

A CRITICAL APPENDIX TO THE PYLOS TABLETS (1955)

No one who studies the originals of the Pylos tablets can fail to be impressed by the meticulous care and accuracy of the two editions published by Bennett¹. The second of these added to the transcribed texts fac-simile drawings made from photographs, which show clearly the lay-out and handwriting of the original, but are not adequate as a control, since they still contain a subjective element, not all the marks on the photograph being copied. It is to be hoped that a complete album of photographs will be published in due course; but there still remain difficulties in reading which cannot be resolved except by inspection of the originals; and even then different scholars will arrive at different readings.

Since the publication of the second edition it has been my good fortune to be able to make two separate checks on the readings of the Pylos tablets, which are now preserved in the National Museum at Athens. For this I am obliged to Professor C. W. Blegen, and to Dr. Ch. Karouzos, who kindly provided facilities for work in the Museum. Some of my variant readings have been published either in *Documents* or elsewhere; others, though of less immediate interest, may yet be worth recording as a step towards the compilation of a full critical apparatus. With this in mind I have collected here as well all the corrections and additions published by Bennett and Miss Lang, and any others I have noticed. It also seemed appropriate to add notes of probable conjectures, including those made by Bennett in *PT II*, but relegated to the Vocabulary. I have not included all conjectures known to me; only such as commend themselves to my judgement. I have recorded, as far as possible, the earliest source known to me, and I apologize for any omissions or wrong attributions. I have, however, always given priority

¹ Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.: *The Pylos Tablets: A Preliminary Transcription*, Princeton, 1951 (= *PT I*); *The Pylos Tablets: Texts of the Inscriptions Found 1939-1954*, Princeton, 1955 (= *PT II*).

to a reading over a conjecture; thus a conjecture which I have confirmed by autopsy is noted simply as a new reading. In a few cases where autopsy has not confirmed a suggestion this too has been noted.

I have not included here tablets published after 1955, since my comments on the Olive Tablets have been recorded by Bennett in his edition ², and those on the 1956-7 tablets have been noted by Miss Lang (see *AJA* 63 pp. 136-137). I have not yet been able to check the joins made by Miss Lang in 1958, and these are reprinted here from her article. At the end I have printed a list of published photographs of these tablets, an expansion of that given by Bennett in *PT I*, p. ix.

The normal conventions for marking restorations [] and corrections < > have been observed. All restorations are purely conjectural, but in each case I have verified the tablet to ensure that there is no reason to mistrust the restoration. All readings quoted without attribution are my own; where several people have contributed to the text of one tablet I have inserted my name to avoid confusion. 'Bennett, *Vocab.*' refers to the Vocabulary on pp. 203-245 of *PT II*. Only such portion of the line as is under discussion is transcribed; incomplete transcription is shown by a row of three dots.

I have profited much from consultation with others, especially Professors Mabel Lang and Michel Lejeune. But above all I am indebted to Professor Bennett himself, who has discussed many points at length with me, and has generously allowed me to quote his comments on some of my new suggestions. The list of photographs is largely made up of references which he has supplied, and I should like to thank him for allowing me to publish it here, where I hope it will be useful to those studying these texts.

- Aa96 *da-[mi-ni-ja WOMAN]1 ko-wa 13 DA 1 TA 1 Bennett, Ét. Myc. p. 134; cf. Ad697.*
- Aa240 *a-ra-ka-te-ja WOMAN 20... (not 21).*
- Aa764 *me-re-ti-ri-ja WOMAN 6 ko-wa 8 ko-wo 1 Lang, AJA 63.129.*
- Aa783 *...ko-wa 13 ko-wo 15 DA 1 TA 1 Lang, AJA 63.130.*
- Ab356 *...ko-[wo] 5... Bennett, Language 33.567.*

² *The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos*, Suplementos a «*Minos*», núm. 2, Salamanca, 1958. On p.52, Fr1221, for 'Chadwick' read 'Palmer'.

- Ab382 ...*mi-ra-ti*-<*ja*>... Bennett, *Vocab*.
- Ab388 ...WOMAN [2] The number is completely lost; Bennett prefers [1] on grounds of spacing; see *Documents* p. 157, cf. Bennett, *Language* 33.566-7.
- Ab789 ...WOMAN 6 *ko*-<*wa*> 6... Bennett, *Vocab*.
- Ad142 ...*wo-we-u*... (not *ne-we-u*, as in *PT I*).
- Ad380 ...*a-ra*-<*ka*>-*te-ja-o*... *Documents*, p. 388.
- Ad663 Ventris proposed joining to Ad674; there is no physical join, but these fragments may belong to the same tablet.
- Ad679 ...MAN 6 *o-pe*-[[*ro*... (not 8).
- Ad686.1 *o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne*-[*to*]... *Documents* p. 161.
- Ad697 It is possible, as Ventris suggested, that the right hand end is wrongly joined since it gives no numeral; but this may be a scribal error.
- Ae26 ...*pe-me*... is very doubtful; the suggestion *pe-mo* (*Documents* p. 170) is no better; read *pe*-[.].
- Ae134 ...*ta-ra-ma*-<*ta*>-*o*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
- Ae264 ...*du-ni-jo*-<*jo*>...
- Ae344]*wo-na*...
- Ae889 ...*o-re-te-ri-ja*... First sign perhaps *e* (not *ko*).
- An18.4 *re-si-we-i*... Alternatively *i-si-we-i*; *-si-* is also slightly doubtful.
- An39.6 Hand changes at this point; the second hand also wrote line 1 of the reverse.
- An172.10 ...*ro-o-wa* MAN 1 Bennett, *AJA* 60.293.
- An207.11]-*ko me-ri-da-ma-te*...
- An218.6 ...*a-da-ra*-[*ti-jo*]... *Documents* p. 177; cf. An656.14.
- .11 *a*]-*ka-re-u*... Risch, *Athenaeum* 46.351.
- An233.3]-*qo-so-na-pe*...
- An261.rev.4 ...*ke-ro-si*-<*ja*>... Bennett, *Vocab*.
- An298.2 ...*ra-pte*[[*-re*]]...
- An519.2 ...*mo-ro-pa*₂ *zo-wo*.
- An607.3 [[]] WOMAN...
- An610.3 ...19 [Chadwick.
- .4 ...36 [Chadwick.
- .5 ...3 [Chadwick.
- .14 *we-da-ne-wo* MAN 20... Bennett, *AJA* 60.293.
- An614.4 [*ko-ro*]-*ku-ṛa-i-jo*...
- .7]*a-pe-e-si*[

- An615.17 *a-pi]-no-e-[wi-jo...*
- An616.2 *a-pi-qo-<ta>-o...* Bennett, *Vocab.*
- rev.1 *ku]-pa-ro₂...* Chadwick; cf. Un249.1, Un267.6.
- An661.1 *e-ki-no-jo...* Chadwick.
- .4 *[.]o-ri-jo...* Chadwick; Bennett suggests *a-* or *sa-* as possible readings.
- .10 *ti-mi-to a-ke-i...* Bennett, *AJA* 60.293.
- .10 *...ma-re-u...* Chadwick.
- .11 *a-ke-[re]-u...* Risch, *Athenaeum* 46.351.
- An724.4 *...MAN 1 MAN* Second MAN added by another hand.
- .9 *...o-pe-[...]-e a-ri-ja-to* Ventris; *...o-pe-ro[...]* Bennett.
- .11 *o-pe-ro [...]* ... Ventris, Bennett.
- .12 *...e-nwa-ri-jo...* Ventris.
- Cn40.13 *...a-ko-so-ta-<o>...* Bennett, *Vocab.*
- Cn45.2 *...EWE 80.*
- .3 *...EWE 30.*
- Cn155 *RAM 204 EWE [nn.*
- Cn254.2 *...RAM] 100 [[96]]* 100 over half-deleted 96.
- Cn314.3 **85-to-a₂-ta...* Perhaps nothing lost at left.
- Cn418.3 *...ma-ra-pi...*
- .4 *]3 HE-GOAT 3 WE 3 SHE-GOAT 3.*
- Cn600.12 *...e-te-wa-jo SHE-GOAT 30.*
- .15 *...*82-de-[.]...*
- Cn655.7 *...ti-ke-wo...* Chadwick; *...ti-ma-wo...* Ventris; sign almost completely lost.
- .16 *...EWE 88.*
- Cn719.8 *...a-<ko>-so-ta-o...* Bennett, *Vocab.*
- Ea305 *...e-ke <o>-na-to-{to}...* Bennett, *Vocab.*
- Ea421 *...[ko]* is a half-formed sign.
- Ea460 *...e-ke o-<na>-to...* Bennett, *Vocab.*
- Ea757+819 *e-u-me-ne qo-qo-ta-o*
e-ke o-na-<to> ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na WHEAT
 DM 2 Lang, *AJA* 62.182.
- Ea814 *...di-<pte>-ra-po-ro...* Chadwick.
- ...e-ke o-<na>-to...* Bennett, *Vocab.*
- Ea922 *...ko-to-na <a>-no-no...* Not a contraction, since *ko-to-na* is here accusative.
- Eb149 Probably the same tablet as Eb940, but does not join.
- Eb317.1 *...e-qe-ta-qe [[]]*.

- Eb338.1 ...*ka-ra-wi-po*-[*ro pa-ki*]-*ja-pi*... Chadwick.
 .2 ...*ko-to*-[*no*] *dwo*... Risch, *Minos* 5.28.
- Eb495 + 833.1 *ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma o-pe-ro du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e/*
e-me-de te-[*re*]-*ja*.
 .2 *to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 10 DM 1 edge *mu-to-wo-ti* All
 Lang, *AJA* 63.128.
- Eb747.1 ...*o-na-to* <*ke*>-*ke-me-na*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 Eb847.2 [[*ku-su*-[*to-ro*]-*pa*₂]]... Bennett, *Vocab*.; but he now
 prefers to read *ku-su-pa*₂.
- Eb871.1 *35-*ke-ja e-ke-qe o-na-to*... Lang, *AJA* 63.131.
 .2 *pa-ro da-mo*... Lang, *ibid*.
- Eb885.1 *i-na te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o*-[*na-to*.
 .2 [*ke*]-*ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo* [Both lines, Lang,
AJA 62.182.
- Eb893 Same tablet as Eb897 with gap of about 5, as is shown by
 an accidental scratch; cf. Ep301.10.
- En74.1 ...*ki-ti-me-ṇa*... Chadwick; *ki-ti-me*<-*na*> Bennett,
Vocab.
 .21 ...*e*-<*ko*>-*si*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
- En467.3 ...*ki-ti-me*<-*na*>... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 En609.5 ...*e-ke* <*to-so*>-*de pe-mo*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 En659.9 ...*o*-<*na*>-*te-re*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 .10 ...*te-o*-<*jo*>... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 .16 ...*do-e*-[*ro*... Lang, *AJA* 63.128.
- Eo173.1 ...*ko-to-no*-<*o*>-*ko*... Bennett, *Vocab*.; this could be a
 deliberate contraction, but the longer form occurs 18 times.
- Eo211.4 ...*wa*-<*na*>-*ta*-[*jo*]... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 Eo276.1 ...WHEAT 1 DM 5 Bennett, *AJA* 60.293.
 .7 *ma*-*79 *te-o*-<*jo*> *do-e-ra*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 Eo278 ...*e-ke-qe dwo ko-to-no*... Risch, *Minos* 5.28.
- Eo281.1 *ra-ku-ro-jo*] *ki-ti-me-na ko*-[*to*]-*na* WHEAT 1 DM 1 QT 1.
 .2 *i-ra-tu*] *te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ra-ku-ro*
 WHEAT QT 3 Both lines, Lang, *AJA* 63.128.
- Eo351.1 *a-da-ma*-<*o*>-*jo*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 Eo444.1 ...WHEAT 2 [DM 3] The reading WHEAT 4 in *PT I* and
Documents is probably due to two accidental scratches.
- Ep212.8 ...*to*-<*so*> *pe-mo*... Bennett, *Vocab*.
 Ep301.10 ...WHEAT QT [3] cf. Eb893 + 897.
 .11 ...*to*-<*so*> *pe-mo*... Bennett, *Vocab*.

- Ep539.7 ...*pa-ro* [*po-to*]-*re-ma-ta*... Chadwick; cf. Jn601.4.
 .12 *wi-dwo-i-jo*... Risch, *Minos* 5.28.
- Ep617.1 *ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma o-pe-ro du]-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e.*
 .2 *e-me-de te-re-ja to-so-de pe-mo*] WHEAT 10 DM 1 Both
 lines, Lang, *AJA* 63.129.
- Eq59.2 ...*ke-ke-me*-<*na*>... Bennett, *Vocab.*
- Er880.1 *e]-ke-ra₂-[wo*... Ventris.
 .2 ...*pe]-pu₂-te-me-no* Ventris.
 .3 ...WHEAT [50], i.e. restore [=] Chadwick.
 .4 *to-so-de [a-ki-ti]-to pe-ma* WHEAT 44 Chadwick.
- Es649.1 *a-re-ku-tu-ru-[wo]-ne*... Last sign very doubtful.
- Es653.1 ...*po-se-da-o*-<*ne*>...
- Fn50.5 *me-ri-du*-<*ma*>-*te*... Bennett, *Vocab.*; cf. Lejeune,
Mém. Phil. Myc. I, p. 187.
 .11 *85-*[ke-i]-ja-te-wo*... Lang, *AJA* 62.190; cf. An1281.4,13
 where Chadwick reads *85-*ke-i-ja-te-we* [[*i*]].
 .13 *a-pi-e-ra*... Chadwick; cf. Lang, *AJA* 62.190.
- Fn187.8 *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* BARLEY DM 5 FIGS DM 5 The first
 two words are divided; cf. Fr1225, 1226.
- Fn324.2 *da]-mo-ke-re-we-i*... Ventris, *Documents* p. 417.
 .17 ...*pi-re-se-[u]*... Apparent divider after *se* is probably part
 of an obliterated sign.
 .27 *e-u-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo*...
- Fn837.5 ...*a-ti-[mi-to*... ?
- Fn867.5 *do-ri-je-we*... Clay squeezed at edge while soft; *Dōrieus*
 or *Dolieus*?
 .6 *me-ri-du-ma-ši*...
- Gn428.4 ...*i-do-me-ni-jo*...
- Jn310.17 ...*pu₂-[.]-ja-ko* 1.
- Jn389.6 end ...BRONZE LB <1 OZ 2> The correction is necessary
 in view of the total LB 27; see Bennett, *AJA* 54.215;
 but the reading of the tablet is clearly as shown in *PT II*.
- Jn601.11 ...*[po]-ti-na-jo* 1 cf. Jn692.7.
- Jn605 + 942 See Lang, *AJA* 63.129.
- Jn658.11 ...TALENT <2> LB 20 The tablet clearly reads 3, but
 the correction is arithmetical.
- Jn725.3 *we-we-si-jo pe-re-go-no ti-ri-[]-ko-no* Chadwick.
 .18 ...*ka-ke*-<*we*>... Bennett, *Vocab.*
 .24 *di-nu-wa-ta*... Chadwick.

- Nn831.8 *e-po-me-ne-u...* Ventris.
 On300 On1074 may belong to this tablet at the upper right hand side, but does not join.
 .6 *da-mi]-ni-jo...* Possible restoration; cf. An610.13.
 .8 *o-de-pa₂-a₂...* The mark after *de* seems not to be a divider.
 Sa753 *se-we-ri-ko-jo wo-ka e-qe-si-jo...* Lang, *AJA* 62.182.
 Sa767 ...ZE 1 Lang, *AJA* 63.130.
 Sa787.1 ...WHEEL ZE 30... Not 31, as Lejeune, *Mém. Phil. Myc.* I, p. 113.
 .2 ...*pa-ra-ja...* Chadwick.
 Sa843+1190+1270 *to-sa we-je-ke-a₂ ne-wa* WHEEL + TE ZE 20 Lang, *AJA* 62.183, 63.131.
 Sh734 rev. Virtually illegible.
 Sh739 rev.1 [[[.]-*pi-to mi*[...]-*te-ra* [?] *re*[] *e-ko-si*]].
 .2 [[*o-o-pe-ro-si we-de*[] All these readings are very doubtful and unreliable.
 Sn64.1]-*si-re-wi-jo-te...* The restoration [*pa₂*]-*si-* has been challenged and cannot be confirmed by an exact parallel, but it seems very probable.
 Ta641.1 ...*ke-re-a₂ ṅo*-[*pe-re* Ventris; Bennett still prefers his reading.
 Ta709.1 *pi-je-ra₃ to-qi-de-ja *200 3 pa-ko-to a-pe-te-me-ne *214 2 po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja IMPLEMENT 1 ko-te-ri-ja 6.*
 .2 *85-*te* 1 *pu-ra-u-to-ro 2 pa₂-ra-to-ro 1 e-ka-ra a-pi-qo-to pe-de-we-sa 1 e-ka-ra i-to-we-sa pe-de-we-sa so-we-ne-ja *85-de-we-sa-qe 1.*
 .3 *ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke ai₂-ke-u TRIPOD 1 ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u TRIPOD 1.* Tablet completed by Lang, *AJA* 62.182.
 Tn316 rev.4 ...*i-pe-me-de-ja*-<*jo*>-*qe*...
 .5 ...*pe-re po-re-na-qe a*-<*ke*>...
 .10 *di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we...* Chadwick believes that *di-wo* is the reading of the tablet, and conjectures *i-je*-<*re*>-*we*; cf. *Documents*, p. 286.
 Tn996.1 *do]-ko a-te-re-e-te-jo...* Ventris.
 .3 *a-po]-re-we...* Ventris.
 Ua17.1 ...WINE 47 LM 1 QT 5 LM is not clear in *PT II*.
 Un6.2 A+RE+PA LM 1 Ligature unclear in *PT II*.
 Un47.1 ...*ro-u-si-jo a-ko*-[*ro*.

- Un219.1 ...0 4 alternatively 0 1.
 .3 *ka-ru-ke* PE 2... Chadwick now agreed by Bennett.
 .4 *te-qi-<ri>-jo-ne...* Bennett, *Vocab.*
 .7 *a-na-ka-te...* Only the top of the first sign is visible; Bennett believes that no other reading is possible, but Chadwick is unwilling to exclude *wa-*.
 .8 *e-[ra]* U 1... Chadwick.
- Un249.1 ...*a-re-pa-zo-[o]*...
- Un443.3 ...WHEAT 2... alternatively WHEAT 1.
- Un718.8 ...*a-re-<pa>* A+RE+PA 2... The last sign of the word is *ro*, but in view of the ligature we must emend by the addition of a single stroke to *pa* (= *aleiphar* or *aleiphā*). The ligature is not well represented by Bennett in his transcript, but the fac-simile shows clearly A+RE+PA in ascending order, the PA overlapping line 7. Lejeune's rejection of the emendation (*Mém. Phil. Myc.* I, Addenda, 343, note 39) is unjustified.
- .12 ...WINE LM 1 TU+RO₂...
- .13 [] LM 1...
- Un853 rev. ...]o-ru-wo-*qo* Very doubtful reading; Bennett believes that *wo* is written over *jo*.
- Un1193.2 ...] DA 15...
 .4 ...]-*nu-we-we*...
- Vn19.5 [*a-pu*₂ (?) *sa-pi-de*] 60.
 .6 [*a-ke-re-wa sa*]-*pi-de* 40.
 .7 [*e-ra*]-*to sa-pi-[de nn]*.
 .8 [*ka-ra-do-ro*] *sa-[pi-de nn]*.
 .9 [*ri-jo sa-pi-de nn]*.
- Vn46.3 ...*e-ru-mi-ni-ja* 4 [
 .4 ...*ta-ra-nu-we* 14[
 .5 ...*o-pi-te-te-re* 40.
 .7 *pi-ri-ja-o*... (= φλιάων).
- Vn48.2 ...*ma-so*[Bennett also proposes ...*ma-me*[
 .3 *pa-[ki]-ja-[ni-jo? i]-e-re-wi-jo*... Chadwick, *Minos* 5.119; but Bennett doubts the restoration [*ki*] and the presence of a sign before *e-re-wi-jo*. *pa-[ki]-ja-[na-de] e-re-wi-jo* Palmer, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1958.33.
 .6 ...]wo-no-wa-pi-si Chadwick.
 .7 ...]-*ta* 6... Chadwick.

- Vn493.3 *o-to-ro-pa₂...*
 Vn851.7 *...wā-nā-si-ja-[.]* 1 X.
 Wa1008.1] WOMAN[Bennett (orally).
 Wa1087.1]-to DA [SE is possible instead of DA; it is larger
 than the *to*.
 Wa1148.1 *a-mo]-ta e-qe-si-ja* Upright of *mo* visible.
 .2 *we]-je-ke-a* Chadwick, *Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.* 5.4.
 Xa343 Joined with Fr1213 and reclassified Fr343; Bennett, *Olive
 Oil Tablets of Pylos* pp. 13, 19.

LIST OF PUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPHS

- Aa506 *Illustrated London News* 3/6/39 p. 980.
 Aa764 *AJA* 63 Plate 26.
 Aa783 *AJA* 63 Plate 26.
 Ae134 *Archaeology* 7:1 p. 17; *Documents* Plate II (b), opposite
 p. 110 Chadwick, *Decipherment of Linear B*, Plate II (b) op-
 posite p. 86.
 An5 *Illustrated London News* 3/6/39 p. 980.
 An129 Μεγάλη 'Ελληνική 'Εγχειροκλαίδια, Συμπλήρωμα τεύχος 19,
 p. 290 (*s. v.* Αίγαϊος πολιτισμός).
 An218 *Minos* 5:2 Plates VIII, IX.
 Cn131 *AJA* 43 p. 565, fig 8, No. 131; *Monumenti Antichi* 40,
 Plate 28.
 Eb297 *Archaeology* 7:1, p. 20; *Documents* Plate III (a) opposite p. 111.
 Eb317 *AJA* 43 p. 568, fig. 9, No. 317; *Monumenti Antichi* 40,
 Plate 29.
 Eb495 *AJA* 63 Plate 26.
 Eb871 *AJA* 63 Plate 28.
 Eo281 *AJA* 63 Plate 26.
 Eq213 *AJA* 43 p. 568, fig. 10, No. 213; *Archaeology* 1 p. 218, fig. 6;
 Monumenti Antichi 40, Plate 29.
 Er312 P. E. Cleator, *Lost Languages*, London 1959, Plate 23, opposite
 p. 145.
 Jn605 *AJA* 63 Plate 26.
 Jn832 *AJA* 63 Plate 28.
 Na1041 *AJA* 63 Plate 28.
 Sa767 *AJA* 63 Plate 26.

- Sa843 *A7A* 63 Plate 28.
- Ta709 *A7A* 62, Plate 40, fig. 11.
- Ta641 *Ephemeris Arkhaiologike* 1953, p. 60, fig. 1; *Archaeology* 7:1, p. 18; *Illustrated London News* 16/1/54 p. 89, fig. 16; *Documents* Plate III (b) opposite p. 111; *Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR (Otd. Lit. i Jazyka)* 14:3 opposite p. 274, fig 3; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, Plate I a, etc.
- Tn996 *Illustrated London News*, 16/1/54 p. 89, fig. 15; *A7A* 58, Plate 7, fig. 8; *Scientific American*, May 1958, Vol. 198 No. 5, p. 116; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, Plate I b.
- Un2 *Illustrated London News* 3/6/39 p. 980.
- Vn20 *A7A* 43, p. 567, fig. 11, No. 20; *Monumenti Antichi* 40, Plate 27.
- Vn130 *Beneath the Surface*, American School of Classical Studies, 1947, No. 130.

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