

LINEAR B

AN INTRODUCTION

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2 WRITING IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

The purpose of writing among the Minoans

§ 7 The Minoans were the inventors of writing in the Aegean. Not only did they initiate the art, but throughout the Bronze Age they were responsible for its principal developments and innovations. In time, the Minoan scripts were taken over by other peoples, such as the Cypriots and the Mycenaeans, who used them for their own purposes. The question, to what extent the Minoans were indebted to any foreign system in the creation of their scripts, cannot yet be answered satisfactorily: it seems certain, however, that some of the earliest signs used in Minoan writing were derived from Egypt.

§ 8 Two fundamental questions need to be answered. What did the Aegean peoples use writing for? What stages in the history of writing are represented by their scripts? The probable answer to the first question is that the invention of writing in Crete was called forth not by a desire to communicate but by economic necessity. It seems that the Minoans, and after them the Mycenaeans, had two main objects in writing: to confirm ownership and to make records. Only the inscriptions found on some Minoan cult-objects, especially the so-called libation-tables, fall a little outside these categories. There is, as yet, no direct evidence that the Minoans or the Mycenaeans ever wrote any literary or historical text, or even sent a letter from one city to another; but the analogy of contemporary cultures makes it highly probable that they did in fact use writing for these purposes. From first to last, and especially in the Late Bronze Age, Minoan-Mycenaean writing was confined to very few centres; and it may be suspected that the number of people who were able to read or write the scripts was at all times very small.

The three stages of Minoan writing

§ 9 The successive stages of Minoan writing were elucidated by Evans in 1909 on the evidence of his discoveries at Knossos: The written documents from the Palace of Knossos and its immediate dependencies now amount to nearly two thousand. The overwhelming majority of these clay documents, including the first discovered, presented an advanced type of linear script — referred to in the present work as Class B — which

was in vogue throughout the whole of the concluding period of the Palace history. But the course of the excavations brought out the fact that the use of this highly developed form of writing had been in turn preceded in the 'House of Minos' by two earlier types — one also presenting linear characters, described below as Class A, the other, still earlier, of conventionalized pictorial aspect, recalling Egyptian hieroglyphics.

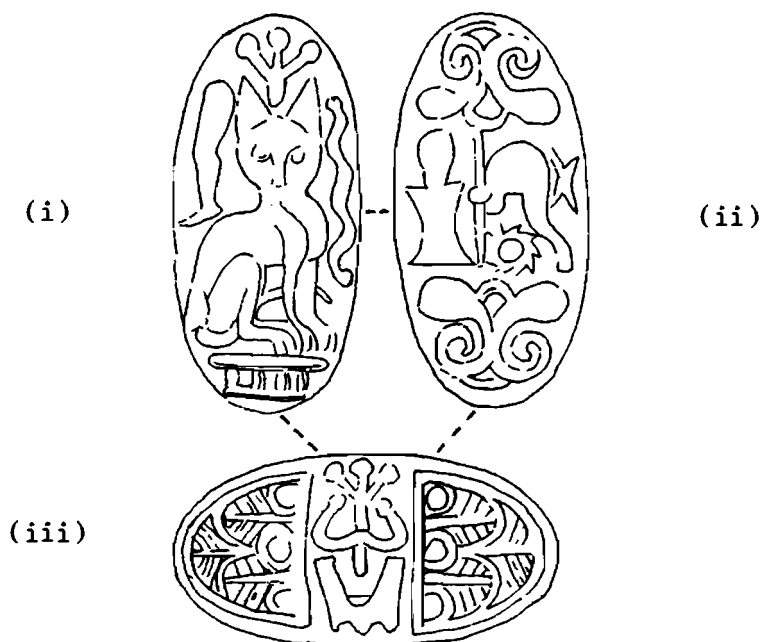
Scripta Minoa I 18



Evans called the earliest stage of Cretan writing indifferently Pictographic or Hieroglyphic. Here the term Pictographic only will be used, to avoid confusion with the Egyptian and the Hittite Hieroglyphic scripts.

§ 10 The general picture presented by Evans in this early publication is an admirably clear one, and in its broad outlines it is still valid to-day. Three great scripts arose in Crete during the Middle and Late Bronze Age (c. 1900-1200). The earliest (Pictographic) system flourished from the beginning of the period. At some undetermined point within Middle Minoan must be placed the development of the Linear Script A. At *Scripta Minoa* I 28-29, Evans observed that examples of the Linear A script had been found in the First or Early Palace at Knossos, which was devastated late in the Middle Minoan period. Most, and perhaps all, of the Linear B inscriptions from Knossos date from the destruction of the Second or Late Palace, c. 1375. No precise date can yet be assigned to the recently discovered Linear B inscriptions from Chania. We thus have a satisfactory *terminus ante quem* for the creation of both Linear A and Linear B; but there is no *terminus post quem* for the creation of either.

The Pictographic script

§ 11 The Cretan Pictographic inscriptions are of two main kinds: those carved on seal-stones and those incised on objects of clay, such as tablets, labels, and four-sided bars. The inscriptions on seals probably do not belong to a different chronological stage from those on clay: it is likely that the greater stylization displayed by the former arises from the more intractable nature of the material used. An impressive seal makes it probable that this type of inscription still had the function of marking ownership:



The heraldic character of the cat on side (i) is plain to see. In such a context it is possible, as Evans suggested, that the sign-groups on each of the three sides represent the spelling of official names and titles. The groups themselves recur on other Pictographic texts, sometimes in different combinations or in a different order. To judge from the analogous stage in the development of other scripts, there is little doubt that some at least of the signs in Cretan Pictographic are phonetic, that is to say they represent the actual sound or syllables of the spoken language. Two of the signs,  on side (i) and  on side (iii), survive into both the Linear A and the Linear B scripts. The seal is interesting in yet another respect to the student of writing. Side (iii) presents an amalgamation of more than one sign so as to form a ligature or monogram: a scribal practice which is still frequently in the Linear A inscriptions and, rather less often, in those of Linear B (§ 75).

§ 12 The Pictographic seals are, for the most part, chance discoveries. The clay documents, on the other hand, come from the so-called Hieroglyphic Deposit in the West Wing of the Knossian Palace. The simplest type of document in this deposit does no more than record a number of objects illustrated: it therefore forms part of an inventory of a kind still commonly attested in Linear A and Linear B. For example in P. 101c (according to Evans' numeration in *Scripta Minoa* I), which is to be read from right to left:



We can detect two essential elements in this simple type of record: an 'ideogram' (that is, a sign which represents an actual object) and a numeral. So the GRAIN-JAR ideogram followed by the numeral 170 records the presence of 170 measures of grain, while the next group indicates 160 arrows; unless, of course, the script is already sufficiently developed for the ideograms to have a significance beyond what they ostensibly signify. The small cross to the right of the ARROW ideogram is perhaps an ideogram-marker, as Grumach suggested (*Minoica* 162-191).

§ 13 A rather more complex type of record is represented by a group of signs consisting of double axe + grain-jar + crooked line (P. 103d):



Here the numeral 1640 is preceded by the sign-group. If the × is rightly diagnosed as an ideogram-marker, we have a record of 1640 objects denoted by the DOUBLE AXE ideogram (perhaps objects of cult significance, in view of the sacral connotations of the double axe in Minoan ritual). In that case, the two following signs, the grain-jar and the crooked line, may be functioning either as further ideograms (in some way modifying the DOUBLE AXE) or as phonetic signs which perhaps spell out the word already represented by the DOUBLE AXE ideogram. It would not be surprising to find the grain-jar, for instance, acting sometimes as an ideogram and sometimes as a phonetic sign: such a double function is well attested in other Bronze Age scripts, as well as in Linear A and Linear B.

§ 14 The clay disc from Phaistos, to which Evans devoted a chapter in *Scripta Minoa* I, stands completely outside the main Pictographic and Linear traditions of Minoan Crete. For this and other reasons, it was considered by Evans to be an import from Asia Minor. This view of its origin is still sometimes maintained, but it was made less tenable by the publication in 1935 of an axe from Arkalochori, which bears fifteen inscribed characters evidently related to those of the Phaistos Disc and which there is no reason to think was not manufactured in Crete. Since the script of the Phaistos Disc and that of the Arkalochori Axe are not directly related to the Pictographic system in use at Knossos, it seems likely that several different kinds of picture-writing were being developed simultaneously during the Middle Minoan period.

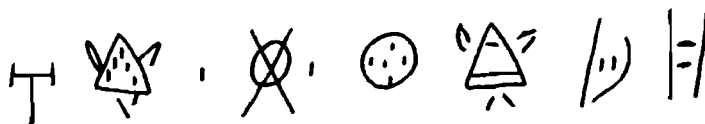
The Linear A script

§ 15 During Middle Minoan, the Pictographic script, or a script related to it, was transformed (perhaps over a considerable period) into a neater, more orderly, and more cursive kind of writing in which the pictorial elements were stylized still further. The new script was called by Evans Linear A. Until recently, Linear A was thought to have replaced the Pictographs all over Crete towards the end of Middle Minoan. The transition between Pictographic and Linear A is exemplified by inscriptions on a clay bar found at Mallia and dated to a late stage of Middle Minoan:

side (a)

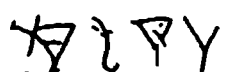

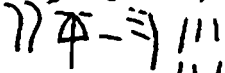

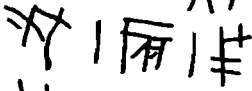








side (b)



The signs on this bar are already well on the way towards the shape they acquire in Linear A, and so it can be presumed that the process of developing the latter script had begun some time before. There is no ground for believing that the Linear A script was created in order to meet the needs of a new language. The very existence of such a document as the Mallia bar means that we must not think of a clear break between Pictographic and Linear A, but rather of a gradual change from the one to the other. Levi's discoveries at Phaistos show that there the transition from Pictographic to Linear A took place at an earlier date than in the north and east of Crete.

§ 16 The total amount of known Linear A material is very small. Apart from a few inscriptions on stone libation-tables and other sacral objects, most of our Linear A texts come from the archive of Ayia Triada, a site near Phaistos, which was destroyed by fire during the fifteenth century B.C. (LM Ib). The archive comprises some 150 small clay tablets (some of them now very fragmentary), containing records of transactions made or stocks held. A few examples will illustrate the main types of inscriptions present in the Ayia Triada archives. HT 114, a tablet inscribed on both sides, is of simple structure, as the following analysis will show:

	heading.		
			10 measures of WHEAT
	list of		7 measures of BARLEY
	com-		1 measure of FIGS
	modities		1 measure of WINE
			3 OXEN (?)

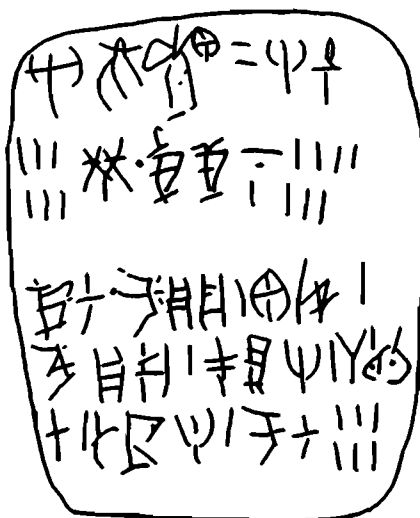
	heading.		
	commodity		8 measures of WINE


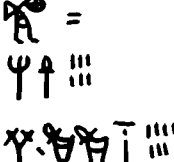
§ 17 What the respective 'headings' convey is unknown, but the number of possible meanings is quite small: thus, they could denote the place where the commodities were produced, collected, or recorded, or the persons who were involved in their production, distribution, or delivery. The meaning of the ideograms in Linear A is not known for certain, and for the present purpose their use has been deduced from the way in which similar ideograms are employed in Linear B. The system of numerals may be compared with that of the Pictographic script:


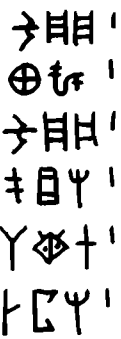
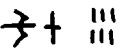
	Pictographic	Linear A
1	3 or 1	1
10	•	• or -
100	\	o
1000	◇	⊕



The Linear A system of numerals is much the same as in Linear B, except that in the latter script the sign - has become the standard for 10. Unlike the Linear B script, Linear A possesses an extensive system of fractional numerals.

§ 18 HT 88 appears to contain two lists, each with its own 'heading':



heading : 
list : 

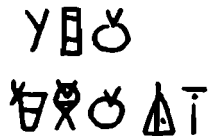
heading : 
list : 
total. 

The purpose of neither list is very clear. The presence of a MAN ideogram as the first member of the first list might be supposed to indicate that a number of personnel were being recorded, and it is possible that the two signs which come second do represent personal names or occupations; but third in the list comes the sign , which has been interpreted as the ideogram for FIGS, followed (perhaps) by a phonetic rendering of the word for 'figs', before the numeral '7'. The second list may consist of personal names (and in that case the purpose of making the record would be made plain in the 'heading'). The text ends with the commonest sign-group in the Ayia Triada tablets, indeed the only sign-group whose meaning is beyond all dispute: . From the way it is used (as in this text), the group must mean 'all' or 'total', since it is regularly found with a numeral which represents a total of the numbers in a preceding list.

§ 19 Roughly a hundred Linear A signs are in common use. Of these, about a dozen occur singly in lists before numerals. In contrast to these signs, which may confidently be regarded as ideograms, the remainder appear in groups, and are best interpreted as phonetic representations of syllables. As in Linear B (and perhaps in the Pictographic script) some characters have a double function, acting either as ideograms or as phonetic signs. The most important text for observing the relationship between ideograms and phonetic signs is the damaged tablet HT 31. This contains a 'heading' of obscure import followed by a list of receptacles:



Since all the ideograms obviously represent vessels of different shapes, it is likely that the sign-groups



likewise spell the names of vessels, only in these cases the names are spelt phonetically. The most interesting feature of the inscription is the insertion of a sign-group in small characters over each ideogram. It is probable, but not certain, that each of these groups forms a phonetic spelling of the name of the vessel with which it is associated. (Cf. E. Peruzzi *Minoica* 287-293).

The diffusion of Linear A; the Cypro-Minoan script

§ 20 The expansion of Cretan trade during the Early Palace Period and at the beginning of the Late Palace Period resulted in the spread of Minoan writing to the Cycladic islands and probably to the mainland of Greece as well. Isolated marks and groups of signs have long been known from Phylakopi in Melos; and these have now been joined by scattered finds from Keos, Kythera, Naxos, and Thera. So far as is known, writing was no longer practised in the Cyclades after the wane of Minoan influence at the end of the fifteenth century.

§ 21 The examples of writing which come from Cyprus are of much greater significance. As early as 1909, Evans discussed the Bronze Age inscriptions on clay balls from Enkomi in eastern Cyprus (*Scripta Minoa* I 68-73). After examining the close resemblances between some Enkomi signs and those of the Linear systems in Crete, he concluded that all three scripts were interconnected. It was clear also that a direct line linked the Bronze Age Cypriot script, which Evans named Cypro-Minoan, and the syllabary which flourished in Cyprus during the classical period. The phonetic values of the classical Cypriot syllabary had been known for a number of years when Evans wrote the first volume of *Scripta Minoa*.

§ 22 Further examples of inscribed clay balls from Cyprus may now be added to those known by Evans; while the discovery of long inscriptions at Enkomi, dating from a late epoch of the Bronze Age, attests the use of writing there for purposes other than the making of simple records. The earliest extant Cypro-Minoan tablet, dated to the sixteenth century, displays a form of writing clearly derived from the Minoan Linear A script:

4 THE LINEAR B INSCRIPTIONS

Types of inscriptions

§ 62 Linear B inscriptions are found on four classes of objects: clay tablets, clay labels, clay sealings, and clay vases.

§ 63 The same method of writing was used for inscriptions on tablets, on labels, and on sealings. The scribe took a sharp-pointed stylus and scratched the signs on a lump of soft clay. The incised pieces of clay were then left to dry in the sun. It is evident from this procedure and from indications in the texts, which sometimes speak of 'this year' and 'last year', that the Linear B tablets from each palace constitute the records of a single year and that the practice was to pulp down the tablets and use them again from year to year. In every case, these clay documents owe their preservation to the extensive fires which periodically attacked the Bronze Age sites of the Aegean. Some of the tablets were so blackened or damaged by the fires as to be illegible; but there remains a sufficient amount of material from Knossos and Pylos for the general nature of the 'palatial' archives of those two sites to be deduced. The much smaller numbers of tablets from Mycenae and Thebes and the minute quantity from Tiryns show that these palaces possessed records very similar to those from Pylos and Knossos.

§ 64 The clay tablets, which furnish the great bulk of the inscriptions, are of two principal shapes: the so-called 'palm-leaf' type (Pl. 3) and the 'page' type (Pl. 1, 2). The 'page' type is especially appropriate to long lists of personnel etc., the 'palm-leaf' type to individual transactions and assessments. Linear B tablets vary greatly in size. 'Page' tablets reach a maximum height of about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches and a maximum width of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 'palm-leaf' tablets may be as long as seven inches and as wide as $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

§ 65 The circumstances of finding at Knossos and Pylos indicate that some tablets, at least, were stored in clay or wooden boxes and secured by a sealing (Pl. 6); the few inscribed sealings which have survived refer to the subject-matter of the tablets in the box. The twenty-three clay labels found at Pylos (e.g. Pl. 4) were originally pressed into the material of wicker-work boxes; like the sealings, they bear inscriptions indicating the contents of the respective file of tablets.

§ 66 Unlike tablets, sealings, and labels, the inscribed vases (e.g. Pl. 5) do not belong to the 'archives' of the palaces. Inscriptions were painted, not incised, on their surface: inscriptions which refer, apparently, to the place of origin of the contents. The largest number of vase-inscriptions (more than sixty) come from Thebes, and the vessels themselves are, for the most part, large stirrup-jars. Other well-preserved inscriptions in Linear B are found on vessels at Eleusis, Orchomenos, Mycenae, and Tiryns on the mainland and at Knossos and Chania in Crete.

The classification of the Linear B inscriptions

§ 67 Whatever system the Linear B clerks used to organize their archives, modern study of the inscriptions and of the scribal hands has enabled the texts to be divided into classes according to the subjects with which they deal (capital letter). Many classes are subdivided in order to show different arrangements of the contents (small letter). This designation is preceded by letters to indicate the place of origin of the inscription and is followed by the inventory-number allotted by the excavators.

§ 68 The abbreviations used for the find-places of the inscriptions are: EL Eleusis, KH Chania, KN Knossos, MY Mycenae, OR Orchomenos, PY Pylos, TH Thebes, TI Tiryns.

§ 69 The following classes of Linear B inscriptions are recognized in modern editions:

Personnel tablets: KN Ag, Ai, Ak, Am, Ap, As, B; MY Au; PY Aa, Ab, Ac, Ad, Ae, An, Aq.

Tablets dealing with livestock: KN Ca, Ce, Ch, Co, C; PY Cc, Cn, Cr; TI Cb.

Sheep tablets: KN Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De, Df, Dg, Dh, Dk, Dl, Dm, Dn, Do, Dp, Dq, Dv, D.

Grain tablets: KN E; MY Eu; PY Ea, Eb, Ed, En, Eo, Ep, Eq, Er, Es; TI Ef.

Tablets recording rations, offerings, and the allocation of olive oil: KN Fh, Fp, Fs, F, Ga, Gg, Gm, Gv, G; MY Fo, Fu, Ge, Go; PY Fa, Fg, Fn, Fr, Gn.

Tablets showing assessment or allocation of metals: PY Ja, Jn, Jo. Vase tablets: KN K.

Cloth tablets: KN Lc, Ld, Le, Ln, L; PY La.

Tablets showing miscellaneous assessments or allocations: KN Mc, M, Nc, Np, Oa, Od, Og, Pp; MY Oe, Oi; PY Ma, Mb, Mn, Na, Ng, Nn, Ob, On, Pa, Pn, Qa; TH Of.

Tablets recording weapons: KN Ra, R.

Chariot and armour tablets: KN Sc, Sd, Se, Sf, Sg, Sk, So, Sp; PY Sa, Sh.
 Utensil tablets: PY Ta, Tn.

Tablets showing miscellaneous provisions: KN Uc, Uf, U; MY Ue, Ui;
 PY Ua, Ub, Un; TH Ug.

Tablets giving lists without ideograms: KN Vc, Vd, V; MY V; PY Va, Vn.
 Labels: KN Wb; PY Wa.

Sealings: KN Ws; MY Wt; PY Wr.

Fragmentary tablets: KN Xd, Xe, X; MY X; PY Xa, Xn.

Inscriptions on vases: EL Z; KH Z; KN Z; MY Z; OR Z; PY Za; TH Z; TI Z.

§ 70 Thus a Linear B inscription is referred to, for example, as KN As 1516 or PY Fn 50. When an inscription has been put together by joining fragments, it is denominated in the following manner: KN L 7400 + 7402 + 8250.

The elements of the Linear B script

§ 71 The principal elements of the script are (1) syllabograms, (2) ideograms, (3) signs for weights and measures, (4) numerical signs.

§ 72 (1) The syllabograms are set out on p. 38, together with the arbitrary numbers which have been assigned to them and also the phonetic equivalents where these are securely established.

§ 73 Most often the syllabograms are put one after the other so as to form recognizable words of the kind identified by Ventris in the course of his decipherment. But they can also be used in two other ways: singly (§ 74) or as constituents of a monogram (§ 75).

§ 74 When a syllabogram is used in isolation, its function is *either* the ligature or adjunct of an ideogram (a function which is examined in §§ 77-78) *or* the abbreviation of a word. As appears from the following list, it is only rarely that the word thus abbreviated can be identified with certainty:

a: acts as ideogram, followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(PY).

a₂: acts as ideogram, followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(PY).

ai: abbreviation of ai-ka-na-jo (PY).

da: followed by numerals, especially in the KN and PY A tablets; it may represent the 'supervisor' of a work-force (cf. ta)(§ 201).

de: abbreviation of δεσμός (MY)

di: acts as ideogram, followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(PY).

du: acts as ideogram, followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(PY).

e: (i) followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(KN, PY);

(ii) abbreviation of e-ne-me-na (MY);

(iii) abbreviation of e-ra-pe-ja or e-ra-pi-ja (PY).






ka: acts as ideogram, followed by numeral 1 (meaning unknown)(PY).

LINEAR B SYLLABOGRAMS

*08 a 	*38 e 	*28 i 	*61 o 	*10 u 	*25 au 	*43 ai 	*85 au 	*18 y 	*83 y
*01 du 	*45 di 	*07 di 	*14 do 	*51 du 	*71 dwe 	*90 dwo 		*19 y 	*86 y
*57 ja 	*46 je 		*36 io 					*22 y 	*89 y
*77 ka 	*44 ke 	*67 ki 	*70 ko 	*81 ku 				*34 phi 	
*80 ma 	*13 me 	*73 mi 	*15 mo 	*23 mu 				*35 phi 	
*06 na 	*24 ne 	*30 ni 	*52 no 	*55 nu 	*48 nwa 			*47 y 	
*03 pa 	*72 pe 	*39 pi 	*11 po 	*50 pu 	*29 pu2 	*62 pte 		*49 y 	
*16 qa 	*78 qs 	*21 qi 	*32 qo 					*56 y 	
*60 ra 	*27 re 	*53 ri 	*02 ro 	*26 ru 	*76 ra2 	*33 ra3 	*68 ro2 	*63 y 	
*31 sa 	*09 se 	*41 si 	*12 so 	*58 su 				*64 y 	
*59 ta 	*04 te 	*37 ti 	*05 to 	*69 tu 	*66 ta2 	*87 twe 	*91 two 	*65 y 	
*54 wa 	*75 we 	*40 wi 	*42 wo 					*79 y 	
*17 za 	*74 ze 		*20 zo 					*82 y 	

- ki*: acts as ideogram (meaning unknown)(KN).
ko: (i) abbreviation of *ko-wo* (KN);
 (ii) abbreviation of *ko-ri-a₂-da-na* (KN, MY, PY);
 (iii) abbreviation of *ko-ru-to* (PY).
ku: abbreviation of *ku-mi-no* (MY).
ma: abbreviation of *ma-ra-tu-wo* (KN, MY, PY).
me: acts as ideogram, followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(PY).
mi: abbreviation of *mi-ta* (MY).
mo: abbreviation of *μόνφος* (vs. *ze ii*)(KN, PY).
mu: acts as ideogram (meaning unknown)(KN).
ni: acts as FIG ideogram (abbreviation of *νικύλεον*?)(KN, MY, PY).
o: (i) acts as ideogram (meaning unknown)(PY);
 (ii) abbreviation of *o-pa-wo-ta* (PY);
 (iii) abbreviation of *o-pe-ro* (most frequently)(KN, PY).
pa: (i) followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(KN, PY);
 (ii) abbreviation of *pa-ra-ja* or *pa-ra-jo* (KN);
 (iii) abbreviation of *pa-ra-wa-jo* (PY).
pe: (i) acts as ideogram (meaning unknown)(KN, MY, PY);
 (ii) abbreviation of *pe-ru-si-nu-wo* (KN).
po: followed by numerals (meaning unknown)(KN).
qo: followed by numeral 1 (meaning unknown)(KN).
ra: followed by numeral 1 (meaning unknown)(PY).
re: acts as ideogram (meaning unknown)(MY).
ri: acts as ideogram of weighed commodity (meaning unknown)(PY).
sa: (i) acts as ideogram for FLAX (KN, PY);
 (ii) abbreviation of *sa-sa-ma* (MY).
se: probably abbreviation of *se-to-i-ja* (KN).
ta: followed by numerals in KN and PY A tablets; it apparently represents the 'supervisor' of a work-force (cf. *da*).
u: followed by numeral 1 (meaning unknown)(PY).
we: abbreviation of *φέταλον*? (KN, PY).
wi: acts as ideogram (meaning unknown)(PY).
wo: acts as ideogram (meaning unknown)(PY).
ze: (i) acts as ideogram, apparently indicating amount of land (PY);
 (ii) abbreviation of *ζεῦγος* (vs. *mo*)(KN, PY).

§ 75 Two or three syllabograms are occasionally written as a single sign, or 'monogram', which then represents a word in its own right. The following monograms are known:

	KAPO	<i>ka + po:</i> καρποί 'fruits'
	KANAKO	<i>ka + na + ko:</i> κυνῶκος 'safflower'
	AREPA	<i>a + re + pa:</i> ἄλειψαρ 'ointment' (§ 289)
	MERI	<i>me + ri:</i> μέλι 'honey'
	TURO₂	<i>tu + ro₂:</i> τυρού 'cheeses'

§ 76 (2) The ideograms (or, more strictly, logograms) were in origin pictorial representations of persons, animals, or objects. Some of the Linear B ideograms are careful, and even detailed, drawings of objects; but many have degenerated into schematic sketches whose meaning cannot be made out if there is no satisfactory context. The commonest ideograms, with the numbers now assigned them, are illustrated on pages 42 and 43.

§ 77 Sometimes two ideograms are joined in a 'ligature': thus GOLD + DISH forms one sign in PY Tn 316 vs. 6. It is quite common for an ideogram to be ligatured with a syllabogram, for instance:































- a:* (i) ligatured with the OLIVE ideogram (KN);
- (ii) ligatured with the OIL ideogram (PY).
- ko:* ligatured with SKIN (PY).
- o:* ligatured with the BARLEY ideogram (KN, MY, PY).
- pa:* (i) ligatured with the CLOTH ideogram (KN);
- (ii) ligatured with the OIL ideogram (PY);
- (iii) ligatured with the CYPERUS ideogram (PY).
- po:* (i) ligatured with *211 (KN);
- (ii) ligatured with the OIL ideogram (PY).
- qa:* ligatured with the CYPERUS ideogram (KN).
- ri:* ligatured with the TUNIC ideogram (KN).
- si:* ligatured with the OX and PIG ideograms (PY).
- ta:* ligatured with the SHEEP ideogram (PY).
- te:* ligatured with the CLOTH ideogram (KN, PY) and with the WHEEL ideogram (PY).

§ 78 A syllabogram may be superimposed upon an ideogram to form a 'syllabic adjunct'. The commonest adjuncts are:



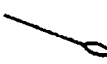


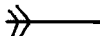




















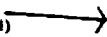



- a*: adjunct to the AMPHORA ideogram (KN).
ai: adjunct to the GOAT ideogram (KN).
de: adjunct to the WOMAN ideogram (KN).
di: (i) adjunct to the WOMAN ideogram (KN);
 (ii) adjunct to various ideograms representing vessels (KN).
e: adjunct to *177 (KN).
ka: (i) adjunct to STIRRUP-JAR (KN);
 (ii) adjunct to the PIG ideogram (PY).
ke: (i) adjunct to a vessel ideogram (KN);
 (ii) adjunct to FLAX (PY);
 (iii) adjunct to *189 (PY).
ki: (i) adjunct to the SHEEP and GOAT ideograms (KN);
 (ii) adjunct to TUNIC (KN).
ko: adjunct to the CLOTH ideogram (KN).
ku: (i) adjunct to the CLOTH ideogram (KN);
 (ii) adjunct to the CYPERUS ideogram (KN, MY).
me: adjunct to ideograms representing children (KN).
mi: adjunct to the CLOTH ideogram (KN).
ne: adjunct to women, children, and animals (abbreviation of *ne-wo* = *νῆφος?*)(KN).
pa: adjunct to women (KN).
pe: adjunct to the CLOTH, TUNIC, MAN, and WOMAN ideograms (KN).
po: adjunct to the CLOTH and MAN ideograms (KN).
pu: adjunct to the CLOTH ideogram (KN, PY).
qe: adjunct to the CORSLET ideogram (KN).
re: adjunct to the CLOTH ideogram (KN).
sa: adjunct to the SHEEP and GOAT ideograms (KN).
se: adjunct to *168 (KN).
su: adjunct to TREE (KN).
ta: adjunct to the OX ideogram (KN).
te: (i) adjunct to the MAN ideogram (KN);
 (ii) adjunct to the OIL ideogram (KN).
ti: adjunct to the OLIVE ideogram (KN, MY).
tu: adjunct to the WOMAN ideogram (abbreviation of *tu-ka-te* = *θύγά-τηρ?*)(KN).
u: adjunct to *212 (KN).
we: (i) adjunct to the OX ideogram (KN);
 (ii) adjunct to the OIL ideogram (MY, PY);
 (iii) adjunct to *166 (KN, PY).
wi: adjunct to *152 (PY).
za: adjunct to the SHEEP and WOMAN ideograms (KN).
zo: adjunct to the CLOTH ideogram (KN).

§ 79 (3) The signs for weights and measures are transliterated arbitrarily by means of capital letters. They are shown here in the order which the Linear B scribes adopted, with the larger quantities preceding the smaller (p. 44):

LINEAR B IDEOGRAMS

*100 MAN (VIR) 	*121 BARLEY (HORDEUM) 	*145 WOOL (LANA) 
*102 WOMAN (MULIER) 	*122 OLIVE (OLIVA) 	*151 HORN (CORNU) 
*104 DEER (CERVUS) 	*125 CYPERUS (CYPEROS) 	*153 
*105 HORSE (EQUUS) 	*129 FLOUR (FARINA) 	*155 RECEPTACLE 
*106 ^f EWE (OVIS ^f) 	*130 OIL (OLEUM) 	*158 
*106 ^m RAM (OVIS ^m) 	*131 WINE (VINUM) 	*159 CLOTH (TELA) 
*107 GOAT (CAPER) 	*140 BRONZE (AES) 	*162 TUNIC (TUNICA) 
*108 PIG (SUS) 	*141 GOLD (AURUM) 	*164 
*109 OX (BOS) 	*142 	*167 
*120 WHEAT (GRANUM) 	*144 CROCUS (CROCUS) 	*168 

LINEAR B IDEOGRAMS, continued

*173 MOON (LUNA) 	*209 AMPHORA 	*230 SPEAR (HASTA) 
*200 PAN 	*212 URN 	*231 ARROW (SAGITTA) 
*201 TRIPOD 	*213 DISH 	*232 
*202 JAR 	*214 CONTAINER 	*233 DAGGER (PUGIO) 
*203 PITHOS 	*215 TWO HANDLED GOBLET 	*240 WHEELED CHARIOT (BIGAE) 
*204 JUG 	*216 CUP 	*241 WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT (CURRUS) 
*205 JUGLET 	*218 ONE - HANDED GOBLET 	*242 CHARIOT (CAPSUS) 
*206 HYDRIA 	*227 RHYTON 	*243 WHEEL (ROTA) 
*207 TRIPOD HYDRIA 	*228 PAN 	*254 JAVELIN (JACULUM) 
*208 BOWL 	*229 LADLE 	*257 

Dry measure:

𐎠	T
---	---

𐎡	V
---	---

𐎢	Z
---	---

Liquid measure:

𐎣	S
---	---

𐎡	V
---	---

𐎢	Z
---	---

Weight:

𐎠𐎠	L
----	---

𐎡	M
---	---

𐎢	N
---	---

𐎣	P
---	---

𐎤	Q
---	---

Apart from L, which represents 'unity', each of these signs stands for a fractional quantity. 'Unity' itself is usually shown simply by the appropriate ideogram, followed by a numeral; thus 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 stands for 1 large measure of WHEAT, 5 measures of the second largest size, and 4 of the third largest.

§ 80 (4) Numerals are expressed according to a decimal system, and are written from left to right in descending order as follows:

𐎠 10000	𐎡 1000	𐎢 100	- 10	𐎣 1
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So, for example, 607 is written 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢, and 2630 is written 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢. (No fractions are written in the extant Linear B inscriptions).

Writing-habits

§ 81 Like Linear A, the Linear B script was written from left to right; but in matters of detail there is little similarity between the two systems. The appearance of Linear B texts is, on the whole, neater and more orderly than those written in Linear A. On Linear B tablets of the 'page' type (§ 64), scribes regularly separated different items by means of horizontal lines. A part, or even the whole, of one side of a tablet was sometimes ruled without ever being inscribed (e.g. KN V 1526). Texts were often divi-

ded into 'paragraphs' by leaving blank lines (e.g. PY An 657, Er 312, Un 718). The Linear B scribes rarely followed the Linear A practice of carrying over a word from one line to the next, but when space was short they finished a word in small characters above a line of writing (e.g. PY Jn 829.2, Tn 316 vs.3). Many, but not all, scribes used a word-divider: this nearly always consists of a small vertical stroke (on PY Cn 40.14 a horizontal one). On a few tablets (for example the Vd set at Knossos) the word-groups are separated into compartments by tall vertical lines. If necessary, an inscription was continued on the reverse of the tablet (e.g. PY Tn 316) or on the edge (e.g. KN Sd 4404). Variation in the size of the characters is a common feature of the Linear B tablets; sometimes (as on PY Tn 316) it is obvious that a word is written in large characters because it refers to the whole inscription, but in other cases the reason for the variation in size cannot now be ascertained. A check-mark in the form of a small cross, x, is found on a few inscriptions (e.g. KN V 280, PY An 594). Some tablets show clear traces of an earlier inscription which has been partially erased to make room for the corrected version: that applies, for instance, to most members of the Un set at Pylos. In their lighter moments, one or two scribes drew a sketch or doodle on the reverse side of the tablet (e.g. MY Oe 106, PY Cn 1287).

§ 82 Study of scribal hands in the great archives of Knossos and Pylos has now reached an advanced stage: forty-five different hands have been recognized at Pylos, and sixty-six at Knossos. Extensive research into scribal differences has facilitated the joining of many inscribed fragments.

The structure of the Linear B script: A. Sacconi *PP* 31 (1976) 48-65.

The Linear B archives: J. Chadwick *RF* 90 (1962) 337-358, *SM* 11-21; J.T. Hooker *Kadmos* 3 (1965) 114-121; C.G. Thomas *PP* 25 (1970) 301-311.

Find-places of the tablets. Knossos: L.R. Palmer and J. Boardman *On the Knossos tablets* (Oxford 1963). Pylos: E.L. Bennett *MS* 241-252; A. Sacconi *SMEA* 2 (1967) 94-102. Thebes: T.G. Spyropoulos and J. Chadwick *The Thebes tablets II* (Salamanca 1975).

Scribal hands. General: E.L. Bennett *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 295-309. Knossos: J.-P. Olivier *Les scribes de Knossos* (Rome 1967). Mycenae: E.L. Bennett in *The Mycenae tablets II* (Philadelphia 1958) 89-95. Pylos: E.L. Bennett *Athenaeum* 46 (1958) 328-333.

5 THE LANGUAGE OF THE LINEAR B TEXTS

The spelling rules

§ 83 The signs of the Linear B script to which syllabic values may be assigned with reasonable confidence are seventy-three in number, namely:

a	e	i	o	u	a ₂	ai	au
da	de	di	do	du	dwe	dwo	
ja	je		jo				
ka	ke	ki	ko	ku			
ma	me	mi	mo	mu			
na	ne	ni	no	nu	nwa		
pa	pe	pi	po	pu	pu ₂	pte	
qa	qe	qi	qo				
ra	re	ri	ro	ru	ra ₂	ra ₃	ro ₂
sa	se	si	so	su			
ta	te	ti	to	tu	ta ₂	twe	two
wa	we	wi	wo				
za	ze		zo				

§ 84 It will be observed that each sign represents an open syllable, namely a syllable consisting *either* of a vowel *or* of consonant + vowel *or* of consonant + consonant + vowel. When a syllable comprises vowel + consonant or consonant + vowel + consonant, the consonant which closes the syllable is usually ignored by the Linear B scribes: e.g. a-ku-ro = ἄργυρος, a-mo-ta = ἄρματα, a-pi = ἀμφί, e-ko = ἔγχος, ka-ko = χαλκός, pa-te = πάντες. But when a syllable consists of the sequence consonant + consonant + vowel, the usual practice is to express it as two syllables, the first containing an 'empty' or 'dead' vowel, which receives the colouring of the vowel

in the following syllable: e.g. *a-mi-ni-so* = Ἀμινίσος, *du-ru-to-mo* = δρυτόμος, *ko-no-so* = Κνωσός, *ku-ru-so* = χρυσός, *ku-su* = ξύν, *po-ro-* = πορ-. The spelling *qi-si-pe-e* for ξίφει is evidently anomalous.

§ 85 Although all five simple vowels are represented in the syllabary, the only diphthongs to have special signs are *ai* and *au*; and the syllabic sign for *ai* is used only rarely, most often the diphthong *au* being represented simply by *a*. Of the other diphthongs some, such as *eu*, have to be indicated by two signs, e.g. *qa-si-re-u* = βασιλεύς; some, such as *ou*, are written with the simple vowel, e.g. *o-no* = ὄνου. The script does not distinguish long from short vowels: a defect it shares with the earliest known Attic alphabet of classical Greek, which uses one sign for both short and long *e* and one for both short and long *o*. On the other hand, the Linear B syllabary provides equivalents which do not seem to be strictly necessary for a rendering of the Greek language. This is true especially of the signs transliterated *a*, and *ra*, signs which may mark the association of the *a*-vowel with a 'glide' sound (*aj*, *rja*) or with an aspirate (*ha*, *rha*). With this possible exception, aspiration or the lack of it is not marked anywhere in the system. Apart from the dentals (*da* etc., *ta* etc.), the script does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops. The failure to mark aspiration or the length of vowels, combined with the fact (noted in § 54) that there is only one set of signs for the *r* and the *l* series, can lead to serious ambiguity: for example, the sign conventionally transliterated *ke* can, in theory, represent any one of the six syllables *κε*, *κη*, *χε*, *χη*, *γε*, or *γη*; similarly, *pe* stands not only for *πε* but also for *πη*, *φε*, *φη*, *βε*, and *βη*; while the sign transliterated *re* spells *λε* and *λη* as well as *πε* and *πη*.

§ 86 Further ambiguities are apparent when it is considered exactly how the script renders Greek words. The two sounds *s* and *n* are not written at the end of a word: a practice which effectively obscures the case-endings of *a*-stem and *o*-stem nouns and adjectives: thus *to-so* stands not only for τόσος, masculine singular nominative, but also for τόσον, masculine singular accusative. In addition, *s* is normally not written when it precedes a stop: e.g. *e-ka-ra* = ἔσχαρα, *pa-ka-na* = πάσκανα, *pe-mo* = σπέρμο. The word *φάναξ* is represented by the spelling *wa-na-ka*, in which *-σ-* has been ignored and *-κ-* expanded by means of a 'dead' vowel (see further § 116).

§ 87 it is a widespread, but not invariable, practice of the Linear B scribes to insert a 'glide' when *i* or *u* is followed by a vowel. The 'glide' assumes the colouring of the preceding vowel, appearing as *j* when that vowel is *i* and as *w* when it is *u*:

<i>a-ni-ja</i>	ἀνία	<i>ku-wa-no</i>	κύφανος
<i>i-je-re-u</i>	ἱερεὺς	<i>tu-we-a</i>	θύεα
<i>i-jo-te</i>	ἰόντες		
<i>po-ti-ni-ja</i>	πότινια		

Sometimes *i-e-re-u* is found instead of *i-je-re-u*. Another possible example of a 'glide' which is sometimes written and sometimes omitted is seen in the alternation between the prefixes *o-* and *jo-* (§ 130).¹

Phonology

§ 88 So far as the sounds represented by Linear B are concerned, the decipherment of the script has enabled us to catch glimpses (if no more) of a much earlier stage in the development of the Greek language than was previously possible. Four important features call for comment:

§ 89 The Linear B scribes fairly consistently use the *w*-series to indicate the presence of the 'digamma' or 'vau'. This sound, pronounced like English *w* or *v*, had disappeared from some dialects by the beginning of the historical period; but in others it was still written (Ϝ), and in any case it is known to have been present in a number of Greek words, partly on the evidence of cognate words in other Indo-European languages, partly because the assumption of its presence enables us to account for the scansion of many Homeric verses.

§ 90 Firmly established examples of words containing digamma in the Linear B texts are: *di-wo* = Διφός 'of Zeus'; *ko-wo* = κόρφος 'son, boy'; *ne-wo* = νέφος 'new'; *-wi-de* = -φίδε '(he) saw'; *ra-wo-* = ῥᾱφο- 'people'; *wa-na-ka* = φᾶναξ 'lord'; *wa-tu* = φᾶστν 'town'; *we-to* = φέτος 'year'.

§ 91 Spellings such as these cause no surprise. It could have been predicted that all of the words in question still contained the digamma in the Late Bronze Age.

§ 92 The presence of a digamma in the comparative adjective μέων was, however, unexpected. In historical Greek, this word retains no trace of a digamma; yet the Linear B spelling varies between *me-u-jo* and *me-wi-jo*, both spellings pointing clearly to the original presence of digamma between the vowels.

¹ Alphabetic Greek too occasionally indicated in writing the glide-sound of the spoken language: E. Schwyzler *Griechische Grammatik* I (Munich 1953) 202.

§ 93 The digamma in μελων, though unpredictable, does not actually conflict with any later witness. The spelling e-ne-ka, on the other hand, is impossible to reconcile with the traditional etymology of this word. Before Ventris' decipherment, ἔνεκα was usually analysed into the elements ἔν and κέκα, the second being the stem of (κ)έκων 'willing'. Confronted by the Linear B spelling, which shows no trace of the expected digamma, *either* we must say that the traditional derivation is erroneous (and indeed it is not easy to see how ἔνεκα, in its attested meaning, could ever have arisen from the juxtaposition of ἔν and *κέκα), *or* we must invent a spelling rule for Linear B to account for this one instance and assume that, in certain circumstances, w was not rendered in the script if it was in immediate contact with n. If the first choice is made, the 'diphthong' in Homeric ἐνεκα will be seen not as Ionic vowel-lengthening before v + κ but as a case of 'metrical' lengthening.¹

§ 94 With another word also the Mycenaean evidence has shown the traditional etymology to be false. The god's name which is spelt Ποσειδῶν in Attic and Ποσειδάων in Homer was usually seen as the reflexion of an original form with digamma, namely Ποσειδάφων: an etymology which seemed unassailable in view of the occurrence of Ποσειδάφονι and Ποσειδάφονος in the Doric dialect of Corinthia.² But the name is spelt po-se-da-o in the Linear B tablets at Pylos. This spelling disposes of the accepted etymology and makes it necessary to regard the Corinthian forms as innovations, in which the digamma was introduced by analogy.

§ 95 (2) A class of sounds which had changed into others by the classical period but which must have existed at earlier stages of Greek consists of 'labio-velars' (velar sounds pronounced with rounding of the lips). From the evidence of other Indo-European languages, for example Latin, it has long been established that some of the b, d, p, ph, t, and th sounds of classical Greek had descended from labio-velars. A long list of correspondences could be made to show that Latin either retained the labio-velar or developed it in a direction different from that taken by Greek. For example:

¹ Cf. W.F. Wyatt *Metrical lengthening in Homer* (Rome 1969) 88-89.

² F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* II (Berlin 1923) 218.

Developments of I-E $*k^w$:

<i>quis?</i>	τίς;
<i>-que</i>	τε
<i>quo?</i>	ποῦ;
<i>sequor</i>	ἔπομαι
<i>linguo</i>	λείπω

Developments of I-E $*g^w$:

<i>venio</i>	βαίνω
<i>vivus</i>	βίος

§ 96 From these comparisons, and many others like them that could be made, we can deduce that generally in Greek: (i) the labio-velar $*k^w$ develops into the unvoiced labial π before the back vowels o and ω and into the unvoiced dental τ before the front vowels ε and ι; (ii) the labio-velar $*g^w$ develops into the voiced labial β, but into the voiced dental δ before ε (e.g. ἄ-δελφός from $*g^w elbh-$). Before the decipherment of the Linear B script, it was completely unknown when the change from labio-velars to these other sounds had taken place. The discovery that the script had a separate series of signs (conventionally transliterated *qa*, *qe*, *qi*, *qo*) to represent the labio-velars shows that these were still pronounced as labio-velars in Mycenaean times or, at the very least, that they were regarded as different in origin from the sounds represented by the labial and dental series. Clear examples are: *e-qe-ta* = ἐπέτας (< $*ēk^w étās$); *mo-qo-so* = Μόσος (< $*Mók^w sos$); *qa-si-re-u* = βασιλεύς (< $*γ^w ασιλεύς$); *-qe* = τε (< $*k^w ε$).

§ 97 There are two exceptions to the general principle that labio-velars were still represented as such in the Linear B script: (i) as in later Greek, when a labio-velar is in contact with u, it becomes a simple velar, e.g. *e-u-ke-to* = εὔχεται (not *e-u-qe-to*); (ii) occasionally, when two labio-velars are present in the same word, one of them is dissimilated, for instance two different spellings of what is evidently the same word appear in the Pylos tablets: *qe-re-qo-ta-o* and *pe-re-qo-ta*.

§ 98 As with the digamma, so with the labio-velar series the decipherment has produced some unexpected spellings. For example, the temporal conjunction ὅτε used to be analysed as neuter pronoun ὅ + 'generalizing' τε (as found in ὥστε etc.). The discovery of *o-te* at Pylos (§§ 160, 234), which can hardly represent anything other than ὅτε, suggests that neither part of the analysis is correct, since ὅ would probably have been written jo in Linear B, while (as we saw in § 96) τε appears as *-qe*.

§ 99 The Linear B spelling *i-qo* for ἵππος is anomalous. The *-π-* of ἵππος is derived not from the Indo-European labio-velar $*k^w$, which would have produced $*ḥ$ πος, but from two separate sounds *k* + *w*.

Though linguistically indefensible, the Linear B spelling may indicate that in Mycenaean times the descendants of $*k^w$ and of $*k + *w$ were pronounced in so similar a fashion that the same series of graphic signs could serve for both of them.

§ 100 (3) The script possessed a series of signs conventionally rendered *za, ze, zo*. These signs represent stops which were originally 'palatalized', that is, pronounced with a palatalized glide: *kja, gja, dja*, and so on for the other vowels. We cannot, of course, tell whether these sounds were still pronounced as palatals in the Mycenaean period. As will be seen from the following examples, the sounds represented by the Linear B *z*-series often resulted in classical ζ: *ka-zo-e* = κάκιο(ν)ες (classical κακίονες); *me-zo-e* = μέγιο(ν)ες (classical μέζονες); *to-pe-za* = τóρπεδα (dialectal τóρπεζα, Attic τράπεζα); *za-we-te* = κιάφειτες (Ionic σήτες).

§ 101 (4) The most important innovation, in contrast to the archaisms already noted, is seen in the treatment of original $*ti$, especially at the end of a word. The original sequence *tu* was retained intact in West Greek dialects, but in East Greek it became *su*. Before the decipherment of Linear B, it was unknown when this change took place in the East Greek dialects. Since the script everywhere shows final *-si*, never final *-ti*, the change must have taken place at least as early as 1400. Very clear examples come in the third person of verbs:

sing. *di-do-si* = δίδουσι (> δίδουσσι)(West Greek δίδοντι);
 plur. *e-e-si* = ἐένσι (> εἰσί)(West Greek ἐντί);
 plur. *e-ko-si* = ἔχουσι (> ἔχουσσι)(West Greek ἔχοντι);
 sing. *pa-si* = πασί (West Greek πατί).

§ 102 Two non-verbal forms also give evidence of a change from *t* to *s*: (i) *po-si* = ποσί, which is not actually attested in historical Greek but which may be inferred from East Greek (Arcadian) πός (vs. West Greek ποτί); (ii) *po-se-da-o* = Ποσειδάων (vs. West Greek Ποτελδών).

Morphology

§ 103 (1) The declension of nouns in vowel-stems is well attested in the Linear B texts. In most respects, they are declined exactly as would have been expected, within the spelling rules already established. Some clear examples of the case-forms are first given; and those which give rise to special difficulty or are of special interest are discussed afterwards:

a-stems: feminine

sing.:	nominative	ko-wa	κόρφα
	accusative	ki-ri-ta	κρίθᾱν
	genitive	ko-to-na	κοτόνᾱς
	dative		
	instrumental		
dual:	nominative	to-pe-zo	{τορπέζω? τορπέζοι?
plur.:	nominative	a-ni-ja	ἄνῃαι
	accusative	ai-ka-sa-ma	αἰξμάνας
	genitive	ko-to-na-o	κοτοινᾱων
	dative		
	instrumental	a-ni-ja-pi	ἄνῃᾱφι

o-stems: masculine

neuter

sing.:	nominative	ko-wo	κόρφος	e-ra ₃ -wo	ἐλαῖφον
	accusative	do-so-mo	δοσμόν	ri-no	λίνον
	genitive	te-o-jo	θεοῖο		
	dative	da-mo	δάμωι		
	instrumental	ka-ko	χαλκῶι		
dual:	nominative	po-ro	πῶλω		
plur.:	nominative	i-qo	ἱπποι	pa-ka-na	πάσγανα
	accusative	si-a ₂ -ro	σίαλونس	o-na-ta	ὄνᾱτα
	genitive	a-ne-mo	ἀνέμων		
	dative	do-e-ro-i	δοέλο-ι		
	instrumental	de-so-mo	δεσμοῖς		

§ 104 (i) The genitive singular of o-stems usually ends in -o-jo, a form of great interest, showing that the Indo-European ending *-osyo had developed to -oyo in Mycenaean Greek. (This archaic genitive singular in -oio is common in Homer, who also uses forms in -oo and in -ou). Spellings such as *du-ni-jo*, *si-ri-jo*, and *te-o*, instead of *du-ni-jo-jo*, *si-ri-jo-jo*, and *te-o-jo* respectively, may arise from scribal error or may reflect the existence of an 'ablative' genitive ending in -o.

§ 105 (ii) In the plural, separate forms are used for the dative and the instrumental. So far as o-stems are concerned, the instrumental plural ending is -o, which can represent nothing but -οις. The dative plural ending is -o-i; but this is not easy to interpret, and even now there is no consensus of opinion as to its Greek equivalent. It is known that among the Greek dialects both -οις and -οισι are used for the dative and the instrumental indifferently, and there can

be little doubt that the ending spelt -o-i in Linear B became -οιου in later times; but -o-i cannot itself represent -οιου, nor is it satisfactory to suppose that it represents -οις. Although it is often supposed that -o-i is simply a spelling of -οιη, this theory gives rise to historical problems: in particular, it is not easy to imagine why the postulated -h- was replaced by -σ-.

§ 106 (iii) The ending -pi in the plural of a-stems is the same suffix which is found in Homer (-φι) and which descends from Indo-European *-bhis. But its use is more restricted in Mycenaean Greek than in Homer. While Homer often attaches -φι to nouns in the singular, the Linear B scribes use it mostly with plurals, and with plurals of a-stem or consonant-stem nouns. Mycenaean is, however, similar to Homeric Greek in that it uses -pi not only in a strictly 'instrumental' sense but also as an ablative or locative.

§ 107 (iv) A surprising form is found in the dual of the feminine, e.g. to-pe-zo 'two tables'. Two different views have been taken of this formation. Either original *-αι has been changed to -ω by analogy with the ending of the masculine dual (Hesiod's καλυφάμενω at *Erga* 198 is quoted in support of this view); or the Linear B -o stands not for -ω but for -ου, which is postulated as the original ending of the dual.

§ 108 Examples of the declension of masculine a-stems are furnished by the following forms:

sing.:	nominative	e-ge-ta	ἐπέτας
	genitive	su-go-ta-o	συβώταο
	dative	ra-wa-ke-ta	λαφαγέται
dual:	nominative	e-ge-ta-e	ἐπέταε
plur.:	nominative	e-ge-ta	ἐπέται
	genitive	e-re-ta-o	ἐρετάων
	dative	e-ge-ta-i	ἐπέται

In this declension, it is remarkable that not only the genitive plural but also the genitive singular ends in -a-o: a fact which casts serious doubt on the traditional view that the -ου ending of the genitive singular in later Greek (e.g. Attic ναυλού) was formed on the model of the -oo of the o-stem genitive. It is worth noting, further, that this declension has borrowed a dual ending -e from the consonant stems.

§ 109 (2) The importance of Greek nouns in -eus for the decipherment of Linear B has already been pointed out (§ 56), and only the outlines of the declension are presented here:

sing.:	nominative	<i>i-je-re-u</i>	ἱερεύς
	genitive	<i>i-je-re-wo</i>	ἱερῆφος
dual:	nominative	<i>a-(pi-)po-re-we</i>	ἄμ(φ)φορῆφε
plur.:	nominative	<i>ka-ke-we</i>	χαλκῆφες
	dative	<i>ka-ke-u-si</i>	χαλκεῦσι
	instrumental	<i>ku-te-re-u-pi</i>	†Κυθηρεῦφι?

§ 110 Among examples of other diphthong-stems, the most important are two oblique cases of Ζεύς: *di-wo* = Διφός (genitive); *di-we* = Διφέλ (dative).

§ 111 The dative singular *i-je-we* appears to be a heteroclite form of the word for 'son', (υ)ῖός; but the whole question of the representation of words for 'son' in Linear B is very complex.

§ 112 *go-o* must represent some form of βοῦς, showing the expected spelling with a labio-velar (it is known that βοῦς is derived from a stem beginning with *g^wo-). Mycenaean *go-o* may stand for nominative singular g^wōs or accusative plural g^wōns (which likewise became βοῦς in Attic as the result of regular sound-changes). The spelling in Linear B with doubled o is inexplicable; it may be taken either as a scribal error or as an isolated representation of vowel-length or as an avoidance of spelling a word as a monosyllable in case it was confused with an ideographic sign.

§ 113 (3) Neuters in both -os and -as are represented by some certain examples, which in the dual and plural show the uncontracted forms that would have been expected:

sing.:	nominative	<i>te-me-no</i>	τέμενος		<i>di-pa</i>	δέπας? ¹
	accusative	<i>we-to</i>	φέτος			
	dative	<i>we-te-i</i>	φέτελ			
dual:	nominative	<i>qi-si-pe-e</i>	ξύφεε		<i>ke-ra-e</i>	κέραε
plur.:	nominative				<i>ke-ra-a</i>	κέραα
	accusative				<i>tu-we-a</i>	θύφεα
	instrumental				<i>pa-we-pi</i>	πάρφεφι

¹ For the i/e variation see § 167.

§ 114 (4) The extant forms do not allow the construction of the full declension of stems in liquids and nasals, but the following forms suffice to show that the type was declined along predictable lines:

sing.:	nominative	<i>ma-te</i>	μάτηρ		<i>po-me</i>	ποιμήν
	genitive				<i>po-me-no</i>	ποιμένος
	dative				<i>po-me-ne</i>	ποιμένει
plur.:	nominative				<i>po-me-ne</i>	ποιμένες
	dative	<i>pi-ri-e-te-si</i>σι			

Only one observation need be made on this table. The dative singular most often ends in *-e*, as *po-me-ne* does here; but examples of dative singular in *-i* are found as well, especially with the name of Poseidon, which varies between *po-se-da-o-ne* and *po-se-da-on-i*. The same variation is found in the declension of stems ending in a stop. The Indo-European dative/locative singular ending is **-ei*, which is replaced by *-ι* generally in historical Greek, although traces of a dative in *-ει* are still found (e.g. ἐκεῖ, Διφείφιλος). The two Linear B spellings may therefore represent the old and the new form respectively.

§ 115 (5) The following table represents the principal types of masculine nouns (except *wa-na-ka*) whose stem ends in a stop:

sing.:	nominative	<i>ti-ri-po</i>	τρίπως		<i>e-re-pa</i>	ἐλέφας
	genitive				<i>e-re-pa-to</i>	ἐλέφαντος
	dative	<i>po-de</i>	ποδεί		<i>e-re-pa-te</i>	ἐλεφάντει
dual:	nominative	<i>ti-ri-po-de</i>	τρίποδε			
plur.:	nominative	<i>du-ma-te</i>	...-τες			
	instrumental	<i>po-pi</i>	πό(π)φι			

In the instrumental plural *po-pi*, the ending of the stem *ποδ-* meaning 'foot' has been assimilated to the stop of the ending *-φι*.

§ 116 Following are the attested forms of *wa-na-ka*:

sing.:	nominative	<i>wa-na-ka</i>	φάναξ
	genitive	<i>wa-na-ka-to</i>	φάνακτος
	dative	<i>wa-na-ka-te</i> or <i>wa-na-ke-te</i>	φανάκει

wa-na-ka-to and *wa-na-ka-te* exhibit anomalous spellings. According to the usual practice (§ 84), the vowel of the 'dead' syllable is brought into harmony with the following vowel, so that **wa-na-ko-to*

and *wa-na-ke-te* respectively would have been predicted. It is likely that the scribes modelled the whole declension on the nominative *wa-na-ka* (§ 86); and the same explanation probably holds good for the spelling of the adjective *wa-na-ka-te-ro* (§ 142).

§ 117 Neuter nouns are represented by the following:

sing.:	nominative	<i>pe-ma</i> σπέρμα/ <i>pe-mo</i> σπέρμο	<i>a-mo</i> ἄρμο
dual:	nominative		<i>a-mo-te</i> ἄρμοτε
plur.:	nominative		<i>a-mo-ta</i> ἄρμοτα
	dative		<i>a-mo-si</i> ἄρμοσι

The variation between *pe-ma* and *pe-mo* can hardly be explained, except on the hypothesis that different dialects have left traces in our inscriptions (§ 167). In later Greek, of course, only σπέρμα and ἄρμα respectively are found.

§ 118 (6) Four comparative adjectives are found in our texts, namely *me-zo* 'larger', *me-u-jo/me-wi-jo* 'smaller', *a-ro*, 'better, superior', and *ka-zo* 'worse, inferior' (*a-ro*, and *ka-zo* are not actually attested, but their existence may be inferred):

masculine/feminine				neuter	
sing.:	nominative	<i>me-zo</i>	μέζων/-ως?		
dual:	nominative	<i>me-zo-e</i>	μέζοε	<i>me-zo-e</i>	μέζοε
plur.:	nominative	<i>me-zo-e</i>	μέζοες	<i>me-zo-a</i> , ₂	μέζοα?
sing.:	nominative	{ <i>me-u-jo</i> <i>me-wi-jo</i> }	μείων/-ως?	<i>me-wi-jo</i>	μεῖον
dual:	nominative	<i>me-wi-jo-e</i>	μεῖοε		
plur.:	nominative	{ <i>me-u-jo-e</i> <i>me-wi-jo-e</i> }	μεῖοες	<i>me-u-jo-a</i> , ₂	μεῖοα?
sing.:	genitive	<i>a-ro</i> , ₂ -jo	ἀρῖοος?		
plur.:	nominative	<i>a-ro</i> , ₂ -e	ἀρῖοες	<i>a-ro</i> , ₂ -a	ἀρῖοα?
plur.:	nominative	<i>ka-zo-e</i>	κακῖοες		

§ 119 Although the extant texts show the use of -τερος in the formation of adjectives (§ 142), this suffix does not function as a comparative termination. The Mycenaean comparative is formed with the suffix *-yo(s)-, which in later Greek produces the declension in -ών, -όνοσ, e.g. ἡδών and Ionic μέζων.¹ The latter is formed

¹ The -ει- of Attic μεῖζων was introduced by analogy with other comparatives such as μεῖων and χεῖρων.

from the stem *μεγ-* 'large' and the comparative suffix *-yw*; the sound produced by the coalescence of *g* and *y* being spelt *z*, as in the Mycenaean comparative *ka-zo*. Unlike later Greek, Mycenaean shows no trace of *-n-* in the declension; so it must remain unclear whether the nominative singular *me-zo* represents *μέζων* or *μέζως*.

§ 120 The table in § 118 gives the probable equivalents of *a-ro₂-jo* etc.: Mycenaean presents a form *ἀρίων* (or *ἀρίως*), which in later Greek is re-fashioned as *ἀρέων*. (The variation between *me-u-jo* and *me-wi-jo* is purely scribal: compare *di-u-jo* ~ *di-wi-jo*).

§ 121 (7) Only two personal pronouns are certainly attested: *-mi* = *μιν* (3rd singular accusative masculine/feminine) and *pe-i* = *σφεις* (Arcadian 3rd plural dative masculine/feminine).

§ 122 (8) Some words are formed with the demonstrative stem *to-*:
to-so = *τόσ(σ)ος* 'so much';
to-so-de = *τόσ(σ)όσδε* (with emphatic suffix), same meaning;
to-so-ne = *τόσ(σ)όνε* (with deictic suffix?), same meaning;
to-to, nominative sing. neuter (perhaps from an original **todtod*);
to-e and *tome*, dative sing. (?) of the demonstrative pronoun;
to-jo = *τοῖο*, genitive sing. of the demonstrative pronoun.

§ 123 (9) Six only of the cardinal numerals are unambiguously attested:

- 1: *e-me*, dative: an archaic form reflecting Greek *ἐμέ* (with the stem which was originally **sem-*, still seen in Latin *semel*); by historical times the *m* had been replaced by *n*, as in *ἐνέ*.
- 2: *dwo*, accusative; *du-wo-u-pi*, instrumental. These forms may represent an original variation (Indo-European **dwō* ~ **duwō*).
- 3: *ti-ri-si* = *τρις*; *ti-ri-* = *τρι-* in compounds.
- 4: *ge-to-ro-* in compounds: the form faithfully reflects the original labio-velar at the beginning (cf. Latin *quattuor*). The third syllable shows that in the Mycenaean dialect an original syllabic *r* had developed to *ro*, whereas in Attic it became *ar* (*τέτταρες*) (cf. Mycenaean *to-pe-za* = *τόρπεζα* vs. Attic *τράπεζα*).
- 6: *we-* in the compound *we-pe-za* (*φέκ-πεζα*).
- 9: *e-ne-wo-* = *ἐννεφο-* in compounds.

§ 124 (10) The Linear B inscriptions, by their very nature, contain only a limited range of verbal forms. There are no occurrences of the first or second person or of the subjunctive, optative, or imperative. The only tenses certainly used are the present, future, aorist, and perfect. But, even within the compass of the available evidence, there are some verbal forms which give valuable information about the state of the Greek language in the Late Bronze Age (§ 125).

§ 125 List of well-attested verbal forms:

(Attic
present)

ἀγέλω	a-ke-re = ἀγέλω (3 sing. act. pres.).
ἀραρίσκω	a-ra-ru-ja = ἀραρίσκα (perf. act. part. fem. sing.); a-ra-ru-wo-a = ἀραρίσκα (perf. act. part. neut. plur.).
δέω	de-de-me-no = δεδεμένος (perf. pass. part. masc. sing.).
δέχομαι	de-ka-sa-to = δέξατο (3 sing. mid. aor.).
δίδωμι	di-do-si = δίδονσι (3 plur. act. pres.); di-do-to = δίδοντο (3 plur. pass. pres.); do-se = δώσει (3 sing. act. fut.); do-so-si = δώσουσι (3 plur. act. fut.); -do-ke = -δῶκε (3 sing. act. aor.); de-do-me-na = δεδομένα (perf. pass. part. neut. plur.).
εἰμί	e-e-si = ἔεισι (3 plur. pres.); e-o = ἔών (pres. part. masc. sing.).
εὐχομαι	e-u-ke-to = εὐχεται (3 sing. mid. pres.).
ἔχω	e-ke = ἔχει (3 sing. act. pres.); e-ko-si = ἔχουσι (3 plur. act. pres.); e-ko = ἔχων (pres. part. masc. sing.); e-ko-te = ἔχοντες (pres. part. masc. plur.); e-ke-e = ἔχεν (pres. act. inf.).
ὀράω	-wi-de = -φύδε (3 sing. act. aor.).
τίθημι	te-ke = θῆκε (3 sing. act. aor.).
φημί	pa-si = φασί (3 sing. act. pres.).

§ 126 As we would expect, active infinitives and participles are not yet contracted: thus the participle e-o stands for ἔών (Homeric; later ὦν) and the infinitive e-ke-e spells ἔχεν (later ἔχειν).

§ 127 A suggestion first made before the decipherment finds support in the medio-passive forms e-u-ke-to and di-do-to. It has long been known that in the Arcadian dialect of historical times the medio-passive ending was -το/-ντο, in contrast to the -ται/-νται of other dialects. This -το was assumed to be the result of a secondary development from -ται in that dialect alone, until in 1952 Ruipérez suggested that Greek had inherited -το from Indo-European and that Arcadian had preserved this feature, while the remaining dialects had introduced -ται by analogy with other medio-passive endings.

§ 128 In two areas the decipherment has produced verbal forms which are surprising and which could not have been predicted:

(i) The perfect participle (with intransitive meaning) ending in -u-ja represents the feminine form in -υῖα. As was seen in § 57,

this is one of the striking correspondences which persuaded Ventris that the language he was dealing with contained at least some elements of Greek. But the neuter plural *a-ra-ru-wo-a*, while it too is recognizably Greek, differs in an important respect from the classical formation, for it ends in *-όα*, not *-ότα*. The Mycenaean form shows that the *-τ-* which appears in the declension in historical times was introduced after the end of the Bronze Age.

(ii) The augment presents one of the standing problems in the morphology of the Indo-European verb. The facts are clear, but an explanation of them still escapes us. The verbal augment in historic tenses is found in only a small number of languages, including Greek, Avestan, and Vedic. In Avestan and Vedic, as in Greek, the augment is not an indispensable part of the verb; it seems possible to include it or to omit it at will, especially for metrical reasons. Before Ventris' decipherment, it might have been thought that the augment was an integral part of the Greek verbal system but that the literary or poetical language used by Homer tolerated its omission. The Mycenaean evidence shows that such a view is incorrect. The forms displayed in our inscriptions show that the augment is usually omitted: in fact, there is only one occurrence of a historic verb which possibly contains an augment, namely *a-pe-do-ke* (ἀπέδωκε?), and even this is written elsewhere without augment: *a-pu-do-ke* (ἀπύδωκε). So it is impossible to assert any longer that the omission of the augment is a purely poetical phenomenon, since it is the normal procedure in these highly prosaic texts. It seems that the alternation between augmented and augmentless forms, previously thought to be characteristic of Homer's language, represents a feature of Common Greek.

§ 129 (11) The following adverb-prepositions known from classical Greek appear in Mycenaean:

a-pi = ἀμφί 'on both sides', especially in compounds, e.g. *a-pi-e-ke* = ἀμφιέχει.

a-pu = ἀπύ 'off, away', the Aeolic/Arcado-Cypriot form (Attic ἀπό).

e-ne-ka = ἐνεκα (with genitive) (§§ 93, 203).

e-n- = ἐν (only in the compound *e-ne-e-si* = ἐνέεισι).

e-pi (ἐπί), and more commonly *o-pi* (ὀπί), are found both in compound and as independent words; ὀπί occurs sporadically in later Greek.

ku-su (ξύς) and *me-ta* (μετά), with dative, 'together with'.

pa-ro with dative is used like later παρά. Its sense is probably 'from'; but it may mean 'at' in some contexts.

pe-da with accusative, '(motion) to': πεδά is found in Aeolic and in some Doric dialects.

pe-ri- and *po-ro-* represent περι- and προ- respectively (only in compound).

po-si corresponds in meaning to *πρός*. Its function is that of an adverb, 'upon'.

u-po (*ὕπό*) is used as an adverb, 'beneath'.

§ 130 (12) Prefixes and suffixes. Some twenty Linear B inscriptions begin with proclitic *o-* or *jo-*: in all but one, the *o-* or *jo-* is spelt as part of the first word. Nearly always the word prefixed by *o-/jo-* is a main verb; or, to put it more accurately, the presence of *o-/jo-* brings the main verb to the beginning of the sentence. The variation between *o-* and *jo-* is purely scribal: the two forms do not differ in meaning. They are most often explained as spellings of a relative (*ὤς* or *ὅ*) or demonstrative (*ὥς*); but in fact the Mycenaean usage is not closely paralleled by anything in later Greek. Whatever the correct explanation, the function of *o-/jo-* is plain enough: it serves as an introductory particle, not only of one inscription but sometimes of a whole set of texts (§§ 207, 229).

§ 131 Three words seem to be extensions of 'introductory' *o-*: *o-a₂*, *o-da-a₂*, and *o-de-qa-a₂*. Of these, the first and third occur once only and appear to be mere variants of *o-da-a₂*. The function of all three is that of introducing a new 'paragraph' within the body of an inscription.

§ 132 The negatives *o-u-* (*οὐ-*) and *o-u-ki-* (*οὐκ-*) are written as part of the following word. *o-u-ge* (*οὐτε*) is also found.

§ 133 Among the Mycenaean suffixes, *-de* (spelt as part of the preceding word) functions very much as in later Greek. It is used: (i) as the adversative particle *δέ*; (ii) as the deictic suffix (in *to-so-de* etc.); (iii) as the 'allative' suffix *-δε* indicating place 'to which'. The allative use of the *-de* suffix is widespread in the Linear B texts. Much rarer, though of reasonably certain occurrence, is the adverbial suffix *-te* (*-θεν*), indicating place 'from which', e.g. *a-po-te-ro-te* = ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

§ 134 *-ge*, written as part of the preceding word, is used like *τε* in later Greek as a copulative particle to connect words or sentences; on occasion, *-ge....-ge....* is found, corresponding to *τε....τε....* (For *o-u-ge*, see § 132). In the E tablets from Pylos, *-ge* is attached to *e-ke* (*ἔχει*) and to *e-ko-si* (*ἔχονσι*) in circumstances which make its interpretation as a copula impossible. Furthermore, the presence of *-ge* in these texts disturbs the word-order without bringing about any perceptible change of meaning. These facts suggest that in the E series *-ge* represents a particle different from *τε* as it is used in later times.

Word-formation

§ 135 Only the salient points will be noted here; the subject is dealt with further in §§ 142-151.

§ 136 (1) Nouns in *-e-u* and *-e-ja*. Nouns (particularly personal names) in *-e-u* (*-εύς*) are plentiful in the Linear B texts, and sometimes their feminine counterparts are found:

i-je-re-u = ἱερεύς 'priest': *i-je-re-ja* = ἱέρεια 'priestess'
ke-ra-me-u = κεραμεύς 'potter': *ke-ra-me-ja* = Κεράμεια 'female potter', as personal name

The opposition between these masculine and feminine forms is a typically Greek feature; the absence of *-w-* before *-ja* in Linear B can perhaps be explained by supposing that in the ending **-εϝα* / **-ηϝα* the group *-ϝy-* developed to *-yy-*.

§ 137 (2) Agent-nouns. Agent-nouns in both *-τηρ* and *-τᾱς* are represented in the Linear B documents.

§ 138 Of the fifteen or so Mycenaean nouns ending in *-te* (*-τηρ*), only very few are susceptible of interpretation so far as their stem is concerned: e.g. *i-ja-te* = ἰᾱτήρ 'doctor'. The official title *ko-re-te* certainly belongs to this class; but no convincing explanation has yet been found for the *ko-re-* element. The feminine equivalent is represented by some plural nouns ending in *-i-ra*, for example *a-ke-ti-ra*, and *ra-pi-ti-ra*.

§ 139 Examples of the second type, ending in *-ta* (*-τᾱς*, Attic-Ionic *-της*), are: *ai-ki-pa-ta* = αἰγυ... 'goatherd'; *e-ge-ta* = ἐπέτᾱς 'follower'; *e-re-ta* = ἐρέτᾱς 'rower'; *ku-na-ke-ta-i* = κυνᾱγέτᾱι (dative) 'hunter'; *go-u-go-ta* = βουβότᾱς 'cowherd'; *ra-wa-ke-ta* = λαῖϝᾱγέτᾱς 'leader of the people'; *su-go-ta* = συβώτᾱς 'swineherd'; *to-ko-so-ta* τοξότᾱς 'bowman'.

§ 140 (3) Nouns in *-i-ko*. It is unfortunate that the ending *-i-ko*, which is found in some twenty Mycenaean words, could stand equally well for *-ικός*, *-ίσκος*, or *ιχος*. A fairly certain example of the last is seen in the personal name *ma-ni-ko* = Μάνιχος? In *ti-ri-po-di-ko*, however, the ending probably represents the diminutive *-ισκ-*: τριποδίσκοι 'small tripods'. It remains uncertain whether *-ικός* is ever found: for instance, there is nothing to tell whether the woman's name *ta-ra-mi-ka* spells θαλαμικᾱ́ or θαλαμίσκᾱ.

§ 141 (4) Adjectives with the suffix *-we/-we-sa*. Mycenaean inherited the suffix **-ϝεντ*, and attached it directly to the stem of a

noun so as to produce an adjective meaning 'provided with': in later Greek, the ending *-*fevt-s* was simplified to -*εις*. The feminine ending was originally *-*wnt-ya*/*-*wet-ya*, which by the Mycenaean period had become -*φεσσα*, spelt in Linear B as -*we-sa*. The suffix -*fevt-s*/*-φεσσα* is seen in four important classes of tablets (in most cases the stem to which it is attached being difficult, or impossible, to identify):

(i) Neuter words describing *e-ra₃-wo* (ἐλαίον 'olive oil'): *e-ti-we*, *ku-pa-ro-we*, *pa-ko-we*, *wo-do-we*. The following correspondences have been suggested for the last three words respectively: *κυπαρόφεν* 'mixed with cyperus'; *σφακόφεν* 'mixed with sage'; *φορδόφεν* 'rose-scented'. (PY Fr).

(ii) Neuter plural adjectives describing *a-mo-ta* (ἄμωτα 'wheels'): *o-da-ku-we-ta*, with its variants *o-da-ke-we-ta* and *o-da-tu-we-ta* (the stem of ὀδοῦς with the -*fevt* suffix?); *te-mi-dwe-ta* (perhaps *τεμύδφεντα*, referring to the edge of the wheel). (KN So).

(iii) Feminine singular adjectives in -*we-sa* (-*φεσσα*) describing *i-qi-ja* (ἰπιῖα): *mi-to-we-sa* (μιλτόφεσσα 'painted red?'); *wo-ra-we-sa* (with unknown stem). (KN Sd).

(iv) Feminine singular adjectives describing:

- (a) *e-ka-ra* (ἐσχάρᾱ 'hearth'): *au-de-we-sa*, *i-to-we-sa*, *pe-de-we-sa* (πέδφεσσα 'equipped with feet');
- (b) *qe-ra-na* (a type of jug): *ko-ro-no-we-sa*, *to-qi-de-we-sa* (τορπίδφεσσα 'equipped with spirals');
- (c) *to-pe-za* (τόρπεζα 'table'): *pi-ti-ro₂-we-sa*. (PY Ta).

§ 142 (5) Adjectives with the suffix -*te-ro*. Although the Mycenaean suffix -*te-ro* (-*τερος*) does not, as in later Greek, indicate the comparative, it is used to form an adjective from a noun (presumably with some 'contrasting' force, as in the later ἀρίστερος). The only clear example, but a very important one, is *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, *φανάκτερος*, in which the suffix is added directly to the stem *wanak-* (cf. § 188).

§ 143 (6) Verbal adjectives in -*te-o*/*-te-jo*. A word which has the appearance and function of a verbal adjective is found in two distinct forms in the Mycenaean documents. At Pylos it is written *qe-te-jo* in the neuter singular and *qe-te-a*, (= *qe-te-ja*?) in the plural; but at Knossos its singular is *qe-te-o* and its plural *qe-te-a*. The *qe-* element may be identical with a stem which appears, for instance, in *ē-teu-sa* 'I paid'. In Aeolic dialects the stem is spelt with π: this spelling shows that originally the stem was **k^wei-*, for which the Linear B equivalent would be *qe-*. The formal identification of *qe-te-(j)o* as a verbal adjective corresponding to the later

Greek †τελειόων would be impeccable, were it not for a morphological difficulty. The -τέος of the verbal adjective in classical Greek can have originated only in *-τέφος. The ending -te-jo is sometimes connected with Hesiod's φατελός at *Theogony* 310, an adjective formed from φημί; but the connexion may be illusory, since the ending of φατελός is explicable as an example of metrical lengthening.¹ It is, therefore, unlikely that ge-te-(j)o represents a verbal adjective of the precise kind found in later Greek: if it is a verbal adjective, it is of a type which did not survive. But the meaning of the word can be established with some confidence. In KN Fh 348.2, ge-te-o is used in opposition to o-no. Although the exact meaning of o-no is unknown, a comparison of its occurrences at Knossos, Pylos, and Mycenae shows that it signifies something like 'payment'. Hence ge-te-(j)o should mean roughly 'lack of payment' or 'to be paid'.²

§ 144 (7) Adjectives of material. These adjectives may have one of three endings in Mycenaean Greek: -e-jo, representing an archaic -εος; a later -e-o (-εος); -i-jo, which recalls the termination -ιος of similar adjectives in Aeolic. The alternation between -εος and -εος is found in Homer as well, although there the former type may arise from metrical lengthening. Sometimes all three possible forms are attested in Mycenaean, for example:

stem ποινῆχ-: po-ni-ke-ja, po-ni-ke-a, po-ni-ki-ja;

stem ριῶν-: wi-ri-ne-jo, wi-ri-ne-o, wi-ri-ni-jo.

§ 145 (8) Patronymics, ethnics, and other adjectives in -i-jo and -we-jo. It is of interest that the patronymic suffix is -i-jo (-ιος); we may compare Homeric Τελαμώνιος Ἀἴας and the use of the patronymic suffixes -εος and -αιος in Lesbian. A number of proper names, together with patronymics in -i-jo, are found in o-ka tablets at Pylos (§ 232), for example: a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo 'A. the son of e-te-wo-ke-re-we'; di-ko-na-ro a-da-ra-ti-jo 'D. the son of a-da-ra-to'.

§ 146 Many ethnics in -(i)-jo/-(i)-ja are known, corresponding to the later Greek -ιος/-ῖα: a-mi-ni-si-jo 'man of Amnisos'; di-ka-ta-jo 'man of Dikte'; ko-no-si-jo 'man of Knossos'; pa-i-ti-jo 'man of Phaistos'; pa-ki-ja-ni-ja 'woman of Pakijana'; ro-u-si-jo 'man of Lousos?'; tu-ri-si-jo 'man of Tyliisos'.

§ 147 Three further types correspond closely to later adjectives:

¹ Cf. H. Troxler *Sprache und Wortschatz Hesiods* (Zürich 1964) 50.

² M. Lejeune *Mémoires* II 287-312. By a different line of reasoning, M. Gérard-Rousseau arrives at a meaning 'estimated': *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* (Rome 1968) 195-197.

(i) from the noun *ko-re-te* (-τηρ), *ko-re-te-ri-jo* (-τέριος); (ii) from the noun *ra-wa-ke-ta* (-τῆς), *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* (-γέσιος); (iii) from the noun *i-je-re-u* (-εὺς), *i-je-re-wi-jo* (-ήριος).

§ 148 In addition, Mycenaean shows two forms which have no later parallel, namely *wa-na-se-wi-ja* (φανασσηῖα, a derivative of *wa-na-sa* = φάνασσα) and *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (also spelt *po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo* and *po-ti-ni-ja-we-i-jo*), which is connected in some way with *po-ti-ni-ja* = πότνια. The word cannot be formed directly from *po-ti-ni-ja*, since in that case an adjective such as *po-ti-ni-ja-jo* would have been expected (cf. *di-u-ja-jo* from *di-u-ja*); nor is a form ποτινιεύς a likely starting-point, because then only the spelling with *-wi-jo* is explicable, not the spelling with *-we-jo*. No satisfactory explanation of the second form has yet been advanced. It has been suggested that it comes from an (unattested) noun *po-ti-ni-ja-wo* meaning 'domain of Potnia' (Lejeune) or 'one who prays to Potnia' (Ruijgh) or, from a quite different point of view, that the *-we-jo* represents an Indo-European suffix analogous to the **-meyo-* seen in Homeric ἀνδρόμενος (Risch)(cf. § 182).

§ 149 (9) Alpha privative. Negative compounds are formed with the prefix *a(n)-* (< *ἡ-), just as in later Greek:

- (i) *a-e-ti-to* 'without *eti*';
- (ii) *a-ki-ti-to* 'without *kit*';
- (iii) *a-na-i-ta*, *a-na-i-to*, *a-na-ta* 'without ornament?';
- (iv) *a-na-mo-to* (ἀνάμοστος) 'not fitted out?';
- (v) *a-na-pu-ke* (ἀνάμυκες) 'without head-bands';
- (vi) *a-no-we*, *a-no-wo-to* (ἀνώφες, ἀνώφοτος) 'earless'.

The form *a-e-ti-to* (i) is found in opposition to *e-ti-we* in descriptions of oil: we cannot tell why the word was so spelt, and not *a-ne-ti-to*. The three forms mentioned under (iii) are in opposition to *a-ja-me-na*, which appears to mean 'fitted out'; contrary to the usual practice of later Greek, *a-na-i-ta* and *a-na-ta* are apparently adjectives of three terminations.

§ 150 (10) The compound noun *ko-to-no-o-ko*. As may be seen from the compound personal names, the usual Mycenaean practice is to juxtapose the two elements of a compound without the intervention of a vowel. But in the case of one word, *ko-to-no-o-ko*, Mycenaean foreshadows the practice of later Greek by inserting an *o*-vowel between the first element and the second: *ko-to-no-o-ko* = κολου-ό-χοχος 'holder of a κολουᾶ'. The meaning of the word is discussed further at § 273. (The 'expected' form *ko-to-no-ko* occurs at PY Eb 173.1).

Personal names

§ 151 Personal names form the largest class of words in the Linear B inscriptions, and they offer many instructive examples of word-formation. The context in which they are found, however, is rarely sufficient to enable us to analyse them convincingly in Greek terms. Although only the most hardened sceptic would deny the probability that, for example, *e-u-me-de* is a spelling of the Greek name Εὐμήδης, very few of the Linear B personal names are so perspicuous as that. In consequence, the Greek 'equivalents' suggested in the following outline should be treated with even more reserve than usual. Selected names are arranged under (1) simple nouns; and (2) compounds.

§ 152 Simple names

(i) Names in *-e-u* (*-εύς*): *a-ke-u* = Ἀλκεύς? (from ἀλκή); *di-wi-je-u* = Διφειεύς (from Ζεύς, Διφός); *do-ro-me-u* = Δρομεύς (from δρόμος); *ka-ke-u* = Χαλκεύς (from χαλκός); *ku-ke-re-u* = Κυκλεύς (from κύκλος); *po-ro-te-u* = Πρωτεύς (from πρῶτος).

(ii) Feminines from names in *-e-u*: *i-do-me-ne-ja* = Ἰδομένηα (fem. of Ἰδομενεύς); *ke-ra-me-ja* = Κεράμεια (fem. of Κεραμεύς).

(iii) Common nouns: *e-ru-to-ro* = Ἐρυθρός; *ka-ra-u-ko* = Γλαυκός; *ko-so-u-to* = Ξοῦθος; *po-ri-wo* = Πόλιφος.

(iv) Participles: *e-u-ko-me-no* = ἔϋχόμενος; *ku-ru-me-no* = κλύμενος.

(v) Verbal adjective: *a-nu-to* = ἄνυτος.

(vi) Agent-nouns in *-tās* and *-τωρ*: *e-pi-ja-ta* = Ἐπιθάλτης; *o-pe-ta* = Ὀφέλτης; *a-ko-to* = ἄκτωρ; *e-ko-to* = ἔκτωρ; *ka-to* = κάστωρ.

(vii) Ethnics in *-tās*: *e-ko-me-ne-ta-o* = Ἐρχομενάτιο; *ma-ri-ta* = Μαλίτης.

(viii) Names in *-tās* formed from nouns: *e-u-me-ta* = Εὐμήτης; *o-re-ta* = Ὀρέστις; *tu-we-ta* = θυφείστις.

(ix) Names in *-a-ro* (*-αλος* or *-αρος*): *ko-ka-ro* = Κώκαλος; *pe-ta-ro* = Πέταλος.

(x) Names in *-e-ro* (*-ελος*), *-i-ro* (*-ιλος*), *-u-ro* (*-υλος*): *ko-tu-ro* = Κότυλος; *ku-pe-se-ro* = Κύπελος; *na-wi-ro* = ἡνάφιλος?

(xi) Names in *-o* (*-ων*): *ai-to* = Αἰθων; *de-u-ka-ri-jo* = Δευκαλίων; *di-wo* = Δίφων; *i-ja-wo-ne* = Ἰάφονες; *ma-ka-wo* = Μαχάφων.

(xii) Names in *-a-no* (-ἄνος) and *-i-no* (-ῖνος): *e-ki-no* = Ἐχῖνος; *ku-ra-no* = Κύλλᾰνος.

(xiii) Non-Greek personal names in *-so* (-σος or -σσος): *i-wa-so*; *ka-ra-pa-so*; *ke-ra-so*; *mo-go-so* = Μόψος; *pu-ra-so*; *qa-da-so*; *qa-nu-wa-so*; *qa-ra-i-so*; *re-u-ka-so*; *ru-na-so*; *tu-qa-ni-ja-so*.

§ 153 Compound names

(i) Arranged by first element:

(α) with adverb/preposition as first element:

a-pi- (ἀμφι-): *a-pi-a₂-ro* = Ἀμφιάλος; *a-pi-me-de* = Ἀμφιμήδης.

e-ri- (ἐρι-): *e-ri-ke-re-we* = Ἐρικλέφης?

e-u- (εὐ-): *e-u-da-mo* = Εὐδαῖμος; *e-u-me-de* = Εὐμήδης; *e-u-me-ne* = Εὐμένης; *e-u-me-ta* = Εὐμήτης.

e-u-ru- (εὐρύ-): *e-u-ru-da-mo* = Εὐρύδαῖμος.

me-t- (μετ-): *me-to-ge-u* = Μετωπεύς?

o-pi- (ὀπι-): *o-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo* = Ὀπιλῖμνος?

pa- (παν-): *pa-di-jo* = Πανδίων?

pe-ri- (περι-): *pe-ri-me-de* = Περιμήδης.

po-ru- (πολυ-): *po-ru-ka-to* = Πολύκαστος?

(β) with noun-stem as first element:

a-k- (ἄκτ-): *a-ka-ta-jo* = Ἀκταῖος.

a-k- (ἄλκ-): *a-ka-ma-no* = Ἀλκμᾶνωρ.

ai-ki- (αἰγυ-): *ai-ki-po* = Αἰγίππος.

da-i- (δαῖ-): *da-i-go-ta* = Δαῖφόντις.

na-u-si- (ναυσυ-): *na-u-si-ke-re-* = Ναυσικλε-

pi-r- (φυλ-): *pi-ro-we-ko* = Φιλόφεργος.

go-u- (βου-): *go-u-go-ta* = Βουβόταλ.

ra-wo- (ῥάφο-): *ra-wo-do-ko* = Ῥαφόδοκος.

wa-tu- (φάστυ-): *wa-tu-o-ko* = Φαστύοχος.

wi-pi- (φυφ-): *wi-pi-no-o* = Φυφίνοος.

wo-no- (φοῖνο-): *wo-no-go-so* = Φοῖνοψ.

(γ) with verbal stem as first element:

a-k- (ἀγ- or ἀρχ-): *a-ke-ra-wo* = Ἀρχέῤῃφος?

e-ke- (ἐχε-): *e-ke-da-mo* = Ἐχέδαμος; *e-ke-me-de* = Ἐχεμήδης.

ma-na-si- (μνασ-): *ma-na-si-we-ko* = Μνασίφεργος.

(ii) Arranged by second element:

-a-no (-ᾶνωρ): *a-ka-ma-no* = Ἀλκμᾶνωρ

-da-mo (-δαμος): *e-ke-da-mo* = Ἐχέδαμος; *e-u-da-mo* = Εὐδαῖμος;
e-u-ru-da-mo = Εὐρύδαῖμος.

-do-ko (-δοκος): *ra-wo-do-ko* = Ῥαφόδοκος.

-do-ro (-δωρος): *a-pi-do-ro* = Ἀμφίδωρος.

-ke-re-we (-κλέφης): *e-ri-ke-re-we* = Ἐρικλέφης?

-me-de (-μήδης): *a-pi-me-de* = Ἀμφιμήδης; *e-ke-me-de* = Ἐχεμήδης;
e-u-me-de = Εὐμήδης.

- me-ne (-μένης): e-u-me-ne = Εὐμένης.
 -o-ko (-οχος): wa-tu-o-ko = Φαστύοχος.
 -o-go (-οψ or -ωψ): ai-ti-jo-go = Αἰθίοψ; wo-no-go-so = Φοῖνοψ.
 -po-ro-wo (-πλοφος): e-u-po-ro-wo = Εὐπλοφος.
 -go-ta (-βοτιάς): go-u-go-ta = Βουβότιās.
 -go-ta (-φοντιάς): da-i-go-ta = Δαῖφοντιάς.
 -ra-wo (-λάφος or -λάφων): a-ke-ra-wo = Ἀρχέλαφος?
 -to-wo (-θοφος): pe-ri-to-wo = Περίθοφος.
 -wa-ta (-ῥατιάς)(names of which the first element is a place-name): ka-ra-do-wa-ta = ἸΧαραδοῤῥατιάς?; ne-de-wa-ta = ἸΝεδῥατιάς?; pi-sa-wa-ta = ἸΠισῥατιάς?
 -we (-φενς): ai-ta-ro-we = Ἀἰθαλόφενς?; ko-ma-we = ἸΚομάφενς?
 -we-ko (-φεργος): pi-ro-we-ko = Φιλόφεργος.

Place-names

§ 154 The Mycenaean texts furnish rich evidence for the place-names of Bronze Age Greece. The Knossos tablets contain about one hundred words which are certainly or probably place-names, and the Pylos tablets rather more than 160. In 1964, a list of place-names from the reign of Amenhopis III was found at Egyptian Thebes: a list which is dated to the early fourteenth century and which is, therefore, roughly contemporary with the Linear B tablets from Knossos. Most of the names in the Egyptian list cannot be identified, but a few undoubtedly refer to sites in the Aegean area: Amnisos, Knossos, Kydonia, and Mycenae are the best attested. No other contemporary reference to Aegean places is known from the Bronze Age.

§ 155 Most of the place-names mentioned in the Linear B tablets are formed with the same suffixes which are used for this purpose in classical Greek. Especially at Knossos, a number of the names are non-Greek or consist of Greek suffixes attached to non-Greek stems.

§ 156 Pylos, but not Knossos, yields examples of compounds of a purely Greek type:

- a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo = a₂-ka-ra + ἄγριος
 e-u-de-we-ro = ἔϋδεῖφελος?
 ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na = ke-i-ja + κρᾶνᾱ ('spring')
 ma-to-(ro-)pu-ro = ἸΜᾶτρόπυλος
 o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u = o-re-mo + ἄγρεύς

§ 157 At Pylos, again, a place is sometimes indicated by a personal name in the genitive followed by the word wo-wo, which may represent *φόρφος (classical ὄρος) 'boundary', so 'land, territory': ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo; me-ka-o wo-wo; re-ga-se-wo wo-wo; u-po-di-no wo-wo.

§ 158 Neuter plural compounds ending in *-wo-wi-ja* (*φόρϕια) are: *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* and *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*.

§ 159 The following list gives examples of the principal types of place-names:

(i) Names (mostly non-Greek) in *-so* (-σος or -σος) and *-to* (-νθος):

KN <i>a-mi-ni-so</i>	=	Ἀμνισός
KN <i>ko-no-so</i>	=	Κνωσ(σ)ός
PY <i>ko-ri-to</i>	=	Κόρινθος
PY <i>ku/-pa-ri-so</i>	=	Κυπαρισσός
PY <i>o-ru-ma-to</i>	=	Ὀρύμανθος
KN <i>ra-su-to</i>	=	ῥάσσυνθος?
PY <i>ro-u-so</i>	=	Λουσός?
KN <i>tu-ri-so</i>	=	Τυλισ(σ)ός

(ii) Names in *-e-u* (-εύς)(all at Pylos):

a-ne-u-te; *a-pa-re-u-pi*; *a-po-ne-we*; *da-we-u-pi*; *e-ni-pa-te-we*;
ku-te-re-u-pi; *te-re-ne-we*; *wo-no-qe-we*; *wo-qo-we*.

(iii) Name in *-e-jo* (-εῖον):

KN *da-da-re-jo-de* = Δαιδαλεῖόνδε.

(iv) Names in *-a-jo/-a-ja* (-αιος/-αιᾶ):

KN *ra-ja* PY *u-ka-jo*

(v) Names in *-i-jo/-i-ja* (-ιος/-ιᾶ) and *-u-wa* (-υῖᾶ):

KN <i>a-ka-wi-ja-de</i>	=	Ἀχαϊεῖᾶνδε?
PY <i>a-s(i-j)a-ti-ja</i>		
PY <i>e-wi-te-wi-jo</i>	(ethnic from man's name <i>e-wi-te-u</i>)	
PY <i>ke-i-jo</i>	(ethnic from place-name <i>ke-e</i>)	
KN <i>ku-do-ni-ja</i>	=	Κυδωνίᾶ
PY <i>ri-jo</i>	=	ῥίον
KN <i>se-to-i-ja</i>		
PY <i>te-/ti-mi-ti-ja</i>	(cf. <i>ti-mi-to-a-ke-e</i> , § 215)	
PY <i>u-pa-/po-ra-ki-ri-ja</i>	(neuter plur. in -ᾶρια)	

(vi) Names in *-a-n-* (-ᾶν-)(cf. *Ελλᾶνες):

KN *u-ta-no* PY *pa-ki-ja-na*

(vii) Names in *-o* (-ων)(all at Pylos):

a-ka-si-jo-ne; *e-ko-so-no*; *pe-re-u-ro-na-de* = Πλευρῶνάδε.

(viii) Names in *-wo/-wa* (-φος/-ῖᾶ)(only at Pylos):

a-ke-re-wa; *ke-re-ti-wo*; *ro-o-wa*; *sa-ma-ri-wa* (cf. *sa-ma-ra*).

(ix) Names in *-wo-t-/-we(-t)-* (*-φοντ-/-φεντ-*):

- PY *ne-do-wo-te* = †*Νεδφόντελ?*
 PY *sa-ri-nu-wo-te* and *se-ri-no-(wo-)te* = †*Σελινοφόντελ?*

(x) Names in *-ro/-ra* (*-λος/-λᾱ* or *-ρος/-ρᾱ*):

- PY *pu-ro* = Πύλος
 KN *qa-ra*
 PY *sa-ma-ra*

(xi) Names with *-u-* suffix:

- KN *si-ja-du-we* PY *ko-tu-we*

(xii) Names formed from neuter stems in *-os/-es* (only at Pylos):

- e-ra-te-i* = †*Ἐράτελ?*
e-re-e/-i = †*Ἐρέελ?* (cf. *e-re-e-u*)
ke-e (cf. *ke-i-jo*)
ne-de-we (cf. *ne-do-wo-te?*)

(xiii) Name in *-a-to* (*-ᾱτος*)(cf. *Μύλᾱτος*):

- PY *e-ro-ma-to*

(xiv) Names in *-a-po/-a-pa* (only at Pylos):

- e-wi-ri-po* = **Ἐφρικος*; *me-ta-pa* = *Μέταπα*.

(xv) Names in *-to-no* (*-θνος/-τνος*)(only at Pylos):

- o-wi-to-no*; *pe-to-no*.

(xvi) Unclassified names:

- KN *a-pa-ta-wa* = †*Ἀπαρφα?*
 PY *a-pu₂-de*
 KN *da-*22-to*
 KN *di-ka-ta-de* = Δίκτιᾱνδε
 PY *e-ko-me-no* = †*Ἐρχόμενος*
 KN *e-ra-de*
 PY *ka-ra-do-ro* = Χάραδρος
 KN *ku-ta-(i-)to* = †*Κύταιστος?*
 KN *ma-ri*
 KN *pa-i-to* = Φαιστός
 PY *pi-*82*
 KN *qa-mo*
 KN *ra-to* = Λᾱτώ
 KN *ri-jo-no*
 KN *su-ri-mo*
 KN *ti-ri-to*
 PY *u-wa-si*
 KN *wa-to* (also at Thebes)
 PY *wo-wo-u-de*

Syntax

§ 160 Since most of the Linear B inscriptions consist of simple lists, they yield little information about the syntax of Mycenaean. Only two series, the Ta and E tablets from Pylos, contain elements of even a moderately complex syntactic structure. Thus the only known example of a temporal clause introduced by *o-te* (ὅτε) is found on Ta 711.1 (§ 234). Again, Ta 641.1 (§ 241) exhibits a feature familiar in later Greek, the accusative of respect. But the same tablet displays two examples of syntactic incongruence, of a kind which would be expected in lists which are not conceived as sentences, but have been built up piece-meal:

(i) Whatever view is taken of line 1 (§ 239), it is clear that strict rules of syntax have not been applied: either singular words, *ai-ke-u* and *we-ke*, stand in apposition to the dual *ti-ri-po-de* or *ti-ri-po-de* must be regarded as a nominative of rubric (i.e. a nominative unconnected grammatically with the rest and merely denoting the subject-matter of the text), while the word-group beginning *ai-ke-u* forms a descriptive phrase.

(ii) In line 2 (§ 243), the dual *me-zo-e* qualifies the singular noun *di-pa*; but, in view of the dual numbers recorded elsewhere in this text, *me-zo-e* may arise from scribal error rather than from syntactic incongruence.

§ 161 The peculiar behaviour of the particle *-ge* in the E series has been noted (§ 127). It does not seem possible to explain this behaviour in terms of Greek as it is known at present. The same series, however, contains a statement which is transparently Greek in respect of its syntax, containing as it does two sentences joined by the particle *-de*, each of which contains a verb of speaking followed by an accusative and infinitive (PY Ep 704.5-6):

e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja e-ke e-u-ke-to-ge e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o
 Ἐρίθα ἱέρεια ἔχει εὐχετοῦ τε ἐτώνιον? ἔχεν θεόν
da-mo-de-mi pa-si...o-na-to e-ke-e
 δᾱμος δέ μιν φᾱσι...ὄνατον ἔχεν

§ 162 PY Es 644.1-13 shows the form *we-te-i-we-te-i*. This is a reduplicated dative of *we-to* = *φέτος* 'year' and is used in the sense of 'annually'. The formation finds parallels in later Greek and elsewhere in Indo-European.

The Mycenaean dialect

§ 163 The evidence presented so far is sufficient to prove that a certain number of words in the Linear B texts belong to the Greek language: a proof which rests of phonological and, above all, on mor-

phological and syntactic grounds. The question now arises whether, given this information about Mycenaean words on the one hand and on the other hand our extensive knowledge of the Greek dialects in historical times, we can assign Mycenaean a place among the dialects. We found it possible (§§ 101-102) to deduce from the verbal ending *-si* and other assibilated morphemes that Mycenaean undoubtedly belongs to East Greek, not to West Greek. Other features suggest that Mycenaean has a special connexion with the Arcado-Cypriot dialect of East Greek. The middle ending *-to* = *-το* (§ 127) provides a link with Arcadian; and this is an encouraging link, since the Mycenaean communities of mainland Greece would, *prima facie*, be expected to have used a dialect close to that spoken in the interior of the Peloponnese in historical times. And if *pa-ro* does mean 'from', it is notable for taking the genitive case: among the historical dialects only Arcadian and Cypriot use the genitive with words meaning 'from'.

§ 164 Other characteristic features of Mycenaean, however, appear in Aeolic as well as in Arcado-Cypriot: such are the form *a-pu* = *ἀπύ* (vs. Attic-Ionic *ἀπό*) and the development of original syllabic **r* to *ro* or *or*, not to *ra/ar*, as in Attic-Ionic. A further connexion with Aeolic, but not with Arcadian, is provided by a well-marked feature of Mycenaean, namely its use of patronymics in *-i-jo* (*-ιος*) (§ 145).

§ 165 In short, it can be stated that Mycenaean does not correspond exactly to any one historical Greek dialect; nor would a close correspondence be expected, in view of the long time which elapsed between the latest Linear B inscriptions and the first appearance of alphabetic Greek; especially since in the interim there were several far-reaching migrations of Greek-speakers, involving considerable overlaps between one dialect-group and another. The connexions are closest with Arcadian, as Ventris and Chadwick saw soon after the decipherment of the script, but the correspondences with Aeolic cannot be overlooked. The latter may suggest that some of the features which later became associated with Aeolic were in the Bronze Age more widely spread among the East Greek dialects.¹

§ 166 Finally, it is necessary to mention a curious feature of the Linear B texts because of its possible implications for the dialectal affinities of Mycenaean. Apart from occasional anomalies of spelling which appear here and there in the texts and which seem to arise from scribal errors or local differences which are not significant for the dialect, it is possible to isolate a number of varia-

¹ The Mycenaean evidence is not, in itself, sufficient to confirm the suggestion of E. Risch *MH* 12 (1955) 61-76 that in the Bronze Age the Arcado-Cypriot group formed part of the South Greek speech-area, which included also the ancestors of the Attic-Ionic group.

tions which suggest that there were real dialect-differences within Mycenaean itself:

- (i) The dative-locative of consonant-stem nouns nearly always ends in *-e*, but five times in *-i*: e.g. *po-se-da-o-ne/po-se-da-o-ni* (§ 114).
- (ii) Certain words appear both in a short and in a long form — e.g. *ku-ta-to* beside *ku-ta-i-to* (KN); *wo-ko-de* (TH) vs. *wo-i-ko-de* (KN).
- (iii) The word for 'seed, grain' is most often *pe-mo* (σέπμο), but on two Pylos tablets and four Knossos tablets it is spelt *pe-ma* (σέπμα).
- (iv) Some words, especially those with a stem corresponding to later Greek *θεμ-*, display an alternation between *e* and *i*: thus, against several occurrences of *ti-mi-to* and *ti-mi-ti-ja*, we can set *te-mi-ti-ja*. This fact is interesting because of the Mycenaean spelling of a word for a receptacle: *di-pa* is to be equated with Homeric δέπας and, apparently, with nothing else, despite the difference in the vowel.

§ 167 The difference between *pe-mo* and *pe-ma* and that between *po-se-da-o-ne* and *po-se-da-o-ni* are perhaps explicable if the Linear B texts are written not in a single monolithic 'Mycenaean' dialect but in at least two dialects. These are sometimes called 'normal' and 'special' Mycenaean respectively. As for the *i/e* alternation seen in the Linear B spelling of *θέμυς* and *δέπας*, this seems to occur most frequently in non-Greek stems; it may, therefore, reflect the uncertainty of writers called upon to transcribe sounds for which they had no precise notation.

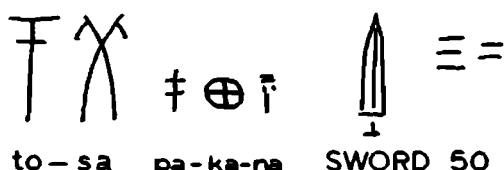
The Mycenaean language in general: E. Vilborg *A tentative grammar of Mycenaean Greek* (Göteborg 1960); L.R. Palmer *Interpretation* 36-64; S. Luria *Klio* 42 (1964) 5-60; C.J. Ruijgh *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* (Amsterdam 1967); O.J.L. Szemerényi *AR* II 715-725; O. Panagl *Orbis* 20 (1971) 207-219, *ZA* 25 (1975) 422-431; E. Risch *DI* 107-117, *QU* 23 (1976) 7-28; J. Chadwick in *Current trends in linguistics* XI (ed. T.A. Sebeok) (The Hague/Paris 1973) 537-568; Ventris and Chadwick *Documents* 67-105, 395-405; R. Schmitt *Einführung in die griechischen Dialekte* (Darmstadt 1977) 111-117.

The spelling rules. General: M. Lejeune *Mémoires* I 321-330, III 89-104, *BSL* 71 (1976) 195-197; M. Doria *AIV* 119 (1960-1961) 709-743, 120 (1961-1962) 643-675; F.W. Householder *MS* 71-76. Phonetic character of the language for which Linear B was originally designed: L. Stephens and J.S. Justeson *TAPA* 108 (1978) 271-284. Scribal errors: P.H. Ilievski *ZA* 15 (1965) 45-59. *w*: M. Doria *Minos* 8 (1963) 21-36; A. Morpurgo Davies *AM* II 80-121. Consonant-groups: R.S.P. Beekes *Mnemosyne* (4th ser.) 24 (1971) 337-357. *qi-si-pe-e*: A. Heubeck *Minos* 6 (1958) 55-60. Diphthongs: A. Bartoněk *Minos* 8 (1963) 51-61. *a₂*:

1 KNOSSOS SWORD TABLETS: THE Ra SET

pi-ri-je-te in Ra 1548: A.M. Biraschi *PP* 33 (1978) 281-287.

§ 168 KN Ra 1540 = *Documents* no. 261 = *Interpretation* no. 246



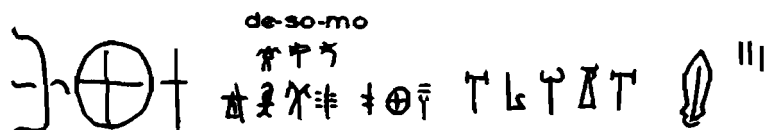
This fragmentary inscription is placed first because of the extreme simplicity of its structure and because of the unimpeachably Greek character of the two phonetic words, τόσ(σ)α φάσγανα. The tablet forms one of a small archive in the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, to the south-west of the Central Court of the Knossian palace: an archive recognized by its excavator as containing SWORD tablets from the realistic drawing of the ideogram, A.J. Evans *ABSA* 8 (1901-1902) 94-95.

§ 169 Since a very early type of written record in Crete consisted of two parts only, an ideogram and a numeral, our tablet represents the next stage, in which a third, phonetic, component is added. Although the ideogram appears simply to repeat the 'message' already sufficiently conveyed by the phonetic part and thus to be redundant, the appearance is illusory. In the history of writing, the ideographic representation comes first, the phonetic representation afterwards, and sometimes long afterwards; but in Linear B, as in many other scripts of the Mediterranean Bronze Age, the ideograms did not die out but continued, in co-existence with the phonetic signs: cf. W. Nahm *Kadmos* 9 (1970) 1-21.

§ 170 The shape of the ideogram in Ra 1540 is worth attention. Different shapes of weapons are depicted within the Ra set. Since each of them is quite carefully drawn and since the whole archive was written by one and the same scribe, it is a reasonably secure conclusion that different weapons are being shown. Despite the

time-honoured description of these weapons as 'swords', their shape makes it more likely that they should be regarded as daggers: cf. J. Boardman *On the Knossos tablets* (Oxford 1963) 79-80; A.M. Snodgrass *Kadmos* 4 (1965) 107-109. If that is so, the Greek word φάσγανον seems to have meant originally 'dagger', the word ξίφος (found in Linear B in the form *qi-si-pe-e*) being reserved for 'sword'.

§ 171 A slightly more complex member of the set is:
KN Ra 1548 = *Documents* no. 262 = *Interpretation* no. 245



ku-ka-ro pi-ri-je-te pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a SWORD 3

It will be noticed that the 'sword' here is different in shape from that shown on Ra 1540. The words of the inscription fall into two groups, which are not connected by any finite verb:

ku-ka-ro pi-ri-je-te pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a de-so-mo

Κύκαλος?-τηρ φάσγανα ἀραρυφά δεσμοῖς

Kykalos? the 'swords' fitted with bands(?)

ku-ka-ro is a man's name which recurs on the Knossos sheep-tablet Da 1238. pi-ri-je-te is presumably an agent-word in -τηρ, which describes the man ku-ka-ro: it is impossible that pi-ri-je-te contains the stem of πρίω, since that verb means 'saw', and 'swordsmith', not 'sawyer', is the meaning required here. (A plural pi-ri-je-te-re is found at PY An 207.5 in a list of craftsmen). a-ra-ru-wo-a is neuter plural of the perfect participle of ἀραρίσκω 'fit': it represents ἀραρυφά, the -u- in the Linear B spelling arising under the influence of the neighbouring -w-. de-so-mo represents an instrumental plural δεσμοῖς 'things which bind', but it is hard to be more specific; perhaps the de-so-mo are bands of metal or leather attached to the weapon?

2 SHEEP AND WOOL TABLETS FROM PYLOS AND KNOSSOS: PY Cn AND KN D

PY Cn. General studies: M. Doria *Interpretazioni di testi micenei* II (Trieste 1958); M.L. Lang *PCCMS* 250-259; G.F. Polyakova *VDI* 118 (1971) 3-26. *wo-no-we*: P.H. Ilievski *ZA* 17 (1967) 23-31.

KN D. General studies: J.T. Killen *ABSA* 59 (1964) 1-15. The ideograms *106, *107, *108, *109: L. Godart *KX* 23 (1971) 89-94. Adjuncts: J.T. Killen *Eranos* 61 (1963) 69-93; Godart op. cit. 90. The ideogram *145: L. Deroy *AC* 29 (1960) 312-314 ('bundle'); J.T. Killen *Hermathena* 96 (1962) 38-72 (always 'wool'); M. Lejeune *Mémoires* II 164-165 (two forms to be distinguished, that shown on the D tablets representing 'wool'); L.Y. and C.W. Beck *AJA* 82 (1978) 213-215 (always 'wool'). Dm tablets: G. Pugliese Carratelli *PP* 9 (1954) 220-221; L. Deroy *SMEA* 10 (1969) 48-53; L. Godart, J.T. Killen, J.-P. Olivier *Minos* 10 (1969) 154-156; M. Lejeune *Mémoires* II 364-367. Dn tablets: J.-P. Olivier *SMEA* 2 (1967) 71-93, *Minos* 13 (1972) 22-28. Dp 997: J.T. Killen *PP* 17 (1962) 26-31, 18 (1963) 447-450 (*po-ka* = 'fleece').

The Pylos Cn tablets

§ 172 Forty-one tablets make up the Cn set. With the exception of Cn 3 (which records the presence of single oxen or bulls, perhaps destined for some ritual operation) and Cn 608 (in which very small numbers of pigs are assigned to the 'nine' towns of the state, § 215), these texts constitute a census of sheep, pigs, and goats, the people who own them and herd them, and sometimes also the places in which they are herded. The structure of an important group is exemplified by:

wa-no-jo wo-wo pa-ro ne-ti-ja-nore para-jo	RAM 140
wa-no-jo wo-wo pa-ro po-so-pe-re-i wo-ne-we	RAM 75
wa-no-jo wo-wo pa-ro zo-wi-jo a-ko-so-ta-o	RAM 70
wa-no-jo wo-wo po-ro pa-ru-qo-ta we-da-ne-wo	RAM 60
e-ko-me-no pa-ro pa-ta pa-ra-jo	RAM 80
e-ko-me-no pa-ro [] ma-te-we we-da-ne-wo	RAM 70
a-ne-u-te pa-ro ma-ri-ti-wi-jo a-ko-so-ta-o	RAM 83
ma-ro-pi pa-ro ro-ko pa-ra-jo	RAM 150
ma-ro-pi pa-ro ka-da-ro we-da-ne-wo	RAM 85
ma-ro pa-ro tu-ri-ta a-ke-o-jo	RAM 80
re-pe-u-ri-jo pa-ro e-zo-wo a[-ko-so-]ta-o	RAM 82
ma-ro pa-ro ma-u-ti-jo a-ko-so-ta-o	EWE 60
a-ne-u-te pa-ro ka-ta-wa a-ko-so-ta(-o)	EWE 80
a-te-re-wi-ja pa-ro e-wi-te-we a-ke-o-jo	EWE 70

Each line of the foregoing text contains five elements arranged in the following order:

- (1) a place-name in the dative case;
- (2) *pa-ro* and a personal name in the dative;
- (3) a personal name in the genitive;
- (4) the SHEEP ideogram (RAM in lines 1-11, EWE in lines 12-14);
- (5) a numeral.

§ 173 (1) Although, in theory, most of the place-names could be either nominative or dative, the presence of the dative-locative ending *-i* in *ma-ro-pi*, lines 8 and 9, suggests that they are all in the dative. (It is not known whether *ma-ro* in lines 10 and 12 denotes the same place which is called *ma-ro-pi* in the other entries). *a-ne-u-te* too (lines 7 and 13) may contain a dative ending: *-te* = *-tel*. *wa-no-jo wo-wo* in lines 1-4 is a compound place-name, consisting of a genitive singular, ending in *-o-jo* = *-olo*, and a dative singular *wo-wo* = *φόρῳ* 'boundary' (*φόρος* > Attic *ὄρος*, after loss of the digammas); the first part *wa-no-jo* is obscure, being possibly a personal or a geographical name.¹

§ 174 (2) The meaning of *pa-ro* + dative is uncertain in this context; it is more likely to mean 'at (the place of), apud, chez' (like the later Greek *παρά* + dative) than 'from'. The men 'at' whom the flocks are situated would then naturally be the shepherds.

§ 175 (3) Similarly, the last word in each line (which is always in the genitive) probably gives the name of the 'owner' of the flock. It is not clear whether a direct relationship obtains between the man named in (2) and the man named in (3): thus, it is possible that (2) is the 'local representative' or even the servant of (3).

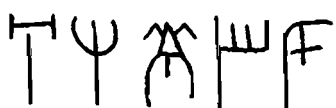
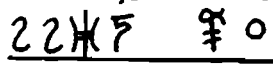


The Knossos D tablets

§ 176 The D tablets at Knossos number about 1100. They come from the East Wing of the palace, and most of them were written by the same scribe (Olivier's 'Hand 117'). The Da set record numbers of RAMS at named places; Db numbers of RAMS and EWES; Dc RAMS, some of which are further particularized by adjuncts placed alongside the ideogram; Dd, De, and Df RAMS and EWES with adjuncts; Dk and Dl RAMS, EWES, and WOOL; Dm RAMS classified as *ai-mi-re-we* or *e-ka-ra-e-we*. Dn is probably a totalling set.

¹ Compare the structure of English place-names beginning Mark- (Old English *mearc* 'boundary').

§ 177 The ideograms which appear in this series are: EWE (OVIS^f), RAM (OVIS^m), and WOOL (LANA). (On D1 463, § 182, an ideogram which appears to be the EWE sign is used; but, in the given context, this must be taken as RAM). In his paper at ABSA 59, Killen showed that the RAM ideogram depicts not only entire but also castrated beasts: an observation which at once explains the large proportion of rams to ewes in each flock and makes it likely that our tablets constitute a census of actual flocks within the Knossian domain. The amounts of wool recorded in the Dk and D1 sets would then represent the produce of the flocks specified. Where the o-sign is attached to a SHEEP or WOOL ideogram, it presumably stands for a word beginning with o- (probably o-pe-ro 'deficit') and signifies a number of beasts or an amount of wool which the census-takers expected to be present but which was not present. If this is a correct account of the matter, the large numbers of sheep mentioned on the D tablets suggest that the production of wool was one of the most important industries of Minoan Crete, at least in the fifteenth century.

§ 178 Most of the D inscriptions, except those belonging to the Dn set, share a similar structure. They consist of a group of large signs on the left of the tablet and two rows of smaller signs, usually ruled off from each other, on the right. The function of the respective sign-groups may be deduced, at least partially, from an inscription simple in structure, KN Da 1156 + 7236:

	we-we-si-jo	RAM 100
		
		
a - re - ke - se - u	pa-i-to	

The word in large characters at the left may confidently be taken as a personal name in view of the ending -e-u (-εύς), while pa-i-to in the lower register at the right can hardly be anything other than the place-name φαειστός. To judge from its ending, the word we-we-si-jo before the RAM ideogram appears to be another personal name (perhaps formed from an ethnic in -λος).

§ 179 So far, it is impossible to assert with great confidence what were the respective functions of the persons named. But the problem may be clarified by reference to another tablet, KN Db 1159:

KN Dn 1094 + 1311 = Documents no. 79 = Interpretation no. 66

pa-i-to RAM 1509

[illegible]

ト Δ ㊦ ㊧ ㊨ ㊩

da-wo RAM 2440

§ 181 Another 'owner', namely *da-mi-ni-jo*, is named on KN Df
1121 + 7689:

RAM 143 EWE 36



$\begin{array}{r} \text{A} \text{ V } \uparrow \\ \hline \text{H} \text{ F} \quad \text{E} \text{ F} = 1 \end{array}$

ku-ta-to peRAM 21

ti - mi - za

Here twenty-one of the RAMS are specified as *pe*; this, according to Killen, is an abbreviation of *pe-ru-si-nu-wo* 'last year's', and his interpretation is corroborated by the interesting text KN Do 927:

pe RAM 19

2a RAM 30 o RAM 31

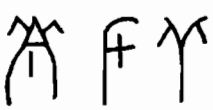
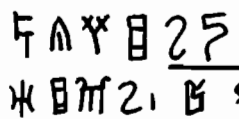
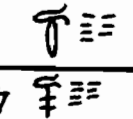
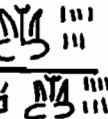
EWE 100 ki

This inscription distinguishes *pe* rams from *za* rams; and a satisfactory opposition is achieved by taking *za* as the abbreviation of **za-we-te-jo* — cf. the adverb *za-we-te* 'this year' (§ 100). *ki* ewes are interpreted by Killen as immature beasts of either sex.

§ 182 So far we have observed the distribution of sheep by sex and age and the mention of sheep as 'missing' or 'owing'. Two sets of tablets, Dk and D1, add information about the wool which has been obtained from the sheep. There is no serious objection to the assumption that *145 stands for WOOL on these tablets; although elsewhere this meaning gives rise to some difficulty. There follow two examples of tablets giving numbers of SHEEP and amounts of WOOL:

KN D1 946


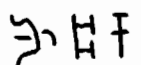
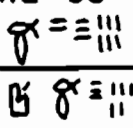
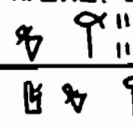
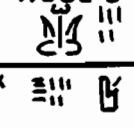
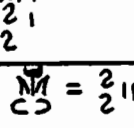
po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo EWE 70 WOOL 7

ke - u - sa si-ja-du-we o ki RAM 70 o WOOL 7

KN D1 463

EWE 56 ki EWE? 5 WOOL 5 M1

mi - ti ku - ta - to o EWE 35 o ki EWE? 45 o WOOL 20 M2

By analogy with other D tablets, we might deduce that *ke-u-sa* and *mi-ti* are the names of shepherds who are in charge of flocks at the places *si-ja-du-we* and *ku-ta-to* respectively. D1 463 exhibits no 'owner's' name; so, as was suggested above, perhaps the shepherd himself is the 'owner'. On D1 946, in place of the 'owner's' name, we have the word *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (also on seven other tablets of this set). The word is connected, in some way, with *po-ti-ni-ja* 'mistress'. The inference has usually been made that the flocks in question 'belong' to the $\mu\omicron\tau\nu\lambda\alpha$ (whether that word means 'goddess' or 'queen'). If that is true, the precise form of the word *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* is inexplicable (cf. § 148).

§ 183 The probable interpretation of the D1 tablets is as follows. The upper register on the right states the number of ewes and young rams, and also the amount of wool which these yielded, actually found by the inspector. The lower register expresses the deficit of ewes and young rams and the consequent short-fall of wool, compared with what was expected. The wool is shown as units of the WOOL ideogram, and sometimes also by fractions (M). Comparison with texts of the Dk set establishes the ratio between M and one unit of WOOL as 1:3 (*Interpretation* 179).

§ 184 The D1 tablets therefore differ in an important respect from those of the Da-Df sets. Whenever the latter refer to 'missing' sheep, these are always fewer than the sheep actually present. Where (as in the Da set) a flock is said to consist of 100 or 80 or 60 or 50 sheep, this figure may be taken to represent the notional strength of the flock. But tablets like D1 946 and D1 463 show the actual state of affairs: their upper register expressing what the census-taker really found, the lower what he regarded as missing, so that in these cases the 'notional' strength would be arrived at by adding together the numbers of the upper and the lower register.

3 KNOSSOS CLOTH AND WOOL TABLETS: THE L SERIES

The archive in general: G. Björck *Eranos* 52 (1954) 271-275; J.L. Melena *Studies on some Mycenaean inscriptions from Knossos dealing with textiles* (Salamanca 1975). Lc: J.T. Killen *BICS* 13 (1966) 105-109, *Hermathena* 118 (1974) 82-90. Ld: J.T. Killen *CM* 151-181.

§ 185 The L tablets contain inventories of cloths. The CLOTH ideogram, *159, is represented by these variants:



§ 186 Another ideogram, *164, also depicts a kind of cloth. It is found only twice, in the following forms:



(L 520)

(L 698)

§ 187 The different forms of *159 are not mere scribal variants, but reflect different shapes or sizes of cloth. This fact is indicated by the occurrence of two types in separate entries on the same tablet Lc 526 (§ 190) and also by the variation between the 'two-pronged' and the 'three-pronged' form on the following tablets:

KN Ld 572

	pe-ne-we-ta	a-ro ₂ -a	*158 1
† 2 T	Ψ 2 H, T J T	Δ	
pa-we - a	A ⊗ * B	Υ F Q M ⊕	𐀀 = 𐀁
	e-ge-si-ja	re-u-ko-nu-ka	CLOTH 25

KN Ld 571 = *Documents* no. 214 = *Interpretation* no. 182



	pe-ne-we-ta	a-ro ₂ -a	*158 1
† 2 T	Ψ 2 H, T J T	Δ	
pa-we - a	A ⊗ * B	Υ F Q M ⊕	𐀀 = 𐀁
	e-ge-si-ja	re-u-ko-nu-ka	CLOTH 25

§ 188 Ld 571 and 572 were written by the same scribe, and they convey exactly the same information, except for the number of 'prongs' on the CLOTH ideogram. The sign-group in large characters at the left is readily equated with $\varphi\alpha\rho\epsilon\alpha$, the plural of a word which appears in later Greek as $\varphi\alpha\rho\varsigma$ or $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\rho\varsigma$. The original meaning of this word seems to be 'something made of cloth', and Mycenaean *pa-we-a* may be understood as 'pieces of cloth' of a particular variety. The remaining four words, written in smaller characters, are all neuter plural adjectives, describing the pieces of cloth. Of these words, *pe-ne-we-ta* cannot be equated plausibly with anything in Greek. *a-ro₂-a* may be understood as the comparative of the stem *ar-*, which appears in the later Greek comparative $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ (§§ 118-120); so it means 'better, of superior quality'. *e-ge-si-ja* is an adjective derived from the noun *e-ge-ta* ($\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma$); it is a word parallel in function to *wa-na-ka-te-ra* in Lc 525 (§ 190). The fourth word *re-u-ko-nu-ka* is a spelling of a Greek word $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}\nu\upsilon\chi\alpha$, which would mean '(decorated with) white $\acute{o}\nu\upsilon\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ '. The analysis is, apparently, impeccable, but we cannot tell for certain what manner of decoration is implied by such a description. In later Greek the word $\acute{o}\nu\upsilon\chi$ has two principal meanings: (i) animal's 'hoof' or bird's 'claw' or the human 'nail'; (ii) 'onyx'. It is possible to believe that meaning (ii) had already developed in Mycenaean times and that the cloths in question were decorated in a manner which recalled the

The words spelt in large characters at the left of these two tablets are the names of places in which the wool was worked. On the complete tablets of the Lc set, a fairly constant ratio is observed between CLOTH + TE and WOOL (1:7); it is therefore probable that this set records consignments of wool which are to be made into pieces of cloth. *pe-ko-to* and *tu-na-no* are types of cloth about which nothing is known except that they must be different from *pa-we-a*, since the three terms form items of a list on Lc 535. Nor is it evident in what way the simple CLOTH ideogram differs in significance from CLOTH + TE. The description *wa-na-ka-te-ra* has been mentioned already (§ 188): it is a neuter plural adjective (and presumably, by analogy with Ld 571 etc., the noun *pa-we-a* has to be understood), meaning 'intended for the *wanax*' or 'fit for the *wanax*'.

§ 191 The following tablet relates textiles to bronze:

KN L 693 = *Documents* no. 222

	qe-te-o	
ri-no	re-po-to	ki-to BRONZE M1
		
		
sa-pa	P 2 Q 1	e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja BRONZE M1

Three items are here associated with amounts of BRONZE, the first and third explicitly and the second by implication: (i) *ri-no re-po-to qe-te-o ki-to*; (ii) *sa-pa*; (iii) *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja*. It is easy to explain (i) and (iii) in terms of Greek. (i) is formally equivalent to λίνον λεπτόν, κ^Wευτέος χιτῶν 'fine linen, k^Weiteos chiton'. The meaning 'linen' seems fairly certain: C. Milani *Aevum* 44 (1970) 303-305. *re-po-to* presents no difficulty either; according to the spelling rules, it fits λεπτόν exactly. The presence of χιτῶν is interesting, since it provides a clear example of a Semitic loan-word in use in the Aegean as early as the fourteenth century: E. Masson *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* (Paris 1967) 27-29.

§ 192 As for *qe-te-o*, the linguistic problems raised by the ending have been discussed already (§ 143). In his treatment of L 693, Lejeune suggested that *qe-te-o* refers to all three items in the list, not merely to *ki-to*: *Mémoires* II 302. We may go farther and relate the words *ri-no re-po-to* likewise to all the items; otherwise, it is hard to see why the name of the material and not the name of the object should have been brought to the beginning of the inscription. If that is so, and since *ki-to* is known to be the name of a garment, it follows that all three members of the list are words for garments, even though the meaning of *sa-pa* is unknown. The third item *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* must be a neuter plural meaning literally 'what is upon (ἐπί) the *ki-to*': namely, an over-garment such as a cloak (compare the structure of *o-pi-a₂-ra* § 230 and *o-pi-i-ja-pi* § 304). In later Greek, the term for such a cloak is *χλαῖνα* or *χλαμύς*, but these words are not found in the extant Mycenaean texts.

§ 193 The monuments tell us nothing of the wearing of a *χιτών* in Late Minoan Crete, if that word is understood in its later Greek sense of 'tunic'. It is possible that *χιτών* denoted different garments at different stages of its history — equally possible that a certain type of garment was in use in the Late Bronze Age but is not shown on the surviving monuments: cf. H.L. Lorimer *Homer and the monuments* (London 1950) 360-362 and S. Marinatos *Kleidung Haar- und Barttracht* (*Archaeologia Homerica* I) (Göttingen 1967) A 22-25. The frescoes and seals, from which our information comes, rarely depict ordinary life: their concern is with the ceremonies of the palace, for which participants wear a sort of short-sleeved jacket reaching to the ground, or with men in rapid movement, who are equipped with very short divided drawers.

§ 194 It remains to discuss the connexion between the garments and the amounts of bronze. Three suggestions have been made: (i) the bronze refers to actual attachments of the garments (so that we are, in fact, dealing with items of armour); (ii) the amounts of bronze indicate the weight of the respective garments; (iii) the value of the garments is measured by the bronze. Of these suggestions, the third seems the most likely. 'Fine linen' is an improbable fabric to which plates of armour would be attached, while the amounts of bronze specified are too large to form an appropriate counter-weight to the fine stuffs.

4 GROUPS OF WOMEN: THE PYLOS A SERIES

Aa and Ab: T.B.L. Webster *BICS* 1 (1954) 11-12. Aa, Ab, Ad: E.L. Bennett *EM* 121-136; C. Milani *Aevum* 51 (1977) 89-111. Ad 684: F.J. Tritsch *Minos* 5 (1957) 154-162. Ae: M. Benavente *EC* 12 (1968) 307-309. Status of the women: F.J. Tritsch *Minoica* 406-445; Ja.A. Lencman *Die Sklaverei im mykenischen und homerischen Griechenland* (tr. M. Bräuer-Pospelova) (Wiesbaden 1966) 153-169. DA and TA: L.R. Palmer *Sprache* 5 (1959) 137-142; E.L. Bennett *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 2 (Philadelphia 1977) 16-18. ra-mi-ni-ja: S. Hiller *ZA* 25 (1975) 388-412.

§ 195 The A tablets at Pylos comprise a number of important sets which differ greatly from one another, having in common only the fact that they record numbers of persons engaged in various activities. It is convenient to begin with simple inscriptions which refer to numbers of women, boys, and girls:


PY Aa 85

a - ke - ti - ri - ja WOMAN 12 ko - wa 16 ko - wo 8 DA 1 TA 1

PY Aa 717 = *Documents* no. 7

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

PY Ad 666




 pu-ro a - ke - ti-ra₂ - o ko-wo MAN 20 ko-wo 7

PY Ab 189

WHEAT 6 T 7 TA DA


 pu-ro ki-ni-di-ja WOMAN 20 ko-wa 10 ko-wo 10 NI 6 T 7

PY Ab 573

WHEAT 5 T 1 DATA


 pu-ro mi-ra-ti-ja WOMAN 16 kowa 3 ko-wo 7 NI 5 1

§ 196 The women whose numbers are recorded in the Aa set are not named, but they are usually described according to their occupation. The most probable explanation of the need for such records is that groups of women were assigned specific tasks. Only the numbers of women, their occupation, and (sometimes) their location were of interest to the scribes. Since the women of the Aa set are never named and since they are associated only with boys and girls, never with men, they are probably slaves organized into work-units.

§ 197 The Aa inscriptions contain some or all of the following elements: (i) a place-name; (ii) a noun in the nominative plural feminine, designating the occupation or status of the women; (iii) the WOMAN ideogram; (iv) a numeral; (v) varying numbers of *ko-wa* (κόρραι) 'girls' and *ko-wo* (κόρροι) 'boys', who are perhaps to be regarded as the daughters and sons of the women respectively; (vi) the phonetic sign *da*, often followed by the numeral 1; (vii) the phonetic sign *ta*, often followed by the numeral 1.

§ 198 The word *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* probably contains the stem found in ἀσκέω, so that it would mean 'decorators' or 'finishers' (J.T. Killen *CM* 165). The sign for WOMAN in this set does not fulfil quite the same function as the ideogram on KN Ra 1540, for example: there it simply repeats the phonetic spelling of the word, whereas here the WOMAN sign is preceded, not by a phonetic representation of the word 'woman', but by a feminine noun. Thus in the Aa inscriptions the WOMAN sign does not function as an ideogram in the strict sense, but is a determinative or classifier of a kind found in other Bronze Age scripts.

§ 199 The text of Aa 85 amounts to a very bald statement, namely that twelve 'decorators' form a group together with sixteen girls and eight boys. The name of the place of work must have been known to the scribe; perhaps it was mentioned on a sealing attached to this archive. In other tablets, the place is specified. Aa 717, for instance, states that thirty-two 'decorators' with eighteen girls and eight boys work at the place *ro-u-so*. This is known, from a number of other tablets, to be a place of interest to the scribes (e.g. PY Cn 328, Jn 829, Ma 365), but it is especially apt to compare Ad 666. The first word of this inscription, *pu-ro*, is manifestly a spelling of the place-name Πύλος, and so it is natural to look for a place-name in the corresponding position in the Aa texts. The word *a-ke-ti-ra₂-o* represents a genitive plural ἀσκητριῶν, and *a-ke-ti-ra₂-o ko-wo* must mean 'sons of the decorators'. The addition of seven *ko-wo* after the MAN ideogram is hard to account for. Were Ad 666 an isolated tablet, it could be suggested that the scribe had overlooked seven κόρφοι and added them after the writing of the ideogram. But this cannot be the correct explanation, since at least nineteen other tablets in the Ad set have precisely the same structure, with varying numbers of *ko-wo* added after the ideogram. Once or twice in this set (e.g. at Ad 357) a number of men are marked as *o-pe-ro*; if (as is generally assumed) this word is ὀφέλος 'deficit', we must conclude that the taker of the census expected to find a certain number of *ko-wo* in each group. This conclusion immediately leads to another, namely that the census-takers checked the actual numbers they found against the 'notional' strength recorded on some other document in their possession (cf. Tritsch *Minoica* 433-435). The most that can be said about the Ad set is that it records numbers of *ko-wo* who are in some way dependent upon, or connected with, the women mentioned in Aa. Nowhere is the occupation of these *ko-wo* stated, and the presumption is that they are as yet too young to form part of the work-force in their own right, for it seems inconceivable that adult able-bodied males in such circumstances would not have been allotted some task. And associated with some groups of these dependent *ko-wo* are other (perhaps independent) *ko-wo*, who are counted along with them for the purposes of the census.

Ae 303 is one of the few Linear B texts which permit an immediate transcription into Greek:

Πύλος· ἱερεῖας δοέλαι ἔνεκα χρυσοῦο· WOMAN 14+

Pylos: slaves of the priestess on account of the sacred gold: 14+

women

§ 203 It may appear surprising, at first sight, that the women of Ae 303 are expressly stated to be slaves, whereas the women in the Aa and Ab tablets are not so described, even though they were apparently slaves. The probable explanation is that different types of 'slavery' are involved. On one level are women bound to certain kinds of menial service. On another, and surely much higher, level are those described as 'slaves of the priestess'. Still higher, presumably, are the 'slaves of the god' mentioned in the E tablets. The expression 'slave of the priestess' recurs also in one of these tablets, Eo 224.6. It is remarkable that in that place the 'slave' is given a name (*e-ra-ta-ra*), that she is a landholder, and that she is included in a list together with the priestess herself (§ 269). Everything, in short, points to a much higher position than would be occupied by menial workers: so high, indeed, that the very expression 'slave of the priestess' is perhaps to be regarded as an honorific title. (For the word *e-ne-ka*, see § 93).

§ 204 The picture which emerges from a study of Ae 303 is that of a group or guild of priestesses (on the assumption that the *i-je-re-a* was only *prima inter pares*), who are charged with the duty of attending the sacred treasure.

5 THE ASSESSMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF BRONZE: PY Jn

General studies: G. Pugliese Carratelli *SCO* 12 (1963) 242-253; M.S. Ruipérez *Minos* 8 (1963) 37-50; M.L. Lang *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 397-412; A. Morpurgo Davies *PP* 23 (1968) 220-222; A. Hurst *SMEA* 5 (1968) 92-96; M. Lejeune *Mémoires* II 167-195, III 113-133; S. Hiller *SMEA* 15 (1972) 51-72. Names of the smiths: P. Attinger *ZA* 27 (1977) 55-75. *a-ke-te-re*: M. Lejeune *Mémoires* II 207-208. *a-ta-ra-si-jo*: I. Tegye *AC(D)* 4 (1968) 3-5. *du-ma-te*: M. Lejeune *Mémoires* I 187-201. *ka-ko na-wi-jo*: A. Leukart, S. Hiller *CM* 183-195. *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*: M.S. Ruipérez *EM* 105-120; A. Heubeck *IF* 64 (1959) 132-135, *WJ* 4 (1978) 97-98; K. Murakawa *JCS* 7 (1959) 1-24; J. Tail- lardat *REG* 73 (1960) 1-5; M. Lejeune *Mémoires* II 214-215; J.T. Hoo- ker *ZA* 26 (1976) 27-29. *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*: C.J. Ruijgh *SMEA* 4 (1967) 40-52. *ga-si-re-u*: J.L. O'Neil *ZA* 20 (1970) 11-14. *ta-ra- si-ja*: Y. Duhoux *AVEM* 69-115.

§ 205 The Jn tablets are characterized by the presence of the BRONZE ideogram, which is often accompanied by the fractional amounts N, M, or L. The extant tablets of the Jn set fall into two classes, which must be considered separately:

- (1) Jn 829 and the fragmentary text Jn 881, which record the assessment of weights of BRONZE in various parts of the Pylian domain;
- (2) All the other Jn texts, which record the distribution of weights of BRONZE to smiths for working.

jo-do-so-si ko-re-te-re du-ma-te-qe
 po-ro-ko-re-te-re-qe kara-wi-po-ro-qe o-pi-su-ko-qe o-pi-ka-pe -e-we-qe
 ka-ko na-wi-jo pa-ta-jo-i-qe e-ke-si-qe ai-ka-sa-ma
 pi-^M82 ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 me-ta-pa ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 pe-to-no ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 pa-ki-ja-pi ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 a-pu-we₂ ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 a-ke-re-wa ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 ro-u-so ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 ka-ra-do-ro ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 ri-]jo ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 ti-mi-to-a-ke-e ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 ra-]wa-ra-ta₂ ko-re-te BRONZE M2 N3 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE N3
 sa-]ma-ra ko-re-te BRONZE M3 N3 po-ro-ko-re-te N3
 a-si-ja-ti-ja ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te N3
 e-ra-te-re-wa-pi ko-re-te BRONZE M2 po-ro-ko-re-te N3
 za-ma-e-wi-ja ko-re-te BRONZE M3 N3 po-ro-ko-re-te N3
 e-fe-i ko-re-te BRONZE M3 N3 po-ro-ko-re-te N3

§ 207 Jn 829 consists of two parts, a 'heading' (lines 1-3) and a 'list' (lines 4-19). The following facts suggest that it formed the first of a closely connected group of texts all dealing with the same subject. While six classes of officials are mentioned in the 'heading', the contribution of only two classes is recorded in the 'list' on this tablet. It is a reasonably secure inference that the contribution of the remaining four classes was recorded on other tablets. Furthermore, the prefix *jo-* attached to the opening word of line 1 indicates that, within the postulated group of Jn tablets dealing with assessments, our text is the first (§ 130).

§ 208 We examine first the structure of the 'heading'. After the verb *do-so-si* (δῶσονσι) 'will give' (probably with the imperatival force 'are to give' which is found in classical Greek) come the six subjects, all in the nominative plural and all, except the first, linked together by the copulative suffix *-qe* (τε):¹ 'the *ko-re-te-re* and *du-ma-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* and *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* and *o-pi-su-ko* and *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we*'. These, then, are the six classes of persons who are to give such-and-such.

§ 209 The first class consists of the *ko-re-te-re*, a word which almost certainly represents a Greek agent-noun ending in -τηρες. The stem *ko-re-*, however, cannot be equated with anything known in Greek. Whatever place the *ko-re-te-re* held in the Pylian state, it was a reasonably important one. Along with the *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*, they recur on PY Jo 438, which records an assessment of GOLD in certain places, just as Jn 829 records an assessment of BRONZE. Again on the fragmentary tablet PY On 300 the *ko-re-te-re* are found in named places. From the way in which the *ko-re-te-re* and *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* are mentioned in these texts, it is evident that in each place there was only one *ko-re-te* and only one *po-ro-ko-re-te*. They were therefore local officials of some kind. (A *ko-re-te-ri-jo ke-ke-me-no* is mentioned at PY An 830.6. Since *ko-re-te-ri-jo* is an adjective formed from *ko-re-te* and since the feminine of *ke-ke-me-no* is applied to a type of land-holding in the E tablets, § 260, the whole phrase probably refers to the plot of a *ko-re-te* at a given place. At KN V 865, both a *ko-re-te* and a *po-ro-ko-re-te* are recorded at the place *qa-ra*). The exact relationship between a *ko-re-te* and a *po-ro-ko-re-te* is impossible to determine because the force of the prefix *po-ro-* is unknown. This prefix is often explained by reference to Latin *pro*, so that a *po-ro-ko-re-te* is seen as a kind of 'deputy *ko-re-te*'. But it is unnecessary to go outside Greek to find a parallel to the form *po-ro-ko-re-te*. Classical πρό, both as an independent word and in compounds, means 'before, in front (of)'. Compounds with a noun denoting a person are rare, but

¹ According to the usual practice of Linear B scribes: cf. PY Ta 714.1, 722.1.

πρόμαντις and πρόξενος are well attested. In both words, the prefix has its customary meaning: a πρόμαντις is a seer in the public eye, while a πρόξενος is recognized officially by the state. Perhaps it would be right to interpret the Mycenaean term *po-ro-ko-re-te* along similar lines, leaving open the possibility that *po-ro-* is the spelling of some prefix other than *pro-*.

§ 210 The meaning of the word *du-ma-te* (*du-ma-τες*) and its connexion (if any) with *da-ma-te* (§ 267) cannot be ascertained. Elsewhere it is sometimes found in the compound forms *po-ro-du-ma-te* (PY Fn 50.7) and *me-ri-du-ma-te* (PY An 39.2, 424.3, 427.2, 594.2).

§ 211 The word *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* is usually understood as κλῶφιφόρου and analysed as a compound of *κλῶφιδ- 'key'. A priestly title κλῶικοφόρῳ (formed from a stem *κλῶφικ-) is found in a Hellenistic inscription from Messene: F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* II (Berlin 1923) 426. The 'key-bearers' of Jn 829 (if that is what they are) are likely to be women, since on PY Ep 704.7 the word *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* is put in apposition to the woman's name *ka-pa-ti-ja*. It is not impossible that in each place a priestess holding an honorific title should be held responsible for providing a quantity of bronze. At the same time, there always resides a danger in adopting such purely 'etymological' interpretations when the context is not sufficient to fix the meaning precisely.

§ 212 No satisfactory sense can be assigned to the two remaining words in the nominative plural, *o-pi-su-ko* and *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we*. The presence of the prefix *o-pi-* (ὅπι-) suggests that both are classes of people 'in charge of' certain things; but to regard the first class as 'supervisors of figs' (on the assumption that *-su-ko* is a spelling of σῦκον) or the second as 'supervisors of hoeing or of hulls' (on the assumption that *-ka-pe* represents the stem σκαφ-) is only to confess our ignorance of the real meaning of these terms.

§ 213 The next two words of the 'heading', *ka-ko na-wi-jo*, form the object of the verb *do-so-si*. *ka-ko* represents the accusative singular χαλκόν 'bronze', while *na-wi-jo* is an adjective (ναῦλον) in agreement with it. The question arises whether ναῦλον is formed from the stem of ναῦς 'ship' or that of ναῖός 'temple'.¹ Although the second interpretation has received more widespread support, no final judgment is possible. Even if the meaning 'temple' is more

¹ The meaning 'temple' should not be pressed too closely. Since independent 'temples' are not yet attested on the Greek mainland in Mycenaean times, the word 'shrine' would perhaps be more apposite. Hérodoteus 6.19.3 uses νηός 'shrine' in contrast to ἱερόν 'temple'. Did Mycenaean Greek make a similar distinction?

probable, either of two very different situations could have been contemplated by the writer of the tablet, namely: (i) the bronze was already in temples and was required to make the weapons specified in the following words (attributive use of *na-wi-jo*); or (ii) the bronze was intended for use in temples (predicative use of *na-wi-jo*). Although (ii) has rarely been considered the correct explanation, it does in fact yield better sense if the small quantities of bronze are taken into account: these quantities are more consistent with the need for 'dedicated' weapons than with that for equipment actually to be used in warfare. Again, if the scribe is merely recording amounts of bronze to be raised from various places, it is hard to see why the present use or location of the bronze is of much interest to him: his concern is with the *destination*, not with the *origin*, of the metal.

§ 214 Next in sense comes the last word of line 3, in the accusative plural and in apposition to 'bronze': *ai-ka-sa-ma* = αἰξμάς (Attic αἰχμάς) 'points'. Finally we may take the dative plural words *pa-ta-jo-ge e-ke-si-ge*, which yield a good sense in Greek: παλταίου-ι τε ἔγχεσί τε 'both for darts and for spears' (a word παλίων is attested in later Greek).

§ 215 Thus the 'heading' of the tablet states the purpose for which the contributions of bronze are required and the classes of persons who are to make the contributions. The list which follows specifies how much bronze the *ko-re-te* and the *po-ro-ko-re-te* in each place will contribute. The names of two places in the Pylian domain have already been elicited from the A tablets (§ 199): *pu-ro* and *ro-u-so*. Although *pu-ro* does not figure in the present list, *ro-u-so* occurs in line 10. The first nine members of the list are arranged in an order which recurs on other tablets: a recurrence which facilitates the restoration of the damaged sections of our text. The remaining seven place-names do not form a list on any other extant tablet, although most of them are found individually on the Ma tablets, which record assessments of produce from named places (§§ 315-319). The correspondences may be expressed by means of a table:

Jn 829	Vn 20	Cn 608	Ma
<i>pi-*82</i>	<i>pi-*82-de</i>	<i>pi-*82</i>	225 <i>pi-*82</i>
<i>me-ta-pa</i>	<i>me-ta-pa-de</i>	<i>me-ta-pa</i>	90 <i>me-ta-pa</i>
<i>pe-to-no</i>	<i>pe-to-no-de</i>	<i>pe-to-no</i>	120 <i>pe-to-no</i>
<i>pa-ki-ja-pi</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-si</i>	221 <i>pa-ki-ja-pi</i>
<i>a-pu₂-we</i>	<i>a-pu₂-de</i>	<i>a-pu₂-we</i>	124 <i>a-pu₂-we</i>
<i>a-ke-re-wa</i>	<i>a-ke-re-wa-de</i>	<i>a-ke-re-wa</i>	222 <i>a-ke-re-wa</i>
<i>ro-u-so</i>	<i>e-ra-to-de</i>	<i>e-ra-te-i</i>	365 <i>ro-u-so</i>
<i>ka-]ra-do-ro</i>	<i>ka-ra-do-ro-de</i>	<i>ka-ra-do-ro</i>	346 <i>ka-ra-do-ro</i>
<i>ri-]jo</i>	<i>ri-jo-de</i>	<i>ri-jo</i>	193 <i>ri-jo</i>
<i>ti-mi-to-a-ke-e</i>			123 <i>ti-mi-to-a-ke-e</i>
<i>ra-]wa-ra-ta₂</i>			216 <i>ra-wa-ra-ta₂</i>
<i>sa-]ma-ra</i>			378 <i>sa-ma-ra</i>
<i>a-si-ja-ti-ja</i>			
<i>e-ra-te-re-wa-pi</i>			333 <i>e-ra-te-re-we</i>
<i>za-ma-e-wi-ja</i>			393 <i>za-ma-e-wi-ja</i>
<i>e-re-i</i>			

§ 216 The names in Vn 20 contain the allative suffix *-de* because they denote places to which wine has been distributed (§ 133). Two observations on the names themselves may be useful:

(i) The place-name standing fourth in the list appears sometimes as a plural *pa-ki-ja-ne* (i.e. a plural ending in *-es*), but sometimes in the form *pa-ki-ja-na*, which could be feminine singular or neuter plural. In the above lists, *pa-ki-ja-pi* represents an ablative-instrumental in *-pu₂*, *pa-ki-ja-si* a locative plural in *-si*.

(ii) The variation between *ro-u-so* and *e-ra-to* in the seventh place may be explained by assuming either that the same place had two different names or that one name refers to a town and the other to the district in which it is situated: C.W. Shelmerdine *AJA* 77 (1973) 275.

The distribution of bronze

§ 217 We have seen that Jn 829 records the assessment of bronze from sixteen named places. Nearly all the other tablets in the Jn set are concerned with the opposite transaction, namely the distribution of quantities of bronze to smiths for working. In theory, the 'full' form of these distribution-tablets consists of five paragraphs, which as a rule are carefully marked off from one another by means of blank lines:

- Para. 1: (i) 'heading': place-name followed by the formula *ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te* (or *e-ko-si*), χαλκῆρες ταλανσίαν ἔχοντες (ἔχονσι); on one tablet, Jn 832.1, *ka-ke-we* is put in apposition to *a-ke-te-re*, an agent-noun in -τηρες, of unknown meaning;
- (ii) a list of named smiths, each of whom is followed by a weight of BRONZE;
- (iii) the word *qa-si-re-u* = βασιλεύς, followed by a list of named smiths.
- Para. 2: the total of the BRONZE allocated to the smiths, usually introduced by the formula *to-so-de ka-ko* (τοσοῦδε χαλκός) or *to-so-pa ka-ko* (τόσος πᾶνς χαλκός).
- Para. 3: the formula (*to-so-de*) *a-ta-ra-si-jo (ka-ke-we)* = (τοσοῦδε) ἀταλάνσιου (χαλκῆρες), followed by a list of named smiths, but without specification of weights of BRONZE.
- Para. 4: a list of unnamed slaves attached to the foregoing smiths; the list is sometimes preceded by the formula *to-so-de do-e-ro* = τοσοῦδε δοέλου.
- Para. 5: the formula *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te* = Ποτνιαφεῦτος? χαλκῆρες ταλανσίαν ἔχοντες, followed by a list of named smiths, each followed in turn by a weight of BRONZE.

§ 218 Thus, apart from the perplexing *ka-ke-we a-ke-te-re* on Jn 832, three classes of bronze-smiths are distinguished: one group who have *ta-ra-si-ja* (Para. 1); a second group who are *a-ta-ra-si-jo* (i.e. who lack *ta-ra-si-ja*) and against whose names weights of BRONZE are not recorded (Para. 3); and a third group who have some connexion with Potnia, 'the Lady' (Para. 5).

§ 219 The meaning of the word *ta-ra-si-ja* cannot be fixed with precision; but the fact that only those smiths with *ta-ra-si-ja* are allotted amounts of bronze suggests that it contains a stem which appears in later Greek τάλαντον and consequently means 'an amount weighed out'. It is a mark of the meticulous nature of the book-keeping involved that the scribes record not only those smiths who have quantities of bronze but also those who have none: *a-ta-ra-si-jo* = 'men without *ta-ra-si-ja*'. The association of the third group with Potnia does not necessarily imply that such smiths are in the service of a goddess. The word *po-ti-ni-ja* 'lady' does not refer unequivocally to the divine sphere; and, since the Jn tablets convey no hint that the smiths have cult-connexions, there is little justification for insisting on their sacral function here.

§ 220 On Jn 431, 601, and 845 the word *qa-si-re-u* is found in association with some smiths 'having *ta-ra-si-ja*'. In 431.6 it is written at the beginning of the line, followed by the names of two smiths; in 601.8 it is followed by the name of one smith; in 845.7 it is used after the smith's name *e-ri-ko-wo*. If we take these facts into account and note the formal equivalence of *qa-si-re-u* to βασιλεύς 'king' in alphabetic Greek, we can suggest that *qa-si-re-u* signifies a local official of some kind. The later extension of the term to refer to a much more elevated status would by no means invalidate such a suggestion. Nor is the evidence of PY Jo 438 at variance with it: among the persons, including *ko-re-te*, *po-ro-ko-re-te*, and *mo-ro-qa* said by that text to contribute amounts of GOLD, line 20 specifies the contribution by *a-ke-ro qa-si-re-u*.

§ 221 The following table gives in outline the structure of the well-preserved distribution-tablets, by marking with × those of the possible constituents which are actually present in each text:

	Para.:	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	2	3	4	5
Jn 310		×	×			×	×	×
320		×	×		×	×		
389		×	×		×	×		
413		[×]	×		×	×	×	
415		×	×		×	×		
431		×	×	×	×	×	×	×
478		×	×		×	×		
601		×	×	×	×	×		
605		×	×			×	×	
658		×	×		×	×		
692		×	×			×		
693		×	×			×		
706		×	×		×	×	×	
725		×	×		×			
750		×	×			×	×	
832		×	×			×		
845		[×]	×	×	×	×		
881		×	×					
927		[]		×		
937		×	×	[

a-pi-no-e-wi[-jo] ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te

to-ri-jo BRONZE M1 N2 e-do-mo-ne-u BRONZE M1 N2

mi-ka-ri-jo BRONZE M1 N2 pu-ra-ta BRONZE M1 N2

u-wa-ta BRONZE M1 N2 ka-ta-wa BRONZE M1 N2

a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we

wi-ti-mi-jo 1 ma-no-u-ro 1 a-we-ke-se-u 1

to-so-de do-e-ro

pe-re-qo-no-jo 2 ai-ki-e-wo 2 mi-ka-ri-jo-jo 1

pu-ra-ta-o 1

Part two names three smiths 'without ta-ra-si-ja'.

Part three mentions six slaves attached to the smiths whose names are present in the genitive case, *mi-ka-ri-jo-jo* in line 10 being the genitive of the smith's name *mi-ka-ri-jo* (line 3) and *pu-ra-ta-o* in line 11 being the genitive of *pu-ra-ta* (line 3).

]ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te

po-ru-qo-ta BRONZE M1 N2 sa-ri-qo-ro BRONZE M1 N2

pu-ke-se-ro BRONZE M1 M2 re-qo-we BRONZE M1 N2

qe-ta-ra-je-u BRONZE M1 N2 du-re-u BRONZE M1 N2

a-pa-je-u BRONZE M1 N2 pa-pa-ra-ko BRONZE M1 N2

e-ri-ko-wo qa-si-re-u 1

to-so-de ka-ko BRONZE M 12

to-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo

po-so-ro 1 na-pu-ti-jo 1 ma-ta-ko 1

ku-ke-re-u 1 a-ti-ja-wo 1 wa-ra-ko-no 1

qe-re-me-ne-u 1

a-ke-re-wa ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te

ti-qa-jo BRONZE M1 N2 qe-ta-wo BRONZE M1 N2

a-iso-ni-jo BRONZE M1 N2 ta-mi-je-u BRONZE M1 N2

e-u-ru-wo-ta BRONZE M1 N2 e-u-do-no BRONZE M1 N2

po-ro-u-te-u BRONZE M1 N2 wi-du-wa-ko BRONZE M1 N2

to-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we

pa-qo-si-jo 1 ke-we-to 1 wa [] re-u [

pe-ta-ro 1

to-so-de do-e-ro ke-we-to-jo 1 i-wa-ka-o 1

pa-qo-si-jo-jo 1 po-ro-u-te-wo 1

po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te

i-ma-di-jo BRONZE M2 tu-ke-ne-u BRONZE M3

] BRONZE M3 i-wa-ka BRONZE M3

a-] ta-ra-si-jo pu₂-si-ja-ko 1

Part two (lines 7-9) names four smiths 'without ta-ra-si-ja'.

Part three (lines 11-12) records slaves belonging to the smiths ke-we-to, i-wa-ka, pa-qo-si-jo, and po-ro-u-te-u respectively.

Part four (lines 14-17) names four smiths 'of the Lady' who have ta-ra-si-ja and one smith who has not.

6 THE O-KA SET: PYLOS An TABLETS

General studies: H. Mühlestein *Die o-ka Tafeln von Pylos* (Basel 1956); L.R. Palmer *Eranos* 54 (1956) 1-13, *Minos* 4 (1956); E. Risch *Athenaeum* 46 (1958) 334-359; L. Deroy *Les leveurs d'impôts dans la royaume mycénien de Pylos* (Rome 1968); R. Schmitt-Brandt *SMEA* 7 (1968) 69-96. *a₂-ru-wo-te*: A. Heubeck *BN* 11 (1960) 7. *de-wi-jo*: A. Heubeck *SMEA* 11 (1970) 63-70. *e-ge-ta*: G. Pugliese Carratelli *Minoica* 319-326; N. van Brock *RP* 34 (1960) 222-225; A.M. Ticchioni Jasink *SMEA* 17 (1976) 85-92; S. Deger-Jalkotzy *E-QE-TA: Zur Rolle des Gefolgschaftswesens in der Sozialstruktur mykenischer Reiche* (Vienna 1978). *o-pi-a₂-ra*: O. Panagl *SMEA* 13 (1971) 156-165. *o-u-ru-to*: P. Wathélet *SM* 105-111; F. Bader *BSL* 66 (1971) 148-149, 202-204. *o-wi-to-no*: M.D. Petruševski *Klio* 58 (1976) 292-294.

§ 227 An important group of five texts, An 657, 519, 654, 656, and 661, are known as the o-ka tablets because of the presence in each of them of the word o-ka. They were all written by the same scribe. As they are closely similar to one another in structure, they may be represented by a single example:

o-u-ru-to o-pi-a₂-ra e-pi-ko-wo
 ma-re-wo o-ka o-wi-to-no
 a-pe-ri-ta-wo o-re-ta e-te-wa-ko-ki-jo
 su-we-ro-wi-jo o-wi-ti-ni-jo o-ka-ra₃ MAN 50

ne-da-wa-ta-o o-ka e-ke-me-de
 a-pi-je-ta ma-ra-te-u ta-ni-ko
 a₂-ru-wo-te ke-ki-de ku-pa-ri-si-jo MAN 20

ai-ta-re-u-si ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de MAN 10
 me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ke-ki-jo
 a-e-ri-qo-ta e-ra-po ri-me-ne
 o-ka-ra ^{o-wi-}to-no MAN 30 ke-ki-de-qe a-pu₂-ka-ne

MAN 20 me-ta-qe pe-i ai-ko-ta e-qe-ta

§ 229 Like the *jo-* at the beginning of PY Jn 829 (§ 207), the *o-* at the beginning of An 657 indicates that this is the first tablet of a group. The scribe has carefully divided his text into three 'paragraphs', each (apparently) dealing with one detachment.

§ 230 Para. 1 (lines 1-4). As on Jn 829, the 'heading' in line 1 indicates the occasion on which the record was drawn up. The word *-u-ru-to* may represent a 3 plural present *φύντοι*, a deponent verb found in Homer with the meaning 'guard, protect'. The subject of this verb is *e-pi-ko-wo*, nominative plural masculine, which we may equate with *ἐπίκοφοι* 'watchers' (the stem *κοφ-* being connected with that of *κοφέω* 'perceive, hear' and with Latin *caveo*). The object of the verb is an accusative plural neuter *o-pi-a₂-ra*, which looks like a spelling of *ὅπῃ + ἄλλα*, 'those parts near the sea' — i.e. 'the coastal regions'. According to the usual interpretation, the succeeding lines identify these 'watchers on guard over the coastal

regions'. Line 2 conveys a simple statement, with no verb expressed: *o-ka* is nominative, *ma-re-wo* the genitive of a man's name dependent upon it, and *o-wi-to-no* the dative-locative of a place-name. The whole expression may mean something like 'detachment of *ma-re-u* at *o-wi-to-no*'. Line 3 contains four names in the nominative (*a-pe-ri-ta-wo*, *o-re-ta*, *e-te-wa*, and *ko-ki-jo*): these are presumed to be officers subordinate to the 'commander' *ma-re-u*. The sense of line 4 is difficult to grasp. The first word *su-we-ro-wi-jo* could be nominative singular and so the name of another 'officer' (continuing the list begun in line 3) or nominative plural describing the fifty MEN specified by the ideogram. It is also conceivable that it is locative singular, referring to the second place in parallel with *o-wi-to-no*. Whatever the correct answer, it is probable that *o-wi-to-ni-jo* is nominative plural of an ethnic, 'men of *o-wi-to-no*.' *o-ka-ra*, too is opaque; with *o-ka* (line 2) and *o-ka-ra* (line 13) in mind, we might regard it as being descriptive of the MEN.

§ 231 Para. 2 (lines 6-8). The 'detachment' of *ne-da-wa-ta* (Νεδῶτῶς?) is said to contain the 'officers' *e-ke-me-de*, *a-pi-je-ta*, *ma-ra-te-u*, and *ta-ni-ko*. The words comprising line 8 presumably refer to the twenty MEN at the end. Of these, *i₂-ru-wo-te* is perhaps dative-locative of a place-name, *ke-ki-de* nominative plural of a word in -υδες (which appears elsewhere in the *o-ka* set and also on PY Na 514), and *ku-pa-ri-si-jo* nominative plural of an ethnic, 'men of Kyparissos'.

§ 232 Para. 3 (lines 10-14). Line 10 mentions ten more *ku-pa-ri-si-jo* and *ke-ki-de* men, stationed this time at *ai-ta-re-u-si*, the locative plural of a place-name in -εύς. Line 11 contains a formula which recurs in line 14 and frequently elsewhere in the *o-ka* set: *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ke-ki-jo* = μετά τέ σφελς ἐπ'ετῶς Κέρκιος, 'and with them the Follower Kerkios'. The dative plural of the 3 personal pronoun *pe-i* = σφελς was mentioned in § 121. The word *e-qe-ta* seems to be used as an honorific; as if a person of high rank were attached to certain of the groups. Lines 12 and 13 mention another 'detachment': first the four 'officers' are named (*a-e-ri-qo-ta*, *e-ra-po*, *ri-me-ne*, and *o-ka-ra*); then their location ('at *o-wi-to-no*'); lastly the number of 'rank-and-file' soldiers, namely thirty. Lines 13-14 describe yet another 'detachment', this time consisting of twenty soldiers, specified as *ke-ki-de* and *a-pu₂-ka-ne*; the latter word is probably the nominative plural of an ethnic, because a singular *a-pu₂-ka* is used to describe the *e-qe-ta* named *ka-e-sa-me-no* at An 656.19-20. At the end of line 14, an *e-qe-ta* named *ai-ko-ta* is connected with this group.

7 INVENTORIES: PYLOS Ta TABLETS

General studies: M. Doria *Interpretazioni di testi micenei* I (Trieste 1956), *Varia Mycenaea* (Trieste 1973); L.R. Palmer *Minos* 5 (1957) 58-92, *BICS* 7 (1960) 57-63; D.H.F. Gray ib. 64-65; C. Gallavotti *RF* 90 (1962) 137-149, *SMEA* 15 (1972) 24-32; S. Hiller *Eirene* 9 (1971) 69-86. Ta 641: C.W. Blegen *AE* (1953-1954/1) 59-62; V. Pisani *Minoica* 294-303. Ta 716: J. Taillardat *REG* 73 (1960) 13-14. a-ja-me-no in Ta 707 etc.: D.J.N. Lee *Glotta* 39 (1961) 195 n.1; P. Chantraine *RP* 36 (1962) 11-15. ai-ke-u in Ta 641: M.D. Petruševski *ZA* 9 (1959) 154. da-mo-ko-ro in Ta 711: J.-P. Olivier *Minos* 8 (1967) 118-122; L.R. Palmer ib. 123-124; A. Heubeck *AR* II 611-614. di-pa in Ta 641: N.E. Collinge *BICS* 4 (1957) 55-59. e-ne-wo-pe-za in Ta 713: K. Giannoulidou *Platon* 15 (1963) 177-180. ke-re-si-jo we-ke in Ta 641: F. Bader *Les composés grecs du type de demiourgos* (Paris 1965) 165-167. o-wo-we in Ta 641: C. Gallavotti *PP* 11 (1956) 23-24; D.J.N. Lee *PP* 15 (1960) 407; M. Doria *PP* 16 (1961) 56-62; O.J.L. Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967) 56-58. qe-ra-na in Ta 711: M.D. Petruševski *ZA* 15 (1965) 60. qi-si-pe-e in Ta 716: A. Heubeck *Minos* 6 (1958) 55-60. se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi in Ta 707 and 714: H. Mühlestein *Glotta* 36 (1958) 152-156; E. Risch *SMEA* 1 (1966) 53-66.

§ 233 The Ta set consists of thirteen tablets, all written by the same hand. Only two of them will be discussed here.

PY Ta 711 = *Documents* no. 235 = *Interpretation* no. 248

1 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢

§ 234 Ta 711 is shown to be the first of its set by the presence of a 'heading', introduced by the prefix *o-*, in line 1. The structure of line 1 is:

o-wi-de pu, -ke-qi-ri o-te wa-na-ka te-ke au-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro

-φίδε φυ..... ὅτε φάναξ θῆκε Αὐγέφῶν? δάμοκλον?

The meaning of the line may be rendered thus: 'Phy..... (personal name in the nominative) saw when the Lord appointed Augewas? as damoklos?' (An alternative interpretation, 'Phy..... saw when the Lord buried the damoklos' is possible but seems less likely). The *da-mo-ko-ro* is an official of some kind, unknown in later Greek but evidently connected with the word *da-mo* = δάμος. On other tablets, both at Pylos and at Knossos, the *da-mo-ko-ro* is present in the same contexts as the *du-ma-te*.

§ 235 After the 'heading' there follows, on this and on the other other twelve tablets of the Ta set, a list of objects which are described in considerable detail: many of these must have been of great value, while others were ordinary utensils, sometimes in a damaged state. The heterogeneous collection includes jugs, tripods, swords, tables, and foot-stools.

§ 236 The question has often been asked, what connexion there was between the inspection, the appointment of Augewas, and the compilation of such a list. It may be suggested that the connexion is a purely temporal one — that the scribe fixed the date of this detailed inspection, or stock-taking, by reference to the induction of a high official: so S. Hiller *Eirene* 9 (1971) 72.

§ 237 The list which occupies lines 2 and 3 of Ta 711 presents many problems. The word *qe-ra-na* figures in each of the items of the list, twice accompanied by the ideogram *204 and once not. The shape of the ideogram shows plainly that *qe-ra-na* means a kind of jug; but no corresponding Greek word is known. The list comprises:

qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja qo-u-ka-ra ko-ki-re-ja

qe-ra-na a-mo-te-wi-ja ko-ro-no-we-sa

qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja ku-na-ja qo-u-ka-ra to-qi-de-we-sa

In each item, *qe-ra-na* is accompanied by feminine adjectives. The first of these, *wa-na-se-wi-ja* = φανασηϊᾶ, is formed from φάναξ or φανασσα and so must mean 'of the Lord' or 'of the Lady'; but it is impossible to specify the nature of the connexion with the Lord or the Lady. The *qe-ra-na* might have been a present to the Lord (or Lady), a present from the Lord (or Lady), a possession of the Lord (or Lady), etc. The interpretation 'decorated with a goddess' is not plausible, since Mycenaean objects of the kind depicted here do not (so far as is known) bear scenes of cult. There can be little doubt that the next adjective, *qo-u-ka-ra*, describes the decoration of the jug. It is composed of two elements which are well attested in later Greek: *qo-u-* being the stem of βούς and *-ka-ra* the stem of

κράῖ 'head'. The kind of decoration this word suggests is that of the 'bucrania' found on Late Minoan Ia pottery: A. Furumark *The Mycenaean pottery: analysis and classification* (Stockholm 1972²) 247. No similar Mycenaean motif, however, is attested at the appropriate period. The third adjective in the first item, *ko-ki-re-ja*, is perhaps connected with κόχλος, which means a kind of shell-fish with spiral shell: if so, it would yield the meaning 'decorated with a shell-pattern'. The two adjectives describing the second item, *a-mo-te-wi-ja* and *ko-ro-no-we-sa*, are completely opaque: speculation seems pointless here. Of the four adjectives which go with the third item, *wa-na-se-wi-ja* and *go-u-ka-ra* have been discussed already. *ku-na-ja* fits exactly the syllables of γυναιῶ, an adjective formed from γυνή. If that is indeed the word expressed, its theoretical range of meanings is too wide for us to know what the scribe intended: the sense 'belonging to a woman' is impossibly vague, whereas if it means 'decorated with a woman' then the description refers to a motif hardly found in Mycenaean Greece; the meaning 'for a woman's use' seems the least objectionable. The stem of *to-qi-de-we-sa* may be cognate with that of Latin *torqueo* 'twist': hence τὸρξ^Wιδέσσα would mean 'decorated with a spiral pattern' and would be synonymous with *to-qi-de-ja* (τὸρξ^Wιδεῖα) at Ta 709.1.

§ 238 PY Ta 641 = *Documents* no. 236 = *Interpretation* no. 250

1. ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. 2. ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. 3. ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ.
 2. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ.
 3. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ. ΕΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΣ.

ti-ri-po-de ai-ke-u-ke-re-si-jo-we-ke TRIPOD 2 ti-ri-po e-me po-de o-wo-we TRIPOD 1 ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo-we-ke a-puke ^{ke-re-si-jo-we-ke} ^{ka-u-me-no}

qe-to PITHOS 3 di-pame-zoe qe-to-ro-we JAR 1 di-pa-me-zoe-ti-ri-o-we-e JAR 2 di-pa-me-wi-jo qe-to-ro-we JAR 1

di-pa-me-wi-jo ti-ri-jo-we JAR 1 di-pa-me-wi-jo a-no-we JAR 1

Ta 641 lists the following items:

- Line 1: (i) *ti-ri-po-de ai-ke-u ke-re-si-jo we-ke* TRIPOD 2
 (ii) *ti-ri-po e-me po-de o-wo-we* TRIPOD 1
 (iii) *ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no*
ke-re-a₂ TRIPOD [1
- Line 2: (iv) *qe-to* PITHOS 3
 (v) *di-pa me-zo-e qe-to-ro-we* JAR 1
 (vi) *di-pa-e me-zo-e ti-ri-o-we-e* JAR 2
 (vii) *di-pa me-wi-jo qe-to-ro-we* JAR 1
- Line 3: (viii) *di-pa me-wi-jo ti-ri-jo-we* JAR 1
 (ix) *di-pa me-wi-jo a-no-we* JAR 1

§ 239 (i) The writer has recorded the presence of two tripods: hence the dual *ti-ri-po-de* = τρίποδε. *ke-re-si-jo we-ke* possibly represents a compound which would have been spelt as one word in alphabetic Greek, namely Κρησιολοφουργής 'of Cretan workmanship'. If this analysis is correct, it carries with it the implication (which is quite plausible on archaeological grounds) that special value was placed on artefacts made by Minoan craftsmen or in the Minoan style (since either of those meanings could be conveyed by the compound word). The scribe has failed to put his adjective in the dual, so as to make it agree with *ti-ri-po-de*. That is only one of several incongruities displayed by the text. For example, the word *ai-ke-u* is in the nominative singular, and so cannot be directly in apposition to *ti-ri-po-de* (§ 160). Two different explanations of the function of *ai-ke-u* present themselves. Either *ai-ke-u* is a proper name (Αἰκεύς?) of a man who has some connexion with the tripods: perhaps their maker, their owner, or their consignee. Or it has an adjectival function, describing the decoration of the tripod: *ai-ke-u* has been thought to contain the stem αἰ- 'goat' and so to mean 'decorated with goat-heads'. The latter explanation presumes an adjectival use of words in -εύς which is not found in historical Greek; and there seems no good reason for assuming its existence in Mycenaean. A close parallel to *ai-ke-u* is provided by the entry on another tablet of this set, Ta 709.3:

*ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke *34-ke-u* TRIPOD 1

ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke o-pi-ke-wi-re-je-u TRIPOD 1

If the writer of these tablets were in the habit of associating one tripod 'of Cretan workmanship' with a word ending in -εύς, he would be liable to write that word in the singular even when he was dealing with two tripods. In this way the singular number of the word *ai-ke-u* on Ta 641 is susceptible of a simple explanation. The appearance of **34-ke-u*, like that of *ai-ke-u*, suggests that it is a personal name. By analogy, *o-pi-ke-wi-re-je-u* too is likely to be a proper name: one in which the presence of the prefix *o-pi-* suggests an occupation-word which has been made into a man's name by the addition of -e-u. We may compare the occupation-term *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* at PY Un 2.2.

§ 240 (ii) Here the tripod is described as *o-wo-we* and is accompanied by two words in the instrumental singular: *e-me po-de*. *o-wo-we* is one of four adjectival compounds in this text which have *-o-we* (i.e. *-ώης*, neuter *-ῶες*) as their second element. This element reflects the original Greek word for 'ear' **ōfōs*, from which Attic *oŭs* also is derived: P. Kiparsky *Language* 43 (1967) 627 and O.J.L. Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967) 56. In the present text, the first element of the compound denotes the number of 'ears' or handles possessed by each vessel respectively (Theocritus' *ἀμφῶες* 1.28 'having a handle on either side' is a compound of exactly the same type). So in items (v) and (vii) *ge-to-ro-we* corresponds to *τετρῶες* 'four-handled'; in item (vi) *ti-ri-o-we-e* (dual) to *τριῶεε* 'three-handled'; in item (viii) *ti-ri-jo-we* (singular) to *τριῶες*; and in item (ix) *a-no-we* (with alpha privative) to *ἀνῶες* 'handleless'. As would be expected, *ge-to-ro-we* is accompanied by an ideogram showing four handles, *ti-ri-o-we-e* by one showing three handles, and *a-no-we* by one showing no handles. The difficulty with *o-wo-we* is that the accompanying ideogram clearly displays a vessel with two handles. This makes one hesitate to accept the interpretation of *o-wo-we* as *οἰῶης* 'with one handle' (whereby the first element is identified with the stem of *oŭos* 'sole, only'), compatible though that would be with the spelling. A simple (perhaps too simple) way out of the difficulty is to postulate a scribal error and assume that the writer intended the first sign to be *du*: *du-wo-we* (*δύῶης* 'with two handles') would provide a satisfactory parallel to the other entries ending in *-o-we*. There is no doubt about the meaning of the phrase *e-me po-de*: it comprises the instrumental of the numeral 'one' (§ 123) and the instrumental of the word for 'foot' (*ποῦς*, *ποδ-*), therefore 'on one foot'. But why should the scribe append the phrase 'on one foot' to what is, by definition and by illustration, a three-legged vessel? The only plausible reason is that this tripod, like that mentioned in item (iii), has been damaged and has lost two of its feet.

§ 241 (iii) The description of this vessel may be expressed in alphabetic Greek as follows: *τρίπῳς Κρησιοφεργῆς ἀπὸ κεκαυμένου σκέλεα* 'tripod of Cretan workmanship burnt off at the legs'. *ἀπὸ* has its original meaning of an adverb of separation 'off, away'; *κεκαυμένου* is reduplicated perfect participle passive of *καίω* 'burn'; neuter plural *σκέλεα* (contracted in Attic to *σκέλη*) is accusative of respect (§ 160).

§ 242 (iv) *ge-to* is nominative plural of an *o*-stem noun. *ge-to* was previously considered equivalent to *πίθος*, exemplifying the *i/e* alternation found in *di-pa*. The possibility remains, but strong objections to the identification are brought in *Documents* 493-494. In any case, it is highly probable that *ge-to* is a non-Greek word.

§ 243 (v) This and the rest of the items comprise a list of different types of vessel known as a *di-pa* (Homeric δέπας 'goblet'). The adjective *me-zo-e* is a comparative of the type described above (§ 118). The final *-e* is superfluous; it was written, we may presume, by a scribe who thought, for a moment, that he was recording the presence of two vessels, as in item (vi)(§ 160).

§ 244 (vi) Here the correctness of the dual forms *di-pa-e*, *me-zo-e*, and *ti-ri-o-we-e* is certified by the numeral '2'.

§ 245 (vii) This *di-pa* is described as *me-wi-jo* = μέϊον 'smaller' (§ 118).

8 LAND TABLETS: E TABLETS FROM PYLOS AND TIRYNS

General studies: F.R. Adrados *Emerita* 24 (1956) 353-416, 29 (1961) 53-116; E.L. Bennett *AJA* 60 (1956) 103-133; W.E. Brown *Historia* 5 (1956) 385-400; E. Will *REA* 59 (1957) 5-50; S. Calderone *SG* 13 (1960) 81-102; L. Deroy and M. Gérard *Le cadastre mycénien de Pylos* (Rome 1965); I. Tegye *AC(D)* 1 (1965) 1-10; D.M. Jones *PCCMS* 245-249; J. Masai *RBPH* 45 (1967) 97-115; C.J. Ruijgh *SMEA* 15 (1972) 91-104; Y. Duhoux *Kadmos* 13 (1974) 27-38. PY Ea: M. Lejeune *Minos* 15 (1974) 81-115. PY En: M. Lejeune *RP* 48 (1974) 247-266. PY Ep: M. Lejeune *Mémoires* III 107-111. PY Er: M. Lejeune *Minos* 14 (1973) 60-76; J.T. Hooker *Kadmos* 18 (1979) 101-105. PY Es: A. Heubeck *Sprache* 4 (1958) 80-95. TI Ef: L. Godart and J.-P. Olivier *Tiryns* VIII (Mainz 1975) 43-50; M. Lejeune *RP* 50 (1976) 194-197. *da-ma-te*: A. Morpurgo *PP* 13 (1958) 322-324; G. Maddoli *Minos* 13 (1972) 161-172; A. Moreschini *Quattordio Studi in onore di T. Bolelli* (Pisa 1974) 217-224. *da-mo*: G. Maddoli *SMEA* 12 (1970) 7-57; M. Lejeune *Mémoires* III 137-154. *e-me* and *du-wo-u-pi*: A. Heubeck *ZA* 19 (1969) 3-12. *e-ri-ta*: W.F. Witton *AJP* 81 (1960) 415-421. *ka-ma* and *ka-ma-e-u*: A. Heubeck *ZA* 15 (1965) 267-268; M.R. Cataudella *Ka-ma: studi sulla società agraria micenea* (Rome 1973); Y. Duhoux *AVEM* 27-40. *ke-ke-me-na* and *ki-ti-me-na*: S. Luria *Minos* 6 (1958) 163-164; A. Heubeck *ZA* 17 (1967) 17-21; O. Panagl *AC(D)* 9 (1973) 3-14; L.R. Palmer *Antiquitates Indogermanicae: Gedenkschrift für H. Güntert* (Innsbruck 1974) 13-14; Y. Duhoux *AVEM* 9-27. *ko-to-no-o-ko*: G.F. Polyakova *VDI* 139 (1977) 61-70. *o-na-to* and *e-to-ni-jo*: E. Cantarella *RIL* 107 (1973) 844-862; Y. Duhoux *AVEM* 41-62. *o-ro-jo*: J. Puhvel *Minos* 6 (1958) 61-63. *te-o-jo do-e-ro/-ra*: A. Tovar *Minos* 7 (1961) 101-122. *te-re-ta*: A.I. Tyumenev *VDI* 70 (1959) 24-32; F.R. Adrados *Minos* 10 (1969) 138-150. *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo*: A. Heubeck *ZA* 15 (1965) 268-270.

§ 246 A large number of E tablets from Pylos and two fragments from Tiryns record various amounts of WHEAT. In fact, these texts are concerned only indirectly with wheat; amounts of grain are expressed in order to indicate the size of parcels of land which persons hold according to various tenures. It appears, therefore, that the scribes had no other means of describing the area of land: we might suppose, in any case, that the productivity or yield of a plot was more interesting to them than its area. *pe-ma* or *pe-mo*,

which often precedes the WHEAT ideogram, properly means 'seed' (σπέρμα/σπέρμο), whence the sense 'seed-corn' in the E texts; thus each entry of WHEAT is more likely to refer to the amount of seed-corn needed to sow a plot than to the yield. The numerical relationship between amounts of WHEAT and areas of land is, of course, unknown: it cannot have been a constant ratio from year to year or from area to area.

§ 247 For convenience' sake, the large body of extant material will be dealt with under two headings: simple land-holdings (Pylos tablets) and more complex land-holdings (Pylos and Tiryns tablets).

Simple land-holdings

§ 248 The simplest type of land-holding tablet merely specifies that certain parcels of land are reserved to certain persons:

PY Er 312 = *Documents* no. 152 = *Interpretation* no. 101

1		wa-na-ka-te-ro te-me-no
2		to-so-jo pe-ma WHEAT 30
3		ra-wa-ke-si-jo te-me-no WHEAT 10
4		
5		te-re-ta-o to-so pe-ma WHEAT 30
6		to-so-de te-re-ta MAN 3
7		wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo
8		to-so-jo pe-ma WHEAT 6
9		

This text may be divided into five 'paragraphs', as follows:

§ 249 Para. 1 (lines 1-2): *wa-na-ka-te-ro te-me-no to-so-jo pe-ma* WHEAT 30. This represents: *φανάκιον τέμενος τοσοῦτο σπέρμα* — viz. 'Lord's precinct, grain of such (an amount), 30 measures of wheat'. As in the Knossos tablets already discussed (§ 190), *φανάκιον* is an adjective derived from *φάναξ* 'lord'. Although, in theory, the *φάναξ* in question could be a divine or a human lord, the latter alternative is made more likely by the presence in the same list of human persons. Instead of the usual formula *to-so-de pe-ma*, the scribe has expressed the first word in the genitive case, presumably with the meaning indicated in the above translation.

§ 250 Para. 2 (line 3): *ra-wa-ke-si-jo te-me-no* WHEAT 10 = *λαῖῶν γέσιον τέμενος*, viz. 'Precinct of the Lawagetas, 10 measures of wheat'. *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* is an adjective formed from *ra-wa-ke-ta* = *λαῖῶν γέτις*: it is parallel in function to *wa-na-ka-te-ro* and similar in formation to *e-ge-si-jo* (from *e-ge-ta*) (§ 188). The word *λαῖῶν γέτις* is easy to analyse in terms of Greek: it is a compound of the stem of *λαῖός* 'people' (which in Attic proceeds to *λαῖός* by regular sound-changes) and the stem of *ἄγω* 'lead'; Pindar uses the contracted form *λαῖγέτις* at *Olympian* 1.89 and elsewhere. The word 'leader of the people' is probably used here as an honorific, designating the only person to have a *τέμενος*, apart from the *φάναξ* himself. No good reason exists for translating *ra-wa-ke-ta* as 'military commander' or 'leader of the war-host', a meaning proposed by Palmer at *TPS* (1954) 35-37 and since repeated. On the contrary, so far as can be judged from the extant tablets, his affinities are with cult: thus at PY Un 219.10 (in a list containing both human and divine members) he appears as the recipient of offerings, while at Un 718.9 he is the giver of offerings (§ 290). *ra-wa-ke-ta* is mentioned again at PY An 724.7, a tablet dealing with the absence of rowers; but that text is too lacunose to allow any sound inference to be drawn about the status of the *ra-wa-ke-ta*.

§ 251 Para. 3 (line 5): *te-re-ta-o to-so pe-ma* WHEAT 30. A further area of land (which does not, however, rank as a *τέμενος*) is expressed in terms of 'seed-corn': it is occupied by, and is perhaps in the possession of, a class of persons known as *te-re-ta*. In this text they are in the genitive plural; elsewhere in the Pylos E texts they appear (in the nominative singular or plural) as substantial land-holders (cf. § 266); and in a single Knossos tablet, Am 826, at least forty-five *te-re-ta* are recorded. Although *te-re-ta* would be the expected spelling of *τελεστιάς* and might, indeed, represent that very word, the identification must not be pressed. The ambiguity of the Linear B syllabary is such that other possibilities must be left open. Even if the equation *te-re-ta* = *τελεστιάς* is sound, we can only guess at the function of the *te-re-ta* in Mycenaean texts. And in fact two quite different interpretations of the word have

been proposed: (i) that the *te-re-ta* is a religious functionary (because he is bound by *τέλη* 'religious obligations'); (ii) that he occupies a place in a 'feudal' structure of society (because he owes *τέλος* 'service, payment'). Neither meaning is imposed, or even suggested, by the Linear B contexts in which the word is found.

§ 252 Para. 4 (line 6): *to-so-de te-re-ta* MAN 3: 'so many *te*.... *tai*, three men'.

§ 253 Para. 5 (lines 7-8): *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo to-so-jo pe-ma* WHEAT 6. No remotely plausible suggestion for the meaning of the first word has yet been made. Its very form is unknown, since in theory it could equally well be nominative plural masculine (referring to the persons who hold this parcel of land) or nominative singular neuter (referring to the land itself). However that may be, the word *e-re-mo* = *ἐρημον* 'desert, uninhabited' indicates that this part of the text is concerned with winning land from the waste.

§ 254 If there is a thread linking the five paragraphs of Er 312, it is probably that of locality. The scribe seems to have grouped together several holdings of land which are heterogeneous in character but which have in common the fact that they were all situated in the same area.

More complex tenures

§ 255 Most of the E tablets are concerned with transactions involving parcels of land. In the Ea set the situations described are quite straightforward; they are less so in Eb, Eo, Ep, and En. The work of writing the majority of these tablets was divided among three scribes, who may be represented arbitrarily thus: scribe A wrote the Ea set; scribe B wrote the Eb and Eo sets; scribe C wrote the Ep and En sets.

§ 256 Some typical texts from the Ea set (which contains in all sixty-seven tablets) are taken first, since their terminology provides a good introduction to that of the longer and more detailed documents:

PY Ea 811

du-ni-jo e-ke o-na-to WHEAT T 6

PY Ea 754

ti-ri-da-ro^{ra-pte}e-ke o-na-to kodo-jo ko-tona WHEAT T 6

PY Ea 806

ke-re-te-u e-ke o-na-to ke-ke-mena ko-tona WHEAT T 2

PY Ea 821

ta-ra-ma-ta-o ko-tona ki-ti-me-na WHEAT 5 T 7 V 3

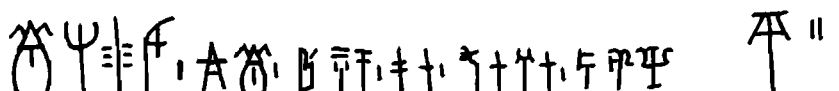
PY Ea 28

ti-ri-da-ro^{ra-pte}e-ke ka-ma WHEAT[

PY Ea 778


 ta-ra-ma-ta e-ke o-na-to pa-ro-da-mo WHEAT T 9

PY Ea 800 = Documents no. 110


 ke-re-te-u e-ke o-na-to pa-ro-mo-ro-qo-ro po-me-ne WHEAT 2

§ 257 First in our selection comes a text of a simple kind: Ea 811 records the fact that a man named *du-ni-jo* 'holds' (*e-ke* = ἔχει) an *o-na-to*. The word *o-na-to* occurs repeatedly in the E series. It is conventionally interpreted as a neuter noun ὀνᾶτον, which did not survive in classical Greek but which would refer to a beneficial use of land (perhaps corresponding roughly to the English term 'lease'), if its stem is correctly identified with that of the verb ὀνύαμι 'confer a benefit upon'.

· § 258 The second tablet, Ea 754, may be analysed thus:

ti-ri-da-ro ra-pte e-ke o-na-to ko-do-jo ko-to-na

Τι.....ος ῥάπτῃρ ἔχει ὀνᾶτον· Κο...οιο κτοίνᾱ

'Ti.....os the stitcher holds a 'lease': the plot of Ko...os'

Alphabetic Greek offers an agent-noun ῥάπτῃς from ῥάπτω 'stitch, sew'; ῥάπτῃρ is not attested, but it is hard to think of any other possible equivalent of *ra-pte*.

§ 259 The word *ko-to-na* is readily identifiable with κτοίνᾱ 'a plot (of land)'. In Ea 754, *ko-to-na* has no descriptive term attached to it; but in many other E texts two types of *ko-to-na* are distinguished from each other. We may have either *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* (as in Ea 806) or *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* (as in Ea 821). These two types are mutually exclusive, and they may be described as follows:

§ 260 *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* refers to a kind of common land, most often 'leased' from the *da-mo*. The latter word is formally equivalent to δᾶμος (Attic δῆμος), which in the Mycenaean context may perhaps be rendered 'local community'. The form of the word *ke-ke-me-na* has been the subject of much debate; it is plainly a perfect passive participle, but of what verb it is impossible to say. The way in which it is used in Linear B texts makes a connexion with κοινός 'common' or with κείζω 'cut' seem likely. The word *ka-ma*, which appears as the object of *e-ke* on Ea 28, is apparently a special kind of *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na*; while *ka-ma-e-u* means 'holder of a *ka-ma*'.

§ 261 *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*, on the other hand, refers to private land, which is often said by the tablets to be 'leased' from named individuals. *ki-ti-me-na* is the present passive participle of an unknown verb; it may be formed from an athematic verb κίτημι or κτεῖμι, which was later replaced by the thematic form κίττω ('found, establish, inhabit').

§ 262 The last tablet to be discussed here, Ea 800, adds a piece of information to that given by Ea 811 and similar texts. It states not simply that *ke-re-te-u* holds a 'lease', but that he holds it παρὸς M.....ωι κουμένει, viz. 'from M.....os the shepherd' (for the construction *pa-ro* with dative, see § 163).

§ 263 Although the E series is sometimes loosely described as a 'land-register', the tablets do not in fact record the location of plots of land; and it would not be possible to learn from them who was in possession of a given plot of land. The only clue to the location of any land is given in En 609, where the first word shows that this tablet (and hence the other En tablets as well, 74, 659, and 467, which together form a connected group) refer to Pakijana, already identified as one of the 'nine' towns (§ 216). There is no way of telling which, if any, of the other E tablets similarly refer to Pakijana. A number of personal names recur from one tablet to another; but, except where a man's status or occupation is mentioned as well as his name, the same name does not necessarily denote the same person.

§ 264 As soon as the E tablets were collated and studied in detail, it became evident that a special relationship obtained between the Eo and the En sets on the one hand and between the Eb and the Ep sets on the other. Broadly speaking, we can see that Eo contains shorter tablets and En longer tablets and also that the En tablets

recapitulate, and put into definitive form, the information already given in the Eo tablets. In the same way, the long Ep tablets represent a 'later edition' of the short Eb tablets. The principal difference between the 'earlier' (Eb and Eo) tablets and the 'later' (Ep and En) is that the earlier more often use *e-ke-ge* to express the meaning 'has, holds', the later more often simple *e-ke* (compare, for instance, Eb 846 with its later version Ep 301.2 and Eo 211.3 with its later version En 609.6); but there are several exceptions to this rule — thus Ep 301, though a 'later' tablet, shows *e-ke-ge* in lines 8-14. Since *e-ke* and *e-ke-ge* are sometimes present on one and the same tablet and since the occurrence of *-ge* always affects the word-order of the entry in which it appears, there must be some difference in meaning between *e-ke* and *e-ke-ge*, but it is not obvious in what the difference consists.

§ 265 The comparison of an 'earlier' with a 'later' set may begin with two earlier tablets, Eo 211 and Eo 224, of which the damaged tablet En 609 is a later recension:

PY Eo 211 = *Documents* no. 118 = *Interpretation* no. 79

1 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.𐎶𐎵𐎶.𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
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 6

wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na kiti-me-na WHEAT 2[

a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo e-ke-ge o-na-to pa-ro wa-nata[-jo] WHEAT[

i-ni-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-ge o-na-to pa-ro wa-nata[-jo] WHEAT[

s-65-to te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-ge o-na-to pa-ro wa-(na)ta-jo WHEAT[

si-ma te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-ge o-na-to pa-ro wa-na-ta-jo WHEAT T1

pa-ki-ja-ni-ja to-sa da-ma-te DA 40

to-so-de te-re-ta e-ne-e-si MAN 14

wana-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 2 V 1

o-da-a₂ o-na-te[-re] e-ko-si wana-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na

a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo wana-ka-te-ro o-na-to e-ke <o-so>de pe-mo WHEAT V 1

i-ni-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 2 V 4

e-⁶⁵to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 2

si-ma te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1

a-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 2 V 3

]ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na o-na-te-re

]e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT V 3

]jo-do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1

]e-ro o[]e-ke[]pe-mo WHEAT V 3

]na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1

]pa-ki-ja-na o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1

]o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1 V 3

]to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 3

§ 266 En 609 is the first in its set. It begins with an overall 'heading' referring to forty *da-ma-te*; line 2 records the presence of fourteen *te-re-ta* (τε....ται). There follow, spread over this and the three other En tablets, thirteen 'paragraphs', marked off from one another by blank lines, which describe lands owned by the *te-re-ta* and the 'leases' which other persons hold from them. It is unknown why the tenure of only thirteen *te-re-ta* is described, whereas fourteen are mentioned in En 609.2. Either the scribe wrote the wrong number by mistake, or a tablet is missing from the set.

§ 267 In the 'heading' of En 609 (lines 1-2), line 1 contains three words in the nominative plural feminine. *da-ma-te* is evidently the plural of a consonant-stem noun ending in -ες; it may be affiliated to δῆμος or to δόμος: no translation should be attempted, but the meaning may approach that of 'family-groups' or 'households' (*familiae*). Whatever the meaning of the word, its first syllable seems to have been taken up and used as a quasi-ideogram before the numeral 40. *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* is the feminine plural of an ethnic adjective formed (in the usual way) from the place-name *pa-ki-ja-na*. Line 1 thus conveys the general meaning: 'so many family-groups at Pakijana, namely 40'. Line 2 (*to-so-de te-re-ta e-ne-e-si* MAN 14) may be transliterated: τοσούδε τε....ται ἐνέενσι, 'so many *te*....*tai* are in (them), namely 14'.

§ 268 Para. 1 (lines 3-8). The lay-out of this paragraph is followed closely by that of the following paragraphs. Line 3 specifies the size of the *ko-to-no ki-ti-me-na* ('private plot') owned by a *te-re-ta*: hisname is put into the genitive (*wa-na-ta-jo-jo*). Line 4 introduces the list of persons who hold an *o-na-to* from *wa-na-ta-jo*. For the 'itemizing' word *o-da-a*, see § 131. The subject is expressed by the nominative plural word *o-na-te-re* (an agent-noun formed from *o-na-to*, so 'lease-holders' or the like). *e-ko-si* = ἔχονσι '(they) hold'. *ko-to-na* κτοίνῳν is the object of the verb. Thus the sentence means roughly: 'item, lease-holders hold the plot of W.'. Lines 5-8 name the four persons who hold 'leases' from W. A man named *a-tu-ko* receives the description *e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro*: the first word surely denotes the man's occupation, but the compound resists convincing analysis in terms of Greek; *wa-na-ka-te-ro* means 'in the service of the lord' (whether human or divine we cannot say). The description appended to the persons in lines 6-8 means that a divine lord cannot be discounted here. The appellations *te-o-jo do-e-ra* (θεοῦτο δοέλα 'female slave of the god') and *te-o-jo do-e-ro* ('male slave') occur on many of the E tablets. But the persons so described must have been of a higher status than the women recorded on the Pylos A tablets. There, the women are never named, and only their numbers, their occupation, and (sometimes) their place of work are of concern to the scribes. On

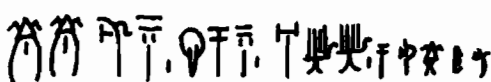


the other hand, the 'slaves of the god' in the E series are always given individual mention, are always named, and are always classed as land-holders. That being so, the description 'slave of the god' appears to be an honorific title, perhaps that of a priestly caste (cf. lines 16 and 18, § 269). The presence of such a caste at Pakijana could be expected, since other Pylos tablets (notably Tn 316 and Un 2) make it plain that this place was an important centre of cult.

§ 269 Para. 2 (lines 10-18). The structure is exactly the same as that of Para. 1, with the exception of the changed word-order in line 11. Seven persons are said to hold a 'lease' from a man named *a-ma-ru-ta*. Four of these (*so-u-ro*, *e-do-me-ne-u*,¹ *e-sa-ro*, and *po-so-re-ja*) are described as 'slaves of the god'. The entry in line 15 is interesting, because the *te-re-ta* named *wa-na-ta-jo*, who in Para. 1 (§ 268) appeared as owner of a plot, here holds a 'lease' from another *te-re-ta*. In line 16 the word *i-je-re-ja* is genitive (ἰερείᾱς), depending on the nominative *do-e-ra*, while *pa-ki-ja-na* is probably nominative of the place-name, put vaguely in apposition to the rest of the entry: 'e-ra-ta-ra the slave of the priestess (at) Pakijana holds a lease, so much seed-corn...' The fact that the priestess's slave is included in the same list with the priestess herself (line 18) corroborates the suggestion made in § 268 that the expression 'slave' in the E tablets does not refer to servile status in the strict sense, but may even denote a privileged class.

§ 270 Whereas the En/Eo sets describe the holdings of *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* ('private land'), the Ep/Eb sets deal with *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* ('common land'). The following examples show how the entries on a single Ep tablet (301) are built up from the information contained in twelve tablets of the earlier Eb set:

¹ The alternation between *e-do-me-ne-u* (Ἔδομενεύς) and Homeric Ἰδομενεύς is similar to that between *dí-pa* and δέπας (§ 167).

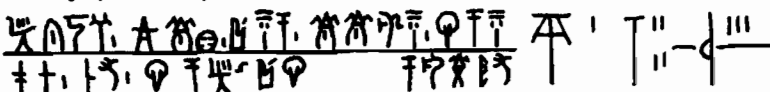
PY Eb 818 = Documents no. 132

 ke-ke-mena ko-to-na a-no-no to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1 T1

PY Eb 846 = Documents no. 133 = Interpretation no. 182

ai-ti-jo-ge e-ke-ge o-na-to ke-ke-mena ko-to-na



 pa-ro da-mo ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1 T 4 V 3

PY Eb 369

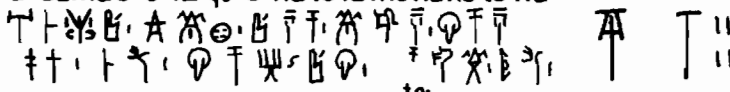
]jo e-ke-ge o-na-to ke-ke-mena ko-to-na



]mo ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 5

PY Eb 747

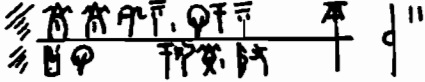
a-dama-o e-ke-ge o-na-to ke-mena ko-to-na



 pa-ro da-mo ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 4

PY Eb 874 + 902

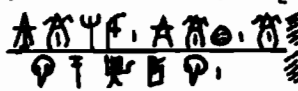
]ke-ke-mena ko-to-na



]o-ko to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT V 3

PY Eb 496

pi-ke-re-u e-ke-ge ke[



 ko-to-no-o-ko [

PY Eb 566

ra-ku-ro e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na[

 ko-to-no-o-ko to-so[

PY Eb 893 + 897

ku-so e[]ke-me-na ko-to-na

 ko-to-no[to-so-de pemo WHEAT V 3

PY Eb 501

ke-ra-u-jo e-ke-qe ke-ke[

 ko-to-no-o-ko-

PY Eb 377

pa-ra-ko e-ke-qe ke-ke-me[

 ko-to-no-o-ko

PY Eb 892 = Interpretation no. 86

ko-tu-ro₂ pa-da-je-u e-ke[

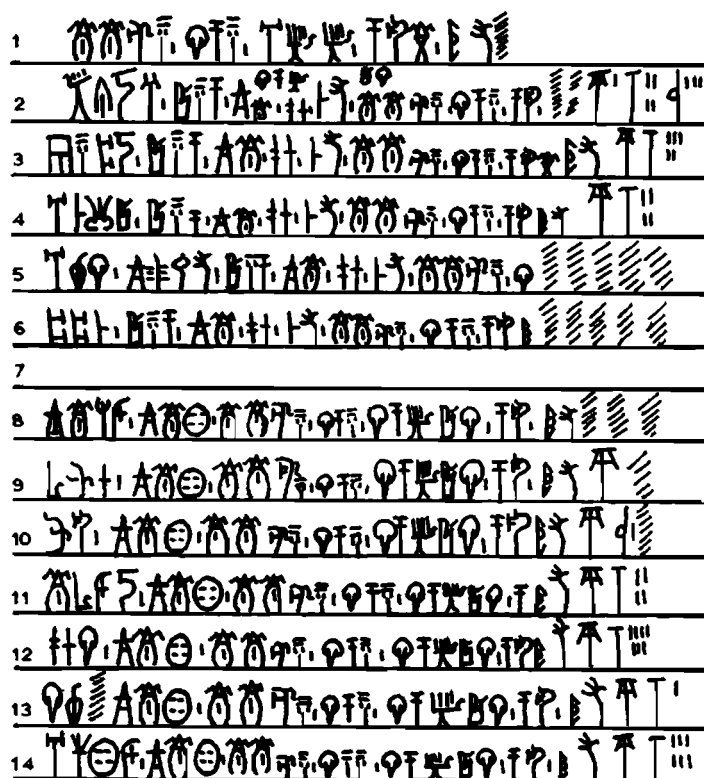
 ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na [

PY Eb 895 + 906 = Documents no. 134 = Interpretation no. 83

a-i-qe-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na

 ko-to- no- o- ko to-so-de pemo WHEAT T 6

PY Ep 301 = *Documents* no. 131 = *Interpretation* no. 81



§ 271 Ep 301 falls into three 'paragraphs':

§ 272 Para. 1 (line 1). So much land, being *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*, is described as *a-no-no*; since this is a compound adjective, its feminine has the same form as the masculine. As all the entries in Para. 2 refer to persons who 'hold *o-na-to*', the probability is that *a-no-no* means a plot 'which is not leased out' or, perhaps, one 'which is not subject to lease'; so *a-no-no* is thought to consist of alpha privative and the stem *ov-* found in *ὄναρον*, but no analogous Greek compound is actually attested.

§ 273 Para. 2 (lines 2-6). Five persons are described as holding *o-na-to pa-ro da-mo*, 'a lease from the local community', and the land they hold is called *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*. *a-tu-ko* the *e-te-do-mo* was encountered on En 609 (§ 268). Both in this tablet and in Eb 846, on which the entry is based, the first member of the list is called a *ko-to-no-o-ko*. It is hard to assess the significance of this term ('plot-holder') in its context since everyone named

ke-kemenakoto-na a-nono to-so-de pe-mo [
 ko-to-no- -o-ko
 aiti-jo-qo o-nato e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na koto-nato-so[] WHEAT 1 T 4 V 3
 wanata-jo o-nato e-ke pa-ro damo ke-kemenakoto-nato-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 5
 adama-o o-nato e-ke pa-ro damo ke-keme-na koto-nato-so pe-mo WHEAT T 4
 a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo o-nato e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-kemenako [
 ta-ta-ro o-nato e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na koto-na to-so pe [

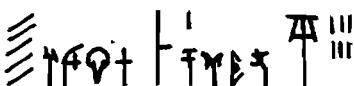
 pi-ke-re-u e-ke-qe ke-keme-na koto-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo [
 ra-ku-ro e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na koto-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT [
 ku-so e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na koto-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT V 1 [
 ke-ra-u-jo e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na koto-na ko-to-no-o-ko to<so> pe-mo WHEAT T 4
 pa-ra-ko e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na koto-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT T 7
 ko-tu[-ro] e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na koto-nako-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT T 1
 a-i-qe-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-menakoto-na koto-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT T 6

here is, by definition, a plot-holder. The obvious inference is that in the Linear B texts the word *ko-to-no-o-ko* conveys some special, technical sense which now escapes us. (For the analysis of this compound, cf. § 150).

§ 274 Para. 3 (lines 8-14). Seven men are described as holders of *ke-ke-me-na koto-na*. The chief difference between this and the preceding paragraph is that here the *e-ke-qe* of the Eb versions is preserved in every item; the fact that this form is consistently kept in this paragraph and consistently changed to *e-ke* in Para. 2 constitutes the strongest single argument in favour of the premise that *e-ke* differs in meaning from *e-ke-qe*. Each of the seven is called a *ko-to-no-o-ko*; unlike the persons mentioned in Para. 2, these are not said to hold their plots *pa-ro da-mo*.

§ 275 Two of the inscribed fragments from Tiryns certainly belong to land-tablets:


TI Ef 2



The image shows a fragment of a Linear B tablet with four groups of signs. The first group consists of three parallel diagonal lines. The second group contains several signs, including a 'qo' (three parallel lines) and a 'ro' (a circle with a dot). The third group contains a 'da' (a vertical line with a dot) and a 'wheat' ideogram (a stylized ear of wheat). The fourth group contains a 'wheat' ideogram and a '6' (three vertical lines).

]qo-u-ko-ro DA 1 to ea-pe-mo WHEAT 6

TI Ef 3



The image shows a fragment of a Linear B tablet with two groups of signs. The first group contains several signs, including a 'di' (a vertical line with a dot), a 'ko' (a circle with a dot), a 'na' (a vertical line with a dot), and a 're' (a vertical line with a dot). The second group contains a 'ja' (a vertical line with a dot) and a 'ke-ke-me' (three vertical lines).

di-ko-na-re-ja ke-ke-me[

The combination of DA with the WHEAT ideogram on Ef 2 and the appearance of a word on Ef 3 which can be nothing else than some form of *ke-ke-me-na* suffice to show that the Tirynthian scribes kept a set of land-tablets of very similar type to that of the large archive dedicated to this subject at Pylos.
























































9 RELIGIOUS TEXTS FROM KNOSSOS PYLOS AND THEBES

General studies: G. Pugliese Carratelli *PP* 12 (1957) 81-96; L.A. Stella *Numen* 5 (1958) 18-57; W.K.C. Guthrie *BICS* 6 (1959) 35-46; M. Gérard-Rousseau *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* (Rome 1968), *SMEA* 13 (1971) 139-146; F.R. Adrados *AM* I 170-203. *pe-re-#82*: P. Scarpi *BIFG* 2 (1975) 230-251. *ti-ri-se-ro-e*: B. Hemberg *Eranos* 52 (1954) 172-190. KN Fp: A. Sacconi *SMSR* 35 (1964) 137-159; J. Chadwick *PCCMS* 27-30; L. Baumbach *CM* 197-205. PY Fr: E.L. Bennett *The olive oil tablets of Pylos* (Salamanca 1958); L.R. Palmer *TPS* (1958) 1-35; C. Gallavotti *PP* 14 (1959) 87-105; N. van Brock *RP* 34 (1960) 229-231; M. Doria *PP* 15 (1960) 188-202; F.R. Adrados *Minos* 7 (1961) 49-61; M. Gérard *AC* 35 (1966) 207-209; M.D. Petruševski *SMEA* 12 (1970) 127-130, *AM* II 122-137; M. Wylock *SMEA* 11 (1970) 116-133; J.T. Hooker *Kadmós* 18 (1979) 107-111. TH Of: T.G. Spyropoulos and J. Chadwick *The Thebes tablets* II (Salamanca 1975) 86-107; J.T. Hooker *Minos* 16 (1977) 174-178. PY Tn 316: A. Furumark *Eranos* 52 (1954) 51-53; P. Meriggi *Glotta* 34 (1955) 19-22; L.R. Palmer *Eranos* 53 (1955) 1-13; C. Gallavotti *RF* 84 (1956) 225-236, *PP* 12 (1957) 241-249, 14 (1959) 96-98; G. Pugliese Carratelli *PP* 12 (1957) 352-354, *SCO* 7 (1958) 27-31; W. Merlingen *Athenaeum* 46 (1958) 383-388; I. Chirassi *AR* II 945-991; M. Gérard *AR* II 596-597; E.L. Bennett, H. Mühlestein *CM* 221-237. PY Un 718: H. Mühlestein *SM* 114-115; M. Lejeune *Minos* 14 (1973) 60-76; J. Chadwick *Le monde grec: hommages à C. Prédau* (Brussels 1975) 450-453; P. de Fido *I dosmoi pili a Poseidon: una terra sacra di età micenea* (Rome 1977) 77-129.

The Knossos Fp tablets

§ 276 The Fp tablets at Knossos record disbursements of oil for the benefit of persons (some of whom are certainly divine) and for dispatch to named places. The name of a month is usually given in the 'heading' of each text. The set may be represented by the longest extant Fp tablet:

KN Fp 1 + 31 = Documents no. 200 = Interpretation no. 116

1							
	de-u-ki-jo-jo ^{me} no						
2							
	di-ka-ta-jo-diwe OIL S1						
3							
	da-da-re-jo-de OIL S2						
4							
	pa-de OIL S1						
5							
	pa-si-te-o-i OIL 1						
6							
	qe-ra-si-ja OIL S1 [
7							
	a-mi-ni-so pa-si-te-o-i S1 [
8							
	e-ri-nu OIL V3						
9							
	*47-da-de OIL V1						
10							
	a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja V4						
11							
12							
	to-so OIL 3 S2 V2						

§ 277 This text falls into three parts: a heading, stating the month in which the disbursements were (or are to be) made; a list of recipients, together with the quantity of oil disbursed to each; the total of the amount of oil disbursed.

§ 278 The heading (line 1). *me-no* (μηνός) 'in the month'; *de-u-ki-jo-jo* 'of Deukios?'

§ 279 The list (lines 2-10). Three forms of words occur: the nominative or the dative (used of personal recipients) and the accusative with allative suffix *-de* (used of places to which the oil was delivered). Nominative (apparently) is *e-ri-nu*. Dative are *di-we*, *pa-si-te-o-i*, *qe-ra-si-ja*, and *i-je-re-ja*. Allative are *da-da-re-jo-de* and **47-da-de*. It is impossible to be certain whether *pa-de* is dative or accusative + *-de*. The two words in line 2, *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*, represent Δικταίων Διφεί 'to Dictaeon Zeus': an entry which shows that by the time this text was written some degree of assimilation had already taken place between Helladic and Minoan cult. 'Dictaeon Zeus' may indicate the Zeus who had a cult at

Mount Dicte or the Zeus who was thought to rule over Dicte as one of his special domains. *da-da-re-jo-de* in line 3 probably stands for the allative of a place, Δαίδαλειόνδε: if it does, the association of Knossos with Daedalus (or at least with *a* Daedalus) is shown to go back to the Bronze Age. Line 5 contains an entry which recurs on this tablet and on other tablets of the Fp set: *pa-si-te-o-i* = πᾶσι θεοῖς 'to all the gods'. The *ge-ra-si-ja* of line 6 may very well stand for a word which would be written θηρασίδα 'to the Huntress' in later Greek, with regular development of the labio-velar, § 96; there is no means of knowing whether this word ought to be regarded as a title of Artemis, appropriate though it would be to her. Since in this set of texts the dative case seems to be reserved for personal recipients, the word *a-mi-ni-so* in line 7 is more likely to be nominative than dative; it is not clear whether the entry 'Amnisos' refers merely to *pa-si-te-o-i* or acts as a 'sub-heading', introducing the recipients named in lines 7-10. As for *e-ri-nu* in line 8, the Greek word Ἐρινύς fits the syllables perfectly; if the equation is correct, our knowledge of Aegean cult is not thereby enlarged, for the functions of Ἐρινύς and Ἐρινύες are not clearly defined even in later Greek: cf. A.H. Krappe *RhM* 81 (1932) 305-320. Line 9 contains the allative of an unknown place-name. Line 10 records the dispatch of oil *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja* ἀνέμων ἱερείᾳ 'to the priestess of the winds': a phrase which seems to imply the existence of a cult centred on the forces of wild nature.

§ 280 The total (line 12). *to-so* (τόσον) 'so much (oil) — 3 full measures, 2 medium measures, 2 small measures'. The large amounts mentioned in the aggregate on the F tablets from Knossos and Pylos testify to the widespread use of oil in cult, but the precise nature of its employment is unknown; perhaps (as has been suggested) it was intended for ritual anointing.

§ 281 Other divinities mentioned on the Knossos tablets as recipients of offerings are: *e-re-u-ti-ja* (Ἐλευθείᾳ) at Amnisos (Gg 705.1); *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (Ἀθάνᾳ πότνια or Ἀθάνᾱς πότνια), *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* (Ἐνυφάλλιος), *pa-ja-wo-ne* (Παιῶφόνει), *po-se-da-o-ne* (Ποσειδάωνει) (V 52 + 8285). On the lower edge of the latter tablet the word *e-ri-nu-we* (in erasure) can be read: this is either nominative plural or dative singular of *e-ri-nu*.

The Pylos Fr tablets

§ 282 The Fr set contains short texts accounting for the dispatch of oil to persons, many of whom are divinities. For example:

PY Fr 1219 = *Interpretation* no. 140

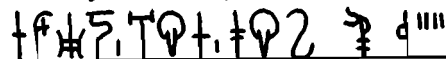
1

2 

wa-no-so-i po-se-da-o-ne OIL A V 2

PY Fr 1220 = *Documents* no. 307 = *Interpretation* no. 141

ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro pa-ko-we OIL PAV 4

1 

2 

di-pi-si-jo-i wa-na-ka-te OIL PA S 1


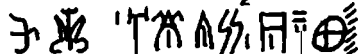


§ 283 In Fr 1219, the scribe has written *wa-no-so-i* in error for *wa-na-so-i* (which is correctly spelt elsewhere in the Fr set). What is the meaning of this text? It has sometimes been suggested that both *wa-no-so-i* and *po-se-da-o-ne* are in the dative case, as recipients of the oil, and that *wa-no-so-i* is the dual of *wanassa* 'queen': thus, it is said, the oil is intended for a divine triad, comprising two goddesses and a god (similarly with the phrase *wa-na-ka-te wa-na-so-i* on Fr 1227). The absence of a copula linking the two words (to say nothing of the difficulty of explaining the phrase in terms of cult) makes this theory implausible. It is better to regard *wa-no-so-i* as a locative, which might mean 'at the (place of the) *wanax*'; but it is conceivable that the resemblance between *wa-no-so-i* and *wa-na-ka* is fortuitous and that *wa-no-so-i* is the locative of a place-name. The OIL ideogram is here ligatured with the syllabic sign *a*, which may be the abbreviation of *a-ro-pa* (ἀλοιφά) 'unguent'.

§ 284 Fr 1220 contains two entries, which may or may not be connected. *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* represents either the nominative or the dative of Λουσος ἀγρός 'the region of Lousos'. *pa-ko-we* is probably the spelling of a neuter singular adjective σφαρόφεν 'scented with sage (σάκος)'; this is neuter, in agreement with *e-ra,wo* = ἔλαιον, which is understood. It is possible that the *pa* ligature is an abbreviation of *pa-ko-we*. Line 2 has a structure similar to that of Fr 1219: *wa-na-ka-te* being a dative recipient 'to the *wanax*' (here, in all likelihood, the divine 'Lord') and *di-pi-so-i* being the locative of a place-name, perhaps that of a cult-centre.

The Thebes Of tablets

§ 285 The Of tablets from Thebes are concerned with amounts of wool. They differ from the Knossos L tablets, discussed in §§ 185-194, in that they record not the assessment of wool but its dispatch to persons (often divine persons), who are put in the dative case, and to places which appear in the accusative with allative *-de*: they are thus closely analogous to the Fp tablets from Knossos (§§ 276-281). Two disbursements of WOOL are recorded by:

TH Of 36

no-ri-wo-ki-de	ku WOOL 1 a-ke-ti-ra ₂ wa-na-ka[
1 	1 
<hr/>	
2 	2 
po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de a-ke-ti-ra ₂ ku WOOL 1	

Line 1 mentions the dispatch of one unit of WOOL to *no-ri-wo-ki-de*: a word of unknown meaning which could represent either the nominative plural of 'rubric' (ending in -υδες) or the allative of a place-name (ending in -υδε) or the dative singular of a personal recipient (ending in -υδει). The adjunct *ku*, put before the WOOL ideogram, recalls the appearance of the same sign inside the CLOTH ideogram on the L series from Knossos. The other two words in line 1 presumably refer to the women responsible for working the wool: *a-ke-ti-ra₂ wa-na-ka[-te-ra]*. A double ambiguity resides in these words: first, it is uncertain whether they are nominative singular, nominative plural, or dative singular; second, there is no way of telling whether the *wanax* with whom the women are connected is the king or a god. The same ambiguity attends *a-ke-ti-ra₂* in line 2; but at least the two words which precede it are clear enough. *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de* must stand for Ποιτύς φοῦμόνδε 'to the house of the Lady': it is possible that early Greek φοῦμος, like Latin *aedes*, could mean either 'house' or 'shrine'.

Records of cult-practices at Pylos

§ 286 PY Un 718 = Documents no. 171 = Interpretation no. 102

1		sa-ra-pe-da po-se-da-oni do-so-mo
2		o-wi-de-ta-i do-so-mo to-so e-ke-ra-wo ₂
3		dose WHEAT 4 WINE 3 OX 1
4		tu-ro TURO ₂ 10 ko-wo *153 1
5		me-ri-to V 3
6		
7		o-da-a ₂ da-mo WHEAT 2 WINE 2
8		RAM 2 TURO ₂ 5 a-re-ro AREPA V 2 *153 1
9		to-so-de ra-wa-ke-ta do-se
10		RAM 2 me-re-u-ro FLOUR T 6
11		WINE S 2 o-da-a ₂ wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo-ka ^{ma}
12		WHEAT 6 WINE S 1 TURO ₂ 5 me-ri[
13		1 V 1

This text may be broken down into a 'heading' and four 'paragraphs':

§ 287 Heading (line 1). The heading specifies the offerings to be mentioned in the body of the text as *po-se-da-o-ni do-so-mo* = Ποσειδάωνι δόσμος 'a contribution to Poseidon'. The word *sa-ra-pe-da*, which is presumably a place-name, may be in the nominative case in apposition to the rest of the inscription (like *pu-ro* and *ro-u-so* in the Pylos A series, § 195) or in the genitive, depending on *do-so-mo* — 'the gift of S.....'.

§ 288 Para. 2 (lines 2-5). The meaning of *o-wi-de-ta-i* is completely obscure. In form, the word can hardly be anything other than a dative plural, but it is incomprehensible why a dative plural should be written as well as the dative *po-se-da-o-ni*: are the *o-wi-de-ta-i* perhaps priests or priestesses, or even satellite deities,

associated with the cult of Poseidon? *e-ke-ra₂-wo* (nominative) is the name of a man of high standing. The words may be represented thus in alphabetic Greek: δοσμὸν τόσον Ἐχελᾶρων? δώσει, 'E. will give so great a contribution'. The separate constituents of the offering are then enumerated: 4 measures of grain, 3 measures of wine, 1 bull, 10 measures of cheese, and a *ko-wo*. The last item is perhaps a by-form of the Homeric word κῶας 'fleece', and the following ideogram (*153) does appear to depict a skin or hide. The final member of this list of offerings comprises 3 weights 'of honey': *me-ri-to* = μέλιτος.

§ 289 Para. 2 (lines 7-8). This paragraph is introduced by the 'itemizing' word *o-da-a₂*. The subject is *da-mo*, and with this word there must be understood *do-se* from para. 1: 'the local community is to give...'. The offerings are to consist of grain, wine, rams, and cheese: items which give rise to no difficulty. But an enigmatic entry follows. The phonetic rendering of the word *a-re-ro* is accompanied by a 'monogram' formed from the three signs *a + re + pa*. It therefore seems that the scribe meant to write † as the last sign of the word, but wrote † in error: *a-re-pa* is probably equivalent to ἄλειψα 'unguent', which would be highly appropriate in this context (cf. § 75).

§ 290 Para. 3 (lines 9-11). A new entry begins in line 9, although this time it is not marked off by a blank line or introduced by *o-da-a₂*. The subject is *ra-wa-ke-ta*: the λαῖῶγέτης (§ 250) 'is to give so much': 2 rams, 6 measures of *me-re-u-ro*, and 2 measures of wine. The meaning of *me-re-u-ro* is not known for certain: it may be a variant of μάλευρον, which is itself an alternative form of ἄλευρον 'flour'.

§ 291 Para. 4 (lines 11-13). The last paragraph is introduced by *o-da-a₂*. Here the subject is *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma*, the obscure entity already encountered on PY Er 312.7 (§ 253). The offering comprises grain, wine, cheese, and honey.

§ 292 We come now to the most important single Mycenaean document to give evidence of cult-practices. It is inscribed on both sides, the front (recto) and the back (verso):

po-ro-wi-to-jo

i-je-to-ge pa-ki-ja-si do-ra-ge pe-re po-re-na-ge
pu-ro

a-ke po-ti-ni-ja GOLD 2 HANDLED GOBLET 1 WOMAN 1

ma-na-sa GOLD DISH 1 WOMAN 1 po-si-da-e-ja GOLD DISH 1 WOMAN 1

ti-ri-se-ro-e GOLD CUP 1 do-po-ta GOLD 2 HANDLED GOBLET 1

pu-ro

pu-ro { i-je-to-ge po-si-da-i-jo a-ke-ge wa-tu
do-ra-ge pe-re po-re-na-ge a-ke
GOLD 2 HANDLED GOBLET 1 WOMAN 2 qo-wi-ja [] ko-ma-we-te-ja

pu-ro { i-je-to-ge pe-re^{B2}-jo i-pe-me-da-ja-ge di-u-ja-jo-ge
do-ra-ge pe-re-po-re-na-ge a(-ke) pe-re^{B2} ^{GOLD} DISH 1 WOMAN 1
i-pe-me-de-ja ^{GOLD} DISH 1 di-u-ja GOLD DISH 1 WOMAN 1
e-ma-a₂ a-re-ja GOLD CUP 1 MAN 1

pu-ro { i-je-to-ge di-u-jo do-ra-ge pe-re po-re-na-ge a-ke
di-we GOLD DISH 1 MAN 1 e-ra GOLD DISH 1 WOMAN 1
di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we GOLD DISH 1

pu-ro {

§ 293 *Recto*: Heading (line 1). This consists of the single word *po-ro-wi-to-jo*, genitive singular of the masculine noun *po-ro-wi-to*, which occurs in the nominative on some Pylos Fr tablets. The word is usually diagnosed as the name of a month, like *de-u-ki-jo-jo* at KN Fp 1.1 (§ 278). Thus we would have a genitive of time, 'in (the month of) Porowitos'; but there is no certainty about this interpretation, and *po-ro-wi-to* is likely to be a personal name in PY Fr 1221 and Fr 1232.

§ 294 Para. 1 (lines 2-5). The exact significance of the large characters at the left is not clear. If the meaning is that the ceremonies described in the text were held at Pylos, then Pylos and Pakijana must have lain very close to each other, for the locative of the latter name, *pa-ki-ja-si*, is found in line 2, and must refer to the cult-place. The paragraph contains three clauses, each with a finite verb, and the clauses are linked by copulative *-ge*: clause 1, *i-je-to-ge*; clause 2, *do-ra-ge pe-re*; clause 3, *po-re-na-ge a-ke*. The meaning of the three verbs *i-je-to*, *pe-re*, and *a-ke* is very difficult to ascertain. When attempts were first made to explain this text, *i-je-to* was usually regarded as a 3 singular middle ἵετο or a 3 plural middle ἵεντο (from ἵημι 'send'); then *pe-re* would spell φέρει and *a-ke* ἄγει: '(someone) sends to Pakijana and leads offerings (*po-re-na* perhaps being a neuter plural noun, connected with φέρω)'. Alternatively, the spelling *i-je-to* might conceal a verb connected with ἱερός, so that it would mean '(someone) performs an act of consecration'. With either meaning, *i-je-to* yields a tolerable sense, but it and the two other verbs lack an explicit subject; possibly a subject is to be understood out of *po-ro-wi-to-jo* or *pu-ro*. Palmer has advanced a different suggestion (*Interpretation* 264-267): he regards *i-je-to* as a medio-passive verb containing the stem of ἱερός and understands it to mean 'a consecration takes place'. In the second clause, Palmer takes *do-ra* = δῶρα as the subject; the neuter plural is, as usual, construed with a singular verb, and Palmer suggests that *pe-re* represents an aorist passive *φρή (from φέρω), so that the clause will mean 'gifts were brought'. Palmer thinks *a-ke* is another 3 singular aorist passive: *ἄγη, containing the stem found in ἁγνός 'ritually pure, sanctified'. The meaning of this clause would then be 'the offerings were purified'. The principal objections to Palmer's theory are that it necessitates the construction of hypothetical forms and that it puts the present *i-je-to* in parallel with aorists; but the latter objection might perhaps be met by reference to the stereotyped character of ritual language. Lines 3-5 contain five words in the dative, each of which is accompanied by an ideogram depicting a gold vessel and three of them also by the WOMAN ideogram. The words in the dative appear to be the names of divine persons, while the ideograms represent offerings made to each god respectively. *po-ti-ni-ja* =

Ποσειδά 'to the Lady' — a goddess in her own right, or the title of a goddess? The presence of the WOMAN ideogram may indicate that, as part of the ceremony, a woman was sacrificed or dedicated to her service. The remaining words are likewise the names of divinities: their meaning is unknown, except that *po-si-da-e-ja* is a feminine name formed from *po-si-da-o*: this goddess is not attested in later Greek cult.

§ 295 *Verso*: Para. 1 (lines 1-3). This paragraph consists of four clauses, followed by ideograms. As on the front of the tablet, the clauses are linked by copulative *-qe*: *i-je-to-qe po-si-da-i-jo*; *a-ke-qe wa-tu*; *do-ra-qe pe-re*; *po-re-na-qe a-ke*. *po-si-da-i-jo* = Ποσειδάων 'the shrine of Poseidon'. Palmer's theory is especially attractive in respect of the second clause: *ἄνη τε πόλιν 'and the town was purified'. Unlike the corresponding entries on the front, these clauses do not contain the dative case of the deity to whom the gold vessel and the woman of line 3 are dedicated. The function and meaning of the words *go-wi-ja...ko-ma-we-te-ja* are uncertain; they may be adjectives describing the vessel (*ko-ma-we-te-ja* recurs at TH Of 35.1).

§ 296 Para. 2 (lines 4-7). Three clauses, together with a list of deities and offerings to them, make up this entry. The clauses have the following structure:

- (i) *i-je-to-qe pe-re-*82-jo i-pe-me-de-ja <-jo>-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe*;
- (ii) *do-ra-qe pe-re*;
- (iii) *po-re-na-qe a <-ke>*.

The scribe has omitted one syllable in clause (i) and another in clause (iii). In clause (i) the words *pe-re-*82-jo*, *i-pe-me-de-ja <-jo>*, and *di-u-ja-jo* are probably nominative: 'the shrine of *Pere*82* is consecrated (?) and the shrine of Iphemedēia and the shrine of Diwia'. Clauses (ii) and (iii) add the customary items of information about the gifts and the *porena*. The three divinities whose shrines have been mentioned are now named in the same order; they are put into the dative case, being the recipients of the offerings depicted by the ideograms: 'to *Pere*82* one gold vessel and one woman; to Iphemedēia one gold vessel; to Diwia one gold vessel and one woman'. *Pere*82* is the name of an unknown goddess. Iphemedēia does not appear in later cult, but she is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, in the form Ἰφιδέεια, as a concubine of Poseidon (λ 305); thus her connexion with Poseidon seems to go back to the Mycenaean age. The name of the goddess Diwia is formed from the stem of Zeus, ΔιϜ-: this formation is parallel to that of *po-si-da-e-ja* from *po-si-da-o* (line 4 of the recto).¹ The dative of a god's name is now added to the

¹ ΔιϜιᾱ recurs in the Pamphylian dialect of later Greek: C. Brixhe *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie* (Paris 1976) 139.

list, *e-ma-a*, *a-re-ja*; one gold vessel and one man are offered to him. There is little doubt that the first word represents 'Ερμᾶν, the dative of the divine name Hermes (Homeric 'Ερμείας, Doric 'Ερμᾶς): *a-re-ja* would then act as epithet to the god's name, but its meaning is uncertain (could it be a form of 'Ares'?)

§ 297 Para. 3 (lines 8-10). Again three clauses are followed by the names of deities and offerings to them: (i) *i-je-to di-u-jo* = 'the shrine of Zeus is consecrated (?)'; (ii) and (iii) then repeat the pattern set in Para. 2. The juxtaposition in line 9 of *di-we* = Διφεί 'to Zeus' and *e-ra* = Ἡρᾶν 'to Hera' strongly suggests that Hera was already regarded as the consort of Zeus. The word *di-ri-mi-jo* in line 10 represents the name of an otherwise unknown god; he is described as a 'son of Zeus': *di-wo i-je-we* = Διφὸς (υ)ίεφεί, the latter word being a dative of *i-jo* = (ὁ)ιός 'son'.

10 WHEEL AND CHARIOT TABLETS: THE KNOSSOS S SERIES

General: P. Chantraine *Minos* 4 (1956) 50-65; D.J.N. Lee *BICS* 5 (1958) 61-64, PP 15 (1960) 401-414; M. Lejeune *Mémoires* I 25-44, III 285-330; R. Wild *Kadmos* 1 (1962) 126-129; M. Doria *ZA* 25 (1975) 369-380; C.J. Ruijgh *Chars et roues dans les tablettes mycéniennes: la méthode de la mycénologie* (Amsterdam 1976), *CM* 207-220. *a-ra-ru-ja a-ni-ja-pi*: D.M. Jones *Glotta* 37 (1958) 117-118. *o-pa*: C. Consani *SSL* 17 (1977) 31-66.

Wheel tablets


§ 298 The WHEEL and CHARIOT tablets come from the so-called Arsenal, to the north-west of the palace of Knossos. Twenty-four short tablets make up the So set; they comprise an inventory of pairs of wheels, and also single wheels, which were present (or which ought to have been present) when the inventory was drawn up. The WHEEL ideogram is carefully drawn, and it evidently represents wheels of different types, as the following examples will show:

KN So 4439 = *Documents* no. 280 = *Interpretation* no. 219



 a-mo-ta e-ri-ka temi-dweta WHEEL ZE MO WHEEL

KN So 4430 = *Documents* no. 282 = *Interpretation* no. 223



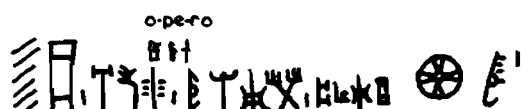
 e-ri-ka odatweta a-ro-a WHEEL ZE 22 MO WHEEL 1

KN So 4440 = *Documents* no. 281 = *Interpretation* no. 220



 a-mo-ta pterewa odatweta WHEEL ZE 6

KN So 4442 = *Documents* no. 283 = *Interpretation* no. 222



]-ja a-mo-te perusinwa tarasija WHEEL ZE 1

§ 299 The first tablet, So 4439, may be analysed as follows:

<i>a-mo-ta</i>	<i>e-ri-ka</i>	<i>te-mi-dwe-ta</i>	WHEEL	<i>ze</i>	3	1
ἄρματα	ἐλίκῃς	τε....δφεντα	WHEEL	ζε(ύγεα)	3	μό(ύφον) 1
wheels	of wil-	?	?:	3 pairs of		1 single
	low			wheels;		wheel

a-mo-ta is the nominative plural of a neuter noun *a-mo* = ἄρμος, which is found in the singular at KN Sg 1811. It is equivalent to later Greek ἄρμα: for the ἄρμος/ἄρμα alternation, cf. σπέρμος/σπέρμα (§ 167). In Homer the noun ἄρματα means 'an assemblage of wheels, a chariot'; as will be seen in § 304, Mycenaean uses a different word for 'chariot', but one which can be paralleled in later Greek. The word which follows *a-mo-ta* is a descriptive genitive formed from a noun cited by Theophrastus as meaning a species of willow. *te-mi-dwe-ta* is a neuter plural adjective ending in -δφεντα, describing ἄρματα: no plausible meaning has yet been proposed for it. *ze* is likely to be an abbreviation of *ze-u-ko* = ζεύγος 'yoke, pair' (the dative plural *ze-u-ke-si* = ζεύγεσσι is found at PY Ub 1318.4). Since the syllabic sign *mo* is always associated with the numeral 'one', it is probably an abbreviation of μόνφον 'single'.

§ 300 So 4430 contains two introductory words, *ko-ki-da o-pa*, in apposition to the rest of the text. *ko-ki-da* might be a personal name in the nominative or genitive; the meaning of *o-pa* is quite unknown. *a-mo-ta* has to be understood with the following words, thus:

<i>ne-wa</i>	(<i>a-mo-ta</i>)	<i>e-ri-ka</i>	<i>o-da-twe-ta</i>	<i>a-ro₂-a</i>
νέφα	(ἄρματα)	ἐλίκῃς	ο....τφεντα	ἀρίσῃα
new	(wheels)	of wil-	?	? better
	low			

ne-wa = νέφα is neuter plural of νέφος (> Attic νέος) 'new'; *o-da-twe-ta* is an adjective similar in formation to *te-mi-dwe-ta* in So 4439, and its meaning is equally unknown; *a-ro₂-a* is neuter plural of a comparative adjective, 'better, of superior quality' (§ 118).

§ 301 So 4440 begins with the comment *de-do-me-na*, neuter plural of a perfect passive participle δεδομένα 'given, handed over'; thus the task assigned has been carried out. These *a-mo-ta* are *pte-re-wa* = πτελέφῃς 'of elm'.

§ 302 So 4442 records the absence of wheels which the inventory-taker expected to find: the text begins with *o-pe-ro* = ὀφελος 'deficit'. If line 2 is correctly restored, it starts with a place-name *se-to-i-ja*. Dual *a-mo-te* = ἄρμοις is in harmony with the 'one pair' of wheels denoted by the ideogram + *ze*. *pe-ru-si-nwa ta-ra-si-ja* is descriptive of the wheels: for *ta-ra-si-ja*, see § 219; *pe-ru-si-nwa* = περυσινφά 'belonging to last year'. It seems that, in the year preceding the one in which the text was written, materials were allocated for so many pairs of wheels, but one pair was not manufactured.

Chariot tablets

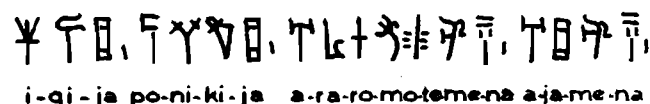
§ 303 The eighteen Sd tablets, all by the same hand, describe chariots of various types: as with the WHEEL tablets, the scribe has not drawn a stereotyped ideogram, but has rendered the details of construction. The Sf texts, which are distinguished by the presence of *242 (the CHARIOT-FRAME ideogram), show some resemblance to the Sd tablets. The recurrent formulae may be illustrated by the following examples:

KN Sd 4409 + fragments = *Documents* no. 267

WHEEL-LESS
CHARIOT 1

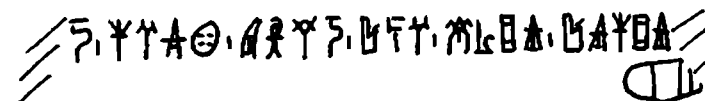
wi-ri-ne-o o-po-qcka-ke-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi

a 

b 
i-qi-ja po-ni-ki-ja a-ra-ro-motemena a-ja-me-na

KN Sd 4404 + fragment = *Documents* no. 269

ljo i-qo-e-qe wi-ri-ni-jo o-po-qo-kerajapi opii-japi

a  WHEEL-LESS
CHARIOT

b 
i-qi-ja ku-doni-ja mi-to-we-sse a-ra-ro-motemena

KN Sd 4422 = *Documents* no. 271

WHEEL-LESS
CHARIOT

o-pa o-u-qe peqato u-po

a 

b 
i-qi-ja a-ro-mote-mena ou-qe ani-ja posi e-e-si

a scribal error, in that -e is otiose; perhaps it was added by a writer who thought for a moment that he was dealing with a dual of the third declension. *mi-to-we-sa*, like *po-ni-ki-ja*, is an adjective of colour, and it is impossible to tell how the two colours differ from each other, for in Homer they are used interchangeably: *mi-to-we-sa* = *μυλτόφεσσα* 'red'. In the upper line, *do-we-jo i-go-e-ge* are probably nominative dual. *do-we-jo* = *δορφέω* 'wooden' is restored from Sd 4413. *i-go-e-ge* is a compound which (to judge from its first element) must denote some part of the equipage; the meaning 'saddles' suggested in both *Documents* and *Interpretation* is no better than a guess.

§ 306 On Sd 4422 the *i-qi-ja* is probably specified as an *o-pa*, but this is not certain since the left-hand side of the tablet is damaged. After the usual entry *a-ro-mo-te-me-na*, a new clause is written:

o-u-ge a-ni-ja po-si e-e-si o-u-ge pe-qa-to u-po

οὔτε ἄνιαι ποσὶ ἔενσι οὔτε ? ? ὑπό

neither reins are present upon (it) nor ?? beneath

Both ποσὶ and ὑπό have their original adverbial force. No completely satisfactory explanation of *pe-qa-to* has yet been offered; but Wild's suggestion that *pe-* conceals a stem *πεδ-* would harmonize well with the lower part of the chariot demanded by ὑπό.

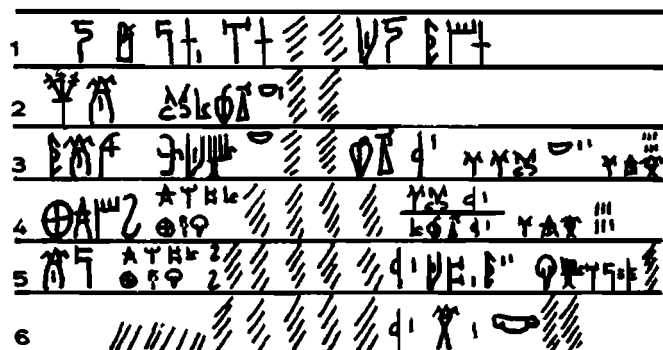
§ 307 Sf 4420 describes eighty chariot-frames as the *o-pa* of a man's name in the genitive, *a-re-ki-si-to-jo*. The fact that in the Sf set a chariot is described either as *a-ja-me-na* or as *a-na-(i-)ta* but never as both has suggested that *a-na-(i-)ta* means 'undecorated'; but the total number of Sf tablets is hardly sufficient to allow the truth of this suggestion to be confirmed. It is troublesome, in particular, that the scribe has regarded this negative adjective (if that is what it is) as a word of three terminations (hence the ending -a), whereas the one immediately following has only two terminations, for *a-na-mo-to* may be regarded, with some confidence, as a spelling of ἄν-ἄρμοστοι (with the stem of ἄρμόζω), 'not equipped'.

11 SPICE TABLETS: THE MYCENAE Ge SET

Editions and commentaries: E.L. Bennett and others *The Mycenae tablets* II (Philadelphia 1958) 64, 65, 79, 80, 108; J. Chadwick and others *The Mycenae tablets* III (Philadelphia 1963) 71; J.-P. Olivier *Kadmos* 8 (1969) 51-52; A. Sacconi *Corpus delle iscrizioni in lineare B di Micene* (Rome 1974) 48-49. sa-pi-de: L. Deroy *AC* 29 (1960) 315-318.

§ 308 The Ge tablets were found in the 'House of Sphinxes', due south of Grave Circle B at Mycenae: they appear to record transactions between individuals. The text chosen to represent the Ge set is formed from two broken fragments which do not meet in the middle:

MY Ge 602 = *Documents* no. 105 = *Interpretation* no. 166



jo-o-po-ro a-ro[]mi-jo pe-se-ro

pu-ke ma-ra-tu-wo Z1[

pe-ke-u kumi-no Z[]tu-wo V1sa-sa-ma Z2 sa-pi-de⁶

e-ru-ta-ra[]sà-ma V1
ka-e-se-we ka-na-ko[]ra-tu-wo V1sa-pi-de 6

e-ru-ta-ra[]V1mi-ta PE 2 ko-no-a-po-te[

]V1 DE 1 RECEPTACLE[

Line 1. As usual, the 'introductory' particle *jo-* has brought the main verb with it to the beginning of the inscription. *-o-po-ro* probably stands for ὄφλον, 3 plural aorist of ὀφείλω 'owe'. The word beginning *a-ro-* is likely to be the object of this verb, and the word ending *-mi-jo* (nominative plural in -μιοι?) its subject. *pe-se-ro* seems to be the dative of a man's name. Hence: 'the -mioi owed a.... to Psellos(?)'. The names of two of the -mioi are then given in large characters at the left of lines 2 and 3.

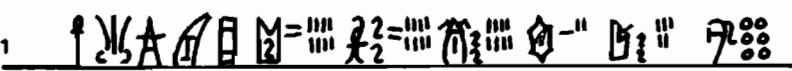
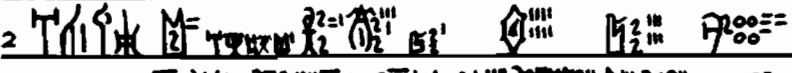
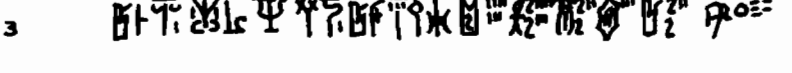
Line 2. A man named *pu,-ke* (owed) an amount of *ma-ra-tu-wo*: compare later Greek μάραθ(ρ)ον 'fennel'.

Line 3. A man named *pe-ke-u* (owed) amounts of *ku-mi-no* (κύμινον 'cummin'), [*ma-ra*]-*tu-wo*, *sa-sa-ma* (σᾶσάμᾱ 'sesame'), and six *sa-pi-de* (perhaps σαπίδες 'boxes').

Line 4. The structure of this line differs from that of lines 2 and 3. It begins with a dative, as if the name of a new 'creditor' (which would appear in the nominative as *ka-e-se-u*) had been introduced. This man is 'owed' amounts of *e-ru-ta-ra ka-na-ko* (ἐρυθρὰ κνῶκος 'red safflower'), of [*sa*]-*sa-ma*, and of *ma-ra-tu-wo*, and six *sa-pi-de*.

Line 5. It is impossible to say whether the name *ke-po* is nominative (as in lines 2 and 3) or dative (as in line 4). The items involved in this transaction are red safflower, two *pe* ('bundles'??) of *mi-ta* (μίνθα 'mint'), and others which are obscure. The vessel depicted by the ideogram *155 is presumably a container for the spices.

§ 313 PY Ma 393 = Documents no. 175 = Interpretation no. 195

1 
 2 
 3 

zamae-wi-ja *146 28 RIM 28 KE M8 *152 12 0 M5 ME 600

a-pu-do-si *146 20 a-ne-ta-de *146 1 RIM 21 KEM 5 OM 1 *152 8 OM 6 ME 450

o-da-a₂ ma-ra-ne-ni-jo o-u-di-do-si *146 7 RIM 7 KE M 2 *152 3 0 M 2 ME 150

In this text, the word *a-ne-ta-de* is placed in opposition to *a-pu-do-si*. *a-ne-ta-de* is usually thought to contain ἀνετα suffixed with the adversative particle δέ, ἀνετος being a verbal adjective formed from ἀνίημι 'let go, set free'. In the present context, *a-ne-ta* means presumably that the items placed after it are 'remit- ted': that is, they will not after all have to be contributed, in spite of the assessment. The meaning of *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* in line 3 is unknown: it is the nominative plural of a word which may be an ethnic or an occupation-term. Following is the analysis of Ma 313:

commodity	units not given	units de- livered	units re- mitted	units in deficit	units as- sessed
*146	7	20	1	0	28
RI	7	0	21	0	28
KE	2	0	5	1	8
*152	3	0	0	8	12
O	2	0	0	6	5
ME	150	0	0	450	600

It will be noticed that the books do not balance in respect of items *152 and O: the units of *152 fall one short of the number assessed, while the units of O exceed the assessment by three.

Knossos Mc tablets

§ 314 Most of the twenty-three extant Mc tablets from Knossos are very fragmentary. They resemble the Pylos Ma texts in that they record amounts of standard commodities: here the items are represented by the four ideograms *150, *SHE GOAT*, *HORN*, and *142. The signification of the first and fourth ideograms is unknown. The recurrent type of inscription is exemplified by:

KN Mc 4455 + fragments

	a-pa-sa-ki-jo	*150	28	SHE GOAT	17
ku-ta-to		*142	M	12	HORN
					24

It is known from other Knossos texts that the word *ku-ta-to*, written in large characters at the left of this tablet, is a place-name (§ 181). Analogy with the Pylos Ma set suggests that we have here the assessment of so many commodities at the place *ku-ta-to*: but, unlike the Pylos tablets, this text brings in a personal name *a-pa-sa-ki-jo* as well. This might be the name of the man responsible for contributing the items in the locality of *ku-ta-to* or, conceivably, the name of the supervisor or census-taker.

Pylos N tablets

§ 315 The N tablets are concerned with the assessment of a commodity which is represented by the sign SA: this has been identified as 'flax' on the evidence of Nn 228.1 (below).¹ The Na set comprises a large number of short texts, each showing the assessment of amounts of SA at a named place; sometimes details are added about payment or non-payment by certain classes of persons. Nn 228 is a totalling tablet, bringing together information contained in a number of Na texts. The two Ng tablets present grand totals of the amounts of SA contributed, or not contributed, by two great divisions of the Pylian kingdom. Representative texts are considered in the following order:

¹ Cf. A.L.H. Roskin *AJA* 83 (1979) 469-474.

PY Na 245 = Documents no. 195 = Interpretation no. 200

o-u-di-dosi SA 10

A/1=1/5 M= 06794, M-
778, 2342, 64047
 e-wi-te-wi-jo SA 20 to-sade maratewe rawake-si-jo

PY Nn 228 = Documents no. 184 = Interpretation no. 211

1 001+4, 84, 01 o-o-perosi ri-no o-pero
 2 405.M=+64, M= u-ka-jo SA 20 ro-o-wa SA 35
 3 778, 2342, 64047 pu₂ra₂-a-ke-re-u SA 10 ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na
 4 M= SA 5 di-wi-ja-ta SA 60
 5 778, 2342, 64047 M= a-pi-no-e-wi-jo SA 28
 6 564, M- A75, M= po-ra-pi SA 10 e-na-po-ro SA 33
 7 778, 2342 M= te-tu-ru-we SA 38

PY Ng 319 = Documents no. 198 = Interpretation no. 209

de-wero-ai-kora-i-ja SA 1239

1 778, 2342, 64047 M=
 2 778, 2342, 64047 M=
 to-sade o-u-di-do-to SA 457

PY Ng 332 = Documents no. 199 = Interpretation no. 210

pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja SA 200

1 06794, M=
 2 778, 2342, 64047 M=
 to-sade o-u-di-do-to SA

§ 316 Na 245 gives an assessment for the place *e-wi-te-wi-jo* of twenty units of *SA*. Then comes the entry:

to-sa-de ma-ra-te-we ra-wa-ke-si-jo o-u-di-do-si SA 10

τοσάδε Μαλαθηῆρες? λαῖψαγέσιου οὐ δίδονσι SA 10

This records the non-contribution of ten units of *SA* by the *Mala-thēwes*(?) belonging to the *lāwāgetas*. *ma-ra-te-we* is the nominative plural of an occupation-word, whose meaning is not known. Elsewhere on the Pylos tablets, *ma-ra-te-u* is a man's name (§ 231); presumably the occupation-word can function as a personal name, as with English *Smith*, etc. The craftsmen are described as belonging to the *lāwāgetas*: like some of the bronze-smiths mentioned by the Mc tablets, they 'do not contribute' so many units of the assessment, but the text does not say whether their payment has been waived or is still outstanding.

§ 317 Nn 228 begins with a 'heading' introduced by *o-*, recalling the *jo-* at the opening of MY Ge 602 (§ 308):

o-o-pe-ro-si ri-no o-pe-ro

ο-ὀφείλονσι λίνον ὀφελος

they owe flax? as a deficit

The words which follow are place-names, each with its deficit expressed in units of *SA*.

§ 318 Ng 319 and Ng 332 show the assessment of *SA* at *de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra,-ko-ra-i-ja* respectively. Whatever the meaning of the second element of these compounds, there is little doubt that the first elements are complementary to each other: *de-we-ro-* representing later Greek δεῦρο 'hither, here'¹ and *pe-ra,-* πέρᾱ- 'farther'. They accordingly denote parts of the kingdom, *de-we-ro-* lying closer to the palace of Pylos and *pe-ra,-* farther away. In just the same way, the Romans spoke of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul respectively; and probably *-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* too is the name of a geographical feature. The first line of both tablets records the total assessment; then line 2 indicates that:

to-sa-de o-u-di-do-to

τοσάδε οὐ δίδοται

so many are not given

¹ Cf. C.J. Ruijgh *AM* II 441-450.

13 INSCRIBED JARS SEALINGS AND LABELS

Inscribed jars from Thebes: G. Björck *Eranos* 52 (1954) 120-124; H.W. Catling and A. Millett *Archaeometry* 8 (1965) 3-85; J. Raison *Les vases à inscriptions peintes de l'âge mycénien* (Rome 1968) 61-117; A. Heubeck *Athenaeum* 57 (1969) 144-153; L.R. Palmer *Kadmos* 11 (1972) 27-46; C. Sourvinou-Inwood *Minos* 13 (1972) 130-136; J. and J. McArthur *Minos* 15 (1974) 68-80; A. Sacconi *Corpus delle iscrizioni vascolari in lineare B* (Rome 1974) 121-173; A.L. Wilson *Archaeometry* 18 (1976) 51-58. Inscribed sealings: J. Chadwick *BICS* 5 (1958) 1-5, *Eranos* 57 (1959) 1-5; J.-P. Olivier *Minos* 9 (1968) 173-183.

Inscribed jars

§ 319 More inscribed jars have been found at Thebes than at any other Mycenaean site. The best-preserved inscriptions can be put into a series:

TH Z 839 = *Interpretation* no. 171

[illegible]

TH Z 853

AFT-7, FT, 2-3: H G
e - u-da-mo wa-to ri-82-12-0

TH Z 852

ᑕᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ
a-re-me-ne wa-to re-u-ko-jo

TH Z 854

pi - pi wa-to su-ro-no

All of the foregoing texts contain the same three elements arranged in the same order, namely:

- (i) a man's name in the nominative case;
- (ii) a place-name, also in the nominative;
- (iii) either a man's name in the genitive or the word *wa-na-ka-te-ro*.

It does not seem possible to form any conclusion about the function of the personal names; but it might reasonably be conjectured that (i) is the name of the consignor responsible for the dispatch (and perhaps also the manufacture) of the oil which the jars originally contained. The presence of *wa-na-ka-te-ro* as third element in Z 839 strongly suggests that, just as the man named *ka-u-no* 'worked for' the *wanax*, so *a-re-me-ne* 'worked for' *re-u-ko*, *e-u-da-mo* for *ri-*82-ta*, and *pi-pi* for *su-ro*. But it is (ii) which arouses the greatest interest. It takes the form either of *wa-to* or of *o-du-ru-wi-jo*. Both words are used as place-names on the Knossos tablets: in KN C 902, the *ko-re-te* at *o-du-ru-wi-jo* and the *ko-re-te* at *wa-to* are mentioned in successive lines in connexion with cattle. It thus becomes very likely that the jars and their contents were exported to the mainland from Crete and that *wa-to* and *o-du-ru-wi-jo* are the names of places at which the jars were manufactured and filled with oil.

Inscribed sealings

§ 320 Lumps of clay bearing seal-impressions and incised with Linear B characters were found at Knossos, Pylos, and Mycenae. The close similarity between these inscriptions and those on the Linear B tablets shows that the sealings played a part in the scribal bureaucracy of the palaces. It is to be presumed that the one or two words inscribed on a sealing served as a kind of index to a class of tablets, while the seal-impression itself was made by the signet of an important official or overseer, who had checked the contents of the archive in question.

KN Ws 1704 = *Documents* no. 264

α	→	JAVELIN
β	⊞	o-pa
γ	⊞⊞	pa-ta-ja

This and other sealings come from the Arsenal at Knossos, which yielded also the tablets recording numbers of weapons and chariots. The meaning of the word *o-pa* (encountered already in §§ 303-307) is

unknown; but the inscription is nevertheless of interest in that a connexion is established between the word *pa-ta-ja* and the ideogram depicting a dart. It is evident that *pa-ta-ja* and *pa-ta-jo* are alternative forms of a word which appears later as *παλίων* 'light missile' (cf. § 214). The sealing acts as a check on the run of tablets which record numbers of these weapons.

§ 321 MY Wt 504



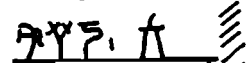
qe-ti-ja


The single word on this sealing suffices to make the connexion with MY Ue 611, a tablet which contains a list of words and numerals. No ideograms are written, but the presence of two words (*a-po-re-we* = ἀπορήψε and *ti-ri-po-di-ko* = τριποδόσκου) indicates that the words in the list are vessel-names. Furthermore, the word *ge-to* is found in line 4 of the tablet. From its appearance in the Pylos Ta tablets, this too is known to be a vessel-name (§ 242); *ge-ti-ja*, in line 3 of the tablet, is obviously a different form of the same word, indicating a vessel similar to a *ge-to*. *ge-ti-ja* has been extracted from its context and written on our sealing as an indication that the archive deals with vessels; other vessel-names are similarly used on other sealings.

Inscribed labels

§ 322 PY Wa 114

me-ni-jo WOMAN

1 

2 

pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja ko[

The word in line 2, *pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja*, was met on PY Ng 332, where it denotes the 'farther' part of the kingdom (§ 318). This label is thus likely to refer to a class of tablets concerned with contributions from, or outgoings to, the remoter areas. The ideogram shows that the contributions or outgoings are connected with women. *me-ni-jo* cannot describe the women directly, and it may indicate the item(s) levied or distributed. The association with μήν 'month' rests on a mere guess, and is unsafe.

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* marks a reconstructed or hypothetical form.

† marks a word which contains a Greek stem but which is not actually attested in historical Greek.

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