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LOCALISING PYLIAN RELIGION:
THOUGHTS ON THE GEOGRAPHIC REFERENCES
IN THE FR TABLETS
PROVOKED BY A NEW QUASI-JOIN*

VASSILIS P. PETRAKIS**

AN autopsy of several Pylian Linear B tablets at the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens undertaken by the author in April and July 2008 resulted – *inter alia* – in the identification of a quasi-join between **PY Fr 343+1213** and **Fr 1209**.¹ The purpose of this paper is to offer some thoughts on Pylian religion and geography *a propos* the study of the new text, following its brief presentation.²

PY Fr 343[+]1209

Pylos tablet **343**, excavated in 1939 (and initially classified as **Xa** in Bennett 1955), was joined to the right of **PY Fr 1213**, excavated in 1955, in the *editio princeps* of the Pylos oil tablets (Bennett 1958, 39, pls. II-III). In the same edition, Bennett suggested the quasi-join between **Fr 1209** and **1211**, also excavated in 1955 (Bennett 1958, 46, pls. IV-V). These reconstructions were published in the first full corpus of Pylian transcriptions (Bennett and Olivier 1973, 155-156). However, following a later autopsy, Bennett rejected the latter quasi-join, having noted both the lack of physical match between the fragments and problems in text reconstruction³ (Bennett 1992, 125). This dis join meant that **Fr 1209** was thereafter treated as an isolated fragment.

Before the suggested quasi-join is argued for, mention should be made to Richard J. Firth's commendable recent attempt to discuss the methodology behind the characterization and acceptance of such joins. Firth's criteria are (1) similarity in fabric, (2) identity of find-place, (3) identity of scribal hand, (4) plausibility of text reconstruction, (5) continuity of 'straw lines', (6)

* It is an honour and pleasure to be able to express my gratitude to Prof. Jean-Pierre Olivier for encouraging my work and urging the publication of these ideas. With customary generosity, Prof. Louis Godart and Prof. Anna Sacconi invited me to contribute them to *Pasiphae*. I am indebted to Prof. Louis Godart for permission to use and publish here expert facsimile of the quasi-joined tablets. The full publication of the quasi-join, accompanied by the author's own images, has been submitted to *Minos* (Petraakis forthcoming a). As always, Dr. Christos Boulotis is thanked for discussion and encouragement and Prof. Carlos Varias García and Ivo Hajnal are greatly thanked for their advice. The Director of the National Museum, Dr. Nikos Kaltsas and the Director of the Prehistoric Collections, Dr. Lena Papazoglou, as well as her collaborators, Kostas Paschalidis and Eleni Konstantinidi, arranged for a cozy workplace during my study sessions at the NMA. Eurydikē Velalopoulou kindly helped with the safe handling of the fragments and the reconstruction of the document. It is my obligation to mention here the outstanding atmosphere created by our colleagues at the NMA. I feel that they fulfil what Antonis Zois termed as the 'double purpose' of a Museum, functioning both as a means of education and as the locale for constant production of archaeological knowledge (Zois 1990, 30).

Abbreviations: PN = Personal Name; TN = Toponym; ThN = Theonym; MN = Month Name; FN = Festival Name.

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¹ Permit nos. 1509/2008 and 2093/2008. The motivation for this undertaking was to check a number of uncertain readings on Pylian documents as part of my research on Mycenaean kingship. The initial focus was on the occurrences of the term *wa-na-ka* and its derivatives, which included the well-studied references of the ruler in the **Fr** series (see Table 3), but the opportunity was seized to inspect all tablets in the series.

² The analytical publication of the quasi-join will be included in Petraakis forthcoming a. Its presentation in this section is a summary of main arguments offered there, along with some supplementary thoughts on methodology. The other sections of the present paper focus, as the title suggests, on the implications of the join. The two publications should be considered as supplementary.

³ **Fr 1209+1211** resulted in a 'continuous' *pa-ki-ja[-]na-de*, which was incompatible with the gap between *ja[* and *]na* noted in the earlier edition (Bennett and Olivier 1973, 159).

morphological consistency as parts of the same document, (7) continuity of inscribed rules and (8) continuity of non-textual features (palm-prints, accidental marks) (Appendix *apud* Firth and Melena 2002-2003, 118-119). Of these, criteria 5, 7 and 8 depend on non-ubiquitous features and, as such, are not applicable to the case discussed here. It is fair to say that criteria 1-4 are key-points when one seeks to determine the plausibility and validity of any quasi-join. They cannot, however, *point to one*. It is criterion 6 that most usefully serves as an *index* a quasi-join that may deserve to be further examined through criteria 1-4.

This minor *περιπέτεια* of establishing the quasi-join discussed herein began with the simple observation of the morphological ‘compatibility’ of the separate fragments as *potentially complementary* within the familiar form of an oil tablet of the so-called ‘palm-leaf’ type, whose examples are abundant within the **Fr** series. The fragments are also remarkably compatible in their overall sections (particularly the slightly rounded lateral sides) (Firth’s criterion 6). Upon further inspection, it was found that **343**[+]**1209** would satisfy more of Firth’s criteria:

(i) Both fragments display important similarities in fabric (Firth’s criterion 1). The inclusions as revealed in the broken sections are the most indicative. Similarities in colour, as well as the presence of multiple cracks (e.g. between **1209** and **1213**) are also important, although they relate mostly to the similar taphonomic conditions in the area where the fragments were found (*infra* ii).

(ii) Fragments **1209** and **1213** (the latter *physically joined* to **343**) are reported as found in Room 38 during the 1955 excavation season. Component 1955/1 (= **Fr 1213**) was found on the surface above Wall F separating Rooms 37 and 44 (Palaima 1988, 151). Component 1955/77 (= **Fr 1209**) was also found in the same area, but its exact find-spot is unknown, since it was found during the sieving of the soil from this room (Palaima 1988, 151). If we add the aforementioned similarity in preservation, it is highly likely that the fragments suffered quite close to each other during the final conflagration. Component 1939/343 (= **Fr 343**) was found in Trench 6B during the momentous excavation of 1939. This trench was opened in what was later revealed to be a part of Room 41, an area adjacent to Room 38. The physical distance between **343** and **1213**, which *do* physically join, is plotted here along with the components which constitute **Fr 1204** (Palaima 1988, 148, fig.18). Their find-spots document the extent of the dispersal of the fragments and certify that the tablets must have fallen from an upper floor, along with its debris. As such, it supports, rather than contradicts the validity of the quasi-join suggested here.

(iii) Both fragments are attributed to the same Stylus 343 by Hand 4, according to Palaima’s analysis (Palaima 1988, 70-72).⁴

In order to eliminate remaining doubts (predominantly mine) as to the plausibility of the join, I undertook (on 18.7.2008) a reversible experimental reconstruction of the missing part of the document, using the more ‘friendly’ modelling clay (which, unlike oil plaster, leaves no stains) between edges covered with moisture-proof lacquer (Paraloid™). This also served another purpose: it displayed with precision the extent of the *lacuna*, a *sine qua non* for any attempt at *text* reconstruction, whose plausibility is also Firth’s criterion 4. This led to the following proposal:

PY Fr 343+1213[+]**1209** (S343 H 4)

.a e-ti-we ,
pa-ki-ja[-si _]po-]se-da-o-ne re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo OLE[qs

Given (i) the size of the syllabograms on **Fr 1209**, (ii) the fact that the reconstruction *po-]se-da-o-ne* is the only plausible option (and perfectly compatible with other such Datives in the **Fr** records) and (iii) the habit of Hand 4 to omit word-dividers (Palaima 1988, 71), it seems almost inescap-

⁴ It seems prudent to note here that, given the ongoing work on the Pylos corpus, there may be revisions in the years to come (Melena pers. com.). Godart’s own work with new photos and facsimiles produced a very provocative revision of **PY Tn 316** (Godart 2009). However, in the author’s opinion, the documents attributed by Palaima to S343 are quite homogeneous, with some hesitation expressed as to **Fr 1212**, where only the ideogram OLE is preserved. In anticipation of discussion that has yet to begin, I shall here follow Palaima 1988, which is the only published full treatment of Pylian palaeography.

able that we can be allowed space for *only one* sign after the preserved sequence *pa-ki-ja*[and the necessary reconstruction of an initial *po*-[(as well as the reconstruction of the remaining part of *-se-*) (FIG. 1).

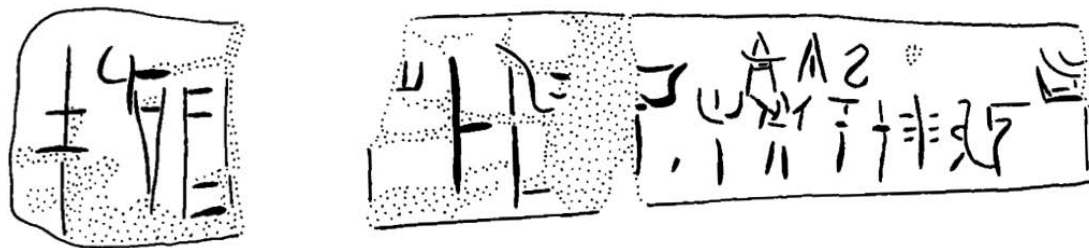


FIG. 1. PY Fr 343[+]1209 (Drawings courtesy of Professor Louis Godart; rearranged by the author).

This led to the conclusion that the most plausible reconstruction is *pa-ki-ja*[-*si*], the Locative or Dative of place of the well-attested TN *pa-ki-ja-ne* *Σφραγιστής (Aura Jorro 1993, 72-75, s.vv. *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo*, *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*). The only other possible reconstruction would be a ‘neutral’ Nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne*,⁵ but, *si entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem* (Ockham’s razor), such an elaborate reconstruction is hardly necessary.

pa-ki-ja-si occurs – *inter alia* (see Table 3) – as a designation of place in explicitly religious contexts on two occasions: on PY Un 2.1 (by S2 H1), it shows the locale of what arguably is the occasion of the ruler’s initiation (*mu-jo-me-no*, *e-pi*, *wa-na-ka-te*); on the famous PY Tn 316 *recto* .2 (by H44A⁶), the same type seems to mark the location of important offerings. If our suggested reconstruction is accepted, we may have the *third* attested use of the type in a religious context. Although other types and derivatives of this TN were already known among the Fr tablets (Table 3), *pa-ki-ja-si* is attested in this series for the first time. Moreover, our reconstruction cements the association of *pa-ki-ja-ne* to the well-known FN **re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-ja* (in our text in Gen. Pl. indicating time) ‘the spreading of the bed’, which is also mentioned with the allative *pa-ki-ja-na-de* on Fr 1217.2-3 (by S1217 Cii). In addition, we gain our *first explicit* mention of an offering to Poseidon (*po-]se-da-o-ne*) taking place at *pa-ki-ja-ne*.

However, it is immediately apparent that the new reconstructed text of PY Fr 343[+]1209 can be paralleled to extant Pylian perfumed oil records as to the arrangement of administrative information (Table 1).⁷ Classes of information (place/ recipient/ ritual occasion/ commodity) may be individually missing from most examples, but what seems to be a ‘formula’-like, orderly format occurs in enough examples to merit study. One further aspect stressed in this arrangement is that it enables us to distinguish (via their position) pure indications of time, such as *me-tu-wo ne-wo*, *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* or *po-ro-wi-to* (Fr 1202.B, 1224, 1232.1).

This arrangement appears on most sufficiently preserved tablets by S1202 H2 and S343 H4, but also of S1219 Cii.⁸ The latter is the only ‘scribe’ who has yielded a record of *wa-no-so-i* (note the erroneous spelling) except for S1202 H2. It is therefore, permissible to argue that S1219 was aiding S1202 in the latter’s duties.⁹

⁵ For ‘neutral’ Nominatives see Palmer 1963, 236 (referring to ‘neutral’ Nominatives as allatives on KN Fp[1] 1).

⁶ I take chance here to refer to Godart’s recent revision of the document (Godart 2009). In previous publications, all text on Tn 316 is attributed to a *single* Hand 44 with no further subdivisions.

⁷ The only similar attempt at analysis of the Fr texts is, to my knowledge, an early study by Doria (1960, 196-202). Not having examined the tablets via autopsy, Mario Doria made brilliant observations on text format, which were compatible to the results of the later (independent) palaeographic analysis.

⁸ Fr 1227, 1231 and 1241 (all three by S1202 H2) are not compatible (Fr 1231 is unique among tablets by S1202 in having a large *margin infra* or .3). Fr 1184 (an ‘internal’ movement of oil for unguent making of unique format and the *only* OLE record from the AC) and Fr 1198 (the only Fr record of AREPA ‘unguent’ and the only such tablet from Room 32) are not taken into account.

⁹ Besides *wa-no-so-i* (instead of *wa-na-so-i* in all other occurrences by S1202 H2), S1219 produced the Pylian hapax *wa-na-ke-te* (instead of the consistently ‘erroneous’ *wa-na-ka-te*!) on Fr 1215.1, paralleled now on TH X 105.2 (for *wa-na-ke-te* as

TABLE 1. Arrangement of administrative information on certain PY Fr records, which *parallel* our suggested text reconstruction of PY Fr 343[+]1209. Compatible to the same format (but not included in this Table because of their insufficient preservation) are Fr 1234, 1238, 1246 and 1251 by S1202 H2.

	PLACE DESIGNATION	TIME	'RECIPIENT'	RITUAL OCCASION	COMMODITY
	TN (Loc./ Dat.)	(Gen./ 'neutral' Nom.)	Title/ ThN (Dat.)	FN (Gen.)	Adjective (Nom./Acc. neuter) [modifying the ideogram/ ligature or <i>e-ra₃-wo</i> 'oil']
Fr 343[+]1209 (S343 H4)	pa-ki-ja[-si]	me-tu-wo ne-wo	po]-se-da-o-ne	re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo	e-ti-we (added in .a) OLE
Fr 1202 (S1202 H2)			ma-te-re te-i-ja		pa-ko-we (added in .Ba), v 4 (added in .A), OLE+PA 5 s 1
Fr 1204 (S343 H4)			ti-ri-se-ro-e		wo-do-we OLE z 1
Fr 1205 (S1202 H2)			a-pi-qo-ro-i		we-ja-re-pe OLE+PA s 2 v 4
Fr 1206 (S1202 H2)			po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja		qe-te-jo OLE+PA 5 v 4
Fr 1211 (S343 H4)	pa-ki-]ja-na-de				e-ti-we OLE v [
Fr 1215 (S1219 Cii)			wa-na-ke-te	wa-na-se-wi-jo	we-a-re-pe (continued in .2?: sa-pe-ra RA)
Fr 1216 (S1202 H2)			pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i		pa-ko OLE+PA 1 v 2
Fr 1219.2 (S1219 Cii)	wa-no-so-i		po-se-da-o-ne		OLE+A v 2 (.1 <i>vacat</i>)
Fr 1220.1 (S1202 H2)	ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro				pa-ko-we OLE+PA v 4
Fr 1220.2 (S1202 H2)	di-pi-si-jo-i		wa-na-ka-te		OLE +PA s 1
Fr 1221 (S1219 Cii)		po-ro-wi-to		wa-na-se-wi-jo	OLE +A s 1
Fr 1222 (S1202 H2)	wa-na-so-i			to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo	OLE+PA v 1 (added in .a)
Fr 1224 (S1202 H2)		pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no	po-se-da-o-ne		pa-ko-we, e-ti-we (added in .a) OLE+PA z 2
Fr 1226.1 (S1202 H2)	ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro		te-o-i		pa-ko-we OLE+PA v 3 (.2 <i>vacat</i>)
Fr 1228 (S1202 H2)	wa-na-so-i		e-re-de?		OLE+PA v 1
Fr 1232.1 (Cii)	di-pi-si-jo-i	po-ro-wi-to			pa-ko-we OLE+PA s 1 (.2 <i>vacat</i>)
Fr 1235.1 (S1202 H2)	wa-]na-so-i		wa-na-ka-te		pa-ko[-we] OLE+PA 1
Fr 1235.2 (S1202 H2)	wa-na-so-i		po-ti-ni-ja		pa-ko-we OLE+PA v 3
Fr 1236 (S1202 H2)	pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro		u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja		OLE+PA s 1 v 1

A different arrangement of information may be discerned among the documents attributed to S1217 Cii (Table 2). Here, unlike the *separate* entries¹⁰ on **Fr 1235**, the information flows continuously from one line to the next (cf. Palaima 1988, 123) and it is clear that S1217 was not dictated by any pre-conceived format to confine specific information on each line. However, a generally consistent sequence is followed among these documents as well (Table 2 [*top row* and Comments]).

Besides raising – once again – the issue of the interpretation of *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i* (see *infra*), the parallelism presented in Table 1 demonstrates the compatibility of the new text with other records of the same series and, hence, constitutes an interesting possible confirmation of the validity of the quasi-join and the suggested reconstruction. We must now explore in what respects the new insights gained may contribute to our understanding of these texts.

GEOGRAPHIC REFERENCES IN THE PYLIAN **Fr** SERIES

wa-na-so-i has attracted significant scholarly attention since the publication of the Pylos oil records (Aura Jorro 1993, 403-404, s.v. with references). The term occurs exclusively – but not rarely – in the **Fr** series, almost always in the same ‘initial’ far left position¹¹ (see entries on Table 3).

Among the first scholars to tackle the various aspects of the **Fr** tablets in a systematic manner, Leonard Palmer made the utterly attractive proposal that *wa-na-so-i* is to be interpreted as the Dative Dual **ἑνανάσσοιιν* ‘to the two *Wanassai*’ (Palmer 1958, 20-22), a collective ThN alongside such illustrious recipients of perfumed oil such as Poseidon, the various (divine) ‘Mistress(es)’, the ruler, the ‘gods’, the ‘Divine Mother’ and the obscure ‘Thrice Hero’.¹² In the context of these references, Palmer’s religious interpretation of the type gained popularity and the British linguist seems to have been carried away by his own brilliance, although he had clearly stated in an early publication that his identification was merely a working hypothesis that was worth-exploring (Palmer 1958, 22). I have elsewhere advocated more systematically that this view can no longer be tenable (Petrakis 2002-2003, 303-304; forthcoming a [Appendix]) and it may only be necessary here to repeat the two stronger counter-points. First, *wa-na-so-i* is not morphologically compatible to the Dative Dual of an *a*-stem noun. Although *-Co-i* belonged with the 2nd declension, and Palmer assumed its analogical use on the *a*-stems. So far, no indication exists that this suffix was used for *a*-stems in the LBA. Second, if *wa-na-so-i* indicates the recipient, then texts such as **Fr 1235**¹³ become quite difficult to interpret: why these supposed *Wanassai* are not given their own entry, but are instead *repeated* in the two successive entries along with other recipients?

more than just a scribal error see Petrakis forthcoming b). Other unusual spellings include *we-a-re-pe*, which also appears on **Fr 1223** (whose attribution to H44 is under revision: J. L. Melena pers. com.), instead of the usual *we-ja-re-pe* elsewhere (**Fr 1205** by S1202 H2, **1217.1**, **1218.1**, **1225** *recto originalis* .2 by S1217 Cii). These have been used to infer the inferior status of S1219 (Palaima 1988, 124). However, what can be safely inferred is only a lack of familiarity, since even individuals of high standing would make mistakes if they were busy with activities *other* than book-keeping for most of their time. So far, S1219 has not demonstrated inferior literacy and I would add that the neat layout of information upon the tablets attributed to him suggest, rather, a careful hand. It is interesting that **po-se-da-i-jo* was the original writing under *po-se-da-o-ne* on **Fr 1219.2**, before [[*i-jo*]] was erased (Bennett and Olivier 1973, 159). It is important, as mentioned above, that the scribe responsible (S1219 Cii) produced a lot of peculiar spellings (Palaima 1988, 124), so this may be just one more lapse of attention that was immediately corrected. Yet, the correction might confirm that the formulaic arrangement noted in Table 1 may have been meaningful *emically* (i.e. to the scribes themselves): it is permissible to suggest that S1219, whose spellings indicate some unfamiliarity with scribal clichés (Petrakis forthcoming b), began writing what seems to be a TN (cf. *po-si-da-i-jo* on **Fn 187.2** and **Tn 316 verso** .1), but was prompted to correct it, *because* the TN would have to be followed by the designation of the recipient (cf. Table 1).

¹⁰ Entries are identified by the ideogram (plain or ligatured)-metrogram-numeral sequence.

¹¹ *wa-na-so-i* occurs after *wa-na-ka-te* on **Fr 1227** by S1202 H2.

¹² *po-se-da-o-ne* occurs (apart from the text reconstructed here) on **Fr 1219.2** (S1219 Cii) and **1224** (S1202 H2); plain *po-ti-ni-ja* on **Fr 1231.1** and **1235.2** (both by S1202 H2); *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* on **Fr 1206** (S1202 H2); *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* on **Fr 1225.1** and **1236.1**; *wa-na-ka-te* on **Fr 1215.1** (S1219 Cii), **1220.2**, **1227** and **1235.1** (all three by S1202 H2); *te-o-i* on **Fr 1226.1** (S1202 H2) and **1355** (Cii); *ma-te-re te-i-ja* on **Fr 1202.B** (S1202 H2); *ti-ri-se-ro-e* on **Fr 1204** (S343 H4). It is not implausible that *a-pi-qi-ro-i* on **Fr 1205** (S1202 H2) might have been religious personnel (‘servants’) or deities (Aura Jorro 1993, 84, s.v.), although the term refers to female workers elsewhere in Pylos (**Aa 804**, **Ad 690**).

¹³ The text of the document is as follows (Bennett and Olivier 1973, 157):

PY Fr 1235 (S1202 H 2)
 .1 wa-]na-so-i , wa-na-ka-te , pa-ko[-we]OLE+PA 1
 .2]wa-na-so-i , po-ti-ni-ja , pa-ko-we OLE+PA v 3.

TABLE 2. Arrangement of administrative information on records attributed to S1217 Cii (Palaima 1988, 122 - 123). Note the *continuous* flow of information from one line to the next (Fr 1225 *recto originalis* .1 could have contained the same text as the *recto* .4).

	SYLLABOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF RECORDED COMMODITY + (TIME) / RECIPIENT / OCCASION / DESTINATION + IDEOGRAPHIC RENDERING OF COMMODITY			
line .1	line .2	line .3	line .4-5, <i>margin infra</i>	
Fr 1217	e-ra ₃ -wo, pa-ko-we, we-ja-re-pe[-re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo]	re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo	pa-ki-ja-na-de OLE+A V 1	not ruled
Fr 1218	e-ra ₃ -wo]we-ja-re-pe, po-ro[di-pi-si-je-wi-jo OLE+A S 1	di-pi-si-je-wi-jo OLE+A S 1	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacant</i>
Fr 1225	e-ra ₃ -wo, u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja	we-a ₂ -o-no-i, a-ro-pa OLE+A S 1	not ruled	not ruled
Fr 1225 <i>recto originalis</i>]u[we-ja-re-pe OLE+A S 1	we-ja-re-pe OLE+A S 1	not ruled	not ruled
Fr 1240	e-ra ₃ -wo, pa-ko[-we	di-pi-si-jo, e-qo-ṛṛḡ[OLE+A V 1	not ruled
Fr 1242	e-ra ₃ -wo e-pi (:a: a-ro-pa)	not ruled	not ruled	not ruled

Comments on the identification of terms

e-ra₃-wo pa-ko-we + /or we-ja-re-pe or e-pi a-ro-pa = Syllabographic description of recorded commodity

po-ro[if reconstructed as po-ro[-wi-to or po-ro[-wi-to-jo = Time (MN in 'neutral' Nom. or Gen. respectively)

u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja = Recipient (ThN)

re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo or di-pi-si-je-wi-jo = Ritual occasion (if in Gen. Pl. as is likely)

pa-ki-ja-na-de = Destination (Acc + -de)

di-pi-si-jo = Destination if di-pi-si-jo<-de>, Location if di-pi-si-jo<-i>, Ritual occasion? if di-pi-si-je-wi->jo (di-pi-si-jo = recipient [Dat.]) is not more likely than the aforementioned possibilities)

OLE+A S 1 or V 1 = Ideographic rendering of commodity

The reconstruction of **Fr 343[+]**1209 proposed here provides the final blow to the interpretation of *wa-na-so-i* as two recipients, by setting its references in a position perfectly paralleled to that of what may *unmistakably* be a designation of place: the Locative / Dative Pl. *pa-ki-ja[-si]* in the left ('initial') part of the palm-leaf tablet. This may add to Shelmerdine's excellent discussion, which also favoured the same interpretation of the type (Shelmerdine 1985, 73-77). This also draws its 'twin' type, *di-pi-si-jo-i*, which also occurs exclusively in similar initial positions (see Table 3¹⁴), into the discussion. It seems highly likely that this can be accepted as a place designation as well.

In this light, the interpretation of *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i* suggested here significantly augments the geographic references in the Pylian oil records (Table 3).

The other, widely accepted, TNs in the **Fr** series are *pa-ki-ja-ne* (attested in many forms), *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* and *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*. Probable TNs include also the allatives *jme-ki-to-de* (**Fr 1244** by a Cii scribe) and *ti-no-de* (**Fr 1223.1** by an unidentified hand).

pa-ki-ja-ne needs no introduction, nor is it possible to review its dossier in such a short contribution. Its role as a key cult place in the Pylian state is apparent in a number of documents. Besides the **Fr** references, priestesses are modified by the controversial *pa-ki-ja-na*¹⁵ (**Eb 338.A**, **339.A**, **1176.A**, **Eo 224.6**, .8/ **En 609.16**, .18), the allative type appears in the company of ThNs (**Fn 187.4**) and, as mentioned above, the Locative / Dative marks the occasions on **Un 2** and **Tn 316 recto**. It looks as if *pa-ki-ja-ne* appears in two different 'guises': as the recipient or destination point of religious offerings and as a contributor of taxed commodities (**Ma 356**).

The parallelism between *pa-ki-ja-ne* and the Knossian interest in *a-mi-ni-so* Ἀμνισός / Amnisos/ may be rewarding. Like *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *a-mi-ni-so* is a TN with a particularly 'charged' ritual role, which appears repeatedly in lucid religious contexts in a large range of sets from Knossos.¹⁶ A bewildering number of ThNs is also associated with *a-mi-ni-so*,¹⁷ most notably of 'All the Gods' (*pa-si-te-o-i*, cf. Pylian *te-o-i*), Enesidaōn (a formation analogous to **PY** Poseidaōn), and, remarkably, *e-re-u-ti-ja* *Ἐλευθίτζα.¹⁸ The latter ThN gives one of the most impressive LBA/ Homer convergences, recalling the epic σπέος Εἰλειθυίης at Amnisos (*Od.* xix 188-189), just like Pylian offerings to Poseidon – worshipped also at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, as the new quasi-join demonstrates – echo the sacrifice of the pious Pylians to the same deity at the opening of *Od.* iii. 5-9. Although the various aspects of *a-mi-ni-so* cannot be surveyed here (Hiller 1982, van Effenterre and van Effen-

¹⁴ The term occurs in what seems to be a 'middle' position (to the right of *po-ti-ni-ja*) on **Fr 1231.1** by S1202 H2, but it seems to precede another reference to *te[-o-i]*, if the latter reconstruction is accepted. Again, this is an isolated case, from an untypical document (see supra n.8), so we should not read too much into this. The problematic type *di-pi-si-jo* on **Fr 1240.2** may be a Singular type of *di-pi-si-jo-i* (cf. Petrakis forthcoming a [Appendix]) or just a scribal omission of the final *-i*, but analogies with **1218.2** by the same scribe (S1217 Cii) allow for the possibility that *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* might have been intended (see entries in Tables 2-3). Evidence is by no means compelling on this type, which must be considered as of uncertain identification, but its interpretation as a ThN may be excluded.

¹⁵ There is no agreement whether this is a dissimilated variant of *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* (the derivative 'ethnic' adjective) or a Singular form of the Plural *pa-ki-ja-ne* (cf. *Μυκίζνη* and *Μυκίζναι*) (Aura Jorro 1993, 72, s.v. with references).

¹⁶ TN *a-mi-ni-so* or its derivatives (Allative *a-mi-ni-so-de*, ethnic adj. *a-mi-ni-si-jo*) occur on **KN Lc(1) 550.B**, **5053**, **Le 654.3**, on many **L(1)**, **L(5)** records (production and receipt of textiles), **Dn 1319** (record of whethers), **Ak(1) 638.C**, **Ai(3) 825.1**, **1036.1**, **As(2) 1520.1[+]**V**S(2) 1526.1** xxi **V(3) 7512.1** (personnel records), **E 777.2** (tenure?), **Fh 5451**, **5442** (oil disbursements), **Sc 217**, **237**, **252**, **7772**, **7782** (records of horses, chariots and conselets from the RCT), **Nc 4484** (flax), **Og(2) <4467>** (obscure subject-matter), **Fp(1) 1.7**, **14.2**, **48.3** (oil disbursements in religious context), **Ga(3) 465.2** (cyperus), **Ga 953[+]**955.3b (record of spices? **MA** and **KO** in religious context), **Gg(3) 705.1** (offerings of honey in religious context), **M 719.2** (disbursement of *146 in religious context), **Od(2) 718** (wool record), **V(1) 114.a**, *verso* .1 (obscure references to *wa-tu* 'town' of Amnisos?).

¹⁷ *a-mi-ni-so(-de) pa-si-te-o-i* appears on **KN Fp(1) 1.7**, **14.2**, **48.3** (= *pa-si-te-o-i* with no TN). *pa-si-te-o-i* and *a-mi-ni-so-de* occur together on **Ga 953[+]**955.3a-3b. ThN *qe-ra-si-ja* is also mentioned on **KN Fp(1) 14.2** (even though *a-mi-ni-so-de* refers to *pa-si-te-o-i*). *e-re-u-ti-ja* follows *a-mi-ni-so* on **KN Gg(3) 705.1**. The following ThNs appear in the same documents (*di-ka-ta-jo di-we*: **KN Fp(1) 1.2**; *pa-de*: **KN Fp(1) 1.4**, **48.2**, **Ga 953[+]**955.2; *pa-si-te-o-i*: **KN Fp(1) 1.5**, **48.2**, **Gg(3) 705.2**; *qe-ra-si-ja*: **KN Fp(1) 1.6**, **48.2**; *e-ri-nu*: **KN Fp(1) 1.8**; *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*: **KN M 719.2**, probably on **Gg(3) 705.3**) or in the same sets (*e-re-u-ti-ja*: **KN Od(2) 714.b**, **715.a**, **716.a** (*a-mi-ni-σο* [on **Od(2) 718**]); *pa-si-te-o-i*: **KN Fp(1) 5.2**, **6.1**, **13.2**, **15.2**, **16.1**, **18.2**, **Gg(3) 717.1**; *qe-ra-si-ja*: **KN Fp(1) 5.1**, **6.2**, **13.2**, **16.2**; *e-ne-si-da-o*: **KN Gg(3) 717.2**, **5185.2**; *pa-de*: **KN Ga(3) 456.1** (*a-mi-ni-so-de* σε **Ga(3) 465.2**); *pi-pi-tu-na*: **KN Fp(1) 13.1**; *a-u-ri-mo-de*: **KN Fp(1) 13.2**) as *a-mi-ni-so* occurrences.

¹⁸ Ionic epic type *Εἰλειθυίη* (alternative Ionic type *Ἐλευθίη) appears as *Ἐλευθίαια* on Crete, *Ἐλευθίᾱ* in Laconia (Aura Jorro 1985, 244, s.v. with references). The similarity of the latter to the Knossian type cannot be ignored.

TABLE 3. Certain and possible designations of place on the Pylos Fr tablets. Identifications of scribes follow Palaima 1988 (Godart 2009 has also been taken into account for **Tn 316**) and readings follow Bennett and Olivier 1973 with supplements from later improvements.

TYPE	FR TABLET	'SCRIBE'	FIND-PLACE	CONTEXT OF FR REFERENCE	OTHER PYLIAN REFERENCES OF TYPES
<i>pa-ki-ja[-si]</i>	343 [+] 1209	S343 H4	R o o m s 38+41	<i>po-]se-da-o-ne</i> as recipient	An 18.11 (H11), Vn 130.7-9 (H1), Cn 608.6 (S608 H1). It marks ritual occasions on Un 2.1 (S2 H1) and Tn 316 r. 3 (H44A?) Poseidon is also a recipient of oil on Fr 1219.2 (S1219 Cii) and 1224 (S1202 H2). Also receives offerings on the fragmentary Un 6 and Un 853 (both by S6 H6). <i>do-so-mo</i> to this deity comprise the Es series (S644 H1) and an exceptional <i>do-so-mo</i> is recorded on Un 718 (H24). FN (< λέχος + στρώννυμι) recurs on Fr 1217.2 (S1217 Cii) (with <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>) <i>e-ti-we</i> modifies plain oil on Fr 1211 (S343 H4), <i>OLE+PA</i> on Fr 1224 (S1202 H2) and -possibly- a missing oil ideogram on Fr 1245 (—)
<i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>	1217.3	S1217 Cii	Room 23	<i>re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo</i> Oil is <i>pa-ko-we</i> and <i>OLE+A</i>	Vn 20.6 (H25), Fn 187.4 (H2) FN (< λέχος + στρώννυμι) (Bennett 1958, 31) on Fr 343 [+] 1209 (with <i>pa-ki-ja[-si]</i>) <i>pa-ko-we</i> is certainly *σφακρόφεν 'sage-scented' on Fr 1202.Ba , 1216.1 , 1220.1 , 1224.a , 1226.1 , 1235.1 , .2, 1246 (all by S1202 H2), 1232.1 (Cii), 1200 (S1203 Cii), 1240.1 (S1217 Cii), 1223.1 (—) and 1245 (—) A may acrophonically stand for <i>a-re-pa žleuφap</i> 'unguent' on Fr 1194 (—), 1207.1 (H41), 1218.2 , 1225 and 1240.3 (all three by S1217 Cii), 1219.2 (S1219 Cii), 1230 and 1237 (both by Cii), 1223.1 , .2 (—)
<i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>	1233	S1202 H2	Room 23]so <i>OLE+PA</i>	<i>to-]so</i> would be possible, but this would mean that <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i> 'inter-venes' between <i>to-so</i> and the ideogram, which is unparalleled PA may acrophonically stand for <i>pa-ko-we</i> (*σφακρόφεν) or φαυλία 'wild' on Fr 1202.B , 1205 , 1206 , 1216.1 , 1220.1 , .2, 1222 , 1224 , 1226.1 , 1228 , 1235.1 , .2, 1236.1 , 1246 (all by S1202 H2), 1232.1 (Cii) and 1229 (—)
<i>pa-ki-]ja-na-de</i>	1211	S343 H4	Room 41?	Oil is plain and <i>e-ti-we</i>	<i>e-ti-we</i> modifies plain(?) oil on Fr 343 and <i>OLE+PA</i> on Fr 1224 (S1202 H2)
<i>pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i</i>	1216.1	S1202 H2	Room 23		The ethnic recurs as feminine on On 300.3 (S300 Cii), Jo 438.10 (Ci), En 609.1 (S74 H1), as MN on Fr 1224 (S1202 H2) and as TN on Fr 1236.1 (S1202 H2)

TYPE	FR TABLET	'SCRIBE'	FIND-PLACE	CONTEXT OF FR REFERENCE	OTHER PYLIAN REFERENCES OF TYPES
<i>pa-ki-ja-ni-jo</i> <i>a-ko-ro</i>	1236.1	S1202 H2	Room 23	Oil is <i>pa-ko</i> and <i>OLE+PA</i>	<i>pa-ko</i> is certainly an incomplete <i>pa-ko</i> < <i>we</i> >. For both see <i>supra</i> entries for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i> The adjective recurs (see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i</i>) but the phrase is an <i>hapax</i>
<i>ro-u-si-jo</i> <i>a-ko-ro</i>	1220.1	S1202 H2	Room 23	<i>u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja</i> as recipient Oil is <i>OLE+PA</i>	This ThN appears as recipient of <i>OLE+A</i> and * ₁₂₁ on Fr 1225.1 (S1217 Cii) and Fn 187.8 (H25) respectively For <i>PA</i> see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>ro-u-si-jo</i> <i>a-ko-ro</i>	1226.1	S1202 H2	Room 23	No recorded recipient? Oil is <i>pa-ko-we</i> and <i>OLE+PA</i>	This TN (except for Fr 1226.1 <i>infra</i>), occurs on Vn 10.4 (H3), Un 47.1 (S138 H42), Ua 1413 (Ci) and probably Mn 1411.3 (H14)
<i>di-wi-jo-de</i>	1230	Cii	Room 23	<i>te-o-i</i> Oil is <i>pa-ko-we</i> and <i>OLE+PA</i>	For both see <i>supra</i> entries for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i> * <i>θεοι</i> 'to the Gods'. Also appears in the much fragmentary Fr 1355 (Cii)
<i>wa-na-so-i</i>	1222	S1202 H2	Room 23	<i>to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo</i> Oil is <i>OLE+A</i>	For both see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i> <i>di-wi-jo</i> appears on fiscal? Mb 1366 (H14) For <i>A</i> see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>wa-na-so-i</i>	1227	S1202 H2	Room 23	<i>wa-na-ka-te</i> Oil is probably [<i>OLE+JA</i>]	Term recurs only within the Fr series Title appears as certain recipient of <i>OLE+PA</i> and * ₁₄₆ on Fr 1220.2 , 1235.1 (both by S1202 H2) and Mb 1402 (Ci). <i>a-na-ka-te</i> is a digamma-less type on Un 219.7 (H15). <i>wa-na-ka-te</i> on Un 2.1 (S2 H1) and probably Un 1426.2 (S1426 Ci) are parts of designations of ritual occasions. For <i>A</i> see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>wa-na-so-i</i>	1228	S1202 H2	Room 23	<i>e-re-de</i> Oil is <i>OLE+PA</i>	Term recurs only within the Fr series Unclear term which recurs on Mn 1411.2 (H14) (a record of * ₁₄₆ ?) For <i>PA</i> see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>wa-]na-so-i</i>	1235.1	S1202 H2	Room 23	<i>wa-na-ka-te</i> as recipient	Term recurs only within the Fr series For this title see <i>supra</i> entry on <i>wa-na-so-i</i> of Fr 1227 (S1202 H2)

TYPE	Fr TABLET	'SCRIBE'	FIND-PLACE	CONTEXT OF Fr REFERENCE	OTHER PYLIAN REFERENCES OF TYPES
				Oil is <i>pa-ko[-we]</i> and <i>OLE+PA</i>	For both see <i>supra</i> entries for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>]wa-na-so-i</i>	1235.2	S1202 H2	Room 23	<u>PLAIN</u> <i>po-ti-ni-ja</i> as recipient	Term recurs only within the Fr series This ThN recurs as recipient on Fr 1231.1 and 1235.2 (S1202 H2), Un 219.7 (H15) and Tn 316 r. 3 (44A?) For both see <i>supra</i> entries for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>wa-na-so-i[-</i>	1251	S1202 H2	Room 63	Oil is <i>pa-ko-we</i> and <i>OLE+PA</i>	Term recurs only within the Fr series
				Oil seems to be plain]OLE[There are no other <i>certain</i> cases of <i>unmodified and non-ligatured</i> oil in the Fr series
<i>wa-na[</i>	1234	S1202 H2	Room 23		<i>wa-na[-so-i</i> preferable to <i>wa-na-ka-te</i> because of the far left position of preserved signs
<i>wa-no-so-i</i>	1219.2	S1219 Cii	Room 23	<i>po-se-da-o-ne</i> as recipient	Scribal error? for <i>wa<-na>-so-i</i> For Poseidon see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja[-si</i>
<i>di-pi-si-jo</i>	1240	S1217 Cii	Room 23	<i>e-qa[-</i>	Possibly <i>di-pi-si-jo<-i></i> or even <i>di-pi-si<-je-wi>-jo</i> (cf. Fr 1218.2), or even its actual Singular type (cf. Μοχρήνη and Μοχρήνα) <i>e-qa-me[</i> possible reading, <i>e-qa-me-ne[-</i> recurs -again with <i>di-pi-si-jo-i-</i> on Fr 1338.1 (Cii)
<i>di-pi-si-jo-i</i>	1220.2	S1202 H2	Room 23	Oil is <i>pa-ko-we</i> and <i>OLE+PA</i>	For both see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
				<i>wa-na-ka-te</i>	Term recurs only within the Fr series. On this tablet it appears along with a disbursement of <i>OLE+PA</i> to <i>ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro</i> (see <i>supra</i>)
				Oil is <i>OLE+PA</i>	For this title see <i>supra</i> first entry for <i>wa-na-so-i</i> For <i>PA</i> see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>di-pi-si-jo-i</i>	1232	Cii	Room 23	<i>po-ro-wi-to</i> as MN in 'neutral' Nom.	Term recurs only within the Fr series This MN recurs in 'neutral' Nom. on Fr 1221 (S1219 Cii) and in Gen. on Tn 316 r. 1 (H44A?). <i>po-ro[-wi-to</i> on Fr 1218.1 (S1217 Cii)
				Oil is <i>pa-ko-we</i> and <i>OLE+PA</i>	For both see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
<i>di-pi-si-jo-i</i>	1338.2	Cii	Room 103	<i>e-qa-me-ne[-</i>	Term recurs only within the Fr series <i>e-qa-me[</i> is a possible reading which appears -again with <i>di-pi-si-jo-i-</i> on Fr 1240 (S1217 Cii)
<i>di-pi-si-jo-i</i>	1245	—	Room 23		Term recurs only within the Fr series

TYPE	FR TABLET	'SCRIBE'	FIND-PLACE	CONTEXT OF FR REFERENCE	OTHER PYLIAN REFERENCES OF TYPES
<i>me-ki-to-de</i>	1244	Cii	Room 23	Oil is <i>pa[-ko-we</i> and <i>e[-ti-we</i>	For both see <i>supra</i> entries on <i>pa-ki-ja[-si</i> and <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i> on Ab 575 (S186 H21)
<i>]ti-no-de</i>	1223.1	—	Room 23	Oil is <i>pa-ko-we</i> , <i>we-a-ṛe-pe</i> and <i>OLE+A</i>	<i>ti-no</i> seems to be a TN on An 18.9 (H11) For <i>pa-ko-we</i> and <i>A</i> see <i>supra</i> entry for <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i> . <i>we-a-ṛe-pe</i> modifies <i>OLE+PA</i> on Fr 1205 (S1202 H2), <i>OLE+A</i> on Fr 1217 , 1218 and 1225 <i>recto originalis</i> (all three by S1217 Cii) and 1223 (—), as well as an obscure RA on Fr 1215.1 (S1219 Cii) (cf. Un 219.6 by H15)

TABLE 4. Joins, dis-joins and quasi-joins on **PY Fr** records made after Bennett and Olivier 1973.

NEW DOCUMENT	REFERENCE	Bennett and Olivier 1973	COMMENTS
Fr 1237+fr:[+] 1239 (Cii)	Melena 1992-1993, 81 Melena 2000-2001, 377	Fr 1237 ; Fr 1239	Previous <i>to-no</i> [was proven complete, eliminating the possibility for a second occurrence of <i>to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo</i> (cf. Fr 1222)
Fr 1211	Bennett 1992, 125	Fr 1209 [+] 1211	Disjoined from Fr 1209
Fr 1215	Bennett 1992, 120	Fr 1215	In .2 there is some fluctuation of preference between reading <i>RA</i> (Bennett 1958, 47, Bennett and Olivier 1973, 156) and <i>OLE+RA</i> (Bennett 1992, 120). <i>RA</i> seems favourable.
Fr 1231+fr (S1202 H2)	Melena 1996-1997, 165	Fr 1231	Text unchanged
Fr 1232+fr (Cii)	Melena 2000-2001, 376	Fr 1232	Text unchanged
Fr 1251 [+] fr :	Melena 2000-2001, 377	Fr 1251	Fragment with upper <i>vestigia</i> of <i>OLE</i> quasi-joined to the right
Fr 1479+fr [+] fr :[+] fr :(—)	Bennett 1992, 127 Melena 1994-1995, 100 Melena 2000-2001, 379	-	Possibly identical to Fr 1249 by Bennett 1958, 68, but without photograph (Melena 2000-2001, 379). This will be Fr 1214 in the forthcoming Pylos corpus (consulted courtesy of J. L. Melena)

terre 2001, Betancourt 2007), the overt place of this site in Knossian state cult and the diversity of administrative contexts in which it appears are sufficient to support a ‘special relationship’ between it and Knossos itself, which is unparalleled in other TNs on documents from the LM palace. Palatial support to this site may be documented on the now missing **KN Og(2) <4467>** where an unrecorded weighed commodity is given towards Amnisos (.: *jo-a-mi-ni-so-de di-do*-[¹⁹]). As we shall discuss *infra*, this formed the basis of a palatial political strategy to manipulate the ideological significance of cult-places.

Unlike *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *a-mi-ni-so* survived the collapse of LBA bureaucracies, allowing us to observe its close proximity to the Knossian centre, which may be a general tendency amongst religious TBs there (Killen 1987). However, Pylian records lack the well-known ‘anchor’ TNs of the Knossian texts,²⁰ which aid our understanding of LM III geography, as such as they aided Ventris in the decipherment. The same proximity is generally assumed for *pa-ki-ja-ne*, although this is largely based on the quantity of information on land allotments there in the E- tablets, as well as an association between the majuscule *pu-ro* and the Locative *pa-ki-ja-si* on **Tn 316 recto .2**. Although the proximity is still the most obvious interpretation, we may observe that the former of these arguments shows only an intense interest of the centre, while the latter is quite vague. Adopting a conservatist caution, we may only place the site somewhere in Western Messenia, based on the presence of the TN amidst the well-known ‘fixed order’ geographical lists of (presumably major) ‘Hither Province’ sites that have clear fiscal associations (**Vn 19**, **Vn 20**, **Cn 608**, **Jn 829**²¹).

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro is an hapax. To illuminate its significance we may turn to the more widely attested *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*. Like *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro*, this also consists of *a-ko-ro* modified by an adjective derived from a TN. That the “Adj. (< TN) + *a-ko-ro*” terms signify entities different than (yet associated with) the responding TNs is most eloquently attested on the headline of **PY Un 47(.1)**: *ro-u-so*, *ro-u-si-jo*, *a-ko-ro*[. Unlike the restricted occurrences of *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* to documents related to foodstuff provisions for banquets (**Un 47**, **Ua 1413**), offerings (**Fr**), raw materials for wheel making (**Vn 10**), and an obscure record (**Mn 1411** probably a fiscal record of *146), *ro-u-so* *Λουσόος or *Λουσοί (cf. the Arcadian historical TN) is a frequently attested TN. Like *pa-ki-ja-ne*, its status must have been high: *ro-u-so* is associated with 86+ female textile workers – mostly *mi-ra-ti-ja* – (**Aa 717**, **798**, **Ab 382**, **1099**), a figure second only to *pu-ro* itself (Bennet 1999, 150, Table 1).²²

a-ko-ro appears in Pylos always modified as *ro-u-si-jo* or *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo*. All proposed transliterations (ἄγρός, ἄγορος [*< ἀγείρω*] or *ἄγολος cf. ἀγέλη) are morphologically possible (Bennett 1958, 25-26, Gallavotti 1959, 101, Tegye 1968, 144, Aura Jorro 1985, 48, s.v.). Discussion was recently revived *a propos* the Theban PN *a-ko-ro-da-mo* / *a-ko-da-mo* (Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi 2001, 170-171). Although a religious interpretation of *a-ko-ro* ἄγορος ‘religious gathering’ seems tempting in view of its context in the **Fr** series, in view of the use of *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* in contexts *not* overtly religious, it seems more economical to prefer the interpretation of the Pylian term as ἄγρός or ἄγοροί ‘field(s)’.

If so, it is highly tempting to interpret this ἄγρός as a rural location in the immediate hinterland and to be reminded of the clear antithesis between ἄγοροί and π(τ)όλις in *Odyssey*²³ and later Greek. If we extend this semantic pattern back into the LBA (which is excusable, since the contrast must have been born out of urbanization), it is interesting to consider this designation as a collective name for the small rural communities that existed in the close vicinity, perhaps the

¹⁹ The syntax of this document is illuminated by parallelism to **PY Vn 10.1-2** (*o-di-do-si du-ru-to-mo* / *a-mo-te-jo-na-de*). The Pylian record also records the TN *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*, which, as we shall argue, occurs in predominantly religious contexts (including two **Fr** occurrences).

²⁰ Besides *a-mi-ni-so*, we have *ko-no-so* Κνωσός Knossos, *tu-ri-so* Τύλισσος Tyllissos, *pa-i-to* Φαιστός Phaistos, *ku-do-ni-ja* *Κυδωνίη (also *a-pa-ta-wa* *Ἀπταρφα > Ἀπτερα Aptera).

²¹ The TN also appears on individual records of tax offerings (the Instrumental with Locative force *pa-ki-ja-pi* on **Ma 221.1** (cf. **Eb 338.A** and **Jn 829.7**) and the ‘ethnic’ / TN *pa-ki-ja-na* on **Na 561**).

²² Although *ro-u-so* does not occur in explicitly religious contexts, it would be interesting if any of the incomplete sequences]*so-de* on the left broken edge of **Fr 1207.1** (H41) and **1238** (S1202 H2) were to be reconstructed *ro-u-]so-de* (cf. Waanders 1997, 61).

²³ *Od.* i 185, 189-190, v 489, xvi 383, xxiv 205, 212, 309.

catchment of larger settlements: in the case discussed, *pa-ki-ja-ne* and *ro-u-so*. It is interesting that the palace dealt with issues of an area that we would expect to lay within the responsibilities of these peripheral sites after which *a-ko-ro* is named.

di-wi-jo-de can be related to the probable TN *di-wi-jo* **Mb 1366** (Shelmerdine 1998-1999, 323), which is certainly theophoric; the allative ending on **Fr 1230** and the use of its variant *di-u-jo* on **Tn 316 verso** .8 (parallel to Locative *pa-ki-ja-si* on *recto* .2) betrays it as a TN, probably as ‘sanctuary of Zeus’ (stem * $\Delta\iota\upsilon\text{-}$).²⁴

me-ki-to-de also bears the allative-like *-de* ending. **me-ki-to* is unattested, and the genre of the clearly composite *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta* is not readily identifiable to be of help.²⁵ Although the identification of the type as a TN allative seems the most plausible option, it is prudent to refrain from further speculation on alternative alphabetic transliterations.²⁶

]ti-no-de is the allative of the known TN *ti-no*, known (in Locative) from **An 18.9**. On this document, it is associated to *pa-ki-ja-si* (.11),²⁷ just as the allatives *pa-ki-ja-na-de* and *]ti-no-de* occur both on **Fr** documents from Room 23.²⁸

So far, *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i* occur only on **Fr** records. If all the TNs in the series are considered as a ‘group’, then the presence among them of *pa-ki-ja-ne* and *ro-u-so* would imply that these oil records dealt with sites of the ‘Hither Province’. Yet, there is no independent reason why the place designations in this series should reflect any consistent geographical concentration. We should be aware that the documents classified as **Fr** are not likely to be a tight or coherent set due to palaeographic diversity and plurality of findspots (useful tabular presentation by Bendall 1998-1999 and 2007, 96-99, Table 3-2). Of one thing we must be certain though: although *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i* are not recorded elsewhere at Pylos, they were anything but insignificant sites: the fact that the ruler himself appears as a recipient (Dat. *wa-na-ka-te*) in both of them (**Fr 1227** and **1235.1** [*wa-na-so-i*], **Fr 1220.2** [*di-pi-si-jo-i*]) cannot be anything but indicative of their status and importance.

TYPES AND NUANCES: LOCATIVES, ALLATIVES, ETHNICS

Geographic information may be concealed in references that are not strictly toponymic. It is important to bear in mind that, in theory, an informed official would immediately recognise a reference to *pa-ki-ja-ne* by reading the FN *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, if indeed a festival known by that name was exclusively taking place in this location. (If historical Greek is suggestive, within the same polity, each festival was ‘anchored’ to a specific locale and time of the year). Yet, *both* references to this festival do include geographic designations (**Fr 343**[+] **1209**, **1217**), reminding us that what was *emically* important information and what was self-evident to a ‘scribe’ is a constant desideratum that we are not permitted to assume without hesitation. The above may complicate our endeavour, but create a clear motive for lucid and strict methodology. We may offer some thoughts as to the different use patterns of each type of place designation attested in these oil records.

²⁴ The same allative may be reconstructed on the Khania honey record (*di-wi-jo[-de]*, *]di-we* on **KH Gq 5.1**).

²⁵ Besides a probable reconstruction on the fragmentary **Aa 955** (S240 H1), the term accompanies a record of women at **pu-ro** on **Ab 575** (S240 H1), which is as follows (after Bennett and Olivier 1973, 25):

PY Ab 575 (S186 H21)
pu-ro me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta MUL 1 ko-wo [

Depending on which parallelism one is indulged to make, *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta* on **Ab 575** (**Ae 955** being only a fragment) could be: (i) the occupation title of the recorded women (cf. *pu-ro a-ke-ti-ra* on **Ab 564**) or (ii) the provenance of the recorded women (cf. *pu-ro mi-ra-ti-ja* on **Ab 573.B**). The latter case is less probable, since the term does not bear the diagnostic *-i-ja* suffix.

²⁶ If we surrender to the tempting reading of the superlative $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\text{-}\delta\epsilon$, parallelism with *di-wi-jo-de* encourages the theophoric origin of this toponymic reference and also intrigues us to speculate whether we have the LBA ancestor of a later cult *adnomen* of Zeus ($\text{Μ}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$) (Milani 1958, 633). However, a shrine TN would be expectedly **me-ki-ti-jo* (cf. the aforementioned *di-wi-jo-de* or the well-known *da-da-re-jo-de* on **KN Fp(1) 1.4**).

²⁷ *ti-no* may appear in the pseudo-composite *ke-re-te-u-ti-no* on **PY Na 565**. A divider may have been in the small destroyed area between *-u-* and *-ti-* (Bennett 1992, 123)

²⁸ In Room 23, *]ti-no-de* occurs on **Fr 1223** (–) and *pa-ki-ja-na-de* on **1217.3** (S1217 Cii) and **1233** (S1202 H2).

Table 3 demonstrates the variety of types that designate places in the **PY Fr** series, distinguished with morphological criteria as Locatives/ Datives of place, Allatives and ethnic adjectives. An assumption must precede the examination of these types: given that Linear B tablets bear administrative records and not literature texts, variety for aesthetic reasons is unacceptable unless specifically argued for.²⁹

Locatives (or Datives of place) seen in collocation with certain FNs (**Fr** 343[+]1209, 1217.2-3, 1222) imply a translation ‘at the festival *x*. taking place in *y*.’ In this case, the Locative modifies the FN, rather than the omitted implied verb. In these cases, the place information is indicated by the entire ‘Locative+FN’ collocation. It would be tempting to consider these collocations as expressions standardised through continuous use (cf. the Attic τὰ ἐν ἄστει κατ’ ἀγρούς ~~τῶν~~ Διονύσια), although the quantity of occurrences is insufficient to confirm this.

Locatives occur mostly alongside ThNs in Dative, which show the recipients (see Table 3). In this case the intended meaning appears to be ‘to the *x*. at *y*.’ The allatives seem to modify and particularise the information conveyed by the Dative. Again, it is attractive to see these collocations as standardized expressions. LBA ThNs provide us with illuminating parallels of ‘ethnic’ adjectives modifying generic theonyma, such as *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* ‘the Aswian Mistress’ on **Fr** 1206 or the Knossian *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* ‘Mistress of A.’ on **KN V** 52.1. A further toponymic epithet is assumed by Chadwick for *e-re-wi-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (**PY Vn** 48.3) (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 545). A Genitive of what seems to have been a TN appears in the intriguing ThN *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* ‘Mistress of the Labyrinth’ (**KN Gg**(1) 702.2, **Oa** 745.2). As far as we can tell, none of these TNs appears alone.

Allatives (Acc. + *-de*) are more straightforward and seem to function in a more literarily adverbial sense. As such, they indicate the direction of the verbal action (verbs are always omitted in the **Fr** texts). Among the **Fr** documents, allatives never occur along with recipients or other information, but this may not be so in other sites.³⁰

Only one case of a straightforward ethnic derived from a TN occurs in the series. *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i* appears in the Dative of the ‘recipient’ (‘to the *Pakijanians*’) and is classified as such in Table 1. We have no similar use of the ethnic adjective elsewhere. Its derivation from *pa-ki-ja-ne* locates, albeit indirectly, the record to the region of *pa-ki-ja-ne* and seems, therefore, to provide the information of place in an indirect but clear manner. A further place designation (presumably *pa-ki-ja-si*?) would have been justifiably thought as unnecessary.

HOW MANY PYLIAN GEOGRAPHIES?

In her important contribution to Emmett Bennett’s festschrift, Mabel Lang alerted to the highly complex situation of Pylian geographic references. While masterfully propagating the need of careful contextual analysis of TNs, she exposed their overwhelming number³¹ and noted that most of them appeared to be quite ‘specialised’, appearing only with records of a single commodity. In an earlier paper, she had ingeniously proposed that these were names not of sites, but, rather, of *quarters* within settlements, specialised in the production of the relevant commodities (Lang 1966, 404-406). However, TNs appearing *specifically* or *exclusively* in religious contexts call for a different interpretation.

We already stressed the political importance of *di-pi-si-jo-i* and *wa-na-so-i*, which are mentioned along with the Pylian *wanax*. Yet, none of these TNs ever appear outside the **Fr** series. This cannot be due to some general ‘isolation’ of these records; the right column in Table 3 shows that most of these terms appear in other Pylian documents as well. However, the cases of the two aforementioned place designations is not entirely unparalleled. *sa-ra-pe-da* is another TN which is

²⁹ I wish to dub this – implicit or explicit in previous scholarship – assumption ‘the rule of internal consistency’.

³⁰ Cf. **KN Fp**(1) 14.2 or 48.3: *a-mi-ni-so-de* / *pa-si-te-o-i*. **KH Gq** 5.1: *di-wi-jo-[de]*, *]di-we*.

³¹ Sainer’s useful index is a good reference, although occasionally outdated by more recent joins or improved readings and lists 254 such references (Sainer 1976) and Palmer (1963) follows closely. Although this is the maximum figure, even if a third of them are rejected as uncertain, the quantity remains staggering.

the locale of an impressive *do-so-mo* to Poseidon (**Un 718**), yet it never appears among ‘canonical’ place-names. In order to comprehend such patterns,³² we must comment on what are considered the ‘orthodox’ sources for Pylian LBA geography.

The so-called ‘fixed order’ lists of TNs are largely inter-consistent, yet some differences occur. It is quite well-known that, in the ‘Hither Province’ list, *ro-u-so* on **Jn 829.10** is replaced by *e-ra-to* on **Vn 20.9** and **Cn 608.9**. To explain this by assuming that *ro-u-so* was “also known as *e-ra-to*” (Chadwick 1977, 226) seems a rather desperate solution. Why isn’t the same order apparent on other concentrations of many of the same geographic references, such as **Jo 438**? Moreover, the ‘Further Province’ order only occurs on **Jn 829.13-19** and is nowhere repeated. Is it pertinent to recall that the ‘fixed’ order began life as a working hypothesis?³³ We are tempted, therefore, to question – *initially heuristically* – whether the ‘fixed-order’ lists had ever been depictions of any true ‘mental mapping’ (cf. Bennet 1999) or could better be described as standardised *memory-aids*, which the literate officials were able to re-adjust or fashion according to the specific administrative circumstances each record demanded.

That ‘fixed order’ lists are a specifically Pylian trait has been effectively demonstrated before (Bennet 1999, 139), despite the occurrence of a large quantity of geographic references at Knossos (McArthur 1985) and the existence of consistently inter-linked TNs there as well (**KN E 749**, **Og 833**, **Pp**). Like them, ‘province’ terms (*de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra₃/-ra(-a)-ko-ra-i-ja*) are also unparalleled on documents from other sites. However, even these appear in restricted Pylian contexts.³⁴ Are we justified to suspect that these entities, restricted to the Pylian organisation as they are, were also less-than-general administrative subdivisions and, therefore, were only employed on specific administrative circumstances?

The above suggest a much more complex image for Pylian geography, which tends to interpret groupings of TNs (even those consistent ones) as more administrative or status-oriented than truly geographical, much more like McArthur’s groups of Knossian TNs (McArthur 1993). Deliberately provocatively, I would like to suggest that the ‘fixed’ order of records such as **Vn 20**, **Cn 608** or **Jn 829** might be a mirage. Their consistent grouping is meaningful of course, as proved by its recurrence in the **Ma** series. But we are not concerned about consistency in links; this is assured. It is their stabilised *order*, which plausibly gives the impression of an actual physical route (Bennet 1999, 139-142), which might be deceptive.

With these thoughts in mind, I return to the ‘specialised’ TNs *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i*. Did they constitute small cult sites, which ‘normally’ lay within the responsibilities of major settlements? If we accept the interpretation of the ‘fixed’-ordered TNs as major towns or district capitals, then they should. Such excessive numbers of TNs in the records of the *central* site implies that site hierarchy within the polity was not as rigid as we would like to think. On the contrary, what is indicated is that the centre could *by-pass* these major settlements and deal *directly* with minor sites, when the latter had a ‘special’ significance. In addition to the reference of *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i*, this may also explain why *ro-u-si-jo* and *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* are of Pylian concern, although one would ‘normally’ expect the affairs of these ‘hinterlands’ or ‘territories’ to have been monitored by their own major sites, presumably *ro-u-so* and *pa-ki-ja-ne* respectively.

The motivation for such an explicit interest of the Englianos centre to these areas is indicated by the fact that the **Fr** series includes one of the densest (but, admittedly, not eloquent) concentrations of religious references at Pylos. The place designations in this series must have had great political significance for the local communities. The political manipulation of religious ideology must have been, at Pylos as in nearly every archaic state, a pivotal factor that kept the polity together and firmly anchored piety into the integrity of the system. Whatever responsibilities the peripheral centres retained, the palace *could not afford* not to mark its own presence in such

³² For an interpretation of the significance of *sa-ra-pe-da* and *e-ke-ra-wo* textual occurrences see Petrakis 2008.

³³ This is the all-important “step 6” in what is the earliest lucid outline of the methodology for Pylian geography in Palmer (1963, 66-67).

³⁴ On labels accompanying **Aa** women (**Wa 114.2**) and flax (**Ng 319.1**, **332.1**, **Wa 948**) records. Only **On 300** features *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* (.8) along with local officials (cf. **Jn 829**).

festivals or regular acts of offering, however distant they were located. It is interesting that palace did so by contributing what the local sites could not have been equipped to provide: perfumed oil, indicated by the ligatured or syllabographically annotated OLE ideograms that dominate the entire Fr series.

The *emic* conceptualization of the Pylian ‘polity’ may have consisted of multiple and overlapping geographical groupings, which varied according to specific administrative conditions and political interests of the Englianos elite. Concluding this short discussion, we must bear in mind Lang’s advice that “evidence, however slippery and partial, cannot be simply ignored” (Lang 1988, 212), but, I would add, must be constantly asked new questions.

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COMPOSTO IN CARATTERE DANTE MONOTYPE DALLA
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STAMPATO E RILEGATO NELLA
TIPOGRAFIA DI AGNANO, AGNANO PISANO (PISA).

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Aprile 2011

(CZ 2 · FG 3)

