DIE NEUEN LINEAR B-TEXTE AUS THEBEN

IHR AUFSCHLUSSWERT FÜR DIE MYKENISCHE SPRACHE UND KULTUR

Akten des internationalen Forschungskolloquiums an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 5.–6. Dezember 2002

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Redaktion: Thomas Lindner

VERLAG DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN WIEN 2006
*65 = FAR? or ju? and other interpretative conundra
in the new Thebes tablets

The new Thebes tablets present many challenges to interpretation. Some of these challenges are of the sort that we normally encounter when we attempt to interpret Linear B tablets. We are limited by: (1) the ambiguities inherent in the way we have to transliterate and then translate the Linear B texts; (2) our incomplete understanding of the record-keeping contexts and the specific purposes the tablet-writers had for producing these records; (3) the system-internal, self-mnemonic brevity of the information deemed necessary by the tablet-writers; and (4) our incomplete knowledge of the bureaucratic lexica for the individual spheres of the Mycenaean economy that were subject to record-keeping oversight. None of this is new.

A further and original problem is what I will call interpretive noise. Given the choice by the editors of the new Thebes tablets to put forward particular theories of interpretation in advance of a full, sound publication of the basic texts,¹ and to do so while providing only a small part of the relevant data and while citing and engaging very little of the prior scholarship on specific topics, we now have to clear a path through an accumulation of ideas before being able to judge the data without distorting presuppositions.

I have dealt with these matters at greater length than is appropriate here in three publications and a so-far unpublished paper.² Some of the problems still persist even after the official publication of the tablets has appeared. TOP did not go through a normal process of ‘peer review’ within an established monograph series. Consequently it has a number of serious editorial flaws, including, for example, whole signs accidentally omitted from the palaeographical tables, as well as deficiencies in bibliographical citation and scholarly interpretation, that would have been corrected, or at least improved, if the editors had solicited feedback from a wider range of scholars, either informally (according to the principle that had prevailed in Mycenology from the time of Michael Ventris) or through formal editorial review.

The topics I address here are just a few of many we could have addressed to illustrate these opening comments. What is important now, I believe, is that we move forward without preconceptions about the meaning or nature of these documents. That is, I believe we must reject many of the interpretations put forward in TOP and start at ground-zero.

I also present many of these observations in the spirit of Gif. I have not reached definitive solutions about the questions raised by my remarks. Anyone who has worked with the Linear B tablets for a suitable length of time knows that this would be naive and foolish. Rather I hope to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by this excellently conceived meeting to ask that Mycenological experts seriously examine the evidence for ma-ka = MāΓā and other such interpretations advanced in TOP that are dependent on the initial identification of ma-ka = MāΓā.

I shall eventually here deal with the problem of how to evaluate and transcribe sign *65 in the Thebes tablets. Since it occurs frequently in the Fq series, I shall begin with some observations on the Fq set.

¹ In the manner of TT I and II, or MT I, II, and III, or the yearly publications of Pylos tablets in AJA in the 1950’s.
Given the controversial nature of the equation \( ma-ka = M\dot{a} \Gamma \dot{a} \) and of all the proposed ‘religious’ interpretations in TOP dependent on this equation (\( si-to, a-ko-ro-da-mo / a-ko-da-mo, to-pa-po-ro-i, o-po-re-i, ka-ne-jo, ko-wa, a-pu-wa, ku-su-to-ro-qa, a-ke-ne-u-si, de-gono \)), it seems a good idea to attempt a reading of this series without the presupposition of \( ma-ka = M\dot{a} \Gamma \dot{a} \). What I have done with students in my graduate seminar at UT Austin is to read the texts as a proof-reader would in order to prevent errors arising from assumptions about the identification of individual lexical items or about the overall purpose of the texts at hand. Proof-readers read texts backwards so that they will not be fooled by any contextual assumptions.

We worked from the smallest fragments up to the fullest texts and eventually even interpreted the fullest texts—I use here Fq 254+[r]255 as the prime example—in reverse. As an added, and I think reasonable, principle of interpretation we everywhere preferred interpretations that did the least violence to what was known about the etymology of individual lexical items and about the function of Mycenaean lexical items or elements of the lexical items within the overall Mycenaean corpus and within the context of fifty years of scholarship on the Linear B writing system, Mycenaean language, and Mycenaean culture. Our method of interpretation then can be summed up in a simple phrase: “avoid the sensational and unusual and prefer the simple and usual.”

On this basis, there would seem to be very good grounds to reject, or at least seriously question, the interpretations put forward in TOP of the following lexical items:

1. \( si-to = \Sigma r\acute{a} \) (TOP, p.167) where plain \( \sigma r\dot{a} \) will do.

2. \( a-ko-ro-da-mo / a-ko-da-mo = \) a compound of \( \acute{a}y\gamma o\acute{s} \) and \( \partial\eta m\dot{u}s \) meaning the assembler of the people in a mystic \( \acute{a}y\gamma m\dot{u}s \) (TOP, pp. 170–171). This requires interpreting \( da-mo \) as ‘people’ a meaning that, as Lejeune long ago showed, it has not yet acquired in Mycenaean, and it also requires interpreting the first element of the compound in a way that is linguistically unacceptable.\(^3\) The late C. J. Ruijgh suggested to me (\textit{per litteras}) Argodamos / Argotramos.\(^4\)

3. \( to-pa-po-ro-i \) as a compound (TOP, p. 172) with first element identified through the Hesychian gloss \( \sigma r\tau\acute{a} \partial\sigma r\tau\acute{a} \Pi\acute{a}f\acute{a}i \) as “les porteurs de lumière” = \( \partial\dot{a} \rho o\dot{\omega} \dot{m} \) in a kind of Eleusinian mystery. This requires an unparalleled metaphorical interpretation of \( to-pa- \). Instead \( to-pa-po-ro-i \) is readily explicated by reference to tablet PY Ub 1318 (Documents\(^2\), 491, 587: ‘a large basket or hamper’) as ‘bearers of \( to-pa \)’ whether animal or human (cf. the preceding line entry in PY Ub 1318: \( ka-ne-ja \ w-o-ro-ma-ta \) with its clear reference to some form of containers made of reed (\( ka-ne-ja \) work—on Theban \( ka-ne-jo \) cf. §5 below).

4. \( o-po-re-i \) as a reference to Zeus. The editors interpret the Mycenaean term as an epithet of Zeus (TOP, p. 191) and relate it to a \textit{hapax} epithet of Zeus in a historical Boeotian inscription from Akraiaphia. The Akraiaphia inscription reads TO\( \Delta \)IOTIPOEIJ, and it is

\(^3\) First, a compound name with such a meaning as ‘le fonctionnaire [ayant] l’obligation de rassembler le peuple’ would have to have e-grade of the verbal root and an -e-bridge vowel, i.e., a-\( ke-re-da-mo \) (cf. e-\( ke-da-mo \) as cited in TOP, p.170). Second, as M. Lejeune long ago demonstrated, “Le damos dans la société mycénienne,” Mémoires III (Rome 1972) (also cited in TOP, p. 170 n. 19), \( da-mo \) in the Mycenaean texts makes specific reference to parcelled and distributed land and then narrowly to the collective body of representatives (\( k-o-to-no-o-ko \)) who handle matters dealing with local land. It does not have the later Attic meaning of ‘people’. Thus names like e-\( ke-da-mo \), e-u-\( ru-da-mo \) and e-u-\( da-mo \) in Mycenaean mean something like Landholder, Broadland, and Fineland. And the name given in TOP, p. 170, as \( [\partial a]-m-o-ke-re-we-i \) is now restored as [\( a \)-m-o-ke-re-we-i, dative singular of \textit{Harmoklewēs}.

\(^4\) Furthermore, there is really no reason to support the idea that a-\( ko-ro-da-mo \) and a-\( ko-da-mo \) are the same name. a-\( ko-ro-da-mo \) appears twice in the Gp series. a-\( ko-da-mo \) appears eleven times in the Fq series and nine times in the Ft series. The restoration of a-\( ko-[\partial a]-m-o \) on Gp 144.2 is completely conjectural. It would make more sense to restore the name attested within that series: a-\( ko-ro-[\partial a]-m-o \).
reconstructed in its first and later editions and later discussions as related to Zeus ‘who has to do with the fall-harvested fruits’ (a later-derived meaning from ὀνίφαρα, ὃνιφα = ‘the latter part of summer’). This strikes me as problematical: (1) in terms of the reconstruction of the Akraiphia inscription and the meaning of ὀνίφα in historical Greek; (2) in terms of the Mycenaean form supposedly derived from ὀνίφα; and (3) in terms of the standard etymology of ὀνίφα the second element of which is usually taken to be from *o[σ]φα. We should expect here a masculine a-stem form, and a spelling conforming to the etymology, such as *o-po-a2-ra or *o-po-a-ra.

It would seem preferable to take the historical inscription as a reference to Zeus Eporēs. This is consistent with the geography of Akraiphia and with the many mountain-cult epithets of sky-god Zeus as catalogued in A.B. Cook, Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion (New York: Biblo and Tannen repr. 1965), pp. 868–987. By far the most frequent and extensive cult-epithets and cultic notions relating to the sky-god Zeus have to do with his location on mountain peaks, e.g., he who is worshipped as Oreios ‘of the mountain’, Koryphaios ‘of the peak’, Aktaios ‘of the point’, and Akhaios ‘of the summit’. It is also consistent with worship of sky-god Zeus located upon innumerable peaks throughout Greece.5

So much for the single historical parallel used by the editors of TOP. With regard to the Mycenaean evidence, there is no compelling reason to interpret o-po-re-i as a theonym in the Fq tablets, given the overwhelming predominance of personal names and occupational terms occurring as recipients of the grain recorded in the texts. It is simpler and more contextually compelling to interpret it, too, as a man’s name, e.g., Oporēs, an -es stem formation from *oreis. Cf. historical Greek Orestēs and Mycenaean o-re-ta (PY An 657.3).

Another problem, of course, with interpreting o-po-re-i as a theonym is that it would actually be a descriptive epithet rather than an independently developing divine name later syncretized with Zeus. In such cases, we would expect in Mycenaean for the god’s name, i.e., here di-we, to be expressed along with the adjectival form. For example, see the normal Mycenaean practice in di-ka-ta-jo di-we (not just di-ka-ta-jo) and e-ma-a2 a-re-ja (not just a-re-ja) and i-ge-ja po-ti-ni-ja (not just i-ge-ja).

5. ka-ne-jo as a reference (TOP, p. 226) to a personal designation “celui qui s’occupe des oies,” and related to the references to geese in the Ft series. But elsewhere in Mycenaean this adjective formation would seem to have to do with the loan-word root for ‘reed’ (see above §3). An alternative interpretation that the term here refers to a ‘wicker basket’ or container is likewise suspect, given the predominance in the Fq series of personal names or occupational designations. It seems least problematical to take it as a descriptive name: Mr. Reed.

6. ko-wa as a reference to Kore = Persephone. Again this interpretation seems motivated by the editors’ wish, once they made the assumption that ma-ka = Mā Πα, to find a divine triad of ‘Mother Earth’, Zeus and Persephone in these texts. It should be noted that on none of the texts does this hypothetical triad appear grouped as a triad, as, for example, the divine triad Zeus, Hera and Drimios in the sanctuary of Zeus on Pylos tablet Tn 316 verso lines 8–10.6

Moreover, Maurizio del Freo has opened up another possibility. In the Festchrift Bartonèk he has argued, think convincingly, that when the expression ko-wo is used in the PY Ad series, it does not mean ‘son’, but rather ‘apprentice’, i.e., ko-wa and ko-wo do not have the meaning in these texts of ‘offspring’ (for which the Mycenaean lexemes are amply attested, for ‘son’: i-*65, i-ju, i-je-we, u-jo, and perhaps i-jo, as well as for ‘daughter’: tu-ka-

5 In fairness it should be noted that Cook, p. 1074, links the inscription from Akraiphia CIG VII no. 2733 – Roehl, IGA no. 151 – Collitz-Bechtel, Gr. Dial.-Inscrn. 1, 213, 396 no. 567 to Zeus Τροφώνος and Max. Tyr. 41.2 τὸν Δία...τὸν καρπὸν τροφήν, interpreting it as Κείτων καὶ Θεάττος τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ Πυλαῖον.

6 The seeming triads of ma-ka, o-po-re-i and ko-wa on Fq 126 and Fq 130 are probably illusions. In both cases ca. 3–4 cm. of tablet is missing in line 1 where the entry a-ko-da-mo following ma-ka is regularly found.
Del Freo does not point out what looks like a clear contrast between *tu* and *ko-wa* and *ko-wo* listings in KN Ap 639. This would strengthen his argument further.

It should be noted again that *ko-wa* on the Fq tablets appears after *o-po-re-i* 3 times, after *a-pu-wa* 2 times, after *ma-di-je* 3 times, after *ka-ne-jo* 1 time, and after an entry other than *o-po-re-i*, *ma-ka*, or *a-pu-wa* on Fq 257. It never appears after *ma-ka*. There are also plain non-theonymic alternatives for interpreting *ko-wa*. Its random pattern of appearance would argue against it being interpreted as a theonymic associate of an already questionable Earth Mother and Sky God.

7. *a-pu-wa* also interpreted as a theonym in the dative "Αρπω (TOP, pp. 389, 214), but even TOP, p. 214 mentions that we would expect a different form—TOP posits *a-pu-ja*. In historical Greek we get "Αρπω and on an Aeginetan vase Αρπω. In the view of Szemerényi, Syncope, pp. 203–213, the latter is the original form of a loan word. In any case, then, the absence of -e- and -j- in the spelling of the Mycenaean form are problematical enough to need explanation. The trouble is removed if we do not require this lexical item to be a theonym.

8. *ku-su-to-ro-qa* is interpreted, against prevailing etymology (i.e., contra Chantraine, Dictionnaire IV, s. ἀρπω, ἀρπω, and Frisk, GEW, s. ἀρπω) as deriving from ἀρπω: *Συντροφή “total global de nourriture” (TOP, pp. 393, 171–172) arguing that the term always appears in the contexts of “dénrées alimentaires” which “fatally reduces the semantic field” and citing in particular Knossos text B 817, i.e., a series in which other tablets record po-niki-jo a-pu-do-si measured by weight and along with men. But in KT, the text cited by the editors of TOP is now reclassified as Bg 817 of h. 137; and it clearly refers to a total of VIR and *ko-wo*, as is shown by the fact that the -to-ro- of *ku-su-to-ro-qa* is written over [][-pa-te]. This proves that the original impulse was to write Συντροφής ‘all together’, a proper synonym for the Mycenaean form of *Συντροφή ‘cumulative total’.

**KN Bg 817 + 7858 + 7876 + fr.**

to-so / *ku-su-to-ro-qa* VIR 32 / *ko-wo*, di [  

9. *a-ke-ne-u-si* is interpreted (TOP, p. 180) as from *άγνωστος and as meaning ‘celui qui est purifié’. This would be the only appearance of the term hagnos in the entire Linear B corpus. While this is not an absolute impediment to the proposed interpretation—we would expect some new words to be found in new tablets—it does require explanation. The editors of TOP work the term into a scenario involving purificatory rites (TOP, p. 271) of the form found in the Eleusinian mysteries. It is worth remarking that Hand 305 (Fq 138, 229) uses a2 in his repertory and does not use it to represent the initial aspiration required by the editors’ interpretation. But again this itself is not an insurmountable obstacle.

A ‘secular’ alternative, very appropriate to the context of grain distribution, would be *akhneusi ‘winnowers’ (or less likely *akneusi).* I received an objection to my proposal from the late C. J. Ruijgh (per litteras) who counter-proposed that the aspiration of the

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8 Cf. Kάπη as a Eubeean (Eretrian) personal name in the second century B.C.E.: SEG XXVII 602. It could possibly be a name derived from a descriptive term Khōwás = ‘streaming, pouring, libating’. Cf. in historical Greek: ἰμάρας, ἰδός ‘wildly running’ or ‘roaming’ of women; θόας, θάος ‘flee, swift’, a feminine adjective in Pindar.
10 Positing the existence of suffixes *-s-* and *-n-. Cf. the attested alternation: Κάραμα and Κάραμά.
unvoiced guttural /k/ in later Greek ἄχνη comes from the -san suffix and the root *ak, and that on the analogy of a3-ka-sa-ma we should expect a-ke-se-ne-u-si for my proposal of 'winnowers'. But Chantraine (s. ἄχνη) posits an original root *akh- for ἄχνη in order to explain the forms ἄχναν and ἄχναρ.

10. de-go-no is interpreted (TOP, pp. 390, 225) as an unattested and problematical form *δειπνός 'banqueter'. The editors of TOP also then view po-ro-de-go-no on KN F 51 as προδειπνός 'vice-banqueter'. In both instances the rejected and existent δειπνός 'meal' and προδειπνός 'preliminary meal' make sense and are unproblematic in formation.

My proposal then for a 'bottoms-up' reading of Fq 254[+1]255 is as follows. It will be clear that I accept something like the late John Chadwick's suggestion for the reading of the o-te clause in lls. 1–2.11 I doubt whether all elements of my reading are correct, but I do think that in general it is better to posit non-religious interpretations that are less problematical, more linguistically and etymologically sound, less metaphorical and less strained.

We should note that the Fq texts contain none of the religious vocabulary (e.g., standard or rare theonyms, sanctuary locales, sanctuary structures or institutions, various kinds of cult functionaries, the regular terms for 'holy' and for 'he or she who has to do with holy things', or vocabulary of religious donation or payment) known from texts at other sites and from Thebes itself.

Moreover, we should consider the general features of this set of tablets and what function the texts must have had within the economic administration of the site of Thebes.

There are ca. 120 parts of tablets or pieced-together tablets now assigned to the Fq series. Many of these are very small bits of tablets, preserving only a few fragmentary lexical units on a few lines of writing. Some of these are probably parts of the same tablet, e.g., Fq 130 and Fq 187 probably go together, as might Fq 132 and Fq 171. The great majority of the pieces are assigned to scribal hand 305. Fq 205 and Fq 207 seem to have been written by scribal hand 307; and Fq 236, Fq 238 and Fq 244 are assigned to scribal hand 310. So 110–115 fragments are assigned to scribal hand 305.

It is vital to know how many actual full tablets these fragments belong to in order to get a good understanding of their purpose and why they were found together. Most of our Mycenaean religious texts dealing with allocations of edible materials (honey, wine, oil, and banqueting foods) specify that such allocations were made within a particular month or on the occasion of a particular ceremonial event.12 Because the Fq tablets are repetitive and rather formulaic, with minor variations, we can roughly calculate how many times individuals are referred to. We can also set up a kind of exemplar template and examine the tablet fragments to determine how many pieces come from the opening sections of the tablets and how many from the closing sections.

By doing this, I have estimated that these ca. 120 Fq 'tablets' probably come from 15–18 original whole tablets.

Why is this significant? It means that the tablets do not conform to records of allocation to religious sanctuaries and deities specified as taking place within a given month (series PY Fr, KN Fp and KN Gg) or for a specific ceremonial event—reinforcing a supposition already made on the basis of the small quantities of grain allocated to individuals (see below).

We might then ask what circumstances would lead to a grouping of 15–18 tablets, all apparently with the same kinds of structure. The Fq tablets begin as follows. In twelve preserved or restorable instances there is a first entry of ma-ka (Fq 126, Fq 130, Fq 131?, Fq 213?, Fq 214, Fq 229, Fq 254, Fq 258, Fq 263, Fq 285?, Fq 304, Fq 357). Twice (Fq 126 and Fq 130) the ma-ka entry is preceded by o-te clause qualifiers. And once (Fq 254) it is preceded by an o-te clause and a first entry of de-go-no. After such opening entries, our most fully preserved texts contain lists of approximately 28 more entries. These are mostly


human personal names, a few occupational terms (none of which, as we have mentioned, has any of the cult associations we find in PY Fn or En series or the KN Fp series), and in a few cases even animals (we assume this is shorthand for grain allocated to the human agents who care for the animals).

The tablets end as follows. There are twelve attested or restorable instances of the totaling entry (ku-su-to-ro-qa and to-so-ku[-su-pa on Fq 187, 214, 229, 236, 252, 254[+]255, 269, 276, 306, 359, 362, 394].)

The personal names, occupational terms and animals appear in a roughly ‘standard’ order with some variation and substitutions. To me the entire collection of 15–18 tablets looks like a set of records of simple daily allotments of grain in return for service. We have a half month’s worth (operating on a 30-day or 36-day month) of records here collected.

In my view, bulk items are listed at the start of each tablet for collective use: once de-go-no ‘for dinner’ (whom we do not know) and twelve times ma-ka ‘for kneading’ (with quantities of the same magnitude as de-go-no). I stress again that there may be alternative ways of interpreting these lexical items, but they should be interpreted consistently with the evidence from the full Mycenaean corpus and with the demonstrable fact that the overwhelming majority of entries on these tablets (ca. 67 in number) have no ‘religious’ associations.

On three days (and tablets) special circumstances are designated by o-te clauses. But the entry structure still remains the same. And of the three problematical o-te clauses, at least the ‘assembling of the elders’ does not look to be in any way connected with a ritual or sanctuary. The absence of o-te phrases from the majority of tablets would argue that in those instances routine activities are taking place.

By my reckoning, there are about 67 names or occupational titles (or in a few cases animals) that appear as recipients of grain on the Fq tablets. For the overwhelming majority of these, ritual, cultic or religious significance has not even tentatively been proposed. They are here listed with their approximate numbers of attestations in Fq tablets: a-ke-ne-u-si (11), a-ko-da-mo (11), a-mo-ta-ro-ko? (1), a-ka-de-i (3), a-me-ro (14), a-nu-to (8), a-pu-wa (7), a-ra-o (2), a-ta-i (1), da-ru-ti-jio (1), de-u-we (7), do-ra-a2-ja (8), de-re-ja (5), do-ro-jo (5), ep-i-po-ro-mo (8), e-pi-ni-ja (1), e-pi-go-i (3), e-gq-go (1), i-go-po-go-i (or i-go-po-go) (11), ja-so-ro (5), ka-ra-wi-jia (3), ka-ne-jo (1), ka-si (1?), ka-ti-jo (47), ka-wi-jo (6), ke-re-na-i (2), ko-du-22-je (10), ko-ru-we (9), ko-wa (13), ku-ro2 (3), ku-si (and ku-no and ku-ne) (5), ma-di-je (9), ma-ka (12), me-to-re-i (6), mi-ra-ti-jo (7), mo-ne-we (3), o-kw-jo (3), o-no-si (3), o-po-re-i (11), jo-ro-wa-ta (1), o-ti-ri-ja-i (6), o-to-ro-no-*65 (1), o-u-ko-we-i (6), o-u-wa-ja-wo-ri (2), pe-ra-ko (1), pi-ra-ko-ro (8), pi-ra-me-no (1), po-[ (3), ge-re-mo-o (10), ra-ke-da-mi-jo (7), ra-ge-jo (1), ra-wi-to (1), re-wa-ko (3), sa-wa-jo (1), te-de-ne-o (3), te-ka-ta-si (1), to-jio (11), to-pa-po-ro-i (1), to-po-wa (1), to-tu-jo (7), u-[ (1), wa-do-ta (6), we-re-na-ko (4), we-ro-te (1), zo-wa (8), *56-ru-we (1), *63-u-ro (3).

The attestations range from 1 time to 14 times. Given the fragmentary nature of the tablets and also reckoning the positioning of fragments by contents and form on an idealized full-tablet template, the total estimate of 15–18 full tablets is reasonably secure.

Most of these entries would seem to relate to regular and relatively small distributions (so regular that they do not require any explanatory heading). These distributions serve, I would think, as payments for work or service rendered to some form of central authority. The exceptions, of course, are de-go-no and ma-ka, which are much larger allocations. I have argued that this is because the grain in these two cases is for communal use: for a ‘banquet’ and for ‘kneading’ into cakes of the sort that are distributed in collective work contexts.

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13 There might be another total on Fq 278.3. What is read as ku-su-qa[ might be the normal entry ku-su-fq[-ro-qa. Signs to and a2 are structurally similar.

14 It is likely that a-me-ro occurs a 15th time on Fq 115. There are only three entries in the Fq series that end in -ro. They are: a-me-ro, ja-so-ro, and pi-ra-ko-ro. Of these, only a-me-ro elsewhere occurs in the immediate environment of a-ke-ne-u-si (as it would if restored on Fq 115): Fq 130 and Fq 214.
So far as we can tell, the recipients here are not dependent on the central authority in the
way that the totally dependent working women in the Pylos A-series are. If this is true, they
would have other resources at their disposal and these allocations would be added to their
other foodstuffs. So these allocations would not be daily rations per se.

Now if we consider the late John Chadwick’s article in the Festschrift Bennett, pp. 68–
71, we see that each dependent woman gets T 2 of grain per month, i.e., 48 Z per month, or
Z 1.6 per day for a 30-day month or Z 1.33 per day for a 36-day month respectively. Their
children get Z 0.8 or Z 0.66 respectively. If we then examine the more complete Fq tablets
(see Fq 229, 214, 241, 254), we see that they have a relative hierarchy of allocations with
many recipients of Z 1 being at or near the bottom of the list. 16 Most entries though get more.
See, for example, Fq 254[+]255 here below. Some examples are: a-ko-da-mo V 2 = Z 8; ma-
di V 3 Z 2 = Z 14; ka-ne-jo V 3 = Z 12; ge-re-ma-o V 1 Z 2 = Z 6; ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo-*65 V 2
= Z 8; and so on. There are also a good number of Z 2 entries, which is still more than the
dependent working women at Pylos get. All these are reasonable daily pay outs for service to
those who do some form of work for whatever the distributing agent behind these tablets is.
The aggregate allocations for de-qa-no and ma-ka are much greater. On Fq 254[+]255 they
are Z 35 and Z 34 respectively.

Our analysis so far then shows that there is little in the contents or likely administrative
function of the Fq records to suggest any religious associations. This is further demonstrated
by translating the fullest text (Fq 254[+]255) from the bottom up, without any idea that we
have to try to find religious significance in the entries. Here is the text in transliteration and
translation.

Transliteration TH Fq(2) 254 [+ ] 255 Scribal Hand 305

1 de-qa-no HORD T 1 V 2 Z 3 o-te , a-pi-e-qa ke-ro-tq
2 pa-ta , ma-ka HORD T 1 V 2 Z 2 a-ko-da-mo V 2
3 o-po-re-i[ ] ma-di-je V 1 [ ] 1 ka-ne-jo V 3
4 [ ] ko-wa Z 2 a-pu-wa Z 2 ko-ru Z 2
5 ge-re-ma-o V 1 Z 2 zo-wa V 1 a-me-ro V 1
6 ka-wi-jo-*65 V 1 *63-[ ] 1 i-qa-po-qa-i V 1 Z 1
7 a-ra-o-*65 V 1 [ ] V 1 me-to-re-i Z 2
deeest
9 [ ] vest.[
10 ]a-nu-tu Z 1[ ] to-tu [-no] Z 1 mi-ra-ti-jo [ ]
11 ]e-pi-do-ro-mo Z 1 pi-ra-ko-ro Z 1 de-u-ke-se-we Z 1
12 ko-du-*22-je Z 1 do-ra-a2-ja Z 1
13 ra-ke<da>-mi-ni-jo-*65 V 2 a-ke-ne-u-si V 2
14 o-u-wa-ja-wo-ni Z 2 mo-ne-je V 3
15 ku-su-to-ro-qa HORD[ ] 3 Z 2

Translation TH Fq(2) 254 [+ ] 255 Scribal Hand 305

.1 for the dinner BARLEY 14 liters when were brought into attendance all
.2 the elders for kneading BARLEY 13.6 liters to Brightland 3.2 liters
.3 to Surmount [ ] to ma-di 1.6 liters[ ] to Reedy 4.8 liters

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Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy Offered to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. (Suplementos a Minos 10:
16 On Fq 254[+]255 the Z 1 entries cluster in lines .10–12 of the 15-line text; on Fq 214, the Z 1 entries occur
on lines .9–12 of the 14-line text; on Fq 229 on lines .8–12 of the 14-line text; and on Fq 241 on line .9, the last
line of the tablet, which is broken away at that point.
.4] to Younggirl 0.8 liters to a-pu-wa 0.8 liters to Quiff\(^{17}\) 0.8 liters
.5 to Τρέλμιαος\(^{18}\) 2.4 liters to ζο-φός 1.6 liters to Civi\(^{19}\) 1.6 liters
.6 to Son of Beau, Jr.\(^{20}\) 1.6 liters *65-[ | mark |] to the horse-feeders 2.0 liters
.7 to a-ra-q-
\(^{21}\) Jr. 1.6 liters [ | mark | ] to Me-r-άλσις 0.8 liters
.8 deest
.9 ] vestigia [ 0.4 liters to to-τυ [-no] 0.4 liters to Milesian [ 0.4 liters
.11 to Enroute\(^{23}\) 0.4 liters to Lovefield\(^{24}\) 0.4 liters to Deukus\(^{25}\) 0.4 liters
.12 to ko-δυρ-\(^{22}\) 0.4 liters to do-ra-ha-ja 0.4 liters
.13 to Lakedaimmonios, Jr. 0.8 liters to the winnowers 0.8 liters
.14 to ω-μα-ja-wo 0.8 liters to Monius\(^{26}\) 1.2 liters
.15 all totaled BARLEY 34.4 liters

**Note on Translation:** All 29 preserved ‘recipient’ entries are in italics. Some of the names are conjectural, as specified in the footnotes here.

It will immediately be noticed that my transcription, taken from J. L. Melena’s *TITHEMY* in progress, differs from that in *TOP*, pp. 224–227, primarily in reading on lines .6, .7 and .13 sign *65 as part of the lexical expression, instead of reading it as an ideogram FAR = ‘spelt’ or ‘flour’ vel sim., i.e., as a grain other than wheat (PY Un 718) and barley (KN Fs series) (*Documents*, pp. 284, 458) or as a processed variety of grain.\(^{27}\) *TOP* translates this sign everywhere as ‘farine’, i.e., ‘flour’ or ‘meal’.

The primary reason for my reading of these texts is the pattern of occurrence of the sign read as FAR in *TOP*. First notice the contrast that exists between the Fq series (Hand 305) and the Gp series (Hand 306?) if we follow the readings given in *TOP*.

ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo FAR (5 times: Fq 229, 254[+]255, 258, 275, 284)


But, if we read the sign in question in the Fq texts not as FAR, but as *65 and assign to *65 the normal posited value from the alternation cluster cited above by del Freo: i-*65, i-ju, i-jewe, u-jo, we would have here an exact matching reference between Lakedaimonii’d hui’dative (Gp 227.2) and Lakedaimnonioi ju(i) (Fq series). This would suggest that both series are referring to the same individual here as Lakedaimnonioi SON.

Notice, too, that in the Linear B corpus i-*65 appears with patronymic adjectives like wi-do-wo-i-jo on PY Ae 344 or with genitives as on PY Ag 64.7 and Ag 218.16 or independently as in PY Jn 431.6 and Jn 725.8 (but in both these cases with the enclitic

\(^{17}\) Cf. σκώλυς, -ες, 6 ‘fringe of hair’ or ‘quiff’.
\(^{18}\) Cf. *Documents*, s.v. The name occurs on KN V 7513.2 and on PY Qa 1295. Ventris and Chadwick in *Documents* compare, for the second element of the name: Οίνο-maos.
\(^{19}\) Cf. Ἡμερος found as the basis for a personal name in Papo-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (1884) both as ‘Ἡμερος and Ἡμέρων.
\(^{20}\) I.e., Kalwios, Jr. Or ‘for the son of Beau, i.e., Kalvos’, taking Kalwios as a patronymic adj. of Kalvos.
\(^{21}\) Perhaps related to ἀλλαί, -ος ‘unseeing, blind’ a word of uncertain etymology.
\(^{22}\) *‘Αντες*. Cf. KN X 658, X 697.2, As 1516.12, TH Z 863, 864, 961, TI Z 8+26.
\(^{23}\) Ἑπί-dromos. Ἑπιδρόμου is attested in historical Athens.
\(^{24}\) Phιl-agros.
\(^{25}\) Elsewhere Deukus. Cf. later Πολυδεικής.
\(^{26}\) Historical names compounded in μενε- are frequent. For a-grade historical nouns and personal names in -eus cf. J. L. Perrillou, *Les substantifs grecs en -eus* (1973) index, pp. 401–407, e.g., δομείς, δροείς, νομείς, τομείς, τοκείς, Δακικές, Μαλακίς.
\(^{27}\) The reading in the *TITHEMY* in progress resulted from my correspondence with J. L. Melena on this matter. He agreed with my observations. The readings are not, therefore, independent support for my interpretations.
conjuction -qe marking the linking of the i-*65 entry with the preceding entry in an expression: ‘So-and-So AND son’).

It is then suggestive that in the Fq set, the sign we choose to read as *65 occurs four other times with the adjective or patronymic form ka-wi-jo (Fq 123, 130, 254[+]255, 258). Thus 9 of the 25 instances where FAR is read are immediately susceptible to an interpretation that does not require rare entries of a different form of the grain—or a different type of grain—that which is summarized in the total on tablets like Fq 214 and Fq 254[+]255.

If we look outside the Fq texts we find other difficulties in the TOP reading of the sign as FAR. Notice, for example, that on Gp 110, the posited reading of FAR would make this ideogram the only one in the series in which the scribe places a word divider between an ideogram and a following metrical-numerical entry. If we read the sign as *65, however, and as part of the preceding lexical phrase, we have plenty of parallels in Gp 110, 112, 122, 127, 168 for the scribe (Hand 306) placing a word divider at the end of a lexical unit preceding an ideogram or metric-numerical entry.

On Gp 124, the sequence of two ideograms ]ko FAR , VIN V 2[ is unparalleled in Linear B. TOP, p. 283, explains it as a reference to a sacred blend of wine and barley flour (citing Iliad 11.624–641). Even if we were to opt for such an unparalleled explanation of the two ideograms, there is no need for this to be a sacred mixture. In Thucydides 3.49.3 the rowers sent from Athens to reverse the initial decision of the Athenian assembly regarding Mytilene consume a mixture of wine and barley as they row. Secondly, however, the explanation of taking two ideograms that are not even juxtaposed, but separated spatially on the tablet and also by a word divider, as a ‘composite ideogram’ is very difficult.

Note also that everywhere in the Gp series of Hand 306 the commodity in question (and where it is identifiable it is VIN) is measured by units that pertain to or are capable of pertaining to liquid commodities (S, V, Z). The only exceptions are within two texts of an unidentified scribe: Gp 153, which lists the quantity ] 1 T 8 V 4 and Gp 303 which has a very tentative text and where the dotted T unit is virtually non-existent and dependent on the reading FAR.

On Gp 303, I think again it is better to read the sequence as an adjectival form followed by *65 = ju. We should note—although as Jean-Pierre Olivier has pointed out to me in e-mail discussion, this observation is not entirely probative—that the signs of the tentative i-je-re-wi-jo *65 run together. Gp 153 seems to be of an entirely different ‘set’ of tablets. Gp 215 is also by an unidentified scribe, and its text is read in TOP as a Gp text with FAR preceding metric-numerical entries. But here again the sign spacing would permit a reading as the phonetic sign *65. The preceding entries qe-da-do-ro and a-]ko-ro-da-mo each occur on one other Gp text.

As regards the spatial orientation of the signs, notice that for Hand 310 on Fq 236.5 TOP, pp. 94–95, reads ku-no FAR, but all the Z entries are lined up far to the right and the supposed FAR is in place with the spacing for another phonetic element of the lexical entry as on other lines. This all but forces us to read the sign phonetically as *65.

Likewise on Fq 132 the supposed FAR is shoved up against the preceding [.]-to-qo, a fact which the spacing in the TOP transcription (p. 46) distorts.

The reading FAR then is highly suspect virtually everywhere for reasons listed above: (1) its location on the tablets with regard to the preceding lexical units and following metric signs or numbers; (2) its being followed by a word-divider where none would be expected following an ideogram, including a case where another ideogram follows the word-divider; (3) its occurrence within series (Fq, Gp) that otherwise deal exclusively with HORD or VIN and that have many other entries with metrical signs and numbers following a word-unit; (4) its restriction in the Fq series mainly to two ethnic adjectives that parallel i-ju with a preceding adjective on PY Ae 344.
How this sequence is to be explained precisely is difficult. Where the preceding word is an adjective or noun in the dative, I supposed originally that one might read these as a string in which the implicit iota ending of the dative noun-form made the explicit representation of the initial i- of i-ju graphically unnecessary (hereafter I give *65 the value ju vel sim.). E.g., ka-wi-jo-*65 = Kalwifojutu(i) and where the second element of the dative ending of ju is suppressed just as in most i-diphthongs (see Vilborg, §38 re e-ri-mu on KN Fp 1.8).

But J. L. Melena, came up with a better proposal (per litteras):

A possible solution for the dilemma is prompted by the history itself of the word. IE *suñus > Proto-Greek *huyus > Thebes /huyos/. Try to write this word in Mycenaean and you will front the decision for marking or not the initial aspiration. If not, you will use u-, but if you wish to render the aspiration (or to keep a conservative spelling) you will use *65 ju for /hui/. So, the transcription should be ka-wi-jo JU and ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo JU. If you look for parallels, you will notice that the ‘sons’ of the animals are noted by logogrammatic syllables: KO (for khoiros), WE (for wetalon), PO (for poilos), E for ephros. Why not JU for huyus or hujos?

I think that it is a good convention belonging to the scholastics of the Mycenaean scribes, and is the best choice for solving the question. I should like to know your opinion.

My opinion is that it is a good operating principle and it can explain the use of the phonetic abbreviation *65 = hu for ‘son’, just as we have elsewhere the abbreviation tu for ‘daughter’: KN Ap 629.1-2; 637.2; 639.4; 5748.1. In Ap 639 and 5748 the tu is clearly functioning logographically as suggested here. So it would seem that the sign in question should be read as *65 in the Thebes tablets and mainly interpreted as a logogram as in Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. or John E. Cardin, II.

I hope to have presented here a clear case for a non-religious interpretation of the Thebes Fq tablets and of the few terms that the editors of TOP have attempted to interpret as having religious or ritual significance. The overall Fq set, in my view, is best seen as a grouping of a half-month of daily distribution records for grain allocations. The recipients are primarily personal names, some occupational names, a few ‘animals’, and in two cases (de-go-no and ma-ka) collective allocations for communal eating.