

## LINEAR B TABLETS FROM THEBES

### 1. INTRODUCTION

A group of twenty-one fragments of Linear B tablets was found in the excavations conducted at Thebes in 1964-5 by the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of Professor N. Platon and Mrs E. Stassinopoulou Touloupa. The tablets were discovered in the remains of a Mycenaean building some 200 m. from the so-called 'Kadmeion'. It was originally intended to publish these tablets together with studies of the other material found in these excavations, but since this has been delayed, Professor Platon has generously agreed to a separate publication of the tablets. I am much indebted to him and to Mrs Touloupa for giving me this opportunity of adding to the corpus of Mycenaean texts, and for all the help and assistance which they have provided, including the photographs reproduced here as Plates II-V. In the meantime a further group of tablets has been unearthed at yet another site in Thebes by Dr Th. Spyropoulos, the publication of which is eagerly awaited<sup>1</sup>.

The discovery of Linear B tablets at Thebes fulfils a prediction; the presence of inscribed jars there had been known since the excavations of Keramopoullos in 1921, and it seemed highly probable that written documents of the kind familiar from other Mycenaean palaces would have been in use there too<sup>2</sup>.

However, so long as our evidence for Linear B script at Thebes was confined to inscriptions painted on vases before firing, it remained possible that the vases were imported from elsewhere, and they might thus not be valid evidence for the use of the script

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<sup>1</sup> Sp. Marinatos, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 3 (1970), pp. 62-63. I should like to thank Professor Marinatos for his kindness in keeping us informed about these new finds.

<sup>2</sup> *The Decipherment of Linear B*, p. 138.

at Thebes. L. R. Palmer<sup>3</sup> had in fact suggested that they were imported from Crete. Since sun-dried clay tablets are fragile, it is most unlikely that they were written anywhere but where they were found; and we can therefore be sure that the Palace of Thebes falls into the pattern of other Mycenaean palaces in keeping detailed records on clay tablets in the Linear B script.

The archaeological dating of the tablets by a study of the associated pottery must await a final pronouncement by the excavators, but their preliminary judgement suggests a date as early as L. H. III A 2 or 1350-1300 B.C. If this is confirmed, these tablets are the earliest specimens of Linear B found on the mainland of Greece, anticipated only by the Knossos tablets from Crete, which seem to be dated to the beginning of the 14th century B.C. Those from Mycenae and Pylos all seem to fall within the limits of L. H. III B, those from the Houses outside the citadel at Mycenae around the middle, those from the Citadel House and from Pylos near the end of the period. Thus a chronological spread of approximately a century now seems to be certain, and there is no good reason to doubt that the script might have been in use as much as a century earlier at Knossos. If, as now appears likely, Linear B was adapted from Linear A on the mainland early in the Late Helladic period, then its dating at each site will depend solely upon the date of the destruction and fire which has in each case preserved the documents for us.

The two small series of tablets found so far must be regarded as a foretaste of the riches Thebes has still in store. Reasons will be given later (§ 8, p. 127) for the hypothesis that we have so far only the records of outlying storerooms, and the main archives of the Palace still remain to be found. But that they once existed, and are in all probability still lying deep under the modern city, cannot now be doubted.

## 2. THE VASE INSCRIPTIONS

Before describing the tablets in detail, we must examine their relation to the stirrup-jars from the same site which bear inscrip-

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<sup>3</sup> *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*, p. 275.

tions in Linear B. Twenty-eight of these were found by Keramopoulos, and they are part of a deposit containing as many as 120 stirrup-jars. Keramopoulos deduced that Thebes was engaged upon the production of pottery for export.

The theory of Cretan origin for the inscribed jars from Thebes and other mainland sites rests upon some curious coincidences between the words of some of the inscriptions and the Knossos tablets<sup>4</sup>. The details of the vase inscriptions are to be found in J. Raison's *Les vases à inscriptions peintes de l'âge mycénien* (Rome, 1968), and references will be given to that publication. It must first be observed that most vases appear to have carried an inscription of only one word; but a group at Thebes have three words, one at Mycenae has the remains of two, and the Eleusis vase has what is best described as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  words, the third consisting of a single sign. Of those bearing a single word, wherever this can be interpreted, either by Linear B parallels or by alphabetic Greek, it is always a personal name. Vases bearing a simple inscription giving the contents are known from Cyprus<sup>5</sup>, but there is no warrant for the suggestion that on MY Z 202 ]e-ra, ka-ta-ro represents ἔλαι(φον) καθάρων.

Secondly we must observe that of the names so represented at Thebes, two (*a-do-we* and *a-nu-to*) recur on vases of the same type at Tiryns; there is also a curious coincidence between *di-no-zo* at Thebes (Z 857, 858) and *no-di-zo* (at Tiryns, three times preserved in full, and fragmentarily nine times more). Whatever the explanation of the anagram, and simple coincidence cannot be ruled out, the repetition of two names might suggest a common origin for these vases at least.

Palmer's suggestion of a Cretan origin depends upon the words *wa-to* and *o-du-ru-wi-jo* found on the Theban jars, reinforced by the word *da-\*22-to* on the Eleusis jar. *wa-to* occurs at Thebes at least six times as middle word in a formula, the first word of which is a personal name, the last another name in the genitive case. It is also found on three Knossos tablets:

<sup>4</sup> On these see now: A. Heubeck, «Zu den Linear-B Texten auf mutterländischen Vasen», *Athenaeum* 47 (1969), pp. 144-153.

<sup>5</sup> V. Karageorghis and O. Masson, *Kadmos* 4 (1965), p. 148.

- C 902.3 *wa-to* / *ko-re-te* ... *wa-to* / *da-nu-wo* ...  
 Co 903.1 *wa-to* / *a-ko-ra-i-ja* ...  
 Np 7423 *wa-to* CROC[

The other identifiable words occupying this position on these tablets and others of the same series are place names (or occasionally ethnic adjectives), and there is little doubt that *wa-to* is in some sense a place name. As it is so rare, the absence of an ethnic adjective (*\*wa-ti-jo*, *\*wa-ti-ja*, or possibly *\*wa-si-jo*?) which would clinch the identification, may be accidental. Regarded purely from the etymological point of view this spelling might be identified with  $\text{φαστός}^6$ ; unless the classical form is derived from  $\text{*φαστϜ-ος}$  (cf.  $\text{ᾠστϜ}$ ), for we should then expect the medial *w* to be shown by the Mycenaean spelling, though no parallel can be quoted. But the contextual analysis strongly favours a place name, and although it cannot be identified with any known Cretan name, it seems reasonable to accept it as a pre-Hellenic place name. We might guess at such an interpretation as */\*Wanthos/* (cf.  $\text{*Ανθεια}$ , epithet of Aphrodite at Knossos, Hesychius; or  $\text{Ἰώντες}$ , a prehistoric people of Boeotia, Strabo 7.7.1, 9.2.3); but this is merely speculative, and */Wātos, Wastos, Wartos/*, etc., are all possible.

The other word, *o-du-ru-wi-jo*, is plainly the ethnic of *o-du-ru-we*, a place name in KN C 902.6; *u-du-ru-wo* occurs in a similar context in V 145.2; *[o]-du-ru-wo* is restored in Co 910. The ethnic in the same form as at Thebes recurs on KN C 902.2, followed, like *wa-to*, by *ko-re-te*, the title of a local official; the feminine *o-du ru-wi-ja* is found on Ai 982.1.

These two names therefore point to Crete; and although the place names of Greece, in Mycenaean as in classical times, are frequently repeated in different areas, the combination of the two is a strong indication. It is also reinforced by the occurrence of *da-\*22-to*, which is a common place name at Knossos, on the inscribed jar from Eleusis; by *\*56-ko-we*, another well known place name at Knossos on a jar from Tiryns (Z 27); possibly also by *]e-ra* on a jar from Mycenae (Z 202), which, if complete, answers

<sup>6</sup> G. Björck, *Eranos*, 52 (1954), p. 123.

to a common Cretan place name, as well as to the Mycenaean spelling for the goddess Hera on a Pylos tablet (Tn 316.v.9). Thus there is considerable evidence for Cretan place names on stirrup-jars found on the mainland of Greece.

The most natural explanation of this fact would be a practice by producers of labelling their products with their name and address. The longer formula with a genitive might give also the name of the owner of the establishment, and it is this element that in some cases is replaced by *wa-na-ka-te-ro* 'royal'. It is surprising that no place names should have been found other than those of towns in Crete; but perhaps this means that the practice only began at a date after the destruction of Knossos, when the smaller cities of Crete reasserted their independence and began exporting to the mainland. This is certainly not inconsistent with what we know of Crete in the L. M. III period; all the jars in question seem to belong to a L. H. III B context.

The decisive confirmation of this hypothesis has apparently been provided by the work of H. W. Catling and A. Millett<sup>7</sup>. They have shown by analysis of the clay of the jars found at Thebes that they have a variety of origins, and that two groups are very likely from Eastern Crete. One group, which includes the jar labelled *o-du-ru-wi-jo*, appears to be indistinguishable from the local pottery of Zakro; another, which includes all the jars bearing the word *wa-to*, from the pottery of Palaikastro. It would seem reasonable to advance as a tentative hypothesis the suggestion that the Mycenaean name of Zakro was *Odrus* (cf. Ὀδρῦσαι), of Palaikastro *Wanthos* or the like.

### 3. DESCRIPTION OF THE TABLETS

All the tablets from Thebes described here come from a single site. None is complete, but Nos. 3 and 5 are nearly so, and from these one can estimate the dimensions of the tablets as a group. Their length must have been at least 15 cm. in some cases; height varies from approximately 2 to 3 cm., thickness up to about 1.1 cm. Their colour is varied from grey-black to buff, brown

<sup>7</sup> *Archaeometry* 8 (1965), pp. 1-85.

and yellowish red, but since this depends upon the conditions under which they were heated, variation is found even within the limits of a single tablet (e. g. No. 4). Many of the fragments show a small hole parallel with the longest edge of the tablet, where a straw had been used as a nucleus round which to construct the tablet; it served probably both as reinforcement and to keep the pieces together in case of accidental breakage. The same feature is frequently to be observed in the Pylos tablets.

#### 4. ANALYSIS OF THE FORMULA

Although none of the tablets is preserved complete, there are enough beginnings and ends to show the formulaic arrangement. The texts of the more significant fragments can be shown in tabular form as follows:

No.	A	B	C	D
1	pe-pi-te-me-no-jo	[		
2	pe-pi-te-me[-no-jo			
3	pe-pi-te-]me-no-jo	o-*35-ta	O	3
4	a-ka-to-wa-o	au-to-te-qa-jo [		
5	a-ka-to-wa-o	ka-e-sa-me-no au-ri-jo	O	[
6	a-ka-to-[wa-o			
7	a-ka-to[-wa-o			
8	?a-ka-to-]wa-o	[		
9		] a-mu-ta-wo	O	6
10	]ta-wo-no	[		
11		] di-wi-ja-wo	O	1+
12		pe-ta-o-ni-jo	O	12
13		]ta-i-da	O	2
15	]jo	da-i[		
16	]jo	to-ma[		
20	?a-ka-to-]wa-o	[		
21		]ne-we	O	[

This tabulation shows clearly the existence of a regular formula. Entry «A» consists of a man's name in the genitive case; *a-ka-to-wa* is proved to be a name by its occurrence on KN Vc 81. «B»,

which is usually written in smaller signs, consists of a man's name in the nominative: *ka-e-sa-me-no* occurs as a man's name in PY An 656.19, *a-mu-ta-wo* in PY Nn 831.7, *di-wi-ja-wo* in KN Vc 293, and PY Na 506. The last two examples prove the case to be nominative, since they represent names in -ᾶρων. This formula is varied in two ways. No. 5 adds to the second name *au-ri-jo*, which may be another name as it is in KN Da 1080, etc., or possibly an epithet. Similarly *o-\*35-ta* in No. 3 may be equivalent to *o-\*34-ta* in PY An 519.11, 654.3, which is a descriptive term; but the same word might here have served as a proper name. Secondly, No. 12 shows only one term, *pe-ta-o-ni-jo*, which appears not to be genitive, and thus belongs to column «B» rather than «A»; it is, however, in form probably an adjective in -ιος and is therefore ambiguous in the same way as *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo e-qe-ta* PY An 656.16 = 'a Follower from Pleuron' or 'the Follower Pleuronios.' In other words *pe-ta-o-ni-jo* might in sense represent the genitive of column «A», leaving the identity of the nominative «B» unspecified.

No. 14, as well as the minor fragments, has been excluded from the tabulation because the presence of *to-so* indicates that it is the total for the set. It is uncertain whether No. 17 is a true member of the set, and it has therefore been omitted here.

Columns «C» and «D» consist of the syllabic sign *O* in large script and a numeral ranging apparently from 2 to 12. The word abbreviated to *O* is of course the clue to the meaning of the whole set; but no certain or easy solution is possible. The presence of *to-so O* on No. 14 makes it almost certain that the word is masculine, since a feminine or a neuter plural would demand *to-sa*; a collective neuter singular is improbable since the objects are counted, not weighed or measured. This is perhaps the only control available on the internal evidence.

The frequent use of *O* as an abbreviation of *o-pe-ro*, whether this represents a neuter noun ὄφελος or is itself an abbreviation of a longer word, is not excluded by the form *to-so*. But its usage as a mark of deficiency, to show the amount not received, is almost always subsidiary to an entry showing the amount present or received, and it is usually accompanied by an ideogram standing for the commodity. Thus a list which did not specify the commodity at all, but only deficiencies, would be most unusual.

Unfortunately it is clear that any word beginning *o-* might be so abbreviated in the appropriate context. The full word might have been implied by the contents of the store in which the tablets were kept; or it might have appeared once or twice on tablets not preserved and thereafter been abbreviated. Possibly it occupied the first place on No. 14, if this is a totalling document, though Mycenaean usage seems to place *to-so* before the commodity reckoned<sup>8</sup>.

The other words known to be abbreviated as *O* do not offer much help. The Pylos Sh series is the most attractive, since there *O* stands before numerals ranging from 4 to 22. But it is plain from Sh 740 that *O* here stands for *o-pa-wo-ta*, which appears to be a neuter plural, possibly */op-aworta/*, and although the presence of bronze armour in the very next room would appear to support the identification, it is contradicted not only by the apparent masculine gender but by the whole context of the tablets, which differ entirely from the lists of plates for different parts of armour which compose the Sh series.

The use of *O* as an abbreviation, itself unsolved, on the Pylos Ma series is no parallel, because this is always followed by *M*, i. e. the commodity is weighed, not counted. Its use on PY Un 219, where it is followed by numerals ranging from 1 to 6, is a closer parallel, for here along with other abbreviations it must stand for a commodity and the context suggests offerings<sup>9</sup>. Unfortunately there is nothing by which to identify it, and no useful suggestions for a suitable Greek word seem to have been made.

It would therefore seem better to leave the subject of this series unidentified pending further information than to hazard unjustified speculations. Dr Platon assures me that there is no archaeological evidence of the use to which the room was put, and since, as shown above, the identification with the bronze articles found in the next room is unsatisfactory, we must be content to confess our ignorance.

The relationship implied between the two initial entries, columns «A» and «B», is perplexing. There is one apparent parallel

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<sup>8</sup> But cf. KN Am 568.

<sup>9</sup> See especially J.-P. Olivier, *L'Antiquité Classique* 28 (1959), p. 178.



on the Pylos tablets, Vn 1191, where a list of at least six entries consists of a personal name in the genitive followed by another in what is probably the nominative, though a dative is not to be excluded. In this case, however, the second name is, in some cases certainly and presumably in all, feminine<sup>10</sup>. There are three obvious possibilities: the women are in each case the slave, daughter or wife of the man named. Slaves cannot be ruled out, but it should be observed that *wo-di-je-ja*, accompanied by the same masculine name, Metianor, reappears in connexion with sandals on PY Ub 1318.3; the two names there seem to be on an equal footing. Moreover Philopatra is a patrician name which we should not expect to find among slaves. Possibly then wives are a little more likely than daughters, since there is in no case more than one.

This parallel, however, offers little help with the Theban texts. In the first place all the names in the second position are masculine, and we should expect the parentage of sons, as elsewhere in Mycenaean, to be designated by patronymic adjectives. Secondly, there is often a marked change in the size of script between the first and second entry, implying that the first entry is the important one and the second relatively minor. This might be explained if they were in fact slaves, since the owner of a slave is of course expressed in the genitive.

One man's name (*a-ka-to-wa-o*) begins certainly four, and possibly more, tablets, and another (*pe-pi-te-me-no-jo*) three. This contrasts with sets like the Pylos Sa tablets, where the owners of the vehicle (*wo-ka*), whose name begins the tablet, are never repeated. Other cases of tablets introduced by a personal name in the genitive case are rare, e. g. KN Ai 63, an isolated document.

## 5. SCRIBAL HANDS

The study of hands on such limited material is at best precarious. 32 signs are represented, some incomplete, of which only 6 occur five times or more, and 15 occur only once.

It is, however, clear that some of the repeating signs show

<sup>10</sup> *wo-di-je-ja*, woman's name in KN Ap 639; *a-\*64-ja*, cf. man's name *a-\*64-jo* KN Sc 261; *o-[.]o-wa*; *pi-ri-ta* = *Philistā*; *pi-ro-pa-ta-ra* = *Philopatrā*; *ma-ra-me-na*.

differing forms. The most frequent is *o* (13 examples, including 4 damaged), and this shows differences in the extent to which the upper horizontal line projects to the left (very marked in No. 14, not at all in No. 11), and in the drawing of the element at upper right (the 'sceptre' of Evans's imaginative designation). The same sign occurs twice on No. 12, once as syllabic and once as ideographic, and the two forms differ considerably; but there is no consistency among the ideographic forms as a group, and the ideographic *o* on No. 11 is closely paralleled by the syllabic *o* on No. 12.

Another characteristic sign, *no*, occurs four times (Nos. 1, 3, 5, 10). That on No. 3 appears to have a slight difference in the form of the element at extreme right (the 'thumb'); but the tablet has been defaced at this point by a transverse slash. In No. 10 the same element extends to the top of the sign, but it has exactly the same shape as the smaller element in No. 1. In No. 5 only the lower part of this element has been drawn. All four examples have a stroke between the 'legs' at the base. It seems reasonable to infer that here too we are dealing with variations in the hand of a single scribe rather than separate scribes.

Similar considerations seem to apply to other cases of apparent variation. The sign *me* shows in two clear cases (Nos. 1, 5) two cross-bars on the 'tail' to the right, but these may be absent on No. 3; however, here the surface has been damaged by heat, and the presence of at least one cross-bar seems probable. The sign *a* also shows some variation, but on inspection all five examples seem to have two cross-bars, though there is a marked tendency to stop the lower one half way across.

Thus it seems safest for the present to conclude that at least all the larger fragments were written by the same scribe, who wrote hastily and inconsistently; and there is nothing in the smaller fragments to suggest the work of another man. Until we know more about the habits of scribes at Thebes it is unsafe to make any categorical statement.

There are no striking points of contact between this hand and those of the inscribed jars. The *jo* of the tablets answers to that of TH Z 852 and 849 rather than that of Z 839, 850 or 880. Double-barred *a* reappears in TH Z 852, 849 and 865, but not in Z 864. The *so* of the tablets is much more like that of hands

at Knossos and Pylos than the curious form on TH Z 869 and 876. Thus there does not seem to have been a special scribal tradition at Thebes which would account for the peculiarities of the inscribed jars; some at least of these must have been due to the use of a brush rather than a stylus.

#### 6. HOMOGENEITY OF THE TABLETS

Eight of the tablets are characterised by the use of *O* as an ideographic sign, followed by a numeral whenever the tablet is preserved at this point. This is enough to establish Nos. 3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 21 as constituting a homogeneous series. The initial *a-ka-to-wa-o* of No. 5 is repeated in No. 4, and fragmentarily on Nos. 6 and 7, possibly on 8 and 21. Similarly No. 3 is connected with Nos. 1 and 2; and of the remainder (Nos. 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20) none has a text which appears to be inconsistent with the formula established by the better preserved members of the group. The most suspicious is No. 17, which might belong to a different set, for there are few points of contact in the signs it bears to enable us to attribute it firmly to the same hand; but compare *qa* here with that in No. 4. It seems reasonable to suppose that we are dealing with a closed group, listing a single commodity, and probably one kept in the storeroom where the tablets were found. All the tablets were found in a single room, and although some were found at a slightly different level, there is no reason to regard them as more than a single deposit. If the suggestion made in § 5, that all the tablets are the work of a single scribe, is correct, it is highly probable that we have here fragments of a single set, that is, a collection of tablets relating to a single subject or operation and filed together.

A prefix *Ug* has been chosen to designate this set, and all tablets are provisionally assigned to it. The choice of prefix is determined first by the general characteristics of *U* as miscellaneous tablets showing unidentified or a mixture of ideographic signs; the special classifier *g* is added in the hope (which may perhaps soon be rendered vain) that prefixes can continue to be distinctive of sites.

#### 7. THE THEBAN AND OTHER MYCENAEAN TABLETS

The immediate impression conveyed by the Theban tablets

is that they might well have been found in any of the other three sites which have yielded Linear B tablets. Certainly if the find had been attributed to another site, there would be nothing to indicate that the attribution was false. The tablets are one more piece of evidence that the Mycenaean civilisation was extremely homogeneous throughout the southern half of Greece and Crete.

Superficially, the shape and fabric of the tablets recalls Pylos rather than Mycenae or Knossos. All are narrow, one-line tablets, and when complete some must have measured over 15 cm. in length (No. 5 is 14 cm. as now preserved). None of the tablets is opisthographic.

The more characteristic features of the hand can easily be paralleled elsewhere. The double cross-bar on the 'tail' of *me* is common at Knossos (e. g. Hands 102, 104, 124); and an interesting parallel for the varying *o* is to be found in the Knossos Hand 103, though here the range of variation is not so wide.

The proper names on the tablets can be matched from either Pylos or Knossos, in some cases from both, and the connexions are about equal. There are no names also found at Mycenae, but this can be attributed to the small number of tablets from that site. The ideographic use of *O* is also found at both Knossos and Pylos, though the closer parallels are those from Pylos.

As regards the nature of the dialect, it is obvious that little can be said on the basis of such a small amount of material. There is nothing in these tablets to suggest any dialect division between Thebes and the three other sites for which we have evidence. We should not of course expect to find in Mycenaean Thebes an ancestor of classical Boeotian, since we know that this was the result of post-Mycenaean invasions of speakers of Aeolic and West Greek dialects<sup>11</sup>. There is no reason to suppose that Thebes spoke anything but the common Mycenaean dialect.

It must, however, be admitted that this conclusion could easily be upset by an increase in the number of inscriptions. It

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<sup>11</sup> The remarks of M. Lejeune, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Comptes Rendus, 1964, p. 296, on the possibility of finding Aeolic Greek in Mycenaean Thebes seem to me unlikely to be verified. The irruption of Boeotians into Boeotia is recorded by Thucydides (I.12.3) and dated by him to sixty years after the Trojan War.

would be most interesting to discover, for instance, whether Thebes was closer to Mycenae or Pylos in its treatment of the dative singular of consonant stems.

The positive agreements can be listed briefly. The spelling shows the same conventions as elsewhere, and the use of *j* and *w* appears to be the same. The only evidence for morphology lies in the genitive singular forms of the introductory name, which show that, as elsewhere in Mycenaean, the genitive of *o*-stems is in *-o-jo* (= *-oio*), of masculine *a*-stems in *-a-o* (= *-āo*).

#### 8. RELATION OF THESE TABLETS TO THE MAIN ARCHIVES

The Ug series as a whole shows certain characteristics: a single scribal hand, a common formula, the absence of tablets showing any other ideogram, the brevity of the texts. These taken together suggest that their closest parallels are to be found not in the main archives, but in the small series of tablets recovered from storerooms or workshops in other parts of the palace complexes. Thus the Pylos Fr series, dealing with olive oil, was found in four separate areas of the palace, mostly from Room 8, which was a storeroom with large jars let into a clay bench round the walls; no member of this series was found in the Archive Room. Similarly at Mycenae, the houses outside the walls produced several closely defined series dealing with commodities stored or worked on in these buildings.

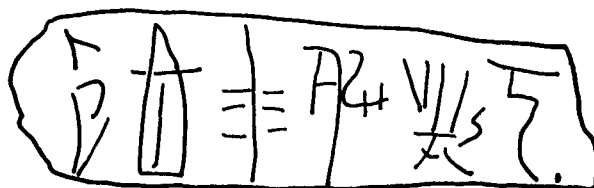
Such information as is currently available about the tablets found at Thebes in 1970 also suggests that this is a closed group, dealing only with one subject, wool. Thus in both cases it would seem likely that the Theban tablets represent the local records of a particular store or workshop, rather than a section of the main archives. Consequently the search for an Archive Room at Thebes must continue elsewhere; unless it has been disturbed by later building, there is a very good chance that somewhere beneath the centre of the town lies undiscovered as rich a treasure of documents as we have had from Pylos. The need for further digging, inconvenient as it must be to the modern inhabitants, is urgent.

## 9. TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

The fragments have been numbered from 1 to 21. The corresponding excavators' inventory numbers are given in square brackets at the right margin.

Ug 1

[317]



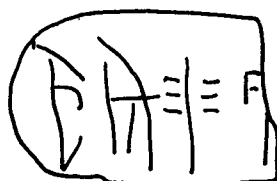
pe-pi-te-me-no-jo , [

There is a faint trace of a horizontal mark on the right edge. The divider is a very small mark. There is no warrant for dividing the word after *pe-pi* (K. D. Ktistopoulos, *Kadmos* 3 (1964), p. 28).

*pe-pi-te-me-no-jo*: presumably the genitive of a man's name */Pepith-menoio/*, formed from the otherwise unattested medio-passive perfect participle \*πεπιθμένος from πείθω (H. Mühlestein, *Nestor*, 1/12/64, p. 361), with zero grade like πεφυγμένος. The spelling could also correspond to an Aeolic type \*πεπιθημένος (cf. Homeric ἐπίθησα, etc.) but there is no need to postulate such forms for Mycenaean. See the discussion by M. Lejeune, *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1964, pp. 291-296. Examples of perfect participles of the passive used as names are rare; the lexica quote Κεχαρισμένος, Πεφασμένος and Πεφιλημένη. As Mühlestein points out, we have in the Mycenaean name *wi-dwo-i-jo* a derivative of the perfect participle active φιδφώς.

Ug 2

[322]



pe-pi-te-me[

Presumably to be restored as in 1.

Ug 3

[315]



]me-no-jo , o-\*35-ta O 3

The first word is probably [*pe-pi-te-*]me-no-jo, but could of course be from any name ending in -μενος. o-\*35-ta ought in view of the established formula (see § 4 above) to be a man's name. It bears, however, a strong resemblance to o-\*34-ta PY An 519.11, 654.3, which is a descriptive term applied to one of the detachments of the coast-guard. Such a descriptive term might also be in use as a proper name. Thus although this is far from being a proof, it is an additional piece of evidence in favour of regarding \*35 as a variant of \*34. Unfortunately it does nothing to establish the value of the unidentified sign.

Ug 4

[314]



a-ka-to-wa-o / au-to-te-qa-jo [

There is no divider, but the word-division is shown by the change in the size of script. There is a trace of a stroke at the top of the right-hand edge, which may well be the beginning of a large sign O.

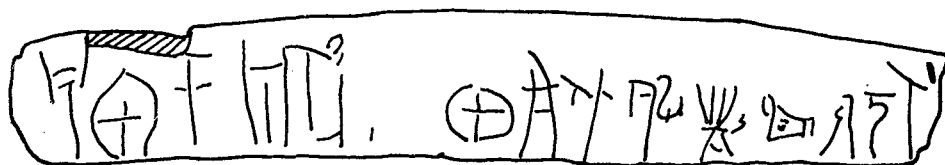
a-ka-to-wa-o: also Ug 5, probably to be restored in 6 and 7, possibly in 8 and 20; genitive of a-ka-to-wa, a man's name in KN Vc 81. The interpretation of the name is uncertain. Landau (*Mykenisch-griechische Personennamen*, p. 17) proposes *Alkathwas*, on the model of Ἀλκάθοος Il. 12.93, 13.427, and Ἀλκαθή, a daughter of King Minyas, Plut. *quaest. graec.* 38. The first element might also be read as Ἄγα-, but no such compound with the root of θέω is attested. A compound beginning Ἄγαθο- is also possible. There is a vaguely similar Mycenaean name a-ko-to-wo PY Jn 431.4, etc., taken by Landau as *Argothowos*, but again other inter-

pretations are possible. For names derived from θέω see Chadwick-Baumbach, *Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary*, p. 202.

*au-to-te-qa-jo*: since there is no sign of a divider or spacing, it seems impossible to separate this into *au-to te-qa-jo*, which would allow us to interpret the second word as *Thēg<sup>a</sup>aios* = Θηβαῖος (cf. *Il.* 8.120); similarly the woman's name *te-qa-ja* KN Ap 5864.4, PY Ep 539.6. On the name of Thebes, see Chadwick-Baumbach, *l. c.* It seems therefore that we must add this to the list of words beginning *au-to-*, of which *au-to-a<sub>2</sub>-ta* and *au-to-\*34-ta-ra* are probably personal names. The value of \*35 = *au*, first proposed by M. D. Petruševski and P. H. Ilievski (*Živa Antika* 8 (1958), pp. 265-278) and repeated by H. D. Ephron (*Minos* 7 (1961), pp. 63-100), is now generally accepted; the dossier has been admirably discussed by M. Lejeune (*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 1 (1966), pp. 9-28). We appear therefore to have a name */Autothēg<sup>a</sup>aios/* = \*Αὐτοθηβαῖος, which lacks any exact parallel. There are plenty of names in later Greek compounded with αὐτός (e. g. Αὐτόλυκος, Αὐτομέδων), but none in which the second member of the compound is an ethnic adjective.

## Ug 5

[320]



a-ka-to-wa-o , / ka-e-sa-me-no , au-ri-jo O[

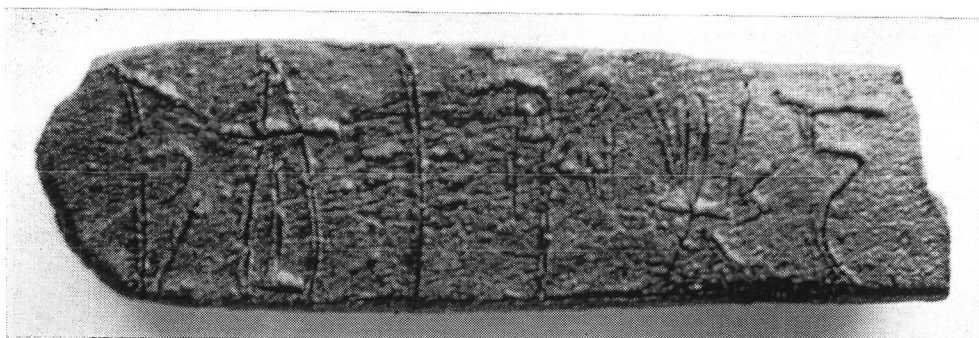
This tablet, made up of two fragments, was found in the spoil after a new column had been sunk, together with 12 and 17; all three tablets are brick red in colour.

*a-ka-to-wa-o*: see on Ug 4.

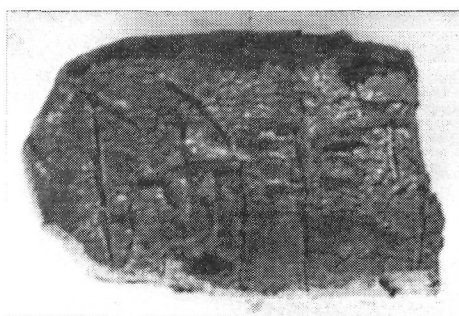
*ka-e-sa-me-no*: a man's name in PY An 656.19; genitive *ka-e-sa-me-no-jo* PY Vn 1191.2.

*au-ri-jo*: a man's name (shepherd) on KN Da 1080, Dv 1103, Da 1116, where it is hardly likely to represent the word αὔλιον 'sheepfold' as proposed by Petruševski and Ilievski (*l. c.*). If it is a second man's name, the lack of a connective is surprising; the only case where two names may stand together without a connective is in the Pylos Fr tablets (*wa-na-ke-te*, *wa-na-so-i*, etc.), and here the interpretation of both the terms as deities is not universally admitted. Thus the construction seems suspect, and *au-ri-jo* here is therefore more likely to be an epithet, possibly */aulios/* (= αὐλειος?), defining the *ka-e-sa-me-no* meant.

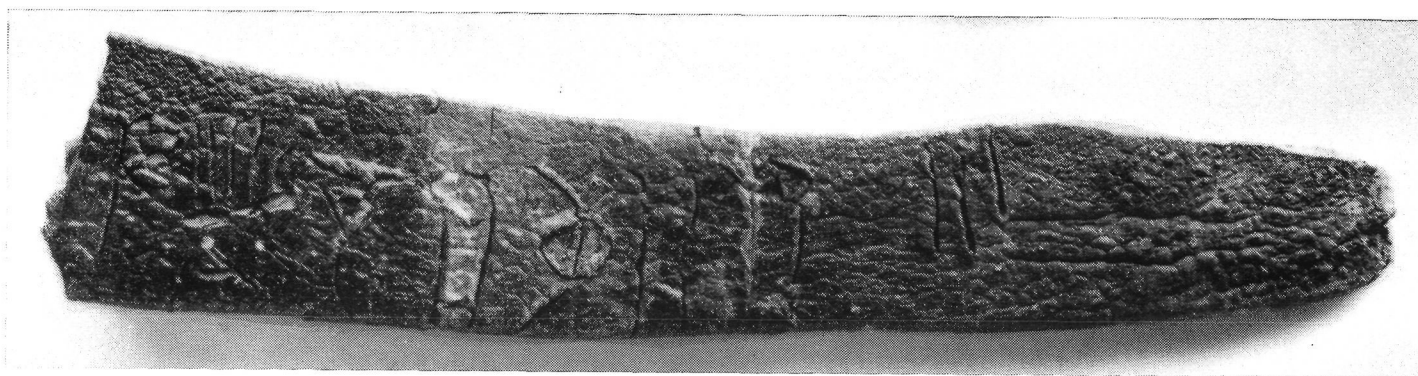




TH Ug 1 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 2 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 3 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 4 (Scale 1:1)



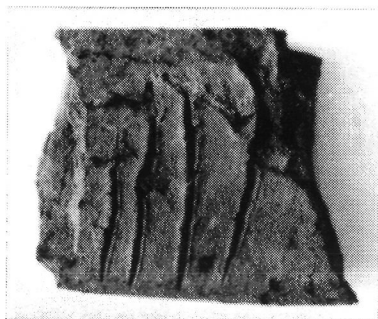
TH Ug 5 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 6 (Scale 1:1)



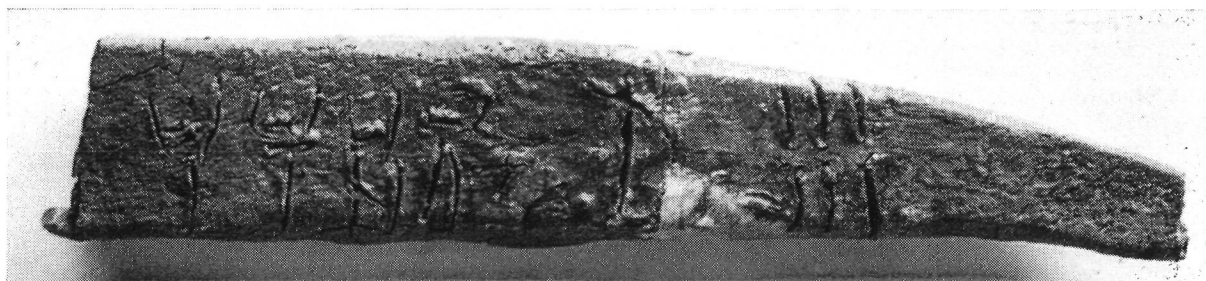
TH Ug 7 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 8 (Scale 1:1)



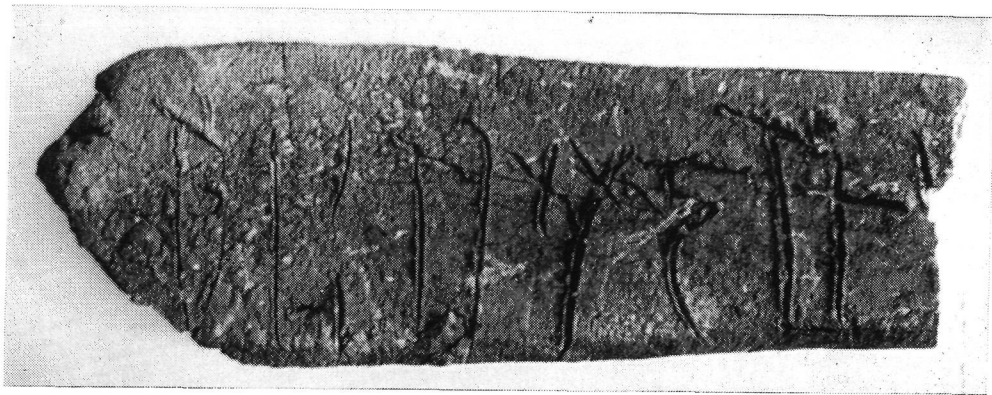
TH Ug 10 (Scale 1:1)



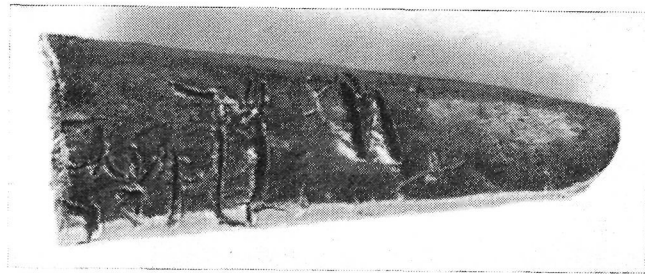
TH Ug 9 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 11 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 12 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 13 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 14 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 15 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 16 (Scale 1:1)



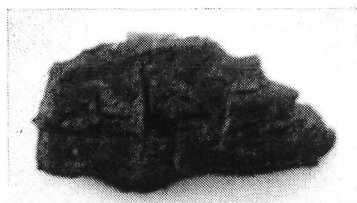
TH Ug 17 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 18 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 19 (Scale 1:1)



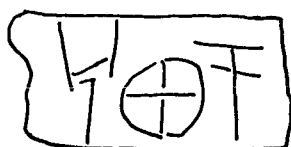
TH Ug 20 (Scale 1:1)



TH Ug 21 (Scale 1:1)

Ug 6

[320]

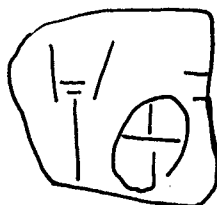


a-ka-to-[

There is a clear trace of an upright stroke in the break, compatible with *wa*. The tablet is thick (up to 11 mm.) and has fingerprints on the reverse.

Ug 7

[321]

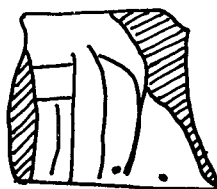


a-ka-to[

The clay is irregular on the reverse and bears fingerprints.

Ug 8

[324]

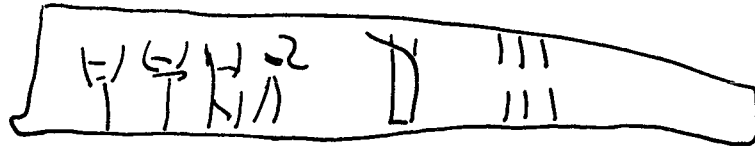


]wa-o ; [

There is a clear dot after *o*, but it is small if it is really a divider. This fragment does not join 6 or 7. Restoration as *a-ka-to-]wa-o* is purely speculative.

Ug 9

[316]



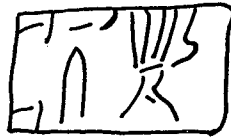
] , a-mu-ta-wo 0 6

There is a stroke low down at the left which could be a divider, but there are also traces on the broken edge above it which might make possible a reading such as ]*ta* or ]*su*. The analogy of the other tablets suggests that a divider is more likely here.

*a-mu-ta-wo*: a man's name in PY Nn 831, also *a-mu-ta-wo-qa* KN V 756; genitive *a-mu-ta-wo-no* PY Jn 431.26: |*Amuthāwōn*| = Ἀμυθάων.

Ug 10

[350]

*sup. mut.*

]ta-wo-no [

Although broken at the top, this fragment almost certainly belongs to a one-line tablet.

Ug 11

[318]

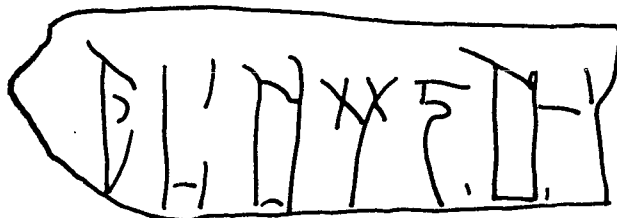


] / di-wi-ja-wo 0 1[

There are traces of a sign in larger script at the left-hand edge, possibly ]*qa*, but ]*o* cannot be excluded. There is a trace of a numeral 1 on the right-hand edge; the number could be larger. *di-wi-ja-wo*: a man's name KN Vc 293, PY Na 406: |*Diwiāwōn*|, probably a derivative in -άων from the divine name Διφία (Myc. *di-wi-ja*, *di-u-ja*).

Ug 12

[353]



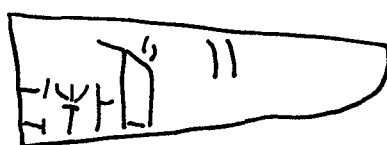
pe-ta-o-ni-jo , 0 12[

There is a trace of a second stroke at the top of the righthand edge; the numeral is 12 or larger.

*pe-ta-o-ni-jo*: an addition to the Mycenaean vocabulary. The absence of an introductory genitive raises the possibility that this is not a man's name, but a possessive adjective in -ιος. It is tempting to interpret it as *Petāonios*, which would evolve in Ionic to Πετᾶώνιος, the ethnic of Πετᾶών (*Il.* 2.500), a village of Boeotia said by Strabo (9.2.26) to be near the road to Anthedon. However, there is no good reason to assign this origin to Πετᾶών, and the resemblance may be purely fortuitous.

Ug 13

[319]



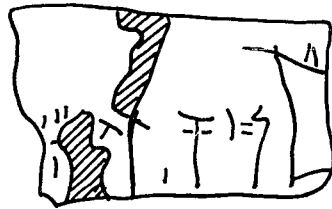
]ta-i-da 0 2

There is a mark at the left-hand edge above *ta*, but it is doubtful whether this belonged to a sign; if so, it must have been in larger script than *ta*, or have been written in the upper register. It may well be accidental.

*]ta-i-da* has no parallels elsewhere, whether complete or not. There are two men's names ending in *-i-da* (*mo-i-da* MY Au 102.8, Au 657.3, cf. *mo-da* PY Jn 601.5; *a-ko-i-da* KN DI 943), but the absence of Mycenaean names answering to the classical type in -ίδης is very striking.

## Ug 14

[323]

]a<sub>3</sub>-ša, / to-so O]

The surface of this fragment is heavily damaged and the reading of the left half very uncertain. The first sign appears to have a base with two uprights and a small vertical stroke between in the manner typical of *ke* in some hands. Unfortunately there is no example of *ke* on these tablets for comparison. There is a faint mark above these strokes which may be the remains of a horizontal bar; above this are clearly visible two short vertical strokes at the right and a smaller one just left of centre. The left edge is damaged. It is very hard to reconcile these traces with any known form of *ke*; thus the most likely choice is *a<sub>3</sub>*, but there is too much damage for any certainty and no parallel at Thebes for comparison.

The second sign has largely disappeared, but there seems to be an upright at the right, slightly slanted to the right at the top, from which a clear transverse bar emerges. There are traces in the damaged area to the left suggesting an oblique stroke nearly meeting the upright; thus the traces could be reconciled with a form of *sa* in which the left-hand branch is more slanted than the right, which is made continuous with the vertical stem. This method of construction is found in the similar sign *ni* in 12. Here *sa* appears more likely, since the bar on the right-hand branch clearly does not cross the upright.

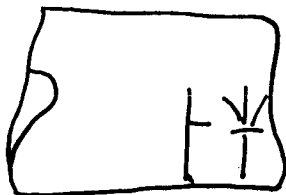
If *a<sub>3</sub>-sa* is the correct reading, it is probably complete, since *a<sub>3</sub>* occurs only at the beginning of a word or of the second member of a compound. It occurs also on PY Eq 1426.3, again in fragmentary context, but it is tempting to interpret it as *|aisa|* = αῖσα in the sense 'portion', which survived in Cypriot (O. Masson, *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, no. 285).

*to-so*: as noted above p. 121, this implies that the name of the object represented by *O* was masculine; hence = *tosoi*. *to-so* usually stands at the beginning of a totalling tablet, but cf. PY Fr 1206 *po-ti-ni-ja*, *a-si-wi-ja*, *to-so*, *qe-te-jo* OLE+PA 5 v 4.



Ug 15

[349]



]jo / da-i-[

Trace of sign at right edge, possibly *do* or *ra*<sub>2</sub>. The first word is probably a genitive in *-o-jo* like *pe-pi-te-me-no-jo*; the second may be a name beginning *Dai-*, like *da-i-go-ta* KN Da 1164, etc. (See *Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary*, s. v. δαί.)

Ug 16

[351]

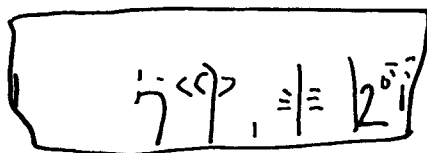


]jo , / to-ma[

Similar to 15.

Ug 17

[352]



] po-qa , te-ra-[

A sign at the right edge has been partly obliterated; possibly *di*, *a*<sub>2</sub> or *ne*? The first sign also has been smudged while the clay was still wet.

*po-qa*: PY Un 138.2, where it is an annotation to OLIVA; possibly KN Gv 862.3: *phorg<sup>u</sup>ā* = φορβή (for the labiovelar in this root see *Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary*, s. v. φέρβω). If it is correctly so interpreted here, and this tablet is a member of the Ug set, it

would imply that the subject-matter was food or possibly animals; but either of these premises may be incorrect.

*te-ra-[:* if the third sign is  $a_2$ , this could be interpreted as *teraha* = τέραα (or genitive *teraha[ōn]*?), epic plural of τέρας (*Od.* 12.394). But it is safer not to speculate.

Ug 18

[351]



] 5 [

Probably a piece from the right-hand end of a tablet of this set, though there is nothing more than the common locus to justify its assignment. The break at the left edge is consistent with a preceding *O*.

Ug 19

[523]



*sup. mut.*  
], w̄a[

Ug 20

[522]



*sup. mut.*  
]w̄a-o [  
*inf. mut.*

Possibly a member of the *a-ka-to-wa-o* group, cf. 8.

Ug 21

[521]



]ne-we O[

Found after the others, on 3 July 1965. The first sign, which is incomplete, if rightly identified as *ne* has an unusual form; there is no other example of *ne* for comparison in this series. Alternatively *mu* might be possible (cf. the example on 9); but this seems much less likely. The central upright is undoubtedly discontinuous. There is a slight increase of height in *O*, which suggests that it is not part of the preceding word, but is ideographic; cf. 3, 5, 12.

INDEX OF MYCENAEAN WORDS

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