off (τέμνω) and assigned as an official domain, esp. to kings and chiefs' or 'dedicated to a god' (*LSJ*). In our Mycenaean texts, *temenos* appears only twice but in the same tablet at Pylos (**176** = Er 312). The king has the first one: *wa-na-ka-te-ro te-me-no*, *wanakteron temenos* 'official domain of the king'. This *temenos* has no less than 30 units of WHEAT, viz. c. 57.6 ha. The other *temenos* is held by the second figure of the kingdom, the *lāwāgetās*, and is one-third the size of the king's. These two 'official domains' are probably the best and safest examples of individual Mycenaean landownership.

* We would like to add many other features related to the legal status of land-holding. For instance: what did palatial control of the land really imply? How did Mycenaean ideology consider the ownership of the ground? Was the king supposed to be the sole real owner of the kingdom? What was the place of truly independent individual landowners in Mycenaean society and how many were they? In fact, the Linear B tablets are completely lacking in information on the matters that the palatial administration did not consider important for the management of the kingdoms – or perhaps were self-evident.

7. ORIENTAL PARALLELS TO THE PYLOS LAND-TENURE TABLETS

D/* Two examples of cuneiform tablets of somewhat similar content may be compared to the Mycenaean *E*- tablets of Pylos.

1. Sumerian, from Lagaš (de Genouillac (1909), no. xxxviii; twenty-fourth century B.C.): '2580 litres of emmer-wheat (first time), 600 litres of emmer-wheat (second time) and 1260 litres of barley have been drawn for the field Datiramma: the steward Eniggal delivered them from the Ekiqala building to the farm superintendent Ur-Enki (sixth year)'.

2. Nuzi (*AASOR* 16 (1935–36), no. 87; fifteenth–fourteenth century B.C.): '500 litres of barley, given to Kipali for sowing on five *imêru* of land belonging to Uzna; the lands of Uzna are for "partnership" (cf. *o-na-to* ??) and Kipali shall not dispose of them'.

Note that Babylonian issues of seed grain sometimes include an extra above that calculated for the acreage, to allow fodder for the plough animals (see also pp. 589–90).

D/* The closest parallel to the arrangement of the Pylos *E*- tablets is, however, provided by the paragraphs of the long *Wilbour Papyrus* (Gardiner 1941–52). It contains a cadastral survey, made in about 1150 B.C., of a large number of fields along the left bank of the Nile, together with their assessment for taxes of

emmer-wheat. In spite of the elaborate phraseology and calculation of each paragraph, Gardiner admits that much of the real meaning and purpose of the series remains obscure (see Menu 1970, however), as it is with our Pylos tablets.

D/* The different terms which differentiate the Egyptian fields show distinctions of: (1) ownership, whether by individuals, temples, crown, etc.; (2) condition 'newly opened up', '(normal) arable', 'tired', 'uncultivated', etc.; (3) location with regard to the rise and fall of the Nile flood. The entries of smallholders, which constitute many of the paragraphs, resemble those at Pylos in their listing of personal names and occupations, and in the fact that many women appear. E.g.:

§ 84. 'The landing-place of Pharaoh in Ḥardai. Measurement made to the south of P-ma:

The lady Ḥatḥōr, together with her brethren: 3 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures of corn.
Apportioned for Suchus of P-ma, cultivated by the hand of Ḥori: 10 arouras = 2½ at 1½ measures.
The charioteer Pra'(ḥi)wenmaf, cultivated by the hand of the cultivator Amenemopĕ: (20) 5 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures.
The lady Tkamen: 5 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures.
The herdsman Set(em)ḥab: 5 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures.
The bee-keeper Pkhōre: 5 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures.
The retainer Nakhtḥikhopshef: 5 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures.
The stable-master Ḳenḥikhopshef: 5 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures.
The slave Shedemdēi: 3 arouras = ½ at 1½ measures,' etc.

The size of such smallholdings varies from as little as 1.64 a (0.04 acre) up to 11 ha (27 acres), while the fields of *khato* land belonging to the crown have limits of 0.55–93 ha (1⅓–230 acres). Gardiner (1948.II.98) quotes Lozach-Hug for the statement that in recent times about 40 per cent of holdings in Egypt were of 20 a (½ acre) or less.

SECTION II

1. TYPICAL FORMULAE ON SHORT PYLOS TABLETS (Ea)

D/* Before examining the large and complex tablets which make up the most important part of the Pylos land-tenure series, let us look at the typical formulae in isolation as they occur on the *Ea* series, written by Hand 43. These records refer to plots located in a different (though unknown) area from *Eb/Ep* and *Eo/En*. This is shown by: (a) the difference of the plot-holders' names in *Ea* vs *Eb/Ep* and *Eo/En* – there are almost no names in common; (b) the social links of these holders. In *Eb/Ep* and *Eo/En*, there are several people 'of the king' (*wanakteros*),

while in *Ea*, they are 'of' the second figure of the kingdom, the 'leader of the people' (*lāwāgesios*). The first three *Ea* tablets below all refer to the shepherd *Mo-ro-qo-ro*, *Molog^{w}ros*. On the first his name appears in the genitive as the actual holder of a *ktoinā ktimenā*; on the second a 'tenant' is recorded as having a 'lease' 'from *Mo-ro-qo-ro*'s plot'; the third (the most usual wording of the same formula) describes a 'lease' 'from *Mo-ro-qo-ro*', where his name goes into the dative case. Note the grammatical agreement shown by the descriptions *poimenos* (gen.) and *poimenei* (dat.); but on the first tablet the nominative *poimēn* appears added in small signs above the line, as if in parenthesis, where we should logically expect the genitive case.

112 = Ea 817 (H 43)

.a po-me
.b mo-ro-qo-ro-jo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na GRA 3̣ T 1̣ V 3̣

D/* 'Private' plot of Molog^{w}ros, shepherd: 302.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 6.05 ha).

113 = Ea 782 (H 43)

ra-wa-ke-si-jo
ru-ko-ro , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , mo-ro-qo-ro-jo , ko-to-na po-me-no GRA T 1

D/* *Ru-ko-ro* of the 'leader of the people' holds a 'lease' from the plot of Molog^{w}ros, the shepherd: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
Cf. also Ea 132, 823, 882, 1424.

114 = Ea 800 (H 43)

ke-re-te-u , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , mo-ro-qo-ro po-me-ne GRA 2 [

D/* Kretheus holds a 'lease' from Molog^{w}ros, the shepherd: 192 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.84 ha).

The same variation in formulae is shown by tablets referring to another shepherd, *Ko-do*:

115 = Ea 71 (H 43)

.a po-me
.b ko-do-jo ko-to-na ki̤-ti-me-na GRA 1 T 4̣ V 3̣

D/* 'Private' plot of *Ko-do*, shepherd: 139.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.78 ha).

Instead of the nominative *poimēn* as in **112** = Ea 817, a genitive is expected.

116 = Ea 825 (H 43)

.a po-me-ne
.b ta-ra-ma-ta , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , ko-do GRA T 1

D/* Thalamatas holds a 'lease' from *Ko-do*, the shepherd: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 ha).

Ko-do's third tablet exemplifies a second source of 'lease' recorded on the *E*-tablets. It is not held from an individual but from the *dāmos* (see the *Eb/Ep* series, pp. 603–13):

117 = Ea 824 (H 43)

.a po-me
.b ko-do , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , da-mo GRA T 4

D/* *Ko-do*, the shepherd, holds a 'lease' from the 'village agricultural community': 38.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 76.8 ha).

118 = Ea 102 (H 43)

di-wo-nu-so-jo , e-ka-ra GRA 2 T 6 [

* Shrine of Dionysus: 249.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.99 ha).

The join of two fragments by Melena (2002a.357–60) has revealed a new example and meaning of *eskharā* (cf. ἐσχάρα). The word means 'brazier' on its other appearance (PY **237** = Ta 709.2, an inventory of cooking implements). Here, *eskharā* must mean 'shrine' since it is registered as the holder of the land. The semantic evolution goes from *eskharā* 'brazier', to, in a religious context, 'sacrificial hearth' (ἐσχάρα has both meanings) and finally 'shrine' by metonymy. The area dealt with on the *Ea* tablets thus included a sanctuary of the god Dionysus endowed with a 'sacrificial hearth'. This holding was among the ten largest of *Ea* – but the 'priest' of Ea 756 has more: a minimum of GRA 6 (576 l. WHEAT = c. 11.52 ha); and so has the deity on **147** = Eb 297/**142** = Ep 704.5–6, with GRA 3 T : 374.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 7.50 ha).

119 = Ea 259 (H 43)

.a u-me-ta-qe , a̤-po ,
.b o-ke-u , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , da-mo GRA T ⌞2̤⌟

D/D²/* Both (??) *O-k-eus* and *U-me-ta* holds (*sic*) a 'lease' from the 'village agricultural community': 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 ha).

D²/* Whether the hapax *u-me-ta-* is an error for the name *E-u-me-ta* (KN Dv 1388) is doubtful. It is more likely to be another name.

D²/* In *u-me-ta-qe a-po*, the word *a̤-po* (if the reading is sound) cannot be the preposition ἀπό, since this is regularly *a-pu* in Mycenaean. Perhaps *amphō*. If so, 'both' *O-k-eus* (whose name appears in PY Ea 814) and *U-me-ta-* would hold the same plot, a quite exceptional feature. If the upper line was added as an afterthought, this would explain why the verb *e-ke* was not changed to the dual – anyway, the interpretation is difficult.

A more elaborate summary of 'leases' held by a single individual is seen in the four entries devoted to Kretheus on the following tablet:

120 = Ea 59 (H 43)

Recto

.1]*vestigia*[ ] GRA 6
.2 ke-re-u , e-ke , o-na-to , ke-ke-me<-na> , ko-to-na GRA 2[ ]4
.3 ke-re-te-u , e-ke , o-na-to , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , su-qo-ta-o GRA 1 Ṭ 8
.4 ke-re-te-u , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , da-mo GRA 3 pa-ro , ra-wa-ke-si-jo , ẹ-[ ]GṚẠ 2
.5 ke-re-te-u , e-ke , e-ne-ka , i-qo-jo GRA 5 [
.6]*vacat* [
.7]du-ni-jo , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , da-mo GRA 1 T 6 [

⇓

Verso

.a 5 5 5 5 5 5 2 [
.b 5 5 5 5 5 5 2 [
.c 5 5 5 5 5 5 2[
.d 5 5 5 5 5 5 3[
.e GRA 137̣ [ ] *vacat*
.f ⟦GRA 137 T [⟧

D/D²/* .1 [ ]: 576 l. WHEAT (= c. 11.52 ha).
.2 *Ke-r-eus* holds a 'lease' of a 'communal' plot: 192[l. WHEAT (= c. 3.84 ha).
.3 Kretheus holds the 'lease' of a 'communal' plot of the swineherd: 172.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.46 ha).
.4 Kretheus holds a 'lease' from the 'village agricultural community': 288 l. WHEAT (= c. 5.76 ha).
Ditto from *Ẹ*-[ ] of the 'leader of the people': 192 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.84 ha).
.5 Kretheus holds on account of a/the horse: 480 l. WHEAT (= c. 9.6 ha).
.7 *Du-ni-jo* holds a 'lease' from the 'village agricultural community': 153.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.07 ha).

D/* line 2: *Ke-re-u* may not be a misspelling of Kretheus, since the same name recurs on Ea 827 and KN Ag 91.

D²/* line 4: *a*-[*mo-te-wo*] *vel sim.* (see Ea 421) cannot be restored after *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*.

D/* *Kretheus* was obviously an important 'tenant' in the *Ea* area: he appears on five or six other single-entry tablets quoted below, none of which appears to correspond with Ea 59:

Ea 304: *Kretheus hekhei onāton paro Sa-ke-r-ēwei*: WḤ̣ẸẠṬ[.
Ea 305: *Kretheus hekhei <o>nāton {to } ke-ke-menās ktoinās gʷougʷotāo*: WHEAT T 1.
Ea 771: *Kretheus hekhei onāton melitēwos ktoinās*: WHEAT T 3.
114 = Ea 800: *Kretheus hekhei onāton paro Mologʷrōi poimenei*: WHEAT 2.
Ea 806: *Kretheus hekhei onāton ke-ke-menās ktoinās*: WHEAT 1 T 2̣.
Ea 809: [*K*]*retheus hekhei onāton ke-ke-menās ktoinās lāwāgesioio armotēwos*: [WHEAT].

D/D²/* The most intriguing entry on Ea 59 is its line 5, with c. 9.6 ha granted *e-ne-ka i-qo-jo*, *eneka ikkʷoio*, literally 'on account of a/the horse'. There has been much discussion about its

interpretation. Kretheus' holding here could be compared with the acreages frequently introduced on the contemporary *Wilbour Papyrus* with the words 'field for horses which the stable-master So-and-so bespoke'. Gardiner (1948.II.78) quotes a model letter from Papyrus Sallier I: '30 arouras of fields were given to me to make into food for the pair of horses of Pharaoh which are in my charge, and now, behold, they have been taken from me …'; and he concludes: 'It would seem, then, that stable-masters of Pharaoh were entitled to lay claim to such land as they needed for grazing the horses entrusted to them, as well no doubt as for their personal support.' A Mycenaean parallel is offered by Ea 805, written by the same scribe (Hand 43), which records c. 3.84 ha of ground granted to *O-pe-te-re-u e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja*, viz. *eneka anorkʷhasiās* (?) (cf. Homeric ἀνδροκτασία?) 'on account of a/the manslaughter' (Killen 1992b.378–80 = *Economy and Administration* II.578–80; further García Ramón 2007). This looks like a compensation given for someone's death. We could then suppose that Kretheus got c. 9.6 ha of land in a similar way, but to provide for a/the horse (or several if the noun was used collectively, like Classical ἡ ἵππος). There is no contextual reason to support the idea that the 'horse' of Kretheus could have been a divine one.

D/* The reverse of **120** = Ea 59 bears a tallying mainly in 5s, totalling GRA 137[. This number is larger than the sum of the extant *Ea* tablets. Perhaps it included lost *Ea* records, but other possibilities exist (Del Freo 2005a.84).

2. THE PYLOS 'PRIVATE' LAND-TENURE SERIES (En, Eo)

D/D²/* The Pylos 'private' land-tenure tablets have been preserved in two separate parallel recensions: large (*En* series: Hand 1) and small tablets (*Eo* series: Hand 41).

D/D²/* The existence of these two recensions has given rise to much speculation. Two facts are clear. The quantities recorded on the two series are identical, allowing for errors and incomplete preservation. The situation is therefore different from the Pylos *Aa* and *Ab* tablets where the numbers of women and children are similar but not identical. From this we can deduce that little time intervened between the two redactions.

D/D²/* However, the differences between the two versions call for some explanation, for if the *En* series were a mere copy of the *Eo* series we should expect it to be identical in wording as it is in figures. The justification has been sought in a difference between plan and performance, as if the *Eo* series were 'prospective' and *En* the completed record (this concerns the curious use of *-qe* after the verb *e-ke*: see p. 598). It would be surprising, however, if the plan was carried out so accurately, or if it was, that it should still be thought necessary to record the data a second time. Two *Eo/En* features can provide some help. Actually, the situation described in these series was not a fixed one. A nice example is provided by the three 'tenants' that changed thrice in *Eo/En*. In the first version of **126** = Eo 224.2, 3, 7, it was the *telestās* Amaruntas who granted their *ktimenai* plots to *So-u-ro*, *E-do-mo-n-eus* and *Po-so-re-ja*. However, while the clay was still wet, Amaruntas' name was erased and replaced by Phalaikos and Tantalos. Finally,

another modification happened in the last record **121** = En 609.12, 13, 17, where Phalaikos and Tantalos disappeared. The identification of the scribal hands provides a second important clue about the differences between *Eo* and *En*. The *En* series is the work of Hand 1, while the *Eo* series is by Hand 41. It is thus possible to explain the difference in wording as due to the habits of two different scribes. See p. 598 for several examples like the alternation of *e-ke* (Hand 1) with *e-ke-qe* (Hand 41). Hand 1 has even sometimes deliberately altered the text that he was supposed to copy. Compare our translations of **135** = Eo 278 (Hand 41) and **124** = En 467.1 (Hand 1): 'Thisg^{w}aios, the shepherd, *and* he holds two plots' vs '"Private" plot of Thisg^{w}aios, so much seed'. Why did Hand 1 copy and adapt in *En* the *Eo* records written by Hand 41? A clay tablet dries rapidly and further entries cannot easily be added thereafter. This is probably the reason why separate pieces of information were recorded on the *Eo* small tablets as they were received. Later, when it proved necessary to combine these entries into a full catalogue, all the *Eo* information was copied on to the larger *En* tablets. This implies that the *Eo* series must precede *En* in time and that the large *En* tablets were the synthesis of the smaller *Eo* ones.

A. *Large* tablets: PY *En* (Hand 1)

D/D²/* The *En* series gives the complete breakdown for an area of 'private' (*ktimenā*) land which, though not large (GRA 31 T 4 V 2, approx. 60.35 ha, or 149.13 acres), shows a complex pattern of land tenure. The series begins with **121** = En 609. Its introductory adjective *Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* is evidently derived from *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, Sphagianes, the name of one of the nine major towns of the Hither Province, and shows the location of the land. 14 (or 13) *telestai* 'service men' hold the main plots and most of them grant 'leases' (*onāton*) to 'tenants' (*onātēres*).

121 = En 609 (H 1)

.1 pa-ki-ja-ni-ja , to-sa , da-ma-te , *DA* 40
.2 to-so-de , te-re-ta , e-ne-e-si VIR 14
.3 wa-na-ta-jo-jo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de ⌟pẹ-mo GRA 2 V 1
.4 o-da-a$_2$, o-na-te[-]rẹ , e-ko-si , wạ-na-tạ-jo-jo , ko-to-na,
.5a GRA V 1
.5b a-tu-ko , e-te-do-mo , wa-na-ka-te-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , <to-so->de , pe-mo
.6 i-ni-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-tọ , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 2 V 4
.7 e-*65-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to⌟ ⌟e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 2
.8 si-ma , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.9 *angustum*
.10 a-ma-ru-ta-o , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , tọ-so-de , pe-mo GRA 2 T 3
.11 o-da-a$_2$ e-ko-si a-]ma-ru-ta-o , ko-to-na , o-na-te-re
.12 so-u-ro te-o-jo do-]e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA V 3
.13 e-do-mo-ne-u te-o-]jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1

.14 e-sa-ro te-o-jo do-]e-ro , o̤[-na-to]e̤-ke̤]to̤[-so-de]pe̤-mo̤ GRA V 3
.15 wa-na-ta-jo te-re-ta o-]na̤-to̤ , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.16 e-ra-ta-ra i-je-re-ja do-e-ra]pa-ki-ja-na , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.17 po-so-re-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra]o̤-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1 V 3
.18 i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na o-na-]to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 3

Cf. **125** = Eo 211, **126** = Eo 224 (Hand 41)

D/D²/* So many *households* of Sphagianes: *DA* 40.
And there are so many 'service-men' upon them: fourteen men.
§ 1 (ll. 3–8) 'Private' plot of Warnataios, so much seed: 193.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.87 ha).

.4 Item: the 'tenants' hold plots of Warnataios:
.5 Atukhos, the royal *e-te-do-mo*, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 1.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.2 a).
.6 *I-ni-ja*, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 25.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 51.2 a).
.7 *E-*65-to*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a).
.8 *Si-ma*, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. (= c. 19.2 a).

§ 2 (ll. 10–18) 'Private' plot of Amaruntas, so much seed: 220.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.42 ha).

.11 [Item:] the 'tenants' [hold] plots of Amaruntas:
.12 [*So-u-ro*, 'servant' (m.) of the g]od, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 4.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 9.6 a).
.13 [E-do-mo-n-eus, 'servant' (m.) of the g]od, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.14 [E-sa-ro, 'servant' (m.) of the g]od, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 4.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 9.6 a).
.15 [Warnataios, the 'service-man'], holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.16 [E-ra-ta-ra, 'servant' (f.) of the priestess] of Sphagianes, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.17 [Po-so-re-ja, 'servant' (f.) of the god], holds a 'lease', so much seed: 14.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 28.8 a).
.18 [The priestess of Sphagianes] holds a 'lease', so much seed: 28.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 57.6 a).

D/D²/* line 1: in *to-sa da-ma-te*, it is tempting to consider that *to-sa* qualifies *da-ma-te*. Since *da-ma-te* cannot be neuter plural, *to-sa* must be feminine. The initial of *da-ma-te* could be repeated in the ideogram *DA* which immediately follows (*to-sa da-ma-te DA* 40). The verb

enehensi 'they are upon/among them' in line 2 situates the 14 *telestai* (with)in the 40 *da*(-*ma-te*) at Sphagianes (line 1).

D/D²/* Though the syntax of these two lines is clear, their interpretation has proved difficult. The 40 *da*(*-ma-te*) cause a first complication, because no *Eo/En* data amount to 40 items/units. Moreover, the whole *En* series exhibits only 13 *telestai*, instead of the 14 foreshadowed. Several proposals have been submitted (see, for example, Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.155–74), but none of them has won universal approval. For instance, a supplementary person has been introduced and is supposed to become both the fourteenth *telestās* and the fortieth different *Eo/En* person. One of the proposals is *Su-ko*: he appears in Eb 149/**152** = Ep 613.4–5 as a *telestās*, but is unknown in *Eo/En*. Hence, his *Eo/En* records are supposed to have been lost. If we provisionally accept such a solution, we can try to discover the meaning and transcription of the *da*(*-ma-te*). There are supposedly 40 different people on *Eo/En*. They may appear once or several times in the series and may hold one or several plots. If *da*(*-ma-te*) concerns every one of these 40 different people, it must encompass all the lands held by one individual, be (s)he *telestās* or tenant. The word could then mean 'household', *vel sim*. This allows us to check some interpretations. *Da*(*-ma-te*) cannot have the same sense as *-da-ma-te* and its variant *du-ma-te* (**207** = Jn 829.1), which are occupational terms designating some kind of controllers. Nor can it be *Dāmātēr* = Demeter = 'corn-land'. *Da*(*-ma-te*) is frequently read nowadays as *damartes* 'households'. It is argued to be identical in form to the feminine δάμαρ 'wife'. Both *damar* and δάμαρ could derive from **dom-/dm̥-* (cf. δόμος 'house'), meaning perhaps 'household' (originally the area of land regarded as sufficient for one household, like the Old English 'hide'?). One could object that, while one *damar* is supposed to support one household on this theory, there are only 15 *En damartes* instead of 40 measuring more than T 6 and thus able to support a sole man for a year (see p. 580). However, this inconsistency could perhaps be explained by historical change, like the supposed evolution of *ke-ke-menā* (see pp. 570–71). We will then provisionally adopt this *damar* explanation. There is a further use of *DA* in PY **42** = An 830.6, 9, where it is associated with the typical qualifier of 'communal' plots, *ke-ke-me-no*. *DA* also appears in a Tiryns land-tenure tablet (see **171** = Ef 2). We will see that the *Uf* series of Knossos uses the pair of abbreviations *DA* and *PA* in a completely different way, as surface measures in the land-tenure records (see p. 622).

D/D² line 2, *to-so-de*: the *-de* of this word is to be interpreted as 'and' introducing a separate clause (Ruijgh, *Études* 343–44).

D/* The fourteen *telestai* counted here are evidently the individuals whose plots introduce each of the separate paragraphs of the series. Indeed, Warnataios, subject of the first paragraph, line 3, is described as a *telestās* when he himself appears as a 'tenant' in the second paragraph, line 15 (the text is damaged, but may be restored through **126** = Eo 224.5). Regarding the fourteen *telestai* of En 609.2, see above, this page.

D/* line 3: *Warnataioio ktoinā ktimenā* is to be taken as a 'nominative of rubric', viz. a nominative case without any syntactic relation to any other word in the text (just as in modern lists: 'oil; vinegar; mustard'). *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*: it is not clear from the spelling, or vital to the meaning, whether this is to be taken as singular or plural.

D/D²/* line 4: *o-da-a*$_2$ is a complex particle introducing an entry that is not the first one of a list, but shares the same basic topic as the preceding one. There is no agreement about its

transcription, though a few items seem clear. (a) The initial *o-* could be *hō(s)* 'thus' (< *jō(s)*, *jo-* (see p. 620); cf. ὥς); (b) *-d…* could be an elided form of *de* (cf. δέ) 'and'. The next two items are much more problematic. (c) *…a-* could perhaps represent *ar* (cf. ἄρ/ἄρα) 'then'; (d) finally *-a*$_2$ could possibly be the relative pronoun *hāi* 'in the following way' (compare Heraclean Doric ᾗ μέν…, ᾗ δέ…, 'on the one hand …, on the other hand'). Instead of the literal (but awkward) translation 'and thus then in the following way', we have provisionally adopted here the itemising adverb 'item' meaning 'moreover, also, likewise, in addition'.

D/* lines 4 and 11, *o-na-te-re e-ko-si* and [*e-ko-si*] … *o-na-te-re*: note the free variation in word order after *o-da-a*$_2$.

D As usual on these tablets, *hekhei/hekhonsi* implies 'tenancy', not ownership.

122 = En 74 (H 1)

.1 ru-*83-o , ko-to-na⌊ ⌋ki-ti-me<-na> , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 1 ṭ[5
.2 o-da-a$_2$ o-na-te-re , ru-*83-o , ko-to-na , e-ko-si
.3 pe-ki-ta , ka-na-pe-u , wa-na-ka-te-ro , [o-]na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.4 mi-ra , te-o-jo , do-e-ra⌊ ⌋e-ke , to-so-de⌊ ⌋pe-mo GRA T 1
.5 te-se-u , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 4
.6 ma-re-ku-na , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-ṇạ[-to e-ke to-so-de]pẹ-mo GRA T 1
.7 e-ko-to , te-ọ-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA V 3
.8 ma-*79 , te-ọ-jọ , ḍọ-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA V 1
.9 e-*65-to , te-o-jo , do-e[-ro] , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA V 1
.10 *angustum*
.11 a$_3$-ti-jo-qo , ko-to-ṇạ , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de , pẹ-mọ GRA 1 T 5 V 4
.12 o-da-a$_2$ o-na-te-re , e-ko-si , a$_3$-ti-jo-qọ , ko-to-na
.13 e-pa-sa-na-ti , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 2
.14 ku-*63-so⌊ ⌋ṭẹ-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.15 ta-ra$_2$-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , ṭọ-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.16 we-te-re-u , i-e-re-u , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 5
.17 e-ko-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.18 ko-ri-si-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mọ GRA T 5
.19 *angustum*
.20 pi-ke-re-wo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 2 T 6
.21 o-da-a$_2$, o-na-te-re , e-ke-si , pi-ke-re-wo , ko-to-na
.22 a$_3$-wa-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.23 pe-ki-ta , ka-na-pe-u , wa-na-ka-te-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 2
.24 ko-ri-si-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 5

Cf. **127** = Eo 276, **128** = Eo 247, **129** = Eo 160 (Hand 41)

D/D^2/* § 3 (ll. 1–9) 'Private' plot of *Ru-*83-*, so much seed: 144 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.88 ha).

.2 Item: the 'tenants' hold plots of *Ru-*83-*:
.3 *Pe-ki-ta*, the royal fuller, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).

.4 Mi-ra, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.5 Theseus, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 38.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 76.8 a).
Etc.

§ 4 (ll. 11–18) 'Private' plot of Aithiok^{w}s, so much seed: 150.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 3 ha).

.12 Item: the 'tenants' hold plots of Aithiok^{w}s:
.13 *E-pa-sa-na-ti*, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a).
Etc.

§ 5 (ll. 20–24) 'Private' plot of Pikreus, so much seed: 249.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.99 ha).

.21 Item: the 'tenants' hold plots of Pikreus:
.22 Aiwaia, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.23 *Pe-ki-ta*, the royal fuller, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a).
.24 Korinsia, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 48 l. WHEAT (= c. 96 a).

D/* Several persons in *En* hold 'leases' from more than one *telestās*, like Hektor, Korinsia, *Pe-ki-ta*, *Ta-ra*$_2$*-to* and Westreus.

D/* line 1: *Ru-*83-o* (gen.), if compared with *Ru-*83-e* (dat. in *Eo*), evidently shows a consonant declension parallel to *a-ta-no-ro/a-ta-no-re*, etc. The stem must be in **-es* with a dative ending in (…*eh*)-*ei*, which can be found instead of the more frequent form in (…*eh*)-*i*.

D/* lines 13–18: there are several differences in the texts of **122** = En 74 and its preparatory tablet **128** = Eo 247. The order of two 'tenants' is not the same: Hektor and Korinsia begin Eo 247.2–3 but end En 74.13–18. The spelling of some names changes: *Ta-ra*$_2$*-to* (En 74.15, Hand 1) > *Ta-ra-to* (Eo 247.6, Hand 41); *E-pa-sa-na-ti* (En 74.13, Hand 1) > *I-pa-sa-na-ti* (Eo 247.4, Hand 41). This is even true in the vocabulary: *i-e-re-u* (En 74.16, Hand 1) > *i-je-re-u* (Eo 247.7, Hand 41). Scribe 1 has allowed himself a definite freedom in modifying the precise wording of the repeating formulae of his colleague 41.

D/* line 21: *e-ke-si* is an obvious mistake for *e-ko-si*, *hekhonsi*, and has nothing to do with the 'spears' (*enkhessi-*) of **207** = Jn 829.3.

123 = En 659 (H 1)

.1 qe-re-qo-ta-o , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 2 T 3
.2 o-da-a$_2$ o-na-te-re , e-ko-si , qe-re-qo-ta-o , ko-to-na
.3 ra-su-ro , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.4 we-te-re-u , i-e-re-u , o-na-ṭo , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1
.5 tu-ri-ja-ti , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke , pa̤-ro̤ , pe-re-qo-ta , pe-qo-ta , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 9

.6 ta-ra$_2$-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o̤-na̤-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA V 3
.7 *angustum*
.8 a-da-ma-o-jo , ko-to-na , ki-ṯi-me-na̤ ⌋to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 1 T 8
.9 o-da-a$_2$, o-to-te-re , e-ko-si , a-da-ma-o-jo , ko-to-na
.10 ta-ra$_2$-to , te-o-na , do-e-ro ⌋o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , p̤e̤-mo GRA T 2 V 4
.11 *angustum*
.12 a-i̤-qe-wo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 1̤ T 2
.13 o-da-a$_2$, ta-ra$_2$-to̤ , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to ⌋e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA T 1 V 3
.14 *angustum*
.15 ra-ku-ro-jo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me̤[-na]to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 1 T 1 V 3
.16 o-da-a$_2$, i-ra-ta , te-o-jo , do-e[-ro o-]na-to , e-ke , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA V 3
.17 *angustum*
.18 a-ka-ta[-jo-]jo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 3 T 2
.19 o-da-a$_2$ ⌋ka-ra-*5̤6̤-so̤[te-]o-jo[do-]e̤-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2

Cf. **130** = Eo 444 (?), **131** = Eo 351, **132** = Eo 471, **133** = Eo 281, **134** = Eo 269 (Hand 41)

D/* § 6 (ll. 1–6) 'Private' (plot) of *Qe̤-re-qo-ta-*, so much seed: 220.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.42 ha).

.2 Item: the 'tenants' hold plots of *Qe̤-re-qo-ta-*:
.3 *Ra-su-ro*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.4 Westreus, the priest, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.5 Thuriatis, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds from *Pe-re-qo-ta*, the *pe-qo-ta*, so much seed: 86.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 1.73 ha).
.6 *Ta-ra$_2$-to*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 4.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 9.6 a).

§ 7 (ll. 8–10) 'Private' plot of Admaos, so much seed: 172.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.46 ha).

.9 Item: the 'tenants' hold plots of Admaos:
.10 *Ta-ra$_2$-to*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 25.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 51.2 a).

§ 8 (ll. 12–13) 'Private' plot of *A-i-q-eus*, so much seed: 115.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.30 ha).

.13 Item: *Ta-ra$_2$-to*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 14.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 28.8 a).

§ 9 (ll. 15–16) 'Private' plot of *Ra-ku-ro*, so much seed: 110.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.21 ha).

.16 Item: *I-ra-ta*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 4.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 9.6 a).

§ 10 (ll. 18–19) 'Private' plot of Aktaios, so much seed: 307.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 6.14 ha).

.19 Item: *Ka-ra-**56-so*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, holds a 'lease', so much seed: 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a).

* lines 1–6: this section is frequently supposed to match **130** = Eo 444, but the case is not as convincing as it should be. See further p. 601.
line 1: *Qe-re-qo-ta-o*: perhaps the equivalent of a Classical *Τηλε-φόντης, cf. Τήλεφος. Exactly the same form appears in l. 2, but in other occurrences a variant of this name is spelt with initial *pe-* (there is a *Pe-re-qo-ta* here, l. 5). It is widely believed that *Qe-re-qo-ta-* and *Pe-re-qo-ta* refer to the same person, though this has been doubted (see **130** = Eo 444). Anyway, the explanation of the alternation *Qe-* vs *Pe-* is quite probably not a less archaic pronunciation of the labiovelar, but a tendency to dissimilate two labiovelars in one word, for the same effect is visible in *i-po-po-qo-i-* (*ippophorg^{w}oihi*, not *ikk^{w}o*…: Fn 79.10).

D/D^2/* line 5: Thuriatis does not hold her plot from *Qe-re-qo-ta-*, but from *Pe-re-qo-ta*, the *pe-qo-ta*. See the previous note.

D/D^2/* lines 9–10: there is a concentration of scribal errors. (a) *O-to-te-re* instead of *o-na-te-re*, a straightforward blunder perhaps due to the similarity of the signs *na* and *to* and the fact that these two signs recur so often in *o-na-to*. (b) *O-<na>-te-re* and the verb *hekhonsi* are used in the plural even though only one *onātēr* follows. (c) *Té-o-na* instead of *te-o-jo*. These mistakes give the impression that Hand 1 was distracted when he wrote these lines. The remaining three paragraphs exhibit a telescoped version of the formula *o-da-a*$_2$ *o-na-te-re e-ko-si*…, of which only *o-da-a*$_2$ 'item' remains.

124 = En 467 (H 1)

.1 ti-qa-jo-jo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 8 T 3
.2 *angustum*
.3 po-te-wo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me<-na> , to-so-de⌊ ⌋pe-mo GRA 2 T 4
.4 *angustum*
.5 pi-ri-ta-wo-no , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na , ke-ra-me-wo⌊ ⌋to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 1 T 1

Cf. **135** = Eo 278, **136** = Eo 268, **137** = Eo 371 (Hand 41)

D/* § 11 (l. 1) 'Private' plot of *Thisg^{w}aios*, so much seed: 796.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 15.94 ha).
§ 12 (l. 3) 'Private' plot of *Po-t-eus*, so much seed: 230.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.61 ha).
§ 13 (l. 5) 'Private' plot of *Pi-ri-t-āwōn*, the potter, so much seed: 105.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.11 ha).

D/* Although these last three entries show plots no smaller than the rest, they are distinguished by having no subsidiary 'tenants' and also by quite considerable variations of wording in the *Eo* series. In **135** = Eo 278, *Thisg^{w}aios*' single plot of this record appears as a double one.

B. *Small* tablets: PY *Eo* (Hand 41)

D/D²/* The *Eo* series (Hand 41) is the preliminary version which was used for the later writing of the *En* series. Its main differences from the *En* series (Hand 1) are: (a) the *Eo* tablets are smaller than the *En* ones; (b) *Eo* omits the *o-da-a*$_2$ formula introducing the 'tenants'' names ('Item: the 'tenants' hold plots of so-and- so') and replaces it by the phrase 'from so-and-so' (*pa-ro* so-and-so (dat.)) in each entry; (c) *Eo* almost always eliminates *to-so-de pe-mo*; (d) *e-ke* (*En*) alternates with *e-ke-qe* (*Eo*). This last peculiarity, which apparently adds nothing to the meaning, has been hotly debated. Various explanations have been offered, like a 'prospective' meaning for *e-ke-qe* (see p. 590) or that of Winter (1956.507). He supposed that the presence of *-qe* correlates with the word order verb – object: when the object (*o-na-to*) precedes the verb, the *-qe* would regularly be dropped. It has also been suggested that the naming of the 'tenant' would be a separate proposition, i.e. '(Here is) so-and-so, *and* (*-qe* = *k*^{w}*e*; cf. τε) (s)he holds a "lease"', or the like. The *-qe* would then introduce a separate clause, much like the *-de* of *to-so-de pe-mo*. This may seem strange syntax to us, but it is perhaps preferable to inventing a new meaning for *-qe*. Anyway, we have here provisionally adopted the translation 'so-and-so, and (s)he holds …'. The tablet **130** = Eo 444 is frequently considered to be the preliminary version of **123** = En 659.1–6, but see p. 601.

125 = Eo 211 (H 41)

.1 wa-na-ta-jo-jo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na	GRA 2[V 1
.2 a-tu-ko , e-te-do-mo , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , wa-na-ta[-jo]	GRA [V 1
.3 i-ni-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , wa-na-ta[-jo]	GRA [T 2 V 4
.4 e-*65-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , wa-ta-jo̤	GRA [T 2
.5 si-ma , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , wa-na-ta-jo	GRA T 1

Cf. **121** = En 609.3–8 (Hand 1)

D/* § 1 'Private' plot of Warnataios: 201.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.03 ha).

Atukhos, the *e-te-do-mo*, *and* he holds a 'lease' from Warnataios: 1.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.2 a).
Etc.

126 = Eo 224 (H 41)

.1 a-ma-ṛṵ-ta-o , ḳọ-to-na , ki-ṭi̤-me-na	GRA 2 T 3[
.2 so-u-ro̲ ̲te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qẹ , o-ṇạ-ṭọ ṗạ-ṛọ , pa-ra-ko	GRA V 3
.3 e-do-mo-ne-u , te-o-jo do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o[-na-to] , pa-ro , pa-ra-ko,	GRA T 1
.4 e-sa-ro , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-ṇạ[-to] , pa-ro , a-ma-ru-ta	GRA V 3
.5 wa-na-ta-jo , te-re-ta , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , a-ma-ru-ta	GRA T 1

.6 e-ra-ta-ra , i-je-re-ja , do-e-ra , pa-ki-ja-na , e-ke-qe , pa-ro ,
a-ma-ru-ta GRA T 1
.7 po-so-re-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , ta-ta-ro GRA T 1 V 3
.8 i-je-re-ja , pa-ki-ja-na , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro⌊ ⌋a-ma-ru-ta GRA T 3

Cf. **121** = En 609.10–18 (Hand 1)

D/* § 2 'Private' plot of Amaruntas: 220.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.42 ha).

.2 *So-u-ro*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, *and* he holds a 'lease' from Phalaikos (*Amaruntas* erased): 4.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 9.6 a).

Etc.

D/* lines 2, 3 and 7: the scribe has erased *A-ma-ru-ta* 'Amaruntas' and replaced it with *Pa-ra-ko* 'Phalaikos' and *Ta-ta-ro* 'Tantalos'. This substitution is not taken into account in the *En* series. These changes show that the allocation of plots was fluctuating when *Eo/En* were compiled. What was the status of Phalaikos and Tantalos? Perhaps they were Amaruntas' 'tenants' who had handed their plots to 'sub-tenants'. Another possibility is that they were intermediaries between the 'landlord' Amaruntas and *So-u-ro* (l. 2), *E-do-mo-n-eus* (l. 3) and *Po-so-re-ja* (l. 7).

127 = Eo 276 (H 41)

.1] , te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro , ki-ti-me[-na ko-]to-na GRA 1 T 5
.2 pẹ-ḳi-ta , ka-na-pe-u , wa-na-ka-te-ro , e-ke-qe , ọ-na-to , <pa-ro> ru-*83-e , GRA T 1
.3 mi-ra , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , [[ ]]pạ-ro ru-*83-e GRA T 1
.4 te-se-u , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-ṭọ⌊ ⌋pạ-ṛọ , ru-*83-e GRA T 4
.5 ma-re-ku-na , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-ṭọ , pạ-ṛọ⌊ ⌋ru-*83-e GRA T 1
.6 e-ko-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-ṭọ , pa-ro , ru-*83-e GRA V 3
.7 ma-*79 , te-o , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-ṭọ , pa-ro ru-*83-e GRA V 3
.8 e-*65-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , ru-*83-e GRA V 1

Cf. **122** = En 74.1–9 (Hand 1)

D/D²/* § 3 [*Ru-*83-*], the *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*, 'private' plot: 144 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.88 ha).

.2 *Pe-ki-ta*, the royal fuller, *and* he holds a 'lease' <from> *Ru-*83-*: 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).

Etc.

D/* line 1: the nominative *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* suggests that the name of the *telestās* was not a genitive, but a nominative, *Ru-*83-*, like *Pi-ri-t-āwōn* in **137** = Eo 371. No satisfactory explanation has been offered for *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*. This occupational term recurs on PY An 424.1.

128 = Eo 247 (H 41)

.1 a_3-ti-jo-qo , ki-ti-me-na , ko-to-na to-so-de pe-mo , GRA 1[T 5 V 4

.2 e-ko-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , a_3-ti-jo-qe ,
ko-to-no-o-ko , GRA T[1
.3 ko-ri-si-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , ki-ti-me-na ,
ko-to-na , <pa-ro> a_3-ti-jo-qe , GRA T 5
.4 i-pa-sa-na-ti , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , a_3-ti-jo-qe , GRA T 2
.5 ku-*63-so , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-to pa-ro , a_3-ti-jo-qe , GRA T 1
.6 ta-ra-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , a_3-ti-jo-qe GRA T 1
.7 we-te-re-u , i-je-re-u , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , a_3-ti-jo-qe , GRA T 5

Cf. **122** = En 74.11–18 (Hand 1)

D/D²/* § 4 'Private' plot of Aithiok^{w}s, so much seed: 150.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.01 ha).

.2 Hektor, 'servant' (m.) of the god, *and* he holds a 'lease' from Aithiok^{w}s, the 'plot-holder': 9.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.2 a).
.3 Korinsia, 'servant' (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a 'lease' of a 'private' plot <from> Aithiok^{w}s: 48 l. WHEAT (= c. 96 a).
.4 *I-pa-sa-na-ti*, 'servant' (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a 'lease' from Aithiok^{w}s: 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a).
Etc.

* See p. 595 for the differences in the texts of **122** = En 74.13–18 and its preparatory tablet **128** = Eo 247.

D/* line 2: note the addition of *ktoinohokhōi* to describe the main holder of the plot.

D/D²/* line 3: the omission of *paro* by the scribe (as in **127** = Eo 276.2) does not seem to indicate any distinction in sense.

129 = Eo 160 (H 41)

.1 pi-ke-re-wo , ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na to-so-de , pe-mo GRA̤ 2 T 6
.2 a_3-wa-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , pi-ke-re-we GRA T 1
.3.a pi-ke-r̤e̤-we
.3.b]pe-ki-ta , ka-na-pe-u , wa-na-ka-te-ro e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-r̤o̤ GRA T 2
.4 ko-ri-]s̤i̤-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , pi-ke-re-we GRA T 5

Cf. **122** = En 74.20–24 (Hand 1)

D/* § 5 'Private' plot of Pikreus, so much seed: 249.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.99 ha).

.2 Aiwaia, 'servant' (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a 'lease' from Pikreus: 9.6 l. WHEAT (c. 19.2 a).
Etc.

130 = Eo 444 (H 41)

.1 pe-re-qo-ta-o pa-da-je-wo ko-]to-na , ki-ti-me-na GRA 2̤ T̤[3

.2 ra-su-ro te-o-jo do-e-]ṛọ , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , pa-da-je-we [GRA T 1
.3 we-te-re-u i-je-]re-u , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , pa-da-je-we GRA Ṭ[1
.4 tu-ri-ja-ti te-o-jo do-e-ra]e-ke-qe , pa-ro , pa-da-je-we , pe-qo-ta GRA Ṭ[9
.5 ta-ra$_2$-to te-o-jo do-e-]ro , e-ke-qe , pạ-ro , pa-da-je-we GRA Ṿ[3
.6]ẹ-ke-qe , pa[-ro pa-]da-je-we , pe-qo-ta GRA T ⌊4[

Cf. **123** = En 659.1–6 (?; Hand 1)

D/* § 6 'Private' plot [of ?*Pe-re-qo-ta Pa-da-j-eus*]: 220.8 (?) l. WHEAT (= c. 4.42 ha).

.2 [?*Ra-su-ro*, 'servant' (m.) of the go]d, *and* he holds a 'lease' from *Pa-da-j-eus*: [9.6 (?) l. WHEAT (c. 19.2 a)].
Etc.

* ll. 2–6: *Pa-da-je-we* is the dative of a probable ethnic or title.
* This record is frequently supposed to be the preliminary version of **123** = En 659.1–6, hence the traditional restorations that we have reproduced here for convenience. In fact, the correspondence between the two texts is not perfect. (a) The 'landlords' are not the same: *Qẹ-re-qo-ta* in En 659.1–6 (written twice, ll. 1–2) but *Pa-da-je-we* in Eo 444 (written five times; dative of *Pa-da-j-eus*). (b) The numbers of 'tenants' are different: four in En 659.1–6, but five in Eo 444. Several other proposals for correspondences exist, but none of them has escaped criticism.

131 = Eo 351 (H 41)

.1 a-da-ma-<o->jo , ḳọ-ṭọ-na , ki-ṭi[-me-na GRA 1 T 8
.2 ta-ra$_2$-to , te-ọ-jọ , do-e[-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-da-ma-o GRA T 2 V 4

Cf. **123** = En 659.8–10 (Hand 1)

* The correct spelling of the genitive *a-da-ma-<o->jo* appears on **123** = En 659.8.

D/* § 7 'Private' plot of Admaos: [172.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.46 ha)].

.2 *Ta-ra$_2$-to*, 'servant' (m.) of the god,[*and* he holds a 'lease' from Admaos: 25.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 51.2 a)].

132 = Eo 471 (H 41)

.1 a-]i[-qe-wo ko-]to-na , ḳi[-ti-]me-na GRA 1 T 2
.2 ta-ra$_2$-ṭọ[te-o-]jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe ⌋o-na-to , pa-ro , a-i-qẹ-we GRA T 1 V 3

Cf. **123** = En 659.12–13 (Hand 1)

D/* § 8 'Private' plot of [*A-i-q-eus*]: 115.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.30 ha).

.2 *Ta-ra$_2$-to*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, *and* he holds a 'lease' from *A-i-q-eus*: 25.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 51.2 a).

133 = Eo 281 (H 41)

.1 ra-ku-ro-jo]ki-ti-me-na , ko-ṭo̤-ṇa̤ GRA 1 T 1 V 3
.2 i-ra-ta]te-o-jo do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , ra-ku-ro , GRA V 3

Cf. **123** = En 659.15–16 (Hand 1)

D/* § 9 'Private' plot [of *Ra-ku-ro*]: 110.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.21 ha).

.2 [*I-ra-ta*,] 'servant' (m.) of the god, *and* he holds a 'lease' from *Ra-ku-ro*: 4.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 9.6 a).

134 = Eo 269 (H 41)

Recto

.A ko-to-na , ki-ti-me-na
.B a-ka-ta-jo-jo , ka-na-pe-wo , to-so-de , pe-mo , GRA 3 T 2

Latus superius
ka-ra-*56-so , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , pa-ro , a-ka-ta-jo to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2

Cf. **123** = En 659.18–19 (Hand 1)

D/* § 10 'Private' plot of Aktaios, the fuller, so much seed: 307.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 6.14 ha).

*Ka-ra-*56-so*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, *and* he holds a 'lease' from Aktaios, so much seed: 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a).

* The occupation of Aktaios is not given on **123** = En 659.18.

135 = Eo 278 (H 41)

ti-qa-jo , po-me , e-ke-qe , dwo , ko-to-no GRA [8 T 3

Cf. **124** = En 467.1 (Hand 1)

D/D²/* § 11 Thisg^{w}aios, the shepherd, *and* he holds two plots: [796.8 l.] WHEAT (= c. 15.94 ha).

* On **124** = En 467.1, the occupation of Thisg^{w}aios is not stated and the two plots of this record are combined into a single one. The 'double' plots have especially large dimensions (see p. 576).

136 = Eo 268 (H 41)

po-te-wo , ko-to-na , GRA 2 T 4

D/* § 12 Plot of *Po-t-eus*: 230.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.61 ha).

137 = Eo 371 (H 41)

.A ke-ra-me-wo , wa-na-ka-te-ro
.B pi-ṛi-ta-wo , ko-to-na⌊ ⌋ki-ti-me-na GRA [1 T 1

Cf. **124** = En 467.5 (Hand 1)

§ 13 *Pi-ri-t-āwōn*, the royal potter, 'private' plot: [105.6 l.] WHEAT (= c. 2.11 ha).

D The lack of concord between the two nominatives (*Pi-ri-t-āwōn*, *wanakteros*) and the genitive (*keramēwos*) in the description of the potter seems to be due to a confusion between the two varieties of this formula, either *Pi-ri-t-āwōn hekhei* … or *Pi-ri-t-āwōnos ktoinā* …

3. THE PYLOS Eb, Ep, Ed SERIES

A. THE PYLOS 'COMMUNAL' LAND-TENURE Eb (SMALL TABLETS: HAND 41) AND Ep (LARGE TABLETS: HAND 1) SERIES

D/* Just like the *Eo/En* 'private' land-tenure tablets, the *Eb/Ep* 'communal' records represent two distinct parallel recensions. The explanation given above (cf. p. 598) for *Eo/En* can largely be taken over for *Eb/Ep*. The *Eb* small tablets were preparatory records written by Hand 41. These *Eb* texts were then synthesised by Hand 1 in the larger *Ep* tablets. There is one important difference between the preliminary *Eo* and *Eb* series, however, because the number of the holders recorded in each tablet is quite different. *Eo* mostly lists several holders, while *Eb* almost always records only one. All the *Eb/Ep* plots were quite probably located at Sphagianes like those of *Eo/En*.

D/* The *Eb/Ep* tablets will for convenience be arranged here according to the social importance of the holders. First come those which record the 'leases' that the 'plot-holders' (**138** = Ep 301.2–14) and high religious dignitaries (**142** = Ep 704) hold from the 'village agricultural community'. The remaining *Eb/Ep* tablets catalogue (with a few exceptions) 'leases' held by the inferior groups of craftsmen and *thehoio doeloi*, whom we have already met as 'tenants' of *ktoinai ktimenai* in the *Eo/En* series. Each text of the final version (*Ep*, Hand 1) will be followed by some of its equivalents in the preliminary records (*Eb*, Hand 41).

138 = Ep 301 (H 1)

.1 ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , a-no-no , to-so-de , pe-mo [GRA 1 T 1
.2a ko-to-no- -o-ko
.2b a_3-ti-jo-qo , o-na-to , e-ke , pa-ro , da-mo , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , to-so , [pe-mo]
GṚA 1 Ṭ 4 V̥ 3
.3 wa-na-ta-jo , o-na-to , e-ke , pa-ro , da-mo , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , to-so-de⌊ ⌋pe-mo
GRA T 5
.4 a-da-ma-o , o-na-to , e-ke , pa-ro , da-mo , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , to-so⌊ ⌋pẹ-mọ
GRA T 4

.5 a-tu-ko , e-te-do-mo , o-na-to , e-ke , pa-ro , da-mo , ke-ke-me-na , ko[-to-na to-so pe-mo GRA

.6 ta-ta-ro , o-na-to , e-ke , pa-ro , da-mo , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , to-so pe-m̤o[GRA V 3

.7 *angustum*

.8 p̤i-ke-re-u , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so , pe-mo[GRA

.9 ra-ku-ro , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so , pe-mo GRA[

.10 ku-so , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so pe-mo GRA V [3

.11 ke-ra-u-jo , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so pe-mo GRA T 4

.12 pa-ra-ko , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so pe-mo GRA T 7

.13 ko-tu[-ro$_2$] , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 1

.14 a-i-qe-u , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 6

D/* § 1 (l. 1) 'Communal' plot(s) 'without tenant', so much seed:[105.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.11 ha)].

§ 2 (l. 2) 'Plot-holders':

Aithiok^{w}s holds the 'lease' of a 'communal' plot from the 'village agricultural community', so much seed: 139.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.78 ha).

§ 3 (l. 3) Warnataios holds the 'lease' of a 'communal' plot from the 'village agricultural community', so much seed: 48 l. WHEAT (= c. 96 a).

Etc.

§ 13 (l. 14) *A-i-q-eus*, *and* he holds a 'communal' plot, a 'plot-holder', so much seed: 57.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 1.15 ha).

D/* All the 'tenants' in this text bear the important title of *ktoinohokhos* 'plot-holder'. This word is written in smaller signs (and in two parts) above Ep 301.2 where it is intended to qualify all the people of ll. 2–6, as shown by the corresponding *Eb* preparatory tablets. In the second section of Ep 301 (ll. 8–14), *ktoinohokhos* is written in each line. The syntax of these entries is made clear by **152** = Ep 613.11, where the present participle of the verb 'to be' is added: [*Pha*]*laikos* …, *ktoinohokhos ehōn* 'Phalaikos …, being himself a "plot-holder"'.

* Half of these 'plot-holders' are among the 'service-men' recorded as holding 'private plots' in the *Eo/En* tablets. The other names of Ep 301 may either reappear in *Eo/En* (*Atukhos*, *Phalaikos* and *Tantalos*), or not (*Ke-ra-u-jo*, *Ko-tu-ro*$_2$ and *Ku-so*).

D/* The form *e-ke-qe* which appears in the second section of Ep 301.8–14 (but not in ll. 2–6, where *e-ke* is used) extends throughout the corresponding small *Eb* tablets.

D/* The 'leases' of 'communal plots' by men and women who are not themselves *ktoinohokhoi* are catalogued on the other *Ep* tablets (see pp. 605–11).

D/D^2/* *a-no-no*: a compound adjective *anōnon*, literally 'without benefit', viz. 'without tenant'.

D/* Here is a list of the preliminary tablets written by Hand 41 which were synthesised in **138** = Ep 301 (Hand 1): **139** = Eb 818 (§ 1), **140** = Eb 846 (§ 2), Eb 369 (§ 3), Eb 747 (§ 4), Eb 903 (§ 5?), Eb 874 (§ 6), Eb 496 (§ 7), Eb 566 (§ 8), Eb 893 (§ 9), Eb 501 (§ 10), Eb 377 (§ 11), Eb 499 (§ 12), **141** = Eb 895 (§ 13). We give a selection of them below.

139 = Eb 818 (H 41)

ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , a-no-no , to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 1 [

Cf. **138** = Ep 301.1 (Hand 1)

D/* § 1 'Communal' plot(s) 'without tenant', so much seed: 105.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.11 ha).

140 = Eb 846 (H 41)

.A a_3-ti-jo-qo , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na
.B pa-ro , da-mo , ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 4 V 3

Cf. **138** = Ep 301.2 (Hand 1)

D/* § 2 Aithiok^{w}s, *and* he holds the 'lease' of a 'communal' plot from the 'village agricultural community' (being himself) a 'plot-holder', so much seed: 139.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.78 ha).

141 = Eb 895 (H 41)

.A a-i-qe-u , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na [ ]
.B ko-to-no-o-ko , to-so[-]ḍẹ , pe-mo GRA ṭ 6[

Cf. **138** = Ep 301.14 (Hand 1)

D/* § 13 *A-i-q-eus*, *and* he holds a 'communal' plot, (being himself) a 'plotholder', so much seed: 57.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 1.15 ha).

142 = Ep 704 (H 1)

.1 o-pe-to-re-u , qe-ja-me-no , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , to-so , pe-mo[ ]GRA 2 T 5
.2 u-wa-mi-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke-qe , i-je-re-ja , ḳẹ-ra , to-so pe-mo GRA T 1 V 3
.3 e-ri-ta , i-je-re-ja , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 4
.4 ki-ri-te-wi-ja , o-na-to , e-ko-si , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo , ṭo-so , pe-mo GRA 1 T 9
.5 e-ri-ta , i-je-re-ja , e-ke , e-u-ke-to-qe , e-to-ni-jo , e-ke-e , te-o , da-mo-de-mi , pa-si , ko-to-na-o ,
.6 ke-ke-me-na-o , o-na-to , e-ke-e , to-so pe-mo GRA 3 T 9

.7 ka-pa-ti-ja , ka-ra-wi-po-ro , e-ke , ke-ke-me-no , o-pe-ro-sa , du-wo-u-pi , wo-ze-e , o-u-wo-ze , [[ ]]
.8 to-ṣọ[pe-mo GRA]4

D/* § 1 (l. 1) *O-pe-to-r-eus*, *in compensation*, holds a 'communal' plot, so much seed: 240 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.8 ha).
§ 2 (l. 2) Huamia, 'servant' (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a 'lease' as a gift of the priestess, so much seed: 14.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 28.8 a).
§ 3 (l. 3) Eritha, the priestess, holds the 'lease' of a 'communal' plot from the 'village agricultural community', so much seed: 38.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 76.8 a).
§ 4 (l. 4) The *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* women hold the 'lease' of a 'communal' plot from the 'village agricultural community', so much seed: 182.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.65 ha).
§ 5 (ll. 5–6) Eritha, the priestess, holds and claims that (her) god holds an *e-to-ni-jo*; however, the 'village agricultural community' says that (s)he (merely) holds a 'lease' of 'communal' plots, so much seed: 374.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 7.49 ha).
§ 6 (ll. 7–8) Karpathia, the key-bearer (f.), holds two 'communal' <plots>; though under an obligation to 'work' on the two, she does not 'work': so much [seed: *x* l. WHEAT].

This list contains several formulae unique in complexity. Most of its subjects share religious functions. Only two of the entries refer specifically to *onāta paro dāmōi*; some at least of the remainder evidently describe other, more obscure, kinds of holding.

D/* line 1: *O-pe-to-r-eus* is a man's name which is written by other hands as *O-pe-te-r-eus*, most likely Opheltreus (Ea 805, Hand 43; **143** = Eb 294, Hand 41) – we can be sure that the same person is involved. Ea 805 is extremely interesting, because it records a piece of land held by *O-pe-te-re-u e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja*, viz. *eneka anorkʷhasiās* (?) 'on account of a/the manslaughter'. We have already commented on this text (see p. 577) as likely to allude to compensation given to Opheltreus for someone's death.

* *qe-ja-me-no* looks like a middle aorist participle and has been attractively transcribed as *kʷeiamenos* 'in compensation' (cf. τίνομαι; Killen 1992b.378–80 = *Economy and Administration* II.578–80; further García Ramón 2007). If the Opheltreus of *Ea* and *Eb*/*Ep* were the same man, he would have got two plots of c. 3.84 ha (Ea 805) and c. 4.8 ha (**143** = Eb 294/**142** = Ep 704.1) as compensation for someone's death.

D/* line 2: *onāton hekhei kʷe* is unexpected in the *Ep* series, where Hand 1 normally writes *onāton hekhei* without *kʷe* (compare Hand 41, with *hekhei kʷe onāton*). Is this perhaps due to the addition of *i-je-re-ja ḳẹ-ra*, *hiereiās geras* 'as a gift of the priestess'? The first sign of the key word *ḳẹ-ra* is damaged here and on **144** = Eb 416. The dimensions of the plot differ in *Ep* (T 1 V 3) and *Eb* (T 2 V 3).

D/* line 3: the priestess Eritha (here, ll. 3, 5) may also be designated by *hiereia* alone (**147** = Eb 297; Ep 539.7–8), or as *hiereia Pa-ki-ja-na* 'priestess of Sphagianes' (Eb 339, 1176; **126** = Eo 224.8).

D/* line 4: *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*: a group of women (as shown by the plural *hekhonsi* 'they hold') with religious affinities (see **27** = An 607, p. 446). This word could be linked with the noun for

'barley', *ki-ri-ta*, *krithā* (cf. κριθή). This large plot appears in the plural on **146** = Eb 321. It is exceptional that a plot is held collectively by several people.

D/* lines 5–6: the large 'communal plots' (plural) here are evidently quite distinct from the small '"leases" from the "village agricultural community"' attributed to the same priestess Eritha in line 3.

D/* As the congruent *hekhei* 'has' and *phāsi* ('says'; cf. φησί) show, *eukhetoi* is in the present tense, with -τοι as in Arcadian instead of Attic -ται (see p. 244). *Eukhetoi* does not mean 'prays' or 'boasts' but 'solemnly or insistently declares', which is nearest to the original sense of εὔχομαι. The construction with the infinitive is only used in Homer of the subject of the verb: εὔχομαι εἶναι 'I claim to be …'.

D/* The transcription and precise meaning of *e-to-ni-jo* is uncertain (cf. p. 583), but it was obviously more favourable for the holders than the *onāton*.

D/* The case of *te-o* may be the accusative (*thehon*) or the dative (*thehōi*): it could be subject of *hekhehen* (as translated above) or the indirect complement ('that she holds an *e-to-ni-jo* for her god').

D/* The construction of the second half of the sentence must be discussed. The third syllable of *da-mo-de-mi* is the enclitic *-de* (cf. δέ) which articulates the second clause in the preliminary version **147** = Eb 297: we provisionally translate it here as 'however'. In *dāmos de min*, *de min* follows the normal word order, cf. *Od.* IV, 116 νόησε δέ μιν Μενέλαος 'and Menelaos noted him', etc. Compare *e-ke-de-mi* a_2*-ku-mi-jo* on PY **200** = Na 926 (Hand 1 as Ep 704): *hekhei de min* a_2*-ku-mi-jo*, where *min* (cf. μιν) would appear to mean 'it' rather than 'him/her' (the most frequent Homeric use).

D/* μιν is the anaphoric pronoun referring back to a living creature or an item just mentioned. It is not reflexive except in subordinate clauses with a new grammatical subject, e.g. *Il.* V, 844–45: Ἀθήνη δῦν' Ἄϊδος κυνέην, μή μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης 'Athene put on a cap of invisibility so that the mighty Ares should not see her'. The Linear B sentence cannot therefore mean 'however, she says that she herself (= *min*) holds …'. We could possibly understand it as 'however, she says that the *dāmos* holds …'. Still, it would be most unexpected if the priestess, who fights against the *dāmos*' claim, should in the end recognise that she herself is not the party interested in the amount of seed corn listed. The only reasonable interpretation is then 'however, the *dāmos* says that (s)he (merely) holds …'. That the *dāmos* should be so personified that it can be recorded as 'saying' something is not unreasonable, even for this date: in the *onāton paro dāmōi* formula it occupies the same position as human beings do in *onāton paro Aithiok*^{w}*ei*, etc.

D/D^2/* lines 7–8: *Karpathiā* is the name of the *klāwiphoros*, the female title of a religious office, literally 'key-bearer'. Compare the titles of a priest(ess) Attic κλειδοῦχος, κλειδοφόρος; Doric κλᾳκοφόρος (Messene, *IG* V(1) 1447). In the *E*- series, *Karpathiā klāwiphoros* may also be designated by her name alone (Ep 539.9) or by *klāwiphoros* (**155** = Ed 317). Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.108) proposes the restoration [WHEAT 10 T]4 in line 8, the last figure being preserved (see p. 615).

143 = Eb 294 (H 41)

.1 o-pe-te-re-u , qe-ja-me-no , e-ke-qe , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na
.2 to-so-de , pe-mo , GRA 2 T 5

Cf. **142** = Ep 704.1 (Hand 1)

D/* § 1 Opheltreus, *in compensation*, *and* he holds a 'communal' plot, so much seed: 240 l. WHEAT (= c. 4.8 ha).
See the comment on **142** = Ep 704.1.

144 = Eb 416 (H 41)

.1 u-wa-mi-ja , te-o-jo˩ ˩do-e-ṛạ˩ ˩ẹ[-ke-]qe , i-je-ṛẹ[-ja]ḳẹ-ra ̣ ọ[-na-to
.2 to-so-ḍẹ˩ ˩pe-mo GRA T 2 V 3 [ ] *vacat* [

Cf. **142** = Ep 704.2 (Hand 1)

D/* § 2 Huamia, 'servant' (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a 'lease' as a gift of the priestess, so much seed: 24 l. WHEAT (= c. 48 a).
See the comment on **142** = Ep 704.2.

145 = Eb 339 (H 41)

.A i-je-re-ja , pa-ki-ja-na , e-ke-qẹ[o-na-to ke-ke-me-na]
.B ko-to-na , pa-ro˩ ˩ḍạ-mo [to-so-de]pe-mo GRA T 4

Cf. **142** = Ep 704.3 (Hand 1)
§ 3 The priestess of Sphagianes, *and* she holds [a 'lease' of a 'communal'] plot from the 'village agricultural community'[, so much] seed: 38.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 76.8 a).

146 = Eb 321 (H 41)

.A ki-ri-te-wi-ja , e-ko-si-qe , ọ[-]na[-to ke-ke-]me-na-o
.B ko[-to-na-o pa-ro da-mo to-so-]de , pe-mo GRA 1 T 9

Cf. **142** = Ep 704.4 (Hand 1)

D/* § 4 The *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*-women, *and* they hold a 'lease' of 'communal' plo[ts from the 'village agricultural community', so mu]ch seed: 182.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 3.65 ha).
D/* The plots are here in the plural, compared with the singular in **142** = Ep 704.4.

147 = Eb 297 (H 41)

.1 i-je-re-ja , e-ke-qe , e-u-ke-to-qe , e-to-ni-jo , e-ke-e , te-o
.2 ko-to-no-o-ko-de , ko-to-na-o , ke-ke-me-na-o , o-na-ta , e-ke-e
.3 GRA 3 T 9 V 3

Cf. **142** = Ep 704.5–6 (Hand 1)

D/* § 5 The priestess, *and* she both holds and claims that (her) god holds an *e-to-ni-jo*; however, the 'plot-holders' (claim) that (s)he holds 'leases' of 'communal' plots: 379.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 7.58 ha).

D/* The divergences from Ep 704.5–6 are as follows: (a) omission of 'Eritha'; (b) addition of the enclitic in *hekhei k^{w}e*; (c) use of *ktoinohokhoi de* instead of *dāmos de min phasi*; (d) plural *onāta* in lieu of the singular *onāton*; (e) omission of *to-so pe-mo*; (f) additional V 3 in the total.

D/D^{2}/* *ko-to-no-o-ko* could be singular, but a plural is suggested by the twelve *ktoinohokhoi* listed in **138** = Ep 301.2–14.

D/* The case of *te-o* could be the accusative (*thehon*) or the dative (*thehōi*) here as in **142** = Ep 704.5. It is difficult to understand the second half of the text as 'however (she declares) that the "plot-holders" have …' or as '… however, she claims that she holds "leases", being herself a "plot-holder"'. Indeed, the priestess should not flatly admit the claims of her opponents; moreover, Eritha is not mentioned in the list of the twelve 'plot-holders' of **138** = Ep 301.

* The replacement of the *ktoinohokhoi* (*Eb*) by *dāmos* (*Ep*) shows that the board of 'plot-holders' had a strong link with the 'village agricultural community'. Did perhaps the 'plot-holders' and the 'village agricultural community' intervene at two different levels of the procedure, introductory and advanced? We are sure that there was at least a further step, because the dispute is not settled in the *Eb/Ep* series.

148 = Eb 338 (H 41)

.A ka-pa-ti-ja , ka-ra-wi-po[-ro pa-]ḳ̣i-ja-pi , e-ke-qe , to-so-de pe-mo
.B ke-ke-me-no , ko-to-no⌊ ⌋dwo , o-pe-ro-sa-de , wo-zo-e , o-wo-ze GRA [

Cf. **142** = Ep 704.7–8 (Hand 1)

D/* § 6 Karpathia, the key-bearer (f.) at Sphagianes, *and* she holds two 'communal' plots; however, though under an obligation to 'work', she does not 'work', so much seed: [*x* l.] WHEAT.

D/* The words *to-so-de pe-mo* have evidently been fitted into the end of line .A due to lack of space in line .B. The wording shows a number of divergences from that of Ep 704.7–8. The last two words are misspellings, *wo-zo-e* standing for *wo-ze-e*, *worzehen*, and *o-wo-ze* for the more explicit *o-u-wo-ze*, *ou worzei*.

D/* The remaining texts of the *Ep* series are the four very large tablets (Ep 212, 539, **152** = Ep 613 and **149** = Ep 705) of which the last two are reproduced here. Only a fraction of the preliminary *Eb* records written by Hand 41 survive. The name Hektor occurs twice as a 'servant' (m.) of the god who holds a '"lease" from the "village agricultural community"' (Ep 212.3; **149** = Ep 705.8): it is probably the same individual in both cases.

149 = Ep 705 (H 1)

.1 ma-ra$_{3}$-wa , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ḳ̣e[-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA]Ṭ 2
.2 ka-ta-no , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e-ke[ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-]mo GRA T 2

.3 du-ni-jo , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to , e[-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-]ṣọ pe-mo GRA T 1
.4 e-sa-ro , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-na-to[e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-]rọ , ḍạ-mo , to-so pe-mo GRA V 2
.5 ka-ra-u-du-ro , te-o-jo , do-e-rọ , o-na-to , ẹ-kẹ , [ke-ke-me-na ko-]ṭọ-na , pa-ro , da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA T 2
.6 to-ro-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-ṇạ , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA T 1
.7 o-re-a_2 , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , ọ-na-to , e-keL ⌋ke-ke-me-na , ko[-to-]ṇạ , pa-ro , da-mo , to-so pe-mo GRA V 2
.8 e-ko-to , te-o-jo , do-e-ro , o-ṇạ-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 2
.9 pu-ko-wo , te-o-jo , do-e-roL ⌋o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na[ko-to-na pa-ro da-]mọ L ⌋to-so pe-mo GRA T 2
.10 ta-ra-mi-ka , te-o-joL ⌋do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-kẹ[-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-]mo , to-so pe-mo GRA T 1 V[

The preparatory *Eb* tablets for Ep 705 are: **150** = Eb 866 (§ 1), 890 (§ 2), 169 (§ 3), 835[+]838 (§ 5), 913 (§ 8), 464 (§ 10).

§ 1 *Ma-ra$_3$-wa*, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds the 'lease' of a 'com[munal' plot from the 'village agricultural community', so much seed:] 19.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a).
Etc.

150 = Eb 866 (H 41)

.A ke-ke-me-ṇạ , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo
.B ma-ra$_3$-wa , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to GRA [T 2

Cf. **149** = Ep 705.1 (Hand 1).

D/* *Ma-ra$_3$-wa*, 'servant' (f.) of the god, *and* she holds the 'lease' of a 'communal' plot from the 'village agricultural community': [19.2 l.] WHEAT (= c. 38.4 a)
The woman's name was first written *Ma-ra-wa* and then corrected in *Ma-ra$_3$-wa* with the doublet syllabogram *ra$_3$*.

151 = Eb 473 (H 41)

.1 a-pi-me-de , e-ke-qe , e-to-ni-jo , ke-ke-me-na-o , ko-to-na-o
.2 to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 4 T 6

Amphimedes, *and* he holds the *e-to-ni-jo* of 'communal' plots, so much seed: 441.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 8.83 ha).

Eb 473 was the preliminary version of Ep 539.14, which can now be read as: *Amphi*[*mē*] *dēs hekhei e-to-ni-jo ke-ke-me*[*nāhōn k*]*toinā*[*hōn*]. Amphimedes could be the same person as

a 'sheep collector' of Pylos, an important Mycenaean functionary (see further **61** = Cn 655). Unlike with the priestess Eritha (**147** = Eb 297/**142** = Ep 704.5–6), there is no dispute about Amphimedes' *e-to-ni-jo*.

Just like **146** = Eb 321 and **147**, this tablet shows 'plots' in the plural.
Ep 539.10–12 refer to three men as being *Amphimēdehos doeloi* and it has been hypothesised that Amphimedes is the name of the 'follower' of *Eb/Ep* (see p. 615).

The long tablet **152** = Ep 613 can be divided into two sections, which show different formulae. The first (lines 1–13) refers to holdings of *kamas* land and to some kinds of service rendered in return. A pair of lines (11–12) describe a *kamas* holding by the *ktoinohokhos* Phalaikos (whom we know from **126** = Eo 224.2–3, **138** = Ep 301.12) and a 'lease' held from him by a *thehoio doelā*. The second part of the tablet (lines 14–20) repeats almost exactly the normal *onāton paro dāmōi* formula of **149** = Ep 705, etc., and will not be commented on here.

152 = Ep 613 (H 1)

.1 ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma]o̤-pe-ro[du-]wo-u-pi , te-re-ja-e ,
.2 e-me-de te-re-ja to-so-]de , [pe-mo] GRA 10 T 1
.3]*vestigia* [ke-ke-]me-na , ko-to-na , ka-ma-e-u , wo-ze-qe , to-so pe-mo[GRA]ṭ̤ 3̤
.4 te-re-]ta , su-ko , po-ṛo̤-du[-ma o-pe-ro-qe]du-wo-u-pi , te-re-ja-e⌊ ⌋o-u-qe , wo-ze [ ] *vacat*
.5 to-]ṣo̤-de , pẹ̤-mo GRA 10[ ] *vacat*
.6 a$_3$-ḳẹ̤-re-u , ạ-si-to-po-qo , ka-ma , e-ke-qe , wo-ze-qe , to-so pe-mo GRA 1 T [2
.7 a-•-ke-re-u , i-je-ro-wo-ko , ka-ma-e-u , o-na-to e-ke , wo-ze-qe to-so pe-mo GRA 1
.8 sa-sa-]wo̤ , o-na-to , e-ke , ka-ma-e-u , e-pi-qe , to-me , te-ra-p̤i̤[-ke]to-so̤ , pe-mo GRA 1 T 5
.9 e-u-]ru-wo-ta , te-o-jo , [do-e-]ro , e-ke-qẹ̤[ka-]ma , o-na-to , wo̤-ze-qe , ṭo̤-ṣo̤ , pẹ̤[-mo] GRA 1 T 3
.10 pe-]ṛẹ̤-qo-ta , pa-de-we-ṳ[e-]ke-qe , ka-ma , o-na-to , si-ri-jo , ra-ke , to-so , pe-mo GRA 1
.11 pa-]ṛạ-ko , e-ḳẹ̤-qe , ka-ma , ko-to-no-o-ko , e-o to-so , pe-mo GRA 1
.12 po-]ṣo̤-re[-ja te-]o̤-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro , pa-ra-ko , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 1 V 3
.13 ḳo̤[-tu-ro$_2$ mi-]ka-ta , pa-de-we-u , ka-ma-e-u , e-ke-qe , wo-ze-qe , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 5
.14 we-ra-jo[po-]ti-ni-ja-we-jo , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , to-so , pe-mo GRA T 2
.15 a pe-mo
.15 b ko-pi-na , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro da-mo to-so GRA T 2
.16 mi-ra⌊ ⌋te-o-jo⌊ ⌋do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo , to-so pe-mo GRA T 1

.17 qe-ri-ṭạ , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro da-mo , pe-mo GRA T 2
.18]*vestigia*[te-o-]jo , do-e-ra , o-na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo , to-so , pe-mo GRA V 3
.19 te-o-jo] , do-e-ṛọ , o[-]na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro , da-mo , to-so , pe-mo GRA V 4
.20]ra-so , te-o-jo , [do-e-ro o-]na-to , e-ke , ke-ke-me-na , ko-to-na , pa-ro da-mo , to-ṣọ[pe-mo GRA

D/D²/* § 1 (ll. 1–2; cf. Eb 495): [*Kamas* of *Ne-q-eus e-da-eus*,] though under an obligation to 'perform' on two, [he (only) 'performs' on one; so] much [seed]: 969.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 19.39 ha).

§ 2 (l. 3; cf. Eb 862?): [X. holds the 'lease' of a 'com]munal' plot as a *kamas*-holder and 'works', so much seed: [*x* l. WHEAT].

§ 3 (ll. 4–5; cf. Eb 149): [The 'service-]man' *Su-ko*, vice-super[intendent], [and being under an obligation] to 'perform' on two, and he does not 'work', so much seed: 960[l. WHEAT (= c. 19.20[ha).

§ 4 (l. 6; cf. Eb 177): A_3*-ke-r-eus*, the *ạ-si-to-po-qo*, both holds and 'works' a *kamas*, so much seed: 115.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.30 ha).

§ 5 (l. 7): *A-•-ke-r-eus*, the sacrificing priest, holds a 'lease' as a *kamas*-holder and 'works', so much seed: 96 l. WHEAT (= c. 1.92 ha).

§ 6 (l. 8; cf. **153** = Eb 842): [*Sa-sa-*]*wọ* holds a 'lease' as a *kamas*-holder, and he 'does (his) service' *to-me*, so much seed: 144 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.88 ha).

§ 7 (l. 9; cf. Eb 156): [*E-u-*]*ru-wo-ta*, 'servant' (m.) of the god, both holds the 'lease' of a *kamas* and 'works', so much seed: 124.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.5 ha).

§ 8 (l. 10; cf. Eb 159): [*Pe-*]*ṛẹ-qo-ta pa-de-w-eus*, and he holds a *kamas* as a 'lease'; he obtained the portion of *si-ri-jo*, so much seed: 96 l. WHEAT (= c. 1.92 ha).

§ 9 (l. 11; cf. Eb 173.1): [Pha]laikos, *and* he holds a *kamas*, being himself a 'plot-holder', so much seed: 96 l. WHEAT (= c. 1.92 ha).

§ 10 (l. 12; cf. Eb 173.2): Psoleia, 'servant' (f.) of the god, holds a 'lease' from Phalaikos, so much seed: 14.4 l. WHEAT (= c. 28.8 a).

§ 11 (l. 13; cf. Eb 839): *Ko*[*-tu-ro*$_2$, the *mi*]*ktās pa-de-w-eus*, *kamas*-holder, both holds and 'works', so much seed: 48 l. WHEAT (= c. 96 a). Etc.

D² § 2 (l. 3): if the equation with Eb 862 is sound, restore [*ko-i-ro*] at the beginning, but this cannot finally be confirmed.

D/D²/* § 3 (l. 4–5): Eb 149[+]940 is the corresponding entry. It can perhaps be restored thus:

.1 te-re-ta , su-ko[po-ro-du-ma?]ọ-pe-ro-qe , te-re-ja-e , o-u-qe , te-re-ja
.2 du-wo-u-pi-de , ṭọ[-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 10+]

The 'service-man' *Su-ko*[, vice-superintendent?] and being under an obligation to 'perform' and he does not 'perform', but [he …] on two, [so much seed, etc.].'

Su-ko has been supposed to be the fourteenth *telestās* and the fortieth different *Eo/En* person (see p. 593). In both *Eb/Ep* records, *Su-ko*, whose name does not appear elsewhere in Pylos, is the second word of the entries: a quite unusual feature.

D/D²/* § 4 (l. 6): on the corresponding Eb 177 only]*ṭo-po-qo* survives. The *a* of *ạ-si-to-po-qo* could be due to confusion between *sito-pok*^{w}*os* and *arto-pok*^{w}*os* 'baker'. A reading ***ạ-pi-to-po-qo*, i.e. a reference to barley (**alphito-*), is not possible: *-si-* is written quite differently from *-pi-*.
§ 6 (l. 8): *e-pi-qe to-me te-ra-pi*[*-ke*]: *e-pi-qe to-me* is exceedingly difficult. To begin with, the preliminary tablet **153** = Eb 842 (Hand 41) has a slightly different text and reads *e-pi-qe to-e te-ra-pi-ke*:

.A sa-sa-wo , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , ka-ma-e-u
.B e-pi-qe , to-e , te-ra-pi-ke to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 1 T [5

The change from *to-e* to *to-me* is perplexing and has been explained in several ways, including an error. For instance: (a) *To-* in both words is a dative *tōi* coupled with two different particles: *-me* = *men* (μέν *solitarium*) and *-e* = *-en*, the suffix found in Argive τōνδεōνέν, ταδέν; (b) *To-me* should be read as *tomei* 'on the piece of land' (cf. τόμος). Etc.

D/D²/* § 8 (l. 10): the corresponding Eb 159 reads: *pe-re-qo-ta pa-da-je-u* , *i-je-ṛo*[…]*ka-ma* , *si-ṛi-j̣o-jo ra-ke* , [. The variation in the spelling between *pa-de-we-u* (*Ep*) and *pa-da-je-u* (*Eb*), probably an ethnic or title, is guaranteed by *mi-*]*ka-ta pa-de-we-u* (**152** = Ep 613, § 10, l. 13) compared with *mi-ka-ta pa-da-je-u* on Eb 839. The difference of scribes (Hand 1 vs 41) obviously explains these changes.
The word *ra-ke* could be an unaugmented aorist λάχε (from λαγχάνω) 'obtained as one's portion, gained possession'. If *ra-ke* was not a verb, it could perhaps be a thematic dative-locative in *-ei* **lakhei* (cf. the athematic λάχος 'allotted portion'). A root-noun **laks*, gen. *lakhos*, is perhaps conceivable.
The word before *ra-ke* differs in *Eb* and *Ep*: *Si-ṛi-j̣o-jo* vs *Si-ri-jo*. The first form is the normal genitive singular of a thematic name. The second is an error of Hand 1: the scribe probably omitted the last sign, just as he did in *ki-ti-me*<*-na*> (**122** = En 74.1, **124** = 467.3) or in *to*<*-so*> (Ep 212.8).
§ 9–10 (ll. 11–12): the main holder of this *kamas* is alone in not being required to *worzehen*, etc. The same is true of his 'tenant', Psoleia.

B. THE PYLOS LAND-TENURE Ed SERIES (TOTALLING TABLETS: HANDS 1 AND 41)

D/D²/* We will close the discussion of the main series of Pylos land-tenure lists with five small tablets which give selective totals. These records must be divided into two separate sets.

D/D²/* The first comprises four tablets that make up a single document: **154** = Ed 236, **155** = Ed 317, **156** = Ed 847 and **157** = Ed 901. They are all written by Hand 1 and share the same dimensions (cm 3.3–3.7 x 15.9–18.9 x 1.5–1.7).

They will be referred to below as 'the "main" *Ed* tablets'. They are generally supposed to concern the *Eb/Ep* series of the area of Sphagianes. This place-name does not appear in *Ed*, but *Eb/Ep* and the 'main' *Ed* tablets have several points in common: (a) Hand 1 wrote both *Ep* and the 'main' *Ed* tablets. (b) **155** = Ed 317 lists the plots of at least three major holders of *Eb/Ep* (the priestess (*Eritha*), the key-bearer (*Karpathia*), *Westreus* (the priest)). (c) A fourth major holder could be added if we accept the identification of an anonymous 'follower' as Amphimedes (see p. 615). (d) If so, a further common point could be a relation between **156** = Ed 847 and the plots of the 'servants' (m.) of the 'follower', if these are listed in Ep 539.10–12 as '"servants" of Amphimedes'.

D/D²/* The order of the 'main' *Ed* tablets is partly indicated by the presence or absence of *o-da-a*$_2$ 'item'. Since **154** = Ed 236 does not use *o-da-a*$_2$, it must be the first of the set, while the three other tablets which begin with *o-da-a*$_2$ must necessarily follow.

D²/* The fifth *Ed* tablet, **158** = Ed 411, is currently considered as unrelated to the 'main' *Ed* records and for convenience we shall refer to it here as *Ed 411. Several reasons explain this view. (a) *Ed 411 was written not by one, but by two Hands: Hand 41, the scribe of *Eb* and *Eo*, for line 1; Hand 1, the writer of the 'main' *Ed*, *En* and *Ep*, for line 2 and the edge. (b) The height of *Ed 411 is somewhat greater than that of the 'main' *Ed* tablets (4.3 cm vs 3.3–3.7 cm). (c) *Ed 411 is either unique or the first record of a specific set: indeed, it does not begin with the complex particle *o-da-a*$_2$. This excludes *Ed 411 from the 'main' *Ed* tablets, which already have a first tablet without *o-da-a*$_2$. (d) The '"servants" (f.) of the god' are unknown on the 'main' *Ed* tablets, but appear on the edge of *Ed 411.

D²/* The 'main' *Ed* tablets have been the subject of an important note by Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.107–11). He has tried to show, as far as the mutilated figures allow, that they could provide a series of totals for the *Ep* tablets. This interpretation is generally accepted and will be adopted here, in spite of several difficulties (see Duhoux 2017).

154 = Ed 236 (H 1)

.1 ka-ma-e-we , o-na-ta , e-ko-te , ke-ke-me-na-o , ko-to-na-o ,
.2 wo-zo-te , to-so , pe-mo GRA 30 T 2 V 3

D/D²/* §1 Holders of *kamas*, holding 'leases' of 'communal' plots, 'working', so much seed: 2904 l. WHEAT (= c. 58.08 ha).

D²/* The *kamas* of *Eb/Ep* are assumed to be registered here, with the exception of that of *Karpathia*, the key-bearer, whose *kamas* is supposed to be included in **155** = Ed 317. Their preserved dimensions total WHEAT 28 V 2 (whether 'worked' or not) but since three numbers are damaged or lost, they could match the expected WHEAT figure of 30 T 2 V 3.

155 = Ed 317 (H 1)

.1 ọ-dạ-a_2 , i-je-re-ja , ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe , e-qe-ta-qe ⟦ ⟧
.2 we-te-re-u-qe , o-na-ta , to-so-de , pe-mo , GRA 21 T 6

D/D²/* § 2 Item: the priestess and the key-bearer and the 'follower' and Westreus, 'leases', so much seed: 2073.6 l. WHEAT (= c. 41.47 ha).

D²/* The plots of four important figures are registered here, the priestess (named as *Eritha* in **142** = Ep 704.3, 5), the key-bearer (named as *Karpathia* in **142** = Ep 704.7), an anonymous 'follower' and Westreus who appears as a *hiereus* 'priest' on **122** = En 74.16, etc. Here are their *Ep* data. (1) The priestess: WHEAT 4 T 3 (including a large plot held on behalf of her deity). (2) The key-bearer: two *kamas* whose size is almost completely missing on **148** = Eb 338/**142** = Ep 704.7–8. (3) The anonymous 'follower' identified by Lejeune as Amphimedes: an *e-to-ni-jo* of WHEAT 4 T 6 (Ep 539.14). (4) The priest *Westreus*: WHEAT 2 T 3 (Ep 539.13). The total of the three preserved figures is WHEAT 11 T 2, as compared with the WHEAT 21 T 6 of Ed 317, so Lejeune supposes that the double holding of the key-bearer was WHEAT [10 T 4]. This figure could be restored in **142** = Ep 704.8, since a number '4' is legible after a lacuna.

156 = Ed 847 (H 1)

.1 o-da-a_2 , e-qe-si-jo , do-e-ro , e-ko-si , o-na-ta
.2 ⟦ ⟧ , to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 3 V 4

D²/* § 3 Item: the 'servants' (m.) of the 'follower' hold 'leases', so much seed: 131.2 l. WHEAT (= c. 2.62 ha).

D²/* If the 'follower' is Amphimedes, the three 'servants' of Amphimedes of Ep 539.10–12 are those of the 'follower'. This leads to a difficulty, however, because their *Ep* plots only amount to WHEAT 1 T 1, instead of the WHEAT 1 T 3 V 4 of **156**. One of the three *Ep* figures (T) is damaged in Ep 539.12, but T 2 is confirmed by the corresponding *Eb* record, Eb 1186. The two totals cannot possibly match, though one might conjecture a scribal error (see Del Freo 2008.65–66).

157 = Ed 901 (H 1)

.1 o-da-a_2 , ke-ḳẹ-me-na-ọ ⌟ḳọ-to-na-o , o-na-ta , e-ko-si , ko-to-ne-ta
.2 ṭọ-so , pe-mo ḡṛạ ⌞6⌟ ṭ[ ]*vacat*

D/D²/* § 4 Item: the 'men of the plots' hold 'leases' of the 'communal' plots, so much seed: 585.6[l. WHEAT (= c. 11.71[ha).

D/* The form κτοινέται 'members of a township' is known from inscriptions of Syme, north of Rhodes. Regarding its -έτᾱς suffix, see Leukart 1994.262–68. The *ktoinetai* are literally 'men of the plots'. They never appear in *Eb*/*Ep* or *Eo*/

En. What they represent in the Pylos set-up is difficult to guess: see Lejeune's discussion (*Mémoires* III.109–10).

D/* Note the unusual inversion of the word order, with the subject second and the complement first.

158 = *Ed 411 (H 1, 41)

Recto

.1 ku-su-to-ro-qa , pa̤-to̤[ ]te-re-ta GRA 44 [[ ]][
.2 ka-ma-e̤-we GRA 59̤ T 2̤ [
Latus inferius
te-o-jo , do-e-ra[

D/* Grand total *pa̤-to̤*[:

the 'service-men': 4224 l. WHEAT (= c. 84.48 ha);
the *kamas*-holders: 5692.8 l. WHEAT (= c. 113.86 ha);
Edge: the 'servants' (f.) of the god[: *x* l. WHEAT].

* The photograph shows that there is room for either two or three signs or for an empty space between *pa̤-to̤*[and *te-re-ta*, as in l. 2 before and after *ka-ma-e̤-we*.

D/* The word coming after *ku-su-to-ro-qa* , *pa̤-to̤*[, might be a genitive singular or plural of 'all', πᾶς. The reading of *pa̤-to̤*[is doubtful, however, and it is uncertain whether the word was complete or not.

* We have seen above that **158** = *Ed 411 is not a member of the 'main' *Ed* set; but what is its function? It was obviously a totalling tablet, as shown by the word for 'grand total', *ku-su-to-ro-qa*, *ksun(s)trok(h)^{w}ā* with which it begins.

D²/* The current opinion is that *Ed 411 totalled the plots of Sphagianes. L. 1 would concern *Eo/En* with their *telestai* and *onātēres*; l. 2, the 'main' *Ed* tablets. This supposes that 'the *kamas*-holders' of l. 2 include, in fact, the *kamas*-holders (**154** = Ed 236), the priestess, the key-bearer, the 'follower' and Westreus (**155** = Ed 317), the 'servants' (m.) of the 'follower' (**156** = Ed 847) and the 'men of the plots' (**157** = Ed 901).

* What about the '"servants" (f.) of the god' (edge of *Ed 411), however? And where were the male '"servants" of the deity' registered? Should we not suppose that they were included in another tablet which followed *Ed 411?

4. MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS OF LAND AT PYLOS (Eq)

* The two *Eq* tablets presented here share several features in common with the *Ed*, *En* or *Ep* texts examined above: they were all written by the master scribe of Pylos, Hand 1; the formula 'so much seed: WHEAT' *to-so-de pe-mo* GRA introduces the dimensions of the plots; the *o-da-a*$_2$ 'item' complex particle is systematically used to give a clear structuring of the paragraphs. Nevertheless, there are some

striking differences: instead of the ubiquitous 'village agricultural community' *dāmos* of *Ep*, a 'town' *wastu* is referred to; there is no example of any '"servant" of the god' *theoio doelos/ā*, the title so frequently mentioned in *En* or *Ep*, though a '"servant" of Poseidon' appears once here; Poseidon himself is unknown in *Eb/Ep*, *Ed* or *En/Eo*; there are no indications like *ke-ke-menā*, *ktimenā* or *kamas* as in *En* or *Ep*.

159 = Eq 36 (H 1)

.1]-we-jo , wa-tu ,
.2] , a-de-te
.3 to-]so-de , pe-mo GRA 2
.4 o-da-a_2]ạ-de-te ⟦ ⟧
.5 to-so-]ḍẹ ⌟pe-mo GRA 2
.6 o-da-a_2]ṇi-jạ-de ,
.7 *deest*
.8 *deest*
.9 *deest*
.10 to-so-de pe-mo]GRA 1 o-ḍạ-ạ$_2$[
.11]ḳẹ-me , to-so-de ,
.12 pe-mo GRA o-]da-a_2 , a-ta-wo-ne-jo ,
.13]ṗạ-ra-jo , po-ṇẹ-to-qe-mi ,
.14 •-•] , to-so-de , pe-mo , GRA 4
.15 o-da-]a_2 , po-se-da-o-no ⌟do-e-ro , ṗạ-[
.16 to-]so-de ⌟ṗẹ[-mo GRA]T ⌞4⌟[ ]*vac*.[

* This badly damaged tablet had at least seven entries giving the dimensions of several plots, introduced as usual by *to-so-de pe-mo* GRA, 'so much seed: WHEAT'. When the figures are complete, they are rather large: once WHEAT 1 (96 l. wheat = c. 1.92 ha); twice WHEAT 2 (192 l. wheat = c. 3.84 ha); once WHEAT 4 (384 l. wheat = c. 7.68 ha). All these numbers are round, but there is one fractional example, WHEAT]T ⌞4⌟[. The text is carefully organised, with at least three *o-da-a_2* 'item' complex particles. Translations will be given below only when the text allows it.

* line 1: this sequence could have been the heading of the whole record. It ends with the Mycenaean word for 'town', *wa-tu*, *wastu* (cf. ἄστυ). The only other mention of *wastu* at Pylos appears in **309** = Tn 316 rev.1 (Hand 44b), where it contrasts with *pu-ro*, *Pulos* 'Pylos'. Perhaps *Pulos* and *wastu* refer respectively to the palace (or the kingdom) vs the 'town', viz. the most important urban area of the kingdom, the city of Pylos itself. Anyway, the use of *wastu* here provides a further institution apparently involved in land tenure. The text is too fragmentary to give more details, but we may at least note the contrast between *wastu* here and the widespread *dāmos* 'village agricultural community' of *Ea* and *Eb/Ep*. We have seen that the *dāmos* has strong agricultural concerns and that it once replaced the board of the *ktoinohokhoi* 'plot-holders'. The opposition between

dāmos and *wastu* could then be that of 'country' vs 'town'. Perhaps the 'town' of Pylos was the manager of the ground recorded here.

* The]-*we-jo* sequence before *wastu* perhaps gave information about the plots themselves. There are too many possibilities to be sure: for instance, *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* 'of the (divine) Mistress' – the word appears in **160** = Eq 213.5 (same scribe) where it qualifies a place-name; etc.
* lines 2–3 and 4–5: the remaining traces exhibit the same figures, WHEAT 2, and apparently twice the same occupational term in -*tēr*, *a-de-te*. *A-de-tēr* was probably preceded by the name of each person involved. It regularly happens elsewhere in land-tenure records that two different plot-holders practising the same function are listed immediately after one other (cf. the two different '"servants" (m.) of the priestess' in Ep 539.7–8). The transcription of *a-de-tēr* is unfortunately disputed and uncertain. The only other example of the word is provided by PY An 207.6 (Hand 43): two *a-de-tēre(s)* are preceded by two 'sawyers' and followed by two 'potters'. The fact that both An 207 and Eq 36 record a pair of *a-de-tēre(s)* is probably coincidental. If not, the whereabouts of the two men on An 207.6 could be interesting: they are apparently located in [*Re-ka-ta*-]*ne*.
* lines 12–14: the next sufficiently preserved section begins with the word for 'item', directly followed by *a-ta-wo-ne-jo*, which seems derived from the name *A-ta-wo*: it may either be another man's name or a possessive adjective. A name is more likely because the entry needs an identification of the holder (and a subject of the following verb). After the lacuna at the start of l. 13, we next read]*p̣a̤-ra-jo po-n̤e̤-to-qe-m̤i̤*. If]*p̣a̤-ra-jo* were complete, it could represent a form of *palaios* (cf. παλαιός) 'old'. A similar adjective, ἀρχαῖος, qualifies plots in Thessalian cadastral decrees (end of the third century B.C.) from Larisa (Helly and Tziafalias 2013.177). Elsewhere at Pylos, *palaios* may appear in the agricultural context of *Na* (Na 197; Hand 1). The *Na* series mentions tilling work: *pu*$_2$*-te-re ki-ti-je-si*, *phutēres ktiensi* 'the planters bring into cultivation' (Na 520); cf. also *a-ki-ti-to*, *aktiton* 'not cultivated' (Na 406). Perhaps]*p̣a̤laios* expressed the '*neglected*' state of the plot.
* *po-n̤e̤-to-qe-m̤i̤* has been attractively interpreted by Killen (1999c.343–44 = *Economy and Administration* II.735–36) as *ponĕtoi k*^{w}*e min* 'and he is "working" it' (cf. πονέομαι 'working hard'). The *k*^{w}*e min* of Hand 1 here is not surprising since the same scribe wrote *dāmos de min* (**142** = Ep 704.5) and *hekhei de min* (**200** = Na 926). It is true that πονέομαι does not mean 'cultivate', but such an agricultural use could have developed, as shown by γεωπονέω 'till the ground' (since Euripides) and the words of its family. Anyway, πονέομαι provides a much better interpretation than φωνέω, which may mean 'affirm, testify (in court)', but whose middle forms seem unknown in post-Mycenaean Greek. *Ponĕtoi*, if admitted, recalls the formulae used in *Eb/Ep* about the *kamas* land: *wo-ze-qe*, *worzei k*^{w}*e* 'and he "works"'; *e-me-de te-re-ja*, *hemei de teleiā* 'but he "performs" on one'; *te-ra-pi-ke* probably *therapiskei* 'he does (his) service'. A sentence like 'and he is "working" it', with a probably specialised meaning, would perhaps then be a further expression for the agricultural obligations of the *kamas* holders. The surface area of WHEAT 4 (384 l. wheat = c. 7.68 ha) on Eq 36.14 would fit nicely with the *kamas* dimensions of WHEAT 1 to 10[in the *Eb/Ep* series. Maybe the 'work' expressed by *ponĕtoi* was linked with the 'old', viz. '*neglected*', state of the ground.

* lines 15–16: the last entry begins with the customary word for 'item', followed by *po-se-da-o-no do-e-ro ṗa̤-*[, *Poseidāhōnos doelos ṗa̤-*['the "servant" (m.) of Poseidon *ṗa̤-*['. The word in *ṗa̤-*[can hardly be anything else than the "servant"'s name, though other restorations are possible: for instance, *pa-ra-jo*, *palaios* 'old' as possibly in l. 13 above. The mention of Poseidon in a land-tenure tablet suggests that the (unknown) place where his land was located is different from Sphagianes (*Eb/Ep*, *Eo/En*), because the name of Poseidon is unknown there. The situation is completely different in the *Es* series of Pylos, where Poseidon is the main beneficiary of the taxes (*dosmos*) calculated on the plots.

160 = Eq 213 (H 1)

.1 o-wi-de , a-ko-so-ta , to-ro-qe-jo-me-no , a-ro-u-ra , a_2-ri-sa ,
.2 a-ke-re-wa , o-ro-jo , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 8
.3 o-da-a_2 , e-ri-no-wo-to , o-ro-jo , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 2̤0̤
.4 o-da-a_2 , ko-tu-wo , o-ro-jo , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 20
.5 o-da-a_2 , po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo , o-te-pe-o-jo , o-ro-jo , to-so-de , pe-mo GRA 6
.6 o-da-a_2 , ko-no , o-ro-jo , to-so , pe-mo GRA 40

D/D²/* .1Thus Alksoitas observed on his tour of the corn-land *a_2-ri-sa*:
.2 *of the district* of *A-ke-re-wa*, so much seed: 768 l. WHEAT (= c. 15.36 ha).
.3 Item: *of the district* of *E-ri-no-wo*, so much seed: 1920 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.40 ha).
.4 Item: *of the district* of *Ko-tu-*, so much seed: 1920 l. WHEAT (= c. 38.40 ha).
.5 Item: *of the district* of the (divine) Mistress of *O-te-pe-o-*, so much seed: 576 l. WHEAT (= c. 11.52 ha).
.6 Item: *of the district* of *Ko-no*, so much seed: 3840 l. WHEAT (= c. 76.80 ha).

D/D²/* Eq 213 lists the 'corn-land' or 'tilled land' (*a-ro-u-ra*, *arourān/arourans*; cf. ἄρουρα) of five places. They are not as close to the palace as Sphagianes in *Eb/Ep* or *Eo/En*, which was very near Pylos. The first of these areas is well known (l. 2): *A-ke-re-wa* (probably gen.) is the sixth of the important 'Pylos Nine Towns' of the kingdom's Hither Province. *E-ri-no-wo-to* (gen.; l. 3; nominative *E-ri-no-wo*) is listed elsewhere with three towns of this same Hither Province, *A-ke-re-wa*, *A-pu_2-we* (**47** = An 427) and *Lousos* (**189** = Mn 456). It shows the *-wōn/-wontos* suffix, which is typically Mycenaean (cf. pp. 567–68). We lack evidence for locating *Ko-tu-wo* (gen.; l. 4; a dative-locative *Ko-tu-we* is found e.g. on Na 908) as well as the hapax *O-te-pe-o-jo* (gen.; l. 5) and *Ko-no* (Pylian hapax, though cf. *ko-ni-jo* (ethnic) **53** =An 610.14; gen.?; l. 6).

D/D²/* The amounts of seed are rather large, ranging from 6 to 40 major units of WHEAT, viz. c. 11.52 to c. 76.80 ha. Other *E-* series of Pylos yield much larger measurements, however: **120** = Ea 59 rev. e mentions 13 WHEAT; the preserved numbers of both *Eb/Ep* and *Eo/En* amount to c. 87 WHEAT; etc. The measurements of Eq 213 are thus evidently too small to be the total acreages of these five places and the tablet must list only a restricted category of plots, the 'corn-land' or 'tilled land', *arourā*, perhaps further defined by the difficult word *a_2-ri-sa*.

D/* The record is carefully organised: after the heading (l. 1), the first entry (l. 2) is followed by four others (ll. 3–6), each introduced by the *o-da-a*$_2$ 'item' complex particle.

D/* line 1: *hō(s) wide Alksoitās* 'Thus Alksoitas observed', cf. Attic ὧδε εἶδε – as usual in Mycenaean, there is no syllabic augment in the verb. The same *hō(s) wide* introduction is found in a record of the inspection of vessels and furniture **258** = Ta 711.1. This formula evidently indicates a personal survey made by an important official who guaranteed the exactness of the record. Such a check happens in *Od.* IV, 411–12:

φώκας μέν τοι πρῶτον ἀριθμήσει καὶ ἔπεισιν ·
αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πάσας πεμπάσσεται ἠδὲ ἴδηται,
First he will look over all his seals, and count them; then, when he has seen them and tallied them on his five fingers, etc.
(translated by Samuel Butler)

D/* Alksoitas was the name of an extremely important figure in the Pylian kingdom. He appears as personally receiving (**248** = Pn 30), giving (**245** = Un 267.1) or distributing (An 435.1, Wa 917) various items. In each of these texts, he is the subject of a verb in the aorist indicative, as here. Alksoitas is also the name of one of the four 'sheep collectors' (pp. 502–07) of Pylos – a highly important role. His official title is unknown, but this ubiquitous man was obviously most influential at Pylos.

D/D^2/* *trok^{w}eiomenos*: middle passive participle of an 'iterative-intensive' form (*-*ejō*, cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* 1.719–20) of τρέπω, of which the active τρόπεον 'turned' occurs once in *Il.* XVIII, 224. Since it agrees with Alksoitas, it should probably be taken in the sense of τρέπομαι 'go on a circuitous journey', cf. *Od.* XV, 80: εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις τραφθῆναι ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος 'If, moreover, you have a fancy for making a tour in Hellas or in the Peloponnese', and Hdt. II, 3: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην 'and I visited Thebes too and Heliopolis for this very purpose', etc. Compare also the Homeric περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτός 'revolving year'.

D/D^2/* *a-ro-u-ra*: one of the few Mycenaean words whose syllabic spelling immediately suggests their alphabetic form, ἄρουρα 'corn-land' or 'tilled land'. The word depends on *trok^{w}eiomenos* 'on his tour of inspection' and must be an accusative singular or plural *arourān/arourans*.

D/D^2/* *a$_2$-ri-sa* could qualify Alksoitas or the 'corn-land', unless it depends on *trok^{w}eiomenos*. Several interpretations are possible: (a) the name of the region encompassing the five areas listed below; (b) a qualifier of the 'corn-land'; (c) an active aorist infinitive or participle in *-sai* or *-san(s)*; etc. If we interpret *a$_2$-ri-sa* as a verbal form, it could express the purpose and/or activity of Alksoitas. The syllabogram *a$_2$-* shows that *a$_2$-ri-sa* began with aspiration. Its transcription is elusive, however. A connexion with ἀριθμός 'number', ἀριθμέω 'count' and epic νήριτος 'innumerable' is semantically attractive, but extremely difficult to accept, because the root *ἀρι- has no aspiration and there is no reason to suppose a secondary aspiration in Mycenaean. For the same motive, we can exclude a verb meaning 'improve', cf. ἀρείων 'better' or ἄριστος 'best'. A verb related to ἁλίζω 'salt' would fit the spelling perfectly (e.g. **halisai* < **sal-*), but not the sense, because salt should have been avoided in the soil (see Xenophon, *Oec.* XX, 12). *A$_2$-ri-sa* could conceivably also match the possible infinitive present *a$_2$-ri-e* (**54** = An 724.5, same hand as here), though

other interpretations are possible. An 724 is a list of 'rowers', but it contains unmistakable land-tenure terms, such as *e-to-ni-jo*, *ka-ma*[ ], plus *ktitās*, a word related to *ktimenā*. It could therefore deal with rowing service which is due in respect of landholding (Chadwick 1987). The suggested meanings of a_2*-ri-sa* do not help the interpretation of a_2*-ri-e*, however.

D/D²/* lines 2–6: each of these lines exhibits the word *o-ro-jo* immediately preceded by a place-name: e.g. *A-ke-re-wa o-ro-jo* '*o-ro-jo* of *A-ke-re-wa*'. The place-names before *o-ro-jo* are in the genitive whenever their case is clear, and are likely to qualify *o-ro-jo*. *O-ro-jo* never appears elsewhere. It is natural to take it as a land-tenure term. It could but may not necessarily be a thematic genitive singular in *-oio*. We must resist the idea of identifying *o-ro-jo* with the word for 'boundary', ὅρος/οὖρος, which is so nicely associated with ἄρουρα in οὖρον ἀρούρης 'the boundary of a field' (Il. XXI, 405). In fact, the Corcyrean and Linear B corresponding forms, ὄρϝος/*wo-wo*, *worwos*, exclude this possibility. A comparison with οἰρών 'limit, district' (cf. Cypriot … *to-i-ro-ni*) is tempting, but cannot be accepted as such: the athematic form in -ων would have to be replaced by a thematic one in *-o-*. If it was, a genitive **oiroio* could fit *o-ro-jo*. We could then get topographic names like '*of the district* of *A-ke-re-wa*', etc. The genitive **oiroio* ll. 2–6 could qualify the 'corn-land(s)' (*arourān*/*arourans*) of l. 1.

D/D²/* line 5: *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo*, *potniaweioio* 'of the (divine) Mistress' qualifies the place-name *O-te-pe-o-jo*. We have already seen people 'of the (divine) Mistress' in a land-tenure record (**152** = Ep 613.14): *potniaweios* expresses dependency on the goddess. In Ep 613, the adjective qualifies an individual, but it is also applied to groups of smiths 'at the service of the (divine) Mistress' on **214** = Jn 310 and Jn 431. A further extension is provided here with a whole place (*O-te-pe-o-jo*) depending on the goddess. The adjective *potniaweios* is bizarre morphologically, since one would have expected an *-aios* derivation of *Potnia*. It is nevertheless quite standard in Mycenaean. There are variants]*po-ti-ni-ja-we-i-jo*[and *po-ti-na-wi-jo*. *O-te-pe-o-jo*: this hapax form is obviously a thematic genitive singular of a place-name. It could perhaps share the element **-pe-o* found in the place-name *Ne-wo-pe-o* which is associated with *Potnia* on PY Cc 665.

D/* line 6: *Ko-no* cannot but be a place-name. It must be a genitive like the preceding ones. The old interpretation of *ko-no* as κοινός 'common', introducing the total of the preceding items, is completely excluded by the numerals and the *o-da-*a_2 'item' complex particle.

5. LANDHOLDERS AT KNOSSOS (Uf)

D/* At Knossos, the equivalent of the Pylos land-tenure series is unexpectedly not to be found in the *E* tablets, but in the *Uf* ones. The Knossos *E* tablets have almost nothing in common with the *E*- Pylos records. They have been grouped in an *E* series because their main ideogram is WHEAT, but in fact they are a mixed group of heterogeneous texts. Their hands may help to determine some subcategories: E(1) was written by 'Hand' '124'; E(2) by 103; E 843, 848? by 102; E 749, 849? by 136. All the other texts have been inscribed by unidentified hands. The ideograms are (mostly) WHEAT, but also include olives (OLIV) and perhaps CYPERUS (CYP). The ideogram for MONTH (LUNA) appears eight times. When MONTH and

WHEAT are associated, the amounts of grain are clearly monthly rations intended to be issued, as shown by the feminine dative plural *ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i* of E 777.1 (hand –). These *ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i* possibly had a religious function and one of the *E* tablets is obviously cultic: E 842 (hand –) lists WHEAT, OLIVES and perhaps CYPERUS with religious references including at least 'to the gods' (*te-o-i*, *thehoihi*) and 'of Zeus' (*di-wo*, *Diwos*). The *E* WHEAT quantities are generally larger than on the Pylos *E* tablets, often running into hundreds of main units as, for instance, 246, 261 and even 302 units (E(2) 668 and 670: hand 103). On a few records WHEAT may indicate the dimensions of plots of land, however; note KN E 1569, which contains *pe-ma*, *sperma* 'seed' (cf. σπέρμα), and compare the measurement of land in terms of *pe-ma*, *pe-mo* 'seed' at Pylos. KN E 1569.2 mentions the term *lāwāgesios* 'belonging to the "leader of the people"' (*ra-wa-ke-si-jo*), which recalls the *temenos* ('official domain') of the *lāwāgetās* (*ra-wa-ke-si-jo te-me-no*) measured in terms of WHEAT on **176** = Er 312.3. The *E* tablets offer a few agricultural words: 'harvest', *a-ma*, *amā* (cf. ἀμάω 'reap': E 848, 850, 1035; see Killen 1997b = *Economy and Administration* II.643–47); 'plantation, orchard', *pu-ta-ri-ja*, *phutaliā* (cf. φυταλιά: E 849).

D/* The real Knossos equivalent of the Pylos land-tenure series is to be found in the approximately forty tablets and fragments to which E. L. Bennett has given the prefix *Uf*. The words *hekhei* '(s)he holds', *ke-ke-menā* 'communal' and *ktoinā* (spelled *ko-to-i-na*) 'plot' help to establish the identity of the context. There are important differences, however. (1) The WHEAT ideogram and the formula *tos(s)onde spermo* are absent, but the ideograms *DA* and *PA* appear instead. They are associated with numbers from '1' to '10[' (*DA*) or from '1' to '3' (*PA*) and are obviously fractional measures, with a major unit (*DA*) and a minor one (*PA*). There must have been more than three *PA* in one *DA*, since **164** = Uf(2) 836 has a plot of '*DA* 1 *PA* 3'. One *PA* could then be equivalent to e.g. ¼ or ⅙ of a *DA*. The complete forms behind *DA* and *PA* are unknown and we do not know their absolute values. (2) The participle *ktimenā* 'private' is totally absent in Crete –]*ki-ti-me̤*[is possibly attested in the tiny fragment KN X 7753, but]*ki-ti-ṣa̤*[is a likelier reading. *Pu-te-ri-ja* seems to appear instead of *ktimenā* (see **161** = Uf(3) 981 p. 623). (3) Unlike at Pylos, the Knossos *Uf* series frequently gives the location of each plot: the places *Da-*22-to*, *E-ko-so*, *Ku-ta-to*, *Pa-na-so*, *Qa-ra* and *Ti-ri-to* appear several times. (4) The ubiquitous preposition *pa-ro*, *paro* 'from' (cf. παρά) of Pylos is unknown, but there is one example of *o-pi*, *opi* 'chez' (cf. ὀπι- and its doublet ἐπί; **166** = Uf(3) 983).

D/* Most of the tablets deal with single individuals, but there are two collective records, grouping about seven men's names each (Uf 432, 1522). The *Uf* series is too fragmentary to permit a detailed comparison with the system of land tenure seen in operation at Pylos, but it is hardly a coincidence that the high-ranked 'service-man' (*telestās*) appears as in the Pylos *E*- series (**165** = Uf(2) 839, Uf(3) 970, Uf(2) 990).

* As usual in Mycenaean epigraphy, whenever a record has two lines .a and .b, the scribe began to write at the bottom of the tablet; hence, line .b always begins before .a. However, some parts of line .a may be intended to be incorporated into line .b.

161 = Uf(3) 981 (123)

.a ko-ṭo̤-i-na [
.b e-ri-ke-re-we / e-ke-pu-te-ri-ja [

D/* Eriklewes holds a 'private' plot [.

D/* The hapax *E-ri-ke-re-we* is written in larger signs than the rest of the tablet, just like the undoubted men's names *I-ra-ta* (Uf(3) 1011) or *Pe-ri-qo-ta* (Uf(3) 1022). It must therefore be a man's name, *Eriklewēs*. The parallel of other *pu-te-ri-ja* tablets shows that *e-ke-pu-te-ri-ja* represents two words, *e-ke*, *hekhei* and *pu-te-ri-ja*. We may thus read *e-ri-ke-re-we e-ke-pu-te-ri-ja ko-ṭo̤-i-na* as *Eriklewēs hekhei pu-te-ri-ja ktoinān* 'Eriklewes holds a *pu-te-ri-ja* plot'. *Pu-te-ri-ja* is hardly a variant of the KN E 849 hapax *pu-ta-ri-ja*, *phutaliā* (cf. φυταλιά 'planted place'): *phutaliā* is at the very beginning of the text and is followed by *pe-ra*[; the next line has 'so much: 12,480[l. WHEAT'. In *Uf*, *pu-te-ri-ja* always comes after a verb and is followed by *ktoinān*. *Pu-te-ri-ja* is probably therefore an adjective agreeing with *ktoinān*. It is obviously related to another form of *Uf*, *pu-te*, *phutēr* 'planter' (cf. φύομαι 'grow'), whose plural appears in *pu*$_2$*-te-re ki-ti-je-si* (PY **198** = Na 520) *phutēres ktiensi* 'the "planters" bring into cultivation'. This suggests a rendering *phutēriān* literally 'of a planter'. It is curious that, while *ke-ke-menā* is used at Knossos, *ktimenā*, which so sharply contrasts with *ke-ke-menā* at Pylos, is totally unknown in Crete, unless, of course, the Mycenaeans of Knossos used *phutēriā* instead of *ktimenā*. In fact, both forms have symmetrical uses. Compare 'so-and-so holds a *pu-te-ri-ja* plot' with 'so-and-so …, *and* she holds a *ktimenā* plot' (so-and-so *hekhei pu-te-ri-ja ktoinān*: **161** = Uf(3) 981 vs so-and-so … *hekhei k*^{w}*e ktimenān ktoinān*: PY Eo 247.3). Moreover, *phutēr* and the verb **kteimi* had complementary meanings, as shown by *phutēres ktiensi* 'the "planters" bring into cultivation' quoted above. When we tried to understand how *ktimenā* got the meaning 'private', we supposed that the association between occupation and ownership led to an evolution from 'under cultivation'/'being inhabited' to 'privately owned'. If *phutēriā* meant 'of a planter', it could similarly have developed into the same sense. We will therefore consider that *phutēriān* is synonymous with *ktimenā* and translate it provisionally as 'private'. Note, however, that *ktimenā* could very likely mean 'privately owned (by the crown)' instead of merely 'privately owned' (see pp. 573–74).

162 = Uf(3) 1031 + 5738 (123)

.a ḳo̤-to-i-na
.b pe-ri-je-ja / e-ke , pu-te-ri-ja *DA* 1 ti-ri-to

D/* *Pe-ri-je-ja* holds a 'private' plot: *DA* 1: Tritos.

D/D^2/* The hapax *Pe-ri-je-ja* is written in large signs and is probably a man's or a woman's name. The same *e-ke pu-te-ri-ja ko-to-i-na* formula occurs a third time on Uf(3) 1022, with only *e-ke-pu-te*[and *ko-to-i̤*[surviving. *Ti-ri-to* is not 'a third share' or the like, but a place-name

parallel to those on other tablets of the series. It gives the location of *Pe-ri-je-ja*'s plot. It was probably situated not far from Knossos (Τρίτα was supposedly an old name of Knossos). Tritos is frequently mentioned on the Knossos sheep tablets. The *Uf(3)* 'set' was particularly concerned with the plots of this area, since Tritos appears in **163** = Uf(3) 835, 970, 987, 991, 1011 and in the present tablet. Uf(1) 120 contains another mention of Tritos.

163 = *Uf (3)* 835 (123?)

.a] ke-ke-me-na
.b]-do / e-ke , ti-ri-to , pu-te *DA* 1 *PA* 1

D/*]-*do* holds at Tritos a 'communal' <plot>, 'planter': *DA* 1 *PA* 1.

D/*]-*do* is written in large signs and is obviously the end of the name of the person who 'holds' (*hekhei*) the plot. The piece of ground itself is located at Tritos and is described as 'communal' (*ke-ke-menān*). There is no mention in this record of the commonest Mycenaean word for 'plot', *ktoinān*, as in the two preceding tablets: *ke-ke-menān* alone was obviously a sufficient description, as in **142** = Ep 704.7 or in PY **42** = An 830.6 and perhaps in KN **166** = Uf(3) 983. The place of *phutēr* in the sentence is puzzling: we would expect a different word order, with *phutēr* 'planter' following directly the name that it qualifies,]-*do*. There are other examples of such a curious arrangement, however. For example, *a-i-qe-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko* means literally '*A-i-q-eus*, *and* he holds a "communal" plot, "plot-holder"' (**138** = Ep 301.14), with 'plot-holder' widely separated from the man's name *A-i-q-eus*.

164 = Uf(2) 836 (122)

.a wo-we-u
.b ku-ka-da-ro / qa-ra , pi-di-jo *DA* 1 *PA* 3

D/* *Ku-ka-da-ro*, at *Qa-ra*, 'controller of the boundaries'; *Pi-di-jo*: *DA* 1 *PA* 3.

D/* The hapax *Ku-ka-da-ro* must be a man's name like the parallel terms. *Qa-ra*, a well-known place-name situated in the vicinity of Tritos, gives the location of the plot.

D/* *wo-we-u* is an occupational term known elsewhere only on KN C 911.3 and PY Ae 142. It is considered to be an *-eus* form derived from *wo-wo*, *worwos* 'boundary' (cf. ὅρος and Corcyrean ὄρϝος) – the beginning of *wo-we-u* is possibly also to be found in Uf(2) 1023 (hand 122?: *wo*[). There was thus probably a *worweus* literally 'man busy with the boundaries' here, but who was he: the plot's holder, *Ku-ka-da-ro*, or the hapax *Pi-di-jo*, which could also be a man's name? What was the role of *Pi-di-jo*? There are other examples of a second man's name in *Uf*, as on Uf(2) 837[+]980. Moreover, a clue to the role of these individuals could be provided by **166** = Uf(3) 983 (the hand is not the same as here): here too there are two men's names, but the plot of the first is said to be located 'chez' (*opi*) the second one. In such a land-tenure text, it is tempting to compare 'chez' (*opi*) at Knossos with the 'from' (*paro*) which appears so regularly at Pylos to express the origin of a 'lease'. These different prepositions would provide a further contrast between Pylos and Knossos land-tenure tablets. Perhaps then *Pi-di-jo* was the 'landlord' who had granted this plot to *Ku-ka-da-ro*.

165 = Uf(2) 839 (122)

.a te-re-ta , ke-ma-qe-me ¸ me-ra ¸ [
.b ko-do , / da-*22-to , ke-nu-wa-so ḷ[

D/* *Ko-do*, at *Da-*22-to*, 'service-man' – *Ke-nu-wa-so ke-ma-qe-me* at *Me-ra* ḷ[.

D/* This text does not end with the usual *DA* (and sometimes *PA*) entries, unless the [at the end could be understood as the beginning of *DA*. The first two words are easy to understand. *Ko-do* is a man's name well known in Pylos, while *Da-*22-to* is a frequent place-name on Knossos tablets (adjective *Da-*22-ti-jo*, etc.), also occurring on a Cretan vase exported to Eleusis. The parallel of Uf(3) 970 suggests that *te-re-ta*, *telestās* 'service-man' is a qualifier of the plot-holder, *Ko-do*. The three other terms are hapaxes. *Ke-nu-wa-so* could be a man's name, since its position is identical to that of the possible 'landlord' *Pi-di-jo* on **164** = Uf(2) 836 (same hand). *Ke-ma-qe-me* is opaque. If not an amalgam of several words, *ke-ma-qe-me* could perhaps qualify *Ke-nu-wa-so* and be an occupational name. *Me-ra* is perhaps more likely to be a place-name than, for instance, a form of μέλας 'black' (cf. *Me-ra-de* in the allative with *-de*: KN Fh 5505). Could it be the location of the plot?

166 = Uf(3) 983 (123)

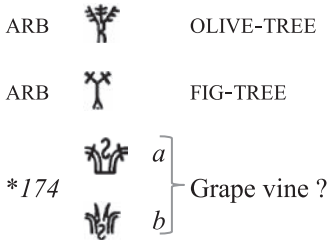
.a] o-pi , po-to-ri-ka-ta [
.b]do-wo / e-ko-so , ke-ke-me-na [

D/*]*do-wo*, at *E-ko-so*, 'communal' <plot>, chez *Ptoli-ka-ta* [.

D/D²/*]*do-wo* is written in large signs and is clearly the end of the name of the plot's holder. *E-ko-so* is obviously the frequent Cretan place-name (adjective *E-ki-si-jo*, etc.) where the piece of ground was located. The plot is described as 'communal' (*ke-ke-menā*), apparently without any mention of the usual Mycenaean word *ktoinā*, as in **163** = Uf(3) 835. *O-pi* is the preposition *opi* (cf. ὀπι- and its doublet ἐπί) 'chez' introducing the name of the person who granted this plot to]*do-wo*. On *opi* and *paro* (at Pylos), see p. 622. The hapax *Po-to-ri-ka-ta* cannot but be the name of the 'landlord' of]*do-wo* and is a transparent compound in πτολι- (cf. πόλις).

6. LAND, TREES AND VINES AT KNOSSOS (Gv, F)

D/* The small *Gv* series is a survey listing more than 3000 fig-trees, olive-trees and vines. Since its main ideograms are rather naturalistic, their identity had already been recognised well before the decipherment by Evans (*PoM* IV.717) and Myres (*SM* II.60). One of the three *Gv* tablets (**167** = Gv 863) gives the name of the place surveyed: it is the *Qa-ra* that we have already met in the land-tenure record **164** = Uf(2) 836.



* The *Gv* ideograms are nowadays transliterated as ARB(or) and **174*. In *Documents* 272, what is now ARB was assigned two different numbers: **175* = FIG-TREE and **176* = OLIVE-TREE. In fact, the four examples of ARB in *Gv* display clearly different forms and represent two different trees (FIG-TREE and OLIVE-TREE).

D/D²/* The ARB of **168** = Gv 862.1 is obviously a FIG-TREE because it is directly preceded by]*su-za*, *sūtˢai* 'fig-trees'. *Sūtˢā* comes from **sūkyā*, the adjectival derivative of σῦκον which was replaced in later Greek by σῡκέᾱ > σῡκῆ; the Doric variant σῡκίᾱ probably comes from a dialect where -εᾱ > -ιᾱ. In this text, the repetition of the same item, written both phonetically (*sūtˢai*) and ideographically (FIG-TREES), is an example of 'double writing': this practice appears regularly in the Linear B records, just as in our own cheques when we write the amount of money both in letters and in numbers (the same 'double writing' happens in Gv 864.2). The ARB of **167** = Gv 863.2 is basically the same as on **168** = Gv 862.1, though there are some slight differences (here, the trunk is depicted with two lines vs only one with a triangle at the bottom in **168** = Gv 862.1); this ARB is directly preceded by the abbreviation *sū*(*tˢai*) for 'fig(-trees)'.

D/* An olive-tree with its olives is clearly recognisable on **168** = Gv 862.2 and this ARB may therefore be understood as OLIVE-TREE. The two remaining examples of ARB in the series (both in **168** = Gv 862.3) are different, though they share points in common with the OLIVE-TREE of **168** = Gv 862.2. The first one has a rather large trunk and three branches. Myres (*SM* II.60) has remarked that it gives the appearance of having been pruned. The second one seems to have a shorter trunk, but three longer and more vertical branches. It could be a young tree without much development of the trunk. The differences between these olive-tree ideograms are certainly significant because the two OLIVE-TREES in **168** = Gv 862.3 immediately follow each other. We will therefore provisionally transcribe these three examples as OLIVE-TREE[a] (Gv 862.2), OLIVE-TREE[b] (Gv 862.3 first) and OLIVE-TREE[c] (Gv 862.3 second). **174* probably stands for *we-je-we*, *huiēwes* (cf. ὑιήν· τὴν ἄμπελον, Hesychius), the Mycenaean name for GRAPE-VINES, as shown by the 'double writing' *we-je-we* **174* (**167** = Gv 863.2). Moreover, the syllabogram *we* is always distinctly written within the ideogram and cannot but be an abbreviation of *we-je-we*. The grape-vines are described in Gv 864.3 as *pu-ta*, *phuta* (cf. φυτά): this word could perhaps refer to 'young plants' of grape-vines intended to be transplanted (cf. a specific use of φυτά as 'sucker': Aristotle).

D/* The variety of trees in the *Gv* records recalls the number of different species of fruit-trees in Alkinoos' orchard (*Od.* VII, 114–16):

ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθόωντα,
ὄγχναι καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι
συκέαι τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι.

It is full of beautiful trees – pears, pomegranates, and
the most delicious apples. There are luscious figs also,
and olives in full growth.
(Translated by Samuel Butler)

An introductory sentence is preserved on tablet **167** = Gv 863. It may be compared to that on a Nuzi tablet of similar context: 'The trees from the orchard of the town Taseniwa: …' (Lacheman 1939.534; fifteenth–fourteenth century B.C.).

167 = Gv 863 (–)

.1]qa̤-ra , / jo-e-ke-to-qo , wo-na-si , s̤i̤[
.2] we-je-we **174* 420 *su* ARB 104̤[

D/*]*Qa-ra*: thus -*to-qo holds* in (his) vineyards *s̤i̤*[
] 420 grape-vines GRAPE-VINES; 104̤[ ] fig(-trees) FIG-TREES

D/* line 1: this tablet gives a survey of fruit-trees situated in the region of *Qa-ra* that we have already met on a Knossos land tablet (**164** = Uf(2) 836).

D/* After the heading *Qa-ra*, written in larger signs, the sequence *jo-e-ke-to-qo* resembles the phrases beginning with *jō(s)* mostly standing before a verb which is itself followed by its subject. The *jō(s)* has the function of an introductory 'thus' or 'how', as on **207** = Jn 829.1 (*jo-do-so-si* 'thus/how they will give'), etc.

D/* Here, *jo(s)* is followed by -*e-ke*-, which recalls the ubiquitous verbal form *e-ke*, *hekhei* '(s)he holds' of the Pylos and Knossos land-tenure series. If so, -*to-qo* should be the subject of *hekhei*. It could hardly represent a form of τόπος 'place', whose etymology is unknown, but is more likely to be a man's name.

D/* The word *wo-na-si* recalls the word for 'wine', ϝοῖνος, but a link with οἴνη 'vine' is excluded, since the expected dative-locative plur. should be **wo-na-i*. A connection with οἰνάς, in the dative-locative plur. *woinas(s)i*, is better. Here, the word would not mean 'vine' but 'vineyards' as in Hesychius' gloss οἰνάδες· ἀμπελώδεις τόποι.

* It seems quite natural that -*To-qo*'s vineyards had 'grape-vines', but their association with FIG-TREES may seem strange. In fact, the grape-vines of Classical Greece were frequently combined with trees (see Xenophon, *Oec.* XIX, 18; a nice, though late, lexical example of this habit is provided by the compound συκαμπελών 'vineyard with fig-trees'). In any event, if -*To-qo* is a man's name, this tablet would provide a survey of the holdings of a single individual like those of the *Uf* series.

* line 2: note here the 'double writings' *we-je-we *174*, *huiēwes* GRAPE-VINES, and *sū*(*t*^{s}*ai*) ARB, fig(-trees) FIG-TREES.

168 = Gv 862 (–)

.1]su-za ARB 1770
.2]j̤o̤ ARB 405
.3 '[̤i̤-po-qa' ARB 10[ ] ARB 17 **174* 20
.4][[4]]
.5]365 **174* 225
.6][[*vest.*]]

v. 10
10 10
10 10
10 10
10 10
10

.1 1770 [ ]fig-trees FIG-TREES;
.2]jo̤, 405 OLIVE-TREES[a];
.3]i̤- '*for eating*' 10[ ] OLIVE-TREES[b]; 17 OLIVE-TREES[c]; 20 GRAPE-VINES;
.5]365; 225 GRAPE-VINES.

* This poorly preserved tablet gives a further list of fruit-trees: 1770 fig-trees, 432[olive-trees of different types and 245 grape-vines. The name of the relevant place has disappeared into the lacuna. The verso has about ten examples of the numeral '10' which were used for tallying. See pp. 625–26 for the three different forms of OLIVE-TREE.

D[2] line 1:]*su-za*: there is no need to assume that the word for 'fig-trees', *sūt[s]ai*, is incomplete, though both here and in Gv 864 the break is immediately before *su-*.

D/D[2]/* line 3:]*i-po-qa*: there is a slight difference of size between]*i̤-* and *-po-qa*; moreover, the two syllabograms of *-po-qa* are especially close. One may then wonder if we should not read]*i̤* '*po-qa*'. If so, the]*i̤* could be the last sign of a noun (perhaps in the dative-locative plural), despite the absence of a divider, and *po-qa* might be an independent word.

D/D[2]/* Alternatively, a compound is possible. Pylos **110** = Un 138.2 has an example of *po-qa* standing just before the ideogram for OLIVES. *Po-qa* is understood as *phorg[w]āi* 'for eating' (cf. φορβή 'pasture, food') – these Pylos olives would therefore not have been used for making oil. If the same meaning is intended here, the fruits of these 10[ ] OLIVE-TREES[b] were excluded from the oil industry.

169 = F(2) 841 + 867 (–)

.1]-ti-ja , sa-pi-ti-nẹ̣-we-jo [
.2]a-di-*22-sa GRA+*PE* T ṣ ARB 8[
.3]nọ̣-di-mi-zo-jo[ ] GRA+*PE* 2 ARB 34[
.4 pa-i-to , mi-sa-ra-jo , sa-pi-ti-ne-we-jo[
.5 su-za , ARB 75 ka-po , e-[
.6]wa , ARB 46 e-ra-wa[
.7.8] *vacant* [

* .1 [?*Do*]-*ti-ja*: land of *Sa-pi-ti-nu-wo*:
.2 *A-di-*22-sa*: 48 l. WHEAT+*PE* (= c. 96 a); 8[ ] FIG-TREES.
.3]*Nọ̣-di-mi-zo-jo*[: 192 l. WHEAT+*PE* (= c. 3.84 ha); 34[ ] FIG-TREES.
.4 *Phaistos*: *Misraios*, land of *Sa-pi-ti-nu-wo*[:

.5 75 fig-trees FIG-TREES; o[live?] garden [
.6 46 [olive-tr]ees? OLIVE-TREES; *e-ra-wa* [.

* Killen (1987b.174–77 = *Economy and Administration* II.498–501 and forthcoming) has offered an attractive interpretation of this document.

D/D²/* Its two sections list pieces of land (WHEAT+*PE*), an o[live?] garden [(*ka-po kāpos*), FIG-TREES and OLIVE-TREES (see pp. 625–26 for these identifications). Two places are involved: ?*Do*]*-ti-ja* (ll. 1–3) and *Phaistos* (ll. 4–6). In each of them, the same person, *Sa-pi-ti-nu-wo*, is responsible for what follows, as shown by the possessive adjective *Sa-pi-ti-ne-we-jo* (ll. 1, 4). The name *Sa-pi-ti-nu-wo* appears elsewhere at Knossos in a list of people dependent on a '*gʷasileus*' establishment' (*qa-si-re-wi-ja*, *gʷasilēwiā*: **36** = As(2) 1516.15), but it could refer to a different person. Here, *Sa-pi-ti-nu-wo* is clearly responsible for the lands listed, but their legal status is not mentioned.

* In ll. 2–3, WHEAT+*PE* introduces the size of the plots and matches the ubiquitous ideogram WHEAT of the Pylos land-tenure records, where it is frequently preceded by *to-so*(*-de*) *pe-mo*. *PE* could stand here for *sper*(*ma*) 'seed' and would thus have nothing to do with the adjunct *pe*, *pe*(*rusinwos*) 'last year's'. The absence of any word designating the plot is not unique in Linear B: see PY Ea 810.The ideogram after the numbers of GRA+*PE* (ll. 2, 3) used to be read as *NI*. In fact, as Killen points out, its form is distinctly different from the syllabogram *ni* and the ideogram *NI*. It exhibits two oblique strokes across each of its two upper lines, while *ni* and *NI* have only one. Its closest analogue is the ARB sign on Gv 864.2, which again has two oblique strokes across each of its 'arms' and is preceded by *su-za sūtˢai* < **sūkyai* 'fig-trees'. That the same holds good for the three pseudo-*NI* signs on the present tablet is demonstrated by the term *su-za* written before the sign on l. 5. Hence our reading and translation as ARB and FIG-TREES.

* The association of plots and fig-trees in ll. 2–3 recalls PY **177** = Er 880, recording pieces of land and the number of vines and fig-trees therein. On l. 5, *ka-po* is generally understood as *karpos* 'fruit' (cf. καρπός), but Killen (1987b.176–77 = *Economy and Administration* II.500–01) has offered a better interpretation, as *kāpos* 'garden, orchard' – compare Alkinoos' orchard (κῆπος) alluded to on pp. 626–27, with its figs and olives. The first ideogram of l. 6 used to be read as OLIV, viz. 'olives', but since it differs from the canonical OLIV, it seems better to read ARB and understand it as OLIVE-TREE.

* line 1: [•]*-ti-ja* is the first word of l. 1, just like *Pa-i-to*, *Phaistos* in l. 4, and it must therefore be a place-name giving the situation of the plots mentioned later on. [*Do*]*-ti-ja* is likely. The adjective *Sa-pi-ti-n̤e-we-jo* qualifies the land and expresses its 'ownership' (see above, this page).

* lines 2–3: the two hapaxes]*A-di-*22-sa* and]*Ṇo-di-mi-zo-jo*[are very likely men's names.

D²/* line 4: all the data that follow are related to the place *Phaistos*. *Mi-sa-ra-jo*: this hapax could be a man's name *Misraios*, etymologically an ethnic borrowed from the Egyptian place-name *Miṣr* 'Egypt'.

* line 5: *su-za* ARB 'fig-trees FIG-TREES' offers a further example of 'double writing' (see p. 627), with *sūtˢai* 'fig-trees' phonetically written just before the ideogram.

* After *kāpos* 'garden', some precision would likely have been welcome and it was probably provided by the following word *e*-[, which was perhaps the name of the tree – perhaps *e*-[*ra-wa-o*?, *e*[*laiwāhon*? 'of oli[ve-trees]?'.

* There are no preserved dimensions of the plots.

* line 6:]*wa* OLIVE-TREES could perhaps be supplemented as ?*e-ra*-]*wa* OLIVE-TREES, ?*elai*]*wai* OLIVE-TREES (cf. *e-ra-wa*[that follows). This would offer a new example of 'double writing'.

* *e-ra-wa*[is likely to be a new entry for 'olives', but perhaps of another sort than the preceding one – in the same series, F(2) 7345 lists two different kinds of olives, OLIVES+*A* and OLIVES +*TI*.

7. LAND AT THEBES (Ft)

The *Ft* series includes several of the c. 240 tablets discovered by V. Aravantinos at Thebes (Boeotia). **170** = Ft 140 is the largest of the series, which lists quantities of olives. The ideogram for WHEAT appears only in **170** = Ft 140.

170 = Ft 140 (*312*)

.1 te-qa-i	GRA+*PE* 38	OLIV 44
.2 e-u-te-re-u	GRA 14	OLIV 87
.3 ku-te-we-so	GRA 20	OLIV 43
.4 o-ke-u-ri-jo	GRA 3 T 5	
.5 e-re-o-ni	GRA 12 T 7	OLIV 20
.6 *vacat*		
.7 *vacat*		
.8 to-ṣo-pa	GRA 88	OLIV 194

* .1 At Thebes: WHEAT+*PE* 3648 l. (= c. 72.96 ha); OLIVES 4224 l.
.2 *E-u-te-r-eus*: WHEAT 1344 l. (= c. 26.88 ha); OLIVES 8352 l.
.3 At *Ku-te-we-so*: WHEAT 1919 l. (= c. 38.4 ha); OLIVES 4128 l.
.4 At *O-ke-u-ri-jo*: WHEAT 336 l. (= c. 6.72 ha).
.5 At Eleon: WHEAT 1200 l. (= c. 24.38 ha); OLIVES 1920 l.
.8 So much in total: WHEAT 8448 l. (= c. 168.96 ha); OLIVES 18,624 l.

* See Killen 2006d.79–81 = *Economy and Administration* III.907–09 for discussion of this tablet.

* The WHEAT+*PE* of l. 1 probably introduces the dimensions of plots, as in **169** = F(2) 841. In ll. 2–8, WHEAT is written without the +*PE* of WHEAT+*PE* in

l. 1. This is clearly a means of abbreviating the text, as shown by the total in l. 8, which includes all five WHEAT entries, with or without +*PE*.

* The form of the OLIVE ideograms is clearly different from the ARB used in **169** = F(2) 841.6 and can hardly represent OLIVE-TREES. It must then probably represent the fruit, OLIVE. Maybe these amounts were a conventional way of estimating the taxable capacity of the olive-trees.
* The OLIVE quantities are not associated with every area, but only with the four biggest ones. Thebes itself (l. 1) has the largest amount of ground, but not of OLIVES (almost twice less than *E-u-te-re-u*, l. 2). *O-ke-u-ri-jo* has the smallest amounts: less than 400 l. land and no OLIVES at all.
* There is no proportionality between the amounts of land and olives.
* lines 1–5: there are two unmistakable examples of place-names at the dative-locative: *Te-qa-i*, *Thēgʷāhi* 'at Thebes' (cf. Θῆβαι) and *E-re-o-ni*, *Eleōni* 'at Eleon' (cf. Ἐλεών). Eleon appears in the Homeric catalogue of the Boeotian ships (*Il.* II, 500) and could be located near the modern Arma, on the road from Thebes to Tanagra.
* The spelling of two other names is ambiguous, but compatible with a dative-locative: *Ku-te-we-so* (hapax) and *O-ke-u-ri-jo*.
* The last name is *E-u-te-re-u*, which looks like a straightforward nominative of an *-eus* stem (maybe linked to the Boeotian town of Εὔτρησις). The attempts to transform it into a dative-locative are unconvincing; moreover, they are not necessary, since the syntax of the Mycenaean scribes was not at all rigid. They regularly alternate between different cases for the same function.
* line 8: the total is perfectly correct for the OLIVES: 44 + 87 + 43 + 20 = 194. It is, however, wrong for WHEAT: 38 + 14 + 20 + 3 T 5 + 12 T 7 = 88 T 2, instead of the 88 computed by the scribe. Obviously, two of the twelve vertical strokes for 'one' T unit (ll. 4–5) escaped his attention. Since we have clear proof that one major unit for dry volume equals T 10, we should not use such an error to suppose that it equals **T 12.

8. LANDHOLDING AT TIRYNS (Ef)

171 = Ef 2 (–)

]qo-u-ko-ro *DA* 1 to-sa-pe-mo GRA 6

*]oxherd: *DA* 1, so much seed: 576 l. WHEAT (= c. 11.52 ha).
* The tablet is broken on the left.]*qo-u-ko-ro*, a form of *gʷoukolos* 'oxherd' (cf. βουκόλος), is written in small signs and may theoretically be either a singular or a plural. There was probably enough room for one word of two or three syllabograms in the lost part of the record (J. L. Melena, pers. com.). TI Ef 3, apparently made with the same clay and possibly written by the same hand as Ef 2, with which it was found, begins with the hapax *di-ko-na-re-ja*, a possible woman's name (compare the man's name *di̤-ko-na-ro* PY An 656.14). We may therefore

be reasonably sure that]*qo-u-ko-ro* was preceded by a name. In Ea 781, a single oxherd held a plot of about a third the size of this one (GRA 2 T 4̣).

* *DA* 1 is directly followed by a variant of the standard formula introducing the area of a plot, *to-sa-pe-mo* GRA … 'so much seed: … WHEAT'. Could this quantity of wheat give the dimensions of *DA* 1? This seems unlikely, because an equivalence of two measures made in different units is unknown elsewhere in Linear B. *DA* 1 and *to-sa-pe-mo* GRA 6 are much more probably two independent entries and *DA* has therefore probably the same meaning as in **121** = En 609.1, viz. is an abbreviation of the singular of *da-ma-te*, that we have interpreted as *damartes* '*households*' (cf. pp. 592–93). The *to-sa-pe-mo* sequence is grammatically embarrassing. The writing of two words in one sequence may occasionally happen in Linear B and this is a further example of this practice. The real difficulty comes from the syntax of *to-sa* and *pe-mo*. In almost all its other examples, *tos(s)os* 'so much' agrees with the following word. Hence, we do not expect *to-sa*, but *to-so pe-mo*, *tos(s)on spermo*. *To-sa* has been explained in several ways (Duhoux, *Anthology* 307–08; Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.193–94), but the epigraphy could perhaps provide the best solution: Melena (2014.124), after an autopsy, suggests that *to-sa* and *pe-mo* have a different ductus and that *to-sa* was added to *pe-mo* as an afterthought. If he is right, the interruption in the writing could have led to a syntactical break.

CHAPTER XIV.2

THE PYLOS 'DOSMOS' TABLETS[b]

PIA DE FIDIO

* A restricted group of Pylian texts (*Es* series, **178** = Un 718) testifies to the practice of periodical contributions to Poseidon in the form of agricultural produce and animals, designated by the term *dosmos*.[b] Poseidon as god of the waters and vegetation, but also of earthquakes and sea storms, held a place of honour in the Classical Greek pantheon. In the Peloponnese his worship was renowned, and in a celebrated passage of the *Odyssey* (III, 5–68) we find the scene of a solemn sacrifice in his honour of eighty-one black bulls, performed on the seashore by old King Nestor in person before the entire Pylian community. He is one of the few for whom a shrine is attested (the *Posidāïon*), where gold vessels and humans were offered to him (**309** = Tn 316 rev.1, see Chs. X and XIX; cf. **330** = Fn 187.2), and who had dependants in his service, the *Posidāïēwes* (Fn 187.18). Among the gods he is also the only one for whom there is any mention of *dosmoi*.

The word *dosmos* belongs to the semantic field of *didōmi*, which is well represented in Mycenaean by a large number of words and verbal forms. In the specific field of palace accounts these all belong, with the exception of *dōron*, to the vocabulary of taxation. The two suffixes *-smo-* and *-ti-* (respectively indicating an action in progress and a completed one) have formed two action nouns, *dosmos* (with the derivatives *apudosmos* and *dosmios*) and *apudosis* (cf. the verbal forms *didonsi*, *dōke* and *apedōke*, *dōsei* and *dōsonsi*), the first meaning 'theoretical assessment
* of the contribution', and the second the 'amount actually delivered' (*Documents*[1] 275, Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.105–09).

Thus, of itself, *dosmos* has a prospective character and in the first place reflects a commitment or an obligation to 'give' or 'supply'; only when the term is used for Poseidon does it take on a more significant character, including the idea of '(ritual) offering' or 'gift'. Compared with the other records of offerings, however, the Pylian *dosmoi* texts display some peculiarities. Among these there is the rigorous relation between the *dosmoi* and the landholdings of the contributors; and also the non-anonymous character of the *dosmoi*, which especially in Un 718 come from a variety of institutional figures who are clearly identified and ordered according to a precise hierarchical scale.

[b] *Documents*[1] 275–84, *Documents*[2] 453–54 and 456–58, *Interpretation* 213–17, 221. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.69–85, 103–13, Duhoux 1968, *Aspects* 160–98, *Dosmoi*, de Fidio 2017.

For the Mycenaean Age there are various signs of the involvement of temple *oikoi* in economic activities, such as livestock-rearing and craftwork (especially metal-working, weaving and perfumes). The *dosmoi* tablets offer a further part of the picture, since they are also a clue to the actual existence of sacred lands (*hierai chōrai*) held under strict palatial control. This phenomenon is well known for the coeval Near Eastern societies and for Greece of the first millennium, while for the Mycenaean Age it has at times been suspected because of the conspicuous presence of religious personnel in the so-called 'land register' of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, though with no trace of corresponding contributions. From this perspective the *dosmoi* tablets relating to Poseidon provide valuable material, both for a concrete study of the way a Mycenaean *hiera chōra* functioned and to ask questions about the criteria on which it was based.

1. THE Es SERIES[b]

The *Es* series consists of fifteen tablets, retrieved in 1952 from inside the Archives Complex (R.7, grid *52*). They show a list of thirteen men's names, in three separate versions devoted to different operations. Only the first of these, **172** = Es 650, has the *tos(s)onde spermo* formula which is characteristic of the land-tenure tablets. The second version, complete on **173** = Es 644, lists the names in the same order as the subject of a *dosmos wetei-wetei* (see pp. 636–37, 641–42); the third version is distributed among thirteen separate tablets which record a large *dosmos* to the god Poseidon and much smaller ones to three entities whose function is rather uncertain.

A reasonable hypothesis would be that **172** = Es 650 represents holdings of land expressed in terms of seed corn, as on the other *E*-tablets, and it also appears possible that the elliptical nature of the formula may, in fact, conceal differentiated titles of ownership (*ktoinai* and *onata*, pp. 648–49). As far as the *dosmoi* are concerned, the average ratio of 30 : 15 : 12 : 1, which can be deduced from the estimated totals of the whole series, applies exactly to only one individual's
D[2] assessment, that of ?Worthias. From the relativities one fact emerges clearly: the smaller the holding, the higher the total of *dosmoi* expressed as a percentage. Specific aspects of the *Es* register that require further study (see pp. 638, 639–43) are the problem of the fourteenth share (partly erased in Es 650 rev. 5 and totally absent in the remainder of the series); the traces of a division of the community into various fiscal groups; and the relation between the two types of *dosmoi*, and their rhythm of collection.

[b] *Documents*[1] 275–80, *Documents*[2] 456–58, *Interpretation* 221–24, *Textos* 42, *Anthology* 308–10. Studies: Heubeck 1958b, Lang 1964a, Wyatt 1964, Ilievski 1966a, *Dosmoi* 13–75, Del Freo 2005a.166–72, Weilhartner 2005.110–13.

The conventional indication of the dimensions of the areas by the amount of grain required for their sowing (**120*), sometimes also used to measure land surfaces for the cultivation of trees, such as vines and fig-trees (KN E 849, PY **177** = Er 880; pp. 649–51), does not permit a realistic estimate of the actual rate of the *dosmos* in comparison to the harvest. This problem is made even more acute by the uncertainty about the absolute values of the symbols used for measuring capacity. Research conducted by Mabel Lang on a wide sample of Pylian vessels (Lang 1964b) showed evident peaks and concentrations around the volume of c. 0.8 l. and its multiples of c. 2.4 and 3.2 l. This induced John
D² Chadwick (*Documents*² 393–94) to equate 0.8. l. with one half of the Mycenaean *khoinix* (V 1), or two *kotulai* (Z 2); and hence V 1 = 1.6 l., T/S 1 = 9.6 l., T 10 = GRA
* 1 = 96 l., S 3 = VIN 1 = 28.8 l. But it would seem equally legitimate, and perhaps even preferable in the opinion of the present author, to equate 0.8 l. directly to a *khoinix* (see further Ch. IV.7). However, in view of this uncertainty about which values to use, it has seemed preferable in the translations in this chapter to leave the values of the symbols of volume that are adopted in *Documents*¹ unchanged.

172 = Es 650 (H 11)

Recto

.1	ki-ri-ti-jo-jo , ko-pe-re-u	e-ke , to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 6
.2	a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo ,	e-ke , to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 7
.3	se-no	e-ke to-so-de , pe-mo ,	GRA 1
.4	o-po-ro-me-no	e-ke to-so-de , pe-mo	GRA 4
.5	a_3-ki-wa-ro , a-te-mi-to , do-e-ro	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 1
.6	we-da-ne-wo , do-e-ro	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA T 4
.7	wo-ro-ti-ja-o	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 2
.8	ka-ra-i e-ke , to-so-de pe-mo		GRA T 3
.9	a-ne-o e-ke to-so-de pe-mo		GRA 1 T 5

Verso

.1	ru-ko-wo-ro	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 1̣ T 4
.2	o-ka	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 1 T 2
.3	pi-ro-ta-wo	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 1 T 2
.4	ku-da-ma-ro	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA 1 T 2
.5	pi-ro-te-ko-to	e-ke to-so-de pe-mo	GRA [[ ]]
.6	*vacat*		
.7	*vacat*		
.8	*vacat*		

D In the *month* of ?Krithios:

.1 Kopreus, he has (an acreage of) so much seed: 720 l. wheat.

.2 Alektryon, he has so much seed: 840 l. wheat.

.3 *Se-no*, he has so much seed: 120 l. wheat.

.4 Hoplomenos, he has so much seed: 480 l. wheat.
.5 Aigi~os, slave of Artemis, he has so much seed: 120 l. wheat.
.6 The servant of W~neus, he has so much seed: 48 l. wheat.
.7 Of *Wo-ro-ti-ja*, he has so much seed: 240 l. wheat.
etc.

D² * ?*Krithioio*: the analogy of the Knossos tablets similarly introduced by a genitive adjective (e.g. Fp(1) 5, *Diwioio mēnos*, see Ch. XIX, p. 861) suggests that this is the name of a month. We can compare the one certain example of a month name at Pylos: *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* (**315** = Fr 1224), and possibly *po-ro-wi-to-jo* on **309** = Tn 316.1. (There is a similar omission of *mēnos* in KN Fp(1) 6; see Ch. XIX, p. 862.)

D *ekhei to(s)sonde spermo*: comparing the formulae on the other land-tenure tablets, we may punctuate 'he holds (land): so much seed' (especially if *to-so-de* is to be read *tos(s)on de* '*and* so much', which is always a possibility).
A-te-mi-to do-e-ro: (*-te-* over erasure, possibly [[*ti*]]: *PoN* IV ad loc.): the genitive Ἀρτέμιτος (Doric Ἀρτάμιτος, perhaps by popular etymology from ἄρταμος) is attested in N.W. Greek inscriptions; Ἀρτέμιδος may perhaps be an innovation. A possible dative 'to Artemis' occurs in *A-ti-mi-te* (PY Un 219.5). Ἄρτεμις is the general E. Greek form, with gen. -ιδος or -ιτος; Delphian (N.W. Greek) has Ἄρτεμις, -ιτος.

D *Wo-ro-ti-ja-o*: the other two versions (where the genitive would in fact be more correct) show the nominative *Wo-ro-ti-ja*; possibly the genitive W~newos in the preceding line induced the confusion. This 'servant (or slave) of W~neus' is not mentioned by name in any of the three versions; for W~neus himself, see p. 638.
Pi-ro-te-ko-to: or possibly *Pi-ro , te-ko-to* (*PoN* IV ad loc.), 'Philōn, the joiner'?

173 = Es 644 (S 644 H 1)

.1	ko-pe-re-wo , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 7
.2	a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 9 V 3
.3	ṣẹ-no , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 2
.4	o-po-ro-me-no , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA Ṭ 1̣[
.5	a_3-ki-wa-ro , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA Ṭ[
.6	we-da-ne-wo , do-e-ro , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 1 V 2
.7	ẉọ[-ro-ti-ja-o]ḍọ-ṣọ-mọ , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 3 V 2
.8	ka-ra-i] , do-so[-mo] , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA V 3
.9	a-]ne-o , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 2 V 3
.10	ru-ko-u-ro do-so-]mo , we-te-i̯[-we-]ṭẹ-i[	GRA]Ṿ [
.11	o-ka] , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 2 V 1̣
.12	pi-ro-ta-wo , do-so-mo , we-te-i[-we-]te-i	GRA T 2 V[
.13	ku-da-ma-ro , do-so-mo , we-te-i-we-te-i	GRA T 2 [

§ 1 The year-by-year contribution of Kopreus: 84 l. wheat.
§ 2 The year-by-year (contribution) of Alektryon: 108.6 l. wheat.
§ 3 *Se-no*, (his) year-by-year contribution: 24 l. wheat,
etc.

Koprēwos dosmos: note that the genitive is maintained only in the first two entries; in the third version, only Alektryon shows this case. The word *dosmos* survives in the Arcadian compound ἀπυδοσμός (Orkhomenos, c. 350 B.C., *IG* V 2 343), adj. ἀπυδόσμιος (Tegea, c. 390 B.C., *IG* V 2 3) (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.111–13).

we-te-i-we-te-i: this reduplicated locative of the word ϝέτος 'year' apparently shares the meaning of the Classical adverb ἀμφιετεί 'year by year' (cf. ἀμφιετέω 'offer yearly sacrifices', *EM* XC, 26): the archaic construction can be paralleled by Sanskrit *padepade* 'at every step', *varṣevarṣe* 'every year' (cf. also such modern Greek idioms as φεγγάρια φεγγάρια 'once in a blue moon'). (See also Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.234, 240.) This payment is equivalent to only about one sixth of the sowing figure (p. 639).

174 = Es 646 (S 644 H 1)

.1 ko-pe-re-u , po-se-da-o-ne , do-ṣo̤-mo , GRA 1 T 5
.2 *34-ke-te-si , do-so-mo GRA T 1 V 4
.3 we-da-ne-we , do-so-mo GRA T 1 V 4
.4 di-wi-je-we , do-so-mo GRA T 1 V 4

§ 1 Kopreus: (his) contribution to Poseidon: 180 l. wheat,
2 contribution to the **34-ke-te-re*: 20 l. wheat,
3 contribution to W ~neus: 20 l. wheat,
4 contribution to Diwijeus: 20 l. wheat.

Poseidāōnei dosmos: this word order is preserved on the tablets headed by the first five names in the standard list; the sixth saves space by omitting *dosmos* and reads: *W~nēwos dohelos Poseidāōnei*; the remainder, perhaps under its influence, show *dosmos Poseidāōnei*. The genitive *Poseidāōnos* on **175** = Es 649 is presumably a scribal error; a further spelling difference is seen in *Ru-ko-u-ro* Es 729.

* **34-ke-te-si*: dative plural in *-tērsi*. The term remains difficult to transcribe and interpret. See *DMic*, s.v.

D *We-da-ne-we*: except for those of Alektryon, Kopreus and ?Hoplomenos, all the tablets show the genitive *W~ danēwos* in this position: no difference in meaning is probably intended. On the identity of *W.* and *Di-wi-je-u*, see p. 638.

175 = Es 649 (S 644 H 1)

.1 a-re-ku-tu-ru-ṇo̤-ne po-se-da-o-no do-so-mo GRA 2 T 3
.2 *34-ke-te-si , do-so-ṃo̤ GRA T 2 V 4
.3 we-da-ne-we , do-so-mo GRA T 2 V 4
.4 di-wi-je-we , do-so-mo GRA T 2 V 4

D §1 Alektryon's contribution to Poseidon: 276 l. wheat,
2 contribution to the **34-ke-te-re*: 32 l. wheat,
3 contribution to W ~ neus: 32 l. wheat,
4 contribution to Diwieus: 32 l. wheat.

a-re-ku-tu-ru-ṇo̤-ne: probably lapsus for *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-ne*: cf. Es 644.2, 650.2. There is also an erroneous inversion with the subject in the dative and the receiver of the *dosmos* in the genitive.

The entries for the remaining eleven names are contained on the *Es* tablets 645, 647, 653, 703, 728, 726, 648, 729, 727, 651 and 652.

* The same laconic character shown in the landholding formulae and in the *dosmos weteiwetei* is also discernible in the titles of the persons inscribed in the *Es* register, which are almost invariably implicit. The exceptions are A_3*-ki-wa-ro*, slave (*dohelos*) of Artemis (Es 650.5) and the anonymous *dohelos* of *We-da-ne-u* (Es 650.6, 644.6, 703). A *tektōn* might be identified in Es 650 rev. 5, if the reading *Pi-ro* , *te-ko-to* (*PoN* IV ad loc.) is correct. Nevertheless, there seems to be a good possibility that Alektryon, the largest landholder, is the same individual who in **56** = An 654.7–8 is qualified as *e-qe-ta*, and thus represents a high-ranking person. As regards the minor beneficiaries of *dosmoi* in Es 645 etc., we know nothing about the college of **34-ke-te-re*, which is undocumented elsewhere. But *We-da-ne-u* is almost certainly one of the four 'collectors' of the *Cn* series, the beneficiary of flax lands (PY Na 856, 1041) and a supplier of rowers to the fleet (**53** = An 610.14). *Di-wi-je-u*, too, seems to be an *e-qe-ta* (**58** = An 656.9) as well as an *e-re-u-te(r)* (**78** = Cn 3.2).

Although no certain conclusion can be drawn on the functions of these three minor beneficiaries, the participation of W~daneus and Diwieus in the management of economic activities in the interests of the palace might imply their having had an analogous function in the administration of the sanctuary; they may have represented the 'long arm' of palatial authority, either at a purely pro bono level, or as a kind of recompense for duties carried out elsewhere for the sovereign. We can assert only that the perfectly equal part assigned to each indicates their parity of rank.

Noticeable disparities are instead visible between the thirteen contributors in the *Es* register, in terms of both landholdings and the balance of their accounts, i.e. the relation between the land surface held and the *dosmos* owed for it, in which frequent departures from the ideal proportion invariably occur to the cost of the minor landholders. The perfect balance, as we have hinted, occurs only in the *Wo-ro-ti-ja* quotas, and produces the following ratios:

dosmos ww		:	Taxable area	= 1 : 6
Dosmos Es 645 etc.		:	"	= 1 : 2
" "	Poseidon	:	"	= 1 : 2.5
" "	Three	:	"	= 1 : 10
" "	One	:	"	= 1 : 30
Dosmos ww + *dosmos*	Es 645 etc.	:	"	
	Poseidon	:	Three = 4 : 1	
	Poseidon	:	One = 12 : 1	

The frequent lacunae of Es 644 do not permit a complete examination of the *dosmos ww*. This is possible, however, for the *dosmos* of Es 645 etc. to Poseidon and the Three. Here the imbalance caused above all by the quotas of Kopreus and Alektryon, and to a lesser degree by that of Aneos, is shown to be almost entirely annulled in the overall *dosmos*, thanks to the tributary impositions of the remaining quotas (with the exception of that of *Wo-ro-ti-ja*). One could therefore say that the group of thirteen contributors inscribed in this register, however we interpret the internal differentiations, had a joint and several liability for paying the tributary obligations to the god and to the other three recipients. Variations of a minor order are also to be seen in the *dosmos* of Es 645 etc. between the quota owed to Poseidon and the quota owed to the Three: the first is always in whole numbers measured in T, while the second is always in whole numbers measured in V, as is also the case with each of the Three. The following table presents all of the data calculated in V measures in order to avoid recourse to fractions; the 'theoretical' *dosmoi* are those expected on the basis of the application of the proportion to the respective areas referred to, and in the *dosmoi* of Es 645 etc. the share of the Three is added to that to Poseidon.

	Real	***dosmos ww* Theoretical**	**Balance**	**Taxable area**	**Real**	***dosmos* Es 645 etc. Theoretical**	**Balance**
A-re-ku-tu-ru-wo	57	70	- 13	420	186	210	- 24
Se-no	12	10	+ 2	60	36	30	+ 6
O-po-ro-me-no	-	40		240	126	120	+ 6
A_3-ki-wa-ro	-	10		60	42	30	+ 12
We-da-ne-wo d.	8	4	+ 4	24	21	12	+ 9
Wo-ro-ti-ja	20	20	=	120	60	60	=
Ka-ra-i	3	3	=	18	15	9	+ 6
A-ne-o	15	15	=	90	33	45	- 12
Ru-ko-u-ro	-	14		84	51	42	+ 9
O-ka	-	12		72	51	36	+ 15
Pi-ro-ta-wo	-	12		72	51	36	+ 15
Ku-da-ma-ro	-	12		72	51	36	+ 15
Totals (V)		[282]		1692	843	846	- 3
(T)		[47]		282	140 V 3	141	- 0.5

The evident pursuit of an equal balance raises the question of why it was not possible to eliminate that small residual deficit of V 3 that stands in the way of a perfect overall balance in the current *dosmos*, and its conformity to the principle of whole numbers in T measure in the *dosmos* to Poseidon (T 140 V 3).

But, as we have mentioned, there was a fourteenth man in the list of landholders of Es 650 in the person of the *tektōn Philōn* (Es 650 rev. 5), whose share

has been erased. Thus, it is quite probable that the present register, which is incomplete in the section of the taxable areas, is likewise incomplete in that of the *dosmoi*. (Against Lang's hypothesis (1964a.45–46) that the fourteenth share had already been absorbed in the total, see *Dosmoi* 41–44.)

The only quota which, without straying too far from the average type of holding in the register (c. T 21), achieves an equal balance and respects the rule of whole numbers of the *dosmoi* (in the T measures to Poseidon and V to the Three) is that corresponding to a holding of T 18 (GRA 1 T 8) and its corresponding *dosmoi* (here all the calculations can be made in the measure T):

	Area	***dosmos ww***	**Es 645 etc.**	**(Poseidon**	**+ Three)**	**Balance P.**	**Balance T.**	**Balance**
13 Es T	282	[47]	140 V 3	112	28 V 3	- 0.8	+ 0.3	- 0.5
Philōn T	18	[3]	9 V 3	8	1 V 3	+ 0.8	- 0.3	+ 0.5
totals T	300	[50]	150	120	30	=	=	=
GRA	30	[5]	15	12	3			

The extremely hypothetical character of this reconstruction need not be stressed, but if it were granted some plausibility, it would supply an interesting confirmation to a conjecture made by Mabel Lang, who in her study of this series suggested a possible initial subdivision of the *Es* community into three fiscal groups (Lang 1964a.39–40). In the following table, the three groups are obtained by respecting the same order as the thirteen contributors in both Es 650 and Es 644, and the third group absorbs the hypothesised fourteenth share. Because of the lacunae in the *dosmos ww* the calculations are restricted to the complete data of Es 645 etc. The result, as is plain to see, has the advantage of producing whole numbers for the entire register, even in the higher measure (T) and, consequently, in the major unit (GRA); and it coincides fully with the series of proportions of (GRA) 30 : 5 : 15 (12 + 3).

Es 650	**(Poseidon**	**(theor. area) +**	**Three (theor. area)**	**Es 645 etc.**	**(theor. area)**	**Real area**	**Balance**
1 - 2	38	95 (–35)	13 130 (=)	51	102	130	+ 28
3 - 8	41	102.5 (+15.5)	9 90 (+ 3)	50	100	87	- 13
9 - 14	41	102.5 (+19.5)	8 80 (- 3)	49	98	83	- 15
totals T	120	300 (=)	30 300 (=)	150	300	300	=
GRA	12	30	3 30	15	30	30	=

On the whole, not a bad example of accounting: on condition, that is, that the reconstruction of the fourteenth share is correct. The division into three provides greater clarity of detail to the imbalance between the two major landholders,

who together form a single group (the first two contributors) and the two subsequent groups (made up of six contributors each), who are called on to pay a supplement to cover the deficit of the first group, dividing it into approximately equal parts. From this perspective, it is easier to see the different calculation of the two *dosmoi* to Poseidon and the Three, of which the first is throughout the relatively faithful reflection of the theoretical taxable land area, while the second reflects almost perfectly the real taxable area.

These balance figures give grounds for the suspicion that over time there had been a transfer of the shares of taxable holdings to the advantage of the first group at the expense of the other two groups, without making a corresponding update in the shares of the contribution, which instead remained linked to the earlier amounts of T 50 for each group. Furthermore, it is impossible to say whether a change in the *dosmos* for the new taxable areas occurred almost exclusively in the *dosmos* to the Three because of its greater ease of calculation (being equal to one tenth of the taxable land), or because of 'some form of religious conservatism' (Lang 1964a.40), that may have discouraged major changes in the *dosmos* to Poseidon; or even from a combination of these two factors.

The marked disparity in the landholdings and the fiscal treatment observed in the *Es* series (thanks also to the generic nature of the formula *to-so-de pe-mo* of Es 650) suggests the hypothesis that this register reflects a community of three *ko-to-no-o-ko* with their respective *o-na-te-re* (*Documents*[1] 277). From a reading of the *Es* entries one is tempted to draw the conclusion that the present division into three groups is the result of a series of transformations in the internal balances, and that there was a transfer from an initial subdivision into equal and homogeneous groups (each consisting of one *ktoinā* of GRA 10, and therefore of one *ktoinookhos / telestās* with his *onatēres*), to a subdivision into equal groups that had only the *dosmoi* in common.

If the original organisation was indeed as we have suggested, it is nevertheless surprising that, despite the changes in the dimensions of the landholdings that necessitated a recalculation of the shares of the contribution, the division of the community into three groups was maintained. The division also made necessary the drawing up of three partial balances instead of a single one; and these three partial balances would have needed to be integrated into the general balance.

It would thus appear that this division into three equal groups remained as an element that the system could not do without.

Perhaps an explanation for this state of things may come from an analysis of the relation between the *dosmos ww* and the *dosmos* of Es 645 etc., which is triple the preceding one. For the first one, as we said, its annual periodicity is carefully noted, but not its recipient(s); for the second, the recipients are carefully noted but not its periodicity. So, either the collection was annual in both cases but the recipients were different (e.g. the palace as opposed to Poseidon and his fellows,

which would require them to be added up); or the unnamed recipients of Es 644 are likewise understood as Poseidon and his fellows, but the rate of collection of the two types of *dosmoi* was different.

At first sight there would seem to be no way of proving either hypothesis. But let us reflect more carefully on the adverbial expression *weteiwetei*. This term confers on the *dosmos* of Es 644 an 'annual' character, which in the agrarian context acquires the overtone of an annual 'rent', and is perhaps also referable to 'contractual' relationships between contributors and recipients of the *dosmos*. The use of *weteiwetei* is all the more surprising, not only because all obligatory contributions were normally annual, without there being any need to emphasise the feature, but also because the same scribe, who thirteen consecutive times went to the trouble of writing down this adverbial locution in Es 644, instead systematically omits to mark it on the thirteen individual tablets (Es 645 etc.). This, by contrast, makes it very probable that the *dosmos* of Es 645 etc. is *not* an annual one. Similarly, the same scribe glosses over the recipient(s) of the *dosmos ww*, but accurately records the name of Poseidon and each of the three minor recipients on the individual tablets of Es 645 etc.

The hypothesis that the recipient in Es 644 may be the *wanaks* (*Documents*[1] 279: 'a tithe to the palace') is doubtless in theory possible. However, apart from posing some problems regarding the ultimate jurisdiction over these lands, it would not properly solve the question of the temporal relation between the two *dosmoi*.

In the light of the strictly unitary character of the *Es* register it is worth asking whether, in both what they state and what they omit to state, the two *dosmoi* are not in fact complementary, and that the formula used by one communicates what the other omits, and vice versa. In this case the understood recipient of Es 644 would be none other than Poseidon (together with his three fellows), while the periodicity implicit in Es 645 etc. should be more or less directly deduced from the *dosmos ww* and the proportions between the two types of *dosmoi*. In fact, the solutions that can be considered here are more than one (*Dosmoi* 69–70).

However, a clue that should not be neglected may lie in the religious traditions among the Greeks of the first millennium. Distinct cases of alternating periodicity are a well-attested phenomenon in the celebration of several festivities, and are reflected in the regime of their related offerings. Along with the great feast held every two, four or even eight years (τριετηρίς, πεντετηρίς, ἐνναετηρίς), there was the celebration of the annual festivity, κατ' ἐνιαυτόν (cf. *weteiwetei*), on a minor scale also with regard to the offerings. Thus, sacrifices in the years of the full offerings alternated with those of years of a reduced offering. For example, for the feast of Zeus Machaneus at Cos, in alternate years a bull and three rams were sacrificed, or only three rams (*Syll.*[3] 1026 = *LSCG* 151 B 14–15). The *triēteris*, linked perhaps to the bi-annual crop rotation and agrarian rites, appears to have been predominantly dedicated to Demeter and Dionysus. Poseidon, too,

as god of underground waters and of fertility, was sometimes venerated with the epithet of Φυτάλμιος, the protector of vegetation (especially φυτά) and harvests: so at Erythrai (*Syll.*[3] 1014 B 31), Athens (*IG* III[2] 5051), Rhodes (*IG* XII 1 905 = *Syll.*[3] 1030) etc. This lends considerable force to the hypothesis that in the *chōra* of Mycenaean Pylos, in which Poseidon was probably the major god, a portion of land had been consecrated to him, from which the firstling offerings (*aparchai*) flowed regularly into an annual *dosmos*, and in alternate years into a larger *dosmos*.

In the hypothesis of the *trietēris* and of a *dosmos* which was double in alternate years the functionality and tenacious preservation of the division of the *Es* community into three groups might find its rationale. The pattern arising from the *Es* register would be that of a regular annual tax to be paid to Poseidon (where the share due to the other three recipients may represent a sort of palatial share); and of a surplus that was probably double the normal amount on alternate years (as would happen if the three *Es* groups of landholders alternated in the payment of the larger *dosmos*).

In conclusion, the analysis of the *Es* register induces one to consider it as referring to lands sacred to Poseidon that were divided into lots and granted to a certain number of beneficiaries in exchange for an annual rent equal to one sixth of the taxable land area, that was perhaps doubled in alternate years. The context, which was both agricultural and ritual, confers on the *dosmoi* a meaning that is on the borderline between that of a purely economic 'tax' or 'rent' and an essentially religious one of 'votive offering' or ἀπαρχή. Furthermore, if the attribution to Poseidon of both types of *Es dosmos* is correct, it follows that in the *dosmos ww* we should likewise distinguish between the share destined for Poseidon (in a ratio of 1 : 7.5 of the taxable land) and the share paid to the Three minor recipients (in a ratio of 1 : 30 by group or 1 : 90 for each of the Three). The series of proportions between landholdings and respective *dosmoi* is complicated in appearance only. In its application it is actually perfectly adapted to the system of measures for dry produce and comes down to a few essential 1 : 1 ratios:

area : *dosmos ww* = T 1 : V 1
dosmos to Poseidon : *dosmos* to the Three = V 1 : Z 1

with a ratio between Poseidon and each of the Three that is always 12 to 1 (or T 2 : V 1).

2. THE *Er* SERIES AND THE *DOSMOI* OF 178 = Un 718[b]

D The expression 'a *dosmos* to Poseidon' serves as the introduction to the first of two extremely important ritual tablets from Pylos. The 'offerings' on

[b] *Documents*[1] 264–67, *Documents*[2] 453–54, *Interpretation* 213–17, *Textos* 42, *Anthology* 304–08. Studies: Hiller 1983.190–97, *Dosmoi* 89–102, 114–16, R. Palmer 1994.66–72, Del Freo 2005a.52–54, 152–66.

178 = Un 718 are headed by the word *ṣa̤-ra-pe-da*, recurring on **177** = Er 880.2, and consist of varying amounts of nine different kinds of farm produce, divided into four paragraphs. These show a remarkable parallelism with the four entries on **176** = Er 312 and the one on **177** = Er 880, discussed more fully on pp. 646–54, and appear to represent the different categories of person and/or land who are sharing this area: *E-ke-ra$_2$-wo*; the *dāmos* or 'village community'; the *lāwāgetās*; and the *ka-ma/e-re-mo*. Their offerings are in roughly descending proportions, like their *sperma* on Er 312 and Er 880.

Similar multiple offerings of different commodities are usual in the ancient agropastoral societies of the second millennium B.C. Here is a Sumerian example from Lagaš (de Genouillac 1909, no. 1, 1):

Seven sacks of flour, three pots of light ale, four pots of dark ale, two measures of oil, two measures of dates, two measures of wine, two lake (?) fish, one sheep, one white kid, one lamb – to the god Nina.

A closer parallel, both in the objects and amounts represented and in the probable degree of historical connexion, can be found in Classical offerings of the type listed, for example, on the late fourth-century B.C. sacrificial calendar from Cos (*SGDI*, 3636–8, Schwyzer, *Dial.* 251c):

τρίται ἀνομένου ... Ἡρακλεῖ ἐς Κονίσαλον, βοῦς·
τοῦτον θύει ὁ ἱαρεύς, τῶι δὲ θεῶι ἱερὰ δίδοται
κριθᾶν τρία ἡμιμέδιμνα,
καὶ σπυρῶν τρεῖς τεταρτῆς,
καὶ μέλιτος τέτορες κοτύλεαι,
καὶ τυροὶ οἴεοι δυώδεκα,
καὶ ἰπνὸς καινός,
καὶ φρυγάνων ἄχθος καὶ ξύλεων ἄχθος,
καὶ οἴνου τρία ἡμίχοα.

When the third day is ending … to Dustcloud for
Heracles: an ox. And the priest sacrifices it: and offerings
are given to the god: three half *medimnoi* of barley and
three quarters of wheat and four *kotulai* of honey and
twelve sheep's cheeses and a new dutch oven and a load
of kindling and a load of timber and three half *choes* of wine.

The most explicit Minoan or Mycenaean representation of a sacrifice is seen on the painted sarcophagus from Agia Triada, dated to the earliest part of LM III, the two longer panels of which are illustrated in Fig. 14.1. Of course, it is risky to use them as an exact illustration of the Pylos ritual tablets, but analogies between Un 718 and the sarcophagus are seen in the objects sacrificed (the ox, the two goats under the table, the vessels containing liquids, and perhaps the basket of 'fruit' – which might perhaps be cheeses); and the fact that women

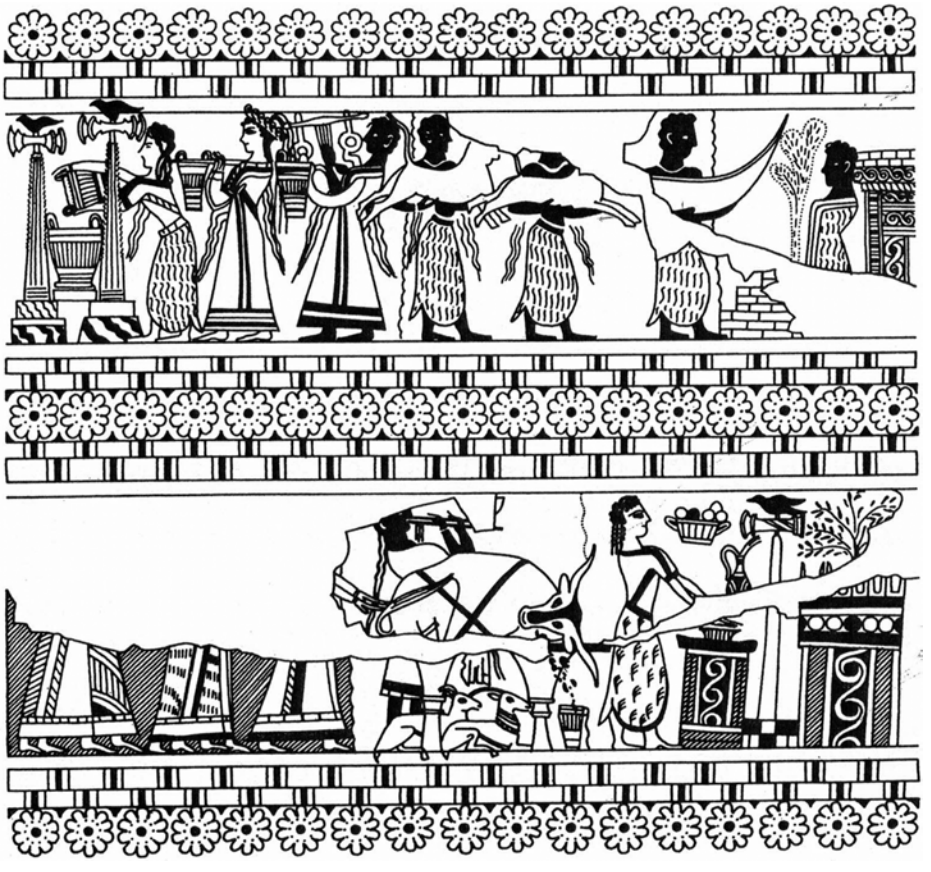


Figure 14.1.. The Agia Triada sarcophagus

officiate connects it with the preponderance of *hiereiai* at Pylos and Knossos. Sheepskins, whose purpose on Un 718 is not self-evident, appear on the sarcophagus as the ceremonial lower garments of the acolytes (cf. Evans, *PoM* IV.401), and as a kind of cloak on the effigy (?) in front of the shrine. The grain and wine which precede the bull and rams in lines 3 and 7 are probably to be connected with Nestor's ritual of οὐλοχύται and λοιβὴ οἴνου detailed in *Od.* III, 429–63, already invoked for the sarcophagus by von Duhn 1909. Cf. also *Od.* XIX, 197.

* Thus, in Un 718 the association of animals and agricultural produce, and even their order, cannot but evoke a sacrificial ritual (Burkert 1977.87, 118), and thence a festivity in which after the offering of οὐλοχύται and σπονδαί and the immolation of the sacrificial victims, there followed, on the basis of an indispensable hierarchical order, the ritual consumption of what remained (on these aspects see also, more recently, Palaima 2004.230–32, Weilhartner 2005.165–66, 228, 2008).

We have already mentioned the peculiarities of this text, among which there is the evident relation between the *dosmoi* of the various 'offerers' and the corresponding landholdings listed in **176** = Er 312 and **177** = Er 880. In order to appreciate the manifold values in Un 718, it is appropriate to examine it in strict relation to the two *Er* tablets from Room 8 of the Archives Complex. The linkage between these three texts (which cannot be separated from the label Wa 731) is confirmed by their redaction by a single scribe (H 24), who did not write any other tablet of the extant Pylian archive; they are also characterised by a small significant cluster of linguistic forms characteristic of 'special' Mycenaean (Risch 1966a.155–57). In terms of content, there are also plainly some features in common with the *Es* series. Apart from the character of an imposed levy (here made even more marked by the formula with the verb in the future, *dosmon dōsei*, in Un 718.2–3, 9), these similarities consist above all in their relationship with the landholdings of the contributors. Furthermore, it is not perhaps by chance that the label Wa 731, which by the term]*o-wi-de-ta*[refers directly to Un 718 (see p. 655), was retrieved in Room 7 of the Archives Complex from the same grid *52* as the *Es* texts (Palaima 1995b.628).

(A) LANDHOLDERS AND LANDHOLDINGS OF THE Er SERIES.

176 = Er 312 (S312 H 24)

.1 wa-na-ka-te-ro , te-me-no [
.2 to-so-jo pe-ma GRA 30
.3 ra-wa-ke-si-jo , te-me-no GRA 10
.4 *vacat*
.5 te-re-ta-oι ɹṭọ-ṣọ-ṗẹ-ma GRA 30
.6 to-so-de , te-re-ta VIR 3
.7 wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo , e-re-mo
.8 to-so-jo , pe-ma GRA GRA 6[
.9 *vacat*

D § 1 The preserve of the king, seed *at* so much: 3600 l. wheat.
§ 2 The preserve of the *lāwāgetās*, seed *at* so much: 1200 l. wheat.
§ 3 (The lands) of the *men of the telos*, so much seed: 3600 l. wheat; and (there are) so many *men of the telos*: three.
§ 4 The *vacant* (land) of ?*Wroikiōn*, seed *at* so much: 720[l. wheat.

wanakteron temenos … *lāwāgesion temenos*: these are the only two mentions of *temenē* present in the Mycenaean texts. In Homer the τέμενος is special land reserved for the king as a hereditary prerogative, probably tied to his function (πατρώϊον, *Il.* XX, 391), or in some cases was granted by the people to heroes for their deeds. Its excellent quality is emphasised by the use of adjectives such as καλόν 'beautiful', περικαλλές 'very beautiful' and

by the specification of its crops, which were at times divided into arable produce and vineyards:

Il. VI, 194–95: καὶ μέν οἱ (Βελλεροφόντῃ) Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμον ἔξοχον ἄλλων,
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης, ὄφρα νέμοιτο.

While the Lycians also made him (Bellerophon) the grant of a splendid estate with plenty of vineyards and cornfields for his private use.

Il. IX, 578–80: ἔνθα μιν (Μελέαγρον) ἤνωγον τέμενος περικαλλὲς ἑλέσθαι
πεντηκοντόγυον, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οἰνοπέδοιο,
ἥμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι.

They told him (Meleager) that he could choose an estate of fifty acres for his own use, half vine-land and half open ploughland, to be carved out of the richest part of the Calydonian plain.

Il. XIV, 121–23: (Τυδεύς) ναῖε δὲ δῶμα
ἀφνειὸν βιότοιο, ἅλις δέ οἱ ἦσαν ἄρουραι
πυροφόροι, πολλοὶ δὲ φυτῶν ἔσαν ὄρχατοι ἀμφίς.

(Tydeus) settled down in luxury, with a house, some good cornland and many private orchards.

Od. VI, 293–94: ἔνθα δὲ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ (Ἀλκινόοιο) τέμενος τεθαλυῖά τ' ἀλωή,
τόσσον ἀπὸ πτόλιος, ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.

That is where my father (Alcinoos) has his royal park and vegetable garden, within call of the city.
(Translations E. V. Rieu)

* In later usage there are also widely attested meanings of τέμενος as 'precinct of a god', and as 'lots of sacred land'.

tos(s)ojo sperma: *pe-ma* is a form characteristic of 'special' Mycenaean. Householder (1961.180), Palmer (*Interpretation* 214–15), Ruipérez (1992) and others have suggested that *to-so-jo* is a spelling of *tosyon* with a palatalised *s*, but no parallels are quoted and
D/* the forms *to-so* and *to-so-de* also occur on the same tablet. It seems more likely therefore that *to-so-jo* is genitive singular (of price?: *Documents*[1] 266) and that the lack of concord with *pe-ma* is due to the influence of the much more common *to-so(-de) pe-mo* formula (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.83–84). The reason for the variation, however, remains unclear.

D *tos(s)oide telestai*: as in **121** = En 609.2 and **177** = Er 880.4.6, *to-so-de* follows *to-so* in a linked pair of entries, and suggests that *-de* should here be taken as the particle δέ 'and, but'.

D[2] *worokijonejo eremo* … GRA ọ[: as JC notes in *Documents*[2] (454), there are problems with VC's suggestion (*Documents*[1] 265) that the term is equivalent to ὀργεωνικός, from the term ὀργεῶνες, used in Classical Athens of members of a religious association parallel to the *thiasoi*. Apart from the *scriptio plena wo-ro-k-* for *worg-* 'which is contrary to the usual rules', Palmer (*Interpretation* 214) 'has also rightly called attention to the morphological

* difficulties'. Some of the same difficulties (the plene spelling, the *-e-jo* suffix) are encountered by an alternative suggestion (Ruijgh, *Études* 263) that the term is connected with the obligation to **worgiein* which is associated with land of the *ka-ma* type. We know, however, that adjectives in *-e-jo* in Mycenaean are often derived from personal names and have possessive force. This raises the possibility of an interpretation of *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* as 'of, belonging to *Ϝροικίων' (Killen 1983a.83–84 = *Economy and Administration* I.290–91 [Chadwick]); for a man's name Ϝοικίων probably in evidence on Samos (*SEG* I, 367), see O. Masson 1982.151. On the term *e-re-mo* (ἔρημον), which may mean 'desert' or 'empty', but also in a more strictly juridical sense 'vacant', see p. 649. GRA 6̣[: cf. *PoN* IV ad loc.: '6 probably complete, 5 units preserved, maximum 7'.

The sovereign, as the political and religious head of the kingdom, and the *lāwāgetās*, are both present in Er 312 by way of their *temenē*. Their difference of rank is symbolically represented in the different size of their respective landholdings and the different suffixes (*-teron* and *-ion*) used for the two adjectives qualifying them (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.71–72). It is not clear whether the meaning of *temenos* here is that of a hereditary precinct connected to a function, or, as the context would seem to suggest, that of grants (associated with the landholding title itself) of tracts of sacred land to the two leading authorities of the Pylian kingdom. The privileged character of this type of holding, and the line left blank (Er 312.4), in any case mark a distinction, not only of an economic nature, but above all of quality and rank between the two foremost individuals in Er 312 and the rest of the landholders. Nevertheless, while the *lāwāgetās* appears among the contributors of Un 718, this is not the case for the *wanaks*. The absence seems once again to indicate the distance between the sovereign and the *lāwāgetās*, and that the *wanakteron temenos* was a freehold, and as such not liable to taxpaying (see pp. 653–54).

The third estate reviewed in Er 312 concerns a group of three *telestai*. If we hypothesise that they were of equal rank, the share due to each would be GRA 10, and equal to that of the *lāwāgetās*. The unitary indication of their allotted land highlights its solidity and collective character. Although in a more succinct form, the formula used here cannot fail to recall the heading of PY **121** = En 609.1–2, with which the so-called 'land archive' of *Pa-ki-ja-ne* (see Ch. XIV.1) opens. There, the wording *to-so-de te-re-ta* actually conceals a community of *telestai* and their *onatēres* (*Documents*[2] 453), and the same may also be the case here. Furthermore, from the *Eo/En* series we see that the typical form of agrarian holding of the *telestai* was the *ktoinā ktimenā*, which always had the character of an individual holding; hence there is good reason to suppose that for Er 312.5 we should identify three *ktoinai* of this type.

The lands of the three *telestai* appear to correspond to the *dosmos* expected from the *dāmos* in Un 718. Thanks to the clarity of the texts, general agreement

now prevails over the interpretation of the Mycenaean *dāmos* (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.141–42). This body asserted itself above all in the dispute which the *Pa-ki-ja-ne* register documents between the *dāmos* and the priestess Erita about the exact juridical title (*o-na-ta* or *e-to-ni-jo*) of a holding of *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* allotted to her. The substance of the dispute itself and the alternation *da-mo / ko-to-no-o-ko* in the two versions of the register (**147** = Eb 297 ~ **142** = Ep 704.5–6) make it probable that at a local level the Mycenaean *dāmos* is to be identified institutionally as the collective of holders of the *ktoinai* within a certain administrative district (normally on the scale of one *dāmos* per village of a certain economic and demographic status). Among the *ko-to-no-o-ko* the only ones admitted to the privileged part of the *ktoinā*, or *ktimenā*, are the *telestai*.

The equation of *telestai* with *dāmos* in Er 312.5 ~ Un 718.7 (already proposed in *Documents*[1] 265, and notwithstanding the caution adopted by John Chadwick in *Documents*[2] 454) can therefore be confirmed.

* The *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo* in Er 312.7 corresponds to the *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma* in Un 718.11. The exceptional nature of this latter mention can be observed by the fact that it is the only case of a *dosmos* being expected not directly from a living person, but from the corresponding landholding. This may lend support to the idea of 'vacancy' (of title or legal ownership) probably inherent here in the term *e-re-mo*. With regard to the obligation of the payment of the *dosmos*, which nevertheless remains intact and the responsibility of the *ka-ma*, this may be explained, if not by the possibly sudden and transitory circumstances of the *erēmia*, above all by the fact that it evidently relates to the present, and thus does not alter the obligation to pay what is owed for the year that has ended. This would also explain why the *ka-ma* is still registered under the name of *Ϝροικίων, who was still responsible for the payment of the preceding obligation.

177 = Er 880 (S312 H 24)

.1]ke-ra$_2$[ ]ti-me-no , e-ke
.2 sa-ra-pe-do[ ]pu$_2$-te-me-no
.3 to-so [ ]GRA 30[ ]*vacat*
.4 to-so-de , [ ]to , pe-ma GRA 4̣2[
.5 to-sa , we-je[ ]1100[
.6 to-sa-de , su-z̤a̤[ ]1̤0̤0̤0̤[
.7 *vacat*
.8 ku-su-to-ro-qa , to-s̤o̤ , pe-ma 94
.9 *vacat*

E-ke-ra$_2$-wo has <an estate> in the process of (?) tilling
at Sa-ra-pe-da(?) planted with trees
so much [seed]: 3600[l. wheat
and so much [?untill]ed: seed 5040[l. wheat

so many vines[ ]1100[
and so many fig-trees: [ ]1000[
Aggregate, so much seed: 11,280 l.

[*E-*]*ke-ra*$_2$-[*wo* , *ki-*]*ti-me-no e-ke*: the restoration of the first line leaves no room for doubt. The name *E~won* appears at Pylos with the same orthography (*ra*$_2$) in **53** = An 610.13, **54** = An 724.5 and **311** = Un 853.1 (here in the form *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-u-na*, with the addition of a dummy vowel to the final *n*); with the graphic form *-ri-ja* in Qa 1292 (where *PoN* IV now reads]*ẹ-ke-ri-ja-wo*) and probably with the form *ra* in Un 219.1 (with the lapsus *e-ke-ra-<wo->ne*, cf. *te-qi-<ri->jo-ne* at l. 4). (On the alternation between *ra/ra*$_2$*/ri-ja*, which probably conceals a gemination, λλα/ρρα < λja/ρja, see Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.101–04.) *ki-*]*ti-me-no* (prob. an acc. neut. sing.: *Documents*^{2} 554); this present participle of an athematic verb **ktiēmi* = κτίζω, which in the feminine always stands in apposition to *ko-to-na*,
* could mean either 'inhabited' or 'cultivated' (*Documents*^{2} 444) or both; here it probably means 'in the process of cultivation' (SCIL. on the part of resident personnel; de Fidio 2008a.173–74; see also Part I of this chapter, and p. 653).

sa-ra-pe-do[ ]*pu*$_2$*-te-me-no*: *sa-ra-pe-do*[is an inflexional variant of the *sa-ra-pe-da* which introduces Un 718.1. Its ending recalls the -πεδον of Greek topographical terms such as γεώπεδον 'plot', ἁλίπεδον 'coastal plain', οἰνόπεδον 'vineyard', Hesychius ἐλάπεδον· τέμενος. The lacuna prevents any certainty of choice for the grammatical case (loc. plur. neuter *sa-ra-pe-do*[*-i* of a toponym *S~peda*, or acc. plur. neut. or fem. dual of a technical term *s~pedon/peda*) (pp. 651–52). The meaning of *pe-*]*pu*$_2$*-te-me-no*, 'planted with trees' (cf. Classical Greek πεφυτευμένος) is clear from the context, with the enumeration of vines and fig-trees in .5.6 (cf. the relative frequency of the terms *phuta*, *phutēres*, *phutēriā/phutaliā*, and the syntagm *pu*$_2$*-te-re ki-ti-je-si* in PY **198** = Na 520.B). πεφυτημένος may either have the meaning of a specification of the preceding *ki-ti-me-no*, or that of a coordination '(and) planted with trees' (pp. 651–53).

a-ki-ti-]*to*: 'unsettled', 'untilled'; for other instances of *aktiton*, see PY **201** = Na 406.B, **200** = Na 926 (cf. Na 537,]*ki-ti-to*). On the alternative restoration *a-pu*$_2$*-te-*]*to* (Del Freo 2005a.159–60), see p. 653.

lines 3, 4: *PoN* IV (as already *PTT*) at l. 4 does not exclude a possible reading of GRA 54. This, however, would require on l. 3 a restoration 30[+10, which is contrary to the rules in use for writing numerals. The four horizontal strokes of the number 40 are always written either in a single column (and enough room for this was available in line 3 beneath the number 30), or in two columns of two strokes each. On the basis of the total of GRA 94 in line 8, the most probable restorations remain 30[+20 or +22] and 42 or 42[+2]).

D/* *we-je-*[*we*: may be restored from **167** = KN Gv 863 (*we-je-we*). Georgiev was the first to call attention to the gloss of Hesychius: υἱήν· τὴν ἄμπελον ἢ ἀναδενδράδα. From this we may reconstruct a nominative υἱής as the Arcadian or Cypriot replacement of *υἱεύς (cf. ἱερές etc.), of which the Mycenaean form would be the plural (see, however, the reservations of Perpillou 1977, XIX–XX, on the use of the fem. or neut. plur. *to-sa*).

D/* *su-za*: *sukiai* 'fig-trees' as in **168** = KN Gv 862.1 (see pp. 628–30 for KN **169** = F(2) 841). As for their number, *PoN* IV now reads]1000[; however, studying the photograph

of the tablet one wonders if the fragmentary sign that follows *su-za* and the subsequent small break (enough for a divider), instead of corresponding to the vertical bottom stroke of the number 1000 (*PoN* IV), may not represent the lower part of the ideogram ARB. The ideographic use of **174* (ARB) and *NI* to indicate fig-trees, planted on areas evaluated in grain-sowing units, is well known from Knossos (KN Gv 862, 863, 864; F(2) 841: see *Documents*[1] 273–74, Killen 1987b.174–76 = *Economy and Administration* II.498–501). A reading *to-sa-de* , *su-za* [,] ARB [would also be consistent with the tendency of scribe 24 to double the name of the commodity by the corresponding ideogram that can be seen in Un 718.4.4.8 and .10 (pp. 654–55, 656); in this case, of course, the number of fig-trees would be lost forever in the following break.

D²/* *ku-su-to-ro-qa*: prob. *ksunstrok*^{w}*hā* (*Documents*[2] 558). The total of GRA 94 refers to all the areas separately mentioned in the tablet, including the vineyards and orchards of lines 5–6 (Duhoux 1974.29, *Dosmoi* 23, Hiller 1983.174–76, 192, Killen 1987b.175 = *Economy and Administration* II.499).

The most debated question concerning this tablet consists in the interpretation of the first two lines, and thus the category of ownership of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*. On the premise that the two participles must both be accusatives governed by *e-ke,* the fundamental options thus far proposed are reduced to three. The first considers the two participles as in apposition to an implied *ko-to-no* (dual). *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* would be the holder of two *ktoinai*, one *ktimenā* and the other *pephutemenā*, or of two *ktoinai ktimenai* and two *pephutemenai*, which would leave *sa-ra-pe-do/-da* free for a toponymic function. The second option also interprets the participle *ki-ti-me-no* as in apposition to an understood dual *ko-to-no*, but the participle *pe-pu*$_2$*-te-me-no* as in apposition to *sa-ra-pe-do*[(*-qe*), which is in turn interpreted as a dual of a technical term, perhaps for 'orchard' (*Interpretation* 217). The third also considers *sa-ra-pe-do* a technical term ('plot of sacred land', *Dosmoi* 97) qualified by both participles, in which the second is

D²/* coordinated with the first either in asyndeton, or as a specification of the first (for [*ki-*]*ti-me-no* as 'prob. acc. neut. sing.', see also *Documents*[2] 554). (A fuller statement and discussion of options will be found in R. Palmer 1994.66–72, Del Freo 2005a.154–61.)

As for the break in line 2, from the photograph there seems to be room for the loss of three signs, including a divider: so the readings *sa-ra-pe-do*[*-i* , *pe-*]*pu*$_2$*-te-me-no* and *sa-ra-pe-do*[*-qe* , *pe-*]*pu*$_2$*-te-me-no* both appear to be compatible with it, though this does little to help settle the question.

There is no lack of objections to each of the first two hypotheses, in the case of the first, for instance, one which involves the technical term *ktoinā*. The formula *ktoinā ktimenā* normally uses the possessive genitive of the name of the owner, and where in exceptional cases the same individual is the holder of two *ktoinai*, to avoid misunderstanding there is the use of the numeral *dwo* (*ti-qa-jo* in **135** = Eo 278), or the two *ktoinai* are simply added up (*ti-qa-jo* in **124** = En 467.1). Yet the potentially major *non liquet* of this hypothesis lies elsewhere.

One of the few things that have up to now been ascertained about Mycenaean agrarian relationships is the inseparable connexion between the holding of a *ktoinā ktimenā* and the status of *telestās*. From this perspective, even without agreeing to its 'feudal' inferences, we should accept L.R. Palmer's assertion that *te-re-ta* 'is a tenure-bound status word' (*Interpretation* 191). Hence, there would be no escaping the fact that *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*, as the holder of two, or even four *ktoinai*, should be a *telestās*; and such a conclusion would be in stark contrast to the diptych of Er 312 ~ 880, which reserves a separate record to the *telestai* in Er 312.5 and identifies them as the *dāmos* in Un 718.7 (see pp. 648–49). The second hypothesis, too, has its weak point in the incoherence it involves attributing to the author of the tablet, who we have to suppose to have understood the noun (*ko-to-no*) to be qualified by the participle *ki-ti-me-no*, but immediately afterwards uses the noun (*sa-ra-pe-do*) qualified by the participle *pe-*]*pu*$_2$*-te-me-no*. Furthermore, the agricultural context of the orchards already seems well represented by the term φυταλίαν (cf. *ktoinā phutēria*). With regard to the third hypothesis, it not only does not agree with the width of three signs now clearly shown in the photograph of the tablet (pp. 650–51), but it must also come to terms with a presumably technical-juridical term, nowhere else attested and made obscure by the presence of a non-Hellenic component, whose meaning may only be gathered from the context.

Now, it seems to be the case that the hypothesis that the landholding category has to be taken as understood in Er 880, as happens in Er 312.5–8, provides the solution to the greatest number of difficulties. One would thus preserve the toponymic value of the term *Sa-ra-pe-da* (neut. plur. in the locative), which would be most useful; and the juridical term indicating the plot of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* would be easy to identify, perhaps best in *temenos* (subjected to *dosmos*, as was that of the *lāwāgetās*). Besides, the identity as a place-name of the term *Sa-ra-pe-da* was the main reason for Lejeune's assertion (*Mémoires* IV.69) that Er 880 was probably inscribed before Er 312. In turn, the awkward position of the toponym on line 2 of the tablet perhaps helps to explain the omission of the name of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*'s holding. Scribe 24 began by forgetting to write the toponym where it should have stood, at the beginning of line 1 (cf. Un 718.1); and then, while inserting it as an afterthought on line 2, lost sight of the term which would have designated the holding (and actually the understood subject of the three participles describing its state of cultivation). But neither would we exclude the possibility of a haplography, which in the work of copying or writing the text under dictation affected the sequence *ki-ti-me-no* <*te-me-no*> *pe-pu*$_2$*-te-me-no*; this, of course, assuming that *te-me-no* was really the name of the holding. A well-ordered text would probably have read (e.g.): *Sa-ra-pe-da*. *E. ki-ti-me-no e-ke te-me-no pe-pu*$_2$*-te-me-no to-so pe-ma* GRA 50[*to-so-de a-ki-ti-to*: *pe-ma* GRA 42[*to-sa we-je-we* ... *to-sa-de su-za* ...

In the end, we may be sure that the landholding of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* corresponds to the overall surface area of GRA 94 divided into two sectors, the first being described in lines 1–3 by the two participles *ki-*]*ti-me-no* and *pe-*]*pu*$_2$*-te-me-no* and followed by a first sub-total of GRA 50 (or 52), and the other described at line 4 by a verbal adjective (?*a-ki-ti-*]*to*) and followed by a second sub-total of GRA 42[(or 44). The restoration *a-pu*$_2$*-te-*]*to* on line 4 (above; cf. ἀφύτευτος, Xen. *Oec.* XX, 22), in itself possible, involves however the hypothesis of a (still undocumented) substantivised function of the participle *ki-ti-me-no*, to be understood as a juridical term, and described as partly *pe-*]*pu*$_2$*-te-me-no* and partly *a-pu*$_2$*-te-*]*to*. This entails a connotation of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*'s holding as totally devoted to plantations (though at the moment not yet or not fully 'planted'), whereas his *dosmos* of Un 718, composed *inter alia* of wheat, would perhaps better be equated to lands including *arourai* as well as orchards. In any case, the restoration of line 4 that implies the unproductive (and presumably untaxed) character of this area of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*'s estate must await confirmation from the analysis of his *dosmos* in Un 718.2–5.

Thus *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*, by the size of his landholding as well as by the amounts of his *dosmos,* stands head and shoulders above the others. The separate tablet dedicated to him, Er 880, that was probably the opening record of the small *Er* series, corresponds to his primary listing in Un 718 and to the blank line that seems to isolate him from the other contributors. The importance of this individual, who is connected with Poseidon also in **311** = Un 853.1 and to the *lāwāgetās* in Un 219.1.10 and **54** = An 724.5–7, is also clearly shown in the great tablet **53** = An 610 concerning the recruitment of a contingent of rowers. Here the group of at least forty men sent by *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* (five others seem to be 'released from service' by him in An 724.5–6) corresponds to precisely twice as many as those sent by *We-da-ne-u*, one of the three minor recipients of the *dosmos* in Es 645 etc., and is even greater than the contingents sent by some of the districts of the kingdom, such as *a-ke-re-wa* (VIR 25) and *ri-jo* (VIR 24).

It has been repeatedly proposed that *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* might actually be the *wanaks* of Pylos, and as such be the holder of the *temenos* of Er 312.1 by virtue of his function, and the holder of the lands in Er 880 in a 'private' capacity (*Documents*[1] 265, Lindgren, *People* II.153–55, Chadwick 1975b, Palaima 1995b, 2004). However attractive this may seem, it gives rise to serious perplexities. One of these derives from the registration of the two holdings on separate tablets. Er 880 contains some blank lines, line 7 and especially lines 9–10 at the bottom, and thus there would have been ample space to record the *wanakteron temenos*, which instead heads the heterogeneous group of Er 312 (and the more so, if we admit that Er 880 precedes Er 312). Also, if *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* and the *wanaks* actually were the same person, the alternation in the use of proper name and title on the part of the same scribe over the space of the only four tablets (including Wa 731) drawn up by him to have entered the archives would be particularly bewilder-

ing. In any case, in the whole Pylian corpus it never happens that this name is coupled with the title of *wanaks*, whereas names do occur with the title *e-qe-ta* and in the case of various other functionaries. Rather than a simple incoherence of usage, this may have a good reason even if obscure to us; in particular, it may be the sign of a form of respect, a sort of 'taboo of name', that forbids the utterance (and writing) of the sovereign's name. A similar custom can be observed in the administrative practice of Ebla, where, unlike his higher functionaries, the king is almost never called by his name (Archi 1996.13, 18. See also Lejeune's «argument de majesté», *Mémoires* IV.72, and Carlier 1984.55–62). A further cause for concern is the very idea of an 'obligation' applying to the *wanaks*, implicit in the formula *dosmon dōsei* of Un 718.2, and only slightly less noticeable in the consignment of rowers for the fleet.

It would seem therefore preferable to think of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* as a man of undisputedly high rank and a member of the aristocracy (perhaps of the royal dynasty), who by virtue of his status, his special function within the Pylian kingdom, or a particular connexion with the cult of Poseidon (cf. **311** = Un 853, pp. 849–50) was the beneficiary of the largest holding in terms of overall dimensions, within the system of lands due to contribute their *dosmos* to Poseidon in Un 718.

(B) THE DOSMOI *OF* **178** = *Un 718*[b]

Although the amounts of staples contained in the *dosmos* of Un 718 are quite respectable, they prove to be relatively modest when compared, for instance, to the *dōra* of **309** = Tn 316, or to other miscellaneous entries in the *Un* series (see especially **110** = Un 138 and **111** = Un 2), particularly in view of the number and the rank of the contributors, which might be seen as a sign that Un 718 forms part of a different system. The contributors do not all provide the same commodities, but the order of the offerings is virtually constant: first agricultural produce (in which cereals always precede wine), then animals and finally derivatives (cheese, unguents, hides, honey), also in an apparently fixed order. The *dosmoi* are ordered in a decreasing scale on the basis of the quantities offered, rather than of the rank of the person or the institutions (which explains the eccentric position of the *lāwāgetās*, who is relegated to after the *dāmos*).

178 = Un 718 (S312 H 24)

.1 sa-ra-pe-da , po-se-da-o-ni , do-so-mo
.2 o-wi-de-ta-i , do-so-mo , to-so , e-ke-ra$_2$-wo
.3 do-se , GRA 4 VIN 3 BOS^{m} 1

[b] *Documents*[1] 282–84, *Documents*[2] 458, *Interpretation* 215–16, *Textos* 73, *Anthology* 342–47. Studies: L.R. Palmer 1977.46–48, *Dosmoi* 77–129, Palaima 1995b.631–33, 2004.230–31, Weilhartner 2005.166–68.

.4 tu-ro$_2$, *TURO$_2$* 10 ko-wo , **153* 1
.5 me-ri-to , V 3
.6 *vacat*
.7 o-da-a$_2$, da-mo , GRA 2 VIN 2
.8 OVIS^m 2 *TURO$_2$* 5 a-re-ro , *AREPA* V 2 **153* 1
.9 to-so-de , ra-wa-ke-ta , do-se ,
.10 OVIS^m 2 me-re-u-ro , FAR T 6
.a -ma
.11 VIN S 2 o-da-a$_2$, wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo , ka-
.12]GRA T 6 VIN S 1 *TURO$_2$* 5 me-ri[
.13 *vacat*[me-]ṛi-ṭọ V 1

D S~peda. Contribution(s) to Poseidon.

§ 1 To the *o-wi-de-ta E-ke-ra$_2$-wo* will give so much as a contribution: 480 l. wheat, 108 l. wine, one bull, ten cheeses, one sheepskin, 6 l. of honey.

§ 2 And similarly the *dāmos* (will give): 240 l. wheat, 72 l. wine, two rams, five cheeses, 4 l. *fat*, one sheepskin.

§ 3 And the *lāwāgetās* will give so much: two rams, 72 l. flour, 24 l. wine.

§ 4 And similarly the *ka-ma* of Ϝοικίων (will give): 72 l. wheat, 12 l. wine, five cheeses, 2 l. of honey.

D/* D *Poseidāōni*: other Pylos examples of this alternative spelling of the dative ending, another characteristic of 'special' Mycenaean, are *ko-re-te-ri* **342** = On 300.3.5, *Me-za-wo-ni* **110** = Un 138.5.

* *o-wi-de-ta-i*: dat. plur. of an agent noun in -τας. Possibly *owi-dertāhi* (δέρω) 'sheep-flayers' (Mühlestein 1968a.114–15) (for *owi-detāi* < δέω see Ruijgh, *Études* 265 n. 147). The name recurs, together with the word *dosmos*, on the fragmentary label Wa 731, written by the same hand:

.A do-ṣọ-mo
.B]o-wi-de-ta[.

This is of relevance perhaps not only to the single tablet Un 718, but to the other *dosmoi* tablets of the *Es* series as well, also found in grid *52* of Room 7 of the Archives Complex (see p. 634). The **owide(r)tai* are, on the evidence of etymology and of Un 718, a religious board, probably strictly tied to the palatial administration, whose duties, originally (and perhaps still) connected with the sacrifice of (ovine) animals, seem to have gradually broadened to economic functions in the receipt and accounting of cultic offerings, perhaps not necessarily restricted to Poseidon. For this shift in meaning and widening of functions from sacrificial to economic duties it would be tempting to compare the financial office of the Athenian κωλακρέται (*κωλαγρέται < ἀγείρω: Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v.), lit. 'collectors of κῶλα', thighs or limbs and other members of sacrificed animals, who in the latter part of the fifth century had become the payment officers of the state treasury (*IG* I^2 19 3; [Arist. *Ath. Pol.*] VII, 3; Rhodes 1981.139; cf. *CIG* 3660 for Cyzicus).

D *tu-ro*$_2$: the spelling with *ro*$_2$ implies a pronunciation *turyoi*, which would evolve into Classical τυροί (cf. φύρω < *φυρ-γω). Note the surprising repetition of the spelling in the form
* of a 'monogram' (see below, this page); a similar feature is found in the following entry (*ko-wo* *153 1), in l. 8 and possibly in l. 10 (on both these entries, see below, this page).
ko-wo: this spelling seems to represent the Homeric κῶας (etymology uncertain), declined
D as if from -ος, 'sheepskin, fleece'. With the ideogram *153, SKIN+*KO*, compare the ideogram *152, SKIN+*WI*, which we interpret as *wrīnos* 'oxhide'.

D^2 *a-re-ro*: the ligature is certainly *A+RE+PA*, ἄλειφαρ 'fat', 'unguent', which justifies us in regarding this spelling as an error for *a-re-pa* (cf. **310** = Un 6.7), with a further example of -α resulting from an i.-e. sonant.

D^2 *me-re-u-ro*: it has generally been accepted that this is *meleuron* = ἄλευρον. The ideogram FAR recurs on the Knossos *Fs* series, where offerings are listed consisting of quantities of
* barley, figs, oil, wine and honey (Chadwick 1966b.31). In the new tablets from Thebes in at least three cases (TH Fq 214, 229 and 254[+]255) a few rations or handouts of FAR are inserted among rations or handouts of barley, and are not totalled separately at the end, but absorbed into the totals of HORD(eum) in the respective texts. If the reading of the ideogram is correct (for doubts, see Palaima 2002a.483–84; 2003b.115, though the reading is defended by Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi 2003.23–26; see also Killen 2006d.103–06 = *Economy and Administration* III.931–34), this would make one tend towards a meaning of 'barley flour' (ἄλφιτα) for FAR, which contrasts with the common meaning of ἄλευρον as 'wheat flour' (cf. Plat. *Resp.* 372b, … ἐκ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν ἄλφιτα …, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἄλευρα). This contradiction may not be insurmountable if we suppose the meaning of the ideogram to be generically that of milled flour, whereas the specific nature of the flour would be established each time from its context (cf. *si-to*, associated
D^2 with *120 in MY Au 658, and with *121 in KN Am(2) 819); or (*Documents*^{2} 458) that FAR
* 'is the designation of a grain other than wheat and barley, and 'flour' is an annotation specifying the form in which this grain is offered' (cf. R. Palmer 1992.488, who suggests for FAR the meaning 'bread wheat'). However, the parallel of *tu-ro*$_2$ *TURO*$_2$, *ko-wo* *153 and *a-re-<pa> AREPA* in lines 4 and 8 of the same text strongly suggests that the term *meleuron* 'standing before the ideogram gives the name of the commodity' (Killen 2004a.170 n. 6 = *Economy and Administration* III.868 n. 6) and is not a qualification of it. In either case, it appears we must conclude that the *dosmos* of the *lāwāgetās* was in fact of wheat flour.

The exceptional position of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* is reflected in his *dosmos*, which is roughly equal to the sum of all those of the other contributors combined (as seen already in Chadwick 1975b.452; note also the striking relationship pointed out by John Killen [1999c.350–53 = *Economy and Administration* II.742–45] between **310** = Un 6 and **311** = Un 853). This proportion certainly occurs in the *dosmos* for wine (where VIN 3 = VIN 2 + S 2 + S 1) and for cheese (where *TURO*$_2$ 10 = *TURO*$_2$ 5 + 5). It may also be the case for animals, where the bull expected of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* corresponds to the four rams expected of the *dāmos* and of the *lāwāgetās* (BOS^m 1 = OVIS^m 2 + 2), with a ratio of one to four. This ratio is not

too far removed from that of one to five given for archaic Attica in a passage by Plutarch (*Sol.* XXIII, 2); cf. the ratio of one to three deducible from the holy law of Cos, *Syll.*[3] 1026, cited on p. 644. (On this, however, see the highly variable data collected in Jameson 1988.)

From here can be outlined a substantial parallel with the landholdings of the *Er* series. Having established that the royal *temenos* was exempt from taxation, if we consider the *aktiton* of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* as untaxed because it was untilled, we have a situation in which, in percentage terms, the landholdings are perfectly in line with the *dosmoi*, with a ratio of almost one to one between the taxable land area of *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* and the sum total of the other areas: GRA 50 (52) to GRA 4ḍ[(30 + 10 + ḍ[). That the *dosmoi* of Un 718 were calculated in proportion to the landholdings in *Er* seems thus to be incontestable. The question to address now is whether between the lands and the *dosmoi* it is possible to demonstrate the use of the same proportional relation observed in the *Es* series, which would also provide definitive proof of a designation as sacred lands for the landholdings in Er 312 and Er 880.

An attempt to answer this question depends, however, on one condition. All the agricultural *dosmoi* in Un 718 are made up of one quota in cereals and one in wine. On the other hand, we saw that *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*'s estate in Er 880, albeit calculated in sowings of grain, included vineyards and fig-tree orchards. We cannot but suppose that the lands of the other contributors likewise included unregistered vineyards, or that they procured the wine required by their *dosmoi* either from lands not recorded in *Er* or by barter (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.76). However, on this point we are inclined to share Ruth Palmer's opinion (1994.103), that 'mixed farming accompanied by some stock-raising was the normal agricultural pattern in Mycenaean society'.

In any case, no attempt to calculate the relation between agricultural *dosmoi* and landholdings can be made without postulating a conversion factor between GRA(num) and VIN(um), which would allow the addition of these two *dosmoi* and hence a verification of their proportion to the *pe-ma* of the land area. Conversion ratios between different natural commodities were a traditional and commonly recognised norm in premonetary agrarian economies. These equivalences, fixed by authority even in the presence of metal standards, constituted a well-known practice in the Bronze Age societies already possessing a political structure. For Mycenaean Greece the scarcity of data, even if it does not allow for certainty, at least gives scope enough to formulate some hypotheses.

Thus, it should be stressed first that the current identification of the two ideograms **120* for wheat and **121* for barley has recently found a confirmation in the Theban text TH Fq 254 [+] 255, in which the term *pa-ta*, παστά, a kind of 'barley porridge' (*LSJ*; cf. *TFC* I.225–26, 324: 'purée d'orge'), is accompanied by the ideogram **121* (Marazzi 2002.150; for previous discussion, see especially

Halstead 1995b, R. Palmer 1992, 2008, Killen 2004a.163–70 = *Economy and Administration* III.861–68, and Ch. IV.7).

Now, the equivalence between two measures of barley and one of wheat in traditional contexts emerges in a series of references from the Classical Age. Among these, the regulation of the *aparchai* in honour of the Eleusinian divinities here takes on particular significance. This prescribed the payment of at least one *hekteus* for every hundred *medimnoi* of the barley crop; or, alternatively, of at least half a *hekteus* for every hundred *medimnoi* of the wheat crop (*LSCG* 5, 4–7, latter half of the fifth century B.C.; cf. also the decree from Thera regarding the leases of the lands consecrated to the Mother of the Gods, *LSCG* 134, 6–13, fourth century B.C., as well as the sacrificial calendar of Cos quoted on p. 644, etc.).

That the same customary evaluation of the worth of wheat and barley could perhaps have already applied in Mycenaean times is shown by two groups of texts. As can be seen, equal quantities always distinguish rations of figs (*NI*) and wheat (GRA) in the Pylian *Ab* series, with a ratio of one to one. On the other hand, in the Knossos *Fs* tablets a miscellany of six agricultural commodities (a *panspermia*, see Ch. XIX, p. 865), always the same items and registered mainly in the same order, are destined for various places of cult worship on the basis of a fixed proportion that finds few exceptions. In this ritual context the almost constant proportion between the offerings of barley (HORD) and figs (*NI*) is of HORD T 1 : *NI* V 3, with an implicit ratio of 2 : 1 between figs and barley. So the ratio of 1 : 1 between wheat and figs of the *Ab* series confirms for the Mycenaean Age the ratio of 2 : 1 between wheat and barley of the Classical texts cited above. Again, in the *Fs* series the almost constant proportion between the amounts of barley and wine is of HORD T 1 : VIN V 1, or of 6 : 1. This in turn implies a ratio of 3 : 1 between wine and wheat, and therefore three as a possible factor of conversion for the last two products.

In the *Fs* series we observe also a constant proportion of 6 to 1 between HORD and FAR. We can exclude that this case represents a relationship of value, as it would be excessive. It is more plausible to presume that the small quantities of flour correspond to the carrying out of certain ritual actions. This makes it very hard to calculate the value in wheat of the *dosmos* of the *lāwāgetās* in Un 718.10 (*meleuron* FAR T 6), and we shall tentatively assume that to his contribution of T 6 of wheat flour (p. 655) should be applied the conversion ratio required by the difference in volume of the wheat before and after milling, of c. 1 to 1.25, or V 1 to V 1 Z 1 (Moritz 1958.207; cf. Plin. *HN* XVIII, 20, 85–90, with a ratio of 1 *modius* of flour to 1.22 *modii* of wheat).

The application of these conversion factors to the data of Un 718 results in making the agricultural *dosmoi* of the four representing an 'offering' equal to the totals of T 67 (40+27), 38 (20+18), 13.5 (7.5+6) and 9 (6+3). In the tablet,

however, only Poseidon is mentioned. The absence of the three minor beneficiaries (*Es*) leads us to presume that the calculations of the *dosmoi* due to be paid to them had not yet been made, or were still awaiting a separate record; this state of incompleteness also agrees with the hypothesis that Un 718 was one of the last records to enter the palace archives (Palaima 1995b.624–25). It is therefore easy to observe that, if we apply to the agricultural *dosmoi* not the proportion of 1 to 6 of the overall annual *dosmos*, but that of 1 to 7.5 of the *dosmos* due to Poseidon alone (see p. 643), we obtain a series of theoretical points of reference that certainly seem very close to the real ones, and in fact coincide with them (hypothesis *a*):

(a)	*dosmos* to Poseidon	Theoretical area	Real area
E-ke-ra$_2$*-wo*	T 67 (40 + 27)	GRA 50.25	GRA 50 (52)
dāmos	T 38 (20 + 18)	GRA 28.5	GRA 30
lāwāgetās	T 13.5 (7.5 + 6)	GRA 10.12	GRA 10
ka-ma	T 9 (6 + 3)	GRA 6.75	GRA 6̣[
totals	T 127.5	GRA 95.65	GRA 96̣[

More or less the same result would be produced if, for ease of calculation, the two higher measures for wheat and wine were made equal in value, in a ratio of (T) 10 to (S) 3, or 3.3 instead of 3. This, Aristotle states ([*Ath. Pol.*] vii, 4), is what occurred in Attica for the assembling of citizens into the 'Solonian' census classes (the *telē*), in which for the calculation of agricultural income *medimnoi* and *metretai* were considered as equal, … μέτρα τὰ συνάμφου ξηρὰ καὶ ὑγρά (cf. also the text from Thera cited on p. 638, *LSCG* 134) (hypothesis *b*):

(b)	*dosmos* to Poseidon	Theoretical area	Real area
E-ke-ra$_2$*-wo*	T 70 (40 + 30)	GRA 52.5	GRA 52 (50)
dāmos	T 40 (20 + 20)	GRA 30	GRA 30
lāwāgetās	T 13.5 (7.5 + 6)	GRA 10.12	GRA 10
ka-ma	T 9 (6 + 3)	GRA 6.75	GRA 6̣[
totals	T 132.5	GRA 99.37	GRA 98̣

From the data the exemption from taxation of the *wanakteron temenos* clearly emerges. In contrast, for *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*'s *aktiton*, also exempt from *dosmos*, the possibility should not be ruled out of an alternative form of taxation, i.e. the temporary military service of the *ktitai* perhaps normally involved with the cultivation of this area of his landholding. In fact, the amount of 42[or 44 GRA units of 880.4 is surprisingly close to the number of 40[*ktitai* he sends for the manning of the Pylian fleet in PY An 610.13 (cf. the 5 exempted by him in PY An 724.5–6). (On the linkage between *ktimenā* ~ *ktitai* and commitments of military service, see de Fidio 2008a.)

Assuming the priority of the writing of Er 880 over Er 312, the correspondences between the *Er* set and Un 718 are perfect, and the blank line on Un 718.6 takes exactly the place of the *wanakteron temenos* on Er 312.1–2; only, in Un 718, where a strictly quantitative descending order of the *dosmoi* is followed, the relative positions of the *lāwāgetās* and the *dāmos*, represented by the three *telestai*, are inverted:

Estates	Er 880	*E.*'s (?)*temenos*	Un 718.2–5	*E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*	*dosmoi*
	Er 312.1–2	*wanakteron temenos*	.6	*vacat*	
	Er 312.3	*lāwāgesion temenos*	.9–10	*lāwāgetās*	
	Er 312.5–6	*telestāōn pema*	.7–8	*dāmos*	
	Er 312.7–8	*worokijonejo erēmo*	.11–13	*w. ka-ma*	

The calculations for livestock are too complicated and inconclusive, and entail the added unknown represented by cheeses and their corresponding weights, by hides and other animal products. Nevertheless, their importance does not seem to contrast at all with the hypothesis that their value resulted in a doubling of the overall *dosmos*, and that we are therefore in the presence of a *dosmos* that the analysis of the *Es* series has shown to be of a probably trieteric nature (see on this, *Dosmoi* 86–87, 123–26). But, clearly, neither can we rule out that this part of the *dosmos* corresponded to a ritual offering of a freer type, which, while always in proportion to the dignity of those making the 'offering', was not directly linked to the land held.

Albeit with some necessary reservations, the correspondence between the agrarian *dosmoi* and landholdings seems to be something more than a fortuitous series of coincidences. The proportions of the *Es* series prove to be valid also for the diptych *Er* ~ Un 718. The possibility that the *Es* series is no more than a more detailed register dedicated to the three *telestai* ~ *dāmos* assessed for taxation in Er 312.5–6 ~ Un 718.7–8 at this point becomes a very attractive hypothesis from an 'economic' point of view, even if it does not allow for a proper verification (though it is striking that, in our hypothesis *a*, the theoretical seeding area of the *dāmos*, GRA 28 T 5, is virtually the same as that of the actual thirteen landholders of Es 650, GRA 28 T 2).

If this were the case, we would have before us a single sacred territory dedicated to Poseidon, subdivided among various landholders liable to taxation for the benefit of Poseidon and his three associates on the basis of constant proportions, and perhaps operating at the same 'trieteric' rate of a double contribution every two years.

To fully understand which criteria predominantly influenced the establishment of these lands sacred to Poseidon we would need to be sure of how far the situation reflected by the current documentation has remained true to the original one (*Dosmoi* 189–206). However, the two registers made up of *Er* ~ Un

718 and the *Es* series, even in their present form, are perfectly able to show the existence in Greece since Mycenaean times of the institution of the *hiera chōra*, implying the grant of plots of land subject to the payment of a rent. And it seems probable that this land was situated not far from the site of the palatial centre (*Documents*[1] 264) and that on it was situated, if not the *Posidāïon* mentioned in PY **309** = Tn 316 (for which the 'processional' nature of the ritual action described need not have excluded an urban context), at least a shrine dedicated to the god.

It would also seem legitimate to ask whether the conspicuous presents made by *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* to Poseidon in PY **311** = Un 853 do not permit us to infer the presence of an *oikos*, linked perhaps both to religious and economic activities, with weaving workshops, lands, pastures and stables more directly related to the sanctuary, and to speculate about its possible connexions with his estate of Er 880. In fact, the number of 18[textiles of the **146* type in Un 853.3 is greater, albeit slightly, than the tax in this item which in the *Ma* series has to be paid by the districts of *Ri-jo* and *Ro-u-so*; and it is close to the amount expected from *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, *A-pu*$_2$*-we*, *A-ke-re-wa* and *A-te-re-wi-ja*. The offering of wine in line 6 (VIN 5) is equal to the sum of the 'offerings' by *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* and the *dāmos* in Un 718.3.7, while the offering of unguents or aromatic oil (*AREPA* V 4) in line 4 is double that of the *dāmos* in Un 718.8; and in addition to this there are wool, cloth, sheep, goats and swine.

If, as it would seem, the form *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-u-na* is to be interpreted as a variant spelling of the name *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* (*Documents*[2] 542, Killen 1999c.353 = *Economy and Administration* II.745), the set of three texts that connect him with Poseidon would appear to outline for this individual a role which, without ruling out his potential religious responsibilities, could perhaps better be designated as that of a supervisor of the assets of the most impressive part of the god's sacred domain. He appears to be at the same time the main beneficiary of the lands sacred to the god, and the official responsible for the several obligations associated with it. So it could perhaps be an educated guess to assume that his estate of Er 880 represents the indispensable farming background for the rich agricultural and livestock produce displayed in his three *Un* texts. The deep bond that connects him with the palatial sphere is moreover eloquently enhanced by the ratio that arises when totalling up his holding and that of the *wanaks*, together at present amounting to 124 units of sowing land, and comparing the domains of the *lāwāgetās* and of the three *telestai*, of just 10 units each. This is almost exactly the same ratio of 12 to 1 that separates the god from his fellow recipients in the proportional system of the *dosmoi*. It can hardly be doubted that the first devising and organisation of the *hiera chōra* was planned under palatial direction. This well explains the special setting of the palatial share, divided into a *temenos* strictly reserved for the *wanaks* and free from any sort of dues, and a wider area,

probably also a *temenos*, from which plentiful revenues were expected, and entrusted to a man of prestige acting in some respects as a 'manager': a high-ranking man very close to the king, perhaps a 'contractor'(?), actually *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*.

We are fortunate that in this instance the texts have allowed us to look behind the scenes, and have revealed the far from casual or spontaneous nature of these 'offerings' to Poseidon. Instead, they are the proof of a surprising ability to calculate by the Mycenaean administrators (the same, indeed, that can be seen at work in the taxation system as a whole), and at the same time are an amazing exercise in symbolic thought, linking numbers to qualities of persons and landholdings.

The *hiera chōra* of Poseidon, in fact, exhibits an almost complete sample of the landholding titles in use in Mycenaean agrarian contexts (*temenē*, *ktoinai*, probably *onata*, one *ka-ma*). Correspondingly, access to it was limited to a few individuals of institutional status, whose rank and/or special functions ranged from the *wanaks*, the *lāwāgetās*, the *telestai* representing the *dāmos* (probably with some members of minor status admitted as holders of *onata*), to *E-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*, who inside the closed system of the *hiera chōra* appears as the most influential figure. To these authorities was reserved the privilege of access to the sacred domains of Poseidon, and of representing the wider Pylian community in the organisation of the festivity and the provision of vegetables and animals destined for the yearly sacrificial ceremony in honour of the god.

It is in the selection of these elect few and in the skilful equilibrium between the hierarchies based on quality (the rank of the individuals and the legal titles of their holdings) and quantity (the size of the holdings and their respective *dosmoi*), and in the proportion of 12 to 1 representative in ideal terms of the distance between divinity and kingship on the one side, and the rest of the human sphere on the other, that the *hiera chōra* reveals a cross-section of the social, political and ideological framework of a Mycenaean kingdom.

(translated by Alex Daguerre.)

CHAPTER XV

TAXATION

CYNTHIA SHELMERDINE

INTRODUCTION

* Taxation is a construct that the central administration of the Mycenaean state devised to support its elite members. For us, the process is of both economic and political interest, since it reflects the kind of administrative structure that a palatial centre could impose on the society it came to control. If the term 'tax' means any assessment levied by the state, against property or other possessions, then most of the documents covered in this chapter qualify. If, however, one adds the requirement that the levy be regular and periodic, and/or applied statewide, it is possible that some of them (e.g. **207** = PY Jn 829, and the Pylos *Na* series, cf. Perna 2004.248) were a different kind of obligatory contribution. In the pre-monetary economy of the Mycenaean Greeks, the commodities paid as taxes were mostly raw materials, such as olives and olive oil, flax or linen and animal hides; also included was a locally made kind of textile (**146*, probably a garment). That some levies at least were annual is confirmed by such expressions as 'last year', 'next year' (PY *Ma* series); others were evidently seasonal (PY *Na* series), while still others may have been occasional (**207** = Jn 829). For annual operations the term taxation is clearly accurate; the *Ma* tablets record the obligations of the sixteen districts of the Pylian state, and they show in detail the assessment, the amount actually delivered (*apudosis*) and any resulting deficit (*ophelo-*), after allowance was made for exemptions (*o-u-di-do-si*) granted to certain groups, presumably in return for some other contribution of goods or service. The requisition of flax or linen on the *Na* tablets was likewise statewide (**204** = Ng 319, **205** = Ng 332 give provincial totals), but levied on particular landholdings, some of which were perhaps tied also to military obligations (Killen 1985c.248–49, de Fidio 1987.130–32, Halstead 2001.44–46). Both the *M*- and the *N*- series show the level of specificity at which the palace could operate; **188** = Mn 162, **189** = Mn 456 and **202** = Nn 831, for example, provide the details underlying the information given respectively on the *Ma* and *Na* tablets.

* At Pylos, regular contributions of six commodities, referred to below as *A*–*F*, were required annually of the main districts of the state, and the assessments, payments and exemptions were carefully tracked at the centre (*Ma* series). The ratios between the commodities are fixed (7*A* : 7*B* : 2*C* : 3*D* : 1.5*E* : 150*F*), giving constant coefficients *a*, *b*, etc. This feature is present also in the Knossos *Mc* series,

which records assessments of four commodities *G-J* (5*G* : 3*H* : 2*I* : 4*J*). Scholars have debated how each state made their assessments, and whether the same method was used at both centres. Two general schemes have been proposed. They are briefly summarised here; the evidence on which they rest is discussed in the following sections. One suggestion is a 'bottom-up' approach (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.65–91, Olivier 1974), starting from the premise that the state based its assessment on the fiscal population of each district, that is, the number of taxable individuals. As a working hypothesis, Olivier suggests (1974.31–32) that the figures for F might represent roughly the fiscal population. Using this fiscal population number (*p*), the assessment would be determined by the formula *p/a*, *p/b* etc., leading to the following notional coefficients: *ab* = 3/64, *c* = 1/75, *d* = 1/50, *e* = 1/100, *f* = 1.

* Lejeune was working only with the *Ma* series. Olivier took the further step of showing that the figures of the *Mc* series could be incorporated into the same system. His calculations use 3.5 : 2 : 1.5 : 3 as the *Mc* formula, rather than 5 : 3 : 2 : 4, so that three of the four Knossos products have the same coefficient as one of the Pylos products: *ei* = 1/100, *ch* = 1/75, *dj* = 1/50, *g* = 1/128, *ab* = 3/64, *f* = 1. The extant figures, recently updated (Olivier 2006.183–84), show more cases of full or near agreement with the latter system of ratios than with the former. Olivier's table is reproduced below, showing these extant figures beside those to be expected (figures that diverge from the ideal by two or more are shown in bold). In addition, he suggests that the payment and exemption figures on the *Ma* tablets were calculated on this basis (the first eleven rows of the table), as well as the assessments. For Olivier, then, the system of taxation based on the fiscal population of each town (or the district it represents) amounts to a universal fiscal 'law', applying to both Crete and the Greek mainland. Since he begins with a number taken from the fixed series of ratios, however, one might object that the table inevitably shows the numbers that these ratios yield for various values of *f*.

	***ei* : 1/100**		***ch* : 1/75**		***dj* : 1/50**		***g* : 1/128**		***ab* : 3/64**		***f* : 1**	**Fiscal Population**
Ma 365.2									1 0.5	0.46 0.46	10	10
Ma 123.3									1	0.46	10	10
Ma 225.2									1	0.75	16	16
Ma 124.2					1	0.4			1	0.93	20	20
Ma 221.2	1	0.2			1	0.4			1	0.93	20	20
Ma 397.3									2	1.17	]25	25
Ma 193.3									**4**	1.87	40	40
Ma 378.2			1	0.8	2	1.2			3	2.81	60	60
Ma 90.2			1.5	1.33	2	2			4	4.68	100	100

	ei : 1/100		*ch* : 1/75		*dj* : 1/50		*g* : 1/128		*ab* : 3/64		*f* : 1	Fiscal Population
Ma 393.3	2	1.5	2	2	3	3			7	7.03	150	150
Ma 393.2	5	4.4	6	5.86	8	8.8			21	20.62	450	440
Ma 193.1	4	3.62	5	4.82	7	7.24			17	16.96	362	362
Ma 365.1	4	3.8	5	5.06	8	7.6			17	17.81	*nihil*	380
Ma 346	[ ]	3.7	4	4.93	[ ]	7.4			18	17.34	200[	370
Mc 4463	5	5	[ ]	6.66	[ ]	10	10[	11.71				500
Mc 4464	5	5	[ ]	6.66	[ ]	10	12	11.71				500
Ma 221.1	4[	4.9	7	6.53	10	9.8			22	22.96	400[	490
Ma 124.1 Ma 222	5	5	7	6.66	10	10			23	23.43	500	500
Ma 335	[ ]	5	4[	6.66	10	10			23	23.43	[ ]	500
Ma 123.1 Ma 378.1	5	5	7	6.66	10	10			24	23.43	500	500
Ma 397.1	[ ]	5	2[	6.66	[ ]	10			24	23.43	500	500
Mc 4460	6	6	7[	8	12[	12	14	14.06				600
Ma 393.1	5	5.9	8	7.86	12	11.8			28	27.65	600	590
Ma 90.1	6	6	8	8	12	12			28	28.12	600	600
Ma 225.1	[ ]	6	8	8	**22**	12			28	28.12	600	600
Mc 4456	7	7	10	9.33	14	14	16	16.4				700
Mc 5818	7	7	10	9.33	10[	14	15	16.4				700
Ma 330	8	8.9	12	11.86	18	17.8			42	41.71	900	890
Mc 8448	]10	10	14	13.33	[ ]	20	[ ]	23.43				1000
Mc 4459	10	10	**15**	13.33	20	20	23	23.43				1000
Mc 5118	[ ]	10	**15**	13.33	20	20	[ ]	23.43				1000
Ma 333	10	10	[ ]	13.33	[ ]	20			46	46.87	1000[	1000
Mc 4453	12	12.3	17	16.4	24	24.6	24[	28.82				1230
Mc 4455	12	12.3	17	16.4	24	24.6	28	28.82				1230
Mc 4454	13	12.5	16	16.66	26	25	29	29.29				1250
Mc 5124	[ ]	13	16[	17.33	26	26	30	30.46				1300
Ma 120	[ ]	13.3	17	17.73	27	26.6			63	62.34	1350	1330
Ma 216	**20**	15	20	20	30	30			70	70.31	1500[	1500
Mc 4462	26	26	**30**	34.66	52[	52	61	60.93				2600

* The other proposal takes a 'top-down' approach: the palace started by deciding the total amount of tax it desired from the state as a whole (Wyatt 1962, Shelmerdine 1973, de Fidio 1982.84–106, Shelmerdine 1989.125–36). The hypothesis, originally applied only to Pylos, is that the two provinces were assessed equal amounts, though the burden might be reduced in a given year, as

happened indeed in the year to which the extant *Ma* tablets apply. Proponents differ on the details of the scheme. Wyatt (1962), followed with modifications by Shelmerdine (1973), proposes that each province was originally assessed 40 taxation units of each commodity (40 x 7 units of *A*, 40 x 7 kg of *B*, 40 x 2 kg of *C*, etc.), and that the districts of each province combined into pairs of sub-groups to meet their obligation. On this view the Hither Province had its assessment reduced in the current year by 6 taxation units, so that the figures are as follows (with restorations of partially preserved figures in angle brackets, missing figures in square brackets and anomalous figures in bold type):

Hither Province

Ia1:	*Pi-*82* (225)	28	<28>	8	**22**	[6]	600
	Me-ta-pa (90)	28	28	8	12	6	600
		56	56	16	34	12	1200
Ia2:	*Pe-to-no* (120)	63	63	**17**	27	<14>	1350
	Ia total:	119	119	33	61	26	2550
Ib1:	*Pa-ki-ja-pi* (221)	**22**	**22**	7	10	<5>	<500>
	A-pu$_2$*-we* (124)	23	23	7	10	5	500
	A-ke-re-wa (222)	23	23	7	10	5	500
		68	68	21	30	15	1500
Ib2:	*Ro-u-so* (365)	17	<17>	5	8	4	*blank*
	Ka-ra-do-ro (346)	18	18	**4**	[8]	[4]	400
	Ri-jo (193)	17	17	5	7	4	**362**
		52	52	14	23	12	762
	Ib total:	120	120	35	53	27	2262

Further Province

IIa1:	*Ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$ (216)	70	70	20	30	**20**	1500
IIa2:	*E-sa-re-wi-ja* (330)	42	42	12	18	**8**	900
	Ẓa-ma-e-wi-ja (393)	28	28	8	12	**5**	600
		70	70	20	30	13	1500
	IIa total:	140	140	40	60	33	3000
IIb1:	*A*-[.]-*ta*$_2$ (397)	24	24	<7>	[10]	[5]	500
	Sa-ma-ra (378)	24	24	7	10	5	500
	Ti-mi-to-a-ke-e (123)	24	24	7	10	5	500

		72	72	21	30	15	1500
IIb2:	*E-ra-te-re-we* (333)	46	46	[13]	[20]	10	1000
	A-te-re-wi-ja (244)	23	23	<7>	10	5	<500>
		69	69	20	30	15	1500
	IIb total:	141	141	41	60	30	3000

* De Fidio (1982.95–106) modifies this proposal in two main ways. First, she expresses the basic ratios as half of the standard expression: 3.5 : 3.5 : 1 : 1.5 : 0.75 : 75. Second, she suggests that the original assessment from each province was 100 of these taxation units (using the ratios 7 : 7 etc., that would be 50 taxation units, rather than Wyatt's 40). Thus she assumes that the assessments of both provinces, not just the Hither Province, were reduced in the current year. Shelmerdine (1989.125–36) finds plausible the premise that both provinces received reductions, but prefers to retain the original expression of the ratios (7 : 7 etc.) because it avoids many fractional calculations. De Fidio's proposal receives support from her observation (1982.100–01, cf. Killen 1996a.148) that on **207** = Jn 829 the Hither Province was assessed 99 N units of bronze, and the Further Province 101 N. These numbers are close to an ideal of 100 units per province; the figure of 99 N for the Hither Province would arise from the need to divide the total evenly among nine districts. The top-down principle thus prevails here, showing equal obligations for each province (although the bronze requisition could also be double the amount of the *Ma* assessment, on the ratios 7 : 7 etc., since the commodity is different and the requisition is not part of the regular annual tax process). As Killen (1996a.148) has shown, the validity of the sub-groupings is also bolstered by Jn 829. Extra contributions above 11 N are made by four Further Province districts (*Ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$, *Za-ma-e-wi-ja*, *Sa-ma-ra* and *E-re-i*). The last is represented in the *Ma* series by *A-te-re-wi-ja* and *E-sa-re-wi-ja*; if the extra amount falls to *A-te-re-wi-ja*, each of the four falls in a different sub-grouping. Killen accepts the notion that on the *Ma* tablets each province was assessed 100 units of commodities *A–F*.

* De Fidio extends her theory of 100 unit assessments and widespread reductions to the other Pylos tablets and series discussed in this chapter (1982.106–16). Like Olivier, she also applies her theory to the Knossos *Mc* tablets (1982.116–21). The totalling tablets Mc 4457 and Mc 5107 both show numbers approximately 100 times the basic ratios of 3.5 : 2 : 1.5 : 3. Adding them together she proposes that here, as at Pylos, the statewide assessment was originally 200 units of each commodity, though in this case no reductions are observable. No evidence suggests that the state of Knossos was divided in two like the state of Pylos, however,

and as de Fidio concedes (1982.120) it is not clear if the totals Mc 4457 and Mc 5107 should be combined to give a statewide figure, or if they are independent.

* The commodities in the *Mc* series are different from those in the *Ma* series, but the assessments may also have been regular in occurrence. The ratios can be placed into the same numerical system, and the two sets of calculations do probably follow the same fiscal operation or principle. If so, as Olivier and de Fidio both argue in their different ways, it is certainly an important fiscal 'law' of widespread application.

* Both theories are complicated to explain, and both are open to some objections, but the 'top-down' approach has found greater acceptance, including from the original proponent of the 'bottom-up' theory (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.185–88, Killen 1996a). Perna, however (2004.291–93, 2008), is so sceptical of both views as to regard the assessment ratios themselves as coincidental, though he does not give any detailed explanation of his objections. He believes the assessments were tied not to districts but directly to landholdings granted to various groups (e.g. those receiving exemptions in the *Ma* series). The payments he regards as either a tax or some other kind of fee, by analogy with his similar interpretation of the PY *Na* series. This interpretation is implausible for several reasons, however. For one thing, among the points discussed below, assessments in the *Ma* series are clearly on the districts, not on individuals and their holdings; for another, the use of the same or similar ratios at Pylos and Knossos is hard to dismiss as coincidence.

1. ANNUAL TAXATION AT PYLOS (Ma, Mb, Mn)

(I) THE Ma *TABLETS*[b]

D/* As noted above, the eighteen Pylos *Ma* tablets record assessments in varying amounts, and some payments, debts and exemptions, of six commodities in fixed order, here transcribed by the letters *A–F*. It will be noticed that *A*, *D* and *F* are measured in whole numbers, *B*, *C* and *E* in units of weight. Since these commodities regularly move from the districts of the Pylian state to the centre, all must be widely available, and able to be manufactured or collected locally. Only some of them, however, have been identified with any confidence.

D²/* **146 = A* is generally believed to be some form of textile, probably a garment. The ideogram is a rectangle with a V-shaped top, like a robe with a V-neck. The endogram *WE* appearing within it probably stands for *we-a*$_2$*-no*, *wehanos* (Duhoux 1976, Chadwick 1964a.23–24), a word for a class of garment; *WE* can also be ligatured with **166*. The Knossos evidence does not securely identify the material.

[b] *Documents*[1] 289–95, *Documents*[2] 464–66, *Interpretation* 300–05, *Textos* 58, *Anthology* 312–13. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.65–91, IV.185–88, Wyatt 1962, Shelmerdine 1973, Olivier 1974, Duhoux, *Aspects* 153–61, de Fidio 1982, Killen 1996a, 2008c, Perna 1995, 2004, esp. 15–102, 2008, 2012, esp. 94–100.

A	**146*		A garment
B	*RI*		Linen ?
C	*KE*		Beeswax ?
D	**152*		Oxhides
E	*O*		?
F	*ME*		?

The sign *pe* appearing beside the ideogram (M 1645) or ligatured with it (M 7373) may stand for *pektos*, 'combed' or 'carded', as is assumed e.g. for *pe* TELA+*TE*, but that is not the only possibility. On **345** = PY Un 1322.5, however, the ideogram **146* is preceded by the phrase *we-a*$_2$*-no*[*ri*]*-no* , *re-po-to*. Though the precise interpretation remains uncertain (see pp. 909–10), it is likely to show that the garment here is made of fine linen (*linon lepton*). **146* is locally made, since it is subject to taxation, and it never appears among the textiles manufactured by the state-run textile industry.

* *RI* = *B* may be an abbreviation for *ri-no*, *linon*, 'flax', 'linen'. The ideogram *SA* designates flax in the PY *Na* series (see pp. 680–88), where it is counted (in bales or bundles?). On the *Ma* tablets *RI* is weighed, so it must represent a different form of the plant, probably the processed thread or cord. At Knossos both *SA* (*Nc* series) and *ri-no* (Og 5778) are weighed; on **213** = KN Nc 5100 *RI* glosses a weighed entry, probably also *SA*. It is likely that the weighed commodity is the same at both sites (Killen 2008c.431–32). Melena (1976a.237) effectively counters an earlier suggestion that *RI* might be linseed, on the grounds that amounts of linseed would be expressed in terms of dry measure, not weight.

* *KE* = *C* may well denote *kēros* 'beeswax' (*Documents*[1] 290). Killen (2008c.445–46) makes a plausible case for this suggestion, linked to evidence that **142* = *I* on the KN *Mc* tablets may be the same substance (p. 703). Both are measured by weight. **142* closely resembles the ideogram **172*, which is listed with honey on KN Gg 701, and which is ligatured with *ke-ro*$_2$ or *ke-ro* on KN U 746 and probably U 436. On this evidence linking the two ideograms and the word, Killen (2008c.445) proposes that the counted commodity **172* may be 'honeycomb', and the weighed forms **142* and *KE* are 'beeswax'. The objection raised by VC (*Documents*[1] 290) that the Common Greek form of the word for 'beeswax' could have been *κᾱρός has been resolved; it is accepted that the root was **kēr-*. The ideogram *KE* appears on PY Un 219, where the term *thuos*, 'aromatic substance' also appears. Perna (2004.54–55) therefore suggests *KE* could be a substance of this kind. However, many of the ideograms on Un 219 are unidentified, and it is not clear that all belong to the same category. Melena (*Textos* 58) suggests *keskion*, 'tow, yarn fibre'.

D/* **152* = *D* probably represents *wrīnoi*, 'oxhides' (cf. ideogram **258* on KN U 797, which probably denotes the same commodity, and where the skin is drawn more clearly).

* *O* = *E* appears, like *KE* = *C*, on PY Un 219. However, in the *Ma* series *O* is measured by weight, and on Un 219 it is not, so the ideogram may not mean the same thing in the two cases.

D²/* *ME* = *F* appears to be counted, which tells strongly against it being honey (*meli*) or wine (*methu*). These would demand liquid measures, and since there is no symbol for liquid volume here the quantities would have to be the major units. In that case the series total would be implausibly higher than those of the other commodities. The same argument applies to substances measured in dry measure (*meleuron*, 'flour'). Perna (2004.59–61, 288) argues convincingly against the interpretation 'honey'. He favours a foodstuff, because the ideogram also appears on **111** = PY Un 2. There, however, it appears with a symbol for liquid measure, and so could in fact be 'honey'. Melena (*Textos* 58) suggests *mērinthos*, 'cord'.

D² With two exceptions, the seventeen place-names of the *Ma* series, omitting **184** = Ma 126 which is plainly aberrant, can be equated with the sixteen of the standard list of the principal towns of the two provinces (**207** = Jn 829). The exceptions are *a-te-re-wi-ja* and *e-sa-re-wi-ja* (**181** = Ma 330, Ma 335), which appear instead of *e-re-i*. *E-sa-re-wi-ja* is shown by **342** = On 300 to belong to the Further Province, and *a-te-re-wi-ja* is associated with it on **42** = An 830. We may therefore presume that these tablets belong to the Further Province, but that for some reason one of the regions has been divided into two.

D²/* It is certain that these assessments are a regular tax imposed annually on the districts, since deficits of the previous year are mentioned; **183** = Ma 225 refers to a remission granted to the smiths 'this year', and **180** = Ma 365 notes a payment to be made 'next year'. The contributions are thus not tied to a particular occasion, unless to a regularly recurring annual one. It is not necessary to assume the commodities are intrinsically related in nature or in purpose, though such proposals have been made: religious offerings (Palmer, *Interpretation* 300–02); distributions to elites and to the gods (de Fidio 1982.134–35, Perna 2004.15–61); workshop materials (*Documents*[1] 290). Recently Killen (2008c.432–43) has expanded on the last theory, to suggest that the commodities are for use in producing military equipment, as in the KN *Mc* series and **213** = Nc 5100 (pp. 707–08).

D/* The first line of each tablet (except the anomalous **184** = Ma 126) records a place-name, followed by assessment amounts of the six commodities. These are calculated according to fixed ratios usually cited as 7 : 7 : 2 : 3 : 1.5 : 150. In the table, the tablets are arranged by province in the order the districts appear on **207** = Jn 829. The amounts actually recorded are shown next to the ideal figures of the ratios, to one decimal point; those that diverge by 1 or more are printed in bold type. Incomplete numbers that may have equalled the predicted figure are printed in normal type. The last two columns give for comparison the amounts of 'fattened hogs' and 'wine (?)' recorded for the Hither Province on **206** = Cn 608 and **97** = Vn 20; these figures are similarly proportional. In the place of *ro-u-so* are the corresponding figures for its equivalent **e-ra-to*.

Ma Tablet	Hither Province Toponym	*A*		*B*		*C*		*D*		*E*		*F*		Cn 608	Vn 20
225	pi-*82	28	28	27*[	28	8	8	**22**	12	[ ]	6	600	600	3	50
90	me-ta-pa	28	28	28	28	8	8	12	12	6	6	600	600	3	50
120	pe-to-no	63	63	63	63	**17**	18	27	27	]4*	13.5	135*0	1350	6	100
221	pa-ki-ja-pi	**22**	23.3	**22**	23.3	7	6.7	10	10	4[	5	400[	500	2	35
124	a-pu$_2$-we	23	23.3	23	23.3	7	6.7	10	10	5	5	500	500	2	35
222	a-ke-re-wa	23	23.3	23	23.3	7	6.7	10	10	5	5	500	500	2	30
365	ro-u-so	17	17	14[	17	5	4.8	8	7.2	4	3.6			3	50
346	ka-ra-do-ro	18	18	18	18	**4**	5.2	[ ]	7.8	[ ]	3.9	4*00	390	2	40
193	ri-jo	17	17	17	17	5	4.8	7	7.2	4	3.6	362	360	2	20

Ma Tablet	Further Province Toponym	*A*		*B*		*C*		*D*		*E*		*F*		Cn 608	Vn 20
123	ti-mi-to-a-ke-e	24	24	24	24	7	6.8	10	10	5	5	500	500		
216	ra-wa-ra-ta$_2$	70	70	70	70	20	20	30	30	**20**	15	15*00[	1500		
378	sa-ma-ra	24	23.1	24	23.1	7	6.7	10	10	5	5	500	500		
397	a-[.]-ta$_2$	24	23.1	24	23.1	2[	6.7	[ ]	10	[ ]	5	500	500		
333	e-ra-te-re-we	46	46.7	46	46.7	[ ]	13.4	[ ]	20	10	10	1000[	1000		
393	za-ma-e-wi-ja	28	28	2*8	28	8	8	12	12	**5**	6	600	600		
330	e-sa-re-wija	42	42	42	42	12	12	18	18	**8**	9	900	900		
244	a-te-re-wija	23	23.3	23	23.3	4[	7	10	10	5*	5	400[	500		

Note: A following asterisk denotes a dotted numeral.

* All the *Ma* tablets have additional entries below the assessment line, noting any payments, debts from the previous year and current deficits, and exemptions for groups of people. No tablet records both a current year's payment and a previous year's debt; the latter must have been cleared off before the new obligation could be met. Exemptions may be noted alongside plain assessments, current payments or last year's debts; they must therefore be regular from year to year, or an integral part of the preliminary planning of each year's assessment. The groups who receive these concessions are bronzesmiths (**179** = Ma 90, etc.) and groups called *ku-re-we* (**179** = Ma 90), one of the troop contingents known from the *o-ka* tablets, and *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* (**186** = Ma 393). The latter seems to be linked to the toponym *ma-ra-ne-nu-we*, which appears on **53** = An 610, a list of men expected to perform service as rowers (pp. 476–77). The relationship between work for the centre and exemption from taxes seems to apply also in the *Na* series (pp. 680–88).

The various transactional terms that characterise the series are as follows:

* *a-pu-do-si*: *apudosis*, 'actual payment'; found on four *Ma* tablets (**187** = Ma 123, **185** = Ma 222, Ma 346, **186** = Ma 393) and a related sealing (Wr 1457) by the same scribe, which records the delivery of **152 = D*. The word is well attested at Knossos, and now at Mycenae on MY X [*ex* Ui] 2 from Petsas House (Iakovidis, Godart and Sacconi 2012.49–50). It is also a possible restoration at Thebes on Oh 208.2, where]-*si* may be]*do-si* or]*ru-si* (*TFC* I.304–05). It clearly means a payment to the centre, usually though not always (KN Le 5629, 5903, L 5917) a tax payment (Varias Garcia 2006.243–44). VC (*Documents*[1] 291) suggest that in the *Ma* series *apudosis* 'describes a contribution which falls short of the total assessment, and the adjunct *o.* is used with each ideogram to show the resulting 'debt' (*ophelo-*)'. The tablets with no *apudosis* entry, they assume, indicate that full payment had been made. It is now generally agreed, however, that *apudosis* does not imply a shortfall. The tablets with no *apudosis* entry show assessments only; when delivery was made, a new tablet replaced the original assessment tablet (Killen 1984a.184).

D/D[2] *a*$_2$*-te-ro we-to di-do-si*: *hateron wetos didonsi*, 'they [will] give next year'; evidently a less generous concession than the *ou didonsi* formula. Either 'some other year' or, more probably, 'in the following year' (cf. Attic θατέρᾳ, 'on the morrow', and the root meaning of ἕτερος as 'one or other of two'). The temporal accusative (where *wetei* might be expected) recurs in *to-to we-to* (**340** = Aq 64). It may perhaps be explained as referring to an inclusive period rather than a single point of time; but cf. also Hom. αὐτῆμαρ 'on the same day', Attic τὴν ὥραν 'at the proper season', etc. (*Gr. Gr.* II.70). The parallel with *za-we-te*, 'this year' (**183** = Ma 225) strongly suggests that this phrase means 'next year' (and not 'every other year').

D/* *do-si-mi-ja*: *dosmia*, presumably 'items belonging to the *dosmos*', a noun meaning '(assessment for) contribution', 'tax' (Duhoux 1968.94, Varias García 2006.242). On **184** = Ma 126 *dosmia* may be a substantivised adjective, also to be understood on **183** = Ma 225 (Perna 2004.68–71); cf. **106** = MY Ge 606. Varias García (2006.247) prefers to understand it adjectivally in all contexts, referring to the ideograms which follow it. See also p. 673 on *pe-ru-si-nu-wo o-pe-ro*.

* *o-pe-ro*; *o.*: *ophelos*, 'debt' and its abbreviation *o.* indicate the amount still owing for the current year when partial payment is made; see p. 673 on *pe-ru-si-nu-wo o-pe-ro*.

D/* *o-u-di-do-si*: *ou didonsi*, a common formula which states that a particular class 'does not give' a certain amount. This deficit is not taken into account in calculating the overall 'debt', but is an allowance by which the obligation of the district is reduced (Furumark 1954b.43). It is probable that the allowance is for

the current year only, like the concessions also noted *o-u-di-do-si* in the *Na* series; by contrast, the notation *e-re-u-te-ro* there probably indicates a permanent exemption (Killen 1995a.114–19).

* *pe-ru-si-nu-wo o-pe-ro*: *perusinwon ophelos*, 'last year's debt'. This formula is found on seven tablets; it surely indicates a debt still owing from the previous year (Killen 1984a), not the payment of an outstanding debt (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.79). The phrase appears in this form on Ma 216, **181** = Ma 330, **182** = Ma 378, Ma 397). *pe-ru-si-nu* on Ma 193 is easily understood as a scribal error of omission. Twice, however (**184** = Ma 126, **183** = Ma 225), the neuter plural *pe-ru-si-nu-wa* appears with *o-pe-ro*. JC (*Documents*[2] 465) rejects the earlier suggestion (*Documents*[1] 294) that *o-pe-ro* here is an abbreviation for *ophēlo*(*mena*), and accepts the 'incoherence of syntax, taking *o-pe-ro* as usual as a neuter noun'. On **184** = Ma 126, however, the plural *perusinwa* could go with *dosmia*, and Perna (2004.71) suggests the same solution for **183** = Ma 225, with *dosmia* understood. Support for this interpretation comes from **251** = KN So(2) 4442, where we find *o-pe-ro* written above *pe-ru-si-nwa ta-ra-si-ja*.

179 = Ma 90 (S90 H 2)

.1 me-ta-pa **146* 28 *RI* M 28 *KE* M 8 **152* 12 *O* M 6 *ME* 600
.a **152*[ ]1
.2 o-da-a_2 , ka-ke-we , o-u-di-do-si **146* 1 *RI* M 1[ ] ku-re-we , o-u-di-do-si **146* 4 *RI* M 4 **152* 2 *KE* M 1 N 2 *ME* 100

D/* *Me-ta-pa* (assessment): A 28 B 28 kg C 8 kg D 12 E 6 kg F 600
thus the bronzesmiths do not give: A 1 B 1 kg
the *ku-re-we* do not give: A 4 B 4 kg D 2 C 1.5 kg E 100

180 = Ma 365 (S90 H 2)

.1 ro-u-so **146* 17 *RI* M 14[ ] *KE* M 5 **152* 8 *O* M 4 *ME*
.2 o-da-a_2 , ka-ke-we , a_2-te-ro , we-to , di-do-si **146* 1 *RI* N 2 *ME* 10

D/* Lousos (assessment): *A* 17 *B* 14[kg *C* 5 kg *D* 8 *E* 4 kg *F*
thus the bronzesmiths will give another year: *A* 1 *B* 0.5 kg *F* 10

181 = Ma 330 (S90 H 2)

.1 e-sa-re-wi-ja **146* 42 *RI* M 42 *KE* M 12 **152* 18 *O* M 8 *ME* 900 [
.2 pe-ru-si-nu-wo o-pe-ro **152* 6 [

* *E-sa-re-wi-ja* (assessment): *A* 42 *B* 42 kg *C* 12 kg *D* 18 *E* 8 kg *F* 900
last year's debt: *D* 6

182 = Ma 378 (S90 H 2)

.1 sa-ma-ra **146* 24 *RI* M 24 *KE* M 7 **152* 10 *O* M 5 *ME* 500
.a **152* 2̣ *ME* 60
.2 o-da-a$_2$, ka-ḳẹ-we , o-u-di-do-si **146* 3 *RI* M 3 *KE* M 1 pe-ru-si-nu-wo ,
o-pe-ro **146* 1 **152* 2 *ME* 100

D/* *Sa-ma-ra* (assessment): *A* 24 *B* 24 kg *C* 7 kg *D* 10 *E* 5 kg *F* 500
thus the smiths do not give: *A* 3 *B* 3 kg *C* 1 kg *D* 2̣ *F* 60
last year's debt: *A* 1 *D* 2 *F* 100

183 = Ma 225 (S90 H 2)

.1 pi-*82 **146* 28 *RI* M 2̣[ ] *KE* M 8 **152* 22 *O*̣[M 6]*ME* 600
.a re-u-ko-to-ro za-we-ṭẹ
.2 pe-ru-si-nu-wa , o-pe-ro , *RI* M 2 o-da-a$_2$, ka-ke-we , o-u-di-do-si , *o*
**146* 1 *RI* M 1 *ME* 16

D/* *Pi-*82* (assessment): *A* 28 *B* 2̣7[ ] kg *C* 8 kg *D* 22 *E* [6 kg]*F* 600 Leuktron
last year's debt: *B* 2 kg
thus the smiths do not give this year: owing *A* 1 *B* 1 kg *F* 16
* **152* 22: 12 predicted.

* *pi-*82*: For the suggestion that **82* is *swa* and that this toponym is *Piswā*, the ancestral form of the Classical Πῖσα (though not a reference to the town on the Alpheios River), see p. 103.

* *re-u-ko-to-ro*: Leuktron is elsewhere understood to be the capital of the Further Province; *pi-*82* is in the Hither Province. Even if Leuktron is at the north end of the state, near the provincial border (*Documents*[2] 466; see p. 263), it is not clear why the two places should be mentioned together here. Another possibility is that this Leuktron is a place within the district of *pi-*82* (Bennet 2002.17), and that the debt of commodity *B* applies strictly to it (Killen 1984a.186). The case of *si-re-wa* on **184** = Ma 126 may be similar, since the evidence of **189** = Mn 456 suggests it belongs to the district of *ro-u-so*.

D[2]/* *za-we-te*: brilliantly identified by Palmer (cf. *Interpretation* 305) as *tsāwetes* < **kyāwetes* = σῆτες, 'this year'. The word should be taken with the entry 'thus the smiths do not give'. Though all exemptions refer to the current year, Hand 2 perhaps felt it necessary to clarify this entry, after recording a last year's debt in the same line.

* *o*: an abbreviation for *ophelos* (see p. 495), but debts are not elsewhere recorded with exemptions. Even if the notation refers here to an amount not expected by the centre (Killen 1997a.116) it is superfluous, since that is true of all exemptions.

184 = Ma 126 (S90 H 2)

.a i-na-ma-ta
.1 pe-ru-si-nu-wa , si-re-wa , o-pe-ro , do-si-mi-ja
.2 **146* 3 *RI* M 1̣ *KE* M 1

D/* *i-na-ma-ta*
Si-re-wa, last year's debt, things contributed: *A* 3 *B* ḷ kg *C* 1 kg

D/* This tablet is exceptional in showing no assessment entry, and in referring to a place, *si-re-wa*, which is not one of the district centres. The toponym does recur on a related tablet (**189** = Mn 456), which is thought to be a breakdown of the obligations of the district *ro-u-so* (**180** = Ma 365). Killen (1984a.186, 1996a.147) therefore argues that *si-re-wa* belongs in the district of *ro-u-so*, and that the debt recorded here refers specifically to that place. *Si-re-wa* here is carrying a debt from the previous year of three units of **146* and not two units as on **189** = Mn 456, suggesting that assessments for individual places (if not for entire districts?) could change from year to year.

D/D²/* *i-na-ma-ta*: obscure; Palmer (*Interpretation* 305) may be right that it is a personal name of the common type ending in *-ātās*. The presence of a personal name would be another exceptional feature of this tablet, perhaps identifying who was responsible for making good the debt. If the word follows on from *dosmia* at the end of line 1, however, it is perhaps better taken as a neuter plural describing or qualified by *dosmia*, but it is difficult to find one to fit. Solutions based on Arcadian ἰν = ἐν seem unlikely since this form of the preposition has not been reliably identified in Mycenaean.

185 = Ma 222 (S90 H 2)

.1 a-ke-re-wa **146* 23 *RI* M 23 *KE* M 7 **152* 10 *O* M 5 *ME* 500 [
.2 a-pu-do-si **146* 10 *o* 13 *RI* M 22 *o* M 1 *KE* M 7 **152* 8 *o* 2 *O* M 5 *ME* 500 [

D/* *A-ke-re-wa* (assessment): *A* 23 *B* 23 kg *C* 7 kg *D* 10 *E* 5 kg *F* 500
actual payment: *A* 10 owing 13 *B* 22 kg owing 1 kg *C* 7 kg *D* 8 owing 2 *E* 5 kg *F* 500

186 = Ma 393 (S90 H 2)

.1]ẓạ-ma-e-wi-ja **146* 28 *RI* M 2̣8 *KE* M 8 **152* 12 *O* M 5 *ME* 600
.2]ạ-pu-do-si **146* 20 a-ne-ta-de **146* 1 *RI* M 21 *KE* M 5 *o̤* M 1 **152* 8 *O* M 6 *ME* 450
.3 o-da-a$_2$, ma-ra-ne-ni-jo , o-u-di-do-si **146* 7 *RI* M 7 *KE* M 2 **152* 3 *O* M 2 *ME* 150

D/* *Ẓa-ma-e-wi-ja* (assessment): *A* 28 *B* 2̣8 kg *C* 8 kg *D* 12 *E* 5 kg *F* 600
actual payment: *A* 20, but rejected *A* 1 *B* 21 kg *C* 5 kg owing 2 kg *D* 8 *E* 6 kg *F* 450
thus the *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* do not give: *A* 7 *B* 7kg *C* 2 kg *D* 3 *E* 2 kg *F* 150

D The sums for *D* and *E* are anomalous, since the district contributes three more of *E* than it needs to, and a debt of one *D* goes unnoticed.

* *a-ne-ta-de*: VC and JC (*Documents*[1] 292–93, *Documents*[2] 531) interpret this hapax as *aneta de*, 'but remitted' (from ἀνά + ἵημι, cf. ἄνεσις φόρων, 'remission of taxes'). There are

linguistic objections, however: we would not expect elision of *ana* before *h*, and there is no clear evidence for apocope of prepositions in Mycenaean. This problem, and the presence of other terms for exemptions and allowances in this series, makes preferable the alternative *arnēta de*, 'but refused' (cf. ἀρνέομαι), that is, rejected as being in some way flawed (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.76, Ruijgh, *Études* 340 with n. 12, Perna 2004.77).

D/* *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo*: compare with *ma-ra-ne-nu-we*, a class or place providing rowers on **53** = An 610, and *ma-ra-ne*[on Mn 1410.

187 = Ma 123 (S90 H 2)

.1 ti-mi-to-a-ke-e **146* 24 *RI* M 24 *KE* M 7 **152* 10 *O* M 5 *ME* 500
.2 a-pu-do-si **146* 21 *o* 2 *RI* M *KE* M **152* *O* M *ME*
.3 o-da-a_2 , ka-ke-we , o-u-di-do-si **146* 1 *RI* M 1 *ME* 10

D/* *Ti-mi-to a-ke-e* (assessment): *A* 24 *B* 24 kg *C* 7 kg *D* 10 *E* 5 kg *F* 500
actual payment: *A* 21 owing 2 *B* kg *C* kg *D* *E* kg *F*
thus the smiths do not give: *A* 1 *B* 1 kg *F* 10

* Though the payment entries are prepared on line 2, no numbers are included for commodities *B–F*. Either the scribe neglected to record complete payments (*Documents*[1] 291), or only a partial delivery of *A* had so far been made. Since Hand 2 was otherwise scrupulous in recording payments, the latter assumption is attractive.

(II) THE Mb, Mn *SERIES*[b]

* Two *Mn* tablets come from the Archives Complex. It is quite plausible, as Killen (1996a.147) suggests, that **188** = Mn 162 and **189** = Mn 456 break down the *Ma* series assessments of commodity *A* for the districts *a-si-ja-ti-ja* and *ro-u-so* respectively. The scribe of the *Ma* series, Hand 2, was responsible for these tablets also, and each includes an entry for the town which gave its name to the district. The extant total of **146* 24 on **188** = Mn 162 matches the *Ma* assessment for *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (*a-sa-ti-ja* / *a*-[.]-*ta*$_2$) exactly (Ma 397), but another four units may have been recorded in (restored) line 4. The extant total of 15 on **189** = Mn 456 is two short of the *Ma* assessment for *ro-u-so* (**180** = Ma 365); the remainder may have appeared in line 1, which is now illegible, though the rest of the figures decrease in size from 5 in line 2. It is perhaps not surprising that the district centre itself is not the major contributor for the district.

* These two tablets represent a preliminary breakdown of (expected?) contributions of garments, mostly noted as being at or from a place or *pa-ro* an individual (**188** = Mn 162.7, possible personal name also in line 6). The toponyms

[b] *Interpretation* 75, 160, 305 (**189** = Mn 456), *Textos* 58–59 (**190** = Mb 1396). Studies: Killen 1996a, Shelmerdine 2002, Perna 2002, 2004.103–29, 2012.100–05.

are in the dat./loc. case (confirmed in **189** = Mn 456.8–9); as on the *Ma* tablets, indicating a levy *on* the places in question. The preposition *pa-ro* may mean 'at the place of' ('chez') or 'from' an individual; the evidence of the Thebes sealings Wu 47, 59, 60 favours the latter sense, but the former is not excluded here. These two tablets thus represent an early stage in the taxation process: tallies of garments intended for the centre. These might have been delivered already, but equally plausibly they might have been expected, or ready in the towns where they were made (less likely at subordinate collection points). In the case of *a-sa-ti-ja* all the extant figures are equal; in the case of *ro-u-so* they are not. That only two such tablets are preserved may be due to the complexity of the situation in these districts, but it may equally well be that such records were drawn up for each district, and then destroyed when no longer needed, so that the recovery of these two is accidental. The toponym *si-re-wa* (**189** = Mn 456.4) also appears on the exceptional tablet **184** = Ma 126, where a debt from the previous year is noted for this specific place. Such 'institutional memory' might depend on detailed records like **189** = Mn 456.

188 = Mn 162 (S90 H 2)

.1			] *vacat*
.2		**146*	]4
.3		**146*	] 4
.4	*deest*		
.5	]	**146*	4
.6	]ka-sa-ṭạ	**146*	4
.7	pa-ro , ke-ku-ṛọ	**146*	4
.8	a-sa-ti-ja	**146*	4
.9	*vacat*		
.10	] *vacat* [		

*]*ka-sa-ṭạ*: it is not clear whether the word is complete. It is perhaps a personal name, preceded by *pa-ro* as in the following line.

* *pa-ro* , *ke-ku-ṛọ*: 'at the place of' ('chez') Kerkulos, or 'from Kerkulos'. The name may recur on KN Xd 7656 (*ke-ku-ṛọ*[, without context).

* *a-sa-ti-ja*: doubtless a variant of the district centre toponym *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (p. 676), the district to which the whole tablet probably pertains (see p. 676).

189 = Mn 456 (S90 H 2)

.1	*vestigia*		
.2	re[ ]ṛọ	**146*	5
.3	ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja	**146*	2
.4	si-re-wa	**146*	2
.5	me-te-to	**146*	1
.6	e-wi-te-wi-jo	**146*	1

.7	ro-u-so	**146* 1
.8	e-ri-no-wo-te	**146* 1
.9	sa-ri-nu-wo-te	**146* 1
.10	e-pi-qo-ra$_2$	**146* 1 [

* The tablet lists quantities of **146* against a series of toponyms. The district centre *ro-u-so* is named in line 7; the toponyms in lines 3 and 10 are not otherwise attested. Four probably recur on PY Vn 130: *sa-ri-no-te* (= *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*?), *e-wi-te-wi-jo*, *me-te-to*, *ro-*]*u-so*. Also on Vn 130 are the other Hither Province district centres *me-ta-pa*, *pa-ki-ja-si* and *ka-ra-do-ro*. The associations are thus clearly with the HP, and as noted on p. 676 this record may be devoted to the district of *ro-u-so*.

* *re*[ ]*ṛọ*: presumably a toponym, as in the other entries. The restoration *re*[*-u-ko-to-*]*ṛọ* (*PTT* I), influenced by the proximity on **39** = An 35 of *me-te-to-de* (l. 2) and *re-u-ko-to-ro* (l. 3), must be abandoned. The other known toponyms are associated with the Hither Province, and this tablet probably refers specifically to the district of *ro-u-so*. A doubtful alternative is that there were up to three places called *re-u-ko-to-ro*: one in the Further Province; that or another near *pi-**82* (see p. 674 on **183** = Ma 225); and one in the district of *ro-u-so* (Bennet 2002.14–17).

* *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*: a toponym unattested elsewhere. The first element of the compound is a man's name in the gen., perhaps *Khoiros*? (*Documents*^{2} Glossary s.v. *ko-ro*) or *Khōlos*? (cf. the anthroponym *ko-ro* on **60** = PY Cn 131, KN De 1152). The second element is a substantivised neut. plur. adj. *worwia*, derived from the noun *wo-wo*, *worwos*, 'frontier, boundary' (cf. Classical Gk ὅρος). Both noun (PY An 424+, Cn 40+, Na 105+) and adjective (**58** = PY An 656) regularly combine with a man's name in the genitive to form a place-name (Sainer 1976.62).

* *si-re-wa*: a toponym also attested on **184** = Ma 126. On the different figures in the two entries, see p. 675.

* *me-te-to*: a toponym also attested on Na 337, **39** = An 35, probably Vn 130]*mẹ-te-to*, and perhaps Wa 1093 *me-te-ṭọ*[. That the Further Province towns *sa-ma-ra* and Leuktron are also mentioned on An 35 does not require *me-te-to* to be near the provincial border, as Sainer (1976.46) has suggested.

* *e-wi-te-wi-jo*: a toponym also attested on **194** = Na 245 and Vn 130, along with several other Hither Province toponyms.

* *ro-u-so*: one of the nine district centres of the Hither Province, the district to which the whole tablet probably pertains (see p. 676).

* *e-ri-no-wo-te*: dat./loc. sing. of the toponym *e-ri-no-wo*, also attested on **47** = An 427 along with the Hither Province district centres *a-pu*$_2$ and *a-ke-re-wa*. It is associated with *a-ke-re-wa* also on **160** = Eq 213, and with the district centre *a-si-ja-ti-ja* on Cn 4.

* *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*: dat./loc. sing. of the toponym *sa-ri-nu-wo*, associated with the Hither Province district centres *ka-ra-ḍọ-ṛọ* and probably *pi-**82* on An 424, and restored on Na 544. *Sa-ri-no-te* on Vn 130 may be an error for or variant form of the same, and *se-ri-no-wo-ṭẹ* on Qa 1290 is probably a variant.

* *e-pi-qo-ra*$_2$: presumably a toponym, unattested elsewhere.

* **190** = Mb 1396 belongs to a group of *Mb* and *Mn* tablets that also concern **146*; the quantities range from 1 to 11 units (*Mb*) and 4 to 27 units (*Mn*). The tablets form a scribal department associated with the Southwestern Building; a few other tablets are associated with them by find-place and subject matter. This department contained two kinds of records: inventories (in the majority) and disbursements. Twenty-three (of 29) *Mb* tablets and eight (of eleven) *Mn* tablets are the work of Hand 14; five more tablets from this department belong to S1398-Cii, while the remaining five can be assigned only to a class, or not at all.

* A few records from the department record disbursements of **146*, as religious offerings and as payment (*o-no*, pp. 282–84, 460, 910) to individuals in return for other commodities. Most of the tablets, however, are inventories, such as **190** = Mb 1396. The entries are short and consist only of a personal reference (*pa-ro* + name) or a toponym, followed by the ideogram: the same two types of entry noted on **188** = Mn 162. A few entries confirm that the toponym is in the dative/locative case, so these are inventory records of garments present at or from the places (or for the *pa-ro* entries, 'chez' or from the individuals) listed. Of the seventeen toponyms identified, nine recur in the *Na* series and/or on **203** = Nn 228. The overlap is understandable for textile-producing places. Such tablets seem to represent the same early stage of the taxation process as **188** = Mn 162 and **189** = Mn 456, but they are written by different scribes, whose output is found exclusively outside the Main Building. They thus represent an earlier administrative stage of the monitoring process, below the district level of detail. Each deals with a single town, and all those whose location is known are in the Hither Province, in particular the southern part of it. So the department may have had a limited geographic focus as well. At the point in the tax year when collection of **146* was complete for a district, the information on these outlying tablets would allow Hand 2, the scribe of the *Ma* series, to compile a record like **188** = Mn 162 and **189** = Mn 456, which could be kept in the Archives Complex for as long as it was needed. It is worth noting that both *ro-u-so* and *a-*[.]*-ta*$_2$ are still represented in the *Ma* series by assessment tablets, indicating that their payments had not yet been delivered. Indeed, the single entry tablet for *ro-u-so*, Mb 1398, is preserved in the outlying department; unhappily the number is missing (cf. also Mn 1370, with broken entries for *ro-u-so* and *ro-o-wa*).

190 = Mb 1396 (H 14)

a-pi-no-e-wi-jo **146* 2

* *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*: a flax-producing town (Na 58), whose frequent association with *e-na-po-ro* ([An 37], **203** = Nn 228, Vn 130) suggests that it lies in the Hither Province, and perhaps in the same region south of Pylos.

2. THE PYLOS Na, Ng, Nn SERIES[b]

D/D²/* The ideogram *SA* occurs on three fragmentary Knossos tablets (Nc 4479, 5121, 8144). At Pylos it forms the subject of the *N*- series. The pronunciation is probably given by the word *ri-no* (**203** = Nn 228.1) = λίνον, so perhaps *sa*- is the initial syllable of a borrowed Minoan word. Much doubt still surrounds the meaning of the word, since it can refer both to the raw fibres of the flax plant and to the thread and cloth prepared from them. The other product of the plant, linseed, is in Classical Greek called λίνου σπέρμα, but might also be included in the Mycenaean use of the word. However, Palmer's suggestion (*Interpretation* 312) that *SA* on the PY *N*- tablets stands for linseed issued to troops as emergency rations, or as an unguent, is quite unlikely and has found no support. As Melena (1976a.237) points out, we would expect linseed to be measured in dry measure, not weighed like *SA*. It is clearly a more economical hypothesis to suggest that the figures in the series refer to the normal production of flax. The greater part of the flax still grown in Greece for fibres is produced in Messenia and the adjacent areas (Chadwick 1963.129). The Hither Province is expected to deliver much more *SA* than the Further Province (**204** = Ng 319, **205** = Ng 332). It was earlier thought the Hither Province, being largely coastal, was more productive because flax requires a plentiful water supply for retting as well as very fertile soil (Chadwick 1963.129, McDonald and Rapp 1972.250, Foster 1981.76), but modern villagers dispute the idea that growing flax requires either special soil or abundant water (Halstead 2001.44–46).

SA Linen / Flax

D²/* As pointed out by Killen (1966c.36), *ri-no* is measured by weight at Knossos on Og 5778. Thus KN Nc 4479 with the weight *SA* M 1 may be some confirmation that *SA* on the Pylos tablets refers to a product of the flax plant. It is possible that standard bales of the retted fibres formed the basic unit in which the product was counted, whereas *SA* measured by weight is processed linen thread, which would presumably be weighed. On the weighed commodity *RI* on the *Ma* tablets (cf. **213** = KN Nc 5100), which may denote the same commodity as the weighed form of *SA*, see p. 669. In what follows, *SA* is translated as 'flax', without prejudice as to its precise meaning.

D²/* Most of the *Na* tablets are by Hand 1; Na 337, 561 and 841 are of S337-Cii. The formulae of the *Na* tablets may be divided into four basic types. The simplest has just one entry consisting of a place-name followed by *SA* and a number (e.g. **191** = Na 322); two of the tablets of S337-Cii are certainly of this type, so the third (Na 561), though broken at the right, may well be also. Another

[b] *Na* series: *Documents*[1] 295–301, *Documents*[2] 468–73, *Interpretation* 306–10, *Textos* 59–60. **203** = Nn 228: *Documents*[1] 296–97, *Documents*[2] 472–73, *Textos* 60. Studies: *Na* series: Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.127–55, Duhoux, *Aspects* 161–75, Foster 1981, de Fidio 1987.139–42, Killen 1995a, Perna 2004.209–56, 2006. **202** = Nn 831: Foster 1981.91–93, Killen 1995a.120 n. 30, 1996a.147, de Fidio 1987.139, Perna 2004.213–17. **203** = Nn 228: Perna 2004.211–12.

set adds a qualifying phrase to the place-name, but no separate *SA* entry. This phrase may be as short as *we-da-ne-wo ke* (Na 856, 1041), but in most cases contains the verb *e-ko-si* (Na 396, 405, **193** = Na 514, Na 516, **192** = Na 543, Na 928) or *e-ke* (**201** = Na 406, **200** = Na 926; cf. **199** = Na 334, but this belongs to the type with *e-re-u-te-ra*, see p. 687).

D²/* There are also two compound types of tablets, with two or more entries of *SA*. One group has the formula: toponym *SA* number *to-sa-de X e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*) *SA* number, where *X* is a noun in the dative case (e.g. **197** = Na 252). In the other group, the second element is varied to *to-sa-de X o-u-di-do-si*, 'so much X does not give', where *X* is a noun in the nominative (e.g. **195** = Na 568, **194** = Na 245). There are also two tablets with just one *SA* entry, but containing the *e-re-u-te-ra* formula: **196** = Na 248 and **199** = Na 334; and one in which the first *SA* is not followed by a number (Na 924: *ri-sa-pi SA me-to-re e-re-u-te-ro-se to-sa SA* 10). It seems likely that Na 924 implies a zero entry for the first *SA*, and therefore the other two may be regarded also as of the compound class, with *SA* 0 understood after the place name.

* It seems clear that both *e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*) and *o-u-di-do-si* refer to exemptions from the normal obligation to contribute flax. They are associated with workers of various types, including bronzesmiths, shipbuilders and hunters, and with the king. The latter formula is less common, with only three examples (Na 69, 185, **194** = Na 245), plus one entry (**195** = Na 568) that contains both *o-u-di-do-si* and *e-re-u-te-ro-se*. There are eighteen entries (on twelve tablets) of the former type, three ending in *-ro* and the rest in *-ra*. JC (*Documents*² 469) follows Lejeune (*Mémoires* I.152–53) in suggesting that the alternation 'may be due to thinking of the plural units represented by *SA* (feminine? [or neuter?]) or the collective neuter singular (*linon*)'. He regards the formulae *o-u-di-do-si* and *e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*) as virtually synonymous, but there ought to be a meaningful distinction between the two. Killen's suggestion (1995a.114–19) is most attractive: that *e-re-u-te-ro* refers to permanent exemptions, and *o-u-di-do-si* to temporary ones applying just in the current year, as it seems to do on the PY *Ma* tablets. In that case, *e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*) may refer to the land on which the flax is grown, rather than to the produce itself (Killen 1979b.133, Foster 1981.115–17), as is likely too for the formula *e-ko-si* (pp. 682–84). Both the adjective ἐλεύθερος and the noun ἐλευθερία can have this fiscal meaning in Classical Greek also, applied to property exempt from taxes; for the adjective, Dem. xxxv, 21, *IG* IX(1) 32 10, an inscription from Stiris, and *Syll.*3 364.36, a third-century B.C. inscription from Ephesus (*Documents*² 469, Duhoux, *Aspects* 167–68, Varias García 2006.246). Perna (2004.225) accepts the distinction between the *o-u-di-do-si* and *e-re-u-te-ro* exemptions, though he regards the latter as indefinite in duration, rather than permanent. The two totalling tablets, **204** = Ng 319 and **205** = Ng 332 then make sense as recording the yearly assessments for each province in line 1, and the total exemptions for the year (*o-u-di-do-si*) in line 2.

D²/* The *e-re-u-te-ra* formula may be varied by the use of the verb *e-re-u-te-ro-se*, which might be aorist, *eleutherōse*, 'he exempted' or conceivably future, *eleutherōsei*, 'he will exempt', to indicate the official responsible for the remission (Na 195, 395, 568, 924). The aorist is more likely; with a future verb one would expect a reference to when the event will take place (as on **180** = Ma 365.2, a_2*-te-ro we-to di-do-si*). Why is this additional information given in these few cases only? The two notations should bear different, but related meanings. Because the verb stands on the line above an *o-u-di-do-si* entry on **195** = Na 568, Killen (1995a.119) accepted it as explaining the temporary exemption. Since the two verbs would then overlap in sense, however, it would be more satisfactory to find a meaning related to permanent exemptions. The notation is exceptional; the other *o-u-di-do-si* entries in the series are not glossed in this way, and no temporary exemption is recorded on the other three tablets where the verb *e-re-u-te-ro-se* appears. If the adjective *e-re-u-te-ro* / *e-re-u-te-ra* denotes non-taxable land, might the verb indicate an action that took place (less likely, will take place) in the current year, converting a parcel of land from taxable to non-taxable? And might the double notation on **195** = Na 568 signify a current year's temporary exemption that will become permanent? (Compare the notation *pa-ra-jo*, 'old' probably applied to a 'free' parcel of land on Na 197.)

D²/* The main entries on these tablets are best regarded as targets for contributions, rather than actual deliveries; there is no mention of a deficit except in the special document **203** = Nn 228. They differ too from the assessments of the *Ma* tablets, in that the target and the exemption(s) together add up to the total assessment (on **195** = Na 568, in fact the exemption is larger than the target amount). Thus:

194 =	Na 245	20 + 10	= 30
197 =	Na 252	24 + 6	= 30
	Na 425	27 + 3	= 30
	Na 529	18 + 5 + 17	= 40
195 =	Na 568	20 + 50	= 70

On four of the compound tablets the amounts add up exactly to 30, a fairly common target on the single-entry tablets. This explanation will satisfy the three tablets with presumed zero main entry listed on p. 681 (Na 924, **196** = Na 248 and **199** = Na 334). Here the total assessment has been remitted, so that the delivery is targeted as zero.

D²/* We can now ask what is the meaning of the group of tablets with a place-name and an annotation including *e-ko-si*: are these too to be regarded as compound tablets with a zero assessment? Or are they targets for deliveries which the annotation does not cancel out? One issue is the object of *e-ko-si*; is it the

following number of *SA*, or the territory in question which is 'occupied' by this group of people? **200** = Na 926 may be helpful here in view of its variation on the formula. The territory is described as *a-ki-ti-to*, *aktitos*, which presumably means 'not subject to the process described by *ki-ti-je-si*' (**198** = Na 520). JC (*Documents*[2] 470, 1987.82) believes that the *e-ko-si* entries do not indicate an exemption (see further pp. 683–84), and hence that the 6 units of flax listed on this tablet are expected from the land. He therefore argues that *a-ki-ti-to* cannot mean 'uncultivated', and wonders whether the original sense of the verb **ktiemi* was 'to render habitable', 'to build dwellings upon'. (Cf. κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, *Il.* XX, 216.) From this, he suggests, the special sense of *ki-ti-me-na*, 'land under habitation', 'lived upon', might develop to mean effectively 'private estate'. Foster (1981.76–91) reaches the similar conclusion that *ki-ti-je-si* means 'inhabit (on specific juridical terms)', though de Fidio (1987.145) prefers the sense 'cultivate' < 'inhabit'. In any case, it is clearly the land which is called *aktitos*; and the tablet goes on to note: *ekhei de min* A_2. Here *min* can hardly refer to the flax, but to the land which is *aktitos*: 'and H. holds it'. Thus the object of *e-ko-si* is always likely to be the land, expressed in terms of the flax which can be expected from it. This conclusion reinforces the interpretation (pp. 681–82) of *e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*) as a reference to the land.

D[2]/* The subjects of *e-ko-si* are words of a different type from the trade names that figure in the exemption formulae. Some are individuals, twice identified by name (**201** = Na 406, **200** = Na 926), and once the *wanax* (**199** = Na 334). The others are groups, specifically three of the military contingents that appear on the *o-ka* tablets (*ke-ki-de*, Na 103, **193** = Na 514; *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, Na 396, 405, 516, **192** = Na 543; *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*, Na 928). It has often been noted, following Mühlestein (1956.16–18), that there are correspondences between the numbers of men in these groups listed on the *o-ka* tablets and the units of *SA* noted against the same places on the *Na* tablets (Killen 1985c.248–49, de Fidio 1987.132, this volume p. 280; de Fidio 1987.139 n. 37 records that Chadwick too abandoned the scepticism expressed in *Documents*[2] 470–71). From this observation Mühlestein, taking *e-ko-si* as 'they receive', suggested that one unit of *SA* was being allocated to each member of the contingent in question. As just discussed, however, the referent of the verb is convincingly shown to be the land, rather than the flax (nor is there any reason to suppose these few *Na* tablets alone refer to allocations), so this conclusion cannot stand. Rather we may accept de Fidio's view (1987.139–42) that such groups had recently been installed on the land in question, in return for their military service.

* The numbers in these entries are of the right order of magnitude to represent the full obligation of a village; indeed, the most common assessments in the series, 30 and 10, occur three times each. Therefore de Fidio suggests that the groups shouldered the full burden of the obligation for the place with which they

are associated, a view supported by JC's arguments (*Documents*[2] 469–70) that the *e-ko-si* entry is not an exemption formula. He finds it 'hard to see what purpose there would be in introducing yet a third way of denoting a rebate', and notes that on **199** = Na 334 the royal holding is specially exempted from contribution by the addition of the word *e-re-*]*u-te-ra*. He further observes that the verb *ki-ti-je-si*, *ktiensi* implies a remission on **198** = Na 520, because it is accompanied by the word *e-re-u-te-ra*; the opposite condition, *a-ki-ti-to*, would imply no remission. Also relevant is **201** = Na 406, where JC restores *o-qe-*[*di-do-*]*si*, 'and he gives' accompanying the entry X *e-ke a-ki-ti-to*. He does not account for this apparently superfluous entry; de Fidio (1987.140 n. 43) suggests the possibility that the scribe intended to write *o-*<*u*>*-qe-*[*di-do-*]*si*, 'and he does not give', i.e. that the landholder in question has been granted an exemption, although his plot was normally subject to taxation (see also Chadwick 1976a.155, 176).

* This is one possibility, but another is also worth mentioning. Could the *e-ko-si* entries perhaps represent concessions to the military groups based on their military service (and to the individuals for comparable reasons)? This was VC's initial view (*Documents*[1] 297; see also Duhoux, *Aspects* 172–73). Neither *ki-ti-je-si* (**198** = Na 520) nor *e-ke* (**199** = Na 334) inherently implies a remission; the accompanying word *e-re-u-te-ra* does that. The *Na* series is otherwise consistent in that forecast figures are attached to toponyms, and that further entries refer to exemptions, not obligations. If *e-ke* / *e-ko-si* denotes a temporary remission, tied to military service, this rebate would indeed require a different formula from the types noted by *o-u-di-do-si* and *e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*). If so, the additional notation *e-re-u-te-ra* would mark the remission as permanent, without obviating the need to record why it was granted. As to *o-qe-*[*di-do-*]*si* on **201** = Na 406, the extra notation might be necessary to clarify that in this case the landholder *does* give. On this view the tablets in question would be of the compound type, and would record a forecast of zero with the explanation following. Perna (2004.209–56, 2006.192–96) believes that the *e-ko-si* entries represent an exemption. His further inference, however (Perna 2004.227), that *SA* refers to flax being furnished directly to the military groups – bypassing the palace, to which it would normally be owed – is open to objection, since as argued above these entries refer to the land, not its produce. More recently Perna (2006.195–96) concedes the possibility that the military groups received land rather than flax, in view of their service.

D/* The surviving target figures on the *Na* series (in which the numerals directly follow the place-name) total 1136 *SA*. All the *o-u-di-do-si* and *e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*)/*e-re-u-te-ro-se* entries which represent exemptions together yield 335, to which should probably be added the 10 *SA* each on Na 856 and Na 1041, where the *SA* entry is associated not with a toponym but with *we-da-ne-wo ke*, and the 4̣[units on Na 1179, if *ki-*]*ṭi-e-si* is restored. As we saw, the *e-ke*, *e-ko-si* entries could be either

forecasts or exemptions; these total 146 *SA*, to which should probably be added the 25 units on Na 103, if *ke-*]*ki-de* is restored, and the 3 units on Na 537 (*a-*] *ki-ti-to*).

D² The toponyms in the series appear to be all in the dative-locative, with the *-pi* ending in appropriate cases (plurals of *a-* and consonant-stems).

191 = Na 322 (S106 H 1)

pi-*82 , *SA* 30

*Pi-*82*: 30 units of flax

* *pi-*82*: one of the nine district centres of the Hither Province. While some of the places mentioned on the *Na* tablets are district centres, like *pi-*82* here and *ka-ra-do-ro* on **192** = Na 543, they also (in contrast to the *Ma* tablets) include a large number of what are evidently subsidiary settlements; some of these, like *ta-mi-ta-na* on **196** = Na 248, are otherwise unattested.

192 = Na 543 (S106 H 1)

.a , e-ko-si
ka-ra-do-ro , ko-ro-ḳṵ-ra-i-jo *SA* 30

D/* Kharadros: the *k.* hold (the land): 30 units of flax

D/* *ka-ra-do-ro*: one of the nine district centres of the Hither Province. Compare *ka-ra-do-ro ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* VIR on **59** = An 661.5.

193 = Na 514 (S106 H 1)

ku-]pa-ri-so , ke-ki-de , e-ko-si *SA* 30

D/* Kuparissos: the *k.* hold (the land): 30 units of flax

D *ku-pa-ri-so*: probably the present Kyparissia, on the coast 25–30 km north of Pylos (Κυπαρισσήεις *Il.* II, 593, Κυπαρισσία Strabo, Κυπάρισσος Scylax, Pliny). Compare *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de* VIR on **55** = An 657.8.10.

194 = Na 245 (S106 H 1)

.A o-u-di-do-si , *SA* 10
.B e-wi-te-wi-jo , *SA* 20 to-sa-de , ma-ra-te-we , ra-wa-ke-si-jo

D/* *E-wi-te-wi-jo*: 20 units of flax; and so much the Lawagesian *m.* do not give: 10 units of flax

* *e-wi-te-wi-jo*: a place probably in the Hither Province, in the district of *ro-u-so* (**189** = Mn 456.6); it is also associated with *pa-ki-ja-ne* (Vn 130.10).

* *to-sa-de*: *tos(s)a de*, 'and so much', the standard totalling term.

D *ma-ra-te-we*: see Glossary.

195 = Na 568 (S106 H 1)

.A e-sa-re-u , ke-po-da , e-re-u-te-ro-se , *SA* 50
.B]wa , *SA* 20 to-sa-de , na-u-do-mo , o-u-di-do-si

D/* *X*: 20 units of flax; and so much the shipbuilders do not give (*ke-u-po-da* the *e. made* free): 50 units of flax

D/D²/*]*wa*: perhaps [*a-ke-re-*]*wa* or [*ro-o-*]*wa*, both well-attested toponyms in the Hither Province.

* *e-sa-re-u ke-po-da*: the second word is probably a variant of *ke-u-po-da*, which appears with *e-sa-re-u* on Na 395, Na 527. It has been assumed that one word must be a name, the other a title. Killen (1995a.109–14) favours *e-sa-re-u* as the title; support comes from a new reading on KN U (*ex* X) 7768, where]*e-sa-re-ẓi-ja*[may be the work group of an *e-sa-re-u* (Melena 1999c.418–19, *contra Textos* 59). The parallelism with *qa-si-re-wi-ja* as the work group of a *qa-si-re-u* is persuasive. On **37** = KN *As*(*2*) 1517, workmen are said to be *o-pi e-sa-re-we to-ro-no-wo-ko*, '*chez* the chair-maker *e-sa-re-we*'. If this is a double title, rather than title and name, then *e-sa-re-u ke*(*-u*)*-po-da* could be one also. The dative *e-sa-re-we* also appears on PY Cn 1197.4, along with two personal names and *e-re-e-we*, which may likewise be a title rather than a name on **202** = Nn 831.4 (it is not rare to see names and titles in the same list, e.g. **208** = PY Jo 438). The genitive *ke-u-po-da-o* appears on KN C 1044, Dq(3) 442, and a feminine derivative *ke-u-po-de-ja* is also attested at Knossos. It has been suggested (*PoN* IV) that *ke* on Na 856 and 1041 is an abbreviation for *ke-u-po-da*, but more plausibly it may stand for *ke-ke-me-na* (*Documents*² 552; cf. Perna 2004.240).

196 = Na 248 (S106 H 1)

.a , e-re-u-te-ro
ta-mi-ta-na , ku-na-ke-ta-i *SA* 30

D/* *Ta-mi-ta-na*: free for the huntsmen (the land): 30 units of flax

197 = Na 252 (S106 H 1)

.A e-re-u-te-ra , *SA* 6
.B ri-jo , *SA* 24 to-sa-de , ka-ke-we ,

D/* Rhion: 24 units of flax; and so much free for the bronzesmith (the land): 6 units of flax

* *ri-jo*: one of the nine district centres in the Hither Province.
* *ka-ke-we*: probably dat. sing., the case usual with *e-re-u-te-ro* (*-ra*) (Foster 1981.96–98); cf. **196** = Na 248 where *ku-na-ke-ta-i* must be dat. plur.

198 = Na 520 (S106 H 1)
.A to-ị-qe , e-re-u-te-ra
.B] pu_2-te-re , ki-ti-je-si *SA* 30

D/* [Toponym]: the planters *inhabit*, and free for them (the land): 30 units of flax

D²/* *to-i̯-qe*: probably dat. plur. masc. of demonstrative, cf. *to-sa-de pe-i ke-u-po-d̤a̤ e̤-sa-re-u e-re-u-te-ro-se* on Na 395, where *pe-i* is likely to be dat. plur. *sphehi* (p. 246, Glossary p. 1006).

D/* *ki-ti-je-si*: related to the land designation *ki-ti-me-na*. The derivation of the verb from an original *κτεῖμι = κτίζω (cf. Skt. *kṣéti*) is due to Palmer (1954b.67). The two alternative meanings most often proposed for this verb in the Mycenaean documents are 'cultivate' (de Fidio 1987.145, from an original sense of 'inhabit'), and 'inhabit (on specific juridical terms)' (*Documents*² 470, Chadwick 1987.82; see pp. 682–83, and pp. 649–54 on **177** = Er 880). If Chadwick is right that the *e-ko-si* entries do not represent exemptions, then *a-ki-ti-to* on **200** = Na 926 cannot mean 'uncultivated', since 6 units of flax are due from the land, and the meaning 'inhabit' is preferable. If the *e-ko-si* entries do indicate exemptions, either sense is possible.

199 = Na 334 (S106 H 1)

.a wa-]na-ka , e-ke
e-re-]u-te-ra *SA* 20

* [Toponym]: the king holds free (the land): 20 units of flax

* The tablet was formerly joined to Na 1052 (*PTT*), but the two fragments have been shown to be incompatible (Bennett 1992.123).

* *wa-na-ka*: the king of Pylos also has a freeholding on Na 1013 and perhaps Na 1052, where *wa*[appears above *e-re*[. Those tablets are not sufficiently well preserved to show whether *e-ke* appeared there as well. Here at least the combination with *e-re-*]*u-te-ra* suggests that the king's holding is permanently free of obligation.

200 = Na 926 (S106 H 1)

.a , e-ke-de-mi , a_2-ku-mi-jo ,
pa-ka-a-ka-ri , a-ki-ti-to *SA* 6

D/* *Pa-ka-a-ka-ri*: *uninhabited*, and A_2. holds (the land): 6 units of flax

D/* *e-ke-de-mi*: *ekhei de min*, 'and he holds it', cf. *da-mo-de-mi* = *dāmos de min*, **142** = Ep 704.5.

* *a-ki-ti-to*: see above on **198** = Na 520.

201 = Na 406 (S106 H 1)

.A o-qe-[ ]si , *SA* 20
.B e-ko-me-no , di-wi-ja -ṷo̯ , e-ke , a-ki-ti-to

D²/* Erkhomenos: Diwyawon has *uninhabited*, and thus? he [gives?]: 20 units of flax

D²/* *o-qe-*[ ]*si*: a tantalising break, with room for two signs in the gap (*PoN* IV). Possibly *o-qe* represents *ho kwe* (ὅ τε), 'and he' (*Documents*² 473), or *hōs kʷe*, 'and thus' (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.145 n. 63). If the former, the verb must be athematic to end in *-si* in the 3rd person singular, so perhaps *o-qe-*[*di-do-*]*si* should be restored, *di-do-si* here being *didōsi*, 'he contributes'.

* *e-ko-me-no*: the toponym recurs on Na 941, the only instance when the same place-name appears twice in the series; it is possible that these are two different places.

D²/* *di-wi-ja-ṷọ*: Diwyāwōn, a name found at both Knossos (Vc 293, perhaps Xd 97) and Thebes (Ug 11).

* *a-ki-ti-to*: see above on **198** = Na 520.

D/* **202** = Nn 831 by Hand 1, the scribe of most of the *Na* tablets, shows an assessment of *SA* 45 for a single town (probably to be restored as *ko-ri-to*, cf. An 209, Ad 921), broken down among its inhabitants. Some are mentioned by name, some by occupation: the *ko-re-te* ('mayor') contributes more than half. Killen (1995a.120 n. 30, 1996a.147), following Foster (1981.91–93), has illuminated a connexion between Nn 831 and Na 1357, also by Hand 1. Neither toponym nor numbers are preserved on this tablet, which consists of four lines of *e-re-u-te-ra* entries. In line 1 the beneficiary is the god Hermes (or his estate); the following three entries concern three of the individuals mentioned on Nn 831: *e-po-me-ne-we*, *ka-ke-we* and *ko-re-te-re*. Though the tablet has four lines it is of the same basic size as the two-line *Na* tablets, with the bottom edge pinched out to make room for two extra lines. Killen suggests that it is in fact the *Na* tablet corresponding to Nn 831; the absence of Hermes from the latter tablet may be due to his estate receiving a total rather than a partial exemption, so that no tax at all remains to be paid. The unusually large number of exemptions could have prompted the scribe to compile the detailed record Nn 831, which shows the ability of the centre to gather quite detailed information at a local level when necessary.

202 = Nn 831 (S106 H 1)

.1 ko-ri[ ]no , ⟦ do-so-mọ ⟧
.2 u-re[ ] *SA* 4
.3 a-mo-ke-re-[ ] *SA* 1
.4 e-re-e-u [ ] *SA* 2
.5 qo-u-ko-ro [ ] *SA* 2
.6 a-ro-je-u [ ] *SA* 1 [
.7 a-mu-ta-wo [ ] *SA* 4
.8 e-po-me-ne-ṷ[ ] *SA* 4
.9 ko-re-te [ ] *SA* 24
.10 po-me-ne [ ] *SA* 2
.11 ka-ke-u[ ] *SA* 1
.12 *vac.* [ ] *vacat*
.13-.14 *vacant*

D/* Korinthos: flax, (assessment for) tax:
U.: 4 units of flax
A.: 1 unit of flax
the *ereheus / heleheus*: 2 units of flax

the oxherd(s): 2 units of flax
Aloieus: 1 unit of flax
Amuthawon: 4 units of flax
Hepomeneus: 4 units of flax
the mayor: 24 units of flax
the shepherds: 2 units of flax
the smith: 1 unit of flax

D²/* *ko-ri*[ ]*no*: *ko-ri*[-*to* , *ri*-]*no* probable. The restoration *ko-ri*[-*ja-do*-]*no* (Palmer, *Interpretation* 310–11) is to be rejected. Two signs alone, without a word divider, would not fill the lacuna, and the name of a spice matches ill with *SA* = flax. It is true that *ko-ri-to* does not occur on any of the surviving *Na* tablets; but there is no objection to a place-name as the heading for a tablet of this sort. The toponym is not to be identified with the Corinth on the Isthmus. It appears on PY Ad 921, which Bennett associates with the Further Province set, though the corresponding *Aa* tablet does not survive (*Gif Colloquium* 134, Chadwick 1988.86); however, the rationale that the corresponding *Ab* tablet ought to have survived if the place were in the Hither Province is not strong (Sainer 1976.43).

* ⟦*do-so-ṃọ*⟧: though shown above as erased, this was possibly part of the actual text. Whether or not it was erased, the term is entirely appropriate to the context, since the total of 45 units and the absence of deficits make it clear that this tablet records an assessment for contributions, not actual payments. For the sense of *do-so-mo*, *dosmos* '(assessment for) payment', as opposed to *a-pu-do-si*, *apudosis* '(actual) payment', see Duhoux, *Aspects* 160–61.

* *u-re*[: most likely a personal name (cf. MN *u-re-u* on PY Vn 865), though an otherwise unattested occupational term is also possible.

* *a-mo-ke-re*-[: restore as *a-mo-ke-re-we*, viz. MN in -*klewēs*? Cf. MN]*mo-ke-re-we-i* on PY Fn 324.2.

* *e-re-e-u*: more likely an occupational term or official title (Ruipérez 1963, Palaima 1991.301–04, Killen 2007b) than a personal name derived from an ethnic (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.130, Nakassis 2013.250–51) or, on Jn 881.1, an ethnic proper. Ruipérez and Palaima interpret as *ereheus*, a term with the same root as *e-re-e* 'to row', *e-re-ta*, 'rower', which they render respectively as 'helmsman' and 'official in charge of rowers'; Killen suggests *heleheus* < *helos*, 'marsh', 'official concerned with marshland'.

* *a-mu-ta-wo*: the name recurs on PY Jn 431, and also at Knossos (V(3) 756) and Thebes (Ug 9).

* *e-po-me-ne-ṵ*[: the name recurs in the dative on PY Vn 851.6 as well as on Na 1357.

D/D²/* **203** = Nn 228 is a record of the deficit shown by the *SA* deliveries of nine places. The corresponding *Na* tablets are as follows:

u-ka-jo	*SA* 20			
ro-o-wa	*SA* 35	Na 568?	]*wa*	*SA* 20 + 50 exempt
pu$_2$-*ra*$_2$-*a-ke-re-u*	*SA* 10	Na 425	*pu*$_2$-*ra*$_2$-*a-ki-ri-jo*	*SA* 27 + 3 exempt
ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na	*SA* 5	Na 70?	*ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na*[	

di-wi-ja-ta	*SA* 60			
a-pi-no-e-wi-jo	*SA* 28	Na 58	*a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*[	
po-ra-pi	*SA* 10	Na 529?	]*pi*	*SA* 18 + 22 exempt
		Xa 432?	*po-ra-*[	
e-na-po-ro	*SA* 33	Na 1027	*e-na-po-ro*	*SA* 70
te-tu-ru-we	*SA* 38	Na 1054	*te-tu-ru-we*	*SA* 42̣ + [exempt

D²/* The number of *SA* is always smaller than the target (total assessment minus exemptions) of the *Na* tablets. Thus if **203** = Nn 228 is a record of deficits that have arisen in the current year, the difference must be the actual deliveries received. Unless it refers to a previous year's shortfall, like the *perusinwon ophelos* entries on the *Ma* tablets (for this possibility, see Foster 1981.71), the *ro-o-wa* entry in l. 2 (*SA* 35) cannot correspond to **195** = Na 568 ( ]*wa*), which shows a current year's target of only 20 *SA*. The toponym *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* is better identified with *ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na* on Na 70 than with the simple *ke-i-jo* of Na 577. *Ke-i-jo* (cf. *ke-i-ja*, Qa 1303) is clearly an adjectival form of *ke-e* (Aa 93, Ad 295) which is known to lie in the Further Province, whereas all the other place-names on Nn 228 that can be assigned to provinces are in the Hither Province. Hence it seems probable that *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* (though a similar adjective qualifying *krānā* = κρήνη 'spring') and *ke-i-jo* are two different places, both producing flax; it is notable that *ke-e* is shown by Ad 295 to be the home of *ri-ne-ja-o* = *lineiāōn*, 'flax workers'. *Po-ra-pi* might be matched with Na 529, though the ending *-pi* is not uncommon in place-names (Perna 2004.211 n. 305) and indeed occurs several times in the *Na* series. Another possible match is with Xa 432 of Ci, which might be associated with the *Na* series on the basis of its size, shape, find-place and format (*PoN* IV). Several of the places listed on this tablet are shown by their associations to be in the southern part of the Hither Province; on *ro-o-wa* see pp. 476–77; and *e-na-po-ro* is located between *a-ke-re-wa* and *ka-ra-do-ro*, sixth and eighth of the nine district centres (p. 666) by **59** = An 661.3. Some of the names also reappear on *Mb* or *Mn* tablets, associated with the ideogram **146*, three of them on Mn 1408 (*ro-o-wa* Mn 1370.2, 1408.1, *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* **190** = Mb 1396, *po-ra-pi* Mn 1408.2, *e-na-po-ro* Mb 1435, restored on Mn 1408.4).

203 = Nn 228 (S106 H 1)

.1 o-o-pe-ro-si , ri-no , o-pe-ro
.2 u-ka-jo , *SA* 20 ro-o-wa , *SA* 35
.3 pu$_2$-ra$_2$-a-ke-re-u , *SA* 10 ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na
.4 *SA* 5 di-wi-ja-ta , *SA* 60
.5 a-pi-no-e-wi-jo *SA* 28
.6 po-ra-pi , *SA* 10 e-na-po-ro , *SA* 33
.7 te-tu-ru-we *SA* 38
.8-.14 *vacant*

D/* Thus they owe flax, debt:
U-ka-jo 20 units of flax
Ro-o-wa 35 units of flax
etc.

The series closes with the two *Ng* tablets, also by Hand 1, which represent a cumulative total of all the assessments for each province (targets in line 1 plus exemptions in line 2). The alternative (de Fidio 1982.107–11) that the book-keeping system of the two *Ng* tablets differs from that of the *Na* series and copies that of the *Ma* tablets, such that the figures in line 1 *include* the exemptions of line 2, is much less attractive. As Lejeune observes (*Mémoires* I.135 n. 24), the largest figure possible on **205** = Ng 332.1 is 899, since the scribe would in all likelihood have written any larger number with three registers of circular hundred units, rather than the existing two. Thus the possible range of total targets is 1439 (1239 + 200) to 2138 (1239 + 899). These figures may be compared with the surviving target total in the *Na* series, which as we saw is 1136 *SA*, or 1310 *SA* if one includes the *e-ke* / *e-ko-si* entries. The *Na* exemptions (349 *SA*, or 523 *SA* if one includes the *e-ke* / *e-ko-si* entries) cannot be compared, since the figure for the Further Province is missing altogether on **205** = Ng 332. VC's suggestion (*Documents*[1] 298) that it be restored in proportion with **204** = Ng 319.2 is not really justifiable; given the variety of exemptions, there is no reason to think that the two provinces would receive equal relief in any given year.

204 = Ng 319 (S106 H 1)

.1 de-we-ro-a_3-ko-ra-i-ja *SA* 1239
.2 to-sa-de , o-u-di-do-to *SA* 457

D/* Those from the region on this side of Aigolaion: 1239 units of flax
and so many are not given: 457 units of flax

D/D[2] *de-we-ro-*: it is not clear whether the pronunciation was *dewero*, or whether *we* is here a spelling for *u* (see p. 118). Classical δεῦρο is not found in the sense 'on this side of'. But cf. Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 665 τὰ τῇδε καὶ τὰ δεῦρο, Aristotle, *Metaph.* I, 9.20 τὰ δεῦρο, 'objects near enough to be sensible'.

* *a_3-ko-ra-i-ja*: the identification with Mt. Aigaleon, the mountain that bisects Messenia from northwest to southeast (Strabo VIII, 4.2) is generally accepted (p. 262, **342** = On 300). The provincial name is restored on Wa 948, without context.

D/* *o-u-di-do-to*: probably singular, *tos(s)a de ou didotoi*, agreeing with the implied neuter plural subject (e.g. 'bundles'); a feminine subject is less likely.

205 = Ng 332 (S106 H 1)

.1 pe-ra_3-ko-ra-i-ja , *SA* 200[
.2 to-sa-de , o-u-di-do-to *ṢA*[

D/* Those from beyond Aigolaion: 200[+] units of flax
and so many are not given: [ ] units of flax

D/* *pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja*: this provincial name appears also on Wa 114, in the variant *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja* on Pa 398, and the masc. nom. plur. ethnic *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* on **342** = On 300.8. Cf. *Il.* II, 626 πέρην ἁλός, ἡ Περαία, 'land on the other side (of a river or sea)', etc.; Skt. *parā*, 'away!' (cf. δεῦρο, 'here!'). For the details of the structure of the word, see Chadwick 1963.137–38.

3. MISCELLANEOUS TAXATION RECORDS AT PYLOS (Cn, Jn, Jo)[b]

* A few other records at Pylos also have a bearing on the system of taxation, though they inform us on other topics as well. **206** = Cn 608 records pigs to be fattened for contribution in the nine districts of the Hither Province. **207** = Jn 829 lists the district centres in both provinces, in connexion with contributions of bronze from local officials. **208** = Jo 438 is a more eclectic and diverse document, requisitioning gold from a variety of local elites.

* **206** = Cn 608 by Hand 1 lists the nine districts, or district centres, of the Hither Province, in the standard north-to-south order also seen on **207** = Jn 829. The heading states that the 'residents' of each *dāmos*, or local community, 'will fatten' hogs. The relative figures are in roughly the same proportions as on the *Ma* tablets (pp. 666–67, Table): thus *pe-to-no* fattens 6 hogs, twice as many as *me-ta-pa* and *pi-*82* at 3 each. **97** = Vn 20, a record of wine allocated by the palace to the nine districts, shows the same similarity of district proportions again. The persistent relationship, applying to both incoming and outgoing goods, may be fundamental to the Pylian economic system (Shelmerdine 1973.275, contra Perna 2004.203–07). De Fidio (1982.106–07) takes the parallelism a step further, bringing both of these tablets into her proposed system of standardised tax reductions deduced from the *Ma* series. For **206** = Cn 608 she suggests a taxation unit of 1/3 hog, with an original figure of 30 hogs for the province. The actual figure of 25 hogs represents a reduction of 2 taxation units (2/3 hog), not 3 as in the *Ma* series; the reduction is calculated on the basis of nine districts but applied to just five of them. The numerical discrepancies are compounded by the awkwardness of dealing with fractional hogs, however, and it is not necessary to assume that the same system of reductions applied universally to the fiscal processes of the state (Shelmerdine 1989.136–37, Perna 2004.206,

[b] **206** = Cn 608: *Documents*[1] 205–06, *Textos* 33. **207** = Jn 829: *Documents*[1] 357–58, *Documents*[2] 511–14, *Interpretation* 281–84, *Textos* 52–53. **208** = Jo 438: *Documents*[1] 358–59; *Documents*[2] 514, *Interpretation* 287–89, *Textos* 53–54. Studies: **206** = Cn 608: de Fidio 1982.106–07, Shelmerdine 1989.136–37, Perna 2004.203–07, 269. **207** = Jn 829: Duhoux, *Aspects* 185–88, de Fidio 1982.100–01, 115–16, Smith 1995.205–09, Killen 1996a, Hiller and Panagl 2002, Perna 2004.263–67 2005b. **208** = Jo 438: Chadwick 1979, 2002.

de Fidio this volume), since they might reasonably be thought to change in any given year depending on particular needs or conditions.

206 = Cn 608 (S608 H 1)

.1 jo-a-se-so-si , si-a_2-ro
.2 o-pi-da-mi-jo
.3 pi-*82 SUS+*SI* 3
.4 me-ta-pa SUS+*SI* 3
.5 pe-to-no SUS+*SI* 6
.6 pa-ki-ja-si SUS+*SI* 2
.7 a-pu_2-we SUS+*SI* 2
.8 a-ke-re-wa SUS+*SI* 2
.9 e-ra-te-i SUS+*SI* 3
.10 ka-ra-do-ro SUS+*SI* 2
.11 ri-jo SUS+*SI* 2

D/* Thus the residents of the *dāmoi* will fatten fattened hogs:
at *pi-*82*: 3 fattened hogs
etc.

D/D²/* *jo-a-se-so-si*: an example of *jo-* = *o-*, *hō-*, 'thus', cf. *jo-do-so-si* **207** = Jn 829. This spelling is hardly to be regarded as due to preservation of the initial *j-* of Indo-European; it alternates with simple *o-*. The best suggestion for the verb is still *asēsonsi*, future of ἄω (Palmer 1954a.19–22, cf. *Il.* V, 289+ ἆσαι); the ordinary future is ἄσω so a special formation must be supposed.

D²/* *si-a_2-ro*: *sihalo(n)s*, 'fattened hog' (cf. σίαλος *Il.* XXI, 363+). The adjunct *SI* to the ideogram seems to duplicate the word.

D²/* *o-pi-da-mi-jo*: *opidāmioi*, 'residents of the *dāmos*' (cf. ἐπιδήμιος, *Od.* I, 194+); cf. **42** = An 830.12. The *dāmos* is the community of each district, with authority over landholdings (pp. 296–97). For *opi-* = *epi-*, see p. 247.

* *pa-ki-ja-si*: the locative ending of this word and *e-ra-te-i* indicates the case of the other entries as well.

* *e-ra-te-i*: equivalent to *ro-u-so* in the *Ma* series and on **207** = Jn 829.

D²/* **207** = Jn 829 is a list of contributions of quantities of bronze made by the local officials of the sixteen districts into which the Pylian state is divided. Unlike the other *Jn* tablets, therefore, it is best considered along with documents pertaining to taxation and other obligatory contributions. This tablet also provides the fullest and best-preserved list of those districts, which recurs on **206** = Cn 608 and **97** = Vn 20 (Hither Province only), Vn 493 and **342** = On 300 (both provinces), and which offers evidence for Pylian geography (pp. 262–63).

D²/* Several questions about the tablet still remain under discussion:

(1) Why are the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*, who alone actually contribute, accompanied in the preamble by other officials?
(2) What is the structure of line 3, and what does *na-wi-jo* mean?
(3) Why is the total amount contributed, 50 kg, so small in relation to the quantities distributed (pp. 695–96)?

* As to the first question, JC (*Documents*[2] 511–12) suggests that *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te* are generic titles, to which the other more specific titles are alternatives: *du-ma* to *ko-re-te*, the rest to *po-ro-ko-re-te*. His analogy is to Cambridge and Oxford colleges, where the senior official may be called Master, Provost, Warden, etc. However, elsewhere at Pylos *ko-re-te-re* and *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* are identified by place-name (e.g. **208** = Jo 438.12, 19), and the personal name only occasionally given (as on **340** = Aq 64.6), suggesting that the office rather than the person is important. By contrast, officials like the *du-ma* and *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* are identified by name, with a toponym only occasionally included (e.g. *du-ma* on An 192.3, by restoration on **208** = Jo 438 *lat. sin.*; *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* on **148** = Eb 338.1 / **142** = Ep 704.7). It seems therefore that in these cases the person carries the importance himself or herself, and that such offices are not comparable to the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*. Palmer (*Interpretation* 283) offers a different possibility, that Jn 829 was the first tablet in a set, and other tablets listed the contributions of the other officials. Though lost, these might have resembled Jn 881, which has an entry for *o-pi-su-ko*, as well as other officials not included on Jn 829. Against this possibility, as will be discussed on p. 696, is the even distribution of the total between the two provinces: 99 N for the Hither and 101 N for the Further, which may well represent the total amount requisitioned.

D[2]/* Line 3 clearly contains the object of the verb *dōsonsi*: *ka-ko* = *khalkon* represented by the ideogram AES in the entries below; cf. *to-so-de ka-ko* AES in **215** = Jn 389.9. *Na-wi-jo* has every appearance of being an epithet to *ka-ko*. A_3*-ka-sa-ma* can hardly be genitive, dative or instrumental plural, which would require an extra syllable, and nominative is excluded by sense and syntax; it is therefore accusative *aiksmans*, 'points'. The question thus emerges whether the sequence *-qe…-qe* in *pa-ta-jo-i-qe e-ke-si-qe* is a 'double' use = 'both … and' or two separate connectives, the first coupling *ka-ko* with a_3*-ka-sa-ma* (and its attributive datives), the second linking the two datives. The 'double' use is rare, but not unknown, in Mycenaean (Ruijgh, *Études* 290, 297, 305, 309). Ruijgh himself (*Études* 309) prefers the second explanation of the present sentence. But JC (*Documents*[2] 512) follows Palmer (*Interpretation* 283) in adopting the first, taking *aiksmans* in apposition to *khalkon*, 'bronze as points for arrows and spears'.

D[2]/* Support for this interpretation is to be found in **249** = PY Ub 1318, where several entries list the finished article in apposition to the raw material, sometimes with a dative or genitive appended. E.g. *wi-ri-no we-ru-ma-ta ti-ri-si ze-u-ke-si* 1, 'a rawhide as coverings for three pairs'; *o-pi-de-so-mo ka-tu-ro*$_2$ *di-pte-ra* 4, 'four

skins as bindings of pack-saddles'. These are not exact parallels, but are sufficiently like *ka-ko…a_3-ka-sa-ma* to justify the translation 'bronze … as points' (i.e. to make points).

D²/* The problem remains of how to translate *ka-ko na-wi-jo*: as 'ship bronze' or 'temple bronze' (references and other alternatives in *DMic*, Del Freo 2005b). Early preference was for the former (*Documents*[1] 357–58, though Chadwick (357–58) prefers 'temple bronze'). It is true that no adjective from ναός, 'temple' is found in Classical Greek, whereas νάϊος (Ion. νήϊος) from ναῦς, 'ship' is well known; but if an adjective from ναός < **naswos* existed it too would have had the Mycenaean form *nāwios*. Nor is the rarity of freestanding Mycenaean temples a serious objection; for the name need not imply a building or even a special room where religious ceremonies were performed. Shrines of various kinds are known on the mainland, including house shrines (Hägg 1996, Shelmerdine 2001.362–69), adduced by JC (*Documents*[2] 513) to support the suggestion that the bronze contributions recorded here might be scrap from the house shrines of the mayors and vice-mayors, and that the other officials mentioned in the preamble might not have had enough wealth and status to possess such a shrine. Since some at least of the officials in lines 1–2 have religious associations, however, it would be easier to imagine these functionaries cooperating with the mayors and vice-mayors to move the bronze out of a sanctuary's supply and make it available for contribution to the centre (Palaima 2008.350–52).

* This interpretation of the word *na-wi-jo* has had widespread support in recent years, but Del Freo (2005b) resurrects the proposal that it relates instead to ships. He raises several objections to the 'temple bronze' hypothesis, including the difficulty of imagining mayors and vice-mayors with their own private shrines, and the fact that this requisition, and the general fiscal principle behind it (see p. 696), applies to whole districts, not specifically religious establishments. He suggests instead that *ka-ko na-wi-jo* means 'bronze (destined) for ships', arguing that the adjective could indicate not only possession but also destination, and adducing the Classical parallels δόρυ νήϊον, 'wood for ships' (*Il.* III, 62+) and ἄνδρες νάϊοι, 'marines' (Aesch. *Supp.* 719). On this view Jn 829 would be a requisition of bronze for spear and javelin points destined for ships. This hypothesis faces the difficulty that δόρυ νήϊον means 'wood for constructing ships', not 'wood for use aboard ship', and that Aeschylus' phrase is poetic rather than practical. The interpretation 'temple bronze' still seems more probable.

* Finally, we turn to the third question above: why this contribution is so small. Del Freo (2005b.802, cf. *Documents*[1] 356) estimates on archaeological evidence that the 50 kg requisitioned here could make 200–300 spear and javelin points (cf. the entry *tụ-*[ ]*pa-tạ-jo* 200 on Vn 1341.7). JC (*Documents*[2] 513) regards the bronze as scrap, and connects the small quantities with a presumed shortage in the *Jn* series generally. Copper and tin had to be imported from Cyprus or

elsewhere, and would plausibly be conserved in scrap form for reuse. It is true, furthermore, that Mycenaean trade was severely curtailed during the latter part of the thirteenth century B.C., so that elites might well look to local supplies of smelted bronze to replace the raw material no longer readily available. However, the notion that the Pylos tablets reflect a state of *military* (rather than economic) emergency no longer finds much favour (pp. 22–23, Palaima 1995b). In any case, such a shortage is unlikely to be reflected in the small allocations of the *Jn* series. It is becoming clearer that smiths did not necessarily work for the palace full time, and indeed must have had other customers, so that the amounts allocated to them in the *Jn* series need not indicate constrained circumstances (Shelmerdine 2006.82, Nakassis 2008, 2013, e.g. 169–70). Indeed, the smiths without allotment may be so not because bronze was in short supply but because there was no urgent work required by the centre.

* We must also consider Jn 829 as a record of tax contributions. The detailed preamble mentions not only the contributors but the purpose of the requisition, a point that suggests this is not a recurrent event, annual or otherwise (a possibility suggested by Hiller 1972.62), but one imposed for a specific reason. One might therefore call this collection an obligatory contribution but not strictly speaking a tax. The method of assessment nevertheless shows an interesting connexion to that of the *Ma* series, which was written by the same scribe. This is clear from two astute observations brought together by Killen. The first is de Fidio's (1982.100–01): that the assessments for the two provinces are nearly equal, 99 N for the Hither and 101 N for the Further, and would have been 100 N each except that 99 N is evenly divisible among the nine districts of the Hither Province (11 N each). The second is Killen's own (1996a.148): three of the Further Province districts also contribute 11 N each, but four give additional amounts. As Killen saw, each of the four belongs to a different one of the four sub-groupings discerned for the Province (pp. 666–67): *ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$ to IIa1, *za-ma-e-wi-ja* to IIa2, *sa-ma-ra* to IIb1 and *e-re-i* = *a-te-re-wi-ja* to IIb2. Each of these centres with higher assessments in turn has a lower assessment in the *Ma* series than its group-mates, so that its various burdens are equalised overall. *Ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$, for example, is alone in its sub-grouping, and has the largest individual *Ma* assessment; in turn it gives the smallest extra amount on Jn 829. Thus, although the occasion for this collection is not likely to be a regularly recurring one like the *Ma* series annual assessment, the figures on Jn 829 support both the top-down theory of palatial assessments and the existence of sub-groupings (above, this page). This document reinforces the view that a coherent fiscal system prevailed across different kinds of fiscal transactions in the Pylian state, as suggested also for **206** = Cn 608 and **97** = Vn 20. Killen further notes that an assessment of approximately 100 units per province comports well with de Fidio's theory (1982.101) that the original *Ma* series assessment before reductions

was 100 units per province (in the ratios 3.5 : 3.5 etc.); though it is possible that this bronze requisition is a multiple of an annual assessment of 50 units per province (in the ratios 7 : 7 etc.).

207 = Jn 829 (S310 H 2)

.1 jo-do-so-si , ko-re-te-re , du-ma-te-qe ,
.a -e-we-qe
.2 po-ro-ko-re-te-re-qe , ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe , o-pi-su-ko-qe , o-pi-ka-pe-
.3 ka-ko , na-wi-jo , pa-ta-jo-i-qe , e-ke-si-qe , a_3-ka-sa-ma
.4 pi-*82 , ko-re-te , AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.5 me-ta-pa , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3[ ] *vacat*
.6 pe-to-no , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.7 pa-ki-ja-pi , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.8 a-pu_2-we , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.9 ạ-ke-re-wa , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.10 ṛọ-ụ-so , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.11 ḳạ-ra-do-ro , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.12 ri-]jọ , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.13 ṭị-mi-to-a-ke-e , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.14 ra-]wa-ra-ta_2 , ko-re-te AES M 2 N 3 po-ro-ko-re-te AES N 3
.15 sa-]ma-ra , ko-re-te AES M 3 N 3 po-ro-ko-re-te N 3
.16 a-si-ja-ti-ja⌊ ⌋ḳọ-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te N 3
.17 e-ra-te-re-wa-pi , ko-re-te AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te N 3
.18 za-ma-e-wi-ja , ḳọ-re-te AES M 3 N 3̣ po-ro-ko-re-te N 3
.19 e-re-i , ko-re-te AES M 3 N 3̣ po-ro-ko-re-te N 3
.20–.22 *vacant*

D/* Thus the mayors and the *d.* and the vice-mayors and the key bearers and the fig overseers and the *o.* will give *temple* bronze as points for spears and javelins:

*Pi-*82*, the mayor: 2 kg bronze; the vice-mayor: 750 kg bronze
etc.
(total: mayors: 152 N = 38 kg; vice-mayors: 48 N = 12 kg)
(total: Hither Province: 99 N = 24.75 kg; Further Province: 101 N = 25.25 kg)

* *jo-do-so-si*: *jo-* = *hō-*, 'thus', cf. *jo-a-se-so-si* on **206** = Cn 608; also written *o-*.

D/* *ko-re-te-re*: the *ko-re-te* appears to be the 'mayor' responsible for each of the major districts (cf. **340** = Aq 64, **342** = On 300), and of other districts as well (cf. **202** = Nn 831, **208** = Jo 438.21). For the formation, see Glossary, and pp. 295–96. The *po-ro-ko-re-te* is probably his deputy; the two also occur together on KN V(6) 865.

* *du-ma-te*: *dumartes*; this official title appears at both Pylos and Knossos; *da-ma-te* (**121** = En 609.1) is probably not a variant (see p. 593). The meaning is not clear but there is also a more specific compound, *me-ri-du-ma-te* associated with honey, as well as the deputy *po-ro-du-ma-te*. See Glossary.

* *ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe*: *klāwiphoroi-k^{w}e*, 'and key-bearers', a feminine title that appears several times at Pylos. Its religious nature is clear from **142** = Ep 704.7.

D/D^2/* *o-pi-su-ko-qe*: *opisukoi-k^{w}e*, 'and fig overseers'. They are named with the *o-pi-ko-wo* (= *e-pi-ko-wo*, 'guards'?) and *ke-ro-te* = *gerontes* on Jn 881: 'guardians of fig-trees'? 'overseers of figs'? The presence of figs in rations (*Ab* series) may be significant.

D^2/* *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we-qe*: may be related to σκάφος rather than σκάφη, but in what sense the word is used is unclear. The meaning 'superintendents of boats' would comport well with Del Freo's suggestion (2005b) that the bronze is to be supplied to ships.

D^2/* *pa-ta-jo-i-qe*: *paltaioihi-k^{w}e*, 'and javelins' (cf. Classical πάλλω, 'brandish' and παλτόν, 'javelin', 'dart'). The word *pa-ta-ja* also appears on the sealings **275** = KN Ws 1704, Ws 1705 and Ws 8495. These were found in the Arsenal, the first two certainly with the carbonised remains of two wooden boxes of arrowheads (Evans, *PoM* IV.617, 836–40). The translation 'arrows' (*Documents*^{1} 358) was rightly abandoned; the ideogram JAC accompanying the nom. *pa-ta-ja* on KN Ws 1704 and Ws 8495 does not resemble the clear SAG ideogram on KN R 4482, found in the same deposit in the Arsenal, which has a feathered flight at the rear end (*Documents*^{2} 513; Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 58–59 discuss both possibilities). The boxes, sealings and tablet were not *in situ* but had fallen from an upper storey, and the military associations of the Arsenal are not restricted to arrows. At Pylos, the form *pa-ta-jo*, *paltaiōn* appears on Wr 1480.β, probably gen. plur. with the word *d̥o̯-ka-ma*, *dorkhmai*, 'handles' or 'shafts' (cf. δράσσομαι 'grasp', δράχμη 'handful') on Wr 1480.γ (Shelmerdine and Bennet 1995). This sealing may indicate a delivery of wooden javelin shafts, to be joined in due course to the bronze points that are to be made from the bronze requisitioned here.

This translation of course raises the old question of whether the Mycenaeans made use of light throwing spears as well as the heavy thrusting spear, which is well attested by the large bronze spear-heads recovered. Both types in fact are well documented in artifactual and iconographic evidence (Höckmann 1980a, b; discussion and further references in Del Freo 2005b.794–95, Bernabé 2007.29–30).

* *e-ke-si-qe*: dat. plur. *enkhes(s)i*, 'spears', a noun associated (as restored) with the ideogram HAS on **274** = KN R 1815 (cf. Classical ἔγχος).

* *e-re-i*: locative *Helehi*, perhaps = Ἕλος, though not necessarily the same place as that referred to in *Il.* II, 594. *A-te-re-wi-ja* and *e-sa-re-wi-ja* appear in place of *e-re-i* in the *Ma* series (**181** = Ma 330, Ma 335). *E-sa-re-wi-ja* is shown by **342** = On 300 to belong to the Further Province, and *a-te-re-wi-ja* is associated with it on **42** = An 830. The variant *e-re-e* appears on **208** = Jo 438.

D/D^2/* **208** = Jo 438 probably represents a requisition of gold from the local officials (*g^{w}asileus*, *ko-re-te*, *mo-ro-qa*, etc.) of surrounding places. The heading remains enigmatic, even now that a fragment has completed the word at the end of line 1 as *ko-re-te*; we might have expected a plural on the analogy of **207** = Jn 829. However, Chadwick's concern about this join (2002.36) is unfounded.

D/D^2/* The regularity of the figures might suggest that assessments are being recorded, rather than contributions (Chadwick 2002.33). The significance of the check marks on the *lat. dex.* and *lat. sin.* is not clear; might they indicate amounts actually received? The recognisable toponyms include a number of district centres,

though not in the precise order of **207** = Jn 829 and **342** = On 300. These are printed in capitals for easier reference. It is significant that the quantity of gold in line 2 is twice the next largest contribution; some high official must have been named here. Apart from line 2, the amounts of gold (including the *lat. sin.*) show the following distribution:

P 3	P 4	P 5	P 6	N 1	N 2
4	2	4	5	8	1

The weight unit P is approximately 20.8 g. It is significant that the plain gold rings and coils of gold wire from the Mycenae Acropolis treasure, in which Schliemann and Ridgeway long ago proposed to recognise standard units of value, centre on weights of 21–22 g and 41–43 g (as reweighed for Thomas 1939.72–74). Their common material is not enough reason to think that the gold requisitioned here will be fashioned into the gold vessels listed on **309** = PY Tn 316 (*Documents*[1] 359). Webster pointed out that the amounts fall within the range of weights shown by cups from the Mycenae shaft graves; but one would expect a considerable interval of time for the craftsmen to convert the raw material into the finished vessels.

D/D[2]/* The entries vary, some referring to individuals by name, some to individuals by name and title, some to toponyms and titles, some to toponyms alone. Except in the case of *te-po-se-u* in line 21, however (see p. 700), the title *ko-re-te* always appears just with the toponym of a district centre; the position was important in this context but the name was not. In lines 25–26 with toponym only it would seem likely that the title *ko-re-te* must be understood (see further below, this page). In line 4 the title *po-ro-ko-re-te* stands alone without a toponym, unless, exceptionally, one followed it (Chadwick 2002.35). It may be that line 3 contained a place-name, with or without the title *ko-re-te*, and that line 4 was understood to apply to the same place. Some of the personalities are common to **340** = Aq 64. Aq 64.5 shows that the *ko-re-te* of *i-te-re-wa* (l. 25) was called *Klumenos* and held the rank of *mo-ro-qa*; he commands an *o-ka* on **56** = An 654. It does not necessarily follow, however, that 'the three men here named as *mo-ro-qa* (lines 5, 6, 17) were the *ko-re-te-re* of their local districts' (*Documents*[2] 514). Whereas, as just noted, *ko-re-te-re* always appear elsewhere on the tablet with a toponym, suggesting that the office rather than the person was important, in these three lines the identity of the individual takes priority. The broken word ending]*ma* (lines 15, 16 and *lat. sin.*) may have been *du-ma*, 'superintendent', cf. *du-ma-te* in **207** = Jn 829. The title *qa-si-re-u* also fits this context well enough. The term *g*^{w}*asileus*, 'chief' usually describes the head of a work-group (PY Jn 431, etc.), but two such groups appear with a *lāwāgesian* group on **36** = KN As(2) 1516, which may imply a relatively high status for this official (pp. 297–98). *Ne-da-wa-ta* (line 7) is

the commander of an *o-ka* in the north of the state on **55** = An 657, and *e-ke-me-de* (line 8) is the first of his subordinate officers; they were perhaps officials of one of the northern districts, though not likely the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te* (*Documents*[2] 514). *Po-ki-ro-qo* (line 22) is an officer in the *o-ka* of *ta-ti-qo-we-wo* on **56** = An 654; on **340** = Aq 64 he has the title *e-qe-o a-to-mo* (cf. the *lat. sin.*, and *e-qe-a-o a-to-mo* on KN V(1) 56). *Au-ke-wa*, *Augewās* is the *da-mo-ko-ro* appointed by the king on **258** = Ta 711. *Te-po-se-u* (line 21) is the *ti-nwa-si-jo ko-re-te*. His contribution of N 1 is equivalent to that of *Augewās* and larger than that of other *ko-re-te* on this tablet (P 5 or P 6). This entry is also exceptional in that it does not concern a district centre, and that the personal name is given. The same name appears on **342** = On 300.12, at the end of the section on the Further Province; in the corresponding position for the Hither Province is the entry *da-mo-ko-ro*. It is possible, therefore, that *te-po-se-u* is *da-mo-ko-ro* of the Further Province (Palaima 1995b.631), and perhaps a very recent appointee, in transition from his position as *ko-re-te*. A simpler explanation, however, would be that he is named on **208** = Jo 438 precisely because **ti-nwa-to* is not one of the seven districts of the Further Province. Chadwick (1988.83) suggests it may be a 'frontier area', or even 'an overseas possession' since women from there are the only ones apart from clear foreigners to be referred to by an ethnic in the *Aa*, *Ab*, *Ad* series.

208 = Jo 438 (Ci)

Recto			*Latus dextrum*
Φ			
.1		]ko-re-te	
.2	]-ḳọ[	]AUR M 1	
.3	e-re-[	]AUR N 1	
.4	po-ro-ko-re[-te	]AU̯R N 2	
.5	do-ri-ka-o , mo-ṛọ[-qa	AUR]N 1	
.6	ru-ro , mo-ro-qa	AUR [ ] 1	
.7	ne-da-wa-ta	AUR [ ]	
.8	e-ke-me-de	AUR N[ ]	
.9	RO-]U̯-SO , ko-re-te	AUR P ⌊4[ ]	
.10	PA-KI-JA-NI-JA̯ [ko-]ṛẹ-ṭẹ[ ]	AUR P 4[ ]	X
.11	A-PU$_2$-JA , ko-ṛẹ-ṭẹ[ ]	AUR P 5	
.12	KA-RA-DO-RO , ko-re-ṭẹ[ ]	AUR P 5	X
.13	]ḳọ-re-ṭẹ[ ]	AUR P 5	X
.14	]	AUR N 1	
.15	]ma	AUR P 6	X
.16	wo-no[ ]ma	AUR N 1	

.17	qo-wo[ ]mo-ṛọ[-qa]	AUR N 1	
.18	a-ka-wo	AUR P 3	X
.19	E-RE-E , po-ro-ko-re-te	AUR P 3	X
.20	a-ke-ro , qa-si-re-u	AUR P 3	X
.21	te-po-se-u , TI-NWA-SI-JO ko-re-te	AUR N 1	
.22	po-ki-ro-qo	AUR N 1	
.23	au-ke-wa	AUR N 1	
.24	TI-MI-TI-JA , ko-re-te	AUR P 6	
.25	I-TE-RE-WA	AUR P 6	X
.26	PI-*82	AUR P 6	X
.27	E-RA-TE-RE-WA-O , ko-re-te	AUR P 6	
.28	A-KE-RE-WA , ko-re-te	AUR P 5[ ]	X

Ψ

Latus sinistrum

po-so-ri-jo [ ]ma AUR P X [ ]-jo a-to-mo AUR P 3 X

φ Ψ

Fragmentum separatum

.1~ .14]*vest.*[

.2~ .15]ki[

D² *a-ke-ro*: more likely a man's name than gen. plur. *angelōn*.

* *po-so-ri-jo*: in the gen. case *po-so-ri-jo-no* on **340** = Aq 64.7 (probably to be taken with *te-ra-ni-ja*). A smith named *po-so-ri-jo* appears on Jn 601.12.

D²/* *a-to-mo*: probably a title (Olivier in Killen and Olivier 1966.63), rather than a collective noun *arthmos*, 'guild of craftsmen' (*Documents*² Glossary), since the entries consistently refer to individuals and the size of the contribution is right for one official. The title also appears on KN C(3) 979, where the other members of the set have *du-ma* (C(3) 1030, 1039, 7057?) and *da-mo-ko-ro* (C(3) 7058, 7793).

4. THE KNOSSOS Mc SERIES[b]

* As previously discussed (pp. 663–668), the 23 *Mc* tablets record assessments for taxation of four commodities in generally fixed order and ratios, referred to for convenience here as commodities *G*, *H*, *I* and *J*. They normally contain both a toponym and a personal name; four tablets have further entries as well. The resemblance of this series to other taxation records (cf. the similar ratios among commodities on the PY *Ma* tablets) make it clear that it too concerns contributions to the centre and not distributions. Further, the complete absence of deficits from the 'normal' records in

[b] *Mc* series: *Documents*¹ 301–03, *Documents*² 474–75, *Textos* 60. Studies: Baumbach 1971, Melena 1972, Olivier 1974, de Fidio 1982.116–21, Shelmerdine 1989.143–45, Perna 1996, 2004.273–85, Killen 2008a.

G	**150*		Buck agrimi ?
H	CAP^{f}		GOAT^{f}
I	**142*		Beeswax ?
J	CORN		Agrimi horn

the series confirms that they deal with assessments and not the actual payment of taxes. Perna suggests (2004.284–85) that the levies recorded here are on persons (herders of palace-owned animals) rather than on places, but this idea can hardly be correct. There is no evidence that the men named are herders (see p. 706); and there is no personal name on Mc 1508, which is in a different hand from the 'normal' tablets in the series (see below, this page) but follows the same general pattern. Except for the totalling tablet Mc 4457, the *Mc* tablets begin with either a toponym or an ethnic in majuscule, like for example the *Ga(2)* taxation records at Knossos. As noted above, the fixed ratios among commodities recall the Pylos *Ma* series, which likewise records taxes on places. These parallels confirm that the *Mc* tablets too are area levies, as all other commentators on the series have taken them to be.

D²/* All but two *Mc* tablets whose find-places are known were found in the Arsenal along with records of chariots and weapons, suggesting that they may have had a 'military' relevance. The exceptions are Mc 1508 and Mc 5187 from the East–West Corridor, both of which differ in some respects from the rest of the series. Neither is by scribe 132, who is responsible for the other *Mc* tablets, though it is not clear whether these two are in the same hand (Firth and Melena 2002.114; Killen 2008a.49). On Mc 1508, the M unit is written differently from the rest of the series, the order of **142* = *I* and CORN = *J* is inverted, and the ethnic *da-*22-ti-jo* appears instead of a toponym (cf. *da-*22-to* on Mc 4456), but as just noted it conforms generally to the pattern of the 'normal' tablets. On Mc 5187 the order of the ideograms again differs from the norm, as do the ratios between them.

D/D²/* The association with the Arsenal has coloured the interpretation of the ideograms in the series. Evans (*PoM* IV.832–3) identified CORN = *J* as the horn of the *agrimi* goat (capra aegagrus cretica), used in the manufacture of composite bows like the τόξον ἐύξοον ἰξάλου αἰγὸς ἀγρίου of *Il.* IV, 105. He also noted that the numbers of 'horns' are always even (on the apparent exception on Mc 4457, see p. 704). The second ideogram CAP^{f} = *H* is the normal 'she-goat' ideogram found on the livestock tablets, except on Mc 5818 where plain CAP appears. The first ideogram **150* = *G* is probably not found elsewhere (**258* is a more likely reading on KN C 5669). It appears to combine the upper constant of the 'goat' ideograms with syllabic *ra* (for *ra-so*, cf. λαισήϊον?). It is not clear why animals would be listed together with their horns; one would expect the number of horns to be twice the number of animals, but the number of horns actually recorded (*J*) is always less than or equal to the number of male goats (*G*). The problem is compounded by the fact that female goats too have horns, though of much smaller size. The ideogram elsewhere refers to live animals, but here could indicate carcasses (*Documents*[1] 302), or hides (*Textos* 60).

D/* The third ideogram **142 = I* is measured by weight, unlike the others. Killen (2008c.445–46) finds good support for the suggestion (*Documents*[1] 290, 302) that both it and *KE*, the commodity *C* on the PY *Ma* tablets, represent *kēros*, 'beeswax' (p. 669). **142* closely resembles the ideogram **172*, which appears alongside honey on KN Gg 701. **172* is ligatured with the word *ke-ro*$_2$ or *ke-ro* on KN U 746 and probably U 436. It is therefore attractive to restore the two-sign word preceding **142* on Mc 4457.2 as *ḳe*-[*ro*] or *ḳe*-[*ro*$_2$] (Killen and Olivier 1968.128). On this evidence linking the two ideograms and the word, Killen (2008c.445) proposes interpreting the counted commodity **172* as 'honeycomb', and the weighed form **142* as 'beeswax'. Other proposed identifications have generally in successive discussions stayed in the realm of animals and animal parts. Melena (1972.52–54, 1988, cf. *Textos* 60) suggests that *I* represents *agrimi* tendons, the usefulness of which in carpentry is confirmed by texts from Mari and Ur. Perna (1996.414–15, 2004.279–80) in turn suggests goat hair, suitable for a variety of purposes, and otherwise unidentified in the Mycenaean texts. He notes that Cretan goats produce about 1 kg of hair each year, so that the 1 : 2 ratio of *I* to *J* would be appropriate (2 horns to 1 kg of hair). In any case, it is an attractive suggestion, made also by Killen (2008c) for the Pylos *Ma* tablets (see p. 670), that the *Mc* commodities are requisitioned for the manufacture of military equipment. The interpretation of **142 = I* as 'beeswax' is consistent with this view, since wax could be used among other things to treat wood and leather.

* The *Mc* tablets conventionally have a man's name in line A, followed by the entries for *G* and *H*, and a toponym in larger signs in line B, followed by the entries for *I* and *J*. The table shows the amounts visible on the surviving tablets. The values approximate to ratios originally recognised as approximately 5*G* : 3*H* : 2*I* : 4*J* (*Documents*[1] 303, Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.89–90, Olivier 1974). Olivier, however, followed by de Fidio (1982.116–21) in fact uses the formula 3.5 : 2 : 1.5 : 3 in his calculations, and the extant figures fit better into this scheme. The table below shows the extant figures beside the ideals required by each formula, working from the figures for *I* and *J* and rounding fractions (except 0.5) to the nearest whole number.

	G			*H*			*I* (kg)			*J*		
	extant	5	3.5	extant	3	2	extant	2	1.5	extant	4	3
Mc 1508	16	15	14	10	9	8	6[	6	6	12	12	12
Mc 4453	24*[	30	28	17	18	16	12	12	12	24	24	24
Mc 4454	29	32.5	30.5	16	19.5	17.3	13	13	13	26*	26	26
Mc 4455	28	30	28	17	18	16	12	12	12	24	24	24
Mc 4456	16	17.5	16.5	10	10.5	9.4	7	7	7	14	14	14
Mc 4457	345	385	359.5	208[	231	205.4	154	154	154	345[	308	308

Mc 4459	23	25	23.5	15	15	13.4	10	10	10	20	20	20
Mc 4460	14	15	14	7[	9	8	6	6	6	12[	12	12
Mc 4462	61	65	60.6	30	39	34.6	26	26	26	52[	52	52
Mc 4463	10[	12.5	11.6	[ ]	7.5	6.6	5	5	5	[ ]	10	10
Mc 4464 Mc 8705	12	12.5	11.6	[ ]	7.5	6.6	5	5	5	[ ] 10	10	10
Mc 5107	354			200[			[ ]			[ ]		
Mc 4461 Mc 5118	[ ]	25	23.5	15	15	13.4	[ ]	10	10	20	20	20
Mc 5124	30	32.5	30.5	16[	19.5	17.3	[ ]	13	13	26	26	26
Mc 5187	1*7*			8			20			]5 ?		
Mc 5818	15*	17.5	16.5	10	10.5	9.4	7*	7	7	10[	14	14
Mc 8448	[ ]			14			]10			[ ]		

Note: A following asterisk denotes a dotted numeral.

D²/* Olivier (pp. 664–65, Table) omits from consideration the figures from the anomalous tablets Mc 1508 and Mc 5187; those of Mc 1508 are close to the ratios, while those of Mc 5187 are not. Two tablets, Mc 4457 and Mc 5107, have much larger numbers than the rest. On the former, all the numbers are likely to be complete, but the figure for *J* should be <308> to fit the ratios. The word *to-sa*, 'so much' appears in line 1, in lieu of a personal name, and Olivier (in Killen and Olivier 1968.128–29) explains the anomalous figure by suggesting that Mc 4457 is a preliminary version of an assessment for the *Mc* series, subsequently changed. JC (*Documents*² 474) instead regards the extant figure 345 as a scribal error, and the tablet as a totalling tablet for the series (so also Perna 2004.284). The mistake could have arisen by the scribe confusing 308 with *H* 208 above, and substituting instead the *G* figure. This view seems preferable, but it should be noted (*contra* Perna 2004.144), that the figures on Mc 4457 do not follow the ratios in any case, for *G* and *H* are not in the same ratio as *I* and *J* (even if amended to 308). Mc 5107, though incomplete, is clearly another totalling document. It lacks an introductory word, and its purpose is not clear, for it does not seem to be a copy of Mc 4457, unless 354 is a careless error for 345; but 354 is in fact much closer to the ideal figure, 359. De Fidio (1982.118–19) suggests that the two totalling tablets added together represent the total for the series. Since she regards each as representing (roughly) 100 units of each commodity, the total of 200 units would match the total she posits as the statewide assessment for Pylos on the *Ma* series. Given the difference in time and space between the two states, the different state organisation (nothing suggests that Knossian Crete was divided into two provinces like the state of Pylos) and the different commodities, however, it is difficult to see why the totals should be the same.

* Of the extant toponyms some are familiar, while three occur only rarely if ever outside this series. Given the animal-related ideograms in the series, it is probably significant that *ku-ta-to*, *da-*22-to*, *se-to-i-ja* and *ti*]*-ri-to* are all well attested in livestock records, though only *da-*22-to* has goats recorded against it (C 5730) as well as sheep. The first three are second-order centres of administrative importance. *Ku-ta-to* may appear twice (**210** = Mc 4455, restored *ku-*]*ta-to* on Mc 4459), and *da-*22-to* (Mc 4456) is nearly duplicated by the ethnic *da-*22-ti-jo* on the anomalous tablet Mc 1508. The figures on the latter pair are quite similar, but those for the two possible *ku-ta-to* entries are not. Why there should be two entries for a single place, in contrast for example to the PY *Ma* series, is not clear. Nothing can be added about the other four preserved toponyms, which are either unique or rare and obscure: *u-qa-mo* (possibly a variant form of *qa-mo*), *ja-qo* (perhaps also on KN X 7965, *ja-q̣o*[ ),]*ri-na-jo*[(perhaps also on KN C(4) 912.6,]*-ṇa-jo*) and *ka-ma-so*, perhaps to be read on Mc 4460 (Melena 1999c.417), though Olivier has questioned the join on which the reading depends.

* The anthroponyms are likewise a combination of the familiar and the unfamiliar. *Da-wa-no* (**209** = Mc 4454, Mc 4461) is the only one to appear twice in the series (with different toponyms); on Mc 4461 the name appears, exceptionally, on .A instead of .B. The same name is attested with yet another toponym on Ga(2) 423, and on **37** = KN *As*(*2*) 1517.4. *A-wa-so* and *te-ru-ro* recur as shepherds' names on the livestock tablets, again with different toponyms, and *ra-wo-qo-no* is a 'collector's' name (pp. 503–07) on KN B 798, Dl(1) 928 and D 1650, none of which concern the same place as here (*ti-ri-to*). Finally, *e-*[.]*ṛu-ḍa-*[is conceivably to be read as *e-u̯-ṛu-ḍa-mo̯* on Mc 5124; that name is known from KN Xd 166, from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The other names are hapax ( ]*ja-*18*, *a-pa-sa-ki-jo*, *si-nu-mo-ro*, *a-pa-u-ro*) or attested at other sites but not Knossos (*a-ko-ro-ta*). Olivier (1967a.331) supposes that all these individuals were 'collectors', citing the appearance of the 'collector's' name *ra-wo-qo-no* in the series, and similarities of tablet organisation between hand 132 and hand 117 who is responsible for many livestock records involving 'collectors'. Melena (1972.35) and de Fidio (1982.117, 119) thought it possible that some tablets in the series concern 'collectors' while others do not, perhaps justifying the two totalling tablets (Mc 4457, Mc 5107). 'Collectors'' names do appear on flock records in the same positions as the names here, but the parallel is not strong. Only 30 per cent of the flock records contain a 'collector's' name, and most of those names recur on a large number of different tablets. By contrast, none of the 'normal' *Mc* tablets seem to have lacked a personal name, and only two record the same name (*da-wa-no*). Nor is there anything to confirm that *ra-wo-qo-no* here is the same individual as the 'collector' *ra-wo-qo-no* of the flock records and B 798, and no definitely identified 'collector' appears on other records of area

taxation at Knossos, like the *Ga*(*2*) 'condiment' records. Rougemont's suggestion (2001a.132) therefore may be preferable, that the names refer to representatives who were responsible for transmitting their areas' contributions to the centre, and who themselves may have been producers of some or all of the commodities. This is the likeliest explanation of the names on several of the *Ga*(*2*) taxation records, e.g. *di-ta-ka-so* and *e-pu*$_2$*-no* on **100** = Ga(2) 427, both at *da-wo*, who are each associated with approximately half of their area's contribution (p. 549). The recurrence of *da-wa-no*, likely to be the same individual on both **209** = Mc 4454 and Mc 4461, is not a fatal objection to this hypothesis. He could be a producer whose interests covered two (adjoining?) areas, or an official with duties in two areas. Cf. C(3) 979, where a man with the title *a-to-mo* (see on **208** = PY Jo 438) has responsibilities in four different places: *do-ti-ja*, *ra-ja*, *pu-na-so* and *ra-su-to*. Less persuasive is Perna's suggestion (2004.277–78) that the men named on the *Mc* texts are herders of palace-owned animals on whose products they are taxed. Given the different toponyms involved, there is nothing to confirm that *a-wa-so* and *te-ru-ro* here are the same persons as the 'shepherds' with those names on the *Da-Dg* flock records.

* A few tablets have supplementary entries in line 2 before the ideogram **142* (*I*); these have not been satisfactorily explained. *Qe-wa-ra* appears on Mc 4459.B; it could be a personal name, but there is also a man's name in the conventional position in line 1. Since **210** = Mc 4455 also concerns the place *ku-ta-to*, *qe-wa-ra* here may be a district within *ku-ta-to* which is subject to its own assessment. *Da-wa-no* in the same position on Mc 4461.B does not offer a helpful analogy, since it is the only name on that tablet and not a supplementary entry. On **209** = Mc 4454 *da *150* 1 appears, and on Mc 4462 *a-re *150* 1. In the first case, adding this entry to the entry for **150* (*G*) in line A makes the figure expected from the ratios; in the second case the entry in line A alone is the expected figure. Olivier (1967a.331) interprets *da* as an abbreviation for *da-wa-no*, the name in line A of the same tablet, and *a-re* perhaps as the theonym Ares (see also Gulizio 2001.34).

* Mc 1508, 4461 have inscriptions on the verso. On Mc 4461 only the number 160[is preserved. Mc 1508 is one of the two tablets not found in the Arsenal; the verso inscription reads:] OVIS^{f} 6̣3̣ ọ̣ o-pi CỌRṆ [

209 = Mc 4454 (132)

.A 'da-wa-no' **150* 29 CAP^{f} 16
.B u-qa-mo / *da *150* 1 **142* M 13 CORN 2ọ̣

210 = Mc 4455 (132)

.A 'a-pa-sa-ki-jo' **150* 28 CAP[f] 17
.B ku-ta-to / **142* M 12 CORN 24

5. THE KNOSSOS Nc SERIES[b]

* The *Nc* series consists of fifty-seven fragments, most of them extremely small. All are by hand 133, his only extant output except perhaps Xf 4486 with the hapax **22-ja-ro*. Those whose find-place is known come from the Arsenal, like most of the *Mc* series and also Xf 4486. Nc 4479, 5121 and probably 8144 (a dotted reading) have the ideogram *SA*, flax, leading to the classification of the entire series as *Nc*. Judging from the meagre evidence available, most of the tablets resemble **211** = Nc 4474, presenting a man's name followed by a weight of the commodity. Because the flax is weighed, unlike the *SA* on the Pylos *N*- tablets, the ideogram must indicate a different product of the plant, probably linen thread or cord (see p. 680).

* The fragmentary personal names could for the most part be construed as nominatives, though *i-we* on Nc 8176 may be *hiwei*, equivalent to the dat. sing. *i-je-we*, 'son' (Ruijgh, *Études* 362; cf. Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.389, III.81), and]*te-we* on Nc 8309 could then also be dative. Datives would suggest disbursements from the centre (cf. Killen 1966c.37), but such limited evidence does not go very far, and *i-we* could also be a nom. plural (Duhoux, *Aspects* 178), or have nothing to do with the word for 'son'. In fact most of the series at least is likely to record contributions by the men named, because **212** = Nc 4484 records the 'total (assessment for) payment' of 20 kg for the town of Amnisos. Preserved quantities on the other tablets are small, ranging from N 3 (750 g) to M 3 (3 kg). Nc 4484, with a toponym rather than a personal name, may represent the total of several tablets pertaining to individual contributions; if so, there must have been other such totalling tablets, since the entries on surviving tablets will have added up to considerably more than 20 kg Since none of the 'normal' tablets appear to contain a deficit entry or the word *a-pu-do-si*, they all seem to refer to assessments for contributions, like Nc 4484, rather than actual payments.

* **213** = Nc 5100 is by the same scribe as the other *Nc* tablets, but is of a different character since it records several commodities. Four ideograms are preserved; as Killen (1966c.37–38, 1984b.63; cf. Duhoux, *Aspects* 179) has pointed out, all four appear also on the Pylos *Ma* series, though the presentation is different and

[b] **212** = Nc 4484: *Textos* 61. Studies: *Nc* series: *Aspects* 177–80, Perna 2004.256–61. **212** = Nc 4484: Hiller 1992a.38–40. **213** = Nc 5100: Killen 1966c, 1984b.

the quantities do not conform at all to the *Ma* ratios. Nc 8175 is probably part of the same tablet:

e-si-[
lat. inf. o-pe[

If so, the *lat. inf.* in all likelihood adds another similarity to the *Ma* series, with the report of a debt, *o-pe*[*-ro* (Killen 1984b.63). The coincidence of commodities and the recording of debts across two states is noteworthy, even if the details of organisation differ.

211 = Nc 4474 (133)

e-ri-sa-ta M 1 [

212 = Nc 4484 (133)

to-so , a-pu-do-so[-mo a-]mi-ni-so M 20

* So much (assessment for) payment, Amnisos 20 kg

to-so: *tos*(*s*)*os*: 'so much', the standard totalling term (cf. **194** = Na 245); probably singular with *a-pu-do-so*[*-mo*.

* *a-pu-do-so*[*-mo*: *apudosmos*, '(assessment for) contribution, payment' (cf. Arc. ἀπυδοσμός). This restoration is perhaps more likely than the verbal form *a-pu-do-so*[*-si*, *apudōsonsi*, 'they will give'; cf. e.g. *a-pu-do*-si '(actual) payment' following a majuscule *to-so* on KN Fh 366, 5434.

* *a-*]*mi-ni-so*: Amnisos, the port of Knossos; well attested on the Knossos tablets (cf. **317** = Fp(1) 1).

213 = Nc 5100 (133)

] M '*RI*' 8 *O* M 4
lat. inf.]2 *KE* M 10 **146* 6

* *O*: the sign could be read majuscule, as an ideogram, or lower case, as an abbreviation for *ophelos*, 'debt' (see *KT*[5]/*CoMIK* critical apparatus and Killen 1985b.29–30).

CHAPTER XVI

'INDUSTRIAL' PRODUCTION

YVES DUHOUX

INTRODUCTION: METALS IN THE LINEAR B RECORDS[b]

D/* The most important Linear B metal ideogram is **140*. Its Greek equivalent is provided by the totalling phrase *to-so-de ka-ko*, *tos(s)osde khalkos* (cf. τοσ(σ)όσδε χαλκός) on the Pylos *Jn* tablets. One Linear B record lists quantities of *khalkos* intended to become 'heads for javelins and spears' (**207** = Jn 829.3). Moreover, 'general tools and weapons were mostly made of bronze' (Michailidou 2008.528). *Khalkos* is thus currently understood as 'bronze' (like χαλκός in Homer, with the possible exception of χαλκὸς ἐρυθρός, *Il.* IX, 365) and **140* is officially transliterated as AES. **140* could perhaps exceptionally be used for 'copper', however: it is once added as an adjunct to an INGOT ideogram which has been understood as a copper one (KN Oa 734). If so, the unalloyed metal had no separate symbol and **140* could designate both 'bronze' (regularly) and 'copper' (rarely) – compare the ideogram for 'horse', EQU(us), which is normally used for 'horses', but designates both 'horses' and 'asses' in KN **84** = Ca 895.

AES BRONZE

D/D²/* BRONZE is used as an adjunct to metal vessels and other objects (Knossos **253** = *K(1)* 740.2–3 and Pylos **270** = Tn 996.3–4). It is also written under a WHEELED CHARIOT on KN Sc 223, where it perhaps refers to the wheels (cf. KN **289** = So 894). The sign for BRONZE also surmounts a rectangular object (**246*) shown by the accompanying word to be a bathtub on the Knossos sealing **256** = Ws 8497: *a-sa-mi-to*, *asaminthos* (cf. ἀσάμινθος, the Homeric word). On KN **239** = L 693 small amounts of BRONZE are associated with *linon lepton* 'fine linen' (cf. λίνον λεπτόν). It seems likely that the bronze is intended here to serve as fittings on a tunic, perhaps to form a piece of armour, or is perhaps metal given in exchange for the garments, rather than, as some have suggested, an indication of their value, for which no secure parallels have been discovered in the Mycenaean texts. The most common form of BRONZE has two horizontal crossbars, but a form with an extra horizontal crossbar exists and is almost entirely restricted to the Pylos series.

[b] *Documents*[1] 351, 359–60, *Documents*[2] 508, 514–15, *Interpretation* 279–89. Studies: Dialismas 2001, Michailidou 2001.

D/* The ideogram rendered as GOLD (= AUR(um) = **141*) is found on tablet PY **208** = Jo 438, a taxation record, on PY **309** = Tn 316 and on PY **270** = Tn 996, on both of which it is an adjunct qualifying valuable vessels. The quantities of Jo 438 extend from c. 62 g to, exceptionally, 1 kg. As early as 1950, Bennett wrote that 'the unusually small quantities with this ideogram in [Jo 438] would indicate a material of considerable intrinsic value' (1950.218). Indeed, they match almost exactly the weights of a number of precious gold items found at Mycenae (Michailidou 2001.100–03). The Mycenaean noun for 'gold' is *ku-ru-so*, *khrūsos* (cf. χρυσός), a Semitic loan-word.

D/D²/* A third metal listed in the Mycenaean records is 'silver'. Its full spelling *a-ku-ro*, *arguros* (cf. ἄργυρος) is restricted to PY **299** = Sa 287, which describes a pair of wheels as 'bound with silver'. A variant of the ideogram for GOLD (= AUR(um) = **141*) has been suspected of designating 'silver' in PY **309** = Tn 316 and **270** = Tn 996 (Godart 2012.89–101). Even so, it remains true that mentions of silver are less frequent in the tablets than those of other metals. This is consistent with the fact that silver is relatively uncommon both in Homer and in the archaeological record.

* A further metal mentioned in the Linear B records is 'lead', *mo-ri-wo-do*, *moliwdos* (cf. μόλιβδος and its variants). This likely loan-word appears in one tablet (KN Og 1527) with measures of weight, but without an ideogram proper.

1. BRONZE-WORKING AT PYLOS (Jn, Ja)[b]

The *ta-ra-si-ja* system

D/D²/* The seventeen tablets and eight fragments of the *Jn* series (excluding **207** = Jn 829 and 881 which do not concern *ta-ra-si-ja*) evidently belong to a single set and conform to a rigid pattern. They record quantities of 'bronze' (BRONZE and *khalkos*) and names of 'smiths' (*khalkēwes*; cf. χαλκεύς). Each tablet is introduced by a place-name and the phrase *ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te*, *khalkēwes ta-ra-si-ja* (on the transcription and meaning of this word, see pp. 711–12) *hekhontes* 'smiths having a *ta-ra-si-ja*' (sometimes with a syntactic variant), followed by a number of men's names with an amount of BRONZE each. On Jn 725.2–10, however, the 78 kg (L 2 M 18) of bronze is not individually measured among the twenty-six smiths named. The second paragraph of a *Jn* record is introduced by *to-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we*, *tos(s)oide a-ta-ra-si-jo khalkēwes* 'so many smiths without *ta-ra-si-ja*' (with some variants). It consists of an enumeration of further men's names without any BRONZE entries at all. This shows that in *Jn ta-ra-si-ja* designated an amount of bronze allocated by weight for processing.

[b] *Documents*[1] 352–56, *Documents*[2] 508–11, *Interpretation* 279–87, *Textos* 51–52. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.178–95, Duhoux, *Aspects* 102–09, Smith 1995, Killen 2001b, Michailidou 2008.

* *Ta-ra-si-ja* and its privative adjective *a-ta-ra-si-jo* are obviously important keywords of the *Jn* series. The Linear B scribes associate *ta-ra-si-ja* not only with metallurgy, as in *Jn*, but also with textiles (e.g. **225** = Lc(1) 535) and with the manufacture of wheels (e.g. **251** = So(2) 4442). *Ta-ra-si-ja* thus concerned several crucial sectors of the Mycenaean economy managed by the palaces. The *Jn* series illustrates the initial stage of the *ta-ra-si-ja* system, when amounts of raw material are handed to the craftsmen, as explicitly shown in **215** = Jn 389.7: *tos(s)osde epidastos khalkos pansi* 'so much bronze shared out among them all'. The textile tablet KN Le 642 gives an example of the completion of the *ta-ra-si-ja* process, with the 'receipt' (*dekto*; cf. δέχομαι) by the palace of woven cloths (see also **224** = Le 641). This delivery was compulsory, as shown by **251** = So(2) 4442, which records wheels 'owed' (*ophelos* 'debt'; cf. ὀφείλω) to the palace as part of the *ta-ra-si-ja* 'of last year' (*perusinwā*; cf. περυσινός) – like many Mycenaean activities, the *ta-ra-si-ja* was thus annual. The quantities that the *ta-ra-si-ja* smiths had to deliver were limited (see below, this page, p. 713) and this suggests that the *ta-ra-si-ja* occupied only part of the workers' time. The *Jn* smiths are likely to have used bronze to make for instance weapons (see p. 709), armour or any bronze implement needed (see p. 719 for examples of bronze items found in Mycenaean Greece).

D/* A similar metallurgic context to *Jn* is shown by some Third Dynasty tablets from Ur (Legrain 1937; c. 2100 B.C.). No. 324 lists 'copper to work into dagger blades, issued by the treasurer's office'; no. 354, 'beaten copper, from the office located at the chariot shed, delivered to the smiths at 16⅓ manehs 2 shekels (= 8.25 kg) per head'; no. 357, the same at 10 manehs (= 5 kg). The more nearly contemporary Alalakh tablet no. 402 (Wiseman 1953.105; eighteenth–fifteenth century) lists '4 half-talents (= 60 kg) of copper for the smiths of the town Berašena, 4000 shekels (= 33.5 kg) of copper for arrowheads, and 600 shekels (= 5 kg) of copper for doors'.

Interpreting *ta-ra-si-ja*

D/D²/* *Ta-ra-si-ja* matches almost perfectly the Classical form ταλασία which means 'wool-working' (cf. the definition of ταλασιουργική by Plato, *Pol.* 282a). Unlike ταλασία, however, Mycenaean *ta-ra-si-ja* covers not only textile production, but also metallurgy and chariot-making. In *Jn*, smiths with *ta-ra-si-ja* are issued with minutely weighed small quantities of bronze: mostly between 1.5 kg and 3, 4 or 5 kg of metal. It is therefore much more tempting to link *ta-ra-si-ja* and ταλασία with the sense of 'weight' (cf. τάλαντον 'balance') rather than with the cognate τάλας 'suffering'. Two different transcriptions have been suggested for the word, **talasiā* or **talansiā*. **Talansiā* seems difficult because it should have become ταλᾱσ- in Ionic-Attic, instead of the form in ταλᾰσ- which is the only one known in Greek poetry. We are then left with *talasiā*. This probably comes from a verbal adjective **talatos* 'weighted', which lies behind the Mycenaean

privative adjective *atalasios* < **a-talat-ios* 'without *talasiā*'. In Mycenaean, *talasiā* was applied not only to the 'amount weighed out and issued for processing', but also more generally to 'compulsory work to be done'. The Latin *pēnsum* shows both stages of an identical semantic development ('weight of wool to be handed over as part of daily work', hence 'task'). If we were sure that the *talasiā* workers were not rewarded for their labours, we could roughly compare this system with corvée labour, a form of unpaid work which was regular in the Near East during the Bronze Age. An interesting parallel is provided by the Assyrian 'work-assignment' system, viz. *iškāru*, used for instance for textile production, 'wool being supplied to craft workers expected to return finished garments' (Postgate 2013.219). Anyway, we shall provisionally translate *talasiā* as 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre'.

D/D²/* Three *Jn* tablets of Hand 2 (Jn 431.6, 601.8, 845.7) exhibit the entry 'So-and-so, the *qa-si-re-u*'. *Qa-si-re-u* is here the title of a local authority who never received any quantity of bronze, but apparently supervised its distribution in a few places, since the term precedes the totalling formula of the first paragraph. We are unaware of the reasons for the *qa-si-re-u*'s involvement. It is difficult to resist the identification of *qa-si-re-u* with βασιλεύς and a reading *gʷasileus*, though the Mycenaean term certainly does not mean 'king' like βασιλεύς. This interpretation has been attacked on the grounds that the functions of the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* would be restricted to a craftsman context. While it is true that the term appears predominantly in the bronze tablets, it is not restricted to them, and PY **208** = Jo 438.20 shows it in company with officials of the local administration such as *ko-re-te*, *po-ro-ko-re-te* or *mo-ro-qa*. All of them are associated with small quantities of gold, an exceptional feature. Moreover, *a-pi-qo-ta*, the *gʷasileus* of PY Jn 431.6, is recorded with his son (]*i̯-*65-qe*,]*hijus* (?) *kʷe* 'and his son'). Such an exceptional association in Linear B suggests a rather important social position. The name of the same *gʷasileus*, *a-pi-qo-ta*, appears in PY An 261.[13–14], rev. 5 as the head of a *ke-ro-si-ja*, usually interpreted as *geronsiā* (Classical γερουσία 'council of elders'), but whose functions are unknown (perhaps they were 'industrial'). Do the two citations in *An* and *Jn* refer to the same person, as Nakassis (2013.92–93, 209) believes? If they do, he would be a high-level figure. Certainly the function and sense of *gʷasileus* is different from that of the Classical βασιλεύς 'king', but even at that stage it was frequently used as the title of a religious official (e.g. ἄρχων βασιλεύς at Athens), so that its semantic development may have been complex. Anyway, the identity of *qa-si-re-u* with βασιλεύς as a word is hard to deny, seeing that β- is almost certain to be derived from a labio-velar.

The smiths in the *Jn* series: their number, work and location

D²/* **217** = Ja 749 is quite likely the totalling tablet for the *Jn* series. It gives a sum of 1046 kg, while the 17 *Jn* tablets sufficiently complete to be usable record only

c. 681.5[kg of bronze. Thus about one third of the *Jn* tablets could be missing. The number of smiths recorded is approximately 298[, not counting c. 64[? slaves; the total number for the whole of the Pylian kingdom, allowing for the extra third, could therefore amount to about 400 smiths. One can hardly credit that so large a number would have been needed for solely domestic purposes. On the other hand, about one-third of the registered smiths are without allocations of bronze and the rest have relatively small quantities of metal on which to work. One smith on Jn 601.6 has as much as 12 kg of metal, but c. 89 per cent of the individual amounts weigh no more than 5 kg. The large number of smiths and the limited amounts of metal are puzzling. It is tempting to speculate about the sources of raw material and the destination of the metal goods made in the kingdom of Pylos. The copper undoubtedly came from Cyprus, while the most accessible sources of tin were to the west of Greece. Is it not likely that a port on the sea-route linking the Aegean with the west was where the two ingredients of the alloy met; and that the surprising numbers of workmen were due to the special position of Pylos as favourably placed both for the import of raw materials and for the export of finished goods? At a time when sea-raiders were scouring the eastern Mediterranean, as Egyptian records show, and Pylos itself feared an attack from the sea (see pp. 480–91), it would hardly be surprising if sea communications had been interrupted and the Pylian bronze 'industry' was suffering from an acute shortage of raw material.

D[2] Unlike the village blacksmiths of medieval and modern times, the smiths of Pylos are not scattered throughout the settlements, but are concentrated in groups of up to twenty-six (or twenty-seven: one name in Jn 725 is deleted) in c. seventeen places, less than half of which are mentioned again in the Pylos archives. It would seem likely that they were located near good supplies of timber for use as fuel, and perhaps on hilltops where the wind would provide the necessary draught for their furnaces. For instance, *Ro-u-so*, *Lousos* figures in that list, and the 'Field of *Lousos*' is shown by PY **250** = Vn 10 to be a wood-producing area.

D/* Though slaves are regularly recorded in *Jn*, they are not named but identified by their master's name. Bronze is never handed to any slave (though they may be listed as 'without "compulsory work"'): obviously, their masters were the main reference of the scribes. The number of registered slaves is frequently one (**214** = Jn 310.11–12: 4 ex.; Jn 431.11; Jn 605.10–11: 2 ex.; Jn 706 rev. 1–6: 5 ex., but the master's names are lost; Jn 750.13); sometimes 2 (Jn 605.10: 2 ex.). Finally, Jn 431.25–26 lists 10, 5,]1 and 31 men of *A-pe-ke-e* preceded by the genitive of a man's name: they are thus probably slaves, though any introductory formula has vanished in the lacuna of l. 25. A total of 47[slaves is quite exceptional in *Jn*. Maybe they are linked with the '(divine) mistress' who controlled their masters at *A-pe-ke-e* (see p. 716).

D/* From the fact that a number of the smiths' names recur on other series of tablets (for instance, among the names of shepherds), it has been suggested that their work may have been on a part-time basis, like the seasonal iron-smelting by Hittite peasants referred to by Gurney (1952.83). The identity of Mycenaean smiths and shepherds bearing the same name is a complicated matter, however. First, the names which recur are among the commonest Mycenaean stock. Moreover, they may also be found at Knossos or Mycenae (e.g. Xanthos on Pylos Jn 320.5, **48** = An 39.6, Mycenae Go 610.3, Knossos Vc(2) 7537, etc.). Nakassis (2013) regularly advocates such an identity, though admitting that there is no guarantee that every Pylos doublet refers to the same individuals. Anyway, some *Jn* smiths could well be considered as seasonal workers if they had to grow their own food. Compare also *Il.* XXIII, 832–35, where Achilles says of the ingot of pig-iron offered as a prize: 'Even if the winner's fertile farm is at a remote spot, he will be able to go on using it for five revolving years: his shepherd or ploughman will not have to go to the town through lack of iron, but will have it at hand'. Finally, we should not forget that several smiths were rather wealthy, since they owned slaves and sometimes more than one. If so, they could have managed enterprises in other sectors than metallurgy.

D²/* The smiths listed as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, *Potniaweioi* (e.g. **214** = Jn 310.14–17) are 'at the service of the (divine) mistress', i.e. Potnia (cf. πότνια), a ubiquitous and influential deity. It may seem peculiar to us that groups of craftsmen should simultaneously be devotees of a goddess, though medieval guilds offer parallels. However, a remarkable Mycenaean correspondence has been discovered by Lord William Taylour in the Citadel House at Mycenae. There, an ivory workshop adjoins a shrine with a fresco of a large female figure, doubtless Potnia herself. The situation here is precisely what is to be deduced from the excavation of cave-sanctuaries in Crete. Arkalokhori, for example, has been shown to have been both a shrine and a bronze-smithy (Marinatos 1962a). It is hardly pressing this evidence too far to suggest that the devotees of Potnia practised a similar combination of cult and craft. Indeed, these continental smiths may perhaps have been influenced by or descended from Cretan groups who emigrated at the time of the Minoan collapse and found refuge on the mainland; cf. the vessels 'of Cretan workmanship' PY **259** = Ta 641.1, **260** = Ta 709.3. Though not yet published, the rich unplundered shaft tomb discovered in summer 2015 near the edge of the acropolis of Pylos by a team from the University of Cincinnati co-directed by Sharon R. Stocker and Jack L. Davis should be mentioned here. It is much earlier (c. 1500 B.C.) than the Linear B records of 'Nestor's palace' and provides an exceptional example of impressive Minoan influence.

214 = Jn 310 (H 2)

.1]a-ke-re-wa , ka-ke-we , ta-ra-si-ja , e-ko-te ,
.2 ti-qa-jo AES M 1 N 2 qe-ta-wo AES M 1 N 2
.3 a_3-so-ni-jo AES M 1 N 2 ta-mi-je-u AES M 1 N 2
.4 e-u-ru-wo-ta AES M 1 N 2 e-u-do-no AES M 1 N 2
.5 po-ro-u-te-u AES M 1 N 2 wi-du-wa-ko AES M 1 N 2
.6 *vacat*
.7 to-so-de , a-ta-ra-si-jo , ka-ke-we[ ] *vacat*
.8 pa-qo-si-jo 1 ke-we-to 1 wa-[ ]re-u[1] *vacat*
.9 pe-ta-ro 1
.10 *vacat* .
.11 to-so-de , do-e-ro , ke-we-to-jo 1 i-wa-ka-o 1
.12 pa-qo-si-jo-jo 1 po-ro-u-te-wo 1
.13 ⟦a[⟧ *vacat*
.14 po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo , ka-ke-we , ta-ra-si-ja , e-ko-te ,
.15 i-ma-di-jo AES M 3 tu-ke-ne-u AES M 3
.16] AES M 3 i-wa-ka AES M 3 .
.17 a-]ta-ra-si-jo , pu_2-ṣi-ja-ko 1

D/D²/* § 1 (ll. 1–12). At *A-ke-re-wa*, smiths having 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre': Thisg^{w}aios: 1.5 kg BRONZE; *Qe-ta-wo*: 1.5 kg BRONZE; etc.
(ll. 7–9). And so many smiths without 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre': Pang^{w}osios, 1; *Ke-we-to*, 1; *Wa*-[ ]*re-u*[, 1]; Petalos, 1.
(ll. 11–12). And so many slaves: of *Ke-we-to*, 1; of *I-wa-ka*, 1; of Pang^{w}osios, 1; of Plouteus, 1.

§ 2 (ll. 14–17). Smiths at the service of the (divine) mistress having 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre':
etc.

D/* This tablet shows an elaborate example of the standard *Jn* layout. Its two main paragraphs list smiths linked with either the community of *A-ke-re-wa* or its '(divine) mistress'. In each case, the smiths are registered in two categories, those 'with' and 'without compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre'. The slaves are added, if any. They are not named, but counted and assigned to each smith whose name is written in the genitive.

D/* *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, *potniaweioi* (l. 14; cf. πότνια): the smiths 'at the service of the (divine) mistress' evidently also belong to the place *A-ke-re-wa*, since *I-wa-ka*'s slave is included in l. 11, while *I-wa-ka* himself is listed in l. 16.

D/* The same division of the smiths linked with either a community or its '(divine) mistress' occurs in the two sections of Jn 431 (cut apart after writing and rejoined by the scribe afterwards) introduced by:

A-pe-ke-i-jo ka-ke-we… (ethnic adjective of *A-pe-ke-e*: 'smiths of *A*…'; l. 1)

A-pe-ke-e ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo… (dative-locative: 'smiths at *A*. at the service of the (divine) mistress…'; l. 16).

215 = Jn 389 (H 2)

.1 ạ-ka-si-jo-ne , ka-ke-we , ta-ra-si-ja , e-ko-te
.2 pi-ra-me-no AES M 3 ma-u-ti-jo AES M 3 e-do-mo-ne-u AES M 3
.3 ka-ra-wi-ko AES M 1 N 2 pi-we-ri-ja-ta AES M 1 N 2
.4 sa-mu-ta-jo AES M 1 N 2 wa-u-do-no AES M 1 N ⟦ ⟧
.5 ka-ra-pa-so AES M 1 N 2 pi-ta-ke-u AES M 1 N 2
.6 mo-re-u AES M 1 N 2 ti-ta-[.]wo AES M 3
.7 to-so-de , e-pi-da-to , ka-ko , pa-ṣi AES M 6
.8 ⟦ to-so-de ka-ko AES M 27 ⟧
.9 to-so-de ka-ko AES M 27
.10 *vacat*
.11 to-so-de , a-ta-ra-si-jo , ka-ke-we ,
.12 te-te-re-u 1 pa-pa-jo 1 pi-ro-we-ko 1 a_2-nu-me-no 1
.13 ko-so-u-to 1

D²/* l. 6: the last numeral is M 3, but it needs to be corrected to M 1 <N> 2 to save the arithmetic in the total in l. 9. Indeed, the scribe should have written M 1 N 2, as in the seven preceding entries. However, he apparently forgot N between M 1 and 2; and hence wrote M 3. L. 8 was inscribed with the text of l. 9, but was then deleted.

D/* (ll. 1–9). At *A-ka-si-jo-*, smiths having 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre': Philamenos: 3 kg BRONZE;
etc.

(l. 7). So much bronze shared out among them all: 6 kg BRONZE.

(l. 9). So much bronze: 27 kg BRONZE.

(ll. 11–13). And so many smiths without 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre':
etc.

D/D²/* *e-pi-da-to* (l. 7) is the verbal adjective *epidastos* (cf. δατέομαι, ἀνάδαστος). It introduces 6 kg of bronze globally allocated to the eleven smiths previously enumerated. Since 6 kg cannot be exactly divided by 11, the individual supplements of l. 7 were no more equal than the quantities in ll. 2–6. *Epidastos* also appears on Jn 601.7.

* ll. 7, 9: 'bronze… BRONZE': example of Mycenaean 'double writing', with a repetition of the same item written both phonetically and ideographically.

D *pi-ro-we-ko* (l. 12), cf. Φιλοῦργος (etymologically 'loving his work'): cf. *Ma-na-si-we-ko* Jn 431.3, cf. Μνησίεργος (etym. 'mindful of his work').

216 = Jn 658 (H 21)

.1 ka-ke-we , ta-ra-si-ja̤ , e̤-ko-si
.2 e-ni-pa-te-we , we-we-si-jo 1 AES M 5
.3 ma-ka-wo 1 AES M̤ 5̤ pi-ro-ne-ta 1 AES M 5
.4 pa-qo-ta 1 AES M̤ 5̤ au-ta-mo 1 AES M 5
.5 po-ro-u-jo 1 AES M 5 o-na-se-u 1 AES M 5
.6 po-]ṛo̤-ko 1 AES M 5 re-u-ka-ta 1 AES M 5
.7 wa-ka-ta 1 AES M 5 o-tu-wo-we 1 AES M 5
.8 wo-wi-ja-ta 1 AES M 5 pe-re-ta 1 AES M 5
.9 po-ru-e-ro 1 AES M̤ 5 o-pe-ra-no 1 AES M 5
.10 a̤-ṭṳ-ḳo̤ 1 AES M̤ 5 ⟦ko-ma-d̤o̤-ro AES M 5 ⟧
.11 to-so-de , ka-ko L 3 M 20 ⟦ 5⟧
.12 to-so-de , a-ta-ra-si-jo
.13 *vacat*

(ll. 1–10) The smiths have 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre' at *E-ni-pa-te-we*:
etc.

D/D² *e̤-ko-si* (l. 1): Hand 21 uses the present indicative *hekhonsi* 'they have' instead of the present participle *hekhontes* 'having' of Hand 2 (*hekhonsi* appears twice in the *Jn* records of Hand 21).

D²/* There is a curious relationship between this tablet and Jn 725.1–10. Both refer to the community of *E-ni-pa-te-we*. All their smiths have 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre' and there is no *atalasios* (though an abbreviated *a-ta-ra-si-jo* formula has been inserted in Jn 658.12). There are several differences, however. (1) The bronze total is not the same: L 2 M 18 (right: Jn 725.10) vs L 3 M 20 (wrong: Jn 658.11). (2) The number of smiths is 26/27 (Jn 725.1–10) vs 17 (Jn 658). (3) All the names of Jn 658 (except *Pi-ro-ne-ta*) appear in Jn 725.1–10, but ten names of Jn 725.1–10 are missing in Jn 658. Maybe they were supposed to be listed as 'without "compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre"' at the bottom of Jn 658, which has been deliberately cut after l. 13. (4) Three names are spelt in altered form: *Ma-ka-wo* (Jn 658.3) vs *Ma-ka-ta* (Jn 725.4); *Wa-ka-ta* (Jn 658.7) vs *Wa-tu-ta* (Jn 725.5); *Po-ru-e-ro* (Jn 658.9) vs *O-ru-we-ro* (Jn 725.6; the substitution of *we* for *e* after *u* is merely a matter of spelling). These divergences can partly be explained by the difference of scribes (Hand 21 in Jn 658; Hand 2 in Jn 725). Also, the redaction of one tablet or the other was perhaps slovenly, or there were errors in oral or internal dictation. However, fluctuations in the data themselves have quite probably played an important role. A similar phenomenon appears in Jn 692 and in the deleted part of Jn 725: ll.18–22. Both concern the community of *Na-i-se-wi-jo* and list the same eight names. However, the number of smiths with 'compulsory work' is different: 2 of M 6 (Jn 692) vs 8 of M 1 N 2 (Jn 725.18–22). There are two deleted totals on Jn 725.21–22, M 12 and M 3̤0. The first of these answers to the figures on Jn 692.2

and is divisible by the number of smiths on Jn 725.19–20. This suggests that Jn 725 is earlier and represents a first attempt at listing the smiths and allocating a total quantity of bronze; Jn 692 would therefore be the final text.

* These different versions of the *talasiā* at *E-ni-pa-te-we* and *Na-i-se-wi-jo* show how the flow of information was monitored by the Mycenaean scribes.

D/* On Jn 832.1, 9, *khalkēwes talasiān hekhontes* is replaced by *khalkēwes a-ke-te(-re)*, *askētēr(es)* 'decorator(s), finisher(s)', cf. Hom. ἀσκέω with the sense 'work, decorate' and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja/a-ze-ti-ri-ja* (pp. 432–33); on Jn 750.1–2 *khalkēwes talasiān hekhontes* has in addition the word *pa-ra-ke-te-e-we*, nominative plural of a description in *-eus*.

D/* The following table gives a synopsis of the main surviving tablets of the *Jn* series. Some records have been excluded: **207** = Jn 829 and 881 (see pp. 696–98); Jn 410, since it is too fragmentary and its place-name is lost. Items erased by a scribe or accidentally deleted have not been included in the totals. The correction of M 3 to M 1 N 2 (**215** = Jn 389.6) has been taken account of. Jn 431.25–26 lists 10, 5,]1 and 31 men who could be slaves. They belong to individuals who could be smiths, though their names do not recur on the preserved part of the tablet; the beginning of l. 25, where *tos(s)oide doeloi* could have been written, is missing. These 47[men have provisionally been considered as slaves.

Tablet	Hand	Place	Active Smiths	Inactive Smiths	Slaves	*G*^{w}*asilēwes*	Bronze (kg)
Jn 310	2	*A-ke-re-wa* *<A-ke-re-wa>* *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* *ka-ke-we*	8 4	4 1	4		12 12
Jn 320	2 *	*O-re-mo-a-ke-e-u̯*	12	5[			56[
Jn 389	2 *	*A̯-ka-si-jo-ne*	11	5			27
Jn 415	2 *	*Ru-ko-a*$_2$*-ke̤-re-u-te*	7	5			34
Jn 431	2 *	*A-pe-ke-i-jo* *A-pe-ke-e ka-ke-we* *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*	10 6	14 8[	1 47[?	1 + his son	54 27
Jn 478	2	*Wi-ja̯-we-ra*$_2$	7	1			2̣6
Jn 601	2	*Po-wi-te-ja*	14	5[		1	104[
Jn 605	2	*A-pi-no-e-wi[-jo]*	6	3	6		9
Jn 658	21 *	*E-ni-pa-te-we*	16				80
Jn 692	2	*Na-i-se-wi-jo*	2	6			12
Jn 693	2	*A[-ke-]re-wa*	3				16
		A-pu$_2$*-we*	7	2			26
Jn 706	21 *	*Pa-to-wo-te*	10	4	5		30[
Jn 725	2 *	*E-ni-pa-te-we̤*	27				78
	2 *	[.]*-nu-we-jo*	5				16[

Tablet	Hand	Place	Active Smiths	Inactive Smiths	Slaves	*G^{w}asilēwes*	Bronze (kg)
	2	*A-ke-re-wa*	4				12
Jn 750	2	*A-si-ja-ti-ja*	17	2[	1[		24[
Jn 832	2	*Ro-u-so* *A-to-mo*?	3 *a-ke-te-re* 6 *a-ḳe-te(-re)* 1 *pa-ra-ḳe-te-e-u*	7[6			ẓ
Jn 845	2	[ ]	8	7		1	12
Jn 927 [+] 937	2	]*mẹ-no*	12	6[			11.5[
Total		17[different places	207	91[	64[?	3 + a son	681.5[

D/* Of the seventeen different place-names, seven are not found on any other tablet outside *Jn* (their names are marked with an asterisk), suggesting that some smiths may have lived in small communities of their own without other agricultural or maritime importance.

D/* The frequencies of the individual allotments of bronze to smiths are as follows.

1.5 kg	2 kg	3 kg	4 kg	5 kg	6 kg	7 kg	8 kg	12 kg
49	0	14	20	36	8	2	9	1

D/* The thin bronze arrowheads (or 'arrow-plates': Evans, *PoM* IV. figs 816, 818) of the type found in the Knossos 'Armoury', and common at both Cretan and mainland sites (including Pylos), weigh up to about 1.5 g each. Sword blades, on the other hand, and long spear-heads (such as those from the LM II warrior graves near Knossos (Hood and De Jong 1952, fig. 12), might weigh up to 350 g. The smaller of the two most common allotments at Pylos (that of 1.5 kg) would then be sufficient for making 1000 arrowheads, the larger (5 kg) enough for at least fourteen swords or spears. Hood and De Jong (1952.256) give the weight of their LM II bronze helmet as 695 g: this includes the cheekpieces, but 10 per cent should perhaps be added to allow for parts that are missing.

D/* The total of bronze which can be counted on the best-preserved *Jn* tablets (c. 681.5[kg) would make something like 454,000 arrowheads, or 1944 swords or spears, or 979 bronze helmets.

217 = Ja 749 (H 2)

to-so-pa L 34 M 26

D/* So much in all: 1046 kg

* This tablet has been written by Hand 2 like most of the *Jn* records. It was found with a fragment of Jn 750 in grid *84* of the Archives Complex Chasm,

and its *to-so-pa* formula appears elsewhere at Pylos only in Jn 601.9 (Palaima, *Scribes Pylos* 60). *To-so-pa* could be read *tos(s)os pans* and agree with an implicit *khalkos*. Though there is no mention of the material registered, Ja 749 probably gives the total of bronze on the whole *Jn* series, from which approximately a third of the entries could then be assumed to be missing.

2. METAL-WORKING AT KNOSSOS (K)[b]

218 = K(1) 875 (102)

.1] , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to [
.2 pe-ri-ta , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to , [
.3 wi-na-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to [
.4 i-da-i-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa a-no-wo-to [
.5 sa-me-ti-jo , qa-si-ṛẹ-ẓi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to [
.6 i-je-re-wi-jo , qa-ṣi-ṛẹ[-wi]-j̣ạ , a-no-wo-to *202[VAS] 10 po-ti-[

l. 6: numeral 10 over ⟦5⟧. *Po-ti-ṇi*[is possible.

D/* .1 [(Work for?) So-and-so]: (of?) the *gʷasileus*' establishment: *dipas* vase without handle, [x];

.2 etc.

* Every line of this record begins with a man's name – the last two are hapaxes – which may be nominative or dative, but not genitive. Their location is not given. Each name is directly followed by *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, plainly a derivative of the official title *qa-si-re-u*, *gʷasileus* (see pp. 297–98). After *qa-si-re-wi-ja* comes *di-pa*, *dipas*, the Mycenaean form of the alphabetic δέπας vessel (see pp. 721, 762). *Qa-si-re-wi-ja* cannot be an adjective qualifying the neuter singular *dipas*, but it must be a form of a substantive, *gʷasilēwiā* 'the *gʷasileus*' establishment' *vel sim*. The six men can hardly be the *gʷasilēwes* themselves, since their names are not genitives, as happens elsewhere when the name of the *gʷasileus* is written just before *gʷasilēwiā*. *Gʷasilēwiā* is more likely to indicate the authority which had charge of these people. It could be either a genitive singular ('So-and-So of the *gʷasileus*' establishment') or a nominative juxtaposed to each name ('So-and-So: *gʷasileus*' establishment'). Anyway, the name of the *gʷasileus* is not given: it was probably obvious to the scribe.

D/* *Gʷasileus* and Classical βασιλεύς are formally identical, but their functions are quite different: 'official of the local administration' (see p. 298) vs mostly 'king'. In the PY *Jn* series, the *gʷasilēwes* supervised bronze-working. The same feature seems to appear here. The ten vessels counted in l. 6 suggest a manufacturing ambiance. Also, if this line ended with *po-ti-ṇi*[, it would recall the *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*

[b] *Textos* 55. Studies: Killen 1987a.67–70, Del Freo 2014a.

smiths 'at the service of the (divine) mistress' of PY *Jn*. Moreover, that hand 102 is involved in metallurgy is shown by the large numbers of *dipas* vases in his tablets: 30[bronze ones (KN **253** = *K(1)* 740.2, possibly written by him) and at least 120 in K(1) 829; he also records gold items in KN **254** = K(1) 872.

D/* The alphabetic δέπας vessel is spelt *di-pa*, *dipas* (neuter singular) in Linear B: this alternation ε vs *i* is an indication of a loan-word. In l. 6, the phonetically written word *dipas* is replaced by the ideogram **202*^{VAS}: this allowed the scribe to gain some free space at the end of this long line. Notice the different word order resulting from the introduction of **202*^{VAS}: …*g^{w}asilēwiā(s) dipas anowoton/anouoton* when *dipas* is written phonetically; but …*g^{w}asilēwiā(s) anowoton/anouoton* **202*^{VAS} when *dipas* is replaced by **202*^{VAS}. Indeed, Linear B avoids the insertion of an ideogram other than the divider within a phonetically written sequence. Hence, ***g^{w}asilēwiā(s)* **202*^{VAS} *anowoton/anouoton* was excluded. The ideogram **202*^{VAS} has the same form here as in **259** = Ta 641. In both records, a '*dipas* vase' may be described as 'without handle', but with different privative adjectives: at Pylos, *a-no-we anōwes* (cf. ἀμφῶες) vs *a-no-wo-to anowoton/anouoton* at Knossos (cf. ἀνούατος). The singular forms *dipas anowoton/anouoton* of **218** = K(1) 875.1–5 suggest that each entry listed only one vessel. In l. 6, the scribe mechanically again wrote a singular (*a-no-wo-to*) with ten *dipas*.

3. TEXTILE PRODUCTION AT KNOSSOS (Lc, Ld, Le, L, M, Od)[b]

Textile ideograms and technical vocabulary

D/* The Linear B textile records exhibit a number of specific ideograms and technical terms. The lack of naturalistic variation in the ideograms makes it difficult to visualise the actual textiles or garments listed and to interpret the associated vocabulary. Moreover, many Mycenaean words are unknown in the later Greek lexicon.

D/* The '*Native Mycenaean* dress … worn by all mainlanders who didn't (or when they didn't) have Cretan pretensions' are described by Barber (1991.315; see also 324–25, 395; her italics) as: '(1) tunic or kilt for the men, and knee-high leggings; (2) all-covering chemise for the women; (3) rather plain fabrics for everyone, stripes and "sprinkles" (of dots, little crosses, dot-rosettes, etc.) being the most common decoration, if any; (4) contrastive but mostly plain edgings; and (5) little or no evidence of cutting or tailoring the garments'. These truly Mycenaean dresses should be carefully distinguished from the Minoan ones (as for instance in the celebrated Agia Triada sarcophagus) – see the description by Barber (1991.314–22 and 394–95) – though there was important Minoan

[b] *Documents*[1] 313–21, *Documents*[2] 486–88, *Interpretation* 290–99, *Textos* 55–57, *Anthology* 264–70. Studies: Killen 1964b, 1966b, 1974, 1979a, 1984b, 1988, Melena 1975a, Tzachili 2001, Del Freo et al. 2010, Nosch 2012a, b.

influence on Mycenaean fashion (Barber 1991.316, 324). The number of the main textile ideograms and technical words shows that there was a large variety of Mycenaean fabrics. Two main fibres were used: wool and linen, though things were surely more complicated. The Greek–Swedish excavations at Khania have discovered that a mix of three components was used for plaited bands in Mycenaean Crete: (1) a plant fibre, probably linen; (2) an animal fibre, probably goat hair; (3) another plant fibre, probably nettle (Nosch 2012a.51). When known, the weights of the woollen cloths depend on their type. These are as follows, though it may happen that these ratios vary:

(i) CLOTH, viz. CLOTH+*PA* or *pharwos*: 4.5 kg (1½ units of wool; cf. **235** = Lc(2) 7377);
(ii) *tu-na-no*: 9 kg (3 units of wool; cf. **220** = Lc(1) 527);
(iii) **164*: 18 kg (6 units of wool; cf. **236** = L 520);
(iv) CLOTH of *TE*(*-pa* type), viz. *te-pa*: 21 kg (7 units of wool; cf. KN Lc(1) 541);
(v) *pe-ko-to*: 30? kg (10? units of wool; cf. **220** = Lc(1) 527 and **223** = Od(1) 562).

* We do not know the width, length and thickness of these cloths, but see Nosch 2012b.319–20 for several hypothetical estimations. Anyway, 4.5 kg of contemporary tweed (from 350 to 700 g per metre of c. 1.5 m in width) can measure from 6.5 m to 13 m.

TELA		CLOTH$^{1-4}$	**164*		A kind of cloth
TELA+*TE*		CLOTH$^{1-2}$+*TE*	LANA		WOOL
**161*		(Adjunct)	TUN+*KI*		TUNIC+*KI*
TELA+*PU*		CLOTH^{3}+*PU*	**158*		Bag ?

Some textile ideograms

D/* LANA (= WOOL = **145*): the Mycenaean ideogram representing sheep's WOOL is derived from a Linear A monogram of the signs read in Linear B as *MA*+*RU* (or *RU*+*MA*?). Its meaning is indicated by its prominent place on the Linear B SHEEP tablets (see pp. 495–99). Hereunder, WOOL/wool will always render sheep's wool. Even where wool is counted together with CLOTHS in large numbers, its method of measurement is betrayed by occasional fractional amounts reckoned in M (= c. 1 kg; e.g. on **222** = Lc(1) 532). Bennett has shown that M 3 corresponds to the superior unit of weight expressed by WOOL, which is therefore equivalent to about 3 kg (approximately the weight of a heavy wool blanket or of a present-day winter wool overcoat). The Linear B noun for 'wool' appears in the adjective *we-we-e-a*, *werweheha* 'woollen' (neuter plur.; cf. εἶρος).

D/* TELA (= CLOTH = *159): Linear A and perhaps the Cretan 'hieroglyphic' script exhibit an ideogram corresponding to *159. Evans (*SM* I.197–98) interpreted *159 first (read upside down) as a sign for a 'building' and, more precisely, for the 'palace', and later (right way up) as a 'banner' (*SM* II.33). The numerous Knossos tablets characterised by *159 have been classified by Bennett with the prefix *L-*. Their most characteristic vocabulary word is the plural *pa-we-a*, *pharweha*, whose identity with the Homeric φᾶρος proves that Evans's 'banner' is in fact a piece of cloth. However, the sense of *pharweha* and φᾶρος is not the same. Mycenaean *pharwos* is the name of a particular type of cloth, while Homeric φᾶρος is remarkably unspecific in meaning: 'a large cloth for a sail' (*Od.* V, 258), 'a large cloak' (*Il.* II, 43, etc.), 'a funerary shroud' (XVIII, 353). Anyway, *pharweha* has been rendered here somewhat arbitrarily as 'cloths', with little or no attempt to guess the exact shape and purpose of the textiles. The ideogram TELA probably represents an upright loom with loom-weights on the warp rather than a garment with a tasselled fringe. A number of small vertical strokes may be appended in the middle of its horizontal bottom line. In our transcriptions, these strokes are indicated by small suprascript numerals: CLOTH[1], CLOTH[2], CLOTH[3], etc. The simplest form of TELA has no supplementary middle stroke. The different numbers of vertical strokes are certainly significant in a tablet recording CLOTHS with a different number of strokes, as on **219** = Lc(1) 526 (TELA[1]+*TE*… TELA[2]+*TE*…), though the personal preferences of the scribes may also have played a role in their use. A tablet like **229** = Ld(1) 598 shows that TELA (without any supplementary small vertical stroke) may assume a neutral value for totalling a quantity of both TELA[1] and TELA. The Pylos version of CLOTH may exhibit a 'fringe' of three strokes at the top as well as the bottom, and the surcharge *PA* (presumably an abbreviation of *pharwos*) in the contexts where the Knossos ideogram is blank. *Pharwos*/TELA was mostly a woollen fabric, as shown by its regular association with WOOL, but it could also be made of linen (**232** = L(1) 594). A plain CLOTH weighed 4.5 kg. Besides plain TELA, several variants existed, like TELA+*KU*, TELA+*PA*, TELA+*PO*, TELA+*PU*, TELA+*TE*, TELA+*ZO* (see below, pp. 723–24). Moreover, *pharweha*/TELA may be qualified by several technical words, like *e-qe-si-ja*, *ko-u-ra*, *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, *tu-na-no*, etc. (see pp. 725–27).

D/* TELA+*KU* (= CLOTH+*KU* = *159+*KU*) also appears in Linear A. The use of the CLOTH ideogram with the same surcharged signs (*KU*, but also *TE* and perhaps *ZO*: see below) in both Linear A and Linear B has led to some confusion, and this has even been claimed as evidence that neither is Greek. The truth is simpler. The words used to describe special kinds of cloth are particularly liable to be borrowed and are often geographical in origin; one only has to think of such English words as *cashmere*, *crêpe de Chine*, *calico* or *cambric*. Thus

it would be inevitable that the Greeks established in Crete would continue the production of Minoan textiles and would perpetuate their Pre-Hellenic names in a Hellenised form. With the loss of Minoan crafts in the post-Mycenaean period, many of these loan-words too would have disappeared from the Greek language, and this explains why we can interpret so few of the technical terms used on these tablets. *KU* and *TE* are thus doubtless abbreviations of Pre-Hellenic words for particular fabrics which were borrowed into Mycenaean Greek. *KU* has probably no relation with the adjunct *ku* which qualifies WOOL (**244** = Of 36) and which may perhaps mean 'Cypriot', *ku-pi-ri-jo* (see also **238** = Od 667).

D TELA+*PA* (= CLOTH+*PA* = **159*+*PA*): *PA* is quite likely the abbreviation of *pharwos* 'cloth'.

* TELA+*PO* (= CLOTH+*PO* = **159*+*PO*): *PO* is the abbreviation of an unknown word.

* TELA+*PU* (= CLOTH+*PU* = CLOTH of *DOU*(ble thickness) = **159*+*PU*): *PU* is quite likely the abbreviation of *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*, *puktaliā* 'cloth of *double thickness*' (see p. 729). The Linear B tablets record large quantities of TELA+*PU* (e.g. 980[pieces on KN L 5561), but its weight is unknown.

* TELA+*TE* (= CLOTH+*TE* = CLOTH of *TE*(*-pa* type) = **159*+*TE*): Linear A has an ideogram corresponding to **159*+*TE*. Hence, *TE* must be the abbreviation of a Pre-Hellenic word. Its Linear B spelling is a feminine cloth name, *te-pa*, as shown by the association of TELA^3+*TE* and *te-pa* (sealing KN Ws 8153) and of *te-pe-ja* and TELA+*TE* (KN **224** = Le 641.4) – see *te-pa*/*te-pe-ja* p. 729. The quantity of wool for one CLOTH of *TE*(*-pa* type) was large: 21 kg (7 units of wool) or 30? kg for the *pe-ko-to* variety.

* TELA+*ZO* (= CLOTH+*ZO* = **159*+*ZO*) perhaps appears in Linear A. The identity of the word abbreviated to *ZO* is unknown.

D/* TUN(ica)+*KI* (= TUNIC+*TU*(*nic*) = **162*+*KI*): the TUNIC (= **162*) ideogram differs from the CORSLET sign (= **163*; see pp. 807–08) in the absence of cross-lines and the less pronounced shoulder loops. The surcharged *KI* probably stands for the *ki-to*, *khitōn* (cf. χιτών) of **239** = L 693 and identifies the garment as a shirt, a lightly protected tunic, or as the foundation of a corslet before the addition of armour. In the military context of KN *Sc*, TUN+*QE* probably stands for a TUNIC with a piece of armour called *qe-ro*$_2$ (**305** = Sk 8100). On KN L 178 the TUNIC occurs as TUN+*RI* with the surcharge *RI* (cf. *ri-ta*, *līta* 'linen') and the annotation *u-po-we*: compare Hesychius ὑπο(*ϝ)έστης· χιτών.

D^2/* **146*: PY Un 1322.5 gives the Greek value of **146*, *we-a*$_2$*-no*[, *wehanos* 'robe' (cf. ἑᾰνός) – the abbreviation *we* is written in its interior (see pp. 668–69) – and adds that its material was 'fine linen' ([*ri*]*-no re-po-to*, *linon lepton*). It was probably of good quality, since 18[**146* are offered to Poseidon (PY Un 853.2–3). It frequently appears as part of the taxes paid to the palaces.

* **158*: the meaning of this ideogram is unknown. It appears only in the *Ld* and *L* textile series, almost always followed by the number 'one' irrespective of the number of cloths. It is often written after CLOTH. It seems best therefore to interpret it as the container or wrapping in which the cloths were kept rather than as a 'hat' or other garment. Hence our tentative rendering as 'BAG'.

D/* **161*: this ideogram regularly precedes CLOTH (once CLOTH[3]+*PA*). These fabrics were obviously refined, since they are qualified by terms like *a-ro*$_2$*-a*, *ko-u-ra*, *pe-ne-we-ta*, *po-ki-ro-nu-ka/re-u-ko-nu-ka*, etc. (see below, pp. 725–30). Its meaning is obscure, but it is evidently not 'superintendence of olive groves' (Evans, *PoM* IV.716).

* **164* looks like a spotted garment. **236** = L 520 shows that the quantity of wool for one **164* weighed 18 kg (6 units of wool): it is one of the heaviest Linear B fabrics, the equivalent of four plain TELA. Since *pekton* precedes it on L 698, **164*[1] could be a 'combed' fabric (see *pe-ko-to* pp. 727–28).

Some textile vocabulary

* *a-ke-ti-ri-ja/a-ze-ti-ri-ja*: this female trade name may also be spelt as *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$. It ends with the feminine form *-tria* of the agent suffix *-tēr* from ἀσκέω 'work' and 'decorate' (cf. *Il.* x, 438). The variants *a-ke-* and *a-ze-* reflect differences of pronunciation: *askētria* vs *ak*^{s}*ētria vel sim*. Its meaning is probably 'decorator, finisher woman', viz. woman who gives the final touch to cloths (Killen 1979a.165–67 = *Economy and Administration* I.231–33). These people could have been in charge of some processes able to improve the look or feel of a fabric – for instance, adding some decorations like the 'nails', *onukhes*, of the *leukonukha/poikilonukha* cloths: 'with white/multicoloured "nails"' or the *eruthrāphi* 'red (ornamentation)' (Killen 1979a.157–58 = *Economy and Administration* I.223–24). See also *ka-na-pe-we*, *te-tu-ko-wo-a* and *to-u-ka* pp. 726, 729.

D/* *a-ro*$_2$*-a* (**226** = Ld(1) 571) agrees with the neuter plural *pharweha* on several *Ld* or *L* tablets and is applied to WHEELS on KN So(1) 4430. The feminine plural *a-ro*$_2$*-e* is found twice on KN *L(10)* tablets connected with *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*, perhaps *puktaliai*, cloths (see p. 729). The parallel declension of *me-zo-a*$_2$*/me-zo-e mezoha/mezohe* (cf. με(ἰ)ζων) suggests a connexion with the comparative ἀρείων. *A-ro*$_2$*-a* is then the old comparative form *arjoha* (< **ar-yos-m̥*; cf. ἄριστος); for this explanation of *ro*$_2$, cf. the feminine dual *po-pu-ro*$_2$, *porphurjō* < **porphuriō* on KN L 758. 'Of better quality' implies differing standards. This adjective never appears with *ksenwia* 'of export type' cloth (see *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* p. 726), which were then perhaps of lesser quality (Killen 2008b.183–84 = *Economy and Administration* III.1059–60). The form *a-ro*$_2$*-jo* on **290** = So(1) 4437 is an error like *te-mi-dwe-te* in this same tablet: these adjectives concern five pairs of wheels (*armota*) and we would expect neuter plurals *a-ro*$_2$*-a* and *te-mi-dwe-ta* as in **293** = So(1) 4430 (same hand).

D/* *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* (**239** = L 693): *epikhitōniā* is a garment intended to be worn over (*epi*) a tunic (*-khitōn-*). It is presumably a singular, if there is only one garment of each type in **239** = L 693. A similar formation is seen in]*e-pi-ro-pa-ja*]*epilōpaiā* on the related tablet KN Od(1) 696 in the same hand: cf. λώπη 'cloak', *Od.* XIII, 224.

D/* *e-qe-si-ja*: *hek^{w}esia*, adjective from *e-qe-ta*, *hek^{w}etās* ('companion', a high military and/or religious title). The 'companions' obviously had special types of equipment, since *hek^{w}esia* qualifies *pharweha*/TELA and also WHEELS (see PY **297** = Sa 790).

D/* *e-ru-ta-ra-pi* (**227** = Ld(1) 573): *eruthrāphi*, literally 'with red items', is the instrumental feminine plural of ἐρυθρός, 'red'. It occurs several times in the description of cloth units in KN *Ld* and probably indicates that some unspecified red decorations were added to the cloths.

D/* *ka-na-pe-we* (**241** = MY Oe 129): *knaphēwei* 'to the fuller' (cf. κναφεύς). The Mycenaean fuller probably performed a finishing task resembling the Classical Greek one: 'Once it was woven, the Greek housewife often sent her woollen cloth to a fuller … for a nice finish. He would wash it … with soaps or ammonia as detergent, then compact it …, tease the surface … to raise the nap, … and trim … the nap until it was even' (Barber 1991.274). See also *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*/*a-ze-ti-ri-ja* (p. 725), *te-tu-ko-wo-a* and *to-u-ka* (p. 729).

D/D^{2}/* *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*: adjective *ksenwia*, cf. ξένιος/ξείνιος 'of guests'. The meaning of the Mycenaean form could be 'for guest-gifts', but 'for foreigners', viz. 'for export' seems more likely. On Ld(1) 649 *ke-se-ne-wi-ja* is more probably a variant of *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* than the Homeric by-form ξεινήϊα < *ξενϝήϝια. In *ke-se-ne-wi-ja*, *-ne-wi* violates the ordinary rule that *-nw-* is spelt with *n* + the vowel of the following syllable (here, *-ni-wi-*) or *u* (*-nu-wi-*). Instead, it uses a reflexion of the vowel of the preceding syllable. The expected spelling *ke-se-ni-wi-jo*[is found on PY Fr 1231.2.

D/* *ki-to*: *khitōn* 'tunic' (cf. χιτών; Masson 1967.27–29) occurs several times in Linear B in different cases. Its most interesting context is provided by **239** = L 693, where it appears with other garments of 'fine linen' – one of them is an *epikhitōniā* 'overshirt'. The word is borrowed from a Semitic form (itself a Sumerian loan-word) seen in Hebrew *k^{e}tonet* and Akkadian *kitintū* 'linen dress' (the Ugaritic *ktn* is the noun for a kind of clothing). The basic *kitū*, *kitinnu* means 'linen' or 'linen clothing' in Akkadian, but it is perhaps better to assume that the Mycenaean word was borrowed as the name of a specific garment.

D/* *ko-ro-ta$_{2}$*: qualifies CLOTHS in KN *Ld*. *Ko-ro-ta$_{2}$* is probably to be linked with *ko-ro-to*, itself associated with WOOL on Mycenae Oe 106.1. Restorations on KN Od 485, 486, 487 suggest that *ko-ro-to*, like *o-nu-ke*, is a form of wool used for decorating cloth. A connexion with κλώθω, 'spin' or χρῴζω, 'dye' seems

unlikely (J. T. Killen pers. com.): all wool is spun and if this were dyed wool, we should expect the colour to be specified, as e.g. with *e-ru-ta-ra-pi*.

D/* *ko-u-ra*: this word appears regularly at Knossos between *pharweha* 'cloths' and (**161*) CLOTH. PY La 623 rev. exhibits *ko-u-ra* CLOTH+*PA*[, while Mycenae offers *pa-we-a*$_2$ *ko-u-ra* (L 710.2). *Ko-u-ra* could be a neuter plur. epithet of *pharweha*, but no convincing rendering has been offered to date. A connexion with κουρά 'shearing, fleece' is impossible, since the Mycenaean form should be spelt **ko-sa* < **korsā*. A derivative of *ko-u-ra*, *ko-u-re-ja*, is used as a term for female workers (applied to a WOMAN on **25** = Ap 694.1) and is written before the WOOL ideogram on KN Lc(2) 581. The WOOL amounts following *ko-u-ra* cloth point to an approximate ratio of 3 *ko-u-ra* to 5 units of WOOL: 40 *ko-u-ra* = 60[units of WOOL (Lc(1) 530); 16 *ko-u-ra* = 26 M 1 units of WOOL (**222** = Lc(1) 532); 50 *ko-u-ra* = 82[units of WOOL (Lc(1) 553). [*Ko-u-ra*] could be associated with 10 CLOTHS^{x} and 140[units of WOOL on Lc(1) 551.

D/* *mi*: this adjunct occurs with *pe* on KN **224** = Le 641 and Ln 1568 associated with the ideogram TELA+*TE*. The *pe* represents the beginning of *pektos* 'combed' (see pp. 727–28). The *mi* is spelt in full as *mi-ja-ro* in Ln 1568.1, which may represent the Homeric μιαρός, whose etymology is unknown. In a manufacturing context, the meaning 'stained, defiled' of μιαρός seems strange. It is perhaps better to understand it as 'rough' *vel sim*.

o-]*ḍa-ku-we-ta* (**233** = L 870): *odakwenta* and its variant *o-da-twe-ta* appear quite regularly in the Mycenaean records of wheels (see pp. 804–05). Their suffix *-went-* expresses the possession of a characteristic indicated by the preceding radical and means 'provided with'. Both forms are derivatives of the word for 'tooth' ὀδούς/ὀδών (*odakwenta* is the result of a dissimilation of the original form *odatwenta*). Hence, *odatwenta vel sim*. signifies literally 'provided with "teeth"'. These 'teeth' must have a technical sense, but this is unfortunately unknown. It could possibly refer to a kind of decorative border of CLOTHS.

o-nu-ke: see *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* pp. 728–29.

D^2/* *o-pi* is the preposition opi (cf. ἐπί, ὄπισθεν) in the sense 'chez', 'at the workshop of' (Killen 1968a = *Economy and Administration* I.133–40).

pa-we-a, *pharweha*: see TELA p. 723.

pe: see *pe-ko-to*, next note.

D/* *pe-ko-to* specifies a special characteristic of cloths. It occurs several times before CLOTH or CLOTH of *TE*(*-pa* type), but it also precedes a **164*^{1} garment (KN L 698). Since its form does not vary, just as with its parallel *tu-na-no* (see p. 730), it looks like a substantive. Both are probably masculine, since they are symmetric to the plural *pharweha* on **225** = Lc(1) 535. The weight of one *pe-ko-to* CLOTH of *TE*(*-pa* type) could be 10? WOOL, viz. 30? kg. *Pe-ko-to* is connected with the woman's trade name *pe-ki-ti-ra*$_2$, *pektrja* 'wool-carder' at Pylos

(cf. *pe-ki-ti-*[on KN Ld(1) 656). Both terms are linked with πέκω 'comb', 'card' and 'shear'. Though *carded wool vel sim.* is natural, it might seem difficult to suppose that *combed* qualified *cloth*. However, Barber (1991.287) quotes a letter of an Assyrian merchant in Anatolia (early in the second millennium). He writes to his wife, 'the fine textile… let them comb one side of the textile; they should not shear it; its weave should be close'. Even today, one may find 'combed cloth' as in 'Combed Army Cloth' (*Deseret News* – Utah; 16 Dec. 1955.A7); cf. also '*tissu peigné*' in French. We will therefore suppose that *pektos* meant something like 'combed fabric'. The word is regularly abbreviated to the adjunct *pe* (Killen 1974.90 = *Economy and Administration* I.191) – a reading *pe*(*-ru-si-nwa*) 'of last year' is excluded.

D²/* *pe-ne-we-ta*: a neuter plural adjective in *-wenta* (possible dual on KN L(2) 5108) which qualifies *pharweha* 'cloths' or CLOTHS and is parallel to other textile qualifiers like *e-qe-si-ja* and *re-u-ko-nu-ka*. It must mean 'provided with *pe-ne-*'. Its initial element is obscure, however. The rules of word formation in Mycenaean exclude the possibility of derivation from an *o*-stem; the root of this adjective must therefore be either a neuter *s*-stem or a consonant stem. A relation with σφήν 'wedge' seems excluded for etymological reasons. *Pe-ne-wenta* might refer to some kind of decoration.

D/D²/* *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, *poikil-onukha* 'with multicoloured "nails"' and *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, *leuk-onukha* 'with white "nails"' are strictly parallel (see **228** = Ld(1) 587, etc.). The simple form *o-nu-ka* (with CLOTHS on Ld(1) 584) seems to be a back-formation on the compound forms and mean 'with *onukhes*' (Killen 1979a.158–61 = *Economy and Administration* I.224–27). Like other textile qualifiers such as *e-qe-si-ja* and *pe-ne-we-ta*, *poikilonukha*, *leukonukha* and *onukha* are neuter plural adjectives qualifying *pharweha* 'cloths' or CLOTHS. They are obviously linked to *o-nu* and *o-nu-ke*. There seems little doubt that *o-nu vel sim.* is the same word as ὄνυξ, 'nail, claw, onyx', etc., but it has some technical meaning here. Compare ὄνυξ in the sense of an ornamental band on the Erechtheion building inscription. *Onuks* could be the name of some kind of woollen decoration which could be measured separately and was designed for application to garments (cf. 'lace', etc.). Hence our provisional translation as 'nails'. Two main varieties are mentioned, multicoloured or white, and *onuks* alone would probably mean '"nail" of unspecified colour'. The quantities of multicoloured and white 'nails' are strikingly different: on two tablets which list both, there are c. 15 and 37 times more cloths with white 'nails' than with multicoloured ones (see **228** = Ld(1) 587 and **229** = Ld(1) 598). This suggests that multicoloured 'nails' were more refined and precious than white. The spelling of the nominative sing. *onuks* is puzzling: instead of **o-nu-ku* (cf. *wa-na-ka*, *wanaks*), we find *o-nu* (KN Od(1) 681, in a context with WOOL) like *to-ra*, *thōrāks* (cf. θώραξ), which is a variant of *to-ra-ka*. The nominative plur. *o-nu-ke* (*onukhes*) is used with WOOL on KN

Od(1) 682 and **237** = M 683. It is also written on one face of the sealing KN Ws 1703: the other face has *stathmos* ('weight'), and the weight symbol P (= 20.83 g) is written over the seal-impression itself. Mycenaean 'nails' were therefore extremely light.

D/* *po-ri-wa*: *poliwa*, cf. Hom. πολιός 'grey' (of hair, a wolf, steel, the sea). This neuter plural does not match the single piece of cloth recorded in **228** = Ld(1) 587.2. A sing. would have been appropriate, but the scribe mistakenly used a plural as in the five preceding words.

D/* *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*: name of a special kind of CLOTH on KN L(7) 471, where it is followed by CLOTH+*PU* and qualified by a clear feminine plural adjective (*me-zo-e*; see also]*a-ro*$_2$*-e* before CLOTH+*PU* on KN L(10) 735). *Pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* may be linked with πτυκτός 'folded' (cf. δίπτυχον… λώπην 'double mantle', *Od.* XIII, 224; there are forms in πυκτ-) and is perhaps to be read as *puktaliā* 'cloth of double thickness'. Its weight is unknown.

D/D^2/* *qe-te-o* (**239** = L 693): there are variants like *qe-te-a*, *qe-te-a*$_2$ (neuter plurals; Pylos **110** = Un 138.1), *qe-te-jo* and *qe-te-o*. The word is clearly an economic term. Its current interpretation is as a verbal adjective *k*^{w}*eitehon*, cf. τίνω, 'pay' and [ἀπο]τιστέον. Its meaning should be literally 'to be paid' or 'to be issued'. If so, *k*^{w}*eitehon* and *o-pe-ro*, *ophelos* 'debt' (cf. ὀφείλω) would express an expected delivery respectively by or to the palace.

re-u-ko-nu-ka: see *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* pp. 728–29.

ta-ra-si-ja: see pp. 711–12.

D^2/* *te-pa/te-pe-ja*: *te-pa* is the name of a textile fabric whose abbreviation appears in TELA+*TE*. Its gender is feminine as shown by the dative plur. *te-pa-i*, *te-p-āhi* (followed by LANA 9 on MY Oe 107). *Te-pa* is quite probably a Pre-Hellenic loan-word, since Linear A has an ideogram corresponding to TELA+*TE* (see TELA+*TE* p. 724). *Te-pa* was the heaviest of the Mycenaean fabrics that we know: 21 kg (seven units of WOOL) – its *pe-ko-to* variety could even weigh 30? kg. This has made a link with the probable loan-word τάπης 'carpet, rug' tempting. The *te-pa* cloths were made by specialised female workers, *te-pe-ja* 'the *te-pa* craftswomen'.

D/* *te-tu-ko-wo-a*, *thethukhwoha* (**230** = L 871), formally perfect participle active of τεύχω 'produce by work or art', but used in the passive sense of Hom. τετυγμένος 'well-made, well-wrought'. The word probably refers to the 'finishing' of cloths and may be understood as 'completely finished'. See *a-ke-ti-ri-ja/a-ze-ti-ri-ja*, *ka-na-pe-we* (pp. 725, 726), and *to-u-ka* (next note).

D^2/* *to-u-ka*: appears a few times on the verso of KN *Lc(2)* records and is followed by quantities of wool. The use of the participle of τεύχω *thethukhwoha* 'completely finished' in connexion with CLOTHS on **230** = L 871 suggests reading *to-u-ka* as *thoukhāi* 'for the decoration/finishing task' (see also *a-ke-ti-ri-ja/a-ze-ti-ri-ja* and *ka-na-pe-we* pp. 725, 726).

D/* *tu-na-no* is the name for a kind of CLOTH weighing 9 kg (three units of WOOL). The interpretation of *tu-na-no* is unknown, though its ending looks the same as that of *we-a*$_2$*-no-*, *wehano-* 'robe' (cf. ἑᾰνός) – a link with the technical word στυππεῖον 'coarse fibre of flax or hemp' is difficult. *Tu-na-no* CLOTHS are regularly recorded before CLOTHS of *TE*(*-pa* type). The totalling tablet **225** = Lc 535 groups *pharweha*, *tu-na-no* and *pektoi* in three main entries.

D/* *wa-na-ka-te-ra*: *wanakterai* 'royal, of royal type'. This adjective qualifies 4̣0̣ pieces of CLOTH of *TE*(*-pa* type) in **221** = Lc(1) 525. It meant that the fabrics were either of an especially high quality or intended to be worn by the king or his court. *Wanakteros* is also written on stirrup-jars which were sent from Crete to continental Greece, once abbreviated to *wa*. It may equally qualify personnel under royal control.

D/* *we-we-e-a*: *werweh-eh-a* (cf. the Hom. name of 'wool', εἶρος < **werw-os*) 'woollen'. This neuter plural adjective qualifies **161* CLOTH^3+*PA* (KN L 178) and CLOTH^3 (**233** = L 870).

D/* **56-ra-ku-ja*: this hapax qualifies CLOTHS on **228** = Ld(1) 587. It is clearly an alternative spelling of the other hapax *pa-ra-ku-ja* qualifying *pharweha*/CLOTHS on Ld(1) 575. *Pa-ra-ku-ja* is clearly derived from the noun *pa-ra-ku-we* (dative sing.), which is the name of a precious material used in the production of luxury furniture (see **261** = Ta 642). It may perhaps be compared to terms like σμάραγδος, 'emerald' or βαρακίς· γλαύκινον ἱμάτιον, 'bluishgreen piece of cloth' (Hesychius). Anyway, it could mean either 'of *pa-ra-ku* colour' or 'adorned with *pa-ra-ku*'.

The Knossos textile 'industry'

D/* The KN *Lc*/*Le* series record the manufacture of textiles by various groups of women. They worked under the *talasiā* system of 'compulsory work', as is explicitly mentioned in the two totalling records **225** = Lc(1) 535 and 536. The *Lc* series records two kinds of items: (i) the requirements for production by the groups named at the beginnings of the texts; (ii) the amounts of wool that the weavers needed to carry out the work. The *Le* tablets record the delivery of the completed production. They include entries of *a-pu-do-si*, *apudosis* 'delivery' (Le 5629, 5903; cf. ἀπόδοσις) to the palace. The *Lc* tablets are closely connected with some of the *Ak* records (see pp. 437–40), which were written by the same scribe (hand 103) and found in the same part of the palace of Knossos. The surviving range of place-names, ethnics and possessives of these women on *Lc* is as follows: *A-mi-ni-so*, *Da-te-we-ja*, *Da-wi-ja*, *Da-*22-ti-ja*, *E-ki-si-ja*, *E-ra-ja*, *I-ja-pu*$_2$*-wi-ja*, *Ko-no-so*, *Pa-i-ti-ja*, *Qa-mi-ja*, *Ri-jo-ni-ja*, *Se-to-i-ja*, *Tu-ni-ja*, *Tu-ri-si-ja*. The ethnics are in the …*a* (…*ai*) form of the adjective referring to the groups of female workers who were manufacturing the goods. This is shown for instance

by occupational names like]*ạ-ra-ka-te-ja*, *ālakateiai* 'distaff women' (KN Lc(1) 531) written instead of the place-names or ethnics.

* The picture which emerges is of small 'industrial' establishments in different parts of the island, but all closely controlled by Knossos. Parallels suggest that the work was mainly done at home in 'domestic workshops' (Barber 1991.284–85, 287–88).

D Similar accounts of cloth and wool are found at Alalakh, e.g. no. 357 (Wiseman 1953.99): 'Account of thirty-seven pieces of cloth and thirty-five measures of wool belonging to the *šakanaku* official's store'; and at Ugarit, e.g. *RŠ*, XI, 732B (Virolleaud 1940.257):

'Five tunics, 500 shekels of purple wool… for the king,
Two tunics, 200 shekels of purple wool… for the queen,
One tunic, 100 shekels of purple wool… for the king's son,
One tunic, 100 shekels of purple wool… (for various officials)'.

D Some of the Knossos cloths were probably designed, as at Ugarit, for 'distribution to functionaries, for example those who lived in the palace itself, who were guaranteed to receive a new garment when their old one was worn out' (Virolleaud 1953.193). Medieval English account rolls show a similar grading of officials according to the value and elaborateness of the robes which they receive from the king as part of their allowance.

D/* The beginning of the manufacturing process for Mycenaean cloth is illustrated by several tablets which list the number and types of fabrics expected by the palace and the quantities of wool needed.

219 = Lc(1) 526 (103)

.A] 'pe-ko-to' TELA[1]+*TE* 1̣0̣ TELA[2]+*TE* 14[
.B]ḍạ-wi-ja / tu-na-no TELA[1] 3 LANA[

.B Women of *Da-wo*:
.A 'combed fabric': 1̣0̣ CLOTHS[1] of *TE*(-*pa* type); 14[ ] CLOTHS[2] of *TE*(-*pa* type); [WOOL]
.B 3 CLOTHS[1] of *tu-na-no* type: [x] kg of WOOL.

LANA, *pe-ko-to*, TELA, TELA+*TE*, *tu-na-no*: see pp. 722, 727–28, 723, 724, 730.

* As usual in Mycenaean epigraphy, when a record begins with a single line and is then divided into two lines A and B, the scribe regularly begins with B, then goes to A and finally comes back to B.

220 = Lc(1) 527 (103)

.A] 'pe-ko-to' TELA[1]+*TE* 2 TELA[2]+*TE* 1̣9̣ LANA 153
.B]ẹ-ki-si-ja / tu-na-no TELA[1] 2 LANA 6

* .B Women of *Eksos*:
.A 'combed fabric': 2 CLOTHS[1] of *TE*(-*pa* type); 1̣9̣ CLOTHS[2] of *TE*(-*pa* type): 459 kg of WOOL;
.B 2 CLOTHS[1] of *tu-na-no* type: 18 kg of WOOL.

LANA, *pe-ko-to*, TELA, TELA+*TE*, *tu-na-no*: see pp. 722, 727–28, 723, 724, 730.

* The standard weight of a CLOTH of *TE*(-*pa* type) is seven units of WOOL. We expect therefore a total of 21 x 7 = 147 units here instead of the 153 on line A. The explanation could be provided by *pekton*: it could qualify only the first entry of two CLOTHS[1] of *TE*(-*pa* type), which would weigh 10? units apiece. The next CLOTHS[2] of *TE*(-*pa* type) would naturally weigh 1̣9̣ x 7 = 133 units. The total of line A would then be 20? + 133 = 153 units (Killen 1974.84–89 = *Economy and Administration* I.185–89). The weight of a *tu-na-no* CLOTH is shown in l. B: 3 units of WOOL (= 9 kg).

221 = Lc(1) 525 (103)

.A 'wa-na-ka-te-ra' TELA[3]+*TE* 4̣0̣ LANA 100[
.B se-to-i-ja , / tu-na-no TELA[1] 3 LANA [

D/* .B Women of *Se-to-i-ja*:
.A 4̣0̣ royal CLOTHS of *TE*(-*pa* type): 300[ ] kg of WOOL.
.B 3 CLOTHS[1] of *tu-na-no* type: [x] kg of WOOL.

LANA, TELA, TELA+*TE*, *tu-na-no*, *wa-na-ka-te-ra*: see pp. 722, 723, 724, 730 x 2.

* The quantity of wool in the 4̣0̣ CLOTHS[3] of *TE*(-*pa* type) was probably [4̣0̣ x 7 LANA = 280], viz. 840 kg.

222 = Lc(1) 532 (103)

.A] 'pa-we-a' ko-u-ra TELA[1] 16 LANA 26 M 1 [
.B]ḳụ-wo / tu-na-no TELA[1] 1 LANA 3 TELA+*TE* 4 LANA 28[

D/* .B]*ḳụ-wo*:
.A cloths of *ko-u-ra* type, 16 CLOTHS[1]: 79 kg of WOOL.
.B 1 CLOTH[1] of *tu-na-no* type: 9 kg of WOOL; 4 CLOTHS of *TE*(-*pa* type): 84[ ] kg of WOOL.
ko-u-ra, LANA, *pa-we-a*, TELA, TELA+*TE*, *tu-na-no*: see pp. 727, 722, 723, 724, 730.

*]*ḳụ-wo* (a possible genitive) is probably the name of the person in charge of the work-group, like *e-me-si-jo-jo* (Lc(1) 551).
* 'Cloths… CLOTHS[1]': 'double writing' (see p. 626).
D/* This tablet gives exactly the weights of the *tu-na-no* (9 kg apiece) and the *te-pa* (21 kg apiece) fabrics. The weight of the 16 *ko-u-ra* type is strange, however: its 26 M 1 (= 79 M or kg) are not divisible by 16 and we expect 26 M 2 (= 80 M or kg). There must be some irregularity or an error by the scribe.

223 = Od(1) 562 (103)

.1]o̤-pi , no-nu-we , 'a-ti-pa-mo' pe-re LANA 91
.2 si-da-jo , pe-re 'po-ro-to' LANA 42
.3 a-po-te , pe-re LANA 69

D²/* .1 At *No-nu-'s* working-place:
Antiphamos brings: 273 kg of WOOL.
.2]*Si-da-jo* brings (first <time>?): 126 kg of WOOL.
.3 *A-po-te* brings: 207 kg of WOOL.

LANA, *o-pi*: see pp. 722, 727.

* This tablet provides another illustration of the beginning of the textile manufacturing process, when wool is brought to the textile workshop. The *talasiā* system of 'compulsory work' (see pp. 710–12) is doubtless involved here, since Hand 103 of this tablet has also written the totalling tablets **225** = Lc(1) 535 and 536, which mention *talasiā*.

* Since the preposition *o-pi* means 'chez', 'at the workshop of', the hapax *No-nu-* must be the name of the head of this important workshop where more than 600 kg wool were brought.

D²/* Antiphamos and *Si-da-jo* are personal names known elsewhere. So too must be the parallel form *A-po-te* which is the subject of the verb *deksato* on **224** = Le 641.1. Each of these men 'brings' (*pherei*; cf. φέρω) large quantities of WOOL. The CLOTH : WOOL ratios on the *Lc* tablets indicate the types and numbers of cloth that the deliveries of wool here were intended to make:

* l. 1: 91 units of WOOL = 13 CLOTHS of *TE*(*-pa* type) x 7 units of WOOL;

* l. 2: 42 units of WOOL = either 6 CLOTHS of *TE*(*-pa* type) x 7 units of WOOL or 14 *tu-na-no* x 3 units of WOOL;

* l. 3 is more difficult to analyse: 69 units of WOOL = either 23 *tu-na-no* x 3 units of WOOL or 46 plain CLOTHS x 1.5 units of WOOL or even (Killen 1974.88 = *Economy and Administration* I.189) the sum of 2 *pe-ko-to* TELA of *TE*(*-pa* type) x 10? units of WOOL (= 20? units of WOOL) plus 7 TELA of *TE*(*-pa* type) x 7 units of WOOL (= 49 units of WOOL).

* *a-pu-do-si po-ro-te-ra*, *apudosis proterā* 'first delivery' (MY X 2 (initially classified as Ui 2); cf. ἀπόδοσις) suggests that the hapax *po-ro-to* could perhaps be read as *prōton* 'first' used adverbially (cf. πρῶτον).

224 = Le 641 (103)

.1 o-a-po-te , de-ka-sa-ṭo̤ , a-re-i-jo , o-u-qe-po[
.2 pa-i-ti-ja , '*pe*' TELA+*TE* 2 *mi* TELA¹+*TE* 1̤4̤ da-wi-ja , *pe* TELA^x+*TE* 1[
.3 do-ti-ja *mi* TELA+*TE* 6 qa-mi-ja TELA¹+*TE* 1[
.4 ko-no-so , / te-pe-ja '*mi*' TELA+*TE* 3 tu-ni-ja TELA¹+*TE* 1 [
.5.6 *vacant* [ ] *vacant* [

D/D²/* .1 Thus? *A-po-te* received *from*? *A-re-i-jo*?, and there [is/are] no[ ]:
.2 Women of Phaistos: 2 co(mbed) CLOTHS of *TE*(*-pa* type), 14 *ro*(*ugh*) CLOTHS[1] of *TE*(*-pa* type);
Women of *Da-wo*: 1[ ] co(mbed) CLOTH[x] of *TE*(*-pa* type);
.3 etc.

mi, *pe*, TELA+*TE*, *te-pe-ja*: see pp. 727, 727–28, 724, 729.

The last phase of the manufacture of *talasiā* cloth is illustrated by this text recording the delivery of cloths to the palace by the textile workshops.

D/D²/* *o-a-po-te* (l. 1): the transcription and function of *o-* is disputed. We will provisionally understand it as *hō*(*s*)? 'thus'? (cf. ὥ(ς)). *A-po-te* is the name of the man in charge of the cloth's receipt (and not the adverb ἄπωθεν); he is subject of the verb *pherei* 'he brings' on **223** = Od 562.3. Compare the introduction *hō*(*s*)? *deksato a-ko-so-ta* 'Thus? A. received' on Pylos **248** = Pn 30.1, with the subject placed after the verb and not before as here. The comparable KN Le 642 (same scribe) has]*ra-wo de-ko-to* '*ṭa-ra-si-ja*' *ne*['[?Age]lawos received the *talasiā*…', which is evidently of identical context and preserves the alternative Homeric form of the aorist, δέκτο.

D/D²/* *a-re-i-jo* is a patronymic adjective at Pylos. It must be analysed differently here, since it does not immediately follow *A-po-te*. If so, *A-re-i-jo* could be the full name of the person who delivered the cloths to *A-po-te* and would be parallel to *paro Re-wa-jo* 'from R.' (**230** = L 871).

* *o-u-qe-po*[begins with *ouk*^{w}*e* 'and not' (cf. οὔτε). The *po*[could be the beginning of *posi* (cf. Arc.-Cyp. πός; Dor. ποτί): cf. *o-u-qe po-si*, *ouk*^{w}*e posi* 'and there is no' (KN Sd 4412).

225 = Lc(1) 535 (103)

.A	ta-ra-si-ja	pa-we-a [
.B	ke-ri-mi-ja	tu-na-no [
.C to-sa /		pe-ko-to [

D/* .A.B.C So much 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre'; *ke-ri-mi-ja*:
.A [x] [*ko-u-ra*?]cloths;
.B [x] *tu-na-no* cloths;
.C [x] 'combed fabric'.

pa-we-a, *pe-ko-to*, *ta-ra-si-ja*, *tu-na-no*: see pp. 723, 727–28, 710–12, 730.

* This record totals the targets for textile production by the so-called 'collectors' (Olivier 1967b.91), wealthy people controlling crucial parts of the palatial economy.

D/D²/* *ke-ri-mi-ja* (l. B) is also found on Pylos **27** = An 607.1. Its interpretation remains difficult.

* There is a trace consistent with the ideogram TELA in the break of l. C.

The *Ld*(*1*) tablets, examples of which follow, record bales of completed cloth in the palace stores.

226 = Ld(1) 571 (116)

.a pe-ne-we-ta a-ro$_2$-a **158* 1
.b pa-we-a , / e-qe-si-ja , re-u-ko-nu-ka , TELA^3 25

D/* Cloths of 'followers' type with white 'nails', provided with *pe-ne-*, of better quality: 25 CLOTHS^3; 1 BAG.

a-ro$_2$-a, *e-qe-si-ja*, *pa-we-a*, *pe-ne-we-ta*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, TELA, **158*: see pp. 725, 726, 723, 728, 728–29, 723, 725.

* 'Cloths… CLOTHS^3': 'double writing' (see p. 626).

227 = Ld(1) 573 (116)

.a e-ru-ta-ṛa̤-pi
.b pa-we-a , / ke-se-nu-wi-ja , re-u-ko-nu-ka TELA^3 35 **158* 1

D/D^2/* Cloths *of export type* with white 'nails', with red (decoration): 35 CLOTHS^3; 1 BAG.

e-ru-ta-ra-pi, *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*, *pa-we-a*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, TELA, **158*: see pp. 726 x 2, 727, 728–29, 723, 725.

* 'Cloths… CLOTHS^3': 'double writing' (see p. 626).

228 = Ld(1) 587 (116)

.1 to-sa , po-ki-ro-nu-ka TELA^2 24 re-u-ko-nu-ka TELA^2 372
.2 ko-ro-ta$_2$ TELA^2 14 *56-ra-ku-ja TELA^x 42 po-ri-wa TELA^2 1

lat. inf. *vac.* [ ]to-ṣa̤ TELA 149

D/D^2/* .1 So many:
with multicoloured 'nails': 24 CLOTHS^2; with white 'nails': 372 CLOTHS^2;
.2 *with wool for decorating*: 14 CLOTHS^2; of **56-ra-ku- colour*: 42 CLOTHS^x; grey: 1 CLOTH^2.

Edge: [ ]So many: 149 CLOTHS.

ko-ro-ta$_2$, *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, *po-ri-wa*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, TELA, **56-ra-ku-ja*: see pp. 726, 728–29, 729, 728–29, 723, 730.

D^2 This record is the totalling document for tablets such as **229** = Ld(1) 598 (Killen and Olivier 1968.119).

* *tos(s)a* and all the following adjectives agree with an implicit *pharweha* 'cloths'.
* *po-ri-wa*: there is only 'one' grey cloth, but the scribe mistakenly used the plural as in the four preceding adjectives.
D^2/* edge: a lacuna before]*to-ṣa̤* may perhaps explain the significance of the number 149, which unaccountably bears no relation to the separate items. Maybe this entry introduced a supplementary total which was perhaps preceded by some additional information.

229 = Ld(1) 598 (116)

.1 wi-jo-qo-ta-o po-ki-ro-nu-ka TELA 1 [
.2 re-u-ko-nu-ka TELA[1] 37 ko-ro-ta$_2$ TELA 2 [

lat. inf. to-sa TELA 40 *o* TELA[1] 6[

D/D[2]/* .1 Of *Wi-jo-qo-tās*:
with multicoloured 'nails': 1 CLOTH [;
.2 with white 'nails': 37 CLOTHS[1]; *with wool for decorating*: 2 CLOTHS [.

Edge: So many: 40 CLOTHS. Deficit: 6[ ] CLOTHS[1].

ko-ro-ta$_2$, *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, TELA: see pp. 726–27, 728–29 x 2, 723.

D[2]/* This tablet begins with the genitive of a man's name, *Wi-jo-qo-ta-o*, also found as that of a 'collector' in several KN *D*- tablets.

D/* All the adjectives agree with an implicit *pharweha* 'cloths', even *poikilonukha* in line 1, which should have been a singular in *-ko* – a mistake by the scribe, like *po-ri-wa* on the preceding tablet.

* The edge gives exactly the total of the cloths recorded on the verso (1 + 37 + 2 = 40). Its right end mentions a total of 6[ ] missing cloths.

D/* *o*: abbreviation of *o-pe-ro*, *ophelos* 'debt' (owed to the palace; cf. ὀφείλω).

230 = L 871 (114?)

.a] pa-ro , re-wa-jo
.b]ra , pe-ne-we-ta , / e-qe-si-ja , te-tu-ko-wo-a TELA[4] 6

D/*]*ra*: from *Re-wa-jo*: 6 CLOTHS[4] provided with *pe-ne-*, of 'followers' type, completely finished.

e-qe-si-ja, *pe-ne-we-ta*, TELA, *te-tu-ko-wo-a*: see pp. 726, 728, 723, 729.

D/*]*ra*: a place-name would suit (e.g. *qa-ra*: KN L(3) 473), but perhaps also a neuter noun like *e-ne-ra* (an obscure textile word); cf. the dual *e-ne-ro re-u-ko* on KN L 695.4 and *e-ne-re-ja*[, a description of women, on Ak(1) 638. This is perhaps linked with Hom. ἔνεροι 'those below' with a meaning like 'undergarments, under-blankets'? Cf. *Od.* x, 352–53: ἔβαλλε θρόνοις ἔνι ῥήγεα καλὰ πορφύρεα καθύπερθ', ὑπένερθε δὲ λῖθ' ὑπέβαλλεν 'she threw beautiful purple rugs over chairs as the top layer and spread linen cloths beneath them'.

* *Re-wa-jo*: the name of the man from whom (*pa-ro*, *paro*, cf. παρά) the fabrics were delivered is a hapax.

* The three qualifiers agree with an implicit *pharweha* 'cloths'.

231 = L(7) 474. (211)

po-pu-re-ja , / pu-ka-ta-ri-ja TELA[3]+*PU* 21

D/D²/* Purple cloths *of double thickness*: 21 CLOTHS³ of *DOU*(ble thickness).

Pu-ka-ta-ri-ja, TELA+*PU*: see pp. 729, 724.

D/D²/* *porphureiai*: cf. the dual *po-pu-ro*$_2$ with two CLOTHS of *DOU*(ble thickness) on KN L 758. The *wa-na-ka-te-ro… po-pu-re-jo*[on KN X 976 suggests that purple was already a favourite royal colour. Cf. *Od.* XIX, 225–26: χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὔλην ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, διπλῆν 'god-like Odysseus wore a double purple cloak of wool'. *Po-pu-re-ja* cannot mean '(female) purple-dyers': the parallel of KN L 471 (in the same hand), with *re-u-ka*, *leukai* 'white', shows that an adjective of colour is required.

* 'Cloths of double thickness… CLOTHS of *DOU*(ble thickness)': 'double writing' (see p. 626).

232 = L(1) 594 (103)

.a] ri-ta , pa-we-a
.b]da-te-we-ja TELA¹ 1 TUN+*KI* 1

Women of Da-te-wa: linen cloths, 1 CLOTH¹; 1 TUNIC+*TU*(*nic*).

pa-we-a, TELA, TUN+*KI*: see pp. 727, 723, 724.

D/* This text records one CLOTH¹ and one TUNIC+*TU*(*nic*) – compare the formula of *Od.* VIII, 392, etc.: φᾶρος ἐυπλυνὲς ἠδὲ χιτῶνα 'a well-washed cloak and a tunic'. This association suggests that both fabrics were in fact a suit, with the CLOTH intended to be worn over the TUNIC.

* *da-te-we-ja*: Killen (1983a.78–79 = *Economy and Administration* I.285–86) suggests a feminine possessive adjective in *-eios* based on the man's name *Da-te-wa*.

D/* *ri-ta pa-we-a*: *līta pharweha* (also on KN L(1) 5927). *Ri-ta* matches the Homeric neuter plural λῖτα 'linen cloth', probably adjectival here. This record provides one of the few examples of *pharweha* 'cloths' made of linen and not of wool. The plural is embarrassing, however. If it qualifies both '1 CLOTH¹' and '1 TUNIC+*TU*(*nic*)', *pharwos* should here have an extended meaning from the normal 'CLOTH'. Or could *pharweha* be a scribal mistake for the sing. *pa-wo* which would properly have been applied to '1 CLOTH¹' only? – compare the plur. *poliwa* instead of the sing. in **228** = Ld(1) 587.

* 'Cloths… CLOTH¹': 'double writing' (see p. 626).

233 = L 870. (114?)

o-]ḍa̤-ku-we-ta / we-we-e-a TELA³ 1 TUN+*KI* 1

D/*]Woollen items provided with *tooth-like decoration*: 1 CLOTH³; 1 TUNIC+*TU*(*nic*).

O-]*ḍa̤-ku-we-ta*, TELA, TUN+*KI*, *we-we-e-a*: see pp. 727, 723, 724, 730.

D/* This is another suit of cloths like that on **232** = L(1) 594. Both CLOTH³ and TUNIC+*TU*(*nic*) are made of wool.

234 = L(2) 647 (103)

.A] 'nu-wa-ja , *pe* TELA[1]] TELA[1] 17 TUN+*KI* 3
.B]ra , / e-ni-qe e-ra-pe-me-na 'nu-wa-ja' TELA[1] [ ]-ra$_2$ TELA[1] 1

lat. inf.] ⟦e̤-ri̤-[ ] TELA̤ 1 ⟧

D/* .B *Ko-pu-*]*ra*:
.A [x] co(mbed) CLOTHS[1] of *nu-wa-ja* type;17 CLOTHS[1]; 3 TUNICS+*TU*(*nics*);
.B *and there are within it*: [x] stitched CLOTHS[1] of *nu-wa-ja* type; 1 [ ]-*ra*$_2$ CLOTH[1].

Edge: ⟦*e̤-ri̤*-[ ] CLOTH̤ 1 ⟧.

pe, TELA, TUN+*KI*: see pp. 727, 723, 724.

* The 'stitched cloths' show that these fabrics were nearing or had reached completion.

*]*ra*: the restoration *ko-pu-*]*ra* is strongly suggested by two tablets of the same scribe, L(2) 593 (*ko-*]*pṳ-ra e-ni-qe pe-ne-we-ta* **161* CLOTH[1] 4 TUN+*KI* 2 TUN+*KI*[) and L(2) 5998 (*ko-pu-ra e-ni̤*[*-qe*). *Ko-pu-ra* unfortunately does not appear in more illuminating contexts. A place-name could fit its large characters, but the word is currently interpreted as a personal or occupational name.

D[2]/* *e-ni-qe*: the few other extant examples of this are followed by a description of textiles and ideograms. It is therefore possible to interpret it as *enik*^{w}*e* (cf. ἔνεστί τε) 'and there is/are within it'; cf. *tos*(*s*)*oide telestai enehensi* on PY **121** = En 609.2. Another possibility is a personal name **E-ni* coordinated by *k*^{w}*e* to [*Ko-pu-*]*ra*: '[*Ko-pu-*]*ra* and **E-ni*' (Killen and Olivier 1968.120–21 [Killen] = *Economy and Administration* I.143–44), though *e-ni-qe* is written in smaller characters than [*Ko-pu-*]*ra*.

D[2]/* *nu-wa-ja*: the variant spelling *nu-wa-i-ja* of this hapax is found twice, on KN *L*(*7*) 592, followed by *pharweha*, and on KN L(2) 5910.1 (*e-ni-qe nu-wa̤-i-ja*). Both tablets record **161* CLOTH entries. *Nu-wa*(*-i*)*-ja* is likely to be an adjective. Killen (1986.281–84 = *Economy and Administration* II.465–67) adopts C. J. Ruijgh's interpretation as a derivative of νυός 'daughter-in-law' (< **snuso-*), but suggests a meaning 'intended to purchase a partner', instead of Ruijgh's 'to be given to a bride'.

D *e-ra-pe-me-na*: perfect participle passive of ῥάπτω 'stitch', i.e. *errhapmena* 'sewn' (cf. ἐρραμμένα), with a clear lack of assimilation. The Mycenaean forms *ra-pte* 'sewing-man' and *ra-pi-ti-ra*$_2$ 'sewing-women', without any *w*-, have shown the absence of *ϝ- in ῥάπτω.

235 = Lc(2) 7377 (113)

.A] 'pa-we-a' TELA[3] 12 3
.B]we̤-ri-jo-jo , / ku-do-ni-ja LANA 18

v.]to-u-ka LANA 4 (115)

* Of [ ]*we̤-ri-jo-*, at Kudonia: cloths, 12 CLOTHS: 54 kg of WOOL; 3.
Reverse:]For the finishing work: 12 kg of WOOL.

LANA, *pa-we-a*, TELA, *to-u-ka*: see pp. 722, 727, 723, 729.

*]*wẹ-ri-jo-jo* is the end of the genitive of a man's name. He is located at Kudonia, on the extreme northwest coast of Crete (near modern Chania). The 54 kg of wool are the standard weight for 12 TELA cloths (4.5 kg apiece).

* The function of the isolated number '3' at the end of line A is unknown. A similar feature appears three times elsewhere in *Lc*(*2*) with different numbers: 2̣ and 5.

* 'Cloths… CLOTHS[3]': 'double writing' (see p. 626).

236 = L 520 (–)

.1 do-ti-ja , LANA 18 pe-re-ke **164* 3
.2 ka-ma LANA 12 **164* 2
.3 sa-mu-ta-jo LANA 24 **164*[3] 4

D/D[2]/* .1 *Do-ti-ja*: 54 kg of WOOL, *pe-re-ke* 3 **164* cloths.
.2 *Ka-ma*: 36 kg of WOOL, <*pe-re-ke*> 2 **164* cloths.
.3 *Sa-mu-ta-jo*: 72 kg of WOOL, <*pe-re-ke*> 4 **164*[3] cloths.

LANA, **164*: see pp. 722, 725.

D/* This tablet offers a numerical proportion of one **164* cloth per 18 kg of wool (= six units). This is four times heavier than the plain TELA (4.5 kg = 1½ unit WOOL).

D/* *do-ti-ja* is a place-name and *Sa-mu-ta-jo* a man's name. It is therefore likely that *Ka-ma* is here not the same word as at Pylos, and the probable ethnic *ka-ma-jo* (KN Am(1) 5882) suggests that it is to be taken as a place-name.

D/D[2]/* *pe-re-ke*: in ll. 2–3, the empty spaces of the same length as *pe-re-ke* show that this word is intended to be understood. The form *pe-re-ke* has no convincing interpretation. It could be the name or a qualifier of **164* (cf. perhaps the family of πλήσσω 'strike' with the textile noun πλήξ 'name of a bandage'?). Killen (1999e.136 = *Economy and Administration* II.678) has suggested a verbal form, *plekei* (cf. πλέκω 'plait'), whose subjects would be *Do-ti-ja*, *Ka-ma* and *Sa-mu-ta-jo*. This seems difficult, however, because Linear B avoids the insertion of any ideogram other than the divider within a phonetically written sequence.

237 = M 683 (103)

.1a] a-ze-ti-ri-ja
.1b]te-o o-nu-ke LANA 9 M 2
.2]ti-mu-nu-we **146* 30

* .1 [To be i]ssued?: finisher women/decorators, 'nails': 29 kg WOOL.
.2 [At the workshop of?]*Ti-mu-nu-*: 30 **146* robes.

a-ze-ti-ri-ja, LANA, *o-nu-ke*, **146*: see pp. 725, 722, 727, 724.

* ?*qe-*]*te-o* (l. 1b): the same scribe wrote *qe-te-o* 'to be issued' in the textile tablet **239** = L 693.

*]*Ti-mu-nu-we* (l. 2): dative of a man's name that appears in KN Od(1) 539 (same hand) preceded by the preposition *opi* (*o-pi*) 'at the workshop of' and followed by units of wool. There would have been room for *o-pi* in the missing left part of M 683. Anyway, *Ti-mu-nu-* is here associated with a large number of **146* robes.

238 = Od 667 (103)

.A 'ḳṵ-pi-ri-jạ' LANA 1 M 2 P 4[
.B][. .]-ku / ke-[ ]-ja M 2 P ḷ[

lat. inf.] sa-mu[ ] 1 qo-ja-te P 1[

.B]*ṗạ-ṛạ-ku*: not impossible; *ke-ṛẹ*[: possible.

* .B]*ṗạ-ṛạ-ku*? Cr[et]an: 2.021[ ]kg [WOOL]
.A Cypriot: 5.083[ ]kg WOOL.

Edge:] *sa-mu*[ ]: 1; *Qo-ja-te*: 20.8[ ]g.

LANA: see p. 722.

* Melena (in Bennett et al. 1990.204–05) has proposed an attractive interpretation of this record. Two different kinds of wool would be registered: 'Cypriot' (*ḳṵpriạ*, l. A) and 'Cretan' (l. B, if the restoration of *ke-ṛẹ*[-*si*]-*ja* (cf. Κρήσιος?) is right). Anyway, both quantities of wool are exceptionally precisely measured: 5.083[ ] and 2.020[ ] kg, with the use of the Mycenaean unit P weighing only 20.8 g. Perhaps these materials were of exceptional quality and intended to be used 'for embroidery or the like' (Killen 2008b.184 = *Economy and Administration* III.1060). On the edge, the quantity associated with the man's name *Qo-ja-te* is extremely restricted: only 20.8[ ]g. This is consistent with another tablet, KN Od(1) 681 (same scribe), where *Qo-ja-te* 'delivered' (*a-pu-do-ke*, *apudoke*; cf. ἀποδίδωμι) what may be very light stuff, viz. 'flocks of wool' (*ti-ra*, cf. τίλαι).

* If]*ṗạ-ṛạ-ku* is the right reading, it designates precious material used in rich furniture and perhaps in the ornamentation of luxury cloths (see p. 788, **56-ra-ku-ja*). The position and size of]*ṗạ-ṛạ-ku*? suggest that this is the overall description of the wool listed.

239 = L 693 (103)

.1 ri-no , / re-po-to , 'qe-te-o' ki-to , AES M 1 [
.2 sa-pa P 2 Q 1 e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja AES M 1[

D/D²/* .1 Fine linen, 'to be issued':
tunic, 1 kg of BRONZE [ ];
.2 *sa-pa*, 45 g <of BRONZE>; overshirt, 1[ ] kg of BRONZE.

AES, *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja*, *ki-to*, *qe-te-o*: see pp. 709, 726 x 2, 729.

D/* This tablet records three different linen garments which are associated with BRONZE. *Qe-te-o*, *kʷeitehon* (see p. 729) shows that the palace had to deliver some items – very likely the BRONZE quantities.

D/* *ri-no re-po-to* (l. 1): *linon lepton*, cf. *Il.* XVIII, 595–96: τῶν δ' αἳ μὲν λεπτὰς ὀθόνας ἔχον, οἳ δὲ χιτῶνας εἵατ' ἐϋννήτους 'the women among them were wearing fine linen, the men fine-spun tunics'. The large characters in which *linon* is written suggest that every garment recorded here was made of linen.

* Although there is no explicit indication of the number of textiles, there was perhaps only one garment of each type, since *ki-to*, *khitōn* is an obvious singular.

D/D²/* The BRONZE figures can hardly indicate the actual weight of the garments measured exceptionally in bronze units. Moreover, a 'tunic of fine linen' is unlikely to weigh more than 300 g. Another possibility is that BRONZE was used in the finishing of the tunic if it was intended to become a piece of armour – a 'linen armour' (λινοθώρηξ) and a 'bronze tunic' (χιτῶνα χάλκεον) appear in Homer (*Il.* II, 529; XIII, 439–40). Finally, the BRONZE quantities could also represent metal given in exchange for the garments.

D/* *sa-pa* (l. 2): this garment recurs on Mycenae Oe 108 associated with quantities of WOOL. Its meaning remains unknown.

4. TEXTILE PRODUCTION AT MYCENAE (Oe)[b]

D/* Around thirty tablets of the MY *Oe* series were found in the 'House of the Oil Merchant'. This name is misleading, like others given to the buildings at Mycenae where Linear B records were found. On the basis of these names, it has been thought by some that these 'houses' were purely residential and did not belong to the palace. In fact, several clues suggest that these buildings hosted palatial administration: for instance, **240** = Oe 110 records 72[ ] kg of wool used in the complex 'compulsory work' (*talasiā*) system of the Mycenaean economies; also MY X (formerly Ui) 2 mentions an *a-pu-do-si*, *apudosis* 'delivery' (cf. ἀπόδοσις) which is typical of the palace records. See also Tournavitou (1995.257–76). All but one (MY Au 102) of the tablets found in the 'House of the Oil Merchant' certainly or probably deal with textiles or textile workers, and most of them register the WOOL ideogram. The majority consist largely of personal names in the dative (e.g. *Ophelānorei* on Oe 126) followed by quantities of WOOL. General textile vocabulary shared with the other sites includes *pa-we-a*$_2$, *pharweha* 'cloths', and the *sa-pa* and *te-pa* fabrics. The occupational names found in *Oe* can belong to the textile sphere (for instance, *a-ke-ti-ri*[*-ja*, *askētria* 'finisher woman'; *ka-na-pe-we*, *knaphēwei* 'to the fuller'), but also to others, like *a-to-po-qo-i̯*[*artopok*^{w}*oihi* 'to the bakers'; *ke-ra-me-wi*[*keramēwi* 'to the potter' (note the athematic dative sing. in *-i* instead of *-ei*, which is unusual elsewhere in Mycenaean Greek). There are also kinship terms: *ko-wo*, *korwos* 'son' (cf. κόρος) and *tu-ka-te-re*, *thugatrei* 'to the daughter' (cf. θυγάτηρ; *tu-ka-ṭa-si̯* Oe 112.2, if correctly read, must be dative plural *thugatarsi* < **-tr̥si*).

[b] *Documents*[1] 322–23, *Documents*[2] 488–89, *Textos* 57–58. Study: Varias García 1994.

240 = Oe 110 (*51*)

.1 re-ka-sa , ta-ra-si-ja LANA 1̣4̣ [
.2 a-ti-ke-ne-ja LANA 10

* .1 *Re-ka-sa*: 'compulsory work with raw materials supplied by the centre': 42[ ] kg of WOOL.
.2 Antigeneia: 30 kg of WOOL.

LANA, *ta-ra-si-ja*: see pp. 722, 710–12.

* Though a hapax, Antigeneia is an obvious woman's name and the parallel *Re-ka-sa*, another hapax, must also be. This record shows that the *talasiā* 'compulsory work' system (cf. Lat. *pēnsum*; see pp. 710–12) was practised in Mycenae as in other Mycenaean states. Though *talasiā* is only written in l. 1, it probably applied to the whole record. The quantities of wool listed were probably handed to the two women for further processing.

241 = Oe 129 (*56*)

.a di-du-mo
.b ne-wo , ka-na-pe-we LANA 4

D/* For Didumos, the young/new fuller: 12 kg of WOOL.

ka-na-pe-we, LANA: see pp. 726, 722.

D²/* *di-du-mo*, *Didumōi*: a man's name probably in the dative like *knaphēwei*.
ne-wo: *newōi* (cf. νέος) may mean either 'young' or 'new'.

242 = Oe 111 (*51*)

.1 pe-ru-si-nwa , o-u-ka[
.2 wo-ro-ne-ja , pa-we-si / [•]-me-'jo-i' LANA[
.3 ne[-wa]o-u-ka LANA[
.4]-k̤i̤-ni-*5̤6̤ LANA 1̤0̤0̤[
.5] o-ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro LANA 200[
.6] *vacat* [

.1 Last year's *o-u-ka*[: [x] kg of WOOL];
.2 lambswool for cloths of [•]-*me*-'*jo-i*' type: [x] kg of WOOL;
.3 *o-u-ka* of the curr[ent year]: [x] kg of WOOL;
.4 [ ]-*k̤i̤-ni*-*5̤6̤*: 3̤0̤0̤[ ] kg of WOOL;
.5 [ ] *o-ta from Te-wa-ro*: 600[ ] kg of WOOL.

LANA, *pa-we-si* (cf. TELA): see pp. 722, 727, 723.

D/* Though the word *tos(s)a* 'so many' is not mentioned, this tablet recapitulates huge quantities of wool from two years of supply: 'last year's' (*pe-ru-si-nwa*,

perusinwa; cf. περυσινός) and 'current year's' (*ne-wa*, *newa*; lit. 'new'; cf. νέος). The wool on l. 2 was explicitly intended to be transformed into cloths (*pharwes(s)i*).

D²/* *o-u-ka* (l. 1) appears only here and as a variant *o-u-ko* in MY Oe 108 and 120 (Hands 54, 55). Its interpretation is disputed. A reading **oukhos/oukhā* 'declaration' (cf. εὔχομαι) has been offered, but who were the declarants? Their anonymity would be puzzling. *O-u-ka/o* are more likely plural and singular forms of a neuter. In the present record, the 'last year's' wool is associated with *o-u-ka*[(l. 1) and *wroneia* 'lamb's' (l. 2, see below, next note). This suggests that *o-u-ka* may designate some special kind of wool. The Mycenaean plural would be parallel to the later alphabetic word for 'wool', ἔρια/εἴρια. A connexion of *o-u-ka/o* with the word for 'sheep' ὀϝίς is attractive and prompts an interpretation like **owikon* 'sheep's wool'. There is, however, a difficulty: the normal spelling of **owi-* should be **o-wi-* and not ***o-u-*. Variants like *me-u-jo* : *me-wi-jo*, *meiwios* 'smaller' cannot be compared because there *-u-* and *-w…-* express only the consonant /*w*/, while the *-u-* of *o-u-ka/o* would be supposed to render a /*wi*/ sequence. Unless we suppose a special spelling rule for /*wi*/ in Mycenae, *o-u-ka/o* thus remains opaque.

D/* *wo-ro-ne-ja* (l. 2): a description of wool, *wroneia* 'lamb's' < **worneia*; cf. ἄρνειος, ἀρνός < **wr̥n-os*, gen. of ἀρήν 'lamb'.

D²/* *pa-we-si*: dative plur. *pharwes(s)i* of *pharweha*.

* [•]-*me*-'*jo-i*': the reading of the first sign is problematic (*a*₃, *dwo*, *pi*, *ti* and *wi* have been suggested; an unknown Linear B sign could even be possible). If right, [•]-*me*-'*jo-i*' would be a dative plural in *-oihi* of an *-eio-* adjective in agreement with *pharwes(s)i* and expressing some characteristic of the cloths. However, [•]-*me*-'*jo-i*' does not faithfully reflect the text inscribed on the tablet: there is a break after [•]-*me*-[and before]-'*jo-i*'. If so, there was perhaps a sign in the lacuna.

D²/*]-*ki-ni-***56* (l. 4): the reading and meaning of this word remain enigmatic.

D/* *o-ta-* (l. 5): the *o-* stands after a blank. It could be the initial sign of the whole sequence which is written in *scriptio continua*. In the very tentative division *o-ta paro*…, *o-ta-* has often been understood as *onta* (cf. ὄντα), the present participle of εἰμί. In its secure Mycenaean examples, however, this participle always has the form *e-o-*, *ehont-* (cf. ἐών, ἐόντος) and ὀντ- is so far confined to Attic. It is thus better to adopt another interpretation of *o-ta*. One possibility would be a substantive like a verbal adjective of ὄρνυμι, **orton* (cf. Cypriot ὀρτός glossed βωμός 'altar' by Hesychius (Egetmeyer 2010a.285), with a technical textile meaning (like some part of a headdress, etc.). The quantity of WOOL associated with *o-ta-* is extremely high: at least 600[ ] kg.

D/* *-pa-ro-*: could be the preposition *pa-ro*, *paro* (cf. παρά) as in KN **230** = L 871.

D/* *-te-wa-ro*: this hapax could be a man's name.

5. TEXTILES AT PYLOS (La)[b]

La series

D/D²/* A dozen very fragmentary *La* tablets have been found at Pylos. None of them are complete. They share several typical items with the Knossos textile records.

[b] *Documents*[1] 323, *Documents*[2] 489.

(A) Vocabulary: the word *ko-u-ra* (cf. KN **222** = Lc(1) 532). The genitive]*wa-na-ka-to*,]*wanaktos* 'of the king' on the reverse of La 622 (cf. KN **221** = Lc(1) 525). La 1393 should perhaps be read *o-de-ka-*]*ṣa̤-to a-ri-wo ta-ra-ṣi̤*[*-ja*, 'thus? *A-ri-wo* (a man's name) received "compulsory work"', with a mention of the *talasiā* system as in KN **225** = Lc(1) 535.

(B) Ideograms: LANA, TELA+*PU* and TELA+*TE*.

* In *La*, the textile craft at Pylos seems to be largely concentrated in the capital with only a few outlying workshops (*mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi* (hapax) and *po-to-ro-wa-pi*), but more complete texts are needed to be certain.

6. TEXTILE WORKERS AND WOOL AT THEBES (Of)[b]

243 = Of 34 (*303*)

.1 a-pi-qo-ro , ne-wa , ko-tu-ro$_2$, *DA* , LANA 3 ⟦*PA* 1⟧ [
.2 a-ra-ka-te-ja , pa-ra-ja LANA 1 [

* .1 The young/new stewardesses (MA(le supervisor): *Ko-tu-ro*$_2$): 9 kg of WOOL ⟦1 unit of *PA*⟧;
.2 The old/ancient spinners: 3 kg of WOOL.

LANA: see p. 722.

* This tablet records amounts of wool handed to two groups of female textile workers. There is no known relationship between the 3 kg of WOOL (l. 2) and a cloth, but 9 kg (l. 1) could make one *tu-na-no* cloth.

* Forms like *a-pi-qo-ro* or *a-ra-ka-te-ja* are ambiguous and could be in the nominative (sing. or plur.) or the dative sing. A dative plur. is excluded for both. The mention of a supervisor (see p. 428; below, this page) for the *a-pi-qo-ro* suggests that there could be several of them – such a group is certain on TH Of 25 with its *ma-ri-ne-wi-ja-i* women. Hence our reading *amphik*^{w}*oloi* 'stewardesses' (cf. ἀμφίπολος) and *ālakateiai* 'spinners' (cf. ἠλακάτη). *Amphik*^{w}*olos* appears elsewhere as feminine.

* *Ne-wa* (cf. νέος) and *pa-ra-ja* (cf. παλαιός) could qualify the wool or the workers, but *pa-ra-ja* is written so near to *alakateiai* and so far from WOOL that it is likely to qualify the spinners (*palaiai*). 'Young' vs 'old' could refer to age or the years of experience of the workers.

* *Ko-tu-ro*$_2$: nominative of a well-known man's name in …*ōn*.

* The abbreviation *DA* stands for the title of a male supervisor who was in charge of women's groups (Killen in Chadwick, *TT* II.92–93). *DA* could perhaps stand for -*da-ma* (and its variant *du-ma*) which could possibly be interpreted as -*damar* 'steward(ess)' (cf. δάμαρ).

* The abbreviation *PA* regularly follows the WOOL ideogram in TH *Of*. *PA* is clearly a measure of the raw material since it appears just after WOOL (e.g. WOOL *PA* 1: Of 26).

[b] Studies: Chadwick, *TT* II, Killen 1983d, Del Freo et al. 2010, Nosch 2012a.49.

There are never more than 1 or 2 *PA*. *PA* could then be the Theban equivalent of M, the subdivision of WOOL elsewhere, and weigh 1 kg. The term which underlies *PA* is unknown – *phākhus* 'cubit'? (cf. πῆχυς) is one of the possibilities. In l. 1, the scribe mechanically wrote *PA* after WOOL, but discovered his mistake and erased it.

244 = Of 36 (*303*)

.1 no-ri-wo-ki-de *ku* LANA 1 a-ke-ti-ra$_2$, wa-na-ka[
.2 po-ti-ni-ja , wo-ko-de , a-ke-ti-ra$_2$ *ku* LANA 1 [

* .1 The *no-ri-worgides*: 3 kg of *Cy*(*priot*)? WOOL; the royal[ ] finishers/ decorators: [x kg of *Cy*(*priot*)? WOOL].
.2 Towards the house of the (divine) mistress, the finishers/decorators: 3 kg of *Cy*(*priot*)? WOOL.

a-ke-ti-ra$_2$, LANA, *wa-na-ka*[: see pp. 725, 722, 730.

* This tablet associates people in the service of the king and one of the most important Mycenaean deities, the Potnia.

Here again, several forms are ambiguous: *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ could be a nominative (sing. or plur.) or dative sing. and *no-ri-wo-ki-de* a nominative plur. or a dative sing. A dative plur. is excluded for both words. We provisionally choose here nominative plur.

no-ri-wo-ki-de: a feminine compound occupational name in *-worgis* (cf. δημιουργίς; there is a thematic variant in *-worgos*, *no-ri-wo-ko*, at Pylos). The interpretation of its first element remains disputed.
wa-na-ka[is clearly linked with the title of the Mycenaean king, *wanaks*. It is probably the beginning of *wanak*[*terai* 'royal', an adjective qualifying *no-ri-worgides*.
Potniās woikonde: the *Of* series refers to two different kinds of manufacturing 'houses': a religious one, *woikos* (cf. οἶκος), and a human, **dō* (in the allative *do-de dōde*; cf. Hom. δῶ and δῶμα). 'The (divine) mistress' clearly owned a textile establishment – compare her bronze-smithy at Pylos (see p. 714).
Ku: this adjunct appears only in the *Of* series and could perhaps refer to 'Cy(priot)' wool (*ku̯pria̯*: **238** = Od 667).

7. PERFUMED OLIVE OIL PRODUCTION AT PYLOS (Fr, Un)[b]

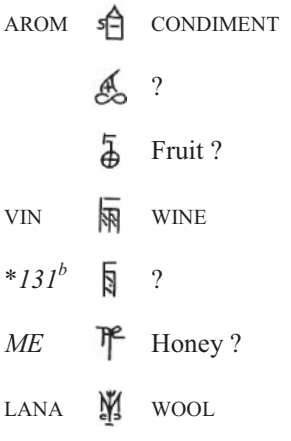
Some entries related to perfumed oil

D/* *A-re-pa-zo-o*, *aleiphazoos* is etymologically a compound of two stems: *aleiphar* 'unguent' (cf. the monogram *A+RE+PA*, the dative sing. *a-re-pa-te* and ἄλειφαρ) and ζέω 'boil'. *Aleiphazoos* 'unguent-boiler' refers to the technique

[b] *Documents*[1] 223–25, *Documents*[2] 441–42, 476–77, 481, *Textos* 72, *Anthology* 310–11, 339–42. Studies: Bennett 1958b, Wylock 1970, Melena 1983b, Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry*, Sarpaki 2001a, Bernabé and Luján 2008.227–30, Castel et al. 2009.

of boiling olive oil with certain materials to extract their properties: it is the Mycenaean word corresponding to our 'perfumer'. The identification of *aleiphazoos* gains further confirmation from Pylos **247** = Fr 1184, where two men who are given this title elsewhere are engaged in a transaction concerning olive oil. The translation of *aleiphar* as 'unguent' suggests a greasy or viscous substance. It is true that Linear B records measure *aleiphar* as a liquid stuff, but the same units are used for honey. *Aleiphar* was in fact olive oil enriched by several vegetal or animal components: **245** = Un 267 mentions no less than eight different substances to be incorporated into *aleiphar*. *Aleiphar* 'unguent' contrasts with olive oil scented by only one substance, which is simply called 'olive oil' (see **247** = Fr 1184, where OLIVE OIL with *WE*(*-stuff*) is identified as *elaiwon*). Homer mentions ἄλειφαρ 'unguent, anointing-oil, oil, fat' in funerary contexts, but the word appears later in more general circumstances.

D/* AROM(a) (= **123*) is a generic ideogram for commodities measured by dry units and which do not have their own ideogram. Most are aromatic seeds (hence our rendition by AROMATIC SEED), but *ki-ta-no* (KN *Ga*) are probably pistachio nuts. AROM is regularly associated with an identification of the plant.



D/* *e-ra*$_3$*-wo*: *elaiwon* 'olive oil' (cf. ἔλαιον). The technique of distillation was unknown in the ancient world, and olive oil had a crucial importance as the most common medium used to extract the scent and the pharmacological properties of vegetal (aromatic or medicinal plants) or animal products. Oil could be used heated (maceration) or cold (enfleurage). In the Mycenaean texts, **245** = Un 267 explicitly records 'unguent' 'to be boiled' by a 'perfumer'.

D/* *KAPO* (= **127*) is a monogram of the two syllabograms *KA+PO* or perhaps *PO+KA*: it is impossible to be sure of the order in which these signs are to be read; cf. the monogram, *A+RE+PA* in descending order in PY Un 853.4, in ascending order in **178** = Un 718.8. We will provisionally adopt *KA+PO*. In KN **169** = F(2) 841.5, the word *ka-po* is probably *karpos* 'fruit' (cf. καρπός) and this interpretation is regularly adopted for **127*. However, such a meaning is too indefinite to be accepted in lists of aromatics. Perhaps *KAPO* could be interpreted as *karphos* (cf. κάρφος = τῆλις) 'fenugreek', which was used in antiquity for ointments and perfumes. **127* is measured in dry capacity units.

D/* *ko-ri-ja-do-no* (with different spellings), *koriadnon* (cf. κορίαννον; a probable loanword): coriander. This plant was utilised in the Classical world only for

cooking and medicine. In the Mycenaean texts, it appears in lists of spices (MY *Ge*), but also among commodities intended to make 'unguents' (**245** = Un 267.5). It can be denoted by AROM(a)+*KO* (= **123*+*KO*), involving the abbreviation *KO*(-*ri-ja-do-no*).

D/* *ku-pa-ro*$_{(2)}$, *kuparros* or *kuparjos* (cf. κύπαιρος (Doric), κύπειρον): cyperus. This plant was used in perfumery during the Mycenaean and Classical periods. It is denoted by CYP(erus) (= **125*).

D/D²/* LANA (= WOOL = **145*; see p. 722): the presence of wool in a list of commodities intended to make 'unguent' in **245** = Un 267.8 is puzzling. **246** = Un 249.2 is even stranger, with its word for 'root', *wi-ri-za*, *wridza* (cf. ῥίζα and Lesb. βρίσδα) written just before WOOL. This association cannot be fortuitous, since it recurs at Knossos, where *wi-ri-za* is found with WOOL on Od 2026. Killen (1962b = *Economy and Administration* I.35–37, 1999e.130 = *Economy and Administration* II.682) has shown that the presence of WOOL among ingredients for 'unguent' can easily be explained because raw wool is rich in grease (lanolin), which the Greek authors describe as one of the ingredients used in the making of unguents. Similarly *wridza* will refer to the root section of the wool, which is particularly rich in grease.

D/* *ME*: probably abbreviation of *me-ri*, *meli* 'honey' (cf. μέλι) (better than an unknown noun). Honey is quoted by Greek authors as an ingredient utilised in the making of perfume and unguents. In the Linear B tablets, it appears for instance among the ingredients for 'unguent' alluded to above. Its sweetness could certainly also be useful in making drinkable or edible drugs. It was also offered to the Mycenaean gods.

OLE(um) (= OLIVE OIL = **130*): see *e-ra*$_3$*-wo* p. 746.

D²/* OLE(um)+*WE* (= OLIVE OIL with *WE*(-*stuff*) = **130*+*WE*): the olive oil ideogram is ligatured with the abbreviation *WE* of *we-*(*j*)*a-re-pe*. This word is a compound in -*aleiphes* like -ηλιφής, 'anointed with…' (ἀλείφω, 'anoint'). *We-*(*j*)… must give the identification of this stuff, but its interpretation is not certain.

D/D²/* VIN(um) (= WINE = **131*; notice its three vertical lines): wine is quoted by Greek authors as an ingredient for perfumes and for medical uses. **245** = Un 267.7–8 and KN Uc 160.3–4 have two different forms of WINE, the standard one, VIN(um), and a variant, transcribed as VIN(um)^b (=WINE^b = **131*^{b}). The two differ by the number of their vertical lines: 3 (WINE; on Un 267.7, the middle one is very short) vs 2 (WINE^b). These differences in the same records prove that WINE and WINE^b represent two distinct products. WINE and WINE^b also differ by the number of their slanting strokes: 4 and at least 3 (WINE) vs 3 and 2 (WINE^b). WINE^b must be some liquid akin to wine, but its identification is difficult. The quantities of WINE and WINE^b are widely different in Un 267: 576 l. vs 57.6 l. (10 : 1). In KN Uc 160, the contrast is still important, though less

impressive: 38.4 l. vs 15.2 l. This suggests that WINE[b] could be more precious than WINE. If so, WINE[b] could hardly be wine of inferior quality or 'must' or 'new wine' (γλεῦκος), viz. unfermented grape juice. Moreover, KN Uc 160 not only lists both WINE and WINE[b], but connects one of them with the very Mycenaean word which could match γλεῦκος, *de-re-u-ko*, *dleukos* (if the reading is sound). The trouble is that *dleukos* is unexpectedly not associated with the special form WINE[b], but with the ordinary one, WINE. Bennett (2002.81) suggests that the *dleukos* WINE could be a βαρύγλυκο (extremely sweet) alcoholic liquid 'or perhaps "Malvasia"'. Anyway, WINE[b] was probably some refined and highly appreciated sort of wine.

D/* **157* is so far unidentified. It appears to be counted, or, if in standard units, is not yet found with any fractions. It is always associated with aromatics and directly followed by *KAPO* (see p. 746). **157* also occurs on PY An 616.3, which seems to have no connexion with the reverse and ranks for classification with the two *Un* tablets quoted below.

245 = Un 267 (H 1)

.1 o-do-ke , a-ko-so-ta
.2 tu-we-ta , a-re-pa-zo-o
.3 tu-we-a , a-re-pa-te ,
.4 ze-so-me-no ,
.5 ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na AROM 6
.6 ku-pa-ro$_2$ AROM 6 **157* 16
.7 *KAPO* 2 T 5 VIN 20 *ME* 2
.8 LANA 2 VIN[b] 2
.9 *vacat*
.10 *vacat*
.11 *vacat*

D/D²/* .1 Thus? *Alksoitās* delivered
.2 to Thyestes, the unguent-boiler,
.3 aromatics for 'unguent'
.4 to (be) boil(ed):
.5 coriander: 576 l. of AROMATIC SEED;
.6 cyperus: 576 l. of AROMATIC SEED; **157*: 16 units;
.7 FENUGREEK: 240 l.; WINE: 576 l.; HONEY: 57.6 l.;
.8 WOOL: 6 kg; WINE[b]: 57.6 l.

a-re-pa-zo-o, AROM, *KAPO*, *ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na*, *ku-pa-ro$_2$*, LANA, *ME*, VIN, VIN[b], **157*: see pp. 745–46, 746 x2, 746–47, 747 x 3, 747–48, 748.

* More than 2000 litres of aromatic material are here handed to a prominent unguent-boiler, viz. perfumer. This enormous amount is only a part of the

substances needed to 'boil' an 'unguent', since there is no mention of olive oil, which was an essential component of the preparation. It is probable therefore that this delivery was intended neither to be used immediately, nor for a single 'boiling'. It more probably records a restocking of the important workshop of Thyestes.

D/* *o-do-ke*, *hō(s)*? *dōke*: *hō(s)*? 'thus'? (see p. 734) + the unaugmented indicative aorist of δίδωμι (cf. δῶκε and *a-pu-do-ke*, *apudōke*). *Dōke* does not express a gift, but a delivery.

D²/* *Alksoitās*: one of the most prominent officials at Pylos (see also **248** = Pn 30).

D/* *tu-we-ta*: *Thuestāi* 'to Thyestes', dative of a man's name (cf. Θυέστης), etymologically 'the perfumer' (θύος; see *thueha* below). Evidently some Mycenaean names were apt(r)onyms fitting the profession practised: cf. *ka-ke-u*, *Khalkeus* or *po-me*, *Poimēn*, the names of a χαλκεύς 'smith' (PY Jn 750.8) and of a ποιμήν 'shepherd' (KN Dd 1376).

D/* *thueha*: aromatic substances used in the making of 'unguent' (cf. θύος). The oldest sense of the alphabetic θύος is 'burnt offering' and the meaning 'fragrant stuff' appears only in the fifth century. However, Homer uses θυόω to qualify 'perfumed' olive oil: ἔλαιον… τεθυωμένον (*Il.* XIV, 171–72).

D/D²/* *aleiphatei zes(s)omenōi*: the phrase reflects the components of *aleiphazoos* (cf. ἄλειφαρ and ζέω). One cannot understand it as 'How A. delivered to Thyestes, the unguent-boiler, the θύεα for boiling in (or with) the "unguent"', because that would require **ze-so-me-na*. The translation proposed involves a rare use of the dative to denote purpose: cf. Ἡρακλείοις γοναῖς, Pind. *Isthm.* VII, 7, 'for the begetting of Herakles'. The future middle participle could be taken in the passive or middle sense – the -θη- element of the future and aorist passive is an innovation and is so far absent from Mycenaean.

246 = Un 249 (Cii)

.1a po-ti-ṇi-ja-we-jo
.1b pi-ra-jo , a-re-pa-zo[-o] ku-pa-ro$_2$ AROM 2 T 5
.2 wi-ri-za LANA 2 [ ] **157* 10
.3 *vacat* [ ] KAPO T 6
.4 *vacat*

D/D²/* .1 Philaios, the unguent-boiler in the service of the (divine) mistress:
cyperus: 240 l. of AROMATIC SEED;
.2 root section (of the wool): 6 kg of WOOL; **157*: 10 units;
.3 FENUGREEK: 57.6 l.

a-re-pa-zo-o, AROM, *KAPO*, *ku-pa-ro*$_2$, LANA (and *wi-ri-za*), **157*: see pp. 745–46, 746 x 2, 747 x 2, 748.

* Philaios, the name of a man known elsewhere at Pylos, is very likely the recipient of these items. It could be in the nominative or the dative. We have provisionally understood it as a nominative.

* *potniaweios*: 'in the service of the (divine) mistress' shows that this deity owned a perfume workshop in the kingdom of Pylos – to be added to her bronze-smithy there (see p. 714).

* The number of ingredients for aromatics and their quantities are much smaller than on **245** = Un 267.

247 = Fr 1184 (H 2)

.1 ko-ka-ro , a-pe-do-ke , e-ra$_3$-wo , to-so
.2 e-u-me-de-i OLE+*WE* 18
.3 pa-ro , i-pe-se-wa , ka-ra-re-we 38

D²/* .1 *Kokalos* delivered so much olive oil
.2 to Eumedes: 518.4 l. of OLIVE OIL with *WE*(*-stuff*).
.3 From *I-pe-se-wa*: 38 oil-jars.

e-ra$_3$-wo, OLE +*WE*: see pp. 746, 747.

D²/* This tablet records a delivery of olive oil by an 'unguent-boiler' (*Kōkalos*) to another one (Eumedes) under the control of the palace.

D²/* *ko-ka-ro*: *Kōkalos vel sim.* (it could but does not necessarily anticipate the name of the mythical king of Sicily) is named as an *a-re-po-zo-o*, *aleiphozohos* 'unguent-boiler' in PY Fg 374.

D² *a-pe-do-ke*: *apedōke* 'delivered' (cf. ἀποδίδωμι). The only example of a verb in a past tense of the indicative exhibiting the augment so far found in Mycenaean: contrast *a-pu-do-ke*, *apudōke* KN Od(1) 681. It has been suggested that this form is to be interpreted as *ap-es-dōke* with *-es-* < *-eks-* (cf. ἀπεκδῶκε), but this is probably unnecessary.

D²/* *e-u-me-de-i*: *Eumēdehi* (cf. Εὐμήδης). Eumedes is registered with his title of 'unguent-boiler' in PY Ea 812 and 820 as occupying large plots of land. In his case, we may be confident that the same person was involved in different economic activities.

* *pa-ro*, *paro*: cf. παρά.

D²/* *i-pe-se-wa*: this hapax is probably a man's name.

D²/* *ka-ra-re-we*: on KN K 778]*ka-ra-re-we* introduces 180 two-handled jars with a spout, the so-called 'stirrup-jars' regularly used for olive oil by the Mycenaeans. The gloss χλαρόν· ἐλαιηρὸς κώθων (Hsych.) suggests a derivative in -εύς with a reading *khlarēwes*: see p. 765. It is impossible to construe *khlarēwes* as accusative after *apedōke*, nor is it probable that on the same tablet oil would be measured both in units and by jars. Thus the second entry must record, with inconsequential syntax, the issue to Eumedes of 38 stirrup-jars. Since the beginning of the tablet explicitly mentions a 'delivery of olive oil', it is tempting to suppose that the 38 vases were full of oil – but we cannot totally exclude the possibility that they were empty. If empty, they were perhaps intended to contain the 18 units of olive oil Eumedes is receiving from *Kokalos*. This in turn would allow us to estimate the average volume of a stirrup-jar in terms of Mycenaean measures, namely 13.6 l. on the values which are now widely accepted (Melena 2014.157–58) – in fact, the average capacity of excavated stirrup-jars is 12–14 l.

8. FURNITURE PRODUCTION AT PYLOS (PN)[b]

248 = Pn 30 (H 2)

.1 o-de-ka-sa-to , a-ko-so-ta
.2 si-ma-ko **169* 23̣ *o* 10[
.3 ke-ka-to **169* 26 *o* 9̣
.4 ru-ko **169* 13 *o*[

.1 Thus? *Alksoitās* received:
.2 *Si-ma-ko*: 23̣ **169*; d(ebt): 10[;
.3 *Ke-ka-to*: 26 **169*; d(ebt): 9̣;
.4 *Ru-ko*: 13 **169*; d(ebt)[:].

* *o-de-ka-sa-to*, *hō*(*s*)? *deksato*: *hō*(*s*)? 'thus'? (see p. 734).
* *Alksoitās*: one of the most important officials at Pylos (see also **245** = Un 267).
* *ke-ka-to* is a man's name in the Knossos tablets and the parallel hapaxes *Si-ma-ko* and *Ru-ko* must be likewise. These three people brought a total of 62 **169* to *Alksoitās*. We have provisionally considered these names as nominatives. They were obviously unable to deliver all the expected items (perhaps c. 3 x 35), since at least 20[ ] **169* are missing.

**169* Bed ?

**169* may represent beds or footstools (Bernabé and Luján 2008.205; Melena 2014.149).
o: abbreviation of *o-pe-ro*, *ophelos* 'debt' (owed to the palace; cf. ὀφείλω).

9. LEATHER-WORKING AT PYLOS (Ub)[b]

* The Mycenaean use of leather is proved by archaeological finds, words such as *di-pte-ra-po-ro*, *diphtherāphoros* 'wearer of leather' (an occupational term) and *diphtherā*, *diphtherai* 'prepared hide(s)' and also by several *Ub* tablets which provide evidence for leather goods.

249 = Ub 1318 (H 32)

.1 au-ke-i-ja-te-we , ka-tu-re-ẉi-ja-i di-pte-ra 4 [•-•-•-•]ḍi-pte-ra 2 au-ke-i-ja-te-we , o-ka , di-pte-r̥a[
.2 au-ke-i-ja-te-we o-pi-de-so-mo[illegible]ka-tu-ro$_2$, di-pte-ra 4 ka-ne-ja[illegible]wo-ro-ma-ta 4
.3 me-ti-ja-no , to-pa , ru-de-a$_2$, ḍi-pte-ra 1 a-re-se-si , e-ru-ta-ra , di-pte-r̥a 3 wo-di-je-ja , pe-di-ra 2
.4 we-e-wi-ja , di-pte-ra , 10 wi-ri-no , we-ru-ma-ta , ti-ri-s̥i , ze-u-ke-si 1
.5 wi-ri-no , pe-di-ro , e-ma-ta 4 e-ra-pe-ja , e-pi-u-ru-te-we , *E* 2
.6 a-pe-i-ja , u-po , ka-ro , we-[ ]-ja 1 u-po , we-e-wi-ja , e-ra-pe-ja *E* 1
.7 mu-te-we , we-re-ne-ja , ku[ ]pe-re 1 mu-te-we , di-pte-ra , a$_3$-za , pe-di-ro-i 1

[b] *Textos* 60–61.
[b] *Documents*[2] 489–93, 512, *Interpretation* 328–29, *Textos* 70–71. Studies: Ruijgh 1966, Trantalidou 2001, Bernabé 2014.8–10.

	.8 *vacat*	
	.9 *vacat*	
D²/*	.1 For *Au-ke-i-ja-teus*	for saddle-bags, 4 prepared hides;
		[for •-•-•-•], 2 prepared hides.
	For *Au-ke-i-ja-teus*	*for straps*, [x] prepared hide(s).
	.2 For *Au-ke-i-ja-teus*	bindings of pack-saddles, 4 prepared hides.
	(*For*) *Ka-ne-ja*?	*wo-ro-ma-ta*, 4 <prepared hides>.
	.3 Mestianor	*to-pa ru-de-a*$_2$, 1 prepared hide;
		for *a-re-se-si*, 3 red prepared hides.
	.3 (For) Wordieia	sandals, 2 <prepared hides>;
	.4	10 prepared hides '*of tailor's type*';
		raw hide, wrappers for three *dzeugos*, 1;
	.5	raw hides, *laces* of sandals, 4;
		deerskins, *for a cover*, 2 DE(er skins).
	.6 (For) Amphehia	*ka-ro* underwear, 1 la[mb]'s hide;
		deerskin underwear '*of tailor's type*', 1 DE(er skin).
	.7 For *Mu-t-eus*	lamb's skin (*Ku*[ ]*brings*?), 1.
	For *Mu-t-eus*	prepared goat's skin for sandals, 1.

D²/* This tablet records the issue of skins of various animals (certainly oxen, lambs, goats and deer), mainly tanned leather, but some of rawhide (see p. 754). One entry (l. 2) has been understood as involving another material, but this is unnecessary. When the objects which are to be made are specified, they are put either in the dative of purpose or in a nominative of rubric (viz. a nominative case without any syntactic relation to any other word of the text); occasionally a dependent genitive is found (e.g. gen. plur. *pedilōn* l. 5). Whenever such an ending is ambiguous, it has been provisionally translated as a dative.

* These skins were handed to women and men who are possibly among the *rhaptriai* and *rhaptēres* 'stitchers' (here, of leather rather than cloth) mentioned elsewhere; see on **300** = Ub 1315.2.

* Several technical terms on this record are as yet uninterpreted, but its general sense is clear.

D²/* The names of the leather-workers begin every main entry. Some of them are known elsewhere at Pylos: *Au-ke-i-ja-teus* (cf. **43** = An 1281.4, 10), *Me-ti-j-ānōr* and *Wo-di-je-ja* (both on Vn 34.1). Hence the parallel hapaxes *A-pe-i-ja*, *Mu-te-we* and maybe *Ka-ne-ja* are also probably names. Some are plainly in the dative, but *Me-ti-ja-no* is a clear nominative in *-ānōr* (cf. Vn 34); this is syntactic liberty or mere scribal inconsistency. In the subsidiary entries which do not begin with names, we must assume that the previous name serves as the heading until cancelled by the next.

Line 1

D²/* *au-ke-i-ja-te-we*: singular dative in …*ēwei* of a name in *-eus*. This name probably appears in PY Fn 50.11 as the controller of several slaves, and certainly in **43** = An 1281.4, 10, associated with three men. If the same person is involved, *Au-ke-i-ja-teus* could be the head of an important leather workshop.

D² *ka-tu-re-ẓi-ja-i*: cf. *ka-tu-re-wi-ja* (PY Xn 1482.3), *ka-tu-re-ẓi*[(KN X 1047.2) and *ka-tu-ro*$_2$ here in line 2. These words must be associated with κανθύλη 'swelling', κανθήλια 'panniers for pack animals', etc. The group is well discussed by Ruijgh (1966.137–38). *Ka-tu-re-wi-ja*(*-i*) probably means '(for) saddle-bags' and represents *kanthulēwiai* and the dat. plur. *kanthulēwiāhi*, a feminine noun derived from an adjective in *-ēwios*.

* *di-pte-ra*, *diphtherai*: 'prepared hides' (cf. διφθέρα). The identity of the animal of the *diphtherai* is never given in the tablet. Oxen are likely.

* [•-•-•-•]: this entry is probably still devoted to *Au-ke-i-ja-teus* since his name appears in the next two entries. *Au-ke-i-ja-te-we* cannot fit in the four syllabograms of [•-•-•-•], which should then be the destination of the 'prepared hides' that immediately follow.

D² *o-ka*: there is no reason why this should be the same word as designates a command or is a name at Pylos. *Hokhāi* (ἔχω) 'for a support, strap' or perhaps *holkāi* 'for pulling' would be possible.

Line 2

D² *o-pi-de-so-mo*: *opidesmoi*, cf. ἐπίδεσμος used by medical writers to mean 'bandage'. It must signify 'bindings' here.

D² *ka-tu-ro*$_2$: *kanthuljōn* < **kanthuliōn* 'pack-saddles' modifying *opidesmoi* (see *ka-tu-re-ẓi-ja-i* l. 1 above, this page).

D²/* *ka-ne-ja*: this hapax is commonly understood as *kaneia* 'made of basketry' (cf. the substantive κάνεον 'basket of reed or cane'). Κάννα is a Semitic loan-word (Assyr. *ḳanū* 'reed'). This interpretation is not completely satisfying, however, because it introduces a unique example in this record of a material other than leather. A better possibility could be a woman's name, just like the hapaxes *A-pe-i-ja* and *Mu-te-we* (ll. 6–7). *Ka-ne-ja* could then be the feminine form of a probable masculine name, *Ḳa-ne-jo* (TH Fq(2) 254.3) – e.g. Κάρνειος.

D²/* *wo-ro-ma-ta*: a reading *wlōmata* has been suggested (cf. λῶμα, -ατα, a word attested only in Hellenistic Greek and meaning 'a fringe on a garment'). The etymology of λῶμα is unknown, however.

Line 3

D²/* *me-ti-ja-no*: nominative of a man's name in *-ānōr* like *Mē*(*s*)*tiānōr*. The female name *Wordieia* is in the next main entry. Both names are associated in PY Vn 34.1, where *Wordieia* is listed as 'of *Me-ti-ja-no*' (genitive). These must very likely therefore be the same persons in both contexts. Since *Wordieia* is an important leather-worker on **249** = Ub 1318.3–5, she can hardly be considered as *Me-ti-ja-no*'s slave. Perhaps she was his wife.

D²/* *to-pa ru-de-a*$_2$: it has generally been assumed that one of these is a substantive, the other an adjective in agreement; but parallel phrases, like *opidesmoi kanthuljōn* l. 2 above, this page, suggest that they might both be substantives. *Ru-de-a*$_2$, with its ending …*eha*, has

the appearance of the plural of a neuter in *-es/-os* (cf. *pa-we-a*$_2$, *pharweha*). Perhaps *rudeha* 'thongs' (cf. Hsych. ῥυδεῖ· περιπλέκεται: Melena 2014.77). *To-pa* could possibly be taken as *torpā* 'a kind of container' (cf. τάρπη 'large wicker basket', 'hamper') if its *-o-* represents *-ṛ-*. The same word could appear in the compound *to-pa-ṛo-ṛo-i*[, *to-pa-phoroihi*['for the bearers of *to-pa*' (TH Av 101.6). These interpretations are highly speculative, however.

D²/* *a-re-se-si*: obviously dative plural in *-si* of an athematic noun in *-es/-os* expressing the destination of the prepared hides. Perhaps related to ἄλεισον 'cup', but its etymology is unknown.

D² *e-ru-ta-ra*, *eruthrai*: 'red' (cf. ἐρυθρός). Fragments of red leather were recovered from a Mycenaean tomb at Kazarma (Protonotariou-Deïlaki 1969.4).

* *wo-di-je-ja*, *Wordieia* is described as 'of Mestianor' on PY Vn 34.1: see p. 753. She is associated here with not fewer than 19 hides, the largest number on the record.

D²/* *pe-di-ra*: *pedīla*, plural of πέδῑλον (cf. *pe-di-ro* l. 5 and *pe-di-ro-i* l. 7) 'sandals' (unless the word should be given the more general sense 'footwear'). The sandals are the objects to be made here, but their exact number is not given. The number '2' more likely expresses the quantity of prepared hides delivered than the number of sandals.

Line 4

D²/* *we-e-wi-ja*: the ending *-e-wi-ja* must represent a form of *-ēwiā*, based upon stems in -εύς, e.g. *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, *g*^{w}*asilēwiā* (βασιλεύς), *i-je-re-wi-jo*, *hierēwios* (ἱερεύς). The same form probably appears four times in KN As(1) 1518, but its context is not clear, perhaps 'industrial'. Chadwick's (1958a.308) interpretation of *we-e-wi-ja* as **hu-ēwiai* '*of pig' (cf. σῦς, ὗς) encounters several difficulties. Though the meaning fits perfectly well with a leather context, the spelling is difficult: (i) we expect **hu-* to be rendered by **u-* instead of *we-* (cf. *u-po*, *hupo* [cf. ὑπό] written twice in this very text, l. 6). (ii) We should expect the sequence **hu-ē-* to be written with a consonantal glide (*-we-*) between *-u-* and *-e-*. (iii) L. 6 directly associates in the same entry *we-e-wi-ja* '*of pig' with a 'deerskin' *elapheia*. (iv) The only secure Mycenaean noun for 'pig' is *su-*, without aspiration (cf. *su-qo-ta*, *sug*^{w}*ōtās* 'swineherd'). A more likely interpretation of *we-e-wi-ja* is *weh-ēwiai*, with an internal aspiration < **wesēwiai* (cf. ἕννῡμι < **wes-*) derived from **wes-eus* as Ruijgh (*Études* 124–25) has suggested. The root **wes-* has produced *we-a*$_2$*-no*, *wehanos* and ἑανός 'fine robe'. Another Mycenaean textile word using **wes-* is the sing. *u-po-we*, *hupowes*, a description of two linen tunics (KN L 178). If **wes-eus* meant 'clothing maker', *weh-ēwia* could be an adjective for some special type of hide called '*of tailor's type*' *vel sim.*

D²/* *wi-ri-no*: until the middle of line 4, the text has listed only 'prepared hides' *diphtherai*. The next sequences record 'raw hides' *wrīnoi*, some of them of unidentified animals, others of 'deer' (*elapheiai*), 'lambs' (*wrēneiā*), and finally again a 'prepared hide' (*diphtherā*) of goat (*aidza*). Etymology and Classical usage both suggest that ῥῑνός refers to the raw hide. Homer even uses ῥῑνός of the skin of a living person (*Il.* v, 308, *Od.* v, 426).

D²/* *we-ru-ma-ta ti-ri-s̤i ze-u-ke-si*: the interpretation of the first word must depend upon the others, and we must not lose sight of the fact that only one raw hide is used. *We-ru-ma-ta* is a clear athematic neuter plur. in *-mata* which can be read as *welumata* 'wrappers' (cf. εἴλυμα *Od.* vi, 179) or *werumata* 'reins' (cf. ἐρύω). *Ti-ri-s̤i* can hardly be anything but *trisi*, dat. of τρεῖς 'three'. The intervocalic -σ- was already restored in third declension Mycenaean nouns (cf. *ka-ke-u-si*, *khalkeusi*), although it had not yet affected the *o-* and *a-*stems. *Ẓe-u-ke-si*

is dative plural *dzeuges(s)i* of ζεῦγος, which is regularly abbreviated as *ZE*. It might mean 'for pairs' or 'for yokes of oxen'. It is difficult, however, to suppose that *dzeuges(s)i* meant 'for pairs' of anonymous items. Also, one hide would surely be too small for three pairs of sets of 'wrappers' and perhaps for 'reins' intended 'for yokes of oxen'. *Dzeugos* could then perhaps have some specialised meaning. Compare, for instance, ζεῦγος 'mouthpiece of a double flute' (they were carefully kept in small pouches in Classical times).

Line 5

* *pe-di-ro*: *pedīlōn* (cf. *pe-di-ra* l. 3 p. 754), gen. plur. qualifying *ermata*.

D²/* *e-ma-ta*: an interpretation *hermata* (cf. ἕρμα) 'supports' is difficult for sandals. *Ermata* (cf. εἴρω 'fasten together, string') 'laces' used to secure sandals to the foot would be more suitable.

D²/* *e-ra-pe-ja*: *elapheiai* (sc. *diphtherai*; cf. ἐλάφειος) 'deerskins'; a variant *e-ra-pi-ja*, *elaphiai* appears in PY Ub 1316 (same hand). The same word is expressed once again here just before the number '2' by the abbreviation *E*(-*ra-pe-ja*): this is 'double writing' (see p. 626). From this entry onwards, the names of the animals are regularly given.

D²/* *e-pi-u-ru-te-we*: this item was clearly intended to be put 'on' (*e-pi-*, *epi-*; cf. ἐπί) something else. The word has an -*eus* suffix, but its ending is ambiguous: nom. plur. (-*ēwes*) or dat. sing. (-*ēwei*). The spelling -*u-ru-*, as in *o-u-ru-to* **55** = An 657.1, must represent -*wr-* or -*wl-*. *Epi-wrut-* has been suggested (cf. εἴρω 'fasten together, string'), but deerskin is soft leather and cannot be used for straps or ropes for pulling. *Epi-wlut-* could underly a term for a covering material (cf. εἰλύω 'enwrap, cover'; ἕλῡμα glossed by Hsych. as τὸ ἱμάτιον). Two deerskins are provided for this item.

Line 6

D²/* *a-pe-i-ja*: this hapax is probably a woman's name.

D²/* *u-po*: *hupo* (cf. ὑπό) 'underneath' is more likely to be an adverb than a preposition. It appears twice in l. 6 and qualifies both *wehēwiā*, probably designating a special kind of prepared hide (see l. 4 p. 754), and the enigmatic *ka-ro*.

D²/* *ka-ro*: this word is parallel to *wehēwiā* (same line; both qualified by *hupo*). It should then be a denomination of some kind of hide and *hupo ka-ro* could mean '*ka-ro* as underwear'. A relation to a technical weaving noun for 'row of thrums; ravel' καῖρος has been suggested: *kairos* would then mean 'fringe hanging beneath'? Perhaps *ka-ro* could designate the fur or leather of weasels, γαλέη, used as a lining.

D²/* *we*-[•-•]-*ja*: the parallel of *u-po we-e-wi-ja e-ra-pe-ja* (same line) suggests that *we*-[•-•]-*ja* should give the identification of the animal's skin. Hence the restoration as *we*-[*re-ne*]-*ja* (cf. l. 7 p. 756) *wrēnēiā* 'lamb's skin'.

* *u-po we-e-wi-ja*: the parallel of *hupo ka-ro* suggests an interpretation *hupo wehēwiā* '"*of tailor's type*" as underwear' (cf. l. 4 p. 754).

* *e*(-*ra-pe-ja*): on this abbreviation and the Mycenaean 'double writing', see l. 5 above, this page.

Line 7

D²/* *mu-te-we*: this hapax is presumably the dative in -*ēwei* of another masc. personal name in -*eus*.

D²/* *we-re-ne-ja*: name of the animal's skin, *wrēneiā* 'lamb's skin'. *Wrēneiā* is built on the nominative *ϝρήν > *ῥήν, instead of the form ϝαρήν (Cretan), gen. *ϝαρνός > ἀρνός, which appears in the thematic adjective ἄρνειος. Mycenae **242** = Oe 111.2 provides an alternative form *wo-ro-ne-ja*, *wroneia* < *$w̥$rneia*.

* *ku*[ ]*pe-re*: perhaps]*pe-re* should be taken as]*pherei* 'brings' (cf. the verb φέρω) like the *pe-re* associated with the ideogram for 'goats' in PY Cc 1284. *Ku*[could then perhaps be the beginning of the subject's name.

D² a_3*-za*: *aidza* < **aig-ya*, 'goat's' (cf. αἴξ) is the expected development of an adjective in **-yos* attached to the stem αἰγ-. It has been replaced in Classical Greek by αἴγειος to retain the appearance of the stem.

D² *pe-di-ro-i*: *pedīloihi*, dative plural of purpose, 'for sandals' (cf. l. 3 p. 754).

10. CHARIOT WHEEL PRODUCTION AT PYLOS (Vn)[b]

250 = Vn 10 (H 3)

.1 o-di-do-si , du-ru-to-mo ,
.2 a-mo-te-jo-na-de , e-pi-*19-ta 50
.3 a-ko-so-ne-qe̤ 50
.4 to-sa-de , ro-u-si-jo , a-ko-ro , a-ko-so-ne
.5 100 , to-sa-de , e-pi-*19-ta 100

* The sign **19* is written in an idiosyncratic way, but the reading is now paralleled by *e-pi-*19-ta* in TH Wu 430.

D/* .1 Thus? the wood-cutters deliver
.2 to the wheel workshop: 50 *epi-*19-ta*
.3 and 50 (pieces of wood for) axles.
.4–5 On the other hand, the 'Field of Lousos' <delivers> so many: 100 (pieces of wood for) axles,
.5 and so many *epi-*19-ta*: 100.

* *o-di-do-si*, *hō(s)*? *didonsi*: *hō(s)*? 'thus'? (see p. 734) + the indicative present of δίδωμι 'deliver'.

D/* *a-mo-te-jo-na-de*: allative in *-de* of a workshop noun in -εών (cf. Hom. χαλκεών 'smithy') formed from the neuter word *a-mo*, *armo*, plural *a-mo-ta*, *armota*. Since *armo* means 'wheel' in Mycenaean (unlike ἅρμα 'chariot' in later Greek; see **251** = So(2) 4442), *armoteiōn* should properly mean 'wheel workshop' and not '**chariot workshop'. There was probably no aspiration in Linear B *armo*: despite the number of their occurrences, *a-mo*(*-ta*) and its derivatives are never written with an initial a_2 ([ha]). This provides the second of the three examples of Linear B words connected with transportation which seem not to have the secondary aspiration which occurs in alphabetic Greek (the words for 'horse', *ikkwos*, and 'reins', *anhiai*).

* *e-pi-*19-ta*: a compound beginning with *epi-* (cf. ἐπί). The number of *epi-*19-ta* matches exactly the number of '(pieces of wood for) axles'. *Epi-*19-ta* could be pieces of wood

[b] *Documents*[1] 349–50, *Interpretation* 367–68, *Anthology* 347–49.

used for wheels (one piece of *epi-*19-ta* for two wheels; intended for tyres?) or for the bentwood parts of the chariot assembly, like the νέους ὄρπηκας of *Il.* XXI, 38 (cf. Theoc. XXV, 247–48). To confirm this, we need a satisfactory explanation of the whole **19* dossier.

D/* *to-sa-de*: in l. 4, the neuter form *tos(s)ade* does not agree with the masculine ἄξονες. It may: (1) refer to δένδρεα, ξύλα, etc.; (2) be an anticipation of *e-pi-*19-ta* which had come first in lines 1–3; (3) be independent of *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro a-ko-so-ne* 100. In a consistent syntax we should also expect the accusative **a-ko-so-na*.

* *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*, *Lousios Agros* the 'Field of Lousos' (cf. Λουσοί). *Lousos* is a place-name well known in Pylos and appears just before *Lousios Agros* on PY Un 47.1.

* Notice that the order of the two wood entries has been inverted: *epi-*19-ta* and (pieces of wood for) axles (ll. 2–3) vs (pieces of wood for) axles and *e-pi-*19-ta* (ll. 4–5).

11. CHARIOT WHEEL PRODUCTION AT KNOSSOS (So)[b]

251 = So(2) 4442 + *frr.*(3) (131)

.a] o-pe-ro ,
.b]-ja , / a-mo-te , pe-ru-si-nwa , / ta-ra-si-ja ROTA [[*ẓẹ*]]1

D The left-hand end of this tablet is probably KN Xf 4472, giving the reading *Se-to*[-]*i̯-ja*.

D/D²/* *Se-to*[-]*i̯-ja*: two wheels, debt of last year's 'compulsory work': one [[pair]] of WHEELS.

* This tablet records a debt to the palace (*o-pe-ro*, *ophelos*; cf. ὀφείλω) of 'compulsory work' (*talasiās*) of the preceding year (*perusinwās*; cf. περυσινός). Regarding the *talasiā* system, see pp. 710–12. ROTA WHEEL

D²/* *se-to*[-]*i̯-ja*: place-name also found in a record of 3[chariots (KN Sd 4407). As a rule, the *So* tablets do not begin with a place-name, but So(2) 4442 provides an exception with another wheel tablet, So(1) 4448 (*Pa-i-to*).

D/D²/* *a-mo-te*: nominative dual of the neuter word for 'wheel' (*armote*). The grammatical dual number explicitly shows that two items are involved. The nominative singular *armŏ* appears on KN **288** = Sg 1811.5 (*a-mo* 1[). The meaning of the word changed between the Mycenaean period and the first millennium. In Linear B, *a-mo*, *armo* was the name of a part of the chariot, as shown by its regular 'double writing' with the ideogram for WHEEL. Later, ἅρμα was applied to the whole item. This evolution is paralleled by the terms for 'chariot' in Sanskrit (*rátha-*) and in Tocharian A (*kukäl*): both are derived from an Indo-European word for 'wheel'. See PY **250** = Vn 10 regarding the lack of aspiration in *armo*.

* 'Two wheels (= *armote*)… WHEELS': 'double writing' (see p. 626).

* The ideogram for a 'pair', ZE (*dzeugos*), may have been deleted at the end of the record, but the dual *armote* 'two wheels' shows that a pair of wheels was indeed registered.

[b] *Documents*[1] 372, *Documents*[2] 518, *Interpretation* 320, 323. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.287–330.

CHAPTER XVII

FINISHED PRODUCTS I: VESSELS AND FURNITURE[b]

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1. MYCENAEAN VESSEL NAMES AND TYPES

D/* The ideograms for vessels show a great variety of forms. Although they are presumably intended as a more or less faithful drawing of the numerous different types in use at the time of the ideogram's creation, it is characteristic of both Knossos and Pylos that the scribe frequently adds the Greek name of the vessel type either in full spelling or as a 'surcharged' initial. That this practice is inherited from Linear A is suggested by the Agia Triada tablet HT 31 (*GORILA* I.58–59, Duhoux 2002), where vessels are annotated with sign-groups corresponding to Linear B *su-pu* and *ka-ro̤-*56*, cups with *qa-*56*, *su-*56-ra* and
* *pa-ta-qe*: the difference in language is obvious. Sixteen vessel types with known Mycenaean names are shown in Fig. 17.1. Also shown here are the ideograms for vessels whose names are unknown, except for **301*^{VAS} – **303*^{VAS}, *305*^{VAS}, the types found in the sets of vessels listed on KN K 93. For these, see the drawing of K 93 shown as Fig. 17.3.

D Even though the ideograms appear naturalistic and are sometimes provided with Greek names, it is not easy to connect all of them securely with types known from the archaeological record, or to fit them accurately into the classification of shapes set out by Furumark (*MP*, figs 2–21). There are two main reasons for this:

1. The connexion of Classical Greek vessel names with Classical shapes is itself to some extent a matter of guesswork; and not only have the Classical shapes designed for each specific purpose undergone marked changes from their Mycenaean equivalents, but the Greek names themselves can be seen to show shifts of meaning between earlier and later writers. Hruby (2010) has attempted to correlate the ceramic repertoire in storage in the Palace of Nestor with both vessel names and ideograms in the Linear B texts, with a view to suggesting an 'emic' (i.e. contemporary Late Bronze Age) classification of vessel types. A difficulty she recognises is that below: namely, that many ideograms seem to refer to metal, not ceramic forms.

[b] *Documents*[1] 323–48, *Documents*[2] 493–502, *Interpretation* 338–65, *Textos* 54–55, 67–68, *Anthology* 278–81, 285–89, 314–35. Studies: *IDA* 161–275, Poursat 1977, Matthäus 1980.

Mycenaean vessel ideograms and their names

	Knossos	Pylos	Mycenae
*200^{VAS}		*pi-je-ra*$_3$	
*201^{VAS}		*ti-ri-po-de*	*ti-ri-po-di-ko*
*202^{VAS}	*di-pa*	*di-pa*	
*203^{VAS}		*qe-to*	*qe-to*
*204^{VAS}		*qe-ra-na*	
*205^{VAS}		*a-te-we*	
*206^{VAS}		*ka-ti*	
*207^{VAS}	*ku-ru-su-*56*		
*208^{VAS}		*po-ka-ta-ma*	
*209^{VAS}	*a-pi-po-re-we*	*a-po*]*-re-we*	*a-po-re-we*
*210^{VAS}	*ka-ra-re-we*	*ka-ra-re-we*	
*211^{VAS}			
*212^{VAS}	*u-do*]*-rọ*	*u-do-ro*	
*213^{VAS}	*i-po-no*		
*214^{VAS}		*pa-ko-to*	*pa-ḳọ-to*

Figure 17.1. Mycenaean vessel ideograms and their names

*215^{VAS}			
*216^{VAS}			
*217^{VAS}			
*218^{VAS}			
*219^{VAS}		*pi-a$_2$-ra*	
*221^{VAS}			
*222^{VAS}			
*225^{ALV}			
*227^{VAS}			
*228^{VAS}		*po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja*	
*229^{VAS}			
*250^{VAS}			

Figure 17.1. (Continued)

D/* 2. That many of the ideograms (at any rate nos **200*^{VAS}–**208*^{VAS}) represent metal rather than pottery types is indicated not only by their profiles but also by the BRONZE ideogram (nos **202*^{VAS}, **205*^{VAS} and **208*^{VAS}), and by the fact that they are counted, like those of GOLD, in small numbers from one to three. By contrast, note that in 1953 Blegen found 2853 plain pottery kylikes in Room 2 and 2147 bowls and 'teacups' in Room 5 at Pylos: the tablets listing these sets, if they were listed at all, would evidently have a very different appearance. Owing to their melting-down value, finds of metal vessels are almost entirely confined to undisturbed burials of high-status individuals, and to household treasures which have escaped looting by concealment. A representative group from the LM IIIA 'Tomb of the Tripod Hearth' (= Tomb 14) at Zafer Papoura (*PoM* II.634, fig. 398) is shown in Fig. 17.2: relatives of our types **200*^{VAS} [*b*], **201*^{VAS} [*p*], **204*^{VAS} [*l*], **208*^{VAS} [*d*], **215*^{VAS} [*n*] and **303*^{VAS} [*l*] can be seen, together with the ladle (**229*^{VAS}) of KN **252** = K 434. A similar group was found more recently in a LM IIIA1 tomb at
D Arkhanes (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.589, fig. 603). The bulk of such finds date from 1600–1400 B.C., and it is a moot point whether metal shapes and decoration so far

characteristic only of Late Minoan and Late Helladic I–IIIA may in fact be assumed to be still in use around 1200 B.C., and used to illustrate the phraseology of the Pylos tablets. But some of the more valuable objects at Pylos may of course be heirlooms rather than of recent manufacture.

D/* The following notes discuss the identification of each of our types. More detailed discussion of the tablet evidence for some of the vessels will be found in the commentary on the selected texts below. For a fuller account of the archaeological evidence summarised here, see F. Vandenabeele and J.-P. Olivier's excellent *Idéogrammes archéologiques du linéaire B* (*IDA*).

***200**^{VAS}, ***219**^{VAS} [*IDA* 221–24]. Since both these ideograms are accompanied by the same vessel name *pi-a*$_2$*-ra* or *pi-je-ra*$_3$ (both plural), it is convenient to consider them together. The corresponding Classical term φιάλη, φιέλη, which shows the same vowel-alternation, is a drinking-vessel; in Homer, however (e.g. *Il.* XXIII, 270), it is a larger object designed to go on a fire. Both drawing and context confirm that the latter is its function here. As VC note, it is a large shallow vessel, designed to expose a large area to the fire, and provided with high-swung handles for suspension; and on PY **260** = Ta 709 three *pi-je-ra*$_3$ are accompanied by portable hearths (cf. Matthäus 134–36), fire-irons and two tripod cauldrons, which are likewise objects designed for use with fire. It is worth noting, however, that no extant examples show fire damage.

Its shape makes it possible that **200*^{VAS} is made of metal; it is suggested in *IDA* that **219*^{VAS} is more likely to be a clay vessel, in view of the context in which it occurs on PY **270** = Tn 996, but this conclusion is open to question (see pp. 795–96). As *IDA* notes, there are no precise parallels for **200*^{VAS} in the archaeological record (and the tiny foot indicated on PY **260** = Ta 709.1 suggests the ideogram might be highly stylised), nor examples of clay vessels comparable to **219*^{VAS}, but metal vessels similar to the latter include, among several examples from Crete and the mainland, a basin from Tomb 12 at Dendra (LH II–IIIA1): see *IDA* fig. 152, Matthäus no. 153. VC transcribe **200*^{VAS}, **219*^{VAS} as BOILING PAN, and this translation is retained in the text section p. 785, although, as *IDA* points out, this is only one possible use of the vessel.

D ***201**^{VAS} [*IDA* 225–33]. *Ti-ri-po*, plural *ti-ri-po-de* = τρίπος, cf. *Il.* XVIII, 346: οἱ δὲ λοετροχόον τρίποδ' ἵστασαν ἐν πυρὶ κηλέῳ 'and they placed a tripod cauldron into
* which water was poured for bathing on the burning fire'. Two forms of this ideogram for what is doubtless a metal tripod cauldron are attested: one showing a rounded body with two vertical handles (Ta 641.1β), the other depicting a cylindrical body gently rounded at the bottom with two horizontal handles (Ta 709.3α, 3β; cf. Ta 641.1α [with double handles], 1γ [without handles]). Both types are well attested archaeologically. Among examples of Type 1 are the tripod from Zafer Papoura Tomb 14 (see Fig. 17.2; *IDA* fig. 154), those shown on the Pylos fresco (*IDA* fig. 155), one from Tholos A at Arkhanes (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.593–94, fig. 614) and one from the Hoard of Bronzes at Mycenae [*IDA* fig. 156]. The examples of Type 2 include that from the House S. E. of the South House at Knossos [*IDA* fig. 157] and examples from Tholos A and the Mycenaean Grave Enclosure at Arkhanes (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.586, fig. 600,

Figure 17.2. Contents of the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth, Zafer Papoura (Evans, *Palace of Minos* II.634, fig. 398)

593, fig. 613). As *IDA* observes, it is noticeable that none of the surviving examples of Type 2 is later than LM IIIA1 and that, while Type 1 is attested both in Crete and on the mainland, Type 2 is only attested in Crete. It may well be significant in view of the latter point that all the examples of Type 2 on the tablets are described as *ke-re-si-jo we-ke*, 'of Cretan workmanship'. The absence of Type 2 from the archaeological record after LM IIIA1 may be due to chance (e.g. such objects rarely being deposited in tombs); or the examples on the tablets may be heirlooms.

D ***202**^{VAS}, ***202**^{VAS} **+ DI**, ***214**^{VAS} **+ DI** [*IDA* 234–39]. *Di-pa*, dual *di-pa-e*: spelling, gender
D^2 and declension suggest identity with the Homeric δέπας. Some of the difficulties in the way of equating this shape with δέπας can be removed by studying the earliest exam-
D^2/* ples of the word in alphabetic Greek. In *Il.* x1, 632, it is clear that this is no ordinary
D^2 drinking-vessel, as it evidently is elsewhere in the epic (e.g. *Od.* x, 316), for we are told (ll. 636–37), that anyone but Nestor would have had difficulty in lifting it from the table when it was full. Similarly, the word was later used of the golden bowl in which the sun made its return journey across the ocean during the night (Pherecydes 18a, Jakoby).
* [N.B.: while **214*^{VAS} + *DI* is the same vessel as **202*^{VAS} + *DI*, 'plain' **214*^{VAS} is a different object: see p. 766.]

The examples of the vessel on **253** = *K*(*1*) 740.2 are specified as metallic (bronze); the 30[following the ideogram prevents us from concluding that the 10, 75, 40[and]35 units elsewhere at Knossos are of clay. The examples at Pylos (on Ta 641) are accompanied by tripods, and the small numbers also suggest metal objects.

All forms of the ideogram show a cylindrical neck, pronounced shoulders and a belly which narrows towards the base. These characteristics are much more pronounced in the Pylos examples than at Knossos. Some have no handles, others show two, three or four vertical handles which protrude above the neck. Among the archaeological parallels for the type, *IDA* note a bronze vessel from Grave Circle A, graves III–V at Mycenae (LH I) (*IDA* fig. 161) and another from 'Grave Circle', Pit 3 at Pylos (pre-LH IIIA) (*IDA* fig. 162). Though parallels for the type are known on the Greek mainland from MH III–LH I and perhaps in Crete from LM IIIA2 (depicted on the Agia Triada sarcophagus), no example has so far been found in an LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB context. In relation to the association with the term δέπας, it is worth noting that the extant metal examples can be as tall as 0.78 m.

D² ***203**VAS [*IDA* 239–40]. *Qe-to*: it is possible to identify the word with πίθος if we assume that the origin is a base *g^w*edh-*, giving a Mycenaean form *k^w*(*h*?)*ethos*, and that πίθος is an Aeolic word (cf. πίσυρες = τέσσερες). This involves rejecting the connexion with Germanic words such as Icelandic *biđa*; Latin *fid-elia* could still belong with πίθος. But neither the size of the vessel nor the form of the word favours the identification, and it may well be one of the numerous loan-words used for vessel-names in Greek (cf. ἀρύβαλλος, βῖκος, λέβης, λήκυθος) and this explains the confusion of Myc. *e* but Classical ι, since this seems to occur only in non-Greek words (cf. *ku-te-so*, *i-pa-sa-na-ti* in Glossary; Hester 1958).

* Only attested on PY **259** = Ta 641, after tripod cauldrons and before several *di-pa* entries. *IDA* notes that there is some resemblance between the ideogram and clay pithoid jugs found *inter alia* at Pylos; but both its context on Ta 641 and the angular handles suggest that this is more likely to be a metal vessel, although no examples are yet attested archaeologically.

D² ***204**VAS [*IDA* 246–52]. *Qe-ra-na*: various attempts have been made to provide this word with an etymology, such as a connexion with (<*g^w*her-*) 'vessel for hot-water'. Perhaps a better suggestion is *g^w*el-* 'to pour in drops' (Skt. *galanam*, Greek βαλαν-εύς, etc.). But the ending *-a-na* recalls the pre-Greek suffix of place-names -ᾱνᾱ (-ηνη), and this too may be a loan-word.

* The ideogram clearly represents a jug, and the vessel is probably metal. The example on KN K 93 (Fig. 17.3) is part of a set, the other members of which can hardly not be metallic; and the elaborate descriptions at Pylos point in the same direction. As *IDA* notes, there are two types of similar jug in the archaeological record, one type (LH II–IIIB) decorated with a simple band on the shoulder and handle, the other (LM I/LH I) with *repousée* decoration on the sides. Among the examples of Type 1 noted are jugs from Dendra, one from Tomb 12 (*IDA* fig. 170, Matthäus no. 286) and two from Tomb 2 (*IDA* figs 171, 172, Matthäus nos 284–85). **204*VAS is closer in form to Type 1 than Type 2, none of the examples of which is as late as the last phase of the palace of Knossos.

Figure 17.3. Knossos tablet K 93

***205**[VAS] [*IDA* 252–53]. *A-te-we* (plural): an uninterpreted word in *-eus* describing a jug with a tall cylindrical neck widening towards the top. The seven on **270** = PY Tn 996 are qualified as 'bronze'. The vase bears some resemblance to **204*[VAS], and hence to the archaeological parallels for that; but no closer analogue has been recovered archaeologically.

D ***206**[VAS] [*IDA* 257–58]. *Ka-ti* (singular): a globular pitcher with the indication of two extra smaller handles at the widest part of the body, which may be designed to help carry the vessel on the head. The spelling represents the ancestor of the Classical κηθίς, κηθάριον 'dice-shaker or voting urn' (cf. ὑδρία in the same sense, and Hesychius' Arcadian gloss κάθιδοι· ὑδρίαι).

* No material is specified; *IDA* suggests clay in view of the context in which it occurs on PY **270** = Tn 996, but this conclusion is open to question (see pp. 795–96). Three-handle hydrias are common in clay (LH IIIA2(?) –IIIC) but with the smaller handles horizontal, rather than vertical as here, and attached lower on the body. A metal version is attested at Arkhanes (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.592, fig. 610; LM IIIA) with two horizontal handles near the base. *IDA* suggests that the smaller handles may be shown vertically here to distinguish this vessel from the bronze jugs common at this period which have a vertical handle attached to the rim and shoulder and one horizontal handle a little above the base.

D/*/D ***207**[VAS] [*IDA* 245–46]. *Ku-ru-su-*56*: a squat globular amphora with three legs. Probably not a compound of χρυσός 'gold' but a native 'Minoan' word, to judge from the Agia Triada vessel names *ka-ṛo-*56*, *su-pu* and *su-*56-ra* quoted on p. 758; cf. the Hittite

* (Hurrian) *ḫuprušḫ-* 'pilgrim flask'? The vessel, which is likely to be of metal, like the other objects listed with it on **253** = *K*(*1*) 740, has some similarities to pottery types known in the archaeological record, but there are no parallels among metal vessels.

***208**[VAS] [*IDA* 209]. *Po-ka-ta-ma*: only on PY **270** = Tn 996. Although VC (*Documents*[1] 339) question whether this is the name of the vessel, since it is written in smaller signs than the names in parallel position on the record, it is difficult to doubt that it is: as *IDA* notes, the size of the writing is likely to be due to pressure of space as the scribe nears the end of the tablet. No interpretation suggests itself. One of the four vessels – a carinated bowl with a pedestal base – is silver (?), the remainder are bronze; a possible archaeological parallel exists in a bronze example from Enkomi (Matthäus 1985 no. 454).

D ***209**[VAS], ***209**[VAS] **+ *A*** [*IDA* 259–63]. *A-pi-po-re-we*, *a-po-re-we* = ἀμφιφορῆϝες, ἀμφορῆϝες. The mainland spelling already shows the telescoped form (metrically impossible in Homer), but the clear etymology 'carried on both sides' has preserved the bond be-

* tween name and shape down to Classical times. The large numbers recorded in some cases (as many as 542 on KN Gg 521) make it probable that many of these vessels are the clay type frequently attested in Mycenaean ceramics; but the rings round the handles on the ideogram on KN Gg 709, where two vessels are listed, find a parallel in the rings round the handles of the bronze amphora found in an LH II tomb on Skopelos: see *IDA* fig. 180 and cf. Evans, *PoM* IV.732. Note, with the editors of *KT*[5] and *CoMIK*, that there is a trace of a sign on the right edge of Gg 709 which is probably an ideogram and may be BRONZE. Several other bronze examples are known (Matthäus nos 205–07).

D²/* ***210**^{VAS}, ***210**^{VAS} **+ *KA*** [*IDA* 266–67]. *Ka-ra-re-we*: the ideogram clearly depicts a stirrup-
jar, and the best interpretation of the word is due to Householder (1959a.379): *khlārēwes*,
D² based upon a gloss of Hesychius: χλαρόν· ἐλαιηρὸς κώθων. Pindar (*Pyth.* IX, 65) uses the
expression χλαρὸν γελᾶν, which has caused trouble to the commentators; since it is said of
a Centaur, is it impossible that it means 'to laugh like an oil-jar' (i.e. with the characteristic
* noise made by pouring liquid from a narrow-necked vessel)? The very large numbers al-
ways recorded suggest that this is the clay stirrup-jar widely attested in the archaeological
record from MM III onwards, but commonest in the LH/LM IIIA2–B periods (Haskell
1985, Haskell et al. 2011).

***211**^{VAS} [*IDA* 205–07]. The ideogram shown in Fig. 17.1 is that on KN *K*(*1*) 873.1; the jar on KN Fs 8 reverse, though also transcribed as **211*^{VAS}, has a different shape at the base and completely different handles, so should perhaps be classified as **211*^{VAS} (b) (*IDA* 206). The surcharged *PO* on the ideogram probably shows that the name of the vessel begins with this sign, and the]*we* (perhaps]*ṛọ-we* in l. 2) which precedes the ideogram in all three entries on *K*(*1*) 873 may be its ending, but the full term remains unknown. VC (*Documents*[1] 328) tentatively compare the word beginning with *po-ti-*[on KN **218** = K(1) 875.6, where it follows a reference to ten *di-pa* vessels, but this may be *po-ti-ṇi*[and a reference to *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* bronzesmiths. On l. 1 of *K*(*1*) 873 the initial]*we* is followed by *u-do*, quite likely ὕδωρ 'water', but the syntax and purpose of this is obscure. The relatively high numbers recorded (32[, 2ṣ[and 22) may mean that this is a clay vessel; and *IDA* notes the resemblance between the ideogram and certain ceramic 'semiglobular bowls' found both in Crete, including at Knossos, in an LM II to LM IIIA context and on the mainland from LH IIB to LH IIIA1.

212**^{VAS}, ***212**^{VAS} + ***U [*IDA* 190–94]. *U-do-ro* (plural): the name of a bucket-shaped
D/* vessel, evidently *hudroi* 'water-jars'; although the form ὕδρος itself is only found with the
meaning 'water-snake' in Greek, compare the vessel-name ὑδρία. The context and num-
ber (17) on KN **255** = Uc 160 reverse point to a clay vessel in this instance; *pace IDA*, the
context on PY **270** = Tn 996, where the number is smaller (3; cf. the numbers between
one and five on the Knossos *K*(*2*) records) may not be similar: see further pp. 795–96.
The ideograms on KN K(2) 774 and K(1) 877 lack handles; the remainder show two
handles attached to the sides. Though the handles depicted could be horizontal (cf. *Doc-
uments*[1] 328), they are more plausibly taken as vertical, like the similarly drawn handles
on **215*^{VAS} (*IDA* 191 n. 1). The only close archaeological parallels for vases of the shape
indicated by the ideogram are provided by the paintings on the Agia Triada sarcophagus
(LM IIIA2); note in particular the vessel shown in the depiction of the sacrifice, where
it serves to collect the blood of the slaughtered bull. There are also some resemblances
between **212*^{VAS} and metal vases found at Tiryns (Matthäus no. 364), Perati (Matthäus
no. 365, LH IIIC) and Arkhanes (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.590, fig. 605), but
the sides of these slope much more sharply outwards as they approach the top.

D/* ***213**^{VAS} [*IDA* 183–85]. A shallow open dish, without handles. The examples on
KN **255** = Uc 160 reverse are described as *i-po-no*; the Classical ἰπνός (of uncertain
etymology) means 'an earthenware dish or cover in which food was baked (Dutch oven)'
* and, no doubt as a secondary development, 'oven (in general), furnace'. The context
on this record confirms that these vessels are likely to be of clay: see the references to

a-pi-po-re-we on l.2 and *u-do*]-*ro̤* on l.4, the latter in reasonably large numbers. In contrast, the eight dishes on PY **309** = Tn 316 are made of gold and silver (?).

There are no traces in the archaeological record of pottery vessels of this type. Gold vessels of the type are also absent, but among parallels in bronze are two bowls from Katsamba (Matthäus no. 414, LM II) and Stamnioi Irakliou (Matthäus no. 432, LM III), and another two (Matthäus nos 417–18, LH IIIC[?]) from the Tiryns treasure. A vessel of this shape is also pictured on a fragment of a rhyton from Knossos (MM III–LM I: Evans 1904.129–30, fig. 85).

Besides the handleless bowls denoted by ideogram **213*[VAS], there are receptacles of a similar shape with handles, which are transcribed as **155*[VAS] [*IDA* 185–87]. The example on Ue 661 at Mycenae, which is ligatured with FIGS, may be a basket rather than a pottery or metal vessel, like the handleless baskets, also transcribed as **155*[VAS], on the *Ge* 'spice' records. But the example at Knossos, in an unhelpful context on K 7363, which is surcharged with *DI* and has handles attached to its sides, may denote something different. There are, however, no parallels for such a vessel in the archaeological record.

D²/* ***214*[VAS] [*IDA* 240–41]. *Pa-ko-to*: perhaps *phaktō* (dual), cf. φακτόν· μέτρον παρὰ Ἀρκάσι, κοτύλαι ἀττικαὶ τρεῖς *Lexicon Cyrilli*; φάκται· ληνοί, σιπύαι, πύελοι Hesychius (Naoumides 1968.280–81). The ideogram shows a vessel with a cylindrical neck with handles attached on either side, pronounced shoulders, sides narrowing towards the bottom and a flat base. There are no archaeological parallels. NB: For **214*[VAS] + *DI*, a different vessel, see on **202*[VAS] + *DI* above.

***215*[VAS] [*IDA* 210–12]. The gold and silver (?) goblets with handles on PY **309** = Tn 316. Close parallels for these vessels in the archaeological record are provided by the kylix, which includes both metal vases (including gold: Davis no. 123) and ceramic types. A particularly striking analogy is provided by the four gold goblets in the 'Acropolis Treasure' found near Grave Circle A at Mycenae (LH I or LH II; see *IDA* fig. 139), while an example in silver is known from Kokla (Demakopoulou 1990.119 and fig. 8) and one in bronze was found in Tomb 14 at Zafer Papoura (item *n* in fig. 17.2; Matthäus no. 368, LM IIIA). A gold example recently discovered in an LH IIIC cist tomb at Kouvaras Fyteion (*Archaeological Reports* 54 [2007–08] 47) is the closest find in date to the Pylos tablets (end of LH IIIB), and the continuity of the shape is confirmed by the very large number of pottery examples found in the palace.

***216*[VAS] [*IDA* 212–16]. The gold chalices on PY **309** = Tn 316. Among numerous archaeological parallels for these vessels is the much more elaborate gold chalice from Grave Circle A, Tomb IV at Mycenae (LH 1), the so-called 'Nestor's cup' (*IDA* fig. 141, Davis no. 63). A closer analogue, in silver, is the chalice decorated with hunt scenes from Dendra (Davis no. 118, c. 1500); and there are many versions, particularly in stone (MM III–LH/LM 1; *IDA* figs 142, 143), as well as in clay, including some from Thera (not later than 1550, LM IA) and one from Tholos Tomb III at Pylos, probably earlier than LH IIIB (*PoN* I.93–94, fig. 174.1). The stem of a similar vase is depicted in the Camp Stool frescoes at Knossos (LM I; *IDA* fig. 144); the yellow paint may indicate a gold vessel. Finally, a vase of this shape is shown in the hands of a goddess on the Tiryns gold ring (LH 1: see Fig. 17.4).

***217**VAS [*IDA* 241–45]. One of three different vessels (one of each) recorded on **252** = KN K 434. Since the shapes of the other two (**221*VAS, **229*VAS) make it likely that they are of metal (see further below), **217*VAS is also likely to be an object of value. No archaeological parallels for the shape are known in metal, but, as *IDA* plausibly suggests, its outline is close to that of the flasks made from ostrich-eggs which are well attested. To form these vessels, the eggs, which come from Africa, are fitted with a metal neck and base. Two examples have been found at Thera, and there are others from the Argolid, including the one illustrated in *IDA* fig. 166 from the Royal Tomb at Dendra (LH IIIA1), which has a silver neck and four bronze bands edged with gold and incrusted with glass running vertically from neck to base. On the possibility that the term *ko-no-ni-pi*, which precedes the ideogram on **252** = K 434, refers to bands of this type, see further p. 770.

***218**VAS [*IDA* 200–05]. The drawing of this vessel, only in a single entry on KN **254** = K(1) 872, clearly shows a cup of the so-called Vaphio type; the three examples here are at least partially of gold (see *ku-ru-so* l. 3a). Besides the two famous cups from the Vaphio tholos itself, both in gold (LH II?; *IDA* figs 130, 131, Davis 1977.1–50), there is a gold example from Grave Circle A, Tomb V at Mycenae (LH I; Davis no. 38), a silver example from the Royal Tomb at Dendra (LH IIIA1; *IDA* fig. 132; Davis no. 117 [who refers to the find-place as 'Midea']) and a number of further examples in gold, silver, bronze and stone. In addition, vases of this type are depicted as carried by the men of Keftiu on wall-paintings in the tombs of Senmut, Amenuser and Menkheperrasonb at Thebes in Egypt dating from the reign of Tuthmosis III (1490–1439 B.C.) (see e.g. Wachsmann 1987.72–73).

***219**VAS: see **200*VAS.

***221**VAS [*IDA* 207–08]. The sign, used to denote a single vessel on **252** = KN K 434, clearly represents a shallow cup with slightly curving sides, a pronounced rim and a handle attached to this which describes an elegant curve above the rim and then downwards but does not touch the side of the vessel. The shape of the handle suggests that this is a metal vessel. Several close parallels exist, including two gold cups, one from Agios Ioannis near Knossos (Davis no. 19) decorated with spirals and arcades (LM I, perhaps LM IB, but LM II–IIIA1 by context), and the other, without decoration, from an LH IIIA tomb at Marathon (*IDA* fig. 136, Davis no. 133). There is also a silver-plated copper example from the Vaphio tholos (Davis no. 107), as well as several in bronze.

***222**VAS [*IDA* 233–34]. A *pithos*-shaped vessel, with sides rounded towards the top, a large opening and a flat base. There are no parallels among metal vessels, but there are some similarities to pottery vessels (pithoid vases without handles), though no comparisons with specific examples have been suggested.

***225** (ALVEUS) [*IDA* 178–80]. The form of the ideogram for bath found on **270** = PY Tn 996, which is described as *re-wo-te-re-jo* 'for bathing'; contrast the rectangular-shaped sign (**246*) ligatured with BRONZE and associated with the terms *a-sa-mi-to*, *asaminthos* and *ke-ni-qa* on the Knossos sealing **256** = Ws 8497. As VC, followed by *IDA*, note, the shape of **225* is very close to that of the clay bath, with its sides much higher at one end than the other, found in a room near the magazine of the Lily Vases at Knossos (MM III; *IDA* fig. 115 and Fig. 17.7). In contrast, the baths found at Pylos, including the one embedded in a stepped base in the bathroom in Room 43 (*PoN* I.187–88, fig. 37), have

a much squarer appearance. As regards the material from which the bath denoted by **225* is made, VC argue that its profile suggests a metal vessel. *IDA*, however, questions this conclusion, suggesting a clay object; the argument that is adduced in favour of this conclusion is not, however, completely watertight: see further pp. 795–96.

****226*** VAS [*IDA* 271–73]. This ideogram is used to denote the two sets of vessels depicted on the Knossos tablet K 93 (Fig. 17.3). For discussion of the constituent parts of the sets, see **204*VAS p. 763 (for the jug in the second set) and **301*VAS–**303*VAS, **305*VAS pp. 769–70 (for the remaining vessels).

****227*** VAS [*IDA* 268–71]. This sign, found twice on **254** = KN K(1) 872, plainly denotes a 'bull's head rhyton'. In the first example the horns are longer and more curved than in the second; the second is also distinguished from the first by showing a double line along the back of the neck and head. Rhyta of this type, mainly in stone but exceptionally
D in silver and some in clay, have been found in Crete, at Mycenae and at Nauplia. The black steatite example from the Little Palace (*PoM* II.527–31) has *tridachna* shell inlay round the nose and in irregular patches; eyes of crystal and red jasper; small medallions with revolving rays between the horns; and probably horns of wood covered with gold
D/* foil. The silver example from Grave Circle A, Tomb IV at Mycenae (LH I; *IDA* fig. 186, Davis no. 64) has horns of wood plated with gold, gold inlay round the muzzle and a
* gold rosette on the forehead. This vessel also has sides of double thickness, and *IDA* suggests that it is this feature that the double line in the ideogram on **254** = KN K(1) 872.2 is intended to represent. Comparable 'bull's head rhyta' are shown among tribute from Keftiu in the fifteenth-century B.C. Egyptian tombs of User-Amon, Rekhmare and Menkheperrasonb (see e.g. Wachsmann 1987.56–57).

****228*** VAS [*IDA* 187–88]. *Po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja*: plausibly interpreted by Palmer as *prohelktēriā* 'instrument for drawing forth'. JC associates this object with the fire-irons and portable hearth recorded on the next line of **260** = PY Ta 709, the only context in which it is attested, and thinks of a fork or rake. As *IDA* points out, however, the shape of the object is more suggestive of a ladle with a straight handle, and there is in fact no reason why it should not be this, given the references to vessels in the two preceding entries, one of which at least (**200*VAS = *pi-je-ra*$_3$) is evidently a cooking vessel. A possible parallel for a ladle of this type is available in the archaeological record: a bronze bowl with a horizontal handle discovered by T. J. Papadopoulos in the cemetery of Katarraktis near Pharai in Mycenaean Achaea, perhaps to be dated to LH II (Vandenabeele 1981, Matthäus no. 351). Vandenabeele (ibid.) suggests that **228*VAS may have been used to extract liquid from the *pa-ko-to* vessel recorded before it, which she thinks may have been a kind of krater.

****229*** VAS [*IDA* 188–89]. This ideogram, found only on **252** = KN K 434, clearly represents a ladle or dipper with a vertical handle attached to the cup, which curves outwards at the top. The material is not specified, but the fact that all three objects recorded on this tablet are singletons suggests that it is metal. *IDA*, following Evans (*PoM* IV.939–40, fig. 911) and VC, compares the silver ladle from the Vaphio tomb, although it is only 13
D/* cm tall (LH II; *IDA* fig. 121); we might also note the parallels in bronze (Matthäus nos 447–49), though none is identical in form. Note also object *o* in Fig. 17.2.

* ****250*** VAS [*IDA* 194–95]. Only on **270** = PY Tn 996. The main outline of the vessel is reminiscent of **212*VAS (*u-do-ro*, *hudros*), but the ear-like appendage high at the right

remains unexplained. It can hardly be a spout; as *IDA* points out, vessels with spouts normally have a vertical handle on the other side, whereas this vessel has two handles, although bronze vessels with a spout and two horizontal handles, but a more flaring body shape, exist in LM/LH IIIA Sellopoulo and Dendra (Matthäus nos 390–92).

***301**VAS [*IDA* 216–17]. The vessel at the bottom of the first of the two sets on KN K 93 (see Fig. 17.3); see also Matthäus 1983 for a fuller discussion of the vessels depicted. The drawing shows a shallow dish with a curved body and two vertical handles attached to the sides. Like the other members of the set the vessel is likely to be of metal. No exact parallels can be adduced, but the form of the handle resembles that on an example from Tomb 14 at Zafer Papoura (item *c* in Fig. 17.2, Matthäus no. 164); there are bronze dishes with this shape of body both in Crete and on the mainland dating from LM/LH IIIA, but these have vertical handles protruding above the rim (Matthäus nos 115–16, 120, 150–53).

***302**VAS [*IDA* 217–18]. The middle of the three vessels in the set mentioned above. The drawing shows a vase of similar outline to **212*VAS (*u-do-ro*, *hudros*) with a horizontal handle in the middle of the body which would doubtless have had a partner on the other side of the vase. *IDA* compares various bronze vessels in the archaeological record, including some from Crete in LM IIIA1 to LM IIIA2 contexts (Matthäus nos 398, 403, 404, 406) and others from the mainland (LH IIIA; Matthäus nos 399, 400, 401, 408). These belong to a group of closely related bronze vessels (Matthäus 1980 Type 45: Lekanai); all have a conical profile and two handles, although they differ in the details of the handle shape and some are fitted with spouts.

***303**VAS [*IDA* 253–57]. The top vessel in the set mentioned above. A jug, but of a different type from that denoted by **204*VAS, with a tall, narrow neck and a high spout opposite the handle. *IDA* points to numerous examples of jugs of this general shape in gold, silver and bronze, including two wholly or partly in gold from Mycenae, the first in silver with gold overlay from Grave Circle B, Tomb Alpha (MH III–LH I; Davis no. 29), the second in gold from Grave Circle A, Tomb III (LH I; Davis no. 91). There is also one in silver from Grave Circle A, Tomb IV at Mycenae (LH I; *IDA* fig. 175, Davis no. 65); and one in bronze from Tomb 14 at Zafer Papoura (LM IIIA; *IDA* fig. 176, Matthäus no. 303; item *l* in Fig. 17.2). Closest of all in shape, however, are bronze vases from Enkomi dating from the end of the Bronze Age (*IDA* fig. 177, Matthäus 1980, Pl. 73.4); with these, H. W. Catling (1964.150–51) has compared not only ideogram **303*VAS but also the jugs depicted on the Tiryns ring (see Fig. 17.4).

N. B.: The angular object at the right of the set of three vessels on KN K 93, transcribed as **304*, has not been securely identified (see *IDA* 301), although Matthäus (1983.74–77) sees it as a pan with a tall handle, citing parallels in Zafer Papoura tombs 14 and 36 and Dendra, chamber tomb 2 (Matthäus 1983, figs 5–8).

***305**VAS [*IDA* 218–21]. The lower of the two vessels which make up the second of the two sets on KN K 93 (see Fig. 17.3). (The upper vessel is a jug of the type transcribed as **204*VAS.) The drawing of the object, of which only the left-hand portion has been preserved, shows some resemblances to **221*VAS, but the handle there, though similar in shape, is not attached to the side of the vessel like the handle here, and the vessel is too large to be a cup. *IDA* compares various bronze dishes found in Crete and especially on

the mainland from LM/LH I to LM IIIA/LH III, including some from Knossos itself, like the one from the N. W. Treasure House (*IDA* fig. 148, Matthäus no. 325). With the pronounced (and decorated) rim of this vessel, compare the double line at the top of the drawing of **305*.

2. INVENTORIES OF VESSELS AT KNOSSOS (K, Uc, Ws)

252 = K 434 (-)

.1]ṣạ , **221*[VAS] 1 **229*[VAS] 1
.2]de-wa-pi , ko-no-ni-pi , **217*[VAS] 1

D/* … one cup, one ladle,
… one ostrich-egg flask with … *bars*.

D[2]]*ṣạ*: perhaps the end of a feminine adjective in]*-we-sa*?
D *ko-no-ni-pi*: evidently a feminine noun (cf. **266** = Ta 714.3) with genitive singular in *-nios* or *-nidos*. Does it represent κανονίς 'cross-bar'? Cf. also *Il.* XIII, 407: (ἀσπίδα) δύω
D/D[2]/* κανόνεσσ' ἀραρυῖαν '(a shield) fitted with two rods'. D. H. F. Gray (1959.53) has criti-
cised this interpretation on archaeological grounds, suggesting that 'bars on tables … are convincing, on jug and footstool … less so'. As Vandenabeele and Olivier (*IDA* 245)
* point out, however, the term might well refer in this instance to vertical metal bands of the type used to decorate the ostrich-egg flask found in the Royal Tomb at Dendra (*IDA* fig. 166). The preceding]*de-wa-pi* is presumably an adjective qualifying *ko-no-ni-pi*; no plausible interpretation has been suggested.

253 = *K*(*1*) 740 (102?)

sup. mut.
.1]*vest.*[
.2 ḍị-pa AES **214*[VAS]+*DI* 30[
.3 qe-ro$_2$ 'AES' **255* • 16̣
.4 ku-ru-su-*56 • **207*[VAS] 1
.5 pi-ri-je • *ZE* 1
.6 [. .] 'me-no-ṇọ['
inf. mut.

* *di-pa*: if not simply a failure of concord (cf. *a-no-wo-to* [*di-pa*] followed by the numeral ten on **218** = K(1) 875.6), either an error for **di-pa-a* (VC) or a neut. plur. in -ᾰ comparable to Homeric γέρα (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.273), though there is no parallel for this form elsewhere on the records. On the relationship between *di-pa* and Gr. δέπας, see under **202*[VAS](+*DI*), **214*[VAS]+*DI* in Section 1.
D *qe-ro*$_2$: Evans (*PoM* IV.732) says that the ideogram 'must probably be regarded as a variant
* of the "cuirass" sign seen on the "Chariot tablets"'. As we shall see later (see **305** = Sk 8100), a connexion with armour is confirmed by the recurrence of the term *qe-ro*$_2$, which

precedes the ideogram here, on the Knossos *Sk* tablets, where it is more often followed by 2 and where its position on the records is consistent with its identification as the front and back plates covering the chest and back of the wearer. As we shall see also, there is a strong case for identifying the *qe-ro*$_2$ both here and on the *Sk* tablets with the breast- and back-plates of the bronze corslet found in grave 12 at Dendra (*IDA* figs 13–15).

As regards the case of *qe-ro*$_2$ on the present record, both A. Heubeck (1986a.292–93, 295) and M. Del Freo (1996.239 n.10) have suggested that the term is dual in *-ō* of a feminine **sk*^{w}*ellă*, and have compared the lack of concord that this would involve with the lack of concord in the previous line, where *di-pa* is followed by an entry of 30(+?) vessels. As we shall see later, however, it seems more likely, as F. Aura Jorro has argued (*DMic* II.199), that the term is an *o*-stem.

On what can be deduced from the presence of the BRONZE ideogram before **255* here, again see **305** = Sk 8100.

*ku-ru-su-*56*: see under **207*^{VAS} in Section 1.

D *pi-ri-je*: the absence of another ideogram suggests that we should take *ZE* not as 'pair'
* but in the sense 'saw'. Probably *priēn*, a doublet of πρίων, the standard Classical word for 'saw' (Ruijgh, *Études* 374–75); cf.]*je-ne* before *ZE* on KN R 1562, which is perhaps to be restored as *pi-ri-je-ne*, the plural of the same term (*IDA* 279). As Ruijgh (ibid.) notes, the agent noun *pi-ri-(j)e-te* (KN, PY) could be *prientēr* and a derivative of the same term via a verb **prienyō*; see further **93** = PY Fn 7, **272** = KN Ra(1) 1548.

254 = K(1) 872 (102)

.1], ke-ra-a , **227*^{VAS} [
.2]me-no , ne-qa-sa-pi , **227*^{VAS} 1
.3a]-te-te , ku-ru-so , ⟦ḳṵ-ṛṵ-ṣọ⟧
.3b ne-]qa-sa-pi , **218*^{VAS} 3
.4 *inf. mut.*

D/* … *x* bull's head rhytons [?gilded] on the horns.
… one bull's head rhyton [?decorated] with *ne-qa-sa-*.
… three Vaphio cups [?decorated] with *ne-qa-sa-*, the *rim* of gold.

ne-qa-sa-pi: the object or substance represented by this term (instr. plur.) is unknown, but it probably also enters into the composition of the man's name *ne-qa-sa-ta* on PY Fn 324.

*]*-te-te*: possibly *]*ṣ̣-te-te*; most likely an instrumental agreeing with the following *ku-ru-so*, *khrūs(s)os*, but no interpretation suggests itself.

255 = Uc 160 reverse ("124" d)

.1 *sup. mut.*
.2 a-pi-po-re-we **209*^{VAS} 6 [
.3 i-po-no **213*^{VAS} 14 [
.4]-ṛọ **212*^{VAS} 17 [
inf. mut.

D/* Six (+?) amphoras …
Fourteen cooking bowls …
Seventeen water jars …

* Since **212*[VAS] is preceded by *u-do-ro* on **270** = PY Tn 996 (and the sign is sometimes surcharged with *U*), we can confidently restore this term in l. 4 here. On *i-po-no* 'dutch oven', see under **213*[VAS] in Section 1.

D²/* The obverse of this tablet is interesting for the reading *de-ṛẹ-ṵ-ḳọ* associated with the ideogram WINE; the interpretation as *dleukos* = γλεῦκος 'sweet new wine' throws interesting light on the etymology of γλυκύς (Chadwick 1968a). With the references to wine and cyperus on the obverse here, compare the references to olives, figs and wine on the reverse of **257** = MY Ue 611, whose other side is again a record of vases.

256 = Ws 8497 HM (129) (-)

.α AES **246* *supra sigillum*
.β ke-ni-qa
.γ a-sa-mi-to

D²/* The term on side γ of this sealing, *a-sa-mi-to*, is certainly to be identified with the Homeric term for 'bath' ἀσάμινθος, and is clearly the name of the rectangular-shaped object denoted by the ideogram on side α, which the AES ideogram standing above it confirms is made of bronze. A rectangular-shaped ideogram, also transcribed as **246*, occurs twice elsewhere at Knossos, on U 437 and U 5186; whatever of the single object recorded on U 5186, it is unlikely that the six items recorded on U 437 are also baths or the like, since the term]*ko-so-ni-ja* before the sign is probably to be restored as *a-*]*ko-so-ni-ja*, *aksonia* 'small axles' or perhaps more likely 'pieces of wood for making axles'. A problem, however, for the identification of the ideogram here as a bath proper is raised by the term on side β of the sealing, *ke-ni-qa*, which is difficult to dissociate from the **khernig*ʷ- root of the Homeric terms χέρνιψ *Od.* I, 136+ 'water for washing the hands' and χέρνιβον *Il.* XXIV, 304 'vessel for this purpose'. It is uncertain what form of the word is attested here. In the first full publication of the sealing, J.-P. Olivier (1967d.291) proposes neut. plur. χέρνιβα (χέρνιβον); in *Documents*² (p. 552), however, JC tentatively suggests nom. sing. *khernik*ʷ*s* (χέρνιψ), here in the sense 'vessel for washing the hands', or the acc. sing. *khernig*ʷ*a* of the same term. Little certainty is possible; but while vessels of two different types are sometimes mentioned on the same sealing at Mycenae (see Wt 501, Wt 506), it does not seem likely that this is the case here, since there is only one ideogram on the document. Most likely, therefore, *ke-ni-qa* serves as a qualification of *a-sa-mi-to*, indicating, if *a.* is singular, that this particular 'bath' is in fact a basin for washing the hands. If this is correct, *ke-ni-qa* will probably be a plene spelling of nom. sing. *khernik*ʷ*s*, either of a noun meaning 'vessel for washing the hands', as JC has suggested, here standing in apposition to *a-sa-mi-to*, or perhaps of an adjective 'for washing the hands' which qualifies *a-sa-mi-to.* (For an adjective of this type, cf. Hom. αἰγίλιψ 'bereft of goats'.) For this suggestion, see A. M. Davies, *Anthology* 281. The possibility, however, cannot entirely be excluded that *a-sa-mi-to* is plural (cf. the plurals on the *Wt* sealings at Mycenae, probably on PY Wr 1480 and on Ws 1704, Ws 8495 at Knossos, where the neut. plur. *pa-ta-ja*, *paltaia* 'darts' is accompanied by an ideogram

(JAC)): in which case *ke-ni-qa* would presumably be plural of χέρνιβον, *khernig*^{w}*a* 'wash-hand basins', standing in apposition to ἀσάμινθοι. For an explanation of *a-sa-mi-to* and *ke-ni-qa* as plurals, though as referring to different types of vessel, see Ruijgh 1976b.313.

3. VESSELS AT MYCENAE (Ue)

257 = Ue 611 (*60*)

.0] *vacat*
.1]pe-ra 4 a-po-re-we 2 pe-ri-ke 3
.2]ka-ra-te-ra 1 po-ro-ko-wo 4 a-ta-ra 10
.3]pa-ke-te-re 30 ka-na-to 5 qe-ti-ja 10
.4]qẹ-to 2 ti-ri-po-di-ko 8 ka-ra-ti-ri-jo 7̣
.5]*vac.*[

D/D²/* … four *drinking-cups*, two amphoras, three *pitchers*,
… one mixing bowl, four pouring jugs, ten *ladles*,
… thirty *pa-ke-te-re*, five *baskets*, ten small *qe-to*,
… two *qe-to*, eight small tripods, seven *ka-ra-ti-ri-jo*.

D This list of vessels is unfortunately not accompanied by ideograms; a considerable store of different pottery types was found in a room adjacent to that in which this tablet was discovered in 1954 (*MT* II.9–13). In the doorway of this store-room a number of clay sealings were found in 1953; they are inscribed with a series of words apparently
D²/* describing vessels or utensils, some of which recur on **257** = Ue 611. The words which repeat are *a-ta-ra*(-*qe*) Wt 501, *ka-na-to* Wt 502, 506, *qe-ti-ja* Wt 504, and possibly *ka-ra-ti-ri-jo* which appears as *ka-ra-se* | *-ti-ri-jo* on Wt 507, with the text divided between two lines and *se* above the normal size. Possibly *se* is not part of the word but an independent annotation; alternatively, this may simply be a scribal error, or a plene spelling of a group -*st*-. These sealings also supply four other words belonging to this semantic group: *e-ku-se-we*(-*qe*) (Wt 501) = *enkhusēwes* 'funnels'; *ke-ni-qe-te-we* (Wt 503) = *khernik*^{w}*tēwes* (cf. χέρνιψ) 'wash-hand basins'; *pa-ke-te-ri-ja* (Wt 506), cf. *pa-ke-te-re*; and probably *pa-ḳ̣o-to* (Wt 505): if the reading is correct, the same vessel name as on **260** = PY Ta 709. A pottery funnel (cf. *e-ku-se-we*) was found in this same room of the House of the Sphinxes.
D/D²/*]*pe-ra*: probably to be restored as *ku-pe-ra*, cf. the Homeric κύπελλα. Alternatively, if the word is complete, *pe-ra*, *pellai* 'wooden bowls, milk pails' *Il.* XVI, 642 +.

D *pe-ri-ke* = πέλικες: the word is quoted by Pollux (X, 67) from Cratinus, and mentioned by Athenaeus (XI, 495) in the form πελίκαι. The grammarians were by no means sure of the meaning: κύλιξ, προχοΐδιον and χοῦς are all given as equivalents.

D² *ka-ra-te-ra*: the apparent accusative has given rise to the suggestion (Risch 1958b) that all these words should be regarded as accusatives, and this leads to a theory that consonant stem accusatives plural may have an ending -*es*, as well as -*as*, which is evidenced by
D²/* *pa-ki-ja-na-de* (-*ānas-de*). It is much likelier, however, that this is scribal inconsequence or, more probably, a plene spelling of the nominative *krātēr* (Georgiev 1958.158, Chadwick 1987.80); cf. *ki-to-na* = *khitōn* KN Ld(2) 785.2 (Palmer, *Interpretation* 429, Melena 1975a.99, Killen 1979a.171, Chadwick ibid.).

D *po-ro-ko-wo* = Hom. πρόχοος. Cretan πρόκοος is used as a measure.

D *a-ta-ra*: possibly *antla*. A neuter ἄντλον is quoted from Pollux (I, 92); the sense 'bucket' is
D/D² not recorded before Manetho. Cf. Hesychius ἀντλία· καδίσκος.

* *pa-ke-te-re*: the repetition of this word on lists of building materials at Pylos and the large numbers there suggest to JC that this is not a vessel but some other metal artefact, perhaps some kind of peg or nail (on which to hang the vessels?). At Pylos at least, *pāktēres* (πήγνυμι) seems likely. Since, however, all the other objects recorded on the tablet that we can identify with certainty are (ceramic?) vessels, some doubt must surround this conclusion. Possibly *pāktēres*, with a different sense from that at Pylos (Panagl [1972] suggests a vessel for cheese-making, cf. [γάλα] πηκτόν 'congealed [milk]' Euripides), or an entirely different term.

D/* *ka-na-to*: cf. κάναστρον, κάνασθον? JC suggests that if the previous word means 'nails', perhaps *gnathoi* 'cramps' is not too fanciful; cf. Aesch. *P.* 64–65 ἀδαμαντίνου νῦν σφηνὸς αὐθάδη γνάθον | στέρνων διαμπὰξ πασσάλευ' ἐρρωμένως 'vigorously drive in the remorseless jaw of the iron spike like a peg through his breast'. See, however, the previous note. Panagl (1972) suggests a wickerwork basket used in cheese manufacture; cf. κάναστρον < κάννα 'rush', Hom. τάλαρος 'basket', and his proposal for *pa-ke-te-re* mentioned in the last note. The term may recur on TH Ka 113, a closely similar record to Ue 611: see]*na-to* ẹ0 followed by *a-po-re-we* 8 on l. 1B.

qe-ti-ja: on the presence of diminutives in -ιον in Mycenaean, see Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.233–35. Lejeune suggests that the *Wt* sealings must have been attached to baskets in the store-rooms, and thus give only the names of small objects, like *qe-ti-ja* (Wt 504) vs *qe-to* and *pa-ke-te-ri-ja* (Wt 506) vs *pa-ke-te-re*, the larger ones being ranged directly on the shelves. It is clear, however, that many sealings at least accompanied goods coming into the palace (see Ch. XIII, Section 8), rather than serving as labels for goods in store at the centre. It is likelier, therefore, if the prominence of diminutives on the sealings to which Lejeune draws attention is not simply an accident of preservation, that it reflects a difference in the way in which vessels being sent from pottery workshops were transported to the palace, with smaller vessels being sent in containers of some kind to which sealings were attached. A 'transportation' background could also explain why the sealings were found in a group in the doorway of the store-room, rather than together with the pots inside the room. For an excellent discussion of how the *Wt* sealings were made and of their possible purpose, see Bennett, *MT* II.102–05.

D *ti-ri-po-di-ko*: *tripodiskoi*. Also a man's name on PY Cn 599.8; cf. the Attic deme Τριποδίσκος.

ka-ra-ti-ri-jo: meaning uncertain. Possibly from γράω (known to be Cypriot, imper. γράσθι) 'eat'; cf. γράστις, and possibly κραστήριον 'rack, manger' (Pollux) (Chadwick, *MT* II.112).

4. INVENTORIES OF VESSELS AND FURNITURE AT PYLOS

THE Ta SERIES

D/* Among the documents which were found by Blegen in the campaigns of 1952–53, the most important (both for the linguistic information they provide and for the light they throw on Mycenaean culture) are the series which has been

classified by the prefix *Ta*. One of these, **259** = Ta 641 with its tripods and four-handled *di-pa* vessels, was separately published by Blegen (1953a, cf. Ventris 1954a.18), and was invaluable in providing a conclusive check on the decipherment, see p. 46.

D The *Ta* series consists of thirteen tablets of 'palm-leaf' shape in grey-burnt clay, exceptionally neatly written and well preserved. From their similar context, 'hand' and common locus, adjoining the Archive Room, they evidently constitute a coherent set written for a single occasion. Ta 710, which merely repeats
D/* Ta 721 lines 3–4, has been omitted here. We have printed first 711, 641 and 709, which record vessels and utensils, including on 709 two mobile hearths and fire-irons; next 642, 713 and 715, which list the article *to-pe-za*; next 707, 708 and 714, which record *to-no* and *ta-ra-nu* in combination; then 721 and 722, where *ta-ra-nu* (plural *ta-ra-nu-we*) are counted alone and illustrated by the ideogram **220*; and finally 716, which lists two gold objects, two axes and two swords (or knives). The commentary on the *Ta* records is followed by comments on the red tablet Tn 996 (with 'bathtubs'), which may conveniently be discussed together with the series because of its similar subject-matter, even though found some distance away (in Room 20, Blegen *PoN* I.127).

Although the rectangular object with looped ends which is transcribed as **220* at first sight resembles a vessel, its name *thrānus*, plural *thrānues*, is clearly
D the Homeric θρᾶνυς 'footstool'. On Ta 722.1 the object can be seen to have short legs under it. An identical piece of furniture is visible under the feet of the
D/* seated goddess on the large gold signet-ring from Tiryns (Fig. 17.4). Doubts were

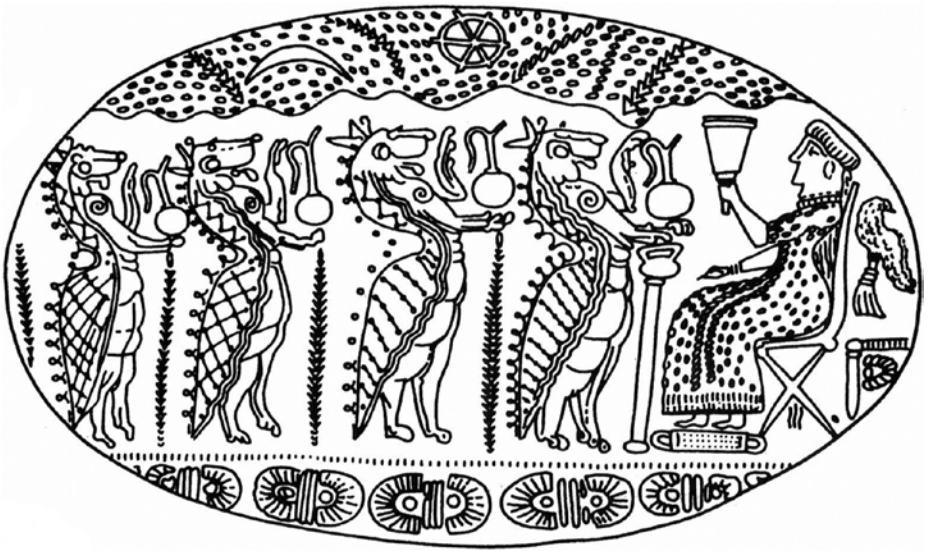


Figure 17.4. The gold signet-ring from Tiryns

expressed by Evans as to the ring's authenticity, but the odd form of the footstool could hardly have been anticipated by a forger, thus confirming Karo's opinion that the object is genuine.

D The spelling of the objects *to-no* and *to-pe-za* will be discussed on pp. 787, 791; but the first, which regularly forms a pair with *thrānus*, is evidently the equivalent
D/* of θρόνος 'chair', the second of τράπεζα 'table'. The furniture listed on the surviving tablets comprises eleven tables, probably five chairs (see further **266** = Ta
D 714) and sixteen footstools (four of them paired with chairs). The low number of chairs may suggest that part of their inventory is missing, or possibly that some
*/D of the *thrānues* were intended to be sat on. For a third possible explanation, see further pp. 779–80. A close parallel is given by the Akkadian tablets nos 417–24 from Alalakh (Wiseman 1953.108–09), e.g. no. 419: 'twenty tables, thirty-two chairs and thirty-five footstools, for the house of Iriḫalpa'.

The construction and decoration of this furniture have fortunately been listed in detail by the Pylos scribe, offering a fascinating sidelight on what we already
D/* know of Mycenaean craftsmanship and of its favourite design motifs. Compare especially Furumark's analysis in *Mycenaean Pottery* (*MP*) and the ivory ornaments found at Mycenae, Pylos and other LH/LM sites which clearly served
* to decorate furniture. For a full account of these ivories, see Poursat 1977; for discussion of the pieces used to decorate footstools, two of which are shown in Fig. 17.5, see Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 165–72 and figs 104–09, as well as
D^2/* Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.721–29. Further light is shed on the construction of the furniture by the much later thrones discovered at Salamis in Cyprus
D^2 by Karageorghis (1967a.346 and fig. 150, 1967b). It is not at all improbable that the traditions of Mycenaean craftsmanship continued there down to the Archaic period. One tomb, dated to the end of the eighth century B.C., contained three wooden thrones, of which the wood had perished, 'one decorated with silver, ivory and blue paste, the other with ivory and gold, the third only with ivory'. Ivory, gold and blue glass on chairs are clearly indicated in the Pylos tablets.

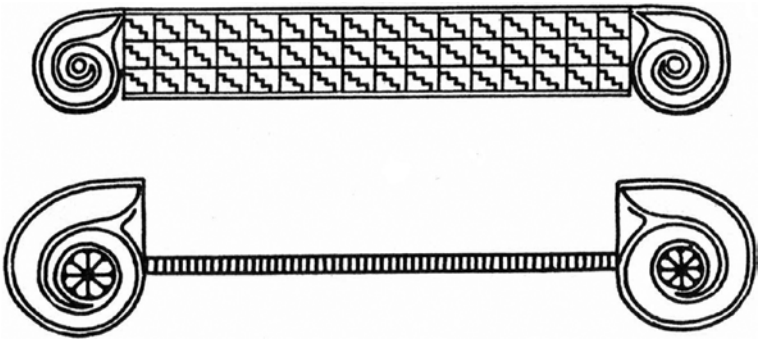


Figure 17.5. Ivories from Mycenae and Dendra

There was also a wooden footstool covered with thin sheets of silver to match
D²/* one of the thrones. To judge from its shape it must have held a cushion, and this
could be argued as supporting the idea (see p. 776) that the *thrānues* were seats
* rather than merely for the feet. Against this, however, neither the drawings of
the *thrānues* on the tablets or anything in the archaeological (including pictorial)
evidence for footstools in Crete or on the Greek mainland appears to confirm
that they were used in this way.

D/* The specification on the tablets makes great use of adjectives in -ϝεσσα and
-ειος to specify the component details, and applies to the furniture two recurrent
D passive participles in -μενος. The first of these, *a-ja-me-no*, is known from the
specification of Knossos chariots 150 years earlier (e.g. **277** = Sd 4401): it
D/* apparently describes the *inlay* or *veneering* of wood with more costly materials,
especially ivory. The second, *qe-qi-no-me-no*, probably refers to the *carving* of particular designs (cf. Gray 1959.53).

D²/* Much debate has raged around the question of the purpose of this group of
articles, many of them clearly precious. The heading of **258** = Ta 711, which is
likely to serve as the heading of the whole series, reports that the objects it lists
were seen, viz. inspected or audited, by one Phugeg^{w}ris (*o-wi-de pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri*, *hō wide Phugeg^{w}rī(n)s* 'thus P. saw') *o-te wa-na-ka te-ke au-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro*, which most critics follow VC in taking as referring to the appointment by the king of an important official, which has served as the occasion for this inspection: *hote wanaks thēke Augewān dāmokoron* (or the like) 'when the king appointed A. as *da-mo-ko-ro*'. But what do the objects listed in the series represent?

A first suggestion is offered in *Documents*[1] (see also Ventris 1955): that this is a list of 'the furnishings of a luxurious reception room (furniture, vessels and arrangements for heating)'. VC further suggest that 'their context and vocabulary find a significant echo in *Od.* XIX, 53–62:

> Ἡ δ' ἴεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια.
> τῇ παρὰ μὲν <u>κλισίην πυρὶ</u> κάτθεσαν, ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἐφῖζε,
> <u>δινωτὴν ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ</u> (ἥν ποτε τέκτων
> ποίησ' Ἰκμάλιος) καὶ ὑπὸ <u>θρῆνυν</u> ποσὶν ἧκε
> προσφυέ' ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅθ' ἐπὶ μέγα βάλλετο κῶας.
> ἦλθον δὲ δμῳαὶ λευκώλενοι ἐκ μεγάροιο.
> αἱ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν σῖτον πολὺν ᾔρεον ἠδὲ <u>τραπέζας</u>
> καὶ <u>δέπα</u>', ἔνθεν ἄρ' ἄνδρες ὑπερμενέοντες ἔπινον.'

> The wise Penelope now came down from her apartment; and they drew up a *chair* for her in her usual place by the *fire*. It was *overlaid with ivory and silver*, and was the work of a craftsman called Icmalius. To the framework itself he had attached a *footrest*, over which a large fleece was spread. Penelope took

her seat, and the white-armed maids, issuing from their quarters,
began to clear away the remains of the meal, and the *tables* and
cups which the menfolk had used for their debauch.
(translated by E. V. Rieu)

Other commentators take a somewhat similar view of the series: Gallavotti (1956a.156–62, 1972.24–32), Sacconi (1971, 1999) and Del Freo (1990), all of whom agree with VC that the occasion for the listing of this furniture is the ceremony of appointment of Augewas as *da-mo-ko-ro*. In his 1972 discussion, Gallavotti suggests that some of these items were used for display purposes during this ceremony, which he envisages as taking place in the Throne Room of the palace.

As L. R. Palmer (*Interpretation* 355; cf. 1957c.80) was soon to point out, however, there is a major difficulty for this explanation of the series: the presence among the tripods on **259** = Ta 641 of one described as 'burnt off at the legs'. Luxurious apartments – or ceremonial displays – do not contain damaged items. In *Documents*[2], p. 497, JC recognises this difficulty and, drawing on a suggestion previously made by R. A. Higgins (1956) and D. H. F. Gray (1960), suggests that this is instead an inventory of the contents of a (palace) store-room: 'the store of κειμήλια kept for use as gifts, where valuable but damaged items would no doubt be kept until they were repaired or used as scrap'.

Whether or not this is a list of objects intended for use as gifts, there is no question that a 'store inventory' explanation of the series has major advantages over the 'reception room' hypothesis. In particular, if this were a list of furniture and other equipment in store, one could neatly explain such oddities in the series as the discrepant numbers of chairs and footstools without needing to posit either the loss of some of the records or the use of *thrānues* as seats. (Gallavotti's suggestion [1972] that the extra footstools were placed beside the tables does not carry conviction, any more than his idea that the tripod cauldrons were used to provide lighting.) Moreover, to repeat Chadwick's observation, one might well find valuable but damaged items in stores. We shall be returning to this point later.

Palmer himself, however, has proposed a radically different explanation of
D[2] these records (1957c, *Interpretation* 338–63): that the inventory was made on the occasion of a burial, and is a record of the contents of a tomb, which were observed when it was opened for a fresh interment. This would neatly explain the
D[2]/* damaged items with traces of fire, since funeral rites often involved sacrificial meals. The objection has been raised (Higgins 1956, Gray 1959; further Palmer 1960, Gray 1960) that no known tholos in Messenia is large enough to house all the furniture listed, and in view of the labour involved the inventory cannot be the result of opening more than one tomb. But the crucial argument revolves

round the meaning of the first line of **258** = Ta 711: Palmer proposes the translation 'when the king buried *au-ke-wa* Damoklos', taking *thēke* to mean 'buried' and *da-mo-ko-ro* as a personal name.

D² Subsequent work on the Knossos tablets by Olivier (1967c) has produced
* clear evidence that *da-mo-ko-ro* is a title, not a name. If therefore this is a burial,
D² the person being interred will be A. the *da-mo-ko-ro* (cf. Palmer 1965.162, 1967.124). It is harder to disprove that τιθέναι can mean 'bury' when used in isolation, but it should be observed that this meaning is always indicated
* by something in the context – a corpse or bones as object, a phrase such as 'in the earth' or 'in the tomb'. (For further discussion of the uses of the verb,
D²/* with similar conclusions, see Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.152 n. 61, Lindgren, *People* I.64–67.) Even so, the idea cannot be entirely rejected; but combined with other arguments it seems preferable to regard *thēke* plus double accusative as having its normal sense 'appointed X. as y.', particularly since we now know that *da-mo-ko-ro* is an office.

* More recently, J. T. Killen (1998a) and M. S. Speciale (1999), working independently of each other, have suggested a new approach to the interpretation of the series. Both focus particular attention, first on the accumulating evidence for state-sponsored banquets in the Mycenaean world (see further Ch. XIII, Section 8), and second on the items listed on **269** = Ta 716. These include two objects described as *qi-si-pe-e* (dual), which is clearly the ancestor of the later ξίφος 'sword', though the drawing of the ideogram is more suggestive of a knife (Snodgrass 1965.108, Heubeck 1966a.88), together with two objects which have traditionally been identified as double-headed axes. Both Killen and Speciale suggest that these are implements for killing sacrificial animals, and compare the description of the killing and butchery of a sacrificial ox in *Od.* III, 447–58, which involves first using an axe to cut the neck-tendons of the animal and then taking what is presumably a knife to cut the beast's throat and slice up the carcass. They then argue that the remaining items in the series are equipment for use at ceremonial banquets following sacrifices, some as furniture (chairs and footstools, to which Killen adds tables: see further p. 780), some as cooking equipment (tripod cauldrons, boiling pans, mobile hearths, etc.) and some as table-ware (jugs). These would normally have been kept in store, but are here being audited on the occasion of a banquet to mark the appointment of the *da-mo-ko-ro*, when some of them at least would have been brought out for use. As Killen notes, evidence for Mycenaean state banquets to mark particular events appears to be provided by **111** = PY Un 2, which is plausibly explained as listing the food (including an ox) to be consumed at a banquet held *mu-jo-me-no e-pi wa-na-ka-te* 'upon the initiation of the king'.

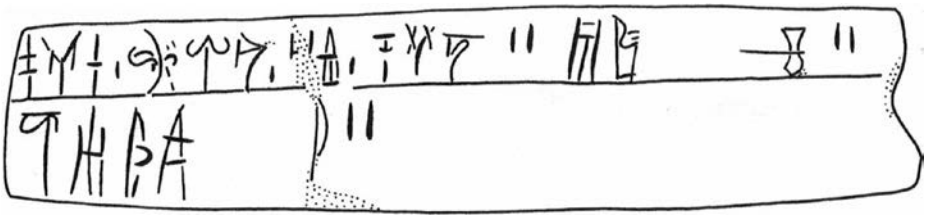


Figure 17.6. PY **269** = Ta 716 [80 per cent reduction] showing ideogram **232* [= hammer-axe] at far right. Drawing by L. Godart

As Speciale points out, strong support for the argument that the objects on Ta 716 are implements for butchery is provided by J.-P. Olivier's observation (Speciale 1999.294 n. 34), also made independently by A. Sacconi (1999), that the ideogram for 'axe' on the record does not depict a double-bladed axe, but a hammer-axe used for both stunning the animal and severing its neck-tendons. As will be seen from the drawing of the sign in Fig. 17.6, the shape of the lower of the two heads of the implement is much more circular than that of the other. Indeed, Speciale sees further evidence to support the 'sacrificial' explanation of Ta 716 in the references to tables elsewhere in the series, most of which are described as having six or nine feet. As she notes, whereas the depictions of tables in 'dining' contexts in Mycenaean art, and the descriptions of dining in Homer, suggest simple, moveable (perhaps folding) furniture, evidence for larger tables, one certainly with six legs and others possibly with nine, is provided by the depictions of sacrifices of oxen on a group of Late Helladic seals and sealings studied by J. A. Sakellarakis (1970). If, however, the tables on the *Ta* records were all used as offering-tables, their number (eleven) would be disproportionately high in relation to the other pieces of furniture in the series (though all might not have been used at once); and if tables with six or nine legs were used as offering-tables, it would not seem impossible that similar tables were used for dining.

Some of the suggestions which Killen and Speciale make have previously been made by other commentators. Palmer, for example, has also identified most of the items listed in the series as equipment for feasting. He writes as follows in *Mycenaeans and Minoans*[2]: 'The document (viz. the series as a whole) is an inventory of household effects … It begins with cooking vessels and the appurtenances of the hearth and then moves on to tables, chairs and footstools. There can be no doubt that the whole set of objects is connected with preparations for a feast.' (Palmer 1965.160; cf. Palmer 1960.62, *Interpretation* 354, 361–62). As we have seen, however, Palmer believes that the meal is a funerary one; and he seems to envisage, somewhat implausibly, the objects in the tomb being re-used for this feast following the opening of the grave and the interment of its new occupant. In addition, Gallavotti (1956a.157, but not 1972), Kerschensteiner (1970.65) and Peruzzi (1978) all see the 'sword' on Ta 716 as having a sacrificial use, and

Peruzzi, also comparing *Od.* III, 447–58, places the axe in a similar context. Hiller (1971) also takes the sword or knife as a sacrificial one, but interprets the series as a whole as a list of cult equipment, comparable with the objects held in temples in the Classical period. (Hiller thinks it possible that there is no direct link between the appointment of the *da-mo-ko-ro* and the taking of the inventory of these objects, other than that it gives the date of the inspection.) While, however, some of the items might have had a 'religious' function (see earlier on the tables, and the discussion below of the term *wa-na-se-wi-ja* on Ta 711, where it qualifies a jug or ewer), there is nothing to confirm that the chairs and footstools, for instance, were furniture used for religious ceremonies. (Hiller suggests for *theoksenia*, ceremonies of welcome for gods.) Moreover, that this list of items fits well into a 'banqueting' context is confirmed by parallels elsewhere. See e.g. Rathje 1990 on the feasting equipment found in Etruscan tombs, which include, besides drinking cups, 'vessels for mixing and serving: the big hammered stands of bronze with their cauldrons with protomes, the deep silver bowl with strainer and ladle; pouring-vessels like the bronze and silver *oinochoai* from Vetulonia to Pontecagnano; and finally the 'Phoenician' silver bowls, which might have been used as plates'. Compare, too, the Boeotian inscription discussed by Tomlinson (1980), which gives a list of equipment, probably from a *hestiatorion* (banqueting-hall). The items here include cauldrons, bronze wine jugs, double-headed axes (for slaughter or woodcutting?), hearth furniture (spit-rests), a brazier stove, and couches and tables. Of course, in the absence of any explicit statement on Ta 711 that the items being inspected are equipment for feasting, there can be no final certainty that the 'banqueting' explanation is the correct one. Given, however, both the nature of the items listed in the series, including on Ta 716, and the newly available evidence for state-sponsored banquets in the Mycenaean world, some of them at least held on special occasions, which allows us to suggest a plausible connexion between the appointment of the *da-mo-ko-ro* and the taking of the inventory, it seems reasonable to suggest that this interpretation of the series provides a coherent explanation of all the available data, and is perhaps less open to objection than any of its predecessors.

258 = Ta 711 (S641 H 2)

.1 o-wi-de , pu_2-ke-qi-ri , o-te , wa-na-ka , te-ke , au-ke-wa , da-mo-ko-ro
.2 qe-ra-na , wa-na-se-wi-ja , qo-u-ka-ra , ko-ki-re-ja **204*^{VAS} 1 qe-ra-na , a-mo-te-wi-ja , ko-ro-no-we-sa
.3 qe-ra-na , wa-na-se-wi-ja , ku-na-ja , qo-u-ka-ra 1 , to-qi-de-we-sa **204*^{VAS} 1

D/D^2/* Thus Phugeg^wris made inspection, on the occasion when the king appointed Augewas to be (a) *dāmokoros*:

One ewer *of wa-na-s- type*, decorated with bulls' heads and sea-shells; one ewer *of wheel-maker type*, with a *curved handle*.

One ewer *of wa-na-s- type*, *with figures of women*, decorated with bulls' heads and spiral ornament.

hō wide P. hote wanaks thēke A. dāmokoron: as noted above, this sentence is likely to serve
* as introduction to the whole *Ta* series. The name *Pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* is also attested at Thebes, both in the dative *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri-ne* on Gp 119 and in the form *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja*, either a woman's name or a feminine possessive adjective, on Of 27. Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.152 n. 63) interprets the name as *Phugeg*^{w}*rīs*, lit. 'he who avoids toil' (root of βρῖ, βρῑθύς, βρῑθω, etc.). García Ramón (2009), however, suggests that the name has more laudatory connotations, and means 'he who escaped (compare ἔφυγε) the heaviness (of the spear, of misfortune, of the enemy or of the stone)'. Various suggestions have been made as regards the identity of this individual. Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.152) has put forward the ingenious hypothesis that before his appointment as *da-mo-ko-ro* Augewas was in charge of the royal furniture stores, and that P., having succeeded him in this rôle, is conducting an audit of the furniture he has taken over. It seems more likely, however, that an inspection of this kind would be entrusted to an independent auditor (Lindgren, *People* I.69, Hiller 1971.73), and since in the parallel case of *o-wi-de* plus personal name on **160** = Eq 213 the person making the inspection is the major palace administrator *A-ko-so-ta*, it is preferable to take P. as a similar figure. For other examples of 'when' clauses serving to specify the time of an event, in their case the occasion for a distribution of barley, see TH **331** = Fq 126, **332** = Fq 130, Fq 254 and
D perhaps X 386. An analogous introductory phrase is seen on some of the tablets from Alalakh, e.g. no. 355: *4 ana* ^{m}*Taguzi, inuma šarru ana* ^{al}*Abena ašbu* 'four (birds) to Taguzi,
D/* when the king went to stay in Abena'. Cf. also nos 376, 378, 409, 411 and 414. For *thēke* 'appointed', cf. *Il.* VI, 300: τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν 'for the Trojans
* appointed her priestess of Athene'. Augewas is named on **208** = Jo 438 as an official of places contributing gold; the name also appears on An 192, where it probably refers
D/* to the same person. The title *da-mo-ko-ro* also occurs on PY **342** = On 300 and KN C(3) 7058, 7793.

qe-ra-na 'ewer': see under **204*^{VAS} in Section 1.

* *wa-na-se-wi-ja*: this adjective, here qualifying *qe-ra-na* (fem.), recurs on PY Fr 1221 (see also *wa-na-se-wi-jo* Fr 1215), where it is evidently related to the term *wa-na-so-i* which is frequently attested in the same series, and where it may qualify *aloiphā* 'unguent'. Unfortunately, there is no general agreement about the meaning of *wa-na-so-i*. It is unlikely to be 'to the two queens' (see below), and might be a reference to priests who receive offerings on behalf of divinities, but this cannot be confirmed. See further on **314** = Fr 1222. Nor can we be certain whether the *-e-wi-ja* ending of *wa-na-se-wi-ja* is based on a form in *-eus*, like the parallel *a-mo-te-wi-ja* (see p. 783), or involves an *-ēwios* termination extended from adjectives in *-eus* + *-ios*: see **300** = Ub 1315 s.v. *ro-u-si-je-*
D^2/* *wi-ja*. Finally, we cannot determine what characteristic of *qe-ra-na* the epithet refers to. Palmer (1957c.68–69) suggests that all the epithets in the entry describe the decoration of the vessel rather than its use (VC had suggested 'of the queen's set' or 'as a gift to the queen') and, interpreting *wa-na-so-i* on the *Fr* tablets as 'to the two queens' and a

reference to goddesses, takes *wa-na-se-wi-ja* here as 'decorated with queen(s)'. Similarly, *a-mo-te-wi-ja* is taken to mean 'decorated with a charioteer'. To this Gray (1959.52) retorted that 'a goddess with women or a chariot with fighters on a jug involves the double improbability of the type of design and its appearance on a closed vessel with a strongly curved surface'. Whether we know enough of Mycenaean metal-work (if the jugs are in fact metal) to pronounce what is probable may be questioned; but it is surely not necessary to suppose that all the epithets are of the same kind. It is possible that *wa-na-se-wi-ja* and *a-mo-te-wi-ja* refer to a type, shape or material conventionally so named, and we cannot expect to determine their meaning precisely. A list of English vases containing such expressions as 'Toby jug', 'Wedgwood' or 'Crown Derby' would be similarly opaque to the uninitiated.

D/* *qo-u-ka-ra*: *g*^{w}*oukarās*. Full-face heads of cattle (*MP*, motif no. 4, 'Bucranium') occur on the silver cup from Dendra (Davis no. 117), on the 'Vaphio' cup illustrated on the Egyptian tomb of Senmut (*PoM* II.737) and in the decoration of a bronze jug from Tomb 47 at Mycenae whose shape closely resembles the drawing of the ideogram here (*IDA* 250–51).

ko-ki-re-ja: probably *konkhileiā*, adjective of material from **konkhilos* 'shell'; cf. κόγχος, κόγχη, κογχύλη and for the ending the animal names like τροχίλος 'sand-piper' (Ruijgh, *Études* 241). Shell decoration is found on a jug comparable with **204*^{VAS} from the LM IIIA Tholos A at Arkhanes (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.591, figs 608–09) and on
D/* other LH/LM bronze vessels, including attached to the vertical handle of a jug from the Knossos 'Chieftain's Grave' (*PoM* IV.860–61, fig. 843): *IDA* 251–52.

D/* *a-mo-te-wi-ja*: derived from the title *a-mo-te-wo* (gen. sing.) seen on PY Ea 421; probably (*h*)*armotēwos* rather than (*h*)*armostēwos*, and more likely to mean 'wheel-maker' than 'charioteer' since there is no evidence that *a-mo* 'wheel' also has the sense 'chariot' in Mycenaean (contrast the later ἅρμα). On the possible function of the epithet, see p. 782 s.v. *wa-na-se-wi-ja*.

ko-ro-no-we-sa: Palmer rightly objected to VC's suggestion that this may be a derivative in -ϝενς from κορώνη 'curved handle', since that would demand *ko-ro-na-*; but a neuter
* from the adjective κορωνός cannot be excluded. At the same time, the point of such a description would not be easy to see, since all the jugs denoted by **204*^{VAS} have curved
D^{2} handles. Palmer's own solution (1957c.73) is *klonowessa* (κλόνος) 'decorated with a throng of warriors'; but the word means 'turmoil' and this seems an odd description of a static scene.

D/D^{2}/* *ku-na-ja*: certainly *gunaiā*, in Homer only in the phrase (ὄλετο) γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων '(he perished) because of gifts made to a woman', but the function of the description remains unclear.

D/* *to-qi-de-we-sa*: probably *tork*^{w}*idwessa* 'with spiral ornament'. Cf. *to-qi-de-ja* (**260** = Ta
D^{2}/* 709), *a-ja-me-no to-qi-de* (**267** = Ta 721). With **tork*^{w}*is*, cf. Latin *torqueo*; τρέπω may be
* a conflation of **trep-* and **trek*^{w}-. Spiral ornamentation is attested archaeologically in the *repoussé* decoration on the shoulders and upper bodies of jugs comparable with ideogram **204*^{VAS} from Mycenae and Tiryns, though these are no later than LH I (*IDA* 250–51).

259 = Ta 641 (S641 H 2)

.a , ke-re-a$_2$, **201*^{VAS}[
.1 ti-ri-po-de , a$_3$-ke-u , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke **201*^{VAS} 2 ti-ri-po , e-me , po-de , o-wo-we **201*^{VAS} ḷ ti-ri-po , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke , a-pu , ke-ka-u-me-ṇọ[
.2 qe-to **203*^{VAS} 3 di-pa , me-zo-e , qe-to-ro-we **202*^{VAS} 1 di-pa-e , me-zo-e ti-ri-o-we-e **202*^{VAS} 2 di-pa , me-wi-jo , qe-to-ro-we **202*^{VAS} 1 [
.3 di-pa , me-wi-jo , ti-ri-jo-we **202*^{VAS} 1 di-pa , me-wi-jo , a-no-we **202*^{VAS} 1

D/D^2/* Two tripod cauldrons of Cretan workmanship, *with goat protomes*;
one tripod cauldron with a single foot and one handle;
one tripod cauldron of Cretan workmanship, burnt away at the legs.
Three *qe-to*; one larger-sized *dipas* with four handles; two larger-sized *dipa*(*h*)*e* with three handles; one smaller-sized *dipas* with four handles; one smaller-sized *dipas* with three handles; one smaller-sized *dipas* without a handle.

D *ke-re-si-jo we-ke*: Palmer plausibly reads *krēsio-wergēs* 'of Cretan style or workmanship', cf. φιάλαι Λυκιουργεῖς 'bowls of Lycian make' Dem. XLIX, 31, κρατῆρες Κορινθιουργεῖς
* 'mixing-bowls of Corinthian make' Callix., etc. Support for this interpretation is provided by archaeology: all the ideograms which follow this description show a cylindrical rather than a fully rounded body, and clearly represent a form of tripod cauldron which
D/* is attested only in Crete: see under **201*^{VAS} in Section 1. The 'Cretan workmanship' here may, however, mean not imported from Crete but made by Cretan smiths working in the kingdom of Pylos (cf. the *ke-re-te ka-si-ko-no*, Cretan swordsmiths, listed on PY An 128) or even simply 'of Cretan type'. The one certain instance of scribal error or inconsequence on the record (l. 2 *me-zo-e* for *me-zo*) encourages us to suppose that *we-ke* and *a*$_3$*-ke-u* (see next) are similarly singulars for duals.

a$_3$*-ke-u*: perhaps *aigeus* 'decorated with a goat motif' (Palmer 1957c.79) and a reference
* to goat protomes. Although Vandenabeele and Olivier (*IDA* 233) express doubts, on the grounds that there is no evidence for these on Minoan-Mycenaean bronze tripod cauldrons, they admit that the argument is *ex silentio*, and D. H. F. Gray (1959.52) points to
D^2 protomes of this type on other vessels of the period, including on the legs of a bronze tripod from Cyprus. Doubts about the use of the -ευς suffix in quasi-adjectival forms can be set aside (cf. *o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u* **260** = Ta 709.3), and the Classical restriction to ethnics is probably not valid for Mycenaean.

D^2/* *o-wo-we*: the analogy of other adjectives in -*o-we* on this tablet favours *oiwōwēs* 'single-handled' over *ow*(*w*)*owens* 'with handles' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 344), and this is archaeologically possible. VC suggested that this should be taken with *e-me po-de* and
D^2/* means 'with a single handle on one foot', but this is an odd expression; nor could *hemei podei* mean 'on each foot'. It has been objected that this phrase cannot mean 'with (only) one foot' because the ideogram plainly shows three feet; but it is becoming clearer that despite attempts to accommodate the ideogram to the object described these are stereotypes, and the scribe could well not have thought it necessary to depict this detail.

D *ke-re-a*$_2$ = *skeleha:* in the accusative of respect, cf. τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένος 'maimed in the leg' Dem. XVIII, 67, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διεφθαρμένοι 'injured in the eyes' Xen. *An.* IV, 5, 12 (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* II.85).

* *qe-to*: see under **203*^{VAS} in Section 1.

di-pa: see under **202*^{VAS} in Section 1.

ti-ri-o-we-e, *ti-ri-jo-we*: the spelling without the glide possibly results from the scribe thinking of the first element of the compound as separate from the second (cf. *e-ne-wo* , *pe-za* **261** = Ta 642.3+), i.e. is an intermediate spelling between **ti-ri-jo-we-e* and **ti-ri* , *o-we-e* (Ruijgh, *Études* 31).

D *a-no-we* = *anōwes*: the formation -*ōwes* (from *-*ōuses* '-eared, -handled') is only paralleled once in Classical Greek, in Theocritus' κισσύβιον ἀμφῶες 'two-handled cup' (I, 28). The more usual -ουατος (-**ousn̥tos*) >-ωτος is attested for Mycenaean by the *di-pa a-no-wo-to* which on KN **218** = K(1) 875 accompanies the same ideogram.

260 = Ta 709 (S641 H 2)

.1 pi-je-ra$_3$, to-qi-de-ja **200*^{VAS} 3 pa-ko-to , a-pe-te-me-ne **214*^{VAS} 2 po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja **228*^{VAS} 1 ko-te-ri-ja 6

.a -sa-qe 1

.2 au-te 1 pu-ra-u-to-ro 2 qa-ra-to-ro 1 e-ka-ra , a-pi-qo-to , pe-de-we-sa 1 e-ka-ra , i-to-we-sa , pe-de-we-sa , so-we-ne-ja , au-de-we-

.3 ti-ri-po , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke , *34-ke-u **201*^{VAS} 1 ti-ri-po , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke , o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u **201*^{VAS} 1

D/D^2/* Three boiling pans with running spiral decoration; two *phaktō*, *a-pe-te-me-ne*; one *ladle*; six *ko-te-ri-ja*;

one fire-kindler; two fire-tongs; one oven-rake; one portable hearth, *a-pi-qo-to*, equipped with feet; one portable hearth with an upright, equipped with feet, decorated with *so-we-no* and *au-de-pi*;

one tripod cauldron of Cretan workmanship, **34-ke-u*; one tripod cauldron of Cretan workmanship, *o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u*.

pi-je-ra$_3$ = *phielai*: see under **200*^{VAS} in Section 1.

pa-ko-to: see under **214*^{VAS} in Section 1.

D^2/* D^2 *a-pe-te-me-ne*: *aputhmene* 'without a base' (Petruševski 1958) conflicts with the known spelling rules, and appears to give poor sense, unless 'base' = 'stand'; *amphēthmene* 'with a strainer on either side' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 342) is unsatisfactory sense, as he admits, and should perhaps be *amphi-hēth-*.

* *po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja*: see under **228*^{VAS} in Section 1.

ko-te-ri-ja: it is unclear whether this is part of the culinary equipment probably recorded in previous entries on this line or should be taken with the fire-irons listed in the entries which follow on l. 2; the absence of an ideogram may point in the latter direction, but

D^2/* is not a conclusive indication. No satisfactory interpretation has been proposed: Palmer (*Interpretation* 343) suggests *khō(s)tēria(i)* 'shovels' (χώννυμι), but we should expect *kheu-* or *khou-*; VC think of *kortēria* 'hammers', cf. κορτέω /κροτέω, κρότημα.

au-te: *austēr* from αὔω 'kindle'; but the forms ἐξαυστήρ (ἐξαύστριον) 'hook for taking meat out of a pot', καταῦσαι, etc., show that 'draw' is the original sense (Chantraine,
D² *Dictionnaire* s.v.). However, the association with fire-tongs makes 'kindler' not improbable.
e-ka-ra: *eskharā*, a word which meant, at least in origin, 'portable hearth', 'brazier', cf. Latin *altaria*, though the later sense '(fixed) sacrificial hearth' is also attested in Mycenaean: see *di-wo-nu-so-jo e-ka-ra* 'the hearth of Dionysus' **118** = PY Ea 102. An example of the
* object here is to be seen in Fig. 17.2 (p. 762), item *a*. Though braziers could have been used to provide heating, those listed here seem likelier to have been used for cooking, in view of the culinary equipment probably listed in line 1 and certainly recorded in line 3.
pu-ra-u-to-ro: *puraustrō* 'fire-tongs' nom. dual fem. or neut.: πύραυστρα = πυράγρα *IG* II² 47, πύραυστρον Herodas IV, 62.
qa-ra-to-ro: *sk*^{w}*alathron* 'oven-rake': as was first seen by L. R. Palmer, to be identified with the term σπάλαθρον (Pollux) (= σκάλευθρον).
D² *a-pi-qo-to*: the term is also applied to tables (**261** = Ta 642.3+). In **263** = Ta 715.2 (cf. **262** = Ta 713.2, 3) it seems to form a contrast with *po-ro-e-ke*. But even if this is so, there are too many explanations of either term for this to narrow the quest sufficiently. Since *a-pi-qo-to* is unlikely to describe material, *po-ro-e-ke* also should be interpreted as referring to shape or type; but this does not exclude *po-ro-e-ke* being a compound of πῶρος 'marble' with a second element perhaps from **(h)ekhos* = ἔχμα 'support'. Ruijgh (*Études* 354) argues strongly against *-qo-to* = -βατος; if he is right, this will eliminate 'that can be gone round', i.e. free-standing, and 'splay-legged' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 31). But his own suggestion *amphik*^{w}*hoitos* is unconvincing for the form, though the meaning 'with a rim around' would be satisfactory.
D²/* *i-to-we-sa*: *histowessa* 'provided with an upright' (on which to hang a pot?)
D/* *so-we-ne-ja*: adjective of material derived from *so-we-no*, mentioned as a decoration of footstools on **267** = Ta 721, where it is paired with *au-de-pi* (see next), and **268** = Ta 722; meaning obscure (cf. Poursat 1977.260).
D² *au-de-we-sa-qe*: the possible interpretations of this word which will also account for the instrumental plural *au-de-pi* (see p. 787) have been exhaustively discussed by Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.187–89), who concludes that no word known from later Greek can satisfy the phonetic pattern (cf. also Poursat 1977.260, in relation to ivory motifs).
D²/* **34-ke-u*: the value *ai* for **34* was largely derived from its apparent alternation with a_3-*ke-u* in **259** = Ta 641.1, but has not been confirmed; see further Chadwick 1992.169–72.
D² *o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u*: no convincing interpretation. These words must describe ornaments or fittings which serve to distinguish the tripod cauldrons.

261 = Ta 642 (S641 H 2)

.1 to-pe-za , ra-e-ja , we-a-re-ja , a-ja-me-na , a_2-ṛọ[ ]ụ-do-pi , ku-wa-no-qe , pa-ra-ke-we-qẹ[ ]e-ne-wo , pe-[
.2 to-pe-za , ra-e-ja , me-no-e-ja , e-re-pa-te , a-ja-me-ṇạ , qe-qi-no-to , au-de-pi , ko-ru-pi-qe 1
.a e-ne-wo , pe-za

.3 to-pe-za , ra-e-ja , a-pi-qo-to , e-re-pa-te-jo , po-pi , e-ka-ma-te-qe , qe-qi-no-to-qe , to-qi-de

D/D²/* One stone table, *decorated with* rock-crystal, inlaid with *aquamarines* and blue glass and *pa-ra-ku* …, with nine legs.

One stone table, *decorated with crescents*, inlaid with ivory; it is carved with *au-de-pi* and helmets.

One stone table, *a-pi-qo-to*, with nine legs; its legs and a strut are of ivory, and it is carved with a running spiral.

* *to-pe-za*: clearly the equivalent of Classical τράπεζα. The second element is certainly <*-*pedyă*; although it is widely believed that the first element is derived from 'four' (*k^w*t*(*w*)*ṛ*-?), this cannot be confirmed (Morpurgo Davies 1968.803–04). While, however, early tables more often had three legs in order to stand steady on uneven floors, a derivation from **tṛ*- 'three' is also problematical: as Morpurgo Davies (ibid.) points out, there is no independent evidence in Greek for a *ter*-/*tṛ* compositional form of 'three' equivalent to τρι-.

D²/* *ra-e-ja*: the case for interpreting this as *lāeiā* 'of stone' is strong. Brugmann and others have supposed *λᾱϝας on the strength of λεύσιμος, etc. but this is disproved by Cypriot λᾶο(ς) in *ICS* 84 where intervocalic ϝ is preserved in other words (Heubeck 1961a; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v.). If these tables are 'of stone', one might expect this to apply only

D to areas of inlay on the top, as in the case of the 'ivory table' of **262** = Ta 713.2. But compare Blegen's 1954 find at Pylos (1955.34): 'Dispersed here and there in the hollow [in front of the Propylon] were many fragments of a large, circular disk, perhaps a table top, made of variegated marble … The table had a diameter of nearly 0.50 m. and was probably supported on three legs. The disk had a carved design along its edges, and its upper surface bore a simple, inlaid decoration composed of small circular insets of red stone, arranged in groups of one, two or three.'

D²/* *we-a-re-ja* (cf. *we-a*$_2$*-re-jo* on **266** = Ta 714): there is little doubt that this corresponds to ὑαλεία and means 'of or decorated with rock-crystal', but whether the form should be interpreted as *hua*- or *wea*- remains uncertain. VC compare the crystal inlay on the Knossos gaming-board (*PoM* I.471–76, also *PoM* IV.928–30).

D/* *a-ja-me-na*: 'inlaid' or 'veneered'; also familiar on the Knossos chariot tablets, where the

D² form *a-na-i-t*- probably means 'not inlaid', and suggests a reduplicated form *aiāi*(*s*)*menā*. A Luvian etymology (cf. *aiamis* 'made, wrought', Meriggi 1954b.81) has been proposed,

* but is not convincing. García Ramón (1997) suggests a connexion with IE **sh*$_2$*eḭ*- 'bind'.

D *a*$_2$*-ṛo*-[ ]*u̯-do-pi*: conceivably *halos hudo*^{t}*phi* 'with waters of the sea', figurative name for some substance (cf. *aquamarine*, *Meerschaum*)? Compare 'Αλοσύδνη, epithet of Thetis *Il.* xx, 207. Just possibly turquoise, or even purple, as opposed to blue, glass, colours both attested among the Uluburun glass ingots (Jackson and Nicholson 2010).

* *ku-wa-no-qe* (cf. *ku-wa-ni-jo-qe* **266** = Ta 714) = Hom. κύανος, κυάνεος. The Classical word κύανος is applied both to lapis-lazuli and to its synthetic imitation; and such blue glass is known from contemporary Egyptian furnishings, from the frieze to the Great

Megaron at Tiryns (cf. περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο *Od.* VII, 87 'and round about was a frieze of blue glass') and from many examples of blue glass mould-formed beads (see e.g. Nightingale 2008). The *ku-wa-no* here is likely to describe a blue glass inlay, apparently undecorated, since there is no indication of a motif.

D/* *pa-ra-ke-we* (elsewhere *pa-ra-ku-we*): conceivably from the Akkadian *barrāqtu*, Hebrew *bāreqet* 'emerald' (from which the Classical σμάραγδος was later re-borrowed *via* India)? The same term is attested in CLOTH and WOOL contexts at Knossos: see *pa-ra-ku-ja* Ld(1) 575, also in the spelling **56-ra-ku-ja* **228** = Ld(1) 587 '(cloth) decorated with *p.*', and the introductory]*pa̤-ra̤-ku* on Od(1) 667, a record of wool probably for decorative purposes (Killen 2008b.184–85). See also *pa-ra-kṳ-we-jo*, a probable reading on KN Sp 4451, where it is likely to qualify *wo-ra-e* (dual), some part of a chariot, and *pa-ra-ku*[on Xf 5102, also from the Arsenal. While the term on the Arsenal records is likely to refer to the same material as at Pylos, *pa-ra-ku* in textile contexts presumably cannot, though if *pa-ra-ku*(*-we*) at Pylos means 'emerald' or 'turquoise', it might be a reference to wool of the same colour (Melena 1987b.224–26, who compares Hesychius' βαρακίς· γλαύκινον ἱμάτιον 'a blueish-green tunic'). Another suggestion (VC, JC, etc.) is that it is an alternative term (to *a-ku-ro*, *arguros*) for silver (Mühlestein suggests a compound with *ἀργυς, an archaic word for the metal, as its second element). As JC notes (*Documents*[2] 496), silver is among the materials used to decorate one of the Salamis thrones, which 'may perhaps lend some support to the suggestion'; and it is perhaps just conceivable that the *pa-ra-ku* recorded as WOOL on KN Od(1) 667, the fine measurement of which points to a 'decoration' context, is silver in the form of thread or wire which was intended for use in embroidering textiles.

D *e-ne-wo* , *pe-za*: *ennewo-pedza* (**en-newn̥* 'nine'); on **262** = Ta 713, **263** = Ta 715 the compound is written as one word. Despite *to-pe-za* and τράπεζα, where 'foot' clearly means 'leg', most commentators have followed VC in thinking that 'with nine [separate] feet' – and 'with six feet': see *we-pe-za* **262** = Ta 713 – 'seems an impossible design'. Solutions to the supposed problem include the suggestion (VC and others) that the tables have three main supports, but triple and double extremities of some kind; that they have triple and double legs ending in a single foot (*Documents*[2] 500; cf. Gray 1959.53); and Chadwick's earlier suggestion (*Documents*[1] 340) that the terms mean 'nine (and six) feet long' (cf. διπόδης, τρίπεδος, ἑκατόμπεδος 'two feet, three feet, a hundred feet long'). See, however, p. 780 for the evidence for six- and possibly nine-legged tables in depictions of sacrifices of oxen on Late Helladic seals and sealings.

D[2] *me-no-e-ja*: VC compare μηνοειδής 'semi-circular', Herodotus I, 75. Palmer's objection (1957c.63, *Interpretation* 345) that the term cannot be derived from the root *μηνσ- of μήν has been answered by Risch (1959a.222), who shows that other ablaut grades of this

D[2]/* root may have been present in Mycenaean Greek. But it is possible that the word refers to material or decoration rather than the shape of the table, as VC envisage; Ruijgh (*Études* 237) suggests 'decorated with crescents'.

* *qe-qi-no-to*: VC take this as a verbal adjective in *-tos* meaning 'carved', in l. 2 agreeing with *e-re-pa-te* '(inlaid) with carved ivory', 'in contrast to the perfect *qe-qi-no-me-na* which is applied to the tables and chair-backs themselves; and similarly to be taken with *to-qi-de* in l. 3, which the adjectival concord does not necessarily prove to be masculine, since

-*tos* may here do duty for feminine as well (cf. *Od.* v, 422 κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη 'famous Amphitrite', and Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* I.502)'. Ruijgh (*Études* 305–06) interprets similarly, except that in l. 3 he takes *qe-qi-no-to*(-*qe*) *to-qi-de* not as 'with a carved spiral', but agreeing with the preceding *e-re-pa-te-jo po-pi e-ka-ma-te-qe* 'with feet and support of ivory (which are) carved with a spiral'. If, however, this is a verbal adjective in -*tos*, it is probably better taken as a comitative instrumental in both lines: 'with carved *au-de-pi* and helmets' in l. 2, '(and) with a carved spiral' in l. 3. For this approach, see Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.184, Aura Jorro, *DMic* s.v. On the other hand, it is not easy to accept the existence of a reduplicated form of a -*tos* verbal adjective; and a preferable solution therefore is to accept D. M. Jones' suggestion (1958), that the scribe, finding the syntax difficult, has used a parallel clause with a finite perfect verb: *g*^{w}*eg*^{w}*inōtoi* 'it is decorated (by carving)'. Heubeck (1966b) provided an ingenious etymology for this word from the base **g*^{w}*eyeə*$_1$- 'live'. It may have started by meaning 'enliven', 'decorate with living creatures' and then been generalised, as was Classical ζωγράφος 'painter'. For the conclusion that the technique here is carving as opposed to inlay or veneering, see p. 777.

ko-ru-pi: assimilated from **koruthpi*; cf. nom. sing. *ko-ru* **305** = KN Sk 8100+, gen. sing. *ko-ru-to* **301** = Sh 737+. Compare the carved ivory pieces, probably once inlaid in wooden furniture, representing boar's tusk helmets (and heads bearing boar's tusk helmets) found by Wace in the House of Shields at Mycenae (*MT* II.6 and figs 13, 14) and those from Arkhanes Tholos A (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997.727–28, figs 843–45). Others of these pieces were carved with spiral ornament (see Poursat 1977.124–26): cf. *to-qi-de* in l. 3.

au-de-pi: see p. 785 *s.v. au-de-we-sa-qe.*

a-pi-qo-to: see on **260,** p. 786.

popphi ekhmatei k^{w}*e*: the use of the dative-instrumental without verb or preposition for comitative 'with' is foreign to Classical Greek. Homeric ἔχμα is used of a river-bank (*Il.* xiii, 139), of buttresses to a fortification (xii, 260), of stones used to prop ships (xiv, 410).

262 = Ta 713 (S641 H 2)

.1 to-pe-za , ra-e-ja , ku-te-se-jo , e-ka-ma-pi , e-re-pa-te-jo-qe , a-pi-qo-to , e-ne-wo-pe-za , qe-qi-no-me-na , to-qi-de 1

.2 to-pe-za , e-re-pa-te-ja , po-ro-e-ke , pi-ti-ro$_2$-we-sa , we-pe-za , qe-qi-no-me-na , to-qi-de 1 ⟦ ⟧

.3 to-pe-za , ku-te-se-ja , e-re-pa-te-jo , e-ka-ma-pi , a-pi-qo-to , e-ne-wo-pe-za , ko-ki-re-ja

D/D^2/* One stone table with struts of ebony and ivory, *a-pi-qo-to*, with nine legs, carved with a running spiral.

One ivory table of *projecting* type, decorated with a feather pattern, with six legs, carved with a running spiral.

One ebony table with ivory struts, *a-pi-qo-to*, with nine legs, decorated with seashells.

D *ku-te-se-jo* = *kuteseiois* (instr. plur.) 'made of *ku-te-so*' (**264** = Ta 707.3); cf. κύτισος 'bastard
* ebony', Theophr. *HP* I, 6, 1; V, 3, 1. This could as well be true ebony as bastard ebony, *Laburnum vulgare* (Gray 1959.52); as Gray points out, ebony was a favourite wood for furniture in Egypt, near the source of supply in Sudan, and it was exported to Arzawa in the Meander valley.

/D²/ *po-ro-e-ke*: VC suggest *proekhēs*, cf. Hom. προέχω 'project', Plut. προεχής 'three dimensional'. This remains a possibility, although the exact meaning is obscure. Ruijgh (*Études* 45) proposes *pōro(h)ekhēs* 'with support of marble', Palmer (*Interpretation* 347) *pōroenkhēs* (ἔγχος) 'with shaft of marble'. See further on *a-pi-qo-to* p. 786 and on *a-ka-ra-no* and *pu-ko-so e-ke-e* **263** = Ta 715.

D/*/D *pi-ti-ro*$_2$*-we-sa*: probably 'with feathers', presumably a decorative feature. It appears we
D must reconstruct **ptilyon* as doublet of πτίλον to account for the use of *ro*$_2$. It should perhaps be noted that Tutankhamen's tomb contained batons inlaid with beetles' wing-cases (Carter 1927.II.35). Beazley compares φιάλαι πτιλωτοί 'feathered bowls' *IG* II² 1443 135.

D² *we-pe-za*: possibly (*h*)*wespedza* <**hweks*-.

* *ko-ki-re-ja*: see **258** = Ta 711.2. Cf. the carved ivory pieces representing murex shells found in the House of Shields at Mycenae (Wace, *MT* II.6 and, generally, Poursat 1977.104–05, etc.).

263 = Ta 715 (S641 H 2)

.1 to-pe-za , ku-te-se-ja , e-re-pa̤-te-jo , e-ka-ma-pi , a-pi-qo-to , e-ne-wo-pe-za , ko-ki-re-ja

.2 to-pe-za , a-ka-ra-no , e-re-pa-te-ja , a-pi-qo-to 1 to-pe-za , a-ka-ra-no e-re-pa-te-ja , po-ro-e-ke 1

.3 to-pe-zo , mi-ra$_2$, a-pi-qo-to , pu-ko-so , e-ke-e , e-ne-wo-pe-zo , to-qi-de-jo , a-ja-me-no , pa-ra-ku-we 2

D²/* One ebony table with ivory struts, *a-pi-qo-to*, with nine legs, decorated with sea-shells.

One 'headless' ivory table, *a-pi-qo-to*; one 'headless' ivory table of *projecting* type.

Two tables of *yew*, *a-pi-qo-to*, with box-wood *supports*, with nine legs, decorated with running spirals, inlaid with *pa-ra-ku*.

D²/*/D² *a-ka-ra-no*: VC suggest ἀκάρηνος 'headless'; the fit is so close that the interpretation is hard to reject. A possible solution to the problem of its meaning was supplied by Platon's discovery at Kato Zakro of 'a stone pedestal stand with a device for holding and permitting interchangeable table-tops' (*Nestor* 1/11/65, p. 411; cf. Chadwick, *Nestor* 1/12/65,
* p. 415). If correct, this would prove that *a-pi-qo-to* and *po-ro-e-ke* did not refer to the tops of tables, and could be argued in support of the suggestion (see **262** = Ta 713) that *po-ro-e-ke* is *pōro(h)ekhēs* or perhaps less likely *pōroenkhēs* (on the absence of reliable evidence for
D² a sense of ἔγχος in Mycenaean other than 'spear', see on **294** = Sa 487). It would match the usual order if *a-ka-ra-no* were a description of material (Palmer, *Interpretation* 348), but if so it cannot be an adjective, since it must be a compound to have a feminine form in *-o*.

D *mi-ra*$_2$ cannot be an adjective agreeing with *torpedzō*: perhaps the name of a timber in the genitive, like *ptelewās*, *helikās* on the Knossos wheel tablets. Cf. (σ)μῖλαξ, (σ)μῖλος 'yew'; possibly for μελίη 'ash': although Schulze postulated *σμελϝία, Chantraine (*Dictionnaire* s.v.) regards the etymology as uncertain.

D²/* *pu-ko-so e-ke-e:* clearly a compound of πύξος; VC suggest the dual of *pukso-ekhēs* with the sense 'containing box-wood' or, more doubtfully, dual of *pukso-enkhēs*. If the term is *pukso-ekhēs*, it is more plausibly explained as 'with box-wood supports' (*Documents*² 575). Note, however, with JC (*Documents*² 501), that the apparent parallel in form with *po-ro-e-ke* may be illusory, and hence that if this is *pukso-(h)eke(h)e*, it does not necessarily follow that *po-ro-e-ke* is *pōro(h)ekhēs* or the like. Whereas in l. 2 and elsewhere *po-ro-e-ke* appears to be contrasted with *a-pi-qo-to*, on this line *pu-ko-so e-ke-e* and *a-pi-qo-to* are used to describe the same table.

264 = Ta 707 (S641 H 2)

.a ku-te-ta-jo
.1 to-no , ku-ru-sa-pi , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi , o-ni-ti-ja-pi 1 ta-ra-nu-qe , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi 1
.2 to-no , ku-te-se-jo , e-re-pa-te-ja-pi , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi , se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re , qe-qi-no-me-na , a-di-ri-ja-te-qe , po-ti-pi-qe 1
.3 ta-ra-nu , ku-te-so , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi

D/D²/* One ebony chair with golden *back* decorated with birds; and a footstool inlaid with ivory *au-de-pi*.
One ebony chair with ivory *back* carved with a *se-re-mo-* head and a man's figure and heifers.
One footstool, ebony inlaid with ivory *au-de-pi*.

to-no: *thornos*, cf. Cypr. θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον Hsych. A metathesised form of θρόνος 'chair',
D which is also attested in Mycenaean: see *to-ro-no-wo-ko* KN **37** = *As* (*2*) 1517. The similarity of the furniture found in the tomb of Tutankhamen extends to the phraseology of Carter's captions (1927), e.g.:

Pl. LIX (vol. 1): 'A small chair carved of ebony and inlaid with ivory; it has antelope and floral devices of embossed gold on the panels of the arms.'

Pl. LXII: 'A magnificent chair of wood overlaid with sheet gold and richly adorned with polychrome faience, glass and stone inlay.'

Pl. LXXIVb: 'An ebony stool richly inlaid with ivory and embellished with heavy gold mountings.'

Compare also the furniture listed by Thothmes III among the loot from Megiddo (Breasted II.436): '6 chairs of the enemy, of ivory, ebony and carob wood, wrought with gold; 6 footstools belonging to them; 6 large tables of ivory and carob wood.'

Also such tablets from Nuzi as SMN 1250 (Lacheman 1939.537): '1 chair of wood, 1 box (*quppu*) inlaid with gold; 1 chair inlaid with ivory and silver, with its box'.

* *ku-te-ta-jo*: an error for *ku-te-se-jo* (see l. 2).

D *ku-ru-sa-pi*: instr. plur. fem. At this date χρυσός, like the Hebrew and Ugaritic *ḫaruṣ* from which it is borrowed, means indifferently 'gold' (n.) or 'golden' (adj.). The Mycenae-

an form of the adjective may possibly be reflected in the numerous Homeric passages where the χρύσεος of the text must be scanned as a disyllable, e.g. *Il.* 1, 15 χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, 'on his golden wand' etc.

o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi, instr. plur. fem.: cf. Hsych. ἀμφικελεμνίς 'hanging evenly on both shoulders', ἀμφικέλεμνον = ἀμφιβαρές, or 'chair carried by two men'. The root meaning of **kelemn-* is hard to decide: 'shoulder'? 'carrying yoke'? Or 'carrying-pole' to a palanquin rather than a normal chair? An alternative suggestion is *opikrēmniāphi* from κρημνός 'an overhanging lip': in either case the meaning would appear to refer to the edges of the back or arms, which the Tutankhamen parallels suggest as the most favoured place for decorative treatment.

D^2 *se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re*: the formation has been exhaustively discussed by Risch (1966b) who concludes that an enlargement in *-r* of the stem κάρα 'head' is supported by the evidence of later Greek. But the identity of the first member (some sort of animal?) remains unsolved; Mühlestein (1957) ingeniously suggested *Seirēmo-* = Σειρηνο-, stems in *m-* having been eliminated from later Greek (cf. *e-me*, p. 784), but it is hard to imagine how Sirens' heads could have been distinguished from women's (Palmer, *Interpretation* 349); and the link vowel *-o-* is unexpected.

D *qe-qi-no-me-na* in line 2 evidently agrees in sense with *opikelemniāphi* (similarly on **265** = Ta 708.2), but the ending *-phi* has been suppressed from the participiple in order to make clearer the relation to its own subordinate instrumentals.

$D/D^2/*$ *po-ti-pi*: probably *portiphi* 'with heifers' (πόρτις *Il.* v, 162), although Gray (1959.53) objects to this on archaeological grounds, and finds 'calves' no better.

265 = Ta 708 (S641 H 2)

.1 to-no , ku-te-se-jo , a-ja-me-no , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja , e-re-pa-te 1 ⟦ ⟧ [
.2 to-no , ku-te-se-jo , e-re-pa-te-ja-pi , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi , se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi , qe-qi-no-me-na , a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe
.3 ta-ra-nu , ku-te-se-jo , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , a-di-ri-ja-pi , re-wo-pi-qe 1

$D/D^2/*$ One ebony chair with ivory on the *back*.
One ebony chair with ivory *back* carved with *se-re-mo-* heads and figures of men.
One ebony footstool inlaid with ivory figures of men and lions.

D *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja* (fem. acc. plur. *-ans*) in line 1 is in the accusative of respect, as on **266** = Ta 714.1 and *skeleha* on **259** = Ta 641.1, q.v.

* *andriamphi lewomphi k^{w}e*: compare the lion-hunting scene on the inlaid dagger from Tomb 4 at Mycenae (*PoM* III, fig. 70); also the ivory plaques carved with lions, which probably once decorated the lid and sides of a box or casket, from the House of Shields at the same site (Wace, *MT* II.6 and figs 15, 16); also Poursat 1977.68–74.

266 = Ta 714 (S641 H 2)

.1 to-no , we-a_2-re-jo , a-ja-me-no , ku-wa-no , pa-ra-ku-we-qe , ku-ru-so-qe , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja

.2 a-ja-me-na , ku-ru-so , a-di-ri-ja-pi , se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re-qe , ku-ru-so , ku-ru-so-qe , po-ni-ki-pi 1
.3 ku-wa-ni-jo-qe , po-ni-ki-pi 1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , ku-wa-no , pa-ra-ku-we-qe , ku-ru-so-qe , ku-ru-sa-pi-qe , ko-no-ni-pi 1

D/D²/* One chair of rock-crystal, inlaid with blue glass and *pa-ra-ku* and gold on the *back*, (which is) inlaid with gold figures of men and a gold *se-re-mo-* head and gold palm-trees and blue glass palm trees.
One footstool inlaid with blue glass and *pa-ra-ku* and gold and with gold *bars*.

po-ni-ki-pi: arguments have been assembled against VC's suggestion that φοῖνιξ could mean 'griffin' as a decorative motif, notably by Dessenne (1957). VC's alternative 'palm-tree' should therefore be adopted; as they note, this has a good analogy in motif no. 15 (*MP* 278) and is common in ivory decoration (Poursat 1977.113–15).

* It is uncertain whether the mark at the end of l. 2 is a divider or the numeral 1, though the latter looks more likely. If this is 'one', it may have been written because the scribe thought he had come to the end of the description of the table at this point, but having realised that there was another detail still to be recorded entered this at the beginning of l. 3, without bothering to change the 'one' at the end of the previous line to a divider. It is much less plausible to suppose that the entry on l. 3 refers to a second table, identical to the first except that its palm-tree decoration is made of blue glass rather than gold.

D *ko-no-ni-pi*: see **252** = KN K 434.

267 = Ta 721 (S641 H 2)

.1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , to-qi-de-qe , ka-ru-we-qe **220* 1
.2 ta-ra-nu-we , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , so-we-no-qe , to-qi-de-qe **220* 3
.3 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , so-we-no-qe , **220* 1
.4 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , so-we-no-qe , **220* 1
.5 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi **220* 1

D/* One footstool inlaid with ivory *au-de-pi* and running spiral and *boss*.
Three footstools inlaid with ivory *au-de-pi* and *so-we-no* and running spiral.
One footstool inlaid with ivory *au-de-pi* and *so-we-no* (twice).
One footstool inlaid with ivory *au-de-pi*.

D *so-we-no-qe* (cf. **260** = Ta 709, *so-we-ne-ja*): owing to the ambiguity inherent in the spelling *-o*, a form such as this may be either instr. sing. (*-ōi*) or plur. (*-ois*). The same applies to the masculines *a-to-ro-qo* and *i-qo* on the next tablet.

D/D/* *ka-ru-we* (instr. sing.); cf. *ka-ru-pi* (instr. plur.) on the next tablet. Probably a form of κάρυον
D 'nut' (cf. σίκυς/σίκυος), perhaps used here with the sense 'boss'. Cf. φιάλη καρυωτή 'cup adorned with a nut-shaped boss' *IG* II (2) 161 *B* 30.

268 = Ta 722 (S641 H 2)

.1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , a-to-ro-qo , i-qo-qe , po-ru-po-de-qe , po-ni-ke-qe **220* 1

.2 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , ka-ra-a-pi , re-wo-te-jo , so-we-no-qe , **220* 1
.3 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-ja-pi , ka-ru-pi **220* 1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-ja-pi , ka-ru-pi **220* 1

D/* One footstool inlaid with *a* man and *a* horse and an octopus and a palm-tree in ivory.
One footstool inlaid with ivory lions' heads and *so-we-no*.
One footstool inlaid with ivory *bosses* (twice).

If 'man' and 'horse' are taken as singular, we may perhaps visualise the decoration as being distributed over four symmetrical panels, with one figure in each (like the rectangular 'Warrior' ivory from Delos, Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1948.156–62). Compare the four rectangular panels from the top of a box (?) found in the 'Tomb of
D/D² the Tripod Hearth' at Zafer Papoura (Evans 1906c.44, fig. 40). Though man and horse would combine easily in a single composition, cf. the 'Groom and horse' motif (*MP* 449) and the 'Groom and horse' fresco from Tsountas' excavations (Wace 1949, fig. 99b), we can hardly add the octopus climbing the palm-tree (but cf. Pliny, *HN* IX, 92).

D The octopus (inaccurately labelled 'cuttlefish' – a quite distinct species – as motif no. 21, *MP* 302) is of course extremely common in all fields of LM and Mycenaean decoration, although not in ivory (Poursat 1977). Compare the floor-squares in the Pylos throne room and the Great Megaron at Tiryns.

D/* *re-wo-te-jo*: *lewonteiois*, showing that λέων 'lion' is already a stem in *-nt-* in spite of **lewanyă* > λέαινα.

269 = Ta 716 (S641 H 2)

.1 pa-sa-ro , ku-ru-so , a-pi , to-ni-jo 2 wa-o **232* 2
.2 qi-si-pe-e **234* 2

* Two chains *a-pi to-ni-jo*; two hammer-axes; two knives.

For the identification of **232* as a hammer-axe rather than a double-bladed axe, and the likelihood that **234* is a knife rather than a sword, see Introduction, pp. 779–80. As is noted in the Introduction, if these identifications are correct, they can in turn lead to a plausible explanation of the *Ta* series as a whole: that it is a list of equipment for animal sacrifice (the weapons here) together with the cooking equipment, furniture and serving vessels which were used for the banquets that customarily followed such sacrifices. This equipment would normally have been kept in store, but is here being audited on the occasion of a feast held to mark the event which is mentioned in the heading of the series on **258** = Ta 711: the appointment by the king of Augewas as *da-mo-ko-ro*. In short, if this explanation is correct, Ta 716, which VC suggest 'hardly fits into the context of the other tablets in the *Ta*-series', can in fact be seen as an integral member of this group of documents.

D²/* *pa-sa-ro*: as Palmer has shown (*Interpretation* 358), this is unlikely to be πασσάλω 'two
D² pegs' (VC), because the product of *-ky-* seems to be consistently rendered by Mycenaean

z (but cf. *wa-na-so-i*, etc.). Palmer's *psalō*, from which ψάλιον 'chain' was formed, seems probable.

D²/* *a-pi to-ni-jo*: this is likely to be a divided compound, with *amphi* as its first element. Various identifications of the second element have been proposed. The presence of *to-no* = *thornos* in the context has suggested *amphithorniō* (cf. Doria 1956.4) 'for fitting around chairs'; Palmer (1960.60, *Interpretation* 358) suggests *amphitoniō* (τόνος) 'double stranded'; and Del Freo (1990) proposes *amphitonion* (τόνιον, a medical term for 'binding'), rendering *pa-sa-ro ku-ru-so a-pi to-ni-jo* as *psalō khrūsōi amphitoniōi* 'two chains with a gold fastening'. Since, however, none of these interpretations enables a plausible connexion to be made between the chains – if this is what they are – and the other objects listed on this tablet, none is capable of confirmation. Speciale (1999) suggests that the second element involves *thoinā* in the sense 'sacrifice', and that these are chains used to decorate the horns of sacrificial animals. Unfortunately, however, her suggestion cannot be accepted, since an *-ios* derivative of *thoinā* would have the form *to-na-jo*, not *to-ni-jo*.

D²/* D² *wa-o*: whatever this stands for, contraction will have resulted in an unviable Classical form, and it is hardly surprising that the word is not identified. Any connexion with ἄορ can be certainly excluded if that word provides the first element of the name *a-o-ri-me-ne* (see Glossary).

* *qi-si-pe-e*: although the ideogram which follows this term is probably a knife rather than a sword, the interpretation as *kʷsiphe(h)e* (ξίφος) can hardly be doubted. Heubeck (1958a) has fully discussed the etymology and spelling. Presumably this is a word whose meaning has shifted between the Mycenaean and later periods, with this becoming one of the terms for 'sword' and μάχαιρα becoming the standard word for 'knife'.

270 = Tn 996 (Ciii)

.1] , a-te-re-e-te-jo , re-wo-te-re-jo ALV 2[ ] *vacat*
.2 u-do-ro *212VAS 3 pi-a$_2$-ra *219VAS 3 [
.3 a-po-]ṛẹ-we *209VAS 2 ka-ti *206VAS 1 a-te-we AES *205VAS 7 ạṵṛḅ [
.a ọ[
.4] *250VAS 3 po-ka-ta-ma , AURb *208$_a$VAS 1 AES *208$_b$VAS 3 [

* For discussion of the ideograms found on this tablet, which is not a member of the *Ta*
D²/* series, and of the vessel names which precede them, see Section 1. In line 3, there is not room to restore]*ṛẹ-we* as the longer form *a-pi-po-re-we* found at Knossos (**255** = Uc 160 rev.). The interpretation of *ka-ti* as κηθίς has been attacked on the grounds that this is a dice-box; but we do not know what vessels the ancients used for shaking dice, and
* in any case the name could easily have been transferred to a different vessel. As noted in Section 1, Vandenabeele and Olivier (*IDA*) conclude that the first five vessels on the record and the first on l. 4 are non-metallic, mainly on the grounds that none is accompanied by a BRONZE or GOLD/SILVER(?) ideogram, unlike the *a-te-we* on l. 3 and the *po-ka-ta-ma* on l. 4. As far as we can tell, however, it would be contrary to the normal practice for metallic and non-metallic vessels to be recorded on the same tab-

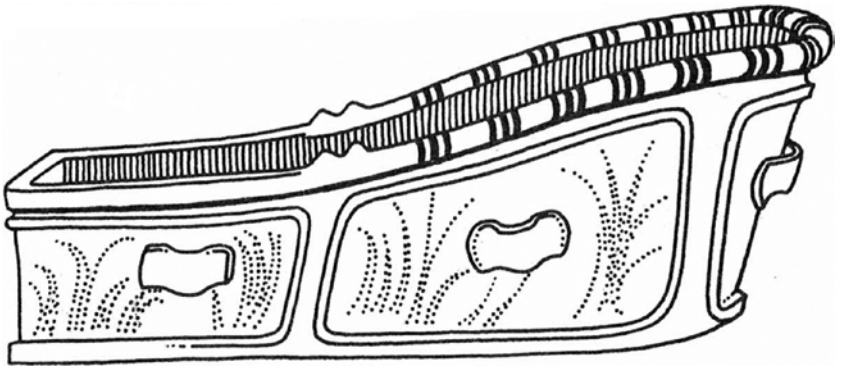


Figure 17.7. MM IIIb (or LM Ia) bathtub from the S.E. Bathroom, Knossos

let; and the presence of a BRONZE ideogram in the *a-te-we* and *po-ka-ta-ma* entries and not elsewhere could be due to the fact that with each of these vessels there are gold/silver(?) as well as bronze examples to be recorded, which might have led the scribe to underline the contrast between the two types by inserting an AES ideogram in the 'bronze' section of the entry as well as the AUR/*141*[b] in the 'gold/silver(?)' section. The small numbers of vessels involved in all the entries on the tablet are consistent with the conclusion that they are metallic; and while it is true that the closest archaeological parallel for the bathtub represented by the BATH ideogram in l. 1 is the very similar clay bathtub from the S. E. Bathroom at Knossos (Fig. 17.7), there are parallels among metal vessels for the *u-do-ro* and *pi-a*$_2$*-ra* on l. 2 and the *a-po-re-we* and *ka-ti* on l. 3: see Section 1. In addition, as we have seen above, the sealing **256** = KN Ws 8497 provides evidence for a rectangular-shaped bronze object described as *a-sa-mi-to*, clearly the same term as Hom. ἀσάμινθος 'bath', though the further term *ke-ni-qa* on the same sealing may serve to indicate that this is not a bathtub proper, but a smaller vessel used as a hand-wash basin.

D/* * *re-wo-te-re-jo* = *lewotreioi* is evidently derived from the same noun as the female occupation *lewotrokhowoi* 'bath pourers', cf. Hom. λοετροχόος, on **6** = Ab 553, **8** = Ad 676. For discussion of the apparent metathesis of the first two vowels in the Mycenaean form of the word, see on **6** = Ab 553. The adjective *a-te-re-e-te-jo* (nom. plur.) may recur in the variant spelling *a-te-re-te-a* on **289** = KN So 894, but no convincing interpretation has been suggested: see further p. 825.

CHAPTER XVIII

FINISHED PRODUCTS II: MILITARY EQUIPMENT

PART I: ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

JOOST CROUWEL

* In Part I of this chapter we discuss the ideograms found on the records of military equipment which have been selected for commentary. In the case of each we discuss what the sign is likely to denote in the light of archaeological, including pictorial, evidence for contemporary offensive and defensive weapons. Some reference is made in this section to technical terms found on the relevant records, but the main linguistic and interpretative discussion of the tablets will be found in Part II. In both sections the topics are considered in broadly the same order; though it is convenient to discuss some subjects which are dealt with in two or more sub-sections in Part II (e.g. chariot wheels) in a single sub-section in Part I.

PUG SWORD

GUP SWORD

1. Swords, spears and arrows at Knossos (Ra, R, Ws series)

The ideograms **233* PUG and **236* GUP, depicted on the *Ra* tablets from the palace at Knossos, represent a sword-like weapon with an elongated, triangular blade and including a midrib, a handgrip, and a pommel which may be rendered as a straight or curved transverse line, or like a button. For discussion, see Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 49–56.

Most instances of **233* PUG and **236* GUP, the latter apparently showing the same weapon but in inverted position, illustrate a blade with simple, square shoulders. However, in some cases the ideograms are more elaborate, with the blade having internal markings in addition to the midrib, as well as curved protuberances in the shoulder area. The latter feature has usually been explained as pointing to bronze swords of 'cruciform' type. Such swords, which were cutting and thrusting weapons, have a prominent midrib and 'cruciform' protuberances or lobes to the handguard. The flanged handgrip or hilt was inlaid with separately made plaques of different material which were held in place by metal rivets. In the case of special, prestige weapons the bronze blade may be embellished with traced decoration, while the handgrip and handguard may be covered in gold, held on by gold-capped bronze rivets. 'Cruciform' swords are known mainly from the so-called Warrior Graves at Knossos, but also from tombs at various other sites in Crete, mainland Greece and the Dodecanese, their

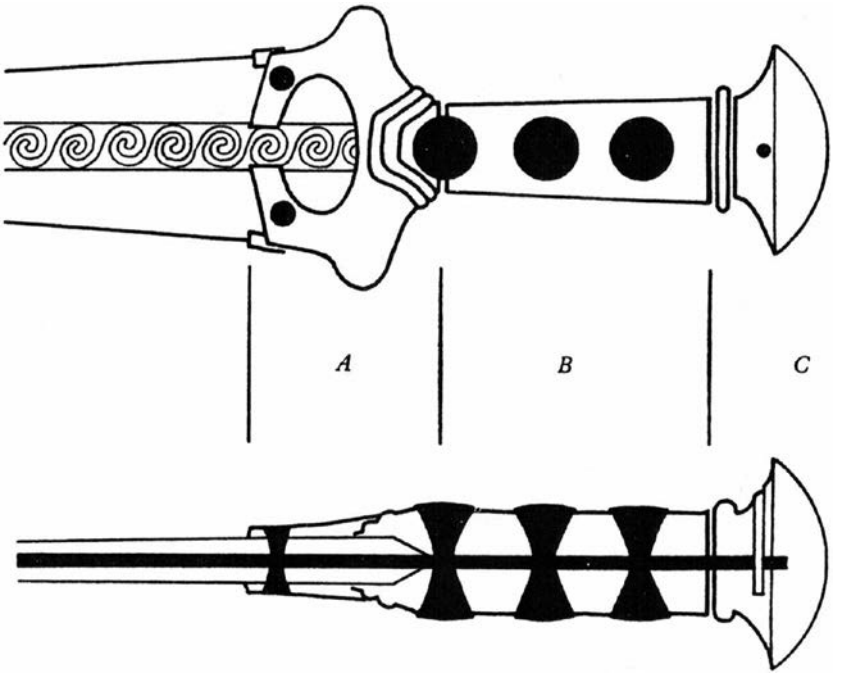


Figure 18.1. Typical LM II sword and hilt*

find contexts ranging from LM/LH II to LM/LH IIIA2, but no later (see Sandars 1963.125–29, 146–49, class Di, Catling and Catling 1974.225–29 nos 1–2, 242–44, Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 53–54, Macdonald 1984.56–58, 70–71, Fortenberry 1990.151–54, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993.58–63, Peatfield 1999, Molloy 2008 and 2010, Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2010.524–27, Wiener 2015.132–34).

Whether the ideograms showing weapons with simple, square shoulders represent a different type of sword is a matter of debate. There is always the danger of over-classification of what are really no more than thumbnail sketches of weapons of the time. It is not even certain whether swords are intended rather than shorter weapons: dirks with a length of 0.30–0.50m or daggers of less than 0.30m (for definitions, Macdonald 1984.56 n. 51, Molloy 2010.404 n. 18). For a discussion of the (unverifiable) suggestion that the term *phasgana* both on the *Ra* tablets and in Homer means 'daggers' rather than swords, see Part II, p. 814. The other later Greek term for sword, ξίφος, appears in PY **269** = Ta 716.2 where *qi-si-pe-e* 'a pair of swords' is listed. The accompanying ideogram **234* is too badly preserved for it to be fruitfully compared to actual weapons (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 47–49).

Knossos tablet **271** = Ra(1) 1540, clearly a totalling document, lists at least 50 *pa-ka-na*. On other *Ra* tablets weapons are described as *ke-ra de-de-me-na* 'bound

* Note: The 'hilt-plate', shown as *A*, is fixed by two rivets and frequently supplied as a separate piece from the covering of the handgrip *B* and pommel *C* (*Documents*[1] 347).

with horn' or *e-re-*]*pa-te de-de-me-na* 'bound with ivory'. This probably refers to the hilts of the weapons.

We may refer here to a fragment of a tablet that was recently found in a destruction level possibly of c. 1300 B.C. (end of LH IIIA2) at Ayios Vasileios in Laconia (Kardamaki 2017). It refers to over 500 swords or daggers, or scabbards for these (Aravantinos and Vasilogamvrou 2012.45–49). Among the finds at this palatial site is also a hoard of weapons, including several swords and a bronze helmet (Wiener 2016.140).

HAS SPEAR

A spear is clearly meant by ideogram **230* HAS which occurs only once, on Knossos tablet **274** = R 1815. The accompanying text lists twelve *e-*]*ke-a ka-ka re-ạ*, which probably means 'spears with bronze heads': see Part II, p. 816. The ideogram, showing a leaf-shaped head with a midrib and a long shaft, recalls the various bronze one-piece spearheads, with tubular sockets to accommodate the wooden shaft, that are frequently found in the Aegean from the time of the Second Palaces in Crete and the Shaft Graves of Mycenae onwards. For discussion, see Höckmann 1977, E 294–301, 1980.13–123, Avila 1983.5–82, Fortenberry 1990.191–205. Many of these socketed heads appear to have been used for heavy thrusting spears (lances) rather than for light throwing spears (javelins). Thrusting as well as throwing spears are illustrated in military and hunting contexts in contemporary pictorial evidence, with javelins becoming more common in LH IIIB–IIIC (Höckmann 1977, E 276–90, Avila 1983.118–30).

JAC → Javelin ?

SAG ARROW

Ideogram **230* HAS and the accompanying word *e-*] *ke-a* contrast sharply with sign **254* JAC and the term *pa-ta-ja* 'missiles' that occur on **275** = sealing Ws 1704 from Knossos. The latter ideogram, which is attested only twice (also on Ws 8495), is very simple, consisting of a V-shaped head and a separately drawn shaft. A javelin may well be intended here, though an arrow cannot be excluded on account of the find-place (see p. 815).

An arrow with a feathered end to its shaft is certainly indicated by yet another ideogram **231* SAG, which occurs on only one record, the incomplete Knossos tablet R 4482 (two examples). This tablet records altogether 8640 instances of this kind of missile, of which the name is not preserved.

Tablet R 4482 and sealing **275** = Ws 1704 were both found in the Arsenal at Knossos. Not far away were two deposits of hundreds of bronze arrowheads as well as two of bone and one of flint which may have been kept in wooden boxes, in view of their association with several bronze loop handles and remains of wood (Evans 1904.59–61, Boardman 1963.67–69, Pl. XVa). The thin bronze arrowheads are triangular and barbed; they belong to two well-known types, with and without a tang (see Buchholz 1962, types V-V, Catling 1964.132–33, Avila 1983, nos 597, 724, Fortenberry 1990.223–24).

2. Chariots without wheels at Knossos (Sd, Se, Sf, Sg)

At Knossos five series of tablets record two-wheeled vehicles of a specific type, the so-called Dual chariot. Apart from the Linear B texts and accompanying ideograms, the Dual chariot is known from a variety of profile representations, as well as from terracotta models in the round, the sources ranging in date from LM II to LH IIIB2/transition to LH IIIC (see especially Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 76–139, Crouwel 1981).

The two reconstruction drawings (Figs 18.2–3) are based mainly on fragmentary but detailed wall paintings from Knossos, Mycenae and Tiryns, and on terracotta models.

A brief description of the Dual chariot is in order here. Its body consists of a D-shaped floor, wide enough for two persons to stand abreast, and a siding which extends around the front and sides, leaving the rear open for quick (dis)mounting. The siding rises to about hip height and consists of two distinct parts: the siding proper, its framework of rails presenting a rectangular profile, and the curved extensions or wings that are added to the sides and project backwards beyond the floor. The framework may be strengthened by struts, and is covered by screening material. The two spoked wheels revolve on the fixed axle which is located close to the rear of the floor. At either end the axle is pierced vertically by a linch pin, to keep the wheels in place.

The central draught pole runs all the way under the floor and then runs upwards to the yoke at an oblique angle. The pole may be strengthened by a

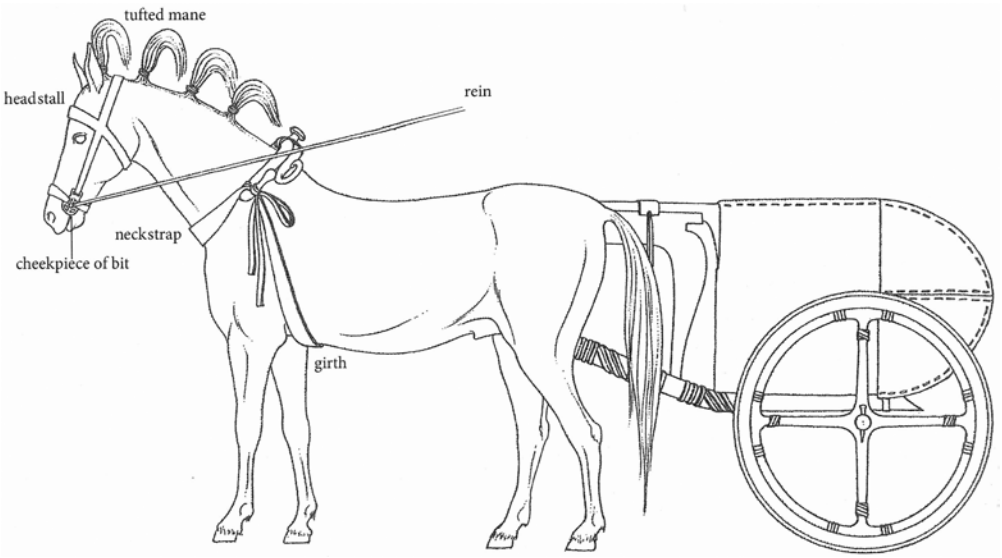


Figure 18.2. Reconstruction drawing of Dual Chariot (a).
Drawing by J. Morel, captions by J. Crouwel

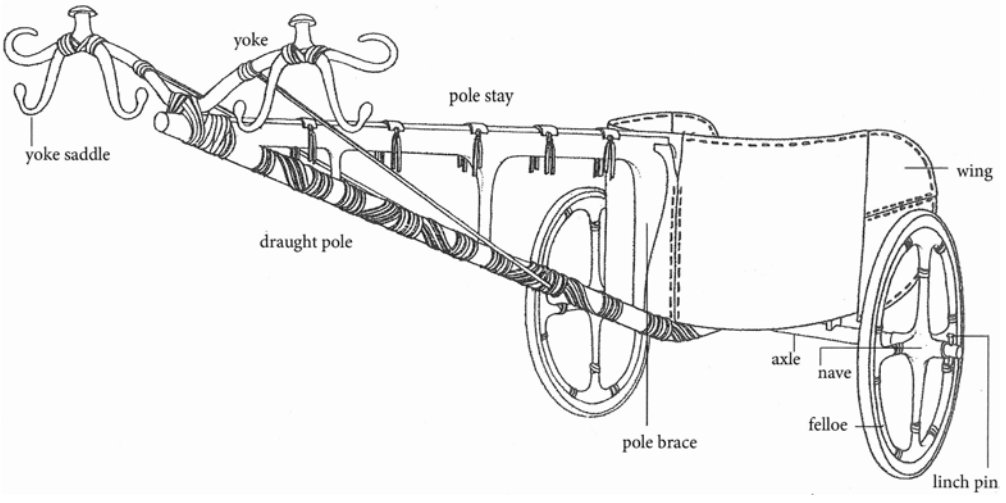


Figure 18.3. Reconstruction drawing of Dual Chariot (b).
Drawing by J. Morel, captions by J. Crouwel

binding of thongs. It is further reinforced by a brace and a stay which in turn strengthen its connexion with the chariot body. The pole brace is an L-shaped timber, its short vertical arm inserted into the pole just in front of the body, and its longer arm running forward to the junction of pole and yoke. From its horizontal arm descend other vertical elements connecting the brace with the pole. The pole stay is a rod extending horizontally from the top of the chariot front and lying directly on top of the brace, keeping it upright. The pole stay and brace are held together by lashings. These wooden elements together with the pole form a strong, triangular construction.

The draught teams of two horses, one on either side of the pole, are harnessed under a yoke and yoke saddles by means of a neck strap and girth. The yoke saddles, one to each animal, are in the form of an inverted Y, but with their lower ends curving upwards. The legs of the yoke saddles lie along the horses' shoulders, while their handle is lashed to the yoke. The draught teams are controlled by a bridle, composed of a headstall and reins, usually with the help of a bit.

The three chariot ideograms at Knossos (there are none from Pylos) show profile views of the Dual chariot in varying states of assemblage:

– **242* CAPS (*Sf* and *Sg* series), representing the basic framework of the chariot body, without the curved extensions but including the draught pole. It may be noted that the ideogram depicted twice on tablet **288** = Sg 1811 shows

BIG WHEELED CHARIOT

CUR WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT

CAPS CHARIOT FRAME

not only the bare chariot body and the draught pole but also a pole stay and what appears to be a yoke.

– **241* CUR (*Sd* and *Se* series), showing the entire chariot body, including the curved side extensions, the pole brace and stay, the yoke and yoke saddles (both shown as if viewed from above), but not the wheels.
– **240* BIG (*Sc* series, and upper edge of tablet Sd 4404), representing the completely assembled chariot and its wheels.

Knossos tablet **288** = Sg 1811, clearly a totalling document, lists both bare-framed chariots (**242* CAPS) and four-spoked wheels denoted by ideogram **243* ROTA. In addition, wheels indicated with the same ideogram are listed separately at Knossos (*So* series), Pylos (*Sa* series) and Chania (tablet Sq 1).

While most of the chariot records from Knossos have short texts, the *Sd* tablets, each listing one to three vehicles, offer more lengthy descriptions. While several of the words used here and on other tablets remain unexplained, some can be linked with archaeological evidence from Late Bronze Age Greece, as well as oriental sources. They thereby shed light on various aspects of the chariot bodies and even the bridles of the draught teams.

Individual wheel-less chariots listed on the *Se* tablets are said to be made of *pte-re-wa* 'elm', a timber that is mentioned again in the wheel tablets of the *So* series (see sub-section 3).

Sd tablets describe the colour of the chariots as *po-ni-ki-ja* 'red-purple' (also on the *Se* records) or, less often, *mi-to-we-sa* 'vermilion'. These references probably apply to the screening material, such as dyed leather or linen, and correspond with the red colour of the sidings of Dual chariots illustrated in several wall paintings. There is good textual and archaeological evidence from the Near East and Egypt at this time for coloured chariot bodies and the use of leather in their siding (Crouwel 1981.66, 69, Littauer and Crouwel 1985.72–74, 93–94).

Several Knossos tablets of the *Sd* and *Sf* series, the latter showing the ideogram of a wheel-less Dual chariot in its basic framework, have the term *a-ja-me-na*, which in some *Sd* tablets is used in conjunction with *e-re-pa-te* 'with ivory'. The same word *a-ja-me-na*, again in juxtaposition with ivory or other precious materials, occurs in tablets of the *Ta* series from Pylos describing wooden furniture. We are probably dealing here with inlaying, a technique that is well attested archaeologically in Late Bronze Age Crete and mainland Greece. Numerous ivory plaques, rectangular or carved in other shapes, and obviously used for inlay of wood, have survived. A few fresco fragments from Tiryns may illustrate inlay of the body of Dual chariots. Some of the actual chariots from the tomb of the pharaoh Tutankhamen and other burial contexts in contemporary Egypt display inlay of precious materials, though not of ivory. There are also textual references to inlaid chariots, for instance in fourteenth-century documents from

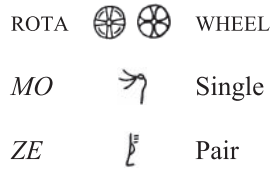
Nuzi in Mesopotamia (Crouwel 1981.66, 69–70, Littauer and Crouwel 1985.99, s.v. Chariots A1–3 from the tomb of Tutankhamen).

The texts on the *Sd* tablets usually end with two nouns, the first in the nominative dual or plural, the second in the instrumental plural, *o-po-qo* and *o-pi-i-ja-pi*. The first word, meaning 'objects which are on the eye', is usually described as *wi-ri-ni-jo* (and variant spellings) 'of leather', but in Sd 4403 as *e-re-pa-te-jo* 'of ivory'. The term *o-po-qo* most probably refers to blinkers, i.e. plaque-like objects which were attached to the horse's headstall and covered the animal's eyes from the sides, limiting its vision to the area ahead of it.

Archaeological evidence for blinkers in Late Bronze Age Greece is limited to one or two LH IIIA2 vase paintings illustrating Dual chariots. Actual leather blinkers – and others of gold-covered wood – have been identified in Egyptian royal tombs of the time, whereas ivory ones have survived from later contexts in the Near East and Cyprus (Crouwel 1981.109–10, Littauer and Crouwel 1985.85–86, 1979.125).

An interpretation of the other word *o-pi-i-ja-pi* as bits is appropriate, in view of its position in the texts and the materials mentioned: *ke-ra-ja-pi* 'of horn' and, less often, *ka-ke-ja-pi* 'of bronze'. There is pictorial evidence for the use of bits with the draught teams of Dual chariots in Late Age Greece. In addition, several all-bronze bits, or parts of them, have survived from there (Crouwel 1981.101–04, Aravantinos 2009.48, 52, Bennet 2018.18). There are also four cheekpieces of bone of the seventeenth or sixteenth century (LH 1) from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae, as well as fragments of other cheekpieces of bone and horn from a contemporary find context at Mitrou in east Lokris and from a context of the twelfth century (LH IIIC Early) at Tiryns. All these have close ties to finds from the Carpathian Basin and the area of the lower Danube, and further east (Hüttel 1981.35–65, Penner 1998.23–75, Harding 2005, Rahmstorf 2008.207–08, Maran and van de Moortel 2014).

3. Chariot wheels at Knossos (So, tablet Sg 1811, lines 3–6), Chania (tablet Sq 1), Pylos (Sa) and Tiryns (tablets Si 8, 9 and 10)



Ideogram **243* ROTA occurs at Knossos, Chania and Pylos in several varieties, but it basically shows a four-spoked wheel (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 139–49). Wheels with the same number of spokes are also part of ideogram **240* BIG showing fully equipped chariots in the Knossian *Sc* series and in most other pictorial attestations of Dual or other types of chariots of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean. Four-spoked wheels were clearly standard there at the time (and in the first millennium B.C.), whereas chariots in Egypt and the Near East had wheels

with four to eight spokes, with six and later eight spokes being the more common (Crouwel 1981.81–82, 1992.34–35, Littauer and Crouwel 1979.78, 106).

The few examples of ROTA at Tiryns do not show spokes, but this could simply reflect sketchy drawing rather than that the wheels are solid (Godart, Killen and Olivier 1983.418–20).

On the Linear B tablets the wheels are mostly listed in pairs, which points to a two-wheeled vehicle and probably a chariot. Whether these were always of Dual type, as at Knossos, remains uncertain, since there are no chariot ideograms from Chania, Pylos or Tiryns to tell us.

The wheel tablets from the four sites – by recording them separately from the vehicle bodies – indicate that they were usually removed from the vehicles for repair, replacement or storage, a practice also attested in Near Eastern texts as well as in Homer's *Iliad* V, 722. Another reason for keeping them separate from the chariots would have been that wheels, if left on the axle, had a tendency to warp (Crouwel 1981.78, 86–87). Only when the chariots were to be used immediately were the wheels slipped on. This is implied by the Knossian *Sc* series where wheels are part of the chariot ideogram.

The texts of the Linear B tablets provide a glimpse of the complexities of wheelmaking. Some of what must have been technical terms can only be tentatively interpreted. What is clear, however, is that the great majority of wheels were made of wood. In the Knossos *So* tablets most wheels are recorded as made of *pte-re-wa* 'elm' or *e-ri-ka* 'willow'. In addition, in one of the Pylos wheel tablets (Sa 488) *ku-pa-ri-se-ja* 'cypress' is mentioned. Of these three timbers, elm is materially documented in contemporary Egypt as being used in wheel- and chariot-making. Over the centuries, in widely different places, this hard, tough timber remained the wheelwright's preferred choice for naves (Crouwel 1981.69, 87, 1992.38, Littauer and Crouwel 1985.92–93).

In the *So* tablets from Knossos the description of the wood for the wheels is usually accompanied by either of the following two terms: *te-mi-dwe-ta* (and variant spellings) '(provided) with endings/borders' and *o-da-ke-we-ta* (again with variant spellings) '(provided) with teeth'. *Te-mi-dwe-ta* also appears in a few tablets of the *Sa* series from Pylos. Moreover, the ideogram **243* ROTA in this series is often surcharged with the sign *TE*, probably an abbreviation of the same word. The *Sa* tablets do not mention the term *o-da-ke-we-ta*, but such wheels may possibly be intended in those instances where the ideogram is simply **243* ROTA, without *TE*.

Opinions differ when it comes to the precise part of the wheel to which the two mutually exclusive terms refer, whether the nave and/or spokes or the wheel rim. Several years ago C. J. Ruijgh (1976a.180–82, 1979a. 211–13) and I (Crouwel 1981.87–88) suggested that the terms may refer to two different ways of

joining the spokes to the felloe: *o-da-ke-we-ta* would indicate spokes mortised into the felloe like 'teeth', in the same way as on actual, contemporary Egyptian chariot wheels, and *te-mi-dwe-ta* would be a description of spokes with triangular wooden braces like 'endings/borders' on either side where they meet the felloe. The latter construction is well attested archaeologically in Greece in the first millennium B.C., but the evidence of the Linear B ideograms and other pictorial sources of the Late Bronze Age is ambiguous. For instance, wall-paintings from Tiryns appear to show a widening of the spokes rather than braces. For discussion, see Littauer and Crouwel 1985.77, Crouwel 1981.82–83, 1992.36–37, Pare 1987b, Sandor 2004.

All in all, we still cannot really say to what parts of the wheels and their construction the two terms refer. References to *e-re-pa-to* 'ivory' and *ke-ra-e* 'horn' in connexion with *te-mi-dwe-ta* are found in two Pylos tablets (Sa 793 and 840 [+] 1183). These references point to special, decorated wheels. Ivory in particular is a soft and costly material which could only have been used for wheel decoration, probably inlaid or glued on. At Knossos, ivory is mentioned in connexion with the (bare-frame) body of Dual chariots and both ivory and horn in connexion with the blinkers of their draught teams (see sub-section 2).

Among the wheel tablets from Pylos and Knossos there are also a few where metals – bronze and silver – are mentioned. Pylos Sa 287 describes a pair of wheels as *a-ku-ro de-de-me-no* 'bound with silver'. Here the word *te-mi-dwe-ta* is absent and the ideogram is **243* ROTA without *TE*, as is also the case on Pylos Sa 794 where a pair of wheels is listed as *ka-ko de-de-me-no* 'bound with bronze'. This in turn recalls Knossos So 894 which, in line 2, records an unknown number of pairs of wheels as *ka-ko-de-ta* 'bronze-bound'. In the same line reference is made to a pair of *ka-ki-jo* 'bronze' wheels. These two entries are clearly distinct from three others in the same document which are concerned with sizeable numbers of wheels made of elm, willow and an unidentified wood, the first and third qualified by the word *te-mi-dwe*(*-ta*) and the second qualified by *o-da-tu-we-ta* (a variant of *o-da-ke-we-ta*).

The rare silver-bound wheels recorded at Pylos surely stand for special, luxury wheels. Silver, as a soft and precious metal, would have been used for a decorative and not for a functional binding. Archaeological evidence for the use of this metal in connexion with wheels is furnished only by a pair of wooden wheels from the tomb of Tutankhamen. Here the bronze hoops that were fitted around the nave ends in order to prevent them from splitting and to offer protection from wear caused by the linch pins are inlaid with narrow strips of silver and gold (Littauer and Crouwel 1985.57 s.v. Chariot A6). The latter material is also used on these and other extant Egyptian chariot wheels as a gilding. In most cases it covers the rawhide bindings of the naves, adjacent sections of the spokes and the overlaps of the felloe segments, while narrow bands of gold with

decoration in relief mark the edges of the gilding. In the case of one resplendent chariot from the tomb of Tutankhamen the gilding covers virtually the entire wheels (Littauer and Crouwel 1985.95 and s.v. Chariot 2). Egypt certainly provides parallels for the use of precious materials on chariot wheels, even if it does not help with what may be meant by the pair of 'silver-bound' wheels at Pylos.

The 'bronze' wheels on Knossos tablet So 894 recall a type of wheel that is known archaeologically from Late Bronze Age contexts in central Europe. Here the nave, the tubular spokes (usually four of them) and the felloe are all cast in one piece of bronze, the felloe deeply channelled on its outer face to receive a wooden tyre. However, these heavy cast-bronze wheels, with proportionally very short spokes and small diameters, occur only with non-utilitarian four-wheeled vehicles (Piggott 1983.110–11, 122–25, Pare 1987a.31–33, 49–52). Alternatively, the 'bronze wheels' may denote wooden wheels covered by bronze sheathing, giving the appearance of solid metal. The wheels of certain ceremonial vehicles, such as the well-known Montoleone chariot, from seventh–sixth century B.C. tomb contexts in Italy, certainly create this impression (Woytowitsch 1978, no. 85, Emiliozzi 2011, Crouwel 2012.13–14). In a similar way the wheels of one of the chariots from the tomb of Tutankhamen mentioned above suggest solid gold. If this is the correct interpretation of the 'bronze wheels' in Knossos tablet So 894, the 'bronze-bound' ones referred to in the same line and in Pylos Sa 794 may stand for a partial as opposed to a complete sheathing of the wheels, or for something entirely different.

The description 'bronze-bound' calls to mind some actual wheels of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Central Europe. These had a bronze (or, later, iron) casing of the naves, often with short metal sockets through which the inner spoke ends passed, as well as metal caps at the ends of the axles (Piggott 1983.112–14, 162–65, Pare 1987a.36–38, 52–55, 1992). Some of the Late Bronze Age wheels, along with those of a fragmentary chariot from the well-known seventh-century B.C. Regolini Galassi tomb in Etruria, in addition displayed a separate metal sheathing for the widening outer spoke ends where they met the felloe. This is reminiscent of some of the pictorial evidence from Late Bronze Age Greece (Woytowitsch 1978, no. 30, Pare 1987b, Crouwel 2012.30).

'Bronze-bound' may also refer to a functional binding of double-layered felloes, in the form of bronze thongs as attested on the wheels of one of the chariots from the tomb of Tutankhamen. Or 'bronze-bound' may refer to felloe clamps, as documented in first-millennium Europe, the Near East and Cyprus (Littauer and Crouwel 1985.27, 77 s.v. Chariot A4, 1979.108, Piggott 1983.165–66, Pare 1992).

Alternatively, the description 'bronze-bound' may indicate wheels with bronze nave hoops. These are first attested in the tomb of Tutankhamen where, as we have seen, one pair is inlaid. Nave hoops recur in the first millennium B.C., in

Greece and other parts of Europe when the material is either bronze or iron (Crouwel 1992.87, Pare 1992).

Pictorial evidence of Dual-type and later chariots in Greece illustrates wheels with a different binding – of rawhide thongs lashed around the nave and spokes and sometimes the felloe as well. Rawhide, put on wet and allowed to shrink on tight, formed a light, strong binding material. The chariots that have survived from Egyptian New Kingdom tombs show that the same shrunk-on material was also used as a tyre, which not only protected the tread of the wheel but helped to consolidate its parts (Crouwel 1981.82–84, Littauer and Crouwel 1985.77, 93, Crouwel 1992.35–37).

4. Corslets and helmets at Pylos (Sh), Tiryns (tablet Si 5) and Knossos (Sk)

Ideogram **163* ARM in the Pylos *Sh* series is trapezoidal in shape, narrowing upwards and filled with horizontal lines; at the top are what look like short sleeves, a helmet, and possibly a neck-guard as well. In Sh 736 the word *to-ra-ke* 'suits of armour' appears at the beginning of the tablet. The *Sh* tablets also have the term *ko-ru-to*, the genitive of *ko-ru* 'helmet', or its acrophone *KO*. The one or more corslets listed are described as fitted with 20 or 22 larger and 10 or 12 smaller *o-pa-wo-ta* or its acrophone *O* – literally 'hung-on objects' and indicating attachments of some kind. The helmets also have *o-pa-wo-ta* (four of them), as well as *pa-ra-wa-jo* '(a pair of) cheekpieces'.

ARM ARMOUR

A version of the same ideogram, but with two angular shoulder pieces rather than short sleeves, is seen twice on fragmentary tablet Si 5 from Tiryns, where it is again accompanied by the word *to-ra-ka* (Vandenabeele 1978).

The Knossos *Sk* tablets do not have ideogram **163* ARM but **191* GAL, which represents a plain helmet with cheekpieces. The accompanying texts are clearly akin to those of the Pylos *Sh* series and include the words *to-ra* (a variant spelling of *to-ra-ka*) and *o-pa-wo-ta* as well as *ko-ru* and *pa-ra-wa-jo*. In addition the texts normally record 2 *qe-ro*$_2$, which are evidently part of the body armour, and 2 *e-po-mi-jo* 'shoulder pieces'. Opinions vary as to what extent the Linear B ideograms of corslets and the accompanying texts can be linked with the archaeological evidence for corslets (for discussion, see especially Catling 1977, E 107–43, Vandenabeele 1978, Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 17–39). A link has often been proposed between the ideograms, along with others on chariot tablets of the *Sc* series from Knossos (see sub-section 5), and the type of bronze-plate armour best known from a complete set from Dendra in the Argolid. This was found along with the remains of a so-called boar's tusk helmet and its bronze cheekpieces, a pair of bronze greaves, probably two swords and other objects in chamber tomb 12 dating to around 1400 B.C. (LH IIB/IIII). The Dendra suit of bronze armour consisted of fifteen pieces, including a heavy

collar to protect the neck; two large plates covering the chest and back, from which were suspended two sets of three overlapping plates covering the thighs; and two shoulder-guards, fixed to the breastplate by two small triangular plates, to which were attached two further plates covering the upper arms (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 23). By analogy with this, other more fragmentary finds could subsequently be identified with varying degrees of certainty as having belonged to similar panoplies. These finds from sites in both mainland Greece and Crete date to the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries, and quite probably later, depending on the date of material from Thebes, not yet properly published (see especially Verdelis 1977.28–45, Catling 1977, E 96–102, Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 28–34, Fortenberry 1990.42–46, 324–25, 328, Wilkie 1992.253, 276–78, Andrikou 2007). For modern replicas of the Dendra corslet, see Molloy 2008.128–29, also Wardle 1988.

The Pylos and Tiryns versions of ideogram **163* ARM indeed bear quite close similarities to the Dendra panoply – in their overall shape and in their interior lines which recall the overlapping bronze plates that are a feature of the lower part of the actual corslet. In addition, the arched 'hooks' of the Tiryns versions of the ideogram bring to mind the actual metal shoulder-guards. The Pylos versions instead show what look like short sleeves, but the possible indication of a neck-guard recalls that of the Dendra armour.

On the other hand, the recorded 20–22 larger and 10–12 smaller *o-pa-wo-ta* of the Pylos corslets are not immediately reminiscent of the fifteen-piece Dendra body armour. At the same time, the numbers are far too small for another type of body armour that was known at the time. This is the scale-corslet, consisting of a long, flexible, short-sleeved tunic, covered with many small bronze (or leather) plates. Scale-armour is well documented by texts and representations, as well as surviving metal plates, from the Near East and Egypt. The few, single bronze scale-plates found in Mycenaean contexts of the twelfth century B.C. (LH IIIC) do not suggest the use of such armour in the Aegean. Rather they are curios deriving from the east, which is supported by the very recent discovery of one such scale-plate bearing the cartouche of pharaoh Ramses II at Kanakia on the island of Salamis (Catling 1970, 1977, E 87–96, Iakovidis 1988.17–18, Pl. 6b, Fortenberry 1990.74–76, Maran 2004.18–26, Lolos 2009.38–39, fig. 16).

A different, Aegean type of relatively light body protection appears to be indicated in vase paintings such as the Warrior Krater from Mycenae, which dates to the later twelfth century B.C. (LH IIIC Middle). The corslets are very short and probably made of organic material, and are worn over a (fringed) tunic that itself ends above the knee (Catling 1977, E 102–07). These depictions bear no obvious relationship to the earlier corslet ideograms.

In the Linear B tablets considered so far there is no explicit mention of the material(s) of which the corslets are made – whether bronze, (boiled) leather

or linen, or combinations of these. In this connexion, we may briefly consider the term *qe-ro*$_2$ which occurs in the Knossian *Sk* tablets. Though full certainty is impossible, the two *qe-ro*$_2$ recorded on these texts are most plausibly explained as the front and back sections of a jacket-like covering of the upper body; see Part II, pp. 834–35. The term recurs, this time without *e-po-mi-jo* and *o-pa-wo-ta* but with ideograms **140* AES 'bronze' and **255*, in Knossos tablet **253** = *K*(*1*) 740, line 3. Ideogram **255*, which is trapezoidal in shape, double-outlined and has a curved top, has been likened to the breast and back plates of the Dendra corslet (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 21–22, fig. 7 and Pl. XVI.5, Driessen 1996.490–91). If this interpretation is correct, we would have here the only piece of explicit evidence in a Linear B tablet for the use of metal corslets. *Qe-ro*$_2$, however, may recur as a determinative written inside ideogram **162* TUN on tablets of the *Sc* series from Knossos, see sub-section 5.

Finally, we may compare the evidence for helmets provided by the Linear B tablets with that of the archaeological record. Material remains and pictorial evidence attest to the existence of a wide range of forms and materials in Late Bronze Age Greece (Borchardt 1972, 1977, E 57–74, Buchholz, H.-G., Matthäus, H. and Wiener, M. in Buchholz 2010.135–209). They include all-bronze caps with cheekpieces, such as an actual example from a Warrior Tomb of the later fifteenth century B.C. (LM II) at Knossos (Hood and de Jong 1952.256–60, pls 50a, 51, Borchardt 1972, no. 11 I). There are also the well-known, long-lived boar's tusk helmets, with rows of tusks sewn on a leather or felt backing, and various helmets with horizontal bands or other attachments of bronze or organic material.

The helmets recorded on the Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos recall much of the archaeological evidence in that they also have cheekpieces (*pa-ra-wa-jo*) and attachments (*o-pa-wo-ta*, sometimes explicitly described as *e/o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* 'on the helmet'), thereby implying a leather(?) backing. But of what form and material these attachments were is not specified (for discussion, see especially Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 40–47).

5. Chariots, corslets and horses at Knossos (Sc)

Each of the many, albeit mostly fragmentary, *Sc* tablets is introduced by a man's name. Then usually follows ideogram **162* TUN, alternatively **162* + *QE* or **165*, the ideogram for a wheeled Dual-type chariot (**240* BIG) and the horse-head ideogram (**105* EQU). There are a good number of variations on this formula, as well as erasures and corrections. The frequently occurring ideogram **162* TUN is trapezoidal in shape, with horizontal lines inside and two curved 'hooks' or ovals at the top (for what follows, see especially Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 25–28, 34–36, Crouwel 1981.124–27, Fortenberry 1990.46–55, Driessen 1996.490–91). This ideogram has often been taken to represent body armour, in view of its resemblance to versions of ideogram **163* ARM from

Pylos and particularly Tiryns which are identified in accompanying texts as *to-ra-ka/ke* 'suits of armour'. According to a commonly held view, one or both ideograms represent metal-plate armour of the type best known from Dendra in the Argolid (see sub-section 4).

Sometimes ideogram **162* TUN has a continuous curving line at the top, while its interior contains not horizontal lines but the syllabogram *QE*. The latter has frequently been interpreted as the abbreviation of *qe-ro*$_2$, a word for body armour which occurs in the Knossian *Sk* series. The same word also appears in tablet *K*(*1*) 740 from Knossos where it may also refer to a form of armour, in this case explicitly indicated as made of bronze (see sub-section 4).

A few *Sc* tablets have ideograms **165* or **166*, which in the case of **165* at least often appears instead of **162* TUN or **162* + *QE*. (**166* only occurs on the reverses of tablets.) Both are in the shape of a rectangle with concave sides, the corners being 'pulled out' in the case of **166*. In the past **165* and **166* in particular have often been identified as a copper/bronze ingot, in view of a resemblance to ideogram **167* 'ingot', which appears in inventories of copper or bronze at Knossos (*Oa* tablets) and itself looks rather like actual copper ingots of the period. It is, however, preferable to regard ideograms **165* and **166* as representing some kind of (protective) clothing (for discussion, see especially Duhoux 1976.129–30, Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 151–54).

However this may be, ideograms **162* TUN and **162* + *QE* at Knossos, along with **163* ARM at Pylos and Tiryns, point to the existence of body armour of different types in Late Bronze Age Greece. The precise relationship of these ideograms to each other and to the Dendra type of bronze panoply continues to be a matter of debate.

What can be ruled out is an entirely different interpretation of **162* TUN and the other ideograms in the Knossian *Sc* series – as trappers, i.e. coverings for the body of the horses which are listed on the same tablets (Catling 1977, E 107–15, cf. Crouwel 1981.124–26).

As regards the horses, they are mostly registered in pairs. The archaeological evidence shows that two-horse teams were standard with chariots in Greece in the Late Bronze Age, which was also the case in contemporary Egypt and the Near East. The horse-head ideograms often have their manes bound into tufts, as is seen in many Aegean pictorial representations of the time (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 63–67, Crouwel 1981.37–38).

As discussed in detail in Part II, the Knossian *Sc* tablets are best understood as reflecting allocations by the palace to named individuals of the items of equipment they lack to make up their full complement (one chariot, two corslets – one each for warrior and driver – and one pair of horses). It is also likely that the *Vc*(*1*) tablets from the same find-place list persons who already have a full set of equipment.

The other series of chariot documents from Knossos, as well as the wheel tablets from this site, Pylos, Chania and Tiryns are concerned with storage, manufacture and materials used. Only the Knossian *Sc* series records fully equipped and operational chariots – between 106 and 173 of them, to which must probably be added a further 77+ in respect of the surviving *Vc*(*1*) tablets.

These numbers, and the hundreds of (unfinished) chariots and their wheels recorded in the other Linear B tablets, demonstrate that the vehicles were more than merely prestige possessions in Late Bronze Age Greece. It is the number of ready chariots and their association with corslets in the Knossian *Sc* tablets that point to a use in military contexts.

For comparison, there is similar documentation of the issue of chariots and military equipment by palace authorities in Near Eastern written sources (Rougemont 2015, comparing administrative practices at Nuzi with the Linear B records). Besides, the number of chariots registered in the *Sc* series from Knossos corresponds quite well with the chariot forces of smaller states as recorded in Near Eastern and Egyptian documents (see also Uchitel 1988, Drews 1993.106–13). It may be noted that these also include records of allocations of chariots and other military equipment to named individuals.

The tablets yield no direct information on the precise military use to which the chariots were put. Greek terrain, with its often rough, stony ground and many natural obstacles, prevented the chariots from being used in the same active way as in the Near East and Egypt – as elevated, mobile firing platforms for archers standing beside a driver (for this and what follows, see Crouwel 1981.119–35, 140–44, Littauer and Crouwel 1983 = 2002.53–61, 1996 = 2002.66–74, Driessen 1996.492–94, Dickinson 1999, Schon 2007.139–42, 2014). In Greece there is no evidence for the association between the military chariot and the bow, and the often broken terrain would anyway have severely limited the movements of chariotry. Instead, chariots in Late Bronze Age Crete and mainland Greece served primarily as a form of transport for presumably high-ranking warriors, who might wear corslets and fought not from the vehicle but on the ground with spears or swords (but cf. Höckmann 1977, E 283–86, Drews 1993.113–34, Tausend 2007, Mertens 2014.135–36).

The presence in the Knossian chariot and wheel tablets of various place-names, such as Phaistos (Sd 4413 and So 4448) and Kudonia (modern Chania, Sd 4404), attest to the use of chariots in different parts of Crete and as an important aid in maintaining control by the palace authorities at Knossos.

The importance of chariots is emphasised by the great effort and cost that went into the construction and maintenance of carriageways and bridges, of which the physical remains are still visible, not so much in Crete as around Mycenae and in the large area controlled by the palace of Pylos in the southwest Peloponnese (Crouwel 1981.29–31, Jansen 2002, recent bibliography in

Cavanagh 2001). The roads and bridges were almost certainly to facilitate chariot circulation in country that mostly favours traffic on foot or animal back rather than by wheeled vehicle.

At the same time, the prestige of chariots is reflected by their popularity in art, including paintings that decorated the walls of the state rooms of the palaces. These show the vehicles in military and hunting settings, and probably also in parades (see also the references to decorated chariots in the Knossos tablets, sub-section 2).

Postscript

The ms. of this contribution was submitted and revised in 2016. More recent literature has subsequently been taken into account, but regrettably two papers, by F. Rougemont and J. Weilhartner, both published in 2015 (see Bibliography), could not be given the attention they deserve.

PART II: THE TEXTS

ROBERT PLATH AND JOHN KILLEN

1. SWORDS, SPEARS AND ARROWS AT KNOSSOS (Ra, R, Ws)[b]

D/* The twenty tablets of the *Ra(1)* series were unearthed in a corridor at the south-west corner of the 'Domestic Quarter'. Archaeological evidence shows that they had fallen, together with their wooden chests, from a store-room on the floor above (Evans, *PoM* IV.853–54). Fragments of swords were discovered in the same corridor. All these records were written by the same scribe (hand 126) and deal with weapons which are clearly either swords or daggers, though it is not possible to establish which; see Part I, p. 798.

* The six tablets classified as *Ra(2)* are the work of a second scribe, hand 127. A seventh record, *Ra(2)* 9708, may also belong to this 'set'. These tablets have a different find-place from the *Ra(1)* records (the Area of the Bull Relief by the North Entrance Passage) but like them record swords or daggers. Two different ideograms appear in the series. **233* PUG, though only doubtfully read on **273** = Ra(2) 984, is certainly present on Ra(2) 9682 and is probably also to be read on Ra(2) 1028; while **236* GUP, which involves an inverted drawing of the weapon, is attested on **273** = Ra(2) 984, Ra(2) 1028, 9040 and 9682. It is unclear whether the two ideograms denote different weapons; but it is noticeable that GUP as far as we can tell always appears on the lower register of the tablet, and twice at least follows a reference to (weapons) 'bound with horn' (*ke-ra de-de-me-na*), whereas PUG always appears on the upper line, where the reference is twice to (weapons) 'bound with ivory' (*e-re-pa-te de-de-me-na*). Note, too, that whereas GUP is similar in form to the simpler variants of PUG on the *Ra(1)* tablets, PUG on Ra(2) 9682 – though not perhaps on Ra(2) 7498 – is a form with protuberances, like the sign on Ra(1) 1546, etc.

271 = Ra(1) 1540 (126)

to-sa / pa-ka-na PUG 50[

D/* So many *swords* (in all): (at least) fifty.

* As the initial *to-sa* makes clear, this is a totalling record; but it is uncertain whether it gives the total for the entire series, or only for part of it. If the former were the case, this would confirm that the simple form of the ideogram which

[b] *Documents*[1] 272, 360–61, 369, *Documents*[2] 455–56, 515, 517, *Interpretation* 335–37, *Textos* 63–64, *Anthology* 270–71. Studies: *IDA* 49–60, Hiller 1992b.304–06, Bernabé 2008.

it shows is merely a graphic variant of the more elaborate versions found elsewhere in the 'set' (cf. Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 55).

* *pa-ka-na* = Hom. φάσγανα. Boardman (1963.80) and Snodgrass (1965.106–08, 1967.21–22) suggest that the term both here and in Homer means 'daggers' rather than 'swords', but this cannot be confirmed. See further Chadwick, *Documents*[2] 515, Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 49–55.

272 = Ra(1) 1548 (126)

.a de-so-mo
.b ku-ka-ro / pi-ri-je-te pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a PUG 3

D/* *Kukalos*, the *sawyer*: three *swords* fitted together, with bindings (= hilts).

D/* *pi-ri-je-te*: (cf. nom. dual or plur. *pi-ri-je-te-re* on **50** = PY An 207 and the graphic variants *pi-ri-e-te-re* [nom. plur.], *pi-ri-e-te-si* [dat. plur.] on **93** = PY Fn 7); also on Ra(1) 1547, Ra(1) 1549 and in the defective spelling *pi-ri-te* on Ra(1) 1543. The most convincing interpretation is as an agent noun in -τηρ derived from πρίω 'saw' or (better) its derivative *priēn* '(a) saw' (see **253** = *K*(*1*) 740 s.v. *pi-ri-je*): *prientēr*, *-tēres*, *-tērei*, *-tērsi* 'sawyer' (*Documents*[1] 183, 360, 405, Ruijgh, *Études* 375), probably here with the sense of 'sawyer of ivory' (for hilts) (Biraschi 1978) rather than 'cutler' (*Documents*[1] ibid.) or 'swordmaker', which seems too unspecific, given that on seven tablets in the series (e.g. Ra(1) 1541) its place is taken by another occupational term, the mysterious *ka-si-ko-no*: see Glossary. It is in keeping with this interpretation of *pi-ri-je-te* that on two of the tablets which contain it we also find *de-so-mo*, likely to mean 'with hilts': see below, this page, and further Bernabé 2008.115.

D/* *a-ra-ru-wo-a* ~ Hom. ἀρηρότα, cf. fem. *a-ra-ru-ja* on **277** = KN Sd 4401, etc., where it is linked syntactically with *a-ni-ja-pi*, *hāniāphi* '(fitted) with reins'. This parallel might seem to lend support to the hypothesis that *arārwoha* is linked syntactically with *de-so-mo* = δεσμοῖς, but the participle is also attested without a complement in this series (e.g. on Ra(1) 1541), and the position of *de-so-mo* here and on Ra(1) 1543 (where there would have been room for it in the bottom line: *Documents*[1] 360) points rather in the direction of a syntactically uncoordinated gloss, meaning 'with hilts'. For this sense of 'bindings', compare the references to swords/daggers bound (*de-de-me-na*) with ivory and horn in the *Ra*(*2*) tablets (see p. 815) and the scholiast on φάσγανα μελάνδετα 'black-bound swords' *Il.* XV, 713: σιδηρόδετα … οἳ δὲ μελαίνας λαβὰς ἔχοντα· τὴν δὲ λαβὴν δεσμὸν καλεῖ ὁ Σιμωνίδης. οἳ δὲ ἐπιμελῶς ἐνδεδεμένα πρὸς τὴν λαβήν 'iron-bound … and some (say) having black grips: and Simonides calls the grip the binding. And some (say) carefully bound on for the grip'. For this interpretation of *desmois*, see Biraschi 1978.285, Hiller 1992b.305, Bernabé 2008.115. As regards the sense of *a-ra-ru-wo-a* used absolutely as here, this is probably 'assembled', 'fitted together' (Chantraine 1967a.20, Bernabé 2008.115; cf. *Interpretation* 336 and see *LSJ*[9] s.v. ἀραρίσκω senses I. 'join together, fasten' and II. 'fit together, construct'), and is perhaps a reference to the fixing (with rivets) of the hilt-plate to the (cast) body of the sword. Apart from the hilt itself and the pommel, both likely – in the case of ivory or horn objects at least – to have

been the work of *pi-ri-je-te-re*, the hilt-plate (for which, see A in Fig. 18.1) will have been the main item attached to the sword during the manufacturing process (which the presence of *pi-ri-je-te-re* on some of the tablets suggests is the concern of the *Ra(1)* records), as distinct from later additions like the sheath. VC write as follows about the hilt-plate (*Documents*[1] 347): '[It] is fixed by two rivets and frequently supplied as a separate piece from the covering of the hand-grip … and pommel …; it may be not only of gold plating but also of crystal, faience and ivory, and presumably also of cheaper materials.'

273 = Ra(2) 984 (127)

.1 e-re-]pa-te , de-de-me-na , [ ]PỤG̣ [
.2]zo-wa , e-pi-zo-ta , ke-ra , de-de-'me-na' GUP[

* The precise purpose of the *Ra(2)* tablets is difficult to determine, since none are complete at the beginning, and the function of the initial]*qo-jo* on Ra(2) 1028 remains enigmatic, though it might be a man's name in the nominative (Olivier in Godart and Olivier 1972.37–38) or genitive (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 55). Comparisons with the 'normal' *Ra(1)* records, which begin with a reference to a craftsman involved in making the weapons listed, could be dangerous, in view of the much larger numbers of swords/daggers recorded on Ra(2) 7498, where the figures have survived intact.

D²/*]*pa-te de-de-me-na*: doubtless to be restored as *e-re-pa-te de-de-me-na* 'bound with ivory', contrasted with *ke-ra de-de-me-na* 'bound with horn' in l. B (see p. 814); cf. *e-re-pa-te* in the same position on Ra(2) 1028.A, *a-ku-ro de-de-me-no* 'bound with silver' on the WHEEL record PY Sa 287 and *ka-ko de-de-me-na* 'bound with bronze' on PY Sa 794.

* *zo-wa*: also on Ra(2) 1028 in the same position and probably again followed by *e-pi-zo-ta*. Both terms remain obscure, though *e-pi-zo-ta* might conceivably be *epidzōsta* 'encircled' (ἐπιζώννυμι: Palmer, *Interpretation* 418). Classical ἐπιζῶ has only the meaning 'to survive', which does not make sense here. From *zo-wa* in this context and perhaps on KN X 766 must presumably be distinguished the MN *zo-wa* on KN Nc 4473, TH Av 100+. Bernabé and Luján (2006.344) suggest that *zo-wa* is the name of the object designated by GUP, but it might alternatively be a dative or accusative construed with *e-pi-zo-ta* and a further description of the weapons in l. 2.

* *ke-ra*: the parallel of *e-re-pa-te* (*de-de-me-na*) makes it likely that this is dative of 'horn'; Ruijgh (1974.190) and Nussbaum (1986.36–45) suggest *kerāi*, viz. dative of **kerā*, a feminine doublet of neut. κέρας, whose dative would be **ke-ra-e*.

* Of the three texts classed merely as *R*, **274** = R 1815 (= 4481 bis) records spears, denoted by ideogram **230* (HAS), and R 4482 lists large numbers of arrows, denoted by ideogram **231*. As noted in Part I, it is uncertain whether ideogram **254* (JAC), attested only on **275** = Ws 1704 and another nodule Ws 8495, denotes a javelin or an arrow. The drawing of the sign and the etymology of *pa-ta-ja*, *paltaia* on **275** = Ws 1704 point to the former, but its find-place (with boxes of arrows in the Arsenal) suggests the latter.

274 = R 1815 (= 4481 bis) (-)

e-]ke-a / ka-ka re-ạ HAS 12

D/* Twelve spears with bronze heads.

D/* *e-]ke-a* = Hom. ἔγχεα: the restoration is based on the dat. plur. *e-ke-si* on **207** = PY Jn 829.

D/D²/* *ka-ka re-a*: despite the gap between them, which may be connected with the erasure at this point, the two sign-groups should almost certainly be read as one word: *khalkāreha* 'fitted with bronze' (*Documents*[1] 361, 395), cf. χαλκήρεϊ δουρί 'with a bronze-tipped spear' *Il.* V, 145, etc.

275 = Ws 1704 (-)

.α JAC *supra sigillum*
.β o-pa
.γ pa-ta-ja

D/D²/* Sealing: (.α) JAVELIN (.β) (*finishing*) *work* (.γ) *javelins*

* *pa-ta-ja*: cf. dat. plur. *pa-ta-jo-i* on **207** = PY Jn 829: *paltaia* (neut. plur.). The term has no precise counterpart in alphabetic Greek, but cf. παλτόν 'missile', 'dart', from the root of πάλλω 'shake, brandish'.

* *o-pa*: for discussion of this administrative term, see **29** = KN Am(2) 821 p. 450, **304** = PY Sh 736 p. 833. On the likelihood that many sealings at least record deliveries to the palace, see pp. 559–60; for the suggestion that the delivery here may have followed refurbishment of the weapons, see Killen 1999a.329–30.

2. CHARIOTS WITHOUT WHEELS AT KNOSSOS (Sd, Se, Sf)[b]

* The documents recording wheel-less chariots are characterised by the ideograms **241* (CUR, WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT) and **242* (CAPS, CHARIOT-FRAME); they were found in two different locations. Internal features – hand, ideogram and vocabulary – enable us to divide them into four groups written by at least three scribes (cf. Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.287–321):

Ideogram		Find-place
**241* (CUR)	**242* (CAPS)	
Sd series (h 128)	**Sf** series (h 128/129)	Bureau I: 'Armoury Building' (= 'Arsenal') (outside the palace)
Se series (h 127)	**Sg** series (h?)	Bureau II: 'Area of the Bull Relief' (in the north of the palace)

[b] *Documents*[1] 361–69, *Documents*[2] 515–17, *Interpretation* 314–20, *Textos* 66, *Anthology* 271–72. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.287–321, Ruijgh 1976a.15–31, *IDA* 76–139, Plath 1994.17–53.

D/* A large number of texts, classified *So*, from the same location as the *Sd*, *Sf* tablets ('Armoury Building') list the wheels (**243* ROTA) separately. Homer makes it clear that it was normally the practice to remove the wheels when not in use (*Il.* V, 722), and to place the chariots on stands and cover them with cloths (VIII, 441). See further Section I, p. 804.

* Their contents make it clear that the *Sd* tablets, which include elaborate descriptions of the chariots and their equipment, are inventories of vehicles in store; in particular, they lack any of the characteristics of records of deliveries from workshops, such as references to shortfalls in production or the place of origin of the goods (see further pp. 819–20). With the format of these records we can compare that of the *Ld*(*1*) records of cloth in store (see p. 735), which likewise begin with the name of the commodity being recorded written in majuscule and continue with an elaborate description of the objects listed. Like all the *Ld*(*1*) records, the great majority of the *Sd* records lack a place-name and like them doubtless refer to objects in store at Knossos itself. On the three exceptions, see **279** = Sd 4413.

* As is sometimes the case with two-line tablets, the lower register was written and is intended to be read first.

276 = Sd 4403 (128)

.a e-re-pa-te-jo , o-po-qo , ke-ra-ja-pi , o-pi-i-ja-pi 'ko-ki-da , o-pa' CUR 3
.b]i̤-qi-ja ˻ ˼ / a-ja-me-na , e-re-pa-te , a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na , a-ra-ru-ja [

D/* Three chariots (without wheels), inlaid with ivory, (fully) assembled, equipped with reins, with blinkers made of ivory, with bits made of horn: the (*finishing*) *work* of *Ko-ki-da*.

D/* *i-qi-ja*: the term for 'chariot', which also occurs on the 1993–95 tablets from Thebes (V 159), is clearly the Mycenaean predecessor of the adjective ἵππιος. The feminine gender requires us to assume the ellipse of a noun denoting 'vehicle'. This may be attested in the Pylos *Sa* series (**294** = Sa 487+) if the term *wo-ka* there is *wokhā* and not *worgā*: see pp. 826–27. The complete expression 'horse-drawn vehicle' presupposes the existence of another type of conveyance: the four-wheeled wagon drawn by oxen or mules (Plath 1994.18). The corresponding noun ἀπήνη may indirectly be attested by *a-pe-ne-wo* PY **300** = Ub 1315; on the meaning of this, see ad loc.

D/* *a-ja-me-na*: perfect participle passive formed with 'Attic reduplication': *aiăi*(*s*)*menai* 'inlaid' or 'veneered'. This technical term, whose etymology remains uncertain (though see García Ramón 1997), is also found in the Pylos *Ta* series (e.g. **263** = Ta 715). The wording does not reveal the exact position of the decoration, but it must be somewhere on the body (or the pole) itself, since even the bare CHARIOT-FRAME is described as *a-ja-me-na* on **284** = *Sf*(*1*) 4421+.

D/D²/* *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*: like *a-ja-me-na*, a perfect participle passive formed with 'Attic reduplication': *ararmotmenai*. The word occurs exclusively with the full CHARIOT ideogram, but

minus wheels. It appears therefore to alternate with *a-na-mo-to* on the tablets showing the bare CHARIOT-FRAME, and this is used once with a unique ideogram (*Sf*(2) 4465), which appears to represent pole and yoke without any car. The conclusion that this pair of words denotes the presence or absence of the equipment of the bare frame (back, pole-stay and yoke) seems inescapable. The suggestion of D. J. N. Lee (1958), accepted by Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.290), that it means 'provided with or without wheels' (*a-mo-ta*) must therefore be rejected, even though it is not impossible that a feature should be stated to be present when not illustrated by the ideogram. If this conclusion is correct, the verb will presumably have a sense akin to that of Gr. ἁρμόζω, viz. 'fit', though its relationship with this remains obscure.

* *a-ra-ru-ja* ~ Hom. ἀραρυῖαι 'equipped' (but probably with *ā* in the second syllable, cf. ἀρηρυῖα Hes. *Theog*. 608, because < PIE *$h_2$re-h_2r-us-ih$_2$). Parallel expressions in this series suggest a restoration of *a-ni-ja-pi* (instr. plur. fem.) at the end of the line: 'equipped with reins'.

D²/* *o-po-qo*: almost certainly instr. plur. of an *o*-stem; always described as *wi-ri-ne-jo* / *-ne-o* / *-ni-jo* 'made of leather' except for *e-re-pa-te-jo* 'made of ivory' (cf. ἐλεφάντειος) on this tablet, where the chariot is itself 'inlaid with ivory': *elephanteiois opōk^{w}ois* 'with blinkers made of ivory'. The compound *o-po-qo*, whose first element is the preposition *opi*, means literally 'that which is at/beside the eye(s)' (cf. μέτωπον, πρόσωπον) (Palmer, *Interpretation* 316). While other explanations have been suggested, e.g. 'nose-pieces', it is most plausibly identified as 'blinkers' (Chadwick 1966a). See further Section I, p. 803.

D/* *o-pi-i-ja-pi*: instr. plur. fem.; presumably another part of the bridle; made of horn with the exception of *ka-ke-ja-pi* 'made of bronze' on **278** = Sd 4409: *keraiāphi opihiāphi* 'with bits made of horn'. A strong argument in favour of this interpretation is provided by the material itself, since horn was used for bits in many contemporary cultures. It is attractive to analyse the syllabic writing as a compound whose vocalisation is *opi-hiā* involving the same root (*sh_2i-) as is found in ἱ-μάς 'strap' and literally meaning 'that which is at the binding' (*Documents*[1] 365), viz. at the straps of the headstall.

* *ko-ki-da o-pa*: for discussion of the meaning of *o-pa*, see **29** = Am(2) 821 p. 450, **304** = PY Sh 736 p. 833. For the suggestion that it may here refer to work on finishing or refurbishing the chariots listed, see Killen 1999a.331. The parallel of *a-re-ki-si-to-jo o-pa* on **283** = *Sf*(2) 4420, where *a.* is clearly genitive of a masculine personal name, suggests that *ko-ki-da* here is likewise a man's name, but the ending *-a* rather than *-a-o* is puzzling, particularly since it recurs in the same phrase on **293** = So(1) 4430, which is the work of a different scribe. An error seems unlikely, as does a woman's name in this context: possibly a nominative of rubric.

277 = Sd 4401 (128)

.a]a-ra-ru-ja , a-ni-ja-pi , wi-ri-ni-jo , o-po-qo , ke-ra-ja-pi , o-pi-i-ja-pi CUR[
.b i-qi-jo , / a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te , a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no po-ni-ḳ̣i̤[-jo

D/* Two chariots (without wheels), inlaid with ivory, (fully) assembled, crimson-coloured, equipped with reins, with blinkers made of leather, with bits made of horn.

* *i-qi-jo* (also on Sd 4415): clearly dual, cf. *ko-to-no* **148** = PY Eb 338, **135** = Eo 278 and *to-pe-zo* **263** = Ta 715. Note that the dual is only attested with *i-qi-jo* (which the scribe has corrected from *i-qi-ja*), *a-ja-me-no* and *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no* in the bottom line and not with *a-ra-ru-ja* in the upper entry.

D/* *po-ni-ki-jo* ~ Class. φοινίκεος, Hom. φοινικόεις 'crimson-coloured' (*Documents*[1] 366). The adjective recurs on thirteen or fourteen other tablets (series *Sd* and *Se*), once in the form *po-ni-ke-a* Se 880, and is quasi-synonymous with *mi-to-we-sa, miltowessa* 'vermilion-coloured' (cf. **280** = Sd 4404), which takes its place on four other tablets and is evidently derived from μίλτος 'cinnabar, vermilion' (*Documents*[1] 366). As VC note, the same colour alternation is found in the Homeric epithets for ships μιλτοπάρῃος and φοινικοπάρῃος. For the suggestion that the colour terms on these records refer to leather coverings of the sides of the vehicles, see Section I, p. 802.

* *a-ni-ja-pi* (instr. plur. fem.): 'with reins'. The Mycenaean term for 'reins' is an ā-stem as opposed to its Homeric counterpart τὰ ἡνία, which is an *o*-stem developed for metrical reasons (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v.).

278 = Sd 4409 (128?/?)

.a wi-ri-ne-o , o-p̣o̤-qo , ka-ke-ja-pi , o-pi-i̤-ja̤-p̣i̤ CUR 1
.b]i-qi-ja , / po-ni-ki-ja , a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na , a-ja-me-na ,

D/* One chariot (without wheels), crimson-coloured, (fully) assembled, inlaid, with blinkers made of leather, with bits made of bronze.

279 = Sd 4413 (128)

.a a-ra-ru-]ja , a-ni-ja-pi , wi-ri-ni-jo , o-po-qo , ke-ra-ja-pi , o-pi-i-ja-pi CUR[
.b i-]q̣i̤-ja , / pa-i-to , a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na , do-we-jo , i-qo-e-qe , po-ni-ki[-ja

D/* [One?] chariot (without wheels), at Phaistos, (fully) assembled, with *harness-saddles* made of wood, crimson-coloured, equipped with reins, with blinkers made of leather, with bits made of horn.

* *pa-i-to*: this is one of three tablets in the *Sd* series which show a place-name after the initial term, the others being **280** = Sd 4404 (*ku-do-ni-ja*) and Sd 4407 (*se-to-i-ja*). Since the absence of a place-name from the remaining tablets evidently implies that the chariots they list are in store at Knossos, the most plausible explanation of these records is that they are concerned with chariots which are in store at Phaistos, Kudonia and *se-to-i-ja*, the first two of which at least were clearly important subsidiary centres in the kingdom (Killen 1985c.287–88). It would be surprising if the place-names indicated the source of chariots which are now at Knossos, as e.g. Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.300) has suggested; there are no such indications on the closely comparable *Ld* records of cloth in store at Knossos, even though we know (from the *Lc*(*1*) tablets) that much of the fabric that these tablets list was produced elsewhere in the kingdom. Nor is it easy to accept that the toponyms indicate the places to which the chariots will be sent (Driessen 1996.486), given that they do not appear in an allative form (*pa-i-to-de*, etc.). For similar reasons, it

is likely that the WHEEL record So(1) 4448, which shows *pa-i-to* in initial position, refers to wheels in store at Phaistos. It is possible that these chariots and wheels were locally produced: see **251** = So(2) 4442, which refers to the production of chariot wheels, probably at *se-to-i-ja*.

D²/* *i-qo-e-qe*: perhaps instr. sing. of a compound of 'horse' and a root-noun *hek^{w}s* (ἕπομαι): (*h*)*ikk^{w}o-hek^{w}s* 'horse-follower' (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.179 n. 76). The only part of a chariot likely to be so called would be the two harness-saddles attached to the yoke, which are described on p. 801 and illustrated in Fig. 18.3. Since they fit on the horse's neck, they might conceivably be described as 'horse-followers'. Chadwick (*Documents*² 515–16) suggested that since there are two horses per chariot the term is nom. dual, but its appearance on **280** = Sd 4404 followed by *ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi*, i.e. not a nominative, points rather to an instrumental singular used collectively.

280 = Sd 4404 (128)

.a]jo , i-qo-e-qe , wi-ri-ni-jo , o-po-qo , ke-ra-ja̤-pi̤ ⌊ ⌋ o̤-pi-i-ja-pi CUR[
.b]i-qi-ja , / ku-do-ni-ja , mi-to-we-sa-e , a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na [

D/* [One?] chariot (without wheels), at Kudonia, vermilion-coloured, (fully) assembled, with *harness-saddles* [made of wood], with blinkers made of leather, with bits made of horn.

D² The upper edge of this tablet has the reading: *po-ni-ki-ja* BIG 1. This is remarkable as being the only case of the form of the chariot with wheels being used outside the *Sc* series (on which see pp. 835–37.)

D² *mi-to-we-sa-e*: Lejeune (*Mémoires* II.29 n. 76) suggested that the final *-e* was an independent adverb, *en* 'inside', graphically attached to the preceding word. Since, however, 'vermilion' is likely to refer to the (external) siding of the chariot, it is perhaps more likely that it is an abnormal spelling for the plural, possibly influenced by the dual of masculine *a*-stems (see p. 239).

* *do-we-*]*jo*: the restoration is suggested by the expression *do-we-jo i-qo-e-qe* attested elsewhere in the series (cf. **279** = Sd 4413). The description is found on all three of the tablets which list chariots at places other than Knossos.

281 = Sd 4402 (128)

.a] a-u-qe , a-re-ta-to , o-u-qe , pte-no , o-u-qe , au-ro , o-u-qe , 'pe-qa-to' CUR[
.b]i̤-qi-ja , / a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na , po-ni-ki-ja , o-u-qe , a-ni-ja , po-si , [

D/* [One?] chariot (without wheels), (fully) assembled, crimson-coloured; and there are no reins attached, nor are the two wings at the rear, the *container for the spears* or the *floor of the chariot body fit for use.*

* *o-u-qe a-ni-ja po-si* 'and there are no reins attached': adverbial phrase. For the absolute use of a preposition, see also Sd 4412: *o-u-qe* , *po-si* , *e-re-pa* , *ouk^{w}e posi elephans* 'and there is no ivory attached'.

D/* *a-u-qe*: clearly an error for *o-u-qe* (perhaps influenced by the initial phoneme of the following word: Ruijgh 1976a.26) rather than αὖτε 'furthermore'.

* *a-re-ta-to*: modifying R. Wild's (1962.126) interpretation *āretā(n)toi* (perf. indic. pass.), R. Plath proposes a vocalisation *aretātoi* 'are usable' (adjectival formation in -τος; for details, see Plath 1996.423–24). Others prefer to take the term as a noun and both this and the items which follow as further objects missing from the vehicle(s) (see e.g. *Documents*[1] 367); but no convincing interpretation has been suggested.

D/* *pte-no*: dual of *pternā* 'heel'. Since many names of parts of the body may be used metaphorically in some technical sense, it is attractive to refer the noun to the two curved side extensions or wings at the rear of the chariot body, on which see Section I, p. 800. The grammarian Pollux (1.144) identifies πτέρνα (= πτέρνη) as the step at the back of a chariot; see, however, Crouwel 1981.65 on the unlikelihood that Bronze Age chariots had a mounting-step at the rear.

D²/* *au-ro*: it is tempting to link the syllabic writing with αὐλός, because this noun originally denoted different types of tubular object (cf. *LSJ*[9] s.v. αὐλός). Since *aulos* must refer to a part of the chariot, we might think of a container in which a whip or more likely spears were kept (Ruijgh 1976a.28).

D²/* *pe-qa-to*: probably *pegg*^{w}*aton* < **ped-g*^{w}*aton* (cf. βατός, βαίνω) 'that which is trodden by the foot', viz. the floor or a step (Wild 1962.128–29; cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* 317, 443). The former seems likelier: see above, this page s.v. *pte-no*.

282 = Sd 4422 (128/?)

.a] , o-pa , // o-u-qe , pe-qa-to , u-po , CUR[
.b]i̯-qi-ja , / a-ro-mo-te-me-na , o-u-qe , a-ni-ja , po-si , e-e-si[

D/* [One?] chariot (without wheels), (fully) assembled, and there are no reins attached, nor is there a *floor* underneath; the (*finishing*) work …

D/* *po-si e-e-si* = πρόσεισι (cf. Arc. πόεστι < πόσεστι *IG* V 2 p. xxxvi) 'they are attached to'. With the fuller expression here, compare the absolute use of *po-si* on **281** = Sd 4402, etc.

D/* *u-po* = ὑπό 'underneath'; again the preposition is used absolutely.

* Assuming that each of the smaller fragments comes from a separate tablet, the *Sd* texts record a minimum of 32 (fully assembled) chariots. In contrast, the *Sf* records of chariot-frames, in hh. 128, 129, list over 270 vehicles. Here the chariots are categorised in two main ways: (i) as 'not assembled' (*a-na-mo-to*, *anarmostos*) and (ii) as either 'inlaid' (*a-ja-me-na*, or *aiăi(s)menā*) or 'not inlaid' (*a-na-(i-)to*, *anai(s)tos*). The privative verbal adjective may show feminine endings. The antithetic pairs (with *a-na-mo-to* compare *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*, *ararmotmenā* on the *Sd* tablets) follow the same pattern as in later Greek, cf. e.g. γεγραμμένος : ἄγραπτος.

283 = *Sf*(*2*) 4420 (129?)

.a a-re-ki-si-to-jo , o-pa
.b i-qi-ja / a-na-ta , a-na-mo-to , CAPS 80

D/* Eighty chariot(-frame)s, not inlaid, not (fully-)assembled, the (*finishing*) *work* of Aleksitos.

* As pointed out by Killen (1987c.319–23), many of the figures on the *Sf* tablets are multiples of four, like 80 here, which may reflect something about the way these chariot-frames were stacked in the store-rooms. On an apparent exception to this 'rule', however, see J. L. Melena in Bennett et al. 1990.209.

* *a-re-ki-si-to-jo*: cf. So 1053, So(2) 4433, where *A.* is mentioned in connexion with wheels.

284 = *Sf*(*1*) 4421 (128?)

i-qi-ja , a-na-mo-to , a-ja-me-na CAPS 24

D/* Twenty-*four* chariot(-frame)s, not (fully-)assembled, inlaid.

285 = *Sf*(*1*) 4428 (128)

.a] wi-ri-ne-o , o-po-qo , ke-ra-ja-pi , o-pi-i-ja-pi
.b i-]qi-ja , / po-ni-ki-ja , me-ta-ke-ku-me-na , CAPS 1

D/* One chariot(-frame), crimson-coloured, dismantled, with blinkers made of leather, with bits made of horn.

D/* This document occupies a special position among the *Sf* tablets, since all the terms on it apart from *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na* recur on the *Sd* records, and it only records a single chariot, like many of the texts in the latter series. The presence of references to harness looks odd at first sight, given that the framing of the chariot is so incomplete that even the rail is missing from the ideogram. The explanation probably lies, however, in the exceptional word *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*, where the prefix μετα- suggests some form of dismantling or rebuilding, during which its original harness was not separated from it. Μεταχέω means only 'pour from one vessel into another', but compare χέομαι in the sense 'be dissolved, scattered, dropped' and χέω 'cast' (cf. English 're-cast').

D/* The twenty documents from the Northern Deposit assigned to the *Se* series are mainly fragments containing terms which do not recur on other chariot tablets. Many of these words still lack a fully satisfactory explanation.

286 = Se 879 (127)

.a a_3-ki-no-o [
.b pte-re-wa / pa-ra-ja , e-te-re-ta , po-ro-ti-ri CUR[

D/* [One?] chariot (without wheels) made of elm-wood, old, …ed *three times with* a_3*-ki-no-o.*

* *pte-re-wa* (gen. of material): *ptelewās* '(made) of elm-wood', cf. Hom. πτελέη. Here the term refers to the chariot-body; cf. **290** = So(1) 4437+, where it is used of wheels.

* *pa-ra-ja*: *palaiā*. In many contexts in the records *palaios* does not mean 'old' in the literal sense but 'last year's' in contrast to 'this year's' or 'existing' in contrast to 'new' (stock,

etc.) (Killen 1972.433–40). Its sense here may be similar; since, however, these are clearly records of chariots in store, the literal meaning is also possible. See further **293** = So(1) 4430, **296** = Sa 793, **303** = Sh 740 (where the literal meaning is not unlikely: see pp. 832–33).

D/* *e-te-re-ta*: probably a verbal adjective, and apparently a variant of *e-ka-te-re-ta* on the next tablet. Possibly *en-trēta*, cf. *Il.* III, 448, ἐν τρητοῖσι λεχέεσσιν ('inlaid'? 'morticed'? 'holed'? of beds).

D *po-ro-ti-ri*: appears to contain **trins* (acc.) 'three' or *tris* 'thrice', on the analogy of the numeral 2 on the next tablet. Cf. πρότριτα 'on three successive days', Hom. καθάπαξ 'once and for all', σύντρεις 'by threes'.

D a_3*-ki-no-o*: meaning unknown; also attested on the next tablet and on **348** = Vn 46.

287 = Se 891 (127)

.A e-re-pa-te-jo-pi , o-mo-pi [
.B pte-re-wa / e-ka-te-re-ta , a_3-ki-no-o ẹ̣ e-re-pa-te-jo-pi , [

[? One chariot] made of elm-wood, …ed with two a_3*-ki-no-o*, with ivory … with *bands* of ivory….

* *e-ka-te-re-ta*: see on *e-te-re-ta* **286** = Se 879. The first element might be *enkat-* (Palmer, *Interpretation* 318) if Mycenaean showed a non-Ionic treatment of κατά compounded with a word beginning with a consonant.

D/* *o-mo-pi* (instr. plur.) probably from οἶμος 'decorative band' (*Il.* XI, 24) rather than from ὅρμος 'chain', ὄμμα 'eye' or ὦμος 'shoulder'. Like *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi*, this word apparently forms an exception to the rule at Pylos and apparently elsewhere at Knossos (see *e-re-pa-te-jo o-po-qo* **276** = Sd 4403, *wi-ri-ni-jo o-po-qo* **277** = Sd 4401+) that -φι is not added to *o*-stems.

3. AN INVENTORY OF CHARIOTS WITHOUT WHEELS AND CHARIOT WHEELS AT KNOSSOS (Sg)[b]

288 = Sg 1811 (-)

.1] CAPS ḷ2 [
.2] CAPS 2ḷ4 [
.3]ṭẹ̣-mi-we-te ROTA *ZE* 21
.4] ROTA *ZE* 8
.5 o-da-]ḳẹ̣-we-ta ROTA *ZE* 7 a-mo ḷ [
.6]o-da-ke-we-ta ROTA *ZE* 17ẹ̣
.7] *vacat*
v. 17ẹ̣[

D²/* This text (part of which was formerly classified as 890 *bis*) reveals that a single tablet could list both chariot-frames (cf. **283–85**) and wheels. The size of some of the figures suggests that this was a totalling document.

[b] *Documents*² 517–18. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.317–18, Plath 1994.92–93.

D²/* [*te*]*-mi-we-te*: if this is rightly so restored, two possible solutions suggest themselves: (i) a mere slip for *te-mi-<dwe->te*, dual of a term widely attested in both the Knossos *So* series (e.g. on **289** = So 894) and the Pylos *Sa* series (e.g. on **296** = Sa 793); (ii) an archaic form preserving the original *i*-stem declension of *termis* which was changed to an *id*-stem in the pre-Mycenaean period of the Greek language, but which is attested in τερμιόεις, the Homeric equivalent of *te-mi-dwe*, *termidwen*. See further *Documents*² 517, Ruijgh 1976a.12 and n. 22. Whichever is the correct explanation, the final syllable has to be corrected from *-te* to *-ta* to give concord with the neuter plural *a-mo-ta* 'wheels' which is implied by the WHEEL ideogram. On the meaning of *te-mi-(d)we<-ta>* and the contrasting *o-da-ke-we-ta* (ll. 5–6), see the Introduction to the next section.

* *a-mo* 1[: note the departure from the normal method of recording a single wheel, viz. with ROTA *MO* 1. On the latter, see the next section.

4. CHARIOT WHEELS AT KNOSSOS (So)[b]

D/D²/* Apart from **289** = So 894 and So 1053, which were found in the 'Area of the Bull Relief', the twenty-five *So* tablets were all discovered in the 'Armoury Building', i.e. the 'Arsenal' (Bureau I). Like contemporary vase paintings and frescoes, ideogram **243* (ROTA) clearly shows a four-spoked wheel. The term the Mycenaeans used for this type of wheel was *a-mo* (plur. *a-mo-ta*, dual *a-mo-te*): the syllabic writing is likely to represent *arhmo*, *arhmota*, *-te*. The initial sign is always *a*, never a_2 = *ha*, as we might have expected from the later equivalent ἅρμα 'chariot'. It follows therefore that the Proto-Greek basic form must have been **ar-smn̥* which developed to *arhmo*. (On the characteristic 'normal Mycenaean' development of syllabic *n* to *o*, see Hajnal 1997.206–13.) The root underlying this formation is **ar* < PIE **h₂er* 'fit together', 'join' (cf. ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω, attested in Mycenaean in *a-ra-ru-ja* **276** = Sd 4403+ and *a-ra-ru-wo-a* **272** = Ra(1) 1548+). This is appropriate for a wheel consisting of several individual parts such as felloe and spokes as opposed to the disc wheel.

The majority of the wheels are qualified by one or other of two names of timbers in the genitive (*ptelewās* 'of elm' and *helikās* 'of willow') and by one or other of two adjectives perhaps describing their construction. The first is *te-mi-dwe-ta*, whose dual appears at Pylos (Sa 1266), spelt *te-mi-de-we-te*; the Mycenaean adjective must be *termidwen*, with the dental stem declension of τέρμις; Homeric τερμιόεις is thus probably a later replacement with the link vowel -ο- preserving the metrical shape (- ∪ ∪ - for - - -). The exact nature of τέρμις has not yet been established; for discussion, see Part I, pp. 804–05. The alternative description is variously spelt *o-da-ke-we-ta*, *o-da-ku-we-ta*, *o-da-tu-we-ta* and *o-da-twe-ta*. It is tempting to see in the first member of the compound some form related to ὀδούς 'tooth'; *odat-* might come from zero-grade **odn̥t-*, and *odak-* is possibly connected

[b] *Documents*¹ 369–72, *Documents*² 517–18, *Interpretation* 320–24, *Textos* 66, *Anthology* 274–76. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.287–321, Ruijgh 1976a.6–15, *IDA* 139–49, Plath 1994.71–94.

with ὄδαξ '(biting) with the teeth'. Once again, the exact significance of the description remains unclear; for discussion, see Part I, pp. 804–05.

289 = So 894 (-)

.1 a-te-re-te-a , / pe-te-re-wa 'te-mi-dwe' ROTA *ZE* [
.2 ka-ki-jo ROTA *ZE* 1 ka-ko-de-ta ROTA *ZE* [
.3 ki-da-pa , / te-mi-dwe-ta ROTA *ZE* 41 *MO*[
.4 o-da-tu-we-ta / e-ri-ka , ROTA *ZE* 40[

D/D²/* .1 … one pair of wheels, made of elm-wood, with *termides*.
.2 One pair of bronze wheels; three (+?) pairs of wheels bound with bronze.
.3 Forty-one and a half pairs of wheels, made of *ki-da-pa* wood, with *termides*.
.4 Forty (+?) pairs of wheels, with *teeth*, made of willow-wood.

* *a-te-re-te-a*: possibly an adjective of material derived from an unknown noun (Ruijgh, *Études* 243). Cf. *a-te-re-e-te-jo*, a qualification of BATH on PY **270** = Tn 996, which might be a variant spelling of the same term (Ruijgh ibid.). For the spelling of adjectives of material at Knossos with *-e-o* as well as *-e-jo*, see e.g. *e-re-pa-te-o*, *o-re-ne-a*.

D²/* *te-mi-dwe* = *termidwen*; the neuter singular must be understood as referring to one pair; the plural in line 3 equally refers to the 41½ pairs.

D²/* *ka-ki-jo*: *khalkiō* (dual), cf. Aeolic χάλκιος, Hom. χάλκε(ι)ος. For discussion of the exact significance of this and of the description 'bronze-bound' in the next entry, see Part I, pp. 805–07.

D/* *ka-ko-de-ta*: *khalkodeta* (neut. plur.) = Classical χαλκόδετος 'bound with bronze'. A comparable expression is attested at Pylos: *ka-ko de-de-me-no* (dual), *khalkōi dedemenō* Sa 794.

D/* *ki-da-pa*: possibly a kind of timber, to be taken as a genitive like the other terms for wood on the tablet; perhaps *skindapās*, cf. σκινδαψός (an ivy-like tree).

290 = So(1) 4437 (130)

a-mo-ta , / pte-re-wa , a-ro$_2$-jo , te-mi-dwe-te ROTA *ZE* 5

D/* Five pairs of wheels, made of elm-wood, of better quality, fitted with *termides*.

D *a-ro$_2$-jo*: apparently dual of *a-ro$_2$-a* 'better' (neut. plur.) on **226** = Ld(1) 571+, **293** = So(1) 4430. A mis-spelling for *a-ro$_2$-e*? This and *te-mi-dwe-te* do not agree with *a-mo-ta* and with the recorded number of wheels.

291 = So(2) 4439 (131)

a-mo-ta / e-ri-ka , te-mi-dwe-ta ROTA *ZE* 3 *MO* ROTA 1

D/* Three and a half pairs of wheels, made of willow-wood, fitted with *termides*.

292 = So(1) 4440 (130)

.a de-do-me-na
.b a-mo-ta , / pte-re-wa , o-da-twe-ta ROTA *ZE* 6 [

D/* Six pairs of wheels, made of elm-wood, with *teeth*, delivered.

* *de-do-me-na*: *dedomena* (neut. plur.) = Class. δεδομένα: literally 'given'. The term is usually taken to refer to deliveries to the palace, probably of work carried out under *ta-ra-si-ja* arrangements (see e.g. Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.300, Duhoux, *Aspects* 97). In this case the perfect participle would presumably express the idea that the deliveries had taken place recently, since all the wheels on the *So* records would have been delivered at some stage, and it would not have made sense to add this specification only in a few cases. For this sense of the perfect in later Greek, see Ruijgh 1991.208 (= Ruijgh 1996b.667). It is just possible, however, that the term instead refers to deliveries from the palace to workers involved in refurbishment work or to issues to charioteers (Killen 2001b.167–68).

293 = So(1) 4430 (130)

.a ko-ḳ̤i-da , o-pa ne-wa
.b e-ri-ka , / o-da-twe-ta , a-ro$_2$-a ROTA *ZE* 22 *MO* ROTA 1

D/* Twenty-two and a half pairs of wheels, made of willow-wood, of better quality, new, the (*finishing*) *work* of *Ko-ki-da*.

* *ne-wa*: just as *pa-ra-ja* on **286** = Se 879 may indicate 'last year's' (delivery) or 'existing stock' rather than 'old' in the sense of 'aged', so *ne-wa* here may indicate 'this year's' (delivery) rather than 'new' in a less specific sense. See further Killen 1972.433–40.

5. CHARIOT WHEELS AT PYLOS (Sa)[b]

D/* The vocabulary and arrangement of the Pylos WHEEL tablets are very like those of the Knossos series; and their adjectives show similar sequences of neuter duals or plurals according to the number of pairs listed. Pylos has, however, developed a variant of the WHEEL ideogram with surcharged *TE*, which (to judge from **296** = Sa 793) probably stands for the qualification *te-mi-dwe-ta*. It is possible that the unsurcharged form of the sign denotes *o-da-twe-ta* wheels (Ruijgh 1976a.12–14), though the term is not attested at Pylos.

ROTA+*TE* WHEEL+*TE*

* The vocabulary and the arrangement of the texts suggest a division into two groups: one describing wheels according to individual characteristics such as timber or decoration like the Knossos *So* tablets, the other following the pattern man's name (in the genitive) followed by the vocabulary word *wo-ka*. Most commentators interpret this as *wokhā* 'vehicle', derived like Homeric τὰ ὄχεα from the PIE root **weg'h-* 'move forward' and the Pylian equivalent of the Knossian (and now Theban) *i-qi-ja*. If this interpretation is accepted, the names which precede the term will be those of the charioteers concerned. It is

[b] *Documents*[1] 373–75, *Documents*[2] 517–19, *Interpretation* 324–27, *Textos* 64, *Anthology* 313–14. Studies: *IDA* 139–49, Plath 1994.95–113.

arguable, however, that a better approach is to take *wo-ka* as *worgā* 'work', viz. an action noun, of a type common on the tablets, derived from the same verb as is seen on the Knossos *So* tablets in the participle *wo-zo-me-no* (So(1) 4433), and the names in the genitive as those of the craftsmen responsible for making the wheels (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.41, 114, 121, Duhoux, *Aspects* 126–28, Killen 1999a.329–30). As Duhoux points out, it is supportive of this interpretation that one of the names in the genitive on these records, *a-me-ja* on Sa 834, recurs on **304** = Sh 736, almost certainly in connexion with the refurbishment of armour; and it is also in its favour that it does not require us to assume that there was a different term for 'chariot' in use at Pylos from that at Knossos and Thebes. Nor, finally, can it be argued that the very small numbers of wheels listed on each of these records – three of them have two pairs, the rest one pair – tell against this interpretation, since large numbers of workers each given a relatively small assignment appears to have been a characteristic of production organised by the palaces in Mycenaean kingdoms, particularly that carried out under *ta-ra-si-ja* arrangements (see pp. 710–12).

294 = Sa 487 (H 26)

ke-ro-ke-re-we-o , wo-ka we-je-ke-e , ROTA+*TE ZE* 2[

D/D²/* Two (+?) pairs of wheels with *termides*, fit for use, the *work* of *Keroklewes*.

D²/* *we-je-ke-e*: the opposition with *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ (lit. 'useless') wheels (see **297** = Sa 790, **298** = Sa 682) makes it virtually certain that the effective sense of this word is 'serviceable'. How to extract this sense from the spelling is less certain, but the similar sense of ἐπιεικής strongly suggests that a solution should be sought in that direction. The chief obstacle is that -εικής is plainly from *-ϝεικής (cf. ἐπιείκελος without elision of ι); *we-* could possibly be a spelling device for (*h*)*u-*, giving the prefix ὐ = ἐπι- which appears to occur in several Cypriot words (especially *u-ke-ro-ne* = ὐχέρōν (gen.) 'wages' Schwyzer, *Dial.* 679.5, 15). To explain *-je-* we must therefore have recourse to a dissimilation **we-weikēs* >**we*(*y*)*eikēs* (Chadwick 1958a.308; Chantraine 1959.250). This solution has so many difficulties that great efforts have been made to find an alternative, but almost all produce unacceptable sense. The attempt to find ἔγχος in the second member (Palmer 1958.17, *Interpretation* 462; cf. Ruijgh, *Études* 380) involves not merely the unexampled sense of 'axle' for the noun, but also the assumption that Mycenaean chariots had their wheels mounted upon a removable axle rather than one integral with the frame. Other attempts to meet the required sense have been based upon *we-* as a spelling (or more likely variant form) of εὐ-, and an adjectival form in -εχής related to ἔχω, cf. *pu-ko-so e-ke-e* PY **263** = Ta 715, p. 791 (Gallavotti 1958.67, Luria 1960.259).

295 = Sa 787 (H 26)

.A pa-ra-ja , we-je-ke-a$_2$, ROTA *ZE* 30 *MO* 1
.B to-sa , e-qe-si-ja̯ pa-ra-ja̯ ROTA *ZE* 12 za-ku-si-ja ROTA *ZE* 32

D/D²/* So many (in all): thirty and a half pairs of old wheels fit for use;
twelve pairs of old wheels *for* Followers,
thirty-two pairs of wheels of Zakynthian *type*.

D/* *e-qe-si-ja*: the epithet is also applied to cloths on KN **226** = Ld(1) 571+. There as here it is uncertain whether it refers to objects actually used by Followers or merely to cloth and wheels of 'Follower' type; see further Ruijgh, *Études* 120. For the latter possibility, cf. the use of the term 'royal' in early Mesopotamian records to describe cloths of very high quality but not necessarily for the monarch's personal use (Veenhof 1972.192–93).

* *pa-ra-ja*: for the possibility that 'old' here and elsewhere on CHARIOT and WHEEL records does not mean 'old' in the literal sense but 'last year's' in contrast to 'this year's' or 'existing' in contrast to 'new' (stock, etc.), see **286** = Se 879.

* *za-ku-si-ja*: here too it is uncertain whether the epithet refers to wheels actually from Zakynthos or merely wheels named after the island, perhaps because this was the place where the type in question was first made. Note that Sa 751 also lists thirty-two pairs of Zakynthian wheels, which it describes as *no-pe-re-a*$_2$. If, as seems likely, these are the same wheels in both cases, it is noteworthy that while the wheels on Sa 751 are denoted by the WHEEL + *TE* ideogram, those here are denoted by the unsurcharged version of the sign. This could be seen as an argument against the supposition that wheels denoted by the 'plain' form of the ideogram are of *o-da-ke-we-ta* type (see p. 826); it is possible, however, that in this totalling record the scribe is concentrating on the general type of the wheels listed, not on whether they have *termides* or 'teeth'.

296 = Sa 793 (H 26)

e-re-pa-to , te-mi-dwe-ta , pa-ra-ja , ta-na-wa , ROTA+*TE ZE* 11

D/* Eleven pairs of wheels, (with *decoration* made) of ivory, fitted with *termides*, old, thin.

* *e-re-pa-to*: *elephantos* (gen. sing.) 'of ivory'. It is unlikely that the wheels listed here were entirely or partly made of ivory; as noted in Part I (p. 805), ivory is a soft and costly material which could only have been used for decoration, presumably either inlaid or glued on.

D/* *ta-na-wa*: *tanawa* (neut. plur.) = Hom. ταναός 'thin, slender'. It is unclear whether the reference is to wheels of a thin type or to wheels worn thin with use, though it is not clear how wear on a wheel would affect its width. On the possibility that the preceding *pa-ra-ja* does not mean 'aged' but 'last year's delivery' or 'existing stock', see on **286** = Se 879, **295** = Sa 787.

297 = Sa 790 (H 26)

a-mo-ta , e-qe-si-ja , no-pe-re-a$_2$, ROTA+*TE ZE* 6

D/* Six pairs of wheels with *termides*, *for* Followers, unfit for service.

D/* *no-pe-re-a*$_2$: *nōpheleha* (neut. plur.) ~ Attic ἀνωφελῆ (with ἀ- added for clarification); cf. Hom. ἀνώνυμος / νώνυμος, etc.

298 = Sa 682 (H 26)

te-tu-ko-wo-a_2 no-pe-re-a_2 ROTA *ZE* 6

D/* Six pairs of wheels, finished, unfit for service.

* *te-tu-ko-wo-a_2*: *t(h)et(h)ukhwoha* (neut. plur.) ~ Hom. τετευχώς (with full-grade replacement of the original cluster *-khw-* for metrical reasons). The sense of the term, also attested on the Knossos CLOTH tablet L 871 in the spelling *te-tu-ko-wo-a*, is clearly not 'made', since this would be true of all the wheels and cloth listed on the records, but 'with finishing touches added', probably with reference to decoration (Killen 1979a.163–64). See also Glossary s.v. *to-u-ka*.

299 = Sa 287 (H 26)

a-ku-ro , de-de-me-no , ROTA *ZE* 1

D One pair of wheels bound with silver.

D/* *a-ku-ro*: *argurōi* (instr. sing.) 'with silver': this is the only occurrence of the word ἄργυρος on the tablets. The term clearly refers to decoration, but the precise form of this remains uncertain: see further Part I, pp. 805–06.

6. HARNESS AT PYLOS (Ub)[b]

D²/* Excavation in 1957 at Pylos produced a tablet dealing with chariot equipment, though the records of the chariots themselves are still missing.

300 = Ub 1315 (H 31)

.1]-wo-ja a-ni-ja , te-u-ke-pi , 5 di-pte-ra_3 e-ru-ta-ra 16[
.2 ro-u-si-je-wi-ja 6 ra-pte-ri-ja a-ni-ja 3
.a 2
.3 ne-wa , a-ni-ja , a-na-pu-ke , 5 dwo 2 a-pu-ke 9 a-ni-ja-e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-ṛọ-ṣạ
.a 1
.4 a-pe-ne-wo 4 a-pu-ke , a-pe-ne-wo ne-wa po-qe-wi-ja *ZE* 11

D²/* Five (sets of) reins [fitted] with equipment; sixteen red hides.
Six (sets of reins) of Lousos type; three (sets of) reins with saddlers' work.
Five sets of new reins without head-bands; two; nine *sets of head-bands*; two (sets of) reins …
Four *sets of reins for cart-drawing animals*; one (set of) head-bands *for cart-drawing animals*; eleven pairs of new halters.

D²/*]*-wo-ja*: the only term in *-wo-ja* elsewhere in the archives is]*ạ-ra-ru-wo-ja* 'fitted' on KN Sd 4408. But while this would fit the context, the traces to the left seem not to favour this

[b] *Documents*² 519–21, *Interpretation* 328–29, *Anthology* 336–39. Study: Plath 1994.66–70.

reading (see *PoN* IV ad loc.), and *te-u-ke-pi* might stand qualifying *a-ni-ja* even without the support of a participle.

D² *te-u-ke-pi*: *teukhesphi*, but in which of the many senses of τεῦχος? The Homeric sense of 'armour' seems inappropriate, so perhaps it is more general, 'equipment'.

D²/* *di-pte-ra*$_3$: *diphtherai* 'treated hides'; see on this p. 754. These may have been to cover the frame of the body of the chariot: see Part I, p. 802. The red colour, as on **249** = Ub 1318, cf. p. 754, recalls the other words for 'red' on the Knossos chariot tablets (*po-ni-ki-ja* **277** = Sd 4401, etc.; *mi-to-we-sa*(*-e*) **280** = Sd 4404, etc.).

D²/* *ro-u-si-je-wi-ja*: apparently a derivative in *-ēwios* of **Lousiā*, evidently a by-form of the place-name *ro-u-so*, Lousos, comparable to *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* vs *pa-ki-ja-ne* (Ruijgh, *Études* 126–27). It is unclear whether *-ēwios* in Mycenaean is restricted to stems where it can be analysed as *-eus* + *ios*, as Ruijgh argues (ibid.), taking *ro-u-si-je-wi-ja* as a derivative of an 'expressive' ethnic *Lousieus*, or whether, as JC suggests, it has been extended to other stems, as in later Greek; cf. Cretan θιήια < θε-ήϝια.

D² *ra-pte-ri-ja*: plainly *rhaptēriai*, the adjective from ῥαπτήρ. This suggests that the sewing done by the *rhaptēres* may be on leather, possibly ornamental stitching, since all reins would need some sewing.

D² *ne-wa a-ni-ja a-na-pu-ke*: *newai hāniai anampukes* 'new reins without head-bands'. The *ampukes* on this tablet are plainly for horses, a sense attested by a compound in Pindar (see Glossary).

D²/* *dwo* 2: these signs are much smaller than those on either side, and it is clear that the scribe inserted them as an afterthought; the numeral is meant to illustrate the interpretation of the syllabic sign, which exceptionally stands alone. Whether it is to be read *dwō* or disyllabically as *duō* remains uncertain. It is also uncertain what the entry refers to. Lejeune (*Mémoires* III.281 n. 94) takes it as relating to two sets of reins which unlike those in the previous entry are neither new or lacking head-bands. If these were further reins, however, we should surely have expected a more positive description of them. It would therefore seem a more promising approach to take this entry as a gloss on the following one, as JC has suggested. Chadwick further suggests that the likeliest explanation of the next entry, which reads *a-pu-ke* 9, is that it refers to 'nine sets of reins equipped with head-bands, the numeral "two" being inserted to show that *a-pu-ke*, which might be instrumental singular, is to be thought of as dual'. While, however, the 'two' entry does seem likely to be a gloss on *a-pu-ke*, it is perhaps more straightforward to take *a-pu-ke* 9 as a reference to head-bands themselves, and the gloss as a confirmation that the entry refers to pairs of head-bands (one per horse). Chadwick argues against this explanation, noting that in the last entry on l. 4 pairs are indicated by the *ZE* syllabogram. It does not seem impossible, however, that, having already written *a-pu-ke* 9, the scribe has decided not to attempt to change this to *a-pu-ke ZE* 9, but has instead inserted the explanatory gloss. For the possibility that the following line also began with a reference to reins followed by a record of head-bands, see pp. 830–31.

D²/* *a-ni-ja e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-ṛo-ṣa*: there is no divider after *a-ni-ja*, and at the end of the line the scribe ran out of space, hence 2 is inserted above the line. This suggests that we might read *a-ni-ja-e* as a feminine dual, like the plural(?) *mi-to-we-sa-e* KN **280** = Sd 4404, if this is not *miltowessa en*; see p. 820. The resultant word in either case remains obscure. Palmer

(*Interpretation* 329) calls attention to εἶλος, glossed by Hesychius as δεσμός, 'binding' but its plural εἴλεα shows that it is a neuter *s*-stem, and therefore cannot fit the Mycenaean spelling unless *e-e-ro* is complete and singular nominative or accusative. It may still be connected, for the other meanings given by Hesychius include χαλινοί 'bridles, bits' and φιμοί 'nose-bands'.

D²/* *a-pe-ne-wo*: the repetition of this word in the following entry, which has been squeezed in apparently after the last entry in the line was written, has been variously explained. JC, following a suggestion by Palmer (*Interpretation* 329, 407), takes it as an *o*-stem, appearing first in the nominative plural, then in the nominative singular; *a-pu-ke* will then be an annotation. A more attractive solution, however, is to adopt Lejeune's suggestion (*Mémoires* I.335) that *a-pe-ne-wo* in both instances is the genitive plural of *ἀπηνεύς, an animal used to draw an ἀπήνη 'cart', which is dependent in the first entry on 'reins' understood (cf. *ro-u-si-je-wi-ja* in l. 2, where either 'reins' or 'hides' has probably to be understood) and in the second on *a-pu-ke* 'head-bands'. JC objects that if *a-pu-ke* is nominative, it must be dual or plural, which conflicts with the numeral 1. It is possible, however, that a set (i.e. pair) of head-bands is intended; cf. *a-pu-ke* 9 in the previous line, where, as we have seen, the numeral may again refer to pairs of *ampukes*, with the preceding gloss 'two' making this clear.

D²/* *po-qe-wi-ja*: *phorg^{e}ēwiai* (φορβείαι) 'halters'. This matches with *po-qa* and *i-po-po-qo-i* / *i-qo-po-qo-i* (see Glossary), both of which show a labio-velar for the final consonant of the root represented by Classical φέρβω.

7. CORSLETS AND HELMETS AT PYLOS (Sh)[b]

D/* Eleven tablets found in 1952 (classification *Sh*) list the CORSLET ideogram **163* (ARM see p. 807), which in all cases but one appears first on the record. This resembles the Knossos CORSLET (see p. 128) in its tapering sides and in the varying number of horizontal cross-lines; but instead of vertical shoulder loops it shows lateral projections which may represent short sleeves, and above the neck it adds a construction which must probably be taken as a form of headgear. The identification of this Pylos ideogram as a set consisting of corslet and helmet is confirmed by the replacement of the sign on a twelfth tablet, **304** = Sh 736, by the term *to-ra-ke*, *thōrākes*, Hom. θώρηκες, which on the Knossos *Sk* tablets (see pp. 833–35) clearly denotes a complete suit of armour, including the helmet, and by the presence of the word *ko-ru-to* (gen. sing.) = κόρυθος 'helmet' or its abbreviation *KO* on all the remaining texts. For further discussion of **163* and what its details are likely to represent, see Part I, 807.

* The overall purpose of this 'set' of records has been convincingly elucidated by F. Vandenabeele and J.-P. Olivier (*IDA* 23–24). **303** = Sh 740, which lists five pairs = ten units of 'old' armour, is, they suggest, a record of armour due for

[b] *Documents*[1] 375–79, *Documents*[2] 522, *Interpretation* 329–31, *Textos* 64–65. Study: *IDA* 17–47, esp. 36–39.

refurbishment. The ten new units, after refurbishment, are the *thōrākes* listed on the ten tablets of the pattern of **301** = Sh 737, **302** = Sh 734. Finally, they suggest, **304** = Sh 736, which records five pairs = ten units of 'new' armour, is a totalling record for these ten individual records. As we shall see below, this explanation of the purpose of the series may in turn provide an explanation of the term *wi-so-ṿo̤-pa-*[.] on **303** = Sh 740.

301 = Sh 737 (S733 Cii)

ARM 1 o-pa-wo-ta , me-zo-a$_2$, *O* 20 me-u-jo-a$_2$, *O* 10 ko-ru-to , *O* 4 pa-ra-wa-jo 2

D/* One suit of armour: twenty larger-sized plates, ten smaller-sized plates, four plates of the helmet, two cheekpieces.

D/D^2/* *o-pa-wo-ta*: probably 'plates' or 'pads' attached to body-armour, perhaps *op-aworta*, literally 'hung on' (*opi* + ἀ(ϝ)είρω). It remains uncertain whether these were made of metal or another material (leather or linen), and how they were arranged on the corslet and helmet; see further Part I, pp. 808–09.

D/* *pa-ra-wa-jo*: as was first recognised by Bennett (*Documents*[1] 376), who compares Hom. κόρυθος διὰ χαλκοπαρῄου 'through the bronze-cheeked helmet', clearly *parawwaiō*, dual of a derivative of **parawwā* from **par-aus-ā* 'cheek' (cf. Aeolic παραύα).

302 = Sh 734 (S733 Cii)

ARM 1 me-zo-a$_2$ *O* 22 me-u-jo-a$_2$ *O* 12 *KO O* 4 *PA* 2

* One suit of armour: twenty-two larger-sized plates, twelve smaller-sized plates, four plates of the helmet, two cheekpieces.

D/* The reverses of this tablet and Sh 739 have erased and almost illegible entries, with that here also apparently dealing with a CORSLET.

303 = Sh 740 (S733 Cii)

.a ko-ru-to *O* 4 *PA* 2
pa-ra-jo , ARM *ZE* 5 wi-so-ṿo̤-pa-ṭo̤ ⌊ ⌋ o̤-pa-wo-ta , me-zo-a$_2$ *O* 20 me-u-jo-a$_2$ *O* 10

D/* Five pairs of old suits of armour: *on all alike* twenty larger-sized plates, ten smaller-sized plates, four plates of the helmet, two cheekpieces.

* *ZE*: it is unclear why the suits of armour here and on **304** = Sh 736 are recorded in pairs: one each for the warrior and charioteer in a chariot? Cf. the two corslets regularly recorded on the *Sc* tablets at Knossos, which are likely to have this explanation.

* *wi-so-wo-pa-*[.]: this is read in *PTT* as *wi-so-wo-pa-ṇa̤*, with *wi-so-wo-pa-ṭo̤* also noted as a possibility. Bennett (1992.117), however, prefers the latter reading. The term is evidently an adjective compounded with ἴσος (Cretan, Arc. ϝίσϝος) 'equal'. No convincing explanation of *wi-so-wo-pa-ṇa̤* suggests itself; but if we accept Vandenabeele and Olivier's

explanation of the purpose of these records as a group (see Introduction), we could explain *wi-so-wo-pa-ṭo̤* as a note specifying that the 'old' sets of armour listed on this record all have the same number of plates on the body, viz. 20 larger and 10 smaller, in contrast to some of the 'new' pieces which replace them, which have 22 larger and 12 smaller *o-pa-wo-ta*. Proposing this explanation of *wi-so-wo-pa-ṭo̤*, M. del Freo (1991.47) renders it as *wiswōs pantōs* 'in entirely the same way' or *wiswoi pantōs* 'entirely the same', referring to the corslets. J. T. Killen (1999c.347), however, in a later study reaching the same conclusion, suggests *wiswōn pantōn* 'of (= on) all alike', viz. a genitive plural parallel to the genitive singular *ko-ru-to* 'of (= on) the helmet' which precedes *o(-pa-wo-ta)* in the upper register.

304 = Sh 736 (S733 Cii)

to-ra-ke , a-me-ja-to , o-pa , me-za-na , wo-ke , ne-wo̤ *ZE̤* 5

D/* Five pairs of new suits of armour: the (*finishing*) *work* of *A-me-ja*, *in the house of Me-za-na*.

* *a-me-ja-to*: the name recurs on Sa 834; the 'industrial' context here supports the interpretation of *a-me-ja-to wo-ka* there as 'work (*worgā*) of *A.*': see pp. 826–27.

* *me-za-na wo-ke*: *me-za-na* recurs on **78** = Cn 3, where JC tentatively interprets it as nom. plur. of a district name related to Classical Μεσσάνα. It is difficult to give it the same explanation here; the following *wo-ke* might be *worge* '(he) made', and a reference to the original maker of the armour, as distinct from the current refurbisher (*A-me-ja*), but this would require a singular subject. A place-name would also be a strange subject for *worge*. Unless, therefore, we take *me-za-na* in both contexts as a man's name (Killen [1999a.330] suggests the nominative of *me-za-ne* (dat.) on **94** = Fn 50, but this may simply be an error for *me-za-wo-ne*), a more promising approach is perhaps to take the term on both records as the name of a goddess, and *me-za-na wo-ke* as 'in the house (viz. 'industrial' establishment) of *M.*' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 330, who suggests that his proposed *woikei* shows the same *-ei* locative ending as we find in *di-da-ka-re*, *didaskalei* 'at the teacher's'). For further discussion, see on **78** = Cn 3 and Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1122–26.

8. CORSLETS AND HELMETS AT KNOSSOS (Sk)[b]

D/D²/* The next tablet is one of a set of seven records at Knossos classified as *Sk*, of which this is the most complete. They are clearly akin to the Pylos *Sh* tablets, but show differences of detail.

305 = Sk 8100 (206)

.A qe-ro$_2$ 2 e-po-mi-jo 2 / o-pa-wo[-ta
.Ba o-pa-wo-ta 2 [
.Bb to-ra / ko-ru GAL 1 o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja 2 pa-ra-wa[-jo 2

[b] *Documents*[1] 380–81, *Documents*[2] 522–24, *Interpretation* 331–35, *Anthology* 273–74. Studies: *IDA* 17–47, Heubeck 1986a, Del Freo 1996.

D²/* One suit of armour: one helmet, *four* plates on the helmet, [two] cheekpieces, two *body-sections*, two shoulder-guards, … plates.

* *to-ra*: now read instead of *pa-ra* (Killen 1985b.30–31), this is clearly *thōrāks*; for the spelling, compare *o-nu* for *onuks*, also found in the spelling *o-nu-ka*. As the mention of a helmet immediately following it shows, the term must refer to a full set of armour, not merely the corslet; cf. Hom. θωρήσσομαι, which means 'put on one's (full) armour', not 'put on one's breastplate' (Killen ibid.).

D²/* *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja o-pa-wo-ta*: owing to the way in which these words and the accompanying numerals are written, it would be equally possible to read *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* *o-pa-wo-ta* 4. This seems a likelier reading: the Pylos *Sh* tablets record four *o-pa-wo-ta* of the helmet, and if two separate 2s are to be read one must ask why the words are not in the dual; cf. *o-pi-ko-ru-si-jo* in Sk 789, where a 2 which cannot be part of 4 follows. Note, however, that on Sk 8149, where the same entry as on the present tablet is probably repeated, the upper set of 2 may have stood further to the left than the lower. The variation *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* / *e-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* is a striking confirmation that *o-pi* and *e-pi* were not significantly distinguished in sense, since the same scribe wrote both tablets.

* *qe-ro*$_2$: most likely a reference to the back and front pieces covering the upper body (cf. Hom. γύαλα, though this cannot be the same word). As Heubeck (1986a.290) points out, the lower line of the tablet begins with a record of a helmet, before listing attachments to it; and we might therefore expect the upper line to begin with a record of the main part of the body-armour, before passing on to list attachments to this. Evidence elsewhere is consistent with this identification. KN **253** = *K(1)* 740 lists 16 bronze *qe-ro*$_2$ accompanied by an ideogram which though capable of other interpretations can plausibly be identified as the breast- (or back-) plates of armour (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 21); and the *QE* surcharge on the ideogram **162* + *QE* at Knossos, which can plausibly – though not certainly – be explained as depicting the main body section of a corslet together with the shoulder-guards (compare the main body section and shoulder-guards of the BRONZE corslet found in grave 12 at Dendra: Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 21, 34), might clearly abbreviate *qe-ro*$_2$, though this inevitably cannot be confirmed. It is unclear, however, what the spelling represents. Heubeck (1986a.292–93; cf. *Documents*[1] 381) suggests *sk*^{w}*ellō* (dual) from **sk*^{w}*elya* or **sk*^{w}*elnā*, the predecessor of στέλλα, a term attested in Hesychius. Relying on Ventris and Chadwick's statement (*Documents*[1] 381) that this is glossed by Hesychius as ζῶσμα 'kilt' *vel sim.* and σπολάς 'leather jerkin', he suggests that *qe-ro*$_2$ normally refers to a leather breast- and back-plate, and that the addition of *bronze* to the ideogram on **253** = *K(1)* 740 indicates that the *qe-ro*$_2$ there are exceptional items, made of metal. As M. Del Freo (1996.240) points out, however, Hesychius in fact glosses στέλλα merely as ζῶσμα (σπολάς is a separate lemma), and hence does not provide support for the view that *qe-ro*$_2$ is normally made of leather. Nor is it safe to argue, as Heubeck and Del Freo both do, that the qualification of the *qe-ro*$_2$ on **253** = *K(1)* 740 as 'bronze' means that these are exceptional items, and hence that *qe-ro*$_2$ were normally made of a different material. Mycenaean scribes are not always so logically consistent in what they write that this could not be a – strictly speaking redundant – indication of the material from which all *qe-ro*$_2$ were made. Nor again is it easy to accept Heubeck and Del

Freo's proposal to take *qe-ro*$_2$ in all contexts in which we find it as dual of *sk*^{w}*ellă*. A dual is clearly acceptable in the present context, where the term is followed by 2; but it can hardly stand on Sk 7751, where it is followed by 1 or on *K*(*1*) 740, where it is followed by 16. It is more likely therefore, as Lejeune has argued (*Mémoires* III.324–25) that the term is a noun of the thematic declension, masculine or feminine (sing. *-os*, dual *-ō*, plur. *-oi*; cf. Aura Jorro, *DMic.* s.v.), though Aura Jorro's specific suggestion, following Chadwick 1957b.148–49, that it may be **sk*^{w}*ellos* < **sk*^{w}*elyos* and mean arm-guard (cf. Aeol. σπέλιον or σπέλλιον = ψέλιον 'bracelet') is difficult to reconcile with the contextual evidence for the identity of *qe-ro*$_2$ that we have seen above.

D/* *e-po-mi-jo*: *epōmiō* 'two shoulder-guards' = Classical ἐπώμιος (Euripides).

* *o-pa-wo*[*-ta*: the final entry may have concerned the plates of the corslet proper (JC) or on the shoulder-guards (Vandenabeele and Olivier, *IDA* 22); it is not preserved on any of the other fragments of this set.

9. CORSLETS AND HELMETS AT TIRYNS (Si)[b]

* **306** = Si 5, found at Tiryns in 1974 and published by Naumann, Godart and Olivier (1977), shows two examples of a form of the CORSLET ideogram (ARM) which like **163* = ARM at Pylos depicts a helmet above the body armour but whose triangular shoulder-pieces are more reminiscent of **162* = TUN at Knossos in some of its forms. For discussion of the details of the drawings and what they represent, see Vandenabeele 1978 and Part I, pp. 807–08.

306 = Si 5 (-)

sup. mut.
.1]to-ra-ka ARM 1[
.2] to-ra-ka ARM 1[

* *to-ra-ka*: *thōrāks* (nom. sing.); the term is here in the fuller spelling (contrast *to-ra* **305** = Sk 8100): cf. *o-nu-ka* as well as *o-nu* as a spelling of *onuks*.

10. CHARIOTS, CORSLETS AND HORSES AT KNOSSOS (Sc)[c]

D/D^2/* The 174 Knossos *Sc* tablets were apparently all found together in a small archive room in the West Wing of the palace (C on fig. 5.1, p. 215). Many are small fragments and the total number of tablets will probably have been rather smaller. Each complete record is introduced by a man's name, and itemises CORSLETS, WHEELED CHARIOTS (see p. 801) and HORSES, generally in that order. Their find-place is named after these texts 'Room of the Chariot Tablets' (RCT). The tablets from this deposit form an apparently closed group with little cross-ref-

[b] *Textos* 67. Study: Vandenabeele 1978.

[c] *Documents*[1] 379–80, *Documents*[2] 522–23, *Interpretation* 331, *Textos* 65. Studies: Lejeune, *Mémoires* III.292–94, *IDA* 17–47, 76–139, Driessen 1992.200–205, Driessen 2000.204.

erence to the other archives, and although written by different scribes show a remarkable similarity of handwriting (Olivier, *Scribes Cnossos* 66–76; Chadwick 1968c.17–21). J. Driessen (2000), in a monograph devoted to these records, has argued persuasively that the RCT belongs to an older stratum than the rest of the deposits of tablets in the palace; see further pp. 75, 76.

D/D²/* The extant tablets show at least fourteen cases of 'one corslet' and nineteen of 'two corslets'; in the majority of cases the relevant numbers have been lost. No fewer than eighteen tablets show the CORSLET written and erased. (HORSE is only once erased, and WHEELED CHARIOT never.) In three cases, the ideogram **165* has been inserted in place of the erased CORSLET; in three others a similar but not identical ideogram **166* stands on the reverse of the tablet, but it is unclear whether the obverse again showed an erased CORSLET, since the relevant part of the tablet has not survived. Evans, identifying **165* and **166* as variants of the INGOT ideogram (**167*), explained these entries as a record of an alternative issue of bronze sufficient to make a pair of corslets. Whatever of **165*, however, **166* is certainly not an ingot on its other appearances on the records, where it is regularly surcharged with the syllabogram *WE*, but a type of textile (Duhoux, *Aspects* 128–30); and it also creates difficulty for Evans's hypothesis that on one record in the set, Sc 248, **165* stands over an erased HORSE (Killen and Olivier 1966.50). The number of chariots is never larger than one, and on three tablets it is absent altogether. There are twenty-one (?) entries with 'a single horse' (indicated by HORSE standing alone or followed by 1 or *MO*), and thirty-seven (?) with 'a pair of horses' (*ZE*). At least one tablet lacks any HORSE entry.

D²/* The CORSLET ideogram surcharged by *QE* found on several tablets in the 'set' may stand for *qe-ro*$_2$; see further **305** = Sk 8100. The entry *QE ZE* 1 on Sc 266 is almost certainly a scribal error for HORSE *ZE* 1; the *QE* has been squeezed in as an afterthought, and was probably suggested by the *QE* surcharged on the CORSLET.

* The fact that many of these texts record less than the maximum amount (two corslets, one chariot and two horses) can readily be explained if these are records of issues to charioteers and concern the items needed by the recipients to make up their full complement of equipment (see e.g. *Documents*[1] 380, *Documents*[2] 522–23, Chadwick 1976a.168, Driessen 1992.201–02). (One of the two corslets is presumably for the warrior, the other for his driver.) Support for this conclusion may be provided by the entry *e-ko* 1 following a record of a single HORSE on **308** = Sc 226; as Furumark (1954b.54) first pointed out, this may be *ekhōn*, and a note that the recipient here already has one horse and hence only needs the one that is recorded before *e-ko* 1. For very similar records of allocations of military equipment at Nuzi in the Near East, see Kendall 1981.201, 207. It is also attractive to accept J. Chadwick's suggestion (1976a.168–69; cf. Driessen 1992.202) that the small *Vc*(*1*) tablets, from the same location as the *Sc* documents, and which consist simply of a record of a man's name often followed by the numeral

1, form part of the same listing operation as the *Sc* texts, and record charioteers who already have a full complement of equipment.

D/D²/* Of the introductory names preserved on the *Sc* tablets many do not recur at Knossos; of those that do, most are on other tablets from the same find-place. *Me-nu-wa* on Sc 238 recurs on V(2) 60, where the gloss *a-ni-o̤-ko* 'charioteer' has been added to the first name on the list; the association is probably significant. Note that another of the names here, *ka-pa-ri-jo*, recurs on Vc(1) 72. Two names on the *Sc* records, *a-e-da-do-ro* and *ta-pa-no*, recur on F(1) 153, from the same archive, which is probably a list of rations; another of the names on this tablet, *a-ka-i-jo*, recurs on Vc(1) 68. For a full discussion of the names on the *Sc*, *Vc(1)* tablets, and of the likely status of the men in question, see Driessen 1992.

307 = Sc 222 ("124")

me-za-wo TUN 2 EQU *ZE* 1

D *Medzawon*: two corslets, one pair of horses.

* The entries probably imply that *M.* already has a wheeled chariot and so does not need one to be allocated to him.

308 = Sc 226 ("124"i?)

ti-ri-jo-qa BIG 1 TUN ḷ EQU 1 'e-ko 1'

D/* Triok^{w}as: one wheeled chariot, one corslet, one horse – (already) having one.

e-ko: see Introduction.

CHAPTER XIX

RELIGION, CULTS AND RITUAL

JOHN KILLEN

1. OFFERINGS TO DIVINITIES AT PYLOS (Fr, Tn, Un)

(1) OFFERINGS OF GOLD AND SILVER(?) VESSELS AND HUMANS[b]

D²/* The first tablet we consider in Section 1, **309** = Tn 316, continues to be one of the most problematic of all Mycenaean records, and there is still no general agreement about a number of the details. Despite the difficulties, however, there can be no doubt that the subject of the text is a series of offerings to divinities. Zeus, Hera, Hermes and Potnia are all familiar names; the rest are mostly explicable even if less familiar. The offerings consist of thirteen gold and silver(?) vessels and ten human beings, eight women and two men. The men are offered to male deities, the women to female deities, though a problem arises in the first paragraph of the reverse, where no deities appear to be specified, though the place seems to be the shrine of Poseidon. It has been suggested that the ideograms MAN and WOMAN here refer not to human beings but to figurines; this would be contrary to everything we know about the use of ideograms on the tablets, and seems highly improbable without any clue. It may be regarded as certain that these ten people were being dedicated to the deities, but it remains an open question what function they served.

AUR		GOLD
*141[b]		Silver ?
*213[VAS]		BOWL
*215[VAS]		CUP
*216[VAS]		CUP

* The text and a translation are given below. Before we come to these, however, some discussion is needed of the principal areas of difficulty which the record presents, or has been felt in the past to present.

Note that following work by L. Godart and J.-P. Olivier (see Bibliography) it has been established that for the most part at least the two sides of the tablet are the work of different scribes. This finding, however, does not affect any of the matters that we are about to consider.

[b] **309** = Tn 316: *Documents*[1] 284–89, *Documents*[2] 458–64, *Interpretation* 261–68, *Textos* 68–70, *Anthology* 321–35. Studies: Bennett 1979 (epigraphy), Palaima 1995b (incl. epigraphy), 1999a (incl. epigraphy), Weilhartner 2005.140–44, Godart 2010 (incl. epigraphy), 2012.83–101 (epigraphy), Olivier 2012.111–12 (epigraphy).

D²/* (a) *The order of the two sides of the document*

Although the side of the tablet which begins with *po-ro-wi-to-jo* is likely to have been the original obverse, to judge by its smoother surface (*PoN* IV), the inscription it contains stands over an earlier erased one, and the order in which the present text was written is still not certain. While it is now generally believed that the original obverse is also the current one, a case could still be made for reversing the order as printed below, since the formula of reverse 1–3 is irregular, with the insertion of *a-ke-qe wa-tu* and the omission of the name of the deity preceding the enumeration of the offerings. This could result from uncertainty about the form of each entry on what was originally the obverse, which was resolved beginning with the second entry (lines 4–7) and was copied on the 'reverse'; *po-ro-wi-to-jo* would then stand outside the repeating formula. But it may well be preferable to take *po-ro-wi-to-jo* as a general heading to all that follows, like the preamble to the *o-ka* tablets (**55** = An 657.1) or the furniture tablets (**258** = Ta 711.1); it is attractively, though not certainly, interpreted as a month-name (see p. 846), like the month-names at the beginnings of many of the Knossos records of religious offerings, e.g. **317** = Fp(1) 1.1.

* (b) *The introductory formulae*

After the initial *pu-ro*, Pylos, written large, each paragraph continues with the phrase *i-je-to-qe … do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke*. The position after *i-je-to-qe* is occupied by an address: the place-name *pa-ki-ja-si* (dat. loc.) 'at *Pa-ki-ja-ne*' in §1; what it is difficult to doubt is the name of a shrine, also in the locative, in the remaining paragraphs, e.g. *po-si-da-i-jo* 'at the shrine of Poseidon' in §2. In §3, one or two further names of shrines follow the first (see p. 847); in §2 the phrase *a-ke-qe wa-tu* is added after the address and before the remainder of the introductory formula.

D/D²/* Little here can be interpreted with any confidence. It does seem likely, however, as VC saw in *Documents*[1], that *pe-re* and *a-ke* conceal forms of φέρω and ἄγω, two verbs which are regularly coupled in Greek for bringing inanimate and animate objects; cf. *Il.* XXIII, 512–13: δῶκε δ' ἄγειν ἑτάροισι … γυναῖκα καὶ τρίποδα … φέρειν 'he gave the woman to his companions to lead off and the tripod to carry away'. The inanimate objects which are carried must be the *do-ra* = *dōra* 'gifts'. Thus the *po-re-na* must be the ten persons who are led to the rite; although we appear to have evidence in the tablets for ἄγω being used of inanimate objects (see MY Ue 611 rev. 1, where [.]*pi-ro-qe-mo a-ke*, evidently '*P.* brings', is followed by a list of foodstuffs), we should not have expected a change of verb if these were (inanimate) figurines. It is not clear, however, how we should interpret *po-re-na*. VC, and more recently Palaima (1995b.628, 1999a.454), suggest 'persons to carry the vessels in procession'; as JC points out, however, this encounters the

difficulty that four of the vessels have no one to carry them. Moreover, though *a-ke* could mean merely 'lead', without the implication that the persons who are led are being offered, it would seem more likely that both gifts and *po-re-na* are being brought as offerings, and that different verbs are used to convey the different means of movement.

D²/* Palmer, however (*Interpretation* 266), while connecting *pe-re* with φέρω – he takes it as an aorist passive *phrē* – has interpreted *a-ke* as *hagē* 'was purified' from a root found in ἁγνός, ἅζομαι. We should expect this at Pylos to be spelt a_2-*ke*, but usage is not entirely consistent. This has the advantage of providing subjects for the verbs and that *wa-tu* (reverse line 1) can be given its natural interpretation as *wastu* = ἄστυ 'the town as a collection of buildings' (see p. 841); but it involves taking *po-re-na* as nominative singular, which is difficult if the first part of *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* Un 443.2 belongs to the same word; cf. also *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ*[Ua 1413, and *po-re-si* (dat. plur.?) TH Of 26.3.

D²/* The question of what part of φέρω and ἄγω *pe-re* and *a-ke* represent cannot be separated from the interpretation to be given to *i-je-to-qe*. It might be a tempting solution to regard this as the nominative singular required as subject to the two present indicatives; but this leads to no easy interpretation, and most commentators have followed VC's lead in regarding it as a verbal form, with suffixed *-qe*. The presence of the connective, even if contrary to Classical usage, is little different from the use of *e-ke-qe* in the *E* tablets (see p. 598). Thus if *i-je-to* is a verb, it must presumably match with *pe-re* and *a-ke*. If the latter pair are aorist passive, *i-je-to* should be the same; but its form is unsuitable, for it might be an imperfect or even a perfect, but hardly an aorist, even if the Classical type of aorist in -θην had not yet developed. The change from imperfect to aorist would be surprising; Palmer translates *i-je-to* 'a ceremony of consecration was held' (he connects it with ἱερός 'holy': see p. 841) but without commenting on the tense. It would therefore be simpler to regard *i-je-to* as present medio-passive in *-toi* (see p. 244), agreeing with the present indicatives *pherei* and *agei*. The use of the present with no precise reference to time is common enough on the tablets; cf. the present tense of the heading of the coastguard tablets (**55** = An 657.1) and of the *Ma* records (e.g. **179** = Ma 90).

D²/* But if we accept this interpretation, we have to find a subject for the verbs. Who brings the offerings? Or can *pherei* and *agei* be treated as impersonal 'one brings'? Two solutions seem possible; that *pu-ro* is used to mean 'the people of Pylos' or even the king acting on behalf of the kingdom and is the subject; or that the person carrying out the rite is so well known (the king? a priest?) that he or she does not have to be named (Ruijgh, *Études* 322, 1981.59; cf. Blomqvist 1987.56 nn. 35–36). We appear to have evidence elsewhere for the omission of the subject; cf. MY Ue 661, where the introductory *jo-po-ro-te-ke* is attractively interpreted as *hō prothēke* 'thus he [identity unspecified] placed on the table, served' (Killen 1992b.375–76). If this second explanation is correct, *pu-ro* will then be

an introductory locative or nominative of rubric '(at) Pylos', as it regularly is elsewhere on the tablets, cf. **6** = Ab 553, **8** = Ad 676, etc.

D²/* The initial word *i-je-to-qe* must from its position be emphatic and set the tone for the following entry. This makes it difficult to associate with ἵημι 'send', and the presence of the locative-dative *pa-ki-ja-si* in obverse l. 2 seems to prove that this meaning is wrong. Ruijgh (*Études* 322, 1981.57) attempts to retain the connexion with ἵημι, suggesting that the reference is to a procession taking place at the address specified. His suggestion, however, that the verb is either a middle meaning 'he sets a procession in movement' (cf. Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.306–07 n. 88) or a passive meaning 'he is sent (to the god, perhaps as leader of a procession)' is not convincing; cf. Hajnal 1996.272–74.

D²/* It is therefore tempting to accept Palmer's idea (*Interpretation* 265) that *i-je-to* belongs to a verb which did not survive in Classical Greek, but which contains the same root as the adjective ἱερός. JC renders this as 'sacrifices' (?). Since, however, ἱερός in epic can mean 'strong' or 'swift' as well as 'sacred' (cf. Skt. *iṣirá-*), it could be that *i-je-to* means 'moves in procession', rather than 'officiates at a religious ceremony' (García Ramón 1996). Hajnal, indeed (1996), believes that the former is the likelier meaning.

D/D²/* (c) *The first paragraph of the reverse*

Two main questions arise here. First, how do we explain the additional *a-ke-qe wa-tu* in the introductory formula? Second, to whom is the offering here, one gold vessel and two women, made?

(i) *a-ke-qe wa-tu*. As we have seen, it is difficult to accept Palmer's suggestion that *a-ke* is an aorist passive **hagē*. Moreover, since *a-ke* and *pe-re* in the remainder of the introductory formula are plausibly explained as ἄγει and φέρει, it is likely that *a-ke* here is also ἄγει, though Lejeune (*Mémoires* II.306–07 n. 88) suggests ἄρχει '(the town) leads (the procession)'. But what is its subject? *wa-tu* can hardly be other than Ϝάστυ 'town', and most commentators follow VC in taking this as subject. It is true that elsewhere on the tablets a sequence of verbs coordinated with *-qe*, Gk -τε, always involves the same subject (Ruijgh, *Études* 313–14); however, as VC note, if *wa-tu* were the object it would be very difficult to explain. If the phrase meant 'brings to the town' we should expect *wa-tu-de*; and if we translate it as 'brings the townspeople' (compare Evans's showing of the sacred vessels 'to the assembled people'), this presupposes a personalised sense of ἄστυ which is so far quite unparalleled. Whereas πόλις in later Greek can be used of the inhabitants of a city (e.g. *Il.* XVI, 69 Τρώων δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ πᾶσα βέβηκε 'and the whole city of the Trojans has turned out against us'), ἄστυ means the city as a collection of buildings. On the other hand, a rendering 'and the town brings' would also involve a personalised sense of ἄστυ. There is no obvious solution to these difficulties at present.

(ii) *The identity of the recipient of the offering*. The addition of *a-ke-qe wa-tu* is not the only anomaly in this section. Though the location of the offering is stated to be *po-si-da-i-jo* 'the shrine of Poseidon', no god's name is entered before the details of the offering. Also without parallel is the entry after the ideograms: *qo-wi-ja na-ṭi-qe ko-ma-we-te-ja* and the lack of agreement between the number of vases (one) and the number of women (two).

* One obvious solution to the problem of the missing god's name would be to assume that the offering is to Poseidon; elsewhere on the record, every god whose shrine is given as the address of an offering is named as a recipient in the entries that follow. The difficulty with this solution, however, is that elsewhere on the tablet gods always receive men as offerings and goddesses receive women; whereas the offering here is one gold vessel and two *women*. Some have therefore looked for one or more goddesses in the wording which follows the ideograms, which others have taken as giving the names and perhaps ownership of the two women (e.g. Killen 1983a.76–77, who takes *qo-wi-ja* and *ṇa*-[ ] (as *na-ṭi-qe* was then read) as women's names and *ko-ma-we-te-ja* as a possessive adjective derived from an 'owner's' name *ko-ma-we*). JC suggests that *qo-wi-ja* and *ko-ma-we-te-ja* may be goddesses; this, however, does not account for *na-ṭi-qe*. Ruijgh (2002.266), noting Bennett's suggestion that *ṇa*-[might be *ṇa-qe*, takes *qo-wi-ja* and *ṇa*-[as the goddesses Γʷόϝα and Νᾶ (lit. 'little girl, cf. νᾶνος 'dwarf') linked with the copulative -*kʷe*, and *ko-ma-we-te-ja*, like Killen, as a possessive indicating the ownership of the women, who he assumes are nameless. The reading *ṇa-qe*, however, is now superseded by *na-ṭi-qe*. Del Freo (1999a), in contrast, argues that only one goddess is mentioned, *ko-ma-we-te-ja*, and that *qo-wi-ja* and *ṇa*-[are the names of the two women. Although, however, there are attractions to this approach (it is probably easier to explain one gold vessel and two women as a gift to one goddess than to two), it is still far from certain that *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is a goddess's name. It might be this when it recurs on the *Of* tablets at Thebes, but possessives in *-e-ja* are also common on those records; and one is reluctant to accept Del Freo's suggestion (1999a.156) that *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is derived from *Komāwens*, an alternative name for Poseidon. *Ko-ma-we* is a man's name at Knossos and Pylos; and there is no certain example on the records of a divine name also being applied to a human. Finally, Guilleux (2012.458–61) interprets *qo-wi-ja* as a goddess's name and *na-ṭi-qe ko-ma-we-te-ja* as 'and [to *Q.*] as protectress of the house of *Komawens*'. It is difficult, however, to accept her explanation of *na-ṭi*(*-qe*) as /*nāstī*/, dative singular of a term meaning 'protectress', with which she compares Hsych. νάστης· οἰκίστης. As we have seen elsewhere, there is now increasing evidence that the standard dative of *i*-stems in Mycenaean is not in -*i* but in *-i-je*. In short, then, the identity of the recipient(s) here must still remain an open question.

* (d) *The nature and purpose of the rite*

In his discussion of Tn 316 in *Documents*[2], JC tentatively suggests that the ceremony recorded on the tablet may have been an apotropaic one to avert impending disaster 'perhaps consequent upon the news of a successful landing or the defeat of the defending forces'. In support of this interpretation, which he stresses is speculative, he adduces, first, the scale of the offerings, which he suggests are unlikely to be routine, and, second, what he sees as haste in the writing of the tablet, which he suggests 'may perhaps correspond to a hasty preparation'. He also wonders whether the men and women listed on the tablet, very likely as offerings to the gods, might have been sacrificial victims; as he notes, the practice of human sacrifice is not unknown in the Mycenaean period. (He mentions Protonotariou-Deïlaki 1969, reporting on two human skeletons found buried in kneeling posture at the entrance to a tomb.) How persuasive are these suggestions?

* To begin with the last point, while it is not impossible that the men and women were intended for sacrifice, there appears to be no evidence which imposes this conclusion. Certainly, there would seem no grounds for concluding that because these persons were (probably) dedicated to the gods they must have been intended as sacrificial victims. We have evidence on **43** = An 1281 for the transfer of men to the goddess Potnia; since another of the recipients of men on this record, *au-ke-i-ja-te-u*, is mentioned elsewhere in the archive as a maker of leather goods, it is plausible to conclude that the men listed throughout this record are being transferred for work purposes: in the case of the men given to Potnia, perhaps for work in an 'industrial' establishment 'owned' by the goddess. It would therefore seem possible that the men and women listed on Tn 316 have been given to the gods as prospective servants, whether with purely 'religious' functions or otherwise. (For a similar suggestion, see Melena, *Textos* 70; cf. Sacconi 1987.554.)

* Nor is much help provided by the term *po-re-na* which stands before the MAN and WOMAN ideograms. No convincing explanation has been given of the stem of the word, but it appears to end in *-ēn*, *-ēnos* (or *-enos*) (Chadwick, *TT* II.94). It is attractive therefore to see in *po-re-si*, found in the 'recipient' position on the Thebes WOOL record Of 26.3, its dative plural in *-ensi*. Though we know too little about the precise purpose of the *Of* tablets to allow us to exclude the possibility that the wool here is 'for (binding) victims', the recipients in other entries in the series include various types of textile worker, some with religious affiliations, and it would seem at least as likely that it is given 'to the persons dedicated (to the gods)'. It is not unlikely that the genitive, singular or plural, of the same word occurs in *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* PY Un 443.2, but the explanation of *zo-te-ri-ja* remains problematical (Chadwick, *TT* II.94). Equally problematical is *po-re-no-tu-te*[PY Ua 1413.

* As regards the manner in which the tablet has been written, this is certainly not the neatest or best-arranged inscription in the archive. But it may well be excessive to argue on such aesthetic, and hence inevitably subjective, grounds that it was written in great haste. The scribe of the verso has clearly changed his mind about how best to present his material in the course of writing the tablet (Bennett 1979.232–33); and some of its features as we now have it cannot be paralleled elsewhere. These include the large gap at the bottom of the obverse, and the writing of the initial *pu-ro* in the otherwise blank paragraphs in obverse 7–10 and reverse 13–16. At least in part, however, what is responsible for its untidy appearance is the surface on which it is written. Both recto and verso are palimpsests, and the reverse is inscribed on the uneven back of the tablet, which already contained marks of basketry or fingernails and other damage (Bennett 1979.224). The uneven ruling of the reverse can be compared with the ruling of another text written on the back of a tablet, **48** = An 39 reverse. Moreover, the writing itself is reasonably neat: as Palaima has observed, in a detailed defence of Tn 316 as a 'normal' specimen of Mycenaean epigraphy (1995b.626–27), this is not the worst example of handwriting known in the archive. For a strong candidate for that award, see Gn 428.
* It still remains true, however, that we have no parallel anywhere else in the archive at Pylos, or at any of the other sites at which tablets have been found, for offerings to the gods of the nature and scale as those listed here. (For similar emphasis of this point, see Melena, *Textos* 70.) Elsewhere on the tablets we have plentiful instances of offerings to the gods of animals, olive oil, cereals, fruit, wine, honey, wool and textiles (see pp. 847–78); nowhere else, however, are there records of offerings of (many) gold and silver(?) vessels, combined in the same context with offerings of human beings. It is difficult to believe therefore that this is a routine event. Some scholars have suggested that what is being recorded is a regularly repeated procession: that the vessels were 'given' merely in a token sense and were retained for use on further occasions, while the humans are 'sacristans' who carried these objects in the ceremony (Palaima 1995b.628, 1999a.451, 454–55, 1999b; cf. Sacconi 1987.554). As we have seen, however, even if the humans are not actually offerings to the gods – though this seems likelier than not – there are severe difficulties in taking them as 'carriers'; nor is it easy to believe that the gold and silver(?) vessels, which are explicitly described as gifts to the gods, could be anything other than genuine donations.
* In short, then, Tn 316 may well record an exceptional ceremony; and this could have been occasioned by some current crisis. There is little to suggest, however, that the tablet was written in haste.

309 = Tn 316

Recto (H 44a)

.1 po-ro-wi-to-jo,
.2 pu-ro { i-je-to-qe , pa-ki-ja-si , do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe
.3 { a-ke , po-ti-ni-ja AUR *215VAS 1 MUL 1
.4 ma-na-sa , AUR *213VAS 1 MUL 1 po-si-da-e-ja AURb *213VAS 1 MUL 1
.5 ti-ri-se-ro-e , AUR *216VAS 1 do-po-ta AURb *215VAS 1
.6 *angustum*
.7 { *vacat*
.8 { *vacat*
.9 pu-ro { *vacat*
.10 { *vacat*

⇒

Verso (H 44b)

.1 { i-je-to-qe , po-si-da-i-jo , a-ke-qe , wa-tu
.2 { do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe , a-ke
.a pu-ro { -ja
.3 { AUR *215VAS 1 MUL 2 qo-wi-ja , na-ṭi-qe, ko-ma-we-te-
.4 { i-je-to-qe , pe-ṛẹ-*82-jo , i-pe-me-de-ja-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe
.5 { do-ṛạ-qe , pe-re-po-re-na-qe , a , pe-re-*82 AUR *213VAS 1 MUL 1
.6 pu-ro { i-pe-me-ḍẹ-ja AURb *213VAS 1 di-u-ja AUR *213VAS 1 MUL 1
.7 { e-ma-a_2 , a-re-ja AUR *216VAS 1 VIR 1
.8 { i-je-to-qe , di-u-jo , do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe a-ḳẹ
.9 { di-we AURb *213VAS 1 VIR 1 e-ra AURb *213VAS 1 MUL 1
.10 pu-ro { di-ri-mi-jo di-wo , i-je-we , AURb *213VAS 1 [ ] *vacat*
.11 { *vacat*
.12 *angustum*
.13 { *vacat*
.14 { *vacat*
.15 pu-ro { *vacat*
.16 { *vacat*

OBVERSE

D²/* *In the month of Plōwistos*. *At* Pylos: *he* sacrifices at *Pa-ki-ja-ne* and brings gifts and leads *human offerings*:

For the Mistress: one gold cup, one woman.
For *Mnasa*: one gold bowl, one woman.
For Posidaeia: one *silver* bowl, one woman.
For the thrice-hero: one gold cup.
For the *Lord of the House*: one *silver* cup.

At Pylos … (blank)

REVERSE

D² *At* Pylos: *he sacrifices* at the shrine of Poseidon and *leads* the *city*, and brings gifts and leads *human offerings*: one gold cup, two women: *G^w^owia* and *Na-ṭị*, *the property of Komawens*.
At Pylos: *he sacrifices* at the shrines of *Perse* and Iphemedeia and Diwya, and brings gifts and leads *human offerings*:

For *Perse*: one gold bowl, one woman.
For Iphemedeia: one *silver* bowl.
For Diwya: one gold bowl, one woman.
For Hermes *Areias*: one gold cup, one man.

At Pylos: *he sacrifices* at the shrine of Zeus and brings gifts and leads *human offerings*:

For Zeus: one *silver* bowl, one man.
For Hera: one *silver* bowl, one woman.
For *Drimios* the *son* of Zeus: one *silver* bowl [?]

At Pylos … (blank)

* *po-ro-wi-to-jo*: perhaps *Plōwistoio* 'in the month of sailing' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 254). Also attested on Fr 1221, 1232 and perhaps 1218, where a month-name is possible, though not mandatory: see p. 854. For the omission of *me-no*, *mēnos* or *mēnnos*, in a month reference on the Knossos *Fp(1)* 'offering' tablets, see Fp(1) 6 (*ka-ra-e-ri-jo*). Note, with Palaima (1995b.630), that even if *po-ro-wi-to-jo* is a reference to 'the month of sailing', this need not have been in the spring, as is sometimes supposed.

* *Posidāeiāi*: seemingly, the wife of Poseidon; cf. *di-u-ja vis-à-vis* Zeus. It appears to be based on an unattested form of the god's name in -εύς rather than -ών; cf. Ἄρευς besides Ἄρης (Ruijgh, *Études* 248).

D² *Tris-hērōhei*: the name recurs on Fr 1204 as the recipient of oil. There is no good reason to expect a digamma in the declension of ἥρως; the formation with adverbial τρισ- suggests that ἥρως was originally an adjective.

D² *Do-po-ta*: possibly *Dospotāi* 'to the Master' (= δεσπότης, if this is from **dems*-, with a variant **doms*- or **dm̥s*-), but perhaps not a Greek name.

D *Posidāïōi*: compare *Od.* VI, 266: ἔνθα δέ τέ σφ' ἀγορὴ καλὸν Ποσιδήϊον ἀμφίς 'and there they have a place of assembly around the beautiful temple of Poseidon'. Mycenaean shares the Classical distinction in vowel between the noun (-*sei*-) and adjective (-*si*-) in this name.

D² *pe-re-*82*: if, as seems likely (Chadwick 1968b), **82* has the value *swa*, this goddess must have some such name as *Preswā*. It is tempting to see in this a metathesised form of the Classical Πέρση (*Od.* X, 139), daughter of Oceanus and wife of Helios; whether it may be further identified with the first element of Περσεφόνη is only speculative. The goddess is also mentioned on **310** = Un 6.

D *Iphemedeiāi* = Ἰφιμέδεια, the mother of Otus and Ephialtes by Poseidon, *Od.* XI, 305. The absence of initial *W-* and the spelling *-pe-* show that this name does not contain ἶφι; contrast the man's name *wi-pi-no-o* = Ἰφίνοος. Almost certainly a pre-Greek deity, whose name has been modified by popular etymology; the confusion of *e* and *i* seems to be confined to non-Greek words. On the possibility that *i-pe-me-de-ja-qe* on l. 4 is an error for *i-pe-me-de-ja-jo-qe*, viz. a reference to the shrine of the goddess, see comment below, this page on *di-ri-mi-jo*, etc.

D² *Diwjāi*: as Ruijgh (*Études* 130) points out, the nominative might be either *Diwya* or *Diwyā*, the former being a feminine from Ζεύς 'the wife of Zeus', the latter an adjectival form 'the daughter of Zeus'. Ruijgh is no doubt right in preferring the former explanation, despite the rarity of Δῖᾱ in later Greek.

D/D²/* *E-ma-a*$_2$ (also PY Na 1357, Un 219, TH Of 31, KN D 411 [gen.]): *Hermāhāi*, cf. Hom. Ἑρμῆς, Ἑρμείας, dial. Ἑρμᾶς, Ἑρμάων, Ἑρμάος, etc. The etymology from ἕρμα 'cairn' is disproved by the absence of F- in early Cretan inscriptions and in Homer. The following *a-re-ja* is probably a qualification of Hermes derived from the god's name Ἄρης: cf. the expressions τὸν Δία τὸν Ἄρηα, τᾶν Ἀθᾱνᾶν τᾶν Ἀρείᾶν, etc. in a fourth-century inscription from Orchomenos, Schwyzer, *Dial.* 665C. It is perhaps to be analysed as a noun Ἀρείας derived from an adjective Ἀρεῖος (cf. the personal name]*a-re-jo* KN Vc(1) 208) (Ruijgh, *Études* 266).

di-u-jo: also, in the spelling *di-wi-jo*(*-de*), PY Fr 1230, KH **329** = Gq 5.

E-ra (also TH Of 28): the association with Zeus makes the identification with Hera almost inevitable. The etymology < * Ἥρϝᾱ must be abandoned; it is built on the isolated Elean Ἔρϝαδιοις, the derivation of which from the divine name is only assumed. It is contradicted by dialect forms without F, e.g. Cypr. Ἔραι, Schwyzer, *Dial.* 681 (4), and by the Attic Ἥρα, since * Ἥρϝα would give Ἥρη (cf. κόρη).

di-ri-mi-jo, etc.: the form *i-je-we* is acceptable as dative to *i-*65*, if *65 = *ju*: (*h*)*iewei* 'son'. At the same time, an error for *i-je-re-we* is not impossible: we have quite certainly *a* at reverse line 5 for *a-ke*, and also possibly *i-pe-me-de-ja-qe* for *i-pe-me-de-ja-jo-qe* in the previous line. If so, this will be an offering to *D.* priest of Zeus, rather than to *D.* son of Zeus. García Ramón (2011.230 n. 58, 2012.448–54) takes *i-je-we* as 'son', and connecting *Drīmios* with δριμύς 'piercing, sharp' identifies him as a minor god, predecessor of (and later absorbed by) Apollo, who is well known for his bow and (sharp) arrows.

(II) OFFERINGS OF ANIMALS, TEXTILES, ETC.[b]

310 = Un 6 (S6 H 6)

Recto

.1 po-se-ḍa[-o-ne] ḅọṣ^{f} [ ] ọvịṣ^{f} [ ]SUS+*KA* 1 SUS^{f} 2

.2 *angustum*

.3 pe-re-*82 BOS^{f} 1 OVIS^{f} 1 SUS+*KA* 1 SUS^{f} 2

.4 pe-re-*82 BOS^{f} 1 OVIS^{f} 1 SUS+*KA* 1 SUS^{f} 2

[b] **310** = Un 6: *Documents*² 484. Studies: Weilhartner 2005.161–63, 2012.226–31. **311** = Un 853: Killen 1999c.350–53.

.5 *angustum*
.6 **146* 37 **166+WE*[ ]LANA 5
.7 *AREPA* S 1 V 2[
.8 BOS^{m} 2 BOS^{f} 2 OVIS^{x}[

⇘

Verso

.1]i-je-re-ja TELA+*TE*[
.2 ka-]ra-wi-po-ro TELA+*TE*[

D²/* The addition of two pieces (1189, 1250) has shown that this is a fragment of an interesting text. The reading *po-se-da*[*-o-ne* = *Poseidāōnei* is confirmed by a deleted text still readable beneath the present one. *Pe-re-*82* is the deity who receives offerings on **309** = Tn 316 rev. 5; see p. 846. PIG+*KA* recurs on Un 853.5, again distinguished from SOW, so presumably male; it seems obvious that *KA* stands for κάπρος, but probably not the wild boar, which we should not expect in a sacrificial context. Perhaps an uncastrated male; cf. English 'boar', which is always used of an entire animal. κάπροι are mentioned as sacrificial animals in Homer, and in one repeated passage (*Od.* XI, 130–31 = XXIII, 277–78) are specified as entire. The ideogram **146* (second in the table above) is a textile; **166+WE* is probably also a cloth (see pp. 874–75). *AREPA* is a ligature of three syllabic signs in descending order, found also on **178** = Un 718.8, **311** = Un 853.4; = *aleiphar* 'unguent'.

BOS^{f}		OX^{f} and other livestock ideograms
**146*		A garment
**166+WE*		A textile
LANA		WOOL
AREPA		UNGUENT
TELA+*TE*		CLOTH$^{1-2}$+*TE*

* As J. Weilhartner has pointed out (2005.162–63, 2012.226–31), the animals listed on ll. 1–4 are likely to have been intended for a different type of sacrifice from those listed on l. 8. There are very close similarities between the contents of l. 1 in particular and the description of a sacrifice, again to Poseidon, in *Od.* XI, 130–31 (= XXIII, 277–78): ῥέξας ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι, ἀρνειὸν ταῦρόν τε συῶν τ' ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον 'make handsome offerings to the Lord Poseidon – a ram, a bull and a boar that mates with sows'. Offerings of this kind were called τρίττοια or τριττύες, and fell into the category of θυσίαι ἄγευστοι or σφάγιαι, whereby the sacrificial animal was not consumed by humans but destroyed by burning (holocaust), by being thrown into the sea or by burial. Sacrifices of this kind were performed in chthonic rituals, in funeral rites, on the occasion of swearing an oath, at times of emergency on the battlefield and when embarking on a venture. In contrast, the animals on l. 8 clearly form part of the 'menu'

for a sacrificial banquet (see pp. 559–64). Here, animals were sacrificed at the beginning of the feast, and the meat distributed to the participants with the gods apportioned their share in the form of burnt, bare bones. There is now good archaeological evidence for sacrifice of both types in the Mycenaean world. For evidence from Pylos for sacrificial banqueting, see Isaakidou et al. 2002; for evidence for θυσίαι ἄγευστοι, see Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004.

D²/* On the reverse, the two words legible are *i-je-re-ja* 'priestess' and [*ka*-]*ra-wi-po-ro* '(female) key-bearer', the religious title found on **142** = Ep 704, etc. It is unclear whether these women are receiving or giving the CLOTH+*TE* = *te-pa* fabric which is recorded after their titles.

311 = Un 853 (S6 H 6)

Recto

.1]-ḳẹ-ra$_2$-u-na , e-ṛạ-[•] ⟦ ⟧ [
.2 po-se-da-o-ne re-[•]-no 6 [
.3 **146* 18[ ] LANA 2 M 2[
.4 *AREPA* V 4 [ ] 1 OVIS^m 1 OVIS^f 1 CẠP^f[
.5 SUS+*KA* 2 SUS^f 4[ ] T 1 FAR T 1 V [
.6 VIN 5 TẸLẠ [ ]1 TELA+*PA* 1
.7 *vacat*
.8 *vacat* [ ] *vacat*
.9 *vacat* [ ] *vac.* [
.10]3[ ]*vac.*[
.11]-we-e-a$_2$ [

⇒

Verso

.1] e-[•]-me-de , ḍọ[ ]ḍụ-ru-wo-qo
.2 *deest*
.3–7 *vacant*

* As pointed out by Killen (1999c.350–53), this record has very close links with **310** = Un 6. Apart from Un 443, it is the only other surviving tablet by the scribe of **310**, and it also records an offering to Poseidon. Moreover, there are striking similarities between the list of commodities on ll. 6–8 of **310** and the list on ll. 3–4 here. Not only, as far as we can tell, are the same commodities listed on both tablets: they are recorded in the same order, and the amount of each commodity that is listed on **311** appears to have been one-half of the amount recorded on **310**, to the nearest convenient whole number or fraction. The details are shown in the following table.

SUS+*KA*		PIG+*KA* and other livestock ideograms
FAR		FLOUR
VIN		WINE

COMMODITY	UN 6	UN 853
**146*	37	18[
**166+WE*	?	?
LANA	5	2 M 2[(= 2.66[ )
AREPA	S 1 V 2̣ [(= V 8̣[ )	V 4
BOS^{m}	2	?
BOS^{f}	2	1?
OVIS^{m}	?	1
OVIS^{f}	?	1
CAP^{f}	?	?

Note: There is room for BOS^{m} 1 BOS^{f}[in the break after the *AREPA* entry on Un 853.4

* This evidence in turn leads to the conclusion that]-*ḳẹ-ra*$_2$-*u-na* in line 1 of **311** = Un 853 is likely to be a variant spelling of *e-ke-ra*$_2$-*wo*, the name of one of the most prominent figures in the Pylian kingdom. For the writing of a final *-n* with *-na*, cf. *ki-to-na* KN Ld(2) 785.2 = *khitōn* 'tunic'. As de Fidio has shown (*Dosmoi* 114–16), the most attractive explanation of the relationship between the WHEAT figures for land-holdings on **176** = Er 312, **177** = Er 880 on the one hand and the amounts of the *dosmoi* to Poseidon on **178** = Un 718 on the other involves the assumption that both the land of the *wanaks* and the *aktiton* land of *e-ke-ra*$_2$-*wo* on **176**, **177** are exempt from contributions to the god. If this conclusion is accepted, it will then follow that *e-ke-ra*$_2$-*wo* will be responsible for c. 50 per cent of the *dosmoi* (Killen 1999c.350–53). It can hardly be an accident that just as *e-ke-ra*$_2$-*wo* is responsible for c. half of the *dosmoi* to Poseidon on **178** = Un 718, so]-*ḳẹ-ra*$_2$-*u-na* appears in the heading of this record of offerings to Poseidon, which evidently lists on ll. 3–4 half of the amounts in the list of offerings on **310** = Un 6 ll. 6–8, a tablet where Poseidon is again mentioned as one of the recipients.

(III) OFFERINGS OF OLIVE OIL[b]

D^{2}/* Among the later finds at Pylos (1955) was a series of tablets which list quantities of olive oil. Nearly all were kept, not in the Archive Room, but in the store-rooms fitted for the storage of oil behind the central megaron of the Palace with a few in other locations. The tablets were published with a full commentary by E. L. Bennett: *The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos* (1958b). They have also been analysed in detail by

OLE OLIVE-OIL

[b] *Documents*^{2} 476–83, *Interpretation* 240–58, *Textos* 45–46. Studies: Bennett 1958b, Hiller 1981.111–12, Carlier 1984.83–90, Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry* 63–106, Trümpy 1989, Weilhartner 2005.120–33.

C. W. Shelmerdine (*Perfume Industry* 63–106), who takes particular account of their grouping according to scribal hand and find-place.

D²/* One of the records, **247** = Fr 1184, clearly indicates that oil was being prepared in the palace workshops for use as unguent. This text has already been discussed on p. 750. The remainder of the series is almost all records of the issue of oil to various recipients, though a few are inventories. In many cases the oil is qualified by one or more of a series of adjectives which denote the perfume: *wo-do-we* = *wordowen* (cf. ῥοδόεντι … ἐλαίῳ *Il.* XXIII, 186) 'rose-scented', *pa-ko-we* = *sphakowen* 'sage-scented', *ku-pa-ro-we* = *kuparowen* 'cyperus-scented', *e-ti-we* (?). It is possible for oil to have two of these perfumes (1203, 1224). The single instance of *a-e-ti-to* is presumably the opposite of *e-ti-we*. The identification of this perfume is difficult; for a suggestion see the Glossary.

D²/* The OIL ideogram is sometimes in its simple form (1204, 1211, 1212, 1231, 1238), but more often is ligatured with syllabic signs, usually *A* or *PA*, less often *PO* and only once *WE* (1184). There is also one example of the compound ligature *AREPA* replacing OIL (1198, cf. **178** = Un 718.8). There are eight cases, all on tablets in Hand 2, where OIL+*PA* correlates with *pa-ko-we*, and it is never found associated with one of the other words indicating perfumes (except where *pa-ko-we* also occurs). It is therefore very likely that *PA* is here an abbreviation of *pa-ko-we*. Since none of the other perfume names begin with *a-* or *po-* (excluding of course *a-e-ti-to* which is negative), these ligatures must refer to something different. OIL+*A* is once found with *a-ro-pa* (1225) and it is tempting to assume that this is the meaning of *A*: *aloiphā* (ἀλοιφή) 'grease' or 'unguent'. There is no obvious correlation on these tablets for *PO*, but Foster (1977b.63–65) suggests a connexion with the commodity *po-ni-ki-jo* at Knossos, which may be the plant alkanet, which produces a red dye. Although, however, we do have evidence for red-dyed perfume in antiquity, this identification cannot be confirmed.

D² The other word which appears to describe the oil rather than its use is *we-a-re-pe* (with variant spelling *we-ja-re-pe*). This would appear to be a derivative of ἀλειφ-; cf. δι-ηλιφής (Sophocles). There is some reason to think that *we-* before a vowel may represent *u-*; cf. *we-je-ke-a*$_2$ in the Glossary; thus a possible interpretation is *ualeiphes* 'for smearing on'. It is thus an alternative way of describing unguent, and it never appears on the same tablet as *AREPA* or *a-ro-pa*; but on three of its four appearances it is followed by OIL+*A*; on the fourth there is no ideogram written. Thus even if the form is not exact, it is very likely to be a description of unguent.

D²/* The word *ke-se-ni-wi-jo* (1231), cf.]*nu-wi-jo* (1255), is plainly *ksenwion* 'of guests'. The word is also used of textiles where it must mean 'provided for or given as gifts to guests', or 'of guest-gift type'. Since in this case we know that the oil was being given to another recipient, Potnia, it may here mean 'received by way of a guest-gift'.

D²/* The analysis of the remaining parts of the texts is more difficult. We can easily identify entries of the following types:

(1) Persons, some at least of whom are divine, in the dative case: *po-se-da-o-ne* = *Poseidāōnei*, *wa-na-ka-te* = *Wanaktei*, *po-ti-ni-ja* = *Potniāi*, *ti-ri-se-ro-e* = *Trishērōhei* (cf. **309** = PY Tn 316.5, see p. 846), *te-o-i* = *theoihi*, probably *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i*, most likely 'to the people (or gods) of *Pa-ki-jānes*', *a-pi-qo-ro-i* 'to the attendants'.
(2) Addresses: *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* = *Lousiōi agrōi* (dative; or locative?), *pa-ki-ja-na-de* = *P…ānas-de*, *di-wi-jo-de* = *Diwyon-de* 'to the shrine of Zeus'.
(3) Date: *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* (1224) = *P…ānioio mēnos* 'in the month of P.'; for a month-name derived from a place, cf. Attic Μουνυχιών.

D² It is therefore reasonable to try to fit the more opaque terms into the framework so provided. But some preliminary cautions must be issued. It is possible for an address to be sufficient: *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* (1220.1). Equally the recipient, as we may term the 'person' receiving the oil, may stand alone: *ti-ri-se-ro-e* (1204), *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (1225) 'the Mistress of Hyp …'; in such cases we may presume that the recipient has only one address. Thus where a recipient has several addresses, we are entitled to infer that one of the other words in the entry is effectively the address.

D² There is only one clear case of a date (1224) and that in a text which contains no address. Since the month *Pa-ki-ja-nios* was presumably named after a festival celebrated at the place *Pa-ki-jānes*, it might in effect serve as an address. Thus although we cannot exclude the possibility that other opaque words are the names of festivals, we are entitled to presume that they could serve the purpose of locating the destination of the oil in space rather than time. Thus our three types of entries can be reduced to two.

D² The question must now be faced whether any entry contains two separate recipients, that is, excluding plurals or duals such as *te-o-i*. It should be observed that the copula *-qe* is never added to the words under discussion, though it is used with an epithet describing the oil (*wo-do-we-qe* 1223.2, which, whether or not there was a word in the lacuna at the beginning of line 2, it is difficult to doubt is correlated with the description *pa-ko-we* in l. 1). On the other hand asyndeton occurs in *pa-ko-we e-ti-we* (1224). The reason for admitting two recipients is that it permits an attractive solution of *wa-na-so-i* as dative dual *wanassoïn* 'to the two queens'. Although there is no evidence for the form of the dative of the dual of a feminine *s*-stem, the nominative in *-o* and the analogy of -οιν in *o*-stems in Homer makes the formation plausible. Against this it may be argued that *-*ky*- yields Myc. *z*, and that **wanak-yə* would thus be spelt **wa-na-za*; however, this difficulty may perhaps be circumvented by supposing ἄνασσα to be derived from **wanakt-yə*, with the *-t-* of the declension of ἄναξ already apparent in Mycenaean.

* Apart from the problem of the asyndeton, however, there is no clear parallel elsewhere on the tablets for the making of a joint offering to two different recipients, one of whom is recorded elsewhere in the same series as the sole recipient of an offering (cf. Carlier 1984.88; for *wa-na-so-i* as the sole recipient of an offering, see Fr 1222). It seems preferable therefore to regard *wa-na-so-i* either as an address, a locative plural indicating the name of a shrine or locality (JC), or alternatively – and perhaps more likely – the title of a group of religious functionaries – priests or the like – who act as intermediaries between the donor, the palace and the god (Gallavotti 1959.101, Hiller 1981.111–12, Mühlestein 1983, Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry* 73–78; cf. Bennett 1958b.50). We can adduce in support of this explanation the frequent appearance in 'religious offering' contexts of dative plurals of the recipient, many of them at least the descriptions of human groupings: see e.g. *tu-ra-te-u-si*,]*wo-no-wa-ṭi-si* PY Vn 48, *o-wi-de-ta-i* PY **178** = Un 718, and the many examples in the parallel *Fh* OIL records at Knossos (*de-u-jo-i* Fh 352, *o-mi-ri-jo-i* Fh 356, *ru-do-ro-i̯* Fh 5498, etc.). On **178** = Un 718, moreover, the offerings given to the *o-wi-de-ta*(*-i*) are described in the heading as *dosmoi* 'contributions' to Poseidon; and the *o-wi-de-ta* may therefore be priests or the like who receive these gifts on behalf of the god (Palmer, *Interpretation* 216).

D²/* If *wa-na-so-i* is a dative of the recipient, and refers to a group of cult functionaries, this explanation would then apply equally to *di-pi-si-jo-i*, which is parallel to it. And we can now explain *wa-na-se-wi-jo* and *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* as adjectival forms derived from the names. Their form, with a suffix *-e-wi-jo*, is surprising, but it is common enough in later Greek, where -ηϊος, which began with stems in -εύς (e.g. βασιλεύς, βασιλήϊος), was freely extended to other stems (e.g. πολεμήϊος). It is noticeable that *wa-na-so-i* and *wa-na-se-wi-jo*, as *di-pi-si-jo-i* and *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*, are mutually exclusive alternatives, and may thus have the same semantic value. One possibility is that they are the names of places (shrines or the like) occupied by the *wa-na-so*(*-i*) and *di-pi-si-jo*(*-i*) (Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry* 78–79); another that they are festival-names (cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* 250–51). A further alternative, however, is that they qualify the oil (ἔλαιϝον) handled by these groups (Doria 1960.201 and n. 50, Carlier 1984.89); as both Doria and Carlier point out, if this were the case, we could neatly explain the variant *wa-na-se-wi-ja* on Fr 1221 as the feminine of the word, qualifying the ἀλοιφή 'unguent' which is probably recorded on this tablet. There may be a comparable, though not identical, usage in the *Fh* OIL tablets at Knossos; cf. the possessives in *-e-jo*, based on personal names and seemingly qualifying OIL, found on three of these records: *ko-ki-de-jo* < *ko-ki-da* Fh 5465, *ku-ru-me-ne-jo* < *ku-ru-me-no*, Κλύμενος Fh 5502, *o-pa-wo-ne-ja* < **o-pa-wo* Fh 339.

D²/* Whether these words have Greek etymologies is another question. The spelling *wa-no-so-i* (1219) may be a mere error for *wa-na-so-i*; but if not, it could point

to a non-Greek name; cf. the formally obscure and quite probably non-Greek *de-u-jo-i*, *o-mi-ri-jo-i* and *ru-do-ro-i̯* among the names of recipients on the OIL records at Knossos. The obvious interpretation of *di-pi-si-jo-i* as *dipsioihi* (= διψίοις) has given rise to the ingenious theory that the thirsty ones are the dead who require drink-offerings (Guthrie 1959.45–46); but if this were correct we should again encounter the difficulty of two different beneficiaries sharing the same offering: see Fr 1220.2 (*di-pi-si-jo-i wa-na-ka-te*). Adrados (1968) has drawn attention to the Thessalian month name Δίψιος and insists rightly that this must reflect a cult title; he suspects a goddess *Διψία, perhaps a name for the Earth. Though we cannot accept his suggestion that *di-pi-si-jo-i* is a nominative plural in -οι, these could, as he proposes, be 'the priests of Dipsia'. Since neither *wa-na-so-i* nor *di-pi-si-jo-i* is anywhere certainly linked with an address, each of these groups (if this is what they were) was presumably in a single location; mention of the name would thus be the equivalent of stating an address.

D² Finally, we must attempt to assign the other terms to appropriate categories. *Re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo* (343) is associated with Poseidon, the variant *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* (1217) with the address *Pa-ki-jānes*. The Homeric phrase στορέσαι λέχος (*Il.* IX, 621, 660) 'to make a bed' strongly supports an interpretation *lekhe-strōtērion* (Bennett 1958b.31), but in what sense it is to be taken is not clear. Palmer (*Interpretation* 251) takes it as the name of a festival and refers it to the ἱερὸς γάμος; but it might also refer to a divine banquet, where food is offered to the images of the gods reclining at table. The variant spelling has been variously explained; Palmer (*Interpretation* 251) and Lejeune (*Mémoires* II.373–75) propose to treat it as a contact form rather than a true compound, Palmer finding in it a dual *lekhe(h)e*, Lejeune a dative *lekhe(h)ei*. Alternatively, the intrusive -*e*- may be explained away as *en* or *es* (from *eks*) attached to the second member of the compound. Neither of these solutions is convincing, and the origin of the longer form must remain obscure.

D²/* The form *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (1222) is similar in structure, and may again be the name of a festival; possible etymological explanations are discussed on p. 856.

D²/* The word *po-ro-wi-to* occurs on two, possibly three, tablets (1221, 1232; 1218?). It is not likely to be a description of oil, and it is associated with *wa-na-se-wi-ja* and *di-pi-si-jo-i* which we have analysed as effective indications of address. It seems therefore that it must be either a (final) recipient or an indication of date. The second explanation has been favoured by the occurrence of its genitive, *po-ro-wi-to-jo*, at the head of PY **309** = Tn 316. If it is really a month-name, it is tiresome that the word *me-no* does not occur with it (as it does with *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo* **315** = Fr 1224); the etymological explanation *Plōwistos* 'the month of sailing' is plausible. But the suspicion must remain that it is really the name of a person or deity to whom the offering is made.

D²/* Similar considerations apply to *me-tu-wo ne-wo* (perhaps to be read as one word) in Fr 1202. Here the recipient is plainly given, so it must be either an address or a date. Etymological interpretation leads to μέθυ, but if this is genitive μέθυος, then *ne-wo* is problematical, unless we assume a short genitive in *-ō* (p. 862). A plural *methuōn newōn* is hardly likely.

D²/* Finally, we can approach the question of the identity of the recipients. Poseidon and Potnia (with her various epithets) are divine; so is *Mātēr theiā* 'the Divine Mother' (= Mother of the Gods?). *Trishērōs* is among the recipients of offerings on **309** = Tn 316, so must presumably be a deity (perhaps a demi-god). This establishes a strong case for taking *Wanaks* 'the King' as a cult-title of a deity; cf. the use of ἄναξ in invocations of gods in Homer. It is true that in some contexts at Pylos important human recipients, including perhaps the *wanaks*, are named side by side with divinities; see e.g. Un 219, where objects or commodities are given to Artemis, Potnia and Hermes, but also to the *lāwāgetās*, *e-ke-ra-<wo->ne*, *te-qi-<ri->jo-ne* and *a-na-ka-te*, possibly = *wa-na-ka-te*. But, whatever the explanation of this phenomenon, we can hardly regard *wanaks* on the present tablets, where the recipients are overwhelmingly and may exclusively be divine (see further below, this page), and where *wanaks* himself appears in parallel with Potnia (Fr 1235), simply as the human, non-deified king of Pylos. The possibility does remain open, however, that the (human) *wanaks* was regarded as a deity (see most recently Carlier 1998.414), though there is no evidence elsewhere in the records to support that idea. In view of the preponderance of divine recipients in the series (who may include *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i*: see p. 852), we may also be encouraged to take *a-pi-qo-ro-i* = *amphik^{w}oloihi* (Fr 1205) as here the title of some group of attendant deities, rather than the human palace servants listed on Aa 804 (cf. Ad 690) and probably at Thebes on **243** = Of 34.

D² The word *e-re-de* (1228) looks at first sight like a place-name with allative *-de*, but it is hard to suggest a form for an accusative which would end in *-e* in Mycenaean script. To suppose an *e*-grade of an *s*-stem, *Heles* (Palmer, *Interpretation* 247), seems arbitrary. Lejeune's suggestion of a form in *-ēn*, answering to the similar Arcadian forms from stems in -εύς (e.g. ηιερέν), seems equally doubtful. The form recurs together with *ma-se-de* on Mn 1411, a fragment; no other place-names are found with *-de* in the *Mn* series. It does not seem impossible that it is really dative singular from a stem in *-d-*, but a final decision must depend upon more information.

312 = Fr 1202 (S1202 H 2)

.A v 4
.a , pa-ko-we
.B me-tu-wo , ne-wo , ma-te-re , te-i-ja OLE+*PA* 5 s 1

D²/* To the Divine Mother at M…, sage-scented oil: 200 l.

D² *me-tu-wo ne-wo*: see p. 855.
D² *ma-te-re te-i-ja*: *mātrei* is preferable to *māterei*, but the form is ambiguous; *theïjāi* = θείᾳ.
D² *pa-ko-we*: *sphakowen*, see p. 851.
D²/* The quantity is surprisingly large, but a similar amount occurs in 1206 and rather more than half this on 1208, though the latter may well be an inventory, rather than a record of an issue (Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry* 99).

313 = Fr 1220 (S1202 H 2)

.1 ro-u-si-jo , a-ko-ro , pa-ko-we OLE+*PA* V 4̣
.2 di-pi-si-jo-i , wa-na-ka-te OLE+*PA* S 1

D²/* For the Lusian territory, sage-scented oil: 8 l.

To the Dipsioi, for the King, sage-scented oil: 12 l.

D² *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*: *Lousiōi agrōi* if dative, but possibly to be taken as locative; cf. **250** = PY Vn 10.4.
D² *di-pi-si-jo-i*: see pp. 853–54.

314 = Fr 1222 (S1202 H 2)

.a OLE+*PA* V 1
wa-na-so-i , to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo

D²/* *To the* W…, *for the holding of the throne*: sage-scented oil: 2 l.

D²/* *wa-na-so-i*: see pp. 852–54.
D² *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*: many interpretations of this word have been attempted. It seems most plausible to take *to-no-* as *thorno-* = θρονο- as in the furniture tablets (**264–66**); cf. *lekhe-* in the parallel compound *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, Fr 343, Fr 1217. The second member is then perhaps *hektērion* (ἕχω), but *helktērion* (ἕλκω) cannot be excluded. Palmer's *stonoegertērion* 'the raising of the lamentation' (*Interpretation* 252) is exceedingly ingenious and might conceivably be right.

315 = Fr 1224 (S1202 H 2)

.a pa-ko-we , e-ti-we
pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no , po-se-da-o-ne OLE+*PA* Z 2

D²/* In the month *Pakijanios*, for Poseidon: sage and … -scented oil: 1 l.

D² *e-ti-we*: see Glossary.

316 = Fr 1225 (S1217 Cii)

.1 e-ra$_3$-wo , u-po-jo , po-ti-ni-ja
.2 we-a$_2$-no-i , a-ro-pa OLE+*A* S 1

D²/* Olive oil for the Mistress of *Hyp*…, ointment for robes: 12 l. oil.

D² *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja*: also mentioned at **330** = Fn 187.8, where she receives barley and figs, and at Fr 1236, which locates her in the territory of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*.

D² *we-a_2-no-i*: *wehanoihi* = ἑανοῖς 'for robes' (cf. Skt. *vasanam*).

D² *a-ro-pa*: *aloiphā* 'ointment'.

2. OFFERINGS TO DIVINITIES AT KNOSSOS (Fp, Fs, F, Ga, Gg, M, Oa, V)

(1) OFFERINGS OF OLIVE OIL[b]

D/* Ten of the eleven tablets of the *Fp(1)* series were found by Evans at the beginning of the campaign of 1900, lying in a bath-shaped receptacle of clay at basement level between the East Propylaeum and the Central Court (point *A* on Fig. 5.1, p. 215), together with the remains of the wooden box in which they and the *Fs* series (see pp. 865–66) had been neatly filed in order. Though the eleventh tablet, Fp(1) 48, is alleged to have been found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (*C* on the plan), it probably came from the same location (Driessen 2000.20 n. 8, Firth 2002.183). The identification of their only ideogram as 'olive oil', first tentatively suggested by Furumark (1954b.33–34) and Bennett (*MT* I.448), was later confirmed by the vocalisation *e-ra$_2$-wo* on a number of the Pylos *Fr* tablets.

D/* It is clear from the month-names which introduce each tablet that the records relate to monthly offerings sent to a number of places, priests and divinities. It is not always easy to decide in which of these categories the listed names are to be placed, but the allative accusative ending *-de* may be taken as a criterion of place-names. The totalling entries on **317** = Fp(1) 1.12 and Fp(1) 30 make it more likely that the offerings have already taken place (Palmer, *Interpretation* 235) than that this is part of a calendar specifying future offerings.

* Weilhartner (2005.225, 2012.212–17) has suggested that the oil in this series and the honey recorded on the *Gg(1)* and *Gg(3)* records of religious offerings, also at Knossos, were used for libations.

* The contents of the series, in terms of the months and recipients/destinations it records and the amounts given to each of the recipients, are set out in the table that follows (cf. Chadwick 1966b.29). The table does not cover Fp(1) 30, which is evidently a totalling tablet (see further p. 862).

[b] *Documents*[1] 303–08, *Documents*[2] 475, *Interpretation* 235–37, *Textos* 46–47, *Anthology* 257–61. Studies: Chadwick 1966b.27–30, Weilhartner 2005.21–28.

	MONTH	de-u-ki-jo-jo	di-wi-jo-jo	ka-ra-e-ri-jo				ra-pa-to	a-ma-ko-to	wo-de-wi-jo	
RECIPIENT	Fp(1)	1	5	6	7	15	18	13	14	16	48
a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja		4						18			
a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja u-ta-no								9			
a-re									1 (+?)		
au-ri-mo-de								4			
da-da-re-jo-de		12									
di-ka-ta-jo di-we, di-ka-ta-de		6			6 (+?)						
e-ke-se-si (?)									1		
e-ri-nu		3									
pa-de		6									6
pa-si-te-o-i		18	6	6		6	6	6		6	6 (+?)
pa-si-te-o-i a-mi-ni-so(-de)		6 (+?)							12		6
pi-pi-tu-na								1			
qe-ra-si-ja		6 (+?)	6	6				6	6		6
qe-ra-si-jo							6?			6	
si-ja-ma-to											12
*47-da-de		1									
*47-ku-to-de								1			
*56-ti						12					

Note: Amounts are expressed in V units

* Certain clear patterns are apparent in the entries. Before we turn to examine this patterning, however, it will be convenient to comment briefly on each of the recipients named in the series.

D/* *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*: *Anemōn hiereiāi* 'to the priestess of the winds'. See the article Ἄνεμοι in *Paulys RE*, I, 2, cols 2176–80. Compare Herodotus VII, 178: Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ

χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται 'The Delphians in accordance with the oracle even now appease the winds'; further the Εὐδάνεμοι at Athens and Ἀνεμοκοῖται at Corinth. The second of the two 'priestesses of the winds' on Fp(1) 13 is located at the place *u-ta-no*; the first, for whom no location is given, is presumably at Knossos, and the same doubtless holds good for the priestess on **317** = Fp(1) 1, for whom again no location is specified. For discussion of the location of the places mentioned on 'offerings' records at Knossos, including *u-ta-no*, and the conclusion that most at least seem likely to have been close to Knossos – we have no certain records of offerings at Phaistos, Kudonia, etc. – see Killen 1987b.

* *a-re*: probably '(to) Ares'; for discussion of the form and case, see **318** = Fp(1) 14. Though *a-re* on KN Mc 4462.B has sometimes been taken as a man's name, it may again be the theonym, here named as the recipient of the one unit of the commodity **150* which is listed after the term, possibly an *aparchē* from the tribute of **150* and other commodities which is recorded on this tablet (Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1121–22).

* *au-ri-mo-de*: an allative in *-de*, doubtless referring to a shrine or sanctuary.

* *da-da-re-jo-de*: *Daidaleion-de* 'to the shrine of Daedalus', cf. Δαίδαλος *Il.* XVIII, 592. The form is a substantivised possessive adjective in *-e-jo* (probably *-eiio̯s*) derived from the name (Ruijgh, *Études* 263, Killen 1983a.70).

D/* *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*: *Diktaiōi Diwei* 'to Zeus of Dikte'. The offering *di-ka-ta-de* 'to Dikte' on Fp(1) 7 is almost certainly again to Zeus there. The association of Zeus with Mount Dikte (now Ἀφέντης Χριστός in the Λασιθιώτικα ὄρη), which perhaps results from syncretism with a 'Minoan' mountain god, is explained in Hesiod's *Theogony* 477–84: these lines describe how Rhea was smuggled from the mainland to the Cretan town of Lyktos, taken to Dikte and hidden in the cave in the 'Aegean Mountain' where she gave birth to Zeus. Ζεὺς Δικταῖος is, for example, invoked in the civic oath of Itanos (Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3] 526): Δία Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐν Δίκτᾳ καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα καὶ θεοὺς ὅσσοις ἐν Ἀθαναίᾳ θύεται πάντας 'By Zeus Dictaios and Hera and the gods in Dicte and Athena Polias and all the gods to whom sacrifice is made in the temple of Athena'; and discussed (with a different location of the mountain) by Strabo X, 4, 12: Εἴρηται δέ, ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Πραισὸς, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δίκτη πλησίον, οὐχ, ὡς Ἄρατος, 'ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο'· καὶ γὰρ χιλίους ἡ Δίκτη τῆς Ἴδης ἀπέχει 'and it is said that because Praisos belonged to the Eteocretans, it is for that reason that there is a temple of Dictaean Zeus there. For Dicte is near, not as Aratus says near Mt Ida. For Dicte is a thousand stades distant from Ida'.

D/* Evans (1897.350) lent his support to the identification of the Δικταῖον ἄντρον (Strabo X, 4, 8) with the cave near the village of Psykhro, 30 km south-east of Knossos, where continuous votive deposits from MM II down to Geometric have come to light since its first exploration by Halbherr and Hatzidakis in 1886. Other scholars, however (Halbherr, Orsi, Bosanquet and Marinatos) have expressed doubts about this identification; cf. Boardman 1961.2–3. Such limited evidence as there is on the tablets for the location of *di-ka-ta* points more in the direction of Mt Ida, where Aratus located Dikte (see above, previous note), than of Psykhro or the Far East of the island (Killen 1987b.172–73).

* *e-ke-se-si*: for discussion of this term, perhaps a dative plural indicating a group of divinities or priests, see **318** = Fp(1) 14.

D/* *e-ri-nu*: '(to) the Fury' (Erinūs); for discussion of the case, see **317** = Fp(1) 1. In addition to her (or their) function as an avenging deity, Ἐρινύς appears as an epithet of Demeter in Arcadia (Pausanias VIII, 25, 6, etc.) and in Hesychius' gloss E. = Ἀφροδίτης εἴδωλον 'an image of Aphrodite'; so that her early status is uncertain.

* *pa-de*: evidently a theonym; cf. *pa-de* KN Fs 8, *Ga(3)* 456, *pa-de-i* **323** = Ga 953, all certain or probable 'religious offering' records. For discussion of the form, and of the case here, see **317** = Fp(1) 1.

D/* *pa-si-te-o-i* = *pansi theoihi* 'to all the gods'. See the article 'Pantheon' in *Paulys RE*, XVIII, 3, cols 698–730. The dedication of shrines and offerings πᾶσιν θεοῖς or θεοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ πάσαις seems to have had its widest vogue in Hellenistic times. Pausanias records two altars θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ 'to all the gods in common' at Olympia (V, 14, 8; 15, 1; 15, 10), as well as others elsewhere in the Peloponnese. There are two offerings 'to all the gods' on **317** = Fp(1) 1 and Fp(1) 48, the second specified as 'at Amnisos' (Fp(1) 1), 'to Amnisos' (Fp(1) 48). There is also an offering of this type 'to Amnisos' on **318** = Fp(1) 14. The other offerings 'to all the gods' on Fp(1) 1, Fp(1) 48 and elsewhere in the series, where no location is specified, were presumably made at Knossos.

D/* *pi-pi-tu-na*: probably a divine name of pre-Hellenic origin; not attested elsewhere. Furumark (1954b.34) compares Δίκτυννα in form.

D²/* *qe-ra-si-ja*: probably a theonym; possibly *K^w^hērāsiāi* 'to the Huntress' (Palmer, *Interpretation* 236). If so, compare πότνια θηρῶν 'queen of the wild beasts' *Il.* XXI, 470.

* *qe-ra-si-jo*: though this might merely be a scribal error for *qe-ra-si-ja*, there are reasons for taking it as a separate recipient, perhaps the male equivalent of *q.*; see p. 861.

* *si-ja-ma-to*: perhaps the name of a priest rather than a theonym. The term recurs on KN U 4478, where it is almost certainly a man's name, like the terms in parallel with it; note also *si-ja-ṃạ*[KN Fp(2) 5472, where the relatively small quantities of oil and perhaps the scribal hand (222?) may indicate a religious context (see too]*de* on l. 3, possibly an allative), but where the recipient on l. 1, *su-ko*(*-ne*), is again likely to be a man (cf. MN *su-ko* KN V(3) 479). *Si-ja-ma-ṭọ* [also occurs on KN X 451.1 above *pa-sa-ja*[on l. 2: very likely the theonym (?) *pa-sa-ja* mentioned on KN **323** = Ga 953.

* **47-da-de*, **47-ku-to-de*: both allatives in *-de*, doubtless referring to shrines or sanctuaries. **47-da*(*-de*) may recur on KN Xd 100 (]**47-da*); **47-ku-to*(*-de*) is not found elsewhere. Since the names are clearly of pre-Hellenic origin, the shrines in question may also have been used in earlier, Minoan cult. Cf. the allative **47-so-de* on KN Fh 351, etc., also not found outside that series.

* **56-ti*: probably a theonym; for discussion of its form and case, see **317** = Fp(1) 1 (s.v. *pa-de*). Also very likely on KN Fh 9077 (**56-ti*[ ); also, in the variant spelling **56-i-ti*, on Fh 1057. For discussion of **56-ṭi-ti-jẹ*[Fh 5487, see p. 863.

* Of the sixteen recipients and addressees mentioned in the series (counting *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja* and *pa-si-te-o-i* as single recipients, regardless of where the offering to them is made, and *qe-ra-si-ja* and *qe-ra-si-jo* as separate recipients), some are found only once in the series, others only twice. Two, however, occur much

more often: *qe-ra-si-ja* (six appearances) and *pa-si-te-o-i* (nine, viz. on every tablet but one [Fp(1) 7] where the text is sufficiently complete to allow us to say this). Two of the surviving ten 'normal' records (i.e. excluding Fp(1) 30) list offerings only to *qe-ra-si-ja* and *pa-si-te-o-i*; on four of the others offerings to *q*. and *p*. are listed next to each other.

* Four of the six month-names in the series appear on only one record: *de-u-ki-jo* (Fp(1) 1), *di-wi-jo* (Fp(1) 5), *ra-pa-to* (Fp(1) 13) and *a-ma-ko-to* (Fp(1) 14). *Wo-de-wi-jo*, however, appears on two records (Fp(1) 16, 48), while *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* is found on four. While a longer record like Fp(1) 1 could have been compiled from a set of shorter slips like the *wo-de-wi-jo* and *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* records, the differing numbers of tablets with these month-names may simply reflect the fact that whereas all the *de-u-ki-jo* offerings (Fp(1) 1) were made or despatched simultaneously, those in the other two months took place in stages. Note, however, that the offering to *pa-si-te-o-i* on Fp(1) 1.5 (OLE 1) is three times the amount offered to *pa-si-te-o-i* on each of the three *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* tablets which contain the term (s 1). Since the amounts given to particular recipients are regularly – though not always – identical throughout the series, this might mean that the figure on Fp(1) 1 is a total for three separate offerings 'to all the gods' (Melena 1974a.95).

* No two records containing the same month-name list an identical set of offerings; indeed, apart from the ubiquitous *pa-si-te-o-i*, no recipient receives more than one offering in the same month. (This assumes that *qe-ra-si-ja* and *qe-ra-si-jo*, both found on *wo-de-wi-jo* records, are different recipients.) The much greater frequency of *pa-si-te-o-i* offerings may reflect the fact that offerings 'to all the gods' were made at regular intervals throughout each month: Melena (1974a.95) suggests once every ten days. Offerings of this type may have been a fail-safe mechanism, designed to avert the anger of gods who had not been given their own earmarked allocation (Maddoli 1963.117). The six month-names are discussed beneath.

D/* *de-u-ki-jo-jo*: also possibly on KN Fh 5502 (*de-u-ḳ̣i-jo*[ ), though none of the other *Fh* tablets mentions a month-name. Cf. the man's name *de-u-ki-jo* MY **44** = Au 102, perhaps *Deukios* or *Deukiōn*.

D/* *di-wi-jo-jo*: *Diwioio* (*mēnos*). Cf. Δῖος, first month of the Macedonian year, also in use in Aetolia, Lesbos, etc. Cf.]*wi-jo-jo* KN F 726, though this could also be *wo-de-*]*wi-jo-jo* (see above, this page).

D/* *ka-ra-e-ri-jo*: almost certainly also on Gg(1) 7369, M(1) 1645 (*ka-*]*ra-e-ri-jo-jo*).]*ka-ra-e-i-jo* *Fp(2)* 354 is perhaps an erroneous or variant spelling of the month-name, rather than the name of a recipient, as Melena suggests (1974a.82–83); for an order 1. recipient 2. month-name, cf. Fp(1) 18.

D *ra-pa-to*: as was first pointed out by Sittig, the name of this month survives in the Arcadian μηνὸς Λαπάτω of an inscription of Orchomenos (Schwyzer, *Dial*. 667).

D²/* *a-ma-ko-to*: not found elsewhere; possibly *Haimaktos* (αἱμακτός 'bloody' Euripides).

D/D²/* *wo-de-wi-jo*: also on V 280 and **323** = Ga 953 (*wo-de-w̥i̯-jo-jo*); probably *Wordēwios* '(month) of roses' (Petruševski 1959.104).

D/* The word *mēnos* (or *mēnnos*) recurs at Knossos on Ga 5672, Gg(1) 704, 5552, 8053 and M 724, but the month-names are unfortunately lost. On **327** = Oa 745.1, a month-name in *-jo-jo* precedes *me-no*, but it is uncertain whether *a-ka-*[at the beginning of the line is part of the same word. To the six months listed above we may perhaps add *sa-pa-nu-wo* if this is to be separated from the following *me-no* at Knossos (X 999) and *po-ro-wi-to-jo* and *ki-ri-ti-jo-jo* at Pylos. But the calendar at Pylos differed in at least one respect from that at Knossos, as witness the reference to the month of *Pa-ki-ja-ne* on **315** = Fr 1224, and it could have differed in others. None of the names identified show the typical Attic-Ionic month formation in -ιών, which is probably a comparatively late secondary development.

D²/* In all cases but one in the series, the month-name is followed by *me-no*, written either suprascript or in smaller characters than what preceded it; the probable *m̥e̯*[*-no* on Fp(1) 18 is again written small. The exception is on Fp(1) 6, where *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* appears alone. *Me-no* is clearly the genitive *mēnos* or *mēnnos*; the use of this term with forms in both *-o* (*ka-ra-e-ri-jo*, etc.) and *-o-jo* (*de-u-ki-jo-jo*, etc.) has given rise to the theory that the *o-* stems in Mycenaean have alternative genitives in *-ō* and *-oio* (Luria 1957, Morpurgo 1960.41–43, Hajnal 1995.247–69). The question cannot be finally resolved, but the alleged form in *-o* is curiously restricted in usage, and the epigraphic evidence just noted may mean that the month-name and *me-no* are syntactically dissociated, and that the former is the 'neutral' nominative of rubric (Chadwick 1958c, Palmer, *Interpretation* 235, Melena 1974a.81, 84, 86, Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1109–15). For the possibility that a number of the recipients' names in the series are also nominatives of rubric, see further p. 863.

* Finally, mention should be made of Fp(1) 30, a one-line tablet showing *to-so-*[on the obverse and *ko-no*[on the reverse. The presence of *to-so-*[suggests that this is a totalling record; since all the offerings in the series appear to have been despatched from Knossos, with some actually taking place there, *ko-no*[might well be *ko-no*[*-so* or an adjective derived from it.

D For a cuneiform parallel to the Knossos *Fp* tablets, compare Alalakh nos 309–18 (Wiseman 1953.92), which record monthly issues of barley and sesame-oil to temples and priests. E.g.:

309: In the month of Tammuz, 1½ (?) *qa* of barley to the gods, 1½ *qa* to Tarḫuziti, 1 *qa* to the goddess Ḫepat, 1 *qa* to the carpenters, ½ *qa* to the gods, ½ *qa* to Beruwa. Total 6½ (*sic*).

310: In the month of Iyyar, 1½ (?) *qa* of barley to the gods, 1½ *qa* to Tarḫuziti, 5 *qa* to Beruwa, 5 *qa* to the aldermen. Total 13.

317 = Fp(1) 1 (138)

.1 de-u-ki-jo-jo 'me-no'
.2 di-ka-ta-jo / di-we OLE S 1
.3 da-da-re-jo-de OLE S 2
.4 pa-de OLE S 1
.5 pa-si-te-o-i OLE 1
.6 qe-ra-si-ja OLE S 1[
.7 a-mi-ni-so , / pa-si-te-o-i S 1[
.8 e-ri-nu , OLE V 3
.9 *47-da-de OLE V 1
.10 a-ne-mo , / i-je-re-ja V 4
.11 *vacat*
.12 to-so OLE 3 S 2 V 2

D/* In the month of Deukios:

To Diktaian Zeus:	12 l. oil.
To the Daidaleion:	24 l. oil.
To *Pa-de*:	12 l. oil.
To all the gods:	36 l. oil.
To *the Huntress*:	12 (+?) l. oil.
Amnisos: to all the gods:	12 (+?) l. (oil).
To Erinys:	6 l. oil.
To **47-da*:	2 l. oil.
To the priestess of the winds:	8 l. (oil).
(total) 136 l. of oil.	

* *pa-de*: also in this form on Fp(1) 48, Fs 8, *Ga(3)* 456. It is unclear what name the graph conceals; Ruijgh (*Études* 88) suggests *Pandēs*. The case is also problematical; some take it as an alternative dative to *pa-de-i* **323** = Ga 953 (Landau, *Personennamen* 94, Palmer, *Interpretation* 440, Ruijgh (ibid.), JC), others as a nominative in *-ēs*, with *pa-de-i* the regular dative from this (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.265 n. 43). A similar problem arises over others of the theonyms in the series: *e-ri-nu* on the present tablet, *a-re* on **318** = Fp(1) 14 and **56-ti* on Fp(1) 15. Though these also are commonly taken as datives, it can be argued in favour of their being nominatives (of rubric) that just as we have *pa-de-i* besides *pa-de*, so we have *e-ri-nu-we*, albeit erased, on **328** = V 52 edge besides *e-ri-nu*, and probably *a-re-i*, via the compound names *a-re-i̯-me-ne*, *Areimenēs* 'steadfast in war' TH Z 849, Z 851 and *a-re-i-ze-we-i* TH Of 37, besides *a-re*. Moreover, since we now know that *i*-stems in Mycenaean regularly show the inflexion *-i-jo* (gen.), *-i-je* (dat.), it is possible that **56-i̯-ti-je̯*[Fh 5487 is the dative of **56-(i-)ti* rather than a derived adjective (Morpurgo Davies 1999.396 n. 18). Moreover, nominatives of rubric may have been particularly favoured by the scribe of the *Fp(1)* tablets: see p. 862 on *ka-ra-e-ri-jo*, *wo-de-wi-jo*, etc., and note that *pa-de-i*, *e-ri-nu-we*, *a-re-i̯-me-ne*, *a-re-i-ze-we-i* and **56-i̯-ti-je̯*[all appear on tablets and vases written by other scribes.

* *a-mi-ni-so*: though this might be the heading to a separate section of the record, on ll. 7–10, it is much more likely to apply only to the *pa-si-te-o-i* entry; cf. *a-mi-ni-so-de pa-si-te-o-i* **318** = Fp(1) 14, **323** = Ga 953.

D/* The numeral on one of lines 6 or 7 must be restored as 2 to produce the total on l. 12. Note that whereas *qe-ra-si-ja* entries elsewhere in the series always involve s 1, the amount in the *a-mi-ni-so-de* / *pa-si-te-o-i* entry on Fp(1) 14 is s 2.

318 = Fp(1) 14 (138)

.1a me-no OLE
.1b a-ma-ko-to , / jo-te-re-pa-to , // e-ke-se-si v 1
.2 qe-ra-si-ja s 1 a-mi-ni-so-de , / pa-si-te-o-i s 2
a-re ṿ [

D/* In the month of *A-ma-ko-to*:
… 2 l. oil.
To *the Huntress*: 12 litres.
To Amnisos, to all the gods: 24 litres.
To Ares: 2 (+?) litres.

* *jo-te-re-pa-to e-ke-se-si*: neither term is transparent. *E-ke-se-si* might be a dative plural; cf. the dative plurals of the recipient on the KN *Fh* tablets (*de-u-jo-i*, *o-mi-ri-jo-i*, *ru-do-ro-i̯*, etc.) and elsewhere in 'religious' contexts, some referring to humans, others perhaps to groups of gods or the like. The initial *jo-* suggests that *jo-te-re-pa-to* might be *hō* 'how' plus a verbal form, but it is difficult to see what root or ending a verb *te-re-pa-to* could have.

319 = Fp(1) 13 (138)

.1 ra-pa-to 'me-no' , *47-ku-to-de OLE v 1 pi-pi-tu-na v 1
.2 au-ri-mo-de OLE v 4 pa-si-te-o-i s 1 qe-ra-si-ja s 1
.3 a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja OLE 1 u-ta-no , 'a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja' s 1 ṿ 3

D/* In the month of Lapatos:

To **47-ku-to*: 2 l. oil.
To *Pi-pi-tu-na*: 2 litres.
To *Au-ri-mo*: 8 l. oil.
To all the gods: 12 litres.
To *the Huntress*: 12 litres.
To the priestess of the Winds: 36 l. oil.
At *U-ta-no*, to the priestess of the Winds: 18 litres.

D Note that the oil ideogram is only entered in the first item of each line.

* Besides the Fp(1) records, there is a trace of another parallel series in a different hand (222). Fp(2) 363 is certainly by this writer, and *Fp(2)* 354, 5472 and 5504 may be. Further records of offerings of oil are found among the *Fh* tablets

certainly or possibly in hand 141. Oil, finally, is also among the commodities listed on the *Fs* tablets, most of which are in hand 139; discussion of these follows.

(ii) offerings of mixed foodstuffs and liquids[b]

D/* The relation between the *Fp(1)* tablets and the eighteen of the *Fs* series which were found with them is not altogether clear. These each contain an undated record of an issue of four to six commodities in more or less fixed order and in more or less constant amounts (the numbers in brackets show the surviving occurrences):

BARLEY: T 1 (13) T 2 (1)	=	12–24 litres.
FIGS: V 3 (11) T 1 (1)	=	6–12 litres.
FLOUR: V 1 (10) V 2 (3)	=	2–4 litres.
OIL: Z 1 (1) Z 2 (6) V 1 (3)	=	½–2 litres.
WINE: V 1 (7) V 2 (3)	=	2–4 litres.
HONEY: Nil (6) Z 1 (6) Z 2 (2)	=	½–1 litre.

On Fs 8, HONEY is measured by the jar (**211*[VAS]*+PO* 1[ ).

* One of the tablets (8) begins with *pa-de*, whose recurrence on the *Fp(1)* tablets confirms what was already likely in view of the find-place of the series, that the issues being listed are all religious offerings. See also *da-da-re*[on *Fs* 32 (now missing), which may be *da-da-re-jo-de*, *Daidaleion-de* **317** = Fp(1) 1. The multiple commodities suggest a *panspermia*; the tables of offerings with one or more circular depressions known from the archaeological record (*kernoi*) appear to be intended for offerings of this type (Guthrie 1959.37–38). For more on the Classical evidence for *panspermia* and the interpretation of the *Fs* tablets, see Weilhartner 2012.224–26.

D/* Some of the other introductory words have *-de*, which suggests that they are place-names. Others may be names of deities, persons or further places. Like the place-names, apart perhaps from *da-da-re*[*-jo-de*? and]*ki-ri-jo-de*[(cf.]*ri-jo-de* **323** = Ga 953), they are all unique to the series and of non-Greek appearance. In three cases, the introductory term in majuscule is followed by a second term written in smaller signs. These 'double term' records fall into two categories. On Fs 4, where *a-ro-do-ro-o* is followed by *wa-ḳẹ-ta* or *wa-ḍẹ-ta*, and **321** = Fs 11, where]*qe-sa-ma-qa* is followed by *ta-mi-te-mo*, two separate sets of issues are clearly recorded (Chadwick 1966b.32). On Fs 4, not only is *wa-ḳẹ-ta* followed by additional standard entries of T 1 of BARLEY and V 3 of FIGS: the amounts in the FLOUR, WINE, OIL and HONEY entries are all double the norm, suggesting that these commodities were shared equally between the two recipients

[b] *Documents*[1] 308, *Interpretation* 237. Studies: Chadwick 1966b.30–32, Weilhartner 2005.28–34, 2012.224–26, Varias García 2012.407–10.

(Chadwick 1966b.32.). On Fs 11, likewise, there is an extra standard BARLEY issue after *ta-mi-te-mo*, and the amounts in the FLOUR, WINE, OIL and HONEY entries are doubled. On **320** = *Fs* 3, however, which is not written by the scribe of the rest of the series, and where *a-*65-ma-na-ke* is followed by *me-na*, no additional or doubled amounts are found, presumably because the offering here has a single recipient. Though the suggestion can only be made very tentatively, it is possible that *me-na* is a goddess *Mēnā* or *Mēnnā* 'the Moon', who may also be recorded on KN E 842, and that *a-*65-ma-na-ke* (dative?) is the name of a priest who receives this offering on her behalf (Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1110–12).

* In two cases, different *Fs* tablets seem to have begun with the same term in majuscule. With *a-*65-ma-na-ke* on **320** = *Fs* 3, compare *ạ-*65-ma*[Fs 20; with *sa-na-to-de* Fs 2, compare]*n̤a̤-to-de* Fs 22.

320 = *Fs* 3 (-)

.A HORD T 1 *NI* V 3
.B a-*65-ma-na-ke / me-na FAR V 1 OLE Z 1

* To *A-*65-ma-na-ke*, *for the Moon Goddess*: 12 l. barley, 6 l. figs, 2 l. flour, ½ l. oil.

* For discussion of the initial *a-*65-ma-na-ke me-na*, see above, this page. For the identification of ideogram **129* as 'flour', see PY **178** = Un 718, where *me-re-u-ro*, *meleuron* 'flour' precedes the sign. Since the other terms which stand before ideograms on this record identify the commodities in question rather than qualifying them, **129* is unlikely to denote a particular variety of cereal which is here noted as being in flour form. On the prominence of barley and flour in 'religious' contexts in the tablets, see Killen 2004a.156–61.

321 = Fs 11 (139)

.A] HORD T 1 *NI* T 1 FAR V 2 VIN V 2
.B]qe-sa-ma-qa , ta-mi-te-mo , HORD T 1 OLE V 1
↓
v. *ME+R̤I̤* Z 2

* OBVERSE
To]*qe-sa-ma-qa*: 12 l. barley, 6 l. figs, 2 l. flour, 2 l. wine, 1 l. oil.
To *Ta-mi-te-mo*: 12 l. barley, 6 l. figs, 2 l. flour, 2 l. wine, 1 l. oil.

REVERSE
To each recipient: ½ l. honey.

* For discussion of the initial]*qe-sa-ma-qa ta-mi-te-mo*, and the likelihood that the amounts of figs, flour, wine, oil and honey listed were intended to be shared equally between these two recipients, see p. 865.

(III) OFFERINGS OF BARLEY[b]

***322** = F(1) 51, from the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos, has several points of contact with the *Fq* and other tablets found at Thebes in 1993–95, and is regularly adduced in discussions of those records. Unfortunately, however, many of its details remain highly controversial.

322 = F(1) 51 ("124" d)

HORD T 7 V 5 Z 3[
→
v. .1 wa HORD T 1 V 3 po-ro-de-qo-no V 2 Z 2
.2 di-we HORD T 1 HORD T 4 Z 1 ma-qẹ HORD V 6

* The surface of the obverse has been erased and re-used; the entry here gives a total for the amounts of barley shown on the reverse, which is written on the curving back of the tablet. It is unclear whether the trace between *po-ro-de* and *qo-no* is a divider or an accidental scratch; evidence from Thebes, however, supports the view that this is a single word (see p. 869). In *KT*[5] and *CoMIK*, the editors read the last term on l. 2 of the reverse as *ma-qẹ*, Bennett's reading in *KT*[1], which is also adopted in *KT*[2], *KT*[3] and *KT*[4], with the note that *ma-ḳạ* is also possible. The editors of *TFC* (I.188) argue in favour of *ma-ka*; Y. Duhoux (2006b), however, adduces strong grounds for preferring *ma-qe*.

* To begin with the first entry on l. 2 of the reverse, it is probable that *di-we* is *Diwei* 'to Zeus', as almost all commentators from VC onwards have taken it. This is the meaning of *di-we* on its other three appearances on the tablets (KN **317** = Fp(1) 1, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. 9, KH **329** = Gq 5; also *di-wo*, *Diwos* (gen.) **309** = Tn 316 rev. 10); and since the small amounts of barley recorded on the tablet are likely to be issues of some kind, a dative of the recipient, as *Diwei* is elsewhere on the records, fits well into the context. Duhoux's alternative proposal (2006a.230–31), that this is a man's name *Diwēs* not otherwise attested on the tablets, in the nominative of rubric, is thus less likely to be correct. It is unclear whether Zeus is the recipient of both the quantities of barley which are entered after his name, as e.g. Ruijgh (1996a.454) believes, or whether the name of the recipient of the second amount has been omitted. The first alternative is certainly conceivable; compare the two successive issues to *pa-de-we* on the 'religious' record PY Un 219, which doubtless reflect two separate offerings (?) to this divine (?) recipient.

* The other terms on the reverse are less transparent. *Wa* might stand for *wa-na-ka-te*, *wanaktei* 'to the king'; *wa* probably abbreviates *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, *-ra* 'royal' on **338** = EL Z 1 and KN Lc 654 (Killen 1966b.107). If it does, however, it is

[b] *Anthology* 366–68. Studies: Ruijgh 1996a, *TFC* I.188–89, Duhoux 2006b.

unclear whether the king here is human or divine, as the *wanaks* on the Pylos *Fr* tablets may be (see p. 855). Duhoux (2006a.231) takes this as a reference to the human king, and argues that since the allocation that he receives (T 1 V 3) is larger than that given to *di-we*, the latter cannot be a god. Even, however, if we assume, with Duhoux, that *di-we* only receives the first of the amounts listed after his name (T 1), which as we have seen is not necessarily the case, the argument is not compelling; if the *wanaks* here is divine we can compare PY Fr 1235, where the goddess Potnia receives V 3 of sage-scented oil, but the *wanaks* is given a much larger amount, one major unit of oil. On the dangers of deducing the nature of recipients of commodities in religious contexts from the amounts they are given, see further Bernabé 2012.198–200.

* Also controversial is the meaning of *po-ro-de-qo-no*. Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi (hereafter AGS: *TFC* I.225) and Ruijgh (2004.35) take it as an oxytone masculine *prodeik*^{w}*nōi* 'to the deputy organiser of the banquet' (Gr. δεῖπνον); with the first element they compare *po-ro-* in *po-ro-ko-re-te* 'deputy *ko-re-te*' (mayor or the like). Chadwick, however (unpublished notes), suggests *prodeik*^{w}*nōi*, from a barytone neuter *prodeik*^{w}*non*, 'for the preliminary repast'; cf. Melena, *Textos* 50, Meier-Brügger 2006.114.

* Most problematic of all is the term read variously as *ma-qe* and *ma-ka*. In a paper to the 1991 Mycenological Congress published in 1996, C. J. Ruijgh (1996a) suggested that this was *Māi k*^{w}*e* or *Māi Gāi*, viz. a reference to the same divinity as appears in the invocation Μᾶ Γᾶ 'Mother Earth' in Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 890–92 = 900–02, either (reading *ma-ka*) in the same form as in Aeschylus or (reading *ma-qe*) in the form *Māi*, with the name linked to the preceding *Diwei* by the copulative -*k*^{w}*e* 'and'. As Ruijgh points out, the invocation to Μᾶ Γᾶ in the *Suppliants* is followed by one to Zeus, ὦβᾶ (or πᾶ), Γᾶς παῖ, Ζεῦ; though he suggests that in the present context *Mā* (or *Mā Gā*) is likely to be the wife of Zeus, rather than his mother.

* Subsequent to Ruijgh's discussion, several examples of a term *ma-ka* have come to light on the 1993–95 tablets from Thebes (**331** = Fq 126.1, **332** = Fq 130.1, etc.). In the *editio princeps* of these records (*TFC* I.188–94), AGS identify this as the same term as on F(1) 51, which they also read as *ma-ka*; and they accept Ruijgh's interpretation of this as *Māi Gāi*, taking the *Fq* records as a whole, which again deal with barley, as concerned with issues to gods and others involved in religious cult. Although most subsequent commentators adopt AGS's reading at Knossos, and while some have accepted their interpretation both of *ma-ka* and of the *Fq* tablets as a whole (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.279–81, Ruijgh 2003, 2004, 2006, Hiller 2006, 2011.190–95), others have questioned their explanation of the term (Chadwick 1999.293, Melena, *Textos* 50, Palaima 2002a.481, 2003b.115, 2006a, Duhoux 2006a.227–36, 2006b, *Anthology* 364–69, 2008.242–43) and regard the issues on the *Fq* tablets as purely secular in

character. Melena takes *ma-ka* as a personal name (*Malkā(s)*, *Margā* or *Makhā*); Palaima suggests *magāi* '(barley) for kneading' (Gr. μάσσω, μάττω, probably <**mag-yō*).

* If *ma-ka* is the correct reading on F(1) 51, it is unlikely to be a coincidence, as AGS point out, that just as this record refers to *po-ro-de-qo-no* and *ma-ka* in successive lines, so TH Fq 254 refers to *de-qo-no* and *ma-ka* in successive entries at the beginning of the tablet, in both cases on a record of issues of barley. And if the same term is attested in such similar contexts at the two different sites, it is difficult to believe that it can simply be an ordinary personal name which happens to appear in the two different centres. Nor is it easy to accept Palaima's suggestion that *ma-ka* is *magāi* 'for kneading', given its appearance not only on the *Fq* BARLEY records but also quite probably on the *Gp* WINE records: see Gp 201.1.

* Although, however, there are reasonably strong grounds for regarding the *Fq* and *Gp* records as having a 'religious' rather than secular purpose (see further **331**–**34**), and while the same is likely to be true of F(1) 51, it must still remain open to question whether *ma-ka* at Thebes is *Māi Gāi*; and the same will therefore apply to *ma-ka* if that is the reading on F(1) 51. If *de-qo-no* at Thebes and *po-ro-de-qo-no* at Knossos were *deik*^{w}*nōi* and *prodeik*^{w}*nōi* 'for the banquet', 'for the preliminary meal', *ma-ka* might refer to some other element in the meal or celebration in which barley (and wine) was used. Nor, even if it is a god's name, need this be *Māi Gāi*. Though the names of some other recipients on the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets could point to a fertility cult (see further **332** = Fq 130, **334** = Gp 164), it is not easy to accept AGS's proposition that several of the records refer to a divine triad, *Mā Gā* (= Demeter), *Opōrēs* (= the Zeus *Opōreus* perhaps referred to in the Boeotian inscription *IG* VII 2733 (Akraiphia)) and *Korwā* (= Persephone). For further discussion of AGS's proposal, see Section 5, pp. 879–89.

* Nor, finally, can we be at all certain that *ma-ka* is to be read at Knossos, and not *ma-qe*, the reading preferred by the editors of *KT*^{5} and *CoMIK*, albeit with the *qe* dotted. Duhoux (2006b) adduces strong grounds in favour of reading *ma-qe*, and suggests that if *ma-qe* is the term here the case for taking *ma-ka* of Thebes as a divinity will be completely undermined. While, however, it is true that if this is the reading on F(1) 51 we should no longer be able to point to the appearance of *ma-ka* in strikingly similar contexts at Thebes and Knossos, the latter of which may well also refer to Zeus (*di-we*), it is still the case that F(1) 51 and the *Fq* tablets both record issues of barley, and that it is difficult to dissociate *po-ro-de-qo-no* on the former from *de-qo-no* on the latter. Moreover, if *ma-qe* is the correct reading, it may not be an accident that *po-ro-de-qo-no* at Knossos appears on the same record as a term which, while certainty is impossible, can readily be interpreted as *Māi k*^{w}*e*, while *de-qo-no* at Thebes appears in very close conjunction with

ma-ka. Duhoux (2006b.13) argues against an interpretation of *ma-qe* as *Māi kʷe* co-ordinated with the preceding *di-we* (or a term which was intended to follow *di-we*) that 'two terms closely linked by *kʷe* are never separated by ideograms specifying the commodities with which they are associated', whereas *di-we* (or a missing term following it) and *Māi kʷe* would be separated by the HORD ideogram, indicating the commodity with which both are issued. It is true that there are two cases, in entries whose interpretation is either fully certain or probable, of an ideogram intervening between a term ending with *-kʷe* and the term with which it is co-ordinated, and that in both cases the ideogram relates to the first of the two terms, not to a commodity with which the subjects of the entry are associated. The two cases are on PY An 657, where the contingent names *o-ka-ra 'o-wi'-to-no* and *ke-ki-de*(*-qe*) *a-pu*$_2$*-ka-ne* are linked by *-kʷe* 'over' the ideogram VIR 30, and on PY Fr 1223, where as we have seen earlier the descriptions of oil *pa-ko-we we-a-re-pe* and *wo-do-we*(*-qe*) *we-a-re-pe* are probably linked by *-kʷe* 'over' the ideogram OLEUM + *A*. But we may have a parallel for what Ruijgh is positing on KN L 588.2, where *a-qo-ta* is linked to *zo-ta*(*-qe*) by *-kʷe* 'over' a TELA ideogram, and where the two terms concerned are almost universally taken as men's names (like the two pairs of men's names linked by *-kʷe* on l. 1 of the tablet), though we cannot finally exclude the possibility that they are instead names or descriptions of cloths: cf. Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.129. Moreover, while no ideogram is involved, something closely comparable to what Ruijgh is positing is found on KN Od(1) 681.a, where it is difficult to doubt that a pair of women's names (the second, *e-ti-wa-ja*, recurs as a woman's name on KN Ap 639) are linked by *-kʷe* 'over' the phrase *o-nu pa-i-ti-jo* 'wool (for decoration) of Phaistian origin or type', which is doubtless wool that the women are receiving for work purposes or are expected to produce. The text of the line reads as follows: 'e-na-po-na , o-nu , pa-i-ti-jo' e-ti-wa-ja-qe ḷ̣ạṇạ[. For a pair of women recorded in a wool context elsewhere at Knossos, see Od(1) 563.2, and also in hand 103: *a-to-mo-na su-mo-no-qe*. Against this background, it would seem hazardous to exclude the possibility that *ma-qe* is *Māi kʷe* linked with *Diwei* 'over' the BARLEY entry which precedes it. And if, as seems likely, *ma-qe* is the correct reading on F(1) 51, and if this were *Māi kʷe*, this evidence at Knossos could be argued as lending strength to the view that *ma-ka* on the *Fq* tablets, with their links with F(1) 51 via barley and *de-qo-no / po-ro-de-qo-no*, was indeed *Māi Gāi*, viz. the same name as *Māi* in its fuller form. In the absence, however, of full certainty about the interpretation of *ma-qe* as *Māi kʷe* (see further Section 5), we clearly cannot regard this evidence as a decisive indication of the sense of *ma-ka*.

* *ma-qe*: on Ruijgh's interpretation of this as *Māi kʷe* (1996a and earlier *Études* 296), see p. 868; Luria (1957.45), proposing the same interpretation, equates *Mā* with Cybele. Morpurgo (1963) tentatively suggests the dative of a theonym in *-kʷis*; Chadwick (*Documents*[2] 559) regards the term as obscure.

(IV) OFFERINGS OF SPICES[b]

323 = Ga 953 (219)

.1 wo-de-ṿi-jo-jo , / me-ṇo[//]ri-jo-de ,
.2 ko-no , *MA* 3 ko-ṛi[ ]2 pa-de-i , ko-no
MA 2 *KO* T 1[
.3a [ ] pa-si-te-o-i ,
.3b pa-sa-ja , ko-no , [ ] a-mi-ni-so-de , *MA* 2 *KO* T 4

D/D²/* In the month of Wordewios:
To [ ]*ri-jo*: 3 units of … *rush*, 24 l. of coriander.
To *Pa-de*: 2 units of … *rush*, 12 (+?) l. of coriander.
To *Pa-sa-ja*: *x* [units of …]*rush* …
To Amnisos, to all the gods: 2 units of … [*rush*], 48 l. of coriander.

D/* The offerings here and on the closely similar Ga 7496 (also h. 219) follow a regular pattern: first an amount of a commodity *MA*, measured in whole units and usually prefixed by the term *ko-no*, second an amount of the spice coriander measured by volume. It is difficult to doubt that *ko-ṛi*[on l. 2 is the beginning of *ko-ri-ja-do-no* or another spelling of the name of this commodity (*kori*(*h*)*adnon*). The identity of the first commodity is uncertain. On the *Ge* 'spice' records at Mycenae (see **104**–**06**), which also contain records of *KO* = coriander measured by volume, *MA* is another commodity listed, and there stands for *ma-ra-tu-wo*, *marathwon* 'fennel'. It is doubtful, however, whether *MA* denotes 'fennel' here. *MA* on the *Ge* tablets is measured by volume, not counted as here; and it is attractive to compare with *ko-no* before *MA* on the present record *ko-no/ko-i-no* on the *Ge* tablets, which is another commodity recorded in whole units and is very likely *skhoinos* 'rush, reed'. Unless therefore *skhoinos* was used of the aniseed-flavoured stalks of *Foeniculum vulgare*, to distinguish these from the seeds and rhizome, *MA* in this context is likely to be an unidentified rush-like plant whose name in Mycenaean also begins with *ma* (cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* 237–38, Melena 1974a.91–92). The last *MA*, in the third line, has the small stroke over it which normally distinguishes the WOOL ideogram; this is presumably an error.

* It may be noted that just as Fp(1) 48 lists offerings in the month Wordewios to *pa-de*, *a-mi-ni-so-de pa-si-te-o-i* and *si-ja-ma-to*, so this record lists offerings in the same month to *pa-de*, *a-mi-ni-so-de pa-si-te-o-i* and *pa-sa-ja*, who is recorded on KN X 451 in company with *si-ja-ma-to* (Melena 1974a.83–84).

*]*ri-jo-de*: cf.]*ki-ri-jo-de*[Fs 26.

[b] *Documents*[1] 308–09, *Documents*[2] 475, *Interpretation* 237–38. Studies: Melena 1974a.91–93, Weilhartner 2005.52–55.

(V) OFFERINGS OF HONEY[b]

D/* Other fragmentary series, in hands 103, 138 and 140, deal with offerings of jars of honey: one of these, Gg 10, was apparently found together with the *Fp* and *Fs* series. Offerings of oil and honey (μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας, *Il.* XXIII, 170) are among the rites at the funeral of Patroclus. Gg(1) 7369 (hand 103) records both honey and wool as offerings; cf. the offerings of fruit, honeycombs and wool made to the horse-headed Demeter near Phigalia in Arcadia in Classical times (Pausanias VIII, 42). As noted above, J. Weilhartner (2005.225, 2012.212–17) has suggested that the honey listed on the *Gg(1)*, *Gg(3)* records, examples of which are given below, was used for libations.

324 = Gg(1) 702 (103)

.1 pa-si-te-o-i / me-ri *209[VAS] 1
.2 da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo , / po-ti-ni-ja 'me-ri' *209[VAS] 1

D/* One jar of honey to all the gods.
One jar of honey to the Mistress of the *Labyrinth*.

D/D²/* *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*: this term probably recurs in the *da-pu-ri-ṭo*[of the fragmentary Xd 140 and on **327** = Oa 745, and is probably *Daburinthoio* 'of the Labyrinth'. The normal value of *pu$_2$* is *phu-*, but although a value *pu* would seem unlikely, *bu* is a possible alternative. For the initial *D-* rather than *L*, cf. *Labarnas/Tabarnas* in the Anatolian dynastic name of the Hittite kings in the Old Kingdom (Gurney 1952.64); also λάφνη/δάφνη, Ὀδυσσεύς/Ὀλυσεύς.

325 = Gg(3) 705 (140)

.1] a-mi-ni-so , / e-re-u-ti-ja *ME+RI* *209[VAS] 1
.2]pa-si-te-o-i *ME+RI* *209[VAS] 1
.3]o-ne *ME+RI* *209[VAS] 1

D Amnisos: One jar of honey to Eleuthia,
One jar of honey to all the gods,
One jar of honey to […].

* Note that scribe 140, in contrast to scribe 103, always writes 'honey' by means of a ligature. The same ligature is found at Khania, on the 'offering' record **329** = Gq 5.

D/* *e-re-u-ti-ja* = Attic Εἰλειθυία, in which the quasi-participial ending is probably due to popular etymology. The form Ἐλευθία, known from Messenia and Laconia (also Ἐλευσία, Ἐλυσία), is probably a longstanding variant to the Ἐλεύθυ(ι)α which is the Cretan form in Classical times. Her name also appears on three tablets (Od(1) 714–16) listing offerings of wool. Pausanias (VI, 20, 2) records that the priestess of Eileithyia Sosipolis at Olympia

[b] *Documents*[1] 309–11, *Documents*[2] 475, *Interpretation* 238–39, *Anthology* 262–64.

put out for her μάζας … μεμαγμένας μέλιτι, 'barley-cakes kneaded with honey'. For the traditional connexion of E. with Amnisos, cf. *Od.* XIX, 188–90:

(Ὀδυσσεὺς) στῆσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης,
ἐν λιμέσιν χαλεποῖσι, μόγις δ' ὑπάλυξεν ἀέλλας.
αὐτίκα δ' Ἰδομενῆα μετάλλα ἄστυδε (Κνωσσόνδε) ἀνελθών ·

(Odysseus) anchored his ship at Amnisos, where the cave
of Eileithuia is, in a difficult harbour, and only just
weathered the storm. And immediately going up to the city
(Knossos) he asked after Idomeneus

and Strabo X, 4, 8: Μίνω δέ φασιν ἐπινείῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἀμνισσῷ, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν, 'They say that Minos used the sea-port Amnisos, where the temple of Eileithuia stands'.

The site of Amnisos is generally identified with Paliókhora, at the east end of the long sandy beach of Karterós, 7 km east of Iraklion, where Marinatos found a Late Minoan building in 1932. He believes this bay to have formed the chief port of Knossos; a rival claimant is the 'Harbour Town' located by Evans on the eastern outskirts of Iraklion itself, which, though less convenient for the beaching of ships, is easier of access to the palace. Whatever the name of this other port may have been in early times, the proposed location of Amnisos appears to be confirmed by the nearby cave at Ayi Theodori, first excavated by Hatzidakis in 1886 (cf. Marinatos 1929.95–104; Evans, *PoM* II.839), where a deposit was found stretching from Neolithic to Geometric, around an idol in the form of a 'stalagmitic omphalos'.

D/*]*o-ne*: this could be completed *po-se-da-o-ne*, but the more immediate parallel is *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* on **326** = M 719, in the same hand, which also mentions Amnisos; cf.]*si̤-da-o-ne* Gg(3) 717, also in hand 140. (*Me-na* on the latter is probably not *Mēnā*, the moon goddess perhaps on E 842 and possibly on **320** = *Fs* 3, but may be a plene spelling of the nominative *mēn* 'month': Killen, *Economy and Administration* III.1112–14). As Furumark (1954b.34) and Meriggi (1955.25, 62) were the first to point out, *e.* is reminiscent of Poseidon's names Ἐννοσίγαιος, Ἐνοσίχθων 'the earth shaker' (*Il.* XIII, 34, VII, 445, etc.; cf. εἰνοσίφυλλος 'with quivering foliage') or Ἐννοσίδᾶς 'the earth shaker' (Pindar). If the terms are related, however, the second *e* of *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* is difficult to explain; see further Heubeck 1957.277–78, Ruijgh 1967b.12, Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* 351 s.v. ἔνοσις.

(VI) OFFERINGS OF TEXTILES[b]

326 = M 719 (140)

.1 a-mi-ni-so ke-re-na , re-ne , [
.2 e-ne-si-da-o-ne , su-ja-to , **146* 1[

[b] **326** = M 719: Study: Del Freo 1999b.301 n. 28. **237** = Oa 745: Study: Godart and Olivier 1973.116–17.

* Line 2 records an offering to *e-ne-si-da-o(-ne)* (see **325**) of the textile **146*, probably some form of simple tunic (pp. 668–69). Several other 'offerings' records at Knossos list this fabric: see M 724, 729, M(1) 1645; cf. also M(1) 720, M 7394, which may record offerings. **146* is also found in an 'offerings' context on PY **310** = Un 6, **311** = Un 853 (offerings to Poseidon and *pe-re-*82*); cf. Ua 1413, a possible 'offerings' record.

* *Su-ja-to*, following *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* on l. 2, may be a personal name, indicating the donor of the offering listed on this line, or perhaps an intermediary – priest *vel sim.* – through whom it is being sent to the god. Each register of the record may list a separate offering, in each case at Amnisos (l. 1); cf. **325** = Gg(3) 705, by the same scribe, which again mentions Amnisos in l. 1 and which records an offering to a different divinity in each of its three lines. Note, too, that what survives on the other more fragmentary 'offering' tablets in hand 140 (Gg(3) 717, 5185) is consistent with the view that they followed the same pattern. If this is the pattern here, *re-ne* on l. 1 may well be the donor of the offering on this line (or alternatively an intermediary) and *ke-re-na* (dat.?) the recipient; cf. *ke-re-na-i* (dat. plur.), a recipient of barley and wine on the Thebes *Fq* and *Gp* tablets: see **331** = Fq 126, **333** = Gp 176 (Del Freo 1999b.301 n. 28). The offering in this line might have involved the *pe* variety of **146*, as on M(1) 1645 (Killen 2006d.87); as the editors of *KT*[5] and *CoMIK* observe, there is a possible *pẹ*[to the right of *re-ne*.

327 = Oa 745 (-)

.1 a-ka-[ ]-jo-jo , me-nọ[
.2 da-pu$_2$-rị[-to-jo]po-ti-ni-jạ *ri* **166+WE* 2̣2̣[

* In the month … :
To the Mistress of the *Labyrinth*, *twenty-two* (+?) units of linen *x*- fabric.

* *a-ka*-[: it is unclear whether this is part of the word which ends in]-*jo-jo*, possibly]-*rị-jo-jo*, on the right hand of the two fragments of which the record is made up. To judge by *da-pu$_2$-rị*[*-to-jo*]*po-ti-ni-jạ* beneath, there would have been room for three or four signs in the gap. One possible restoration is as a (long) month-name in *a-ka*-[(Godart and Olivier 1973.116), another as an address (conceivably *a-ka-de*; cf. the place-name *a-ka* Da 1078, etc.), followed by a shorter month-name (Melena 1974a.88–89). It is unlikely, in view of the tapering of the tablet, that anything followed *me-nọ*[.

* The offering here involves the commodity **166+WE*, clearly a type of textile (Godart and Olivier 1973.116, Duhoux 1976.129–30). The surcharged *WE* on the sign may stand for *we-a$_2$-no*, *wehanos*, Gr. ἑανός, 'robe' (Duhoux 1976.129–30). On PY **345** = Un 1322.4, *we-a$_2$-no* may qualify **146*, which also involves a surcharged *WE*, and such are the other connexions between these two ideograms (see p. 875) that it is attractive to suspect that *WE* has the same value in both cases (Lang 1960.160–61).

* **166+WE* recurs in 'religious' or possibly 'religious' contexts on PY Ua 1413 and **310** = Un 6, on both of which records it is accompanied by **146*. It may also be significant that PY Ob 1372, 1373, both of which list **166+WE*, were found in the same SW area as all but one of the *Mb* records, all of which concern, or are likely to concern, **146* (Lang 1960.160–61, *Scribes Pylos* 209, 212).

(VII) UNIDENTIFIED OFFERINGS[b]

328 = V 52 (-)

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

lat. inf. ⟦e-ri-nu-we , pe-ṛọ ⟧ [

D/* OBVERSE

To the Mistress *Athena*: 1
To …
To Enyalios: 1
To Paian: 1
To Poseidon: [1]
LOWER EDGE (erased)
To Erinys …

* The identity of the commodity offered to these deities is unknown. In the erased entry on the lower edge of the tablet the signs after *e-ri-nu-we* could alternatively be *pe-ṛọ*$_2$ or *PE* 1̣ (*KT*[5], *CoMIK*); even if they are the latter, however, it is still unclear what *PE* denotes.

D/* *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*: it is uncertain whether the first element here is the divine name Athena in the dative (VC) or the genitive of a place-name, most likely in Crete; cf. *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* **324** = Gg(1) 702, *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* PY **330** = Fn 187, etc. (Szemerényi, *MLS* 7.xi.56, who compares *Pallas Athēnaia*). For 'the Mistress Athena', cf. *Il.* VI, 305: πότνι' Ἀθηναίη, ῥυσίπτολι, δῖα θεάων 'Lady Athena, protectress of cities, noblest of goddesses'. Nilsson (1950.500) suggests that Athena 'was originally the goddess who protected the palace of the Mycenaean king, and whose cult belonged and whose protection was afforded to the king personally'.

D/D[2]/* *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* = Ἐνυάλιος, an early god of war (*Il.* II, 651, etc.), perhaps a consort of Ἐνυώ, later regarded as an epithet of Ares. *E-nwa-ri-jo* PY **54** = An 724 may be unrelated; it may be a man's name *Enwālios* (cf. Ἤλις).

D/* *pa-ja-wo*(*-ne*) = Homeric Παιήων *Il.* V, 401, Dor. Παίαν, healer god, later identified with Apollo. On the various forms of the name, which is probably of pre-Hellenic origin, see Ruijgh 1968.119, 135.

[b] *Documents*[1] 311–12, *Documents*[2] 476, *Interpretation* 239, *Textos* 74, *Anthology* 276–78.

D/* *po-se-da*[*-o-ne*: cf. **174** = Es 646, etc. at Pylos. The name is only attested once elsewhere at Knossos, on X 5560:]*ḳe* / *po-se-da-o-*[.

D² *e-ri-nu-we*: *Erinuei* is the expected dative to *e-ri-nu* **317** = Fp(1) 1.8, which is perhaps a 'nominative of the rubric'.

3. OFFERINGS TO DIVINITIES AT KHANIA (Gq)[b]

329 = Gq 5 (-)

.1 di-wi-jo-ḍẹ di-we *MẸ+RỊ* **2Ọ9*[VAS]*+A* 1 [
.2 di-wo-nu-so , *MẸ+RỊ* [**2Ọ9*[VAS]*+A*] 2 [

* *To* the shrine of Zeus:

For Zeus: *one jar of honey*.
For Dionysus: two *jars of honey*.

* The discovery of this tablet in 1990 at Khania (Hallager, Vlasakis and Hallager 1992) confirmed what had previously been uncertain: that the term *di-wo-nu-so*, also attested at Pylos on Ea (formerly Xa) 102 and Xa 1419.1, is the god's name Dionysus. Since line 1 of the tablet records an offering to Zeus, who is known from Hesiod (*Theog*. 940–42) onwards as the father of Dionysus, we can scarcely doubt that *di-wo-nu-so* on l. 2 is a reference to the god. More confirmation that *di-wo-nu-so* is a theonym has subsequently been provided by the join of Ea 102 to Ea 107 (Melena 2002a.357–60); as is now clear, this tablet records land in the possession of 'the hearth, altar (*eskharā*) of Dionysus' (see **118**). We can now therefore be certain that, contrary to the belief of Wilamowitz and others before the decipherment, Dionysus did not arrive late in Greece, but, as Lorimer (1950.471–72) and others had argued, was already present in the Mycenaean period.

* As the translation indicates, it is likely that both offerings recorded on the tablet were made at a shrine or sanctuary of Zeus (Godart and Tzedakis 1991.144, Hallager, Vlasakis and Hallager 1992.78). As Godart and Tzedakis note (1991.146–47), there is a similar pattern of entry on **309** = Tn 316 rev. 8–10, where the paragraph heading mentions the shrine of Zeus (there spelt *di-u-jo*), and the subsequent entries list offerings to Zeus, Hera and Drimios. Compare, too, **326** = M 719, where the term at the beginning of line 1 (Amnisos) appears to give the location of both of the offerings recorded on the text.

* Note that the word 'honey' is here written by means of a ligature, as on the *Gg*(*2*), *Gg*(*3*) and *Gg*(*4*) tablets at Knossos.

[b] *Textos* 48. Studies: Godart and Tzedakis 1991.143–47, Hallager, Vlasakis and Hallager 1992.

4. ALLOCATIONS TO DIVINITIES AND OTHERS AT PYLOS (Fn)[b]

330 = Fn 187 (H 2)

.1	a-pi-te-ja	HORD [ ] *NI* 2
.2	po-si-da-i-jo-de	HORD[ ] *NI* T 1
.3	ka-ru-ke	HORD [ ] FAR
.4	pa-ki-ja-na-de	HORD T 1[ ] *NI* T 1
.5	ka-ru-ke	HORD T 1 V 3 *NI* T 1 V 3
.6	de-do-wa-re-we	HORD T 1
.7	ku-ri-na-ze-ja	HORD T 2 *NI* T 2
.8	u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja	HORD T 5 *NI* T 4
.9	o-pi-tu-ra-jo	HORD T 3
.10	au-to-*34-ta-ra	HORD T 1
.11	a-ma-tu-na	HORD T 1
.12	te-qi-ri-jo-ne	HORD V 3
.13	u-do-no-o-i	HORD T 3
.14	po-to-re-we	HORD T 4 *NI* T 4
.15	a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i	HORD T 1 V 3
.16	ka-ru-ke	HORD T 1 V 3
.17	i-so-e-ko	HORD T 2[[ ]]
.18	po-si-da-i-je-u-si	HORD T 1 V 3
.19	*34-ke-ja	HORD T 1 V 3 *NI* [
.20	a-ro-ja	[HORD] V 3
.21	ka-ru-ke	HORD T 1 V 3
.22–23	*vacant*	

* We have seen earlier that many of the records in the *Fn* group can plausibly be explained as issues to participants in a work feast of a type familiar in a number of societies. Does the same explanation hold good for the present record?

We may begin by observing that there are four entries on the tablet which clearly involve a religious element: .2 *po-si-da-i-jo-de* 'to the sanctuary of Poseidon', .4 *pa-ki-ja-na-de* 'to (the holy district of) Sphagiānes', .8 *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*, 'to the Potnia of U.', .18 *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* 'to the priests of the sanctuary of Poseidon'. Moreover, three of the recipients on Fn 187 recur on Un 219, in successive entries: .3 *ka-ru-ke*, .4 *te-qi-*[*ri-*] *jo-ne*, *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*. Among other recipients on Un 219 are four divinities (*a-ti-mi-te*, *po-ti-ni-ja*, *e-ra*, *e-ma-a*$_2$) as well as important humans and the workers(?) *da-ko-ro-i* and *di-pte-ra-po-ro*. Finally, it is possible – though no more than that – that the four mentions of *ka-ru-ke* 'herald' on the re-

[b] *Documents*[1] 215–17, *Documents*[2] 439, *Interpretation* 225–33, *Textos* 44–45. Studies: Killen 2001a, Weilhartner 2017b.

cord have religious associations. Cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* II, 4, 20 on Cleocritus, herald (*kēruks*) of the mysteries at Eleusis.

It is true that there are 'religious' references in other *Fn* tablets, but these are much less dense than those here. The recipients on Fn 837 include a priest (*i-je-re-u*) and *i-qe*[, which must be a reference to *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* (though it is uncertain how the entry continued), given the reference to the slave of *mi-jo-qa* in the next entry but two: both *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* and *mi-jo-qa* appear as recipients of men on **43** = An 1281. In contrast, however, to the four religious references in the 21 entries on **330** = Fn 187, the two religious references on the remaining *Fn* tablets appear in 77 entries that are complete enough to use.

The thought comes to mind, therefore, whether **330** = Fn 187, where as we have seen earlier (pp. 540–41) the amounts of BARLEY listed are all multiples of V 3, is, unlike **94** = Fn 50, etc., a record of the distribution of food during the three days of a religious festival, rather than of a work feast. It would certainly not come as a major surprise if it had a different purpose from the remaining *Fn* records, from which it differs in several respects. First, it is in Hand 2, not H 45 or S324 Ciii. Second, unlike any of the other *Fn* tablets it records distributions of figs as well as barley. Third, apart from Fn 837 with its (probable) reference to *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja*, it is unique among the *Fn* tablets in listing distributions to both female and male recipients. It is true that some of these recipients are workers: the four *ka-ru-ke*, *kārukes* 'heralds' and the *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*, *askētriai* on l. 15. But there is no parallel for the *a-ze-ti-ri-ja* on the all-male 'work feast' records; indeed, given the 'religious' entries on the tablet, it is not perhaps impossible that the *a-ze-ti-ri-ja* here are not 'decorators of cloth with wool', as they are elsewhere on the records, but women engaged in decorating in connexion with religious cult. Alternatively, they might be wool workers who are temporarily involved in a religious festival.

* *po-si-da-i-jo-de* 'to the shrine of Poseidon'. Also on **309** = Tn 316 rev. 1.

* *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*: this goddess is also attested on Fr 1225.1, Fr 1236.1. *U-po-jo* (gen.) remains uninterpreted; it may be a place-name. The barley allocated to the goddess on this record is presumably in effect an offering to her, like the oil recorded on the two *Fr* tablets, though the fact that she is here listed alongside many human recipients may carry the implication that she was regarded as actually participating in the festival (if this is what the record relates to). For divinities seen as participating in festivals, cf. Sappho fr. 2 Lobel-Page, where the poet invites Aphrodite to join in some festivity.

* *o-pi-tu-ra-jo*: title or man's name? Perhaps *opithuraios* 'door-keeper'.

* *te-qi-ri-jo-ne*: man's name (dat.). *Te-qi-jo-ne* PY Un 219 is doubtless a defective spelling of the same name.

5. ALLOCATIONS TO DIVINITIES (?) AND OTHERS AT THEBES (Fq, Gp)[b]

* The great majority of the tablets found by V. Aravantinos at Thebes between 1993 and 1995 are classified as *Fq*, *Ft* or *Gp*, and record issues of barley, olives and wine respectively. Some of the *Fq* tablets and a few of the *Gp* tablets may record flour, but this, like many other details of these records, remains controversial. For further discussion of this matter, see Palaima 2002a.483–84, 2006a.145–48, Killen 2006d.103–06.

* As we have noted in the commentary on KN **322** = F(1) 51 pp. 867–70, a major debate has developed as to whether the issues recorded on these tablets have been made in a 'religious' or purely secular context. In the *editio princeps* (*TFC* I), as well as in several earlier discussions, Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi (AGS), noting the term *ma-ka* on several of the *Fq* and quite likely on one of the *Gp* tablets, read this also on **322** = F(1) 51 rather than *ma-qe*, and accept Ruijgh's suggestion (1996a) that this is a goddess *Mā Gā* 'Earth Mother'. They further argue that several of the *Fq* records refer to a divine triad, *Mā Gā*, *Opōrēs* and *Korwā*, whom they identify as (i) Earth Mother, an earlier manifestation of the later Demeter, (ii) Zeus and (iii) the daughter of *Mā Gā*, a figure akin to the later Persephone. In accordance with these interpretations, they regard both the *Fq* and the *Gp* records, which have many recipients in common, as records of religious offerings and issues to cult devotees.

* Some scholars have accepted AGS's general conclusions: Lejeune (*Mémoires* IV.273–92 *passim*), Ruijgh (2003, 2004, 2006), Hiller (2006, 2011.190–95). Others, however, have rejected them: Palaima (2002a, 2003b, 2006a), Duhoux (2005, 2006a, 2006b, *Anthology* 349–89, 2008). Chadwick, too (1999.293), finds the interpretation of *ma-ka* as *Mā Gā* 'unacceptable', and Melena (*Textos* 50) interprets it as a personal name. While, however, a number of AGS's detailed suggestions are open to criticism, e.g. that *si-to* on Av 101, which has links with the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets, is a goddess *Sītō* rather than *sītos* 'grain', and that *a-ko-ro-da-mo* on Gp 164 is a title 'collector of the people' rather than a personal name, and while doubts may remain about the interpretation of *ma-ka* as *Mā Gā* and the existence of AGSS' divine triad (see pp. 880–89), it is possible to argue that a number of the features of the *Fq* and *Gp* tablets are indeed consistent with a 'religious' explanation of them (Killen 1999d, 2001a, 2006d).

[b] *Textos* 49–51, *Anthology* 349–89 (**331** = Fq 126: 361–71; **332** = Fq 130: 371–81; Fq 254 [+] 255: 381–89). Studies: *TFC* I *passim*, Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.273–92, Chadwick 1999, Killen 1999d, 2001a, 2006d, Palaima 2002a, 2003b, 2006a, Ruijgh 2003, 2004, 2006, Weilhartner 2005.196–201, 2017b, Duhoux 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, Hiller 2006, 2011.190–95, Neumann 2006.

* First, although Weilhartner has recently suggested (2017b) that the recipients on the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets may be participants in secular work feasts like that recorded on **94** = Fn 50 (though these sometimes involve a religious element), the closest parallel for the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets is, as we have just seen, **330** = Fn 187 (with its references to *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*, *po-si-da-i-jo-de*, etc.), given that in both contexts we find a mixture of male and female recipients, whereas all the recipients on the records of work feasts appear to be male. Second, there are likely to be connexions between two of the terms found in the 'recipient' position on the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets and terms which appear elsewhere in the archives on certain or probable 'religious' records. As we have seen above, it is difficult to dissociate *de-qo-no* on Fq 254 from *po-ro-de-qo-no* on KN **322** = F(1) 51, which is also likely to mention Zeus; and it is difficult to dissociate *ke-re-na-i* (Fq 126.3+, Gp 176.a) from *ke-re-na*, which may well be a recipient on the 'religious offering' record KN **326** = M 719. Finally, there appears to be a close parallel between the entries on the *Fq* tablets and Fu 711 at Mycenae, where the tiny amounts of flour listed again suggest a 'religious' context. Not only may the *Fq* tablets also record issues of small amounts of this commodity – though this, as we have seen, is not certain – but the recipients on Fu 711 include *ku-ne*, *qo-we* and *ka-ra-u-ja*, which, while other interpretations are possible (see Glossary), are attractively interpreted as *kunei* 'to the dog', *gʷōwei* 'to the ox' (or as nominative plurals of rubric of these terms) and *grāwiāi* 'to the old woman', and hence as providing a close parallel for the *Fq* and *Gp* tablets, where some of the recipients appear to be animals and birds (see p. 881), and where *ka-ra-wi-ja*, a variant spelling of *ka-ra-u-ja*, appears as a recipient on Fq 169 and probably also on Fq 207, 228.

* The question then arises of the precise nature of the allocations of the *Fq* and *Gp* tablets. As we have seen earlier, the allocations on Fn 79 appear to reflect a work feast of 1 day, and those on Fn 187 a festival of three days. Many of the amounts on the *Fq* tablets are extremely small: in a large number of cases as little as z 1, perhaps about half a litre. Since we have evidence for a 'normal' ration for a male worker of z 3 per day (see **93** = Fn 7), the possibility therefore comes to mind that the issues on the *Fq* tablets are intended for a single festive meal (Killen 2006d.97). In contrast, the issues of wine on the *Gp* tablets, which commonly involve larger quantities, may cover a longer period (Killen 2006d.98). For the possibility that *di-wi-ja-me-ro* on Gp 109 is *dwiāmeron* and a reference to a two-day period, see Glossary s.v.

* Even, however, if we accept that the *Fq* and *Gp* records do have a religious function, it is still possible to question Ruijgh's and AGS's explanation of *ma-ka* as *Mā*(*i*) *Gā*(*i*) '(to) Mother Earth'. One can certainly advance some arguments in favour of this being a goddess. Apart from the possible 'religious' background to these records as a whole, *ma-ka* is normally listed first on the *Fq* tablets, and receives a particularly large allocation of barley, just as the goddess *u-po-jo-po-*

ti-ni-ja receives the largest or joint largest allocation of barley on PY **330** = Fn 187. Moreover, it is consistent with the explanation of the term as a reference to an Earth Mother, viz. as a goddess of nature, that, besides the many human recipients on these tablets, there are a number which are plausibly explained as animals or birds: *e-mi-jo-no-i* as mules (*hēmionoihi*), *e-pe-to-i* as 'snakes' or 'animals' more generally (*herpetoihi*: see p. 887), *ka-si* as 'geese' (*khānsi*), *ku-si* as 'dogs' (*kunsi*), *o-ni-si* as birds (*ornisi*) and *ko-ro* as 'pig' (*khoirōi*). Duhoux (2006a.236–37, *Anthology* 376–81, 2008) seeks to undermine these interpretations, suggesting e.g. that *ku-si* is not *kunsi* but a man's name *Κύρσις *vel sim.* (nom.) (*Anthology* 376) and that *e-mi-jo-no-i* is not *hēmionoihi* but the dative-locative plural of a place-name (*Anthology* 380–81). Whereas, however, there are a great many datives of the recipient in the *Fq*, *Gp* series, there are only two certain cases of a nominative (*ko-ru* on Fq 126, Fq 254 [+] 255, in place of the more usual *ko-ru-we*), and to posit another is extremely hazardous, particularly where the form in question is capable of interpretation as a dative plural. In addition, there are as far as we know no place-names in the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets other than the repeating allative **63-te-ra-de* in the latter series, which is clearly not a parallel for a toponym in the dative-locative. Nor is it possible to adduce the parallel of the *Ft* series, as Duhoux does, for while place-names do occur on Ft 140 in hand 312, a record of landholdings, they are not found on the *Ft* tablets in hand 311, which record issues of olives, and have points in common with the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets. For a detailed defence of the interpretation of *e-mi-jo-no-i*, etc. as animal names, see Rougemont 2009b. Palaima, too (2003b.115), accepts the presence of animals on the records, but takes the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets as a whole as dealing with 'non-religious' issues, on the one hand to humans and on the other to 'plain animals'. While, however, barley might have been issued to animals and birds as part of their normal diet, wine would hardly have been given to snakes or animals more generally in such a context: see Gp 164.1+. It is possible, therefore, that these are offerings to the Earth Mother, given so that she will protect the creatures in question (Ruijgh 2003.224–25). As Ruijgh points out, the fact that many of the apparent animal names are plural makes it difficult to believe that they themselves can be divinities. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, these might be references to priests or other participants in cult who dress as animals during the rites (cf. the ἄρκτοι 'bears' attached to the cult of Artemis at Brauron and many similar examples) (Weilhartner 2005.198, Ricciardelli 2006, Weilhartner 2007). Finally, we may note that there is no mention on the tablets from any site of the goddess Demeter, who AGS suggest is the later manifestation of *Mā Gā*, and note that snakes and pigs play a prominent role in the Classical worship of Demeter.

* On the other hand, however, as we have seen earlier, even if *ma-ka* is to be read on KN **322** = F(1) 51, which now seems unlikely, it need not be a theonym, despite its appearance there in probable company with Zeus; and even if

it is a divinity, it need not be *Mā*(*i*) *Gā*(*i*). Moreover, there remain some anxieties about AGS's further hypothesis, that there is evidence on the *Fq* tablets for a divine triad *Mā Gā*, *Opōrēs* (= Zeus) and *Korwā*. First, while *ma-ka*, *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa* regularly appear, in that order, among the opening entries on the *Fq* tablets (see **331** = Fq 126, **332** = Fq 130, etc.), the three never certainly occur in immediately successive entries. *Ma-ka* is regularly, and was perhaps invariably, followed by the personal name *a-ko-da-mo*; while *o-po-re-i*, though it is three times followed or possibly followed by *ko-wa*, is more often followed or is likely to have been followed by the personal name *ma-di*(*-je*). Ruijgh (2003.223) suggests that these are the names of priests of the divinities; but while this is certainly possible, there is no evidence to confirm the explanation. Moreover, it is not easy to accept AGS's suggestion that *o-po-re-i* is *Opōrēhi* and a reference to Zeus of the Fruits: with this proposed theonym, they compare the reference in an archaic inscription from Akraiphia in Boeotia (*IG* VII 2733) to an offering ΤΟΙΔΙΤΟΠΟΡΕΙ, which is usually interpreted as τοῖ Δῖ τὠπορῆϊ, a crasis of τοῖ and ὀπωρῆϊ, dative of ὀπωρεύς, an epithet of Zeus derived from ὀπώρα 'late summer, harvest-time'. As AGS point out, however, *o-po-re-i* cannot be dative of ὀπωρεύς, which would be *o-po-re-wi* in Mycenaean; and they therefore suggest that it is dative of a theonym *Opōrēs*, with the same significance. Ruijgh (2004.18–23) has defended this interpretation. First, as regards the ending, while names in -ης in Classical Greek are normally either of non-Greek origin (like Γύγης) or based on *s*-stem compound adjectives (like Εὐμένης) or are hypocoristics of the latter (like Μένης), he suggests that *Opōrēs* belongs to a further category which Risch (1987) has posited for Mycenaean, viz. names in *-ēs* corresponding to names in *-eus* which contain the same Indo-European root. Although Killen (2004b) has questioned the existence of such names on the tablets, support for Risch's hypothesis has subsequently been provided by the appearance on TH Uq 434, found in 2005, of the name *su-ko-pu*$_2$*-te-e* (dat.), which it is difficult to doubt is dative of *Sūkophutēs*, viz. an *-ēs* equivalent of what would more normally be **Sūkophuteus*, lit. 'he who plants figs'. Although, however, the ending is unproblematic, ὀπώρα has traditionally been explained as derived from an original *ὀπ-οσάρᾱ, with a post-Mycenaean contraction of -ο(σ)ά- to -ω-, and we should therefore expect the term to be spelt on the tablets as **o-po-a*$_2$*-ra* or **o-po-a-ra*. Ruijgh seeks to overcome this obstacle by suggesting that the word is instead derived from *ὀπ-ωσρᾱ, which would explain the spelling with *o-po-r-* (cf. Meier-Brügger 2006.115, who posits an original **op-osr-es-* for the name). Since, however, there is no evidence to confirm either of these revised etymologies, some uncertainty must remain as to whether either is correct.

* Fewer doubts would surround *o-po-re-i* if the term were not a derivative of ὀπώρα but an *s*-stem compound name *Opōrēs* meaning 'he who is on the mountain' (ὀπί = ἐπί, ὄρος); for this analysis, see Melena, *Textos* 50, Palaima

2002a.479, 2006a.141 (who take it as a man's name), Guilleux 2003.264–65, Bernabé and Luján 2006.327 (who take it as a theonym). As Ruijgh points out (2004.17 n. 26), ΤΟΠΟΡΕΙ at Akraiphia could represent τὠπώρεϊ, a crasis of τοῖ ἐπώρεϊ, as well as τὠπωρῆϊ. De Lamberterie (2012), indeed, abandons the traditional explanation of ΤΟΠΟΡΕΙ as involving the word for 'autumn', opting instead for 'he who is on the mountain'. Moreover, he thinks it unlikely to be an accident that we should find ΤΟΠΟΡΕΙ in Akraiphia in Boeotia and *o-po-re-i* on the Thebes tablets: in short, that *o-po-re-i* is likelier than not to be a divine name, in this case a reference to Zeus. (He compares the references in Hesychius and Eustathius to Ἐπάκριος Ζεύς, and notes the ἀκρ- = 'high' first element in the place-name Akraiphia.) While, however, a Zeus of the Mountain at Thebes is perfectly conceivable (cf., besides the evidence from Hesychius and Eustathius just quoted, Ὀλύμπιος = Zeus in Homer and *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* 'to Dictaian Zeus' at Knossos), such a deity would be less well suited to the context of the *Fq* tablets if *ma-ka* is *Mā Gā* and a goddess of nature and agriculture than a Zeus of the Fruits would be (Ruijgh 2004.17 n. 26). Moreover, it is a difficulty for both suggested interpretations of *o-po-re-i* as a reference to Zeus that, whereas epithets of the gods are commonly used absolutely in Classical Greek, e.g. Ὀλύμπιος as a name for Zeus, there is no certain or probable example of a theonym of this type anywhere in Linear B, where epithets of divinities are regularly accompanied by the relevant god's name, e.g. *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* (Palaima 2002a.479, García Ramón 2010.86–87, 2011.232, 2012.452–53). (On the possibility – though no more than that – that *qe-ra-si-ja* on the KN *Fp* records is *Kʷhērasiāi* 'to the Huntress' and a reference to Artemis, see p. 860.)

* In view of these various uncertainties, it would not seem easy, at least on present evidence, to accept the equation *ma-ka* = *Mā*(*i*) *Gā*(*i*).

331 = Fq 126 (305)

.1a								z	ḷ[
.1	o-te	,	tu-wo-te-to	,	ma-ka	, HORD	T 1		v[
.2	o-po-re-i		v 1	z 2			ko-wa	z[	
.3	ko-ru		z 2		ke-re-ṇa-i̯		ṿ[		
.4			*inf. mut.*						

* *o-te*: *hote* 'when'; **332** = Fq 130 and Fq 254 also begin with a temporal clause, which presumably identifies the occasion on which the issues to *ma-ka*, etc. listed on the tablet have been made. Cf. **258** = PY Ta 711, where *o-te wa-na-ka te-ke au-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro*, probably 'when the king appointed A. as (a) *da-mo-ko-ro*', identifies the occasion of the audit of furniture, etc. on which the *Ta* tablets provide a report.

* *tu-wo-te-to*: both this and the parallel *o-je-ke-te-to* on **332** = Fq 130, which it is attractive to suppose contains the same final element, present serious problems of interpretation, and there is no generally agreed explanation of either. There have been two different

approaches to the terms: either to divide them into two or more constituent elements (AGS, Ruijgh, Duhoux) or to take them as single verbal forms (Chadwick, Melena). Perhaps the most plausible explanation of *tu-wo-te-to* is to divide as *tu-wo te-to* and to take it as *thuos theto*, possibly with the sense '(when) he placed the sacrifice (to be burnt on the altar?)' (Ruijgh 2004.24). For the absence of the subject of the verb (Ruijgh understands 'the priest'), cf. MY Ue 661 *jo-po-ro-te-ke*, probably *hō prothēke* 'thus he set on the table'. It is true that on **245** = PY Un 267 *tu-we-a*, *thueha* is used not of sacrifices but of aromatic substances, and that *tu-wo* on Un 219, a record of 'religious' offerings, is most readily explained as singular of this. In Homer, however, θύεα has the wider sense of '(any) burnt offering' and, while the singular θύος is attested in early Greek only in a much-debated lyric passage of Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1409), the sense 'offering' for this is widely accepted, and seems perfectly feasible (Fraenkel 1950 ad loc.). Less persuasive is Ruijgh's alternative suggestion (2004.26) that θύος θέτο is the equivalent of θυσίαν ἐποιήσατο, a periphrastic expression for ἔθυσε / ἐθύσατο 'he sacrificed' (cf. *TFC* I.185, where AGS take θέτο as passive and translate 'when the burnt offering was made'). As Chadwick (1999.294) points out, the phrase θυσίαν θέμενοι in Pindar (*Ol.* 7.42), which Ruijgh and AGS adduce in support of their interpretation, means 'establishing a festival of sacrifice', not 'making a sacrifice'. While, however, there can be no certainty about the interpretation of *tu-wo-te-to* in the absence of a fully convincing explanation of the parallel *o-je-ke-te-to* (see p. 885), it is difficult to accept Chadwick's own suggestion, that *tu-wo-te-to* and *o-je-ke-te-to* should not be divided but explained as aorist passives showing the -θη- element of the aorist and future passive of Classical Greek, but with the middle instead of active secondary endings. While his suggested *thuōthēto* and *oie(i)khthēto* might just mean 'it was made fragrant' and 'it was opened', though the latter would involve rejecting the traditional etymology of οἴγω, οἴγνυμι, we have no evidence for -θη- elsewhere in Mycenaean, and no evidence in later Greek for middle endings of -θη- aorists, which inevitably makes this a highly speculative solution. Duhoux, finally (2006a.203–09, *Anthology* 316–17, 363–64, 373–75), suggests a radically different solution, taking *tu-wo-* here and *o-je-ke-* on **332** = Fq 130 as personal names and the following *-te-to* on both tablets as /*theto*/ with the meaning 'was buried'. As we saw earlier in our discussion of the *te-ke*,/*thēke*/ formula in the heading of **258** = PY Ta 711, and L. R. Palmer's suggestion that *te-ke* there means 'buried', it is perhaps not possible 'to disprove that τιθέναι can mean "bury" when used in isolation, but it should be observed that this meaning is always indicated by something in the context – a corpse or bones as an object, a phrase such as "in the earth" or "in the tomb"'. As evidence for an unaccompanied τιθέναι used to mean 'bury', Duhoux quotes an inscription from Telmessos (*Tituli Asiae Minoris* II.1.51), ll. 15–16 of which contain the phrase ὁ θείς ἀσεβὴς ἔστω 'the one burying anyone shall be (regarded as) impious'. But the inscription is a funerary one, and the phrase before that quoted by Duhoux reads μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ πυργίσκῳ τεθῆναι μετὰ τὸ ἐνταφῆναι αὐτήν 'no-one is permitted to be interred in the burial vault after she has been buried in it'. In sum, the context in which θείς is being used here is clear from the preceding wording, and this does not therefore provide a valid counter-example to the general rule about τιθέναι, when it has the sense 'bury', having some contextual pointer, like a mention of bones and in this case of interment, to this being its meaning.

* *ma-ka*: as is clear from the analogy of records like Fq 214, where nothing precedes it, this is not to be construed with *o-te tu-wo-te-to*, but indicates the first of the recipients of barley. On the likelihood that the *ma-ka* entry was followed by one relating to *a-ko-da-mo*, and on the identity of *ma-ka*, *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa*, see pp. 882–83.

* *ke-re-ṇa-i̯*: on the likelihood that this is dat. plur. of the same term as occurs, probably in the singular, on **326** = KN M 719, perhaps as the name of a recipient of an offering, see p. 874. Its meaning is uncertain; Del Freo (1999b) interprets as *gerenā*, an unattested feminine variant of γέρανος 'crane', while Ruijgh (2003.225) suggests 'fountain', comparing Attic κρήνη, with its unexpected *-rē-*, as against Doric κρᾱ́νᾱ, Aeolic κράννᾱ, which could reflect a different dialectal treatment of a pre-Hellenic loan-word, though other explanations of *-rē-* are also possible; cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v.

332 = Fq 130 (305)

.1 o-te , o-je-ke-te-to ma-ka HORD T 2[
.2 o-po-re-i V 2 ko-wa Z 2[
.3 ka-wi-jo ṛ̣A̍Ṛ V 1 re-wa-ko a-me[-ro
.4]ạ-ke-ne-u-si V 2 ku-si V 2[
.5]*vestigia*[
inf. mut.

* *o-je-ke-te-to*: obscure. Ruijgh (2004.28–30) suggests (ὅτε) ὄγ' ἔκσθετο 'when he (= the priest) exposed the fruits of the trees'; for ὄα 'pomegranates' with the wider sense of 'fruits (in general)', cf. Pollux VI, 80. Given, however, the need to posit both an elision – not paralleled elsewhere in Mycenaean – and a special sense for ὄα, this must clearly remain something of a long shot. On Chadwick's suggested *oie(i)khthēto* 'it was opened', see **331** = Fq 126.

* *ka-wi-jo* ṛ̣A̍Ṛ: here, as in many other cases in the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets where AGS read FAR, flour, Palaima (2002a.483–84, 2003b.115, 2006a.145–48) reads **65* = *ju*, which is formally indistinguishable from FAR, as the final sign of the preceding term and, comparing ?*ra-*]*ke-da-mo-ni-jo-u-jo* on Gp 227, which is plausibly understood as *Lakedaimoniōi huiōi*, probably with the sense 'to L. junior', interprets *-ju* as 'son'. There are some strong epigraphical arguments in favour of his reading: FAR/**65* is regularly written close to the preceding term; and *-ju* is an easier reading on Gp 124, where FAR/**65* is followed by a divider, which in turn is followed by the WINE ideogram. Caution, however, is still in order (Killen 2006d.103–06). FAR is certainly to be read on MY Fu 711, which appears to have several points of contact with the *Fq* records (see p. 880); nor is it easy to account for *-ju* as a term for 'son', particularly since it would presumably have here to be in the dative, like all but a handful of the terms in the 'recipient' position on these records whose case we can establish. (The only exceptions are two examples of *ko-ru* (Fq 126, Fq 254) for the much commoner *ko-ru-we* and two examples of *ku-ne* (Fq 229, Fq 292), if this is *kunes* (nom. plur.) rather than *kunei* (dat. sing.): evidence which makes it difficult to suppose, as Duhoux (2006a.248–50, *Anthology* 353–55) does, that *-ju* is throughout a nominative of rubric.) Nor is it easy to accept Duhoux's suggestion (2006a.244–47, *Anthology* 357–59) that where *-ju* follows a personal name in *-(C)o* the latter is an otherwise not certainly attested genitive in *-ō*. On the unlikelihood that the month names in *-jo* and *-to* accom-

panying *mēnos* (or *mēnnos*) on the Fp(1) 'offering' tablets at Knossos show endings of this type, see p. 862.

* *ka-wi-jo*: though this is also followed by FAR/**65* on Fq 123, 254, 258, it is found without this element following it on Fq 229, 247. At Thebes almost certainly a name; on PY An 192 probably a description (patronymic? ethnic?).

* *re-wa-ko a-me*[*-ro*: both these terms recur as names elsewhere; on Fq 198, they probably appear in successive entries. Their appearance in the same entry here is surprising; AGS suggest that the issue which was recorded in the entry was a joint one. Or is the absence of a HORD entry after *re-wa-ko* simply a scribal error (Duhoux, *Anthology* 375)? *Re-wa-ko* may be *Leiwakos* (cf. λείαξ 'smooth, beardless': García Ramón 2006.41); *a-me-ro* is probably *Hāmeros* (cf. ἥμερος; García Ramón (ibid.) compares Ἥσυχος).

* *a-ke-ne-u-si*: perhaps *hagneusi* (AGS), possibly with the sense of 'persons involved with the sacred ones' (cf. Ruijgh 2003.225). Palaima (2002a.482, 2003b.115) suggests *akhneusi*, a derivative of ἄχνη 'chaff' meaning 'winnowers'; it is questionable, however, whether a term for 'winnower' would be based on a word for the waste from the extraction process.

* *ku-si*: in view of the other animal and bird names found in the series, very likely *kunsi* 'to the dogs' (AGS). *Ku-ne* (Fq 229.9, etc.) is probably nominative plural or, less likely, dative singular of the same term; *ku-no* (Fq 205.3, etc.) may be its genitive plural or singular, though Lejeune (*Mémoires* IV.290) prefers to take it as dative of an *o*-stem personal name. As noted earlier, we can hardly accept Duhoux's suggestion (2005.10–11, 2006a.195–96, *Anthology* 376, 2008.248) that *ku-si* is a personal name **Κύρσις *vel sim*. in the nominative of rubric (and that *o-ni-si* is not *ornisi* but a name **Ὄνισις or **Ὄρνισις); on the great rarity of nominatives of rubric in the 'recipient' position on these records, in contrast to the very large number of datives, including dative plurals, see p. 885 s.v. *ka-wi-jo* FAṚ.

333 = Gp 176 (306)

.a **56-ru-we* v 3 ke-re-na-i[
.b **63-te-ra-de* , VIN s 1 v[

* **56-ru-we*: AGS argue that this is the same name as *ko-ru-we* on the *Av* and *Fq* tablets (Av 101.5, Fq 117.2, etc.), and conclude from this that the sound value of **56* is approximately *ko*. This, however, is unlikely; while a number of the recipients on the *Gp* tablets do recur on the *Av*, *Fq* records, a number do not, and it is difficult to reject a sound value *pa* or the like for **56* (Melena 1987b), particularly in view of the evidence of KN Ld(1) 587, which seems clearly to be the totalling record for the *Ld(1)* 'store' tablets in the same hand, and where the descriptions of the cloth listed include **56-ra-ku-ja*, which it is difficult to believe is not a variant spelling of *pa-ra-ku-ja*, found as a description of cloth of the same 'plain' type on Ld(1) 575 (Killen 1979a.152 and n. 6). Moreover, **56-ru-we* is itself almost certainly attested on the *Fq* records: see Fq 205.4.

334 = Gp 164 (306)

.1]ḍẹ , VIN 2 s 2 v 2 e-pe-to-i s 1 v 1[
.2]s 1 a-ko-ro-da-mo v 2 **56-ru-we* v 4 to[
lat. inf.]1 to-ro-wo s 1 [

* *e-pe-to-i*: almost certainly *herpetoihi*. While ἑρπετόν in early Greek always means 'walking animal, quadruped', as distinct from πετεινόν 'flying creature', its sense here is probably 'snake' (Euripides, etc.), which would distinguish this particular earth-bound animal from the others (mules, etc.) listed at Thebes. Since, however, there is no certain mention either of *e-pe-to-i* outside the *Gp* tablets in hand 306 or of other animals within this series, we cannot finally exclude the possibility that the issues here are 'to the quadrupeds' in general, with no further specification provided. See further Neumann 2006.128–29. What does seem implausible, however, is Duhoux's suggestion (2006a.199, *Anthology* 381) that *e-pe-to-i* might be a toponym (dat.-loc. plur.). As we have seen earlier, apart from the presence of large numbers of dative plurals of the recipient in parallel position on the *Fq*, *Gp* tablets, there is no evidence for toponyms in the *Fq* series, and the only place-name attested on the *Gp* tablets is the frequently recurring **63-te-ra*, which always appears in the allative form (**63-te-ra-de*), never in the dative-locative. Moreover, although there are place-names on Ft 140 in hand 312, a record of land, there are none on the *Ft* tablets in hand 311, which record issues of olives, and which have features in common with *Fq*, *Gp* tablets.

* *a-ko-ro-da-mo*: if *a-ko-da-mo* on Av 101, Fq 241, etc. is an alternative form of the same name, *a-ko-ro-da-mo* (also on KN B 1025) may be *Argrodāmos* and *a-ko-da-mo Argodāmos* (Ruijgh 2003.223); ἀργός 'white' is almost certainly a dissimilated form of an original *ἀργρός (cf. Skt. *r̥j-rá* 'shining') (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v.). Since, however, a number of the recipients on the *Gp* tablets differ from those on the *Fq* records (see **333** = Gp 176 s.v. **56-ru-we* and below s.v. *to-ro-wo*), these may be two different persons, the first perhaps *Akrodāmos*, the second perhaps *Arkhodāmos*, both of which names are attested in Classical Greek (García Ramón 2006.45–50).

* *to-ro-wo*: a name also attested on PY An 129, Vn 130 and perhaps on KN Ag 89, but not elsewhere at Thebes.

Addenda

I. Since the above was written, J. Weilhartner has published his important paper (2017b) identifying evidence in the records, at Pylos and perhaps elsewhere, for work feasts. Discussing the evidence just considered, Weilhartner agrees that the Thebes *Fq*, etc. tablets are likely to deal with issues made during a festival of some kind; as he points out, among the commodities listed as issued on these records are olives and wine, which are never attested on records of ordinary rations for workers, though they are found on 'menus' for state-sponsored banquets. In particular, he suggests, the Thebes issues may have been made during a work feast, one of the records of which at Pylos, Fn 837, evidently contains a 'religious' element: the mention of a priest (*i-je-re-u*) on l. 5 and *i-qe*[on l. 9, which there is good reason to restore as a reference to *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* (**43** =An 1281). It is certainly true that the recipients on the tablets include a number of persons described in terms of their occupation, which is well in accord with the 'work feast' hypothesis. On

the other hand, the recipients also include animals (*e-mi-jo-no-i*, *hēmionoihi* 'to the mules', etc.), who are perhaps most plausibly explained as humans who have adopted animal guise as part of their role in religious cult as e.g. the 'bears' of Artemis at Brauron in Classical Greece. This evidence, and that of other terms found on the records like *ke-re-na-i* (see pp. 874, 880), as well as the references on the records to women workers (*o-ti-ri-ja-i*: *Fq* 229+), who are not found on records of work feasts at Pylos, though they are found on **330** = Fn 187, which seems likelier to involve a religious ceremony, may be felt to incline the balance of probability towards these being records of a more specifically 'religious' festival in which the workers listed are playing a temporary role.

II. In an important article published in *Kadmos* 2014, M. Del Freo, building on earlier work by S. James (James 2006), brilliantly shows on palaeographical grounds (cramping of signs in the relevant section of the tablets in question) that the *ma-ka* plus barley entries at the beginning of Fq 126, Fq 130, Fq 258 and the *de-qo-no* plus barley entry at the beginning of Fq 234 are likely to have been added to the record after the names of the other recipients, and the amounts they receive, had been entered. (Because the *ma-ka* / *de-qo-no* plus barley entries were not added by the scribe until he knew the details of the other recipients, the space he had left for these entries at the beginning of the tablet was regularly found to be insufficient, hence the cramping of the signs.) Moreover, Del Freo points out, while we lack the ability, because of the fragmentary state of the records, to make a full comparison between the *ma-ka* plus barley figure on any individual tablet and the number of other recipients, the surviving figures are compatible with the conclusion that for each (other) recipient the *ma-ka* figure was increased by z 1. For example, on Fq 214 the *ma-ka* figure expressed in terms of the z unit is 25[units (maximum 27 units), whereas there are 23 other recipients on the surviving sections of the tablet. Again, on Fq 254 the *ma-ka* entry is 34 z, and there are 28 other entries on the surviving parts of the record.

What are the implications, if any, of Del Freo's findings for the interpretation of *ma-ka*? It is not perhaps impossible that the size of the contribution to a divinity *Māi Gāi* should have been calculated on the basis of the number of recipients of barley elsewhere on the record; but the process would be a curious one. A more understandable process, perhaps, would be if the *ma-ka* entry related to some communal consumption of barley shared by the other recipients on the tablet in addition to their individual allocations; and if this were the case an attractive interpretation of *ma-ka* would be, as T. Palaima has suggested in several discussions beginning with 2002a.481, *magāi* 'for kneading' (< μάσσω < **mag-i̯ō*), viz. a reference to *mazda*, a cake made from pounded barley widely

attested in Classical Greece. It is true that *ma-ka* may also be attested at Thebes on Gp 201, a WINE record; but this could be explained if the *mazda* on the *Fq* tablets were made from a mixture of barley and liquids, for which practice see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v. μᾶζα: 'espèce de grosse crêpe d'orge mêlée d'huile et d'eau' 'a kind of thick cake made of barley mixed with oil and water'. Moreover, it is supportive of an interpretation of *ma-ka* as a form of communal meal, in this instance a shared barley-cake (or cakes), that *de-qo-no* in the parallel entry on Fq 254, the figures in which appear to have been evolved in the same way as those in the *ma-ka* entries on Fq 126, etc., can readily be interpreted as *deik*^{w}*non*, Gr. δεῖπνον, viz. another form of communal meal.

In conclusion, however, it is necessary to stress that even if *ma-ka* is *magāi*, this is not evidence which enables us to come down on one side or the other of the debate about the nature of the *Fq, Gp* tablets, i.e. whether these are religious or secular documents. While μάζαι are certainly referred to in secular contexts in later Greek (see e.g. Archilochus 2W), they also appear as religious offerings, like (as we have seen earlier) the 'barley-cakes kneaded with honey' offered to her goddess by the priestess of Eileithyia Sosipolis at Olympia. Similarly, while a δεῖπνον may of course be a secular occasion, it is difficult, as we have again seen earlier, to dissociate *de-qo-no* on the *Fq* tablets from *po-ro-de-qo-no* on **322** = KN F(1) 51 with its reference to Zeus (*di-we*) as a recipient of barley.

Postscript. Since writing the above I find that the suggestion I make here about the function and meaning of *ma-ka* has already been made by A. Bernabé and R. Pierini in their excellent paper 'What, when, why: tablet functions and *o-te* expressions in context' in *Aegean Scripts* 523–36, esp. 531–33.

6. ALLOCATIONS TO DIVINITIES AND OTHERS AT MYCENAE (Oi)[b]

335 = Oi 701 (*63*)

sup. mut.
.1 *vestigia*[
.2 *vacat* [
.3 si-to-po-ti-ni-ja **190*[
.4 po-ro-po-i **190* 10
.5 ka-na-pe-u-si **190* 6
.6 [● ●]-ta do-ke-ko-o-ke-ne **190* 5
.7 [ku-wa-]no-wo-ko-i **190* 2
.8 *inf. mut.*

[b] *Documents*[2] 506–07, *Textos* 62–63. Studies: Weilhartner 2005.216–18, 2017b.

* The references to *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* and *po-ti-ni-ja* (see p. 890) constitute a 'religious' element in the *Oi* records, the other recipients in which include craft workers (*ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i*, *ka-na-pe-u-si*: see p. 891). Weilhartner (2005.216–18), comparing MY Go 610, which records small amounts of **190* being distributed in what may well be a secular 'rationing' context to what are probably male textile workers, suggests that the context here is similar, and that the issues to *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* and *po-ti-ni-ja* are rations for workers in the service of the god. Not only, however, is it difficult to point to parallels for such a use of a theonym elsewhere, but **190* on Go 610 is measured in liquid measure, whereas **190* on this tablet and elsewhere on the records, where it regularly appears in 'religious'/ceremonial banqueting contexts (see further below, this page), is measured in whole units, and may well represent a different form of the commodity (Ilievski 1966b.276–80). More attractive therefore is Weilhartner's later suggestion (2017b) that these are records of distributions during a work feast (on which see **94** = Fn 50 pp. 539–40 and Addendum I to section 5). Not only do records of this type record distributions to male workers, as here, but they sometimes contain a religious element.

D²/* *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*: a two-term reference to the goddess Potnia; for similar absence of word division, cf. *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* KN **328** = V 52, *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* PY **330** = Fn 187. The first word might be a divine name *Sītō(i)*, cf. Σιτώ as a name for Demeter in Sicily (Chadwick, *MT* III.58), or a genitive plural *sītōn* 'the Mistress of grains'. As Chadwick notes (ibid.), all three of the names which appear with a plain *po-ti-ni-ja* on the fragmentary Oi 704 recur on the present record, making it probable that she is the same divinity in both contexts.

* **190*: the evidence of the Thebes *Wu* sealings has shown that the differences between this ideogram and the sign previously transcribed as **134* are not significant (Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990.163–66). The commodity it denotes is listed outside the *Oi* records on KN U 5592, U 7063, Ws 8496, MY Go 610, Ue 661, Wt 700, TH Uo 121, Wu 48+ and possibly TI X 6. Several of these records (KN U 7063, MY Ue 661, TH Uo 121, Wu 48+) are likely to have a banqueting and/or 'religious' connexion (Killen 1992b.367, 375–76, Palaima 2003b.114, Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990). On MY Go 610, where **190* is exceptionally recorded in liquid measure, and not as elsewhere in whole units, see above, this page. No certainty is possible about its identity. As a bare possibility, however, it is worth mentioning 'cheese'. Note that the commodities mentioned on the TH *Wu* sealings besides **190* are many animals (including large numbers of sheep and goats) and **190* entries follow sheep entries on KN U 7063.2.3. It is true that 'cheese' is recorded by different means on PY **178** = Un 718 (by means of the ligature *TURO*$_2$); but it is perhaps significant, as Varias García (2007.832) has noted, that there is no example of **190* at Pylos. As regards the liquid form of the commodity, listed on MY Go 610, this could be curds, viz. the coagulated substance formed from milk by the action of acid which is either made into cheese or eaten as food, or whey, viz. the watery part of milk separated from the curd, especially in making cheese. Cf. the English nursery rhyme: 'Little Miss Muffet sat on a tuffet eating her curds and whey …'.

D²/* *po-ro-po-i*: Petruševski (1966.294) suggests *propoihi*, dat. plur. of a noun *προπός; cf. θεοπρόπος 'augur'. This interpretation is dependent on the etymological connexion with πρέπω; a rival view is that -προπος is assimilated from *-προκος; cf. Lat. *procus* (Boisacq). Since the only identifiable dative plurals in this group are descriptions of craftsmen, the sense is suspect too. It is possible that *po-po-i* Oi 702 is a variant or defective spelling of *po-ro-po-i*.

D² *ka-na-pe-u-si*: *knapheusi* 'for the fullers'.

D²/* *do-ke-ko-o-ke-ne*: cf. [*do-*]*ḳẹ-ko-o-ke-ṇẹ-ị* Oi 703, *ko-o-ke-ne-ị* Oi 704. This makes it clear that *do-ke* is a separate word, presumably *dōke* 'gave' as elsewhere (see Glossary, s.v. *di-do-si*). The preceding]-*ta* may be its subject; although the following *ko-o-ke-ne* might be nominative of *ko-o-ke-ne-i*, attractively interpreted as a name *Koögenehi* (dative), the omission of the -*i* may either be an error or be due to a lack of space before the ideogram (see the drawing of the tablet in *MT* III).

D² [*ku-wa-*]*no-wo-ko-i*: the restoration is proved by the repetition of this word on Oi 703, Oi 704: *kuanoworgoihi* 'for the *cyanus*-workers'. On κύανος, see pp. 787–88 and Glossary, s.v. *ku-wa-no*.

CHAPTER XX

THE INSCRIBED STIRRUP-JARS[b]

PETER VAN ALFEN

* Because they bear texts that were painted (before firing) on a common type of large coarse-ware storage/transport vessel of 12–14 litres capacity (type FS 164 according to Furumark's typology), the inscribed stirrup-jars (ISJs) stand apart from the Linear B tablets and sealing nodules, which were inscribed with a stylus on moist clay. Uninscribed stirrup-jars (SJs), many of which were produced in the same workshops as the ISJs (Raison 1968, Day and Haskell 1995, Haskell et al. 2011), were distributed widely throughout the Mediterranean as containers for wine and olive oil or oil-based perfumes (Haskell 1981, Day 1997–98, Haskell et al. 2011). The association with oil and perfumes is confirmed by finds of SJs at Mycenae and Pylos in areas that were used for perfume production and storage (Haskell 1981, 1984), and by **247** = PY Fr 1184 (dealing with perfume manufacture) which records a group of 38 *ka-ra-re-we*, a word elsewhere (KN K 778.1) qualified by the ideogram **210*^{VAS} depicting an SJ. Although scientific proof is still lacking, most commentators assume that the ISJs contained oil or perfumes, not wine (e.g. van Alfen 1999, Haskell 1997, 2004, de Fidio 1999a, Zurbach 2006, Judson 2013).

The total number of ISJs and their find-places are far more limited than they are for the ubiquitous SJs. To date, the majority of ISJs have been found at mainland sites, above all at Thebes (> 70 ISJs) and Tiryns (> 40), with a smaller number of jars coming to light at Mycenae (10), Midea (3), Eleusis (1), Kreusis (1), Orchomenos (1), and Gla (1). Excavations on Crete have unearthed additional examples at Khania (29), Malia (4), Mamelouko (1), Armenoi (1), and Knossos (1). Most appear to date to LM IIIB1 (Catling et al. 1980.98–101, Haskell 1984.105–106), although a few ISJs have been found in contexts that allow them to be dated as early as LM IIIA2 (KH Z 27) and as late as LM IIIB2 (MA Z 3, MI Z 2, 4). Encouraged by their abundance at Thebes and Tiryns, Raison (1968) argued that the ISJs originated from the mainland sites, a view that seemed partially vindicated by a large-scale ceramic analysis project in the late 1970s (Catling et al. 1980). Ongoing analysis, however, has refined the

[b] *Interpretation* 275–76, *Textos* 76. Studies: Raison 1968, Sacconi 1974 (= *CIV*), Catling et al. 1980, Palaima 1984, Hallager 1987, Olivier 1999, van Alfen 1999, 2008, de Fidio 1999a, Haskell 2004, Zurbach 2006, 2016, Duhoux 2011, Killen in Haskell et al. 2011, Judson 2013, Driessen et al. 2015, Godart and Sacconi 2017 (= *Supplemento al CIV*).

conclusions of this earlier study with the result that all ISJs are now assured to be Cretan products, the vast majority (90 per cent) of which come from workshops in the western part of the island in or near Khania, the remainder from central Cretan workshops closer to Knossos (Day and Haskell 1995, Day 1997–98, Mommsen et al. 2002, Haskell 2004.153).

The ISJs warranted only passing mention in *Documents*[1,2] (109), in a discussion of the extent of Mycenaean literacy, a topic that continues to inform approaches to the inscriptions (see pp. 230–31). Further discoveries of ISJs since the 1950s, as well as the publication of Sacconi's (1974) indispensable, and now updated, corpus (2017), have broadened our understanding of their significance. As it has become clearer that the ISJs are primarily a west-Cretan phenomenon dating to a period after (one of) the major destruction(s) of the palace of Knossos, a period that saw the rise of seemingly independent centres – like Khania – elsewhere on the island, the ISJs have become key evidence in arguments concerning internal Cretan politics, regionalism and economies. A driving factor behind many of these arguments is the appearance on a small number of ISJs (**336** = TH Z 839, TI Z 29?) of the adjective *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, and what is likely to be its abbreviation, *wa* (**338** = EL Z 1, KH Z 16?). The use of this politically suggestive term implies that a *wa-na-ka* (*wanaks*) had a connexion with the production either of the jars themselves or of their contents (or both; see p. 895), but whether this was in fact the Knossian *wanaks*, or a different *wanaks* elsewhere (Khania?) is a matter of continuing debate (Palaima 1984, Hallager 1987, Haskell 1983, 2004, de Fidio 1999a).

The basic meaning of the inscriptions is otherwise not controversial. Besides *wa/wa-na-ka-te-ro*, the range of words on the ISJs is limited to six west-and central-Crete toponyms (TNs) and ca. thirty personal names (PNs). Nearly two-thirds of the inscriptions are single PNs in the nominative case (e.g. **339** = KN Z 1716); there is only one example of a solitary TN (**56-ko-we* on TI Z 27). The remaining third of the inscriptions all follow a similar formulaic pattern consisting of two personal names and a toponym: PN in the nominative + TN + PN in the genitive (*wa/wa-na-ka-te-ro* replaces this last PN). As was first noted by Hart (1965.19), it is attractive to compare this formula with the pattern of entry on a number of KN *D*- SHEEP tablets, which contain in addition to the 'shepherd's' and place-name, the name of a 'collector' often in the genitive.

While the basic meaning is clear enough, the function of these inscriptions on the jars is not. Most consumer and trade-oriented interpretations – that the inscriptions served as trademarks indicating the origin or quality of the oil/perfume, for example – have been abandoned in favour of views that seek to locate the function either within an administrative context that oversaw the production of the jars, their contents or both (Olivier 1999, van Alfen 1999 and 2008, Zurbach 2006), or within the context of elite gift exchange (Duhoux 2011, Driessen

et al. 2015, cf. Judson 2013). Olivier (1999.280–84), for example, argues that the inscriptions function within the context of jar production and their (empty) transfer to a 'collector'; here the inscriptions serve only to identify the potter and the larger batch of uninscribed jars the ISJ is nestled within. Others, on the other hand, have focused on the production of the contents and have argued that the function of the inscriptions within this context would align with that of the sealing nodules (e.g. **107**–**09**), serving to monitor and record the production and delivery of oil owed to successively higher entities in the economic hierarchy (van Alfen 1999, Zurbach 2006). Thus, by analogy with the KN *D*- series, the first PN in the longer ISJ inscriptions (e.g. **336**, **337**, **338**) can be taken as the name of a manager of oil production, the TN as the locale of production. The second PN, except in the case of *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, would be the name of a 'collector,' one of a number of high-ranking individuals to whom the palace had assigned part of the productive output of the state (Killen 1995b.213; the precise socio-political rank and economic role of the 'collectors' is still unsettled, cf. Olivier 2001, Rougemont 2001b).

Various managers owed oil to the 'collectors', who, in turn, owed oil to their superiors. As with the sealing nodules, the function of the inscriptions would be to act as a serial or tracking number of sorts, ensuring that what was owed was duly recognised and recorded at particular steps along the way. The short single-word inscriptions (e.g. **339** = KN Z 1716) were merely abbreviations of the longer formula, used when the other information (the TN and 'collector's' name) was already known from other sources. A similar reduction of the longer formula is noted also in the KN *D*- series (Bennet 1992.71–78). Once they had served their recording purpose, ISJs could be (re)used as ordinary SJs; some, however, might have been kept or traded as objects of interest themselves, which might explain the clustering of jars at Thebes, for example.

It is safe to assume that within a closed administrative context all the inscriptions were intended to have a communicative value, which was enhanced by painting the inscriptions generally in large signs on conspicuous parts of the jars, either on the shoulder or wrapped around the belly. Irregularities in the inscriptions, such as illegible signs (TH Z 847, TH Z 855), lapses in spelling (cf. TH Z 851 and 852, TH Z 869 and TH Z 871–72, 876) and sign reversals (cf. TH Z 868 and TH Z 866–67, TH Z 857–58 and TI Z 11–16), have cast doubts on the communicative viability of some inscriptions and the literacy of their painters. As Killen (in Catling et al. 1980.88, 91) and Bennett (1986.138–39) suggested, however, illiterate craftsmen might well have copied a text (provided to them by the administrators?) onto the jars with greater or lesser success. And it is just as likely that scribes negotiating an unfamiliar medium – a brush on a large jar – rather than their more familiar stylus on a small clay tablet were responsible for some irregularities as well. Either way, in a closed context misspelled words and

misshapen signs would still convey their intended message if the reader had an expectation of what was written, and focused not on the individual signs, but on word length, shape and context.

Some recent arguments have looked beyond any possible administrative function the inscriptions might have served, and instead have suggested that the ISJs were produced specifically for mainland Mycenaeans as part of a system of gift exchange (Duhoux 2011, Driessen et al. 2015). The ISJs thus functioned as 'monumentalised namecards' (Driessen et al. 2015.66), serving as a reminder of the person who gave the gift thereby enhancing their prestige.

336 = TH Z 839

ka-u-no o-du-ru-wi-jo , wa-na-ka-te-ro ,

Khaunos at **O-du-ru*, royal [production]

o-du-ru-wi-jo: the ethnic is likely to be used as a toponym (*DMic* s.v.). McArthur (1993) places **O-du-ru* in the western reaches of Crete, near Khania.

wa-na-ka-te-ro: the adjective here takes the place of the 'collector's' name in the genitive as the third term in the inscription. Hart (1965.19) compares the formulae in the KN *D-* series that lack a 'collector's' name; these records, she suggests, list animals belonging to the king himself. It is unclear what *w*. qualifies: *ka-u-no*, or the jar and/or its contents.

337 = TH Z 849

a-re-i-me-ne wa-to , re-u-ko-jo

Areimenes at *Wa-to*, Leukos' [production]

With a minor misspelling of the first PN in one example (*a-re-me-ne* on TH Z 882; also see *DMic*, s.v. *a-re-i-me-ne*), the same inscription is found on three other similarly decorated jars – TH Z 851, 852 and 882 – all undoubtedly from the same west-Crete workshop (near *Wa-to*?) and painted by the same hand.

338 = EL Z 1

.1 da-*22-to
.2 da-pu$_2$-ra-zo , wa ,

.1 At *Da-*22-to*
.2 *Da-pu-ra-zo*, r[oyal production]

The inscription is located on the shoulder of the jar in the field generally reserved for single PNs; all other three-word inscriptions, like **336** and **337**, are wrapped around the jars' bellies. The layout of the text in two lines with a dividing line between shows great affinity with the pinacological tradition, suggesting that a seasoned scribe painted this text (Bennett 1986.143). The placement of the TN in the first line served to

emphasise this piece of information, a practice found also in the KN *D-* series (Bennet 1992.71–78).

wa: probably an abbreviation of *wa-na-ka-te-ro* (*DMic* s.v.; cf. **322** = KN F(2) 51 rev. 1). It is found also on PY Wr 1480, a sealing nodule (Shelmerdine and Bennet 1995.130–31), where the abbreviation was undoubtedly used, as here, because of limited writing space.

339 = KN Z 1716
wi-na-jo
Wi-na-jo

Two other ISJs, AR Z 1 and MI Z 4, bear the same PN. The inscription on MI Z 4 is tucked into the double wave design on the belly rather than in the usual field on the shoulder, as on the other two jars, suggesting that this placement was more opportunistic than planned (see Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 1997, Pl. II).

The clay, etc. analyses in Haskell et al. 2011 show that AR Z 1 has a different constitution from KN Z 1716 (AR Z 1: Rethymnon area-E. Crete; KN Z 1716: central Crete/Boeotia (doubtless the former)). MI Z 4, also with *wi-na-jo*, may well also be central Crete/Boeotia; it has the double deep wavy line decoration characteristic of central Crete/Boeotia jars, including KN Z 1716. Thus it is difficult to see how AR Z 1 can be from the same workshop as KN Z 1716, as is normally the case with two jars showing the same inscription. For a suggestion about how the inscriptions come to be similar despite this, see Killen in Haskell et al. 2011.100.

CHAPTER XXI

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

JOHN KILLEN

1. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS FROM PYLOS (Aq, On, Qa, Un, Va, Vn)[b]

* The connexion of **341** = Aq 218 with **340** = Aq 64, which was noted as early as *Documents*[1] (p. 175), is now generally accepted, and it will be convenient to consider these records together. Both tablets have the same hand (H 21) and stylus, were found close to each other in Archive Room 8 (grid *13*), and are similar in size and format. Each contains two paragraphs with a heading, which in the second paragraph of Aq 64 and both paragraphs of Aq 218 begins with *o-da-a*$_2$; and each lists men, all seemingly important, followed in both paragraphs of Aq 64 and one of the paragraphs of Aq 218 by the entry *ZE* 1.

D[2]/* The first paragraph of Aq 64 has the heading]-*re-wi-jo-te*, clearly a present participle, though it is unclear how it should be restored (see p. 904); another word must have preceded. Then follows a list of seven men, six of them designated as local officials or other dignitaries (*mo-ro-qa*, *ko-re-te*, *a-to-mo*). Four of these persons, *Ru-ro* the *mo-ro-qa*, Klumenos the *mo-ro-qa* and *ko-re-te* of *I-te-re-wa*, Perimos the *ko-re-te* of *Ti-mi-ti-ja* and *Po-ki-ro-qo* the *e-qe-o a-to-mo*, occur either named or implied by place-names on **208** = Jo 438, where they are shown as contributing gold. Note, too, the reference on Jo 438 left edge to a *du-ma Po-so-ri-jo*, who it is attractive to connect with the *Po-so-ri-jo* named in the genitive on Aq 64.7. In addition, Klumenos and *Po-ki-ro-qo* may well be the persons of those names on the 'coastguard' record **56** = An 654, where K. is the leader of a contingent (*o-ka*) and *P.* an 'officer' in another. Note, too, that Aq 64.7 records a son of Perimedes and that a Perimedes appears as an 'officer' on **58** = An 656.

* The second paragraph lists '*ktoinā*-holders'. Here again there are probable or possible connexions with the 'coastguard' tablets. Etawoneus (l. 13) is the name of an 'officer' on **57** = An 519, Eruthras (l. 16) is the name of an officer on

[b] **340** = Aq 64, **341** = Aq 218: *Documents*[1] 175–78, *Documents*[2] 422–24, *Interpretation* 140–46, *Textos* 26–28. Studies: Ruipérez 1956, Del Freo 2005a.182–96. **342** = On 300: *Documents*[2] 466–68. **343** = Qa 1296, **344** = Qa 1299: *Documents*[2] 484–85, *Interpretation* 371–73, *Textos* 61. **345** = Un 1322: *Documents*[2] 505–06. Study: Chadwick 1964a. **346** = Va 482: *Documents*[1] 348, *Documents*[2] 503, *Interpretation* 368–69. Studies: Sacconi 1973a, Killen 2003. **347** = Va 1324: *Documents*[2] 506, *Interpretation* 324–25. **348** = Vn 46: *Documents*[1] 349, *Documents*[2] 503–05, *Interpretation* 366–67. Studies: Van Effenterre 1970, Palaima 1991.

56 = An 654, while *Ne-qe-u* the son of Eteocles (l. 15) is likely to be the brother of Alektruon the son of Eteocles who is named as a Follower (*e-qe-ta*), also on An 654.

* The first paragraph of Aq 218 records men under an obligation to do something: *a-na-ke-e o-pe-ro-te*[. Then follows a list of two priests, one at *Ne-wo-ki-to*, the other perhaps at *Ri-so-wa*, and three men who we know from the 'coastguard' records to have been Followers: *Ro-u-ko* the son of Kussamenos (of Metapa) (see **57** = An 519), *A-e-ri-qo-ta* the son of *Ke-ki* (of *O-wi-to-no*) (see **55** = An 657) and A_3*-ko-ta* son of Adrastos (again see **55** = An 657). Although the term following *a-e-ri-qo-ta* is damaged, it is difficult to doubt that we should restore it as [*ke-ki-*]*jo*.

* Paragraph 2 lists men without a *ktoinā* (*o-da-*a_2 *e-ke-jo-to a-ko-to-no*). Once again there are probable or possible connexions between the men in question and the 'coastguard' tablets. If *de-wi-jo* is a patronymic, *Pa-ku-*ro_2 *de-wi-jo* (l. 10) may be a brother of A_2*-te-po de-wi-jo* **57** = An 519, although A_2. may not be a personal name; *Ma-ra-te-u* (l. 15) is the name of an 'officer' on **55** = An 657; and]*ka-re-u* (l. 11) is described as *e-ko-me-na-ta-o *34-te* (meaning obscure), which is likely to be a reference to the contingent leader Erkhomenatas on **59** = An 661. Note, too, *ke-ki-jo* in a damaged entry on l. 12, which may be a reference to a brother of the Follower *A-e-ri-qo-ta* [*Ke-ki-jo*] mentioned in the first paragraph of the tablet.

ZE		Pair
**171*		CYPERUS

* In both paragraphs of Aq 64 the references to the men are normally followed by one or other of two formulae, 1. *to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se* and 2. *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se*. *A-ke-re-se* appears to be a 3rd person future or aorist from ἀγρέω, though its sense remains uncertain; *to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se* is likely to mean 'this year (or every year) thus he will do (or has done) *x*.', and *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se* 'and he will not do (or has not done) *x*.'. On both formulae, see further pp. 900–01. Next comes *ZE* 1; and in cases where the entry is complete and contains *to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se* this is in turn followed by an entry involving ideogram **171* and a number which appears always to be a multiple of three (3, 6, or 12). Neither of these formulae appears on Aq 218, where the entries contain either *ZE* 1 alone or MAN 1 alone. A single entry on Aq 64 (see l. 8) follows the same pattern. The absence of *ZE* 1 from Aq 64.5 and 7, which otherwise follow the normal pattern of entry for this tablet, appears to be due to pressure of space.

D²/* There has been some debate in the past as to which of the two records should be read first. It is certain that *o-da-*a_2 (Aq 64.12, 218.1, 9) is a word used to introduce the second and subsequent paragraphs of a document; it therefore follows that 218 which begins with this word cannot be the first tablet of this set. In spite of this, Palmer (*Interpretation* 140–46) has arranged the tablets in reverse order, assuming that another tablet is lost and that the broken entry in Aq 64 began with another *o-da-*a_2. He believes that whereas the MEN entries indicate personal service by the individuals concerned, the *ZE* and **171* entries relate merely to

contributions, and he argues that since 218 proceeds from MEN to *ZE*, 64 with no MEN but with *ZE* throughout should follow it. This is not impossible, but it is an unnecessary assumption. It is true that the men on 218 include Followers, who appear to have connexions with the central court, whereas the officials or other dignitaries mentioned in 64 § 1 are members of the local elite, but it would be dangerous to assume that the latter were therefore of lower status than the former. Moreover, two persuasive arguments can be advanced in favour of the generally held belief that it is 64 that comes first. First, as we have seen, the second paragraph of 64 is headed *ko-to-na e-ko-te* = *ktoinans ekhontes* 'holders of plots', the second paragraph of 218 *a-ko-to-no* = *aktoinoi* 'plot-less'. This is not only the logical order but is precisely paralleled by the formulae of the *Jn* tablets (*talasiān ekhontes/atalasioi*, see p. 710). Second, as E. L. Bennett has observed (1957b.114), the space below the second paragraph was originally ruled to give three lines, but then erased and re-ruled to give six lines. As Bennett notes, it is attractive to suspect that this was because the scribe, seeing that the next paragraph (218 § 1) involved a heading followed by five individual entries, thought of inserting it here rather than on a new tablet, but then abandoned the idea.

D²/* The significance of the document is still uncertain despite much discussion. The abbreviation *ZE* is elsewhere used for *dzeugos* 'pair', 'yoke', not only of animals such as oxen and horses but also of inanimate objects such as wheels. It is possible that it here abbreviates a different word altogether, though it is hard to see what. Melena (1987a.390–91) suggests **ze-u-ke-u*, *dzeugeus*, which he takes as 'owner of a pair of animals' and a reference to the status of the man in question. While, however, *dzeugeus* is attested in the dative plural (*ze-u-ke-u-si*) on PY **94** = Fn 50.9 and Fn 79.10, it is linked on the latter with *i-po-po-qo-i*, (*h*)*ippophorg*^{w}*oihi* 'horse-feeders, ostlers', which does not suggest that it was used of high-status individuals, like the men on Aq 64, 218.

D²/* An alternative approach has been suggested by Ruipérez (1956, 1957), that *dzeugos* here has the sense of a measure of land, i.e. the amount that can be ploughed with a yoke of oxen, a semantic development seen in Latin *iugerum*, which is a singular reformed from the plural *iugera* equivalent to ζεύγεα. Hence Ruipérez concludes that the document relates to the division and allocation of landholdings. Against this it might be argued that the second paragraph of 218 shows *ZE* entries against names which are listed as *aktoinoi* 'having no plot'; but *ZE* might refer to a future allocation, or they might hold land other than *ktoinai*. The sense of *e-ke-jo-to* is unclear. Ruipérez also proposes that ideogram **171* is a subdivision of *ZE*, but its correlation with the positive verbal formula *to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se* is against this, and it is not confirmed by its independent use at other sites.

* **171* occurs at Knossos on Ga(3) 464, which records a deficit (*o-pe-ro*) of **171* and CYP (cyperus) for two places, and on *Ga*(*1*) 519, where 2[units of **171* are qualified as *ku-pa-ro* and form part of a delivery (*a-pu-do-si*). These indications

that the sign denotes a form of the cyperus plant are strengthened by its probable appearance on the Mycenae 'spice' tablet **106** = Ge 606, where 11 units of what is almost certainly **171* and 1 unit of *DE* are preceded by the term *ko-i-no*, clearly *skhoinos* 'rush, reed'. Finally, the sign occurs on four of the *Wu* sealings found at Thebes in 1982, Wu 46, 56, 59, 76, all of which also contain an animal ideogram (GOAT^{f}, GOAT^{m}, PIG^{x} or OX^{f}), and where the numbers following the sign are all multiples of three (30, 30, 36, 30), like those following **171* on Aq 64.

In view of the likelihood that **171* denotes cyperus in one or other of its forms, more recent commentators on the diptych have suggested two different explanations of the document based on its presence on the record. J. L. Melena (1974b.332–33; cf. Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990.162–63), identifying **171* as a form of cyperus used as fodder for animals (cf. Hesychius κύπειρον· ἄνθος ἵπποις ἐδώδιμον), suggests that the *a-ke-re-se* formulae refer to distributions or non-distributions by the palace to the individuals named in the relevant entries, who he takes to be persons responsible to the centre for maintaining a pair of oxen or horses; though he also notes the possibility that they instead relate to contributions to the centre (Melena 1974b.333, 1987a.390–91). For a similar view of these entries as relating to distributions of fodder, see Halstead 1999a.323–24, 2001.40. Others, however, have argued in support of VC's and Palmer's tentative conclusion (*Documents*[1] 176, *Interpretation* 143–45) that the **171* entries relate to contributions to the centre: see Killen 1992b.372–75, Del Freo 2005a.192–93.

* While no certainty is possible, there are several pieces of evidence which can be adduced in favour of the second view of the matter. First, as we have noted on p. 898, one section at least of the diptych refers to obligations: see Aq 218 § 1, which is headed *o-da-a*$_2$ *a-na-ke-e o-pe-ro-te*[. Second, as Del Freo stresses (2005a.192–93), all the phrases elsewhere in the records which involve the term *we-to* 'year', as *to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se* does, are found in taxation contexts: see e.g. *a*$_2$*-te-ro we-to di-do-si* 'they (will) give next year' on the Pylos taxation record **180** = Ma 365. Third, elsewhere in the records **171* seems always to appear in 'contribution' contexts: on KN Ga(3) 464 and *Ga*(*1*) 519 with their references to deficits (*o-pe-ro*) and a 'payment' (*a-pu-do-si*); on the Mycenae *Ge* tablets, which deal with assessments for and payments of taxes in condiments (see pp. 553–54); and on the Thebes *Wu* sealings, which relate to contributions to the palace of animals and foodstuffs (see pp. 559–64). Note that three of the four *Wu* sealings which contain **171* also show the term *o-pa*, which certainly refers to the animals on the documents but which it is difficult to believe does not also relate to the **171* entries (Killen 1992b.374–75). While its precise meaning remains uncertain, *o-pa* evidently refers to some kind of obligation to the centre.

* It is true that if **171* is a contribution, it will be necessary to assume that the verb *a-ke-re-se*, whose appearance without *o-u-qe* clearly correlates with the

presence of **171*, cannot have the standard Classical sense of ἀγρέω, viz. 'take, select'; whereas that meaning would fit well with Melena's view that **171* represents an allocation from the centre which was received by owners of pairs of animals. It is not impossible, however, that it means something like 'collect', like ἀγείρω, whose present indicative and aorist participle are probably attested at Pylos (see *a-ke-re* **63** = Cc 660, *a-ke-ra*$_2$*-te* Vn 493), though its precise implication remains uncertain. For this suggestion, see Melena 1974b.333 (who rejects it, however, in favour of his 'receive' interpretation), Del Freo 2005a.193. As Del Freo observes, ἀγρέω and ἀγείρω may be linked etymologically: see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* s.v. ἄγρα for McKenzie's suggestion that ἀγρέω is derived from adjectives in -αγρετος, which properly belong to ἀγείρω. If it does mean 'collected' or 'will collect', (*o-*)*a-ke-re-se* may, as Del Freo suggests, refer to a taxation operation conducted by the persons named on the records on behalf of the palace. It is consistent with this suggestion that most of the persons named in Aq 64 § 1 in connexion with *a-ke-re-se* and the presence or absence of **171* are important local officials or other dignitaries, who we know from PY **208** = Jo 438 to have been contributors of gold to the centre, and who we may suspect, in the case of the *ko-re-te-re* at least, were also responsible to the palace for the collection and transmission of other local taxes (see e.g. **85** = C 902).

* It is less easy to decide whether the *ZE* 1 entries in both paragraphs of Aq 64 and in Aq 218 § 2 also represent contributions, perhaps pairs of livestock, as VC, Palmer, Killen and Del Freo tentatively suggest, or either indicate ownership (or receipt) of a *ZE* or serve to qualify the persons named in the relevant entries, just as the following MAN ideograms probably qualify the persons named in Aq 218 § 1. Nor, if *ZE* 1 represents a contribution, can we be at all certain what this consists of. Despite the lack of an animal ideogram, a pair of animals remains the likeliest possibility, particularly in view of the evidence of the Thebes *Wu* sealings, where **171*, recorded as on Aq 64 in multiples of three units, is always associated with animal entries. Even, however, if *ZE* 1 does denote a pair of animals, it is uncertain whether these are horses or oxen. It would fit the connexions of many of the persons named on the diptych with the 'coastguard' records if these were chariot-drawing horses needed in connexion with the military (or paramilitary) dispositions dealt with on those records; compare perhaps the pairs of horses together with chariots and corslets booked on the *Sc* tablets at Knossos against the names of what J. Driessen (1992) has convincingly shown are likely to be members of the ruling Knossian (military) elite. As we have seen earlier (p. 836), these records may well concern issues to men who lack the equipment in question, while the *Vc*(*1*) records from the same find-place list men who are already fully equipped (see pp. 836–37). Thus one possible explanation of the *ZE* 1 entries on Aq 64, Aq 218 is that this is a record of men with various obligations: some to *a-na-ke-e*, others to provide a pair of chariot-drawing horses

either for their own use or for that of others. In view, however, of the references to landholding on the record, we cannot exclude the possibility that these are not horses but oxen: that this is a list of persons who either own a pair of oxen or are required to supply one for central palace use. If they are oxen, however, it is not easy to accept M. Del Freo's suggestion (2005a.195–96) that these are animals intended for sacrifice. While it is true that another record at Pylos, **78** = Cn 3, lists some of the contingents known from the 'coastguard' records in connexion with single oxen which can plausibly be explained as contributions for sacrifice (see pp. 518–21), we should not expect the *ZE* ideogram to be used in such a context. Whereas *ZE* is standard in records of pairs of chariot-drawing horses and pairs of oxen used for ploughing, it is not found in records of what we can feel reasonably confident are animals for slaughter, like PY **79** = Cn 418. Here the two fattened oxen listed on l. 2, whose elaborate descriptions and the small numbers of animals dealt with on the tablet strongly suggest are sacrificial victims, are recorded as BOS + *SI* 2, not BOS + *SI ZE* 1.

* Nor, finally, can we be certain of the form or purpose of the cyperus denoted by **171* on the diptych. Elsewhere on the records, **171* is cyperus used as a condiment (see MY **106** = Ge 606), probably used for religious offerings (see KN Ga(3) 464 in hand 223) and perhaps used as an ingredient in perfume manufacture (see KN *Ga*(*1*) 519, perhaps in hand 135). If it is here being contributed, it might be cyperus intended for one of these purposes (cf. Killen 1992b.369–75). Given, however, that it appears, again recorded in multiples of three units, in association with animals on the TH *Wu* sealings, we cannot exclude the possibility that it is here a different form of the plant used as a foodstuff for animals, as Classical κύπειρος appears to have been (cf. Killen 1999a.337–38). Note in this connexion that while **171* is always measured in whole units, never fractions, the amounts (of cyperus) in other entries on Ga(3) 464 (CYP 26 T 3, CYP 15) and *Ga*(*1*) 519 (]4̣ T 5) suggest that the **171* there is being measured in major units of dry measure (4̣[and 4̣ units on Ga(3) 464, 2[units on *Ga*(*1*) 519); whereas the much smaller amounts in other entries on MY **106** = Ge 606 (and the *Ge* tablets in general) make it difficult to believe that this can be true of the 11 units of *171* * qualified as *skhoinos* 'reed, rush' there. And if the 11 units (bundles?) of **171* on **106** = Ge 606 (assuming that this is the correct reading) is a different form of the commodity from the **171* at Knossos, it would seem more likely, given the large figures, that the 30 and 36 units of **171* recorded on the Thebes *Wu* sealings is the plant in its Mycenae rather than its Knossos form: which in turn may mean that the **171* on Aq 64, Aq 218, where it is again measured in multiples of three units and may also be associated with animals, is likewise of the Mycenae type. At the same time, however, it should be noted that the individual entries on the diptych involve 3 (twice), 6 (twice) and 12 (once) units of the commodity, which would not seem to rule out the possibility that these are major units of dry

measure that are being contributed to the centre by the clearly significant figures with whom the diptych is concerned.

340 = Aq 64 (S64 H 21)

.1]-re-wi-jo-te
.2]-ja , mo-ro-qa , to-to , we-to , o-a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1 **171* 3
.3 ka-do-wo , mo-ro-qa , o-u-qe , a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1
.4 ru-ro , mo-ro-qa , o-u-qe , a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1
.5 ku-ru-me-no , mo-ro-qa , i-te-re-wa , ko-re-te , to-to ṿẹ-ṭọ ⌞ ⌟ ọ-a-ke-re-se **171* 6̣
.6 pe-ri-mo , ti-mi-ti-ja , ko-re-te , to-to-we-to ⌞ ⌟ ọ-a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1 **171* 3
.a o-a-ke-re-se
.7 pe-ri-me-de-o , i-*6̣5̣ , po-so-ri-jo-no , te-ra-ni-ja , a-ke-re-se , to-to-we-to , **171* 12
.8 po-ki-ro-qo , e-qe-o̤ , a-to-mo *ZE* 1
.9–11 *vacant*
.12 o-da-a_2 , ko-to-na e-ko-te
.13 e-ta-wo-ne-u , to-to-we-to , o-a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1 **171* 6
.14 a-qi-zo-we , to-to , to-to , we-to , o-a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1 [
.15 ne-qe-u , e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo , to-to , we-to , o-a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1 [
.16 me-wi , e-ru-ta-ra , me-ta-pa , ki-e-wo , to-to-we-to , o-a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1 [
.17–22 *vacant*

D/* § 1 Those functioning as … [contribute as follows?]:

[So-and-so] the *share-holder each* year *will collect* as follows: one pair, three units of cyperus.
Ka-do-wo the *share-holder*, and he *will* not *collect*: one pair.
Luros the *share-holder*, and he *will* not *collect*: one pair.
Klumenos the *share-holder*, *mayor* of *I-te-re-wa*, *each* year *will collect* as follows: *six* units of cyperus.
Perimos the *mayor* of *Ti-mi-ti-ja each* year *will collect* as follows: one pair, three units of cyperus.
The son of Perimedes, the … of Psolion, *will collect each* year *will collect* as follows: twelve units of cyperus.
Poikilok^{w}s the …: one pair.

D/* § 2 And the holders of estates as follows:

Etawoneus *each* year *will collect* as follows: one pair, six units of cyperus.
A-qi-zo-we {*each*} *each* year *will collect* as follows: one pair, [*x*. units of cyperus].
Ne-qe-u the son of Etewoklewes *each* year *will collect* as follows: one pair, [*x*. units of cyperus].
Me-wi Eruthras of Metapa, [man?] of *Ki-e-u*, *each* year *will collect* as follows: one pair, [*x*. units of cyperus].

D/D²/*]-*re-wi-jo-te*: clearly nom. plur. masc. of the present participle of a verb in -εύω (Elean -είω), but it is uncertain how it should be restored. Bennett originally read]-*s̤i-re-wi-jo-te* and suggested the restoration [*qa*]-*si-re-wi-jo-te* 'acting as **qa-si-re-we*, *gʷasilēwes*', but this reading is now abandoned.

D/D²/* *mo-ro-qa*: perhaps *moirokkʷās* 'possessor of a share or portion', evidently a high-ranking local title.

D²/* *to-to*: given the consistent spelling without *u*, probably not *touto* 'this' but a reduplicated *totto* (<**tod-tod*, cf. Skt. *táttad*) meaning 'this particular (year)' or more likely 'every (year)' (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.233–42).

D/* *o-a-ke-re-se*: although it appears within a sentence and not as elsewhere in initial position, it is difficult to doubt that *o-* is the separable *hō* 'thus', followed as normally by a 3rd pers. indic. verb: cf. e.g. *o-di-do-si* 'thus they give', *o-do-ke* 'thus he gave', *jo-do-so-si* 'thus they will give'. For discussion of the meaning and tense (fut. or aor.?) of *a-ke-re-se*, see Introduction.

D²/* *i-*65*: the most likely value for **65* is *ju*. It is probable that *i-ju* is the nominative of one form of the Mycenaean word for 'son': see Glossary.

* *te-ra-ni-ja*: analogies suggest that this might be either a title (Ruipérez 1956.156; with *po-so-ri-jo-no t.* here, compare *e-ko-me-na-ta-o **34-te*, perhaps to be understood as 'the **34*. of *E.*' on Aq 218.11) or a place-name (Vilborg, *Grammar* 68; compare the place-names in the two preceding entries, and note Melena's suggestion [1977] that it might be an erroneous spelling of **te-ta-ra-ni-ja*, viz. an alternative form of the toponym *te-ta-ra-ne* PY **52** = An 1, comparable to *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* vs *pa-ki-ja-ne* or *i-na-ni-ja* PY Ae 8+ as against *i-na-ne* PY **49** = An 18). If the latter were its explanation, *po-so-ri-jo-no* would presumably indicate '[dependant] of *P.*' or the like; cf. *ki-e-wo* in the entry on l. 16, which may mean '[dependant] of *K.*'. Alternatively, since neither of these interpretations would account for the repetition of *a-ke-re-se* (though this could simply be an error, like the repeated *to-to* in l. 14), it might be acc. of a noun and the object of the first *a-ke-re-se* (*Documents*[1] 176–77).

* *e-qe-o a-to-mo*: its appearances in parallel with local titles like *du-ma* and *da-mo-ko-ro* in the *C*(*3*) tablets at Knossos and **208** = Jo 438 at Pylos leave little doubt that *a-to-mo* is also a title both there and here. It is less clear whether *a-to-mo* on PY Jn 832.9 is again the title – though this is not impossible: see Killen 1995b.214 – or a place-name with the same spelling. *E-qe-o*, which may be an error for *e-qe-a-o*, which precedes *a-to-mo* on KN V 56, remains enigmatic. The spelling with *e* appears to rule out a connexion with *i-qo*, (*h*)*ikkʷos* 'horse', in spite of the appearance of *i-q̤o-na-to-mo* on PY Eq 146, which if the reading is correct can plausibly be interpreted as (*h*)*ikkʷōn a-to-mo*.

D² *o-da-a*$_2$: the usage of this word as introducing the second and subsequent paragraphs of a list makes it certain that it contains a connective particle. Hence we should analyse it as *hō d*(*e*) with another particle of the approximate form **aha* giving intensifying force. The whole word will therefore translate 'and thus', the verb or other phrase which

introduced the first paragraph being understood with it. This analysis is confirmed by the variant forms *o-a*$_2$ PY **97** = Vn 20, which stands at the head of an isolated tablet and hence lacks the connective; and by *o-de-qa-a*$_2$ PY **342** = On 300, to be analysed as *hō de k*^{w}*(e) aha*; see p. 907; Chadwick 1970b.102–03.

* *me-wi e-ru-ta-ra*: apparently a 'double-barrelled' name, though it is difficult to find parallels for this.

* *ki-e-wo*: see under *te-ra-ni-ja* p. 904. The name recurs on **54** = An 724.9, where it is most plausibly explained as that of an important individual (the same person as here?) granting an exemption from rowing service: see pp. 478–79.

341 = Aq 218 (S64 H 21)

Recto

.1 o-da-a$_2$, a-na-ke-e , o-pe-ro-te[

.2 ri-so-wa , i-je-re-u[ ] *vest.* [ ]VIR 1

.3 ne-wo-ki-to , i-je[-re-]u , da-i-ja-ke-re-u VIR 1

.4 ro-]u-ko , ku-sa-me-ni-jo , me-ta-pa VIR 1

.5 a-e-ri-qo-ṭạ[ ]jọ̣ ⌞ ⌟ o-wi-to-no VIR 1

.6 a$_3$-ko-ta , a-da-ra-ti-jo VIR 1

.7–8 *vacant*

.9 o-da-a$_2$, e-ke-jo-to , a-ko-to-no

.10 pa-ku-ro$_2$, de-wi-jo ZE 1

.11]ka-re-u , e-ko-me-na-ta-o , *34-te ZE 1

.12] , ke-ki-jo ZE 1

.13]me-ta , po-ru-da-si-jo ZE 1

.14]me-nu-a$_2$ ZE 1

.15]ma-ra-te-u , a-pu-ka ZE 1

.16 qo-te-wo , i-*65 ZE 1

Verso

di-we si-po-ṛọ̣ ti-mi-to-qo-ṛẹ̣

D/* § 3 And those under an obligation to … as follows:

At Ri-so-wa, the priest … : one man.
At *Ne-wo-ki-to*, the priest *Da-i-ja-ka-re-u*: one man.
Ro-u-ko the son of Kussamenos at Metapa: one man.
Aherik^w*hoitas* … at *O-wi-to-no*: one man.
A$_3$*-ko-ta* son of Adrastos: one man.

D/* § 4 And those without estates … as follows: *Pa-ku-ro*$_2$ the son of *De-wi*: one pair, etc.

* It is uncertain whether the MAN ideograms in lines 2–6 refer to the individuals named in these entries or to unnamed men that they have supplied or will supply. The analogy of the many records of named persons elsewhere in the archives, where MAN ideograms commonly appear after the names, favours the former alternative.

D² *a-na-ke-e*: the interpretation *anagehen* has been generally accepted, but there is no agreement on its meaning; suggestions range from 'put to sea' to 'trace boundary furrows'. If this is a taxation record (see Introduction), another possibility is 'contribute' (cf. Furumark 1954b.38, *Documents*[1] 178, 387, *Documents*[2] 531): see *LSJ9* s.v. ἀναγωγή.

* *ri-so-wa*: comparison with the next entry, which likewise concerns a priest, suggests that this is more likely to be a place-name (Mühlestein 1956.37) than a personal name (*Documents*[1] 177, 425), though if the term]*ri-so-wa*[on KN Xd 7756 is complete this will favour the latter interpretation. Bennett and Olivier (*PTT* I.63) note that the term following *i-je-re-u* probably contained four signs, the second and third of which might be *-wi̤-je̤-*, and compare *di-wi-je-u* **58** = An 656.9. The reading, however, is much too doubtful to allow any certainty about the restoration.

D²/* *da-i-ja-ke-re-u*: perhaps the name of the priest (Risch 1959b.251), though possibly a further occupational term (Palmer 1954a.53), for which *i-je-re-u po-me* 'priest (and) shepherd' KN **29** = Am(2) 821 would be a parallel. Palmer (ibid.) suggests 'land-divider'; this interpretation has been enthusiastically welcomed by those who see the document as concerned with allocations of land, but it remains very questionable.

* The reverse of the tablet contains the entry *di-we si-po̤-ro̤ ti-mi-to-qo̤-re̤*, seemingly added after the clay of the tablet had dried. The same sequence of signs may occur twice elsewhere at Pylos: on the reverse of Xa 412 (minus the *-re̤*) and amongst the graffiti at the bottom of the recto of **309** = Tn 316 (minus the two last signs) (Del Freo 1999a.157–58). For the ingenious suggestion that they may be a Mycenaean abecedarium, see Ruipérez and Melena 1990.110–11.

342 = On 300 (S300 Cii)

.1] *vestigia* [
.2] [[**154*]] [ ] **154* 10 a-pi-a$_2$-ro̤ **154* 6
.a ko-re-te-ri
.3 ko-re-te-]ri **154* 5̤[ ]pa-ki-ja-ni-ja̤[ ] **154* 3
.4] **154*[ ] **154* 3
.a -ri ko-re-te-ri
.5 ko̤-re-te **154* 3̤[ ]1 e-ra-te-i-jo **154* 3̤[ ]
.6]-ni-jo[ ]du-ma-ti **154* 3
.7 da-mo-ko-ro[ ] *vacat*
.8]o-de-qa-a$_2$ pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo [
.9 ra-u-ra-ti-ja ko-re-te **154* 1̤ [ ]e̤-sa-re-wi-ja ko̤[-re-te **154*
.10 e-[ ]-re-wa-o , ko-re-te **154* 2[ ]te-mi-ti-ja ko-re-te **154* 3
.11 sa-ma[-ra] , ko-re-te **154* [ ]2̤ a-si-ja-ti-ja ko-re-te **154* 3
.12 [ ]ma **154* 2̤ te-po-se-u **154* 3
.13] *vacat*
.14–17 *vacant*

D²/* This badly damaged tablet is a vital piece of evidence in the determination of the geography of the kingdom of Pylos (see pp. 261–64). The ideogram **154* bears a general resemblance to **152* and **153*, which are surcharged with syllabic *wi*

and *ko* and appear to stand for *wrīnos* 'hide' and *kōwos* 'sheepskin' respectively. But there are differences in the outline of **154* and the resemblance may be fortuitous. The tablet gives no further clue to the identity of the ideogram, since little survives of the heading (see p. 906).

D²/* The second paragraph of the record clearly begins at line 8 with the word *o-de-qa-a*$_2$, strongly reminiscent of *o-da-a*$_2$ which so often serves the same purpose (e.g. **340** = Aq 64.12, **341** = Aq 218.9). As Bennett and Olivier (*PTT* I. 216) note, the mark which might be mistaken for a divider between *-de-* and *-qa-* is in fact part of an erased *qe*, and it is clear that the four signs constitute a single word. Bennett and Olivier also point out that the scribe first wrote *o-de-qe* *pe-ra* and then deleted all but the first two signs and inscribed the present text. This confirms the view of *o-da-a*$_2$ proposed by Chadwick (1970b.102–03) that this is *hō de* plus a particle **aha*, for in this case we have plainly *hō de k*^{w}*(e) aha* replacing *hō de k*^{w}*e* = ὡς δέ τε.

D² The paragraph is headed *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*, plainly an adjectival form from *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja* Pa 398 and *pe-ra*$_3$*-ko-ra-i-ja* **205** = Ng 332; for the details of the structure of this word, see Chadwick 1963.137–38. It refers to places on the far side of the feature which divides the kingdom into two, and four of the following place-names are identifiable with towns among the final seven of **207** = Jn 829 (*ra-u-ra-ti-ja* = *ra-*]*wa-ra-ta*$_2$, *te-mi-ti-ja* = *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*, *sa-ma*[*-ra*]= [*sa-*]*ma-ra*, *a-si-ja-ti-ja*). Of the other two, *e-sa-re-wi-ja* reappears on **181** = Ma 330 and on Vn 493 coupled with *za-ma-e-wi-ja* (**186** = Ma 393, **207** = Jn 829.18), and despite the apparent lack of space *e-*[*ra-te-*]*re-wa-o* must be restored in line 10 (cf. **208** = Jo 438.27, also followed by *ko-re-te*; also *e-ra-te-re-we* Ma 333).

D²/* In line 12]*ma* following the lacuna at the beginning of the register is doubtless to be restored as *du-ma*; cf. *du-ma-ti* l. 6. In *Documents*², J. Chadwick suggests that this may be a reference to the *du-ma* of Helos (cf. *e-re-i* **207** = Jn 829.19) and restores [*e-re-o du-*]*ma*. On the *Ma* tablets, however, *e-re-i* is replaced by *e-sa-re-wi-ja* and *a-te-re-wi-ja*; and since *e-sa-re-wi-ja* appears on l. 9 here this must raise doubt in the mind as to whether *e-re-i* was referred to on the record. Moreover, *du-ma-te* at Pylos are normally referred to by name, not by location, and a name might also have preceded the title in this instance. This leaves only *te-po-se-u* to account for, and he is shown by **208** = Jo 438.21 to be *ti-nwa-si-jo ko-re-te*. In other words, the official is named instead of being given his title, as is also true of *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro* in paragraph 1 (see p. 908). The positioning of this entry is probably significant; for the suggestion that **ti-nwa-to*, which is not found in the standard lists of the Nine and Seven Towns of the two provinces, was a frontier area loosely attached to the kingdom or even an 'overseas' possession, see on **11** = Ad 684.

D²/* We can now turn to the even more damaged first paragraph. Line 1 presumably contained the heading stating the subject of the record; it probably contained the word *de-we-ro-a-ko-ra-i-jo* or something similar. The nine following

entries will then correspond to the Nine Towns of the Hither Province. Strangely the titles *ko-re-te-ri* and]*du-ma-ti* are here in the dative case, with the less usual locatival -*i* ending; but rather than suppose a different operation in the first paragraph, we may put this down to scribal inconsequence, with the names of the recipients in the second paragraph given in the nominative of rubric. *Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* is the town nearest to Pylos, frequently mentioned on the tablets. *A-pi-a*$_2$*-ro* = *Amphihalos* is an important person (An 192.1, Qa 1297), but there is no evidence of his town. *E-ra-te-i-jo* is the adjective of *e-ra-to* which replaces *ro-u-so* in some versions of the List of the Nine Towns. In line 6 [*du*]-*ni-jo* is a likely restoration (cf. An 192.3), but again we cannot conjecture the place-name which the size of the lacuna suggests may – exceptionally – have accompanied the name. *Da-mo-ko-ro* is proved by KN C(3) 7058, 7793 to be a title rather than a personal name. This too appears to stand, like *te-po-se-u*, outside the entries corresponding to the principal towns of the Province.

* The join with Xn 1446 (Melena 1999a.160) has restored part of the heading, but it provides little elucidation. With the final]*do-w̥e-n̥a̯*, compare the mysterious *do-we-n̥a̯-qe* PY Vn 1314.

D²/* Excavations of the north-east wing of the palace in 1957 yielded a new series of tablets, now given the prefix *Qa*. They are all single-line tablets characterised by the ideogram **189*, a rectangular frame in which is inscribed the syllabic sign *KE*. Judging by analogies, *ke-* is likely to be the first syllable of the Mycenaean name for the object listed. As J. L. Melena (2002b.380–84) has pointed out, this could be *ke-ra-e-we*, which stands before a probable **189* on Un 1482.2. Melena suggests that this is *gerahēwes*, an -*eus* derivative of *geras* meaning 'things bringing honour' and indicating that the objects denoted by the ideogram, which he thinks may be the skins of sacrificial animals, were given as a mark of honour to the priests and other notables who are listed in the series (see p. 909). As pointed out by Killen (2002), however, many of the nouns in -*eus* in Mycenaean are occupational terms, like *khalkeus* 'bronzesmith', and *ke-ra-e-we* might be *kerahēwei* dat. sing. or *kerahēwes* nom. plur. of *keraheus* 'worker in horn' (κέρας), here referring to the worker or workers who are receiving or have produced the objects listed on the tablet. As Killen notes, these probably include a footstool or footstools (*ta-ra-n̥u̯*[-*we* l. 3): objects which we know from the Pylos *Ta* furniture tablets to have been decorated with ivory. Nor does the drawing of **189* resemble any of the 'skin' ideograms elsewhere in Linear B: **152*, **153* and perhaps **154*. Chadwick (*Documents*² 485) thinks of a textile (a ceremonial robe?), but while its rectangular shape would be consistent with this suggestion, there are no traces of the 'fringe' found along the bottom of many textile ideograms, whose presence would have confirmed the identification. The numbers of this object vary from 1 (at least seven times) to 5.

*189 ?

D²/* The formula on the records consists of a personal name (*a-pi-a₂-ro* Qa 1297), or a personal name and a place (e.g. *a-te-ra-wo ka-ra-do-ro* Qa 1304), or a personal name and title (e.g. *ka-wa-ra i-je-re-ja* Qa 1289), or a title and a place-name (e.g. *i-je-re-u se-ri-no-wo-ṭẹ* Qa 1290 'the priest at S.'). In this it resembles the variations to be seen among the entries of **208** = Jo 438. But the titles here appear to be religious; four tablets refer to a priest or priestess (Qa 1289, 1290, 1296, 1300; cf. 1303?), and one to a man 'of the Mistress' (*Potniawios* **344** = Qa 1299). This may lead us to suspect that *po-qa-te-u* (Qa 1295) is *phoigʷasteus* (φοιβάζω) 'prophet' or 'ritual purifier'.

D² Of the personal names *a-pi-a₂-ro* = *Amphihalos* stands alone on **342** = On 300.2, and is known also as a landholder. [*E*]-*ke-ri-ja-wo* and *me-nu-a₂* recur on **54** = An 724, but since the latter occurs on two *Qa* tablets (1293, 1301), it is perhaps a title rather than a name. *Ne-qe-u e-da-e-u* reappears as a landholder on Eb 495, cf. **152** = Ep 613.1. Thus the names listed here are all of persons of consequence.

343 = Qa 1296 (S1295 H 15)

a-o-ri-me-ne , i-je-re-u **189* [

D² The priest Ahorimenes …

344 = Qa 1299 (S1295 H 15)

ka-e-se-u , po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo **189* 1

D² K., the man of the Mistress: one …

D²/* The name *ka-e-se-u* recurs at Mycenae Ge 602, 605. The usual form of the adjective from *Potnia* is *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*; for a comparable alternation between the possessive suffix *-e-jo* and the adjectival ending *-i-jo* in derivatives of 'owners'' names, see *we-ra-te-ja* KN **20** = Ap 618 vs]*we-ra-ti-ja* Ak(3) 784. As with *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, the *-w-* element in *po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo* remains obscure.

D²/* Four more miscellaneous texts from Pylos may be added here.

345 = Un 1322 (Cii)

.1]*vest.*[ ] GRA[
.2]ṇọ-[•]-o-no[ ] GRA 6̣ *NI* [
.3 de-ku-tu-wo-kọ[ ]o-no **146* GRA 2̣ *NI* 2
.4 i̯-ṭẹ-wẹ , o-ṇọ[ ] GRA 12
.5 we-a₂-no[ ]-no , re-po-to **146* GRA 5
.6 we-[ ]-no ,[ ] **146* GRA 15̣
.7 *vestigia*

D²/* The fragment is very much battered. It was discussed at length by Chadwick (1964a). Its chief interest lies in the combination of the ideogram **146*, which appears to be some kind of textile (see pp. 668–69), with the sign for WHEAT. In

other cases where two ideograms are written together (e.g. SHEEP^{m} WOOL KN Dp 43+), the first appears to qualify the second; but a textile obviously cannot qualify wheat, so it seems likely that the wheat represents in some sense the price of the textiles. It is, however, strange that the number of pieces of cloth is not specified; possibly this is the record of the keeper of the granary, who was interested in the issue of the wheat, but not in the goods received in exchange. Note the similar omission of the amount of alum received in exchange for the commodities listed as the 'price' for the substance on **39** = An 35.5–6. Lines 2–4 appear to give the payment in kind made to certain craftsmen.

D²/* *de-ku-tu-wo-ḳọ*: following a suggestion of H. Mühlestein (see Chadwick 1959a.137), probably *dektuworgōi* 'for the net-maker'. This involves regarding Classical δίκτυον as a replacement of an earlier *u*-stem δίκτυ recorded by the *Etymologicum Magnum*; and supposing Mycenaean *e* = ι as in *ku-te-so* = κύτισος. If so, this may be evidence that the word is of Mediterranean origin rather than associated with δικεῖν 'cast'. Chantraine (1967b.3–4), however, suggests *deiktu-*.

D²/* *o-no*: attempts to associate this word with ὦνος seem to be blocked by the etymology **wos-no-* (cf. Lat. *uēnum*, Skt. *vasnáḥ*; see Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.294–95). Mycenaean *o-no* might be associated with the root of ὀνίνημι, and it is not entirely certain that Cretan ὦνος results from a precocious loss of digamma before o. Mycenaean forms show that ὦφείλω, despite Arcadian ϝōφλēκόσι, had no digamma, and the etymology of ὠθέω is not certain. For further on the word, see pp. 282–83, 460.

D² *i̤-ṭe-we̤*: if the reading is correct, dative (or nominative plural) of **histeus* 'weaver', agent noun in -εύς from ἱστός 'loom'. Cf. *i-te-ja-o* **11** = Ad 684, gen. plur. of the corresponding feminine **histeia*.

D²/* *we-a$_2$-no*[: cf. *we-a$_2$-no-i* **316** = Fr 1225, *wehanoihi* '(for) fine robes' (Hom. ἑανός). The sign before]-*no* seems not to be *o*, hence the restoration [*ri*]-*no re-po-to* = *linon lepton* 'fine linen', cf. KN **239** = L 693. Since **146*, which contains a surcharged *we*, follows, it is attractive to conclude that *we-a$_2$-no* is the name of this garment, though the fact that it is here qualified as *linon lepton*, and is a fabric produced widely in Pylian villages, suggests that it was not necessarily of high quality, as the Homeric ἑανός evidently was.

346 = Va 482 (H 42)

.a qe-qi-no-me-no
]e-re-pa , a-no-po , a-ko-so-ta , *ZE* , e-wi-su-*79-ko 4 ro-i-ko 2̤

* Little about this record can be established for certain. It begins with the term *e-re-pa*, *elephas* 'ivory'; it mentions the prominent administrator and 'collector' *a-ko-so-ta*, Alksoitas or the like; it contains the participle *qe-qi-no-me-no* whose feminine *qe-qi-no-me-na* is found on *Ta* furniture tablets and which evidently means 'carved' or the like; and it shows the term *e-wi-su-*79-ko* which it is clear from its appearance on PY Va 404 followed by numerals is the name of an object, and which may recur in the variant spelling *e-wi-su-zo-ko* on two *Se* records of chariot frames at Knossos, though this equation has been questioned (see Lejeune,

Mémoires I.214). Other elements of the record, however, are less transparent, including the meaning of *a-no-po*, the function of the *ZE* ideogram and the meaning of *ro-i-ko*; and its overall purpose is therefore difficult to determine.

* On balance, it seems likelier that *a-no-po* is a masculine personal name, as it is on PY **60** = Cn 131, than an adjective *anōpon* 'unworked' (Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.213 n. 32); as Melena (1976a.235) points out, if the second element of the compound involved the **sep*- root of *o-pa*, as Lejeune presumes, we would have expected a spelling with *a*- before *h* (< *s*), not *an*-. It also seems probable that *ZE* indicates 'pair' (*dzeugos*), and refers to elephant tusks, though there is no general agreement about the number of pairs involved: one (with the numeral as sometimes omitted) or six or seven (with *ZE* understood before the two entries to the right). (Melena's alternative suggestion [1987a] that it is the *ZE* ideogram found on KN **253** = *K*(*1*) 740 and R 1562, and means 'comb', is difficult to accept, given the *pi-ri-je* before the ideogram on 740 and the]*je-ne*, very likely *pi-ri-*]*je-ne*, before the sign on 1562, which are plausibly interpreted as *priēn*, *priēnes* 'saw(s)': see Glossary.) Most likely, therefore, the tablet records a transaction involving ivory, some of it at least in tusk form, between the administrator Alksoitas and a craftsman *A-no-po*; but it remains uncertain whether *A-no-po* is returning finished ivory objects to Alksoitas, as Sacconi (1973a) and Melena (1987a.425) have suggested, or is being issued with raw ivory by Alksoitas to enable him to produce finished items, as Palmer (*Interpretation* 369), Palaima (*Scribes Pylos* 105) and Killen (2003) have argued. Killen's suggestion that, like e.g. the *Lc* cloth production records at Knossos, the tablet records both the raw material issued to workers (viz. one pair of tusks) and the items expected to be produced with the issue (viz. the objects listed in the entries to the right, some of which are specified as 'carved' and may have been parts of chariots) at least has the merit of avoiding some of the problems that appear to be raised by alternative proposals, e.g. that the objects recorded to the right are carved tusks intended to serve as legs of furniture. (For scepticism about this possibility, see Poursat 1977.261.) Further than this, however, it seems impossible to go.

D²/* *ro-i-ko*: VC and others interpret as ῥοικός 'crooked', curved', but we should expect this word to have initial *w*-; indeed, it is likely to be attested in Mycenaean by way of the MN *wo-ro-ko-jo* (gen.) PY Sa 763, plausibly interpreted as *Wroikoio*, and perhaps also the adjective *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* PY **176** = Er 312, **178** = Un 718, if this is a derivative of a MN *Wroikiōn* (see p. 648). Palmer (*Interpretation* 368) proposed *rhoïskoi* 'small pomegranates', 'knobs'. The problems are discussed by Chantraine (1966.164–65) who arrives at the judgement: *non liquet.*

347 = Va 1324 (Cii)

.1 e-ke-i-ja 30
.2 pe-di-je-wi-ja 20 a-ko-so-ne 2

* This is one of a number of tablets and sealings from the NE Building at Pylos which have evident links between them. With this tablet and its record of *e-ke-i-ja*, *pe-di-je-wi-ja* and *a-ko-so-ne*, compare in particular Vn 1339 (*e-ke-ja* l. 1, *a-ko-so-ne*[l. 3), Va 1323 (*a-ko-so-ne*) and the sealing Wr 1328 (*pe-di-e-wi* <*-ja*?>: Olivier 1997a.74). While the function of these documents is clearly to record items in store or recently delivered to the stores, and while many of the texts from this building are clearly connected with various forms of 'industrial' production, including leather-working and chariot manufacture, it is unclear whether the present record is dealing with finished objects or raw materials (or both). JC (*Documents*[2] 506) renders *e-ke-i-ja* as *enkhehiai* 'spears', comparing ἐγχείη *Il.* v, 167+ besides ἔγχος *Il.* ii, 389+, and suggests that if *pe-di-je-we* PY **57** = An 654 means 'foot-soldiers', 'perhaps the derivative *pediēwiai* (sc. *enkhehiai*) means "infantry-spears"'. The third item recorded, however, is *a-ko-so-ne*, *aksones*, and while this might refer to finished axles (for chariots), it is likely on **250** = Vn 10, which records deliveries from wood-cutters to a chariot-maker's workshop, to refer to wood for making axles, not the finished article; and this suggests the possibility that *e-ke-i-ja* (and *e-ke-ja* Vn 1339, which the context indicates is likely to be the same term in a different spelling) may not be *enkhehiai*, 'spears' but *enkhehia* (neut. plur.) 'wood for making spears' (Killen 1999c.348–49, Melena 1999a.167, Palaima 2003a.183). No certainty is possible, but support for the 'raw material' interpretation may be provided by the reference on the sealing Wr 1480, also from the NE Building, to *pa-ta-jo do-ka-ma*, which may be *paltaiōn dorkhmai* 'shafts (lit. 'handles') of javelins' (see on PY **51** = An 1282), i.e. a reference to parts of weapons, not the complete objects. Note that *pa-ta-jo* probably also appears on Vn 1341 (]*pa-ṭa-jo* 200 l. 7), which is again from the NE Building and has links, via the term *ki-wa-ra*, with Vn 1339 and its reference to *e-ke-ja*.

* *e-ke-i-ja*: Ruijgh (*Études* 204 following Palmer, *Interpretation* 324–25, 415, cf. Melena 1999a.167) has suggested an alternative explanation of this to 'spears' or 'wood for spears': that it is a derivative of ἔγχος with the sense 'axle' (cf. *a-ko-so-ne* l. 2). In support of this interpretation he points to the appearance of *e-ko* on KN **308** = Sc 226, which records *inter alia* a wheeled chariot, and before WHEEL on the reverse of KN So(2) 4446. But whatever of the mysterious *e-ko* in the second context, *e-ko* (before 1) on **308** = Sc 226 may well be *ekhōn* 'having' and indicate that the individual dealt with on this record already has one horse in his possession, and so only needs the single animal listed before *e-ko* to make up the standard pair (see pp. 836–37). Moreover, not only does ἔγχος mean 'spear' elsewhere in the records, the appearance of *pa-ta-jo*, *paltaiōn* on Wr 1480 and probably on Vn 1431 makes it clear that a reference to spears or wood for spears would not be out of keeping with this context.

* *pe-di-je-wi-ja*: while it is probable that this is related to *pe-di-je-we* PY **56** = An 654 (see pp. 487–88), the sense of the latter is likelier to be 'men of the plain' (*pedion*) than 'foot-soldiers' (see p. 484), and Chadwick's interpretation as 'infantry-spears' is unlikely to be correct. These could still be items of equipment called after the *pe-di-je-we* (Ruijgh, *Études*

126), but a raw material named after these persons or the plain from which they come is also a possibility: cf. *ro-u-si-je-wi-ja* PY **300** = Ub 1315.2, a term used of leather or reins which may indicate 'of Lousian type', and which may either be derived from an ethnic **Lousieus* 'man of **Lousiā*', viz. the region of *ro-u-so*, Lousos (Ruijgh, *Études* 126–27) or be a derivative in *-ēwio-* of *ro-u-so* itself (*Documents*[2] 520).

348 = Vn 46 (Cii)

.1 pi-ṛa$_3$-[
.2 ka-pi-ni-ja , a-ti-ṭạ , ọ[
.3 ka-pi-ni-ja , e-ru-mi-ni-ja , 4 [
.4 ka-pi-ni-ja , ta-ra-nu-we 12[
.5 *34-ki-no-o 81 o-ṗị-ṛạ$_3$-te-re ẹ0[
.6 e-to-ki-ja ẹ23[ ]-ke-te-re 140
.7 pi-ri-ja-o , ta-ra-nu-we 6
.8 qe-re-ti-ri-jo 2 me-ta-se-we 10
.9 e-pọ-wo-ke , pu-to-ro 16
.10 *34-ki-no-o , pu-to-ro 100
.11 ta-to-mo , a-ro-wo , e-pi-*65-ko 1
.12 ẹ-ṛụ-mị-ni-ja 2 ki-wo-qe 1

* Although most of the heading is missing and the terms it contains can only be interpreted 'etymologically', there is little doubt that this is a list of house-building materials, as nearly all commentators, including VC and JC, have taken it to be. Van Effenterre's alternative suggestion (1970) that it is a list of materials for ship-building, though not entirely ruled out of court by Palaima (1991; cf. Hocker and Palaima 1993), encounters serious objections, and can hardly be accepted. Not only does the 'house-building' interpretation fit best with the normal sense in later Greek of most of the more plausibly interpreted of the terms on the record (*pi-ri-ja-o*, for instance, is attractively interpreted as *phliāōn*, gen. plur. of φλιαί, whose standard sense in Greek from Homer onwards is 'door-posts'), we can hardly take *ka-pi-ni-ja*, in three entries on the record, as derived from *skaphos* 'ship' (with an unexplained *-n-* element) rather than from *kapnos* 'smoke', and καπνία, which fits the spelling, is attested in Greek in the sense of chimney, albeit in a very late source (the grammarian Moeris). The list may conceivably have included tools, metal fittings, etc., as well as timbers; but any interpretation must fit this general context.

D[2] *ka-pi-ni-ja*: gen. *kapniās* 'of the chimney': see above. Palmer's objection (*Interpretation* 424) that timber would be inappropriate for this position results from a failure to understand the construction of Mycenaean roofs. The smoke-duct over the hearth in the megaron at Pylos was of earthenware (Blegen 1953b.61), but an elaborate structure of timber would have been needed to hold this in position, and the whole structure might properly be called 'chimney'.

D²/* *a-ti-ṭạ*: obscure: cf. *a-ti*[Vn 879.1 in what appears to be a similar list, if not a continuation of this. Presumably, like *elumniai* and *thrānues* (see below, this page), these are parts of the chimney structure.

D/* *e-ru-mi-ni-ja*: *elumniai*, glossed by Hesychius as δοκοὶ ὀροφῆναι 'roof-beams'.

D/* *ta-ra-nu-we*: *thrānues*, here probably equivalent to θρᾶνος 'transverse beam'.

D²/* **34-ki-no-o*: it is unclear whether this is the same term as is spelt a_3-*ki-no-o* at Knossos as part of a chariot (**286** = Se 879, **287** = Se 891). For discussion of possible values of **34*, see Chadwick 1992.169–72.

D² *o-ṗị-ṛạ$_3$-te-re*: if the reading is correct, this can hardly be anything but *opi(r)rhaistēres*, cf. ῥαιστήρ 'hammer'. Perhaps not tools for construction but fittings to prevent damage to the ends of beams?

* *e-to-ki-ja*: *entoikhia*, referring either to the beams surrounded by masonry making up the walls themselves (Palmer, *Interpretation* 367) or fittings for insertion into walls (*Documents*² 504). The number following the term (ẹ23[) does not allow us to decide between these possibilities.

D² *pi-ri-ja-o*: a particularly happy discovery (see p. 913): *phliāōn* 'door-posts'.

D/D²/*]*-ke-te-re*: probably [*pa*]*-ke-te-re* (cf. Vn 879.4), perhaps *pāktēres* 'pegs', 'bolts' (πήγνυμι).

D² *qe-re-ti-ri-jo*: possibly *k*^{w}*(e)lethriō*, from a diminutive in *-ion* of πέλεθρον, πλέθρον, a measure of length in Homer and later Greek, but in origin doubtless meaning a rod or pole. Ruijgh (1970.315) proposes a derivative of βλῆτρον 'fastening'; see also Palmer, *Interpretation* 367.

D² *me-ta-se-we*: a compound of μετα-, but the second member is obscure. Connexion with μετάρσιος must be rejected, if it represents -αϝερ-.

D² *e-ṗọ-wo-ke*: in this line and the next the problem arises that in previous entries the epithet (genitive) precedes and the second word is the substantive; but since **34-ki-no-o* also stands alone (line 5), it must be the substantive and *pu-to-ro* can therefore be the epithet. This seems to be the order also in l. 11. If so, *pu-to-ro* is probably genitive plural.

D²/* *ta-to-mo*: the word recurs in tablets dealing with sheep (Cn 4, Cn 595) and on the sealing KN Ws 1703 in association with what is likely to be the weight sign P (Killen 1985a). The spelling corresponds to σταθμός. This word has the senses 'sheep-pen' (e.g. *Il.* II, 470), 'pillar' (e.g. *Od.* I, 333) and 'balance' (e.g. *Il.* XII, 434) or 'weight' (e.g. Hdt. II, 168). Thus the three contexts of the Mycenaean word answer to three senses of the Greek term. For the suggestion that *stathmos* on Ws 1703 means 'weight', see Killen ibid.

D² *e-pi-**65-ko*: if, as seems likely, the value of **65* is *ju*, there is no word in the lexicon to suit this spelling. Palmer (1955.43; *Interpretation* 367) has proposed to interpret this as ἐπίζυγος; it is of course true that ζ in ζυγόν corresponds to *y* of other Indo-European languages (Lat. *iugum*, Skt. *yugam*), but there is no example in later Greek of this sound surviving as *y*. Moreover, the root occurs in the Mycenaean words *ze-u-ke-si* and *ze-u-ke-u-si* and the abbreviation *ZE*, and seems always to be spelt with *z-*. It is therefore extremely doubtful if this alternative can be accepted here. Palmer cites as parallel *pe-**65-ka* from the similar tablet Vn 879, which he interprets as πέρζυγα; but apocope of περί is unknown in Mycenaean, and an alternative explanation is here available (*peyukā*(*s*) = πεύκη 'pine').

D/* *ki-wo-qe*: *kiwōn kʷe* 'and a pillar'.

2. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS FROM KNOSSOS (E, V)[b]

349 = E 749 (136)

.0 *vacat*
.1 qa-ra-jo , GRA 25
.2 ru-ki-ti-jo GRA 2̣3[
.3 ti-ri-ti-jo GRA[
.4 [su-]ṛi̯-mi-jo GRA̤[ ]ḷ T 2̣ 'V 3'
.5 qa-mi-jo , GRA 12 T 5
.6 u-ta-ni-jo , GRA[
.7 pu-si-jo , GRA 6̣[
.8–9 *vacant*
.10 *vacat* [

* The tablet books amounts of WHEAT against a series of ethnic adjectives in *-jo*. VC (*Documents*[1] 213–14) take it as a record of grain, and think it more likely that these are payments of foodstuffs to groups of men than receipts of wheat from them. We cannot finally exclude this possibility; but since we now know that the scribe of the record is no. 136, who was also responsible for all but one of the *Ga*(*2*) 'condiment' tablets and may also have written E 849, which records the dimensions of orchard land (*pu-ta-ri-ja*, *phutaliai*), it is attractive to accept J. L. Melena's suggestion (reported in Foster 1977a.47–51) that it is instead a register of land on which condiments were grown, measured, as regularly on the *E* tablets (including E 849), in terms of WHEAT.

* It is supportive of Melena's suggestion, not only that several of the places implied by the ethnics on the record recur on the *Ga*(*2*) tablets, but also that, as he points out, there appears to be a relationship between the amounts of coriander expected as contributions from places on the 'condiment' records and the WHEAT figures booked against the same places on E 749. Melena begins by noting that though many of the WHEAT figures on 749 are damaged or have not survived at all, enough remains to suggest that they are in a fixed relationship to one another. Thus the GRA 12 T 5 booked against *qa-mi-jo* < PN *qa-mo* on l. 5 is half the amount booked against *qa-ra-jo* < *qa-ra* on l. 1 (GRA 25); and this makes it tempting to restore the figure for [*su-*]*ṛi̯-mi-jo* < *su-ri-mo* in l. 4 as GRA [6] T 2 V 3, viz. half of GRA 12 T 5 and one-quarter of GRA 25. He then observes that the coriander figures for the same three places, though one is not certainly complete, could well have involved the same relationship; see the table:

[b] **349** = E 749: *Documents*[1] 213–14, *Documents*[2] 438, *Interpretation* 234. Studies: Foster 1977a.47–51. **350** = V(2) 280: *Documents*[1] 311, *Documents*[2] 475–76. Study: Chadwick 1959b.

PLACE	E 749	Ga(2) TABLETS
qa-ra	GRA 25	AROM 2̣ [= T 20?
qa-mo	GRA 12 T 5	AROM 1 = T 10
su-ri-mo	GRA[ ]1̣ T 2̣ V 3 (= GRA 6 T 2 V 3 ?)	T 5 = T 5

Note, however, that the figures for *ru-ki-to* (E 749.2, **99** = Ga(2) 415), though not seriously out of line, fit less well into this pattern. With the 2̣3 [(=25?) units of GRA on E 749.2 compare the AROM 1 T 6 (=16 T) of coriander on Ga(2) 415.

* If this seeming relationship between the WHEAT and coriander figures is not a mirage, it is attractive to conclude, as Melena does, that it reflects a practice whereby fixed areas of land, in particular villages, were set aside for the production of coriander, and that the amounts of the condiment which were expected as taxes were based on the dimensions of these plots. It is true that while we cannot determine with any precision the sizes of the plots that are implied by the wheat figures on E 749 and the amounts of coriander indicated by the figures on the *Ga*(*2*) tablets, the latter appear to be tiny in relation to the former (Foster 1977a.49). It is possible, however, that the palace also required other crops to be grown on the plots (Foster 1977a.49–50); nor can we be certain that the amounts of coriander listed on the *Ga*(*2*) tablets represent a whole year's output. For the suggestion that the *Ge* tablets at Mycenae reveal the payment of taxes in condiments at more frequent intervals than once a year, see Killen 1983b.229.

* This explanation of the data certainly seems much preferable to an alternative which comes to mind: that it reflects the levying of proportional tribute in both wheat and coriander. Apart from the possibility that scribe 136 wrote E 849 with its reference to orchard land measured in terms of GRA, there is no sign of the kind of proportionality that appears to be in evidence on E 749 and the *Ga*(*2*) texts on records like the *E*(*2*) tablets at Knossos, which book WHEAT and OLIVES against various place-names and ethnics, and which appear to concern contributions or stores of both these commodities (see p. 535).

* Two final points on E 749 may be added. First, it is uncertain whether the ethnics on the tablet indicate 'the men of *qa-ra*' etc. or qualify WHEAT and hence the land being recorded. For similar uncertainty about the ethnics in *-jo* on a number of the *Ga*(*2*) tablets, see on **99** = Ga(2) 415. Second, as G. R. Hart (1965.3) was the first to point out, many of the places dealt with on this record recur on Og 833 and the *Pp* records of the mysterious commodity **168 + SE*. As the addition of *tu-ri-si-jo* < *tu-ri-so*, Tulisos to the list on Og 833 indicates, some if not all these places are likely to be close to Knossos itself.

350 = V(2) 280 ("124")

.1 wo-de-wi-jo
.2–4 *vacant*
.5 to-pe-za , o-u-ki-te-mi x
.6–10 *vacant*
.11 a-pe-ti-ra$_2$ / o-u-te-mi x
.12 o-u-te-mi x
.13 o-u-te-mi x
.14 o-u-te-mi x
.15 e-pi , i-ku-wo-i-pi
reliqua pars sine regulis

* In *Documents*[1] (p. 311), VC follow Meriggi (1954a.24) in explaining this fifteen-line tablet as a calendar showing the ἡμέραι ἀποφράδες or *dies nefasti* of the first or second half of a Knossos month. It begins with *wo-de-wi-jo*, whose only other appearances are as a month-name on the Knossos 'offerings' records Fp(1) 16, Fp(1) 48; and VC suggest that 'a calendar will most reasonably explain the deliberate leaving of blank entries'. Moreover, as they note, οὐ θέμις, οὐχὶ θέμις, which they take with Meriggi to be the interpretation of *o-u-te-mi* (ll. 11–14), *o-u-ki-te-mi* (l. 5), 'has an exact Classical counterpart', though they acknowledge that 'the objects or actions to which it applies are obscure: are they the names of festivals or ceremonies, which can only take place in circumstances ascertained to be favourable? And did they in fact take place on the day corresponding to the next succeeding blank entry?'.

* J. Chadwick, however, first in 1959 (*MLS* 175–77) and subsequently in *Documents*[2] (pp. 475–76), takes a radically different view of the record. He begins his 1959 discussion by noting that there are many erasures on the tablet, and suggests that 'the curious distribution of the text is … probably due to the poor surface left by [the] erasure', while the 'ruling into 15 lines merely followed the pattern of the previous text'. He then turns to *to-pe-za*, *torpedza* 'table' in l. 5, which VC had suggested might be a reference to a table of offerings, and hence a festival or ceremony, and argues that it is more plausibly taken as the name of a piece of furniture, as it is on the Pylos *Ta* tablets, with the following *o-u-ki-te-mi* not οὐχὶ θέμις but οὔκις (= οὔτις) τέρμις '(and) there is no border, edge'. As he notes, κις = τις is attested in Thessalian, where it has probably been generalised from οὔ κις; and while the precise meaning of τέρμις, when it appears in the adjective *te-mi-dwe* 'equipped with a τέρμις' on Knossos and Pylos WHEEL records has not been established (see pp. 804–05), a sense like 'border' 'at least … is not impossible here'. Finally, like VC, he suggests that *a-pe-ti-ra*$_2$ in l. 11 should also be understood in ll. 12–14, but he takes it as the name not of a festival but of another piece of furniture. In his 1959 discussion he does not specify the identity of this item; in *Documents*[2], however, he

mentions Lejeune's suggestion (*Mémoires* II.212–13) that it is an adjective with *to-pe-za* understood, perhaps *amphestria* 'with seats on either side'.

* Chadwick's interpretation as an inventory of furniture has been accepted by a number of commentators: see e.g. Gérard-Rousseau 1968.35, Carlier 1987b.258–59, Aura Jorro, *DMic* s.v. *te-mi*, Palaima 2000c.13–14, 18–19. Others, however, prefer VC's 'religious' interpretation: see Palmer 1966.275–82, 1983.340–43, Thompson 1998.239, Driessen 2000.203–04, Weilhartner 2005.70. In the absence of any certainty about the meaning of *a-pe-ti-ra*$_2$ (l. 11) and *e-pi i-ku-wo-i-pi* (l. 15) (see below, this page), it is impossible to decide finally between these views of the record; but the 'religious' interpretation seems on balance to be more plausible. It is difficult to take *wo-de-wi-jo* (l. 1) as anything other than the same month-name as we find on the *Fp*(*1*) records, and since month-names seem only to occur in 'religious offerings' contexts, like the *Fp*(*1*) tablets, this must represent a strong argument in favour of VC's explanation. Moreover, the 'furniture inventory' explanation is difficult to reconcile with the arrangement of the text on the tablet. Although Chadwick is correct in noting that there are many traces of erasure on the document, this is probably a palimpsest, viz. a tablet whose surface has been completely erased before re-writing, and there is nothing to suggest that the fifteen rules are not part of the current text, or that the striking gaps between the entries were not intended by the present writer. Nor do there seem to be any strong arguments favouring the 'furniture' explanation, such as the presence of numerals after the *to-pe-za* and *a-pe-ti-ra*$_2$ entries would be. It is true that *to-pe-za* means 'table' in the literal sense on its only other appearances on the records, but it could also refer to a table of offerings; and while *o-u-ki-te-mi* might be *ou kis* (< *ou k*^{w}*is*) *termis* – though note, with Aura Jorro, that we do not find the same treatment of a labio-velar after *ou* in *o-u-qe*, *ou k*^{w}*e* – it could equally well be *oukhi themis*.

* *a-pe-ti-ra*$_2$: Ruijgh (*Études* 116 n. 84) criticises Lejeune's interpretation of this as *amphestria* (see above, pp. 917–18), on the grounds that if it were a derivative of ἵζω 'sit' we should not expect *amphi* to be elided, and he follows Chantraine (1960) in suggesting *amphestria* < ἕδω, viz. '(table) for eating around'. Palmer (1983.340–41), in line with his view of the tablet as a 'religious' document, suggests *Aphētria*, a feminine equivalent to *Aphētōr*, an epithet of Apollo *Il.* IX, 404, which he believes means 'archer'. In the absence of any certainty about the purpose of the tablet, it is impossible to decide which if any of these explanations is correct.

D^2/* *e-pi i-ku-wo-i-pi*: also obscure. Attempts have been made to connect *i-ku-wo-i-pi* with ἵππος; but if so, it is a unique spelling of the group *-kw-*, normally represented by *k*^{w}, unless heterosyllabic (cf. *te-tu-ko-wo-a*). It is probably unnecessary to suppose a dual in *-oimphi* (as Palmer does: 1966.275–76); Vedic *-ebhis* is evidence for a form **-oibhi-s*, and the Homeric examples of -οφι are plainly secondary. Lejeune (*Mémoires* I.169) thinks of the instrumental plural of an *oi*-stem.

PART IV

GLOSSARY, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEXES, CONCORDANCE

MYCENAEAN GLOSSARY

JOHN KILLEN

With the help of RUPERT THOMPSON, OLIVER SIMKIN and CAROLINE MURRAY.
Based on the Glossary of *Documents*[2] (JOHN CHADWICK) and on indexes of FRANCISCO AURA JORRO.

This glossary is not restricted to the texts printed in this book, but contains an entry for every complete Mycenaean word recorded up to 2018. Incomplete words are omitted unless they can be plausibly restored or are otherwise of interest. References in square brackets are to restored words. Full references are not given for frequently occurring words, the sign + being used to indicate further references.

Words are normally indexed under the simplest form quotable, and separable prefixes and suffixes are ignored in the alphabetical order. Thus words beginning with the prefix *o-* will be found under the simple form, though cross-references are included in case of doubt. Inflexional forms and derivatives are given separate headings under the main entry. The alphabetical order adopted is (unlike the first edition) by transliterated signs, so that, e.g., words beginning a_2- are placed after those beginning *a*-, not combined into a single list. The following change of practice in transliteration compared with *Documents*[2] has been adopted:

**35 = *34*

This change has been made to conform with the internationally agreed system of transliteration.

A full list of abbreviations follows:

abl.	ablative	fut.	future
acc.	accusative	gen.	genitive
act.	active	HV	Ayios Vasileios
adj.	adjective	IK	Iklaina
adv.	adverb	indic.	indicative
aor.	aorist	inf.	infinitive
app.	apparently	inscr.	inscription
conj.	conjunction	instr.	instrumental
conjug.	conjugation	KN	Knossos
dat.	dative	loc.	locative
DIM	Dimini	masc.	masculine
etym.	etymology	MI	Midea
fem.	feminine	mid.	middle

MN	man's name	prob.	probably
MY	Mycenae	pron.	pronoun
neut.	neuter	PY	Pylos
nom.	nominative	ref.	reference
pass.	passive	rel.	relative
perf.	perfect	rev.	reverse
perh.	perhaps	sb.	substantive
pers.	person	sim.	similar
plur.	plural	sing.	singular
PN	place-name	s.v.	sub voce
poss.	possibly	TH	Thebes
pple.	participle	TI	Tiryns
prec.	preceding	usu.	usually
prep.	preposition	VOL	Volos
pres.	present	WN	woman's name

A, Surcharged on AMPHORA ideogram, KN Gg 701+, KH **329** = Gq 5?: abbreviation of **a-pi-po-re-u* (see *a-pi-po-re-we*).

Ligatured with OLIVE ideogram, KN E 669, **89** = F 852+: obscure.

Ligatured with OIL ideogram, PY **316** = Fr 1225+. Probably = *aloiphā* 'ointment'.

Ideographic use, PY Un 1320, MY Ui 651: obscure.

a-da-ma-o, PY Eb 747, **138** = Ep 301, Jn 832. MN: *Admaos*?

a-da-ma-o-jo, PY **123** = En 659. Gen.: *Admaoio*.

a-da-ma-jo, PY **131** = Eo 351. Defective spelling of prec.

***a-da-ra-ko*[**, KN X 793. MN?, dat.: perhaps *Andrarkhōi*.

a-da-ra-ro, KN Da 5223. MN.

a-da-ra-te-ja, PY Aa 785, Ab 388. Since only one woman is recorded, more likely a feminine personal name than a possessive adjective derived from an 'owner's' name: *Adrāsteia*. [Cf. Ἀδρήστεια, *Il.* II, 828.]

a-da-ra-ti-jo, PY **58** = An 656, **341** = Aq 218. Patronymic adj.: *Adrāstios*. [Cf. Ἄδρηστος, *Il.* XIV, 121+.]

a-da-wa-si-jo, KN C 912. Adj. describing man, perh. possessive rather than patronymic.

***ạ-ḍạ-wo-ne*[**, KN B 164. Prob. nom. plur. masc. describing men, possibly ethnic.

a-de-me-we, PY Eq 146. MN.

ạ-de-ra$_2$, KN Ap 639. WN.

a-de-te, PY **159** = Eq 36. Occupational term in *-tēr*: *andetēr* 'binder' or 'riveter'?

a-de-te-re, PY **50** = An 207. Dual or nom. plur.: *-tēre(s)*.

***a-de-we-*[.]**, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

]*a-di-je-wo*, KN D 747+. MN, gen. Cf. *a$_2$-di-je-u*.

a-di-nwa-ta, KN **37** = As 1517. MN.

***a-di-ri-ja-te*(*-qe*)**, PY **264** = Ta 707. Instr. sing. masc. *andriante(i)* '(inlaid) with a figure of a man'. [ἀνδρίας Pind. 5 B.C.+.]

a-di-ri-ja-pi, PY **265** = Ta 708+. Instr. plur.: **andriant-phi* > *andriamphi*.

a-di-ri-jo, KN Do 7613. MN: *Andrios*? *Andriōn*? [Ἄνδριος ethnic; Ἀνδρίων.]
a-di-*22-sa, KN **169** = F 841. Obscure, MN?
a-do-we, TH Z 842, TI Z 24+. Single word inscribed on jars; MN?
a-du-po-to, KN C 911. MN.
a-du-ru-po-to, KN Dg 1107. MN: *Adruptos*?
a-dwe-ẹ, TH Wu 99. Obscure, PN? MN?
a-e-da-do-ro, KN F 153, Sc 237. MN.
a-e-ri-qe, PY Jn 832. MN, but uncertain if *-qe* is the particle *k*^{w}*e* 'and'.
a-e-ri-qo, PY An 192, Jn 431, TH Uq 434, Wu 70+. Shortened form of next? *Āherik*^{w}*hos*?
a-e-ri-qo-ta, PY **55** = An 657+, **341** = Aq 218. MN. *Āheri-k*^{w}*hoitās*? [Hom. ἦρι, ἠέριος; -φοίτης.]
a-e-se-wa, PY Fn 79. MN, dat.
a-e-ti-to[, PY Fr 1200. Epithet of sage-scented oil: 'without *e-ti*' (see *e-ti-we*).
ai-: for words beginning *ai-* see under a_3-.
a-i-qe-u, PY **141** = Eb 895, **138** = Ep 301. MN. Perhaps *Ahik*^{w}*heus* (hypocoristic of *A(h)ι-φόντας 'he who kills with the sword') rather than *Ahikk*^{w}*eus* or *Aik*^{w}*eus* > *Ἀϊσσεύς (cf. ἀΐσσω).
a-i-qe-wo, PY **123** = En 659, **132** = Eo 471. Gen.
a-i-qẹ-we, PY **132** = Eo 471. Dat.
a-ja-me-no, KN **277** = Sd 4401, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Nom. sing. and plur. masc., perh. pf. pple. pass. *aiai(s)menos* (*aiāi(s)menos*?), *-oi*. Also nom. dual fem.: *-menō*: 'inlaid' or 'veneered'. [Approximate meaning clear, but form and etymology obscure; on latter see García Ramón 1997.]
a-ja-me-na, KN **276** = Sd 4403+, **284** = Sf 4421, X 5727, PY **261** = Ta 642+. Nom. and instr. sing. and nom. plur. fem.: *-menā*, *-nāi*, *-nai*.
a-ja-me, KN Sd 4415. Defective spelling of prec.
a-ka[1], KN Da 1078+, Dn 5318. PN.
a-ka[2], PY **43** = An 1281. MN.
a-ḳạ-de, KN B 799. MN.
a-ka-de-i, TH Fq 240+. Dat.
a-ka-i-je-ja, TH Of 27. Fem. possessive adj. derived from next.
a-ka-i-jo, KN De 1084+, F 153 rev., Vc 68, Vd 62. MN. Cf. *a-ka*[1]?
a-ka-ma-jo, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.?: *Alkmaiōi*. [ἀλκμαῖος· νεανίσκος Hsych.; cf. Ἀλκμαίων.]
a-ka-ma-wo, PY **60** = Cn 131+, Jn 431+. MN, nom. and dat.: *Alkmawos*, *-wōi*? [Cf. Ἀλκμάων *Il.* XII, 394.]
a-ka-me-ne[, KN Xd 82. If complete, prob. MN: *Akhaimenēs* or *Alkāmenēs*? [Ἀχαιμένης, Ἀλκαμένης.]
a-ka-mu-[, KN Xd 5097. Obscure, MN?
a-ka-na-jo, PY Cn 328, Xa 1337. Prob. PN.
a-ka-ra-no, PY **263** = Ta 715. Nom. sing. fem., adj. describing a table; perh. *akarānos* 'headless' (i.e. designed to take detachable tops?); in view of declension prob. compound with negative *a-*. [ἀκάρηνος *Anth. Pal.*] See pp. 790–91.
a-ka-re-u, KN Ga 416. MN: *Agalleus*? *Angareus*?
a-ka-re-u-te, PY Cn 4. Prob. PN in dat.-loc.

a-ka-sa-no, KN As 602 (*a-ka-sa-no*[), PY Jn 415? MN: *Alksānōr*. [Ἀλχσήνōρ Schwyzer, *Dial*. 761.]

ạ-ka-si-jo-ne, PY **215** = Jn 389. PN: loc.?

a-ka-ta-jo, KN Dv 1086+, PY **134** = Eo 269 edge. MN, nom. and dat.: *Aktaios*, *-aiōi*. [Ἀκταῖος.]

a-ka-ta-jo-jo, PY [**123** = En 659], **134** = Eo 269. Gen.: *Aktaioio*.

a-ka-ta-ra-te-so-de, KN Fp 5504. Perh. PN in acc. with allative *-de*.

a-ka-to, KN Dv 5256, Sc 256. MN: *Agathos*, *Agathōn*? [Ἄγαθος, Ἀγάθων.]

a-ka-to-wa, KN Vc 81. MN.

a-ka-to-wa-o, TH Ug 4+. Gen.

a-ka-wi-ja-de, KN C 914. Prob. PN in acc. with allative *-de*: *Akhaiwiān-de*. [Cf. Cretan place-name Ἀχαίᾱ (schol. A. R. IV, 175).] See also]*ka-wi-ja*.

a-ka-wo, KN Ga 738, PY **208** = Jo 438. MN: *Alkāwon*?

a-ka-wo-ne, PY Un 219. Dat.: *-ōnei*.

a-ke, PY **309** = Tn 316 (and rev.), MY Ue 611 rev. Prob. 3rd sing. pres. indic. act. of ἄγω: *agei*; see pp. 839–41.

a-ke-a$_2$, PY Vn 130. Nom. plur. neut.: *angeha* 'vessels'? [ἄγγος *Od*. XVI, 13+.]

a-ke-e: see *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*.

a-ke-e-to, KN Da 1195. MN.

a-ke-ne-u-si, TH **332** = Fq 130+. Dat. plur., recipients of barley: perh. *hagneusi* (ἁγνός), poss. with sense 'initiates of cult of two chaste goddesses' (Ruijgh 2003.225).

a-ke-o, PY An 192, **63** = Cc 660, Mb 1378+. MN.

a-ke-o-jo, KN X 8502, PY **61** = Cn 655+. Gen.: *-oio*.

a-ke-ra-no, KN Vc 205. MN.

a-ke-ra-wo, KN Vc 316, PY Cn 599, Un 1320. MN, nom. and dat.: *Agelāwos* or *Arkhelāwos*, *-wōi*. [Ἀγέλαος *Il*. VIII, 257, Ἀγέλεως *Od*. XXII, 131; Ἀρχέλαος.]

a-ke-ra$_2$-te, PY Vn 493. Nom. plur. masc., aor. pple.: perh. *agêrantes* (ἀγείρω; cf. *a-ke-re*) 'collecting, gathering'; or less likely *angêlantes* 'announcing'.

a-ke-re, PY **63** = Cc 660. 3rd sing. pres.: *agêrei* 'he collects (goats)'. Exact sense not clear. [ἀγείρω *Il*. IV, 377+.]

a-ke-re-mo, KN Uf 838. Nom. sing., description of man, prob. official title: *agremōn*? [ἀγρεμών 'hunter' *Etym. Mag*.]

a-ke-re-mo-no, KN V 865. Prob. gen. sing.: *agremonos*.

a-ke-re-se, PY **340** = Aq 64. 3rd sing. aor. or fut.: *agrēse*, *agrēsei* 'took' or 'will take'. [ἀγρέω 'take' retained in Aeolic; cf. Hom. ἄγρει 'come on!']

o-a-ke-re-se ibid. *hō agrēse*(*i*) 'thus he took (will take)'. See pp. 898, 899, 900–01.

]*a-ke-re-u*[, PY Cn 441. Prob. PN; spacing suggests incomplete at beginning; cf. *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u*, *pu-ra$_2$-a-ke-re-u*.

a-ke-re-u-te, MY **106** = Ge 606. PN: prob. abl. in *-euthen*. Cf. *a-ke-re-wi-jo*, *a-ke-re-we*.

a-ke-re-wa, PY **40** = Ac 1277, PY [**47** = An 427], **53** = An 610+, **206** = Cn 608+, **160** = Eq 213, **214** = Jn 310+, **208** = Jo 438, **185** = Ma 222, Vn 493. PN: one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province (see pp. 262–63, 666–67).

a-ke-re-wa-de, PY **97** = Vn 20. Acc. + *-de*.

a-ke-re-we, PY Un 1193. Prob. PN, loc. Cf. *a-ke-re-wi-ja*, *a-ke-re-wa*.

a-ke-re-wi-ja, PY Xn 1482. Nom. plur. neut. ethnic adjective; cf. prec.

a-ke-re-wi-jo, MY **104** = Ge 603, **105** = Ge 604. MN or masc. ethnic adjective (cf. *a-ke-re-u-te*; Killen 1983b.226). Nom. and dat.

a-ke-ro[1], PY **80** = Cn 1287, Ea 136, Vn 493. Nom. sing. and plur.: occupational term, perh. *angelos*, *-oi* 'messenger' or *ageros*, *-oi* 'collector'.

a-ke-ro[2], PY **208** = Jo 438. App. MN.

ạ-ke-si-ja, KN Ap 637. Prob. nom. plur. fem., description of women, perh. possessive adj. derived from next.

a-ke-ta, KN B 798, PY **62** = Cn 719. MN, nom. sing. (KN case uncertain): *Agētās*? *Akestās*? [Ἀγήτας, Ἀκέστης.]

a-ḳẹ-te, PY Jn 832. App. nom. sing. of next, perh. error.

a-ke-te-re, PY Jn 832. Nom. plur., description of bronzesmiths, replacing *ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te* where no quantity of metal is specified: prob. *askētēres* 'decorators'. [ἀσκέω 'decorate' Aesch. *Pers*. 182+; cf. *Il*. X, 438+.]. See also *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$, *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*.

a-ke-ti-jo, PY An 209. MN: *Akestios*? [Ἀκέστιος.]

a-ke-ti-ra$_2$, PY Aa 815, Ab 564+, TH Of 36. Nom. plur. fem., description of women: prob. *askētriai* 'decorators' (cf. *a-ke-te-re*). See pp. 432–33.

a-ke-ti-ra$_2$***-o***, PY Ad 290+. Gen. plur.: *-āōn*.

a-ke-ti-ri-ja, KN **21** = Ai 739, [Ak 7001?], PY **3** = Aa 717+. Nom. plur.: variant spelling.

a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i, PY **330** = Fn 187, Un 219, MY **96** = Fo 101. Dat. plur.: *-āhi*.

See also *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*.

a-ke-to-ro, KN V 145. Prob. nom. sing. or plur.: title of an official?

a-ke-u, KN De 7096+, V 60. MN: *Alkeus*? [Ἀλκεύς.]

a-ke-wo, KN Ap 628. Gen.: *Alkēwos*.

a-ke-wa-ta, PY Jn 431. MN; cf. *a-ki-wa-ta*.

a-ke-wa-to, PY **59** = An 661. MN.

a-ki-a$_2$***-ri-ja-de***: see *a*$_3$*-ki-a*$_2$*-ri-ja*.

a-ki-re-u, KN Vc 106. MN, nom.: *Akhilleus*. [Ἀχιλλεύς.]

a-ki-re-we, PY Fn 79. Dat.: *Akhillēwei*.

]ạ-ki-ri, PY Mb 1363. Prob. PN.

a-ki-ri-ja, KN C 7064. Description of goats of both sexes: perh. *agria* (neut. plur.?) 'wild creatures'. [ἄγριος.]

]ạ-ki-ri-jo, PY Mb 1387. PN?

a-ki-ti-to, PY **201** = Na 406+, [**177** = Er 880?]. Adj. describing land: *aktitos*, *-on* 'not inhabited'? (see p. 683). [ἄκτιτος *h. Hom.*] Cf. *ki-ti-me-na*.

a-ki-to, PY Fn 79, TH Gp 122. MN, dat.: *Alkithōi*? [Cf. Ἀλκίθοος.]

a-ki-to-jo, PY **94** = Fn 50. Gen.: *-thoio*.

a-ki-wa-ta, KN **36** = As 1516, B 801. MN; cf. *a-ke-wa-ta*.

a-ki-wo-ni-jo, PY **58** = An 656. MN.

a-ko-da-mo, TH Av 101, Fq 117+, Ft 141+. MN, dat. Uncertain whether variant form of same name as *a-ko-ro-da-mo* (q.v.). *Argodāmōi* [ἀργός, δῆμος.]; Ruijgh 2003.223? Or *Archodāmōi* [Ἀρχόδαμος]; García Ramón 2006.50?

a-ko-i-da, KN **75** = D1 943. MN.

a-ko-mo-ni-jo, KN De 1112+, Dk 1067. MN: *Akmonios*. [Cf. Ἄκμων, Ἀκμονίδης.]

a-ko-ra, PY **61** = Cn 655+, TH Wu 49+. Nom. sing., prob. *agorā* [ἀγορά] in sense more closely related to ἀγείρω, perh. 'collection'.

***a-ko-ra-jo*[1]**, KN **88** = Co 907, [Dk 969?], TH **108** = Wu 52+. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.?, description of livestock: *agoraioi* 'belonging to the *agora*'.

a-ko-ra-ja, KN Co 903+, F 157 rev.?. Nom. plur. neut.: *agoraia*.

***a-ko-ra-jo*[2]**, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *Agoraios*.

***a-ko-ro*[1]**, PY **313** = Fr 1220+, Ua 1413, Un 47, **250** = Vn 10. Sb. qualified by adj. to form geographical name, case and number uncertain: *agros* 'territory'. [ἀγρός.]

***a-ko-ro*[2]**, KN Dl 932+. In Dl 7138 certainly, in Dl 932 probably, MN: *Agrōn*? *Akrōn*? [Ἄγρων, Ἄκρων.]

a-ko-ro-da-mo, [KN Df 1223?], TH **334** = Gp 164+. MN (at TH dat.), perh. *Akrodāmos* or *Argrodāmos* with first element **argros* > ἀργός 'bright' (Skt. *ṛjrá-*) (Ruijgh 2003.223). [Ἀκρόδημος.] See also *a-ko-da-mo*.

a-ko-ro-ḍạ-mo-jo, KN B 1025. Prob. MN, and gen. of prec.: *Akrodāmoio*? *Argrodāmoio*?

a-ko-ro-qo-ro, KN Da 1079. MN: *Agrok*^{w}*olos*. [Cf. Latin *Agricola*.]

a-ko-ro-ta, KN Mc 4459, MY Go 610, Oe 115. MN, nom. and dat.?

a-ko-ro-we, PY **79** = Cn 418. Nom. sing. masc., description of oxen: poss. *hakhrōwēs* 'of uniform colour' (*akhrōwēs* 'colourless' is difficult in context); or *akr-ōwēs* 'with pointed ears'.

a-ko-ro-we-e, PY **79** = Cn 418. Nom. dual: *-wehe*.

]a-ko-ro-we-i, KN Ch 7100. App. variant spelling of dual, since followed by BOS ZE 1.

a-ko-so-ne, PY **347** = Va 1324+, **250** = Vn 10. Nom. plur. (and dual?): *aksone(s)* 'shafts, axles'. [ἄξων; cf. *]ko-so-ni-ja*.]

a-ko-so-ta, PY **48** = An 39 rev., Cn 40, **160** = Eq 213, **248** = Pn 30, **245** = Un 267, **346** = Va 482, [Wa 917]. MN: an important official and 'collector'; nom. prob. *Alksoitās*. [Cf. Ἀλκοίτας.]

a-ko-so-ta-o, PY **62** = Cn 719+. Gen.: *-tāo*.

a-ko-te-u, PY Cn 643. MN: *Akonteus*? [Ἀκοντεύς.]

a-ko-to, KN Sc 239+, Xd 7610. MN: *Aktōr*. [Ἄκτωρ *Il.* II, 513+.]

a-ko-to-no, PY **341** = Aq 218. Nom. plur. masc.: *aktoinoi* 'not possessing a plot'.

a-ko-to-wo, PY Cn 45+, Jn 431. MN, nom. and dat.

]a-ko-we-i-ja, KN L 1649 rev. Obscure.

a-ko-wo, PY **54** = An 724. Perhaps *akorwos*, *-oi* 'without a son'. See p. 479. [ἄκουρος *Od.* VII, 63.]

a-ku-di-ri-jo, KN Dc 1270, Xd 110. MN.

a-ku-ṇạ-i, KN Ce 139. PN, loc. plur.

a-ku-ri-jọ[, KN As 609. MN: *Argurios*?

a-ku-ro, PY **299** = Sa 287. Material used for binding of wheels; instr. sing. *argurōi* 'with silver'. [ἄργυρος.]

a-ku-tu-ru-wo[, KN Fh 364. MN: perh. *Alktruōn*, or mis-spelling of *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* (q.v.).

a-ku-wo, KN U 109. Prob. MN: *Alkuōn*?

a-ma, KN E 848+, **89** = F 852+. Word occurring on tablets recording large quantities of grain, prob. nom. sing. *amā* 'harvest'. [Cf. ἀμάω 'reap', but possibly connected with ἀμάομαι 'collect', ἀμή.]

a-ma-ko-to, KN **318** = Fp 14. Name of a month, nom. (of rubric)? *Haimaktos*? [αἱμακτός Eur.]

a-ma-no, KN As 1520 rev. MN.

]ạ-ma-no-[, KN Ap 5748. WN.

a-ma-ru-ta, PY **126** = Eo 224. MN, dat.: *Amarunt(h)āi*? [Cf. Ἀμαρυγχεύς, Ἀμαρύνθιος.]

a-ma-ru-ta-o, PY **121** = En 609, **126** = Eo 224. Gen.: *-t(h)āo*.

a-ma-ru-to, TH Wu 58. PN: *Amarunthos*. [Ἀμάρυνθος in Euboea.]

a-ma-ru-to-de, TH Of 25. Acc.: *Amarunthon-de*.

a-ma-ti, TI Z 9. MN?

a-ma-to-wo, PY An 31. MN: perh. *Amathowos*. [Cf. Ἀμαθοῦς eponymous hero of Cypriot town.]

a-ma-tu-na, PY **330** = Fn 187. Dat.: MN? WN? Name of deity?

a-me-a, KN Da 1189, Od 765. MN; cf. *a-me-ja*.

a-me-ja, KN F 153, Xd 7954? MN, nom.

a-me-ja-to, PY Sa 834, **304** = Sh 736. Gen.

a-me-ja-si[, KN B 799 rev. MN.

a-me-no, PY Jn 415. MN: *Armenos*? *Asmenos*? *Ameinōn*? [Ἄρμενος, Ἄσμενος, Ἀμείνων.]

a-me-ro, TH **332** = Fq 130+, Gf 134, Gp 215? MN, dat.: *Hāmerōi*. [Ἥμερος.]

a-me-to, PY Jn 693. MN.

a-mi-ja[, PY Vn 865. MN.

a-mi-ke-te-to, KN Od 687. Perh. MN.

a-mi-ni-si-jo[1], KN Sc 252 rev.+, Vc 289, V 7512, X 1641. In Vc certainly, in Sc, V probably, MN (Killen 1992a.354–55): *Amnisios*. See next.

a-mi-ni-so, KN **317** = Fp 1++, PY An 233. PN: *Amnisos* (on the site, see p. 873); no evidence to check whether Pylos reference refers to Cretan town. [Ἀμνισός *Od.* XIX, 188.]

a-mi-ni-so-de, KN **318** = Fp 14++. Acc.: *Amnison-de*.

a-mi-ni-si-jo[2]***/-ja***, KN **33** = Am 601++. Ethnic: *Amnisios*, *-iā*.

a-mi-nu-wa-ta, PY Cn 436. MN.

a-mi-nwa[, KN V 482. MN. Poss. variant spelling of prec., but perh. complete.

a-mi-si-ja, KN L 513 rev. Prob. defective spelling of *a-mi-ni-si-ja*.

a-mi-to-no, KN Ra 1543. MN.

a-mo, KN **288** = Sg 1811. Nom. sing. neut.: *(h)armo* 'wheel'. See p. 824. [ἅρματα 'chariot' *Il.* IV, 366+; the initial aspirate may not be original; cf. *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*.]

a-mo-si, PY **51** = An 1282. Dat. plur.: *(h)armosi*.

a-mo-ta KN **290** = So 4437+, Wb 7907?, PY **297** = Sa 790, [Wa 1148?]. Nom. plur.: *(h)armota* (with WHEEL ideogram).

a-mo-te, KN **251** = So 4442. Nom. dual: *(h)armote*.

a-mo-i-je-to, PY Va 15 rev. Perh. two words, but meaning obscure.

a-mo-ke-re-[.], PY **202** = Nn 831. MN.

a-mo-ra-ma, KN **33** = Am 601+. Perh. reduplicated *āmōr-āmar* 'from day to day' (cf. *we-te-i-we-te-i*). [ἦμαρ *Il.* VI, 217+.]

a-mo-si, ***a-mo-ta***: see *a-mo*.

a-mo-ta-jo, PY Jn 320. MN: *Armostaios*? (*Ha-*?). [Cf. Ἁρμόστας.]

a-ṃọ-ta-ro-ko, TH Fq 236. MN, dat.

a-mo-te-jo-na-de, PY **250** = Vn 10. Acc. + allative: (*h*)*armateiōna-de* 'to the wheelwright's workshop'. See p. 756.

a-mo-te-re, KN Xe 6026, X 770. Prob. dat. sing. or nom. dual or plur. of noun in *-tēr*.

a-mo-te-wi-ja, PY **258** = Ta 711. Nom. sing. fem. adj. describing ewer; prob. derivative of next (*-ēwiā*) but sense uncertain. See p. 783.

a-mo-te-wo, PY Ea 421+. Gen. sing., occupational term: poss. (*h*)*armotēwos* 'wheelwright' or (*h*)*armostēwos* 'fitter'.

a-mu-ne-u-te, TH Uq 434. Perh. PN, abl. in *-euthen* (cf. *a-ke-re-u-te*).

a-mu-ta-wo, KN V 756, PY **202** = Nn 831, TH Ug 9. MN: *Amuthāwōn*. [Ἀμυθάων *Od*. XI, 259.]

a-mu-ta-wo-no, PY Jn 431. Gen.: *Amuthāwonos*.

a-na-i-ta: see *a-na-to*.

a-na-ka, KN Nc 4480. MN.

a-na-ka-te, PY Un 219. Poss. dat., but error for *wa-na-ka-te* cannot be excluded.

a-na-ke-e, PY **341** = Aq 218. Pres. inf., poss. *anagehen* 'bring, contribute'? [ἀνάγω.]

a-na-ki-ti, KN Dv 1471. MN.

a-na-mo-to, KN **283** = Sf 4420+. Nom. fem.: *anarmostoi* 'not fitted out' with reference to incomplete CHARIOT ideogram, not *anharmotoi* 'wheel-less', see p. 821.

a-na-mo-ta, KN Sf 4465+?: neut. plur.?, on Sf 4465 referring to obscure ideogram.

***a-na-pe-we*[**, KN Xd 7570. Obscure.

a-na-pu-ke, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Nom. plur. fem., describing reins: *anampukes* 'without head-bands'; cf. *a-pu-ke*. [ἀνάμπυξ.]

ạ-na-qo-ta, KN B 798. MN; perh. variant form of *a-no-qo-ta* (q.v.): *Anark*^{w}*hontās*?

a-na-re-u, KN Pp 494. MN.

a-na-te-u, PY Jn 415. MN.

a-na-to, KN Sf 4423+, Sg 888+. Nom. plur. (in two cases number unclear) fem., describing chariot-frames: *anai(s)toi* 'not inlaid (or veneered)' (opposed to *a-ja-me-na*). See pp. 821–22.

a-na-i-ta, KN Sf 4419+. App. nom. plur. fem., with fem. endings in compound adj.

a-na-ta, KN **283** = Sf 4420+. Shorter spelling of prec.

a-na-*82, MY **96** = Fo 101, [**28** = V 659?]. WN, nom. and dat.

a-ne-a$_2$, MY **96** = Fo 101, **28** = V 659. WN, nom. and dat.: *Aineā*, *-āi*?

a-ne-mo, KN **317** = Fp 1. Gen. plur.: *anemōn* '(priestess) of the winds'. [ἄνεμοι *Il*. XIII, 795+.]

a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja, KN **319** = Fp 13. Prec. written continuously with following word: *anemōn hiereiāi* (see *i-je-re-ja*).

a-ne-o, PY [**173** = Es 644], **172** = Es 650+. MN.

a-ne-ra-to, KN Fh 342. MN, dat.

a-ne-ta-de, PY **186** = Ma 393. Nom. sing. fem. or plur. neut. describing contribution: prob. *arnēta de* 'but refused' rather than *aneta de* 'but remitted'. [ἀρνητός.]

a-ne-te-wa, KN Vc 185. MN.

a-ne-u-da, KN Vc 215. MN.

a-ne-u-te, PY Cn 40. PN: also spelt *a*$_2$*-ne-u-te*.

a-ni-ja, KN **281** = Sd 4402+, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Nom. plur.: *(h)āniai* 'reins'. [Hom. ἡνία, Pind. ἕνίαι, Att. ἡνίαι, some dialects ἀνίαι; cf. Skt. *nāsyā* 'nose-rein'.]

a-ni-ja-pi, KN **277** = Sd 4401+. Instr. plur.: *(araruiai) (h)āniāphi* '(fitted) with reins'.

a-ni-ja-e (division doubtful), PY **300** = Ub 1315. Dual: *(h)āniāe*?

a-ni-ja-to, KN **70** = Dg 1158. MN: *Aniātos*?

a-ni-ọ-ko, KN V 60. Nom. sing. (prob. not plural referring to subsequent entries too): *(h)āniokhos* 'chariot-driver'. [ἡνίοχος *Il.* VIII, 89+.]

a-no, PY Cn 254. MN?; perh. to be read with next word as compound *a-no-de-ki-si-wo*; see *de-ki-si-wo*.

a-no-ke-wa, PY An 192. Prob. occupational term or title, parallel to *du-ma*.

a-no-ke-we, KN Db 1261, PY An 192. MN (less certain at Pylos); cf. *a-no-ze-we*.

a-no-me-de, PY Jn 706. MN: *Anomēdēs*, *Anormēdēs*? [Cf. Ἀνδρομήδης.]

a-no-no, PY Ea 801+, **139** = Eb 818, **138** = Ep 301. Nom. fem. sing. adj., describing *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*: *anōnos* 'not subject to *o-na-ta*'.

a-no-po, PY **60** = Cn 131, **346** = Va 482. In Cn certainly, in Va probably, MN; in Va nom. sing. masc. adj. describing ivory less likely.

a-no-po-to[, TH X 162. Obscure.

a-no-qa-si-ja, PY Ea 805. Gen. sing.: reason for allotment of land, poss. *anork*^{w}*hasiās* '(because of) manslaughter', viz. as compensation for murder (Killen 1992b.378–80). Cf. next; see also *qe-ja-me-no*.

a-no-qo-ta, KN Ak 615, **20** = Ap 618, Da 1289, Dq 440, [D 7334?], X 1051?, Vc 173. MN: *Anork*^{w}*hontās*? [Cf. ἀνδρειφόντης *Il.* II, 651+.]

a-no-qo-ta-o, KN Dq 45, E 847. Gen.: *-tāo*.

a-no-ra-ta, PY An 340, Jn 832. MN.

a-no-ta, PY Jn 750. MN.

a-no-we, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. sing. neut., describing a vessel: *anōwes* 'without handles'. [Cf. ἀμφῶες (Theocr.) 'two-handled'.]

a-no-wo-to, KN **218** = K 875. Nom. sing. neut., describing a vessel: *anowoton*, *anouoton*? 'without handles'. [ἀνούατος Theocr.]

a-no-ze-we, PY Cn 600. MN: cf. *a-no-ke-we*.

a-no-zo-jo, KN **17** = Ak 627. MN, gen.

a-nu-ko, KN Ce 50 (and rev.), Db 1464+, Dk 8209, **98** = Np 856. MN.

a-nu-mo, KN Da 5204+, V 503. MN.

a-nu-to, KN **36** = As 1516, X 658 rev., TH Fq 132+, Z 863+, [TI Z 8?]. MN, nom. and dat.: *Anutos*, *-ōi*. [Ἄνυτος.]

a-nu-to-jo, KN X 697. Gen.: *Anutoio*.

a-nu-wa, PY **50** = An 207. PN.

a-nu-wa-to, KN Ap 639. WN.

a-nu-wi-ko, KN **36** = As 1516, Ws 8754. MN, nom. and dat.

ạ-o-ri-jọ, PY **59** = An 661. Possible reading of first word in line 4; PN.

a-o-ri-me-ne, PY **343** = Qa 1296. MN: *A(h)orimenēs*? [ἄορ, μένος.]

a-o-ze-jo, PY Na 588. Perhaps second element of compound place-name; see *e-ro*$_2$*-ne*.

a-pa-i-ti-jo, KN L 588. MN: *Hāphaistios*, *-iōn*. [Ἡφαίστιος, -ίων.]
a-pa-je-u, PY Jn 845. MN.
]a-pa-ni-jo, KN Dv 5224. MN.
a-pa-re-ṵ, KN B 804 (possible reading). MN: *Aphareus*. [Ἀφαρεύς *Il.* XIII, 541.]
a-pa-re-u-pi, PY **62** = Cn 719+. PN, loc. plur.
a-pa-ri-ka-na-we-ja, PY Na 246. PN.
a-pa-sa-ki-jo, KN **210** = Mc 4455, [PY Jn 927?]. MN.
a-pa-si-jo-jo, PY Sa 767. MN, gen.
a-pa-ta, PY Na 551. PN.
a-pa-ta-wa, KN Co 909, **85** = C 902. PN: *Aptarwa*. [Ἄπταρα; the form Ἄπτερα is due to popular etymology.]
a-pa-ta-wa-jo, KN **45** = Am 826. Nom. plur. masc. ethnic: *Aptarwaioi*.
a-pa-ta-wa-ja, KN V 7670. Nom. plur.? fem.: *Aptarwaiai*.
a-pa-u-ro, KN Mc 4463. MN: *Aphauros*?
a-pe-a-sa: see *a-pe-o*.
a-pe-do-ke, PY **247** = Fr 1184. 3rd sing. aor. indic. act.: *ap-edōke*. Rare example of augment (see also next), hence suggested *ap-es-dōke*, but this is less likely. Cf. *a-pu-do-ke*.
a-pe-e-ke, PY **54** = An 724. Verbal form, probably 3rd sing. aor. indic. active of ἀφίημι: *apehēke* 'he released'; see p. 477.
]a-pe-e-ṣị[, PY An 614. Prob. 3rd plur.: *ap-ehensi* 'they are absent'. [ἄπειμι.]
a-pe-i-ja, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Personal name, prob. fem.
a-pe-i-si, KN Od 666. Obscure; poss. verbal form (*ap-eisi* 'will be deducted'?) or verbal noun?
a-pe-ke-e, PY Jn 431. PN, loc.
a-pe-ke-i-jo, PY Jn 431. Nom. plur. masc., ethnic. (Cf. *ke-e*.)
a-pe-ne-wo, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Perh. derivative of ἀπήνη, gen. plur. (and sing.?), poss. *apēnēwōn* 'of (= for the use of) cart-drivers' or 'of cart-horses'. See p. 831.
a-pe-o, KN V 117?, PY **49** = An 18. Nom. sing. masc. pple.: *apehōn* 'being absent'.
a-pe-o-te, KN Bg 810, B 823, PY **54** = An 724. Nom. plur. masc.: *apehontes*.
a-pe-a-sa, KN Ak 615 edge, **20** = Ap 618. Nom. plur. fem.: *apehassai*. [Cf. Arc. ἔασ(σ)α, Cret. ἴαττα.]
a-pe-re, KN U 49. Obscure.
a-pe-ri-ta-wo, PY **55** = An 657. MN: *Ampelitāwōn*?
a-pe-te-me-ne, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. dual, adj. describing *pa-ko-to*; obscure. See p. 785.
a-pe-te-u, PY Jn 692+. MN.
a-pe-ti-ra$_2$, KN **350** = V 280. Obscure: see pp. 917–18.
a-pi, KN **92** = G 820, PY **269** = Ta 716. Prep. *amphi* (*Kudoniāi*) 'around'; in PY prob. first member of compound. [ἀμφί.]
a-pi-a$_2$-ro, PY An 192, Ea 109+, **342** = On 300, Qa 1297. MN: *Amphihalos*. [Ἀμφίαλος *Od.* VIII, 114.]
a-pi-da-ta, KN Vc 175. MN.
a-pi-do-ra, MY Oe 115+. WN, dat.?: *Amphidōrāi*.
a-pi-do-ro[, KN Xd 146. MN: *Amphidōros*. [Ἀμφίδωρος.]

a-pi-e-ke, PY **111** = Un 2. Perhaps a form of the verb seen in *i-je-si*, *i-je-to*, q.v.

a-pi-e-qe, TH Fq 254. Active verb, poss. 3rd pers. sing. aorist *amphi-(h)esk^{w}e* from active form of ἀμφιέπομαι (Chadwick 1999.296–301); precise sense unclear.

a-pi-e-ra, PY **43** = An 1281, PY **94** = Fn 50, MY Oe 103. Gen. and dat. of WN: perhaps *Amphierās*, *-āi*. See p. 464.

]a-pi-ja-ko-ro-jo[, KN B 812. Prob. MN, gen.: *Amphiagroio*, *Amphiāgoroio*?

a-pi-ja-re[, KN Xd 94, X 7568. MN?: if complete, *Amphiarēs*? Or *Amphiare*[*us*]?

a-pi-je-ta, KN Dv 5241?, PY **55** = An 657, [MY Oe 132?]. MN.

a-pi̯-jo, PY Jn 725. MN: *Amphiōn*? [Ἀμφίων, -ονος.]

a-pi-jo-to, PY **38** = An 261. Gen.: *Amphiontos*.

a-pi-o-to, PY **38** = An 261 rev., Un 616 rev. Variant spelling of gen.

a-pi-ka-ra-do-jo, PY Pa 398. MN, gen.: *Amphikladoio*?

a-pi-ke-ne-a[, PY Na 1044. PN: *Amphigenea*. [Cf. Ἀμφιγένεια *Il.* II, 593.]

a-pi-me-de, KN B 801, PY **151** = Eb 473, Ep 539. MN: *Amphimēdēs*. [Ἀμφιμήδης.]

a-pi-me-de-o, KN C 911, PY **61** = Cn 655, Eb 1186+, Ep 539. Gen.: *Amphimēdehos*.

a-pi-no-e-wi-jo, PY **50** = An 207+, **190** = Mb 1396, **203** = Nn 228++. PN (in form prob. ethnic).

a-pi-o-to: see *a-pi-jo*.

a-pi-po-re-we, KN **255** = Uc 160 rev. Nom. plur., describing AMPHORA ideogram: *amphiphorēwes* 'amphoras'. [ἀμφιφορεύς *Od.* II, 290+.]

a-po-re-we, PY [**270** = Tn 996?], TH Ka 113, MY **257** = Ue 611. Nom. dual and plur.: *amphorēwe(s)*. [Shorter form ἀμφορεύς Hdt. +.]

a-pi-qo-i-ta, KN **22** = Ai 824. MN, nom. of rubric: *Amphik^{w}hoitās*.

a-pi-qo-ro, PY Aa 804, Ad 690, TH **243** = Of 34. Nom. and gen. plur., dat. sing.? describing women: *amphik^{w}oloi*, *-lōn*, *-lōi* 'attendants'. [ἀμφίπολος *Od.* I, 331.]

a-pi-qo-ro-i, PY Fr 1205. Dat. plur.: *amphik^{w}oloihi*; see p. 855.

a-pi-qo-ta, KN C 915+, PY Jn 431, TH Uq 434?. MN, nom. and dat.: *Amphik^{w}hoitās*, *tāi*? (Cf. *a-pi-qo-i-ta*).

a-pi-qo-ta-o, PY **38** = An 261 rev., Un 616 rev. (misspelt *a-pi-qo-o*). Gen.: *-tāo*.

a-pi-qo-to, PY **260** = Ta 709+. Nom. sing. and dual fem., adj. describing tables and portable hearths (ἐσχάραι): obscure, see p. 786.

a-pi-ra-wo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *Amphilāwos*, *-lāwon*. [Cf. Περίλαος.]

a-pi-re-jo, KN Vc 199. MN.

a-pi-re-we, KN V 337. Obscure; MN, dat.?

a-pi-te[, KN U 876. Prob. the name of some artifact.

a-pi-te-ja, PY Fn 187. WN? Fem. occupational term?

a-pi-te-wa, PY **57** = An 519, Na 1021. PN.

a-pi-wa-to, KN As 1516. MN: *Amphiwastos*?

a-po-ne-we, PY **52** = An 1+. PN, loc. (See also *a-pu-ne-we*.)

a-po-re-we: see *a-pi-po-re-we*.

a-po-te, KN **224** = Le 641 (*o-a-po-te*), **223** = Od 562. Formerly taken as adv. *apōthen*, but prob. MN.

a-po-te-ṛạ, MY Ge 602. Reading prob.: *ko-no-a-po-te-ra*: *skhoinoi amphoterai* 'both kinds of rush'. [ἀμφότερος.]

a-po-te-ro-te, PY Va 15. Prob. adv. *amphoterōthen* 'from (or on?) both sides'. [ἀμφοτέρωθεν.]

a-pu, KN **92** = G 820. *Apu*; uncertain whether adverb or preposition. [ἀπύ Aeol., Arc., Cypr. for ἀπό, not due to phonetic change but possibly original form, ἀπό being due to influence of ὑπό.] See also *a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no*.

a-pu-da-se-we, KN Gm 840. Nom. plur. or dat. sing., possibly *apudassēwes*, *-ēwei* from **apudasseus* 'distributor'. [δάσσασθαι, δατέομαι.]

a-pu-do-ke, KN Od 681, TH Wu 89. 3rd sing. aor.: *apudōke* 'rendered, paid'. [ἀποδίδωμι *Il.* IV, 478+.] Cf. *a-pe-do-ke*.

a-pu-do-si, KN **95** = Fh 5451+, **100** = Ga 427+, PY **187** = Ma 123++, MY Ui 2. Nom. sing.: *apudosis* 'delivery' (i.e. amount paid as opposed to assessment). [ἀπόδοσις.]

a-pu-do-so[-mo?], KN **212** = Nc 4484. Prob.: *apudos*[*mos*] '(assessment for) contribution'; cf. *do-so-mo*. [Arc. ἀπυδοσμός.]

a-pu-ka, PY **341** = Aq 218. Nom. sing., prob. ethnic = *a-pu*$_2$*-ka*.

a-pu-ke, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Nom. plur. (in line 3 perhaps instr. sing. or dual, but nom. plur. also possible): *ampukes* 'frontlets, head-bands' (for horses). [ἄμπυξ 'head-band for women', also for horses (μοναμπυκία Pind.).]

a-pu ke-ka-u-me-ṇọ[, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. sing. masc.: *apukekaumenos* (of a tripod cauldron) 'burnt away' (as to the legs). [ἀποκαίω.]

a-pu-ki-[, KN X 9313. Obscure.

a-pu-ki-ṣị[, PY Xn 1342. Obscure.

a-pu-ko-wo-ko, PY Ab 210, **9** = Ad 671 [VOL X 1?]. Nom. and gen. plur. fem., a class of women: *ampukworgoi* 'head-band makers'.

a-pu-ne-we, PY **11** = Ad 684 edge. Prob. PN, alternative spelling of *a-po-ne-we*.

a-pu-wa, TH Fq 229+. MN?, dat.

a-pu*$_2$*(-de), PY **97** = Vn 20. PN, one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province; acc. + allative *-de*. Not *Aipu* [Αἰπύ *Il.* II, 592], since *pu*$_2$ appears to stand for *phu* (and *bu*?) but not *pu*, and we might expect *a*$_3$, at least as a variant spelling.

a-pu*$_2$*-we, PY **47** = An 427, **206** = Cn 608, **207** = Jn 829++. Loc.

a-pu*$_2$*-ja, PY **208** = Jo 438. PN; alternative form of **a-pu*$_2$, fem. derivative in *-iā*.

a-pu*$_2$*-ka, KN Uf 111?, Xd 331?, PY **58** = An 656. At PY nom. sing. ethnic name in *ān*; app. not from **a-pu*$_2$, which is a *u*-stem and would not explain *k*; see also *a-pu-ka*. At KN obscure; MN < ethnic?

a-pu*$_2$*-ka-ne, PY **58** = An 656+. Nom. plur. of ethnic: *-ānes*.

]a-qa-ro, KN Sc 233. MN.

a-qa-to, KN As 1516. MN.

a-qe-mo, KN Db 1160. MN.

a-qi-ja-i, PY **51** = An 1282. Dat. plur., in list of words relating to chariots: prob. scribal error for *i-qi-ja-i* (see *i-qi-ja*).

a-qi-ra[, KN Xd 166+. Prob. MN.

a-qi-ro, KN Da 1123. MN.

a-qi-ru, KN Ce 50 (and rev.). MN.

a-qi-ta[, KN V 7620. Prob. MN.

a-qi-ti-ta, [KN Ap 639], MY Oe 103. WN, nom. and dat.: *Ak^{w}hthitā*, *-āi*. [ἄφθιτος; Heubeck 1970.]

a-qi-zo-we, PY **340** = Aq 64. MN.

a-qo-ta, KN L 588. MN.

a-ra-da-jo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

a-ra-i-jo, PY **38** = An 261. MN.

a-ra-ka-jo, KN B 806. MN.

a-ra-ka-te-ja, KN Ak 5009, Lc 531, PY Aa 89+, TH **243** = Of 34. Nom. plur. or dat. sing., describing women: *ālakateiai*, *-āi* 'spinning-women'. [ἠλακάτη 'distaff', *Od.* IV, 135+.]

a-ra-ka-te-ja-o, PY Ad 677. Gen. plur.: *-āōn*.

a-ra-te-ja-o, PY Ad 380. Defective spelling of prec.

a-ra-ki-to, TH Gp 179. MN, dat.

a-ra-ko, KN As 607, C 911, Db 1236+, V 1583. MN: *Arakos*. [Ἄρακος.]

a-ra-na-ro, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

a-ra-o, TH Fq 214+, Gp 197+. MN, dat.

a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na, KN **281** = Sd 4402+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem. (Sd 4415 app. error for dual); description of CHARIOT ideogram without wheels, contrasting with *a-na-mo-to*: *ararmotmenā*, *-ai* 'fitted out'. [Cf. ἅρμα, ἁρμόζω, but the details of their history are obscure.]

a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-ṇạ[, KN Sd 4416. Variant spelling of prec.

a-ro-mo-te-me-na, KN **282** = Sd 4422. Incomplete spelling.

a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no, KN **277** = Sd 4401. Fem. dual: *-menō*.

a-ra-ru-ja, KN **277** = Sd 4401+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *araruia*, *-uiai* (*hāniāphi*) 'fitted (with reins)'. [ἀραρυῖα, *Il.* XV, 737+.]

a-ra-ru-wo-a, KN **272** = Ra 1548+. Nom. plur. neut. *ararwoha* '(swords) fitted (with bindings)'.

]ạ-ra-ru-wo-ja, KN Sd 4408. Confusion of two prec. forms, *a-ra-ru-wo-* intended to be altered to *a-ra-ru-ja*.

a-ra-si-jo, KN Df 1229, Fh 369, X 1463. MN: *Alas(s)ios*? [Cf. PN Ἄλασσα or Λασαία in southern Crete.]

a-ra-te-ja-o: see s.v. *a-ra-ka-te-ja*.

a-re, KN **318** = Fp 14, Mc 4462. Divine name, perh. nom. of rubric: *Arēs*. In Mc not certainly the same word. [Ἄρης, dat. Ἄρηϊ, *Il.* V, 841+.]

a-re-i-jo, KN **224** = Le 641, PY **58** = An 656. At PY prob., at KN perh., MN: *Arēïos*. [Ἀρήϊος.] Cf. *a-re-jo*.

a-re-i̯-me-ne, TH **337** = Z 849+. MN: *Areimenēs* (*Arēï-*?)

a-re-me-ne, TH Z 852. Erroneous or alternative spelling.

a-re-i-ze-we-i, TH Of 37. Prob. MN, dat.

a-re-ja, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Dat. sing. masc., prob. epithet of Hermes; cf. Arc. Ἄρηα (acc.).

]a-re-jo, KN Vc 208. MN: cf. *a-re-i-jo*.

a-re-ka-sa-da-ra(-qe), MY **28** = V 659 (last sign *ka* evidently written in error for *qe*). WN: *Aleksandrā* (*k^{w}e*). [Cf. Ἀλέξανδρος.]

a-re-ka-tụ[-]rụ-wo, KN Sc 256 rev. Prob. MN; error for *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* (q.v.)?

***a-re-ke-ṣẹ*[**, MY Fu 711 rev. Cf. next.

***a-re-ke-se-*[.]**, MY Fu 711. Reading *a-re-ke-se-jạ* perhaps preferable to *a-re-ke-se-u̯*. WN, dat.? MN (cf. next)?

a-re-ke-se-u, KN Da 1156. MN: *Alekseus*.

a-re-ki-si-to, KN So 4433, PY Vn 865. MN.

a-re-ki-si-to-jo, KN **283** = Sf 4420, So 1053. Gen.

ạ-re-ko-to-re, KN Ce 152 rev. MN, dat.: *Alektorei*. [ἀλέκτωρ.]

a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, PY **56** = An 654, **172** = Es 650. MN, nom.: *Alektruōn*. [Ἀλεκτρύων *Il.* XVII, 602.] Cf. *a-ku-tu-ru-wo*.

a-re-ku-tu-ru-*[*wo*]*-ne (*-ru-ṇo-ne* app. error), PY **175** = Es 649. Dat.: *-onei*.

a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no, PY **173** = Es 644. Gen.: *-onos*.

a-re-me-ne: see *a-re-i̯-me-ne*.

a-re-pa, As ligature *AREPA*, PY Fr 1198?, **310** = Un 6+, Wr 1437. In Un 718 preceded by *a-re-ro*, error for *a-re-pa*: *aleiphar* 'ointment, unguent'. [ἄλειφαρ.]

a-re-pa-te, PY **245** = Un 267. Dat.: *aleiphatei*.

a-re-pa-zo-o, PY [Un 249], **245** = Un 267. Dat. (and nom.?) sing.: *aleiphazoōi* 'unguent-boiler, perfume-maker'.

a-re-po-zo-o, PY Ea 812+, Fg 374. Nom. (and dat.?); alternative spelling: *aleiphozoos*.

a-re-pe-se-u, TH Av 106. MN.

a-re-sa-ni-e, PY **54** = An 724. Obscure; see p. 478.

***a-re-se*[**, KN Xd 189. Obscure, MN?

a-re-se-si, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Dat. plur., object made of red leather.

a-re-su-ti-jo, MY Au 609 rev. MN.

a-re-ta-to, KN **281** = Sd 4402. *aretātoi* 'are usable'. Or part of a chariot; see p. 821.

***a-re-ta-wo*[**, KN As 645. MN: *Aretāwōn*. [Ἀρετάων *Il.* VI, 31.]

***a-re-ta*$_2$**, KN Df 1325, X 7556. MN: *Arētiās*? [Ἀρητίας.]

]*a-re-te-re-u*[, KN As 5557. Poss. MN.

a-re-to-to, PY Sa 1265. MN, gen.: *Arethontos*, *Aretontos*? [Ἀρέθων, Ἀρέτων; for declension, cf. *a-pi-jo*.]

***a-re-u-ke*[**, KN Xd 182 rev. MN?

a-re-ẓọ, PY An 340. MN.

a-ri-ja-to, PY **54** = An 724. MN?

a-ri-ja-wo, KN Uf 990. MN: *-āwōn*.

a-ri-ja-wo-ne, Fh 462. Dat.: *-āwonei*.

a-ri-ke-u, KN Ai 966. MN: *Halikeus*?

a-ri-ko, KN Da 1353. MN.

a-ri-qa, PY Jn 832. MN: *Arisg*^{w}*ās*? [Ἀρίσβας.]

a-ri-qo, PY An 723. PN?

a-ri-to-*[.]*-jo, KN Fh 347. Obscure.

***a-ri-we-we*[**, KN F 153 rev.?, Xd 323. MN.

a-ri-wo, PY **61** = Cn 655, La 1393. MN: *Ariwōn*? [Ἀρίων; as name of horse *Il.* XXIII, 346.]

a-ri-wo-ne, PY **60** = Cn 131. Dat.: *Ariwonei*?

a-ro-do-ro-o, KN Fs 4. Recipient or destination of offerings.

a-ro-ja, PY **330** = Fn 187. Prob. personal name, dat.

***a-ṛọ-ja*[**, KN E 843. PN?

a-ro-je-u, PY **202** = Nn 831. MN: *Aloieus*? [Cf. Ἀλωεύς *Il.* V, 386.]

a-ro-ka, PY Un 1319. PN or MN?

***a-ro-mọ*[**, MY Ge 602. Heading to list of spices; reading uncertain, *a-ro-ma*[is excluded, but *a-ro-mọ*[*-ta*?] for ἀρώματα is possible; cf. *pe-mo* for σπέρμα, etc.

a-ro-mo-te-me-na: see *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*.

a-ro-pa, PY **316** = Fr 1225+. Nom. sing., describing OIL ideogram: *aloiphā* 'unguent'. [ἀλοιφή *Od.* VI, 220+; cf. *a-re-pa*.]

a-ro-po, PY An 199. Nom. plur., describing men: *aloiphoi*? 'anointers, painters'?

]a-ro-ta, PY La 626+. Description of textiles, prob. neut. plur.: *alōsta*? 'unsewn'. [ἄλωστοι· ἄρραφοι Hsych.]

a-ro-te, PY La 622. Obscure; cf. prec.

a-ro-u-ra, PY **160** = Eq 213. Acc. plur.?: *arourans* 'corn-lands'. [ἄρουραι πυρόφοροι *Il.* XIV, 122+.]

a-ro-we, KN K 774, X 658 rev. Obscure, MN?

a-ro-wo, PY **348** = Vn 46. In list of building materials, obscure.

a-ro-wo-ta, KN Vc 184. MN.

a-ro-zo, KN Lc 536, L 8503. Nom. sing. neut.? adj. describing CLOTH glossed in Lc as 'tunic'.

a-ro-za, KN L 5909. Neut. plur.

a-ro$_2$-a, KN **226** = Ld 571+, L 586+, **293** = So 4430. Nom. plur. neut. adj. applied to textiles and wheels: *arioha* (*arjoha*?) 'of better quality'. [Old comparative to ἄριστος, later replaced by ἀρείων.]

a-ro$_2$-e, KN L 735, L 7409. Nom. dual or plur. fem.: *ariohe*(*s*).

a-ro$_2$-jo, KN **290** = So 4437. App. gen. sing. or nom. dual; form hard to explain, poss. error.

a-sa-ma-o, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN.

a-sa-ma-to, PY Sa 761. MN, gen?

]a-sa-mi, KN X 748. Obscure, WN?

a-sa-mi-to, KN **256** = Ws 8497. On sealing with ideogram of rectangular shape; nom. sing. or plur.: *asaminthos*, *-oi* 'bath(s)'. [ἀσάμινθος *Od.* III, 468+.]

a-sa-pi, PY Na 523. PN, loc.

a-sa-ro, KN As 40. MN: *Assaros*? Cf. *ja-sa-ro*. [Cf. Ἀσσάρακος *Il.* XX, 232.]

a-sa-ti-ja, PY **188** = Mn 162. Prob. variant spelling of *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

a-se-e, PY **49** = An 18, [An 852]. PN, loc.

a-se-so-si, PY **206** = Cn 608 (*jo-a-se-so-si*). 3rd plur. fut.: prob. (*hō*) *asēsonsi* 'thus they will fatten (swine)'. [ἆσαι *Il.* V, 289+.]

a-si-ja-ti-ja, PY **32** = Ae 134, Cn 4+, **207** = Jn 829+, **342** = On 300, Xa 639. PN, one of the Seven Towns of the Hither Province. See also *a-sa-ti-ja*, *a-*[.]*-ta$_2$*.

ạ-si-to-po-qo, PY [Eb 177], **152** = Ep 613. Occupational term, nom. sing.; prob. a confusion of *a-to-po-qo* (q.v.) and *si-to-po-qo*: *sītopok^{w}os* 'cook'.

a-si-wi-ja, PY Fr 1206. Description of *Potnia*: dat. sing. fem. adj. *Aswiāi* 'Lydian' (Chadwick 1957a.125) or gen. sing. sb. *Aswiās* 'of Lydia'. [Ἀσίῳ *Il.* II, 461; cf. Hitt. *Aššuwa*.] See also *a-*64-ja*.

a-si-wi-jo, KN Df 1469, PY Cn 285, Eq 146, MY Au 653+. MN: *Aswios*. [Ἄσιος.] See also *a-*64-jo*.

a-so-na, PY An 129. Obscure: PN or occupational term?

a-so-qi-jẹ-ja, PY Ad 689. Perh. nom. plur. fem. possessive adj. derived from next (Killen 1983a.77–78).

a-so-qi-jo, KN B 803. MN: *Asōk^{w}ios*? [Cf. Ἄσωπός.]

a-so-ta-o, PY **62** = Cn 719. Error for *a-ko-so-ta-o*.

a-ta, PY **48** = An 39 rev. MN; cf. a_2*-ta*.

a-ta-ma-ne-u, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN: *Athamāneus*? [Cf. Ἀθαμᾶνες.]

a-ta-ma-ne-we, PY **60** = Cn 131. Dat.: *-ēwei*.

***a-ta-ma-no-we*[**, TI Z 7. MN.

a-ta-ma-ta, KN B 799. MN.

a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja, KN **328** = V 52. Prob. dat.: *Athānāi potniāi* 'for the Mistress Athena' [πότνι' Ἀθηναίη *Il.* VI, 305] or *Athānās Potniāi* 'to the Mistress of *A.* (PN?)'. See p. 875.

a-ta-no, KN As 603+, Vc 569. MN: *Antānōr*. [Ἀντήνωρ *Il.* III, 262+.]

a-ta-no-re, PY Vn 130. Dat.: *-rei*.

a-ta-no-ro, PY **94** = Fn 50. Gen.: *-ros*.

a-ta-o, KN L 698 (*ku-su-a-ta-o*), PY An 340, Fn 324, Jn 431, TH Fq 276. MN, nom. and dat.: *Antaos*, *ōi*? [Cf. Ἀνταῖος.]

a-ta-o-jo, PY Vn 34. Gen.

a-ta-ra, MY **257** = Ue 611, Wt 501 (*-qe*). Nom. plur. neut. or fem., a kind of vessel: *antla*? [Cf. ἄντλος 'ship's hold' *Od.* XII, 411+; ἀντλίον 'bucket' Aristoph.+, ἀντλία.]

a-ta-ra-si-jo, PY **214** = Jn 310+. Nom. plur. masc., of bronzesmiths: *atala(n)sioi* 'without a *ta-ra-si-ja*'. On the *-n-*, see pp. 711–12.

a-ta-ro, PY **39** = An 35. MN; cf. a_3*-ta-ro*.

a-ta-ro-we, PY An 129. MN; cf. a_3*-ta-ro-we*.

a-ta-ti-nu, KN F 153, Vd 137. MN.

a-ta-tu-ro, PY Cn 436, Jn 431. MN.

a-ta-wo, PY An 192. MN: *Anthāwōn*?

***a-ta-wo-ne*[**, KN Xd 324. Dat.?

a-ta-wo-ne-jo, PY **159** = Eq 36. Prob. nom. sing. possessive adj. derived from prec. (Ruijgh, *Études* 263, Killen 1983a.69–70).

a-ta-ze-u, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

a-ta-[.]-wo-no, PY Pa 889. MN, gen.

a-te-i-ja-ta, KN Dd 1468, Dk 1064. MN.

a-te-jo, KN Da 1392+, Dl 7134. Either MN, a 'collector' of sheep, or an epithet of the sheep themselves prob. derived from a 'collector's' name (e.g. *a-ta*, *a-to*).

a-te-mi-to, PY **172** = Es 650. Gen.: *Artemitos*. [Ἄρτεμις, W. Gk Ἄρταμις, -μιτος; cf. Ἀρτεμίσιος < ἴτιος.]

a-ti-mi-te, PY Un 219. Dat. of variant spelling: *Artimitei*. (Cf. *a-ti*[*-mi-to*? PY Fn 837.)

a-te-mo, KN As 1520, **68** = De 1648+. MN: *Anthemos*, *Anthemōn*? [Cf. Ἀνθεμίων *Il.* IV, 473.]

a-te-ra-wo, PY Qa 1304. MN: *Antelāwos*. [Cf. *a-ta-no*.]

a-te-re-e-te-jo, PY **270** = Tn 996. Nom. plur. masc. adj. describing BATH.

a-te-re-te-a, KN **289** = So 894. Prob. neut. plur. adj. describing WHEELS; cf. prec. See p. 825.

a-te-re-wi-ja, PY Aa 779 edge, **42** = An 830, Cn 40, Ma 244. PN.

a-te-u-ke, KN V 150. MN, or nom. sing. adj.?: (*toksotās*) *ateukhēs* 'unequipped'?. [ἀτευχής.]

a-te-we, PY **270** = Tn 996. Nom. plur.: name of a kind of ewer or jug.

a-te-wo-jo, PY Sa 797. MN, gen.

a-ti-ja, MY X 1. Obscure.

a-ti-ja-wo, PY **56** = An 654, Jn 845. MN: *Antiāwōn*. [Cf. Ἀντίων.]

a-ti-jo, KN **36** = As 1516, Dv 1470?. MN.

a-ti-ka, KN V 831. MN.

a-ti-ke-ne-ja, MY **240** = Oe 110. WN, dat.?: *Antigeneiāi*. [Ἀντιγένεια.]

a-ti-mi-te: see *a-te-mi-to*.

a-ti-pa-mo, KN **223** = Od 562, PY Jn 320+. MN: *Antiphāmos*. [Ἀντίφημος.]

a-ti-ri-ja[, PY Ae 27. Obscure, PN?

a-ti-ro, KN Dv 1272, PY **59** = An 661?. MN.

a-ti-ṭa, PY **348** = Vn 46?, [Vn 879?]. Nom. plur. neut. or fem.: constructional members of a chimney structure.

a-to, KN As 40. MN: *Anthos*? [Ἄνθος.]

a-to-me-ja, KN Ap 639. WN.

a-to-mo, KN C 979, V 56, PY **340** = Aq 64, Jn 832+, **208** = Jo 438 edge. Nom. sing. masc., title of an official: *arthmos* 'link, liaison officer' (cf. Ruijgh, *Études* 270)? [ἀρθμός. h. Hom. +, cf. ἄρθμιος *Od.* XVI, 427]. In Jn 832 uncertain whether same term or PN.

a-to-mo-na, KN Od 563+. Personal name, nom.? and dat.

a-to-po-qo, PY **48** = An 39+, **94** = Fn 50, MY **44** = Au 102. Nom. plur. (in Fn perh. dat. sing.): *artopok^{w}oi*, *-ōi* 'baker(s)'. [ἀρτοκόπος Hdt.+, arising from Myc. form by dissimilation and metathesis.]

a-to-po-qo-i[, MY Oe 117. Dat. plur.

a-to-ro-qo, PY **268** = Ta 722. Dat. (instr.) sing.: *anthrok^{w}ōi* 'with a human being'. [ἄνθρωπος of obscure origin.]

a-tu-ko, KN Dg 1102, K 877, PY **121** = En 609, **125** = Eo 211, **138** = Ep 301, **216** = Jn 658+. MN: perh. *Atukhos*.

a-tu-qo-ta, KN B 799. MN.

a-tu-qo-te-ra-to, KN V 1523. MN.

a-u-qe, KN **281** = Sd 4402. Error for *o-u-qe*.

a-u-ta-na, KN Xd 7649. MN?

a-wa-ne-u, PY Vn 865. MN.

a-wa-ra-ka-na, PY Vn 1314. Prob. nom. (plur.?); obscure.

a-wa-ra-ka-na-o, PY Vn 1314. Gen. plur. (sing., if MN).

a-wa-si-ja, PY An 615. PN.

a-wa-so, KN Db 1099+, C 912?, Mc 4460. MN.

a-wa-ta, PY An 340. MN: *Awātās*? [Cf. ἀήτης.]

a-wa-ti-ka-ra, KN **23** = Am 827. WN; cf. MN *wa-ti-ko-ro*.

a-we-ke-se-u, PY Cn 285+, Jn 605. MN: *Awekseus*. [ἀέξω.]
a-we-ke-se-we, PY **60** = Cn 131. Dat.: *-ēwei*.
a-we-u-pi, PY An 172. PN, loc.
]a-wi-je-mo, KN X 7635. MN?
a-wi-to-do-to, KN U 4478. MN: *Awistodotos*. [Cf. ἄϊστος.]
a-wo-i-jo, KN Dv 1462, PY Cn 599. MN, nom. and dat.: *Āwōhios*, *-ōi*. [Ἠῷος.]
]a-wo-ro, KN B 800. MN: *Aworos*? (Cf. a_3*-wo-ro*.)
a-wo-ti-jo, KN Dd 1157. MN.
a-ze-o, KN Dv 1226. MN.
a-ze-ta, KN Dv 1466. MN.
a-ze-ti-ri-ja, KN **25** = Ap 694, **91** = E 777 rev., Ln 1568 edge, **237** = M 683, Xe 544+, X 7737. Nom. plur. fem., description of women; prob. variant spelling of *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$.
a-ze-to, KN X 766. Term in possible SWORD context: adj. *askētos* (cf. prec.) (Killen 1979a.167)?
a-*34-ka, KN Ld 786+. Adj. describing textiles?
a-*3̣4̣-ṭọ, PY La 626. Adj. describing textiles?
a-*47[, KN Sc 242 rev. MN? Cf. next.
]a-*4̣7̣-wi[, KN Sc 7469 rev. MN? Cf. prec.
a-*56-da-ṛọ, KN C 911. MN.
a-*56-no, KN As 1520, C 912?, Dv 5232. MN.
a-*64-ja[1], PY Aa 701, Ab 515. Nom. plur. fem., prob. ethnic adj.: perh. *Aswiai* 'women of Asia (= Lydia)'. [Cf. *a-si-wi-ja*.]
a-*64-ja-o, PY Ad 315+. Gen. plur.: *Aswiāōn*?
a-*64-ja[2], PY Vn 1191. WN: perh. *Aswiā* (sing. of prec.)
a-*64-jo, KN Sc 261, PY **80** = Cn 1287, Fn 324, Jn 832. MN, nom. and dat.: perh. *Aswios*, *-ōi*. Cf. *a-si-wi-jo*.
a-*65-ma-na-ke, KN Fs 3, [Fs 20]. Dat.?, recipient of offerings: divine name?
a-*65-na, KN Od 714. Obscure.
a-*79, KN Ap 618, MY Oe 123. WN.
a-[.]-ta$_2$, PY Ma 397. PN, app. alternative spelling of *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, so that damaged sign has value *sja*.

A$_2$, PY Un 1319. Ideographic use: a kind of WHEAT?
a$_2$***-di-je-u***, PY **58** = An 656. MN. Cf.]*a-di-je-wo*.
a$_2$***-e-ta***, PY **38** = An 261. MN.
a$_2$***-ka-a***$_2$***-ki-ri-jo***, PY **59** = An 661. PN.
a$_2$***-ka-a***$_2$***-ki-ri-ja-jo***, PY **78** = Cn 3. App. ethnic adj.
a$_2$***-ke-te-re***, KN V 118. Nom. dual?: = *ja-ke-te-re*?
]a$_2$***-ke-wo-a-ki-ri***, PY Na 928. PN, prob. to be divided]a_2*-ke-wo a-ki-ri*: perh. *Hagēwos Akris* (Melena 1997b.284–86). See also]*ạ-ki-ri*.
a$_2$***-ki-ja***, PY **42** = An 830. PN.
a$_2$***-ki-ra***, PY Na 856. PN.
a$_2$***-ku-mi-jo***, PY **200** = Na 926. MN.

a_2-ku-ni-jo, PY **58** = An 656. MN.
a_2-ma-[.]-wa, PY Na 1092. PN.
a_2-ne-u-te, PY Cn 599. PN, also spelt *a-ne-u-te*.
a_2-nu-me-no, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN: *Hanumenos*? [cf. ἄνυμι, ἀνύτω.]
a_2-pa-a_2-de, TH Wu 94. PN, acc. + *-de*.
a_2-pa-tu-wo-te, PY Cn 599. PN, loc.
a_2-ra-ka-wo, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN.
a_2-ra-tu-a, PY **78** = Cn 3. PN.
a_2-ra-tu-wa, PY **57** = An 519. Variant spelling.
a_2-ri-e, PY **54** = An 724. Obscure, see p. 478.
a_2-ri-sa, PY **160** = Eq 213. Obscure, see pp. 620–21.
a_2-ṛọ[ ]ṵ-do-pi, PY **261** = Ta 642. Instr. plur., a decorative feature on furniture, see p. 787.
a_2-ru-wo-te, PY **55** = An 657. PN, loc.: *Halwontei*? [Cf. Ἅλοῦς Arcadia, Paus. VIII, 25, 2.]
a_2-ta, PY An 209. MN. Cf. *a-ta*.
a_2-ta-o, TH X 189. Gen.
a_2-te-po, PY **57** = An 519. PN or MN?
a_2-te-ro, PY **180** = Ma 365. Acc. sing. neut.: *hateron* (*wetos*) 'the next (year)' [ἅτερος < **sm̥-teros*; ἕτερος only Att.-Ion.]
a_2-to, PY Un 1321. Obscure.
a_2-zo-qi-jo, PY Un 1193. MN? PN?

A_3, Ideographic use: PY Un 1185, apparently abbreviation of *a_3-ka-na-jo*.
As adjunct: KN **81** = C 913, applied to GOAT.
a_3-du-wo-na, KN Ap 769. WN.
a_3-ka-na-jo, PY Un 1185. App. the name of a liquid, abbreviated *A_3*.
a_3-ka-ra, KN L 567. MN or WN.
a_3-ka-sa-ma, PY **207** = Jn 829. Acc. plur.?: *aiksmans* 'points (for darts and spears)'. [ἔγχεος αἰχμή, *Il.* XVI, 315+.]
a_3-ke-ta, KN Dv 1139. MN.
a_3-ke-u, PY **259** = Ta 641. Formerly taken as MN (*Aigeus*), but perh. nom. sing. describing TRIPOD cauldron, despite failure of concord with dual *ti-ri-po-de*: *aigeus* as adj. 'with goat-head protomes'; or cf. αἶγες 'high waves'?
a_3-ḳẹ-wa-ta, KN Da 5205. MN.
a_3-ke-wa-to, KN Db 1295+. MN; cf. *a_3-ki-wa-to*.
a_3-ki-a_2-ri-ja, TH Of 25. PN, derivative of αἰγιαλός: *Aigi(h)aliā*?
a-ki-a_2-ri-ja-de, TH Of 35. Acc. + *-de*: *Aigi(h)aliān-de*.
a_3-ki-a_2-ri-jo, PY **94** = Fn 50+. MN, or occupational term? Dat.: *Aigi(h)aliōi*? [Cf. αἰγιαλός, prec.]
a_3-ki-de-ja, PY Na 529. Nom. plur. neut. of adj. describing flax? Or personal name, dat.?
a_3-ki-e-we, PY Vn 130. MN, dat.: *Aigiēwei*. [Cf. Αἰγιεύς, ethnic of Αἴγιον.]
a_3-ki-e-wo, PY Jn 605. Gen.: *-ēwos*.

a₃-ki-no-o, KN **286** = Se 879. Nom. dual?, some part of chariot? See pp. 822–23.

a₃-ki-pa-ta, KN Fh 346, PY **31** = Ae 264+. At PY nom. sing. masc. of occupational term: *aigi-pa(s)tās*? 'goatherd'. At KN, prob. MN, dat. [αἴξ + obscure element.]

a₃-ki-po, KN U 4478. MN: *Aigipos*? [Cf. αἰγίπους.]

a₃-ki-po-de, PY Mb 1397. PN? MN, dat.? Cf. prec.

a₃-ki-si-jo, KN U 4478. MN.

a₃-ki-wa-ro, PY **173** = Es 644+. MN.

a₃-ki-wa-to, KN Uf 987. MN. See also [.]*-ki-wa-to*.

-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja: see *de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja*.

a₃-ko-ta, KN **36** = As 1516, PY **55** = An 657, **341** = Aq 218. MN.

a₃-ku-pi-ti-jo, KN Db 1105. MN: *Aiguptios*. [Αἰγύπτιος *Od.* II, 15.]

a₃-me-wa, PY Mb 1376, Vn 865. MN.

a₃-mi-re-we, KN **83** = Dm 1180+. Nom. plur. masc.: class of sheep, distinguished from *e-ka-ra-e-we*, q.v. See p. 526.

a₃-ni-jo, KN **37** = As 1517, TH Gp 167. MN, nom. and dat.: *Ainios*, *-ōi* (García Ramón 2006.39)? [Αἴνιος.]

a₃-nu-me-no, PY **38** = An 261. MN: *Ainumenos*. [αἴνυμαι.]

a₃-pu-ke-ne-ja, PY Fn 79. WN?, dat.

]a₃-sa, PY Un 1426, TH Ug 14. Nom. sing.?: *aisa* 'portion'? [αἶσα *Od.* V, 40+.]

a₃-se-we, PY Cr 868. Prob. PN (cf. *a̤₃-se-wa*[PY An 615?).

a₃-so-ni-jo, PY **38** = An 261, **214** = Jn 310+, MY Ui 651, MI Wv 6. MN: *Aisonios*. [Cf. Αἴσων *Od.* XI, 259, Αἰσονίδης.]

a₃-ta-jo, KN Ga 419. MN.

a₃-ta-re-u-si, PY **55** = An 657. PN, loc. plur.

a₃-ta-ro, PY Jn 415. MN: *Aithalos*. [Αἴθαλος.] Cf. *a-ta-ro*.

a₃-ta-ro-we, KN **64** = Da 1221, PY Cn 285+. MN: *Aithalowens*. [Cf. Αἰθαλόεις river in Mysia.] Cf. *a-ta-ro-we*.

a₃-te, PY Un 1321. Nom. sing.?

a₃-te-re, KN **46** = B 101. Nom. plur. occupational term: *aiteres* 'inlayers' or similar from verb found in *a-ja-me-no*?

a₃-ti-jo-qo, PY **140** = Eb 846+, **122** = En 74, **128** = Eo 247, **138** = Ep 301. MN, nom. and gen.: *Aithiokʷs*, *Aithiokʷos*. [Αἰθίοπες *Il.* XXIII, 206+.]

a₃-ti-jo-qe, PY **128** = Eo 247. Dat.: *Aithiokʷei*.

a₃-to, KN Da 6061. MN: *Aithōn*? [Αἴθων *Od.* XIX, 183.]

]a₃-tu-ti-ja̤[, KN L 5949. Obscure; personal name, dat., governed by *o-pi*?

a₃-wa, KN C 973. Possibly name of an ox: *Aiwans*? [Αἴας *Il.* I, 138+; Corinth. Αἴϝας Schwyzer, *Dial.* 122. 3.]

a₃-wa-ja, PY **122** = En 74, **129** = Eo 160. WN: *Aiwaiā*? [Αἰαίη *Od.* XII, 268.]

a₃-wa-ta, KN Vc 7612. MN: *Aiwātās*? [Αἰήτης *Od.* X, 137+.]

a₃-wa-ṭo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

a₃-wi-jo, PY Na 533. PN.

a₃-wo-ḍi-jo-no, PY Wo 1247. MN, gen.?

]a̤₃-wo-re-u-si, KN Wm 1707. Dat. plur.; if reading correct, perh. *Aiwoleusi* 'to the Aeolians'. ['Αιολεύς, Hdt., Thuc.]

a$_3$-wo-ro, KN **87** = Ch 896+. Name or description of an ox: *Aiwolos*. [αἰόλος.]
a$_3$-za, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Nom. sing. fem.: *aidzā* 'goat's'. [< **aigiā*; Classical αἴγειος.]
***a$_3$-zo-ro*(*-qe*)**, KN Ch 1029+. Name or description of ox + *-k^{w}e*, poss. *Aiskhros* 'Ugly'. [αἰσχρός 'shameful' *Il.* II, 119+; αἴσχιστος 'ugliest' *Il.* II, 216.]
***a$_3$-zo-ṿọ*[**, PY Cn 485. Prob. PN.

AU, Adjunct to WOMAN: KN Ak 617. Obscure.
au-a$_3$-ta, KN C 1582. Annotation to oxen; cf. *au-to-a$_3$-ta*.
au-de-pi, PY **261** = Ta 642+. Instr. plur., a decorative feature on furniture, see next.
***au-de-we-sa*(*-qe*)**, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. sing. fem.: *-wessa* 'decorated with *au-de-pi*', see prec.
au-ja-to, MY **44** = Au 102. MN, prob. the same name as *au-wi-ja-to*.
au-ke-i-ja-te-we, PY **43** = An 1281, **249** = Ub 1318. MN, dat.
au*[*-ke-i-*]*ja-te-wo, PY **94** = Fn 50. Gen.
au-ke-wa, PY An 192, **208** = Jo 438, **258** = Ta 711. MN, nom. and acc.: *Augewās*, *ān*. [Αὐγείας *Il.* XI, 701; Αὐγέας Pind. +.]
au-ri-jo, KN As 604, Da 1080+, TH Ug 5. MN: *Aulios*?; at Thebes possibly adj. [Cf. αὔλιος.]
au-ri-mo-de, KN **319** = Fp 13. PN, acc. + *-de*.
au-ro, KN **281** = Sd 4402. Nom. plur. or dual: *auloi*, 'pipes', some part of a chariot. See pp. 820–21. [αὐλός of a buckle *Od.* XIX, 227.]
au-ta-mo, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN: *Authaimōn*? [Cf. Αἵμων.]
au-ta$_2$, KN Db 1166. MN.
au-te, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. sing.: *austēr* 'kindler'. See pp. 785–86. [Cf. ἐξαυστήρ.]
au-te-ra, MY Oe 128. WN, dat.?: *Authērāi*?
***au-to-ạ*[**, PY Cn 938. Variant spelling of next?
au-to-a$_2$-ta, PY Cn 314. MN.
au-to-a$_3$-ta, KN Ch 972. Prob. MN; cf. prec., *au-a$_3$-ta*.
au-to-jo, PY Eb 156. Gen. sing.: (*toio k^{w}e*) *autoio* 'and of the same'.
au-to-te-qa-jo, TH Ug 4. MN: *Autothēg^{w}aios*. [Cf. Θηβαῖος, ethnic adj.; *te-qa-jo*.]
au-to-*34-ta-ra, PY **330** = Fn 187. Prob. personal name or title, dat.
au-u-te, KN Od 666. Obscure; poss. *auwetes* 'this (same) year', but the spelling is unparalleled.
au-wi-ja-to, MY Au 653+. MN; prob. the same name as *au-ja-to*.

DA, Associated with women workers: KN **14** = Ak 611+, PY **3** = Aa 717+, **5** = Ab 379+, TH **243** = Of 34+: probably = '(male) supervisor'.
Associated with male workers: KN As 608: as with women?
In landholding contexts: KN **162** = Uf 1031+, PY **42** = An 830, **121** = En 609, Un 1193?, TI **171** = Ef 2: prob. unit of taxation, poss. = *damar* with sense 'household' or similar; cf. *da-ma-te*. See p. 593.
In obscure contexts: KN **209** = Mc 4454, Sc 223?+, Uf 1522.
da-da-re-jo-de, KN **317** = Fp 1, [Fs 32?], X 723. PN with allative *-de*: *Daidaleion-de* 'to the shrine of Daedalus'. [Cf. Δαίδαλος *Il.* XVIII, 592.]

da-i-ja-ke-re-u, PY **341** = Aq 218. MN or epithet of *hiereus* (e.g. *dai-agreus* 'divider of lands')?

da-i-mi-so, KN Do 996. MN.

da-i-pi-ta, KN B 799. MN.

da-i-qo-ta, KN Da 1164. MN: *Daik^{w}hontās*. [Δηιφόντης.]

da-i-ra, KN Od 7388 edge, V 479. MN.

da-i-ta-ra-ro, KN De 1231. MN.

da-i-wo-wo, KN V 1043. MN.

da-i-ze-to, KN Da 1317. MN.

da-ja-ro, KN Da 1420+. MN.

]da-je-we, PY Vn 851. MN, dat.

da-ka-ja-pi, PY Gn 720. PN, loc. plur.?

da-ka-sa-na-ta, PY An 172. MN.

da-ko-ro, PY **50** = An 207+. Nom. dual and plur., occupational term: *dakorō*, *-roi* 'temple-servant'? [<**dm̥-koro-*, cf. ζάκορος.]

da-ko-ro-i, PY Un 219. Dat. plur.: *dakoroihi*.

da-ko-so, KN As 1520. MN.

da-ma-o-te[, KN X 1051. Obscure, poss. nom. plur. masc. fut. pple.: *damahontes*. [δαμάζω.]

da-m̥a-so, PY Jn 431. MN: *Damasos*? [Cf. Δάμασος *Il.* XII, 183.]

da-ma-te, PY **121** = En 609. App. nom. plur. of fem. noun meaning approximately 'households'. [Possibly δάμαρ (from root of δόμος) with later specialisation of meaning as 'wife'.]

da-mi-jo, PY Ea 803. Acc. sing.: *dāmion* 'land belonging to the *damos*'. [δήμιος 'public' *Od.* XX, 264+.]

da-mi-ni-ja, PY [Aa 96], **10** = Ad 697. PN; cf. *da-mi-ni-jo*^{2}.

***da-mi-ni-jo*^{1}**, KN **69** = Df 1121+, V 337, X 1019. In D MN ('collector'); in V and X context obscure.

***da-mi-ni-jo*^{2}**, PY **53** = An 610. Prob. nom. plur. ethnic: *Damnioi*? [Cf. Ἐπίδαμνος; *da-mi-ni-ja*.]

da-mo, KN C 911, F 845, PY **120** = Ea 59+, **140** = Eb 846+, **138** = Ep 301+, **178** = Un 718. Nom.? and dat. sing.: *dāmos*, *-ōi*. An entity which can allocate holdings of land, probably a village community. [δῆμος.]

da-mo-de-mi, PY **142** = Ep 704. *Dāmos de min* (*phāsi*), 'but the community says that she …' See p. 607.

da?-]mo-ke-re-we-i, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.: *Dāmoklewehi*. [Δαμοκλῆς.]

da-mo-ko-ro, KN C 7058+, PY **342** = On 300, **258** = Ta 711. Nom.?, acc. and dat. sing., title of an official: prob. *dāmo-*, but second member obscure (cf. *ko-re-te*).

da-na, KN Ce 152. MN?

da-na-jo, KN Db 1324, V 1631? MN: *Danaios*? [Cf. Δαναός.]

da-na-ko, PY An 209. MN.

da-na-mo, KN E 847. MN?

]da-na-ro, KN Dd 5174. MN.

da-nu-wa-a-ri[, PY Mn 1412. Prob. PN, to be divided after *wa*?

da-nu-wo, KN **85** = C 902+. MN, or title?
da-nwa, KN Gg 701. MN (supplier or recipient of honey, etc.)?
]ḍạ-nwa-re, KN Db 1302, Sc 5058. MN.
da-o-ta, KN Vc 125. MN.
da-pu-ri-ṭọ[, KN Xd 140. Obscure; cf. *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*.
da-pu$_2$-ra-zo, EL **338** = Z 1. Prob. MN; cf. *du-pu$_2$-ra-zo*.
da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo, KN **324** = Gg 702, [**327** = Oa 745]. Gen. sing., place associated with Potnia: prob. *Daburinthoio*. [λαβύρινθος, with Aegean *d* for *l* (cf. Ὀδυσσεύς, Ὀλυσεύς, etc.); *pu$_2$* = *bu* is also remarkable.]
da-ra[, MY **104** = Ge 603. Name of a spice?
da-ra-ko, KN Db 1165+, Dk 936, X 7759+. PN.
da-ra-mu-ro, KN Dc 1220. MN: *Drāmulos*? [*δρασιμ-υλος.]
ḍạ-ru-*56, KN Uf 432. MN.
da-sa-to, PY An 435 (]*ọ-da-sa-to*), Wa 917 (]*o-da-sa-ṭọ*). 3rd sing. aor.: *hō dasato* 'thus he distributed'. [δατέομαι, (ἐ)δασάμην *Il.* XVIII, 511+.] Cf. *e-pi-de-da-to*.
]ḍạ-so-de, KN Fh 365. PN, acc. + *-de*.
ḍạ-so-mo, PY Wa 730 (if correct reading; cf. *do-so-mo*; see p. 633). *dasmos* 'distribution'. [δασμός *Il.* I, 166+.]
da-ta-ja-ro, KN De 1153. MN.
da-ta-ra-mo, KN Dl 935. PN.
da-te-ne-ja, KN Ap 639. WN.
da-te-wa, KN V 147, [Vd 138?]. MN.
da-te-we-ja, KN **15** = Ak 612, D 8174, Lc 540, **232** = L 594, Xe 5891. Nom. plur. fem.: perh. possessive adj. derived from prec. (Killen 1983a.78–79).
da-to-re-u, PY Cn 328. MN.
da-to-ro, KN Dk 964, Dv 1104. MN: *Daitros*? [Cf. Δαίτωρ *Il.* VIII, 275.]
da-u-da-ro, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN.
da-u-ta-ro, [KN Do 9793?], PY Jn 431. MN.
da-ụ-ṭị-jo, TH Fq 269. MN, dat.
da-wa-no, KN **37** = As 1517, Ga 423 rev., **209** = Mc 4454+. MN. *Dwānos*? [Cf. δήν < *δϝᾱν.]
da-we-ro, KN C 912. Obscure; MN, gen.?
da-we-u-pi, PY Cn 485+. PN, loc. plur.
da-wi, KN Db 1212. MN.
da-wo, KN Ak 621, **86** = Ce 59, **71** = Dn 1094+, **89** = F 852++. PN.
  da-wi-jo/-ja, KN Ak 780, Am 568++. Nom. plur. masc. and fem. ethnic adj.
da-zo, KN As 5549?, Ra 1547. MN.
da-*22-to, KN **17** = Ak 627, **86** = Ce 59, **66** = Dc 1129+, **165** = Uf 839, EL **338** = Z 1++. PN.
  da-*22-ti-jo/-ja, KN E 669, V 756++. Nom. plur. masc. and fem. ethnic adj.
da-*83-ja, KN Dv 1086, X 976. PN.
  da-*83-ja-de, KN Fp 363, Fh 365+. Acc. + *-de*.
  ḍạ-*83-ja-i, KN E 670. Dat.-loc. plur.
da-*83-jo, KN Dc 1419, Vc 7517, V 479 rev. MN; cf. prec.

DE, As adjunct to WOMAN, girls or boys: KN Ak 610+: perhaps abbreviation of *de-di-ku-ja*.

As adjunct to ideogram **169*: PY Pa 49+: probably abbreviation of *demnion* 'bed' (see *de-mi-ni-ja*).

Introducing numbers after *ko-no* 'rush': MY **104** = Ge 603+: possibly = *desmā* 'bundle'. [δε = δέσμαι found in Papyri.]

-de[1], PY **27** = An 607 (*ma-te-de*, *pa-te-de*), **147** = Eb 297 (*ko-to-no-o-ko-de*), **148** = Eb 338 (*o-pe-ro-sa-de*), **142** = Ep 704 (*da-mo-de-mi*), **186** = Ma 393 (*a-ne-ta-de*), **200** = Na 926 (*e-ke-de-mi*), etc. Adversative and connective particle: *de* 'but, and'. [δέ.] Cf. also *to-so-de*.

-de[2], KN **317** = Fp 1 (*da-da-re-jo-de*), **318** = Fp 14 (*a-mi-ni-so-de*), etc., PY **52** = An 1 (*pe-re-u-ro-na-de*), **59** = An 661 (*ne-do-wo-ta-de*), **97** = Vn 20 (*passim*), etc., TH Of 26+ (*do-de*), **244** = Of 36 (*wo-ko-de*). Enclitic allative particle: *-de* 'to'. [-δε.]

]de-a-ta, KN Dc 5190+. MN.

de-de-me-no, PY **299** = Sa 287+. Nom. dual neut. pf. pple.: *dedemenō*, of wheels, 'bound (with silver or bronze)'; cf. *ka-ko-de-ta*. [δέδεμαι pf. pass. *Od.* XXIV, 228+.]

de-de-me-na, KN **273** = Ra 984+. Nom. plur. fem. or neut.: *dedemenai*, *-a*, applied to swords or daggers; cf. *de-so-mo*.

]***ḍẹ-di-ku-ja***, KN **14** = Ak 611, perhaps abbreviated *de* Ak 620+. Nom. sing. or plur. fem.; possibly error for *de-di-<da>-ku-ja*: *dedidakhuia*(*i*) 'instructed'. Cf. *di-da-ka-re*.

de-do-me-na, KN **292** = So 4440+, U 7507. Nom. plur. neut. (or fem.?): *dedomena* 'delivered'. See also *di-do-si*.

de-do-wa-re-we, PY **330** = Fn 187. Dat. sing.: MN or title?

de-ka-sa-to, KN Fh 370, **224** = Le 641 (*de-ka-sa-ṭọ*), PY **248** = Pn 30 (*o-de-ka-sa-to*). 3rd sing. aor. mid.: *deksato* 'received'. [ἐδέξατο *Il.* XVIII, 238+.]

de-ke-se-u, KN Db 1426+. MN: *Dekseus*? *Derkseus*? [Cf. δέχομαι, δέρκομαι.]

de-ki-si-wo, KN C 908, [V 1524?], PY Cn 254. MN, dat.: *Deksiwōi*. [Δέξιος (δεξιός < *δεξιϝός), Pamph. Δέξιϝυς.]

de-ki-si-wo-jo, PY Vn 34. Gen.: *Deksiwoio*.

de-ko-to[1], KN Le 642. Probably 3rd sing. aor.: *dekto* 'received' [δέκτο *Il.* XV, 88+.]

de-ko-to[2], PY Cn 600. MN: *Dektos*. [δεκτός.]

de-ko-to-jo, PY Jn 413. Gen.

de-ku-tu-wo-ḳọ[, PY **345** = Un 1322. Dat. sing. or nom. plur.?: *dektuworgōi*, *-oi*, '(to the) net-maker(s)'. [*δικτυς (δίκτυον *Od.* XXII, 386+) + -(ϝ)οργός; *e* for *i* would imply a non-Greek origin, but Chantraine (1967b) proposes interpretation *deiktu-* keeping connexion with δικεῖν 'throw'.]

de-ma-si, KN Fh 353+. Prob. dat. plur., recipients of OIL. (Suggested *dermasi* 'in leather bottles' is improbable in view of parallel contexts.)

de-me-o-te, PY **39** = An 35. Nom. plur. masc. fut. pple.: *demehontes* 'who are to do building work'. [δέμω *Il.* VII, 436+.]

de-mi-ni-ja, PY Vn 851, Xn 1482, MY **28** = V 659. Prob. nom. plur. neut.: *demnia* 'beds' or 'bedding'. [δέμνια *Il.* XXIV, 644+.]

de-mi-ni-jo, KN Fh 5431?, PY Wr 1326. At PY perhaps sing. of prec.; at KN poss. gen. plur. (Killen 1995b.219) or MN, dat.

de-mo-qe, PY Cn 45. MN, dat.

de-ni-mo, KN Dc 1303. MN.

de-qo-no, TH Fq 254. Prob. dat.; perhaps *deik^{w}nōi*, but sense uncertain. Title of official in charge of meal? Or 'for the meal'? [δεῖπνον *Il.* II, 381+.] See also *po-ro-de-qo-no*.

]*de-ra-wo*, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.: *-lāwōi*.

de-ṛẹ-ụ-ḳọ, KN Uc 160. Nom. sing. annotation to WINE: *dleukos* 'sweet new wine'. [γλεῦκος (γλυκύς < *δλυκύς).]

de-so-mo, KN **272** = Ra 1548+, PY Mm 11?. At KN instr. plur. masc.: *desmois* '(swords fitted) with bindings', prob. = hilts rather than belts (τελαμών). [δεσμός *Il.* VI, 507+.]

de-u-jo-i, KN Fh 352. Dat. plur., prob. recipients of OIL.

de-u-ka-rl-jo, PY **56** = An 654. MN. *Deukaliōn*. [Δευκαλίων *Il.* XIII, 451+.]

de-u-ke-we, TH Fq 214+. MN, dat.: *Deukēwei*.

de-u-ke-ụ-we, TH Fq 254 (JTK autopsy). Erroneous spelling, influenced by nom.?

de-u-ke-ro, KN U 4478. MN.

de-u-ki-jo, MY **44** = Au 102 (*de-u-ki-jo-qe*). MN: *Deukios*, *Deukiōn*?

de-u-ki-jo-jo, KN [Fh 5502?], **317** = Fp 1. Gen. sing., name of a month.

]*de-wa-pi*, KN **252** = K 434. See p. 770.

de-we-ra, KN Dv 2019. MN.

ḍẹ-we-ro, PY Jn 320. MN.

de-we-ro-a$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja, PY **204** = Ng 319, [Wa 948]. Name of a district: *Deuro-aigolaiā*? = the Hither Province. Ruijgh 1970.317 proposes *Dewerō-*. See p. 691.

de-wi-jo, PY **57** = An 519, **341** = Aq 218. Obscure. In Aq patronymic? In An MN?

DI, As adjunct to WOMAN, girls and boys: KN Ai 190, **16** = Ak 624+, Ap 629+, Bg 817: probably abbreviation of *di-da-ka-re*.

As surcharge on ideograms of vessels: KN **253** = K 740+ : = *di-pa*.

As surcharge on ideogram of skin (**150*): TH Wu 429: prob. abbreviation of *di-pte-ra*.

DIPTE: KN U 8210: abbreviation of *di-pte-ra*?

Ideographic use: PY Ua 1252: obscure.

di-da-ka-re, KN **19** = Ak 784+. Description of children; poss. loc. *didaskalei* 'at the schoolmaster's'. Sense 'under instruction' is possible, but details of form obscure.

di-da-ma-o, PY Xa 184. Obscure.

di-de-ro, KN [B 799?], Dv 1504. MN. [Cf. Linear A *di-de-ru*.]

di-do-si, KN [Og 4467], PY **180** = Ma 365, **250** = Vn 10 (*o-di-do-si*), **186** = Ma 393+ (*o-u-di-do-si*), **195** = Na 568+ (*o-u-di-do-si*). 3rd plur. pres.: *didonsi* 'they give, deliver'. [δίδωμι.]

di-do-to, PY **204** = Ng 319+ (*o-u-di-do-to*). 3rd sing. (or plur.?) pres. pass.: (*ou*) *didotoi* 'is (not) delivered'.

do-se, PY **178** = Un 718. 3rd sing. fut.: *dōsei* 'he will contribute'.

do-so-si, PY **207** = Jn 829 (*jo-do-so-si*). 3rd plur. fut.: 'they will contribute'.

do-ke, KN Wm 8493, Ws 1707, Xe 7711, PY **245** = Un 267 (*o-do-ke*), MY **335** = Oi 701, [Oi 703]. 3rd sing. aor.: *dōke* 'he contributed'.

See also *de-do-me-na*.

di-du-me, KN L 588. Obscure, MN?

di-du-mo, KN X 5751?, MY **241** = Oe 129. MN, dat.: *Didumōi*. [Δίδυμος.]

di-ka-ta-de, KN Fh 5467, Fp 7, F 866, G 7509, X 7955. PN, acc. + *-de*: *Diktān-de* 'to Dicte'. [Δίκτη.]

di-ka-ta-jo, KN **317** = Fp 1. Dat. sing. masc. ethnic adj.: *Diktaiōi* (*Diwei*) '(to Zeus) of Dicte'.

di-ka-ta-ro, KN As 566, Dd 2010. MN.

***di-ki-mo*[**, KN X 7627. Obscure.

di-ki-nu-wo, KN Dv 1502. MN.

di-ko-na-re-ja, TI Ef 3. Possessive adj., fem. sing., derived from next indicating 'ownership' of *ke-ke-me*[*-na*] land? Or WN?

ḍị-ko-na-ro, PY **58** =An 656. MN.

di-ko-to, KN D 411. MN.

]-di-mi-zo[, KN Nc 4485. Prob. MN. Cf.]*ṇọ-di-mi-zo-jo*[.

di-no-zo, TH Z 857+. MN? Cf. *no-di-zo*.

di-nu-wa-ta, PY Jn 725. MN. [Cf. Arc. Δινύττας.]

di-pa, KN **218** = K 875+, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. sing.: *dipas* 'vessel'. [δέπας *Il.* XI, 632+, often in early use a large vessel, not a drinking-cup.] *di-pa* KN **253** = K 740 used with numeral 30 may be plur.

di-pa-e, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. dual: *dipae* 'two vessels'.

***di-pa-te*[**, KN F 5079. Obscure.

di-pi-ja, KN V 7577. App. fem. ethnic.

di-pi-si-je-wi-jo, PY Fr 1218. App. adj. derived from next.

di-pi-si-jo, PY Fr 1240. Prob. dat. sing. or nom. of next.

di-pi-si-jo-i, PY **313** = Fr 1220+. Prob. dat. plur.; perhaps the name of a recipient of OIL; if so, poss. *Dipsioihi* 'for the priests of goddess *Dipsia* (the Earth?)'; cf. Thessalian month Δίψιος. See pp. 853–54.

di-pte-ra, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Nom. sing. and plur. (also dual?): *diphtherā*, *-rai* 'a prepared hide, piece of leather'. [διφθέρα Hdt.+.]

di-pte-ra$_3$, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Variant spelling of nom. plur.: *diphtherai*.

di-pte-ra-po-ro, [KN C 954 (*di*[*-pte-ro-*]*po-ro-i*?)], PY <Ea 814?>, **94** = Fn 50, Un 219. Nom. and dat. sing., occupational term: *diphtherā-phoros*, *-rōi* 'wearer of leather'? See pp. 539–41.

***di-qa-ra*[**, KN Ap 628. MN (owner of slaves)? Or WN?

di-qo, PY **54** = An 724. Obscure; nom. sing. of next?

ḍị-qo-te, PY **54** = An 724. Obscure; nom. plur. masc. pres. pple.?

di-ra, KN Uf 432. MN.

di-ra-po-ro, PY Ea 814. Prob. error for *di-pte-ra-po-ro*, q.v.

di-ra-qo, KN Dk 1075. MN.

***di-ra-wo-no*[**, PY Jn 750. MN, gen.?

di-ri-mi-jo, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Name of man or hero, recipient of offering; dat.

***di-ri-wa-*[**, PY **42** = An 830. Obscure, PN?

di-ro, KN Da 1338+. PN.

di-so, KN Sc 255. MN. [Prob. not *Dissos*, if = δισσός < *δϝιχῑος.]

di-ta-ka-so, KN Dl 916, **100** = Ga 427. MN; in Dl certainly, in Ga probably, nom.

di-u-ja, PY **80** = Cn 1287, **309** = Tn 316 rev. Name of a female deity, gen. and dat.: *Diwyās*, *Diwyāi*. [*Διϝι̯ᾰ > δῖα, rather than Διϝία (Pamph.), according to Ruijgh, *Études* 132–33.]

di-wi-ja, KN Xd 97, PY **27** = An 607. Variant spelling, at PY gen.: *Diwyās*.

***di-u-ja-jo*(*-qe*)**, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Dat.-loc.?: *Diwyaiōi* 'at the shrine of Diwya'?

di-u-ja-wo: see *di-wi-ja-wo*.

di-u-jo, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Dat.-loc.?: *Diwyōi* 'at the shrine of Zeus'? [δῖος originally 'of Zeus'.] See also *di-wi-jo*.

di-wa-jo, KN V 1523. MN.

di-we, KN **317** = Fp 1, **322** = F 51 rev., PY **309** = Tn 316 rev., KH **329** = Gq 5. Dat.: *Diwei* 'to Zeus'. [Ζεύς, Διί.]

di-wo, KN E 842, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Gen.: *Diwos*.

di-we-se-ja, MY Oe 103. WN, dat.?

di-we-so, KN V 60. MN.

di-wi-ja: see *di-u-ja*.

***di-wi-ja*[**, TH Gp 313. Obscure; cf. *di-wi-ja-me-ro*.

di-wi-ja-me-ro, TH Gp 109. Perh. *dwiāmeron* '(for) a two-day period'. [Cf. τριήμερον Arist. *HA* 553[a] 10.]

di-wi-ja-ta, PY **203** = Nn 228. PN.

di-wi-ja-wo, KN Vc 293, PY **201** = Na 406, TH Ug 11. MN: *Diwyāwōn*? [Cf. *di-u-ja*.]

di-u-ja-wo, TH Of 26+. Variant spelling.

di-wi-je-ja, KN Xd 97. WN or title? Cf. next.

di-wi-je-u, PY **58** = An 656, [**341** = Aq 218?]. In **58** the name of an *e-qe-ta*; other contexts less clear but MN remains possible: *Diwieus*. [Cf. Διεύς.]

di-wi-je-we, PY **78** = Cn 3, **174** = Es 646+. Dat.: *Diwiēwei*.

di-wi-jo, PY Mb 1366. *Diwion* 'shrine of Zeus' or as PN? [Variant spelling of *di-u-jo*.]

di-wi-jo-de, PY Fr 1230, KH **329** = Gq 5? Acc.+ *-de*: *Diwion-de*.

di-wi-jo-jo, KN Fp 5. Name of month, gen.: *Diwioio*. [Δῖος month-name in Macedonia and elsewhere.]

di-wi-pa-ra, KN X 722. Obscure.

di-wo, KN Dv 1503, PY An 172. MN: *Diwōn*. [Δίων.] See also *di-we*.

***di-wo-a-ne*[**, KN Xd 216. Prob. MN.

di-wo-nu-so, PY Xa 1419, KH **329** = Gq 5. Divine name, nom.? and dat.: *Diwonūsos*?, *Diwonūsōi*. [Διόνυσος.]

di-wo-nu-so-jo, PY Ea 102. Gen.: *Diwonūsoio*.

di-wo-pu-ka-ta, KN Fp 363. MN or title?

di-za-so, KN Dv 1505, Pp 493. MN.

di-zo, KN As 1520, V 479+. MN, nom. and dat.: *Ditsos*, *-ōi*. [>δισσός; cf. *di-so*.]

di-*65-pa-ta, KN Ln 1568. WN? MN?

***di-*79-nu*[**, KN Dv 1501. MN.

do-de, TH Of 26+. Preceded by names in gen., prob. 'to the house (of)': perhaps *dō-de* rather than *dōn-de*. [δῶ, usu. acc. *Il.* I, 426+.]

do-e-ra, KN **22** = Ai 824, [Ak 7022?], Ap 628, Gg 713+, PY **26** = Ae 303, **27** = An 607, **144** = Eb 416+, **158** = Ed 411, **122** = En 74+, **129** = Eo 160+,

152 = Ep 613+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *doelā*, *-ai* 'female servant, slave'. [δούλη *Il.* III, 409+.]

do-e-ro, KN Ai 966, **30** = B 822+, C 911+, Xe 5877, PY Ae 26, **27** = An 607, **80** = Cn 1287, Eb 156+, **156** = Ed 847, **122** = En 74+, **125** = Eo 211+, **152** = Ep 613?, Fn 837?, **214** = Jn 310+. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.: *doelos*, *-oi* 'male servant, slave'; on *theoio doelos* see pp. 577–78. [Ion. δοῦλος, Doric δῶλος < *doelos* (*dohelos*?); cf. Khotanese *dahā* 'man', Skt. *dāsaḥ*.]

do-e-ro-i, PY **94** = Fn 50+. Dat. plur.: *doeloihi*.

do-e-ro-jo, KN C 912 rev. Gen. sing.: *doeloio*.

do-ka-ma, PY Wr 1480. Nom. plur.? fem.: perh. *dorkhmai* 'handles, shafts' (of javelins). [Cf. δραχμή, lit. 'handful', if from **d̥rkh-mā*.]

do-ka-ma-i, PY **51** = An 1282. Dat. plur.: *dorkhmāhi*?

do-ke: see *di-do-si*.

do-ke-ko-o-ke-ne: see *do-ke*, s.v. *di-do-si*, and *ko-o-ke-ne*.

do-po-ta, PY **309** = Tn 316. Dat., recipient of an offering: poss. *dospotāi* 'to the Master'. [δεσπότης, if from **dems-*, with variant **doms-* or **dm̥s-*; but perhaps not a Greek name.]

do-qe-ja, PY **27** = An 607. Uncertain whether the name of goddess (gen.), or a description of the women (nom. plur.). See pp. 446–47.

do-qe-u, KN B 804. MN.

do-qo-no, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, dat.

do-qo-ro, PY **56** = An 654. MN.

do-qo-so, MY Au 609. MN.

do-ra, PY **309** = Tn 316 (*do-ra-qe*). Acc. plur.: *dōra* 'gifts'. [δῶρον *Il.* VI, 293+.]

do-ra-a$_2$-ja, TH Fq 229+. WN, dat.

do-re-ja, TH Fq 132+. WN?, dat. Cf. next.

do-re-we, KN Fh 342. MN, dat.?

do-ri-je-we, PY Fn 867. MN, dat.: *Dōriēwei*. [Δωριεύς.]

do-ri-jo, KN B 801. MN: *Dolios*? [Cf. Δολίος *Od.* IV, 735+: Melena in Godart et al. 1993.374.]

ḍọ-ri-ka-no, KN U 4478. MN: *Dolikhānōr*.

do-ri-ka-o, KN V 958, PY **208** = Jo 438. MN: *Dolikhāōn*. [Δολιχάων.]

do-ri-wo, KN Xd 167. MN?

do-ro-jo, PY Jn 320?, TH Fq 214+. MN.

do-ro-jo-jo, PY Cn 45. Gen., but prob. error for dat.

do-ro-me-u, PY An 209. MN: *Dromeus*. [Δρομεύς.]

do-ro-qo, PY Na 384 (*do-ro-qo*, *so-wo-te* perhaps to be read as a single word or compound). PN, loc.

]do-ro-qo, TH X 180. Obscure. Poss. complete at left; if so, cf. prec.

do-se, ***do-so-si***: see *di-do-si*.

do-si-mi-jo, PY Wa 730 (*do-si-mi-jo-qe*). Nom. sing. or plur. masc.?: *dosmios* 'contributory', adj. from *do-so-mo*. [Cf. Arc. ἀπυδόσμιος.]

do-si-mi-ja, PY **184** = Ma 126, [MY **106** = Ge 606]. Nom. plur. neut. or fem.: *dosmia*(*i*).

do-so-mo, PY **173** = Es 644+, **202** = Nn 831?, **178** = Un 718, Wa 731? Nom. and acc. sing.: *dosmos*, *-on* '(assessment for) contribution'. [Cf. Arc. ἀπυδοσμός 'payment'.]

***do-ti-ja*[1]**, KN **20** = Ap 618+, Ce 139, C 979, Da 1132+, Dm 1181, Dn 1200, E 1569, L 475+, Xe 5887. PN. [Cf. Δώτιον πεδίον in Thessaly.]

***do-ti-ja*[2]**, KN **224** = Le 641. Nom. plur. fem. ethnic adj.

do-ti-jo, KN B 7035, Dl 7134, V 653. Prob. nom. plur. masc. ethnic adj.

***do-ti-jo-no*[**, KN V 831. MN.

***ḍọ-u-te-ke-*[**, MY Au 609 rev. Obscure.

do-wa, KN V 5113. Context obscure; poss. nom. plur.: *dorwa* 'shafts, beams'? [δόρυ, plur. δοῦρα *Od.* IX, 498+ < **dorwa*.] Cf. *do-we-jo*.

do-we-jo, KN **279** = Sd 4413+. Prob. dat.-instr. sing., masc. or neut. adj.: *dorweiōi* 'made of wood'. [δούρειος Eur.+, δουράτεος *Od.* VIII, 493+; cf. *do-wa*.]

do-we-ṇạ, PY **342** = On 300?, Vn 1314 (*do-we-ṇạ-qe*). Obscure.

DU, Ideographic use: MY Ui 709; obscure.

***du-ko-so*[**, PY Jn 431. MN.

du-ma, KN C 1030+, PY An 192, **208** = [Jo 438 (and edge)]. Nom. sing., title of official: form obscure; cf. *da-ma-te*, *me-ri-du-ma-te*, *po-ro-du-ma-te*. See p. 697.

***du-ma-te*(*-qe*)**, PY **207** = Jn 829. Nom. plur. (+$k^w e$).

]*du-ma-ti*, PY **342** = On 300. Dat. sing.

]*du-ne-u*, TI Z 30. Prob. MN.

du-ni, KN Dd 1201+. MN.

du-ni-ja, KN Fh 341. Obscure.

du-ni-jo, KN **36** = As 1516, Ga 426, Xd 204, PY An 192, **120** = Ea 59+, Eb 169, **149** = Ep 705, Fn 79, **110** = Un 138. MN, nom. and dat.

du-ni-jo-jo, PY Ae 8+. Gen. (written erroneously as *du-ni-jo* on PY **31** = Ae 264).

du-pi-jo, KN Vc 287. MN.

du-pu*$_2$*-ra-zo, KN Da 1173, V 479. MN. Cf. *da-pu*$_2$*-ra-zo*.

du-pu*$_2$*-so, KN Fh 343. MN.

du-qo-te-ja, TH Of 27. WN?

du-re-u, PY Jn 845. MN.

du-ri, KN Da 1143. MN: *Duris*? [Δύρις local name of Atlas and of a wind.]

du-ru-po, KN **36** = As 1516, Fh 345+. MN, nom. and dat.

du-ru-to-mo, PY **250** = Vn 10. Nom. plur.: *drutomoi* 'wood-cutters'. [δρυτόμος *Il.* XI, 86+.]

du-sa-ni, KN Ap 639. WN.

du-ta-so, KN Db 1159. MN.

du-to, KN **36** = As 1516, Dc 8354. MN (on **36**, two men of the same name).

]*ḍụ-tu-wa*, KN Ap 639. WN.

du-wo-jo, PY Jn 750. MN: *Dwoios*? [δοιός; cf. Δοίας.]

du-wo-jo-jo, PY **58** = An 656. Gen.: *Dwoioio*.

du-wo-u-pi: see *dwo*.

dwo, PY **148** = Eb 338, **135** = Eo 278, **300** = Ub 1315. Nom. and acc.: *dwo* (*dwō*?) 'two'. [δύο, δύω; cf. δ(ϝ)ώδεκα.]

du-wo-u-pi, PY Eb 149 (*du-wo-u-pi-de*), Eb 495, **152** = Ep 613+. Instr.: *dwouphi* or *dwoiumphi*? [Cf. Arc. dual in -οιυν.]

dwo-jo, KN V 492 (]*dwo-jo*), X 8126? MN; cf. *du-wo-jo*.

E, In connexion with CLOTH: KN Ln 1568.
As adjunct to obscure ideogram **177*: KN U 4478.
Ideographic uses: KN U 5717 (= e-*po* q.v.?), Xe 7437 (obscure); PY **249** = Ub 1318+: abbreviation of *e-ra-pe-ja* (*-pi-ja*), Un 219? (obscure), Un 1319 (obscure), Wr 1458? (obscure); MY **104** = Ge 603: abbreviation of *e-ne-me-na*.
Ligatured with GOAT(?): PY Cn 418: = *er(i)phos*?

e-da-e-u, [KN V 958?], PY Qa 1298. Nom. sing., prob. title.
e-da-e-wo, PY Eb 495, [**152** = Ep 613]. Gen. sing.

e-da-[.]-ni-ja[, KN U 4478. MN.

e-do-mo-ne-u, PY [**121** = En 609], **126** = Eo 224, **215** = Jn 389+. MN.
e-do-mo-ne-we, PY Cn 925. Dat.

e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-ṛọ-ṣạ, PY **300** = Ub 1315 (preceded by *a-ni-ja* without division). Reading and word division uncertain.

e-e-si, KN **24** = Ai 63, **282** = Sd 4422. 3rd plur. pres.: *ehensi* 'they are'; cf. *e-ne-e-si*, *a-pe-e-si*. [Att. εἰσί; < **esenti*; cf. Hitt. *asantsi*.]
e-o, PY [Eb 173], **152** = Ep 613. Nom. sing. masc. pple.: *ehōn* 'being'.
e-o-te, KN B 823 (*ta-pa-e-o-te*), PY An 614? Nom. plur. masc.: *ehontes*.
See also *e-e-to*, *e-so-to*, *a-pe-o*, *e-ne-e-si*.

e-e-to, PY **27** = An 607. Obscure, prob. verbal form, from ἵημι or εἰμί? See p. 447.

]e-i-ja-si, KN B 804. MN.

e-ka-ma-te, PY **261** = Ta 642 (*e-ka-ma-te-qe*). Instr. sing., part of a table: *ekhmatei* 'with a support, strut'. [ἔχμα *Il.* XIV, 410+; cf. also ἔγμα· ὀχύρωμα, στῦλος Hsych. See p. 789.
e-ka-ma-pi, PY **262** = Ta 713+. Instr. plur.: *ekhmapphi*.

]e-ka-no, PY Jn 725. MN: *Ekhānōr*?

e-ka-ra, PY **118** = Ea 102, **260** = Ta 709 (see pp. 588, 786). Nom. sing.: *eskharā* 'hearth, brazier'. [ἐσχάρη *Od.* VI, 52+.]

e-ka-ra-e-we, KN **83** = Dm 1180+. Nom. plur., term describing SHEEP; see p. 526.

e-ka-sa-te-ụ[, PY Qa 1291 (probable reading). MN: *Eksantheus*? [If correct, this would be the only evidence for Myc. ἐξ.]

e-ka-te-jo, KN Sf 4418, X 768. Obscure; in Sf perhaps epithet of chariot-frames.

e-ka-te-re-ta, KN **287** = Se 891. Prob. adj. describing chariot-frames; cf. *e-te-re-ta*.

e-ke, KN **163** = Uf 835+, PY **120** = Ea 59+, **122** = En 74+, **138** = Ep 301+, **159** = Eq 36+, **177** = Er 880, **172** = Es 650, **199** = Na 334+. 3rd sing. pres.: *ekhei* 'he/she has, holds'. [ἔχει Hom. +.]
e-ke-de-mi, PY **200** = Na 926, *ekhei de min* 'but he has it'; cf. *da-mo-de-mi*.
e-ke-e, PY **147** = Eb 297, **142** = Ep 704. Pres. inf.: *ekhehen* 'to have'.
e-ke-qe, PY **143** = Eb 294+, **129** = Eo 160+, **138** = Ep 301+, Va 15. Prob. *ekhei*+ *k*^{w}*e* 'and he/she has'. See p. 598.
e-ke-si, PY **122** = En 74.21. Error for *e-ko-si*.
e-ko, KN **308** = Sc 226, So 4446 rev. In Sc perhaps nom. sing. masc. pres. pple.: *ekhōn* '(already) having (one)'; but poss. *enkhos* 'spear', see [*e-*]*ke-a*^{2}; in So obscure.
e-ko-si, KN **92** = G 820, PY **156** = Ed 847+, **122** = En 74+, **142** = Ep 704, **216** = Jn 658+, **193** = Na 514+. 3rd plur. pres.: *ekhonsi* 'they have'.

e-ko-si-qe, PY **54** = An 724, **146** = Eb 321. Prob. *ekhonsi* + *-kʷe* 'and they have'. See pp. 598, 608.

e-ko-te, PY **340** = Aq 64, **154** = Ed 236, **214** = Jn 310+. Nom. plur. masc. pres. pple.: *ekhontes* 'having'.

***e-ke-a*[1]**, KN V 831. MN.

[*e-*]*ke-a*[2], KN **274** = R 1815. Description of SPEARS; nom. plur. *enkheha* 'spears'. [ἔγχος *Il.* VI, 329+; cf. *e-ke-i-ja*.]

***e-ke-si*(*-qe*)**, PY **207** = Jn 829. Dat. plur.: *enkhes(s)i kʷe* 'and for spears'.

]*ẹ-ke-ṗị*[, KN Wb 5131. If correct, perhaps instr. plur.: *enkhesphi*.

e-ke-da-mo, KN Uf 1522, PY Cn 285. MN, nom. and dat.?: *Ekhedāmos*, *-ōi*. [Ἐχέδαμος, Ἐχέδημος.]

e-ke-de-mi: see *e-ke*.

e-ke-e: see *e-ke*, *pu-ko-so*.

e-ke-i-ja, PY **347** = Va 1324. Nom. plur.: perh. neut. *enkhehia* '(pieces of wood) for spears' rather than fem. *enkhehiai* 'spears' [ἐγχείη *Il.* V, 267+] (Killen 1999c.348).

e-ke-ja, PY Vn 1339. Prob. variant spelling.

e-ke-i-ja-ta, PY Jn 750. MN: *Enkhehiātās*. [Cf. prec.]

e-ke-i-jo-jo, PY Sa 760. MN, gen.: *Enkhehioio*? *Ekheioio*? [Ἔγχειος title of Aphrodite, Ἐχεῖος MN.]

e-ke-ja: see *e-ke-i-ja*.

e-ke-jo-to, PY **341** = Aq 218. Prob. 3rd plur. of medio-passive verb: *-ontoi*. No plausible explanation of root (perhaps *enkeiontoi* (ἔγκειμαι); cf. κέονται).

e-ke-me-de, KN Dd 659, U 4478, PY **55** = An 657, **208** = Jo 438. MN: *Ekhemēdēs*. [Cf. WN Ἐχεμήδα.]

e-ke-na-to, PY Ea 305. Error for *e-ke o-na-to*.

e-ke-ne, MY **44** = Au 102+. MN: *Engenēs*? [ἐγγενής; cf. Ἐγγενέτωρ.]

e-ke-ṇụ-wo, KN U 4478. MN: *Ekhenuos*?

e-ke-pu-te-ri-ja: see *e-ke* and *pu-te-ri-ja*.

e-ke-qe: see *e-ke*.

e-ke-ra-ne, PY Un 219. MN? dat.; perh. error for *e-ke-ra-wo-ne* (cf. next).

e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo, PY [**177** = Er 880], **178** = Un 718. MN: *Enkheliāwōn*?

e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-no, PY **53** = An 610. Gen.: *-wonos*.

e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-ne, PY **54** = An 724. Variant spelling of nom. rather than dat.? (Chadwick 1987.80). See p. 478.

[*e*]-*ḳẹ-ra*$_2$*-u-na*, PY **311** = Un 853. Prob. variant spelling of nom. See pp. 849–50.

[*e*]-*ke-ri-ja-wo*, PY Qa 1292. Variant spelling of nom.

]*e-ke-ri-jo-na*, PY Vn 851. MN or WN?

e-ke-ro, PY Jn 832, MY Au 609? (*e-ke-ro*[]). MN: *Enkhēros*? [Cf. Cypr. ἔγχῑρα.]

e-ke-ro-qo-no, PY Aa 777+, Ab 559+, Ad 691, An 199. Nom. and gen. plur.; description of men and women. Palmer: *enkhēro-kʷoinoi*, *-ōn* 'wage-earners'.

e-ke-se, KN B 799. MN.

e-ke-se-si, KN **318** = Fp 14. Dat. plur.?; meaning obscure.

e-ke-si, PY **122** = En 74. Error for *e-ko-si*: see *e-ke*.
e-ke-si-jo, PY Cn 4. MN.
e-ke-si-qe: see [*e-*]*ke-a*^{2}.
[?*e-*]*ke-ti-ra-wo*, KN V 7049. MN: *Egertilāwos*?
e-ki, KN Od 688. Obscure.
e-ki-no, KN Da 1078. MN: *Ekhīnos*? [ἐχῖνος.]
e-ḳi-no-jo, PY **59** = An 661. Gen.: *Ekhīnoio*.
e-ki-si-jo/-ja: see *e-ko-so*.
e-ki-wo, PY Jn 320. MN. *Ekhiwos*, *Ekhiwōn*? [Ἔχιος, Ἐχίων.]
e-ko: see *e-ke*.
e-ko-me-na-ta-o, PY **59** = An 661, **341** = Aq 218. MN, gen.: *Erkhomenātāo*. [Cf. place-name Ἐρχομενός.]
e-ko-me-no, PY Cn 40+, **201** = Na 406+. PN: *Erkhomenos*. [Ἐρχομενός, Ὀρχ-, but not to be identified with that in Arcadia.]
e-ko-si, ***e-ko-si-qe***: see *e-ke*.
e-ko-so, KN C 1030, Da 1137+, Dh 1646, Dk 727, Dl 790+, Dm 5226, Dn 1092, Dq 46, F 157, Le 5646, L 564, **166** = Uf 983, [Wb 9607], [X 5964]. PN: *Eksos*? [Cf. Ἄξος.]
e-ki-si-jo/-ja, KN **29** = Am 821, **220** = Lc 527++. Ethnic: *Eksios*, *-iā*.
e-ko-so-no, PY Na 507. PN.
***e-ko-so-wo-ko*[**, KN Xd 299. Perh. occupational term, nom. plur.?: *eksoworgoi* 'those who work outside' (cf. *e-to-wo-ko*)?
e-ko-te: see *e-ke*.
***e-ko-te*[**, KN B 1055. Prob. MN.
e-ko-to, PY Eb 913, **122** = En 74, **128** = Eo 247+, **149** = Ep 705+. MN: *Hektōr*. [Ἕκτωρ *Il.* I, 242+.]
e-ko-to-ri-jo, PY Cn 45. MN, dat.: *Hektoriōi*.
***e-ku-se-we*(*-qe*)**, MY Wt 501. Nom. plur.: *enkhusēwes* 'funnels'. [ἐγχέω.]
***e-ma-a*$_2$**, PY Na 1357, **309** = Tn 316 rev., Un 219, TH Of 31. Divine name, dat.: *Hermāhāi*. [Ἑρμῆς, Ἑρμείας, etc. *Il.* II, 104, *Od.* XIV, 435+.]
e-ma-a*$_2$*-o, KN D 411. Prob. gen., though *o* possibly not part of word but adjunct to SHEEP: *Hermāhāo*.
e-ma-ta, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Neut. plur.: *hermata* 'laces (for footwear)'. [ἕρματα (from εἴρω 'string, thread') 'earrings' *Il.* XIV, 182.]
e-me, PY **259** = Ta 641. Dat. sing. masc.: *hemei* 'one'. [Att. εἷς, gen. ἑνός, from **hems* > *hens*, **hemos*, Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* I. 588.]
e-me-de, PY Eb 495, [**152** = Ep 613]. As prec. + *-de*: 'but with one'. See pp. 611–12.
e-me-si-jo, KN De 1381. MN ('collector').
e-me-si-jo-jo, KN E 843+, Lc 551, L 8159, X 35. Gen.
e-mi-ja-ta, KN V 831. MN.
e-mi-jo-no-i, TH Gp 129+. Dat. plur.: prob. *hēmionoihi* 'to the mules'. [ἡμιόνος *Il.* VII, 333+.]
ẹ-mi-to, KN **29** = Am 821. Gen. following *heneka*. Reading very uncertain: possibly *ṭi-mi-to*.

***e-na-i-jo*[**, KN Xd 302, [Xd 7596?]. MN?

e-na-po-na, KN Od 681. Prob. WN paired with following *e-ti-wa-ja*(*-qe*) (q.v.)

e-na-po-ro, PY **59** = An 661+, **78** = Cn 3, Mb 1435?, [Mb 1408?], Na 1027, **203** = Nn 228, Vn 130. PN.

]*e-na-ri-po-to*, KN Sg 884. Verbal adj. describing chariot-frame: *enaliptos* 'oiled, painted'. [ἐνάλειπτος Hippocr.]

e-ne-e-si, PY **121** = En 609. 3rd plur. pres.: *en-ehensi* 'they are in'. [ἔνειμι.]

e-ne-ka, KN **29** = Am 821, PY **26** = Ae 303, An 37, **120** = Ea 59+. Preposition with gen.: 'for the sake of', 'because of'. [ἕνεκα, εἵνεκα *Il.* XIV, 89+.]

e-ne-ke-se-u, KN Da 1081. MN: *Enekseus*.

e-ne-me-na, MY **104** = Ge 603. Nom. of pple., either fem. sing. describing a form of *skhoinos* (see *ko-no*) or neut. plur. referring to container, also abbreviated E. See p. 556.

]*e-ne-o*, KN As 608 edge. Poss. nom. sing. masc. or neut. pple.: *enehōn*, *-on*.

e-ne-ra, KN Ai 762. Obscure: poss. connected with *e-ne-re-ja*.

e-ne-ro, KN L 695. Possibly sing.

***e-ne-re-ja*[**, KN Ak 638. Nom. plur. fem., description of women: 'makers of *e-ne-ra*'?

e-ne-si-da-o-ne, KN [Gg 717], **326** = M 719. Dat. sing., prob. divine name. [Cf. Ἐννοσίδᾶς Pind., Ἐννοσίγαιος *Il.* VII, 455+, ἐνοσίχθων *Il.* VII, 445+.]

e-ne-ti-jo, PY Cn 45. MN, dat.?

e-ne-wo pe-za (also as one word), PY **261** = Ta 642 +. Nom. sing. fem. describing a table: *ennewo-pedza* 'with 9 feet'; see p. 788 and cf. *we-pe-za*.

e-ne-wo-pe-zo, PY **263** = Ta 715. Dual: *-pedzō*.

e-ni, PY Xn 1342. Context obscure; cf. *e-ni-qe*.

***e-ni-da*[**, HV X 4. Obscure.

e-ni-ja-u-si-jo, PY **48** = An 39 rev. MN, nom.?: *Eniausios*. [ἐνιαύσιος.]

e-ni-pa-te-we, PY **216** = Jn 658+. PN, loc.

e-ni-qe, KN **234** = L 647+. Perh. MN (or WN) + *-k*^{w}*e* rather than *eni k*^{w}*e* (= ἔνεστί τε) 'and there is (are) among them'. [ἔνι *Il.* XVIII, 53+.]

e-ni-to-wo, PY Eb 1187, Ep 539. MN.

e-no-wa-ro, PY **56** = An 654. MN or PN?

e-nu-wa-ri-jo, KN **328** = V 52. Dat. divine name: *Enualiōi*. [Ἐνυάλιος *Il.* XVII, 211+.]

e-nwa-ri-jo, PY **54** = An 724. MN: poss. *Enwālios* (cf. Ἥλις). [Not to be confused with the god Ἐνυάλιος, see prec.]

e-o, ***e-o-te***: see *e-e-si*.

e-o-te-u, PY **59** = An 661. MN.

e-pa-re, PY An 723. MN.

e-pa-sa-na-ti, PY **122** = En 74, Eo 247, Ep 212. WN. [Identical with *i-pa-sa-na-ti*.]

***e-pa-ta*[**, PY Jn 937. MN.

e-pe-i-ja-o, TH Ug 41+. MN, gen. [Cf. Ἐπέας.]

e-pe-ke, KN Dl 932. Perh. 3rd sing. pres. of verb, poss. *epekhei* 'he presents'.

e-pe-ke-u, PY Jn 431. MN. *Epeigeus*? [Ἐπειγεύς *Il.* XVI, 571.]

e-pe-to-i, TH **334** = Gp 164+. Dat. plur.: prob. *herpetoihi* 'to the snakes' (less likely 'to the quadrupeds'). [ἕρπετα 'moving creatures' *Od.* IV, 418.]

e-pi, KN Lc 561 (*e-pi-qe*), **350** = V 280, PY **153** = Eb 842 (*e-pi-qe*), **152** = Ep 613 (*e-pi-qe*), **111** = Un 2. Preposition with dat.: *epi* 'upon', etc. [ἐπί; cf. *o-pi*.]

e-pi-da-o, KN Vc 129. MN.

e-pi-da-to, PY **215** = Jn 389+. Description of bronze, prob. adj.: *epidastos* 'distributed (in addition?)'. [Cf. ἀνά-δαστος, etc.; cf. next.]

e-pi-de-da-to, PY **97** = Vn 20. 3rd sing. perf. pass.: *epidedastoi* 'has been distributed (in addition?)'. [ἐπιδέδασται, Hesiod *Th.* 789.]

e-pi-do-ro-mo, TH Fq 118+. MN, dat.: *Epidromōi*. [Ἐπίδρομος.]

e-pi-ja-ta, PY An 31. MN: *Epihaltās*. [Ἐφιάλτης *Il.* V, 385.]

]*e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja*, PY Ad 289. PN: variant of *e-pi-jo-ta-na*.

e-pi-jo-ta-na, PY Aa 95. PN: variant of prec.

e-pi-ka, PY Vn 1314. Obscure. [Cf. *e-pi-ko*.]

e-pi-ke-re, KN **89** = F 852+. Perh. *epikhêrei* 'in hand, available' (of harvest) (Killen 1997b). See p. 534.

]*e-pi-ke-to*, KN E 8122. Obscure.

e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja, KN **239** = L 693, [L 7514?]. Prob. neut. plur.: *epikhitōnia* 'things on or over a tunic', but reference unclear. Some type of over-garment? Or reference to bronze or other addition to garment? [Cf. *ki-to*.]

e-pi-ko, KN B 1025 rev. Obscure. [Cf. *e-pi-ka*.]

e-pi-ko-e, PY Ad 672. PN.

e-pi-ko-o, PY Aa 94. Variant of prec.

e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo, KN Sk 789. Description of two fittings as parts of a set of armour; dual *epikorusiō* 'on the helmet'. [<-κορύθιος; see also *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja*.]

e-pi-ko-wa, KN Fh 343+. Description of olive oil, dat. sing.?: *epikhowāi* 'for anointing'? [Cf. ἐπιχόα· κατάχυσις Hsych.; see also *po-ro-ko-wa*.]

e-pi-ko-wo, KN As 4493?, PY **55** = An 657. Nom. plur.: *epikowoi* 'watchers, guards'. [Cf. Delph. πυρ-κόος 'watcher of the sacred fire'.]

e-pi-qe: see *e-pi*.

e-pi-qo-i, TH Fq 214+. Dat. plur.: *ep(h)ikk^{w}oihi* 'to the riders' (or 'to those in charge of horses'?). [ἔφιππος 'on horseback' Eupolis +.]

e-pi-qo-ra$_2$, PY **189** = Mn 456. PN. [Cf. Ἐπιπολαί?]

]*e-pi-ro-pa-ja*, KN Od 696. Term in wool context: *epilōpaia* 'attachments to a cloak'? [Cf. λώπη 'cloak'.]

]*e-pi-ta*, KN Xd 318. Obscure, MN?

e-pi-ta-jo, PY Jn 927. MN.

e-pi-u-ru-te-we, PY **249** = PY Ub 1318. Prob. nom. plur.: perh. *epiwrutēwes* (cf. ῥυτήρ). See p. 755.

e-pi-we-ti-ri-jo̯, PY Ea 52. Nom. sing. masc.: description of a man, probably occupational term: *epiwestrios*? [Cf. ἐφεστρίς 'upper garment'.]

e-pi-wo-qa-ta-o, PY Sa 1266. MN: gen.: *Epiwok^{w}tāo*? [ἐπί, ϝέπος; cf. ὄπα.]

e-pi-zo-ta, KN **273** = Ra 984+, HV Rb 1. Description of swords: *epidzōsta* 'bound'? See p. 815.

e-pi-*19-ta, PY **250** = Vn 10, TH Wu 430. Objects delivered by wood-cutters, meaning obscure.

e-pi-*65-ko, PY Vn 46. Obscure.

e-po, KN Ce 283, Ws 8712, PY Vn 493. Poss. *erphos* (syncopated form of ἔριφος 'kid'). See Scafa 1977.

***e-po-me-ne-u̯*[**, PY **202** = Nn 831. MN: *Hepomeneus*? [ἕπω 'busy oneself with'.]

e-po-me-ne-we, PY Na 1357, Vn 851. Dat.: *-ēwei*.

e-po-mi-jo, KN **305** = Sk 8100+, [V 337?]. Description of piece of armour; dual: *epōmiō* 'shoulder-pieces', 'pauldrons'. [ἐπώμιος Lucian; ἐπωμίς Eur. +.]

e-po-ro-jo, KN Ch 897, TH Uq 434. MN, nom. and dat.: *-oios*, *-oiōi*.

e-po-wi-ja, PY An 615. PN.

e-pu$_2$-no, KN **100** = Ga 427, X 8295? Prob. MN.

e-q̣a̤-do, TH Fq 207. Obscure. See also s.v. *e-**9̤2̤-do-ma*.

***e-qa-na-q̣e̤*[**, PY Ua 158. Obscure.

e-qa-ro, KN Dv 1125. MN: *Eng^{w}aros*? [Ἔμβαρος.]

e-qe, TI Cb 4. Obscure.

e-qe-a-o, KN V 56. Gen. plur. dependent on *a-to-mo*, q.v. [Cf. next.]

e-qe-o, PY **340** = Aq 64. Gen. plur. (?) dependent on *a-to-mo*, q.v. [Cf. prec.; attempts to connect these words with *i-qo* = ἵππος seem unlikely in view of initial *e-*, though cf. *i-q̣o̤-na-to-mo*.]

***e-qe-qi*[**, DIM Zh 1. Obscure.

]e̤-qe-ra-wo, KN B 5025. MN: *Hek^{w}elāwos*?

e-qe-si-jo/-ja: see s.v. *e-qe-ta*.

e-qe-ta, KN **29** = Am 821, As 4493?, B 1055, PY **57** = An 519+, **155** = Ed 317 (*e-qe-ta-qe*), Wa 917. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.: *hek^{w}etās*, *-tai* 'followers' (important persons connected with the palace, perhaps companions of the king). [ἑπέτᾱς Pind.]

e-qe-ta-e, KN **29** = Am 821. Nom. dual: *hek^{w}etae*.

e-qe-ta-i, PY **27** = An 607. Dat. plur.: *hek^{w}etāhi*.

e-qe-si-jo/-ja, KN Lc 646, **226** = Ld 571+, L 871, PY **156** = Ed 847, **295** = Sa 787+, Wa 1148. Adj.: *hek^{w}esios*, *-iā*, etc. 'of or belonging to *hek^{w}etai*' (used of slaves, textiles and chariot wheels).

e-qi-ti-wo-e, TH Wu 75. App. nom. plur. masc. pf. pple.: *ek^{w}hthiwohes* 'dead' (of livestock) (Ruijgh apud Aravantinos 1990). [φθίμενος *Il.* VIII, 359+.]

***e-qo-me-ne*[**, PY Fr 1338, [Fr 1240?]. MN?

e-qo-te, PY **54** = An 724+. Obscure: poss. *hek^{w}ontes* with act. inflexion? See further p. 479.

e-ra^1, KN Da 1323+, Dl 940+, Dq 45+, D 7334, Pp 498, Xd 149, Xe 6011, X 722. PN.

e-ra-de, KN Fh 357. Acc.+ *-de*.

e-ra-jo/-ja, KN Ap 639, D 1024?, Fh 1059, Lc 528+, L 1649+, V 431. Ethnic: *-aios*, *aiā*, etc.

e-ra^2, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev., [Un 219?], TH Of 28. Name of deity; dat.: *Hērāī*? [Ἥρη *Il.* I, 572+; not from *Ηρϝα as suggested by Elean Ηἒρϝαΐοις.]

e-ra-ne, KN **85** = C 902. Official title (nom. plur.?) or MN?

e-ra-pe-ja, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Fem. sing. (also plur.?), adj. describing skins: *elapheiā* 'of deer'. [ἐλάφειος Xen. +.]

e-ra-pi-ja, PY Ub 1316. Fem. plur.: *elaphiai*.

e-ra-pi-ja-o (spelt *e-ra-ti-ja-o* in error), PY Ub 1317. Gen. plur. fem.: *elaphiāōn*.

e-ra-pe-me-na, KN **234** = L 647. Neut. plur. perf. pple. pass.: *err(h)apmena* 'sewn'. [ῥάπτω thus proved to have no ϝ-; *-pm-* poss. etymological spelling rather than unassimilated in pronunciation?]

e-ra-po ri-me-ne, PY **55** = An 657. Prob. PN, loc.: *Elaphōn limenei* 'at Deer Harbour', but might be two personal names.

e-ra-se, PY Cn 4. Perh. *elase* 'drove' (or *elasei* 'will drive'): see s.v. *o-qe*.

e-ra-ta-ra, PY **121** = En 609, **126** = Eo 224. WN.

e-ra-te-i, PY **206** = Cn 608. PN, loc.: *Elatehi*, one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province; cf. *ro-u-so*. [Cf. Ἐλάτεια (in Phocis).]

e-ra-to-de, PY **97** = Vn 20. Acc. + *-de*: *Elatos-de*.

e-ra-te-i-jo, PY **342 =** On 300. Ethnic: *Elatehios*.

e-ra-te-re-wa-o, PY **208** = Jo 438, [**342** = On 300]. PN, gen. plur.: *Elatrewāōn*? [Cf. MN Ἐλατρεύς *Od.* VIII, 111.]

e-ra-te-re-wa-pi, PY Cn 595, **207** = Jn 829, Vn 493. Loc.: *-wāphi*.

e-ra-te-re-we, PY Ma 333. PN, variant of prec.: *Elatrēwes*?

e-ra-ti-ja-o: see s.v. *e-ra-pe-ja*.

e-ra-to, KN Dc 1359. MN: *Eratos*, *Elatos*? [Ἔρατος, Ἔλατος.]

e-ra-to-de: see s.v. *e-ra-te-i*.

e-ra-wa[, KN **169** = F 841. Prob. nom. plur.: *elaiwai* 'olive-trees'. [ἐλαῖαι *Od.* XI, 590+.]

e-ra-wo[1], [KN F 726], PY Fr 1223. Nom. sing.: *elaiwon* 'olive-oil' with OIL ideogram. [ἔλαιον *Il.* X, 577+; -ϝ- attested by Lat. *oleum* < **elaiuom*.]

e-ra$_3$-wo, PY **247** = Fr 1184+. More accurate spelling: *elaiwon*.

e-ra-wo[2], KN C 1039. Term preceding *du-ma*. Obscure; part of official title (cf. *me-ri-du-ma*) or MN?

e-re-de, PY Fr 1228, Mn 1411. Obscure; MN, dat. or PN + *de*?

e-re-dwo-e, KN As 604, V 655. Heading to lists of men; nom. plur.?

e-re-e[1], PY **54** = An 724. Pres. inf. *erehen* 'to row'; cf. *e-re-ta*. [ἐρέσσω < *ἐρέτ-γω. *Il.* IX, 361+.] See p. 244.

e-re-e[2]: see s.v. *e-re-i*.

e-re-e-u, PY **202** = Nn 831. Prob. official title (Killen 2007b), perh. *heleheus* 'official in charge of marshland' (ἕλος).

e-re-e-wo, PY Na 262. Gen.: *-ēwos*.

e-re-e-we, PY An 723, Cn 1197, Jn 881. In Cn prob. dat., in An, Jn prob. nom. plur.: *-ēwei*, *-ēwes*.

e-re-i, PY **207** = Jn 829. PN, loc.: *Helehi*. [Ἕλος *Il.* II, 594, but not necessarily the same place.]

e-re-e, PY **208** = Jo 438, Xn 442. Alternative spelling.

e-re-ke[, KN B 801. MN.

e-re-mo, PY **176** = Er 312. Possibly *erēmon* 'waste land'. [ἐρῆμος *Od.* III, 270+.] See pp. 648, 649.

e-re-o-ni, TH **170** = Ft 140, X 155. PN, loc.: *Eleōni*. [Ἐλεών *Il.* II, 500.]

e-re-pa, KN Sd 4412, PY **346** = Va 482. Nom. sing.: *elephans* 'ivory'. [ἐλέφας *Il.* V, 583.]

e-re-pa-ta, KN Og 7504. Acc.?: *elephanta*.

e-re-pa-te, KN **273** = Ra 984+, **277** = Sd 4401+, PY **261** = Ta 642+. Dat.-instr. sing.: *elephantei*.

e-re-pa-to, KN V 684, PY **296** = Sa 793. Gen.: *elephantos*.

e-re-pa-i-ro, KN Vc 212. MN.

e-re-pa-ṛọ, KN Ce 144. MN? Variant spelling of prec.? Or PN?

e-re-pa-te-jo, KN **276** = Sd 4403, PY **261** = Ta 642+. Epithet of chariot equipment and parts of tables; adj., instr. plur. masc. and neut.: *elephanteiois*. [ἐλεφάντειος Diosc. + 'of an elephant'.]

e-re-pa-te-ja, PY **262** = Ta 713+. Fem.: *elephanteiā*.

e-re-pa-te-ja-pi, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Instr. plur. fem.: *elephanteiāphi*.

e-re-pa-te-jo-pi, KN **287** = Se 891, [X 7814?]. Knossian instr. plur. masc. or neut.: *elephanteiophi*.

e-re-pa-te-o, KN Se 1007, Xf 8107. Variant form of *e-re-pa-te-jo*: *elephanteois*.

e-re-ta, KN As 5941, **85** = C 902, PY [**10** = Ad 697?], **52** = An 1+. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.: *eretai* 'rowers, oarsmen'. [ἐρέται *Od.* I, 280+.]

e-re-ta-o, PY **11** = Ad 684 edge. Gen. plur.: *eretāōn*.

ẹ-re-te-ri-ja, PY Pa 889. Obscure, PN? Cf. *e-re-u-te-ri-*[.

e-re-u-ta, KN B 5172?, PY An 31. MN.

e-re-u-te-re, [KN As 4493?], PY **78** = Cn 3, Wa 917. Dat. sing. or nom. plur.? Official title: *ereutērei*, *-res*? [Cf. Cret. ἐρευτάς.] See pp. 518–19.

e-re-u-te-ri, TH Av 100. Variant form of dat. sing.

e-re-u-te-ri-[, PY **49** = An 18. PN? Cf. *ẹ-re-te-ri-ja*.

e-re-u-te-ro, PY **196** = Na 248+. Nom. sing. neut.: *eleutheron* 'free of impost'. See pp. 681–82. [ἐλεύθερος *Il.* VI, 455+.]

e-re-u-te-ra, PY **197** = Na 252+. Prob. neut. plur.: *eleuthera*.

e-re-u-te-ro-se, PY **195** = Na 568+. 3rd sing. aor.: *eleutherōse* 'he made free'. [ἐλευθερόω Hdt. +.]

e-re-u-ti-ja, KN **325** = Gg 705, Od 714+. Dat. of divine name: *Eleuthiāi*. [Lacon. Ἐλευθία, Cret. Ἐλεύθυια, Hom. Εἰλείθυια.]

e-re-wi-jo, PY Vn 48. Followed by *po-ti-ni-ja*, apparently without division. Gen. plur. of PN?

e-ri-ka, KN **289** = So 894+. Gen. sing.: *helikās* 'of willow-wood'. [Arc. ἑλίκη Theophr. Prob. related to Lat. *salix* rather than OE *welig* 'willow' and *ϝελίκη 'spiral'.]

e-ri-ka-we-e, PY Un 1319. MN or PN?

e-ri-ke-re-we, KN **161** = Uf 981. MN: *Eriklewēs*.

e-ri-ko[, KN Xf 4487. Obscure.

e-ri-ko-wo, KN Xd 7783?, PY **58** = An 656, Ep 212, Jn 845+. MN.

e-ri-ma-si-jọ, PY Pa 49. MN, dat.

e-ri-ni-jo, TH Up 432. MN.

e-ri-no-wo, PY Na 106. PN, nom. for usual loc.

e-ri-no-wo-te, PY [**47** = An 427], Cn 4, **189** = Mn 456. Dat.-loc.: *-wontei*.

e-ri-no-wo-to, PY **160** = Eq 213. Gen.: *-wontos*.

e-ri-nu, KN **317** = Fp 1. Divine name, nom. for dat.?: *Erinus*. [Ἐρινύς, *Il.* IX, 571+.]

e-ri-nu-we, KN [Fh 390?], **328** = V 52 edge (erased). Dat.: *Erinuei*.

e-ri-qi-ja, PY [Eb 1440], Ep 539. WN: *Erig^{w}iā*? [Cf. next.]

e-ri-qi-jo, PY Ea 480. MN: *Erig^{w}ios*? [Cf. Ἐρισθένης, etc., Πολύ-βιος, etc.]

e-ri-ra-i[, KN Xd 327. MN?

e-ri-sa-ta, KN **211** = Nc 4474. MN.
e-ri-ta, PY **142** = Ep 704. WN, priestess: *Erithā*? [Cf. Ἔριθος.]
e-ri-ta-qi-jo, KN As 604. MN.
]e-ri-ta-ri-jo[, KN Xd 304. MN: *Erithālios*? [Cf. Ἐριθήλας.]
e-ri-ti-qi-[, KN B 802. MN.
e-ri-to-ti-no, PY Cn 4. PN.
e-ri-tu-pi-na, MY **28** = V 659. WN.
e-ri-we-ro, PY Un 1320, Vn 130. MN, dat.: *Eriwērōi*. [ἐρίηρος.]
e-ri-*19, KN Ag 90. MN.
e-ro-e, KN Sc 244. MN?
e-ro-e-o, KN Xd 116. Gen. of prec.?
e-ro-ma-to, PY An 172. PN.
e-ro-pa-ke-ja, KN Lc 534, Ld 595, MY **96** = Fo 101? Nom. plur. fem.; description of women cloth-workers. Cf. *e-ro-pa-ke-u*.
e-ro-pa-ke-u, KN As 4493. Occupational term rather than MN (Killen 2007a.265–66)? Cf. *e-ro-pa-ke-ja*.
e-ro-u-ta, KN Da 1162. MN.
e-ro$_2$-ne, PY Na 588. PN.
e-ro$_2$-qo, PY Ea 29+. MN.
e-ru, MY **104** = Ge 603. Incomplete spelling of *e-ru-ta-ra*.
e-ru-mi-ni-ja, PY **348** = Vn 46. Nom. plur.: *elumniai* 'roof beams'. [ἐλυμνίαι Hsych.]
e-ru-sa-ṃọ[, KN X 998. Obscure.
e-ru-si-jo, PY Vn 130. MN, dat.: *Erussiōi*. [Ἐρύσσιος.]
]e-ru-ta-jo, PY Jn 725. MN.
e-ru-ta-ra^1, PY **56** = An 654, **340** = Aq 64. MN. *Eruthrās*. [Ἐρύθρας.]
e-ru-ta-ra^2, PY **300** = Ub 1315+, MY **105** = Ge 604+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *eruthrā*, *-ai* 'red'. Cf. MN *e-ru-to-ro*. [ἐρυθρός *Il.* XIX, 38+.]
e-ru-ta-ra-pi, KN **227** = Ld 573+. Instr. plur. fem.: *eruthrāphi* 'with red (attachments?)'.
e-ru-ti-ri-jọ[, KN Xd 297. MN: *Eruthrios*. [Ἐρύθριος.]
e-ru-to-ro, KN **37** = As 1517, Dk 1074. MN: *Eruthros*. Cf. *e-ru-ta-ra*. [Ἔρυθρος.]
e-sa-pa-ke-ṃẹ[-na?], KN L 7375. Perf. part. pass.: *espargmena* 'swathed'? [Aor. σπάρξαν *Hom. h. Ap.* 121.]
e-sa-re-u, PY Na 195+. MN or more likely title (Killen 1995a.111–12).
e-sa-re-we, KN **37** = As 1517, PY Cn 1197. Dat.
e-sa-re-wi-ja, [KN X 7768?], PY **42** = An 830, **181** = Ma 330, **342** = On 300, Vn 493. At PY PN (cf. *e-sa-re-u*); at KN perh. 'establishment or workgroup of *e-sa-re-u*' (cf. *qa-si-re-wi-ja*: Melena 1999c.419).
e-sa-ro, PY [**121** = En 609], **126** = Eo 224, **149** = Ep 705. MN.
e-se-re-a$_2$, PY **59** = An 661. MN.
e-se-re-e-jo, KN Dl 947+. Adj. describing sheep, prob. possessive derived from prec.
e-so, PY **42** = An 830. Poss. *ensō* 'inside'. [εἴσω.] See p. 462.
e-so-to, KN **33** = Am 601+. 3rd plur. fut.: *es(s)ontoi* 'they will be'?
e-ta-je-u, PY An 5. MN: *Etaieus*? [Cf. PN Ἑταιεῖς.]

e-ta-wo-jo, PY Cn 491. Prob. MN (nom.?).

e-ta-wo-ne, KN [Ld 591+], Xe 5540+. MN, dat.? Cf. next.

e-ta-wo-ne-u, PY **57** = An 519, **340** = Aq 64. MN: *Etāwoneus*. [Ἐτεωνεύς *Od.* IV, 22+.]

e-ta-wo-ne-wo, KN L 695. Gen.: *Etāwonēwos*.

e-ta-wo-ne-we, KN Ld 584. Dat.: *Etāwonēwei*.

e-te, KN **33** = Am 601+. Poss. *enthen* 'from there'. [ἔνθεν.]

e-te-do-mo, KN Uf 432, PY Ea 808, **121** = En 609, **125** = Eo 211, **138** = Ep 301. Occupational term: earlier suggestion *entes-domos* (cf. ἔντεα) seems unlikely.

e-te-jo, KN Gg 521. Description of amphoras.

e-te-jạ[, KN Fh 359. Description of oil?; fem.?

e-te-re-ṛọ, PY Cn 600, Jn 415?. MN.

e-te-re-ta, KN **286** = Se 879. Adj. describing chariot-frames; cf. *e-ka-te-re-ta*.

e-te-wa, PY **55** = An 657, TH Uq 434. MN, nom. and dat.?: *Etewās*, *-āi*.

e-te-wa-o, KN X 8270. Gen.: *Etewāo* or nom. *Etewāōn*?

e-te-wa-jo, PY [Cn 254?], Cn 600, Sa 1267, Xa 639. MN: *Etewaios*. (Sa 1267 error for gen.?)

e-te-wa-jo-jo, PY Sa 769. Gen.: *Etewaioio*.

e-te-wa-no, KN **81** = C 913. MN, dat.: *Etewainōi*?

e-te-wa-tu-wo, KN C 912. MN, gen.: *Etewastuos*.

e-te-we, PY Cn 925. MN, dat.: *Entēwei*?

e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo, PY **56** = An 654, **340** = Aq 64. Patronymic adj.: *Etewoklewehios* 'son of Eteocles'. [Cf. βίη Ἐτεοκληείη *Il.* IV, 386.]

e-ti-je-ja, PY Vn 851. WN?

e-ti-me-de-i, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.: *Entimēdehi*?

e-ti-ra-wo, PY **60** = Cn 131+. MN, nom. and dat.: *Entilāwos*, *-ōi*? Or *Ertilāwos*? [Cf. Λαέρτης.]

e-ti-ra-wo-jo, PY Sa 1264. Gen.: *-lāwoio*.

e-ti-ri-ja, PY Vn 851. WN?

e-ti-wa, KN Fs 19. Recipient or destination of offerings; divine name?

e-ti-wa-i̯[, PY Wr 1359. Obscure.

e-ti-wa-ja, KN Ap 639, Od 681 (*e-ti-wa-ja-qe*). WN.

e-ti-wa-jo, PY Va 15 rev. MN (cf. prec.)?

e-ti-we, PY **315** = Fr 1224+. Adj. describing olive oil: *ertiwen*? [Cf. ἔρτις· κρημνός prob. a plant, Hsych.] Cf. *a-e-ti-to*[.

e-to, PY Va 15. *Entos* 'within' rather than 3rd pers. dual *eston* 'are'? (Killen 2000.144–48).

e-to-ki-ja, PY **348** = Vn 46+. Nom. plur. in list of building materials: *entoikhia* 'wall fittings'? [ἐντοίχιος Xen. +.]

e-to-mo-jo, PY Vn 34. MN, gen.: *Hetoimoio*? [Cf. WN Ἑτοίμη.]

e-to-ni-jo, PY **54** = An 724, **147** = Eb 297+, **142** = Ep 704+. The name of a kind of landholding; see p. 583.

e-to-ro-qa-ta, KN Oa 878, U 736. Prob. name of object denoted by ideogram **181*: poss. *enstrok^{w}ht(h)a(i)* 'belts'.

e-to-wo-ko, KN Fh 462, PY **48** = An 39, **94** = Fn 50. Occupational term, dat. sing. and nom. plur.: perh. *ento(s)worgoi* 'workers within'. Cf. *e-ko-so-wo-ko*[.

e-to-wo-ko-i, PY Fn 79. Dat. plur.

e-u-da-i-ta, KN Dl 47. MN.

e-u-da-mo, KN B 799, V 57, TH Z 853. MN: *Eudāmos* or *Eudaimōn*. [Εὔδαμος, Εὐδαίμων.]

e-u-de-we-ro, PY Aa 772, **5** = Ab 379, Ad 670. PN: *Eudewelos* (García Ramón 2002)? [Cf. Εὐδείελος name of Aspledon, Strabo.]

e-u-do-no, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN.

e-u-ka-no, PY Un 1320. MN, dat.

***e-u-ka-ri*[**, KN B 802. MN.

e-u-ka-ro, PY An 723, Jn 750. MN: *Eukālos*. [εὔκηλος, Dor. εὔκαλος.]

***e-u-ke-to*(*-qe*)**, PY **147** = Eb 297, **142** = Ep 704. 3rd sing. pres. mid.: *eukhetoi* 'she declares' (not 'prays'). [οὕτω φησὶ καὶ εὔχεται *Il.* XIV, 366.]

e-u-ko-me-no, PY Jn 725, [KN F 7748?]. MN: *Eukhomenos*.

e-u-ko-ro, KN Da 1229+, V 482, KH Ar 4?. MN: *Eukolos*, *Eukhoros*, *Euklos*? [Εὔκολος, Εὔχορος, Εὔκλος.]

e-u-me-de, PY Ea 773+. MN: *Eumēdēs*. [Εὐμήδης *Il.* X, 314.]

e-u-me-de-i, PY **247** = Fr 1184. Dat.: *Eumēdehi*.

e-u-me-ne, PY Ea 757+, Jn 725. MN: *Eumenēs*. [Εὐμένης.]

e-u-me-ta, KN Dv 1388. MN: *Eumētās*. [Εὐμήτης.]

e-u-mo, KN Da 1390. MN.

e-u-na-wo, KN As 1520, B 799 rev., Dv 1206, Np 5725. MN: *Eunāwos*. [Εὔνηος *Il.* VII, 468.]

***e-u-o-mo*[**, KN Vc 127. MN: *Eu(h)ormos*?

***e-u-po-ro*(*-qe*)**, MY **44** = Au 102. MN: *Euporos*, *Euphoros*, *Eupōlos*? [Εὔπορος, Εὔφορος, Εὔπωλος.]

e-u-po-ro-wo, KN V 7620?, PY Jn 601+. MN: *Euplowos*. [Εὔπλους.]

e-u-qo-ne, PY Vn 130. MN, dat.

e-u-ṛọ-ṭọ-qo, PY Jn 478. MN.

***e-u-ro-wa-*[**, KN X 408. MN?

e-u-ru-da-mo, KN Xd 166. MN: *Eurudāmos*. [Εὐρύδαμος.]

ẹ-ụ-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo, [KN Xd 92?], PY Fn 324. MN, gen.: *Euruptolemoio*. [Εὑρυπτόλεμος.]

e-u-ru-qo-ta, KN V 147. MN: *Euruk^{w}hontās*, *Euruk^{w}hoitās*?

e-u-ru-wo-ta, PY Eb 156, [**152** = Ep 613], **214** = Jn 310. MN: *Eurwotās*? [Εὐρώτας.]

e-u-ta-re-wo, PY Na 198. MN, gen., forming PN with *wo-wo*: *Euthalēwos*? [Cf. Εὐθαλής, Εὐθάλιος etc.]

e-u-te-re-u, TH **170** = Ft 140. PN.

e-u-te-we-jo, TH Up 432. MN.

e-u-wa-ko-ro, PY Jn 431. MN: *Euāgoros*, *Euagros*. [Εὐάγορος, Εὔαγρος.] See also *e-wa-ko-ro*.

e-u-wa-re, PY Jn 693. MN: *Euārēs*. [Εὐήρης.]

e-u-we-to, PY Jn 750. MN: *Euētōr*, *Euestōr*?

e-u-we-to-ro, PY Jn 750. Gen.: *-toros*.

e-wa-ko-ro, KN V 1005, TH [Z 850+]. MN: prob. variant spelling of *e-u-wa-ko-ro*.
e-wa-ra-jo, KN Db 1367. MN.
***e-we-da-si*[**, PY Na 104. Dat. plur.?
e-we-de-u, KN Ga 423 rev., Vc 312. MN?
e-we-ki-ta, KN X 993. MN?
e-we-pe-se-so-me-na, MY Oe 127. Neut. plur., fut. pple. pass. Meaning obscure; poss. *ewepsēsomena* from verb cognate with O. H. G. *weban*, Eng. *weave* (Beekes 1969.67).
e-we-wa-ta, KN V 57, [Xd 313?]. MN or title?
]e-we-za-no, PY **43** = An 1281. MN.
e-wi-ku-wo-te, PY Na 604. PN, loc.: *-wontei*.
e-wi-ri-pi-ja, PY Aa 60. Ethnic; nom. plur. fem.: *Ewrīpiai*. [Cf. next.]
e-wi-ri-po, PY **53** = An 610. PN: *Ewrīpos*. [Εὔριπος.]
e-wi-su-zo-ko, KN Se 965+. Description of chariot-frames; perhaps compound of *e-wi-su-* = ἰσο- < ϝισϝο-, with prothetic vowel as Hom. ἐΐση and -σϝ- > *-su-*? But cf. *wi-so-ẓwo-pa-*[.].
e-wi-su-*79-ko, PY **346** = Va 482+. Perhaps variant of prec., but see Lejeune, *Mémoires* I.212–17.
e-wi-ta-jo, KN [B 805?], Vc 102. MN.
e-wi-te-u, PY Cn 437, [Jn 832?]. MN.
e-wi-te-we, PY Cn 40. Dat.
e-wi-te-wi-jo, PY **189** = Mn 456, **194** = Na 245, Vn 130. PN.
]e-wi-to-wo, KN B 806. MN.
e-wo-ta-de, KN C 901. Prob. PN, acc. + *-de*.
]ẹ-wo-ta-o, PY Cn 314. MN, gen.?
e-ze-to, KN Od 563. Obscure.
e-zo-wo, KN Xe 5900, PY Cn 40+. MN.
e-*65-to, PY **122** = En 74, **121** = En 609, **125** = Eo 211+. MN.
e-*9ẹ-do-ma: variant reading of *e-qạ-do* (q.v.): *TFC* I. 209.

i-da-i-jo, KN **218** = K 875, PY **59** = An 661, TH Of 28. MN. [Prob. not = Ἰδαῖος.]
i-da-ra-ta, KN Xd 154. MN.
***i-da-wo*[**, KN Xd 332. Obscure.
i-do-me-ne-ja, PY Eb 498, Ep 212. WN: *Idomeneia*. [Cf. Ἰδομενεύς *Il.* I, 145+.]
i-ḍọ-me-ni-jo, PY Gn 428. MN, dat.: *Idomeniōi*?
i-du, KN Ap 639. WN.
i-e-re-u: see *i-je-re-u*.
i-ja-me-i, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.
i-ja-pu$_2$-we, KN Lc 646. PN, loc.
]i-ja-pu$_2$-wi-ja, KN [**92** = G 820], Lc 541. Nom. plur. fem. ethnic adj.
i-ja-te, PY Eq 146. Nom. sing.: prob. *iātēr* 'physician'. [ἰητήρ *Il.* II, 732+, Cypr. acc. *to-ni-ja-te-ra-ne* τὸν ἰατῆραν.]
***i-ja-wo-ne*[**, KN B 164?, Xd 146. In B perh. nom. plur. of ethnic: *Iāwones*? In Xd poss. MN, dat. [Cf. Ἰάονες *Il.* XIII, 685.]

i-je-re-ja, KN **317** = Fp 1+, PY **26** = Ae 303, **147** = Eb 297+, **155** = Ed 317, **121** = En 609, **126** = Eo 224, **142** = Ep 704+, Qa 1289+, **310** = Un 6 rev. Nom. and gen. sing.: *hiereia*, *-ās* 'priestess'. [ἱέρεια *Il.* VI, 600+.]

i-je-re-u, KN **29** = Am 821, PY **341** = Aq 218, **128** = Eo 247+, Ep 539, Fn 837, **343** = Qa 1296+. Nom. sing.: *hiereus* 'priest'. [ἱερεύς *Il.* I, 62+.]

i-e-re-u, PY **122** = En 74, **123** = En 659. Variant spelling of prec.

i-je-re-wo, PY Ea 756, [Jn 431?]. Gen. sing.: *hierēwos*.

i-je-re-wi-jo, KN **218** = K 875, TH Gp 303?. MN: *Hierēwios*.

i-je-ro[1], KN Fp 363, TH Wu 66+. At TH adj. describing livestock, at KN adj. describing oil or neut. as sb.: *hieros*, *-on* 'sacred' (at KN poss. 'shrine'). [ἱερός *Il.* II, 305+.]

i-je-ro-jo, PY **26** = Ae 303. Gen. sing. of adj. describing gold: *hieroio*.

i-je-ra, TH Wu 44. Neut. plur. of adj.: *hiera*.

i-je-ro[2], KN Dv 1447. MN: *Hierōn*. [Ἱέρων.]

i-je-ro-wo-ko, PY [Eb 159], **152** = Ep 613. Nom. sing.: *hieroworgos* 'sacrificing priest'. [ἱεροεργός Call. +.]

(***jo-***)***i-je-si***, PY **78** = Cn 3. 3rd plur. pres. act.: prob. *hiensi* 'they send' rather than from same verb as next. [ἵημι.]

i-je-to(***-qe***), PY **309** = Tn 316 (and rev.). Prob. 3rd pers. of mid. verb meaning 'sacrifice': see p. 841.

i-je-we, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Dat. sing., perhaps to *i-*65*: *hiewei* 'son' or error for *i-je-<re>-we* (*i-je-re-u*)? See p. 847.

i-jo, KN V 1523, MY **44** = Au 102. At MY either MN or more prob. nom. sing.: (*h*)*ios* 'son'. See p. 465. [Cf. *i-*65*, *u-jo*.] At KN perh. sing. of next.

i-jo-te, KN B 7041, L 698, PY **52** = An 1, MY Au 657. Nom. plur. masc.: *iontes* 'who are to go'. [εἶμι; cf. ἰὼν κοίλης ἐπὶ νηός *Od.* II, 332.]

i-ka-sa-ja, PY Gn 720. PN?

i-ka-se, KN Sc 258. MN. Cf. next.

i-ke-se, KN Xd 143. MN. Cf. prec.

i-ke-se-ra, KN Dk 1077, Dv 1496. MN.

i-ke-ta, KN B 799. MN: *Hiketās*. [Cf. Ἱκετάων *Il.* III, 147+.]

ị-ku-to, MY Oi 705. MN?

i-ku-tu-re, KN L 588. MN.

i-ku-wo-i-pi, KN **350** = V 280. Instr. plur.: see p. 918.

i-ma-di-ja, PY Ea 816. MN or WN.

i-ma-di-jo, PY Cn 436, Ea 29, **214** = Jn 310. MN, nom. and dat.

i-mi-ri-jo, KN Db 1186. MN.

i-mo-ro-ne-u, KN Vc 55, [PY Jn 927]. MN.

i-na, PY Eb 885, Ep 539. MN.

i-na-ma-ta, PY **184** = Ma 126. Obscure; see p. 675.

i-na-ne, PY **49** = An 18. PN: *-ānes*. Cf. next.

i-na-pi, PY An 5 (deleted). Instr.: *-āmphi*.

i-na-ni-ja, PY Ae 8+, **49** = An 18. PN: *-āniā*, variant of *i-na-ne*.

i-na-o, PY An 209, MY **104** = Ge 603+. MN.

i-na-o-te, MY **105** = Ge 604. Dat.

i-ne-u, KN As 607, Da 1379, Xd 133? MN.

i-ni-ja, PY **121** = En 609, **125** = Eo 211. WN.

i-pa-sa-na-ti, PY Eb 1345, **128** = Eo 247. WN. Corrected in **128** from *e-pa-sa-na-ti*, q.v.

i-pe-me-ḍẹ-ja, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Divine name, dat.: *Iphemedeiāi*. [Ἰφιμέδεια *Od.* XI, 305, which is prob. deformed by popular etymology; see p. 847.]

i-pe-me-de-ja<-jo>-qe, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Prob. dat.-loc.: '(and) at the shrine of *Iphemedeia*'.

i-pe-ne-o[, PY Xa 1419 rev. In context with *di-wo-nu-so*[, *wo-no-wa-ṭi-si*; obscure.

i-pe-ra-ta, PY Jn 601. MN.

i-pe-se-wa, PY **247** = Fr 1184. MN, dat.

i-pe-ta, KN Dl 949. MN.

i-po-no, KN **255** = Uc 160 rev. Nom. plur.: *ipnoi* 'dutch ovens', i.e. earthenware bowls used for baking on a hearth. [ἰπνός Hdt. +; the alleged sense 'lantern' (Aristophanes) is non-existent.]

i-po-po-qo-i(-qe), PY Fn 79. Dat. plur. occupational term: *(h)ippophorg^{w}oihi* 'horse-feeders, ostlers'. [ἱπποφορβός Plato +; *pp* by dissimilation from *kk^{w}*, see p. 232.]

i-qo-po-qo-i, TH Fh 214+. Variant form of same with *kk^{w}* undissimilated: *(h)ikk^{w}ophorg^{w}oihi*.

]i-po-qa, KN **168** = Gv 862: see p. 628.

i-qa-ne[, PY Xa 176. Prob. MN, dat.

i-qe-ja, PY **43** = An 1281, [Fn 837?]. Epithet of Potnia, dat.: *(h)ikk^{w}eiāi* '(the Mistress) of Horses'. [ἵππειος *Il.* V, 799 +.]

i-qi-ja, KN **281** = Sd 4402+, **283** = Sf 4420+, TH V 159. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *(h)ikk^{w}iā*, *-ai* 'chariot', associated with CHARIOT ideograms (CUR and CAPS). [Originally either adj. = ἵππιος with fem. substantive understood or collective.] See also *a-qi-ja-i*.

i-qi-jo, KN **277** = Sd 4401+. Nom. dual: *(h)ikk^{w}iō*.

i-qo, KN **84** = Ca 895, PY Fa 16, **268** = Ta 722. Nom. plur., dat., instr. sing.: *(h)ikk^{w}oi*, *-ōi* 'horses'. [ἵππος < **ekwos*.]

i-qo-jo, PY **120** = Ea 59. Gen.: *(h)ikk^{w}oio*. Sense here and in Fa 16 uncertain, taken by Palmer as a god.

See also *i-qọ-na-to-mo*.

i-qo-e-qe, KN **280** = Sd 4404+. Name of part of a chariot made of wood; prob. compound of *(h)ikk^{w}o-* 'horse'. See p. 820.

i-qọ-na-to-mo, PY Eq 146. If reading correct, prob. gen. plur. *(h)ikk^{w}ōn* (see *i-qo*) + title *a-to-mo*, q.v.

i-qo-po-qo-i: see *i-po-po-qo-i(-qe)*.

i-ra-ko-to, KN V 466. MN.

i-ra-ta, KN Uf 1011, PY **123** = En 659, [**133** = Eo 281]. MN.

i-ri-ja, TH Wu 53. Obscure.

i-ro-to, KN C 912. MN.

i-sa-ma[-]ṭa, PY Cn 200. Prob. MN.

i-sa-na-o-ti, PY Cn 254. MN, dat.

i-sa-wo, KN Sc 253. MN.

i-se-we-ri-jo, KN B 798, Dd 5105, L 473. MN.
i-si-wi-jo-i, TH Gp 127. Dat. plur., recipients of wine.
i-so-e-ko, PY **330** = Fn 187. MN or title?
i-su-ku-wo-do-to, KN Fh 348. MN: *Iskhuodotos*? [Apparently not from ἰσχύς if this has ϝ-.]
i-ta-da-wa, MY Oe 106. WN?, dat.
i-ta-ja, KN Ap 769, Xe 537. WN.
i-ta-mo, KN Ap 618. WN.
i-ṭa-no, KN Xe 5877. Apparently MN; cf. next.
]i-ta-no, KN Ap 769. WN.
i-ta-ra-jo, PY Jn 431. MN.
i-te-ja-o, PY **11** = Ad 684. Gen. plur. fem.: *histeiāōn*, 'weavers'. [ἱστός.] Cf. *i-te-we*.
i-te-re-wa, PY **340** = Aq 64, **208** = Jo 438. PN, nom. and gen.
i-te-u, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *Histeus*? Cf. next.
i-ṭe-we, PY **345** = Un 1322. Dat. sing. (or nom. plur.): *histēwei* 'weaver'. [ἱστός.] See p. 910.
i-te-we-ri-di, MY Oe 121. WN?, dat.
i-ti-nu-ri, KN Dq 439. MN.
i-to, KN As 1519. MN.
i-to-ma[, KN V 60, Xd 7658? MN.
i-to-we-sa, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. fem. sing. adj. describing a portable hearth: *histowessa* 'provided with a ἱστός'. See p. 706.
i-wa-ka, KN Uf 120, V 60, PY **214** = Jn 310, Ub 1317. MN: *Iwakhās*?
i-wa-ka-o, PY **214** = Jn 310. Gen.: *Iwakhāo*.
i-wa-ko, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *Iwakkhos*?
i-wa-si-jo-ta, PY **78** = Cn 3. Nom. plur. ethnic name?: *Iwasiōtai*. Cf. next.
i-wa-so[1], PY **57** = An 519+. Name of a group of men: *Iwasoi*? Cf. prec. [Cf. Ἴασον Ἄργος *Od.* XVIII, 246; not to be identified with Ἴασος in Arcadia.]
i-wa-so[2], PY **61** = Cn 655. MN: *Iwasos*.
i-we, KN Nc 8176. Obscure.
i-we-ro, KN As 1519. MN.
i-wi-ro, KN Xd 7555. MN? Cf. prec.
i-za-a-to-mo-i, PY **94** = Fn 50. Dat. plur. of compound of *a-to-mo*. First element obscure: Mühlestein *hitsa-* < **hikk^{w}i̯a-*, but this is problematical.
i-za-re, KN B 805. MN.
i-*65, PY Ae 344, **340** = Aq 64, **341** = Aq 218, Jn 431+. Either follows gen. of man's name or, with suffixed *-qe*, nom. of man's name: probably (*h*)*ius* 'son'. Cf. *i-je-we* **309** = Tn 316, possibly dat.; *i-jo*, *u-jo*. [The value of **65* = *ju* is probable though not yet certain.]
i-*65-ke-o, KN Xd 105. Obscure.

ja-ke-te-re, PY Mn 11. Dat. sing. or nom. plur.: apparently variant spelling of *a-ke-te-re*, *a*$_2$*-ke-te-re*.
ja-ma-ra, KN V 503. MN.

***ja-ma-ta-ro*[**, KN V 655, [Xe 7437?]. MN.
]*ja-mi-nu*, KN Ap 5547. Prob. WN.
***ja-na-ti*[**, KN F 8139. Obscure.
ja-pa-ra-ro, KN V 429+. MN.
ja-pe-re-so, KN Fs 23. Recipient or destination of offerings.
ja-ṗọ, KN V 655. PN?
ja-qo, KN Mc 4461. Prob. PN.
ja-ra-to, KN De 1424. MN.
ja-ru, KN C 911. MN.
jạ-sa-no, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.
ja-sa-ro, KN [Ce 152?], V 832. MN. Cf. *a-sa-ro*.
ja-so-ro, TH Fq 118+. MN, dat.
ja-ti-ri, KN De 1301. MN.
]*ja-we-jo*: see s.v. *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*.
je-zo, KN Db 1274+. MN.
jo-, KN **318** = Fp 14, **167** = Gv 863, Og <4467>, PY **78** = Cn 3+, **207** = Jn 829, MY Ge 602++. Variant spelling of prefix *o-*, q.v.
jo-e-ke-to-qo, KN **167** = Gv 863. Obscure: see p. 627.
jo-i-je-si: see s.v. *i-je-to*(*-qe*).
jo-o-po-ro: see s.v. *o-pe-ro*[2].
]*jo-qi*, PY Vn 1314. Acc. neut. sing. rel.: *hokk*^{w}*i* 'which'. [ὅ, τι < **yod-k*^{w}*i*(*d*).]
jo-te-re-pa-to, KN **318** = Fp 14. Obscure: see p. 864.

KA, As surcharge on STIRRUP-JAR (**210*): KN K 700: abbreviation of **ka-ra-re-u* (see *ka-ra-re-we*).
Ligatured with PIG: PY **310** = Un 6+: abbreviation of *kapros* (κάπρος) or *kaprios* (κάπριος) 'boar'.
Ideographic use: PY Un 219, Vn 1314?: obscure.
]*ḳạ-a-ki-ri*[, PY Mb 1432. Prob. PN. Cf.]*ạ-ki-ri*.
ka-a-na, KN X 728 edge. Obscure.
ka-da-i-so, KN De 5018. MN.
ka-da-i-to, KN Uf 5726. MN.
ka-da-mi-ja, MY **105** = Ge 604. A spice, prob. *kardamia* = κάρδαμον, καρδαμίς 'garden cress', *Lepidium sativum*.
ka-da-no, KN Dk 1065, Dv 1128. MN: *Kādānōr*? [Cf. κῆδος.]
]*ka-da-ra-so*, KN F 452. MN?
ka-da-ro, PY Cn 40. MN, dat.
ka-da-si-jo, PY **57** = An 519. MN.
***ka-di-ja*[**, KN Vc 9128. MN.
ka-di-ti-ja, KN V 1003+. App. fem. ethnic: *Kadistiai*? [Cf. Κάδιστον ὄρος N. W. Crete.]
ka-do-wo, PY **340** = Aq 64, **62** = Cn 719. MN.
ka-e-sa-me-no, PY **58** = An 656, TH Ug 5. MN: *Kahesamenos*? [Cf. καίνυμαι, κεκασμένος.]
ka-e-sa-me-no-jo, PY Vn 34. Gen.: *-noio*.

ka-e-se-u, PY **344** = Qa 1299, MY Ge 605. MN: *Kaheseus*. [Cf. *ka-e-sa-me-no*.]

ka-e-se-we, MY Ge 602. Dat. (for nom.; cf. datives + *o-pe-ro* on MY **105** = Ge 604): *Kahesēwei*.

ḳa-ja, PY Vn 1314. Obscure.

ka-jo, KN Dv 1451. MN.

ka-ka-po, PY Jn 320. MN: *Kakkabos*?

ka-ka-re-ạ, KN **274** = R 1815. Reading uncertain, apparently a gap after *ka-ka*: prob. neut. plur.: (*enkheha*) *khalkāreha* '(spears) with bronze points'. [χαλκήρεϊ δουρί *Il.* V, 145+.]

ka-ke, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

ka-ke-ja-pi, KN **278** = Sd 4409+, [Se 893?]. Instr. plur. fem.: *khalkeiāphi* 'of bronze'. [χάλκειος *Il.* XIII, 30+.]

ka-ki-jo, KN **289** = So 894. Dual neut.: *khalkiō* 'a pair of bronze (wheels)'. [κύκλα χάλκεα, *Il.* V, 723.]

ka-ke-u[1], KN V 958, PY **27** = An 607, Jn 725, **202** = Nn 831. Nom. sing.: *khalkeus* 'bronzesmith'. [χαλκεύς *Il.* XII, 295.]

ka-ke-we, KN Fh 386, PY **214** = Jn 310+, **179** = Ma 90+, **197** = Na 252+. Nom. plur. (at KN and on PY Na dat. sing.?): *khalkēwes* (*-ēwei*).

ka-ke-wi, MY Oe 121. Dat. sing.: *khalkēwi*.

ka-ke-u-si, PY An 129, Na 104. Dat. plur.: *khalkeusi*.

ka-ke-u[2], PY Jn 750. MN: *Khalkeus*. (A smith by trade.)

ka-ki-jo: see s.v. *ka-ke-ja-pi*.

ka-ko, PY **215** = Jn 389+, Sa 794. Nom. and instr. sing.: *khalkos*, *-ōi* 'bronze'. [χαλκός Hom. +.]

ka-ko-de-ta, KN **289** = So 894. Nom. plur. neut., of wheels: *khalkodeta* 'bronze-bound'. [χαλκό-δετος Aesch. +.]

ka-ma[1], KN Ap 637?, L 520. Prob. PN.

ka-ma-jo, KN Am 5882. Nom. plur. masc., prob. of ethnic adj.

ka-ma[2], PY **54** = An 724, Ea 28, Eb 159+, **152** = Ep 613, **178** = Un 718. Nom. and acc. sing. neut. A kind of agricultural holding, see pp. 574–76.

ka-ma-ọ, PY Eb 156. Prob. gen. sing.

ka-ma-e-u, PY **153** = Eb 842+, **152** = Ep 613. Nom. sing. 'man who has a *ka-ma* holding'. See p. 574.

ka-ma-e-we, PY **38** = An 261, **154** = Ed 236+, Ep 539, Un 616. Dat. sing. and nom. plur.: *-ēwei*, *-ēwes*.

ka-ma-ti-jo-jo, TH Z 850, [Z 884 β?]. MN: gen.: *Kharmantioio*? [Cf. Χάρμας, Χαρμαντίδης.]

ka-ma-to, KN Da 1275. MN.

ka-mi-ni-to, KN Da 1382?, De 1260, Dk 1073. MN.

ka-mo, KN As 604. PN.

ka-mo-ni-jo, KN Da 1293. MN: *Skamōnios*?

]ka-mu-ko-to, KN V 831. MN.

ka-na-a-po, KN Vc 7518. MN. See also *]ka-na-po*.

ka-na-ko, MY **104** = Ge 603+; *KANAKO* Ge 608. Nom. sing. fem.: *knākos* 'safflower'. [κνῆκος Hippoc.+, ὁ or ἡ.] See pp. 555–56.

ka-na-pe-u, PY **80** = Cn 1287, **122** = En 74, **129** = Eo 160+. Nom. sing. masc.: *knapheus* 'fuller, cloth-dresser'. [κναφεύς inscr. 6 B.C.+; γναφεύς prob. the later form, Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* I. 414.]

ka-na-pe-we, TH Av 106, MY **241** = Oe 129. Dat. sing. and nom. plur.: *knaphēwei*, *-ēwes*.

ka-na-pe-wo, PY **134** = Eo 269. Gen. sing.: *knaphēwos*.

ka-na-pe-u-si, MY **335** = Oi 701+. Dat. plur.: *knapheusi*.

]ka-na-po, KN V 5536. MN. See also *ka-na-a-po*.

ka-na-po-to, KN V 832. MN.

ka-na-to, [TH Ka 113], MY **257** = Ue 611, Wt 502+. Nom. (or acc.?) plur. fem.: name of vessel or implement. Perhaps: *gnathoi* 'clamps'. [γνάθος in sense 'point of a wedge' Aesch. *PV*. 64.]

ka-na-to-po, KN Ap 639. WN.

ka-ne-ja, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Prob. neut. plur. of adj.: *kaneia* 'made of basketry'. [Cf. κάνεον, κάνειον 'basket' *Il.* IX, 217+.] See p. 753.

ḳạ-ne-jo, TH Fq 254. MN.

ka-ne-u-ta, KN Da 1350, X 7559. MN.

ka-ni-to, KN Db 1449, Dh 1646, X 7583? MN: *Kanithos*? [Κάνιθος modern name of spring on Mt Ida.]

ka-no, TH Ft 217. Prob. gen. plur. masc. or fem.: *khānōn* '(on account of?) the geese'. [χήν *Il.* II, 460+.]

ka-si, TH Ft 141+. Dat. plur.: *khānsi*.

ka-nu-se-u, KN As 602. MN: *Ganuseus*. [Cf. Γανυμήδης.]

ka-nu-ta-jo, PY An 129. MN.

ka-pa, KN E 71, PY Ua 9?, **110** = Un 138, TH Ft 141+. At KN perhaps PN, cf. *ka-pa-jo*; at PY and perhaps TH description of olives, see p. 563.

ka-pa-jo, KN B 5752. Description of three men, perhaps ethnic of *ka-pa*.

ka-pa-ra, PY Un 1321. Introduces wine entry after *to-sa*; Palmer (*Interpretation* 424) compares σκάφαλος· ἀντλητήρ (Hsych.).

ka-pa-ra$_2$, KN Ak 5009, PY Jn 706. At PY certainly, at KN probably, MN (at KN prob. name of *DA* supervisor of women: Killen 1983d.123–24). Cf. next.

ka-pa-ra$_2$-de, PY Aa 788, **13** = An 292. Nom. plur. fem., prob. of ethnic adj.: *-ades*.

ka-pa-ra$_2$-do[, PY Ad 679. Gen. plur. fem.: *-adōn*.

ka-pa-ri-jo, KN U 4478, Vc 72, V 60+. MN: *Karpaliōn*. [Καρπαλίων.]

ka-pa-ri-jo-ne, KN Fh 344. Dat.: *Karpalionei*.

ka-pa-si-ja, PY Vn 851. WN, possibly = *ka-pa-ti-ja*: *Karpasiā*?

ka-pạ-so, KN Ai 966. Obscure.

ka-pa-ti-ja, PY **148** = Eb 338, **142** = Ep 704+, Un 443. WN: *Karpathiā*? [Cf. Καρπάθιος ethnic of Κάρπαθος, Hom. Κράπαθος *Il.* II, 676; cf. also *ka-pa-si-ja*.]

ka-pe-se-wa-o, PY Cn 453. MN, gen., forming place-name with *wo-wo*.

ka-pi-ni-ja, PY **348** = Vn 46. Gen. sing.: *kapniās* 'of the chimney'. [καπνία = καπνοδόκη Moeris.] See p. 913.

ka-po, KN **169** = F 841. Possibly nom. sing.: *kāpos e*[*laiwōn*?] 'plantation of olive-trees' (Killen 1987b.176–77) rather than nom. plur.: *karpoi e*[*laiwās*?] 'fruits of the olive'.

If the latter interpretation is correct, the ligature *KAPO* (PY **245** = Un 267+) may stand for the same word. [κῆπος *Od.* VII, 129.]

ka-pte, KN Df 1230. MN: *Skapter* or *Skāpter*? [σκαπτήρ; cf. σκῆπτρον.]

ka-pu-ro, KN V 832. MN.

]*ka-pu$_2$-ṣa-jo*, KN X 1018. MN?

ka-ra-a-pi, PY **268** = Ta 722. Instr. plur. neut.: *krāapphi* or *karaapphi* (< **-at-phi*) 'with (lions') heads'. [Hom. gen. sing. καρήατος, κράατος.]

ka-ra-do-ro, PY Ac 1272, **59** = An 661+, **206** = Cn 608, **207** = Jn 829, **208** = Jo 438, Ma 346, **192** = Na 543, Qa 1304, Vn 130, Xn 952? PN: *Kharadros* or dual *Kharadrō*? One of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province, prob. Phoinikous. [χάραδρος.]

ka-ra-do-ro-de, PY **97** = Vn 20. Acc.+ *-de*.

ka-ra-do-wa-ta, PY Ea 57. MN.

]*ka-ra-e-i-jo*, KN Fp 354. Erroneous or variant spelling of next? Or name of recipient of oil? See p. 861.

ka-ra-e-ri-jo, KN Fp 6+. Name of month.

[*ka-*]*ra-e-ri-jo-jo*, KN Gg 7369, M 1645. Gen.: *-ioio*.

ka-ra-i, PY [**173** = Es 644], **172** = Es 650+. MN (or WN?).

]*ka-ra-i-no*, KN B 5028. Prob. MN.

***ka-ra-ḳọ*[**, MY Ge 605. Reading very uncertain in line 6A; in line 1 read [*ka-*]*ṛa-to*. Possibly a herb: *glākhōn* 'pennyroyal', *Mentha pulegium*. [Dor., Boeot. γλάχω(ν), Ion. γλήχων, Att. βλήχων.]

ka-ra-ma-to, KN V 684. Furumark: gen. plur. *klasmatōn* 'fragments (of ivory)'. Case unexplained; Palmer suspects error for *ka-ra-ma-ta*.

ka-ra-na-ko, KN B 988. Obscure; MN?

ka-ra-na-ta, KN Vc 65, Xd 7906. MN: *Kranātās*? [Cf. PN Κράνη.]

ka-ra-ni-jo, PY Wo 1199. Obscure.

ka-ra-pa-so, PY **215** = Jn 389, MY Oi 705. MN.

ka-ra-pi, PY Ea 808. MN: *Krambis*? [Κράμβις.]

ka-ra-re-we, KN K 778, PY **247** = Fr 1184. Nom. plur., name of an oil-jar, probably 'stirrup-jar'. Householder: *khlārēwes*. [Cf. χλαρόν· ἐλαιηρὸς κώθων Hsych.] See pp. 750, 765.

ka-ra-se* | *ti-ri-jo, MY Wt 507. Variant or erroneous spelling of *ka-ra-ti-ri-jo*?

ka-ra-so-mo, PY Fn 79. MN, dat.?

ka-ra-su-no, PY **63** = Cc 660. MN, dat.

ka-ra-te-mi-de, PY Gn 428. MN, dat.?

]*ka-ra-te-ra*, MY **257** = Ue 611. More likely plene spelling of nom. than acc. sing.: *krātēr* 'mixing bowl'. [κρητήρ *Il.* XXII, 741+.] See p. 773.

ka-ra-ti-ri-jo, MY **257** = Ue 611. Nom. plur.; name of vessel. Cf. *ka-ra-se-ti-ri-jo*.

ka-ra-to, MY **104** = Ge 603, Ge 605? In a list of spices: possibly *kalathos* 'basket'?

ka-ra-u-du-ro, PY Eb 838, **149** = Ep 705. MN.

ka-ra-u-ja, MY Fu 711. Recipient of FLOUR; possibly *Grāwiā(i)*, but uncertain whether divinity or human. [Γραῖα.] See p. 880.

ka-ra-wi-ja, TH Fq 169+. Prob. variant spelling; recipient of BARLEY.

ka-ra-u-ko, [KN Dl 7075?], PY Cn 285, Jn 706+, MY Z 715+. MN: *Glaukos*. [Γλαῦκος *Il.* II, 876+.]

ka-ra-u-ro, PY An 192, Jn 750. MN: *Kalauros*? [Κάλαυρος eponymous hero of Καλαυρία.]

ka-ra-wa-ni-ta, PY Cn 45. MN, dat.?

ka-ra-we, KN **25** = Ap 694+. Nom. plur. describing WOMEN: *grāwes* 'old women'. [γρηῦς *Od.* I, 191+.]

ka-ra-wi-ja: see s.v. *ka-ra-u-ja*.

ka-ra-wi-ko, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN: *Klāwiskos*.

ka-ra-wi-po-ro, PY **148** = Eb 338, **155** = Ed 317, **142** = Ep 704, **207** = Jn 829, [**310** = Un 6 rev.], Vn 48. Nom. and dat. sing., nom. plur., prob. always fem.: *klāwiphoros* 'key-bearer', title of a religious office. [Dor. κλᾳκοφόρος; cf. Att. κλειδοῦχος 'priestess'. *κλαϝίς to be reconstructed as origin of κλείς, etc.; cf. Lat. *clauis*, prob. a loan.]

ka-ra-wi-po-ro-jo, PY Ae 110. Gen. sing.: *klāwiphoroio*.

ka-ra-wi-so, PY Ja 1288. MN?

ka-ra-*56-so, PY [**123** = En 659], **134** = Eo 269 edge. MN. Cf. *ka-ra-pa-so*.

ka-ra-*82[, PY Jn 431. MN.

ka-ri-pi-jo, KN X 7918. MN?

ka-ri-se-u, KN **36** = As 1516+, PY Jn 431, MY **44** = Au 102. MN: *Khariseus*. [Cf. next.]

ka-ri-si-jo, PY Jn 706. MN: *Kharisios*. [Χαρίσιος.]

***ka-ro*[1]**, KN Fh 340. PN?

***ka-ro*[2]**, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Perhaps: *kairos* 'fringe'? [καῖρος; cf. καιρουσσέων *Od.* VII, 107.] See p. 755.

ka-ro-ke-e, PY **50** = An 207. PN, loc. [Cf. *ke-e*.]

ka-ro-qo, KN Sc 257, Xd 7634, PY Vn 865, MY Au 657. MN: *Kharok*^{w}*os* or *Kharok*^{w}*s*. [Χάροπος *Il.* II, 672, Χάροψ *Il.* XI, 426.]

ka-ro-q̣o̤[, KN X 1047. Name of object?

ka-ru-ke, PY **330** = Fn 187, Un 219. Dat. sing.: *kārukei* 'herald'. [κῆρυξ *Il.* II, 50+.]

ka-ru-no, KN Dl 412+. PN.

ka-ru-pi: see s.v. *ka-ru-we*.

***ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o*(*-qe*)**, PY **9** = Ad 671. Gen. plur. fem., perh. of possessive derived from MN **Karustios* [Κάρυστος.] (Killen 1983a.80).

***ka-ru-we*(*-qe*)**, PY **267** = Ta 721. Instr. sing. fem.: a decorative feature in ivory, perhaps *karuei* 'nut, boss'. [Cf. κάρυον *Batrach.*+; σίκυς/σίκυος.]

ka-ru-pi, PY **268** = Ta 722. Instr. plur.: perhaps *karuphi*.

ka-sa, PY Cn 202. MN.

ka-sa-no, PY V 831. MN.

ka-sa-ro, KN C 912, Dv 1450. MN.

ka-sa-to, KN Vc 7537, PY **48** = An 39, Jn 320, MY Go 610, Oe 113. MN, nom. and dat.: *Ksanthos*, *-ōi*. [Ξάνθος *Il.* V, 152.]

ka-si: see s.v. *ka-no*.

]ka-si-da, PY **50** = An 207. PN, loc.?

ka-si-ko-no, KN [Ra 1541], [Ra 1546], [Ra 1551], Ra 1555+, PY An 128. Term occurring in SWORD context; prob. occupational term (cf. *pi-ri-je-te*); nom. plur. at PY. Lejeune: *kasi-* 'with'.

***ka-so*[1]**, KN V 684. Name of material?

***ka-so*[2]**, PY Cn 599. MN, dat. [Cf. Κάσος PN, *Il.* II, 676.]

ka-ta-mi-jo, KN C 911. Nom. sing. masc., personal adj.?: '(the slave) of **ka-ta-mo*'.
ka-ta-ni-ja, KN L 771. Prob. nom. fem. plur., ethnic adj.: *Kantaniai*? Cf. next.
***ka-ta-no*[1]**, KN X 795. Possibly PN: *Kantanos*? [Κάντανος S. W. Crete.]
***ka-ta-no*[2]**, PY Eb 890, **149** = Ep 705. MN: *Katānōr*? [Cf. *me-ta-no*.]
ka-ta-ra, KN Np 85. PN, nom. plur.: *Katrai*? [Cf. Κατρεύς Paus. VIII, 53, 4.]
ka-ta-ra-i, KN Co 906. Loc. plur.: *-āhi*.
ḳa-ta-ra-pi, KN [D 7773], V 145. Instr. plur.: *-āphi*.
ka-ta-ro, KN Xf 8101, MY Z 202. Obscure; MN? [Cf. καθαρός.]
ka-ta-wa, PY Cn 40, Jn 605. MN, nom. and dat. Cf. next.
ka-ta-wo, KN Dk 5201, Dv 1113. MN. [*Katarwos* (κάταρϝος Schwyzer, *Dial.* 654) satisfies spelling, but seems an improbable name.]
ka-ṭa*$_2$*-ro, KN As 604. MN.
ka-te-ro, KN Og 5515 (possibly incomplete at left). Prob. name of weighed substance: poss. *kasteros* (syncopated form of κασσίτερος 'tin': Smith 1995.173 n. 9 [Melena]).
ka-te-u, KN Da 1451 (subsequently deleted), **72** = Dk 1072. MN: *Kasteus*?
ka-ti, PY **270** = Tn 996. Nom. sing., name of jug or hydria: prob. *kāthis*. [Cf. κηθίς 'vessel for shaking dice', κηθάριον 'voting urn', Arc. κάθιδοι (for -δες?)· ὑδρίαι Hsych.]
ka-to, KN Dv 1169+. MN: *Kastōr*?
ka-to-ro, KN Do 1054+, Dq 438+, Ga 7367, L 489. In Do, Dq, L poss. gen. of prec. (*Kastoros*), but nom. also possible; in Ga prob. nom.
ka-tu-re-wi-ja, KN [X 1047?], PY Un 1482. Nom. plur. fem.: *kanthulēwiai* 'saddle-bags'? See p. 753, and cf. *ka-tu-ro*$_2$.
ka-tu-ṛẹ-wi-ja-i, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Dat. plur.: *kanthulēwiāhi*.
***ka-tu-ro*$_2$**, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Gen. plur.: *kanthuliōn*, 'of pack-saddles'? [Cf. κανθύλη 'swelling', κανθήλια 'panniers for pack-animals', etc.] See p. 753.
ka-u-da, KN Fs 21. Recipient or destination of offerings.
***ka-u-ja*[**, KN U 4478. Obscure.
ka-u-no, TH **336** = Z 839. MN: *Khaunos*?
ka-u-ti-ṭa, PY An 340. MN.
ka-wa-do-ro, PY [Eb 976], Ep 212. MN: *Kalwandros*?
ka-wa-ra, PY Qa 1289. WN.
ka-wa-ro, KN De 1287 (possibly incomplete at left). MN.
ka-wa-ti-ro, PY An 340, Mb 1401. MN, nom. and dat.
]*ka-wi-ja*, KN Uf 79. Poss. PN; restore as *a-ka-wi-ja* (q.v.)?
***ka-wi-jo*[1]**, PY An 192. Nom. sing., description of man or ethnic?
***ka-wi-jo*[2]**, TH **332** = Fq 130+, Uq 434? Prob. MN: *Kalwios*?
ka-wi-ta, PY Cn 600. MN.
ḳa-wo, KN Sc 7471 rev. Context obscure; could be *kalwo(s)* = καλός.
ka-za, KN Sp 4452. Description of object called *wo-ra* with horn-shaped ideogram; perhaps *khaltsā* < **khalkyā* 'of bronze'.
ka-zo-de, TH Av 104. PN, acc. + *-de*.
ka-zo-e, PY Va 1323. Nom. plur., description of *aksones*: *katsohes* < **kakyos-es*. [Original compar. of κακός; cf. βράσσων/βραχύς.]
ka-*56-[.], KH Ar 4. MN?

ka-*56-na-to, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

ka-*56-no, KN Df 1219. MN.

ka-*56-so-ta, KN Ap 769. WN.

KE, As adjunct: KN As 608 (obscure). As adjunct to vessels: KN K 773.

Inside rectangular frame (= **189*): PY **343** = Qa 1296+, Un 1482?

Associated with *SA* (= 'flax'): PY Na 856+ (poss. abbreviation of word describing landholding; cf. *ke-ke-me-no-jo* Na 395 edge).

Ideographic use: KN **213** = Nc 5100, PY **179** = Ma 90+ (weighed commodity); (with numeral, not weighed): KN Gg 711, PY Un 219.

]ke-a: see [*e*]-*ke-a*[2].

ke-da-si[, PY Jn 927. MN.

ke-do-jo, PY Ua 158. Poss. MN, gen.

ke-do-si-ja, KN B 799+. Heading to lists of men.

ke-e, PY Aa 93, Ad 295. PN, loc.

ke-i-ja, PY Qa 1303. Nom. sing. fem. of ethnic, or personal name?

ke-i-jo, PY Na 577. Ethnic used as PN.

ke-e-pe, MY **105** = Ge 604. MN, dat. Probably an error for *ke-pe-e*, dat. of *ke-po*.

ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na, PY **203** = Nn 228. PN. Probably adj. (cf. *ke-e*) + *krānā* 'spring'. [κρήνη.]

ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na[, PY Na 70. Variant spelling of same name?

ke-ka-to, KN **37** = As 1517, PY **248** = Pn 30. MN.

ke-ka-u-me-no: see *a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no*.

ke-ke-me-na, KN **163** = Uf 835+, Xe 664?, PY **120** = Ea 59+, **143** = Eb 294+, **138** = Ep 301+. Nom. and gen. sing., nom. plur., perf. pple. pass.: *kekesmenā*, *-nās*, *-nai*. The meaning is approximately 'belonging to the *dāmos*, communal'. The form *kekesmenā* (cf. κεάζω, κείων) 'divided' is recommended as the most likely interpretation by Heubeck (1967). See pp. 750–51. *Ke-ke-me-ṇa*[in Xe (cf.]*-ke-me-na* KN L 5909) may be a different term or have a different application.

ke-ke-me-na-o, PY **147** = Eb 297+, **154** = Ed 236+, **142** = Ep 704+. Gen. plur. fem.: *-menāōn*.

ke-ke-me-no, PY **42** = An 830, **148** = Eb 338, **142** = Ep 704. Acc. dual fem.: *-menō*. In An 830 interpretation of form doubtful.

ke-ke-me-no-jo, PY Na 395. Gen. sing. masc. or neut.: *-menoio*.

ke-ke-me[, TI Ef 3. Restore as *ke-ke-me*[*-no* (Godart and Olivier 1975.50)?

ke-ke-tu-wo-e, PY **38** = An 261 (probable reading). Heading to list of men, nom. plur. masc. of perf. pple.?

ke-ki[1], PY An 192. Nom. sing. description of man: *-is*? See pp. 484–85.

ke-ki-de, PY **56** = An 654+, **193** = Na 514+. Nom. plur.: *-ides*.

]ḳe-ki-do, PY Na 848. Gen. plur.: *-idōn*?

ke-ki[2], PY Jn 692+. MN.

ke-ki-jo, PY **55** = An 657, **341** = Aq 218. MN or patronymic adj. Cf. *ke-ki*[2].

ke-ko-jo, PY **94** = Fn 50, MY Ui 651. MN, gen.

ke-ku-ṛo, KN Xd 7656?, PY Mn 162. MN, at PY dat.: *Kerkulōi*? [Cf. Κερκύλας.]

ke-ma-qe-me, KN **165** = Uf 839. Context obscure.

ke-ma-ta, KN V 684. Context obscure, but *kermata* 'slices' seems possible. [κέρμα.]

ke-me-ri-jo, PY Fn 324 rev. Qualification of man's name, perhaps ethnic or patronymic adj.

ke-me-u, KN Dv 1427. MN: *Kelmeus*? [Cf. Κέλμις, Κέλμος.]

ke-ni-qa, KN **256** = Ws 8497. On sealing with *a-sa-mi-to*. Nom. sing. adj. describing or noun in apposition to 'bath': *khernik^{w}s* '(vessel?) for washing the hands'? Or neut. plur. noun in apposition to 'baths' with same implication: *khernig^{w}a*? [χέρνιψ *Od.* I, 136+ 'water for washing the hands'; χέρνιβον *Il.* XXIV, 304 'vessel for this purpose'.]

ke-ni-qe-te-we, [KN X 768], MY Wt 503. Nom. plur.: *khernik^{w}tēwes* 'hand-wash-basins'. [Cf. χέρνιψ, χερνίπτομαι; see prec.]

ke-nu-wa-so, KN **165** = Uf 839. Context obscure.

ke-o-te-ja, TH Of 28. Fem. dat.: epithet of goddess Hera? Or WN?

ke-po, MY **104** = Ge 603+, Ui 709. MN.

ke-po-da: see *ke-u-po-da*.

ke-pu, KN Ap 639. WN.

ke-pu$_2$-je-u, KN Vc 7575. MN.

ke-ra^1, KN **273** = Ra 984+. Perhaps dat.-instr. sing. of fem. doublet of *keras* 'horn': *kerāi* (see p. 815). [κέρας.]

ke-ra-a, KN **254** = K 872. Prob. nom. plur. of *keras*: *keraha*.

ke-ra-e, PY Sa 840. Prob. dat.-instr. of prec.: *kerahei*.

ke-ra^2, PY **144** = Eb 416, **142** = Ep 704. Acc. sing., prob.: *geras* 'gift of honour'. [γέρας ὅ τι δῆμος ἔδωκεν *Od.* VII, 150+.]

ke-ra-e-we, PY Un 1482. Poss. dat. sing. masc.: *kerahēwei* 'to the worker in horn' (cf. κέρας) (Killen 2002). Or nom. plur. masc. of name of object denoted by ideogram **189*: *gerahēwes* 'things bringing honour' (cf. γέρας) (Melena 2002b.380–84).

ke-ra-ja, KN V 831. MN.

ke-ra-ja-pi, KN **277** = Sd 4401+, **285** = Sf 4428. Instr. plur. fem.: *keraiāphi* 'made of horn' (description of some fitment on chariots). [κεραός *Il.* III, 24+ 'horned', if this is not from *κεραϝός; cf. Lat. *ceruos* 'stag'; cf. κεραία 'horn' Aesch.+.]

ke-ra-i-ja-pi, KN Sd 4450. Variant spelling of prec.

ke-ra-me-ja, KN Ap 639. WN: *Kerameia*. [Fem. to κεραμεύς.]

ke-ra-me-u, PY **80** = Cn 1287. Nom. sing.: *kerameus* 'potter'. [κεραμεύς *Il.* XVIII, 601+.]

ke-ra-me-we, PY **50** = An 207. Nom. dual or plur.: *keramēwe(s)*.

ke-ra-me-wo, PY **124** = En 467, **137** = Eo 371. Gen. sing.: *keramēwos*.

ke-ra-me-wi[, MY Oe 125. Dat. sing.: *keramēwi*.

ke-ra-no(-qe), KN **87** = Ch 896. Name or description of one of a yoke of oxen: *Kelainos*. [κελαινός 'dark'.]

ke-ra-so, MY **96** = Fo 101, **28** = V 659 edge. WN: *Kerasō*? *Kerasos*? [κέρασος.]

ke-ra-ti-jo-jo, PY An 424. MN, gen. forming place-name with *wo-wo*.

ke-ra-u-jo, PY Eb 501, **138** = Ep 301. MN.

]ke-ra$_2$-u-na: see s.v. *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*.

ke-re, KN **36** = As 1516, B 805. MN: *Krēs*? [Κρής.]

***ke-re-a*$_2$**, PY **259** = Ta 641. Acc. plur. neut.: *skeleha* 'legs (of a tripod cauldron)'. [σκέλος (only of a man) *Il.* XVI, 314+.]

ke-re-na, KN **326** = M 719. Recipient of an offering, dat. sing.? See p. 874.

ke-re-na-i, TH **331** = Fq 126+, **333** = Gp 176. Dat. plur.: recipients of barley and wine.

ke-re-no, PY Cn 599, MY **44** = Au 102. MN. At PY dat., at MY poss. dual referring to two men of same name and/or family (see p. 465). Possibly *Gerēnos*. [Cf. Γερήνιος.]

ke-re-si-jo we-ke, PY **259** = Ta 641+. Description of tripod cauldrons. Prob. *krēsiowergēs* 'of Cretan style or workmanship', see p. 784. [Cf. Λυκιοεργής Hdt.+, Κορινθιουργής, etc.]

ke-re-ta-o, PY **80** = Cn 1287. Gen. sing. of masc. man's or god's name, or gen. plur. of fem. noun? Owner(s) of a *do-e-ro*.

ke-re-te, PY An 128. Prob. nom. plur., ethnic adj.: *Krētes*?

ke-re-te-u, PY **120** = Ea 59+, Na 565? MN: *Krētheus*. [Κρηθεύς *Od.* XI, 237.]

ke-re-ti-wo, PY Na 547. PN.

ke-re-u, KN Ag 91, PY **120** = Ea 59+ (error for *ke-re-te-u*?). MN.

]*ke-re-u-so*, TH Av 106. MN.

ke-re-wa, KN Od 666 rev.?, Xd 282. MN: *Klewās*? [Κλέας.]

ke-re-za, PY Aa 762+, Ab 217+, **12** = Ad 686+. Name of place or area at Pylos, poss. *Krētsā* < **Krētyā* 'the Cretan quarter'.

]-*ke-ri-ja-wo*: see s.v. *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*.

ke-ri-mi-ja, KN **225** = Lc 535, PY **27** = An 607. Both contexts obscure; possibly the name, nom. sing. and plur. fem., of a type of workgroup. See pp. 446–47.

ke-ro, KN B 799 rev. (erased), PY Jn 410. MN.

***KEṚO*$_2$**, KN [U 436?], U 746. Written over circular ideogram no. **172*; perhaps *kērion* 'honeycomb'.

ke-ro-ke-re-we-o, PY **294** = Sa 487. MN, gen.: *Khēroklewehos*.

ke-ro-si-ja, PY **38** = An 261, Un 616 rev. A group of men, prob. *geronsiā*, possibly with sense 'team of old (experienced?) workers'. See pp. 458–59. [γερουσία.]

***ke-ro-ta*^{1}**, KN Ld 785+. Neut. plur. adj. describing cloth. Sense unclear: 'old' (cf. *ke-ro-te*) unlikely in context (for probability that *pa-ra-ja* = *palaia* on cloth record KN Ln 1568 has sense 'last year's' rather than 'old', see s.v.). Possibly reference to type of decoration (cf. Melena 1975a.99 n.3).

***ke-ro-ṭạ*^{2}**, TH Fq 254. Obscure.

ke-ro-te, KN B 800 (erased), PY Jn 881. Prob. nom. plur.: *gerontes* 'old men'. [γέρων.]

ke-ro-u-te-u, PY Cn 600. MN: *Keloutheus*? [Cf. κέλευθος, ἀκόλουθος.]

***ke-ro-u-te*[*-we*]**, PY Fn 324. Dat.

ke-ro-we, PY Cn 4. MN.

ke-ro-wo, PY **32** = Ae 134, **60** = Cn 131. MN, nom. and dat.: *Kerowos*?

ke-ro-wo-jo, PY **61** = Cn 655. Gen.

ke-sa-da-ra, PY An 435?, Fg 368+, Mb 1380, Mn 1368. WN: *Kessandra*? [Κεσσάνδρα (vase inscr. for Κασσάνδρα).]

ke-sa-do-ro, KN As 1520, B 798, PY [An 435], Vn 130. MN: *Kessandros*? [Cf. *ke-sa-da-ra*.]

[*ke-*]***sa-do-ro-jo***, KN B 809. Gen.: *Kessandroio*.

ke-sa-me-no, PY **60** = Cn 131, Fn 324 rev. MN: *Kessamenos*. [Pple. of *ἑ-κεδ-σάμην; cf. κεδνός.]

ke-se-ni-wi-jo, PY Fr 1231. Adj. describing oil: *ksenwion* 'for guests'. [ξείνια (*ξένϝια) *Il.* XI, 779+.]

[*ke-se-*]*nu-wi-jo*, PY Fr 1255. Alternative spelling of prec.

ke-se-nu-wi-ja, KN **227** = Ld 573+. Neut. plur. describing textiles: *ksenwia*.

ke-se-ne-wi-ja, KN Ld 649. Alternative spelling of prec.

ke-se-nu-wo, PY Cn 286. MN?: *Ksenwōn*. [Corc. Ξένϝων.]

[.]*ke-se-ra-wo*, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

ke-ta, PY Jn 706. MN.

***ke-ti-de*(*-qe*)**, MY **28** = V 659. WN, dat.? (Risch 1987.290–91).

]*ke-ti-ra-wo*, KN V 7049. MN (in *-lāwos*?)?

ke-ti-ro, KN Da 1323, U 172, Xd 7813, PY Jn 415. MN.

ke-to, KN Da 1134+, PY Cn 436. MN.

ke-to-ro, KN C 954. MN.

ke-u-po-da, PY Na 195+. Prob. MN rather than title (Killen 1995a): *Kheuspondās*?

ke-po-da, PY **195** = Na 568. Prob. defective spelling.

ke-u-po-da-o, KN C 1044, Dq 442. Gen.

ke-u-po-de-ja, KN **92** = G 820. Possessive adj., nom. plur. fem., derived from prec.? Or WN?

ke-u-sa, KN Dl 946. MN.

ke-wa-to, TH Gp 153. Prob. MN, dat.

ke-we-no, PY Cn 600, Jn 431. MN, nom. and dat.

ke-we-to, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN.

ke-we-to-jo, PY **214** = Jn 310. Gen.

ke-wo-no-jo, PY **57** = An 519. MN (commander of an *o-ka*), gen.

ke-zo, PY Cn 328. MN.

ke-*83-*18, KN Dd 1425. MN.

KI, As adjunct to SHEEP and GOATS: KN C 7088, Dh 1240+, Dk 1066+, **74** = Dl 943+, **75** = Do 5010+: prob. meaning 'young', 'new-born' (see p. 497), perhaps abbreviation of word used in fem. *ki-ra*.

As surcharge on TUNIC: KN Lc 646 rev., Ld 595, **232** = L 594+: = *ki-to* 'tunic'.

Ideographic use: KN L 1649, U 5653(?): prob. = prec.

ki-da-pa, KN **289** = So 894. Prob. name of timber; cf. σκινδαψός?

ki-da-ro, KN E 842. Obscure, perhaps MN. [Cf. Κιδαρία epithet of Demeter.]

ki-do-ro, KN X 7557. MN?

ki-du-ro, PY An 192. MN.

ki-e-u, PY **54** = An 724. MN.

ki-e-wo, PY **340** = Aq 64. Gen.

ki-je-u, KN Xd 94. Variant spelling of nom.

ki-jo-ne-u-si, PY Gn 428. Dat. plur. of occupational term?

ki-ka-ne-wi-jo-de, PY Vn 48. Prob. PN + *-de*; possibly to be read as *ki-ka-ne wi-jo-de*.

ki-ke-ro, KN As 1519. MN.

ki-ma-ra, PY Aa 63. Nom. plur. fem., description of women, possibly ethnic.
ki-ma-ra-o, PY Ad 668. Gen. plur.
ki-ma-ta, KN As 1520. MN.
]ki-ma-to, KN V 7620. MN (prob. complete).
ki-mu-ko, KN Dv 1085. MN.
ki-mu-ku, KN Db 1327. MN. [Cf. prec.]
ki-ni-di-ja, PY **4** = Aa 792, Ab 189, **13** = An 292. Nom. plur. fem., description of women: *Knidiai*. [Κνίδος.]
ki-ni-di-ja-o, PY Ad 683. Gen. plur.: *Knidiāōn*.
ki-nu-qa, KN **20** = Ap 618. WN.
ki-nu-ra, PY Qa 1301, Vn 865. MN: *Kinurās*. [Κινύρης *Il.* XI, 20.]
]ki-nu-wa, KN B 772. MN?
***ki-ra*(*-qe*)**, MY **28** = V 659 (twice). Either WN or more likely term of relationship (cf. *tu-ka-te-qe* in same tablet): possibly *gīlā* 'female infant'. [Cf. νεογιλός 'new-born' *Od.* XII, 86+; see also *KI*.]
ki-ra-di-ja, KN V 1005. Ethnic adj., nom. plur. fem.? [Cf. Σκιράς epithet of Athena, Σκιράδιον ἄκρον.]
ki-ra-*56-so, KN Fh 360. MN?
ki-ra$_2$-i-jo: see s.v. *ki-ri-ja-i-jo*.
ki-ri-ja-i-jo, PY **57** = An 519. MN: *Kiljaios*, *Kirjaios*? [Κίλλαιος, Κιρραῖος.]
ki-ra$_2$-i-jo, KN Sc 103. Variant spelling.
ki-ri-ja-si, KN B 801. MN.
ki-ri-jo-te, KN Da 1163+, [Wb 9607]. Frequent annotation on SHEEP tablets; prob. adj. describing animals.
ki-ri-ko, KN X 1041. MN?: *Krikos*? [Cf. κρίκος.]
ki-ri-ne-to, KN Dv 1248. MN.
ki-ri-se-we, PY An 298. Nom. dual or plur., a man's trade: *khrisēwes* 'anointers?, painters?, plasterers?' [Cf. χρίω; χρῖσμα 'oil, plaster'; χρίστης 'white-washer' Hsych.]
***ki-ri-ta*[1]**, KN **92** = G 820. Acc. sing. or plur.: *krithān*, *krithans* 'barley'. [κριθή, κριθαί *Il.* XI, 69+.]
***ki-ri-ta*[2]**, KN Ld 785. Prob. neut. plur. adj. describing CLOTH: perh. *krita* 'choice', 'excellent' (cf. *a-ro$_2$-a* on Ld(1) tablets). [κριτός.]
ki-ri-ta-de, KN Wm 8493, X 8768. Possibly PN + *-de*, perhaps fem. acc. plur.; cf. next.
ki-ri-ta-i, KN Od 5003. Dat.-loc. plur.? Or from *ki-ri-ta*[2]?
ki-ri-te-wi-ja, KN Fp 363, PY **27** = An 607, **146** = Eb 321, **142** = Ep 704. Nom. plur., a class of women possibly with a religious function. See pp. 446, 536.
ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i, KN **91**= E 777. Dat. plur.
ki-ri-te-wi-ja-pi, PY Un 1426. Instr. plur.
ki-ri-ti-jo-jo, PY **172** = Es 650. Gen. sing.; possibly the name of a month: *Krithioio*?
ki-ri-*82-jo, PY Jn 320. MN: *Kriswaios*? [Κρισαῖος adj. of Κρῖσα.]
ki-sa-nu-mo, KN Da 1485. MN.
ki-si-wi-ja, PY Aa 770, [Ab 194]. Nom. plur. fem. of ethnic adj. The suggestion that this is ancestral to Χῖος (*Documents*[1] 156) depends upon the assumption that **ksw*

developed to **kh(w)*, as **ksm* to **khm* in αἰχμή; cf. *a_3-ka-sa-ma*; but if Χῖος (adj.) is really from *Χίιος, we should expect an extra syllable.

ki-si-wi-ja-o, PY Ad 675. Gen. plur.: *-āōn*.

ki-si-wi-je-ja, KN Xd 98. Context obscure; WN?

ki-si-wi-jo̯[, KN V 60. MN. [Cf. *ki-si-wi-ja*.]

ki-ta-ne-to, KN **29** = Am 821, Da 1108. MN.

ki-ta-no, KN **101**= Ga 1530+, X 1385. Probably *kirtanos*, metathesised form of κρίτανος (Hsych.) 'terebinth'.

ki-ti-je-si, PY **198** = Na 520. 3rd plur. pres.: *ktiensi* 'they settle, bring into cultivation'? [Athematic conjug. of verb later represented by κτίζω; cf. Skt. *kṣéti* 'resides'.] See also]*ṭi-e-si*.

]ki-ti-jo, KN V 652. MN.

ki-ti-me-na, PY **115** = Ea 71+, **122** = En 74+, **125** = Eo 211+. Nom. and gen. sing., nom. plur. fem.: *ktimenā*, *-ās*, *-ai*. A category of landholding contrasted with *ke-ke-me-na*, q.v. See pp. 571–74. [Cf. ἐυκτίμενος *Il.* II, 501+.]

[*ki-*]*ti-me-no*, PY **177** = Er 880. Prob. acc. neut. sing.

ki-ti-me, PY **122** = En 74+. Defective spelling of *ki-ti-me-na*.

ki-ti-ta, PY **53** = An 610+. Acc. sing., nom. plur.: *ktitān*, *-tai* 'settlers, inhabitants'. [κτίτης Eur.; cf. περικτίται *Od.* XI, 288, and *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*.]

ki-to, KN Lc 536, **239** = L 693. Nom. sing.: *khitōn* 'tunic', or possibly 'fine linen'. [χιτών 'tunic' *Od.* XV, 60+, Ion. κιθών.] See p. 741.

ki-to-na, KN Ld 785. Variant spelling of nom. sing.

ki-to-ne, KN L 771. Prob. nom. plur.: *khitōnes*.

ki-to-pi, KN Ld 787. Instr. plur.: *khitōmphi*.

]ki-to-ni-ja: see s.v. *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja*.

ki-u-ro, KN B 801, Dl 47? MN: *Skiwros*? *Skiwrōn*? [Σκῖρος, Σκίρων.] Cf. next.

ki-u-ro-i, PY **51** = An 1282. Dat. plur. neut.: perhaps *skiwroihi*, referring to wickerwork or flints (Killen 1999c.347–50). [σκῖρος, σκίρρος.]

ki-wa-ra, PY Vn 1339+. Prob. variant spelling of nom. plur.

[.]*-ki-wa-ta*, KN **36** = As 1516. MN. Cf. *a_3-ki-wa-ta*.

***ki-wo*(*-qe*)**, PY **348** = Vn 46. Nom. sing.: *kiwōn* (*k^we*) 'and a column'. [κίων *Od.* XIX, 38+.]

ḳi-wo-na-de, PY Vn 48. Acc. sing.+*-de*; *Kiwōna-de*, used as PN.

ki-zo, KN Ap 5748. WN.

ki-*18-i-so, KN Da 1098 edge +. MN.

KO, KN Ap 629; abbreviation of *ko-wo* or *ko-wa*?

As adjunct to CLOTH: KN L 8105.

In lists of spices: KN **323** = Ga 953+, PY Un 592 (with CONDIMENT), MY **104** = Ge 603+; abbreviation of *ko-ri-a_2-da-na*, etc. 'coriander'.

As surcharge on SKIN (**153*): PY **178** = Un 718, TH Uo 121; abbreviation of *ko-wo* 'sheep-skin'. As surcharge on CONDIMENT: MY **106** = Ge 606; abbreviation of *ko-ri-a_2-da-na*, etc. 'coriander'.

On armour tablets: PY **302** = Sh 734+: abbreviation of *ko-ru-to* (see *ko-ru*) '(plates) of the helmet'.

Other ideographic uses: KN Ce 8279+: perh. abbreviation of *ko-ro* 'piglet'; F 7542: obscure; PY Un 219: obscure.

ko-a, KN X 737. MN?

ko-a-ta, KN B 798. MN, dat.?

ko-a$_2$-ta, PY Jn 706. MN, prob. variant spelling.

ko-do, KN **165** = Uf 839, PY **117** = Ea 824, **116** = Ea 825+, Vn 130. MN, nom. and dat.

ko-do-jo, PY **115** = Ea 71+. Gen.

ko-do-ro, PY Jn 706. MN: *Kodros*. [Κόδρος.]

ko-du-*22-je, TH Fq 128+. MN? dat.

ko-i-no: see s.v. *ko-no*.

ko-i-ṛọ, PY Eb 862, **152** = Ep 613. MN.

ko-[.]-re-u, TH Of 30. MN?

ko-ka-ro, PY Fg 374, **247** = Fr 1184. MN, nom. and dat.?: *Kōkalos*. [Κώκαλος.]

ko-ki-da, KN **276** = Sd 4403, **293** = So 4430. MN, nom. of rubric? See p. 818.

ko-ki-de-jo, KN Fh 5465. Prob. possessive adj. derived from prec., perh. qualifying OIL (Killen 1983a.73.)

ko-ki-jo, PY **55** = An 657. MN: *Kokkiōn*? [Κοκκίων.]

ko-ki-re-ja, PY **258** = Ta 711+. Nom. sing. fem.: adj. describing ewers and tables: *konkhileiā* 'decorated with sea-shells'? [Cf. κόχλος Eur.+, κογχύλιον Epich.+, etc.] See p. 783.

ko-ku, KN Dh 1240. MN: *Kokkux*?

ko-ku-ro, KN B 803. MN: *Gongulos*. [Γογγύλος.]

ko-ma-do-ro, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN.

ko-ma-ra[, KN Xd 186. Obscure.

ko-ma-ta, MY **96** = Fo 101, [**28** = V 659?]. WN: *Komātā*. [Cf. MN Κομάτας.]

ko-ma-we, PY **57** = An 519, Jn 750. MN: *Komāwens*. [κομήεις.]

ko-ma-we-to, KN **20** = Ap 618, Dk 920+, Dv 1272+, Le 5629, X 9711. Gen.: *Komāwentos*.

ko-ma-we-te, KN **81** = C 913, PY Cn 925. Dat.: *Komāwentei*.

ko-ma-we-ta, KN B 798. MN, dat.?: *Komāwentāi*?

ko-ma-we-te-ja, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev., TH Of 35. Nom. plur. (or at TH dat. sing.) fem. of possessive adj. derived from *ko-ma-we* (cf. next)? Or name of a female deity? See p. 842.

ko-ma-we-te[-jo?, KN Dk 1049. Nom. plur. masc. of possessive adj. derived from *ko-ma-we*?

ko-na, PY Ep 212, TH X 105, MY Ue 652. At PY possibly erroneous repetition of preceding *ko-to-na*, or adj. *koinās*? At TH, MY context obscure.

ko-ne-wa-ta, PY Jn 431, KH Ar 4?. MN.

ko-ni-da-jo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

ko-ni-ja, PY An 615. PN? [Cf. *ko-no*^{2}.]

ko-ni-jo, PY **53** = An 610. The omission of the MAN ideogram may be accidental, due to lack of space; perhaps nom. plur. masc. ethnic adj. derived from *ko-no*^{2}.

ko-ni-ti-ja-ja, PY Vn 879. Nom. plur. adj. or noun describing artefacts.

***ko-no*[1]**, KN **323** = Ga 953, MY **104** = Ge 603+. Probably a condiment: *skhoinos*, perhaps 'sweet rush' or 'ginger-grass', *Cymbopogon schoenanthus*. See p. 556.

ko-i-no, MY **106** = Ge 606. Variant spelling.

***ko-no*[2]**, PY **160** = Eq 213. With *o-ro-jo* forming a place-name; gen. plur.? [Cf. *ko-ni-ja*, *ko-ni-jo*.]

ko-no-ni-pi, KN **252** = K 434, PY **266** = Ta 714. Instr. plur. fem., part of the decoration of a jug and a chair: possibly *kononiphi* 'cross-bars, rods'. [Cf. κανονίς (κανών); *ko-* for κα is suspect, but perhaps justified in a loan-word (Babylonian *ḳanū*), though cf. *ka-ne-ja*.]

ko-no-so, KN **224** = Le 641++. PN: *Knōsos*. [Κνωσός *Il.* II, 646+; cf. Egypt. *ku-nu-šꜣ*.]

ko-no-so-de, KN C 5753. Acc.+ *-de*: *Knōson-de*.

ko-no-si-jo/-ja, KN **36** = As 1516++. Ethnic adj.: *Knōsioi*, *-ai*, etc.

ko-no-[.]-du-ro(-qe), MY **44** = Au 102. MN.

ko-o-ke-ne, MY **335** = Oi 701 (*do-ke-ko-o-ke-ne*). MN, nom. (error for dat.?): *Koögenēs*? [Cf. Κοιογένης.]

ko-o-ke-ne-i, MY Oi 703+. Dat.: *-genehi*.

ḳo-pa-ẓi-jo, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.?

ko-pe-re-u, KN **29** = Am 821, PY **174** = Es 646+. MN: *Kopreus*. [Κοπρεύς *Il.* XV, 639.]

ko-pe-re-wo, PY **173** = Es 644. Gen.: *Koprēwos*.

]ḳo-pe-re-we, KN Fh 5486. Dat.: *Koprēwei*.

ko-pi, KN Ap 639. WN.

ko-pi-na, PY **152** = Ep 613. WN.

ko-pu-ra, KN L 5998+, [X 8267?]. Perhaps personal name.

ko-ra, MY Ui 651. Perhaps WN, gen.

ko-re-te, KN **85** = C 902, V 865, PY **340** = Aq 64, **207** = Jn 829, **208** = Jo 438, **202** = Nn 831, **342** = On 300. Nom. sing. masc., title of official in tributary villages, 'mayor'? Form to be restored unclear, but an agent noun in *-tēr*. See pp. 295–96. [Cf. *po-ro-ko-re-te*, *da-mo-ko-ro*.]

ko-re-te-re, PY **207** = Jn 829, Na 1357. Nom. plur., dat. sing.: *-tēres*, *-tērei*.

ko-re-te-ri, PY **342** = On 300. Dat. sing.: *-tēri*.

ko-re-te-ri-jo, PY **42** = An 830. Adj. describing land belonging to a *ko-re-te*: *-tērios*, *-on*.

ko-re-wo, KN Ln 1568. WN? MN?

ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na, PY **245** = Un 267, MY Ge 605. Nom. plur. neut.: *korihadna* (*-andna*?) 'coriander (seed)' *Coriandrum sativum*. [κορίαννα Anac. 6 B.C.+, also κορίανδρον, κορίαμβλον, κολίανδρον, κόριον. Classical forms influenced by popular etymology; for Myc. pattern, cf. Ἀριάδνη.]

ko-ri-ja-da-na, MY Ge 605. Variant spelling.

ko-ṛi-jo-ḍa-na, PY Un 616. If correct, variant spelling.

ko-ri-ja-do-no, KN **99** = Ga 415+. Nom. sing.: *kori(h)adnon*.

ko-ri-jo, KN Db 1267. MN: *Skolios*? [σκολιός.]

ko-ri-si-ja, PY Eb 347, **122** = En 74, [**129** = Eo 160], **128** = Eo 247, Ep 212. WN: *Korinsiā*. [Fem. ethnic, see *ko-ri-to*.]

ko-ri-to, PY Ad 921. PN perhaps in Further Province: *Korinthos*. [Not to be identified with Κόρινθος on the Isthmus.]

ko-ri-si-jo, PY **50** = An 207+. Nom. plur. masc., ethnic adj.: *Korinsioi*. [Normal development of **Korinthios*; Κορίνθιος in Att.-Ion. is analogical or borrowed from West Greek.]

***ko-ro*[1]**, PY Eq 146. Context fragmentary; gen. plur.: *khōrōn* 'of the lands'? [χῶρος *Il.* III, 315+.]

***ko-ro*[2]**, KN De 1152, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, nom. and dat.: *Khoiros*, *Khōlos*? [Χοῖρος, Χῶλος.]

***ko-ro*[3]**, TH Ft 220+. Recipient of OLIVES: perhaps *khoirōi* 'for the piglet'.

ko-ro-ḍụ-wo, PY Na 1041. PN.

ko-ro-ja-ne, KN Fh 382. MN, dat.

ko-ro-ja-ta, PY Ae 72. MN.

ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja, PY **189** = Mn 456. PN: gen. sing. *Khōroio*? + *worwia*. [ὅριον; cf. *wo-wo*.]

ko-ro-ka-[, KN Ak 5553. Prob. nom. plur. fem. of description of textile workers.

ko-ro-ki-ja, PY Aa 354, Ab 372, **13** = An 292. Nom. plur. fem., prob. of ethnic adj.

ko-ro-ki-ja-o, PY Ad 680. Gen. plur.

ko-ro-ki-no-[, KN X 974. Obscure.

ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo, PY **58** = An 656+, **192** = Na 543+. Nom. plur. masc. of ethnic adj. Attempts to relate this to Κόρκυρα = Κέρκυρα or Κροκύλεια are probably vain. See pp. 484–85.

ko-ro-no-we-sa, PY **258** = Ta 711. Nom. sing. fem., describing a ewer: perhaps *korōnowessa* 'with a curved handle'. [κορωνός; cf. κορώνη *Od.* I, 441.] Palmer: *klonowessa* 'decorated with a throng of warriors'. See p. 783.

ko-ro-sa-no, KN Vc 53. MN.

ko-ro-to, KN Od 485+, MY Oe 106. Prob. nom. sing. of epithet of wool or name of woollen object used for decorating cloth.

***ko-ro-ta*$_2$**, KN **228** = Ld 587+. Neut. plur. adj. describing cloth, prob. with sense '(decorated) with *ko-ro-to* (wool?)', see prec. , indicating value *tia* for *ta*$_2$.

ko-ro-tu-no, PY Jn 478. MN.

ko-ro-we-ja[, KN X 1013. No context; cf.]*ko-ru-we-ja*?

ko-ro-zẹ-ka, PY An 192. MN.

***ko-ru*[1]**, KN **305** = Sk 8100+. Nom. sing.: *korus* 'helmet'. [κόρυς Od. XXIV, 523+.]

***ko-ru-to*[2]**, PY **301** = Sh 737+. Gen. sing.: *koruthos*. (Abbreviated *KO* PY **302** = Sh 734+.)

***ko-ru-pi*(*-qe*)**, PY **261**= Ta 642. Instr. plur.: *korupphi* (*k*^{w}*e*) < **koruth-phi*.

***ko-ru*[2]**, TH **331** = Fq 126+. MN?

ko-ru-da-ṛọ-jo, PY Ae 26. MN, gen.: *Korudalloio*? [Cf. Κορυδαλλός name of an Attic deme.]

ko-ru-no, PY **60** = Cn 131+. MN, nom. and dat.

ko-ru-ta-ta, PY Cn 254. MN, dat.: *Koruthātāi*? [Cf. next.]

***ko-ru-to*[1]**, KN Dv 1310. MN: *Koruthos*. [Κόρυθος.]

***ko-ru-to*[2]**: see s.v. *ko-ru*.

ko-ru-we, TH Av 101, Fq 117+. Dat.

]*ko-ru-we-ja*, KN L 472. Fem. plur. adj. describing textile workers, poss. possessive derived from MN **Korwos* or sim. (Killen 1983a.81). [Cf. *ko-we-ja*.]

ko-sa-ma-ne, PY An 615. MN?

ko-sa-ma-to, KN Ga 685, PY [Eb 915], Ep 212. MN.

ko-so, KN As 40. MN.

ko-so-jo, KN Ap 637. Gen.?

ko-so-ne, PY Cn 45. MN, dat. [Cf. prec.]

]*ko-so-ni-ja*, KN U 437. Description of rectangular ideogram, perhaps [*a*]*ksonia* 'small shafts' or 'pieces of wood for axles'. [ἀξόνιον Hero 3 B.C.+; cf. *a-ko-so-ne*.]

ko-so-u-to, KN Ch 900 (*ḳọ-so-u-to-qe*), PY **215** = Jn 389. At KN name or description of ox, at PY MN: *Ksouthos*. [Ξοῦθος.]

ko-ta-wo, PY Jn 431. MN.

ko-te-ri-ja, PY **260** = Ta 709. Name of a utensil, nom. plur. fem. or neut.: possibly *khō(s)stēria(i)* 'spoons', see pp. 785–86.

ko-te-u, KN Do 1054. MN.

ko-ti, KN Db 5352, De 1084. MN.

ko-to, KN C 912, Vd 7545. MN: *Kōthōn*? [Κώθων.]

ko-to-na, PY **340** = Aq 64, **120** = Ea 59+, **143** = Eb 294+, **122** = En 74+, **129** = Eo 160+, **138** = Ep 301+. Nom. and gen. sing., nom. and acc. plur.: *ktoinā*, *-ān*, *-ai*, *-ans*, 'estate, plot of land'. [κτοῖναι· δῆμος μεμερισμένος Hsych.; a unit of land with religious associations in Rhodian inscrr. From **ktei-*; cf. *ki-ti-je-si*.]

ko-to-i-na, KN **161** = Uf 981+. Fuller spelling.

ko-to-na-no-no, PY Ea 922. Mistake for *ko-to-na <a>-no-no*.

ko-to-na-o, PY **147** = Eb 297+, **154** = Ed 236+, **142** = Ep 704+, Wa 784. Gen. plur.: *ktoināōn*.

ko-to-no, PY **148** = Eb 338, **135** = Eo 278. Acc. dual: *ktoinō*.

ko-to-ne-ta, PY **157** = Ed 901. Nom. plur.: *ktoinetai* 'men of the *ktoina*', exact meaning uncertain; see pp. 615–16. [Rhod. κτοινέται.]

ko-to-ne-we, PY Ae 995. Nom. plur. = prec.?

ko-to-no-o-ko, PY **140** = Eb 846+, **128** = Eo 247, **138** = Ep 301+. Nom., acc. and dat. sing.: *ktoino(h)okhos*, *-on*, *-ōi*, 'holder of a *ktoina*'.

***ko-to-no-ḳọ*[**, PY Eb 173. Mistake for *ko-to-no-o-ko*.

***ko-to-wa-*[**, PY Jn 601. MN.

***ko-tu-ro*$_2$**, PY Cn 436, Eb 499+, [**138** = Ep 301+], Jn 431, TH **243** = Of 34. MN: *Kotuliōn*? [Cf. Κότυλος, etc.]

ko-ṭụ-ro*$_2$*-ne, PY Eb 1347. Dat.: *Kotuliōnei*?

ko-tu-we, PY An 233+, Na 908. PN, loc.: *Gortuei*? [Γόρτυς in Arcadia, but this is unlikely to be the correct location.]

ko-tu-wo, PY **160** = Eq 213. Gen.: *Gortuos*?

ko-u-ra, KN **222** = Lc 532+, PY La 623 rev.+, MY L 710. Nom. plur. neut., description of textiles; no satisfactory explanation.

ko-u-re-ja, KN Ak 643, **25** = Ap 694, Lc 548+. Nom. plur. fem., description of textile workers: 'makers of *ko-u-ra* (cloth)'.

***ko-wa*[1]**, KN Ag 87+, **24** = Ai 63+, **14** = Ak 611+, Ap 639+, X 7720+, PY **1** = Aa 62+, **5** = Ab 379+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem. (also used for dual to prevent confusion with *ko-wo*): *korwā*, *-ai* 'daughter, girl'. [κούρη *Il.* VI, 420+, Att. κόρη, Arc. Κόρϝα.]

***ko-wa*[2]**, TH **331** = Fq 126+. Dat.: possibly *Korwāi* 'for the Daughter' [Κόρη, Arc. Κόρϝα.]

ko-wa-to, PY Cn 328. MN.

ko-we, KN Ws 8498. Obscure.

ko-we-ja, KN X 697. Prob. variant spelling of *ko-ru-we-ja*.

]*ko-we-jo*, KN Dk 925, Dq 445. Describing sheep, masc. plur.?

ko-wi-ro-wo-ko, KN **46** = B 101. Nom., number uncertain, name of a man's occupation: *kowilowrgos* 'maker of hollow-ware'? Exact sense of κοῖλος here cannot be determined. [κοιλουργός Zeno papyrus.]

***ko-wo*[1]**, KN Ag 87+, **21** = Ai 739+, **14** = Ak 611+, **34** = Am 819+, Ap 629+, Bg 817, V 482, PY **1** = Aa 62+, **5** = Ab 379+, **7** = Ad 670+, Ae 142+, **13** = An 292+, MY Oe 121. Nom. sing., dual and plur., dat. sing.: *korwos*, *-ō*, *-oi*, *-ōi* 'boy, son; (in plur.) children'. [κοῦρος *Od.* XIX, 523+, Att. κόρος, Dor. κῶρος.]

***ko-wo*[2]**, PY **178** = Un 718. With ideogram HIDE + *KO*: *kōwos* 'sheepskin, fleece'. [Hom. κώεα, κώεσι (*Il.* IX, 661+) should have a sing. *κῶος; perhaps κῶας is influenced by other nouns in -ας such as δέμας, κέρας, κρέας.]

]*ko-wo-a*, IK X 1. Nom. plur. neut., perf. pple.: cf. *te-tu-ko-wo-a*.

ko-za-ro, PY Jn 431. MN. [Cf. *ko-ka-ro*?]

KU, As surcharge on CLOTH ideogram: KN L 514+.

As adjunct to WOOL ideogram: TH **244** = Of 36+.

Ligatured with **125* (CYPERUS): KN F 157, MY Ue 652: = *ku-pa-ro*.

Ideographic use: MY **104** = Ge 603+: abbreviation of *ku-mi-no* 'cumin'.

Obscure: PY Un 1319, MY Ui 709.

***ku-da-jo*(*-qe*)**, KN V 1004. MN: *Kudaios*, *Khudaios*?

ku-da-ma-ro, PY **173** = Es 644+. MN.

]*ku-da-ra-ro*, KN L 523. Obscure.

ku-do, KN Df 1210. MN: *Kudōn*? [Κύδων.]

ku-do-ni-ja, KN **86** = Ce 59, Co 904, C 989, Fh 359, **92** = G 820, **235** = Lc 7377+, **280** = Sd 4404, Wb 7713, X 7552+. PN: *Kudōniā*. [Κυδωνία (site of modern Chania); cf. Κύδωνες *Od.* III, 292; Egyptian *ktny*.]

ku-do-ni-ja-de, KN L 588. Acc.+ *-de*: *Kudōniānde*.

ku-do-ni-jo, KN Gg 711 edge, Xd 169? Masc. ethnic?

]*ku-i-so*, KN Da 5214. MN.

ku-ja-ro, KN De 1254, X 44. MN.

ku-jo, KN Df 5211. MN.

ku-ka, MY Oe 121. MN, dat.: *Gugāi*? [Γύγης.]

ku-ka-da-ro, KN **164** = Uf 836. MN.

ku-ka-no, KN Dc 1337. MN.

***ku-ka-ra-ṛẹ*[**, KN Xd 78. MN?

ku-ka-ra-so, PY **62** = Cn 719+. MN.

ku-ka-ro, KN Da 1238, **272** = Ra 1548, V 653. MN: *Kukalos*? [Cf. Κύκαλα name of Attic deme.]

ku-ka-so, KN As 5719?, V 429. MN.

ku-ke-re-u, PY Jn 845. MN: *Kukleus*. [Κυκλεύς.]

ku-ke-so, KN Dd 1306. MN.

ku-ke-to, KN Da 1392. MN.

ku-ko-wi-ra, KN X 7644. Obscure.

ku-mi-no, MY Ge 605+. Nom. sing. neut.: *kumīnon* 'cumin', *Cuminum cyminum*. [κύμινον Hippoc. 5 B.C.+. Semitic loan-word; cf. Ugaritic *kmn*, Hebr. *kammōn*, Akkad. *kamūnu*.] See p. 536.

ku-mi-no-ḳọ[, MY Ge 602. Gen. sing.?: *kumīnoio*.

ku-mi-na, MY Ge 605. Nom. plur.: *kumīna*.

ku-mi-so, KN Da 1202, X 459? MN.

ku-mo-no, KN Dk 945. MN, dat.: *Gumnōi*?

ku-mo-no-so, KN Da 1313. MN.

ku-na-ja, PY **258** = Ta 711. Nom. sing. fem., description of a ewer: *gunaiā* 'of a woman', exact sense uncertain, perhaps 'for women's use' or 'decorated with a figure of a woman'. [γύναια δῶρα *Od.* XI, 521, etc.]

ku-na-ke-ta-i, PY **196** = Na 248. Dat. plur.: *kunāgetāhi* 'for the huntsmen (or dog handlers)'. [κυνηγέτης *Od.* IX, 120+, Dor. κυναγέτας.]

ku-na-ki-si, TH Av 100, Fq 200? Dat. plur.: prob. *gunaiksi* 'for the women'.

ku-ne, TH Fq 229+, MY Fu 711. Dat. sing. or nom. plur.: prob. *kunei*, *-es* '(for the) dog(s)' [κύων *Il.* VIII, 338+.]

ku-no, TH Fq 205+, Gf 163?, Gp 150. Gen. plur.?: *kunōn*. Or MN?

ku-si, TH Fq 130. Dat. plur..: *kunsi*.

ku-ne-u, KN Da 1396. MN: *Kuneus*?

ku-ni-ta, KN B 798. MN, dat.?

ku-pa-nu-we-to, KN **37** = As 1517. MN.

ku-pa-ri-se-ja, PY Sa 488. Nom. plur. neut.: *kuparisseia* '(wheels) of cypress-wood'. [Cf. κυπάρισσος, *Od.* XVII, 340+.]

[*ku-*]*pa-ri-so*, PY **193** = Na 514. PN: *Kuparissos*. [Κυπάρισσος, Hom. Κυπαρισσήεις *Il.* II, 593; cf. present *Kyparissía*, not necessarily the same site.]

ku-pa-ri-si-jo, PY **55** = An 657. Ethnic adj.: *Kuparissioi*.

ku-pa-ro, KN **103** = Ga 517+. A condiment, nom. sing.: *kupa(i)ros*, *-on*, *Cyperus rotundus*. [κύπειρον Theophr.+, also κύπειρος, Ion. κύπερος, Dor. κύπαιρος (Alcman). Not in sense '*Cyperus longus*'; cf. *Il.* XXI, 351. Probably loan-word; cf. Hebr. *kōper*.]

***ku-pa-ro*$_2$**, PY **245** = Un 267+. Variant spelling: *kuparyos*?

***ku-ro-ro*$_2$**, PY Un 616. Mistake for prec.

ku-pa-ro-we, PY Fr 1203. Adj. describing oil, nom. sing. neut.: *kupa(i)rowen* 'scented with cyperus'.

ku-pa-sa, KN V 145. PN.

]ḳụ-pạ-si-ja, KN V 1043. Perh. fem. plur. of ethnic adj.

[*ku*?*-*]*pe-ra*, MY **257** = Ue 611. Doubtful restoration; if correct, nom. plur.: *kupella* 'drinking cups'. [κύπελλα *Il.* III, 248+.]

ku-pe-re-te, KN B 799 rev. MN.

ku-pe-se-ro, KN Og 4467. MN: *Kupselos*. [Κύψελος.]

ku-pe-te-jo, KN X 974. Obscure.

ḳṵ-pi-ri-jạ, KN **238** = Od 667. If reading correct, fem. sing.?, ethnic adj.: *Kupriā* 'Cypriot'. [Κύπρος *Od.* XVII, 442+.]

ku-pi-ri-jo, KN Fh 347+, **103** = Ga 517+, Gg 995, K 773, X 468, PY **60** = Cn 131+, Jn 320, Un 443. Almost certainly MN in all contexts (unequivocally at PY in Cn and Jn): *Kuprios*. See p. 553.

ku-po, MY Oe 103. Personal name, dat.: masc. or fem.?

ku-ra-no, KN **37** = As 1517. MN: *Kullānos*? [Κύλληνος.]

ku-re-we, KN B 164, PY **57** = An 519+, **78** = Cn 3, **179** = Ma 90. Nom. plur. masc. Name of a class of men, possibly ethnic; see pp. 484–85.

ku-ṛị-na-ze-ja, PY Fn 187. Personal name or title, dat.?

ku-ri-sa-to, KN Xf 8101, PY An 5?, Cn 4, Jn 706. MN.

ku-ro-ro$_2$: error for *ku-pa-ro$_2$*, see s.v. *ku-pa-ro*.

ku-ro$_2$, KN As 603, U 4478, PY Ea 814, TH Fq 120+. MN, nom. and dat.: *Kūrios*, *-ōi*? [Κύριος.]

ku-ro$_2$-jo, KN **30** = B 822. Gen.: *Kūrioio*.

ku-ru-ka, KN Vc 5510. MN. [Prob. not *Glukās*.]

ku-ru-me-ne-jo, KN Fh 5502. Prob. possessive adj. derived from next, perh. qualifying OIL (Killen 1983a.81–82).

ku-ru-me-no, KN Sc 236, PY **340** = Aq 64, TH Of 33. MN: *Klumenos*. [Κλύμενος *Od.* III, 452.]

ku-ru-me-no-jo, PY **56** = An 654. Gen.: *Klumenoio*.

ku-ru-me-ni-jo, KN Da 1173 edge. Patronymic adj.: *Klumenios* 'son of K.'

]ku-ru-ni-ta, KN X 1525. MN?

ḳṵ-ṛṵ-no[, KN As 608. MN?

ku-ru-no-jo, PY Ea 801. Gen.

ku-ru-so, KN **254** = K 872, X 1014?, PY **266** = Ta 714+. Instr. sing.: *khrusōi* 'with gold'; also adj.: *khrusos*, *-ōi*, *-ō*, *-ois* 'golden' (perh. *khrussos* < **khrus-yos*?). [χρυσός 'gold', *Il.* VI, 48+; χρύσε(ι)ος (generally scanned as disyllable) 'golden', *Il.* I, 15, etc. From Hebr. and Ugaritic *ḫarūṣ-*, both substantive and adj.]

ku-ru-so-jo, PY **26** = Ae 303. Gen. sing.: *khrusoio* 'of the gold'.

ku-ru-sa-pi, PY **264** = Ta 707, **266** = Ta 714. Instr. plur. fem. adj.: *khrusāphi* 'golden'.

]ku-ru-so-no, KN Lc 504. MN, gen.: *Khrusōnos*. [Χρύσων.]

ku-ru-so-wo-ko, PY **50** = An 207. Nom. plur.: *khrusoworgoi* 'goldsmiths'. [χρυσουργός Septuagint+; cf. χρυσοχόος *Od.* III, 425+.]

ku-ru-su-*56, KN **253** = K 740. Nom. sing.: description of a three-legged vessel, possibly a compound of *khrus-* 'gold'. See p. 764.

ku-ru-zo, TH Z 840+. Isolated inscr. on vases; prob. MN. [Not *Glukiōn*.]

ku-sa-me-ni-jo, PY **57** = An 519, **341** = Aq 218. Patronymic adj. from **Kussamenos*: *Kussamenios*. [*κυσσάμενος participle to *ἐ-κυδ-σάμην; cf. κῦδος, etc.]

ku-si: see s.v. *ku-ne*.

ku-so, PY Eb 893, **138** = Ep 301. MN.

ku-so-no, PY Ae 8. MN.

ku-su, KN L 698. Preposition with dat.: *ksun* 'with'. [ξύν Hom.+.]

ku-su-a$_2$[, TH Fq 278. Personal name?, dat.

ku-su-pa, KN Fh 367, PY Fr 1201. Nom. sing. neut.: *to-so-ku-su-pa* = *tos(s)on ksumpan* 'so much (olive oil) altogether'. [ξύμπας *Od.* VII, 214+.]

ku-su-pa-te, KN Bg 817 (in original text). Nom. plur. masc.: *ksumpantes*.

]ku-su-pa-ta, KN Dp 699. Nom. plur. neut.: *ksumpanta*.

ku-su-qa, PY Ed 847 (deleted). Prob. error for *ku-su-to-ro-qa*.

ku-su-to-ro-qa, KN Bg 817, PY **158** = Ed 411, **177** = Er 880, TH Av 101, Fq 187+. Nom. sing.: *ksunstrok^{w}hā* 'aggregate, total'. [Identity with συστροφή is highly probable in view of meaning deducible from contexts, but this conflicts with current view of etymology of στρέφω, which may be wrong.]

ku-ta-i-jo, KN **37** = As 1517. MN.

ku-ta-i-si-[, KN X 7891. MN, poss. *ku-ta-i-si-jo*[, variant spelling of *ku-ta-si-jo*, q.v.

]ku-ta-mi, KN L 759 rev. Obscure.

ku-ta-si-jo, KN Da 1394, Dv 1237. MN: *Kutaisios*? [Cf. *ku-ta-ti-jo*.]

ku-ta-to, KN [**86** = Ce 59], **68** = De 1648+, **72** = Dk 1072+, Dl 463, Dm 1176+, Dq 442, Ga 454+, **210** = Mc 4455+, Uf 111, Xd 80, X 409+. PN: *Kutaiton*? [Cf. Κύταιον?].

ku-ta-i-to, KN **85** = C 902, Xd 146? Variant spelling.

ku-ta-ti-jo/ja, KN Ga 419+; **92** = G 820, Wb 5662, X 7897. Ethnic adj.

ku-te-ra$_3$, PY Aa 506, Ab 562. Nom. fem. plur. of ethnic adj.: *Kuthērai*? [Cf. PN Κύθηρα?]

ku-te-ra-o, PY Ad 390+. Gen. plur.: *Kuthērāōn*?

ku-ṭẹ-ṛẹ-u, PY **38** = An 261. MN: *Kuthēreus*? [Cf. PN Κύθηρα.]

ku-te-re-u-pi, PY **27** = An 607, Na 296. Instr. plur. PN: *Kuthēreuphi*? [Cf. *ku-te-re-u*.] See p. 447.

ku-te-ro, KN **30** = B 822. MN: *Kuthēros*? [Κύθηρος.]

ku-te-se-jo, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Nom. sing. and instr. plur.: *kuteseios*, *-ois* 'made of ebony'. [See *ku-te-so*.]

ku-te-se-ja, PY **262** = Ta 713+. Nom. sing. fem.: *kuteseiā*.

ku-te-ta-jo, PY **264** = Ta 707. Error for *ku-te-se-jo*.

ku-te-so, PY **264** = Ta 707. Nom. sing.?: *kutesos*, a kind of wood, probably 'ebony'. [κύτισος 'bastard ebony', *Laburnum vulgare*, Theophr.]

ku-te-we-wo, TH **170** = Ft 140. PN, loc.?

ku-to, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

ku-tu-qa-no, KN Ap 639, Da 1161. Personal name, WN in Ap, MN in Da.

ku-wa-ni-jo(-qe), PY **266** = Ta 714. Instr. plur. masc.: *kuwaniois* 'with (palm-trees?) of blue-coloured glass'. [κυάνεος *Il.* XI, 26+.]

ku-wa-no, PY **261** = Ta 642. Instr. sing.: *kuanōi* '(inlaid) with *kyanos*, blue-coloured glass'. [κύανος *Il.* XI, 24, both 'lapis lazuli' and 'blue glass paste imitating this'. Cf. Ugaritic *iqnu*, Akkad. *uqnu* 'lapis lazuli'?]

ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i, MY **335** = Oi 701+. Dat. plur.: *kuanoworgoihi* 'for the *kyanos*-workers'. [Cf. *ku-wa-no*.]

ku-wa-ta, KN Ws 8754. MN?

ku-*63-so, PY **122** = En 74, 128= Eo 247. MN.

MA, Ideographic use: MY **104** = Ge 603+: abbreviation of *ma-ra-tu-wo* 'fennel'; KN **323** = Ga 953+: perh. abbreviation of word for type of rush (p. 871); PY Un 219: obscure.

As adjunct to **177*: KN U 4478: obscure.

ma-di, KN As 603, Db 1168. MN.

]*ma-di-jo̯*[, KH Z 3. Prob. gen.

ma-di-je, TH Av 101, Fq 214+, X 204. Dat.

ma-di-qo, KN B 806, Db 1460, Dl 930. MN.

ma-du-ro, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN.

]*ma-ja-ro*, KN B 806. MN.

ma-ka, KN **322** = F 51 rev.?, TH **331** = Fq 126+, Gp 201?, X 152? Dat.: possibly *Māi Gāi* 'to Mother Earth', see pp. 879–89. [Μᾶ Γᾶ Aesch. *Supp.* 890 = 900.] Or *magāi* 'for kneading' and a reference to μᾶζα 'barley-cake' < μάσσω < **mag-i̯ō* (Palaima 2002a.481), see pp. 888–89 [μᾶζα Hes. +.]

ma-ka-ta, PY Jn 725. MN: *Makhātās*. [Μαχάτας.] The same man as *ma-ka-wo*, but which is correct? See p. 717.

ma-ka-wo, PY **216** = Jn 658. MN: *Makhāwōn*. [Μαχάων *Il.* II, 732+.] See s.v. *ma-ka-ta*.

ma-ke-ra, KN V 831. MN.

***ma-ke-ra-mo*[**, KN Xd 154. MN?

ma-ki, KN Xd 107. MN?

]*ma-ki-nu-wo*, KN Np 858 (perh. complete at left). MN?

ma-ki-ro-ne, KN Gg 995. Dat., MN? Or divine name?

ma-ma-ro, KN B 801?, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN: *Marmaros*. [Μάρμαρος.]

ma-mi-di-zo, KN C 911. MN?

***ma-na-je-u*[**, KN V 958. MN.

ma-na-sa, PY **309** = Tn 316. Dat., divine name.

ma-na-si-we-ko, PY Jn 431. MN: *Mnāsiwergos*. [Μνησίεργος.]

[.]*-ma-na-so*, KN Db 5359. MN.

]*ma-ne*, PY Mn 1407. Personal name or place-name?

ma-ni-ko, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN: *Manikhos*? [Thess. Μάνιχος.]

ma-no, MY **96** = Fo 101, **28** = V 659. WN, nom. and dat.: *Manō*?

]*ma-no-ne*, KN V 1524. Obscure.

ma-no-u-ro, PY Jn 605+. MN.

ma-qe̯, KN **322** = F 51 rev.? If reading correct, possibly *Māi kʷe* 'and to the Mother'. See pp. 867–70.

ma-ra, KN Xd 7662, PY Cn 328. MN.

***ma-ra-me-na*[**, PY Vn 34. WN: perh. *Mālāmenā* (cf. μήλη 'probe').

ma-ra-ne-ni-jo, PY **186** = Ma 393. Nom. plur., ethnic of variant form of next?

ma-ra-ne-nu-we, PY **53** = An 610, [Mn 1410?]. PN.

ma-ra-ni-jo, PY **62** = Cn 719+. MN: *Malanios*? [Cf. PN Μαλανία (Cyprus).]

ma-ra-pi̯, PY **79** = Cn 418. Perhaps instr. plur.: *malāphi* 'under the legs'. [Cf. ὑπὸ μάλης.] See p. 522.

ma-ra-pi-jo, KN Dd 1296. MN: *Maraphios*? [Μαράφιος.]

ma-ra-si-jo, PY **43** = An 1281, Jn 706. MN.

ma-ra-ta, PY Jn 750. MN.
ma-ra-te-u, PY **55** = An 657, **341** = Aq 218, Cn 328. MN.
ma-ra-te-we, PY **194** = Na 245. Nom. plur., perh. occupational term.
ma-ra-ti-sa, PY **42** = An 830. Obscure, PN?
ma-ra-tu-wo, MY **106** = Ge 606+. Nom. sing.: *marathwon* 'fennel', *Foeniculum vulgare*. [μάραθον, μάραθρον.]
ma-ra$_3$-wa, PY **150** = Eb 866, **149** = Ep 705. WN: *Marraiwā*? [Cf. Μαρραῖος.]
ma-re-ku-na, PY **122** = En 74, **127** = Eo 276. Man's or woman's name; the gender is wrong in one case.
ma-ṛẹ-u, PY **59** = An 661. MN: *Māleus*, *Malleus*? [Cf. Μᾶλος, Μαλλός.]
ma-re-wo, PY **55** = An 657. Gen.: *Mālēwos*, *Mallēwos*?
ma-ri, KN Dl 947+. PN.
ma-ri-jo, KN X 1581. Obscure, possibly ethnic of prec.
***ma-ri-ne*[**, MY X 508. Obscure; cf. next.
ma-ri-ne-we, KN Ga 674, Gg 713. Dat. sing., MN or name of deity?
ṃạ-ri-ne-wo, KN As 1519. Gen.
ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i, TH Of 25+. Dat. plur. fem., possessive adj. derived from prec.
ma-ri-ta, PY Jn 832. MN: *Malitās*. [Μαλίτης.]
ma-ri-ti-wi-jo, KN Da 1461, PY An 594, Cn 40, MY V 662. MN, nom. and dat.
ma-ro^1, PY Cn 40. PN. (Perhaps abbreviation for *ma-ro-pi*?)
ma-ro-pi, PY **60** = Cn 131+. Loc. plur.: *Mālōmphi*?
ma-ro^2, PY Cn 328. MN.
ma-ro-ne, KN Fh 347+. MN, dat. [From *ma-ro*^{2}?]
ma-sa, KN **86** = Ce 59?, Dq 42, Ga 1058, X 7776. PN.
ma-sa-de, KN X 744. Acc.+ *-de*?
ma-se, KN Ws 1701. Obscure.
ma-se-de, PY Cc 1285, Mn 1411. Obscure, PN or MN?
]ṃạ-si-du-wo, KN Np 1000 (poss. reading). Prob. MN; if reading correct, perh. variant spelling of next.
ma-si-dwo, KN Fh 360. MN. Cf. prec.
ma-so-mo, KN Dl 932+. PN.
ma-so-ni-jo, PY Vn 851. MN, dat.?
ma-so-qe, KN F 854. MN + *k^{w}e*?
ma-ta, PY Cn 4. PN with *a-ka-re-u-te*?
ma-ta-i, PY An 172. MN.
ma-ta-ko, PY Jn 845. MN: *Malthakos*?
ma-ta-u-ro, KN Dd 1374. MN.
ma-ta-wo, PY Ae 27. MN.
ma-te, PY **27** = An 607. Nom. sing. fem.: *mātēr* 'mother'. [μήτηρ.]
ma-te-de, PY **27** = An 607. *mātēr de* 'and the mother'.
ma-te-re, PY **312** = Fr 1202. Dat. sing.: *mātrei* (*theiāi*) 'to the Divine Mother'.
ma-te-u-pi, KN K 877. Obscure.
[.]-*ma-te-we*, PY Cn 40. MN, dat.
ma-ti-jo, KN D 1024. MN?

ma-ti-ko, KN Vc 295, V 831. MN: *Mātikhos*. [Μήτιχος.]

ma-to, PY Va 191. Obscure.

ma-to-ro-pu-ro, PY Cn 595. PN: *Mātropulos*?

***ma-to-pu-ro*[**, PY Mn 1412. Error or variant form (*Mātorpulos*?).

ma-tu-ṷẹ, KN Ln 1568 edge. Personal name, dat.

***ma-u-do*[**, KN Xd 146. Obscure.

ma-u-ti-jo, PY Cn 40, **215** = Jn 389. MN, nom. and dat.

ma-wa-si-jo, PY Jn 431. MN.

ma-*79, PY **122** = En 74, **127** = Eo 276. WN.

ME, Adjunct to children: KN Ak 634, Ak 5741: in latter prob. abbreviation of *me-u-jo* 'smaller'; in former uncertain whether abbreviation of *me-zo-e* 'larger' or of *me-u-jo-e* 'smaller'.

Ideographic use: KN V 5113?, PY **179** = Ma 90+, Mm 11, **111** = Un 2, Un 219?, **245** = Un 267, Un 616, Un 1177. In Un 2, Un 267, Un 616, Un 1177 poss. = *me-ri* 'honey'; elsewhere obscure.

***me-a-de*[**, KN E 842. Obscure; PN, acc. + *-de*?

me-de-i-jo, KN B 800. MN: *Mēdeïos*. [Μήδειος.]

me-ka-o, PY Na 571. MN, gen. forming PN with *wo-wo*: *Megāo*? [Μέγης.]

me-ka-ro-de, MI Wv 6. Acc. + *-de*: *megaron-de* 'to the hall'? Or PN + *-de* (cf. Μέγαρα)? [μέγαρονδε *Od.* XVI, 413+.]

me-ki-ta, KN L 469?, Xe 537? In L adj. describing cloths, prob. nom. plur. fem.: *meg-istai* 'of the largest size'. [μέγιστος.] Cf. *me-sa-ta*.

me-ki-ti, KN Dv 1434. MN.

***me-ki-to-de*[**, PY Fr 1244. PN, acc.+*-de*?

me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta, PY [Aa 955], Ab 575. Description of one woman, probably her name: *Megistokritā*. [Cf. Μεγιστοκλῆς, etc., Ἀγαθόκριτος, etc.]

me-na, KN E 842, **320** = Fs 3, Gg 717. In E, Fs perhaps dat. sing. fem.: *Mēnāi* 'to the Moon'; in Gg possibly plene spelling of nom. sing. masc.: *mens* 'month'. [Μήνη *Hom. hymn Sel.* 1+; μείς *Il.* XIX, 117+.]

***me-na-wa-te*[**, KN X 5723. Obscure.

me-ni-jo, PY Wa 114. Nom. sing. neut.: *mēnion* 'monthly ration or account'. [Cf. μηνιεῖα.]

me-no, KN **317** = Fp 1+, **323** = Ga 953+, Gg 704+, M 724+, **327** = Oa 745, PY **315** = Fr 1224. Gen. sing.: *mēnos* 'in the month of'. [μείς *Il.* XIX, 117+.] Cf. *me-na*, *me-ni-jo*, *o-pi-me-ne*, *sa-pa-nu-wo-me-no*.

me-no-e-ja, PY **261** = Ta 642. Adj. describing a table, nom. sing. fem. Obscure; earlier suggestion *mēnoeiā* 'crescent-shaped' is incorrectly formed, unless there is a derivative **mēnōs* in Myc. Perhaps name of a material.

me-nu-a$_2$, PY **341** = Aq 218, Qa 1293+. Nom. sing., title of an official. [Cf. Μινύαι Hdt. I, 146+.]

me-nu-wa, KN Sc 238, V 60, Xd 7702, PY **54** = An 724. Alternative spelling, poss. used as MN at KN.

me-ra, KN **165** = Uf 839. Context obscure; see p. 625. Perhaps PN; cf. next.

me-ra-de, KN Fh 5505. PN, acc.+ *-de*?

me-ra-to, PY Jn 832. MN: *Melanthos*. [Μέλανθος.]

me-re-ti-ri-ja, PY **1** = Aa 62+. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's occupation: *meletriai* 'corn-grinders'. [Cf. *me-re-u-ro* = ἄλευρον 'flour'; ἀλετρίς *Od.* XX, 105+.]

***me-re-ti-ra*$_2$**, PY Ab 789. Alternative spelling.

***me-re-ti-ra*$_2$[*-o*]**, PY Ad 308. Gen. plur.

me-re-u, PY Ep 539. MN: *Mēleus*?

me-re-u-ro, PY **178** = Un 718. Nom. sing.: *meleuron* 'flour'. [μάλευρον Alcaeus, prob. influenced by ἄλευρον.]

me-ri, KN **324** = Gg 702+; as monogram *MERI* KN **321** = Fs 11+, **325** = Gg 705+, KH **329** = Gq 5?. Nom. sing. with AMPHORA ideogram: *meli* 'honey'. [μέλι *Od.* XX, 69+.] Cf. *me-ri-ti-jo*.

me-ri-to, PY **178** = Un 718. Gen. sing.: *melitos*.

me-ri-da-ma-te, PY **48** = An 39+. Nom. dual and plur., title of an official; perhaps *melidamarte*, *-tes* 'superintendents of honey'. [Cf. *du-ma*.]

me-ri-du-ma-te, [KN X 1045?], PY **48** = An 39+. Variant spelling?

me-ri-du-ma-ṣi, PY Fn 837. Dat. plur.

me-ri-du-te, PY **94** = Fn 50. Error for *me-ri-du-<ma->te*.

me-ri-te-wo, PY Ea 481+. Gen. sing., man's occupation: *melitēwos* 'bee-keeper'? [From μελιτ- 'honey' rather than μέλισσα 'bee' as μελισσεύς Arist.+.]

me-ri-ti-jo, PY Wr 1360. Nom. sing. masc.?, with ideogram WINE: *melitios* 'honeyed'. [Cf. οἶνος μελίτειος Plutarch 2. 672B.]

]me-ri-to, KN As 5944. Prob. MN.

me-ri-wa-ta, KN De 1255, [PY Jn 431?]. MN: *Meliwātās*? [Cf. μελία? Or Μελιασταί priests of Dionysos?]

me-sa-po, PY Na 606. PN: *Messapos*? [Cf. Μεσσαπέαι Laconia.]

me-sa-ta, KN L 735. Description of CLOTH, nom. plur. fem.: *mes(s)atai* 'of medium size or weight'. [μέσσατος 'midmost' *Il.* VIII, 223+.] Cf. *me-ki-ta*.

me-sa-to, KN Wm 1714+. On nodules with ideogram **146*; nom. plur. masc.?

***me-ta*(*-qe*)**, PY **57** = An 519+. Prep. with dat.: *meta k*^{w}*e* 'and with (them)'. [Cf. μετὰ δέ σφιν *Od.* IV, 17.]

me-ta-je-wa, MY Go 610. MN, dat.

me-ta-ka-wa, PY **43** = An 1281. Prob. WN, dat.: *Metakalwāi*?

me-ta-ke-ku-me-na, KN **285** = Sf 4428. Nom. sing. fem. of perf. pple. describing framework of a chariot: *metakekhumenā* 'taken to pieces', 'knocked down'? See p. 822. [μετά + χέω; cf. χυδήν, etc.; for sense, cf. Lat. *confusus*.]

me-ta-ki-ti-ta, PY **53** = An 610. Nom. plur., a class of men: *metaktitai* 'fellow or new settlers'; cf. *ki-ti-ta*. [Cf. μέτοικος, μετανάστης.]

me-ta-no, PY **62** = Cn 719. MN: *Metānōr*. [Cf. Μετάνειρα *Hom. hymn Dem.* 161+.]

me-ta-no-re, KN Uf 1522. Dat.: *Metānorei*.

me-ta-pa, PY Aa 752+, Ab 355, **41** = Ac 1280, **27** = An 607, **340** = Aq 64+, **63** = Cc 660, **206** = Cn 608+, **207** = Jn 829, **179** = Ma 90, Vn 19+: *Metapa*, one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province. [Μέταπα, but not to be identified with known sites.]

me-ta-pa-de, PY **97** = Vn 20. Acc.+ *-de*: *Metapan-de*.

me-ta-pi-jo, PY **56** = An 654. Nom. plur. masc. ethnic adj.: *Metapioi*. [Cf. τὸς Μεταπίος in Elean inscr. Schwyzer, *Dial*. 414.]

]*me-ta-ra-wo*[, KN B 799 rev. MN: *Metalāwos*?

me-ta-ri-ko-wo, KN Vc 291. MN.

me-ta-se-we, PY **348** = Vn 46. Nom. plur.: in list of building materials; see p. 914.

me-te-to, PY **189** = Mn 456, Na 337, Vn 130. PN.

me-te-to-de, PY **39** = An 35. Acc. + -*de*.

me-te-we, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, dat.: *Methēwei*, *Mētēwei*?

me-ti-ja-no, [KN Np 273?], PY **249** = Ub 1318. MN: *Mestiānōr*, *Mēstiānōr* or *Mētiānōr* (= *Mēsi*-; cf. Μησίαναξ); cf. *ne-ti-ja-no*.

me-ti-ja-no-ro, PY Vn 34. Gen.: -*ānoros*.

me-to-qe-u, PY An 192. MN: *Metōk*^{w}*eus*? [Cf. Μέτωπος.]

me-to-re, KN Da 5295, Og 4467, PY Na 924. MN.

me-to-re-i, TH Fq 132+. Dat.

]*me-to-re-ja-de*, TH X 433. Prob. PN + -*de*.

me-tu-ra, PY **31** = Ae 264+. Prob. acc., meaning obscure; see p. 452.

me-tu-ro, KN C 954. MN: *Methullos*? [Μέθυλλος.]

me-tu-wo ne-wo (or as one word?), PY **312** = Fr 1202. Possibly dating formula; see p. 855.

me-u-jo, KN **15** = Ak 612+. Nom. sing. masc. and fem. (apparently sometimes used in place of dual): *meiwyōs* 'smaller', 'younger'. [μείων Hom.+; reconstruction of form uncertain: poss. *meiwijo*-.]

me-wi-jo, KN **14** = Ak 611+, PY **259** = Ta 641. Alternative spelling, masc. and neut.: -*ōs*, -*os*.

me-u-jo-e, KN **18** = Ak 616+. Nom. plur. masc. and fem.: *meiwyohes*.

me-wi-jo-e, KN **22** = Ai 824, **17** = Ak 627+, K 829. Alternative spelling of prec. (also as nom. dual: -*ohe*).

me-u-jo-a$_2$, PY **302** = Sh 734+. Nom. plur. neut.: *meiwyoha*.

me-wi, PY **340** = Aq 64. MN.

***me-wi-te-jo*[**, PY Mm 11. Obscure.

me-wo-ni-jo, KN K 7599?, U 4478. MN.

me-za-na, PY **78** = Cn 3, **304** = Sh 736. Possibly name of goddess, gen. and dat.; see p. 520. [Cf. Μεσσάνα.]

me-za-ne, PY **94** = Fn 50. Perhaps error for *me-za-<wo>-ne*, see next.

me-za-wo, KN **307** = Sc 222. MN: *Medzāwōn*?

me-za-[.]-ne, PY **53** = An 610. Poss. dat.: -*wonei*.

me-za-wo-ni, PY **110** = Un 138. Dat.: -*woni*.

me-zo, KN **15** = Ak 612+, Lc 504. In Ak nom. sing. masc. and fem.: *medzōs* 'larger', 'older'. In Lc perh. error for **me-zo-a*. [μείζων Hom.+, Att.; other dialects μέζων < **meg-jōn*.]

me-zo-e, KN **22** = Ai 824, **14** = Ak 611+, Gg 5637 edge, L 471, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. dual and plur. masc. and fem.: *medzohe*, -*ohes*.

me-zo-a$_2$, PY **302** = Sh 734+. Nom. plur. neut.: *medzoha*.

me-*86-ta, KN Ce 61. MN.

MI, As adjunct to CLOTH + *TE*: KN **224** = Le 641+, Ln 1568; probably abbreviation of *mi-ja-ro*.

Ideographic use: MY **104** = Ge 603 (erased): probably abbreviation of *mi-ta* 'mint'.

-mi, PY **142** = Ep 704, **159** = Eq 36?, **200** = Na 926. Enclitic pronoun: *min* 'him', 'her'. [μιν Hom.+.]

mi-ja-ra-ro, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

mi-ja-ro, KN Ln 1568. Apparently description of CLOTH + *TE*; also probably abbreviated to *mi*. Possibly *miaros*, but precise significance unclear [μιαρός *Il.* XXIV, 420+.]

mi-jo-qa, PY **43** = An 1281, **94** = Fn 50+. Probably WN, gen. and dat.

mi-ka-ri-jo, PY Cn 600, Jn 605. MN.

mi-ka-ri-jo-jo, PY Jn 605. Gen.

mi-ka-ta[1], PY **48** = An 39+, Eb 839, **152** = Ep 613, **94** = Fn 50. Nom. and dat. sing., nom. plur., name of a man's office or occupation: perhaps *miktās*, *-tai* 'mixer' and reference to mixer of water and wine for secular purposes. [See pp. 468–69.]

mi-ka-ta[2], KN Vc 64. MN, unless an example of *mi-ka-ta*[1].

mi-ka-to, KN Vc 67. MN.

mi-ko-no, PY An 209. MN.

mi-ni-so, KN Uf 1522. MN, dat.?

mi-ra, PY Eb 905, **122** = En 74, **127** = Eo 276, **152** = Ep 613. WN: *Smilā*? [Cf. MN Σμίλης.]

mi-ra-ti-ja, PY Aa 798+, Ab 573. Nom. plur. fem., description of women: *Milātiai* 'women of Miletus'. [Later Μιλήσιος.]

mi-ra-ti-ja-o, PY Ad 380+. Gen. plur.: *Milātiāōn*.

mi-ra-ti-ra, PY Ab 382. Error for *mi-ra-ti-ja*.

mi-ra-ti-jo, TH Fq 177+. MN, dat.: *Milātiōi* (cf. prec.).

mi-ra$_2$, PY **263** = Ta 715. Probably a kind of wood for tables, see p. 791.

mi-ru-ro, KN **36** = As 1516, **85** = C 902, Da 1127, V 482+. MN.

mi-sa-ra-jo, KN **169** = F 841. MN: *Misraios*? [Cf. *Misr* 'Egypt'.]

mi-ta, MY **106** = Ge 606+. A spice: *mintha* 'mint', *Mentha viridis*. [μίνθα 6 B.C.+.]

mi-ta-qo, KN Dv 1292. MN.

mi-ti, KN Dl 463. MN.

]mi-to-no, PY An 172. MN.

mi-to-we-sa, KN Sd 4407+. Nom. sing. or plur. fem., of chariots: *miltowessa*, *-ai* 'red coloured'. [Cf. νῆες μιλτοπάρῃοι *Il.* II, 637.]

mi-to-we-sa-e, KN **280** = Sd 4404. If not an error, perhaps prec. + monosyllabic word: *miltowessa(i) en* 'red coloured inside'. See p. 820.

MO, Ideographic use, parallel to *ZE*, but with numeral 1, referring to horses and wheels: KN Sc 220+, **289** = So 894, **293** = So 4430+, PY **295** = Sa 787+: abbreviation of **monwos* 'single'. [Ion. μοῦνος, Att. μόνος.]

As adjunct to OX^{m}: KN C 7067: prob. with same value.

mo-da, PY Jn 601. MN. Cf. next.

mo-i-da, MY **44** = Au 102+. Variant spelling of prec.?

]mo-ke-re-we-i: see s.v. *da*?-]*mo-ke-re-we-i*.

mo-ne-we, TH Fq 254+, Gp 110. MN, dat.: *Monēwei*? [Cf. Ἔμμονος, Παράμονος: García Ramón 2006.42.]

]-*mo-ni-ja-ro*, KN Dv 1146. MN.

mo-ni-ko, KN Da 1288, V 337 rev.? MN.

mo-qo-so, KN De 1381. MN: *Mok^{w}sos*. [Μόψος; cf. Hitt. *Mukšaš*.]

mo-qo-so-jo, PY Sa 774. Gen.: *Mok^{w}soio*.

mo-re, KN Dv 1214. MN.

mo-re-u, PY **215** = Jn 389+. MN: *Mōleus*?

mo-ri-wo, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN: *Moliwōn*? [Μολίων *Il.* XI, 322+.]

mo-ri-wo-do, KN Og 1527. Nom. sing., a substance measured by weight: *moliwdos* 'lead'? [μόλιβος *Il.* XI, 237; also μόλιβδος, μόλυβδος, βόλιμος, etc.]

mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi, PY La 635. PN?, loc. plur.?, perhaps compound of *mo-ro-ko* and *wo-wo* (q.v.).

mo-ro-qa, KN C 954, Xd 7586, PY **57** = An 519, **340** = Aq 64, **208** = Jo 438. Nom. sing. masc., title of local official. Perhaps *mo(i)ro-kk^{w}ās* 'possessor of a share'. [μοῖρα, μόρος (Locr. and Lesb.) a measure of land; πάσασθαι 'possess'.]

mo-ro-qo-ro, PY **114** = Ea 800+. MN, dat.: *Molog^{w}rōi*. [Μόλοβρος; cf. μολοβρός *Od.* XVII, 219+.]

mo-ro-qo-ro-jo, PY **113** = Ea 782+. Gen.: *Molog^{w}roio*.

MU, Identical with ideogram **109* = OX (without marks of sex). Also in context with OIL: KN Fh 347+: Palmer suggests a vessel holding S 4.

]*mu-da*, KN Dv 1331. MN.

mu-jo-me-no, PY **111** = Un 2. Prob. dat. sing.: *muiomenōi* 'being initiated'. [*μυίω (<**musyō*); cf. μύω, but in sense equivalent to μυέω.] See pp. 563–64.

mu-ka-ra, KN Od 666?, Pp 498. MN?

]*mu-ki-ti*, KN X 410. Obscure.

mu-ko, PY An 172. MN: *Mukōn*, *Muskhōn*? [Μύκων, Μύσχων.]

mu-ta-pi, PY An 5, Cn 4. PN.

mu-te-we, PY **249** = Ub 1318. MN, dat.: *Murtēwei*?

mu-ti, PY Eb 858. WN: prob. error for *mu-ti-ri*, q.v.

mu-ti-ri, PY Ep 212. WN: *Murtilis*. [Cf. PN Μυρτιλίς.]

mu-ti-ri-ko, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN: *Mustiliskos*?

mu-to-na, PY **57** = An 519, Jn 706. MN: *Murtōnās*? [Cf. Μύρτων.]

mu-to-wo-ti, PY Eb 495 edge. Obscure, perhaps loc. of PN.

na-e-ṛạ-jạ, KN Ln 1568. WN?

na-e-si-jo, KN V 147, PY Jn 750, TH Av 106. MN.

na-i-se-wi-jo, PY Jn 692+, Mn 1408. PN or ethnic adj.

na-ki-zo, KN Wm 8499. MN?

]*na-ko-to*, KN V 488. MN.

na-ma-ru-ko, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN.

na-ne-mo, TH Gp 110. MN, dat.: *Nānemōi*? [Cf. νήνεμος 'windless', *Il.* VII, 556+: García Ramón 2006.42–43.]

na-pe-re-wa, PY Cr 868. PN.

na-pu-ti-jo, KN **65** = Db 1232, PY Jn 845. MN: *Nāputios*. [Cf. νηπύτιος.]
na-ru, KN Db 1304. MN.
na-si-jo, KN B 800. MN: *Nāsios*? [Νήσιος (νῆσος).]
na-su-to, MY **44** = Au 102+. MN.
na-su-ṿọ, KN B 799 rev. MN.
na-ta-ra-ma, MY **96** = Fo 101. WN, dat.
na-u-do-mo, KN U 736, PY **195** = Na 568, Vn 865, [Xa 990]. Nom. plur.: *naudomoi* 'ship-builders'. [Cf. ναυ-πηγός, *to-ko-do-mo*.]
ṇạ-u-pi-ri-jọ-ị, KN Fh 5432 (doubtful reading). If correct, dat. plur. masc. ethnic adj.; cf. PN Ναύπλιον?
na-u-si-ke-re[-we?], KN Xd 214. MN: *Nausiklewēs*? [Ναυσικλῆς.]
na-wa-to, PY Jn 415. MN.
na-wi-jo, PY **207** = Jn 829. Acc. sing. masc.: *nāwion* '(bronze) of the temple'. [Cf. να(ϝ)-ός < *νασ-ϝος. Alternatively possibly from ναῦς, νήϊος (Hom.).] See p. 695.
na-wi-ro, KN Db 1507. MN: *Nāwilos*?
NE, As adjunct to WOMAN and children: KN **16** = Ak 624+, Ap 629; as adjunct to animals: KN **87** = Ch 896, **85** = C 902, Dh 1240, Dk 1066+, Dn 1319, Dp 699: in both cases probably abbreviation of *newos*, *newā* 'new' (= 'this year's') or 'young'.
ṇẹ-a$_2$-ri-da, TH Of 39. Prob. MN.
ne-da-wa-ta, PY **208** = Jo 438. MN: *Nedwātās*. [Cf. Νέδα river and nymph.]
  ne-da-wa-ta-o, PY **55** = An 657. Gen.: *Nedwātāo*.
ne-de-we-e, PY Cn 595. PN, loc.
ne-do-ṿọ-te, PY Cn 4. PN, loc.: *Nedwontei*. [Νέδων river of E. Messenia.]
  ne-do-wo-ta-de, PY **59** = An 661. Acc.+ *-de*: *Nedwonta-de*.
ne-e-ra-wo, PY Fn 79. MN, dat.: *Nehelāwōi*. [Cf. Νείλεως.]
ne-e-to, TH Of 38. MN, dat.?
ne-je-ta[, KN F 153 rev. MN.
ne-ka-ta-ta, PY Vn 851. Man's or woman's name, dat.
ne-ki-ri-de, KN Ak 780, Ln 1568 edge, Ws 8152. Nom. plur. fem., probably description of women: poss. *nekrides* 'shroud-makers' (Killen 1986.279–80). [Cf. νεκρός *Il.* VI, 71+.]
  ne-ki-ri-si, KN Od 687. Dat. plur.
ne-me-ta-wo, PY Cn 4. MN.
ne-o-ta, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.
ne-o-to, KN As 1519. MN.
ne-qa-sa-pi, KN **254** = K 872. Instr. plur., decoration on metal vessels.
ne-qa-sa-ta, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.
ne-qe-u, PY **340** = Aq 64, Jn 725, Qa 1298. MN.
  ne-qe-wo, PY Eb 495, [**152** = Ep 613]. Gen.
ne-ri-to, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, dat.: *Nēritōi*. [Νήριτος *Od.* XVII, 207.]
ne-ri-wa-to, KN Og 4467. MN.
ne-se-e-we, PY Cr 868. PN.
ne-ti-ja-no, [KN Np 273?], PY Cn 599, TH Av 106. MN: *Nestiānōr*.
  ne-ti-ja-no-re, PY Cn 40. Dat.: *Nestiānorei*.

[.]*-ne-wa-ta*: see s.v. *ko-ne-wa-ta*.

ne-we-wi-ja, KN Lc 560, PY Aa 695, Ab 560. Nom. plur. fem., description of women textile workers.

ne-we-wi-ja-o, PY Ad 357. Gen. plur.

ne-wo, KN Fh 362+, Od 689, X 658, PY **58** = An 656, **312** = Fr 1202, **304** = Sh 736, MY **241** = Oe 129. Nom. sing. and plur. masc., nom. sing. neut., dat. sing. masc., etc.: *newos*, *-oi*, *-on*, *-ōi* 'new', 'this year's', 'young'. [νέος Hom.+.]

ne-wo-jo, KN Fh 5506. Gen. sing.: *newoio*.

ne-wa, KN **77** = Dp 997, **293** = So 4430+, X 7722, PY Mb 1381, Sa 843, **300** = Ub 1315, [MY **242** = Oe 111], TH **243** = Of 34. Nom. and dat. sing., nom. plur. fem. and neut.: *newā*, *-āi*, *-ai*, *-a*.

ne-wo-ki-to, PY **58** = An 656, **341** = Aq 218. Probably PN; the form *ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja* (An 656.7) implies a plur.

ne-wo-pe-o, PY Aa 786, Ab 554, Ad 688, Cc 665. PN, prob. an *o*-stem, since loc. appears to be the same as nom.

NI, Ideographic use, for 'figs': KN **320** = Fs 3+, F 866+, Uc 161, PY **5** = Ab 379+, **39** = An 35, Fg 253+, **330** = Fn 187, Ua 158, **111** = Un 2+, TI Uh 12, MY Fu 711, Ue 611 rev. Taken over from Linear A, perhaps as abbreviation of Minoan word appearing as Greek gloss νικύλεον (Neumann 1962).

Ligature with bowl or basket and circular ideogram: MY Ue 661.

]*-ni-ja-mo*, KN Fh 5471. Obscure.

]*ni-ja-so*, KN Dk 920. MN.

no-da-ro, KN As 609, Dc 1228. MN.

]*ṇọ-di-mi-zo-jo*[, KN **169** = F 841. MN? Gen.? Cf. next.

no-di-zo, TI Z 11+. MN? Cf. *di-no-zo*.

no-do-ro-we, KN As 608. MN?

no-e-u, PY Jn 431. MN: *Noeus*.

]*-no-ka-ra-o-re*: see s.v. *o-no-ka-ra*[.

no-ko, MY **104** = Ge 603. Error for *ko-no* (q.v.).

no-nu-we, KN Od 562. Personal name, dat.

***no-pe-re-a*$_2$**, PY **298** = Sa 682+. Nom. plur. neut., describing wheels: *nōpheleha* 'unserviceable'. [ἀνωφελής 6 B.C.+; cf. νώνυμος/ἀνώνυμος, etc.]

no-pe-re-e, PY Sa 794. Dual neut.: *nōphelehe*.

no-ri-wo-ki-de, TH **244** = Of 36. Prob. dat. sing. or nom. plur. of fem. derivative of next: *-worgidei*, *-es*.

no-ri-wo-ko, PY Aa 98. Nom. plur. fem., an occupation: *-worgoi*?

no-ri-wo-ko-jo, PY Ad 669. Gen. sing.

no-sa-ro, KN Dv 6059. MN.

no-si-ro, KN As 603, Ln 1568. MN.

nu-to, KN V 482+. MN.

nu-wa-ja, KN **234** = L 647. Nom. plur. neut., adj. describing cloth: possibly *nuhaia* (νυός) 'for a bride' (Ruijgh 1978.96; Killen 1986.281–84). See p. 738.

nu-wa-i-ja, KN L 592+. Variant spelling.

O, As abbreviation of *o-pe-ro*[1], very common: e.g. KN **74** = Dl 943, **229** = Ld 598 edge, PY **9** = Ad 671 (cf. *o-pe-ro* Ad 357), **187** = Ma 123+.

As abbreviation of *o-pa-wo-ta* (q.v.): PY **302** = Sh 734+.

As abbreviation, perhaps of *o-re-ne-(j)o* (q.v.): KN Ld 595.

Ligatured with **125* (CYPERUS): KN **89** = F 852+, G 7509?, PY Fa 16, Ua 434, Un 47, TH Gp 290, Wu 71, MY Fu 711, Ue 652; also alone = CYPERUS + *O*: PY **111** = Un 2+.

Ideographic use (not necessarily always the same commodity): KN Nc 5100?, PY **179** = Ma 90+, Un 219, TH Ug 3+.

o-, KN **224** = Le 641, PY **55** = An 657, **160** = Eq 213++. Prefix, also spelt *jo-*, usually attached to verbs and standing in initial position: *hō* 'thus', 'how'. [Cf. ὥ-δε, Alcman ὥ-τ', etc.]

o-a-ke-re-se: see *a-ke-re-se*.

o-a-po-te: see *a-po-te*.

o-a$_2$, PY **97** = Vn 20. Form of *o-da-a$_2$* used when not connective: perhaps *hō 'ha* reinforced form of *hō* 'thus'; see s.v. *o-da-a$_2$*.

o-da-a$_2$, PY **340** = Aq 64, **341** = Aq 218, **155** = Ed 317+, **122** = En 74+, **159** = Eq 36+, **179** = Ma 90+, **178** = Un 718. Phrase introducing the second and subsequent paragraphs of a list, hence at the beginning of a tablet indicates it belongs to a set of which it is not the first member: *hō d(e) aha* 'and thus'. See pp. 904–05.

o-da-ke-we-ta, KN **288** = Sg 1811, So 4446. Nom. plur. neut., adj. describing wheels and cloths: perhaps *odakwenta* 'toothed', but precise implication unclear. See pp. 804–05.

o-da-ku-we-ta, KN [L 870], So 4435. Variant spelling.

o-da-tu-we-ta, KN **289** = So 894. Variant form: *odatwenta*.

o-da-*87-ta, KN **293** = So 4430+. Variant spelling, perhaps of *o-da-tu-we-ta*, with **87* = *twe*.

o-da-ra-o, KN V 5913. MN.

]o-da-sa-ṭo, ***]ọ-da-sa-to***: see s.v. *da-sa-to*.

o-da-*87-ta: see s.v. *o-da-ke-we-ta*.

o-de-ka-sa-to: see s.v. *de-ka-sa-to*.

o-de-qa-a$_2$, PY **342** = On 300. Lengthened form of *o-da-a$_2$*: *hō de k^w(e) aha* 'and also thus'. See p. 907.

o-di-do-si, ***o-do-ke***: see s.v. *di-do-si*.

o-du, KN V 479 rev. MN.

o-du-we, KN Od 696. Dat.?

o-du-ru-we, KN **85** = C 902. PN, dat.-loc.

[o-]du-ru-wo, KN Co 910. Gen. Cf. *u-du-ru-wo*.

o-du-ru-wi-jo/-ja, KN Ai 982, **85** = C 902, TH **336** = Z 839. Ethnic adj.

o-du-*56-ro, PY **38** = An 261. MN.

o-ja-de, KN Fs 9. Obscure, PN + *-de*?

o-je-ke-te-to, TH **332** = Fq 130. Obscure, see p. 885.

o-ka[1], PY **55** = An 657+. Title of a command held by a senior officer in the coastguard: prob. *orkhā*; cf. ἀρχή, ὄρχαμος, but *okha* (ἔχω) also possible. See p. 481.

***o-ka*²**, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Prob. noun, article made from leather: perhaps *okhai* 'supports', 'straps'. [ὀχή.] See p. 753.

***o-ka*³**, PY **172** = Es 650 rev.+. MN.

o-ka-ra, KN X 7631, PY **55** = An 657. At PY nom. plur., name of a class of men serving as coastguards. See pp. 484–85. At KN perh. MN.

***o-ka-ra*₃**, PY **57** = An 519+, **78** = Cn 3. More usual spelling of nom. plur.

o-ka-ri-jo, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN: *Oikhalios*. [Cf. Οἰχαλίη *Il.* II, 730.]

]o-ke-te, KN Xd 116. Obscure; MN? (cf. next).

o-ke-te-u, PY Jn 693. MN: *Okheteus*?

o-ke-u, PY **119** = Ea 259+. MN.

o-ke-u-ri-jo, TH Av 104, **170** = Ft 140. PN, dat.-loc.?

o-ki-ra, PY Cn 285. MN.

o-ki-ri-so, PY Cn 202. MN.

o-ki-ro, KN Dv 1509. MN.

o-ko, PY Cn 436. MN.

o-ko-me-ne-u, PY Ea 780. MN: *Orkhomeneus*. [Cf. Ὀρχομενός as PN, *Il.* II, 511, 605.]

o-ko-te, KN Vc 126, Vd 7545, Xd 7558. MN.

o-ko-we-i, TH Fq 125+. MN, dat.

o-ku, KN As 8161, Da 1170, Dl 792. MN: *Ōkus*.

o-ku-ka, PY **60** = Cn 131+. MN, nom. and dat.: *Ōgugās*, *-āi*? [Cf. PN Ὠγυγίη *Od.* I, 85.]

o-ku-na-wo, KN V 60. MN: *Ōkunāwos*.

o-ku-no, KN Da 1082. MN.

o-ku-su-wa-si, MY Ue 652. Obscure.

o-mi-ri-jo-i, KN Fh 356. Dat. plur., recipients of oil.

o-mi-ri-so, KN C 911. MN.

o-mo-pi, KN **287** = Se 891, [Se 1007?]. Instr. plur.: perhaps *oimophi* 'with bands (of ivory)'. [Cf. δέκα οἶμοι … κυάνοιο *Il.* XI, 24; etymology uncertain.] See p. 823.

o-mu-ka-ra, KN Od 666 edge. MN? Or divide as *o mu-ka-ra* (q.v.)?

o-na, KN Fh 5431, M 559, Od 5558, PY Ua 158. In KN M possibly PN; cf. next; elsewhere perhaps plur. of *o-no*, q.v.

o-ṇạ-ja, KN Db 5212. MN.

o-na-jo, KN Dd 1511, E 670, PY Jn 832. In KN E prob. ethnic adj.; in KN Dd and PY Jn MN.

o-na-se-u, KN V 1523, PY **43** = An 1281, **216** = Jn 658+. MN: *Onāseus*. [Cf. Cypr. Ὀνασι-.]

o-na-te-re, PY **122** = En 74+, Wa 784. Nom. plur.: *onātēres* 'persons holding an *onāton*'. See pp. 581–82. [Cf. ὀνήτωρ Hsych.]

o-na-to, PY **120** = Ea 59+, **146** = Eb 321+, **122** = En 74+, **129** = Eo 160+, **138** = Ep 301+, Eq 146. Acc. sing. neut.: *onāton* 'a portion (of land) enjoyed', 'beneficiary right'. See pp. 581–82.

o-na-ta, PY **147** = Eb 297, **155** = Ed 317+. Acc. plur.: *onāta*.

o-ne-u, KN Dd 1207. MN: *Orneus*. [Ὀρνεύς.]

o-ni-si, TH Fq 123+. Dat. plur.: prob. *ornīsi* 'for the birds'. [ὄρνις *Il.* IX, 323+.]

o-ni-ti-ja-pi, PY **264** = Ta 707. Instr. plur. fem. of adjective describing part of a chair: *ornīthiāphi* '(decorated) with birds'. [ὀρνίθεος Aristoph.+.]

***o-no*[1]**, KN Fh 347+, M 559, Xe 657?, PY **39** = An 35+, **345** = Un 1322+, MY Oe 108+, KH X 6. Nom. sing. of word meaning 'consideration', 'payment'; perhaps *onon* from root of ὀνίνημι. Cf. *o-na*. See p. 460.

***o-no*[2]**, KN **84** = Ca 895, Ca 7788?. Nom. plur.: *onoi* 'asses'. [ὄνος *Il.* XI, 558+.]

***o-no-ka-ra*[**, PY Mn 1412, Na 1038? (]*no-ka-ra-ro-re*). PN: perhaps loc.: *Ono-karaorei* 'Ass-head'.

***o-no-we-wo-ṛọ*[**, KN Xe 657. Prob. to be separated *o-no we-wo-ro*; cf. Fh 347; see *o-no*.

***o-nu-ka*[1]**, KN Od 485+. Probably nom. sing.: *onuks* (cf. *wa-na-ka* = *wanaks*). Sense obscure, but must be some part of or appendage to textiles which might be white or variegated (cf. *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*). [Prob. same word as ὄνυξ, but in some technical sense.]

o-nu, KN Od 681. Variant spelling of nom. sing. (cf. *to-ra* = *thōrāks*).

o-nu-ke, KN Ln 1568 edge, M 683, Od 682, Ws 1703. Nom. plur.: *onukhes*.

***o-nu-ka*[2]**, KN Ld 584+. Prob. neut. plur. description of textiles: 'with *o-nu-ke*' (prob. back-formation on *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, etc.). See p. 728.

o-nu-ke-ja, PY Ab 194. Nom. plur. fem.: *onukheiai* 'women who make (and apply?) *o-nu-ke*'. Cf. next.

o-nu-ḳẹ-jạ-o, PY Ad 675. Gen. plur.

o-nu-ke-wi, TH Of 206. Dat. sing. masc.: *onukhēwi* 'man who makes (and applies?) *o-nu-ke*'.

o-o-pe-ro-si: see s.v. *o-pe-ro-si*.

o-pa, KN **29** = Am 821, Ce 50 rev., Dm 1184, E 971, L 695, **276** = Sd 4403+, **283** = Sf 4420, **293** = So 4430, **275** = Ws 1704+, PY **304** = Sh 736, Wr 1325+, TH Wu 46+, MI Wv 6. Nom. and gen. sing.: prob. *hopā* '(obligatory) work', perhaps in particular 'work on finishing' (Killen 1999a). [ἕπω *Il.* VI, 321.] See p. 450. See also *u-po-o-pa*.

o-pa-ro-ze, PY Un 1321. Obscure.

***o-pa-we-*[**, KN Dv 1434. Perhaps beginning of MN in gen.

o-pa-wo-ne-ja, KN Fh 339. Perhaps possessive adj. derived from MN **o-pa-wo*, poss. qualifying *to-qa* (Killen 1983a.82).

o-pa-wo-ta, KN **305** = Sk 8100+, PY **301** = Sh 737+. Nom. plur. neut.: prob. 'plates' or 'pads' attached to body-armour, prob. *op-aworta*, literally '(things) hung on'. [*opi* + ἀείρω.] See p. 832.

o-pe, KN B 800. Obscure.

o-pe-qa, PY Cn 570. MN, dat., perhaps identical with *o-qe-qa*.

o-pe-ra-no, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN: *Ophelānōr*. [Cf. Boeot. Ὀφέλανδρος.]

o-pe-ra-no-ro, MY Ui 651. Gen.: *Ophelānoros*.

o-pe-ra-no-re, MY Oe 126. Dat.: *Ophelānorei*.

o-pe-re-ta, PY An 209, **61** = Cn 655, [TH Wu 56?]. MN: *Ophelestās*. [Ὀφελέστης *Il.* VIII, 274.]

***o-pe-ro*[1]**, KN **101** = Ga 1530+, Gg 706+, L 455+, **251** = So 4442+, X 409, PY **40** = Ac 1277+, Ad 357+, Cn 4+, **184** = Ma 126+, **203** = Nn 228, Ub 1316+, MY

105 = Ge 604. Often abbreviated to *o*. Annotation introducing missing quantity: prob. nom. sing. neut. *ophelos* 'deficit'. [In origin the same word as ὄφελος 'advantage', with different semantic development from 'that which is needed'.]

***o-pe-ro*²**, PY **54** = An 724, Eb 149 (*o-pe-ro-qe*), Eb 495, **152** = Ep 613. Nom. sing. masc. of pple.: *ophēlōn* 'being under obligation'.

o-pe-ro-ta, PY **54** = An 724. Acc. sing. masc.: *ophēlonta*.

o-pe-ro-te, PY **54** = An 724, **341** = Aq 218. Nom. plur. masc.: *ophēlontes*.

o-pe-ro-sa, PY **148** = Eb 338 (*o-pe-ro-sa-de*), **142** = Ep 704. Nom. sing. fem.: *ophēlonsa* (*de*).

o-pe-ro-si, PY **203 =** Nn 228 (*o-o-pe-ro-si*). 3rd plur. pres. indic.: (*hō*) *ophēlonsi* 'thus they owe'.

o-po-ro, MY Ge 602 (*jo-o-po-ro*). 3rd plur. aor. indic.: (*hō*) *ophlon* 'thus they owed'.

***o-pe-ro*³**, PY Fn 324. Prob. MN, dat.

o-pe-se-to, PY Cn 600. MN.

o-pe-ta, KN B 799. MN: *Opheltās*. [Ὀφέλτας.]

o-pe-te-re-u, PY Ea 805, **143** = Eb 294. MN. Cf. *o-pe-to-re-u*.

o-pe-te-we, KN So 4447. MN, dat.?

]*o-pe-te-wo*(*-qe*), KN L 593. Gen.?

o-pe-to-re-u, PY **142** = Ep 704. MN; variant or incorrect spelling of *o-pe-te-re-u*.

***o-pe-to*-[.]**, TH Of 29. MN?

o-pi, KN **37** = As 1517, Fh 368, Ln 1568 edge, L 567+, Mc 1508 rev., **223** = Od 562+, **166** = Uf 983, V 1523, Ws 8754, Xd 7757, Xe 524+, Xf 5115?, X 5334, PY **32** = Ae 134+. Preposition with dat.: *opi*, at KN with personal names 'in the charge or house of (a supervisor)', at PY with animals 'responsible for', 'in charge of'. [*ὀπι- in ὄπιθεν, ὀπώρα, etc., doublet of ἐπί; cf. Lat. *ob*, Osc. *op*, etc.]

o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra, PY **55** = An 657. Acc. plur. neut.: *opihala* 'coastal regions'. [ἔφαλος *Il.* II, 538+.]

o-pi-da-mi-jo, PY **42** = An 830, **206** = Cn 608. Nom. plur. masc.: *opidāmioi* 'residents (in districts)'. [ἐπιδήμιος *Od.* I, 194+.]

o-pi-de-so-mo, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Nom. plur.: *opidesmoi* 'bindings'. [ἐπίδεσμος 'bandage', Aristoph.+.]

o-pi-e-de-i, PY **43** = An 1281. Prob. to be read as two words: *opi hedeï* 'at her seat' (i.e. shrine or temple). [ἕδος, *Il.* V, 360+.]

o-pi-i-ja-pi, KN **277** = Sd 4401+, **285** = Sf 4428. Instr. plur. fem.: part of the harness or equipment of a chariot: *opi-hiāphi* prob. 'things near the straps (of headstall)' (**hiā* from **seyə*$_2$- 'bind'), referring to bits. See further p. 818.

o-pi-ja-ro, TH Av 106. MN: *Opihalos*? [Cf. *o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra*: García Ramón 2006.39.]

***o-pi-ka-pe-e-we*(*-qe*)**, PY **207** = Jn 829. Nom. plur., title of an overseer. See p. 698.

o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja, PY **265** = Ta 708+. Acc. plur. fem., some part of a chair: perhaps *opikelemnians* (cf. ἀμφικέλεμνον) or *opikrēmnians* (cf. κρημνός). See p. 792.

o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Instr. plur.

o-pi-ke-ri-jo, PY An 615. PN: *Opiskherion*?

o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de, PY **54** = An 724. Acc.+ *-de*.

o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. sing., description of a tripod cauldron.

o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja, KN **305** = Sk 8100+. Description of four? fittings as parts of armour; neut. plur.: *opikorusia* 'on the helmet'. [See *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo*.]

o-pi-ko-wo, PY Jn 881. Prob. nom. plur.: *opikowoi* 'watchers'? (cf. *e-pi-ko-wo*). [Killen 2007a.]

o-pi-me-ne, PY **93** = Fn 7. Prob. to be divided: *opi mēnei* 'per month' (as opposed to daily 'rations').

o-pi-qi-na, KN Ld 584. Prob. to be divided: *o-pi qi-na*.

o-pi-ra-i-ja, PY Cn 1286. Obscure, poss. PN.

o-pi̯-ri̯a₃-te-re, PY **348** = Vn 46. Nom. plur.: *opirhaistēres*; cf. ῥαιστήρ; perhaps not 'hammers' but some kind of fittings for beams. See p. 914.

o-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo, KN Sc 230. MN: *Opilimnios*. [Cf. Ἐπιλίμνιος title of Poseidon.]

o-pi-ro-qo, PY Aa 777, Ab 899, Ad 691. Nom. and gen. plur. fem.: *opiloik^{w}oi*, *-ōn* 'remaining', 'supernumerary'. Cf. *pe-ri-ro-qo*. [ἐπίλοιπος Pind.+.]

o-pi-si-jo, KN **36** = As 1516+, PY Jn 927. MN: *Opsios*. [Ὄψιος *IG* II 868 ii 20.]

o-pi-si-ri-ja-we, KN Lc 646, L 8105. In cloth context, obscure.

o-pi-su-ko, PY **207** = Jn 829 (*o-pi-su-ko-qe*), Jn 881. Nom. plur. (and sing.?): official title, possibly *opisukoi* 'overseers of figs'? See p. 698.

o-pi-te-ke-e-u, PY **111** = Un 2. Nom. sing., prob. error for *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u*.

o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we, PY **48** = An 39, **94** = Fn 50+. Nom. plur. and dat. sing., probably a title: *opiteukhehēwes*, *-ēwei* 'overseer of τεύχεα' but exact sense of τ. unclear: 'vessels'? 'store-chests'? (i.e. ref. to palace major-domo?)

o-pi-te-u-ke-we, KN B 798. Prob. defective spelling.

o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta, PY Eb 472+. Nom. sing., title of a priest (cf. Ep 539).

o-pi-tu-ra-jo, PY **330** = Fn 187. Title or MN? Dat.: *Opithuraiōi* [Cf. θυραῖος.]

o-po-qo, KN **277** = Sd 4401+, **285** = Sf 4428. Nom. dual or plur.: *opōk^{w}ō*, *-oi* 'blinkers' (found in archaic tombs in Cyprus). [Cf. πρόσ-ωπον, μέτ-ωπον.]

o-po-re-i, TH **331** = Fq 126+. Dat. sing. of name in *-ehi*: uncertain whether MN (*Oporehi*; cf. *o-pi* = ἐπί, ὄρος?) or theonym. See pp. 882–83.

o-po-ro: see s.v. *o-pe-ro*^{2}.

o-po-ro-me-no, PY **173** = Es 644+. MN: *Hoplomenos*. [ὅπλομαι.]

***o-po-ro-u-si-jo*[**, KN As 603. MN.

o-qa, PY Jn 601. MN: *Ork^{w}as*? [Ὄπας.]

o-qa-wo-ni, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.: *Ok^{w}āwoni*? [Cf. ὀπάων *Il.* X, 58+.]

o-qe e-ra-se, PY Cn 4. Apparently replacing the name of a 'shepherd': perh. *hos k^{w}e elase* 'and he who drove them'. [ἐλαύνω 'drive (animals)' *Od.* IX, 237.]

o-qe-qa, PY Cn 45. MN, dat.; perhaps identical with *o-pe-qa*.

o-qe*[ ]*si, PY **201** = Na 406. Obscure, see pp. 684, 201.

o-qo-o-ki-te, KN L 588. Obscure (perhaps to be divided *o-qo-o ki-te*; the names of two men?).

o-re-a₂, PY **149** = Ep 705. MN: *Orehās*. [Ὀρέης.]

o-re-e-wo, PY Cn 600. MN, gen.: *Orehēwos*, making PN with *wo-wo*.

o-re-i, KN B 7034. Possibly loc.: *orehi* 'on the mountain'? [ὄρος.]

o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u̯, PY Jn 320. PN.

o-re-ne-ja, KN Ld 579+, L 5108+. Nom. plur. neut., adj. describing cloths: perhaps *ōleneia* 'decorated with angular pattern'. [Cf. ὠλένη, *ὤλενος.]

o-re-ne-a, KN L 593. Variant spelling.

[o-]re-ne-o, KN L 758. Dual: *ōleneō*.

o-re-o-po, KN M 720. Obscure.

o-re-ta, PY **55** = An 657. MN: *Orestās*. [Ὀρέστης *Il.* V, 705+.]

o-re-te-wo, KN Dq 439+. MN, gen.?

o-ri-ko, MY **44** = Au 102. Prob. nom. plur.: poss. *oligoi* 'young'. [ὀλίγος 'small' *Il.* XIV, 376+.]

o-ri-mo, KN Ap 5748. WN.

o-ro-do-ko, PY Vn 865. MN.

o-ro-jo, PY **160** = Eq 213. See p. 621.

o-ro-ke-u[, KN Ce 61. MN; cf. next.

o-ro-ke-we, PY [Fn 324?], Gn 428. MN, dat.

o-ro-me-no, PY **32** = Ae 134+. Nom. sing. masc.: *opi … (h)oromenos* 'watching over (animals)'. [Cf. ἐπὶ … ὄρονται *Od.* XIV, 104; prob. < **ser-*, Avest. *haraiti* 'watches'.]

o-ro-qa, KN V 479. MN.

o-ro-ti-jo, PY **54** = An 724. MN?

]o-ro-wa-ṭạ, TH Fq 269. MN, dat.

o-ru-ma-to, PY **78** = Cn 3. PN; cf. Ἐρύμανθος.

o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo, PY **57** = An 519. Prob. serves as ethnic to *o-ru-ma-to*.

o-ru-we-ro, PY Jn 725. MN. The same man as *po-ru-we-ro*, but which is correct? See pp. 717–18.

o-sa-po-to, KN Ap 5748. WN.

]o-se-ko-do, KN Fh 371. MN?

o-ta-ki, MY **96** = Fo 101. WN, dat.?: *Oitalki*.

o-ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro, MY **242** = Oe 111. To be divided *o-ta pa-ro te-wa-ro*? First word obscure; see p. 743.

o-ta-re-wo, KN E 1035. Obscure, MN or PN?

o-te, PY **258** = Ta 711, TH **331** = Fq 126+. Conj.: *hote* 'when'. [ὅτε *Il.* I, 397+.]

o-te-pe-o-jo, PY **160** = Eq 213. PN, gen. See p. 621.

o-te-ra, MY Oe 106. WN, gen.?

ọ-te-se-u, KN Db 1241. MN.

o-ti-na-wo, PY Cn 285. MN: *Ortināwos*.

o-ti-ri-ja, PY Aa 313. Nom. plur. fem., name of an occupation: possibly *ortriai* 'raisers (of the nap of cloth?)'. [ὄρνυμι: Ruijgh, *Études* 374.]

o-ti-ra$_2$, PY Ab 417. Alternative spelling.

o-ti-ra$_2$-o, PY Ad 663. Gen. plur.: *-triāōn*.

o-ti-ri-ja-i, TH Fq 229+. Dat. plur.: *-triāhi*.

o-to-ke-se-we, TH Uq 434. MN, dat.: *-ēwei*.

o-to-ṛọ[, KN Dv 8289. MN; cf. *o-to-ro-no*, *o-to-ro-qa*.

o-to-ro-no, TH Fq 214. MN, dat.

o-to-ro-qa, KN De 1371, PY Vn 493? MN.

o-to-wo-o, PY [An 261 rev.], Un 616 rev. MN, gen. Defective spelling for *o-to-wo-<we>-o*, see s.v. *o-tu-wo-we*.

o-to-wo-wi-je, MY **28** = V 659. WN, dat.?: *Orthwōwiei* (Risch 1987.291)?

o-tu, PY An 5. MN.

o-tu-wo-we, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN: *Orthwōwēs* (Risch 1987.291)?

o-to-wo-we-i, PY Vn 851. Dat.

o-two-we-o, PY **38** = An 261. Gen.

o-two-we-o: see s.v. *o-tu-wo-we*.

o-u-, KN **350** = V 280, PY **12** = Ad 686, **142** = Ep 704, **179** = Ma 90+, **194** = Na 245+, **204** = Ng 319+. Negative particle: *ou* 'not'. [οὐ.] See also *o-u-ki-*, *o-u-qe*.

o-u-ki-, KN **350** = V 280. Negative particle or adj.?: *ouk(h)i* or *oukis* (= οὔτις).

o-u-ko, MY Oe 108+. Nom. sing. neut., associated with wool.

o-u-ka, MY **242** = Oe 111. Nom. plur.?

o-u-ko-we-i, TH Fq 229+. MN, dat.

o-u-qe, KN **224** = Le 641, **281** = Sd 4402+, PY **340** = Aq 64, Eb 149, **152** = Ep 613+, Va 15. Negative conjunction: *ouk^{w}e* 'and not'. [οὔτε 'and not'.]

o-u-ru-to: see *-u-ru-to*.

o-u-te-mi: see *-te-mi*.

o-u-te-ra, MY Ui 2. Prob. to be divided as *o* (= *o-pe-ro*?) *u-te-ra*: nom. sing. fem., describing payment: [*h*]*usterā* 'later'. [ὕστερος Hom. +.]

o-u-wa-ja-wo-ni, TH Fq 214+. MN, dat.: *-āwoni*.

o-wa-ko, PY **60** = Cn 131, Jn 725. MN, nom. and dat.

o-wa-si-jo, KN Ra 1556. MN.

o-we-to, KN Dm 1184. MN, gen.

o-wi-da, PY Jn 725. MN.

o-wi-de: see *-wi-de*.

o-wi-de-ta-i, PY **178** = Un 718, Wa 731 (]*o-wi-de-ta*[). Dat. plur.: perhaps *owidertāhi* 'to the sheep-flayers'. See p. 655.

o-wi-ro, KN Dd 1218. MN: *Owilos*? [Cf. Ὀϊλεύς *Il.* XIII, 697+.]

o-wi-to-no, PY Aa 775, Ab 277, Ad 685, **55** = An 657, **341** = Aq 218. PN: *-t(h)nos*?

o-wi-ti-ni-jo, PY **55** = An 657. Ethnic adj.: *-t(h)nioi*.

o-wo-ta, KN Xd 7547?, PY Jn 725. MN.

o-wo-to, PY **38** = An 261, Vn 130. MN, nom. and dat.

o-wo-we, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. sing. masc., describing a tripod cauldron: *oiwōwēs* 'with a single handle' or *owwowens* 'provided with handles'? See p. 785.

o-wo-ze, PY **148** = Eb 338. Error for or abbreviated spelling of *o-u-wo-ze*, see s.v. *wo-ze*.

o-za-mi[, PY An 37. Obscure.

o-ze-to: see *-ze-to*.

o-*22-di, KN As 1520. MN.

o-*34-ta[1], PY **57** = An 519+. Nom. plur.; name of a class of men.

o-*34-ta[2], TH Ug 3. MN; cf. prec.

ọ-*34-ta-o, TH Of 33. Gen.

PA, Abbreviation of *pa-ra-jo/-ja* 'old', 'last year's', applied to women and sheep: KN Ak 614+, C 394 rev.?, **67** = Dd 1171+, Dq 1603, U 7063.

Abbreviation of *pa-ra-wa-jo* 'cheekpieces': PY **302** = Sh 734+.

Annotation to CLOTH: obscure: KN Ln 1568.

Ligatured with CLOTH, probably = *pa-wo* (q.v.): KN Ld 786+, L 178+, PY La 623+, Un 853, HV Lg 3.

Ligatured with OIL, probably = *pa-ko-we* 'sage-scented': PY **312** = Fr 1202+.

Ligatured with CYPERUS: PY **111** = Un 2.

Ideographic use, associated with *DA*: KN **163** = Uf 835+ (see p. 622). Also in obscure contexts: KN Xe 7437, PY Un 1319.

As subdivision of WOOL unit: TH **243** = Of 34+.

pa, PY **217** = Ja 749, Jn 601. Nom. sing. masc.: *to-so-pa* = *tos(s)os pans* 'so much (bronze) in all'. Cf. *ku-su-pa*.

pa-sa, KN **92** = G 820, X 8109. Fem. sing. (in G nom. or acc.) or plur.: *pansa(n)*, *pansai*.

pa-te, KN B 1055. Nom. plur. masc.: (*tos(s)oi*) *pantes*.

pa-ta[1], KN C 917, TH Fq 254, MY L 710. At KN and perhaps MY (if here not *pa-ta*[2] (q.v.)) nom. plur. neut.: *panta*; at TH possibly acc. plur., though perhaps unconnected with *pans*: *pantas*.

ṗạ-ṭọ[, PY **158** = Ed 411. If correct reading, perhaps gen. sing. masc. or neut.: *pantos* '(total) of the whole'.

pa-si[1], KN **317** = Fp 1+, **323** = Ga 953, **324** = Gg 702+, PY **215** = Jn 389. Dat. plur.: *pansi*, esp. in *pa-si-te-o-i* (KN) = *pansi theoihi* 'to all the gods'.

pa-da-je-u, PY An 192, Eb 159+. Nom. sing., prob. a title or ethnic rather than a name; apparently also spelt *pa-de-we-u*, q.v. Cf. *pa-de*, *pa-de-we*.

pa-da-je-we, PY Eb 1347, **130** = Eo 444. Dat.

pa-de, KN **317** = Fp 1+, Fs 8, Ga 456. Nom. (of rubric) or dat. sing., recipient of oil, etc., probably a divine name.

pa-de-i, KN **323** = Ga 953. Dat. (if *pa-de* is dat., alternative spelling.)

pa-de-we, PY Un 219. Dat. sing., perhaps divine name; cf. *pa-de*.

pa-de-we-u, PY **152** = Ep 613. Apparently = *pa-da-je-u*, q.v.; not an error since it occurs twice on this tablet.

pa-di-jo, KN Sc 224. MN: *Pandiōn*. [Πανδίων *Il.* XII, 372.]

pa-i-ti-ja[1], KN Ap 639. WN: *Phaistiā*. See next.

pa-i-to, KN Da 1156+, **83** = Dm 1180+, **71** = Dn 1094, Dq 7126+, D 747, E 36, **169** = F 841, Ga 416, Le 5629, L 469, Od 502+, Pp 498, **279** = Sd 4413, So 4448, Wb 2001, Xf 5104, X 522+. PN: *Phaistos*. [Φαιστός *Il.* II, 648.]

pa-i-ti-jo/-ja[2], KN Ak 828, **76** = Dp 1061, **91** = E 777, Ga 1536, Lc 546, **224** = Le 641, Od 681, Og 180, X 7554. Ethnic adj.: *Phaistios*, *-iā*.

pa-ja-ni, KN Ap 639. WN.

pa-ja-ni-jo, KN Fp 354. Dat. sing., recipient of oil? Or nom. sing. (of rubric), month name? [Connexion with Παιάν < *Παιάϝων (see *pa-ja-wo-ne*) must be excluded, unless this is a defective spelling.]

pa-ja-ro, KN As 1519. MN.

pa-ja-so, KN Dc 1203, Dv 8290. MN.

pa-ja-wo-ne, KN **328** = V 52. (Cf. *pa̯-ja-o̯-ne* C 394?) Dat., in a list of divine names: *Paiāwonei*. [Παιήων *Il.* V, 401+.]

pa-ka, KN V 1523, PY **93** = Fn 7, MY Oe 112? MN, nom. and dat.

pa-ka-a-ka-ri, PY **200** = Na 926. PN, prob. to be divided *pa-ka a-ka-ri*: perh. *Pāgā Akharis* or sim.

pa-ka-na, KN **271** = Ra 1540+. Nom. plur. neut.: *phasgana* 'swords' or 'daggers'. [φάσγανον *Il.* XXIII, 824+, Cypr. according to *Anec. Gr.* 1095.]

pa-ke-ta, KN U 4478. MN.

pa-ke-te-ja, PY Aa 662, Ab 745+. Nom. plur. fem. (in Ab 745 changed from dual *pa-ke-te-jo*), perh. possessive adj. derived from prec. rather than woman's occupation (Killen 1983a.80).

pa-ke-te-ja-o(-qe), PY **9** = Ad 671. Gen. plur. with *-kʷe*.

pa-ke-te-re, PY [**348** = Vn 46], Vn 879, Wp 1415, MY **257** = Ue 611. Nom. plur., at PY name of some small fitting, possibly metal, used in house-building, at MY perhaps vessel used for cheese-making (Panagl 1972): perhaps *pāktēres* 'pegs', 'bolts' (PY), 'vessels for congealing (milk)' (MY). [πήγνυμι; [γάλα] πηκτόν Eur.]

pa-ke-te-ri-ja, MY Wt 506. Neut. plur., diminutive of prec.: *pāktēria*?

pa-ke-we, KN L 7514. Obscure, possibly nom. plur. *pakhewes* 'thick'. [παχύς.]

pa-ki-ja-na, PY **145** = Eb 339+, **121** = En 609, **126** = Eo 224, Na 561. Probably PN, variant in *-ānā* of next, in some cases loc. [A variant of the fem. adj. in *-āniā* > *-ān(n?)ā* has been proposed but is unnecessary.]

pa-ki-ja-ne, PY Vn 19, Xa 113. Nom. plur., PN: *-ānes*, one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province. No convincing interpretation has been proposed; the root is probably non-Greek; cf. Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Ἀγριᾶνες, etc.

pa-ki-ja-na-de, PY **330** = Fn 187, Fr 1209+, **97** = Vn 20. Acc. plur.+ *-de*.

pa-ki-ja-si, PY **49** = An 18, **206** = Cn 608, **309** = Tn 316, **111** = Un 2, Vn 130. Loc. plur.: *-ānsi*.

pa-ki-ja-pi, PY [**148** = Eb 338], **207** = Jn 829, Ma 221. Instr. plur. *-āmphi*.

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo, PY Fr 1236. Ethnic adj.: *-ānios* (*agros*) 'territory of P.'.

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo, PY **315** = Fr 1224. Gen. sing. masc.: *-ānioio* (*mēnos*) 'month of P.', i.e., when the great festival takes place at P. [For derivation of month-name from place-name, cf. Μουνυχιών.]

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i, PY Fr 1216. Dat. plur.: prob. 'to the people (or gods?) of P.'.

pa-ki-ja-ni-ja, PY **121** = En 609, [**208** = Jo 438], **342** = On 300. PN, = *pa-ki-ja-na*. [Cf., e.g., Ἀκαρνᾶνες/Ἀκαρνανία.]

pa-ko, PY **47** = An 427, [**50** = An 207. 11?]. PN. [In PY Fr 1216 probably error for *pa-ko-we*.]

]pa-ko-qe, KN Ch 5728. Name or description of ox + *kʷe*; cf. *po-da-ko*.

pa-ko-to, PY **260** = Ta 709, MY Wt 505?. Nom. dual (number at MY uncertain): *phaktō*, name of vessel; cf. φάκτον· μέτρον παρὰ Ἀρκάσι, κοτύλαι ἀττικαὶ τρεῖς *Lexicon Cyrilli*.

pa-ko-wa, PY La 624. Obscure.

pa-ko-we, PY **312** = Fr 1202+. Nom. sing. neut., adj. describing oil: *sphakowen* 'scented with sage'.

pa-ku-ro$_2$, PY **341** = Aq 218, Jn 750. MN.

pa-ma-ko, PY Vn 1314. Nom. sing.?, possibly *pharmakon* 'drug'. [φάρμακον *Od.* IV, 230+.]

pa-ṇa-ki, MY **96** = Fo 101. WN, dat.?: *Phainaki*? [Φαίναξ.]

pa-na-pi, PY Cn 45. PN, instr. plur.: *Phanāphi*? [Cf. Φανά Aetolia.].

pa-na-re-jo, KN **36** = As 1516+, U 4478?, V 1004, PY Fn 867. MN, nom. and dat.: *Panareios*, *-ōi*. [Cf. Πανάρης.]

pa-na-so, KN E 843+, Uf 121+, X 1018. PN: *Parnas(s)os*? [Παρνασ(σ)ός.]

pa-pa-jo, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN: *Pamphaios*. [Πάμφαιος.]

pa-pa-ra-ki, TH Of 25. MN?, dat.? [Cf. next.]

pa-pa-ra-ko, PY Jn 845. MN.

pa-pa-ro, KN Vc 206, Xd 207+, PY **62** = Cn 719+. MN: *Barbaros*, *Parparos*? [Βάρβαρος; PN Πάρπαρος.]

pa-pu-so, PY Jn 415. MN.

pa-qo-si-jo, KN B 988, [Dq 441?], PY **214** = Jn 310+, Mn 1412?. MN: *Pang^{w}ōsios*. [Cf. Παμβωτάδαι Attic deme.]

pa-qo-si-jo-jo, PY **214** = Jn 310. Gen.: *Pang^{w}ōsioio*.

pa-qo-ta, PY **216** = Jn 658. MN: *Pang^{w}ōtās*. [Cf. prec.]

pa-ra-jo, PY An 298 rev., **61** = Cn 655+, Na 197, **303** = Sh 740. Nom. plur. masc.: *palaioi* 'old', sometimes equivalent to 'last year's'. [παλαιός *Il.* XIV, 108+.]

pa-ra-ja, KN Ln 1568, **286** = Se 879, U 109+, PY **295** = Sa 787+, TH **243** = Of 34. Nom. plur. neut. (and fem.?), dat. sing. fem.: *palaia*, *-āi*.

pa-ra-ke-se-we, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.: *Prāksēwei*.

pa-ṛạ-ḳẹ-te-e-u, PY Jn 832. Nom. sing., description of a smith.

pa-ra-ke-te-e-we, PY Jn 750. Nom. plur.

pa-ra-ke-we(-qe), PY **261** = Ta 642. Instr. sing., name of a material used to inlay furniture, see p. 788. See also]*pạ-ṛạ-ku*, *pa-ra-ku-ja*, *pa-ra-ḳụ-we-jo*.

pa-ra-ku-we, PY **266** = Ta 714 (*pa-ra-ku-we-qe*), **263** = Ta 715. Prob. alternative form rather than variant spelling.

pa-ra-ko, KN Sc 258, PY Eb 173+, **126** = Eo 224, **138** = Ep 301+. MN, nom. and dat.: *Plakos*? *Phalaikos*? *-ōi*. [Πλάκος mountain *Il.* VI, 396; Φάλαικος.]

pa-ra-ku^1, PY Cn 201. Obscure, MN?

]pạ-ṛạ-ku^2, KN Od 667. If reading correct, name of type of wool, probably used for decoration; cf. next.

pa-ra-ku[, KN Xf 5102. Cf. *pa-ra-ke-we-(qe)*, *pa-ra-ḳụ-we-jo*.

pa-ra-ku-ja, KN Ld 575. Nom. plur. neut., adj. describing textiles, prob. with sense 'decorated with *pa-ra-ku*' (cf.]*pạ-ṛạ-ku*^{2}). See also **56-ra-ku-ja*.

pa-ra-ḳụ-we-jo, KN Sp 4451 (possible reading). If reading correct, prob. fem. dual adj. of material; cf. *pa-ra-ke-we(-qe)*, *pa-ra-ku*[.

pa-ra-ne, KN Vc 7616. MN.

pa-ra-ti-jo, KN C 914. MN, dat.: *Pallantiōi*? [Παλλάντιος, adj.]

pa-ra-to, KN Db 1373. MN: *Platōn*? [Πλάτων.]

pa-ra-u-jo, KN Ga 425. Prob. MN.

pa-ra-wa-jo, KN **305** = Sk 8100+, PY **301** = Sh 737. Nom. dual: *paraw(w)aiō* 'pair of cheek pieces'. [Cf. παρειαί 'cheeks', Lesb. παραύα.]

pa-ra-we-ṇa, PY Vn 1314. Obscure.

pa-ra-we-wo, PY An 37, **97** = Vn 20. Obscure; see p. 545.

pa-ra-wo, TH Wu 46. MN, nom.? Gen.?

pa-re, KN Dl 8177, Sc 247, Sc 249? MN: *Phalēs*? [Φαλής.]

]pa-ri-so: see [*ku-*]*pa-ri-so*.

pa-ro, KN Ai 115, **81** = C 913+, Dk 945, Ld 584+, Ln 1568? **230** = L 871, V 655?, Xe 8291?, X 793, PY An 129+, **63** = Cc 660, **60** = Cn 131+, **120** = Ea 59+, Eb 339+, **123** = En 659?, **129** = Eo 160+, **138** = Ep 301+, **247** = Fr 1184, Mb 1379+, **188** = Mn 162+, Pa 49+, **110** = Un 138+, Vn 130, Xa 176, TH Av 100, Uq 434, Wu 47+, MY **242** = Oe 111? Prep. with dat.: *paro* 'from' or 'in the hands of' (a person). [παρά Hom.+; πάρο Alcaeus, fr. 130, 12 Lobel-Page.]

pa-ro-ke-ne-[to], PY **12** = Ad 686. 3rd sing. aor. middle: *ou paro-geneto* 'did not present himself'. [Cf. καί σφιν παρεγίγνετο δαιτί *Od.* XVII, 173.]

pa-sa-ja, KN **323** = Ga 953, X 451. Prob. fem. divine name.

pa-sa-ko-me-no, KN Vc 211. MN: *Psakomenos*?

pa-sa-ro, PY **269** = Ta 716. Nom. dual, objects made of gold.: possibly *psalō* 'chains'. [Cf. ψάλιον.]

pa-se-ri-jo, MY Oe 121. Followed by *ko-wo*; dat. patronymic adj.: 'the son of P.'? Or MN in apposition to *ko-wo*: 'P. junior'?

pa-si[1]: see s.v. *pa*.

pa-si[2], PY **142** = Ep 704. 3rd sing. pres.: *phāsi* 'says, affirms'. [φησί Hom.+.]

pa-si-te-o-i: see s.v. *pa*, *te-o*.

pa-ta[1]: see s.v. *pa*.

pa-ta[2], PY Cn 40. MN, dat.: *Phantāi*? [Φάντης.]

pa-ta-ja, KN **275** = Ws 1704+. Nom. plur. neut., on sealings with ideogram showing stick with point, perhaps a small throwing-spear or javelin, different from the ARROW ideogram on KN R 4482: perhaps *paltaia* 'javelins'. [Cf. παλτόν 'dart' Aristoph.+.]

pa-ta-jo, PY Vn 1341?, Wr 1480. Prob. gen. plur.: *paltaiōn*.

pa-ta-jo-i, PY **207** = Jn 829. Dat. plur.: *paltaioihi*.

pa-ta-re[, KN Xd 58. Obscure.

pa-ta-ti-jo, KN C 911. Perhaps adj. from personal name: '(the slave) of P.'.

pa-ta-u-na, KN As 608. MN?

pa-te[1], PY **27** = An 607. Nom. sing.: *patēr* 'father'. [πατήρ Hom.+.]

pa-te-de, PY **27** = An 607: *patēr de* 'and the father'.

pa-te[2]: see s.v. *pa*.

pa-te-ko-to, PY **93** = Fn 7. Perhaps *pantektōn* 'general carpenter'.

pa-ti, KN **36** = As 1516, Dd 1281. MN.

]-pa-ti-jo-ro, MY Z 718. MN?

pa̤-to̤[: see s.v. *pa*.

pa-to-ro, KN Uf 198. MN.

pa-to-wo-te, PY Jn 706. PN, loc.

]*pa-u-ro*, KN Db 1196. MN.

***pa-u-ta*[**, PY Fn 989. Obscure.

pa-wa-so, KN Sc 258. MN.

pa-wa-wo, KN Sc 254, PY Cn 285, Vn 493. MN.

pa-wi-no, KN B 799+. MN.

pa-wo, KN Wm 8499. Nom. sing. neut.: *pharwos* 'piece of cloth' (name of specific variety of textile, not term for cloth in general [Killen 1979a.153–54]); interpretation confirmed by hand of nodule (103). [φᾶρος *Od.* V, 258, *Il.* II, 43+.]

pa-we-a, KN **222** = Lc 532+, **226** = Ld 571+, **232** = L 594+. Nom. plur. neut.: *pharwe(h)a*.

***pa-we-a*$_2$**, KN Ld 786+, MY L 710, Oe 127. Variant spelling: *pharweha*.

pa-we-o, KN L 651. Gen. plur.?: *pharwe(h)ōn*.

]*pa-we-pi*, KN L 104. Instr. plur.: *pharwesphi*.

pa-we-si, MY **242** = Oe 111. Dat. plur.: *pharwes(s)i*.

pa-wo-ke, PY Aa 795, Ab 558. Nom. plur., description of women: *panworges* 'maids of all work'?

pa-wo-ko, PY Ad 691 (*pa-wo-ko-qe*), La 632. Gen. plur.: *panworgōn*. Possibly not the same word in La 632.

pa-za-ti, KN Dl 948. MN.

pa-ze, KN V 114 (and rev.). MN?

pa-ze-qe, KN Xd 140. Prob. *pa-ze* (see prec.) + *k*^{w}*e*.

pa-zo-jo, MI Wv 5. MN, gen.?

PE, Abbreviation of *pe-ru-si-nu-wo/-wa* 'last year's': (of women) KN **17** = Ak 627+, (of sheep) KN **69** = Df 1121+, Dh 1240+, **75** = Do 5010+.

Adjunct to CLOTH + *PU*: KN L 455+.

Adjunct to CLOTH + *TE* (= *pe-ko-to* Killen 1966b): KN Lc 551, **224** = Le 641, Ln 1568.

Adjunct to TUNIC + *KI* (= *pe-ne-we-ta*? Killen 1966b): KN Ld 595.

Annotation to **146*: KN M 1645+.

Ligatured with WHEAT (= *pe-ma / pe-mo* Killen 1987b.175–76): KN E 9295+, **169** = F 841, TH Ft 140 (cf. PY Un 1319?).

Ligatured with INGOT: KN Oa 733+.

Ideographic uses: PY La 630 rev., Un 219+; used to measure wool: KN Od 1062+, to measure mint: MY **106** = Ge 606+.

pe-da, KN V 114 (and rev.). Prep. with acc.?: *peda wastu* 'to the town'?

***pe-da-i-je-ṛọ*[**, KN Fh 2013. Possibly to be divided: *peda hieron*?

pe-da-i-ra, KN Fh 341. MN?

pe-de-we-sa, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. sing. fem., adj. describing a portable hearth: *pedwessa* 'equipped with feet'.

pe-di-e-wi, PY Wr 1328. Perhaps error for *pe-di-je-wi-ja* q.v. (Olivier 1997a.74) rather than dat. sing. of next.

pe-di-je-we, PY **56** = An 654. Nom. plur., name of a class of men: *pediēwes*. [Cf. Πεδιεῖς.] See pp. 484–85.

pe-di-je-wi-ja, PY Va 1324. Nom. plur., in context with spears (or wood for spears) and axles: *pediēwiai* 'spears for use by *pe-di-je-we* (q.v.)' Or *pediēwia* 'pieces of wood associated with *pe-di-je-we* (or their location)'?

pe-di-ra, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Nom. plur. neut.: *pedīla* 'sandals' or 'footwear'? [πέδιλα *Il.* XXIV, 341+.]

pe-di-ro, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Gen. plur.: *pedīlōn*.

pe-di-ro-i, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Dat. plur.: *pedīloihi*.

pe-i, PY **57** = An 519+, Na 395. Dat. plur. 3rd pers. pron.: 'them': prob. *sphehi* rather than *spheis* (Waanders 1987). [Hom., etc. σφι(ν), Att.-Ion. σφίσι(ν), Arc. σφεσιν (Te Riele and Te Riele 1987), σφεις.]

pe-ka-wo, KN Vc 66, Xd 80. MN.

pe-ke-u, MY **104** = Ge 603+. MN: *Sperkheus*?

pe-ki-ta, PY **122** = En 74, **129** = Eo 160+. MN.

pe-ki-ti-ra$_2$, PY [Aa 891], Ab 578. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's occupation: *pektriai* 'combers' (of the nap of cloth rather than wool?)

pe-ki-ti-ra$_2$-o, PY Ad 694. Gen. plur.: *pektriāōn*.

pe-ki-ti[, KN Ld 656, Xe 8537?. To be restored as this word?

pe-ko, KN Dc 8080+, PY **79** = Cn 418. Prob. MN ('collector') at KN, perhaps adj. at PY. [Palmer: *perkos* (cf. περκνός 'dark', πέρκος 'a kind of hawk').]

pe-ko-to, KN **219** = Lc 526+, L 698+. Textile term, connected with *pe-ki-ti-ra$_2$*? See pp. 727–28.

pe-ma, KN E 1569, **102** = Ga 675+, X 9674?, PY **176** = Er 312+. Nom. sing. neut.: *sperma* 'seed' (of wheat and coriander). [σπέρμα Hom.+.]

pe-mo, PY **143** = Eb 294+, **154** = Ed 236+, **122** = En 74+, **129** = Eo 160+, **138** = Ep 301+, **159** = Eq 36+, **172** = Es 650, TI Ef 2 (*to-sa-pe-mo*). Variant form: *spermo* (cf. *a-mo*).

pe-m̥e, PY Ae 26. Possibly MN, dat.

pe-ne-we-ta, KN **226** = Ld 571+, **230** = L 871+. Nom. plur. neut.; perhaps *sphēnwenta* 'with wedges', see p. 728. [σφήν Aesch.+; cf. σφηνόπους.]

pe-ne-we-te, KN L 5108. Nom. dual: *sphēnwente*?

pe-pi-te-me-no-jo, TH Ug 1+. MN, gen.: *Pepithmenoio*.

pe-po-ro, KN De 6060, PY Jn 601. MN: *Peplos*? [Πέπλος.]

[?pe-]pu$_2$-te-me-no, PY **177** = Er 880. Probably *pephutēmenon* (or *-tmenon*?) 'planted with trees'. [Cf. γῆ πεφυτευμένη Hdt.] See p. 650.

pe-qa-to, KN **281** = Sd 4402+. Nom. sing., part of chariot: *pegg^{w}aton* < **ped-g^{w}aton*, perhaps 'floor' rather than 'foot-board', see p. 821.

pe-qe-ro-jo, PY Sa 768. MN, gen.

pe-qe-u, KN F 7748?, Vd 7545, PY Jn 693. MN.

pe-qe-we, PY Cn 45, Fn 79. Dat.

pe-qo-no, KN B 798. MN.

pe-qo-ta, PY **123** = En 659, **130** = Eo 444. Perhaps title or description used to distinguish two men of the same name.

pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo, PY **342** = On 300. Possibly nom. plur. ethnic or variant of PN *pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja* (q.v.).

pe-ra-ko, TH Fq 257. MN, dat.: *Pherākōi*, *Pherakōi*? [Φέρακος: García Ramón 2006.43.]

pe-ra-ko-no, MY Oe 118. MN?

pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja: see s.v. *pe-ra*$_3$*-ko-ra-i-ja*.

***pe-ra*$_2$**, KN X 999. Obscure.

***pe-ra*$_2$*-wo*[**, KN Xd 98. Obscure.

pe-ra*$_3$*-ko-ra-i-ja, PY **205** = Ng 332, Wa 114. PN, the name of the Further Province (see p. 692): *Peraigolaïā* or sim. [πέρα; cf. Αἰγαλέον.]

pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja, PY Pa 398. Alternative spelling or scribal error.

pe-ra*$_3$*-qo, PY Ma 193. Nom. plur., name of a group of men, possibly *Peraig*^{w}*oi*. [Περαιβοί.]

pe-re, KN **223** = Od 562, PY Cc 1284, **309** = Tn 316 (and rev.), Vn 1314. Probably in all cases 3rd sing. pres.: *pherei* 'carries', 'brings'. See pp. 733, 839–41.

pe-re-i-to, PY Wp 1327. On sealing, apparently with PIG ideogram.

pe-re-ke, KN **236** = L 520. Obscure: see p. 739.

pe-re-ke-u, PY Cn 1287. Nom. sing., man's occupation: perhaps *plekeus* 'weaver' or 'braider'. [Cf. πλοκεύς Epicharm.+.]

pe-re-ke-we, PY Ae 574+, TH Oh 208, MY Oe 130. Nom. plur. and dat. sing.: *-ēwes*, *-ēwei*, at MY and perhaps TH (*TFC* I.305) in WOOL context.

pe-re-ko, KN Ag 88, Xe 544?. MN.

pe-re-ku-ta, PY An 172. Nom. sing. or plur.: possibly *presgutās* 'old man'. [Att. πρεσβύτης, Dor. πρείγυς, πρειγεύτας, etc.]

pe-re-ku wa-na-ka, PY Va 15 (and rev.). Perhaps to be taken as one word: MN?: *Presguwanaks*?

pe-re-qo-ni-jo, PY **58** = An 656. Prob. patronymic (cf. next) rather than MN: *Presg*^{w}*ōnios*?

pe-re-qo-no, PY Jn 725. MN: *Presg*^{w}*ōnos*? [Cf. Πρέσβων.]

pe-re-qo-no-jo, PY Ea 270, Jn 605. Gen.: *-oio*.

pe-re-qo-ta, KN Ce 50, PY An 192, Eb 159, **123** = En 659, [**152** = Ep 613]. MN, nom. and dat., also spelt in gen. *qe-re-qo-ta-o* (q.v.): *Pēlek*^{w}*hontās*, *-tāi*. [Cf. Boeot. Πειλε-; hypocoristic Τήλεφος.]

pe-re-ta, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN.

]*pe-re-ta*, KN V 9006. MN.

pe-re-u-ro-na-de, PY **52** = An 1. PN, acc. + *-de*: *Pleurōna-de* 'to Pleuron'. [Πλευρών, Aetolia *Il.* II, 639+.]

pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo, PY **58** = An 656. Nom. sing. of ethnic adj., or used as MN?: *Pleurōnios*.

pe-re-wa-ta, KN Vc 183, PY An 129. MN. [Cf. *pe-re-*82-ta*.]

pe-re-wi-jo, TH X 105. Possibly MN, dat.

pe-re-wo-te, PY Na 513, Xa 176. PN, loc. [*Phrēwotei* (φρέαρ); or for *Phlei*(*wo*)*-wontei* (φλεώς)?]

pe-re-*82, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev., **310** = Un 6. Divine name, dat. fem.: possibly *Preswāi*. [Cf. Πέρση, Περσε-φόνη.]

pe-ṛẹ-*82-jo, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Probably dat.-loc. of derivative adj.: *Preswaiōi*? 'at the shrine of P.'.

pẹ-re-*82-ta, KN As 602. MN. [If **82* = *swa*, cf. *pe-re-wa-ta*.]

pe-ri-je-ja, KN **162** = Uf 1031. Man's or woman's name?

***pe-ri-jo-ta*(*-qe*)**, KN V 1002. MN.

pe-ri-ke, MY **257** = Ue 611. Nom. plur., name of a vessel: *pelikes*. [πέλιξ· κύλιξ ἢ προχοΐδιον Cratin. 5 B.C. ap. Poll.; cf. Att. πελίκη = χοῦς, Aeol. πελίκα 'basin'.]

***pe-ri-ke*[**, MY Au 609?, TH Av 102. MN, to be restored: *Periklewēs* or sim.?

pe-ri-me-de, PY **58** = An 656. MN: *Perimēdēs*.

pe-ri-me-de-o, PY **340** = Aq 64. Gen.: *Perimēdeos*.

pe-ri-mo, KN Dv 5841 (]*pe̤-ri-mo*), PY **340** = Aq 64. MN: *Perimos*. [Πέριμος *Il.* XVI, 695.]

pe-ri-no, PY **56** = An 654, Jn 706. MN: *Perinos*? [Short form to *Περίνοος or the like.]

pe-ri-qo-ta, KN Uf 1022, PY Jn 693. MN: *Perig*^{w}*ōtās*? [Cf. Περιβωτάδας.]

pe-ri-qo-ta-o, KN Dq 42+. Gen.: *-tāo*.

pe-ri-qo-te-jo, KN **65** = Db 1232+. Nom. plur. masc., possessive adj. derived from prec.

pe-ri-ra-wo, PY **56** = An 654. MN: *Perilāwos*. [Περίλαος.]

pe-ri-ro-qo, KN V 479 rev. Probably nom. plur. introducing list of men: *periloik*^{w}*oi* 'remaining'. [περίλοιπος Aristoph.+; cf. *o-pi-ro-qo*.]

pe-ri-ta, KN **218** = K 875, V 60. MN: *Peritās*. [Περίτας.]

pe-ri-te, PY Vn 130. MN, dat.? Or nom., with case unchanged after addition of suprascript *pa-ro* (Killen 2004b.225)?

pe-ri-te-u, KN B 5025, C 954, PY **56** = An 654. MN: *Peristheus*, *Perintheus*? [Cf. Περισθένης, PN Πέρινθος.]

pe-ri-to, KN Vc 174: MN: *Perithos*? [Cf. Περίθοος.]

pe-ri-to-wo, KN [Vc 171?], Vc 195, V 655, X 9198. MN: *Perithowos*. [Πειρίθοος (Πει- metrical lengthening) *Il.* XII, 129.]

***pe-ro*(*-qe*)**, KN As 605. MN: *Pellōn*, *Phellos*? [Πέλλων, Φέλλος.]

pe-ro-ro, MY **105** = Ge 604. Error for *o-pe-ro*.

]*pe-ro*$_2$*-*[, KN E 842. Sign at right perhaps *-ne*; to be restored [*u-*]*pe-ro*$_2$*-ne*: *Huperionei*? [Ὑπερίων *Il.* XIX, 398+.] Or [*a-*]*pe-ro*$_2$*-ne*: *Apelyōnei*? [Ἀπόλλων, Dor. Ἀπέλλων, Cyp. Ἀπείλων.]

pe-ru-si-nu-wo, PY **181** = Ma 330+. Neut. sing.: *perusinwon* 'last year's'. Abbreviated *pe*. [περυσῖνός Aristoph.+; from **per-uti-* (cf. ϝέτος), Skt. *parút* 'last year'; for suffix, cf. perhaps Hom. ὀπωρῖνός, where the ῑ may be *metri gratia*.]

pe-ru-si-nu, PY Ma 193. Defective spelling of prec.

pe-ru-si-nu-wa, PY **184** = Ma 126+, Ub 1316. Fem. and neut. plur.: *perusinwai*, *-wa*.

pe-ru-si-nwa, KN [Dp 7742?], **251** = So 4442, MY **242** = Oe 111, Ue 652. Alternative spelling of prec.

pe-ru-si-nwa-o, PY Ub 1317. Gen. plur. fem.: *perusinwāon*.

pe-se-ro, MY Ge 602+. MN: *Psellos*? [Ψελλός as name only late; as adj. Aesch.+.]

pe-se-ro-jo, KN **24** = Ai 63. Gen.: *-oio*.

]*pe-se-to*, PY Cn 491. MN.

pe-ta-o-ni-jo, TH Ug 12. MN or adj.?: *Petāonios*? [Cf. Πετεών *Il.* II, 500.]

pe-ta-ro, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN: *Petalos*. [Πέταλος.]

pe-te-ki-ja, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

pe-te-re-wa: see s.v. *pte-re-wa*.

pe-te-u, KN As 603. MN.
***pe-to-me*[**, KN V 655. MN.
pe-to-no, PY **206** = Cn 608, **207** = Jn 829, Ma 120, Vn 19+. PN, one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province: perhaps *Pethnos*.
pe-to-no-de, PY **97** = Vn 20. Acc. + *-de*.
pe-ti-ni-jo, PY Ac 1275. Nom. plur. ethnic adj.: *Pethnioi*?
pe-to-no-qa, TH Of 29. Obscure.
pe-we-ri-jo, KN **37** = As 1517. MN.
pe-*65-ka, PY Vn 879. Possibly name of a timber or other material? *pe-ju-ka* suggests πεύκη 'pine', but the spelling would be surprising.
pi-a$_2$-ra, PY **270** = Tn 996. Nom. plur. fem.: *phihalai* 'boiling pans'. [φιάλη *Il.* XXIII, 243+, used to collect the bones of Patroklos; later 'drinking-bowl'; also φιέλη.]
pi-je-ra$_3$, PY **260** = Ta 709. Alternative spelling of prec.: *phielai*.
pi-di-jo, KN **164** = Uf 836. Obscure, MN?
pi-ja-ma-so, PY Fn 324. MN, dat. [Cf. element *piya-* 'give' in Hittite names.]
pi-ja-mu-nu, KN Ap 5748. WN; see note on *pi-ja-ma-so*.
pi-ja-se-me, KN **36** = As 1516. MN; see note on *pi-ja-ma-so*.
pi-ja-si-ro, KN **36** = As 1516. MN; see note on *pi-ja-ma-so*.
pi-je-ra$_3$: see s.v. *pi-a$_2$-ra*.
pi-ka-na, PY Na 1052. PN.
pi-ke-re-u, PY Eb 496, **138** = Ep 301. MN: *Pikreus*? [Cf. Cypr. gen. *pi-ki-re-wo* Schwyzer, *Dial.* 684, 5.]
pi-ke-re-wo, PY **122** = En 74, **129** = Eo 160. Gen.: *-ēwos*.
pi-ke-re-we, PY **129** = Eo 160. Dat.: *-ēwei*.
pi-ke-te-i, PY Gn 720. MN, dat.?
pi-ki-nu-wo, KN Da 5217. MN.
pi-ma-na-ro, KN As 1520, V 1523. MN.
pi-me-ta, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, dat.
pi-mo-no, KN Xe 692, Wm 8499. MN, nom. and dat.
pi-pi, TH Z 846+. MN.
pi-pi-tu-na, KN **319** = Fp 13. Divine name; for ending cf. Δίκτυννα. See p. 860.
***pi-po-to*[**, KN X 7548. Obscure.
pi-ra-jo, PY **31** = Ae 264, Un 249. MN: *Philaios*. [Φίλαιος.]
pi-ra-ka-ra, KN Ap 639. WN: *Philagrā*. [Cf. Φίλαγρος.]
***pi-ra-ḳa-wo*(*-qe*)**, KN V 1005. MN: *Philakhaiwos*. [Φιλάχαιος Schwyzer, *Dial.* 57.]
pi-ra-ki, MY Au 657?, Z 712. MN: *Philāgis*? [Cf. Ἄγις.]
pi-ra-ki-jo, KN V 1002. MN.
pi-ra-ko-ro, TH Fq 128+. MN, dat.: *Philagrōi*. [Φίλαγρος.]
pi-ra-me-no, KN E 36, PY **215** = Jn 389, TH Fq 198 (*pi-ra-me-no*[). MN, nom. and dat.: *Phīlamenos*, *ōi* [Cf. φίλατο *Il.* V, 61+, φιλάμενος *IG* XIV 1549.]
pi-ra-qo, KN Vc 181. MN.
pi-re-ṭa, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.: *Philētāi*. [Φιλητᾶς.]
]pi-ri-da-ke, MY Oe 128. MN?, dat.
pi-ri-ja-me-ja, PY **48** = An 39 rev. MN: *Priameiās*? [Cf. Πρίαμος *Il.* I, 19+.]

pi-ri-ja-o, PY **348** = Vn 46. Gen. plur.: *phliāōn* 'door-posts'. [φλιαί *Od.* XVII, 221.]

pi-ri-je, KN **253** = K 740. With sign ZE, probably here to be taken not as an abbreviation = 'pair', but as ideogram for 'saw'. Nom. sing.: *priēn*? [Cf. πρίων.]

?pi-ri-]je-ne, KN R 1562. Prob. nom. plur.

pi-ri-je-te, KN **272** = Ra 1548+. Nom. sing., name of occupation: *prientēr*? 'sawyer', at KN perhaps of ivory for sword-hilts (Biraschi 1978), in PY Fn more likely of wood. [Cf. *pi-ri-je*, *pi-ri-te*; πριστήρ.]

pi-ri-je-te-re, PY **50** = An 207. Nom. dual or plur.: *-tēre(s)*.

pi-ri-e-te-re, PY **93** = Fn 7. Alternative spelling, nom. plur.: *-tēres*.

pi-ri-e-te-si, PY **93** = Fn 7. Dat. plur.: *-tērsi*.

pi-ri-no, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *Philīnos*? [Φιλῖνος.]

pi-ri-sa-ta, KN U 4478. MN.

pi-ri-ta, PY Vn 34. WN: *Philistā*. [Φιλίστα.]

pi-ṛi-ta-wo, PY **137** = Eo 371. MN: *Philistāwōn*? *Plinthāwōn*?

pi-ri-ta-wo-no, PY **124** = En 467. Gen.: *-āwonos*.

pi-ri-te, KN Ra 1543. Probably mis-spelling of *pi-ri-je-te*, but could be *pristēr*. [πριστήρ.]

pi-ri-to-jo, KN C 911. MN, gen.?: *Philistoio*? [Φίλιστος.]

pi-ri-ṵ-wo, KN B 803. MN.

pi-ro-i-ta, KN V 1523, [V 1526?]. MN: *Philoitās*. [Φιλοίτης; cf. Φιλοίτιος *Od.* XX, 185+.]

pi-ro-ka-te, PY Jn 832, TH Av 102?. MN: *Philogāthēs*?

pi-ro-na, PY Ep 539. WN: *Philōnā*? [Cf. Φιλωνίς.]

pi-ro-ne-ta, PY **216** = Jn 658. MN.

pi-ro-pa-ta-ra, PY Vn 34. WN: *Philopatrā*.

pi-ṛo-pe-se-wa, TH Of 28. MN, dat.: *Philopsēwāi* or *Philopeisewāi*? [Cf. Πεισέας.]

pi-ro-qa-wo[, KN As 609. MN: *Philokk^{w}āwōn* [cf. Φιλοκτήμων] or *Philok^{w}āwōn* [cf. *o-qa-wo-ni*]?

]pi-ro-qe-mo, MY **257** = Ue 611 rev. MN.

pi-ro-qo-ṛo[, PY Cn 254. MN, dat.: *Philo-*.

pi-ro-ta-wo, PY **173** = Es 644+. MN.

pi-ro-te-ko-to, PY **172** = Es 650 rev. MN: *Philotektōn*, if correctly read as one word; see p. 636.

pi-ro-we-ko, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN: *Philowergos*. [Φιλοῦργος.]

pi-ṛo-ẓo-na[1], PY Ae 344. MN? Or WN, gen. (cf. *wi-ja-da-ra* Ae 142, in same hand and stylus)? [Cf. next.]

pi-ro-wo-na[2], MY **28** = V 659. WN: *Philowoinā*?

pi-ru-te, PY **57** = An 519, **78** = Cn 3. PN, loc.

pi-sa-wa-ta, KN B 1055. MN: *Piswātās*? [Cf. *pi-*82*.]

pi-ta-ke-u, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN: *Pithākeus* [cf. Πίθᾱκος, πίθηκος] or *Pittakeus* [cf. Πιττακός]?

pi-ti-ro$_2$-we-sa, PY **262** = Ta 713. Nom. sing. fem.: *ptilowessa* (*ptilio-*?) 'decorated with feather pattern'? [πτίλον 'feathers, down; insect's wing', Hdt.+.]

pi-wa-to, PY An 31. MN.

pi-we-re, PY Aa 1182. PN.

pi-we-ri-di, MY Oe 103. WN, dat. *Piweridi*. [Cf. πιερίς.]

pi-we-ri-ṣị, MY **96** = Fo 101. Dat. plur. (perhaps referring to two women of same name, or from same family: see p. 543).

pi-we-ri-ja-ta, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN: *Piweriātās*. [Cf. prec.; Πιερίη *Il.* XIV, 226].

pi-za-ra, KN X 1801. Obscure, MN?

pi-*82, PY Ac 1276, **42** = An 830, **60** = Cn 131+, **207** = Jn 829, **208** = Jo 438, **183** = Ma 225+, Na 322, Vn 19. PN, first of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province; probably *Piswā*. [Πῖσα, but not to be identified with Pisa on the Alpheios.]

pi-*82-de, PY **97** = Vn 20. Acc.+ *-de*: *Piswān-de*.

pi-*19-te, PY **47** = An 427. PN, loc.

PO, Annotation to MAN; = *po-ku-ta*: KN B 808+.

Annotation to OIL (perhaps = *po-ni-ki-jo*, see p. 549): PY Fr 1203+.

Annotation to CLOTH: KN L 7380.

Ligatured with **211*[VAS] (see p. 765): KN Fs 8, K 873.

Ligatured with CLOTH: TH Lf 139.

Ideographic use: KN Ce 7516: abbreviation of name of animal? *po-ro*??

po-da, KN V 1524. Obscure; acc. sing. *poda* (cf. *po-de*; Killen 1985c.297 n.95)?

po-da-ko(-qe), KN Ch 899+. Name or description of ox: *Podargos* (*k*^{w}*e*). [Πόδαργος name of two horses *Il.* VIII, 185, XXIII, 295.]

po-ḍạ-qe-re-ṣị-je-wo, KN B 822. Obscure, gen. of adj.?

po-de, PY **259** = Ta 641. Dat. sing.: *podei* 'foot, leg' (of tripod cauldron or table). [πούς Hom.+.]

po-pi, PY **261** = Ta 642. Instr. plur.: *popphi* < **pod-phi*. Cf. *qe-to-ro-po-pi*.

po-i-te-u, KN Da 1083. MN: *Phoiteus*? [Cf. next.]

po-i-ti-jo, KN Da 1314. MN: *Phoitios*? [Cf. PN Φοιτίαι.]

po-ka, KN Dp 997+. Nom. plur.: *pokai* 'fleeces'. [πόκαι variant of πόκοι Aristoph., *Ran.* 186.]

po-ka-ro, KN Da 5195. MN.

po-ka-ta-ma, PY **270** = Tn 996. Nom. sing. or plur., prob. name of silver(?) and bronze vessels.

po-ke-we, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, dat.: *Phōkēwei*? [Φωκεύς ethnic.]

po-ki-ro-nu-ka, KN **228** = Ld 587+, L 590. Nom. plur. neut.: *poikilonukha* (or *ōnuka*) (of garments) 'with many-coloured *o-nu-ke*' (see *o-nu-ka*[1], *o-nu* and cf. *o-nu-ka*[2], *re-u-ko-nu-ka*). [ποικίλος *Il.* V, 735+.]

po-ki-ro-qo, PY **56** = An 654, **340** = Aq 64, **208** = Jo 438. MN: *Poikilok*^{w}*s*, *-ōk*^{w}*os*?

po-ki-te, KN B 806. MN.

po-ko-ro, PY **60** = Cn 131+. MN, dat.

po-ku-ta, KN B 815+, C 911+, L 469, PY **50** = An 207, **53** = An 610. Nom. sing. and plur., a class of men. The suggestion *pos-khutās* is improbable in view of the lack of evidence for **pos=posi* in Myc., but a compound of *-khutās* (χέω) is possible. [Cf. προχύτης = πρόχοος.]

po-ku-te-ro, KN C 911, X 5732 (*po-ku-te-ṛọ*[). Apparently adj. to prec. (For formation, cf. *wa-na-ka-te-ro*; this confirms that *-ta* of *po-ku-ta* must be a suffix.)

po-ma-ko, PY Cn 45. MN. *Poimarkhos*, *-āgos*?

ṗọ-ṃạ-no-ṛị, KN L 759 rev. (deleted). Obscure; if MN, dat., perhaps: *Poimānori*. [Cf. Ποίμανδρος.]

po-me[1], KN **29** = Am 821, PY **32** = Ae 134, An 101, **115** = Ea 71+, **135** = Eo 278. Nom. sing. masc.: *poimēn* 'shepherd'. [ποιμήν *Od.* X, 82+.]

po-me-ne, PY **114** = Ea 800+, **202** = Nn 831, TH Av 101. Dat. sing. and nom. dual or plur.: *poimenei*, *poimene(s)*.

po-me-no, PY **113** = Ea 782. Gen. sing.: *poimenos*.

po-me[2], KN Dd 1376. MN: *Poimēn* (in fact, a shepherd). [Ποιμήν.]

po-me-no[, KN Xe 8537. Obscure; gen. sing. of *po-me*[2] rather than gen. sing. or plur. of *po-me*[1]?

po-mi-ni-jo, KN V 503, MN: *Poimniōn* or *Poimnios*. [Ποιμνίων, Ποιμένιος.]

po-ṇẹ-to-qe-ṃị, PY Eq 36. Perhaps *ponĕtoi kʷe min* 'and he works it' (Killen 1999c.344).

po-ni-ja-ja, KN Sd 4408. Error for *po-ni-ki-ja*.

po-ni-ke(-qe), PY **268** = Ta 722. Instr. sing. masc.: *phoinikei* 'with a palm-tree'; prob. not 'griffin'. [φοῖνιξ *Od.* VI, 163+.] See p. 793.

po-ni-ki-pi, PY **266** = Ta 714. Instr. plur.: *phoinikhphi*.

po-ni-ke-ja, KN Ln 1568 edge. WN, dat.: *Phoinikeiāi*.

po-ni-ki-ja, KN **281** = Sd 4402+, Se 965+, **285** = Sf 4428. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *phoinikiā*, *-ai*, describing chariots, prob. 'crimson coloured' (less likely 'of palm-wood'). [φοινίκεος Pind.+; cf. νέας φοινικοπαρῄους *Od.* XI, 124.]

po-ni-ke-a, KN Se 880. Variant form: *phoinikeā*.

po-ni-ki-jo, KN Bg 834+, **100** = Ga 427+, [Od 5082?, X 9735]. Nom. sing. neut.?; name of a spice measured by weight: *phoinikion*? (In Od 5082, if rightly restored, perhaps adj.; cf. *po-ni-ki-ja*.) There is no proof that φοιν[ίκ]ιον, *Inscr. Cret.* IV, 145, is a substantive, but it could be the same word.

po-no-qa-ta, [KN Da 1341?], PY Fn 324. MN, nom. and dat.: *Pornokʷātās*, *-tāi*. [Cf. πάρνοψ, Aeol. πορνόπιος.]

po-pi: see s.v. *po-de*.

po-po, KN Ln 1568, L 513+, Od 689, Xe 524. WN? MN?, nom. and dat.

po-po-i, MY Oi 702. Dat. plur., prob. variant of or error for *po-ro-po-i* (q.v.).

po-pu-re-jọ, KN X 976. Nom. plur. masc.?: *porphureioi*? [πορφύρεος, *Il.* VIII, 221+.]

po-pu-re-ja, KN **231** = L 474. Nom. plur. fem.: *porphureiai*.

po-pu-ro$_2$, KN L 758. Nom. dual fem. of variant form: *porphuriō*.

po-qa, PY **110** = Un 138, TH Ug 17 (cf. KN **168** = Gv 862). Word applied to olives, prob. *phorgʷā* 'food', 'for eating'. [φορβή, *Il.* V, 202+ 'food for animals'.]

po-qa-te-u, PY Qa 1295. Probably a title: poss. *phoigʷasteus* 'purifier' or 'prophet'? [Cf. φοιβάζω.]

po-qe-wi-ja, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Nom. plur. fem.: *phorgʷēwiai* 'halters'. [φορβειά Xen.+.]

po-qe-wi-ja-i, PY **51** = An 1282. Dat. plur.: *phorgʷēwiāhi*.

po-ra-i, PY **58** = An 656. PN, dat.-loc. plur.

po-ra-pi, PY **52** = An 1, Mn 1408, **203** = Nn 228. Instr. plur.

***po-re-na*(*-qe*)**, PY **309** = Tn 316 (and rev.). Prob. acc. plur. masc.: *phorēnas* (*kʷe*), used of human beings dedicated to divinities, though not necessarily human sacrifices; see pp. 839–40, 843.

po-re-si, TH Of 26: dat. plur.?

***po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ*[**, PY Ua 1413. Obscure, poss. compound of or containing a form of prec.

po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja, PY Un 443. If divided into *po-re-no zo-te-ri-ja*, the first word might be gen. (sing. or plur.) to cons. stem *po-re-na* (acc. plur.); *zo-te-ri-ja* might then be *tsōtēria* (σωτήρια) 'ransom of victim, prisoner, or the like'. This would involve accepting σω- as the product of **twoH₂-*, not a contraction of σαρο- (< **twH₂-wo-*). Alternatively, the second word might be *dzōstēria* (cf. ζωστήρ) 'belts' or 'binding'. The problem is complicated by the presence in PY Un 443 of *te-ri-ja* immediately preceded by what is apparently BARLEY 2; but *po-re-no-zo* offers no easy solution.

po-re-si: see s.v. *po-re-na*(*-qe*).

po-ri-ko, PY Cn 328. MN: *Polikhos*? [Πόλιχος.]

po-ri-wa, KN **228** = Ld 587. Nom. plur. neut.: *poliwa* 'grey', of textiles. [πολιός *Il.* IX, 366.]

po-ri-wo, KN C 911. MN: *Poliwos*? [Cf. prec.]

***po-ro*[1]**, KN **84** = Ca 895. Dual with 'maneless horse' ideogram: *pōlō* 'two colts, foals' (of horses or asses). [πῶλος *Od.* XXIII, 246+.]

***po-ro*[2]**, KN **67** = Dd 1171. MN: *Pōlos*? [Πῶλος.]

po-ro-de-qo-no, KN **322** = F 51 rev. Prob. dat.; perhaps *prodeikʷnōi*, but sense uncertain. Title of deputy official in charge of meal (cf. *po-ro-ko-re-te*)? Or 'for the preliminary meal'? [δεῖπνον *Il.* II, 381+.] See also *de-qo-no*.

po-ro-du-ma-te, PY [**152** = Ep 613], **94** = Fn 50. Dat. sing. (Ep 613 *po-ṛo-du*[*-ma*], nom. sing.). A compound title; second element *du-ma* (q.v.), but uncertain whether first element *pro-* (cf. *po-ro-ko-re-te*) or another term.

po-ro-e-ke, PY **262** = Ta 713+. Nom. sing., epithet of a table: see p. 790.

po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja, PY **260** = Ta 709. An implement: prob. *prohelktēriā* 'instrument for drawing forth', and reference to ladle; see p. 768.

po-ro-e-ko-to, TH Wu 67+. Obscure; more likely description of animals than verbal form.

po-ro-i-ra, KN Od 690. Personal name, dat.

po-ro-ko, KN Dv 1416?, PY [**216** = Jn 658?], Jn 725. MN.

po-ro-ko-re-te, KN V 865, PY **207** = Jn 829, **208** = Jo 438. Nom. sing., official subordinate to *ko-re-te*.

***po-ro-ko-re-te-re-*(*qe*)**, PY **207** = Jn 829. Nom. plur.

po-ro-ko-wa, KN Fh 350. Nom. or dat. sing.: prob. *prokhowā*(*i*), but uncertain whether technical term describing olive oil or '(for) libation'. [προχοή 'river-mouth, outpouring' Hom.] Cf. *e-pi-ko-wa*.

po-ro-ko-wo, MY **257** = Ue 611. Nom. plur.: *prokhowoi* 'jugs'. [πρόχοος *Od.* XVIII, 397+, Att. πρόχους.]

po-ro-po-i, MY **335** = Oi 701. Dat. plur.: see p. 890. See also *po-po-i*.

po-ro-qa-ta-jo, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN. [Cf. Attic deme Πρόσπαλτα?]

po-ro-su-re, KN Sg 888. Obscure, MN?

po-ro-te-ke, MY **257** = Ue 661 (*jo-po-ro-te-ke*). Prob. 3rd sing. aor.: (*hō*) *prothēke* 'thus he set out, served' (Killen 1992b.375–76). [τούτοισι προθεῖναι δαῖτα Hdt. I, 207+.]

po-ro-te-ra, MY Ui 2. Nom. sing. fem.: *proterā* 'first, former'.

po-ro-te-u, PY Eq 146. MN: *Prōteus*? [Πρωτεύς.]

po-ro-ti-ri, KN **286** = Se 879. Obscure: see p. 823.

po-ro-to, KN **223** = Od 562. Obscure; poss. *prōton* 'first' (of several deliveries of wool: cf. *po-ro-te-ra*).

po-ro-tu-qo-no, KN Vc 54. MN.

po-ro-u-jo, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN.

po-ro-u-te-u, KN **66** = Dc 1129, PY **214** = Jn 310, [Vn 493]. MN: *Plouteus*. [Πλουτεύς.]

po-ro-u-te-wo, PY **214** = Jn 310. Gen.: *Ploutēwos*.

po-ro-u-te-we, PY **60** = Cn 131. Dat.: *Ploutēwei*.

po-ro-we[, KN X 1014. Obscure.

po-ro-wi-to, PY [Fr 1218?], Fr 1221+. Possibly a month-name: *Plōwistos* 'the month of sailing'; see p. 846.

po-ro-wi-to-jo, PY **309** = Tn 316. Gen.

po-ru-da-ma-te, PY **48** = An 39 rev. Nom. plur.: variant spelling of *po-ro-du-ma-te*?

po-ru-da-si-jo, KN V 118, PY **341** = Aq 218. At KN possessive or ethnic adj.? At PY patronymic or ethnic adj.?

po-ru-e-ro, PY **216** = Jn 658. MN. The same man as *o-ru-we-ro*, but which is correct? See pp. 717–18.

po-ru-ka-to, KN Vc 74. MN: *Polukastos*? [Cf. Πολυκάστη *Od.* III, 464.]

po-ru-ko-ro-te-wi-jo, PY Na 512. PN.

po-ru-po-de(***-qe***), PY **268** = Ta 722. Instr. sing.: *polupodei* '(inlaid) with an octopus'. [Gen. πουλύποδος *Od.* V, 432+.]

po-ru-qo-ta, PY Cn 40+, Jn 845. MN, nom. and dat.: *Poluk^{w}hontās*, *-tāi*. [Πολυφόντης *Il.* IV, 395; the labio-velar preserved by analogy with other names in *-k^{w}hontās*.]

po-ru-qo-to, KN Da 1137, PY An 128. At KN man's name: *Polug^{w}otos*? At PY possibly epithet, but MN (added as unco-ordinated gloss) not impossible.

po-ru-te-we, KN Vc 176. MN.

po-ru-to, PY An 5. MN.

po-ru-we-wo, PY Sa 796. MN, gen.

po-se-da-o, PY Es 653. Nom. (prob. error for dat.): *Poseidāōn* 'Poseidon'. [Ποσειδάων Hom.; the Corinthian forms with -αϝōν must be secondary.]

po-se-da-o-no, KN X 5560? PY **159** = Eq 36, **175** = Es 649. Gen.: *Poseidāŏnos*.

po-se-da-o-ne, [KN **328** = V 52], PY **174** = Es 646+, **315** = Fr 1224+, [**310** = Un 6]. Dat.: *Poseidāonei*.

po-se-da-o-ni, PY **178** = Un 718. Alternative dat.: *Poseidāoni*.

po-si, KN **281** = Sd 4402+. Adverb: *posi* 'together, attached'. [**poti* > Dor. ποτί, πότ, Arc.-Cyp. πός, parallel to **proti* > Hom. προτί, Att.-Ion., Lesb. πρός.]

po-si-da-e-ja, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. Dat. sing. of goddess's name: *Posidāeiāi*.

po-si-da-i-je-u-si, PY **330** = Fn 187. Dat. plur.: *Posidāïjeusi* 'for the priests of Poseidon'?

po-si-da-i-jo, PY **309** = Tn 316. Acc. neut.: *Posidāïon* 'the shrine of Poseidon'?

po-si-da-i-jo-de, PY **330** = Fn 187. Acc. + allative *-de*, 'to the shrine of P.'.

po-si-ke-te-re, PY **53** = An 610. Nom. plur. masc., a class of men: *pos-ik(e)tēres*?; 'suppliants' is an unlikely meaning, perh. 'newcomers'? [ἱκέτης Hom., ἱκτήρ Soph., προσίκτωρ Aesch.]

po-so-pe-re-i, PY Cn 40. MN, dat.: *Pos-opheleï*? [Cf. προσοφείλω.]

po-so-ra-ko, PY Jn 725 (deleted). MN.

po-so-re-ja, PY **121** = En 609, **126** = Eo 224, **152** = Ep 613+. WN: *Psoleia*?

po-so-ri-jo, PY [Jn 601?], **208** = Jo 438 edge. MN: *Psoliōn*?

po-so-ri-jo-no, PY **340** = Aq 64. Gen.

po-so-ro, PY **43** = An 1281?, Jn 601+. MN: *Psolōn*? [Ψόλων.]

po-te-re-we, PY **330** = Fn 187. MN or occupational name?, dat.

po-te-u, PY **57** = An 519, Cn 45, TH Ug 41. MN: *Ponteus* or *Phoiteus*? [Ποντεύς; cf. *po-i-te-u*.]

po-te-wo, PY **124** = En 467, **136** = Eo 268. Gen.

po-te-we, TH Av 100. Dat.

po-ti-ja-ke-e, PY **53** = An 610. PN, loc.

[*po-*]*ṭi-a-ke-ṣi*, PY **43** = An 1281. Prob. variant of same name in loc. plur.

po-ti-jo, KN B 804. MN: *Pontios* [Πόντιος.]

po-ti-na-jo, PY Jn 692+. MN.

po-ti-ni-ja, KN **324** = Gg 702, M 729, **327** = Oa 745, **328** = V 52, PY **43** = An 1281, Cc 665, **330** = Fn 187, **316** = Fr 1225+, **309** = Tn 316, Vn 48, MY **335** = Oi 701+, TH **244** = Of 36. Name of goddess, nom.?, gen. and dat.: *Potnia*, *Potniās*, *Potniāi*, 'the Mistress'. Frequently with epithet and sometimes written as one word (*a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* KN **328** = V 52, *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* MY **335** = Oi 701). [πότνια Hom.+; cf. Skt. *pátnī*.]

po-ti-na-ja-we-jo, KN **74** = Dl 943+, G 760?, [**218** = K 875?] PY **152** = Ep 613, **214** = Jn 310+, Un 249, [TH Ug 422?]. Nom. sing. masc. adj. derived from πότνια: *Potniaweios* 'of or belonging to Potnia'? *Potni-arweios* 'dedicated to Potnia'? On the difficulty of the form, see p. 516.

po-ti-na-ja-we-jo-jo, PY **160** = Eq 213. Gen. sing. masc. or neut.

po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja, KN **77** = Dp 997, **92** = G 820, X 444? In Dp, G nom. plur. fem., in X prob. nom. plur. fem. or neut.

po-ti-ni-ja-we, KN **74** = Dl 943. Defective spelling for *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*.

po-ti-ni-ja-we-i-jo, KN Dp 7742. Variant spelling for *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*.

po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo, PY **344** = Qa 1299. Variant form: *Potniawios*.

***po-ti-pi*(*-qe*)**, PY **264** = PY Ta 707. Instr. plur.: *portiphi* 'with heifers'. [πόρτις *Il.* v, 162+.]

po-ti-ro, KN V 756+. Perhaps *pontiloi* 'mariners'. [Cf. ναυτίλοι Hdt. +.]

po-to, KN **36** = As 1516, Dv 1417? MN: *Pontos*? [Πόντος.]

po-to-a$_2$-ja-de, TH Av 104. PN + *-de*. [Cf. Πτῷον.]

po-to-e, TH Up 432. MN, dat.: *Ptōheï*? [Cf. Πτῷον.]

po-to-re-ma-ta, PY [Ep 539?], Jn 601. MN, nom. and dat.: *Ptolemātās*, *-tāi*. [Cf. Πολεμάτας.]

po-to-ri-jo, KN **37** = As 1517. MN: *Ptoliōn*?

po-to-ri-ka-ta, KN **166** = Uf 983. MN, dat.: *Ptolikastāi*, *Ptolikhātāi*?

po-to-ro-wa-pi, PY Aa 76, Ad 678, La 623, Na 262. PN: loc.-instr. plur.

po-wi-te-ja, PY Jn 601, Na 923. PN.

po-*34-wi-do, KN Sc 235, [Sc 255 rev.?]. MN.

ṭṭẹ-jo-ḳọ, PY **48** = An 39 rev. MN.

pte-no, KN **281** = Sd 4402+. Nom. dual: *pternō* '(semi-circular) wing-extensions'. See p. 821. [πτέρνη 'heel' *Il.* XXII, 397.]

pte-re-wa, KN **286** = Se 879+, **290** = So 4437+. Gen. sing., describing wheels: *ptelewās* 'of elm-wood', *Ulmus glabra*. [πτελέη *Il.* VI, 419+; *πτελέϝα; cf. OHG *felawa* 'willow'.]

pe-te-re-wa, KN **289** = So 894. Alternative spelling of prec.

PU, Ligatured with CLOTH, abbreviation of *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*: KN **231** = L 474+, PY La 1394, Wr 1374.

***pu-da-so*[**, KN Dc 5677, V 431. MN.

pu-i-re-wi, MY Go 610. MN, dat.

pu-ka-ro, MY **96** = Fo 101, **28** = V 659? WN, nom. or dat.

pu-ka-ta-ri-ja, KN **231** = L 474+, MY X 508. Nom. plur. fem., description of CLOTH + *PU*: possibly *puktaliai* 'of double thickness, folded'. [Cf. πτυκτός, πυκνός, etc. Ugaritic *mizrtm* 'doubled garment' Gordon no. 88.]

pu-ka-wo, PY **48** = An 39+. Nom. plur. masc., a man's occupation: *pur-kawoi* 'fire-kindlers', context prob. catering (for work feasts) (Weilhartner 2017b) rather than religious. [Cf. πυρκαεύς Soph., πυρκαϊή 'pyre' *Il.* VII, 428+; πυρίκαοι, of the Delphians, Orac. ap. Plut. 2. 406e.]

pu-ke, MY **105** = Ge 604. MN.

pu-ke-o, MY **104** = Ge 603. Prob. gen.

pu$_2$-ke, MY Ge 602+. Prob. variant spelling of nom.

pu-ke-se-ro, PY Jn 845. MN.

pu-ko-ro, KN Xd 142?, PY **48** = An 39 rev., Fn 837, Jn 478? MN.

pu-ko-so e-ke-e, PY **263** = Ta 715. Nom. dual fem., describing tables: *pukso-ekhe(h)e* 'with box-wood supports'. [πύξος.]

pu-ko-to, KN X 796. No context; MN?

pu-ko-wo, PY **149** = Ep 705. MN: *Purkowos*? [Cf. Πυρκόοι.]

pu-ma-ra-ko, PY Cn 643. MN.

***pu-mo-ne-*[**, KN Vc 200. MN?

pu-na-si-jo^1, KN B 806, KH Ar 4. MN. [= Ethnic adj. of next.]

pu-na-so, KN C 967+, Da 1588+, Dn 1096, E 843. PN.

pu-na-si-jo^2, KN **101** = Ga 1530+. Ethnic adj.

pu-na-to, KN C 912. MN.

pu-nu-so, KN Df 1233. MN.

***pu-ra-ko*[**, KN Xd 141. MN?, if complete: *Phulakos*? [Φύλακος *Il.* VI, 35.]

pu-ra-ta, PY Jn 605. MN. *Pulātās* or *Pulartās*. [Πυλήτης as ethnic; Πυλάρτης *Il.* XI, 491.]

pu-ra-ta-o, PY Jn 605. Gen.: *-tāo*.

pu-ra-u-to-ro, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. dual fem. or neut.: *puraustrō* 'fire-tongs'. [πύραυστρα = πυράγρα *IG* II^2 47 18, 4 B.C., πύραυστρον Herodas IV, 62; πῦρ +

**aus-*; cf. Lat. *haurio*. Cf. Cypr. ἔναυον· ἔνθες, (ἔ)παυον· θές Hsych. The Hom. αὔω (*Od.* V, 490) has the sense 'take fire from, kindle'.]

pu-re-wa, KN U 4478. MN: *Phulewās*? [Cf. Φυλεύς; *pu*$_2$*-re-wa*.]

pu-ri, KN B 799, Ch 1029, Dv 5696, F 452, V 479. MN: *Puris*. [Πύρις *Il.* XVI, 416.]

pu-ro, PY Aa 61+, **6** = Ab 553+, **9** = Ad 671+, **26** = Ae 303+, **39** = An 35, Cn 45, **309** = Tn 316 (and rev.), **110** = Un 138, Va 15 (and rev.). PN: *Pulos*. [Πύλος *Il.* XI, 682+.] There are two places of this name, the second distinguished by the epithet *ra-u-ra-ti-jo*, q.v.

pu-ro-jo, PY An 129. Gen.: *Puloio*.

pu-ṛu̯-da-ka, PY Ep 539. MN.

]p̣u̯-ru-wa, KN L 5561. Before CLOTH + *PU*; poss. nom. plur. fem.: *purwai* 'red' (Killen 2002). [Cf. *pu-wa*, *pu-wo*.]

pu-so, KN As 604, Da 1339+, Dn 5318?, X 8530. PN.

pu-si-jo/-ja, KN Bg 992, **349** = E 749, Og 833, X 450. Ethnic adj.

pu-ta, KN Gv 864. Nom. plur. neut., describing TREE ideogram: *phuta* 'young plants'. [φυτόν *Od.* XXIV, 227+.]

pu-ta-ri-ja, KN E 849. Nom. sing. or plur. fem.: *phutaliā* 'orchard, vineyard'. [φυταλιή *Il.* VI, 195+.]

pu-ta-ta, KN X 7743. Obscure.

pu-te^1, KN **163** = Uf 835+. Nom. sing.: *phutēr* 'planter'? [Cf. φυτεύω; see also *pu*$_2$*-te-re*.]

pu-te^2, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

pu-te-ri-ja, KN **161** = Uf 981+. Acc. sing. following *e-ke* (and sometimes not divided from it): variant spelling of *pu-ta-ri-ja* = *phutaliān*, or a derivative of *pu-te* = *phutēr*?

pu-te-u, PY Jn 431. MN: *Putheus*, *Phuteus*? [Πυθεύς, Φυτεύς.]

pu-ti-ja, PY An 340, Qa 1294. MN: *Puthias*. [Πυθίας.]

pu-to-ro^1, PY **348** = Vn 46. Gen. plur.?: item in list of building materials. See p. 914.

pu-to-ro^2, KN **36** = As 1516, Da 1333. MN.

pu-wa, KN Ap 639. WN: *Purwā*. [Πύρρα; cf. *]p̣u̯-ru-wa*, *pu-wo*.]

pu-wa-ne, PY Jn 832. MN.

pu-wi-no, PY **60** = Cn 131+. MN, nom. and dat.: *Purwinos*, *-ōi*. [Πύρρινος.]

pu-wo, KN **36** = As 1516, C 912, MY **104** = Ge 603. MN. *Purwos* or *Purswos*? [Πύρρος; Corinth. Πυρϝος (name of a horse) Schwyzer, *Dial.* 123, 15.]

pu-za-ko, PY Cn 328. MN.

pu-zo, KN Ap 5748. WN.

pu[ ]-a*$_2$*-ko, PY An 340. MN. Cf. *pu*$_2$*-si-ja-ko*.

pu*$_2$*-ke: see s.v. *pu-ke*.

pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri, PY **258** = Ta 711. MN: *Phugeg*^{w}*ris*: see p. 782.

pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri-ne, TH Gp 119. Dat.

pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja, TH Of 27. WN? [Cf. prec.]

pu*$_2$*-ra-ne-jo, KN B 799. MN.

pu*$_2$*-ra*$_2$*-a-ke-re-u, PY **203** = Nn 228. PN: *Phuliās Agreus*?

pu*$_2$*-ra*$_2$*-a-ki-ri-jo, PY Na 425. Variant form of name? *Phuliās Agrios*?

pu*$_2$*-re-wa, KN Sc 243, TH Of 26. MN, nom.? and dat.: *Phulēwās*, *-wāi*? [Cf. *pu-re-wa*.]

pu*$_2$*-ru-da-ro, KN Uf 432. MN: *Phludaros*? [Cf. φλυδαρός.]

pu$_2$-ṣi-ja-ko, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN: *Phusiarkhos*? Cf. *pu-*[ ]*-a$_2$-ko*.
]pu$_2$-te-me-no: see [*pe-*]*pu$_2$-te-me-no*.
pu$_2$-te-re, KN V 159, PY **198** = Na 520. Nom. plur.: *phutēres* 'planters'? [Cf. φυτεύω, *pu-te*[1].]
pu$_2$-ti-ja, PY **58** = An 656, Jn 601. MN. [*Phutiās* hypocoristic of -φυτος; poss. *Phuthiās* = *pu-ti-ja*, if dissimilation of aspirates is not operative.]
pu$_2$-to, KN Uf 1522. MN, dat. [*Phuthos* = Πύθος?; see prec.]

QA, Ligatured with CYP (cyperus): KN Ga 5088+.
qa-da-ro, KN V 831. MN. [Poss. *K^{w}andaros* = Πάνδαρος *Il.* IV, 88+.]
qa-da-so, KN Db 1297. MN: *K^{w}ādasos*? [Πήδασος *Il.* VI, 21+.]
qa-da-wa-so, MY Oe 130. MN?, dat.?
qa-di-ja, KN C 911. MN.
qa-i-po, KN Dg 1101. MN.
]qa-ka-na-pi[, KN Xf 4487. Instr. plur. fem.?
qa-ko-jo, PY Vn 34. MN, gen.
qa-me-si-jo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN. [Cf. *qa-mi-si-jo*?]
qa-mi-ki-[, KN Dv 8280. MN.
qa-mi-si-jo, KN Sc 135. MN: *K^{w}amisios*. [Cf. Πάμισος river in Messenia; cf. *qa-me-si-jo*.]
qa-mo, KN Da 1317+, Dn 5559, Ga 417, Pp 497. PN.
  qa-mi-jo/-ja, KN Ak 613, Ap 5876, **349** = E 749, Lc 543, **224** = Le 641, Og 833. Ethnic adj.
qa-na-no-to, KN Da 1351+. PN.
qa-nu-wa-so, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *K^{w}anuasos*? [Πανύασος.]
qa-nwa-so, KN **75** = Dl 943. PN.
qa-qa-ro, KN As 604. MN. [Cf. Linear A *qa-qa-ru* HT 93+.]
qa-ra, KN **34** = Am 819, Da 1098+, Dl 9199, Dn 1095, **167** = Gv 863, L 473, Pp 495, **164** = Uf 836+, V 865, X 44+. PN.
  qa-ra-jo^1, KN **349** = E 749, Ga 423, Og 833. Ethnic adj.
qa-ra-de-ro, PY Vn 879. Possibly name of a material?
qa-ra-i-so, Dv 5285?, KN V 466. MN. [Cf. PN Πραισός? Or Βλαϊσός?]
qa-ra-jo^1: see s.v. *qa-ra*.
qa-ra-jo^2, KN **37** = As 1517, Uf 432?, V 429. MN.
qa-ra-o, KN Og 1804. Obscure.
qa-ra-si-jo, MY Au 657, [Au 658?]. MN.
qa-ra-su-ti-jo, KN Dd 1150, Nc 4489, Xd 154. MN.
qa-ra-to-ro, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. sing. neut.: *sk^{w}alathron* 'oven-rake'. [σπάλαθρον Pollux.]
qa-ra-we-ta, MY V 662. MN.
qa-ra$_2$, PY An 192. MN: *K^{w}alyans*? [Πάλλας, -αντος.]
  qa-ra$_2$-te, PY **93** = Fn 7, TH Of 38. Dat.
  qa-ra$_2$-to-de, TH Of 37. Gen. + *-de*: 'to the house of K^w.'.
qa-ra$_2$-ro, KN Dl 932. MN.
qa-ra$_2$-te, PY **48** = An 39 rev. Uncertain whether dat. of prec. or nom. of different name.

qa-ra$_2$-ti-jo, KN Dg 1235. MN: *K^{w}alyantios*?

qa-ra$_2$-wo, KN Ce 50 (and rev.?). MN.

qa-ru-ko, MY Au 657+. MN.

qa-sa-ko, KN C 912, Dd 1283. MN.

qa-sa-re-o, PY Sa 755. MN, gen.

qa-sa-ro-we, KN Db 1329, [Dq 8351?], E 848, Np 7923. PN.

qa-si-da-ro, KN Db 1110+. MN.

qa-si-re-u, PY Jn 431+, **208** = Jo 438. Nom. sing.: *g^{w}asileus* 'chief', used of local headmen, some and perhaps all in charge of workgroups, not sovereign. [βασιλεύς; cf. βασιλῆες … εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐν … Ἰθάκῃ *Od.* I, 394.]

q̣a-si-re-u-pi, TH Uq 434. Instr. plur.

[?*qa-*]*si-re-we*, KN B 779. Doubtful; perhaps nom. plur. of prec., but poss. dat. sing. of MN; cf. KN **37** = As 1517. 2.

qa-si-re-wi-ja, KN **36** = As 1516, **218** = K 875, PY **94** = Fn 50+, Pa 398+, TH [Ug 42]. Prob. fem. sing., derivative of *qa-si-re-u*: *g^{w}asilēwiā*, probably in all contexts 'workgroup (or workshop) controlled by a *g^{w}asileus*'.

qa-so-pi, TH Up 432. MN.

qa-ti-ja, KN As 1519, Fh 355. MN.

qa-to-no-ro, KN **36** = As 1516, Fh 5463. MN.

qa-*83-to, KN Sc 257. MN?

QE, Surcharged on CORSLET ideogram: KN Sc 224+; on KN Sc 266 also apparently ideographic, but probably error for HORSE.

-qe, KN **87** = Ch 896+, **92** = G 820, **234** = L 647, etc., PY **9 =** Ad 671+, **57** = An 519+, **152** = Ep 613+, **207** = Jn 829+, etc., MY **44** = Au 102, **104** = Ge 603, **28** = V 659. Enclitic particle: *-k^{w}e* 'and'. [τε; Lat. *-que*, Skt. *ca*, etc.]

qe-da-do-ro, KN De 1294, Uf 121, TH Gp 150+. MN.

qe-ja-me-no, KN X 8532?, PY **143** = Eb 294, **142** = Ep 704. Nom. sing. masc., perhaps of mid. pple. of asigmatic aorist of τίνω: *k^{w}ejamenos* 'receiving compensation' (Lejeune, *Mémoires*. II. 300 n. 55, Duhoux, *Aspects* 61, Killen 1992a.380).

qe-pa-ta-no, KN Ln 1568. WN?

qe-qi-no-me-no, PY **346** = Va 482. Nom. plur. perf. pple. mid. or pass.: *g^{w}eg^{w}īnōmenoi* 'carved'. [Perhaps in origin 'endowed with life'; cf. βίος; cf. δινωτός *Od.* XIX, 56.]

qe-qi-no-me-na, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Nom. sing. fem. and prob. instr. plur.: *g^{w}eg^{w}īnōmenā*, *-āis*. See p. 789.

qe-qi-no-to, PY **261** = Ta 642. Prob. 3rd sing. perf.: *g^{w}eg^{w}īnōtoi* 'it is carved'.

qe-ra-di-ri-jo, KN Sc 246. MN: *K^{w}ēlandrios*. [Cf. Τήλανδρος.]

qe-ra-jo, KN Vc 5523, V 482. MN: *Khwēraios*? [Cf. Θηραῖος ethnic of Θήρα; θήρ < **ghwēr-*.]

qe-ra-na, PY **258** = Ta 711. Nom. sing. fem.: 'ewer, jug'. See p. 763.

qe-ra-si-ja, KN [Fh 5475?], **317** = Fp 1+. Prob. fem. dat. sing., name of a divinity. [Possibly to be connected with θήρ; cf. πότνια θηρῶν *Il.* XXI, 470.]

qe-ra-si-jo, KN Fp 16. Dat. sing. masc.? Probably not an error; perhaps a male counterpart of prec. See pp. 860, 861.

qe-re-ma-o, KN V 7513, PY Qa 1295, TH Fq 125+. MN: *K^{w}ēlemaos*? [Cf. τηλε-, (Οἰνό)-μαος.]

qe-re-me-e, PY Na 540. PN, loc.

qe-re-me-ne-u, PY Jn 845. MN: *K^{w}ēlemeneus*? *K^{w}remneus* (cf. πρέμνον)?

qe-re-me-ti-wo, PY An 5, Cr 868. PN?

qe-re-me-ti-re, PY Cn 4. Apparently variant of or error for the same place-name.

qe-re-qo-ta-o, PY **123** = En 659. MN, gen.: *K^{w}ēlek^{w}hontāo*. [Nom. also spelt *pe-re-qo-ta*, q.v.]

qe-re-ro, TH Uq 434. MN, dat.

qe-re-ti-ri-jo, PY **348** = Vn 46. Nom. dual: perhaps *k^{w}(e)lethriō* 'poles'. [Cf. πέλεθρον, πλέθρον.] Or from βλῆτρον 'fastening' [*Il.* XV, 678.]? See p. 914.

qe-re-wa, KN Xd 122+. MN: *K^{w}ēlewās*? [Cf. Τηλέας.]

qe-re-wa-o, PY **61** = Cn 655. Gen.

qe-ri, KN Df 1360. MN.

qe-ri-jo, KN Ag 1654. MN: *Khwēriōn*? [Θηρίων.]

qe-ri-jo-jo, TH Wu 58. Gen.

qe-ri-ta, PY Eb 900, **152** = Ep 613. WN.

qe-ro, KN Db 1204, V 479. MN.

qe-ro-a-ta-qe, KN As 602. Perh. MN + -*k^{w}e*, rather than names *qe-ro* (see above) and *a-ta* (q.v.) + -*k^{w}e*.

]*qe-ro-me-no*, PY **10** = Ad 697. Nom. sing. masc. pple.: prob. *k^{w}elomenos* 'being'. [πέλομαι (Aeol.).]

qe-ro$_2$, KN **253** = K 740, **305** = Sk 8100+. Nom. sing. and dual, (poss. plur.), describing constituent of sets of armour, in K noted as made of bronze. Prob. means 'breast- (or back-) plate', but no convincing etymology has been proposed. See pp. 834–35.

]*qe-sa-ma-qa*, KN Fs 11. Obscure, possibly divine name.

qe-ta-ko, PY **80** = Cn 1287+, Jn 431. MN.

qe-ṭa-ḳo-jo, PY Jn 431. Gen.

qe-ta-ra-je-u, PY Jn 845. MN: *K^{w}etraieus*? [Cf. τετρα-?]

***qe-ta-se-u*[**, KN As 605, TH Of 30? MN.

qe-ta-wo, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN.

qe-te-jo, PY Fr 1206+. Prob. neut. sing. of adj. meaning roughly 'to be paid', 'due', in some cases evidently substantivised. Etymology uncertain: possibly *k^{w}eiteios* from root of τίνω with analogical *e*-grade in root and suffix -*teios* (but -τέος believed to be < *-*tewos*).

qe-te-o, KN Fh 348, **239** = L 693+, TH Wu 49+. Variant spelling.

qe-te-a, KN Fp 363. Neut. plur.

qe-te-a$_2$, PY **110** = Un 138, TH **107** = Wu 65+. Variant spelling of prec.

qe-te-re-u, PY Vn 865. MN: *K^{w}etreus*. [Cf. τετρα-?]

qe-te-se-u, KN As 609. MN: *K^{w}htheiseus*? [Cf. φθεισήνωρ (φθῖσ-) *Il.* II, 833+.]

qe-to, PY **259** = Ta 641, MY **257** = Ue 611 (]*qe-to*). Nom. dual and plur.; name of a vessel. See p. 763.

qe-ti-ja, MY **257** = Ue 611, Wt 504. Nom. plur. neut.; diminutive in -*ion* of prec.

qe-to-ro-no, PY Jn 431. MN.

qe-to-ro-po-pi, PY **32** = Ae 134+. Instr. plur.: *kʷetropopphi* (< ***-pod-phi*) 'four-footed animals'. [τετράποδα Hdt.+.]

qe-to-ro-we, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. sing. neut. Blegen: *kwetrōwes* 'with four handles'. [Cf. *a-no-we*, *ti-ri-jo-we*.]

qe-wa-ra, KN Mc 4459. Obscure.

QI, As a unit of weight: KN Np 85+. See pp. 142–43.

qi-ja-to, KN Db 1140. MN.

qi-ja-zo, KN Dv 1500, Xe 5899. MN.

qi-ko-we-e, KN C 911. Obscure; PN?

qi-na, KN Ld 584 (*o-pi-qi-na*). Perh. MN, dat.

qi-ne-u, TI Z 30. MN?

qi-ni-te-we, KN D 1024. MN, dat.?

qi-nwa-so, KN Dc 1515. MN.

qi-qe-ro, KN **37** = As 1517. MN.

qi-ri-ja-to, KN Ai 1037+, **30** = B 822+. Annotation on personnel records: prob. 3rd sing. aor. *kʷriato* 'he bought'. [πρίατο *Od.* I, 430 of buying a slave.]

qi-ri-ta-ko, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN.

qi-si-ja-ko, PY Jn 706. MN.

qi-si-pe-e, PY **269** = Ta 716. Nom. dual: *kʷsiphee* 'two swords (or knives)'. [ξίφος *Il.* I, 194+.] See pp. 779, 780, 799.

qi-si-ta, KN De 1264. MN.

qi-ta-ro, KN Dk 936. MN.

qi-wo, TH Of 33. PN or MN? [If MN, cf. βίων.]

qi-zo, KN Dd 1291. MN.

QO, Ideographic use (obscure): KN U 49. Possibly intended for OX?

]qo-i-ṇạ[, KN X 7735. Possibly *kʷoinā* = ποινή, but reading doubtful.

qo-ja-si, KN B 799. MN.

qo-ja-te, KN **238** = Od 667 edge +. Personal name, prob. MN.

qo-o, PY **78** = Cn 3. Prob. acc. plur.: *gʷōns* 'oxen'. [βοῦς; see p. 110.]

qo-pa-ra-[, KN X 7571. MN?

qo-pi-ja, PY Na 329. PN.

qo-qo-ta-o, PY Ea 270+. Gen. sing. or plur.: *gʷogʷotāo*, *-tāōn* 'of the oxherd(s)'. [Prob. dissimilated from *qo-u-qo-ta*, q.v., but here an occupation rather than a name.]

qo-re-po-ṵ-ti, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.

qo-ro-mu-ro, PY Na 841. PN.

qo-ta[1], PY Na 532. PN.

qo-ta[2], MY **28** = V 659 (*qo-ta-qe*). WN.

qo-ta-wo[1], PY **48** = An 39 rev. MN.

qo-ta-wo[2], PY Na 522. PN.

qo-te-ro, KN **36** = As 1516, Da 1495, PY Ae 108, **38** = An 261. MN.

qo-te-wo, PY **341** = Aq 218. MN, gen.

qo-u-ka-ra, PY **258** = Ta 711. Apparently adj., nom. sing., describing a ewer: *gʷoukarā*(*s*) (or *-krās*) 'with ox-head'. [βοῦς, κάρα.]

***qo-u-ko-ro*[1]**, PY **49** = An 18+, **202** = Nn 831, TI **171** = Ef 2. Nom. sing. and plur.: *gʷoukolos*, *-oi* 'oxherd(s)'. [βουκόλοι *Il.* XIII, 571+.]

qo-u-ko-ro-jo, PY Ea 781. Gen. sing.: *gʷoukoloio*. Or MN, gen.: *Gʷoukoloio* (see next)?

***qo-u-ko-ro*[2]**, KN [As 5609?, Xe 8546?]. Prob. MN: *Gʷoukolos*?

qo-u-qo-ta, KN L 480. MN, dat.: *Gʷougʷotāi*. [Cf. βουβότας Pind.] Cf. *qo-qo-ta-o*.

***qo-wa-ke-se-u*[**, KN As 602. MN: *Gʷowakseus*. [βοῦς, ἄγειν.]

qo-we, MY Fu 711 rev. Animal name, dat.: *gʷōwei* 'for the ox'? Or MN? See p. 880.

qo-wi-ja, PY **309** = Tn 316 rev. See p. 842.

qo-wi-ro, PY Xn 1481. Obscure.

***qo-wo*[**, PY **208** = Jo 438. MN.

qo-zo, MY Oe 118. Obscure.

RA, Ideographic use: PY Un 219.

Obscure, perhaps incomplete word: PY Fr 1215.

Apparently in ligature with GOAT: KN **209** = Mc 4454+; see p. 702.

ra-e-ja, PY **261** = Ta 642+. Nom. sing. fem., adj. describing tables: *laeiā* 'of stone'. [λᾶας.]

ra-i-pi, PY Na 530. PN, loc.

ra-ja, KN As 607?, C 979, Da 1202+, Dl 7138+, Dn 1096. PN.

ra-je-ṵ, KN **101** = Ga 1530. Ethnic, nom. sing.

ra-je-we, KN L 7400. Nom. plur.

ra-ja-mo, PY Xa 1420. MN?

ra-je-ṵ, ***ra-je-we***: see s.v. *ra-ja*.

ra-ka, PY Un 592. Description of doubtful ideogram, prob. **154*.

ra-ke, PY Eb 159, **152** = Ep 613. Perhaps verbal form, 3rd sing. aor.: *lakhe* 'was allotted'. Or dat. of noun: *lakhei* (from *lakhos* masc.) 'in the allotment'? See p. 613.

ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo, TH Fq 229+. MN (= ethnic adj.), dat.: *Lakedaimniōi*. [Λακεδαίμων *Il.* II, 581+.]

ra-ke-mi-ni-jo, TH Fq 254. Defective spelling.

***ra-*]*ke-da-mo-ni-jo*(*-u-jo*)**, TH Gp 227. Variant form of prec.: *Lakedaimoniōi*, with following *u-jo* (q.v.) indicating 'L. junior', or formally identical derived patronymic qualifying *u-jo*.

ra-ke-da-no, MY **104** = Ge 603. MN: *Lakedānōr*? [Cf. Λακεδαίμων.]

ra-ke-da-no-re, MY **105** = Ge 604. Dat.: *-ānorei*.

]***ra-ke-re-we*[**, KN Xd 305. MN?, *-klewēs*?

ra-ke-u, PY Cn 254. MN, app. nom. for dat.

ra-ku, KN V 653. MN.

ra-ku-ro, PY Eb 566, **133** = Eo 281, **138** = Ep 301. MN, nom. and dat.

ra-ku-ro-jo, PY **123** = En 659, [**133** = Eo 281]. Gen.

ra-ma-jo, PY Cn 285, Jn 692+. MN.

]***ra-ma-na***, KN Ai 762. PN.

ra-ma-na-de, KN Fh 353. Acc.+ *-de*.

ra-ma-o, PY Ub 1316. MN.

ra-mi-jo, TH Wu 88. MN: *Lamios*? [Cf. *ra-mo-de*; Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990.154.]

ra-mi-ni-ja, PY Ab 186. Nom. plur. fem. ethnic adj.: *Lāmniai*? [Λῆμνος.]

ra-mi-ni-jo, PY An 209, **62** = Cn 719+. MN: *Lāmnios*?

ra-mo, KN Uf 120. Obscure, MN?

ra-mo-de, TH Of 38. Prob. PN+ *-de*. [Cf. Λάμος (river in Boeotia) Paus. IX, 31, 7; Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990.154.]

ra-ni, KN B 41, X 1801. MN.

ra-ni-jo-ne, PY **50** = An 207. Nom. plur. ethnic adj. or place-name?

ra-o-no, KN Dv 1249. MN.

ra-pa-do, PY Ea 481. MN: *Lampadōn*. [Cf. Λαμπαδίων.]

ra-ṭa-i-ṭi-jo-i, PY Mn 11. Dat. plur., obscure.

ra-pa-sa-ko, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, dat.: *Lampsakōi*. [Cf. PN Λάμψακος.]

ra-pa-sa-ko-jo, PY **61** = Cn 655. Gen.: *Lampsakoio*.

ra-pa-to, KN **319** = Fp 13. Month name, nom.?: *Lapatos*. [μηνὸς Λαπάτω, Schwyzer, *Dial.* 667 (Arcadia); see p. 861.]

ra-pe-do, PY **56** = An 654. MN.

ra-pi-ti-ra$_2$, PY Ab 555. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's occupation: *rhaptriai* 'sewing women', 'sempstresses'. [ῥάπτρια; cf. next.]

ra-pte, PY An 172, Ea 28+. Nom. sing., man's occupation: *rhaptēr* 'sewing-man', perhaps 'saddler'. [Cf. ῥάπτης, *ra-pi-ti-ra$_2$*.]

ra-pte-re, KN Fh 1056, V 159, PY **50** = An 207+. Dat. sing. and nom. plur.: *rhaptērei*, *-es*.

[?*ra-*]*pte-si*, KN Fh 5432. Dat. plur.: *rhaptērsi*?

ra-pte-ri-ja, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Nom. plur. fem. of adj.: *rhaptēriai* '(reins) with stitching work'. This suggests that the masculine occupation at least was concerned with sewing leather rather than cloth.

ra-qa-ra, KN Xe 7437. Obscure, MN?

***ra-qa-ṛa-to*[**, KN X 8212. Obscure; gen. of prec.?

***ra-qe-te*[**, TH Fq 252. MN?, dat.

ra-qi-ti-ra$_2$, PY Ab 356. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's occupation, not identical with *ra-pi-ti-ra$_2$*. Possibly *lak^{w}triai* (cf. λάζομαι), but sense obscure.

ra-qi-ti-ra$_2$-o, PY Ad 667. Gen. plur.

ra-ri-di-jo, KN C 911. Nom. sing. masc. adj., describing a slave: possessive of personal name?

ra-sa-to, KN B 808. PN. Prob. error for or variant form of *ra-su-to*, q.v. (Driessen 1987.161–62.)

[.]*-ra-si-ne-wi-ja*, PY Vn 48. Prob. name of recipient of offering (?), dat. sing. fem.

ra-su-ro, PY Eb 1174, **123** = En 659, Ep 212. MN.

ra-su-to, KN **21** = Ai 739, As 604, C 979 (*ra-su-to-qe*), Da 1189+, Dk 1049, Dl 1046, Dm 1175, Dn 1200, Dv 1199+, X 1033+: PN, prob. *Lasunthos* (cf. Kritzas 2000).

ra-su-ti-jo, KN L 761. Ethnic adj.: *Lasunthioi*.

ra-te-me, KN V 653. MN.

ra-to, KN Da 1321+, Dm 5237, Dn 1209, Xd 58. PN: *Lātō*. [Λατώ.]

ra-ti-jo, KN **90** = E 668. Ethnic adj.: *Lātioi*.

]*ra-to-po-ro*, TI Al 7. Description of men. Cf. next.

]*ra-to-po-ṛọ*[, KN X 5513. Prob. complete at left. If single word, cf. prec., but perhaps to be divided]*ra-to po-ṛọ*[(Olivier: see Killen 1999c.345). See also *ka-wo-ta-ra-*[.]*-po-ro*.

ra-tu-ko, IK X 1. MN.

ra-u-ra-ta, KN Dd 1300. MN: *Laurātās*? Cf. *ra-wa-ra-ta*.

ra-u-ra-ti-ja, PY **342** = On 300. PN, gen. sing.: *Lauranthiās* or sim.?

ra-wa-ra-ṭị-ja, PY **42** = An 830. Variant spelling.

***ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$**, PY An 298, [**207** = Jn 829], Ma 216. Variant spelling.

ra-u-ra-ti-jo, PY Ad 664. Epithet of *pu-ro*, to distinguish this town, also called *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*, from the capital Pylos.

ra-wa-ra-ti-jo, PY Cn 45. Variant spelling of prec.

ra-u-ta, PY An 5, Jn 832. MN.

]*ra-wa-e-si-jo*, KN E 846. Probably error for *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*.

***ra-wa-ke*[**, KN X 1027. In view of preceding *ko-no-si-ja* (cf. KN **36** = As 1516.2), poss. to be restored as *ra-wa-ke-si-ja*: see s.v. *ra-wa-ke-ja*.

ra-wa-ke-ja, KN **36** = As 1516. In parallel context with *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, hence prob. error for *ra-wa-ke-*<*si*>*-ja*, probably 'work-group (or workshop) controlled by the *ra-wa-ke-ta*'.

***ra-wa-ke-ṣị*[*-ja?*]**, KN Xd 154. See above. See also *ra-wa-ke*[.

ra-wa-ke-ta, PY **54** = An 724, [Ea 1406?], **178** = Un 718+. Nom. and dat. sing.: *lāwāgetās*, *-tāi*, 'leader of the people', see pp. 293–94. [λᾱγέτας Pind. +.]

ra-wa-ke-si-jo, KN E 1569, PY **120** = Ea 59+, **176** = Er 312, **194** = Na 245. Nom. and dat. sing. masc., nom. sing. neut., nom. plur. masc., adj.: *lāwāgesios*, *-on*, etc. 'of or belonging to the Lawagetas'.

ra-wa-ke-si-jo-jo, PY Ea 421+. Gen. sing. of prec.

ra-ẓạ-ṇị, KN C 911. MN.

ra-wa-ra-ta, PY An 723. PN?, variant of *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*? Or MN; cf. *ra-u-ra-ta*?

ra-wa-ra-ti-ja/-jo, ***ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$**: see s.v. *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*.

ra-wa-si-jo, KN E 288. Error for *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* rather than MN or ethnic?

ra-wi-ja-ja, PY Aa 807, Ab 586. Nom. plur. fem., description of women: *lāwiaiai* 'captives'. [Cf. ληϊάδες *Il.* XX, 193+; Ion. ληΐη, Dor. λᾴα, Att. λεία < *λᾱϝία.]

ra-wi-ja-ja-o, PY **12** = Ad 686. Gen. plur. fem.: *lāwiaiāōn*.

ra-wi-to, TH Fq 194. MN, dat.: *Lāwitōi*? [Λήϊτος, *Il.* II, 494.]

ra-wi-zo, KN Db 1245. MN.

ra-wo-do-ko, PY Ea 802. MN: *Lāwodokos*. [Λαόδοκος *Il.* IV, 87+.]

ra-wo-ke-ta, KN As 605, PY Jn 478. MN: *Lāwoskhetās*?

ra-wo-po-qo, KN As 4493. MN: *Lāwophorg*^{w}*os*? [Λεώφορβος Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*; cf. Λεωφορβίδης.] Or *Lāwophog*^{w}*os*?

ra-wo-qo-no, KN B 798, Mc 4462, X 9333? MN: *Lāwok*^{w}*honos*.

ra-wo-qo-no-jo, KN Dl 928, D 1650. Gen.: *Lāwok*^{w}*honoio*.

ra-wo-qo-ta, PY Jn 750. MN: *Lāwok*^{w}*hontās*.

***ra-wo-ta*[**, TH X 189. MN.

***ra-wo-te*[**, KN Xd 330. MN?

ra-wo-ti-jo, KN Ce 61, Vc 203. MN.
RA$_3$, Identical with ideogram SAFFRON.
RE, As adjunct to CLOTH: KN Lc 646, L 8105.
Ideographic use: MY Ui 651. Obscure.
re-a-mo, PY An 209. MN.
re-ka, PY Eb 886+, Ep 212. WN: *Leskhā*? [Cf. MN Λέσχης.]
re-ka-sa, MY **240** = Oe 110. Prob. WN, dat.
]*re-ka-se-ra-wo*, KN Vc 285. MN.
re-ka-ṭa, KN B 806. MN.
re-ka-ta-ne, PY **50** = An 207. PN, loc., or masc. plur. of ethnic?
re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo, PY Fr 343. Prob. name of festival (dat. sing. or gen. plur.?) rather than description of oil: perh. *lekhestrōtērion* 'the spreading of couches', taken by some as implying a ἱερὸς γάμος, but perhaps rather a divine feast.
re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo, PY Fr 1217. Variant of prec., but exact form obscure.
]*re-ki-si*, KN X 7712. MN; prob. to be restored [*a-*]*re-ki-si*: *Aleksis*. [Ἄλεξις.]
re-ko-no, KN C 917. MN.
re-ko-no-jo, KN C 912+. Gen.
re-me-to, KN Dd 1106, Pp 495. MN.
re-ne, KN **326** = M 719. Obscure; name of donor of offering (Killen 2006d.87; cf. Del Freo 1999b.301 n. 28)? See pp. 873–74.
re-pe-u-ri-jo, PY Cn 40. PN.
re-pi-ri-jo, PY Eq 146. MN: *Leprios*? [Cf. PN Λέπρεον.]
]*re-pi-ru-nu-we*[, KN Fh 384. Obscure.
re-po-so, KN As 609?, Xe 5540. MN.
re-po-to, KN **239** = L 693, PY Un 1322. Neut. sing. qualifying *linon*: *lepton* 'fine, thin'. [*Il.* XVIII, 595+.]
re-qa-se-wo, PY Cn 600. MN, gen. making PN with *wo-wo*.
re-qo-me-no, KN **37** = As 1517. Nom. plur. masc.: *leik^{w}omenoi* 'left behind or over'; cf. *o-pi-ro-qo*, *pe-ri-ro-qo*. [οἱ δ' οἷοι λείπονται *Od.* XXII, 250+.]
re-qo-we, PY Jn 845. MN.
re-ri-jo, KN **85** = C 902. Ethnic adj.? [Cf. Λέριος?]
ṛẹ-si, KN Lc 561. Obscure.
***re-si-jo*[**, KN X 7900. Context obscure.
ṛẹ-ṣị-we-i, PY **49** = An 18. PN, loc.
re-si-wo, PY **43** = An 1281. MN.
re-ta-mo, PY Cn 285. MN.
re-u-ka-so, PY Pa 53. MN, dat.: *Leukasōi*? [Cf. Λευκασία Messenian stream.]
re-u-ka-ta, KN Ce 61, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN: *Leukātās*.
***re-u-ka-ta-ra-ja*[**, PY Vn 851. WN (or MN?): *Leuktraiā*. [Cf. *re-u-ko-to-ro*.]
***re-u-ko*^{1}**, KN L 695, PY **79** = Cn 418. Nom. sing., nom. dual, masc.: *leukos*, *leukō* 'white'. [λευκός Hom.+.]
re-u-ka, KN Ld 649. L 471, U 8210?, MY **104** = Ge 603+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem., nom. plur. neut.: *leukā*, *-ai*, *-a*.

***re-u-ko*²**, PY An 615?, MY Oi 705 MN, nom. and dat.?: *Leukos*, *-ōi*. [prec.]

re-u-ko-jo, TH **337** = Z 849+. Gen.: *Leukoio*.

re-u-ko-nu-ka, KN **226** = Ld 571+, L 590. Nom. plur. neut., describing cloths: *leuko-nukha* (or *-ōnukha*) 'with white *onukhes*' (see *o-nu-ka*¹).

re-u-ko-ro-o-pu₂-ru, PY Jn 415. MN: poss. error for *Leuko-ophrus*, but we should expect rather *Leukophrus*.

re-u-ko-to, PY Un 1319. MN or PN?

re-u-ko-to-ro, PY Ad 290+, **39** = An 35, **183** = Ma 225, Na 419. PN; except perhaps in Ma, capital of Further Province: *Leuktron*. [Λεῦκτρον, but not to be identified with any Classical site of this name.]

re-u-si-wo, PY **43** = An 1281 (*re-u-si-wo-qe*), Jn 692+. MN.

re-u-te-ra, PY Na 425. Error for *e-re-u-te-ra*.

re-wa-di-jo̯[, TH X 189. MN.

re-wa-jo, KN **230** = L 871. MN, dat.

re-wa-ko, TH **332** = Fq 130+. MN, dat.

re-wa-o, PY Fn 324. MN, dat. Cf. *re-wa-jo*?

]***-re-wi-jo-te***, PY **340** = Aq 64. Nom. plur. masc. of pres. pple. active of verb in -εύω: *-ēwjontes*, but restoration uncertain.

re-wo, KN Xd 7663. MN?: *Lewōn*. [Λέων.]

***re-wo-pi*(*-qe*)**, PY **265** = Ta 708. Instr. plur.: *lewomphi* (< **lewont-phi*) 'with lions'. [λέων *Il.* V, 782+.]

re-wo-te-jo, PY **268** = Ta 722. Instr. plur. adj.: (*krā*(*h*)*apphi*) *lewonteiois* 'with lions' (heads)'. [λεόντειος Aesch.+.]

re-wo-te-re-jo, PY **270** = Tn 996. Nom. dual (or plur.?) adj.: *lewotreiō* 'for bathing'. [λοετρά plur. 'bath' *Il.* XXII, 444+; for apparent vowel metathesis, see pp. 433–34.]

re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo, PY Aa 783, **6** = Ab 553, **8** = Ad 676. Nom. and gen. plur. fem.: *lewotrokhowoi*, *-ōn*, 'bath-attendants'. [λοετροχόος *Od.* XX, 297+.]

RI, As adjunct to **166* + *WE*, prob. = *ri-ta* 'linen': KN **327** = Oa 745.

Ligatured with TUNIC, prob. = *ri-ta* 'linen': KN L 178.

Ideographic use: KN **213** = Nc 5100, PY **179** = Ma 90+, Mm 11, Ua 407; see p. 680.

]***ri-di-ne-to***[, KN Dv 1412. MN.

ri-ja-ko, PY Jn 692+. MN.

ri-jo, PY **52** = An 1+, **206** = Cn 608, [**207** = Jn 829], Ma 193, **197** = Na 252. PN, nom. and loc.: *Rhion*, one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province. [Ῥίον Messenia, Strabo VIII, 360; modern Koróni.]

ri-jo-de, PY **97** = Vn 20. Acc.+*-de*: *Rhion-de*.

ri-jo-no, KN Ap 629+, **85** = C 902, Da 1091+, Dl 7071+, Dm 1174, Dn 1209. PN.

ri-u-no, KN Xd 149. PN. Variant spelling?

ri-*65-no, KN U 49, [Xd 292?, Xd 8132?, X 5509?]. Variant spelling (if **65* = *ju*)?

ri-jo-ni-ja/-jo, KN **16** = Ak 624, Lc 529, Le 642, Od 563+, Xe 7850. Ethnic adj.

ri-ḳṵ-we, PY Jn 692+. MN.

ṛị-ma, PY Qa 1259. Obscure.

ri-ma-zo, KN Da 1415. MN.

ri-me-ne: see *e-ra-po ri-me-ne*.

]*ri-na-jo̤*[, KN Mc 5818. PN or ethnic.

ri-na-ko-ro, PY An 129. Description of man, poss. occupational name: *lināgoros* or PN: *Linagroi* 'flax-fields'.

ri-ne-ja, PY Ab 745+. Nom. plur. fem., a women's occupation: *lineiai* 'flax-workers', 'linen-weavers'?

ri-ne-ja-o, PY **7** = Ad 670+. Gen. plur.: *lineiāōn*.

ri-ni-jo, KN X 722. Context obscure and reading uncertain; derivative of λίνον?

ri-no, KN **239** = L 693, Np 7423 rev., Og 5778, X 7741, PY **203** = Nn 228, [Un 1322?]. Nom. and acc. sing.: *linon* 'flax, linen'. [λίνον *Il.* IX, 661+.]

***ri-pa-*[.]**, KN Dv 5704. MN: to be restored *ri-pa-*[*ro*]: *Liparos* or *Liparōn*? [Λίπαρος, Λιπάρων.]

ri-sa-pi, PY Na 924. PN, loc. plur.: *Lissāphi*? [Cf. Λίσσα Crete, Λίσσαι Thrace.]

ri-so-wa, PY **341** = Aq 218. PN?

]*ri-so-wa*[, KN Xd 7756 rev. MN? Cf. prec.

ri-so-we-ja, PY Na 1040. PN. Cf. *ri-so-wa*.

ri-su-ra, MY **28** = V 659. WN.

ri-ta, KN **232** = L 594+. Nom. plur. neut., epithet of *pharwe(h)a*: *līta* 'of linen'. [λῖτα acc. plur. *Od.* I, 130, etc.]

ri-u-no: see s.v. *ri-jo-no*.

ri-wa-so, TH Uq 434. MN, dat.

ri-wi-jo, MY Au 609. MN.

ri-wi-so, KN Da 1114+, Ga 419. MN.

ri-zo, KN **37** = As 1517+, B 800, V 1523+, PY **38** = An 261. MN, nom. and dat.

ri-*65-no: see s.v. *ri-jo-no*.

ri-*82-ta-o, TH Z 853. MN, gen.

RO, As a unit of weight: KN Np 267+, Og 1804. See pp. 141–42.

ro-a, KN Xd 148. Context obscure.

ro-i-ko, PY **346** = Va 482. Dual (or plur.?), description of pieces of ivory(?): *rhoikō* 'crooked' is impossible if the etymology is correct which demands *wr-*; *rhoïskō* 'pomegranates (as a decorative element)'?

ro-ko, PY Cn 40+. MN, dat.

ṛo̤-ḳo̤-jo̤, PY **61** = Cn 655. Gen.

ro-o-wa, PY **52** = An 1+, Mn 1370+, **203** = Nn 228. PN, loc., possibly the port of Pylos: see p. 477.

ṛo̤-qo-ta, PY **59** = An 661. MN.

ro-ro-ni-ja, PY **42** = An 830. Obscure, perhaps PN.

ro-ru, KN Ce 50 (and rev.), Dq 1234. MN.

ro-u-ko, PY **57** = An 519, [**341** = Aq 218]. MN.

ro-u-si-je-wi-ja, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Nom. plur. fem., describing reins: perhaps *Lousiēwiai*, derivative of *ro-u-so*; see p. 830.

ro-u-so, PY **3** = Aa 717+, Ab 382+, Cn 285+, [**207** = Jn 829], Jn 832, [**208** = Jo 438], **180** = Ma 365, Mb 1398, **189** = Mn 456+, Un 47, [Vn 130]. PN, one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province: *Lousos*. [Λουσοί Arcadia.]

ro-u-si-jo, PY **313** = Fr 1220+, [Mn 1411?], Ua 1413, Un 47, **250** = Vn 10. Ethnic adj.: *Lousios*.

ro-we-wi-ja, TH Wu 45+. PN?

ro-wo, PY Jn 750. MN.

ro-zo, MI Wv 1. Obscure, MN?

ru-da-to, KN X 7677. MN?

ru-de-a$_2$, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Neut. plur. of noun in *-os*? See pp. 753–54.

ru-do-ro-i, KN Fh 5498. Dat. plur. masc. of recipient?

ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja, PY Na 1053. PN, prob. gen. of MN + *wo-wi-ja*: *Lunkēwos worwia* 'the boundaries of Lynceus'. [Λυγκεύς; ὅρια, see *wo-wo*.]

ru-ki-ja, PY **54** = An 724. Context obscure.

ru-ki-jo, PY Gn 720, Jn 415. MN in Jn, uncertain in Gn: *Lukios*? [Λύκιος.]

ru-ki-so, KN Db 1297. PN: error for *ru-ki-to*, q.v.?

ru-ki-ti-ja, KN Ln 1568. WN: *Lukistiā*? [See next.]

ru-ki-to, KN Da 1288+, Dm 1177, Dn 5318, Fh 349, V 159+, X 7548. PN: perhaps not *Luktos* [Λύκτος *Il.* II, 647, later Λύττος] but *Lukistos* [cf. Λύκαστος *Il.* II, 647].

ru-ki-ti-jo, KN **85** = C 902, **90** = E 668+, **99** = Ga 415, Og 833, Xd 168, X 37? Ethnic adj.: *Lukistios*, *-oi*?

ru-ki-ti-ja[, KN Xd 314. Fem. or neut. plur. of ethnic or WN (see *ru-ki-ti-ja*)?

ru-ko, PY **248** = Pn 30. MN.

ru-ko-a$_2$-ḳẹ-re-u-te, PY Jn 415. PN, dat.-loc. [cf. *a-ka-re-u-te*, *a-ke-re-u-te*.]

ru-ko-ro, PY **43** = An 1281, **113** = Ea 782+. MN: *Lugros*?

ru-ko-ro-jo, PY Ea 823. Gen.

ru-ko-wo-ro, PY **172** = Es 650 rev. MN: *Lukoworos*. [Cf. PN Λυκουρία.]

ru-ko-u-ro, PY Es 729. Alternative spelling of the same name; since it cannot be a contracted form = Λυκοῦρος, it may indicate a pronunciation *Lukowros*.

ru-ma-no, KN Dg 1438. MN.

ru-na, KN **36** = As 1516, PY Un 1320. MN, nom. and dat.

ru-na-mo, KN Da 1098+. MN.

ru-na-so, KN Dv 1439+. MN: *Lurnassos*? [Cf. PN Λυρνησσός *Il.* II, 690+.]

ru-nu, KN Ln 1568. WN.

ru-ra-ta-e, TH Av 106. Nom. dual: prob. *lurātāe* 'lyre players'. [Cf. λυριστής Pliny +.]

ru-ro, KN V 832, PY **340** = Aq 64, **208** = Jo 438. MN: *Luros*? [Λύρος.]

ru-sa-ma, KN Ln 1568. WN.

ru-si, KN Ak 634 edge (*ru-si*[), L 588 (*ru-si-qe*). MN: *Lusis*. [Λύσις.]

ru-ta$_2$, KN Db 5272. MN.

ru-ta$_2$-no, KN Ap 639. WN.

ru-wa-ni-jo, KN X 7706. MN.

ru-we-ta, PY Cn 599. MN, dat.

]ru-wo-i-ko, KN Db 2020. MN, possibly to be restored: [*Eu*]*ruwoikos* or [*Po*]*luwoikos*?

]ṛụ-wo-we-ja, KN L 586. Prob. nom. plur. fem., description of textile workgroup.

ru-*56-ra-so, KN Da 1172. MN.

ru-*83-o, PY **122** = En 74, [**127** = Eo 276]. MN, gen.

ru-*83-e, PY **127** = Eo 276. Dat.

SA, As adjunct to SHEEP and GOAT: KN C 394, D 5954, U 7063?
Ideographic use, at Pylos = *ri-no* 'flax', 'linen', at Knossos probably the same although it is weighed: KN Nc 4479+, PY **194** = Na 245+, **204** = Ng 319+, **203** = Nn 228+. [Possibly connected with Semitic words for 'linen'.]
At Mycenae, abbreviation of *sa-sa-ma* 'sesame': MY **104** = Ge 603+.

sa-de-so, KN L 868. MN? Cf. next.

]ṣạ-de-so, KN V 488. MN.

sa-jo, KN Dk 931. PN.

]sa-ka-ri-jo, KN V 1523. MN?, dat.?

sa-ke-re-u, PY Ea 776, Jn 431. MN.
sa-ke-re-wo, PY Ea 756. Gen.
sa-ke-re-we, PY Ea 56+. Dat.

sa-ma-da, KN Np 267. PN or MN?

]sa-ma-ja-ṣọ, KN Dv 5054. MN. Cf. next.

ṣạ-mạ-ja-ṣọ, KN Wm 8207. Obscure; cf. prec.?

sa-ma-ra, PY [**207** = Jn 829], **182** = Ma 378, [**342** = On 300], Wa 730. PN, one of the Seven Towns of the Further Province.
sa-ma-ra-de, PY **39** = An 35. Acc. + *-de*.

sa-ma-ri-jo, KN Da 1147, Np 857. MN.

sa-ma-ri-wa, PY Na 195. PN.

sa-ma-ri-wa-ta, KN As 645, Dv 1188. MN. [Cf. prec.]

]sa-ma-ru[, KN V 655. MN?

sa-ma-ti-ja, KN Ap 639. WN.

sa-me-ti-jo, KN **218** = K 875. MN.

]sa-me-u[, KN L 455. MN; cf. next.

sa-me-we, TH Wu 59+. MN, dat.; cf. prec.

sa-mi, KN Ap 639. WN.

sa-mu-ta-jo, KN **236** = L 520, PY **215** = Jn 389, Vn 865, MY V 662. MN: *Samuthaios*? [Cf. WN Σαμύθα.]

sa-na-so[, KN Nc 5787. MN?

sa-na-to-de, KN Fs 2. PN, acc. + *-de*?

sa-ni-jo, PY An 5, Cn 4? MN: *Sanniōn*? [Σαννίων.]

sa-nu-we, PY Vn 851. MN or WN, dat.

]sa-nu-we-si-jo[, KN X 1525 rev. Obscure.

sa-nu-we-ta, KN Db 1227. MN.

]sa-nwa-ta, TH Av 106. MN. Cf. prec.

sa-pa, KN **239** = L 693, MY Oe 108. Prob. the name of a textile.

sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja, KN **82** = C 941, [X 9191?]. Probably neut. plur. *sphaktēria* 'victims', although the writing of initial *s-* before *p* is abnormal; see p. 525.

sa-pa-nu-wo-me-no, KN X 999. Obscure; poss. to be divided *sa-pa-nu-wo me-no*.

sa-pe-ra, PY Fr 1215. Obscure, apparently replaces entry giving quantity of oil. Cf. next.

sa-pi-da, PY **58** = An 656. Obscure, apparently replaces entry giving number of men. Cf. prec.

sa-pi-de, PY Vn 19, MY Ge 602+. Nom. plur., a commodity which is counted, containers?: perh. *sarpides* 'boxes'? [Cf. σαρπίς· σαρπός *An. Ox.* II, 466, and σαρπούς· κιβωτούς Hsych.] See p. 557.

sa-pi-ti-ṇẹ-we-jo, KN **169** = F 841. Prob. possessive adj. derived from next. See p. 629.

sa-pi-ti-nu-wo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

sa-qa-re-jo, KN Dl 412+. Adj. describing sheep, prob. possessive derived from MN.

sa-ra-pe-da, PY **178** = Un 718. Poss. PN containing *-peda*?

sa-ra-pe-do[, PY **177** = Er 880. Prob. variant (sing.?) of prec.

sa-ri-nu-wo-te, PY An 424, **189** = Mn 456, [Na 544]. PN, loc.: *Salinwontei*? [Cf. Σελινοῦς stream in Triphylia.]

sa-ri-no-te, PY Vn 130. Variant form of or error for prec.

se-ri-no-wo-te, PY Qa 1290. Prob. variant spelling.

sa-ri-qo-ro, PY An 172, Jn 845. MN.

sa-sa-jo, KN Df 1290. MN.

sa-sa-ma, MY **106** = Ge 606+. Also abbreviated *SA*, **104** = Ge 603+. Nom. plur. neut.: *sāsama* 'sesame seed'. [σήσαμα Hipponax 6 B.C.+, Dor. σάσαμον. Semitic loan-word; cf. Akkad. *šammašammu*, Ugaritic *šŝmn*.]

sa-sa-wo, PY **153** = Eb 842, [**152** = Ep 613]. MN.

sa-ti-qi-ṭo, KN Ap 639. WN.

sa-u-ko, KN Vc 179. MN.

sa-u-ri-jo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *Saurios*? [Cf. Σαῦρος, Σαυρίας.]

sa-za-ro, KN B 799 rev. MN.

sa-ze-ro, KN Db 1262. MN.

sa-zo, KN As 1520, Dv 5301. MN.

sa-*65, KN Ap 639. WN.

SE, Abbreviation of place-name *se-to-i-ja* on SHEEP tablets: KN **75** = Do 5010+; (see Killen 1964c.91).

Ligatured with ideogram **168*: KN Pp 493+.

se-do, KN De 1398. MN.

]ṣẹ-ke-ru-pa-ko-[, KN Xd 310. Obscure.

se-me-tu-ro, KN Dc 1364. MN.

se-no, PY **60** = Cn 131+, **173** = Es 644+. MN, nom. and dat.

se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi, PY **265** = Ta 708. Instr. plur., a decorative feature on chairs: *-krā(h)apphi*. See p. 792.

se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Instr. sing.

se-ri-na-ta, KN U 4478. MN: *Selinātās* [Cf. *se-ri-no*.]

se-ri-no, MY **105** = Ge 604. Nom. sing., a herb or spice: *selinon* 'celery', *Apium graveolens*. [σέλινον *Il.* II, 776+.]

se-ri-no-wo-te: see *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*.

se-to-i-ja[1], KN Am 5755, **36** = As 1516+, Da 1392+, Do 1054+, Dq 438, [E 971], Mc 4464, Sd 4407, [**251** = So 4442?], Wm 8493?, X 660+. PN. Comparison with Σηταία is prob. false, and there are indications that the name belongs to central Crete.

se-to-i-ja[2], KN Ak 634?, **221** = Lc 525, Le 654. Prob. ethnic adj., nom. plur. fem.

]*ṣẹ-to-i-jẹ*[, KN V 1631. If reading is correct, prob. ethnic adj., nom. plur. masc.: *-ēwes*.

]*ṣẹ-to-i-jọ*[, KN X 9327. If reading is correct, perh. variant form of ethnic adj., masc. or neut.

se-we-ri-ko-jo, PY Sa 753. MN, gen.

se-wẹ-ri-wo-wa-zo, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.

]*se-wo-te*, PY An 233. PN?

se-wo-to, KN Da 1268. MN ('collector')?

SI, Ligatured with OX: PY **79** = Cn 418.

Ligatured with PIG = *si-a*$_2$*-ro* 'hog': PY **206** = Cn 608, Ua 25, **111** = Un 2+, TH Wu 52+.

si-a*$_2$*-ro, PY **206** = Cn 608. Acc. plur.: *sialons* 'fat hogs'. [σίαλος *Il.* XXI, 363+.]

si-da-jo, KN Dl 947, Nc 4490?, **223** = Od 562. MN: *Sidaios*. [Cf. PN Σίδαι, Σίδη.]

si-ja-du-we, KN **29** = Am 821, Dk 969, Dl 930+. PN.

si-ja-ma, KN V 1526. MN?

si-ja-ma-to, KN Fp 48, [Fp 5472?], U 4478, X 451. Nom. and dat. In U and perhaps in all contexts MN (in Fp, X name of priest?); see p. 860.

si-ja-pu*$_2$*-ro, KN **36** = As 1516, [Xf 4492?]. MN.

si-jo-wo-te, PY Cn 4. PN, loc.

si-ki-ro, KN U 8210. Obscure.

si-ki-to, KN Da 1339. MN.

si-ma, PY **121** = En 609, **125** = Eo 211. WN: *Sīmā*. [Σίμη; cf. *si-mo*.]

si-ma-ko, PY **248** = Pn 30. MN.

ṣi-mi-do, KN As 607. MN.

si-mi-te-u, KN **23** = Am 827, V 1583, TH Av 106. MN: *Smintheus*. [Σμινθεύς; as epithet of Apollo, *Il.* I, 39+.]

si-mo, KN Sc 263. MN: *Sīmos*, *Sīmōn*. [Σῖμος, Σίμων.]

si-mu-ta, PY Jn 832. MN.

si-ne-e-ja, KN Ap 639. WN.

si-ni-to, KN Dg 1280. MN.

si-no-u-ro, PY Cn 285. MN.

si-nu-ke, KN Ap 639. WN.

si-nu-mo-ro, KN Mc 4456. MN.

si-pa-ta-do, KN Dv 5663. MN.

si-pa-ta-no, PY Jn 832. MN.

si-pe-we, KN **85** = C 902, [X 7966?]. PN, loc.?

***si-pu*$_2$**, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

si-q̣a, KN Ai 7745. MN?

si-ra, KN B 988. Error for next?

***si-ra-ko*^{1}**, KN Ai 5976, **30** = B 822, [X 7744?]. Nom. sing. masc. occupational term?

***si-ra-ko*^{2}**, KN Db 8352. MN (based on prec.?)

si-ra-no, KN V 466. MN: *Silānos*. [Σιλανός, Σιληνός.]

si-ra-pe-te-ṣọ, KN V 832. MN.

si-ra-ro, KN **88** = Co 907, **85** = C 902. PN.
si-ra-ri-ja[, KN Lc 512. Ethnic adj., prob. fem. plur.
si-ra-]ṛi-jo, [TI Z 29]. Prob. ethnic adj. masc. sing.
ṣi-ra-si-ja, KN X 974. Possibly ethnic of next.
ṣi-ra-so, KN As 604. PN.
si-ra-ta, PY Jn 750. MN.
[.]si-re-u, KN **37** = As 1517. Possibly [*qa-*]*si-re-u* (title), q.v., but more likely MN. See p. 457.
si-re-wa, PY **184** = Ma 126, **189** = Mn 456. PN.
]si-re-we: see s.v. *qa-si-re-u*.
si-ri-jo, PY **152** = Ep 613. MN, nom. error for gen.: *Sirios*?
si-ṛi-jọ-jo, PY Eb 159. Gen.: *Sirioio*?
si-ri-pi-jo, KN Dv 5694. MN.
si-ta-ro, KN De 1138+, X 7774. MN.
***si-to*[1]**, KN **34** = Am 819, MY Au 658, TH Av 100+. Nom. sing. with ideogram BARLEY at KN, WHEAT at MY and TH: *sītos* 'grain'.
***si-to*[2]**, TH Ft 219+. With OLIV ideogram: uncertain whether = *si-to*[1] with sense 'food' or a different term.
si-to-ko-wo, PY **13** = An 292, TH Av 104. At TH nom. plur. masc., at PY prob. nom. plur. fem.: *sītokhowoi* 'grain-measurers'. [Cf. *Od.* II, 380, γρηὺς . . . δέ οἱ ἄλφιτα χεῦεν.]
si-to-pọ[, KN As 608. Poss. to be restored *si-to-po*[*-qo*]: *sītopok*^{w}*os* 'cook'; cf. *ạ-si-to-po-qo*.
si-to-po-ti-ni-ja, MY **335** = Oi 701. Dat. sing.: *sītōn potniāi*. [Cf. Σιτώ epithet of Demeter.]
si-za, KN As 1520. MN.
]-so-na-pe, PY An 233. Prob. PN; cf. *te-ko-to-na-pe*.
so-ro-pe-o, PY **50** = An 207. PN.
so-u-ro, PY [**121** = En 609], **126** = Eo 224. MN.
so-we-ne-ja, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. sing. fem., adj. of next.
***so-we-no*(*-qe*)**, PY **267** = Ta 721+. Instr. sing. or plur.: item of decoration on a footstool. See p. 786.
so-wo-te: see *do-ro-qo*.
SU, Adjunct to TREE, abbreviation of *su-za* 'fig-tree': KN **167** = Gv 863.
]su-di-ni-ko, KN De 1151. MN.
su-ja-to, KN **326** = M 719. Obscure; name of donor of offering (Killen 2006d.87; cf. Del Freo 1999b.301 n. 28)?
su-ke-re, KN As 40. MN.
su-ke-re-o, KN **36** = As 1516. Gen.
su-ki-ri-ta, KN Db 1324+, Dn 1092. PN: poss. *Sugrita*. [Cf. Σύβριτα; alternation of β and γ occurs in other cases where a labiovelar origin is excluded (e.g. Att. βλήχων, Dor. γλάχων); but the evidence that *su-ki-ri-ta* is an *a*-stem makes the identification doubtful.]
su-ki-ri-ta-pi, KN Dl 47. Loc. plur.
su-ki-ri-ta-jo, KN [B 8006?], C 911. Ethnic adj.: *Sugritaios*.

su-ki-ri-to, KN **36** = As 1516. MN. [Cf. prec.]

su-ko, KN V 479, PY Eb 149, **152** = Ep 613. MN; at PY might be gen. plur. *sūkōn* (cf. *o-pi-su-ko*) but MN perhaps more likely: *Sūkos*? *Sūkōn*?

su-ko-ne, KN Fp 5472. MN, dat.? Cf. prec.

su-ko-pu$_2$-te-e, TH Uq 434. MN, dat.: *Sūkophutehei*.

su-ma-no, KN Dh 1406. MN.

su-me-ra-we-jo̤, TH Of 26. MN, dat.?

su-mi, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

su-mo-no(-qe), KN Od 563. WN? MN?

su-po, KN Dc 5812. MN.

su-pu-wo, KN C 912 rev. MN, gen.?

su-qo-ta, PY Ea 822. Dat. sing.: *sug^{w}ŏtāi* 'swineherd'. [Cf. συβώτης *Od.* IV, 640+; later συβότης.]

su-qo-ta-o, PY **120** = Ea 59+. Gen. sing. or plur.: *sug^{w}ŏ̄tāi*, *-tāōn*.

su-ra-se, PY **31** = Ae 264+. 3rd sing. aor. (or fut.?), sense obscure; the only Greek interpretation is *sūlāse(i)* 'seized', 'stripped'. [συλάω Hom.+.]

su-ra-te, PY **31** = Ae 264+. Nom. sing., prob. agent noun from verb *su-ra-se*: *sūlātēr* 'seizer'? 'skinner'? See p. 451.

su-ri-jo, KN X 5962. MN?

su-ri-mo, KN **29** = Am 821, Da 1108+, [Dk 964?], Dl 949, Dn 1089, L 515, Od 8202, Pp 494, X 7784. PN.

su-ri-mi-jo, KN [**349** = E 749], Ga 418, [Og 833]. Ethnic adj.

su-ro-no, TH Z 846+. MN, gen.

su-ru-so, KN Dv 1312. MN.

su-se, KN Da 5192. MN.

su-ta-no, KN Da 1321. MN.

su-we-ro-wi-jo, PY **55** = An 657. MN (or possibly PN); see p. 486.

su-za, KN **169** = F 841, **168** = Gv 862+, PY **177** = Er 880. Nom. plur. describing a form of TREE ideogram: *sutsai* (<**sukyai*) 'fig-trees'. [Classical συκέα, also Aeol. συκία, are new derivatives of σῦκον.]

]su-*56-ta, KN As 5932 edge. Restoration [*ku-*]*su-*56-ta* would be tempting, if **56* = *pa$_2$*, as *ksumpanta*, but the gender is wrong for a list of men.

TA, As adjunct to OX, = *tauros* 'bull' (one bull and twenty cows): KN C 901.

Ligatured with SHEEP, = *ta-to-mo* 'steading': PY Cn 4+.

Ideographic use (with *DA*) on tablets listing women workers, probably a supervisor: KN **14** = Ak 611+, PY **2** = Aa 240+, **5** = Ab 379+.

ta-de-so, KN As 604?, De 1409+, V 655, X 7758?, TH Z 869+, [KH Z 5?]. MN: *Tardēssos*? [Τάρδησσος.]

ta-di-*22-so, KN De 5032. MN.

]ta-i-da, TH Ug 13. MN?

ta-ja-no, KN Dv 7240. MN.

]ta-me-je-u, TH Av 106. MN. Cf. *ta-mi-je-u*.

ta-mi-de-so, KN Dl 944. MN.

ta-mi-je-u, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN: *Tamieus*? [Cf. Ταμίας.]
ta-mi-ta-na, PY **196** = Na 248. PN.
ta-mi-te-mo, KN **321** = Fs 11. Recipient of offerings? MN?
ta-na-po-so, KN Db 1198+. MN.
]*ta-na-qo*, KN Ai 825. MN?
]*ta-na-ti*, KN Uf 311. MN?
ta-na-to, KN De 1618. MN.
ta-na-wa, PY **296** = Sa 793. Nom. plur. neut. describing wheels: *ta-na-wa* 'thin', 'slender', possibly 'worn thin'. [ταναός *Il.* XVI, 589+ both 'long' and 'thin'; cf. Lat. *tenuis*, Eng. *thin*.]
ta-na-wo, PY Jn 693. MN: *Tanawos*? [Cf. prec.]
ta-ni-ko, PY **55** = An 657+. MN.
ta-nu-ko, PY An 209. MN.
ta-pa-da-no, KN As 608. MN.
ta-pa-e-o-te, KN B 823. Nom. plur. masc. describing men, apparently contrasting with *a-pe-o-te* 'absent': possibly an adverb (e.g. *tarpha*; cf. ταρφέες *Il.* XI, 387+) plus *eontes*, effectively meaning 'present'.
ta-pa-no, KN F 153 rev., Sc 240, X 7795?. MN.
ta-pe-ro, KN Da 1343. MN.
***ta-qa-ra-te*[**, KN Xe 524, [X 7752?]. MN, dat.
ta-qa-ra-ti, KN V 7512. Variant form of dative?
ṭạ-ṛạ, KN **29** = Am 821. MN.
ta-ra-i, KN Xd 298. MN?
]*ta-ra-jo*, KN L 433. Ethnic adj. (cf. *ka-ta-ra*)?
***ta-ra-ke-wi*[*-jo*?]**, PY An 172. PN: *Trākhewios*? [Cf. τραχύς.]
ta-ra-ma-ta, PY **116** = Ea 825+, Vn 851. MN, nom. and dat.: *Thalamātās*, *-āi*. [Cf. Θαλαμάτας inhabitant of Θαλάμαι.]
ta-ra-ma-ta-o, PY Ae 108+, Ea 821. Gen.: *Thalamātāo*.
ta-ra-ma-o, PY **32** = Ae 134. Error for *ta-ra-ma-ta-o*.
ta-ra-me-to, KN **86** = Ce 59. MN?
ta-ra-mi-ka, PY Eb 464, **149** = Ep 705. WN: *Thalamikā*, *-iskā*? [Cf. PN Θαλάμαι.]
ta-ra-nu, KN V 1521, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Nom. sing. masc.: *thrānus* 'beam', 'footstool'. [θρῆνυς *Od.* XIX, 57+, Att. θρᾶνος 'bench'.]
ta-ra-nu-we, PY **267** = Ta 721, **348** = Vn 46. Nom. plur.: *thrānues*.
ta-ra-pe-se, PY Vn 865. MN.
ta-ra-qo, KN E 843. PN?
ta-ra-sa-ta, KN Vc 201. MN: *Thalassātās*?
ta-ra-si-ja, KN **225** = Lc 535+, Le 642, **251** = So 4442, X 8211, PY **214** = Jn 310+, [La 1393?], MY **240** = Oe 110. Nom. and acc. sing.: *tala(n)siā*, *-ān* 'amount weighed out and issued for processing'. See pp. 711–12. [ταλασία 'wool-spinning' shows greater specialisation since the Myc. word is used also of bronze and materials for manufacture of wheels; on form, see Lejeune, *Mémoires* II.179 n. 47.]
ta-ra-to, PY An 192, **128** = Eo 247. MN: in An *Stratōn*? [Στράτων]; in Eo error for or variant spelling of *ta-ra*$_2$*-to*, q.v.

ta-ra-to-no, KN Dc 1130. MN.
ta-ra$_2$-to, PY **122** = En 74+, **131** = Eo 351+. MN.
ta-re-u, PY Jn 693. MN: *Thaleus*? [Cf. Θαλῆς.]
ta-re-wa, PY Fn 41. MN, dat.: *Thalewāi*? [Θαλέας.]
]*ta-re-wo*, KN Dp 43. MN, gen.? Cf. *o-ta-re-wo*?
ta-si-ko-ṇọ, KN Ga 7367. MN?
ta-so, KN As 608, C 911?, Dv 5200. MN.
ta-su, KN Ln 1568. MN or WN.
ta-ta-ke-u, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN: *Startāgeus*. [Cf. Cret. σταρτος = στρατός.]
ta-ta-ro, KN As 607, Xd 8605?, PY **126** = Eo 224, **138** = Ep 301. MN, nom. and dat.: *Tantalos*, *-ōi*? [Τάνταλος *Od.* XI, 582.]
ta-ta-ta, KN Ce 152. MN?
ta-te-re, PY An 209. Nom. plur., a man's occupation: perhaps *statēres* connected with *ta-to-mo*? [στατήρ only of weights and coins; 'debtor' once Epich. 5 B.C.]
ta-ti-qo-we-u, PY **54** = An 724. MN: *Stātig^{w}oweus*. [Cf. Στήσιππος.]
ta-ti-qo-we-wo, PY **56** = An 654. Gen.: *Stātig^{w}owēwos*.
***ta-to*^{1}**, KN As 602 (*ta-to-qe*). MN.
***ta-to*^{2}**, PY Cn 4. PN (part of 'double' name with *a-ka-re-u-te*, q.v.).
ta-to-mo, KN Ws 1703, PY Cn 4+, **348** = Vn 46. Nom. sing.: *stathmos*, in PY Cn 'sheep-fold', in PY Vn 'upright post', 'pillar', in KN Ws possibly 'weight' (Killen 1985a). [σταθμός 'sheep-fold' *Il.* V, 557+; 'upright post' *Od.* I, 333+; 'weight' Hdt.+.]
ta-u-na-so, KN De 1269+, Ga 417 edge. MN.
ta-u-pa-du-we, KN E 843. Prob. PN.
ta-u-po-no, KN U 4478. MN.
ta-u-ro, KN V 832. MN: *Tauros*. [Ταῦρος mythical king of Crete.]
ta-wa-ko-to, KN Od 715. MN?
ta-we-si-jo, KN Dv 1332+. MN.
ta-we-si-jo-jo, PY **38** = An 261, Un 616 rev. Gen.
]*ta-za*, KN Db 1247+. MN.
ta-za-ro, KN **87** = Ch 896, Db 1097, V 503. MN.
***ta-zo-te-ja*[**, PY Vn 851. WN.
ta-*22-de-so, TH Z 871+. MN; cf. *ta-de-so*.
ta-*49-ro, KN Da 1588. MN.
TE, As adjunct to MAN, KN As 5542+.
As adjunct to OIL, KN Fh 340.
As adjunct to WOOL, KN Wm 8493.
Ligatured with CLOTH, prob. = *te-pa*: KN Ap 5748, **221** = Lc 525+, **224** = Le 641+, Ln 1568, L 8160, Ws 8153, PY La 624+, **310** = Un 6.
Ligatured with WHEEL, = *te-mi-dwe-ta*?: PY **294** = Sa 487+; see p. 826.
te-de-ne-o, TH Ft 218+. MN, gen.
te-do-ne-ja, PY Vn 851. WN.
te-i-ja, KN Xe 7437?, PY **312** = Fr 1202. At PY dat. fem. sing.: *theiāi* 'divine', 'of the gods'. [θεῖος *Il.* VI, 180+.] At KN possibly a reference to 'divine' textiles (for offerings?).

te-ja-ro, KN V 479 rev.?, X 5525+? MN.

te-jo, KN Dv 7617, L 565. MN.

te-ke, PY **258** = Ta 711. 3rd sing. aor.: *thēke* 'appointed', 'made'. [Cf. τὴν ... Τρῶες ἔθηκαν ... ἱέρειαν *Il.* VI, 300.] The sense 'buried' (Palmer) normally requires a mention of the earth, bones, etc.

te-ki-ri-ne-to, KN Dq 686. MN.

te-ko-to-a-pe, PY An 5. Prob. PN (Killen 1999b).

te-ko-to-na-pe, PY **49** = An 18+, [Cr 868?]. Alternative spelling.

te-ko-to-ne, KN **45** = Am 826. Nom. plur.: *tektones* 'carpenters'. [τέκτονες *Il.* VI, 315+.]

te-ka-ta-si, TH Fq 247, Gp 112+. Dat. plur.: *tektasi*.

te-me-no, PY **176** = Er 312. Nom. sing. neut.: *temenos* 'area of land set aside for a chieftain'. [τέμενος βασιλήϊον *Il.* XVIII, 550+, later 'precinct of a god'.]

te-me-u[, KN Xd 319. MN.

te-mi[1], Only in composite spellings: *o-u-ki-te-mi* KN **350** = V 280; *o-u-te-mi* KN **350** = V 280. Neg. *ou*, *ouk(h)i* (see *o-u-*, *o-u-ki-*) and a noun, poss. *themis* 'lawful', 'customary'. [θέμις *Il.* II, 73+.] See pp. 917–18.

te-mi[2], KN Df 1602. MN.

te-mi-dwe, KN **289** = So 894. Nom. sing. neut., adj. describing wheels: *termidwen* 'provided with a *termis*' (= 'border', 'edge', 'flange?'). [Cf. τερμιόεις *Il.* XVI, 803+, in Hom. of shields and tunics, exact sense unclear; alternative declension in *-is*, *-ios* may be evidenced by [*te*]*-mi-we-te*, q.v.]

te-mi-dwe-ta, KN **289** = So 894+, PY **296** = Sa 793+. Nom. plur. neut.: *termidwenta*.

te-mi-de-we-te, PY Sa 1266. Nom. dual: *termidwente*.

te-mi-dwe-te, KN **290** = So 4437+. Variant spelling of prec.

te-mi-ro, KN Da 1338. MN.

te-mi-ti-ja, PY **342** = On 300. PN. *Themistia*? Or *Terminthia* (Palaima 2000c)? The same place as *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*, q.v. [A derivative of θέμις is made less likely by alternative spelling *ti-mi-ti-ja*.]

ti-mi-ti-ja, PY **340** = Aq 64, **208** = Jo 438, Vn 493. Nom.? and gen.: *Th(i)mistia*, *-tiās*. Or *Tirminthia*, *-thiās* (Palaima 2000c).

te-mi-ti-jo, PY Ac 1278. Nom. plur. ethnic adj.: *Themistioi*? *Terminthioi*?

[te]-mi-we-te, KN **288** = Sg 1811. Nom. dual: either *termiwente* as alternative form of *termidwente* (see *te-mi-dwe*), or error for *te-mi-de-we-te*.

te-ṇạ-ja-so[, KN As 604. MN.

te-nu, KN Uf 7489. MN.

te-o, KN Ai 966, PY **147** = Eb 297, **127** = Eo 276, **142** = Ep 704. Acc. sing.: *theon* 'the god (or goddess)'; in KN Ai either gen. plur. *theōn* or as in PY Eo error for *te-o-jo*. [θεός masc. and fem. Hom.+; cf. *te-i-ja*.]

te-o-jo, PY **144** = Eb 416+, **158** = Ed 411 edge, **122** = En 74+, **129** = Eo 160+, **152** = Ep 613+. Gen. sing.: *theoio* (always with *doelos* or *doelā*) 'servant of the god(dess)'.

te-o-i, KN E 842, PY Fr 1226+. Dat. plur.: *theoihi* 'to the gods'. [Cf. *pa-si-te-o-i* s.v. *pa*.] A dat. dual is theoretically possible.

te-o-na, PY **123** = En 659. Error for *te-o-jo*.

***te-o-do-ra*(*-qe*)**, MY **28** = V 659. WN: *Theodōrā*. [Θεοδώρα.]

***te-o-po-ṣọ*[**, PY **48** = An 39 rev. MN?

te-o-po-ri-ja, KN Ga 1058, Od 696. Possibly name of festival?: *theophoriā*? [θεοφορία 'divine possession'.]

te-pa, KN L 5090?, Ws 8153. Name of a heavy type of cloth, prob. = CLOTH + *TE*. [Cf. τάπης?]

te-pa-i, MY Oe 107. Dat. plur.

te-pa-ra, KN Ce 50. MN or PN?

te-pe, PY Jn 725. MN.

te-pe-ja, KN [Lc 549], **224** = Le 641, TH Of 35. Nom. plur. and dat. sing.?, a woman's occupation: makers of *te-pa* cloth.

te-pe-ja-o, PY Ad 921. Gen. plur.

te-pe-u, PY An 340. MN: *Térpeus*? [Formed on Τέρπανδρος?]

]*te-pi-ja-qe*, PY Fn 324. Personal name (+*k*^{w}*e*?), dat.?

te-po-se-u, PY **208** = Jo 438, **342** = On 300. MN.

te-qa-de, MY X 508, TH **107** = Wu 65+. PN, acc. + *-de*: *Thēg*^{w}*ans-de*, at MY perhaps not Thebes in Boeotia, but this certain at TH. [Θῆβαι *Il.* IX, 381+.]

te-qa-i, TH **170** = Ft 140. Dat.-loc. plur.: *Thēg*^{w}*āhi* 'at (Boeotian) Thebes'.

te-qa-jo-i, TH Gp 178, Uq 434? Ethnic adj., dat. plur. masc.: *Thēg*^{w}*aioihi*. [Θηβαῖος *Od.* X, 492+; cf. *au-to-te-qa-jo*.]

te-qa-ja, KN Ap 5864, PY Ep 539. WN. *Thēg*^{w}*aiā*. [Cf. prec.]

te-qa-jo, TH Wu 47. MN, dat.: *Thēg*^{w}*aiōi*. [Cf. prec.; *au-to-te-qa-jo*.]

te-qa-ta-qẹ, PY **53** = An 610. Nom. plur. (with *-k*^{w}*e*), class of men.

te-qi-ri-jo-ne, PY **330** = Fn 187, [Vn 851]. MN, dat.

te-qi-jo-ne, PY Un 219. Defective spelling of prec.

***te-ra-a*$_2$[** , TH Ug 17. Obscure.

te-ra-ni-ja, PY **340** = Aq 64. Obscure: see p. 904.

te-ra-pe-te, KN V 147. MN.

te-ra-pi-ke, PY **153** = Eb 842, [**152** = Ep 613]. Perhaps 3rd pers. sing. of verb: see p. 576.

te-ra-po-si-jo, KN Da 1314+, KN Lc 446 (*te-ra-po-si-jo*[). MN, a 'collector'. [Derivative of θεράπων?]

te-ra-po-ti, KN F 193. Recipient of barley, MN, dat.? Or nom.?: *Theraponti*? [Θεράπων.] [Cf. prec., Killen 1992b.351–53.]

]*te-ra-u-re-o*, PY Sa 22. MN, gen.?

te-ra-wo, MY **44** = Au 102+. MN: *Télāwōn*? [Cf. Τελέων.]

te-ra-wo-ne, PY Fn 79. Dat.: *Télāwonei*?

te-re-do, PY **80** = Cn 1287. MN.

te-re-ja, PY Eb 149+, [**152** = Ep 613]. Probably 3rd sing. pres. indic. of athematic verb: *teleiā* (cf. Hom. δαμνᾷ for *δάμνα?) 'perform function of *te-re-ta*'?

te-re-ja-e, PY Eb 149+, **152** = Ep 613. Inf. of prec.: *teleiāhen*? [On athematic inf. ending *-hen* as in thematic *–ehen*, see pp. 243–44.]

te-re-ja-wo, KN Vc 188. MN: *Teleiāwōn*?

te-re-ne-we, PY **49** = An 18. PN, loc. sing. or nom. plur.?

te-re-ne-wi-ja, PY An 852, Cr 868. Variant form of name, fem. loc. sing.

te-re-no, KN Fp 363. Obscure.

te-re-pa-to: see *jo-te-re-pa-to*.

te-re-ta, KN **45** = Am 826, B 7036, **165** = Uf 839+, X 1018, PY Eb 149, **158** = Ed 411, **121** = En 609, **126** = Eo 224, [**152** = Ep 613], Eq 146, **176** = Er 312. Nom. sing. and plur., name of a class of functionaries: *telestās*, *-ai*. [Cf. τελεστά nom. sing. Olympia 6 B.C.]

te-re-ta-o, PY **176** = Er 312. Gen. plur.: *telestāōn*.

te-re-te-we, PY **27** = An 607. Obscure: see p. 447.

te-re-wa-ko, KN C 973. MN?

te-ri-a$_2$[, TH Gp 157. Personal name, dat.?

te-ri-ja, PY Un 443. Obscure; see s.v. *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*.

te-ro-a, PY La 627. Obscure.

te-ro-ri-jo, KN Uf 1522. MN, dat.?

te-ru-ro, KN Da 1380 (]*te-ru-ro*), Mc 4464? MN.

te-ru-sa, KN Dv 1308, TH Of 29. MN.

]te-ru-wo-te, KN C 922. Prob. MN, dat.: *-ontei*.

te-se-e, PY Na 531. PN, loc.

te-se-u, PY **122** = En 74, **127** = Eo 276. MN: *Thēseus*. [Θησεύς *Il.* I, 265; short form of name beginning Θησι-?]

te-so-qe, PY Un 1193. PN, loc.?

te-ta-ra-ne, PY **52** = An 1+. PN, loc.

te-te-re-u, PY Eb 1176, Ep 539, **215** = Jn 389. MN: *Terthreus*? [Cf. τερθρεύς Hermippus 5 B.C.]

te-te-u, KN V 958. MN?

te-tu-ko-wo-a, KN **230** = L 871. Nom. plur. neut., perf. pple. of τεύχω describing cloths: *tetukhwo(h)a* 'fully worked', 'finished'. [τετευχώς in pass. sense *Od.* XII, 423; *e*-grade in perfect is unusual and may well be a replacement of *τετυχϝώς.]

te-tu-ko-wo-a$_2$, PY **298** = Sa 682. Alternative spelling of prec. describing wheels.

te-tu-ru-we, PY Na 1054, **203** = Nn 228. PN, loc.; same place as *te-ta-ra-ne*?

te-u-ke-i-jo, TH Av 106. MN.

te-u-ke-pi, PY **300** = Ub 1315. Instr. plur.: *teukhesphi* 'with equipment'. [τεύχεα usually 'armour' *Il.* VI, 340+.]

te-u-po-ṛọ[, PY **42** = An 830. Obscure.

te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro, PY An 424, **127** = Eo 276. Probably a man's occupation (in Eo, if not an error, gen.); PN would be abnormal in Eo.

te-u-to, KN Xd 292?, PY Jn 601+. MN.

te-wa-jo, KN Ce 156, Dl 7503, Uf 1038, PY Fn 324. MN, nom. and dat.

te-wa-ko-no, PY An 209. MN.

te-wa-ro, MY **242** = Oe 111 (*o-ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro*). Prob. to be divided: *pa-ro te-wa-ro*: MN, dat.

]te-wa-te-u, KN Uf 837, Uf 5763? Man's occupation or title rather than MN?: *-wasteus*? [Cf. *wa-te-u*.]

te-wo, KN X 722. Obscure.

TI, Ligatured with OLIVE: KN E 669, **89** = F 852+, MY Ue 611.

ti-ja, KN Dg 1278. MN.

ti-ki-jo, PY An 129. MN, dat.

ti-ko-ro, KN Da 5179?, PY Cn 1197. MN.

ti-ma, KN Vc 317. MN.

ti-mi-ti-ja: see s.v. *te-mi-ti-ja*.

ti-mi-to a-ke-e, PY Cn 600, **207** = Jn 829, **187** = Ma 123, Na 361. PN, written *divisim* only in Cn 600, but cf. *te-mi-ti-ja*: compound name *Themistos*? (or *Tirminthōn*?) and loc. of noun in *-os*, e.g. ἄγκος 'glen' (*Il.* XX, 490+). Located in the south of the Further Province.

ti-mị-ṭọ(-)a-ke-i, PY **59** = An 661. Alternative spelling of loc.

ti-mi-za, KN **69** = Df 1121, **73** = Dk 1076. MN.

ti-mu-nu-we, KN M 683, Od 539. MN, dat.

ti-mi-ṇụ-ẓọ[, KN Ga 34. Alternative spelling, gen.?

ti-ni-ja-ta, PY Fn 79. Dat. sing., qualification of man's name: occupation or title? Cf. *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*.

***ti-no*[1]**, KN Ap 5748. WN?

***ti-no*[2]**, PY **49** = An 18, Na 565? PN?

]ti-no-de, PY Fr 1223. If complete, *ti-no* + *-de*.

ti-nwa-si-jo, PY Ea 810, Fn 324, **208** = Jo 438. Ethnic adj., nom. and dat. masc. sing. (in Ea as MN?).

ti-nwa-si-ja, PY Aa 699, Ab 190. Nom. plur. fem.

ti-nwa-ti-ja-o, PY **11** = Ad 684 (cf. La 633). Alternative form, gen. plur. fem. [This implies that the name from which the ethnic is derived had *-t-* or *-th-*.]

ti-qa-jo, KN **37** = As 1517, PY **135** = Eo 278, **214** = Jn 310. MN: *Thisg*^{w}*aios*? [Cf. PN Θίσβη.]

ti-qa-jo-jo, PY **124** = En 467. Gen.

ti-ra, KN Od 681+. Perhaps word describing wool: *tilai* 'flocks of wool'? [τίλαι Plut.; cf. τίλλω, etym. obscure.]

ti-ri-da-ro, PY Ea 28+. MN.

ti-ri-jo, PY Cn 4. MN.

ti-ri-jo-ko-so, KN Da 1384. MN.

ti-ri-jo-qa, KN **308** = Sc 226, Vc 303, Xd 294. MN: *Triok*^{w}*ās*. [Τριόπας; cf. Τρίοπος *Hom. h.* III, 213.]

ti-ri-jo-we, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. sing. neut.: *triōwes* '(vessel) with three handles'. Cf. *a-no-we*, *qe-to-ro-we*.

ti-ri-o-we-e, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. dual: *triōwe(h)e*.

ti-ri-po, PY **259** = Ta 641+. Nom. sing. masc.: *tripos* 'tripod cauldron'. [τρίπος *Il.* XXII, 164+; also τρίπους.]

ti-ri-po-de, PY **259** = Ta 641. Nom. dual: *tripode*.

***ti-ri-po-di-ko*[1]**, MY **257** = Ue 611. Nom. plur.: *tripodiskoi* 'small tripod cauldrons'. [τριποδίσκος.]

***ti-ri-po-di-ko*[2]**, PY Cn 599. MN, dat.: *Tripodiskōi*. [PN Τριποδίσκος.]

ti-ri-sa-ta[, KN Ce 61. MN.

ti-ri-se-ro-e, PY Fr 1204, **309** = Tn 316. Divine name, dat.: *Tris(h)ēro(h)ei*. [Cf. Τριτοπάτορες?]

ti-ri-ṣi, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Dat. plur.: *trisi* 'three'. [τρεῖς *Il.* XV, 187+.]

***ti-ri-to*[1]**, KN Da 1238+, Dh 1240+, Dn 1095, Dq 1234+, L 869, [Mc 4462?], **163** = Uf 835+, V 159, Xd 7590?, X 7708. PN: *Tritos*? [Cf. Τρίτα, old name of Knossos, Hsych.]

ti-ri-ti-jo/-ja, KN **349** = E 749, [Ga 428], [Og 833], X 1385. Ethnic adj.

***ti-ri-to*[2]**, KN Dv 1386. MN: *Tritos*, *Trītōn*? [Τρίτος, Τρίτων.]

ti-se, PY Un 1321. Obscure.

ti-ta-ma, KN X 974 (*ti-ta-ma*[), X 5881 (]*ti-ta-ma*). Obscure.

ti-ta-ma-i, KN X 744. Dat. plur.

ti-ta-ra-[, PY **43** = An 1281. MN.

ti-ta[.]wo, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN.

ti-tu-so, MY Oe 112. MN?, dat.

ṭi-wa-ti-ja, KN **20** = Ap 618. Nom. plur. fem., ethnic adj.? Cf. *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o*, s.v. *ti-nwa-si-jo*.

to-e, PY **153** = Eb 842. Possibly a datival form from the demonstrative pronoun; see p. 613.

to-me, PY **152** = Ep 613. Alternative form of *to-e* having the same function.

to-i-qe, PY **198** = Na 520. Prob. dat. plur. masc. of demonstrative pronoun: *toi(h)i kʷe* 'and for them'.

to-jo-qẹ, PY Eb 156. Gen. sing.: *toio kʷe* (*autoio*) 'and of the same'.

to-jo, TH Fq 214+, Gp 150 rev.+. MN, dat.

to-ka-te-ri-ja, PY Vn 1341. Description of *ki-wa-ra*, nom. plur. neut.?: *storkastēria* (wickerwork) for penning cattle (στορχάζω; Melena 1999a.169 n. 18)? Or *stokhastēria* (wickerwork) for targets (στοχάζομαι; Killen 1999c.349).

to-ke-u, PY An 209. MN: *Stoikheus*? [Στοιχεύς].

to-ko, KN As 1518. Obscure; context possibly furniture making (Olivier, *Scribes Cnossos* 127).

to-ko-do-mo, PY **49** = An 18, **93** = Fn 7. Nom. sing. and plur.: *toikhodomoi* 'builders'. [Cf. τοιχοδομέω *IG* VII 422 (Oropus 4 B.C.).]

to-ko-so-ta, KN V 150. Nom. sing.: *toksotās* 'archer', unless here MN. [τοξότης; also as MN, *Il.* XI, 385.]

to-ko-so-wo-ko, PY **50** = An 207. Nom. plur. masc.: *toksoworgoi* 'bowyers', 'bowmakers'. [Cf. τοξοποιός.]

to-ma-ko, KN Ch 897+. Name or description of an ox: *Stomargos* 'whitemouth'. [στόμαργος 'loud-mouthed' Aesch.+.]

to-me: see s.v. *to-e*.

to-mi-ka, KN L 761+. Description of textiles.

to-na-ta, KN B 803. MN: *Thoinātās*? [Cf. Θοινίας, Θοινίων, etc.]

to-ni, KN V 145. PN?

to-ni-ja, KN L 192. Description of textiles? Ethnic adj. (cf. prec.)?

to-ni-jo, PY **269** = Ta 716. Poss. dat. sing., but more likely part of a compound adj. *a-pi to-ni-jo*, nom. dual. See p. 795.

***to-no*[1]**, PY **264** = Ta 707+. Nom. sing. masc.: *thornos* 'chair'. [θρόνος *Od.* I, 145+; cf. θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον (Cypr.) Hsych.]

***to-no*(*-qe*)²**, KN V 1043. MN, with *k^{w}e*: *Thoinos*? [Θοῖνος.]

to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo, PY **314** = Fr 1222. Name of a festival: perhaps *thorno-(h)ektērion* 'the holding of the throne'. See p. 856.

to-o, PY Un 1321. Context obscure.

to-pa, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Possibly gen.: *torpās* 'of a large basket or hamper'. [τάρπη Pollux.] See pp. 753–54.

to-pa-po-ro-i, TH Av 101?, [Fq 341?], Gp 184. Dat. plur.: poss. *torpāphoroihi* 'for the basket-carriers'.

to-pe-si, KN B 805. MN.

to-pe-za, KN **350** = V 280, PY **261** = Ta 642+. Nom. sing. fem.: *torpedza* 'table'. [τράπεζα; on etymology, see p. 787.]

to-pe-zo, PY **263** = Ta 715. Nom. dual: *torpedzō*.

to-po-ne, TH Lf 139. MN, dat.?

to-qa, KN Fh 339+. Obscure; prob. not error for *to-ro-qa*.

to-qi-da-so, PY Fn 324. MN, dat.

to-qi-de, PY **261** = Ta 642+. Instr. sing., a decorative feature on vessels and furniture: prob. *tork^{w}idei* 'with a spiral'. [Cf. Lat. *torqueo*; Gk τρέπω may be a conflation of **trep-* and **trek^w-*.] See p. 783.

to-qi-de-ja, PY **260** = Ta 709. Nom. sing. fem.: *tork^{w}ideiā* '(dish) decorated with spiral pattern'.

to-qi-de-jo, PY **263** = Ta 715. Dual fem.: *tork^{w}ideiō*.

to-qi-de-we-sa, PY **258** = Ta 711. Nom. sing. fem.: *tork^{w}id-wessa*, synonym of *to-qi-de-ja*.

to-ra, KN **305** = Sk 8100+. Nom. sing.: *thōrāks* 'suit of armour'; elsewhere represented by ideogram **163*. [θώρηξ *Il.* XXIII, 560+, Att. θώραξ, Aeol. θόρραξ, etym. obscure.]

to-ra-ka, TI **306** = Si 5. Alternative spelling of prec.

to-ra-ke, PY **304** = Sh 736, Wa 732? Nom. plur.: *thōrākes*.

to-ri-jo, PY Jn 605. MN.

]*to-ro*, KN Dc 5687. MN: *Trōs*? [Τρώς *Il.* V, 265+.]

to-ro-o, PY **57** = An 519. Gen.: *Trō(h)os*?

to-ro-ja, PY **149** = Ep 705. WN: *Trōiā*? [Cf. prec.]

to-ro-ki-no, KN V 831. MN.

to-ro-no-wo-ko, KN **37** = As 1517. Nom. plur. or dat. sing., men's occupation: *thronow-orgoi*, *-ōi* 'chair-maker(s)'. [Contrast spelling *to-no* = *thornos*, but derivation from Hom. θρόνα 'embroidered flowers' seems less likely.]

to-ro-o: see s.v. *to-ro*.

to-ro-qa, KN Fh 358+. Description of OIL: perhaps *trok^{w}hā* 'for consumption'. [τροφή Hdt.+; this implies an origin **dhreg^{w}h-* for τρέφω.]

to-ro-qe-jo-me-no, PY **160** = Eq 213. Nom. sing. medio-pass. pple.: *trok^{w}eiomenos* (or *stro-*): see p. 620. [Cf. τροπέω *Il.* XVIII, 224.]

to-ro-qo, KN Od 563. Possibly acc. sing.: *trok^{w}on*, but context obscure. [τρόπος; for etym. of τρέπω, see s.v. *to-qi-de*.]

to-ro-wa-ko, KN C 7566. MN.

to-ro-wa-so, PY Na 405. PN.

to-ro-wi, PY **60** = Cn 131, Jn 601. MN.

to-ro-wi-ka, PY An 5. Prob. alternative spelling of prec. (nom. *-iks*).

to-ro-wi-ko, PY **61** = Cn 655. Gen.

to-ro-wo, KN Ag 89?, PY An 129, Vn 130, TH **334** = Gp 164 edge. MN, nom. and dat.

to-ru-ko-ro, PY **61** = Cn 655. MN.

to-sa, ***to-sa-de***: see s.v. *to-so*, *to-so-de*.

to-sa-me-ja̤-o, PY Ad 685. Gen. plur. fem., description of women, more likely an occupation than possessive adj. derived from MN.

to-sa-no, PY Fn 79. MN, dat.

to-sa-no-jo, PY Jn 431. Gen.

to-si-ta, PY **62** = Cn 719. MN.

to-so, KN **33** = Am 601+, **36** = As 1516+, **317** = Fp 1, **212** = Nc 4484, etc., PY **49** = An 18, **154** = Ed 236+, **123** = En 659, **138** = Ep 301+, etc., MY Au 658, Eu 655, **96** = Fo 101, Ue 663, TH Ug 14, KH Ar 4. Nom. and acc. sing. masc. and neut., nom. plur. masc.: *tos(s)os*, ***-on***, *-oi*, normal Mycenaean totalling formula 'so much', 'so many'. [Hom. τόσσος, τόσος; there is no way of deciding which spelling the Myc. form represents, as *-ss-* may already have been simplified.]

to-sa, KN [**76** = Dp 1061], **271** = Ra 1540, etc., PY **121** = En 609, **177** = Er 880, etc., TI **171** = Ef 2 (*to-sa-pe-mo*). Nom. sing. fem., nom. plur. fem. and neut.: *tos(s)ā*, *-ai*, *-a*.

to-so-pa, PY **217** = Ja 749, Jn 601, TH **170** = Ft 140?. Nom. sing. masc.: *to(s)os pans* 'so much (bronze, etc.) in all'. See s.v. *pa*.

to-so-jo, PY **176** = Er 312. Gen. sing.: *tos(s)oio*.

to̤-so-ne, MY Oe 118: Obscure; possibly *tos(s)os* + particle *-ne*.

to-so-de, PY **56** = An 654, **151** = Eb 473+, **214** = Jn 310+, **178** = Un 718, etc., MY Au 609? Nom. sing. and plur. masc., nom. sing. neut.: *tos(s)os-de*, etc., 'and so much (or so many)' It is uncertain whether *-de* has always connective force, but it is likely in many cases. [τοσόσδε.]

to-sa-de, KN **101** = Ga 1530?, PY **177** = Er 880, **194** = Na 245+, **204** = Ng 319+, etc. Nom. sing. fem., nom. plur. fem. and neut.: *tos(s)ā-de*, etc.

to-so-ku-su-pa, KN Fh 367. Nom. sing. neut., introducing a very large quantity of OIL: *tos(s)on ksumpan* 'so much altogether'. See s.v. *ku-su-pa*.

to-so-o, PY Xa 1342. Obscure: *to-so* with added particle?

to-so-wo[, TH Gp 107 edge. Perhaps to be restored as *to-so-wo*[*-no*: *tos(s)os woinos* (Lejeune, *Mémoires* IV.287).

to-te-ja, KN **14** = Ak 611. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's occupation.

to-te-we-ja-se-we, MY Oe 106. Personal name, dat.? Or divide as *to-te-we* (man's occupation, dat.; cf. *to-te-ja*?) *ja-se-we* (MN, dat.?) (Ruijgh, *Études* 252–53).

to-ti-ja, MY **96** = Fo 101. WN, dat.

to-to, PY **340** = Aq 64. Neut. sing.: app. *toto* (*wetos*) 'this (year)'. [Probably not to be compared with τοῦτο, but a reduplicated **tod-tod*. Attic τοτο (Dipylon Vase) is a chimera; read τõ (= τοῦ) τόδε …]

to-tu-no, KN Da 1276, TH Fq 198+. MN, nom. and dat.

to-u-ka, KN **235** = Lc 7377+. Annotation to WOOL on reverse of textile tablets: prob. *toukhāi*, dat. of noun corresponding to τεύχω (cf. *te-tu-ko-wo-a*): 'for finishing (decorating, etc.)' (Björck 1954.275, Killen 1979a.164.)

to-u-na-ta, KN Dm 1182, Dv 1479. MN.

to-wa, PY **56** = An 654. PN or MN?

to-wa-no, KN B 806. MN: *Thowānōr* or *Thorwānōr*.

to-wa-no-re, PY Fn 79. Dat.: *-ānorei*.

to-wa-te-u, PY Eb 1188, Ep 539. MN.

to-wi-no, KN Do 923. MN.

to-wo, KN Sc 7480. Obscure.

to-wo-ṇạ[, MY Fu 711 rev. Personal name?

to-ze-u, PY **43** = An 1281. MN.

TU, As adjunct to WOMAN or ideographic, = *tu-ka-te* 'daughter' (Killen 1966a): KN Ap 629+.

tu-da-ra, KN Do 924. MN: *Tundarās*? [Τυνδάρης; cf. Τυνδάρεος *Od.* XI, 298+.]

tu-ka-na, KN Ap 639+. WN; on Ap 639 twice on same tablet, possibly representing different names; see also *ṭu-ka-na* Ap 5864, probably part of same tablet as Ap 639.

***tu-ka-te*(*-qe*)**, MY **28** = V 659. Twice in a list of women: *thugatēr kʷe* 'and daughter'. [θυγάτηρ *Il.* IX, 148+.]

tu-ka-te-re, MY Oe 106. Prob. dat. sing.: *thugatrei*. [On form, see Ruijgh 1959.77.]

tu-ka-ṭạ-ṣi, MY Oe 112. Dat. plur.: *thugatarsi* (<**thugatr̥si*), if reading is sound.

tu-ka-to, KN Ap 639. WN.

tu-ke-ne-u, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN.

tu-ma-da-ro, KN Db 1368. MN.

tu-ma-i-ta, KN As 605, [X 7673?]. MN. *Thumaitās*. [Θυμαίτης, hero of Attic deme Θυμαιτάδαι.]

tu-ma-ko, KN C 973. Name or description of an ox? [Cf. *to-ma-ko*; στύμα = στόμα Theoc.]

tu-me-ne-wo, MY Ui 709. Prob. MN.

tu-na-no, KN **221** = Lc 525+, Ln 1568, Wb 8711. Name of a kind of textile; see p. 730.

tu-ni-ja[1], KN Ap 629, Da 1253+, [Dl 9016?], D 5520, Lc 547, [Le 5646], Xd 149, X 7633+. PN. [Cf. Ἐλτυνία (now Kunávi) south of Knossos?]

tu-ni-ja-ḍẹ, KN Fh 373. Acc. + *-de*.

tu-ni-ja[2], KN Ak 630, Lc 547, **224** = Le 641+. Prob. nom. plur. fem. of ethnic adj.

tu-ni-jọ[, KN X 9341. Perhaps masc. or neut. sing. of prec. Or MN (cf. next)?

tu-ni-jo, PY Cn 4, Xa 1419. MN.

tu-qa-ni-ja-so, KN Db 1279, [Dk 920?], Np 5721. MN. [Cf. PN Τυ(μ)πανέαι.]

tu-ra-te-u, PY Ae 8+. Nom. sing., description of a man, prob. an occupation.

tu-ra-te-we, KN B 755. Nom. plur.

tu-ra-te-u-si, PY Gn 428, Vn 48. Dat. plur.

tu-ri-ja-jọ, PY Jn 431. MN: *Thuriaios*? [Cf. PN Θυρέαι.]

tu-ri-ja-ti, PY **123** = En 659, [**130** = Eo 444]. WN: *Thuriātis*? [Cf. Θυρεᾶτις (γῆ).]

tu-ri-jo, KN Nc 4473, PY Jn 693. MN: *Turios*?, *Thuriōn*? [Τύριος, ethnic of Tyre; Θυρίων.]

tu-ri-si-jo-jo, PY Sa 758. MN, gen.: *Tulisioio*. [Cf. *tu-ri-so*.]

tu-ri-so, KN **86** = Ce 59, Da 8385+, Dh 1243, X 506+. PN: *Tulisos*. [Τυλισός *Inscr. Cret.* I 30 I; now Týlissos.]

tu-ri-si-jo/-ja, KN [B 807?], **90** = E 668, Lc 533, Og 833, [Xe 8274?]. Ethnic adj.: *Tulisioi*, *-ai*.

tu-ri-ta, PY Cn 40. MN, dat.

tu-ro$_2$, PY **178** = Un 718+. Nom. plur.: *tūroi* (*tūryoi*?) 'cheeses'; also written with monogram *TURO$_2$*. [τυρός *Il.* XI, 639+; cf. Av. *tū̊ri-*.]

tu-ru-pte-ri-ja, PY **39** = An 35, Un 443, TI X 6. At PY gen. sing. depending on following *o-no*: *struptēriās* 'of alum'; see p. 460. [στρυπτηρία *Inscr. Prien.* 364.15 (3/2 B.C.) = στυπτηρία Hdt.+.]

tu-ru-pe-te[-ri-ja?], KN X 986. Variant spelling?

tu-ru-we-u, PY **38** = An 261 rev., Cn 254. MN: *Thrueus*? [Cf. PN Θρύον *Il.* II, 592.]

tu-si-je-u, PY **57** = An 519. MN. Cf. *tu-ti-je-u*.

]tu-si-jo, PY An 435. MN?

tu-ti, KN Dv 1621, V 652. MN.

tu-ti-je-u, PY Cn 4. MN. Cf. *tu-si-je-u*.

tu-to, KN Ga 419. MN.

tu-wa-si, PY Fn 41. Prob. dat. plur. of description of men.

tu-we-a: see *tu-wo*.

tu-we-ta, PY **245** = Un 267. MN, dat.: *Thuestāi*, an unguent-boiler by occupation. [Θυέστης *Il.* II, 106.]

tu-wi-jo, KN B 823. Obscure, description of men or PN?

tu-wi-no, KN **103** = Ga 517. MN: *Twinōn*. [Cf. Σίνων; σίνομαι < **twin-*.]

tu-wi-no-no, KN Ga 676. Gen.

tu-wo, PY Un 219. Nom. sing. neut.: *thuos* 'aromatic substance'. [θύος, usually plur.: *Il.* VI, 270+, often 'burnt offering'; cf. ἔλαιον τεθυωμένον *Il.* XIV, 172.]

tu-we-a, PY **245** = Un 267. Acc. plur.: *thue(h)a*.

tu-wo-te-to, TH **331** = Fq 126. Follows *o-te* (q.v.); perhaps *thuos theto* '(when) he placed the sacrifice'. See pp. 883–84.

tu-zo, KN Ap 639, C 7698. WN in Ap 639; prob. MN in C 7698.

tu-*49-mi, KN Ap 639. WN.

tu-*56-da-ro, KN Dv 1370. MN.

U, Ligatured with **212*^{VAS}, abbreviation of *u-do-ro* (q.v.): KN K 774+.
Ideographic use: PY Un 219.

u-de, TH Of 38. Adverb: *huide* 'hither'? [Cf. Lesb. τυῖδε, Cret. υἶ 'whither'.]

u-de-wi-ne, PY Cn 595. PN, loc.

u-de-wi-ni-jo̤[, PY Jn 410. Prob. MN. [Ethnic adj. of prec.]

u-do, KN K 873. Annotation to **211*^{VAS} + *PO*; poss. *hudōr* 'water'. [ὕδωρ; cf. *u-do-ro*.]

u-do-no-o-i, PY **330** = Fn 187. Prob. dat. plur., class of persons.

u-do-ro, KN [**255** = Uc 160 rev.], PY **270** = Tn 996. Nom. plur., name of bucket-shaped vessel (**212*^{VAS}): *hudroi* 'water-jars'. [ὕδρος *Il.* II, 723+ 'water-snake'; cf. ὑδρία.]

u-du-ru-wo, KN V 145. PN, gen.? Cf. [*o-*]*du-ru-wo*, see s.v. *o-du-ru-we*.

u-jo-na, KN Ap 639. WN.

u-ka, KN D 7386. PN?

u-ka-jo, PY **203** = Nn 228. PN.

u-me-ta-qe-ạ-po, PY **119** = Ea 259. Perhaps to be divided *u-me-ta* (MN) *k*^{w}*e a-po*; see p. 588.

u-pa-ra, KN Ap 639. WN.

u-pa-ra-ki-ri-jạ, PY An 298. PN, subordinate to *ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$? [Cf. Ὑπεράκρια.]

u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja, PY Cn 45. Variant spelling?

u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo, PY **56** = An 654. Prob. nom. plur. masc. of ethnic adj.

u-pa-ta-ro, TI Z 1+. MN.

u-po, KN **282** = Sd 4422, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Adverb: *hupo* 'underneath'. [ὑπό Hom. +.]

u-po-di-jo-no, PY Na 105. MN, gen. forming PN with *wo-wo*.

u-po-jo, PY **330** = Fn 187, **316** = Fr 1225+. Qualification of *Potnia*, PN in gen.?

u-po-o-pa, TH Uq 434. Compound of preposition *u-po* (*hupo*) q.v. with *o-pa* q.v.: 'under, subject to *o-pa*'.

u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja: see s.v. *u-pa-ri-ki-ri-ja*.

u-po-we, KN L 178. Description of two linen(?) tunics. [Cf. Hsych. ὑποέστης (*ὑποϝέστης)· χιτών.]

u-qa-mo, KN **209** = Mc 4454. PN; cf. *qa-mo*.

u-ra-jo, KN B 799, Db 1265+. MN: *Hulaios*, *Huraios*? [Ὑλαῖος, Ὑραῖος.]

u-ra-mo-no, KN **36** = As 1516, Da 1315. MN.

u-ra-*86, PY Na 466 (restoration in Na 1039 and 1086 improbable). PN.

u-re-u, PY Vn 865. MN: *Hu*(*l*)*eus*? [Ὑλεύς, Ὑλλεύς.]

u-re-we, TH Gp 179. Dat.: *Hul*(*l*)*ēwei*.

u-ro$_2$, KN Dd 5367. MN.

u-ru-pi-ja[, KN Fh 392. Obscure; cf. next.

u-ru-pi-ja-jo, PY **57** = An 519+, **78** = Cn 3, Na 928. Nom. plur. masc., description of men, possibly ethnic, but not to be connected with Olympia. See pp. 484–85.

u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo, PY **78** = Cn 3. Gen. sing., possibly error.

-u-ru-to, PY **55** = An 657. 3rd plur. pres. indic.: (*hō*) *wruntoi* 'thus they are guarding'. [ῥῦσθαι *Il.* XV, 141+, imperf. ἔρυτο *Il.* IV, 138+; Risch 1958a.337 prefers sing. *wrutoi*, taking *e-pi-ko-wo* as collective sing.]

u-su, KN V 7512. Prob. MN.

u-ta-jo, KN **66** = Dc 1129+, Ra 1559, V 832. MN, a 'collector' of sheep.

u-ta-jo-jo, KN Da 1135+. Gen.

u-ta-no^1, KN [As 604], Db 1097+, Dh 7128, Dl 7075, Dn 5559, Dq 448, Fh 5443 rev., **319** = Fp 13, Pp 496, Xd 202, X 5006+. PN: perh. *Utanos*. [Poss. = Ἴτανος with interchange of υ and ι as in some pre-Hellenic names; cf. *mo-ri-wo-do*.]

u-ta-ni-jo, KN B 807, **349** = E 749, [Og 833], X 7560. Ethnic adj.

u-ta-no^2, KN Dd 1592. MN.

u-wa-mi-ja, PY **144** = Eb 416, **142** = Ep 704. WN: *Huamiā*? [Cf. PN Ὑάμεια (Messenia).]

u-wa-si, PY **58** = An 656. PN, dat.-loc. plur.

u-wa-si-jo, KN Ai 115. Poss. MN, but more likely patronymic adj.: *pa-ro u-wa-si-jo ko-wo* 'from or 'chez' the son of U.'? [Cf. PN *u-wa-si*, MN *u-wa-ta*.]

]ụ-wa-si-jo, (doubtful reading), KN Vc 7529. MN. [Cf. prec.]

u-wa-ta, KN Dd 1286, PY Jn 605. MN: *Huātās*, *Huantās*? [Cf. Ὑᾶται; Ὑάντες.]

u-wo-qe-ne, KN V 145. Alternative form of or error for next.

u-wo-qe-we, KN **85** = C 902. Prob. nom. plur., title of an official: perhaps *u(w)ok^{w}ēwes* 'overseers'.

]u-*56, KN Df 1120. MN.

WA, Probably abbreviation for *wa-na-ka-te-ra*: KN Le 654.

Obscure, but possibly similar: KN **322** = F 51 rev., PY Wr 1480, EL **338** = Z 1, KH Z 16.

wa-a$_2$-ta, MY **44** = Au 102. MN.

wa-a$_2$-te-pi, PY Mb 1377, Na 1009. PN, instr.-loc. plur.

wa-a$_2$-te-we, PY **50** = An 207, [Mn 1371?]. Variant form, dat.-loc. sing.?

wa-da-ko, PY Cn 285. MN.

wa-de-o, PY Sa 766. MN, gen.: *Wāde(h)os*?

wa-di-re-we, PY Fn 79. MN, dat.

wa-do-me-no, PY Vn 130. MN, dat.: *Wādomenōi*. [Cf. ἥδομαι, ϝάδομαι Corinna.]

wa-do-ta, TH Fq 125+. MN, dat. Variant spelling of *wa-u-do-ta* (q.v.)?

wa-du-ka-sa-ro, KN Da 1445. MN.

wa-du-na, KN V 503+. MN.

wa-du-na-ro, KN C 912, Db 1242+, Dk 1491. MN.

wa-du-ri-jo, [KN Ga 456?], PY Jn 725. MN: *Wādulios*. [Cf. Ἡδύλος.]

wa-du-[.]-to, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

wa-e-ro, PY Cn 1197. MN?

wa-je, KN As 5888?, V 479. MN.

wa-ka-ta, PY **216** = Jn 658. MN: = *wa-tu-ta*, impossible to tell which is the error; see pp. 717–18.

wa-ka-ti-ja-ta, PY **58** = An 656. Poss. nom. plur. masc. ethnic?

wa-ke-i-jo, KN Vc 177. MN: *Wākheïos*? [Cf. Arc. Ϝᾶχος.]

wa-ḳẹ-ta, KN Fs 4. Recipient of offerings?

wa-na-ka, KN Vc 73, Vd 136?, PY **199** = Na 334+, **258** = Ta 711. Nom. sing.: *wanaks* 'the king'. [ἄναξ *Il.* I, 442+, Cypr. *wa-na-xe*.]

]wa-na-ka-to, PY La 622 rev. Gen.: *wanaktos*?

wa-na-ka-te, KN **102** = Ga 675, PY **313** = Fr 1220+, **111** = Un 2+. Dat.: *wanaktei*.

wa-na-ke-te, PY Fr 1215. Variant spelling of dat.

wa-na-ka-te-ro, KN X 976, PY [Eb 903?], **122** = En 74+, **129** = Eo 160+, **176** = Er 312, TH **336** = Z 839, TI [Z 29?]. Nom. sing. masc. and neut.: *wanakteros*, *-on* 'of the king', 'royal'. [ἄναξ + -τερος; cf. βασιλεύτερος Hom.]

wa-na-ka-te-ra, KN **221** = Lc 525, [TH Of 36?]. At KN prob. nom. plur. fem., qualifying CLOTH + *TE* = *te-pa*; at TH prob. dat. sing. fem.: *wanakterai*, *-āi*

wa-na-se-wi-jo, PY Fr 1215. Prob. adj. form of *wa-na-so-i*: see p. 853.

wa-na-se-wi-ja, PY Fr 1221, **258** = Ta 711. Fem. sing. or neut. plur. [Earlier taken as *wanassēwiā* 'of the queen', but etym. doubtful.]

wa-na-si-ja-ḳẹ, PY Vn 851. MN, dat.?

wa-na-so-i, PY **314** = Fr 1222+. Dat. (or dat.-loc.) plur.: possibly a group of priests or similar. See p. 853.

wa-no-so-i, PY Fr 1219. Variant spelling or error.

wa-na-ta-jo, KN V 466, PY [Eb 369], [**121** = En 609], **125** = Eo 211, **138** = Ep 301, Jn 832. MN, nom. and dat.: *Warnataios*, *-ōi*? [Cf. Ἀρναῖος *Od.* XVIII, 5.]

wa-na-ta-jo-jo, PY **121** = En 609, **125** = Eo 211. Gen.

wa-ta-jọ, PY **125** = Eo 211. Error for *wa-na-ta-jo*.

]*wạ-ni-ko*, PY Jn 478. MN: *Warniskos*. [Ἀρνίσκος.]

***wa-no*(*-qe*)**, KN Ch 5724. Name or description of an OX.

wa-no-jo, PY Cn 40+. MN, gen., forming PN with *wo-wo*.

wa-o, PY **269** = Ta 716. Annotation to ideogram for hammer-axe with numeral 2; see pp. 794–95.

]*wa-pa-no*, PY Jn 601. MN.

wa-pa-ro-jo, PY **58** = An 656. MN, gen.: *Wapaloio*? [Cf. ἁπαλός.]

wa-po, KN Fh 5429. MN?

wa-ra-ki-no, PY An 615. MN?

wa-ra-ko-no, PY Jn 845. MN.

wa-ra-pi-si-ro, PY Cn 436, MY **44** = Au 102, TH X 162. MN.

wa-ra-ti, KN Ap 639. WN.

wa-ra-wi-ta, KN So 4443. Nom. plur. neut., description of wheels. The suggestion *wrāwista* 'damaged' conflicts with that offered for *o-pi-ra*$_3$*-te-re*; similarly *wlāwista* 'coming from booty' conflicts with that offered for *ra-wi-ja-ja*.

wa-ra-wo-ṇọ, PY Cn 600. MN.

wa-re-u-ka-ra[, PY Na 576. PN.

wa-ru-wo-qo, KN **36** = As 1516. MN.

wa-si-ro, KN V 159. Obscure.

wa-te-u, PY Na 395. Obscure, title?

wa-ti-jo, KH Ar 4. MN (= ethnic adj. of *wa-to*, q.v.?)

wa-ti-ko-ro, PY Jn 725. MN; cf. WN *a-wa-ti-ka-ra*.

]*wa-ti-ro*, PY Jn 431. MN.

wa-to, KN Co 903, **85** = C 902, Np 7423, TH **337** = Z 849+. PN.

wa-tu, KN V 114 (and rev.), X 795?, PY **159** = Eq 36, **309** = Tn 316. In some contexts obscure: in V and Tn prob. *wastu* 'the town'. [ἄστυ *Il.* II, 332+.]

wa-tu-o, PY Vn 865. MN.

wa-tu-o-ko, PY Ea 136. MN: *Wastuokhos*. [Cf. Ἀστυόχη *Il.* II, 513.]

wa-tu-ta, PY Jn 725. MN: = *wa-ka-ta*, impossible to tell which is the error; see pp. 717–18.

wa-tu-wa-o-ko, PY **57** = An 519. MN: *Wastuāokhos*? [Cf. *wa-tu-o-ko*; influenced by *πολιάοχος, Epic πολιήοχος, Lacon. πολιᾱ́χōι?]

wa-u-do-no, PY **215** = Jn 389. MN.

wa-u-do-ta, TH Ug 421. MN. Variant spelling of wa-do-ta (q.v.)?

***wa-u-so*[**, KN Fh 5479. MN?

wa-wa-ka, KN Ln 1568. WN? [Cf. next.]

wa-wa-ḳọ, TH Av 102. MN. [Cf. prec.]

wa-wi, KN V 756. MN.

wa-wo-u-de, PY **56** = An 654, [Cn 200?]. PN; Cn evidence suggests not with *-de*.

wa-*86-re, KN Dc 1117. MN.

WE, As adjunct to OX, perhaps abbreviation of *we-ka-ta*: KN **87** = Ch 896.

As adjunct to GOAT^{m}, probably abbreviation of *wetalon* 'yearling': TH Wu 74.

Ligatured with OIL, perhaps abbreviation of *we-a-re-pe*: PY **247** = Fr 1184, MY **96** = Fo 101, Wt 713.

As part of ideogram **146*, probably abbreviation of *we-a$_2$-no* (see *we-a$_2$-no-i*): KN **237** = M 683+, **213** = Nc 5100 edge, Wm 1714+, PY **39** =An 35, **179** = Ma 90+, **190** = Mb 1396+, **189** = Mn 456, Ua 158+, **111** = Un 2+.

Ligatured with ideogram **166*, perhaps = *we-a$_2$-no* (cf. **146*): KN **327** = Oa 745+, PY La 640?, Ob 1372+, Ua 1413.

Ideographic use, apparently denoting a variety of sheep or goat, probably = *wetalon* 'yearling': KN C 7060, Dl 790+, D 411, PY **77** = Cn 418, Ua 17, **110** = Un 138+, TH Wu 64+.

we-a-re-ja: see s.v. *we-a$_2$-re-jo*.

we-a-re-pe, PY Fr 1215+. Nom. sing. neut., adj. describing oil: prob. *u-aleiphes* 'for anointing'. See p. 851.

we-ja-re-pe, PY Fr 1205+. Alternative spelling.

we-a$_2$-no-i, PY **316** = Fr 1225, **345** = Un 1322? Dat. plur.: *wehanoihi* 'for robes'. [ἑᾰνός *Il.* XXI, 507+.]

we-a$_2$-re-jo, PY **266** = Ta 714. Nom. sing. masc., adj. describing tables and chairs: *hualeios* (or sim.) 'of or decorated with rock-crystal'. [Cf. ὕαλος Hdt.+.]

we-a-re-ja, PY **261** = Ta 642. Nom. sing. fem.

we-da-ne-wo, PY **53** = An 610, **61** = Cn 655+, **173** = Es 644+, Na 856+, Un 1193. MN, gen., a person of great importance.

we-da-ne-we, PY **174** = Es 646+. Dat.

we-e-wi-ja, KN As 1518, PY **249** = Ub 1318. At PY, nom. fem. plur. of adj., describing skins: prob. *huēwiai* 'pigs''. [ὕειος Aristoph.+.] See p. 754. Function at KN obscure.

we-i-we-sa, MY **96** = Fo 101. WN, dat.: prob. *Huiwessāi*. [υἱός + -εις.]

we-ja-re-pe: see s.v. *we-a-re-pe*.

we-je-ke-a$_2$, PY **295** = Sa 787+. Nom. plur. neut., adj. describing wheels: *uweikeha*, 'serviceable' (opposite of *no-pe-re-a$_2$*). [Compound of ὐ + -εικής as ἐπι-εικής. See p. 827.

[*we-*]*je̯-ke-a*, PY Wa 1148. Variant spelling.

we-je̯-ke-e, PY **295** = Sa 487+. Nom. dual: *uweike(h)e*.

we-je-we, KN **167** = Gv 863, [PY **177** = Er 880]. Nom. plur., description of plant or tree: prob. *huiēwes* 'vine-shoots'. [Cf. υἱήν· τὴν ἄμπελον Hsych.]

we-ka-di-jo, KN U 4478, V 831. MN: *Wergadios*, *Wekadios*? [Cf. Ἐργάδεις, Boeot. Ϝηεκαδάμοε.]

***we-ka-sa*[**, KN Ai 1037, TH Gp 129. At TH WN?, dat. (*TFC* I. 284). At KN obscure; WN? Or description of slave-woman: *wekassa* (<**wekn̥t-yə* = ἑκοῦσα), referring to voluntary enslavement, for which in ancient Near East, see Gelb 1972a.84?

we-ka-ta, KN Ai 1012, **86** = Ce 59+, C 1582+. Nom. plur. describing oxen (Ai 1012 more likely oxen than personnel record): *wergatai* 'workers'. [βοῦς ἐργάτης Archil., Soph.]

we-ka-ta-e, KN C 1044. Dual: *wergatae*.

we-ke: see s.v. *ke-re-si-jo we-ke*.

we-ke-i-ja, KN **34** = Am 819. Obscure: annotation to group of 18 men, perh. a derivative of ἔργον (cf. ἐργασία in sense of 'craft-association', 'guild').

we-ke-i-jo[, PY Jn 937. MN.

]we-ke-se, KN Xe 5540. If complete, poss. 3rd sing. aor.: *wekse* 'brought'. (Cf. *pe-re* Od 562.) [ϝέχω Cypr., Pamph.; cf. Lat. *uehō*, Skt. *vahati*.]

we-ko-we-ka-te[, KN Ak 630. Obscure.

we-na-ko-jo, TH Gf 163. MN, gen.? Defective spelling of *we-re-na-ko* (q.v.)?

we-pe-za, PY **262** = Ta 713. Nom. sing. fem., description of a table: *(h)weppedza* or *(h)wespedza* 'with 6 feet'; for exact sense, see p. 788.

we-ra-jo, PY [Eb 364], **152** = Ep 613. MN.

we-ra-te-ja, KN Ap 618. Nom. plur. fem., prob. possessive adj. derived from MN *we-ra-to* (cf. next) or sim.

]we-ra-ti-ja, KN **19** = Ak 784. Variant form.

]we-ra-to, KN De 1136. MN.

we-re-ka-ra-ta, PY An 298. Nom. plur., a man's occupation.

we-re-ka-ra, PY **53** = An 610. Poss. defective spelling of prec.

we-re-ke, PY **60** = Cn 131+. Heading to cattle tablets, poss. nom. plur. *wreges* 'enclosures'. [Cf. Skt. *vrajaḥ* 'enclosure'.]

]ẓẹ-re-ki-ja, KN Ai 1012, [C 989?]. Perh. nom. plur. fem., description of female oxen: poss. *wregiai* (cf. *we-re-ke*) 'in the enclosures'.

we-re-na-ko, TH Fq 240+. MN, dat.: *Wrēnăkōi*? *Wrēnāgōi*? (García Ramón 2006.41.)

we-re-ne-ja, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Prob. nom. sing. fem., describing a skin: prob. *wrēneiā* 'sheep's', 'lamb's'. [Cf. ῥήν 'sheep'; ἄρνειος Hdt.+.] See p. 756.

we-re-we, KN **85** = C 902, V 145. Nom. sing. or plur., title of an official?

we-ro-pa-ta, KN B 801. MN.

we-ro-ta, PY An 129. MN?

we-ro-te[, TH Fq 169. Recipient of barley, dat.

we-ru-ma-ta, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Nom. plur.: *welūmata* 'wrappers'. [εἴλυμα *Od.* VI, 179.] See pp. 754–55.

we-te-re-u, PY Eb 472+, **155** = Ed 317, **122** = En 74+, **128** = Eo 247+, Ep 539. MN.

we-to, PY **340** = Aq 64, **180** = Ma 365. Acc. sing. neut.: *wetos* 'year'. [ἔτος *Il.* XXIV, 765+; in dialects frequently ϝέτος.]

we-te-i-we-te-i, PY **173** = Es 644. Reduplicated dat.-loc.: *wete(h)i wete(h)i* 'from year to year', 'annually'. [Cf. Skt. *varṣe-varṣe* 'every year'.]

]we-to-ro, KN V 5575. Name of an object?

we-u-da-ne-we, PY **79** = Cn 418. MN, dat. [Cf. *we-da-ne-wo*, but perhaps not the same name.]

we-wa-do-ro, KN Dv 1601, Sc 252. MN: *Werwandros*? [Cf. (ϝ)έρυμαι.]

]we-wa-ta, KN Vc(1) 7933. MN.

we-we-e-a, KN **233** = L 870+. Nom. plur. neut., description of textiles: *werwe(h)e(h)a* 'woollen'. [Att. ἐρεᾶ, neut. plur., Ion. εἰρίνεος; from εἶρος 'wool' Hom.+, < **werwos*; cf. Lat. *ueruex* 'sheep'.]

we-we-ro, KN Fh 347?, V 147. MN.

we-we-si-je-ja, PY Aa 762, Ab 217. Nom. plur. fem., prob. possessive adj. derived from MN *we-we-si-jo*, q.v.

we-we-si-je-ja-o, PY Ad 318. Gen. plur.

we-we-si-jo, KN Da 1156+, Le 654, PY **216** = Jn 658+. MN: *Werwesios*?

we-we-si-jo-jo, KN Ak 622, **68** = De 1648+, [Lc 7392], Od 502, X 453+. Gen.

we-wo-ni-jo, KN C 954. MN.

WI, Ideographic use: PY Un 219, Wr 1332.

As part of ideograms **152* and **258* = OXHIDE, abbrev. of *wi-ri-no* (q.v.): e.g. PY **179** = Ma 90+.

wi-da-jo, KN V 60. MN: *Widaios*. [Ἰδαῖος.]

wi-da-ka-so, KN Dd 1402. MN.

wi-da-ma-ro, KN Do 919, V 479. MN.

wi-da-ma-ta$_2$, KN Ap 639, Ln 1568. WN.

-wi-de, PY **160** = Eq 213, **258** = Ta 711. 3rd sing. aor.: (*hō*) *wide* 'thus he saw'. [ἴδε *Il.* XI, 243+.]

wi-do-wo-i-jo, KN [B 5172?], PY Ae 344, An 5. MN: *Widwo(h)ios* (in Ae patronymic with same form as MN?). [Cf. ἰδυῖοι, εἰδώς <**widwōs*.]

wi-du-wo-i-jo, PY Jn 415. Alternative spelling.

wi-dwo-i-jo, PY Ep 539, TH Uq 434. Alternative spelling.

wi-du-ro, KN B 799. MN. [Cf. Ἴδυρος name of a river.]

wi-du-ru-ta, KN Ch 5754. MN.

wi-du-wa-ko, PY **214** = Jn 310. MN.

wi-ja-da-ra, PY Ae 142. WN, gen.? Or PN? If WN, perh. *Wiandrā(s)*. [Cf. Ἰάνειρα *Il.* XVIII, 47.]

wi-ja-ma-ro, KN **36** = As 1516, Da 1378. MN.

]wi-ja-na-tu, KN Ap 769. WN.

wi-ja-ni-jo, PY Jn 431. MN.

wi-ja-te-we, PY Cn 45+. MN, nom. or dat.?

wi-ja-te-wo, PY Jn 431. MN.

wi-ja-we-ra$_2$, PY **62** = Cn 719+, Jn 478, [Mn 1410?]. PN.

wi-je-mo, KN As 609, Dv 1266. MN.

wi-je-so, KN Da 1163. MN.

wi-jo-de: see *ki-ka-ne wi-jo-de*.

wi-jo-ka-de, KN Db 1155. MN.

wi-jo-qo-ta, KN Db 1305, [Dq 7852]. MN: *Wiok^{w}hontās*? [Cf. Ἰοφῶν.]

wi-jo-qo-ta-o, KN Dq 1026, **229** = Ld 598. Gen.: *-tāo*.

wi-jo-ro-jo, PY Jn 725. MN.

wi-na-jo, KN Da 1197+, Fh 1059, **218** = K 875, X 5750+, **339** = Z 1716, AR Z 1, MI Z 4. MN.

wi-na-to, KN As 604. PN: *Winatos*? [Ἴνατος; cf. (Ἐλεύθυιαν) Βινατίαν *Inscr. Cret.* IV 174 60, 74.]

***wi-nu-ri-jo*[**, PY **53** = An 610. PN or ethnic?

wi-pi-no-o, KN V 958. MN: *Wiphino(h)os*. [Ἰφίνοος *Il.* VII, 14; second element from **nes-* as in νέομαι, νόστος.]

wi-pi-o, KN Nc 5103. MN: *Wiphiōn*. [Ἰφίων.]

wi-ra-ne, KN Da 5193. MN.

wi-ra-ne-to, KN **36** = As 1516, Dv 1205. MN.

wi-ri-ja-no, PY Ea 52. MN: *Wrianos*? [Ῥιανός.]

wi-ri-ke-ja, PY Vn 851. WN, dat.?

wi-ri-ki-no, KN V 831. MN.

wi-ri-ne-u, TH Av 100. Nom. sing.: perh. *wrīneus* 'tanner'. Or MN? [Cf. *wi-ri-no*.]

wi-ri-ne-we, KN Fh 5428+. Prob. dat. sing., recipient of oil: perh. *wrīnēwei* 'for the tanner'. Or MN?

wi-ri-ni-jo, KN **277** = Sd 4401+. Prob. instr. plur. neut.: *wrīniois* 'with leather (blinkers)'. [Cf. *wi-ri-no*.].

wi-ri-ne-o, KN **278** = Sd 4409+, **285** = Sf 4428. Variant form: *wrīneois*.

wi-ri-ne-jo, KN Sd 4415+. Variant form: *wrīneois*.

wi-ri-no, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Nom. plur.: *wrīnoi* 'ox-hides'. [ῥινός *Od.* I, 108+.]

***wi-ri-wo*[**, PY An 340. MN.

wi-ri-za, KN Od 2026+, [X 44], PY Un 249. Nom. sing.: *wridza* 'root'; in context always in connexion with wool, the root section of which is rich in lanolin. [ῥίζα, Lesb. βρίσδα.]

wi-ro, KN **36** = As 1516. MN: *Wīlos* or *Wīros*. [Ἴλος *Il.* X, 415; Ἶρος *Od.* XVIII, 6.]

wi-ro-jo, KN Da 5234. MN.

wi-sa-to, PY Cn 328?, Vn 130. MN, dat.

wi-so, KN Ap 639. WN.

wi-so-ṷọ-pa-ṭọ (doubtful reading), PY **303** = Sh 740. Description of plates on group of corslets; possibly gen. plur. neut.: *wiswōn pantōn* 'of (= on) all alike' (Killen 1999c.345–47; cf. Del Freo 1991.) [ἶσος < ϝίσϝος.]

wi-su-ro, KN Dd 1284. MN.

wi-ti-mi-jo, PY Jn 605. MN: *Wisthmios*? [Ἴσθμιος; no evidence for ϝ- in ἰσθμός.]

***]wi-to-te-ra*[**, PY Wa 748. Obscure.

wi-tu-ri-jo, KN X 770. MN: *Witulios*? [Cf. Ἴτυλος *Od.* XIX, 522.]

wi-tu-ta, PY Jn 320. MN.

wi-*65-te-u, KN Dc 1403. MN.

WO, Ideographic use or adjunct to WHEAT?: PY Un 1319.

wo-de-wi-jo, KN Fp 16+, **350** = V 280. Name of a month: *wordēwios* 'of roses'. [Cf. ῥόδον.]

wo-de-ṷị-jo-jo, KN **323** = Ga 953. Gen.

wo-di-je-ja, KN Ap 639, PY **249** = Ub 1318, Vn 34, MY **28** = V 659. WN, nom. and dat.? *Wordieia*, *-āi*. [Cf. ῥόδον.]

wo-di-jo, KN V 60, PY Jn 601. MN: *Wordios*? [Cf. ῥόδον.]

wo-do, KN V 7049?, Xd 282. Obscure.

wo-do-we, PY Fr 1203+. Nom. sing. neut., description of oil: *wordowen* 'rose-scented'. [ῥοδόεντι ... ἐλαίῳ *Il.* XXIII, 186.]

wo-i-ko-de, KN As 1519. Acc. sing. + *-de*: *woikon-de* 'to the house (of)'. [οἶκόνδε *Il.* I, 606.]

wo-ko-de, TH **244** = Of 36. Variant spelling of prec.

wo-ko, TH Gp 158. Perhaps dat.-loc.: *woikōi* (*TFC* I. 288).

wo-jo, PY Eb 472. Gen. sing.: (*h*)*woio* 'of his own'. [οἷο gen. *Il.* III, 333.]

wo-ka, PY **294** = Sa 487+. Nom. sing.?: *worgā* 'work' rather than *wokhā* 'vehicle', 'chariot'? [Cf. ἔργον.] See pp. 826–27.

wo-ka-re, KN V 960. Obscure.

wo-ke, KN L 698, PY **304** = Sh 736. Obscure: verbal form (cf. *wo-ze*?) or dat.-loc. of a noun (cf. *wo-i-ko*(*-de*))? See p. 833.

wo-ki-ro, PY Cn 328. MN.

wo-ki-to, PY **60** = Cn 131. MN, dat.

wo-ko-de: see *wo-i-ko-de*.

wo-na-si, KN **167** = Gv 863. Dat.-loc. plur.: *woinassi* 'in the vineyards'? [οἰνάδες· ἀμπελώδεις τόποι Hsych.]

wo-ne-wa, PY **56** = An 654. MN.

wo-ne-we, PY **62** = Cn 719+. Nom. plur., description of sheep.

wo-no, PY **97** = Vn 20. Nom. sing.: *woinos* 'wine'? [οἶνος Hom.+.] See also *to-so-wo*[.

wo-no-qe-wa, PY Na 396. PN.

wo-no-qe-we, PY Un 1193. Probably variant form, loc.

wo-no-qo-so, KN Ch 897+. Name or description of an OX: *Woinok*^{w}*sos*, *Woinok*^{w}*orsos*? [Οἴνοψ as MN *Od.* XXI, 144; cf. βόε οἴνοπε *Il.* XIII, 703.]

wo-no-wa-ṭi-si, PY Vn 48, Xa 1419 rev. Dat. plur.: *woinowa(s)tisi*? Sense and construction obscure, but a compound of *woinos* seems likely. The reading of the penultimate syllable is uncertain in both cases. [Cf. Οἰνόη?]

wo-qe-we, PY **53** = An 610+. PN.

wo-ra-e, KN Sp 4451. Nom. dual, name of object, prob. connected with chariots. [Cf. *wo-ra-we-sa*.]

[*wo-*]*ra*, KN Sp 4452. Prob. sing.

***wo-ra-ke-re*[**, KN Vc 170. MN.

wo-ra-we-sa, KN Se 880. Nom. sing. fem., description of chariot: ?*-wessa*. [Cf. *wo-ra-e*.]

wo-ro-ka-ne, KN B 1025. Poss. nom. plur. describing men.

wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo, PY **176** = Er 312, **178** = Un 718. Description of a piece of land, prob. possessive adj. derived from MN **Wroikiōn*. [Ϝοικίων *SEG* I 367; cf. next.] See pp. 647–48.

wo-ro-ko-jo, PY Sa 763. MN, gen.: *Wroikoio*? [Ϝοικός; for Cypr. *wo-ro-i-ko* see Masson 1982.150–51.]

wo-ro-ma-ta, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Nom. plur. neut.: *wlōmata* 'containers'? See p. 753. [λῶμα.]

wo-ro-ne-ja, MY **242** = Oe 111. Description of wool, perhaps *wroneiā* 'lamb's'. [Metathesis of *worneia* = ἄρνεια.]

***wo-ro-qo-ta*[**, PY Qa 1305. MN.
wo-ro-ti-ja, PY Es 728. MN.
wo-ro-ti-ja-o, PY **172** = Es 650+. Gen.
wo-ro-ṭọ, KN **75** = Do 5010?, Dv 7863. MN.
wo-ro-to-qo, KN Vc 290. MN.
wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jọ, PY **59** = An 661. Prob. MN.
wo-si-jo-ne, KN B 1055. MN.
wo-ti-jo, KN Dv 5302?, PY An 340, Jn 832. MN: *Worthios*. [Ὄρθιος.]
wo-to-mo, PY Vn 1314. MN.
wo-to-we-ro, TH V 160. Prob. MN.
***wo-tu-ko-*[**, PY Xn 593. Poss. MN? [Cf. Ὀρτύγων.]
wo-tu-wa-ne, PY Cn 4. PN, loc.
wo-wa-ro, PY Jn 750. MN.
wo-we-u, KN C 911, **164** = Uf 836, PY Ae 142. At KN nom. sing. masc., prob. a title: perh. *worweus*. [Cf. *wo-wo*.] At PY same, or MN?
wo-wi-ja, PY **58** = An 656, **189** = Mn 456, Na 1053. In Mn, Na forms a place-name after a gen. app. MN; in An follows PN? *ne-wo-ki-to*: prob. *worwia* 'borders'. [ὅρια; cf. *wo-wo*.]
wo-wi-ja-ta, PY An 172, **216** = Jn 658+. MN.
***wo-wo*[1]**, PY An 424+, Cn 40+, Na 105+. Combined with MN in gen. forms a place-name: prob. *worwos* 'boundary'. [ὅρος, Ion. οὖρος, Corcyr. ὄρϝος, poss. by dissimilation from *ϝόρϝος; cf. *wo-wi-ja*, *mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi*.]
***wo-wo*[2]**, KN Dc 5228, Dk 1071. MN.
wo-ze, PY Ea 309, **148** = Eb 338+, **142** = Ep 704+. 3rd sing. pres.: *wordzei* 'works, performs', exact sense obscure; sometimes negative *o-u-wo-ze* with variant or erroneous spelling *o-wo-ze* (**148** = Eb 338). [ἔρδω Hom.+; cf. ῥέζω, from *ϝεργ-.]
wo-ze-e, PY **142** = Ep 704. Pres. infin.: *wordzehen*.
wo-zo-e, PY **148** = Eb 338. Error for *wo-ze-e*.
wo-zo, PY Eb 862. Nom. sing. masc. pres. pple.: *wordzōn*.
wo-zo-te, PY **154** = Ed 236, Ep 539. Nom. plur. and dat. sing. masc.: *wordzontes*, *-ontei*.
wo-zo-me-no, KN So 4433. Nom. dual pres. pple. pass.: *wordzomenō* 'being worked on' (i.e. under construction or repair).
wo-zo-me-na, KN So 4438. Nom. plur. neut.: *wordzomena*.
wo-*65-ṛọ, KN Dv 1492, MY Au 653? MN.
wo-*82-ni-jo, KN Dc 1154. MN.

ZA, As adjunct to WOMEN and SHEEP, probably abbreviation of *za-we-te* or adjectival form, 'this year's' (Killen 1963.450, 1972): KN **18** = Ak 616+, **75** = Do 5010+.
za-e-to-ro, PY **53** = An 610+. PN.
za-ki-ri-jo, KN Vc 108. MN.
za-ku-si-ja, PY **295** = Sa 787+. Nom. plur. neut., description of wheels: *Dzakunsia* 'Zakynthian' (type or origin?). [Cf. Ζάκυνθος *Il.* II, 634.]
ẓạ-ku-si-jo, PY **53** = An 610. Poss. nom. plur. masc.: *Dzakunsioi*.

za-ku-si-jo, MY Oe 122. MN: *Dzakunsios*. [prec.]

za-ma-e-wi-ja, PY **207** = Jn 829, **186** = Ma 393, Vn 493. PN.

za-mi-jo, KN **37** = As 1517 rev., PY An 129. Nom. plur. masc., description of men.

za-mi-so, KN Uf 111. MN?

]-ẓa-ṛa-ro[, KN X 8634. MN. [Cf. next.]

]za-ra-ro, KN Dd 1429, Dk 1070. MN.

za-we-te, KN **95** = Fh 5451, PY **183** = Ma 225. Adverb: *tsāwetes* 'this year'. [σῆτες, Att. τῆτες, Dor. σᾶτες, <**kyā-wetes*.]

ẓa-we-ṭe-ṛo, KN Gg 5637, [X 658?]. Nom. sing. or plur. masc., adj.: *tsāwe(s)teros*. [From **kyāwet-teros* or haplology for *tsāwetes-teros*?]

]ẓa-we-te-ra, KN Ga 518+. Nom. fem. sing.: *tsāwe(s)terā*.

ZE, KN Ce 144+, **87** = Ch 896+, C 1044+, **307** = Sc 222+, **288** = Sg 1811, **289** = So 894+, PY **340** = Aq 64+, **299** = Sa 287+, **304** = Sh 736+, **346** = Va 482. Used to indicate paired objects, esp. oxen and wheels: *dze(ugos)* 'pair'. Cf. *ze-u-ke-si*. In KN **253** = K 740, R 1562 prob. ideographic for 'saw'.

ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na[, PY Na 70. See s. v. *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*.

ze-me-qe[, KN L 588. Prob. MN + *-k^{w}e*.

ze-ne-si-wi-jo, KN M 720. MN?

ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$, PY Aa 61. Nom. plur. fem., description of women: *Dzephurai*. [Cf. Ζεφυρία old name for Halikarnassos, Strabo XIV, 656.]

ze-pu$_2$-ra-o, PY Ad 664. Gen. plur.: *Dzephurāōn*.

ze-pu$_2$-ro, PY Ea 56. MN.: *Dzephuros*. [Cf. Ζέφυρος.]

ze-ro, KN As 4493?, Da 5218. MN.

ze-so-me-no, PY **245** = Un 267. Dat. sing. fut. pple. pass.: *zes(s)omenōi* 'to be boiled' (in the manufacture of unguent). [ζέω.]

-ze-to, PY Vn 130. Verbal form, probably meaning 'received' or similar: perhaps *skheto* (2 aor. medio-passive of ἔχω). [σχέτο *Il.* VII, 248+.]

ze-u-ke-si, PY **249** = Ub 1318. Dat. plur.: *dzeuges(s)i* 'pairs'. Frequently abbreviated to *ZE*. [ζεῦγος *Il.* XVIII, 543+.]

ze-u-ke-u-si, PY **94** = Fn 50+. Dat. plur., a class of men: *dzeugeusi* 'ox-drivers'? [Cf. Att. ζευγῖται.]

ẓẹ-wa-so, KN X 2002. Obscure, MN?

ZO, Ligatured with CLOTH: KN L 433. Obscure.

zo-a, KN Fh 343+. Perhaps dat. sing.: *dzoāi* '(oil) for (unguent-)boiling'. [ζέω.] Or nom. sing. *dzoā*, perh. 'oil from second pressing'. [Cf. ζόη· τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ μέλιτος Hsych.]

zo-do-so, KN As 40. MN.

zo-ta(-qe), KN L 588. MN.

zo-wa^1, KN Nc 4473, TH Av 100, Fq 240+. MN, nom. and dat.

zo-wa^2, KN **273** = Ra 984+, X 766. Prob. part, decorative feature or type of SWORD.

zo-wi-jo, KN V 1523, PY Cn 40. MN, nom. and dat.: *Tsōwios* or *Dzōwios*? [Cf. Σωϝο-, Ζωϝο-.]

zo-wo, PY **57** = An 519. MN.

18-to-no, KN Ap 639. WN.
22-ja-ro, KN Xf 4486. Obscure, MN?
22-ri-ta-ro, KN Dv 1216. MN.
34-ka-te-re, PY Va 15 (and rev.). Nom. plur.?; obscure.
34-ra-ḳa-te-ra, PY Va 15. Prob. variant spelling of acc. sing. or plur.
34-ke-ja, PY Eb 871, **330** = Fn 187. WN, nom. and dat.?
34-ke-te-si, PY **174** = Es 646+. Dat. plur., persons or divinities receiving offerings; see p. 637.
34-ke-u, PY **260** = Ta 709. App. adj., description of tripod cauldron; cf. *a_3-ke-u*, *o-pi-ke-we-ri-je-u*.
34-ki-no-o, PY **348** = Vn 46. Nom. plur.; structural members for building. Cf. *a_3-ki-no-o*.
]***34-so***, KN Dv 1239. MN?
34-te, PY **341** = Aq 218. Nom. sing. masc., title or description of a man.
34-to, PY Eb 472. Gen. sing.?
34-to-pi, PY Vn 130. Instr. plur.; obscure.
34-zo, KN Da 1253. MN.
]***47-da***, KN Xd 100. PN?
47-da-de, PY **317** = Fp 1. Acc. + -*de*.
47-ku-to-de, KN **319** = Fp 13. PN, acc. + -*de*.
47-so-de, KN Fh 351+. PN, acc. + -*de*.
47-ta-qo[, KN Xd 140. Obscure.
47-ti-jo, KN K 775, V 503. MN.
49-sa-ro, KN V 653. MN.
4̣9̣-wo, KN Db 5231. MN.
56-du-nu-ka, KN Da 1132+. MN.
56-i-ti, KN Fh 1057. Prob. divine name; nom.?
56-ti, KN Fp 15. Variant spelling of prec.
56-ị-ti-je̩[, KN Fh 5487. Dat.? (Morpurgo Davies 1999.396 n. 18.)
56-ko-we, KN **20** = Ap 618, **85** = C 902+, **64** = Da 1221+, [D 7122], Le 5646, TI Z 27. PN.
56-ko-we-e, KN Dl 794+. Dat.-loc.
56-ko-we-i, KN Dm 5181, Dn 1093. Variant of dat.-loc.
56-ko-we-i-jo/-ja, KN G 424, **92** = G 820. Ethnic adj.
]***56-na-ro***, KN Dl 928. MN.
5̣6̣-ni-sa-ta, KN As 607. MN.
56-po-so, KN Ln 1568. WN? MN?
56-pu-so, TH Wu 45. MN. [Cf. *pa-pu-so*.]
56-ra-ku-ja, KN **228** = Ld 587. Nom. plur. neut., description of textiles; prob. variant spelling of *pa-ra-ku-ja*, q.v.
56-ri-to, KN Db 1423. Xe 6020? MN.
56-ro_2, KN Dv 1422, MN.
56-ru-we, TH Fq 205, **334** = Gp 164+. MN?, dat.
]***56-so-jo***, KN Ai 1036. MN, gen.?

56-ti: see s.v. **56-i-ti*.
63-te-ra-de, TH **333** = Gp 176+. PN, acc. + *-de*.
63-u-ro, TH Fq 240+. MN?, dat.
82-de, PY Cn 600?, Jn 431. MN.
]*83-re-jo-de*, KN Ga 465. PN, acc. + *-de*.
83-re-te, KN Uf 5763. MN?
]-*83-re-to*, KN Dl 933. MN.

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* Abbreviations of titles of journals are those used in the *American Journal of Archaeology (AJA)* or, where there is no *AJA* abbreviation, in *L'Année Philologique*. Abbreviations of book titles will be found in the list of abbreviations, pp. xix–xxvi.

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TABLET CONCORDANCE

This concordance shows for each tablet in the book (a) its (*New Docs*) number and (b) the corresponding number (if any) in *Documents*[1] / *Documents*[2]. Numbers in the present book are shown (a) in sequence and (b) chapter by chapter to the left; *Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2] numbers are shown on the right.

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
	Ch. XI: Lists of personnel	
PYLOS::	**1** = Aa 62	**1**
	2 = Aa 240	**4**
	3 = Aa 717	**7**
	4 = Aa 792	**5**
	5 = Ab 379	**6**
	6 = Ab 553	**9**
	7 = Ad 670	**8**
	8 = Ad 676	**10**
	9 = Ad 671	**12**
	10 = Ad 697	**14**
	11 = Ad 684	**15**
	12 = Ad 686	**16**
	13 = An 292	**26**
KNOSSOS:	**14** = Ak(1) 611	**18**
	15 = Ak(1) 612	**-**
	16 = Ak(1) 624	**21**
	17 = Ak(2) 627	**19**
	18 = Ak(2) 616	**-**
	19 = Ak(3) 784	**-**
	20 = Ap 618	**22**
	21 = Ai 739	**17**
	22 = *Ai(3)* 824	**20**
	23 = Am(2) 827	**-**
	24 = Ai(1) 63	**24**
	25 = Ap 694	**25**
PYLOS:	**26** = Ae 303	**27**
	27 = An 607	**28**
MYCENAE:	**28** = V 659	**303**
KNOSSOS:	**29** = Am(2) 821	**29**
	30 = B 822	**-**
PYLOS:	**31** = Ae 264	**30**
	32 = Ae 134	**31**
KNOSSOS:	**33** = Am(1) 601	**34**
	34 = Am(2) 819	**35**
	35 = As(1) 609	**-**
	36 = As(2) 1516	**38**
	37 = *As(2)* 1517	**39**
PYLOS:	**38** = An 261	**40**
	39 = An 35	**41**
	40 = Ac 1277	**-**
	41 = Ac 1280	**302**
	42 = An 830	**45**
	43 = An 1281	**312**
MYCENAE:	**44** = Au 102	**46**

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
KNOSSOS:	**45** = Am(2) 826	**47**
	46 = B(4) 101	**48**
PYLOS:	**47** = An 427	**49**
	48 = An 39	**50**
	49 = An 18	**51**
	50 = An 207	**52**
	51 = An 1282	**324**
	52 = An 1	**53**
	53 = An 610	**54**
	54 = An 724	**55**
	55 = An 657	**56**
	56 = An 654	**58**
	57 = An 519	**57**
	58 = An 656	**59**
	59 = An 661	**60**

Ch. XII:
Livestock

PYLOS:	**60** = Cn 131	**61**
	61 = Cn 655	**62**
	62 = Cn 719	**-**
	63 = Cc 660	**63**
KNOSSOS:	**64** = Da 1221	**64**
	65 = Db 1232	**65**
	66 = Dc 1129	**66**
	67 = Dd 1171	**67**
	68 = De 1648	**68**
	69 = Df 1121	**-**
	70 = Dg 1158	**70**
	71 = Dn 1094	**79**
	72 = Dk(2) 1072	**71**
	73 = Dk(2) 1076	**-**
	74 = Dl(1) 943	**73**
	75 = Do 5010	**-**
	76 = Dp 1061	**74**
	77 = Dp 997	**-**
PYLOS:	**78** = Cn 3	**76**
	79 = Cn 418	**77**
	80 = Cn 1287	**-**
KNOSSOS:	**81** = *C(2)* 913	**80**
	82 = C(2) 941	**78**
	83 = Dm 1180	**81**
	84 = Ca 895	**82**
	85 = C 902	**83**
	86 = Ce 59	**84**
	87 = Ch 896	**85**
	88 = Co 907	**86**

Ch. XIII:
Agricultural Produce

KNOSSOS:	**89** = F(2) 852	**95**
	90 = E(2) 668	**87**
	91 = E 777	**89**
	92 = G 820	**90**
PYLOS:	**93** = Fn 7	**-**
	94 = Fn 50	**91**
KNOSSOS:	**95** = Fh 5451	**-**
MYCENAE:	**96** = Fo 101	**93**
PYLOS:	**97** = Vn 20	**250**
KNOSSOS:	**98** = Np(2) 856	**-**
	99 = Ga(2) 415	**98**
	100 = Ga(2) 427	**-**
	101 = Ga(5) 1530	**-**
	102 = Ga(1) 675	**101**
	103 = Ga(1) 517	**102**

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
MYCENAE:	**104** = Ge 603	**106**
	105 = Ge 604	**107**
	106 = Ge 606	-
THEBES:	**107** = Wu 65	-
	108 = Wu 52	-
	109 = Wu 55	-
PYLOS:	**110** = Un 138	**96**
	111 = Un 2	**97**

Ch. XIV.1:
Land Tenure

PYLOS:	**112** = Ea 817	**108**
	113 = Ea 782	**109**
	114 = Ea 800	**110**
	115 = Ea 71	**111**
	116 = Ea 825	**112**
	117 = Ea 824	**113**
	118 = Ea 102	-
	119 = Ea 259	**145**
	120 = Ea 59	**147**
	121 = En 609	**114**
	122 = En 74	**115**
	123 = En 659	**116**
	124 = En 467	**117**
	125 = Eo 211	**118**
	126 = Eo 224	**119**
	127 = Eo 276	**120**
	128 = Eo 247	**121**
	129 = Eo 160	**122**
	130 = Eo 444	**123**
	131 = Eo 351	**124**
	132 = Eo 471	**125**
	133 = Eo 281	**126**
	134 = Eo 269	**127**
	135 = Eo 278	**128**
	136 = Eo 268	**129**
	137 = Eo 371	**130**
	138 = Ep 301	**131**
	139 = Eb 818	**132**
	140 = Eb 846	**133**
	141 = Eb 895	**134**
	142 = Ep 704	**135**
	143 = Eb 294	**136**
	144 = Eb 416	**137**
	145 = Eb 409	**138**
	146 = Eb 321	**139**
	147 = Eb 297	**140**
	148 = Eb 338	**141**
	149 = Ep 705	**143**
	150 = Eb 866	**144**
	151 = Eb 473	**146**
	152 = Ep 613	**148**
	153 = Eb 842	-
	154 = Ed 236	**149**
	155 = Ed 317	**142**
	156 = Ed 847	-
	157 = Ed 901	**151**
	158 = Ed 411	**150**
	159 = Eq 36	-
	160 = Eq 213	**154**
KNOSSOS:	**161** = Uf(3) 981	**155**
	162 = Uf(3) 1031	**156**
	163 = *Uf(3)* 835	**157**
	164 = Uf(2) 836	**158**
	165 = Uf(2) 839	**161**
	166 = Uf(3) 983	**162**
	167 = Gv 863	**164**
	168 = Gv 862	**165**
	169 = F(2) 841	**94**

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
THEBES:	**170** = Ft 140	-
TIRYNS:	**171** = Ef 2	-

Ch. XIV.2:
The Pylos 'Dosmos' Tablets

PYLOS:	**172** = Es 650	**167**
	173 = Es 644	**168**
	174 = Es 646	**169**
	175 = Es 649	**170**
	176 = Er 312	**152**
	177 = Er 880	**153**
	178 = Un 718	**171**

Ch. XV:
Taxation

PYLOS:	**179** = Ma 90	**177**
	180 = Ma 365	**178**
	181 = Ma 330	-
	182 = Ma 378	**181**
	183 = Ma 225	**180**
	184 = Ma 126	**182**
	185 = Ma 222	**173**
	186 = Ma 393	**175**
	187 = Ma 123	**176**
	188 = Mn 162	-
	189 = Mn 456	-
	190 = Mb 1396	-
	191 = Na 322	-
	192 = Na 543	**186**
	193 = Na 514	**187**
	194 = Na 245	**195**
	195 = Na 568	**189**
	196 = Na 248	**191**
	197 = Na 252	**192**
	198 = Na 520	**193**
	199 = Na 334	**194**
	200 = Na 926	**196**
	201 = Na 406	**197**
	202 = Nn 831	**183**
	203 = Nn 228	**184**
	204 = Ng 319	**198**
	205 = Ng 332	**199**
	206 = Cn 608	**75**
	207 = Jn 829	**257**
	208 = Jo 438	**258**
KNOSSOS:	**209** = Mc 4454	-
	210 = Mc 4455	-
	211 = Nc 4474	-
	212 = Nc 4484	-
	213 = Nc 5100	-

Ch. XVI:
'Industrial' Production

PYLOS:	**214** = Jn 310	**253**
	215 = Jn 389	**254**
	216 = Jn 658	**255**
	217 = Ja 749	**256**
KNOSSOS:	**218** = K(1) 875	**232**
	219 = Lc(1) 526	**210**
	220 = Lc(1) 527	-
	221 = Lc(1) 525	**209**
	222 = Lc(1) 532	**211**
	223 = Od(1) 562	-
	224 = Le 641	**213**
	225 = Lc(1) 535	**212**
	226 = Ld(1) 571	**214**
	227 = Ld(1) 573	**215**
	228 = Ld(1) 587	**217**
	229 = Ld(1) 598	**218**
	230 = L 871	**216**
	231 = L(7) 474	**224**

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
	232 = L(1) 594	**219**
	233 = L 870	**220**
	234 = L(2) 647	**221**
	235 = Lc(2) 7377	-
	236 = L 520	**225**
	237 = M(1) 683	-
	238 = Od 667	-
	239 = L 693	**222**
MYCENAE:	**240** = Oe 110	-
	241 = Oe 129	**226**
	242 = Oe 111	**228**
THEBES:	**243** = Of 34	-
	244 = Of 36	-
PYLOS:	**245** = Un 267	**103**
	246 = Un 249	**104**
	247 = Fr 1184	**305**
	248 = Pn 30	-
	249 = Ub 1318	**317**
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KNOSSOS:	**251** = So(2) 4442	**283**

Ch. XVII:
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Vessels and Furniture

KNOSSOS:	**252** = K 434	**229**
	253 = *K*(*1*) 740	**230**
	254 = K(1) 872	**231**
	255 = Uc 160 *verso*	**233**
	256 = Ws 8497	-
MYCENAE:	**257** = Uc 611	**234**
PYLOS:	**258** = Ta 711	**235**

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
	259 = Ta 641	**236**
	260 = Ta 709	**237**
	261 = Ta 642	**239**
	262 = Ta 713	**240**
	263 = Ta 715	**241**
	264 = Ta 707	**242**
	265 = Ta 708	**243**
	266 = Ta 714	**244**
	267 = Ta 721	**245**
	268 = Ta 722	**246**
	269 = Ta 716	**247**
	270 = Tn 996	**238**

Ch. XVIII:
Finished Products II:
Military Equipment

KNOSSOS:	**271** = Ra(1) 1540	**261**
	272 = Ra(1) 1548	**262**
	273 = Ra(2) 984	**163**
	274 = R 1815	**263**
	275 = Ws 1704	**264**
	276 = Sd 4403	**265**
	277 = Sd 4401	**266**
	278 = Sd 4409	**267**
	279 = Sd 4413	**268**
	280 = Sd 4404	**269**
	281 = Sd 4402	**270**
	282 = Sd 4422	**271**
	283 = *Sf*(*2*) 4420	**273**
	284 = *Sf*(*1*) 4421	**272**
	285 = Sf(1) 4428	**274**
	286 = Se 879	**275**
	287 = Se 891	**276**
	288 = Sg 1811	**322**
	289 = So 894	**278**
	290 = So(1) 4437	**279**
	291 = So(2) 4439	**280**
	292 = So(1) 4440	**281**

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
	293 = So(1) 4430	**282**
PYLOS:	**294** = Sa 487	**285**
	295 = Sa 787	**286**
	296 = Sa 793	**287**
	297 = Sa 790	**288**
	298 = Sa 682	**289**
	299 = Sa 287	**290**
	300 = Ub 1315	**323**
	301 = Sh 737	**293**
	302 = Sh 734	**295**
	303 = Sh 740	**292**
	304 = Sh 736	**296**
KNOSSOS:	**305** = Sk 8100	**325**
TYRYNS:	**306** = Si 5	-
KNOSSOS:	**307** = Sc 222	**297**
	308 = Sc 226	**298**

Ch. XIX:
Religion, Cults and Ritual

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
PYLOS:	**309** = Tn 316	**172**
	310 = Un 6	**313**
	311 = Un 853	-
	312 = Fr 1202	**306**
	313 = Fr 1220	**307**
	314 = Fr 1222	**308**
	315 = Fr 1224	**309**
	316 = Fr 1225	**310**
KNOSSOS:	**317** = Fp(1) 1	**200**
	318 = Fp(1) 14	**201**
	319 = Fp(1) 13	**202**
	320 = Fs 3	-
	321 = Fs 11	-
	322 = F(1) 51	-
	323 = Ga 953	**203**
	324 = Gg(1) 702	**205**
	325 = Gg(3) 705	**206**
	326 = M 719	-
	327 = Oa 745	-
	328 = V 52	**208**
KHANIA:	**329** = Gq 5	-
PYLOS:	**330** = Fn 187	-
THEBES:	**331** = Fq 126	-
	332 = Fq 130	-
	333 = Gp 176	-
	334 = Gp 164	-
MYCENAE:	**335** = Oi 701	**321**

Ch. XX:
Inscriptions on Stirrup Jars

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
THEBES:	**336** = Z 839	-
	337 = Z 849	-
ELEUSIS:	**338** = Z 1	-
KNOSSOS:	**339** = Z 1716	-

Ch. XXI:
Miscellaneous Texts

	New Docs	*Docs*[1] / *Docs*[2]
PYLOS:	**340** = Aq 64	**43**
	341 = Aq 218	**44**
	342 = On 300	**304**
	343 = Qa 1296	**315**
	344 = Qa 1299	**316**
	345 = Un 1322	**319**
	346 = Va 482	**249**
	347 = Va 1324	**320**
	348 = Vn 46	**251**
KNOSSOS:	**349** = E 749	**88**
	350 = V(2) 280	**207**