

THE THEBES TABLETS AND THE Fq SERIES: A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS*

I. Introduction¹

The discovery in the mid-1990s of 238 new Linear B tablets at Thebes has the potential to illuminate many aspects of Mycenaean Thebes and to contribute to the Linear B lexicon.² The subsequent publication of these tablets has sparked considerable debate concerning the editors' identifications of words and signs that are unattested or rarely attested at other Mycenaean sites. In particular, it is the predominantly religious interpretations of many tablets, including the Fq series, and lexical items within the texts that have caused much controversy. To date, most scholars dealing with the new Thebes tablets have focused on linguistic arguments about the identifications of certain words and have offered, in many cases, more plausible explanations. Less work has been done with the structure and general format of the tablets to refine the understanding and interpretation of various terms.

From a methodological standpoint, arguments about the nature and function of Linear B texts are most convincing when they account both for linguistic or lexical aspects of individual entries and the overall structure of the text. Since an understanding of how a particular series functions as a whole allows a lexical unit to be contextualized both within its series and within the corpus, such an examination can contribute significantly to an interpretation of the meaning of any given word. Consequently, this paper discusses the key interpretative arguments made by the editors, their various counterarguments and approaches

* I would like to thank Tom Palaima for his guidance, encouragement and insightful comments through many drafts of this paper, and Dimitri Nakassis, Joann Gulizio and Kevin Pluta for their able assistance. This paper was the result of a seminar conducted at the University of Texas at Austin in Autumn 2005 under the direction of Tom Palaima. I bear full responsibility for any errors in the text.

¹ I use the following abbreviations:

AGS	Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi
DMic	F. Aura Jorro, <i>Diccionario Micénico</i> , 2 vols. (Madrid 1985 and 1993).
Docs ²	M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, <i>Documents in Mycenaean Greek</i> , 2 nd edition (Cambridge 1973)
TOP	<i>Thebes: Fouilles de la Cadmée I: Les Tablettes de Odos Pelopidou</i> (Rome 2001)

² In terms of the number of fragments and signs, Thebes ranks third among Mycenaean sites with a total of 337 fragments and 3733 attested signs, placing it well behind Knossos, which has roughly 10 times the number of tablets and Pylos, with 3 times as many tablets. Thebes does, however, have the largest number of sealings (Wu series – 56) and inscribed stirrup jars found at any Mycenaean site (Aravantinos 1999, p. 48).

the most contested terms in their contexts with a focus on the Fq series in order to examine how these tablets function as a set.

II. *Archaeological Context*

The Fq series is the largest group of tablets at Thebes and deals with allotments of HORD to various individuals and groups.³ Much of this series was found *in situ* in the corner of a collapsed building (between walls 24 and 40) that was destroyed by the same fire that partially baked the tablets.⁴ The tablets found *in situ* were associated with plain and decorated pottery that has provided a date of late LH IIIB2 for the fire and destruction and thus a relative date for the tablets themselves (Aravantinos 1999, pp. 50f.). In addition to the pottery, carbonized fig seeds and cereals were found in association with the tablets (Aravantinos 1999, p. 50). These archaeobotanical finds suggest that this area might have been a storeroom, perhaps part of a larger building.⁵

Such a findspot fits the pattern at Thebes (thus far) of discrete deposits of tablets associated with the specialized areas, as for example the discovery at the Arsenal of the Ug series and the Wu sealings, which were found at one of the city gates (Pluta 2004). In both of these cases, the texts were found in isolation and presumably near areas related to the activities that they record –i.e., the Ug tablets seem to relate to metalworking and were next to a room containing bronze weapons and objects in the Arsenal (Chadwick 1970, p. 127; Killen 1987, pp. 65ff.); similarly, the Wu sealings record animals sent to Thebes by various persons from different places and were placed in one room of a small three room building near the gate, presumably collected as the animals entered the city (Piteros, Olivier and Melena, pp. 104ff.).⁶

Based on the findspot of the Fq tablets and the pattern of tablet distribution at Thebes, the series does not seem to have been stored in a central archive but rather in a storeroom. Thus, it is probable that the Fq series records the

³ I use the transcription HORD rather than the conventional translation of barley throughout this paper in order to avoid the problem of which cereal the ideogram represents. I do, however, favor Ruth Palmer's convincing argument for the identification of HORD as emmer wheat, the implications of which I address below (Palmer 1992).

⁴ 31 of the 126 Fq tablets were found in disturbed contexts dating to the Byzantine period or later (*TOP*, p. 18).

⁵ The architecture, although disturbed, may suggest this room was part of a magazine type structure with multiple storerooms, given that wall 40 originally extended further north and possibly south to form a back wall. Additionally, finds of scattered grain throughout the area could support the identification of this structure as a storeroom for agricultural products (Aravantinos 1999, p. 50).

⁶ Although no tablets were found with the nodules, several styli were and suggest that a scribe or scribes were recording the information from the nodules in that building (Piteros, Olivier and Melena, pp. 104ff.). In this same article, the authors conclude that the animals recorded by the Theban Wu nodules are intended for a feast by analogy to those listed on PY Un 2 and Un 138.

distribution of a commodity, i.e., HORD, that may have been kept in this storeroom or set of storerooms,⁷ and written by someone who was in charge of its distribution.

III. *Structure of the Tablets*

Physically, the Fq series consists of 126 fragments from page shaped tablets, about one-third of which contain only one or two signs. A count of the most frequently occurring and securely identifiable word (*ko-wa*) yields a minimum number of 13 attestations. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the original set consisted of at least 13 tablets.⁸

The main scribal hand of the series, Hand 305, wrote 116 or 92% of the 126 assigned Fq fragments.⁹ Differential issues of preservation aside, Hand 305 seems to be typical of the scribal administration at Thebes, where the general pattern is one of a single hand producing the majority of tablets in a series. Hand 305's tablets are very consistent and quite neat, with a relatively even spacing of signs and words. In format, he aims for three entries per line, but in the case of longer entries, he will pair them as on Fq 254[+]255.13, or place them with very short entries as on Fq 258.3 in order to have completely full lines. The result of this is that there are very few examples of crowding on any of the tablets, which also implies that the scribe may have had a reasonable expectation, within certain limits, of what entries would be on each tablet and that they were not recorded on an *ad hoc* basis. If this is the case, then we can assume that the scribe knew or could anticipate within reasonable limits which entries might be included on any given tablet in the series. Additionally, each tablet has between 14 and 15 lines and in most cases they are completely full, with a totalling line at the very bottom, a characteristic that implies the scribe could anticipate the total number of entries.

There are 42 identifiable personal names in the Fq series, 34 of which occur more than once and 10 of which occur in other series. There are also as many as 11 titles or groups of people (depending on the interpretation of the term), eight of which also appear outside of Fq series. An analysis of these entries shows that

⁷ The idea that the scribe was actually at the storeroom(s) and involved in the allocation of foodstuffs is supported by the fact that most of the Fq series was written by one hand (Hand 305) and that the only other series with H 305 tablets records allotments of wine (Gp series), a commodity which conceivably could have been also stored here.

⁸ Palaima (forthcoming, p. 144) suggests based on the occurrence of *a-me-ro*, perhaps as many as 15 times, and other factors that the series originally consisted of 15-18 tablets.

⁹ An argument can be made that the percentage is closer to 94%, given that Fq 200 (Hand 306?) and Fq 207 (Hand 307) do not seem to belong to the Fq series. Neither tablet bears much similarity to rest of the series: both consist solely of unique entries and Fq 307 has an ideogram that occurs nowhere else in the Fq texts. Both texts are also missing the HORD ideogram. Fq 200 is also unusual in that it has blank lines from mid-tablet down. This does not occur on any other Fq tablet squished onto its line.

each time a recipient occurs in the Fq series, they tend to appear in approximately the same line position and receive a similar amount of HORD each time they occur on a tablet (see TABLE 2 and discussion below).

IV. *The ma-ka Controversy*

ma-ka is the cornerstone of various religious interpretations of the tablets and the lexical items on them advanced by the editors of *TOP*. *ma-ka* appears on 12 tablets in the Fq series and when preserved usually receives the largest amount of HORD.¹⁰ But, it is very difficult to identify *ma-ka* with a specific Greek form, given that, in general, the more signs that comprise a lexical item, the easier it is confidently to identify it with a known Greek word. In the case of *ma-ka*, which consists of only two signs, the identification is complicated by the fact that it is only attested on one tablet outside the Thebes corpus (KN F 51). Therefore, an unequivocal identification of *ma-ka* with any Greek form is very problematic.

AGS and Ruijgh argue that *ma-ka* is $M\tilde{\alpha} \Gamma\tilde{\alpha}$, or the dative of Mother Earth, as attested in a line in of Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 890-2; *TOP*, p. 190; Ruijgh 2004, pp. 4ff.).¹¹ This theory that *ma-ka* is a deity is not in itself particularly objectionable; rather it is the fact that the assimilation of *ma-ka* to Demeter has influenced the interpretations AGS and Ruijgh make of nearly every aspect of the corpus to the exclusion of other plausible explanations.¹² Other interpretations include $M\acute{\alpha}\chi\bar{\alpha}$, a deity related to battle, or $M\alpha\gamma\tilde{\alpha}$, an abstract deity related to the kneading or processing of grain (Palaima 2001, p. 481); a personal name $M\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\alpha(\zeta)$ or $M\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ (Melena 2001, p. 50); or even a *nomen actionis* $\mu\alpha\gamma\tilde{\alpha}$, “for kneading” (Palaima 2003b, p. 35).

As I have mentioned, the only occurrence of *ma-ka* outside of Thebes is on the problematic text KN F 51.*verso*:

.1 wa HORD T 1 V 3 po-ro-de-qa-no V 2 Z 2
 .2 di-we HORD T 1 HORD T 4 Z 1 ma-ka HORD V 6

This very short tablet has some similarity to the contexts where *ma-ka* appears in the Fq series in that both record the distribution of HORD to *ma-ka* and *di-we*/Zeus (if one accepts the AGS’s interpretation of the word *o-po-re-i* as an epithet of Zeus, see below) and records *po-ro-de-qa-no* (on KN F 51) or *de-qa-no*

¹⁰ *TOP* lists two additional occurrences of *ma-ka* (Gp 201.a and X 152.1), both of which are problematic. Gp 201.a clearly has another sign right before it and it is quite possibly part of the same word. X 152 is broken after the *ka* and it is difficult to say with certainty that the word is complete.

¹¹ Chadwick believed that this suggestion was not acceptable (Chadwick 1996-1997, p. 293). Palaima has noted that one key problem with this identification is that there is no other example in the Linear B lexicon of two one word signs being combined into a single unit (Palaima 2003b, p. 34).

¹² The best example of the *TOP* editors’ tendency to look for religious interpretation outside of the Fq series is their suggestion that the entry *si-to* also representing Demeter, an argument disproved by Palaima and Palmer (Palaima 2000-2001, p. 478; Palmer forthcoming).

(on Fq 254[+]255). Since *wa* and *di-we* are generally understood to mean *wanax* and Zeus respectively, the inclination of scholars has been to pair the four entries on this tablet in order to identify *po-ro-de-go-no* and *ma-ka* with Greek forms. The approach taken by AGS and Ruijgh is to argue that *ma-ka* and *di-we* are paired here, and since *di-we* would only be paired with another divinity, that *ma-ka* must be a goddess (*TOP*, pp. 188f.; Ruijgh 2003, p. 222).¹³ The resultant pairing of *po-ro-de-go-no* and *wa* on line one leads to the conclusion that they are both official titles (*TOP*, p. 189).¹⁴ Part of the argument for *po-ro-de-go-no* as a title is its similarity to *po-ro-ko-re-te*, a word that refers to someone who is subordinate to the *ko-re-te* (*TOP*, p. 225). Conversely, it is also possible to argue by analogy to Fq 254[+]255, which has *de-go-no* and *ma-ka* as its first two entries, that *ma-ka* is paired with *po-ro-de-go-no* on KN F 51, a supposition that accords with the size of their allotments and suggests that *ma-ka* may be paired with *de-go-no* on Fq 254 (Palaima 2003b, p. 34). In this scenario, *po-ro-de-go-no* is identified with a preliminary meal and *ma-ka* is a *nomen actionis* meaning “for kneading” (Palaima 2003b, p. 34). It should be noted that these arguments are all predicated on the idea that the entries on KN F 51 form related pairs. However, there is not enough evidence to say conclusively which entries belong together and it is possible that these four words were never intended to be seen as pairs. Therefore, the ambiguous nature of this tablet does not allow it to be used on its own to support either side of the debate about the identification of *ma-ka*.

An additional facet of the argument identifying *ma-ka* as $M\tilde{a} \Gamma\tilde{a}$ /Demeter involves the identification of *ko-wa*, another very frequent entry in the series, as the goddess Kore. Yet, unlike the ambiguity that surrounds the word *ma-ka*, *ko-wa* is well attested and occurs dozens of times in texts at Knossos, both in the singular and in the plural, where it refers to young women (Greek κόρη) (*DMic* I, pp. 394f.).¹⁵ Thus the editors of *TOP* resort to an argument that can only be described as circular, which claims that if *ma-ka* is Demeter then *ko-wa* must be Kore, and if Kore appears with *ma-ka* then *ma-ka* must be Demeter (*TOP*, pp. 189f.).

Similarly the editors of *TOP* identify *o-po-re-i*, which appears on many tablets of the Fq series near *ko-wa* and *ma-ka*, as an epithet of Zeus in the dative singular.¹⁶ AGS use *o-po-re-i* to support their identifications of Kore and $M\tilde{a} \Gamma\tilde{a}$

¹³ It should be noted, however, that *di-we* occurs only three other times in the entire Linear B corpus and it is difficult to claim that it is ‘paired’ with any recipient on either KN Fp 1 (a list with several other gods) or PY Tn 316 (listed with Hera and Drimios). Only KH Gq 5 may present a religious pairing since both divinities may be receiving honey at the sanctuary of Zeus, although other interpretations are possible.

¹⁴ AGS also link *po-ro-de-go-no* and *ma-ka* on KN F 51 to *de-go-no* and *ma-ka* on TH Fq 254[+]255 with the result that they interpret *de-go-no* as a titled attendant in charge of a religious meal for *ma-ka* (*TOP*, p. 189).

¹⁵ Melena suggests that in the Fq series *ko-wa* is an anthroponym *Korwā* (Melena 2001, pp. 49f.).

¹⁶ The identification of *o-po-re-i* with Zeus is based on a Boeotian inscription from Akraiphia (*I.G.* VII.2733), on which the term ὄπωρεύς appears as an epithet of Zeus and refers to the harvest. The harvest connection has also fuelled the editors’ theory about the presence of Eleusinian elements in the tablets (*TOP*, pp. 190f.).

/Demeter, and argue that these three deities in the Fq series constitute the Eleusinian triad (*TOP*, p. 190). However, their identification of *o-po-re-i* with ὀπώρης has been shown to be linguistically impossible by Palaima and García Ramón, who offer a more convincing suggestion that it is a personal name that refers to mountains (Palaima 2001, p. 479; García Ramón forthcoming).

Therefore, since *ko-wa* should be interpreted simply as girl (perhaps as a personal name) and *o-po-re-i* is not an epithet of Zeus but rather an anthroponym, a strong case can be made based on linguistics alone that *ko-wa* and *o-po-re-i* are mortal recipients.¹⁷ This breaks down AGS' Eleusinian triad and some of their identifications of specific cultic personnel in the tablets. As a result, the argument for *ma-ka* specifically as the goddess Demeter becomes much weaker. Once all these arguments crumble, we are forced to view *ma-ka* as a unique entry in the Fq series.¹⁸

V. The *o-te* clauses

Another feature of the Fq series is the occurrence of three temporal *o-te* clauses (on Fq 126, 130, 254[+]255) which act as headers for their tablets. These *o-te* clauses seem to specify the occasion for which HORD was allotted and probably during which it was to be consumed. The only other example of an *o-te* clause in Linear B is found on PY Ta 711, a tablet that was written at the time of an official event or on a ceremonial occasion.¹⁹ References to time are a standard feature of some Mycenaean religious texts, although they usually come in the form of a month name. Consequently, the presence of the word *o-te* has led the editors to interpret these tablets as listing allocations for specific rituals related to the cult of Demeter, Kore and Zeus (*TOP*, p. 364).

The three *o-te* clauses are:

Fq 126.1 **o-te** , **tu-wo-te-to** , ma-ka HORD T 1 V[Z 1

Fq 130.1 **o-te** , **o-je-ke-te-to** ma-ka HORD T 2[

Fq 254[+]255 .1 de-qo-no HORD T 1 V 2 Z 3 **o-te** , **a-pi-e-qe ke-ro-ta**
 .2 **pa-ta** , ma-ka HORD T 1 V 2 Z 2 a-ko-da-mo v 2

Chadwick has disproved the editors' original reading of "when sacrifice was offered to *ma-ka*," since *ma-ka* is clearly a recipient on Fq 126, as it is on all

¹⁷ Although I did not see his article before this paper was finished, Yves Duhoux has come to the same conclusion about *ko-wa* and *o-po-re-i* (Duhoux 2002-2003). He makes further arguments against the identification of these three entries as a triad (Duhoux 2002-2003) and makes the important observation that they do not occur next to each other in the same line, as one would expect of a divine triad (Duhoux forthcoming).

¹⁸ Even if *ma-ka* is a deity, that alone is not sufficient to support the identification of *ko-wa* and *o-po-re-i* as divinities. As I argue below, *ko-wa* and *o-po-re-i* belong with the other mortal recipients on the tablets.

¹⁹ The *o-te* clause in the Ta series specifies an occasion, i.e., "when the wanax made Augewas *damokoros*" and lists furnishings for a reception (furniture, vessels, etc.) (*Docs*², p. 334).

other Fq tablets, and it cannot be part of the temporal clause (Chadwick 1996-1997, p. 295). The header of Fq 126 is generally regarded as referring to a time when burnt offerings were made, with *tu-wo* (θύος) and *tu-we-a* occurring elsewhere in the tablets with a meaning of “aromatic substances.”²⁰ This meaning is similar to its Classical meaning of burnt offering and is combined with *te-to* (second aorist middle 3rd person sg. or pl. of τίθημι) meaning ‘to establish.’ Therefore, this yields a reading of “when burnt offerings were made” (Chadwick 1996-1997, p. 294).

Fq 130 is problematic and various interpretations have been put forward. AGS initially translated it as “when the festival was opened” (*TOP*, p. 195). Chadwick took a more cautious approach and suggested that the clause may be related to the verb ἀνοίγνυμι, “to open,” and so could mean something like “on the occasion of the opening” (Chadwick 1996-1997, p. 296). Conversely, Ruijgh suggested that the Greek is “ὅτε ὄγ’ ἔκθετο” and thus means “when he had exposed the tree fruits” (Ruijgh 2004, p. 28).

The editors of *TOP* originally interpreted the *o-te* clause on Fq 254[+]255 as “when the *kykeion* was shared or divided.” This interpretation is strongly influenced by their belief that the Eleusinian triad was represented in the Fq series (*TOP*, p. 324).²¹ Although the meaning of *a-pi-e-qe* is uncertain, it has been reasonably argued that the clause refers to the convoking of all the elders; *o-te*, *a-pi-e-qe ke-ro-ta pa-ta* and thus translates as ὅτε ἀμφίηεκ^{we} γέροντας πάντας (Palaima 2003a, p. 115; Chadwick 1996-1997, p. 298; Melena 2001, p. 50; Ruijgh 2004, p. 31). This is the only Fq tablet on which *ma-ka* occurs where it is not the first entry. Instead, *de-qo-no* is the first lexical item and *ma-ka* is the first recipient after the *o-te* clause. Based on the possibility of their parallel placement on this tablet, the pairing on KN F 51 and the large quantities that each receives here, Palaima has argued that *ma-ka* is similar to *de-qo-no* (Palaima 2003b, p. 35). Since morphologically it is difficult to make *de-qo-no* mean *deipnos* “the officiant of the meal”, as AGS have proposed, it may alternatively be interpreted as *deipnon*, “the meal” (Palaima forthcoming, p. 143). Thus, *ma-ka* may have a similar abstract sense (as a *nomen actionis*) to *deipnon* and not refer to a person or a deity (Palaima 2003b, pp. 34f.).

The editors have also proposed that the three Fq tablets with *o-te* clauses are the header tablets for the series, as is the case on Ta 711, and all the other Fq tablets should be understood in relation to them (*TOP*, pp. 17f.). The use of these clauses as series headers, therefore, explains why all the tablets have the same

²⁰ *tu-wo* occurs on PY Un 219.1 (nom. sg.) and *tu-we-a* occurs on Un 267.3 (acc. pl.); both are related to the perfume industry (*DMic II*, p. 382).

²¹ Aside from counterarguments related to the lack of evidence for *kykeion* in the Bronze Age (and the Eleusinian triad within the Fq series (or for that matter) in the Bronze Age) and the issue of using an analogy from 600 years later to make *pa-tal/pasta* = *kykeion*; Ruth Palmer’s strong case for reading HORD as emmer wheat and not barley (from which *kykeion* is traditionally made) further negates the possible validity of this specific interpretation (Palmer 1992).

format and presumably it is the presence of *ma-ka* at the top of each tablet that marks them as the same kind of text (*TOP*, p. 17). Such an interpretation is appropriate for the Pylos Ta series and the *o-ka* set. In these series, the scribe needed to record a large list of items and used multiple tablets to do so, with the heading for the series on the first tablet. However for the Ta series, it is clear from the format, findspot and context that these are all part of the same group and written at the same time. This does not appear to be the case in the Fq series, which as ration texts, with multiple attestations of the same entries and amounts in slightly varying order, must have been written over a period of time. Even if it is the case that AGS are correct and these texts are the header tablets for three religious occasions, these would have to be multi-day festivals because there are at least nine, and as many as 12, additional Fq tablets that have many of the same recipients. If the Fq series did represent several multi-day festivals, then we would expect to see a single text for a whole festival with large allotments to each recipient intended to suffice for several days, as has been postulated for the Pylos Fn series (Killen 2001). The Fq series, clearly, does not represent such a case.

In sum, only Fq 126 can be argued to have a specific reference to a religious practice,²² leaving the other two tablets with *o-te* clauses open for a wider range of interpretations, with Fq 254[+]255 seemingly secular in nature.²³ This leads to the question of what is the difference between these tablets and the rest of the Fq series. The evidence from the entries themselves suggests that there is very little difference, since only two (*ka-ne-jo* – Fq 254[+]255 and *ku-si* – Fq 130) out of the 32 distinct recipients listed on all three *o-te* clause tablets do not occur elsewhere in the Fq series. Moreover, there is no significant variation in the amount of HORD that any recipient is allotted between these *o-te* tablets and the rest in the Fq series. Thus, this general conclusion about the homogeneity of the series and the fact that the *o-te* clauses need not specify religious occasions allows us to examine the Fq series as a generic group and compare them to other series outside Thebes.

VI. *The Fn Series and Ration tablets*²⁴

The best parallels for the Fq series are to be found in the Fn texts from Pylos, a small set of texts written by a number of scribal hands. The Fn series records the allotment of HORD (and occasionally figs, olives and perhaps flour) to

²² Chadwick offers the counterargument that Fq 126 merely denotes the burning of an aromatic substance and not a sacrifice or other kind of ritual occasion (Chadwick 1996-1997, p. 295). A theory supported by Palaima (2003b, p. 35).

²³ Palaima notes that the *o-te* clauses can be seen more generally as marking ‘ceremonial’ rather than explicitly religious occasions (Palaima 2000-2001, p. 481).

²⁴ The similarities between the Fn and Fq series have been noted already by AGS (*TOP*, pp. 365ff.), although their interpretations based on a comparison of these two series are different than what is discussed here.

recipients of various types who often occur on more than one text recur elsewhere at Pylos.²⁵

PY Fn 50 has a similar range of entries as the Fq series, including personal names, ethnics, craftsmen (e.g., *a-to-po-qa*) and official titles (e.g., *me-ri-du-te*). The recipients are organized into two groups separated by a blank line. In the first group, lines 1-3 record the recipients of T quantities of HORD, while lines 4-9 list the rest of the group, consisting of personal names and professional titles in two columns, all receiving quantities ranging from v 2-4. The second group is clearly distinct from the first, because the recipients are described as ‘slaves’ (in the dative plural, *do-e-ro-i*) of particular individuals (lines 11-14).²⁶ The quantity that each of the four entries in the second group receives is similar to other entries on this tablet, and include T amounts, which suggests that the two groups consist of entries that are somehow related to each other.

Fn 79 is another mixed recipient tablet that lists personal names and occupational titles organized into groups. No blank lines separate these groups, rather each group is defined by placing the largest recipient in each group as the first entry and the smallest recipient as the last entry to act as “book ends” for the group. Thus, it is the organization within each group from high to low quantity that works to separate one group from the other.

Fn 324 records a list of personal names as HORD recipients. The tablet is organized in a way similar to those of Fq series, with two or three entries per line. The first three groups on the tablet are arranged from high to low by the average or mean amount of HORD each member of a group is allocated. There is no intra-group ranking of quantities. Lines 26-28, like lines 11-14 on Fn 50, include an entry that refers to slaves (*do-e-ro-i* on line 26), and these entries at the bottom of the tablet receive a slightly greater mean amount of HORD than the group immediately above, simply because there is more than one slave being given HORD. Thus, on Fn 324 we see a combination of the separation of entries into groups as on Fn 50 and the ranking of entries by amount as on Fn 79, and how these can work as organizing principles on ration tablets.

Generally, agricultural commodities are allocated to individuals and groups who do work connected to the palace (as in the KN and PY rations texts) or in exchange for other commodities (as in *o-no* transactions, e.g. PY An 35), or to deities and religious personnel (Palmer 1990, p. 142). Conversely, items such as

²⁵ Recently several scholars have sought religious connotations in many of the Fn texts, based on the presence of one religious text, Fn 187 (Killen 2001 and *TOP*, pp. 365ff.). Some of the Fn texts do list religious personnel, but even then they are usually in a mixed context and always with apparently secular recipients. Additionally, it is possible Fn 187 should be considered unique, because of its content and because it is the only tablet written by Hand 2 in the series (Killen 2001, p. 436). Therefore, it is problematic as an interpretive template for the other Fn tablets.

²⁶ Those who are listed as ‘slaves’ are considered by some scholars to be religious personnel (Killen 2001, p. 438) and therefore on Fn 50 we may be seeing a separation not only by amount but grouping by association, occupation or sphere of society.

wine and perfumed oil are given to sanctuaries, persons of high status, and by abstraction to people attending festivals or banquets (Palmer, *loc. cit.*). Rations are of two types: subsistence and supplemental.²⁷

Chadwick has shown based on KN Am 819 that the daily ration for a man is HORD Z 3, and that at Pylos some men receive a ration of HORD v 1 = Z 4 derived from his analysis of PY Fn 79 (Chadwick 1976, pp. 118f.).²⁸ The amounts listed on PY Fn 79 are divisible by 5 and Chadwick was able to calculate that these are allotments for a month that is divided into six periods of five days (Chadwick, *loc. cit.*).

We may note that in comparison to the Fn tablets, the amounts allocated to individual entries in the Fq series are very small and range from Z 1 to T 2.²⁹ Thus even the largest amounts allotted to *ma-ka* (T 2[]) and *de-qa-no* (T 1 v 2 Z 3) are relatively small when compared to the highest amounts on other ration tablets from Pylos and Knossos (T 5 or greater). Moreover, the smallest amount (Z 1) allocated in the Fq series is roughly equivalent of to one meal on subsistence rations. Therefore, a reasonable conclusion is that these are daily supplemental rations, as has been suggested by Lejeune and Palaima (Lejeune 1997, p. 280; Palaima forthcoming, p. 144).³⁰

Further information in regard to the amounts allocated on each tablet can be gained by looking at the six fragments of the Fq series that preserve a totaling line and show the range of amounts distributed throughout the series. In TABLE 1, I have converted each total into Z units for the purposes of comparison. Tablets Fq 214, 269 and 276 have the best preserved examples as there are no breaks in the texts that could substantially alter the total as presented in the table. The fact that the totals on those fragments which only preserve a few entries, Fq 252 and 276, are comparable to the more complete tablets supports the reconstruction of these as similar ration tablets with small amounts allotted to each recipient. Thus with the exception of Fq 277, these totals and the preserved allotments demonstrate the general homogeneity of the tablets in the series.

²⁷ Ruth Palmer in her excellent 1989 paper fully discusses the issue of subsistence rations, which I will not reiterate here. She also refers to the KN Fs series and the PY Fg, Fn, and Un texts as lists of allotments that are almost certainly supplemental rations to those of higher status (Palmer 1989, p. 92 n. 10).

²⁸ Ruth Palmer has shown by analogy to Near Eastern texts that these numbers accord well with figures from similar texts found there (Palmer 1989, p. 103 n. 48).

²⁹ Amounts of Z 1 are normally reserved for elite commodities such as wine, oil or honey. In fact, I could not find any examples outside of Thebes of HORD allotted in such small amounts to individual recipients.

³⁰ Concerning the possibility of subsistence rations in the Fq series, there is only one recipient of Z 3 in the Fq series: *i-qa-po-qa-i* on Fq 272.3, a group that typically receives v 1 or more. Of those entries that typically receive v 1, all are groups with the exception of *zo-wa* (who is an "inspector") and *a-me-ro* (who also occurs in the Gf series). Thus it is extremely unlikely that any of the HORD allotments in the Fq series represent subsistence rations.

Text	Number of entries per tablet	Largest and smallest preserved allotments	Total amount of HORD	Total amount of HORD in Z units
Fq 214	Preserved: 24 Estimated: 36	<i>ma-ka</i> T 1 Z [= Z 25-28 several entries: Z 1	T 6 v 5[	164
Fq 252	Preserved: 9 Estimated: 33	several v 1 and Z 1 entries	]T 7 v 2 Z 2	186
Fq 254 [+]255	Preserved: 33 Estimated: 39	<i>de-go-no</i> T 1 v 2 Z 3 = Z 35 (<i>ma-ka</i> T 1 v 2 Z 2 = Z 34) several entries: Z 1	[T] 3 v 3 Z 2	169
Fq 269	Preserved: 10 Estimated: 36-39	<i>da-u-ti-jo</i> T 1 = Z 24 several entries: Z 1	1 v 2 [] Z 3	251
Fq 276	Preserved: 17 Estimated: 36	<i>o-ti-ri-ja-i</i> v 3 = Z 18 several entries: Z 1	T 8 v 2[	200
Fq 277	Preserved: 2 Estimated: 36	<i>mo-]ne-we</i> v 1 Z 1[= Z 7 <i>do-]ra-a₂-ja</i> Z[	]2 T 6 v 4 Z 1	525

TABLE 1: *An analysis of all the preserved HORD totals from the Fq series*

Further analysis of the amounts in TABLE 1 yields limited results due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. For example, if we attempt to determine out how many days' rations a total may represent, we are immediately confronted with the problem of estimating the number of original entries, where we must allow for a margin of error of ± 5 .³¹ Similarly problematic is the presence or absence of *ma-ka*. We expect *ma-ka* to receive the largest amount of HORD on any given tablet, but there are only two tablets where both the amount allotted to *ma-ka* and the tablet total are preserved in order to calculate how much *ma-ka* receives of the total. Although it is reasonable to suppose that some of the tablets that preserve *ma-ka* belong with the preserved totals, without further joins it would be hazardous to build any argument on such assumptions.

VII. *Individual Entries in the Fq series: Position and Rank*

TABLE 2³² shows data from the more complete tablets of the Fq series and includes all of the recipients that occur more than once and their HORD allotments organized by tablet position.³³ The table shows that individual entries tend to receive the same amount of HORD each time they occur in the Fq series.³⁴

³¹ This estimated margin of error is based on differences in the number of lines per tablet and number of entries per line.

³² It is very difficult to tell from a small fragment what part of the tablet an entry is from, so I have omitted them from the table. For the more complete tablets, I have used 14-15 lines per tablet as a basis for reconstructing an entry's original line placement. The 'x's signify a missing element of the entry, e.g. line 4 x means that the line position is secure but the amount is missing or unclear. Also, I have followed the interpretation that FAR in the Fq series is the sign for *ju* (after Palaima forthcoming).

³³ The fact that the tablets seem to be organized by amount from high to low was also noted by Palaima (forthcoming, p. 145 n. 12).

³⁴ For example, all of the complete amounts allotted to *qe-re-ma-o* are v 1 Z 2. The remarkable uniformity of the amounts allotted to each entry has also been observed by AGS in their discussion of various entries and their amounts (*TOP*, pp. 343ff.).

In addition, it shows that most of the entries appear on roughly the same line (within one or two lines) each time they occur on a tablet. The fact that so many entries recur within the series and are so consistent in their line position and HORD allotment reinforces the identification of the series as a set.

One possible explanation for why recipients tend to occur on the same line is that they are arranged into groups of related entries and that each group is arranged on the tablet in a vertical hierarchy based on the mean amount of HORD each member of a group is allotted (as seen on Fn 324). This is demonstrated in the tablets by the pattern of placing the majority of v quantity recipients on the upper half of the tablet and those with z quantities on the lower half. The most common exceptions to this pattern are the longer entries, such as *a-ke-ne-u-si* and *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo-ju*, which normally occur on line 3 or 4, but appear on line 13 on Fq 254[+]255. This placement may be related to the scribe's desire to maintain a consistent format and choice to pair longer entries together in a single line rather than leaving blank spaces on the tablet.

The lower half of tablets have slightly more variation in the order of the entries, although there are a few clear groups of entries. *do-ro-jo* and *o-ko-we-i* or *o-u-ko-we-i* appear next to each other on the same line (usually line 6, 7 or 8 of the tablet) on five texts and both typically receive z 2 amounts. Similarly, *to-tu-no* and *wa-do-ta* appear within a line of each other on four texts and both usually receive z 1 amounts.

A more detailed examination of individual recipients of v quantities can, in some cases, explain their placement within a tablet and the amount they typically receive. One fruitful approach is to look at where a recipient occurs outside of the Fq series. There are 18 recipients in the Fq texts, including both personal names and professional groups, that occur in other series. Of these recipients, the entries with the most information preserved about them are *a-ko-da-mo*, *ko-ru-we*, *ma-di-je* and *zo-wa*.³⁵ Each appears at least eight times in the Fq series, and with the exception of *ko-ru-we*, receives at least v 1 of HORD each time.

³² It is very difficult to tell from a small fragment what part of the tablet an entry is from, so I have omitted them from the table. For the more complete tablets, I have used 14-15 lines per tablet as a basis for reconstructing an entry's original line placement. The 'x's signify a missing element of the entry, e.g. line 4 x means that the line position is secure but the amount is missing or unclear. Also, I have followed the interpretation that FAR in the Fq series is the sign for *ju* (after Palaima forthcoming).

³³ The fact that the tablets seem to be organized by amount from high to low was also noted by Palaima (forthcoming, p. 145 n. 12).

³⁴ For example, all of the complete amounts allotted to *qe-re-ma-o* are v 1 z 2. The remarkable uniformity of the amounts allotted to each entry has also been observed by AGS in their discussion of various entries and their amounts (*TOP*, pp. 343ff.).

³⁵ *ma-di-je* is attested as a male anthroponym in the nom. and gen. at Knossos (As 603.2, Db 1168.B) and at Chania (Z 3), *ko-ru-we* is similarly well attested as a personal name (*TOP*, p. 393). *zo-wa* occurs several times at Knossos but its meaning is unclear.

	Fq 126	130	214	229	240	241	254 [+]255	258	275	276
a-ko-da-mo					.1 v 2	.1 v 1	.2 v 2	.1 x	.1 v 2	
ma-ka	.1 T 1 v	.1 T 2[	.1 T 1 z[	.1 x			.2 T 1 v 2 z 2	.1 T 1 v 3 z 2		
o-po-re-i	.2 v 1	.2 v 2	.2 v 1	.2 x			.3 x			
ko-wa	.2 z x	.2 z 2		.2 x	.2 z 2	.2 z 1	.4 z 2	.2 z x	.2 z 2	
ma-di-je			.2 x			.2 v 3 z 2	.3 v 1[	.2 v 3 z 2		
a-pu-wa				.3 z 2			.4 z 2		.2 z 2	
ko-ru-we			.3 z x			.3 z 2				
to-jo			.3 x		.3 v 3	.3 x		.3 v 3		
ra-ke-da-mi- ni-jo-ju				.4 x			.13 v 2	.3 x	.3 v 2	
a-ke-ne-u-si	.4 v 2	.4 x			.4 v 2	.4 v 2	.13 v 2			
ku-si	.4 v 2									
qe-re-ma-o				.5 v 1 z 2			.5 v 1 z 2	.4 v 1 z 2	.4 v 1 z 1	.1 x
we-re-na-ko					.5 v 1 z 2	.5 v 1		.4 x		
zo-wa					.5 v 1	.5 v 1			.4 v 1	.5/6 v 1
a-me-ro	.3 x	.5 v 1	.6 v 1				.5 v 1			.2 x
ka-wi-jo			.6 v 1							
ka-wi-jo-ju	.3 v 1						.6 v 1	.5 v 1		
a-ra-o-ju		.14 v x					.7 v 1			
*63-u-ro					.7 z 2	.6 z 2				
do-re-ja						.7 z 2				
do-ro-jo		.8 x	.8 x					.6 z x		
o-ko-we-i		.8 z 2								
o-u-ko-we-i			.8 z 2					.6 v 1		.3 z 2
i-qo-po-qo			.3 z 1							
i-qo-po-qo-i									.2 x	
ja-so-ro		.9 x								.9/10 z 1
a-nu-to					.9 x 1	.9 z 1	.10 z 1	.9 z x		
wa-do-ta		.9 z x	.9 z 1							
to-tu-no		.10 z 1	.10 v 1							
e-pi-qo-i		.10 x	.10 x							
mi-ra-ti-jo		.12 x					.10 x			.10/11 z 1
de-u-ke-we		.11 x	.11 z 1							
de-u-ke-nu-we								.11 z 1		
e-pi-do-ro-mo								.11 z 1		>10 z 2
ka-ti-jo										>10 z 1
pi-ra-ko-ro		.11 z 1	.11 z 1				.11 z 1			
do-ra-a ₂ -ja			.12 z 1				.12 z 1			>10 z 1
ko-du-*22-je		.12 z 1					.12 z 1			
o-ti-ri-ja-i				.7 v 1					.5 v 1	.13/14 v 3
o-u-wa-ja-wo-ni				.13 z 2				.14 z 2		

TABLE 2: Recurrent entries with line position (.#, >#) and HORD amount from selected Fq tablets

a-ko-da-mo was recently shown by García Ramón to be a masculine personal name, since *contra* AGS, it cannot be a religious title meaning “he who gathers the *damos*” (*TOP*, p. 321; García Ramón forthcoming). This entry occurs on 11 tablets of the Fq series receiving HORD v 2 (the second largest commonly occurring quantity in the series) and is always near the top of the tablet, often following *ma-ka*. *a-ko-da-mo* also appears in nine Ft texts, on Av 101 and possibly on Gp 144.³⁶

On Av 101, which relates to the allocation of manpower and GRA to individuals, *a-ko-da-mo* gets VIR 2 T 6 v [].³⁷ In addition he receives large amounts of olives on numerous Ft texts, typically v 4.³⁸ Such allotments would seem to indicate that *a-ko-da-mo* is a supervisor or a person of relative importance, since he is allocated both men and large amounts of foodstuffs, presumably in exchange for performing a task for the palace.³⁹

ma-di-je is another masculine personal name that appears as one of the first six entries on the tablets of the Fq series.⁴⁰ He appears on nine Fq tablets and receives the second largest amount of HORD (v 3 z 2) on two of them (Fq 241, 258), although on a third (Fq 263) he receives v 1. The only appearance of *ma-di-je* outside of the Fq series is on Av 101.5 where he receives T 6 v 4 of GRA. This substantial amount is greater than a monthly ration for one person and could be a supplement ration for *ma-di-je* or to support an unlisted dependent worker(s). Thus, *ma-di-je* stands out as a recipient because of the large amounts of cereals he receives on Av 101 and tablets of the Fq series, and by his association with *a-ko-da-mo* in both series.

ko-ru-we is a masculine personal name that occurs near the top (line 2-3) of ten Fq tablets; however he receives relatively small amounts of HORD (typically z 2). *ko-ru-we* is noteworthy both because of his position in the Fq series and his appearance on Av 101.5, where he receives T 2 [] of GRA. This amount is less than both *a-ko-da-mo* and *ma-di-je*. The lesser amount of GRA allotted him on Av 101 and HORD in the Fq series may indicate a difference in status between these three

³⁶ This identification has recently been questioned by Palaima, who rightly observes that the reconstruction of *a-ko-da-mo* on Gp 144 is based on only two signs (*da-mo*) and would make better sense as *a-ko-ro-da-mo*, a name that occurs frequently within that series (Palaima forthcoming, p. 140).

³⁷ Presuming that the GRA is to feed the men, if we supply the maximum and minimum missing quantities, then we get a range of GRA z 148-166. Using a ration amount of z 3/day for each man, that is roughly 25-28 days; alternatively, using v 1/ day for each man yields 18-21 days.

³⁸ *a-ko-da-mo* appears on nine Ft texts: Ft 141, 148, 193, 217, 219, 220+248, 234, 246 and 268.

³⁹ Palaima suggests that all of the allotments of HORD in the Fq series are ‘pay outs’ for service to whatever agent is behind the distribution of HORD (Palaima forthcoming, p. 145).

⁴⁰ The first six entries preserved on most tablets are *ma-ka*, *a-ko-da-mo*, *o-po-re-i*, *ma-di-je*, *ko-wa* and *a-pu-wa*.

men. However, his presence on Av 101 implies that like *a-ko-da-mo* and *ma-di-je*, he may have a supervisory role or an important position.⁴¹

zo-wa is the individual that we know the most about in the entire Theban corpus. He appears on the fifth line of eight Fq tablets and normally usually receives v 1 quantities of HORD. *zo-wa* normally appears in the Fq series close to the other recipients *a-me-ro*, *qe-re-ma-o* and *we-re-na-ko*. All of these names receive v 1 allotments and appear at least once outside of the Fq series (in either the Gp or Gf series or both). *zo-wa*'s most significant occurrence, however, is on Av 100.4b where he is described as an **e-re-u-te* or 'inspector' with one woman under his supervision. This title is known from both Pylos and Knossos; at Pylos, it is held by *di-wi-je-u*, who Lindgren notes is very important within the palatial sphere (Lindgren, pp. 50f.). *di-wi-je-u* is, among other things, an *e-qe-ta* on PY An 656 and a recipient of *dosmoi* of grain (GRA) in the Es series.⁴²

Thus Av 100 identifies *zo-wa* as an **e-re-u-te*. His tablet position and relatively large HORD allotments in the Fq series perhaps are related to this important position and its connection with the palatial administration. If so, then an analogy can be drawn to similar recipients, who appear in more than one series and who in the Fq series normally occur in the top few lines of a tablet receiving v quantities. Using these criteria, a list of eight entries (out of a possible 12 individuals, excluding *ma-ka*) can be made that consistently appear in the upper third of a tablet in the Fq series and fit this pattern.⁴³

Each Fq tablet, arguably, represents a fixed period of time (most likely a day) for which HORD was allotted to individuals and groups for their use.⁴⁴ This premise allows the amount of HORD allocated to each entry to be meaningfully compared to others. As I have shown above, allotted amounts of HORD in the Fq series are daily supplemental rations. Thus the amount allocated to an individual must be related in some way to their activities in connection to the palace; those that receive v amounts are closer to or perform more important tasks for the palace than those who receive z amounts of HORD. The most reasonable explanation for why certain individuals receive substantially more than others is that they are supervisors or elites that are connected in some way to the palace.

⁴¹ Killen has argued based on the similarity between the quantity of grain allotted on Av 101 to that on Fn 79 (i.e., v 40) that these men are being given supplies for a five day festival (Killen 2001, p. 442). However, I find it difficult to reconcile the allocation of men, i.e. Av 101.4: *a-ko-da-mo* receives VIR 2, to an individual on the occasion of a feast and so I would argue that Av 101 is not a religious text.

⁴² AGS interpret **e-re-u-te* as a religious title because of its occurrence on PY Cn 3, however **e-re-u-te* also appears in a non-religious context on sealing PY Wa 917.2 as an official related to flax production and therefore **e-re-u-te* should not be seen as an exclusively religious title (Palaima 2000-2001, p. 480).

⁴³ These individuals are: *a-ko-da-mo*, *ma-di-je*, *zo-wa*, *a-me-ro*, *to-jo*, *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo-ju*, *qe-re-ma-o* and *we-re-na-ko*.

⁴⁴ In addition, Palaima suggests that the Fq series may represent rations for 15 days or half of a month (Palaima 2003b, p. 33 n. 7; Palaima forthcoming, p. 144).

That individuals are remunerated by the palace in the form of agricultural commodities is demonstrated by PY An 7. Here, Melena has shown that groups of laborers are allotted HORD at subsistence ration levels (z 3/day) but that the two named individuals on the tablet *qa-ra₂* and *pa-ka*, who receive olives (and presumably HORD) in substantially higher proportional amounts, are probably their supervisors (Melena 1996-1997, pp. 175f.).⁴⁵ This, therefore, is a clear example of how the palace gives large quantities of foodstuffs to individuals in return for specialized services. The fact that *qa-ra₂* is an important individual who could be capable of performing such service is demonstrated by his inclusion on PY An 192, a tablet that lists people who “are in a generally superior position with administrative tasks on a high level” (Lindgren, p. 178).

At Thebes, the occurrence of some of the v recipients in the Fq series in other series supports the theory that they have a relatively important position within the palatial administration. As noted above, *a-ko-da-mo* appears on many Ft tablets receiving substantial amounts of olives and on Av 101 along with *ma-di-je* and *ko-ru-we* where they are all listed against large amounts of GRA. Given the nature of the Av series and on analogy to PY An 7, it is likely that the GRA is either payment to them or was intended to support people under their supervision. *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo* and *to-jo* appear in the Gp series (Gp 227 and 150 respectively) receiving v 1 quantities of wine.⁴⁶ Similarly, *we-re-na-ko* and *a-me-ro* occur in the Gf series, which records some commodity issued in M units.⁴⁷ The allotments in the Gp and Gf series are almost certainly supplemental rations given the nature of the commodities, so it is possible to argue that these individuals are receiving elite goods. This situation is similar to those entries on the Pylos Fn series, which I have already discussed, and the supplemental ration Fs series at Knossos, where individuals receive several types of commodities, albeit recorded on the same entry. The possibility that HORD actually represents emmer wheat also fits well with the idea that these are supplemental rations to persons of moderate to high status, since emmer wheat was considered an elite food in the Near East (Palmer 1989, p. 102). The most reasonable conclusion then is that the individuals who appear near the top of the tablet receiving v amounts of HORD in the Fq series and appear in other series at Thebes are either supervisors or elites who perform high level services for the palace.

The clear difference between the individuals who receive larger v amounts and those entries that receive z quantities is also demonstrated by the fact that of

⁴⁵ It should also be noted that *qa-ra₂* and *pa-ka* are the first two entries on the tablet. This fits the general pattern of ranking entries from high to low in the Fn series, as noted above.

⁴⁶ *qe-re-ma-o* occurs on Gp 270 but the quantity is missing.

⁴⁷ Only the amount given to *we-re-na-ko* on Gf 108 is clear: M] 1; it should be noted that the appearance of *we-re-na-ko* on this tablet is problematic. This entry is used by AGS to say that this series recorded the allotment of spices (*TOP*, pp. 274f.), however it seems more likely that we should reconstruct the name *we-re-na-ko* here rather than *ka-na-ko* (safflower) (after Palaima 2003a, p. 114).

the 23 individuals that occur more than once and consistently receive Z quantities, only *ko-ru-we* appears outside of the Fq series. These Z entries recipients occur just as frequently as v entries within the Fq series, but there is a clear distinction between the number of recipients in each group that recur in other series –70% of v entries and *versus* 4% of Z entries.⁴⁸ It is likely, therefore, that most entries receive Z amounts of HORD because they perform lesser tasks for the palace. This corroborates the hypothesis that recipients who occur in more than one series and that receive v amounts of HORD in the Fq series have relatively important roles and are more involved with the palace.

All eight of the identifiable occupational or animal groups that occur more than once in the Fq series receive v amounts of HORD, but of these only three appear elsewhere and in all cases they appear in the Gp series receiving moderate amounts of wine.⁴⁹ In terms of tablet position, there is no noticeable clustering of the entries representing groups and their placement seems to be determined by length of the word and amount received. Thus it seems most likely that these occupational or animal groups are allotted v quantities for the simple reason that they represent groups of people.⁵⁰

Let us then return to the problematic entries of the Fq series: *ma-ka*, *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa*. Arguably, *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa* are similar to the other upper level recipients on the tablets.⁵¹ *o-po-re-i* occurs 12 times in the Fq series, always on the second line of the tablet receiving v 1 or 2, a quantity similar to many other recipients, such as *a-ko-da-mo* on the upper lines of Fq tablets. *ko-wa* appears on the second or third line of 13 tablets and receives mostly Z 2, like *ko-ru-we* and *a-pu-wa*.⁵² As I have discussed above, *ko-ru-we* appears to be one of several important individuals on Av 101 and his inclusion within the upper group in the Fq series is likely a reflection of this status. Therefore it is arguable that *ko-wa* and *a-pu-wa* are similar kinds of entries and are connected to this upper group through their interactions with the palace. Therefore, both *ko-wa* and *o-po-re-i* can be seen to fit the pattern of the other recipients in the uppermost lines of Fq tablets. This combined with the linguistic arguments laid out above strongly suggests that *ko-wa* and *o-po-re-i* are individuals (and not deities), who are involved in high level palatial activities.

⁴⁸ In addition, there are eleven identifiable entries as a name or title that occur only once in the Fq series and have legible quantities (varying from Z 1 to T 1). Most of these do not occur in other series.

⁴⁹ There is no correlation between the proportion of wine and HORD allotted in these instances.

⁵⁰ Duhoux has recently argued that most of the ‘animals’ in the Fq series are probably anthroponyms (Duhoux forthcoming).

⁵¹ *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa* are two of the four entries in the upper third of the tablet that occur more than once within the Fq series but not outside of it. The others are *ka-wi-jo-ju* and *a-pu-wa*. It is arguable that *ma-ka* also belongs on this list, but it is excluded because it may not be an anthroponym.

⁵² AGS propose that *a-pu-wa* is religious in nature because of its proximity to *ko-wa* and that it corresponds to the Greek ἄρπυια meaning ‘harpy’, although they admit the linguistic match is problematic and it may be an anthroponym (*TOP*, p. 214).

Fq	AMOUNT RECEIVED BY <i>ma-ka</i> *	ENTRIES **	NEXT LARGEST ALLOTMENT***	TOTAL AMOUNT PER TABLET
126	T 1 v [] z 1 [= z 29 (z 49)	35	z 29 : z 4 = 7 X	Unknown
130	T 2 [= z 48 (z 71)	35	z 48 : z 8 = 6.5 X	Unknown
214	T 1 z [= z 25 (z 28)	35	z 26.5 : z 4 = 6.6 X	T 6 v 5 [= z 164 - 168
252	Unknown	35		]T 7 v 2 z 2 = z 186
254	T 1 v 2 z 2 = z 34	38	z 34 : z 8 = 4.25 X	[T] 3 v 3 z 2 = z 169
[+]255	{ <i>de-qo-no</i> T 1 v 2 z 3 = z 35}			
258	T 1 v 3 z 1 = z 37	35	z 37 : z 14 = 2.6X	Unknown
269	Unknown	35		1 v 2 z 3 = z 251
276	Unknown	35		T 8 v 2 [= z 200 - 209
277	Unknown	35		2 T 6 v 4 z 1 = z 525

* With maximum possible amount in parentheses, where applicable.

** Estimated number of entries per tablet, excluding *ma-ka*.

*** *ma-ka* allotment : next largest allotment.

TABLE 3: Amounts of HORD received by *ma-ka* in comparison with the next largest recipient and the number of entries per tablet

ma-ka, on the other hand, remains a unique recipient. In all but one of its twelve occurrences in the Fq series, it is allocated by far the largest quantity of HORD and is more consistent than any other entry in terms of its line position.⁵³ The format of the Fq texts, loosely organized according to amount from high to low, anticipates the position of *ma-ka* as the largest recipient, as the first entry on most tablets. Additionally, the relationship between *ma-ka* and the other entries on the same tablet may be more complicated than previously thought, as shown in TABLE 3. TABLE 3 shows that the amount *ma-ka* receives is roughly proportional to the average number of entries per tablet (normally 30-40), as for example on Fq 258 where *ma-ka* receives z 37 and there are about 35 entries on the text, excluding *ma-ka*. However, TABLE 3 does not demonstrate a one-to-one correlation and estimating the amount of HORD that *ma-ka* receives is very problematic given the preservation of the texts. Therefore, this is offered as a tentative but interesting suggestion about how *ma-ka* may be related to the other entries on a tablet. Although there is no parallel in any other ration texts, this relationship does allow the possibility that if *ma-ka* is a *nomen actionis* that it represents an extra allotment to all of the entries in addition to the individual allocations of HORD they receive. These points, therefore, cast some doubt on the suggestion that the Fq series is centered on *ma-ka* as a deity. However, in my opinion, no entirely compelling argument can be or has been made up to this point concerning the identification of *ma-ka* as a deity, a *nomen actionis* or a person.

⁵³ *ma-ka* is almost always the first recipient on the tablet and receives between 2.6 and 7 times the next largest amount on the same tablet, see TABLE 3.

VIII. *Conclusions*

The uniformity of the entries illustrated by the patterning in the Fq series supports the theory that it is solely concerned with the allotment of HORD in contrast to AGS' proposed interpretation that it is related to the Eleusinian triad and associated religious festivals. That the allocation of HORD as a supplemental ration is the true focus of the series is suggested by the fact that whether a tablet has an *o-te* clause or not, the distribution was recorded in the same way and certain persons received HORD regardless of the occasion. Therefore the interpretation of the tablets as a ration series also allows for the possibility of mixed religious and secular recipients within a tablet, as in the Pylos Fn series, if *ma-ka* should some day be shown to be a deity. Moreover, if the main concern of the series is the distribution of a particular commodity, then there is no reason to make all of the *o-te* clauses relate to religious events or even the whole series to have a religious flavor due to the presence of one or even several deities.

In terms of format, it is clear by analogy to the Fn series, that, the Fq tablets fall into the general pattern of ration texts with an organization based loosely on clusters of entries and hierarchies of amounts. The amounts of the allotments show that these must be, in almost all cases, supplemental rations. Furthermore, the identification of certain individuals, such as *a-ko-da-mo* and *zo-wa*, who appear to have high places in relation to the palatial administration, explains their position on the upper half of the tablets receiving v quantities of HORD. The positions of *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa* in the upper lines of Fq tablets may therefore be seen as analogous to the other entries rather than having any specific connection to *ma-ka*. The entries that regularly appear on the lower half of tablets and receive smaller z amounts are probably persons of lower status that are involved to a lesser degree with the palace.

As I have discussed, there were already serious linguistic and methodological objections to the editors' identifications of *ma-ka*, *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa* as deities. Now we can see that there is no contextual basis to argue that the Fq series is anything other a ration series in the traditional sense and any religious arguments about the series as a whole should be reconsidered.

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