ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 274. BAND

FLOREANT STUDIA MYCENAEA

AKTEN DES X. INTERNATIONALEN MYKENOLOGISCHEN
COLLOQUIUMS IN SALZBURG VOM 1.–5. MAI 1995

BAND II

Herausgegeben
von

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VERLAG DER
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
WIEN 1999

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"Kn02 – Tn 316"

"One of the most controversial of the Pylos tablets is **Tn 316**[1]. Its importance as evidence for Mycenaean religion has been discussed in many books and articles, and it has also been interpreted as evidence for a state of emergency at Pylos."[2]

"To celebrate a rite is to do something. There is nothing more difficult than imagining how something is done without going to see it. The spatial distribution of actors and actions, the layout of the space itself, the unfolding and organization of the series of movements, the atmosphere and geography of the rite – all are critical."[3]

"[W]e have virtually no discussion by any ancient writer of why temples were built in the form they were, why animals were sacrificed in the way they were, or why certain objects were dedicated to the gods and not others. Any attempt to make sense of all this information must impose a framework from the outside."[4]

When we try to interpret Pylos tablet **Tn 316**, we are faced with all of the normal problems that we have in interpreting evidence (iconographical, archaeological, textual, epigraphical) for ancient religion. In trying to understand what kind of document **Tn 316** is and why it was written and what it tells us about historical, economic, social, political and religious conditions, practices and activities contemporary with its being written, we need to establish a proper interpretive context and to reconstruct the message which

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[1] There is a long and rich bibliography on the subject of Pylos tablet **Tn 316**, culminating recently with A. SACCONI, "La tavoletta di Pilo Tn 316: Una registrazione di carratere eccezionale?", *Studies Chadwick*, p. 551–556; R. J. BUCK, "Mycenaean Human Sacrifice", *Minos* 24 (1989), p. 131–137; J. BLOMQVIST, "Till tolkningen av PY Tn 316", *Museum Tusculanum* 57 (1987), p. 50–60; D. D. HUGHES, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (1991), p. 199–202; and M. S. RUIPÉREZ & J. L. MELENA, *Los griegos micénicos* (1990), p. 193–195. The central study of the pinacological details of the tablet and its composition is: E. L. BENNETT, Jr., "PU-RO *vacant* (PY Tn 316.7–10, v. 13–.16)", *Colloquium Mycenaeum*, p. 221–234. It should be the starting point for any and all discussion of **Tn 316** and should be read with great care. I wish to thank here C. J. Ruijgh, A. Sacconi, and J. L. Melena for discussing with me in Salzburg elements of the text and its interpretation, and for alerting me to articles I had overlooked. My thinking about **Tn 316** in a serious way owes much to discussions with Stefan Hiller, Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Oswald Panagl in a Konversatorium on Mycenaean epigraphy and textual interpretation which I offered at the University of Salzburg in fall 1992 during my term as Fulbright Gastprofessor. I have also benefitted from discussing the text with the faculty and students of the Universities of Uppsala and Lund. I thank Jim Wright for giving me an earlier draft and updated page proofs of his important paper on Minoan-Mycenaean drinking ritual (*infra* n. 17). Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., provided me with the latest readings of **Tn 316** and also read an all but complete version of this paper in late December 1995. I am responsible, of course, for any shortcomings that remain herein. The reader is kindly requested to read this paper with the text and commentary of *PTT* I, p. 233–236, at hand (fig. 7).

[2] L. BAUMBACH, "An Examination of the Evidence for a State of Emergency at Pylos c. 1200 B.C.", *Res Mycenaeae*, p. 33. On the evidence for a state of emergency, see also J. T. HOOKER, "The End of Pylos and the Linear B Evidence", *SMEA* 23 (1982), p. 209–217.

[3] J.-L. DURAND, "Ritual as Instrumentality", *Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks* (M. DETIENNE *et al.* ed., 1989), p. 119.

[4] R. OSBORNE, *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and Its Countryside* (1987), p. 165.

the scribe was recording for the individuals who would eventually be making reference to the text, most likely himself and/or other administrators[5]. This necessarily involves us in proposing hypotheses about the particular historical circumstances and conditions under which the text was written and about Mycenaean religious practices, general and specific[6]. In studying **Tn 316** – and indeed all the Pylos tablets – we must keep in mind that it dates from the administrative period of the final destruction of the Palace of Nestor and then wonder whether the tablet is "exceptional" in nature and refers to any extraordinary activities or procedures that fall under the heading of "state of emergency". **Tn 316** also involves us in questions or problems of method and interpretation pertaining to such topics as human sacrifice, the hierarchy and relative standing or ranking of divinities within a culture in general and during a specific ceremonial event, and the exact nature of offerings to particular divinities.

Difficulties are also caused by assumptions made about the nature and importance of the document **Tn 316** itself and about the manner of its execution. Assumptions have been made about **Tn 316** not being a "fair copy text", about its "untidy execution" and its "unfinished state", about its being the "most disgraceful piece of handwriting to have come down to us"[7] and even its containing near the end the otherwise unparalleled use of "generic" or "filler" ideograms, to which the scribe resorted either because the text had to be written so hastily or because he simply tired of the task of recording information specifically[8]. Obviously we can only interpret the contents of such a tablet reasonably securely and reconstruct the events to which it refers, if we understand what the original purpose of the text was and why and how it was written.

I wish here to emphasize that we must interpret **Tn 316** within its proper archival context and especially within the work of H44, to which scribe another tablet is assigned: **Fr 1223** from oil storeroom 23 in the Palace of Nestor[9]. It is also important to inter-

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[5] Since the "audience" for whom any particular Linear B tablet was written would understand the occasion and purpose of the document and the background to it, given texts or groups of texts are often frustratingly shorthand. On the "encoded" nature and "text pragmatical" aspects of Linear B tablets, cf. J. CHADWICK, "The Use of Mycenaean Documents as Historical Evidence", *Colloquium Mycenaeum*, p. 21–33; and O. PANAGL, "Textual Features in the Linear B Tablets", *Colloquium Mycenaeum*, p. 313–322, esp. p. 314 on the "presuppositions" of, in this case, the *writer* of a message to an audience in a given social context.

[6] It is a special problem with the Linear B tablets to know to what degree we can generalize the information which individual tablets or series of tablets from one or several sites offer about a particular subject. This problem lies at the center of all of the evidence for the "state of emergency" hypothesis: e.g., to what degree are procedures such as those reflected in the collection of *ka-ko na-wi-jo* on PY Jn 829 regular and routine, or special and extraordinary. Cf. T. G. PALAIMA, "The Last Days of the Pylos Polity", *Politeia* (W.-D. NIEMEIER ed., 1995) [*Aegaeum* 12], p. 625.

[7] J. CHADWICK, *The Mycenaean World* (1976), p. 89–92, esp. p. 90: "Not only is it an isolated document, with no similar ones to match it; it is also the most disgraceful piece of handwriting to have come down to us.... The easiest explanation of this muddle is that the writer was trying to record the decisions of an unusually stormy meeting. But why did he not make a fair copy for storage in the archives and consign this draft to oblivion? The most likely answer is that he had no time; and that would make sense if the tablet were written within the last few days, perhaps the last few hours, of the existence of the palace. As we shall see later, this supposition fits well with what little we know about the fall of Pylos." The idea that **Tn 316** is the product of notes taken at a meeting as decisions were being proposed, considered, made and even changed is maintained by Chadwick in discussion in *Colloquium Mycenaeum*, p. 234: "The complicated story of this tablet can only be due to uncertainty on the part of the scribe about the exact form of his text, it looks much more like the jottings of a secretary listening to the discussion of a committee and trying to record the decisions reached following a variety of suggestions."

[8] J. CHADWICK, *Linear B and Related Scripts* (1987), p. 43: "Each deity is receiving a gold vessel, and since there are no less than thirteen of them, this can hardly be a regular ritual. The scribe began by drawing each cup differently, but as he went on he tired of this and used a simple conventional outline."

[9] For a discussion of the tablets of Hand 44, cf. *Scribes Pylos*, p. 108–110.

pret the text in relation to the fuller body of preserved records and the evidence they provide for an internal bureaucratic tablet chronology within the Palace of Nestor archives. The Pylos tablets were not written simultaneously, nor were they delivered to and processed within the central Archives Rooms at the same moment. I have argued elsewhere from find contexts and tablet contents that **Tn 316** was not the final tablet written or delivered to the main archival processing center of the Palace of Nestor, and that other tablets and series were brought to the Central Archives after **Tn 316** had been received there and filed as an acceptable record[10].

Here I shall concentrate on the textual history of **Tn 316** and eventually concentrate on key details of the text – how it came to be written, what its scribe H44 was trying to record, why he recorded what he did, and why he chose to write on a tablet of this condition – in an effort to understand more fully how the text has come to be interpreted and how we might improve our understanding of it as a central piece of evidence for Mycenaean religious practices. Such a brief study of the the history of scholarship concerning **Tn 316** will also make clear that some problems are caused more by the accretion of assumptions about the context and nature of the text and the tablet upon which it was written than by real difficulties with the text of **Tn 316** *per se*. I doubt whether certain of the questions regarding **Tn 316** will ever be solved, but I believe we can continue to make progress[11].

We should begin with E. L. BENNETT, JR., *The Pylos Tablets A Preliminary Transcription* (1951), p. 54, wherein the text now known as **Tn 316** was classified as **Kn02** (figure 1) because of the repeated occurrence in the text of the ideogram now identified as **141* AUR (gold). In 1951 the present *verso* was considered the *recto* because its text is much fuller, it contains multiple sections of entries, and it occupies almost the entire face of this side of the tablet. The present *recto* was identified as the *verso* because it contains a briefer text, and perhaps because the textual formatting of the eventual second section was taken as an indication that the scribe had either reached the end of the information he had to record, or had made a decision to end the text here. The signs written at the bottom right of this face in graffito fashion might also have contributed to the identification of this face as the back side of the finished record.

One other text was placed in this now abandoned **Kn** class: **Kn01** which is the tablet we now know as **Jo 438**. This association is significant, I believe, because from the beginning the two tablets were linked in interpretive reconstruction. After the decipherment, it became clear that **Jo 438** lists in its extant entries ca. 5 kg. total of gold from locales among the sixteen chief communities of the two major provinces into which the territory controlled by Pylos was administratively divided. The place names occur in a non-canonical order, and there is a variation in the procedure for designation of the individuals responsible for the gold in each location: individuals are designated by title, personal name, or not at all. The text is then connected with the "state of emergency" scenario because the quantities of gold are thought to be significant enough for a special situation, but insufficient for an annual levy[12]. This connection is made despite the

[10] Cf. PALAIMA (*supra* n. 6), p. 628–632, for a discussion of how after **Tn 316** was received, processed and filed in the Archives Rooms, other tablets, including the inventory of vessels and furniture upon the occasion of a royal appointment (**Ta** series), the list of commensual offerings to Poseidon by the chief dignitaries and social units in the community (**Un 718**) and the records of armor refurbishing (**Sh** series) were probably delivered to Room 7.

[11] A full and balanced discussion of alternative interpretations from the time of the decipherment until 1973 is found in *Documents*², p. 284–289 and 458–463.

[12] BAUMBACH (*supra* n. 2), p. 32

fact that we have no idea what the purpose for this register of quantities of gold opposite place names and individuals in the nominative case was[13]. Nor, if it is properly interpreted as a "levy", do we know what the levy was for or what individual(s) or institution(s) might have been the recipient(s).

The linking of **Jo 438** with **Tn 316** has led to the idea that perhaps the very gold being "levied" here was intended to be used in producing the 13 gold vessels listed on **Tn 316**[14]. Baumbach dismisses this idea on the grounds that the two tablets are nearly contemporary. This kind of argument – and even its dismissal – is problematical once we recognize that the extant tablets may date from a period of some 3, 4 or 5 months[15]. More telling, however, is the evidence of the archaeological record according to which the correlates in metal and stone for the "Minoan chalice" **216*^{VAS} on **Tn 316** date to MM III–LM I. The iconographic parallels are similarly early: "Camp Stool Frescoes" (LM I) and "Tiryns Ring" (LH I). In clay, the shape is attested in Cyprus and the Near East in the 13th century, and in chronologically unclear contexts at Mycenae and Pylos (Tholos III) that may argue for production as late as LH III B. Similarly the gold metallic correlates for the Mycenaean goblet **215*^{VAS} date to LH I–LH II (with an example in a probable LM III A burial context [of unknown date of manufacture] from tomb 14 at Zapher Papoura in Crete)[16]. The gold versions of these vessels may then be ceremonial heirlooms particularly associated with a tradition of socially important drinking rituals that came into practice during the formative period of Mycenaean palatial society and under the influence of the clearly attested use of the Minoan chalice in rituals in the Minoan neopalatial period[17]. Thus there would have been no contemporary production of such gold vessels whatsoever in which the gold on **Jo 438** could have played a part.

Since this first publication of **Tn 316**, the readings of the characters on **Tn 316** have not radically changed. We understand better now, thanks to the efforts of Olivier and Bennett[18] and the splendid detailed pinacological mini-treatise by Bennett[19], the process of writing on both sides of the tablet and the history of the text: e.g., **Kn02** *verso* is now seen clearly to be **Tn 316** *recto* and vice versa.

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[13] Theoretically one cannot rule out that the nominatives are in the way of rubrics and the gold here is somehow being inventoried as in the possession of these individuals.

[14] BAUMBACH (*supra* n. 2), p. 33. Cf. *Documents*², p. 359, where it is pointed out that the quantities of gold "contributed" here "fall within the range of weights shown by cups from the Mycenae shaft graves." Entry by entry the amounts of gold range from ca. 63 g. (four times) to 250 g. (most frequently: 8–10 times) to 1 kg. (one time). Given such a range of weights on the tablet **Jo 438**, it is difficult to know what the observation about the range of weights of vessels from the Shaft Graves really means. Alternatively, according to J. Chadwick (*supra* n. 7), p. 145, the gold might have been used "to finance a trade mission to acquire armaments or fighting men from elsewhere" or even as "Danegeld" to buy off attackers. The link here with **Tn 316** is the last-second "state of emergency" that gives rise to a special offering and a special levy.

[15] PALAIMA (*supra* n. 6), p. 629–631.

[16] *IDA*, pp. 212–216, 210–212.

[17] J. C. WRIGHT, "Empty Cups and Empty Jugs: The Social Role of Wine in Minoan and Mycenaean Societies", *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (P. MCGOVERN *et al.* ed., 1995), p. 287–309. Wright links the representations of these two types of drinking vessels on the "Campstool Fresco" from Knossos with the use of Minoan stone and clay ceremonial chalices found at Hagia Triada, Zakro and in the sanctuary at Syme. The adoption and adaptation of such vessels and ceremonies by the early Mycenaean chieftains would have enhanced their prestige in anthropologically attested ways: imported objects and rituals (and local versions thereof) being high status markers. Sacconi (*infra* n. 33) cleverly notes that the vessels would here be termed "gifts" because in the annual offering ceremony of these vessels from the palace to the various deities, the vessels would have been viewed as ceremonially "acquired by" the divinities as "gifts".

[18] *PTT* I, p. 233–236.

[19] BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 221–234. Textual discussion of **Tn 316** continues. Cf. Georg H. KNUTZEN, "PY Tn 316, recto 4: *ma-ṭẹ-ṇẹ-sa*, nicht *ma-ṇạ-sa*", *Kadmos* 24 (1995), p. 53–62, a thoroughly unconvincing exercise marked by unfamiliarity with the process of writing on clay.

We can begin to consider the history of interpretation of the text of **Kn02-Tn 316** with discussion in the letter which Michael Ventris wrote to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., dated December 4, 1950[20]. Note that in what is quoted here from Ventris's letter I indicate by transliteration within angle brackets, thus <*pu ro*>, signs which Ventris drew in Linear B in the original.

BEGIN QUOTATION

(xi) The apparent inflections in **Kn02** do enable some sort of dim pattern of syntax to emerge, and at the risk of merely missing rather widely what you've already scored a bullseye on, here's what it looks like to me:

(What we badly need is some sort of conventions for a diagrammatic translation – something halfway towards the final meaning, in which, when you say "house", you are understood to mean:"'house", or some other word in an analogous position in the syntax, probably a noun".

Rather the same sort of thing has been made use of by Pallottino to explain the construction of Etruscan religious inscriptions, disclaiming certainty on what the individual actions and objects actually mean.)

Kn02

Ignoring the introductory <*pu ro*> : –

1	The-workshop	of-"A" and-the-foreman	"B-"	
2	and-the-this and-that (standard in each paragraph). The foreman:			
3	1 silver bowl (2 women).			
4	The-workshop	of-"D"	and-of-"E"	and-of-"F"
5	and-the-this and-that.	The something (or an	introductory particle)	
	"D" :	1 silver bowl (1 woman).		
6	"E" :	1 silver bowl .	"F" : 1 silver bowl 1 woman) .	
7	"G" , epithet (not plural of <*a ke* > ?):	1 silver cup (1 man).		
8	The-workshop	of-"H"	(related somehow to "F"?) and-the-this	
	and-that.			
9	"H" :	1 silver bowl . (1 man) "I":	1 silver bowl (1 woman).	
10	"J"	("H" finished it):	1 silver bowl.	

Reverse

1	The-workshop,	of-"K"	and-the-this and-that.	
2	The-foreman "L" : 1 silver cup (1 woman).			
3	"M" : 1 silver bowl (1 woman);	"N":	1 silver	bowl (1 woman).
4	"O" : 1 silver cup.	"P" :	1 silver cup.	

[20] The Ventris-Bennett letters are part of the archival collection of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory in the Department of Classics of The University of Texas at Austin.

(xiii) Your explanation of the signs <VIR> and <MUL> in **Kn02** is probably the right one. The only question which puzzles me is why some of the items refer to cups alone, some to cups and figurines, but none to figurines alone. One possibility is that each craftsman was given a ration of metal for the day, and that if he had any over it would be made into figurines. I'm not enough versed in the technics to judge whether that makes sense.

When silver and gold cups were sent to Egypt as tribute, people went with them to carry them in procession, but that doesn't seem to have any bearing on **Kn02** since (i) it deals with fairly domestic details, apparently; (ii) there's no evidence that women took part; (iii) it shouldn't have needed two women to carry the cup in line 3.

The latter entry also knocks on the head the suggestion that the "man" and "woman" signs refer to segregated palace canteens for which the vessels are intended, or to their appropriate sizes. The only other possibility is that the figures are engraved on the vessels themselves.

Knowing as you do the whole range of the inscriptions, some of these suggestions may be evident bunkum.

Yours, Michael V.

END QUOTATION

If we take this as our point of departure for interpreting **Tn 316**, we can briefly summarize what has happened to its interpretation through time. Pre-decipherment, Ventris (and Bennett) were open to a broad range of possibilities (Ventris presents many options for interpretation here and alludes to others by Bennett). The text was interpreted with some reference to parallels from, and procedures used in, Etruscan religious inscriptions and Egyptian religious data. One paid attention to overall structure and repeated patterns. The theories here advanced explain the VIR and MUL ideograms as figurines (a use otherwise unattested, but reasonable considering the juxtaposition with the vase and "precious metal" ideograms), while Ventris entertains the notion that these ideograms refer to those who carry the tribute (or even to decorative figures on the vessels). The vase ideograms themselves are interpreted at face value. Since nothing is known of the "religious' lexical items, nor of the very word-unit for the site of Pylos, the text is considered to deal with "fairly domestic details." All in all, however, the process of study here is marked by caution, restraint, openness to alternative possibilities, ingenuity, and a minimum of overriding interpretive assumptions.

Post-decipherment, the importance of this text becomes obvious (cf. fig. 7). It is properly taken out of the "domestic sphere" and placed correctly into the "religious sphere" (the names for sanctuaries and deities) and "central palatial sphere" (*pu-ro* sectional header)[21]. The text gains further value when the metal ideogram is identified correctly as "gold" rather than "silver". It therefore is seen to be special even in the context of religious offerings. **Tn 316** then gets caught up very early in the "state of emergency" scenario and in varying hypotheses about elements and practices in Myce-

[21] The seminal treatments are by A. FURUMARK, "Ägäische Texte in griechischer Sprache", *Eranos* 52 (1954), p. 51–53, with translation into alphabetic Greek, and L. R. PALMER, "A Mycenaean Calendar of Offerings (PY Kn 02)", *Eranos* 53 (1955), p. 1–13. Cf. also the balanced laying out of alternative interpretations in *Documents*², p. 284–289.

naean/Minoan religion[22]. The most extreme result, of course, is the theory that the term *po-re-na* and the ideograms VIR and MUL refer to sacrificial victims. Then the condition and structure of **Tn 316** and manner of executing its text are viewed through that filter. Even Bennett's demonstration of how the text came into being and his whimsical theory that the layout of the text can best be explained by proposing that the scribe (Hand 44) went out to a wine-filled lunch between writing the *recto* and the *verso* – and therefore was hardly writing on the tablet in haste and terror as invaders arrived – have not been brought fully to bear on the interpretation of the text in subsequent treatments. Otherwise the implications of Bennett's pinacological observations have been undervalued or misunderstood (cf. reference to Buck *supra* n. 22)[23].

I have examined elsewhere[24] in detail some of the fragile underpinnings of the "state of emergency" scenario and how they have shaped our view of **Tn 316**. I shall not repeat all of my arguments and evidence here. Of specific concern for an understanding of **Tn 316**, however, are the following:

1. The month name *po-ro-wi-to-jo* has not been securely placed within the real calendar of Mycenaean Pylos. A month of sailing would also make sense in the mid-/late summer and study of texts dealing with wine and flax production and processing indicates that such a position for the month is acceptable in practical terms. Thus there is no need to imagine that Pylos is being attacked at the "opening of the sailing season" in March-April[25], an assumption which is based on interpreting documents like the rower and *o-ka* texts as responses to a specific anticipated emergency.

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[22] The "state of emergency" already figures in the discussion by Palmer (*supra* n. 21), p. 10: "The question now arises whether the offerings and rites of purification recorded in the tablet [Kn 02] were recurrent or were "einmalig" and occasioned perhaps by some great emergency. We should not forget the general context of these archives – the imminent destruction of the city. An awareness of the peril is suggested by the military dispositions recorded in An 43 [now An 519], the sacrifice of bulls in Cn 22 [now Cn 3], and perhaps the requisition of bronze for armaments in Jn 09 [now Jn 829]." Yet Palmer ultimately rejects this situation as an explanation for the writing of **Kn02-Tn 316**. By identifying *po-ro-wi-to-jo* as a month name and identifying *a-ke* and *i-je-to* as aorist passives connected with the roots of the later Greek words *hagnos* and *hieros*, Palmer, p. 12, concludes: "[T]he tablet is to be regarded as part of a ritual calendar, and the purification of the town was not an emergency measure." He cites the parallel of the Iguvine tablets in explaining why what then was known as the *recto* contains no specification of month name. Even now that we know the textual history of **Tn 316**, some scholars still fail to see the text as a continuous whole and to puzzle over the absence of a designated month name on **Tn 316** *verso*: e.g., BUCK, (*supra* n. 1), p. 131–137, esp. p. 136 n. 23 wherein he mistakenly refers to "Bennett's idea that **Tn 316** could refer to more than one incident: possibly the *recto* to one set and the *verso* to another set." His reference to BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), esp. p. 232 f., does not support the attribution of this notion to Bennett.

[23] The most conspicuous recent exception to this tendency is the article by A. SACCONI (*supra* n. 1) which argues against the activities on **Tn 316** being a response to an extraordinary event. By the time of the second edition of *Documents*[2] (1973), p. 458–464, Chadwick has accepted that the MUL and VIR must be sacrificial victims and that *po-re-na*, despite problems in identifying the precise Greek word it represents, must refer to these victims.

[24] See PALAIMA (*supra* n. 6), p. 623–633, for further discussion and references pertinent to the points reviewed here in brief.

[25] The year in various regions and communities of Greece in historical times, so far as we have information about it, begins at the most conspicuous observable points of the natural year: the spring equinox, the summer solstice, the first crescent moon following the fall equinox (rarely, but in Crete), and, in one known case, at the time of the winter solstice. That is, the sufficiently documented ancient Greek calendars begin in late March–early April, late June–early July, or late September–October. It is exceptional that the historical Boeotian calendar begins in late December–early January . If *po-ro-wi-to-jo* were the month in which the palace was destroyed, and the preserved texts record 3–5 months, either the Pylian year would have begun at an unusual time for later *polis* calendars, or we would have to posit that some texts are holdovers from the prior year.

2. Our preserved texts from Pylos probably cover at most 3-5 months of administrative activity[26], and there is no way to be certain, and even some reasons to think otherwise, that *po-ro-wi-to-jo* designates the final month among the attested temporal designations within the Pylos corpus.

3. Even if *po-ro-wi-to-jo* does designate the last recorded month, there is a strong possibility, as I have already mentioned (*supra* n. 10), that the information on **Tn 316** was not written in the final days or hours of the palace, but that some fairly routine items were subsequently recorded (e.g., the **Sh** tablets found in Room 7, grid *52*).

4. Texts like **Jn 829** and the rest of the **Jn** series need not be interpreted as special emergency measures. There are parallels for the handling of sanctuary metals from historical times that would support **Jn 829** being a regular procedure for desanctification of such material[27]. The quantities of bronze on **Jn 829** are not the result of a desperate need for the defense of the community, in which case one might have expected requests by the central authority for much greater and less proportional quantities site by site. The **Na** series also indicates that flax production and handling in the territory of Pylos was at full levels, not disrupted by any crisis[28].

Let us now consider **Tn 316** without the assumption that the reason for its being written was a "state of emergency", and even being highly skeptical about such an hypothesis[29]. The Palace of Nestor was destroyed, but let us proceed, as we have argued above, by positing that our texts do not offer strong evidence that there was a specific anticipated crisis for which the palace was adopting, and recording, special measures. Let us also try to recapture the viewpoint of the scribe (H44) in his historical setting. Here are some major points to consider:

a. In its archival context, the text of **Tn 316** is complete and acceptable as the processed and filed end result of normal scribal work. The experimentation with formatting on **Tn 316** is paralleled in tablet **Fr 1223** written by Hand 44 (as well as in the work of other scribes at Pylos). The scribe was using for **Tn 316** a tablet on which he himself had begun, and erased, another text which began with information not contained in the final record as we possess it. The final record might in fact be so experimental because the scribe was concerned with devising on a palimpsestic tablet of his own the best method for laying out important information that would eventually be transferred to a record in some other medium, wherein economy of layout would be essential. **Tn 316** might then both rely on preliminary single entry documents referring to the offerings to individual deities or at individual sanctuaries[30] and itself be preliminary with regard to a final document written on costly ephemeral materials. What was important then was that **Tn 316** contain all the necessary information and eventually indicate how to record it in an

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[26] "Month" names (or other references to specific chronological periods) in the texts: *po-ro-wi-to* ("in the month of sailing"): **Fr 1218**, **Fr 1221**, **Fr 1232**, **Tn 316**. *me-tu-wo ne-wo* ("in the period of the festival of the new wine"): **Fr 1202**. *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* ("in the month of *Sphagianes*", i.e., in a month derived from the name of a chief religious district): **Fr 1224** (here the offering of oil is to Poseidon); *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* ("in the period of the festival of the strewing of the couch"): **Fr 1217**, **Fr 343**. Forms such as *di-pi-si-we-wi-jo* (**Fr 1217**) can be classified as festival names used with the purpose of temporal designation.

[27] See T. LINDERS, "The Melting Down of Discarded Metal Offerings in Greek Sanctuaries", *Scienze dell' Antichità* 3–4 (1989–1990), p. 281–285, for a treatment of the regular procedures for the recycling of precious metals from old religious dedications in the Hellenistic period. Such metals could be melted down into ingots under the supervision of commissions made up of officials whom we would classify as "secular" and "religious". The potential parallels with **Jn 829** are clear.

[28] PALAIMA (*supra* n. 6), p. 626 n. 15.

[29] Even if a "state of emergency" existed, routine operations and annual ceremonial activities (especially in the "religious" sphere) would not necessarily cease, nor cease to be recorded.

[30] BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 233.

economical layout. **Tn 316** satisfies these requirements, as the very fact that it was accepted and stored in the central archives indicates. It did not need to be a "fair copy" text – an anachronistic notion. Nor did the scribe need to go back and correct what to him and other administrators would have been mostly self-correcting mistakes and slips (e.g., the omission of *ke* in *a-ke* in *verso* .5 and possibly of *jo* in *i-pe-me-de-ja-qe* in *verso* .4).

b. The absence of Poseidon as a recipient in this document is not an indication that the record is incomplete. Major ceremonies and activities concerned with Poseidon are registered on other tablets, including **Un 718** which speaks of future offerings (*do-se*) which will be made to Poseidon.

c. The scribe might have made an attempt, in the course of entering information, to transfer the information from the *recto* into the blank section on the *verso* (v.13–.v.16 or v.12–v.16). He eventually thought better of this.

d. All ideograms on **Tn 316** are used specifically and precisely, and not generically.

e. The "human being" ideograms can plausibly be interpreted as Sacconi has most recently interpreted them, "sacerdoti e sacerdotesse" and perhaps as bearers of the vases, despite the proportion of 13 vases to 10 human beings, and the listing of four deities without any associated human beings.

f. There might well be a hierarchy of divinities by tablet section and the vases being offered to specific deities might have an established cultic significance. There is no reason to be troubled by the listing of Zeus, Hera, and the "son" of Zeus in the final section of the tablet, nor about their being offered simple bowls (**213*^{VAS}). Zeus and his "family" were simply not the main focus of the ceremonies at Pylos on this particular occasion.

Point **a** is based on some further considerations of Bennett's study of the text-in-making (*supra* n. 1) and on a comparison of **Tn 316** with the other tablet attributed to the same scribal Hand: **Fr 1223**. Our discussion here will also involve points **b** and **c** and other points as well.

Compare *recto* section 1 of **Tn 316** (lines .2–.3 in figs. 2 and 6) with tablet **Fr 1223** (figure 4)[31]. **Fr 1223** is an unexceptional – one almost wants to say banausic or pedestrian – text among the Fr tablets from the oil storerooms at Pylos. It records distributions of sage-scented and rose-scented oil to the site of *ti-no*. Therefore, any of the features which indicate how the scribe went about writing this mundane tablet should be attributed to the scribe's normal and characteristic tendencies, and not to the effects of any external factors or events. On **Fr 1223**, the scribe experiments with formatting in order to achieve a completely acceptable and normal two-line text within the **Fr** series. He writes the introductory place-name *ti-no-de* in majuscule signs in order to distinguish this important element of the economic message. This parallels the practice of the large-scale *pu-ro* which heads each section of **Tn 316** (and which headed the original attempt at a two-line section in *recto* .2–.3). We should also note that the scribe in **Fr 1223** shows a preference for the allative form of a place name to mark the movement of the commodity to a locale. This would make it somewhat less likely that *pu-ro* in **Tn 316** somehow serves either proleptically (as a dative-locative) or otherwise (taking *pu-ro* somehow as an accusative of limit of motion) in connection with the introductory *i-je-to-qe* (if it were to be taken as related to ἵημι and not to ἱερός)[32].

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[31] The reader should consult from this point onward the layout drawings of **Tn 316** in figs. 5 and 6. See also PALAIMA (*supra* n. 6), plate LXXIVc (**Tn 316**) and LXXIVd (**Fr 1223**).

[32] Cf. C. J. RUIJGH, "D'Homère aux origines proto-mycéniennes de la tradition épique", in J.P. Crielaard ed., *Homeric Questions* (1995), p. 57 and n. 207, for a discussion of such accusatives with expressed verbs of displacement in Homer and, according to Ruijgh, in **Tn 316** v.1: *a-ke-qe wa-tu*.

The scribe of the **Eb** series (H41) at Pylos uses enclitic *-qe* as a syntactical marker within the formulaic bookkeeping structure of his records. It separates the entry of the individual who holds land and his/her title/occcupation from the formulaic phrases which specify the nature of the landholding. These in turn are separated by a space from the entry of the quantities of GRA involved (e.g., **Eb 1188**). It is helpful to see H44 working in the same way on **Fr 1223** where *qe* otherwise unnecessarily links the second entry with the first in **Fr 1223**.2 *wo-do-we-qe*. He does this also on **Tn 316**. In the days before the decipherment of Linear B, Ventris, by being limited to observations about formatting syntax, identifiable ideograms, and repeated sign-groups, noted this in his 1950 letter. We can now translate:

"(This is happening) *at Pylos*. AND he (or Pylos)[33] is performing a sanctification ceremony, *at Sphagianes*, AND (it is) gifts, he (or Pylos) is bringing, AND he (or Pylos) is leading *po-re-na*, to *po-ti-ni-ja* GOLD **215*^{VAS} 1 WOMAN 1."

Compare **Eb 1188** (H41):

"(This record concerns) *to-wa-te-u*, of Amphimedes, the *do-e-ro* , AND he holds *o-na-to* , *ke-ke-me-na* , *ko-to-na* , so much seed BARLEY T-unit 8."

It is perhaps relevant to observe also that H44 falls into the palaeographical class of which H41 is the principal attested scribe. This tendency toward a compartmentalized bookkeeping syntax *could* be a habit acquired pedagogically. We should also note that the technique and tendency of H44 to highlight important entries – and even to emphasize syntactical relationships – by variation in sign height is paralleled on **Tn 316** r. 2-.3, where besides the introductory *pu-ro* written large, the divinity *po-ti-ni-ja* in r.3 is marked out in smaller signs than both the preceding verb *a-ke* and the following ideograms AUR **215*^{VAS} and MUL (cf. **Fr 1223**.1 and also *do-po-ta* on **Tn 316** r.5).

On **Fr 1223**, after *ti-no-de*, H44 was next going to describe the oil as *pa-ko-we* , *we-a-re-pe*. However, he changed his mind and erased *pa*. He then wrote the word *e-ra-wo* of intermediate height. He then wrote *pa-ko-we* , *we-a-re-pe* at smallest height, and concluded his first entry with the ideogram, metrical sign, and numerical entry at the size of the majuscule *ti-no-de*. Having taken the time to erase and then to write the word for "olive oil" in line .1, despite the fact that it would have been clear from the ideographic entry alone, the scribe then proceeds to his second entry. The

[33] For the non-specification of subject in Linear B texts, cf. J. T. KILLEN, "Observations on the Thebes Sealings", *Mykenaïka*, p. 375–376. The parallels are **MY Ue 661** (and **TH Wu 89** and **MY Oi 703**.3). BLOMQVIST (*supra* n. 1), p. 56 nns. 35–36, gives parallels from Greek and Hittite ritual texts for the use of an indefinite 3rd person subject. In **MY Ue 661**, Killen speculates that the missing subject would be a palace official (perhaps the *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u*) responsible for bringing commodities out of the palace stores on the occasion of a banquet. Again we should note that **Tn 316** would involve the same kind of procedure: bringing precious vessels out of the palatial stores on a ceremonial occasion. Cf. SACCONI, *Studies Chadwick*, p. 553: "I vasi d'oro che venivano portati nell'annuale processione rituale appartenevano probabilmente al tesoro sacro del Palazzo e sono definiti *do-ra*, cioè "doni", nel senso di offerte votive fatte in precedenti occasioni alle divinità e come tali acquisite al tesoro sacro." Another alternative to positing a missing subject is to take the singular *a-ke-qe* , *wa-tu* in line v.1 as a specification by the scribe that the *wastu* of Pylos is meant to be the collective actor in the ceremony throughout. This would be in the way of clarifying what the scribe had left unspecified on the *recto*. Having inserted this in the heading line of the *verso* (cf. *e-ra-wo* on **Fr 1223**) he might have felt no need to repeat it throughout. The *-qe* in the phrase again would serve as a syntactical slotting device: "AND (I hereby clarify that it is) the *wastu* (who) leads." A third approach is represented by M. LEJEUNE, "Sur le vocabulaire économique mycénien", *Mycenaean Studies*, p. 106 n. 88, who takes *pu-ro* as the collective subject for all the verbs. Lejeune takes the phrase *a-ke-qe wa-tu* here as a parenthetical explanatory introductory phrase: *arkhei te wastu* with *a-ke* from the verb ἄρχω: "Pylos met en mouvement une procession, et le *wa-tu* vient en tête..., et (Pylos) apporte... et amène."

second line is linked to the first by the enclitic conjunction *qe* which "introduces" the description of OLE in the second entry: *wo-do-we-qe we-a-re-pe*. The entries in both lines are parallel (if one takes, as one must, *ti-no-de* and *e-ra-wo* as part of the global heading information). They are not, however, arranged in alignment on the tablet. The majuscule place-name and intermediate-size specification of *e-ra-wo* which introduce the first entry are not repeated in line .2. They actually introduce the entire record and must serve for both entries, just as in **Tn 316** r.4-.5 further information belonging to the first entry is written and let stand on the lines, although their formatting (continuous rule lines all the way to the *lat. sin.*) might make it appear ambiguous, at first glance, whether this information actually does belong to the first entry[34].

On **Tn 316** *recto* .2-.10, H44 experiments with setting up two-line sections roughly equivalent to the arrangement on **Fr 1223**, whereby the place name would stand in majuscule and serve as a header for the pair of lines that follow. However, in this opening section (r.2-r.5) the place name is reserved in its own space on lls. r.2-r.3, an improvement over **Fr 1223** (and paralleled on other tablets by Hands 43, 21, and 26[35]). Even that proves inadequate as the entries pertinent to this "header" run beyond the two-line space (r.2–r.3) and over into the second two-line space (r.4–.5)[36]. Thus there is ambiguity – not insurmountable, but somewhat undesirable – on **Tn 316** r.2–.5, just as with the place name *ti-no-de* and *e-ra-wo* on **Fr 1223**. In neither case (**Tn 316** r.2–.5 or **Fr 1223**) does the scribe "line up" the ideograms, as is often done by more meticulous scribes in fuller lists. On **Tn 316**, the scribe attempts to "correct" this formatting shortcoming in lls. .7–.10, but the original ruling into 2-line sections makes the whole rather unattractive. We should note, however, that he anticipated the need for four lines in his second "paragraph".

Dissatisfied with how this arrangement was turning out, H44 turned tablet **Tn 316** to the *verso* (figs. 3, 5 and 6) and formatted relatively neatly, now that he had acquired a sense of the scale which his sections would have to have in order to accommodate the information with which he was working. My own feeling is that he created the sixth and now blank section of the tablet (the fourth on the verso) out of the same impulse that made him rule the *recto* into only 4 sections, which meant that he left blank a good portion of the *recto* tablet surface. His experience made him anticipate that four was a reasonable number of sections to start with, in trying to enter the information at hand.

On the *verso* of **Tn 316**, H44 experimented with clever shortcut expedients. For example, he clusters the three sanctuaries and deities in section 2 (lines v.4–.6) and thus avoids having to repeat the lexical formula two more times. He even perhaps saved a third repetition of the formula by appending Hermes to this section. He then had the idea to use the section which ultimately remained blank at the end of the *verso* (v.13–.16) to transfer the information recorded in the first section of the *recto*. In the end he resisted this temptation, because it would have caused more disturbance to the hierarchically arranged information than the current product which employs two sides of the tablet. I think one can argue that he had this impulse by reference to the number of lines devoted to this section and by noting the unusual *angustum* v. 12. The scribe did not use an *angustum* to separate *verso* section 1 from *verso* section 2 or *verso* section 2 from *verso* section 3. v.12 is equivalent I think to r.1. It was a slot for the month designation. The

[34] I also think the same carry-over of information from line to line, applies section to section and face to face. Therefore, there is absolutely no need for the scribe to repeat the month name *po-ro-wi-to-jo* on the *verso*. It is listed already as the header for what he viewed as a continuous running text. See below on ⟦*pe*⟧ under *i-je-to-qe* on line v. 1.

[35] BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 233.

vacat in v.11 would have separated the 3rd from the 4th *verso* section, and it provided a means by which *po-ro-wi-to-jo* could be clearly distinguished[37].

This series of observations about the text-in-the-making argues against the idea that this final section was left incomplete when the terror-stricken scribe was forced to stop writing because of the emergency events at hand. A corollary then is that the last section was not intended to be used for an entry to Poseidon that might have been omitted in the first section of the *verso*, which deals with the sanctuary of Poseidon (*po-si-da-i-jo*). Poseidon is a major divinity at Pylos (cf. Pylos series **Es**, **Eq**, **Fr** and tablets **Un 6**, **853**, and **718**) and we might expect him to be listed in relation to so important a religious ceremony. His female counterpart occurs in association with *po-ti-ni-ja* on the *recto*, and two female deities (named, significantly for the cult of Poseidon, "she of the tresses" and "she who is bovine") are recorded here in the sanctuary of Poseidon (v.1–.3). But our expectations may not have any basis. We can suspect, if the tablet order of entries is in any way hierarchical, that ceremonies to *potnia* and female divinities were primary during the events recorded on **Tn 316**. Until the final section concerning the sanctuary of Zeus, sections are headed by female deities. In these sections, following the female deities, somewhat "obscure" male deities are recorded in subordinate position. It is also worth noting that the three male "deities" with whom only vessels (and no human beings) are associated (*ti-ri-se-ro-e*, *do-po-ta* and *di-ri-mi-jo*) all are listed in the last position in their sections and thus subordinate to other major "deities" within their specific locales[38]. We should also note that Poseidon is taken care of elsewhere in the 3–5 months of tablets we possess from the site of Pylos, including on such tablets as **Un 6**, from the tablet storeroom, Room 8, and on tablet **Un 718**, which was found exceptionally in grid *83* in the "arrival room" of the Archives Complex. This area contained other important texts like the **Ta** series. **Un 718** speaks of future contributions (*do-se*) to be made to Poseidon from important figures and institutions in the Pylos community. Poseidon then was being taken care of in other ways and we need not see his absence here as surprising or as evidence that the record was incomplete and abandonned.

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[36] If Hand 44 is working from simple preliminary documents which only specify in bookkeeping slots *pu-ro* / place name of sanctuary / deity recipient / ideogram(s) / numeral(s), as BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 233, hypothesizes, it is possible that he decided, after he had started, to conglomerate here more information from the preliminary documents than he initially intended or anticipated. This produced the anomalous format.

[37] BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 234, suggests that the scribe might have begun to enter *i-je-to-qe* , *pa-ki-ja-si* on this line from section 1 of the *recto*, having forgotten that he had entered this on the front side of the tablet. It would be preferable to imagine rather that the scribe began with a conscious intention to enter this information again, so as to produce a complete text on the *verso* face. This would explain why he began this entry in the odd line .12. He would have known that the information on the *recto*, if recorded in the same form, might be difficult to accommodate in a section of four lines which did not extend across the tablet. This impulse – or rather as I think the impulse to reproduce the first section even including the month name header for the entire text here in an appropriate "header" line – undoubtedly took hold only after he had managed to compress so much information into section 2 of the verso. It was then almost in the way of an afterthought. He abandonned it when he realized that it would play havoc with the ordered arrangement of sanctuaries and deities and/or would leave the dating entry in an inconspicuous position.

[38] In the second section of the *verso* Hand 44 aims at compressing information by clustering and seriating the sanctuaries and deities within the standard lexical formula. This causes him to make mistakes and adopt palaeographical expedients: possible omission of *jo* in *i-pe-me-de-ja-qe* in v.4, omission of *ke* after *a* in v.5, omission of word-divider in *pe-re-po-re-na-qe* in v.5, and the monographic joining of the vessel and gold ideograms after *i-pe-me-de-ja* in v.6. It is worth then considering whether he has not accidentally, i.e., unintentionally, omitted MUL 1 in the *i-pe-me-de-ja* entry in v.6, in which case all female deities on the tablet would have an associated MUL.

So far then we may conclude that, from a palaeographical and archival perspective, **Tn 316** is acceptable scribal work, exhibiting the same tendency to experiment at format and formulae and to invent tachygraphic procedures that is seen in the other tablet attributed to Hand 44 and in fuller series by other scribes at Pylos[39]. To those who worry why such information as this would be left on a two-sided palimpsestic tablet and in a clearly structurally experimental arrangement, we can only say that the filing of the text in Room 8 indicates that the text was judged acceptable as an instrument to document and recall the activities and materials and persons involved in these ceremonial activities. We should not let exaggerated and improbable notions about the uniqueness of this ceremonial occasion and untenable ideas about the costly production of 13 sacred vessels that were probably heirlooms used again and again to lead us to construct unnecessary scenarios for the writing of **Tn 316**. Nor then should we introduce notions about the need here for a "fair copy" text of such a record. The tablet and its text must be viewed within its contemporary administrative setting. Lastly, one might add that the use of ephemeral materials by Mycenaean scribes for the keeping of important information from year to year has long been posited on the basis of sign shapes and administrative necessities. Might we not then consider the experimentation by H44 on **Tn 316** – much of which is aimed at streamlining and compressing the information at hand (*supra* n. 36) into a single side of information – to be an attempt by the scribe in rough draft to work out a scheme for writing this infomation on costly hide or papyrus?

I wish to make a few final pinacological observations that bear upon the history of the text and its interpretation, as outlined above. I mentioned in *a* above that the scribe here was reusing a tablet that he had begun to use for other purposes. We can deduce this from the fact that the *recto* surface is palimpsestic and from the fact that the original and now erased ruling (lines α, β, γ in Bennett's analysis) at the beginning of the *recto* has the same peculiar angled orientation as rule lines J, ci and cii which Hand 44 drew at the top of the eventual *verso* (fig. 5). This habitual manner of drawing rule lines would indicate that even before H44 used **Tn 316** for its surviving and last text, he had used it previously for another text. The fact that the now erased line β began with *ka*-[which nowhere occurs on our extant text indicates that the scribe was originally using **Tn 316** for a different record-keeping task, for which a tablet of this size was undoubtedly devised. He then decided to erase the original text and to try to accommodate the final text of **Tn 316** to the tablet. This in itself might explain some of the anomalous trials and errors and omissions. We should recall that in compiling texts based on preliminary documents, scribes often experiment with the size and shape of the tablets and with the formats and formulae of the texts[40]. Bennett has demonstrated that by the third section of the *verso* of **Tn 316** the scribe, through experimentation, has "perfected" the arrangement of information[41].

By opting to use a large page-shaped tablet which lay at hand, but was originally intended for another purpose, H44 essentially guaranteed that he would have difficulties in finding the proper layout for this record-keeping task. His experimentation as he wrote the text, if not understood in context, makes **Tn 316** appear to some modern eyes like a deplorable piece of work. In fact, it was a fine and satisfactory exercise in recording information and in devising ultimately a layout for that information. It was delivered to and stored in the central archives. I think it is at least possible that the scribe was willing to settle for this kind of tablet and this kind of end result because he viewed the

[39] *Scribes Pylos*, p. 38, 101.
[40] Cf. especially the **Eo** (H41) and **Ep** (H1) series at Pylos.
[41] BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 232.

information hereon as preliminary to eventual transcription onto a document of ephemeral material for longer storage. I must stress again, however, that most of the questions which arise for us about the events described on this tablet would never have arisen for the original "readership" of **Tn 316**. The scribal administrators knew the meanings of critical terms which we find puzzling: *po-re-na*, *i-je-to*, *a-ke*. They understood what was implicit in the formatting syntax of a tablet. They would have known and identified easily the probable theonym which follows *qo-wi-ja* in v.3 and then the relationship of *ko-ma-we-te-ja* to these two entries. They would have been familiar with the information that must be understood section to section (certainly *po-ro-wi-to-jo*, and perhaps even *a-ke-qe wa-tu*). They would have understood how to construe *pu-ro* (as a dative/locative specification of place *or* as a nominative subject for the verb forms in the standard formula). The tablet would have provided them in every section with *all* the information the record needed to convey:

1. the nature of the ceremonies;
2. the locations where the ceremonies were taking place;
3. the materials and "sacristans" involved;
4. the deities who were the recipients.

They would certainly have understood the precise implications of the *a-ke-qe* , *wa-tu* phrase added to the lexical formula in v.1. None of the small spelling slips would have caused any problems. The final text is not defective or wanting in any way.

Secondly, we might also propose that the original text under the *i-je-to-qe* on **Tn 316** v.1 betrays an aborted attempt at further experimentation with the entries. The sign originally written under *i* was either ‖*e*‖ or ‖*pe*‖[42]. Bennett eventually opts for ‖*e*‖ as a simple misspelling of the initial *i*, but he had entertained the notion that "one might suppose an anticipation of either *pe-re* or *pe-re-*82* from the immediate context."[43] I would prefer the last and suggest that the scribe here had the impulse to list in the three lines of this first *verso* section the three deities and religious sanctuaries and the offerings to them that begin section 2 of the *verso*. This would mean that the scribe did not pause for any great length of time between stopping to write on the *recto* and turning to the *verso*. His first impulse would have been, as on **Fr 1223**, to understand from the previous entry (on the *recto*) information that does not have to be repeated: the month name and the formulaic statement of the ritual activities taking place. He might then have begun to write, following the simple pattern of his preliminary texts:

	pe-re-*82-jo , pe-re-*82 AUR **213*^{VAS} MUL 1
PU-RO	i-pe-me-de-ja-jo , i-pe-me-de-ja AUR **213*^{VAS} <MUL 1>
	di-u-ja-jo , di-u-ja AUR **213*^{VAS} MUL 1.

He would have stopped doing this either because he judged that the full formula which lay on the recto might be overlooked and so needed to be repeated here (? with the addition of the clarification that the *wastu* was the subject?), or because he decided that the sanctuary of Poseidon should be registered following the entry for the district of *pa-ki-ja-si* and for *po-ti-ni-ja* and associated deities.

This leads us directly to point *d*. **Tn 316** lists three kinds of gold vessel[44]:

213*: a simple small bowl, attested in clay versions on fragmentary **KN K 7353 (perhaps 10 in number) and **Uc 160** v. 3 along with amphorae and *u-do-ro*;

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[42] BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 228.
[43] BENNETT (*supra* n. 1), p. 234 and 228.
[44] Cf. *IDA*, p. 183–185; 210–216.

**215*: a cup with small handles, only here in the Linear B texts, but archaeologically similar to gold cups from Grave Circle A at Mycenae and tomb 1 at Zapher Papoura;

**216*: a chalice, again only here in Linear B, with archaeological correlates in stone from MM III–LM I in Crete, Thera, Zakro and Kea and in metal from the Shaft Graves.

There are a number of interpretive problems related to these offerings. If these were yearly offerings requiring the annual production of such precious vessels, we would have to try to measure the social/economic cost of manufacturing and donating them. The same problem would exist, if these were once-only offerings in a crisis. Recall that the 5 kg. of gold on **Jo 438** is our only other good measure of the availability of this metal at Pylos. However, the archaeological correlates for these vessels in gold and in stone date some four to two centuries before the destruction of the Palace of Nestor, and Wright has explained the social background for the adoption and adaptation of drinking rituals by the Mycenaean elite in the same period. It is very likely then that the vessels here are heirlooms used repeatedly in the yearly ceremonies detailed on **Tn 316**.

The vocabulary used on **Tn 316** is not that of such texts as those of series **Es**, **Ma**, **Na** and **Ng**, and on tablets **Un 267** and **Un 718** at Pylos. In those tablets, both in "secular" contexts like taxation payments and delivery of perfume ingredients and in "religious offering" contexts (especially **Un 718**), noun and verbal forms relating to the Mycenaean verb *di-do-si* make explicit and clear that goods are exchanged from the possession and control of one party or entity to the possession and control of another party or entity. In **Tn 316** we have verb forms specifying ceremonial activity (*i-je-to*: either "send" or "perform a sacred ceremony"; *pe-re*: "bring, carry"; *a-ke*: "lead" or "make holy" and on v.1 perhaps "lead") and the noun *do-ra* ("gifts") which clearly describes the vessels. As mentioned above, I believe that Sacconi (*supra* n. 33) is correct in taking this term to mean that these precious vessels, which are likely heirlooms, were transferred on this occasion in a ceremonial sense from the palatial stores to the sanctuaries and deities to whom they are brought. They are thus called "gifts". Since the vocabulary on **Tn 316** is descriptive of a procession, a performance, and the vessels are likely heirlooms, we need not *assume* that the vessels and human beings are part of permanent gifts to the deities[45]. The palace would be just as concerned to have a record that precious vessels were being taken from its treasuries to be used in ceremonies during the month designated *po-ro-wi-to*, even if these vessels were to be returned. All in all then there is no compelling reason to believe that such vessels in such numbers could not be part of a regular festival within the Pylian sacred calendar.

What, however, are we to make of the fact that Zeus, Hera and *Drimios* in the last section of **Tn 316** are offered mere bowls (along with *ma-na-sa*, female Poseidon, *Iphemedeia*, female Zeus, and *pe-re-*82*), while the "Minoan" chalices (**216*) are brought to the "Thrice-hero" and Hermes Areias and "Mycenaean" handled goblets (**215*) to *Potnia*, to *qo-wi-ja* and X [somehow "of" *ko-ma-we-te-ja*(?)] jointly (see *infra* n. 46), and to *do-po-ta*? Should this cause us consternation to the point where we must resort to *ad hoc* hypotheses, such as that the scribe became tired and therefore in his last 3 entries simply wrote **213* to stand generically for VASE? Such a proposal is as unnecessary as it is internally illogical. Such "generic" use of ideograms, especially in the context of an ideographically mixed text, is without any good parallel. Moreover, it depends on the assumption that Zeus cannot receive a "lower-grade" offering, even during a ceremonial

[45] In Roman Catholic rituals, altar boys carry various items of sacred paraphernalia at ceremonies such as the stations of the cross, Good Friday services, Easter, All Saints Day, the Feast of the Assumption, First Communion, Confirmation. The priests carry sacred goblets, the sacristans ritual plates to protect the host from falling. All these individuals and articles could be inventoried for a specific ceremony in a way that would very much resemble *mutatis mutandis* **Tn 316**.

occasion that otherwise clearly emphasizes primary feminine divinities. This emphasis on the female is made clear by the following:

a. The district of *pa-ki-ja-ne* is listed first on the text and *po-ti-ni-ja* is the first divinity in the list, and she receives a Mycenaean goblet.

b. Poseidon, who is the major male Messenian deity in the Pylos tablets and Homeric tradition, is absent from the text, although rituals are performed in his sanctuary to two minor female deities.

c. In sections 1 and 3, male deities are registered in subordinate position to female.

It is uncontestable that Zeus is the major deity in pan-Hellenic historical Greek religion (cf. especially his prominence in the *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*). Yet this does not prevent historical *poleis* from organizing state cult around other deities in the Greek pantheon (cf. Athena and Athens), nor does it mean that all the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries focus on his cult. Moreover, Zeus' primacy, prehistoric and historical, need not apply to all ceremonial occasions. By making such an assumption for the particular ceremonial event which **Tn 316** records, we are running the very risk concerning which we quoted Osborne at the outset (*supra* n. 4): the risk of imposing our own framework upon prehistoric "religious" evidence.

If we allow the text to speak for itself, it reveals a fairly clear hierarchical arrangement moving from the primary documented Pylian religious district *pa-ki-ja-ne* in the first section (wherein *Potnia* takes pride of place and perhaps pride of object **215*) to the sanctuary of Poseidon, wherein the two minor female divinities *qo-wi-ja* and *ko-ma-we-te-ja* (see *ko-ma-we-te-ja* along with *po-ti-ni-ja*, *e-ma-a₂*, *e-ra*, and *di-u-ja-wo* in the **TH Of** series) alone are fully legible[46].

We then proceed to the sanctuary of *pe-re-*82*, perhaps to the sanctuary of *i-pe-me-de-ja*[47], and then to the sanctuary of *di-u-ja*. Next we come to Hermes who is not explicitly associated with his own sanctuary. There are two reasonable explanations for his position here. Given his extraordinary nature as god of boundaries, he perhaps is without a designated sanctuary[48]. Or he is here connected with the sanctuary of *di-u-ja*[49]. We finish with the sanctuary of Zeus, wherein Zeus, Hera, and *Drimios* are listed.

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[46] Poseidon, remember, is dealt with in the **Es** series, in **Un 6**, and prospectively in **Un 718**. Poseidon and *Potnia* are otherwise the divinities most prominently attested in the 3–5 months' worth of tablets from Pylos. Between *qo-wi-ja* and *ko-ma-we-te-ja* on v.3 is written over an erasure a sign group which is very difficult to interpret. The writing of *ko-ma-we-te-ja* respects the position of this sign group and it appears to have been intended to be part of the final text and separated from *ko-ma-we-te-ja* by a word-divider. If the final or the erased word-unit ended in *-qe*, we should perhaps see here the listing of another minor "deity" linked with *qo-wi-ja* by the enclitic conjunction. The following *ko-ma-we-te-ja* might then be taken as the genitive of the more prominent deity (cf. **TH Of 35**.1) who is "mother" or somehow "possessor" of these minor *hapax* deities. There are, however, many other possibilities. Cf. *DMic*, s.v.

[47] Although I think the probability that there are three separate sanctuaries for these female deities is increased by what may have been the initial impulse by Hand 44 to enter the offerings connected with these three deities in the three-line first section of the verso, it is possible, but far less likely, that *i-pe-me-de-ja*, who occurs only here in the Linear B tablets, is a minor deity who occupies the sanctuary of *pe-re-*82*, and is here (v.4) entered by a proleptic slip ahead of the actual recording of the offering to her of a vase (v.6). Note in any event that she alone among the female deities is not given a MUL.

[48] On the fundamental nature of the god Hermes, cf. W. BURKERT, *Greek Religion* (1985), p. 156.

[49] Note that in later tradition Hermes is the offspring of Zeus and Maia. Maia may well have replaced *Diwia* in Greek religion and cult as Hera rose in prominence as the consort of Zeus. It is interesting to note that in the catalogue of offspring of deities in Hesiod's *Theogony*, Hermes as offspring of Zeus and Maia occurs immediately before Dionysus as offspring of Zeus and Semele (*Theogony*, 937–942). If *Drimios*, son of Zeus and Hera, can indeed be connected with Dionysus as some have thought (cf. *DMic*, s.v.), then we would have the same juxtaposition of these male deities on **Tn 316** *verso* as in Hesiodic tradition. In the later, perhaps Aeolic/Theban tradition, the consorts who had given birth to Hermes and Dionysus were different from those in Bronze Age Messenia.

Drimios is one of four "deities" on **Tn 316** who are listed with single vessels, but without a MUL or VIR ideogram. Do these "deities" have any common link that might explain their entries? *Drimios* is recorded as the son of Zeus, and would be associated in a secondary way with the ceremonies to Zeus and Hera within the sanctuary of Zeus. As I have mentioned, if *i-pe-me-de-ja-qe* in v.04 is not a *lapsus styli* for *i-pe-me-de-ja-jo-qe*, but a proleptic *lapsus* looking ahead to the listing of deity and offering, then *Iphemedeia* can be satisfied again secondarily by association with *pe-re-*82* in the latter's sanctuary. Finally *ti-ri-se-ro-e* and *do-po-ta*, like *di-ri-mi-jo* and perhaps *i-pe-me-de-ja*, are also listed in last position within their sacred locale and are clearly subordinate to *po-ti-ni-ja* and the two female deities who follow her in the hierarchy of the religious territory *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Thus *ti-ri-se-ro-e* and *do-po-ta*, too, can be "offered" vessels without human sacristans. By observing this patterned structure, without preconceptions, we can see that there is no need to see irregularities that call for special hypotheses. The listings make sense as a ceremony in a particular month in which *po-ti-ni-ja* in *pa-ki-ja-ne* and other female deities are central. The listings also make sense in terms of what we know about the relative prominence and the other officially recorded ceremonial concerns of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *po-ti-ni-ja*, *po-se-da-o* and so on.

The issue of prestige of ranking in the list on **Tn 316** is connected with the question of whether there is any relative ranking of the deities in terms of the kinds of vessels they are offered. This is problematical since we know so little about the actual ceremonies and rituals in which the vessels were used. We do not know that the bowl **213*^{VAS} in fact was less ornate and less precious than the "Mycenaean" goblet (**215*^{VAS}) and "Minoan" chalice (**216*^{VAS}). We might, however, support such an hypothesis by noting that the vessels we assume to be more precious are given to deities of presumably greater prestige. In *recto* section 1 *po-ti-ni-ja* is given **215* while the minor deities who follow her immediately are given the simple open bowls **213*. In the first section of the *verso* (the second in the overall list) the two female deities situated in and obviously (by their titles) associated with the sanctuary and cult of Poseidon share a single more elaborate vessel (**215*). The localized female deities who follow all receive the simple bowl **213*, as do Zeus, Hera and *Drimios* who are grouped in the sanctuary of Zeus, but in the final section of the tablet. Zeus and his "family" here perhaps receive offerings because his general prestige made it impossible to ignore him even on an occasion otherwise associated with the *po-ti-ni-ja* and the female[50].

This leaves us to explain the three male "deities" who receive "prestige" cups and chalices:

r.5 ti-ri-se-ro-e , AUR **216*^{VAS} 1 do-po-ta AUR **215*^{VAS} 1

v.7 e-ma-a$_2$ a-re-ja AUR **216*^{VAS} 1 VIR 1.

Jim Wright (*supra* n. 17) has proposed that the vessels **215* and **216* (and their archaeological correlates) were connected with ritual drinking ceremonies, the impor-

[50] Regarding the position of the sanctuary of Zeus in **Tn 316**, we should note that the hierarchical catalogue of saints and aspects of divinity worshipped on specific ritual days varies in Roman Catholic ritual. The Feast of the Assumption would give first place to the Blessed Virgin Mary. All Saints Day would have a different ranked order. In no case would the focus on a specific holy figure or figures mean that s/he or they outranked God in His totality or in His component persons. Christ would no more be demeaned by being listed as "Child of Mary" in a secondary position during the Feast of the Immaculate Conception than Zeus is demeaned here by being listed so far (v.9) after *Potnia* (r.3) on **Tn 316**. In inscriptions from the historical period the order in which deities are listed in oaths reflects their relative prominence within a specific community. A deity listed first in one community can be listed third elsewhere. For examples of this phenomenon from oaths, cf. P. PERLMAN, "*Invocatio* and *Imprecatio*: the Hymn of the Greatest Kouros from Palaikastro and the Oath in Ancient Crete", *JHS* 105 (1995), p. 163 and n. 17.

tance of which is documented anthropologically in societies at the "chieftain" level of organization. These vessels and the ceremonies connected with them would have given prestige and power to the leaders of the forming Mycenaean culture who had access to, and could see to the importation (or the local production) of Minoan (or Minoanizing) prestige objects and practices. If this thesis, which is clearly supported by anthropological parallels and by the Aegean archaeological and iconographical record, is correct, then is it mere coincidence that the three male "deities" singled out here to "receive" these vessels have qualities which would be well suited to the origins of these ceremonies as argued by Wright? The *ti-ri-se-ro-e* has associations with the term *hero* and the ancestral cult of clans[51]. *do-po-ta*, which we may translate as "house lord" or "master", keeping in mind the religious associations of the term *do-de* in the Thebes tablets, again might well have connections with particular and localized social groups and religious worship[52]. Finally, Hermes on **Tn 316** v.7 has the epithet *Areias* which places Hermes here in the sphere of war and martial prowess, i.e., the sphere of attainment which during the 17th and 16th centuries B.C. helped to promote to prominence the Mycenaean "big men" (and the Shaft Grave warriors) who were adopting and adapting the drinking rituals described by Wright[53].

Lastly, in the foregoing I have made clear that I see no compelling reason why *po-re-na* has to refer to human victims[54]. The main and overriding motivation for this interpretation, when we view the history of scholarly work on **Tn 316** from Ventris in 1950 onward, is the presumption of a "state of emergency" that called for dire measures and was then even used *unnecessarily* to explain the textual peculiarities of **Tn 316**. Interpretation of the word itself remains problematical[55]. Such occurrences as φερνά "the god's portion (of the sacrifice)" in 5th–4th century inscriptions from Epidaurus certainly do not dictate that the *po-re-na* be taken as "victims". Although there is no absolute certainty either for the interpretation of the term as "porteur" *vel sim.* (even citing the later use of φορεύς [Hom. *Il.* 18.566] and compounds in -φορος, cf. *arrhephoros* and *kanephoros*)[56], we can point out that such words as πευθήν and ἑρπήν seem to use the suffix -ην with the verbal stem and in an active sense: πευθήν: "the one who inquires" (cf. πεύθομαι); λειχήν: "tree moss, lichen, ring worm, i.e., things that lick or lick up around something" (cf. λείχω); ἑρπήν: "herpes, shingles, i.e., the disease that creeps around the body" (cf. ἕρπω); ἀπτήν: "unflying" (cf. πέτομαι)[57].

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[51] Cf. *DMic*, s.v.

[52] Cf. *DMic*, s.v.

[53] On the use of this epithet in later Arcadian cult applied to Zeus, Athena and Inualios, cf. Palmer (*supra* n. 21), p. 12. Cf. BURKERT (*supra* n. 48), p. 169–170.

[54] At the same time, let me say that this interpretation should not be dismissed because we believe the Mycenaean Greeks did not practice or could not have practiced such a ritual.

[55] *Documents*², p. 461; *DMic*, s.v.

[56] *Mentions*, p. 176–177.

[57] *Formation*, p. 166–167. BUCK (*supra* n. 1), p. 135–136, selectively cites only the class of nouns with -ην suffix formed from noun stems. Almost all nouns of the -ην class have *e*-grade or zero-grade of the stem. The *o*-grade treatment in **po-re* = *φορήν is problematical no matter whether one interprets the word "actively" as "he/she who carries" or "passively" as "he/she/it who/which is brought". *Formation*, p. 167–168, notes that there are a certain number of such words in historical Greek which defy attempts to give them Greek or Indo-European etymologies, and which look clearly like borrowings from non-Indo-European languages: e.g., ἐσσήν as a term for a priest of Artemis of Ephesus, and the Hesychean gloss which would put such borrowings in Crete as well as coastal Anatolia: κεκῆνας λαγωούς, Κρῆτες. Thus it is even possible that the resemblance to the *o*-grade of φέρω here is illusory and we are dealing with a cultic term derived from a Minoan root.

TH Of 26 wherein *po-re-si* are allotted *ku* LANA does not compel us to interpret the word as "victims". **TH Of 36**, for example, distributes *ku* wool to *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ located *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de*. The *po-re-si* on **TH Of 26** might be located *di-u-ja-wo do-de*, but the structure of the text makes this uncertain. They need no more be "victims" to be draped with wool fillets, than the "finishers" at the *woikos* of *Potnia* need be purely cultic, as opposed to their secular counterparts in the Pylos **A**- series. Both may be workers/sacristans within their sacred locales[58].

The two other occurrences of the term **po-re* = *φορήν (*po-re-no-* as the first element of a compound) are likewise insufficient as evidence. On **Un 443**.2, following what seems to be an *o-no* transaction in line .1 involving alum, wool and **146* cloth, we have an entry:

po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja LANA 3.

It is clear that the term here is composed of two elements *po-re-no* (gen. sing. or plur.) and *zo-te-ri-ja* either a feminine festival name (Ζωστηρία) or a neuter plural of items termed ζωστήρια. Thus we have wool listed for use either during a ceremonial occasion of the "Cincturing/Girding" of the *po-re-no* or for items which are called "the belts/girdles"[59]. Neither line of interpretation really helps in determining whether the **po-re-ne* are "victims" who are girded with wool fillets or they are "sacristans" who wear special vestments in discharging their ceremonial duties. **Un 1413** might be thought to tilt the balance toward "sacrifical victims". The full text reads:

.a **146* 7 **166+WE* 1 [
ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro , po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[

The *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* occurs in other texts with ceremonial/religious associations (**Un 47**: "banquet" provisions; **Fr 1220** and **Fr 1226**: sage-scented oil in association with *di-pi-si-jo-i wa-na-ka-te* and *te-o-i*). Here in **Un 1413** we have an association with **146* cloth and with **166+WE*. **166+WE* from the contexts in which it occurs also seems to be an article of cloth[60]. The key term *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ*[is almost universally restored as **po-re-no-tu-te-ri-ja /-jo* and taken as "sacrifices of victims" or as the name of a festival pertaining to sacrifices of victims or – isolating the second element – as "objects belonging to the sacrificers" and pertaining here to the *po-re-no*[61]. There is need for caution. However reasonable the restoration may seem, it is still a restoration and one which relies on a dotted *te*[62]. Moreover, in later Greek (Euripides) θυτήριον means "victim". If one restores here **po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ*[*-ri-jo-i vel sim.*, one could interpret the text as indicating that **146* and**166+WE* were being contributed for use with the "victims" belonging to the **po-re-no*. This indicates how dangerous it is to base an interpretation of a term throughout the Linear B texts on a restoration in an individual text.

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[58] On **TH Of 34** plain LANA is associated with *a-pi-qo-ro* and *a-ra-ka-te-ja*. The latter at least refers to a purely secular textile occupation. If *a-pi-qo-ro* is here given a religious significance as "cult servants" *vel sim.*, then this would provide a good parallel for *po-re-si*, as "sacristans" to be receiving a wool allocation. Cf. *DMic.*, s. *a-pi-qo-ro*.

[59] *DMic.*, s. *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*.

[60] Despite the resemblance it has to an ingot. Cf. *IDA*, p. 152–153.

[61] *DMic.*, s. *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ*[. LEJEUNE (*supra* n. 33), p. 107.n. 97, discussed the ambiguity of the reading here. Of course, he took *po-re-na* as from πωλέω.

[62] We should also note the way in which θύω is used in Homeric Greek. Aristarchus noted that in Homer θύειν is used of offering and burning but never of slaughtering victims in sacrifice (σφάξαι). Its meaning is to offer first portions to the gods, and Plato, *Euthyphro* 14C contains the interesting remark: τὸ θύειν δωρεῖσθαί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς, i.e., "θύειν is to offer something as a gift to the gods". The fundamental meaning of the root is "to burn". *Dictionnaire*, s. θύω 2, notes that the verb which is rare in Homer designates offerings to the gods via burning, notably of food or of first-offerings. We should note, in any case, that nothing demands that the genitive form of *po-re-no* here be an objective genitive.

I would then conclude that **Tn 316** was written by Hand 44 under conditions which prevailed generally for the extant Linear B tablets from Pylos, wherein evidence for a "state of emergency" can only be found if one assumes that it exists in the first place. The text is complete and acceptable as written and its peculiarities can be paralleled within the work of its scribe and other scribes. The text was accepted by the central Archives Room, where it was stored in Room 8. The text might have been experimental, in the sense that the scribe took the opportunity on a palimpsestic tablet of his own to work out how best to structure and order information, derived from preliminary information (or single-entry tablets), that would have eventually been transferred from **Tn 316** to more ephemeral writing materials. After **Tn 316** was written and filed, other texts, "sacred" and "profane", were probably written. **Tn 316** refers to religious ceremonies associated with *po-ti-ni-ja* at *pa-ki-ja-ne* and other divinities connected with her and grouped in other sanctuaries. I do believe that the order of presentation is hierarchical in the sense that *po-ti-ni-ja* was the divinity for whom the community of Pylos had principal concern at this time in their calendar year. Female deities in this hierarchical listing are given special prominence, and male deities are recorded in subordinate positions. These ceremonies involved the use of precious gold heirloom vessels (the forms of which were linked with elite drinking rituals developed in the LH I and II periods), probably at least somewhat specific to particular deities, and of sacristans (whether interpreted as "bearers" or of otherwise unknown pre-Greek etymology[63]). The vocabulary of the text leaves obscure whether the vessels and the sacristans were permanently dedicated or donated to the divinities listed, but the explanation of Sacconi that the term *do-ra* refers to an annual symbolic and ritual transference of these precious heirloom vessels from the palatial stores for use in ritual ceremonies in the locales of particular deities best fits the context and circumstances as I understand them.

[63] Or least likely and unnecessarily as "victims". Cf. *supra* n. 57.

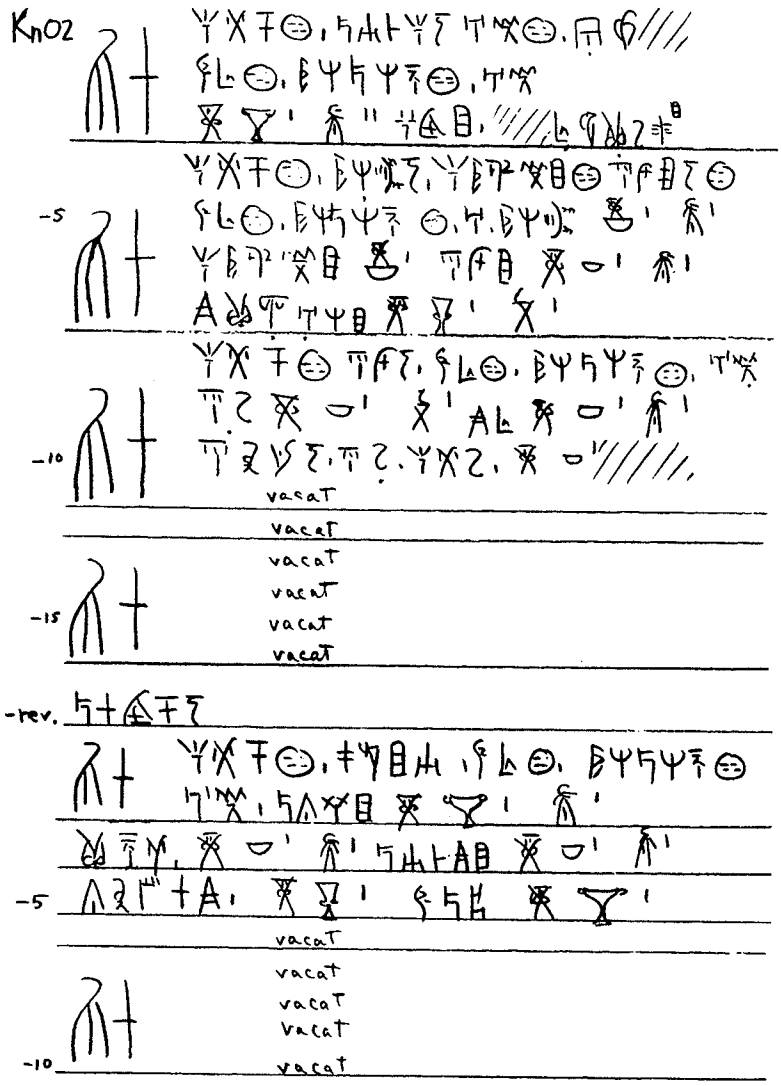

Figure 1. **PY Kn02** *after E. L.* BENNETT, *Jr., The Pylos Tablets. A Preliminary Transcription (1951), p. 54.*

Figure 2. ***PY Tn 316*** *recto photograph from the PASP archives. Photograph previously published in J.* CHADWICK, *The Mycenaean World (1976), p. 89, ill. 38.*

Figure 3. ***PY Tn 316*** *verso photograph from the PASP archives. Photograph previously published in J.* CHADWICK, *The Mycenaean World (1976), p. 89, ill. 38.*

Figure 4. ***PY Fr 1223*** *photograph from the PASP archives. Photograph previously published in E. L. Bennett, Jr., The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos (1958), plate XII.*

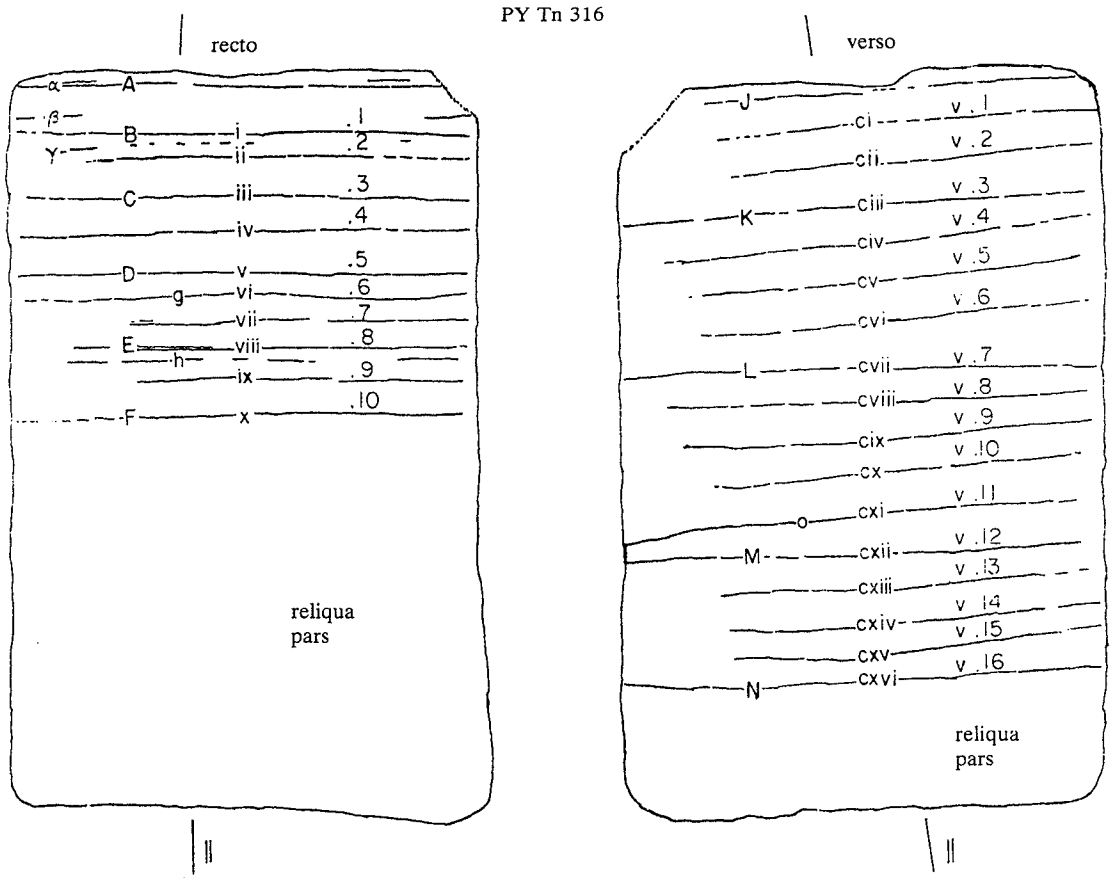

Figure 5. ***PY Tn 316*** *recto and verso history of ruling. After E. L. Bennett, Jr., "PU-RO vacant (**PY Tn 316**.7–10, v. 13–.16)", Colloquium Mycenaeum, p. 223, figure 2.*

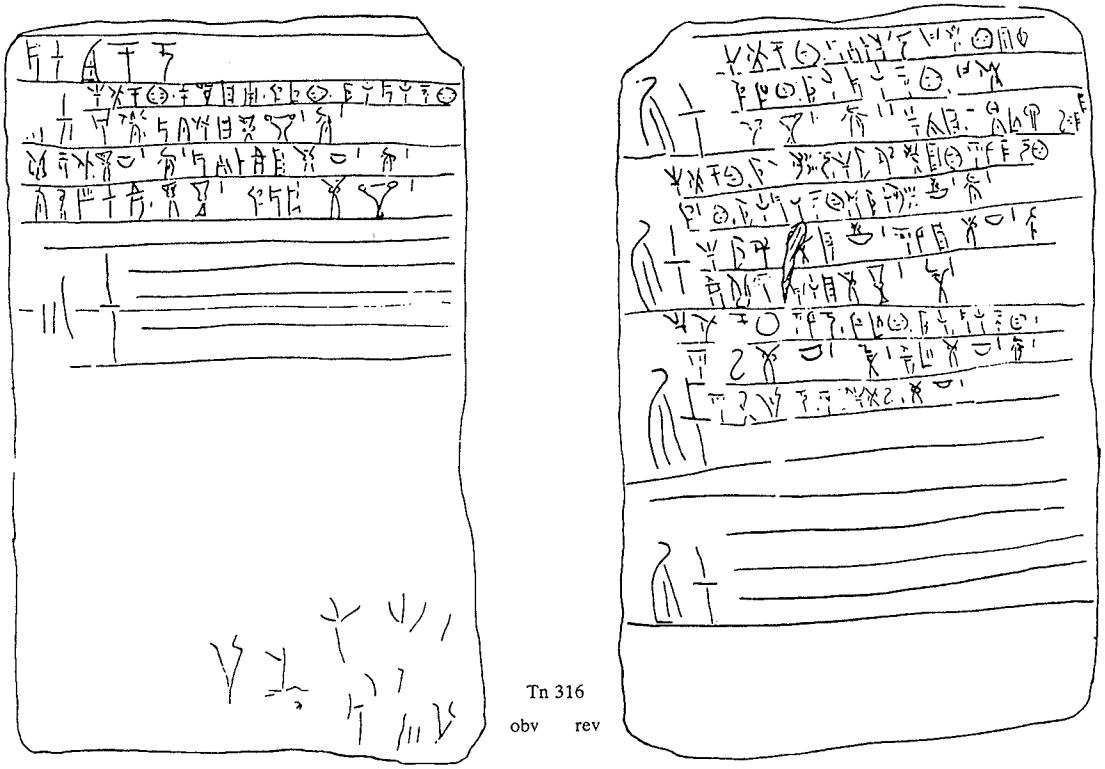

Figure 6. ***PY Tn 316*** *recto and verso drawing of text. After E. L.* BENNETT, *Jr., "PU-RO vacant (**PY Tn 316**.7–10, v. 13–.16)", Colloquium Mycenaeum, p. 222, figure 1.*

Tn 316 .1 po-ro-wi-to-jo ,
.2 i-je-to-qe , pa-ki-ja-si , do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe
.3 pu-ro a-ke , po-ti-ni-ja AUR *215^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
.4 ma-na-sa , AUR *213^{VAS} 1 MUL 1 po-si-da-e-ja AUR *213^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
.5 ti-ri-se-ro-e , AUR *216^{VAS} 1 do-po-ta AUR *215^{VAS} 1
.6 *vacat*
.7 *vacat*
.8 *vacat*
.9 *vacat*
.10 pu-ro *vacat*
reliqua pars sine regulis

316 v.1 i-je-to-qe , po-si-da-i-jo , a-ke-qe , wa-tu
v.2 do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe , a-ke
v.3 a -ja
pu-ro AUR *215^{VAS} 1 MUL 2 qo-wi-ja , ṇa-[ ] , ko-ma-we-te-
v.4 i-je-to-qe , pe-ṛẹ-*82-jo , i-pe-me-de-ja-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe
v.5 do-ṛạ-qe , pe-re-po-re-na-qe , a , pe-re-*82 AUR *213^{VAS} 1 MUL
v.6 i-pe-me-ḍẹ-ja AUR *213^{VAS} 1 di-u-ja AUR *213^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
v.7 pu-ro e-ma-a$_2$, a-re-ja AUR *216^{VAS} 1 VIR 1
v.8 i-je-to-qe , di-u-jo , do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe a-ḳẹ
v.9 di-we AUR *213^{VAS} 1 VIR 1 e-ra AUR *213^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
v.10 di-ri-mi-jo ⌊ ⌋ di-wo , i-je-we , AUR *213^{VAS} 1 [ ] *vacat*
v.11 pu-ro *vacat*
v.12 *vacat*

Tn 316 v.13 *vacat*
v.14 *vacat*
v.15 *vacat*
v.16 pu-ro *vacat*
reliqua pars sine regulis

Figure 7. **PY Tn 316** *transcription from PTT I.*