

TEXTUAL NOTES: PY An607

It seems possible that the reporting of some hitherto unpublished and unnoticed elements of the text of the tablet An607 from Pylos might be helpful in the progress to a satisfactory interpretation. It is not that the text as printed either in *PT I* (as An42, p. 19) or in *PT II* (p. 127; drawing, p. 60) is incorrect. The tablet is complete and well-preserved, the handwriting is clear, and there are none of the rare and problematical signs which make some texts difficult. It is simply that the published text is incomplete.

It is frequently possible, when the surface of a Mycenaean clay tablet is in good condition, to see the traces of erasures, of corrections, and even of what was erased, and to detect the original scribe's or another's later additions to a completed text. From all of these clues we can reconstruct for many tablets every significant step in their composition. Obviously the final version, after all corrections and additions had been made, is to be taken as what the scribe intended. This text is what must be interpreted, and it should ordinarily be possible to understand it by itself. Yet when the causes of an error can be understood, or when the reasons for a change or an addition to the text can be guessed, there may be some hope that the text and the situation which produced it can be even better understood. The clearest example of the value of comparing earlier and later versions of the same document is in the copying of the text of Eb297 into Ep704; and there were many instances of the replacement of erased single signs by others of similar shape or sound which have had their importance in the decipherment. Whether in the text before us the traces of erasures, additions, and corrections will indeed contribute significantly to the understanding of its content remains to be seen.

The arrangement of the text. There are significant differences in the height of signs only in line 1. Elsewhere the height is uniformly determined by the ruling. *Me-ta-pa* is distinctly higher than what follows. Similar emphasis, though not exactly parallel, is given in Ea28 and other Ea texts and in the individual entries of Cn40, Cn599, etc., and in Tn316.

Ki-ri-te-wi-ja is distinctly lower than *ke-ri-mi-ja do-ge-ja*. Parallels for the lower height of a crowded last word may have been seen in An1.1 and Cn4.1. But even with the smaller size and the crowding of the signs the room proved to be insufficient and the scribe wrote *-ja* above the *ki-ri-te-wi-*, in the normal place for a continuation of a word. Examples are found in Jn829.2 or Cn254.6; but cf. An657.13 where *o-wi-* is written above *-to-no*, or An654.8/9, where the end of the word, *-i-jo*, is carried over to the following line. The whole text is written fairly compactly, with little extra space either within or between words. Particular instances of crowding may be noted in *ki-ri-te-wi-* (1), *e-e-to* (3), *ma-te-de* (5), and in the punctuation after *ma-te* and *pa-te-de* (6) and *do-e-ra* (7). In line 2 the last sign of *ku-te-re-u-pi* almost goes over the edge. Words are carried right to the margin everywhere except at the beginning of line 3, where the word or signs which were erased before WOMAN were at the margin, while WOMAN is not. The indentation of the ideogram WOMAN can hardly be explained by the presence of erased signs before it. Some space is normally left between the verbal part of an entry in the accounts and the ideogram which concludes it, as in line 4, while there is no space between the last erased sign and the WOMAN. There are parallels for the indentation of an ideogram when it must be carried over to the next line, as in An654.4 and An656.6. On the other hand WOMAN in lines 6, 7, and 8 of this tablet is not indented, for which the parallel is in Nn228.4. The lack of space at the end of line 2 and the presence of a bit of space at the ends of line 5, 6, and 7 will hardly account for the difference. The end of line 4 is left blank, though the first three words of line 5 could easily have been fitted in without crowding. Parallels for the end of a line left blank before a new entry or new type of entry are found in Vn10.3, Un138.4, Jn750.2.11, An724.4, etc. For the alignment of *do-ge-ja* in lines 6 and 7, cf. Sn64.3.4. The unusually high position of the mark of punctuation after *pa-te* (2), *do-e-ra* (3 and 5), *ma-te* (6), though it may be without significance, is worth notice. For the *ka* in line 11, and for its isolated position there is no parallel.

Erasures, additions, and corrections. In the space in line 3 before the ideogram WOMAN there is an erasure of at least two signs, now probably illegible. Various possible readings have been suggested on the basis of photograph and autopsy, but none seems satisfactory. For the first sign, of which the vertical stroke trace in the drawing (PT II 60)

is the clearest remnant, the signs *ze*, *ra*, *te*, *ro*₂, and *ro* are candidates; for the second, *qa*, *mo*, *so*, or *re* might possibly fit the traces. If *qa* or *mo* are likely, it seems possible that the sign was never completed, but was erased immediately after the first stroke had been drawn. If the sign was completed, there might have been a third sign, or a part of one drawn and erased immediately beneath the WOMAN sign, but this is quite uncertain. Still it is clear that the signs were erased before the ideogram was written. Another erasure in line 3 is that of *-ro* in the word *do-e-ro*, which was replaced by *-ra* to give the present reading. The spacing of the *-ro*, the *-ra*, the punctuation, and the following word show that the erasure was made after the following word at least had been written. How much more had been written before the correction was made is unknown. In line 4 the number 6 was erased and replaced by 13, as was indicated in the copies in *PT I* and *II*. There is one other correction, which does not affect the text but is of palaeographical interest. The last sign, *-u*, in line 6, was written in the usual fashion and order of strokes visible in the same sign in lines 2 and 7, and in other tablets written by this scribe. The curved backbone of the sign is drawn first from top to bottom, then the second vertical, and the third horizontal stroke. Other scribes, especially those of Class II or III¹ draw the horizontal second and the short vertical third. But when the sign was complete, the scribe saw that the vertical stroke happened to be either too near the backbone or else too short. It was a defect which we should not have noticed, and there was no obvious chance of misinterpretation. Nevertheless the scribe drew the vertical stroke again, more firmly, to make a sign which appears out of place in this handwriting.

There is apparent by autopsy, and even visible in the photograph, a difference between the first four and the last four lines of the text, in the depth of the strokes of the signs. It seems clear, therefore, that the tablet was permitted to dry out a bit between two stages of writing the text. There is of course no way to estimate the interval, which might be of an hour or of several days, depending on whether the tablet was kept moist for further use, or put aside as complete and then taken up again. It seems most likely that the correction of the number in line 4 took place at the time of the addition of lines 5 to 8. The eraser seems both to have bit deeper and to have been less effective than in line 3.

¹ *Athenaeum*, XLVI, 1958, pp. 328-331.

Of course, the newly written numbers are as deeply incised as those in line 3, or even deeper, but this can be laid to the emphasis on the correction and the desire to complete the obliteration of the erased number, and so the correction need not belong to the first stage of writing. It is possible also to imagine, without the possibility of finding evidence, that a first correction was made in line 4, changing WOMAN 6 to 10, simultaneous with the addition of lines 5, 6, and through the number in line 7, and that a subsequent addition brought it up to 13, with the addition of the rest of lines 7 and 8.

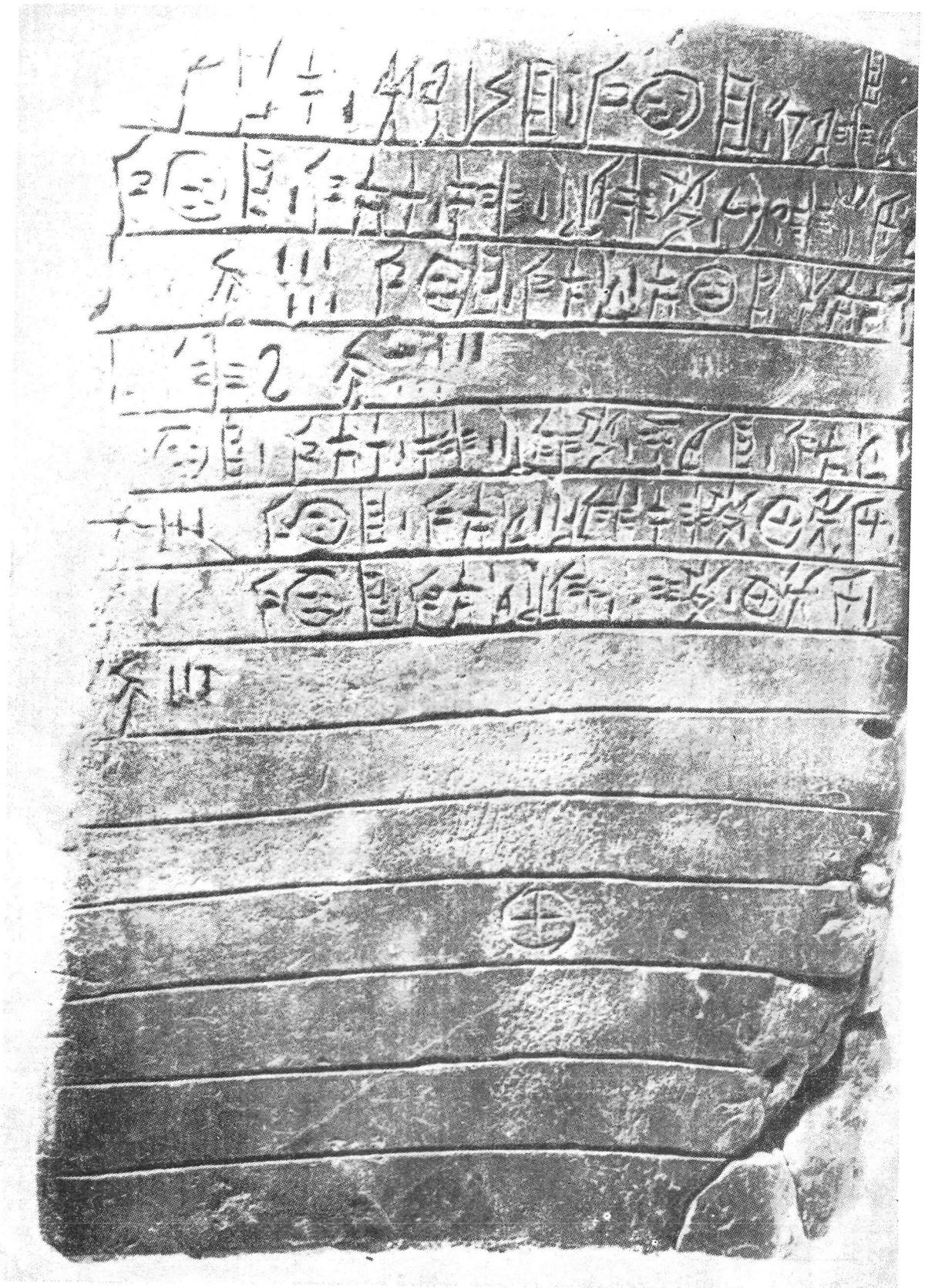
For confirming some of these observations, for suggesting others I am most grateful to Mabel Lang, who has recently examined the tablet itself while I have chiefly relied upon the photograph. Since I have not accepted or reproduced all her suggestions, and have reported some observations solely on my own authority, she is not to be held responsible for the errors in what is said here.

It has been suggested that the word *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* might be part of the phrase in line 2 *ma-te-de ku-te-re-u-pi* <*ki-ri-te-wi-ja*>, inserted above for lack of space, or as an afterthought². The heading of the tablet would then be limited to the first three words, *Me-ta-pa ke-ri-mi-ja do-qe-ja*. A more specific version of the same suggestion is made by Tritsch³; namely, that *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* was added certainly after the first two lines were completed, probably after the first four, probably as a substitute for the short word (perhaps *do-e-ra*, but in any case denoting the occupation of the *ma-te* in line 2), which was erased at the beginning of line 3. The present position of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* would have resulted from lack of sufficient room in line 3 before WOMAN.

However, it seems most likely that the first line as it stands is what was written and intended as the heading of the whole text. The *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* is crowded and less high than the first words simply because the scribe saw he had insufficient room for his five-sign word. The regularity of the punctuation, and particularly its presence after *do-qe-ja* seem to show that *do-qe-ja* is not intended as the last word of the heading. Headings often, though not invariably, omit punctuation after the last word: e.g. Un2.2, Vn20.2, An35.1, Sn64.1.12; contrariwise Cn3.2, Jn310.1, Cn328.1. That the presence or addition of punctuation and a

² M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents*, p. 167.

³ *Minoica*, p. 411 and note 11.



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smaller size would be thought sufficient to set off *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, or that its sense would be so inappropriate to line 1 that it would be taken as belonging to line 2 may be counted improbable. The scribe must have expected the reader to take the words of the heading without break or phrasing except that indicated after *Me-ta-pa* by the difference in height. The different size of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* would normally not even be noticed. The heading then was written and read as the present first line.

It is true that the word once beginning line 3 most probably was a continuation of the statement in line 2. Whether the one word now erased would have been followed by an ideogram or by other words cannot be guessed, unless we can discover what the word was. But it is clear that in the end the scribe accepted the five words ending in *ku-te-re-u-pi* followed by WOMAN 6 as a satisfactory statement. This must have been true at the time he wrote the ideogram and numbers unless, as seems possible, the erasure was made later. But in that case, if he had wished to add *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* before WOMAN there was sufficient room to write *ki-ri-te-* below and *-wi-ja* above in the space available in line 3, without compressing the signs more than they are now compressed. More likely he would have erased and rewritten the ideogram and numbers too, to give sufficient room.

It has also been suggested that the figure 6 after WOMAN in line 4 was changed to 13 to include the 7 recorded in lines 5 to 8. The words in lines 3 and 4 would then introduce the total (13) of all the WOMEN when the tablet was complete, and before the addition of lines 5 to 8 and the correction it would also have introduced the total (6)⁴. This seems quite likely.

We will then have a heading (line 1) and four entries all beginning *do-qe-ja*, all ending WOMEN *number*, all composed of two parts divided between *pa-te* and *ma-te-de* or *ma-te* and *pa-te-de*. This division can hardly be reflected in the position of the punctuation in lines 2 and 6. The interpretation of these texts as referring to the parentage of the women counted seems incontestable. It has not yet been said that sets of 3 or 6 sisters are impossible. The only questions not resolved are the meaning of *ku-te-re-u-pi*, and the relation of the word *do-qe-ja* to the rest of the statement. Tritsch feels that *ma-te-de ku-te-re-u-pi* is not

⁴ M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents*, p. 168; M. Lejeune, *Historia*, VIII, 1959, p. 132 and note 20.

a sufficient identification of the *ma-te*, and that an additional word (e.g. *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* or *do-e-ra*) is needed, especially if *ku-te-re-u-pi* is taken as locative-instrumental plural of **Ku-te-re-u*, a masculine ethnic⁵. With the other possibility, that it has an ablative force, either of the plural and an ethnic or of the singular of a place name in *-eus*⁶ the phrase can be complete as it stands, and equivalent in function to the *di-wi-ja do-e-ra* and *ka-ke-u* of lines 5, 6, and 7. At the same time the continuation begun in line 3 and abandoned could have specified further the occupation, origin, etc. of the *ma-te*. But if it was erased before the WOMAN was written it must be admitted that while it may have been a true description, it was in the context found to be not only superfluous but inappropriate since it was erased and not replaced.

The word *do-qe-ja* has been taken as the description of the WOMEN counted⁷. It has been taken as the dative of the name of a goddess to whom the women are offered⁸. It has also been taken in the phrase *do-qe-ja do-e-ro* or *do-e-ra* as the genitive of the name of the mistress of the *do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra* who are the fathers and mothers of the women, and this is surely correct⁹. By the simplest and most likely interpretation then *do-qe-ja* is the name of a goddess, otherwise unexampled. However, instead of this might be the title of a religious office, like the *i-je-re-ja* or the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* who in the Eb texts are the mistresses of *do-e-ro*. With *do-qe-ja* understood as the mistress, these entries have the simplest structure: the description in the nominative of the parent who is the *do-e-ro* or *do-e-ra* of *do-qe-ja*, connected by *-de* and a chiasmic order to the similar description of the other parent. It is remotely possible that the parents are the subject of whatever action involves the WOMEN, and is referred to or implied in the heading, but it is more likely that the nominative is independent. Very likely this interpretation of *do-qe-ja* should be argued further, and possibly it will not be generally accepted, but it will be assumed in what follows. We have then no description of these women, no occupation, no account of what they do or what is done to them, unless it appears in the heading, or in the entry of lines 3 and 4, if it is indeed a summary.

⁵ *Minoica*, p. 411 and note 11.

⁶ M. Lejeune, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne*, pp. 174, 177.

⁷ M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents*, p. 167.

⁸ F. R. Adrados, *Minos*, V, 1957, pp. 53-54.

⁹ L. R. Palmer, *Gnomon*, XXIX, 1957, p. 566.

The interpretation of *do-qe-ja do-e-ra e-qe-ta-i e-e-to te-re-te-we* has not proved easy. Can the report of the correction of an original *do-e-ro* to *do-e-ra* contribute anything to the discussion? It might if it could be decided how the error was made and when it was corrected. The possibilities are these. *A*. The scribe intended from the beginning to write *do-e-ra*, but wrote *-ro* instead, perhaps simply through a confusion of sound if it was dictated, or through a dittography of line 2 (cf. En74.6, where either explanation might fit), or by attraction to the gender of the *e-qe-ta-i* following. *B*. The scribe intended to write *do-e-ro*. If *A* is true the time of the correction hardly matters; the error could have been noticed after writing *C e-qe-ta-i*, *D* the other words, *E* WOMAN 6, or *F* when intending to add lines 5 to 8 or *G* after doing so. There would be no point to an attempt to interpret the words with *do-e-ro* for *do-e-ra*. But if *B* is true, the time of correction will matter, and an interpretation of the statement in the form *do-qe-ja do-e-ro ...* will be necessary, for the change will be a recognition by the scribe of a change in the facts to record. If the correction was made with the addition of lines 5 to 8 the increased numbers of WOMEN, or the diversity of their parentage, may be responsible. A motive for a change at other times is not recoverable.

One possible explanation for the erasure at the beginning of line 3 ought also be mentioned. As the text now stands the words in line 2 simply describe the parentage of the women, while those in lines 3 and 4 apparently indicate what they did or what was done to them. It is not impossible that at the moment when there was only one group of six women the scribe might have intended to express these two statements in one. The false start in 3 then might represent the first part of an equivalent to lines 3 and 4 rather than a further description of *ma-te* in line 2. In searching for a proper alternate way to express it, the scribe may have considered an expression beginning *do-qe-ja do-e-ro* before deciding that the present form was preferable.

Some of the interpretations proposed for lines 3 and 4 have assumed that either *do-qe-ja* or *do-e-ra* or both were resumed in the ideogram WOMEN, either as the objects of the action of the verb *e-e-to* or as the subject. The WOMEN must certainly enter into the syntax of any summary, just as they must be referred to or implied in the heading. But the writing of *do-e-ro* makes it more difficult to find mention of WOMEN among the words of lines 3 and 4, unless, that is, *do-qe-ja* in this and the other entries describes the WOMEN. But except for *do-e-ra* no other

word can easily refer to women. If *do-e-ro* was intentionally written the *do-e-ra* which replaced it could hardly have referred to these women. If *do-e-ro* was mistakenly written to identify the WOMEN who are the subject and the whole purpose of the tablet, the scribe must have made a remarkable mistake.

The persons involved in the summary then are: 1, *do-qe-ja*, the mistress of half the parents, and even further involved with the daughters if we may take as evidence her appearance in the heading; 2, the *do-qe-ja do-e-ra* (in place of the *do-qe-ja do-e-ro*), who are left as the most likely subjects of the verb *e-e-to*; 3, the *e-qe-ta-i*, whose function may be dative, instrumental, comitative etc., and 4, the WOMEN, who are most likely the object of the action. If a fifth person is involved in *te-re-te-we*, the whole account becomes complicated. If it is singular, room must be found in the statement for two datives. If it is plural it must be either the subject of the action itself, or in apposition to the subject. With *do-e-ro* this would present no difficulties of concord (or if the gender of the original *do-e-ro* were changed while it was forgotten to change the gender of *te-re-te-we* in agreement with it); with *do-e-ra*, *te-re-te-we* could hardly agree unless it were an agent noun without a distinct feminine form. But the suggestion that *te-re-te-we* is a place name avoids these difficulties.

If a precise interpretation of the whole text were possible, the discussion of the errors and corrections made by the scribe, and of his intentions at one or another stage would be superfluous. But for a general interpretation starting from the clearest entries in lines 2, and 5 to 8, one might argue that the likeliest occasion for an examination of the qualifications or parentage of these WOMEN will have been at a change in their status. The presence in emphatic positions of the words *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, known elsewhere in a religious context as a particular group of women, of *di-wi-ja do-e-ra*, of *do-qe-ja do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra*, and of *do-qe-ja* itself suggests that the occasion was religious, and connected with the worship of *do-qe-ja*. The most likely occasion then will be the initiation or candidacy for initiation of the WOMEN into the service of *do-qe-ja*. If the heading could indicate this (which would tend to show that they were to serve as *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* rather than as *do-e-ra*) the individual entries would report their qualifications, while lines 3 and 4 might indicate such things as the fact or the method of their selection or initiation, and the persons responsible for these things.

Such an interpretation seems to fit the form of the inscription and the probable meanings of the terms which have been considered here. But appropriate interpretations of the other words, *ke-ri-mi-ja*, *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, *e-e-to*, and *te-re-te-we* especially, must be agreed upon before this text can provide the evidence we hope for to apply to such problems as the social position, the official or religious functions, and the numbers of the *do-e-ro*, the *do-e-ro* of divinities, the *ka-ke-we*, the *e-qe-ta* and the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*.

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