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ANATOLIAN INTERFACES  
HITTITES, GREEKS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

*Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction,  
September 17-19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta, GA*

edited by

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## PREFACE

When Ian Rutherford and Mary Bachvarova first conceived the idea for a conference on cross-cultural interaction in Anatolia, they found a willing collaborator in Billie Jean Collins, who volunteered Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia as the location for the conference. Its purpose would be to bring together scholars who might not normally travel in the same academic circles to engage in a discussion about Anatolia's many cultural "interfaces." Cross-cultural interaction in ancient Anatolia between indigenous groups, such as the Hattians, Indo-Europeans, including Hittites and Greeks, and Near Eastern cultures, particularly the Hurrians, resulted in a unique environment in which Anatolian peoples interacted with, and reacted to, one another in different ways. These cultural interfaces occurred on many levels, including political, economic, religious, literary, architectural and iconographic. The rich and varied archives, inscriptions and archaeological remains of ancient Anatolia and the Aegean promised much material for study and discussion. After a year of planning, on September 17–19, 2004, an international body of scholars, more or less equally divided between Classicists and Anatolianists, met at Emory University. These Proceedings present the rich fruits of the discussion that took place over those three days in Atlanta.

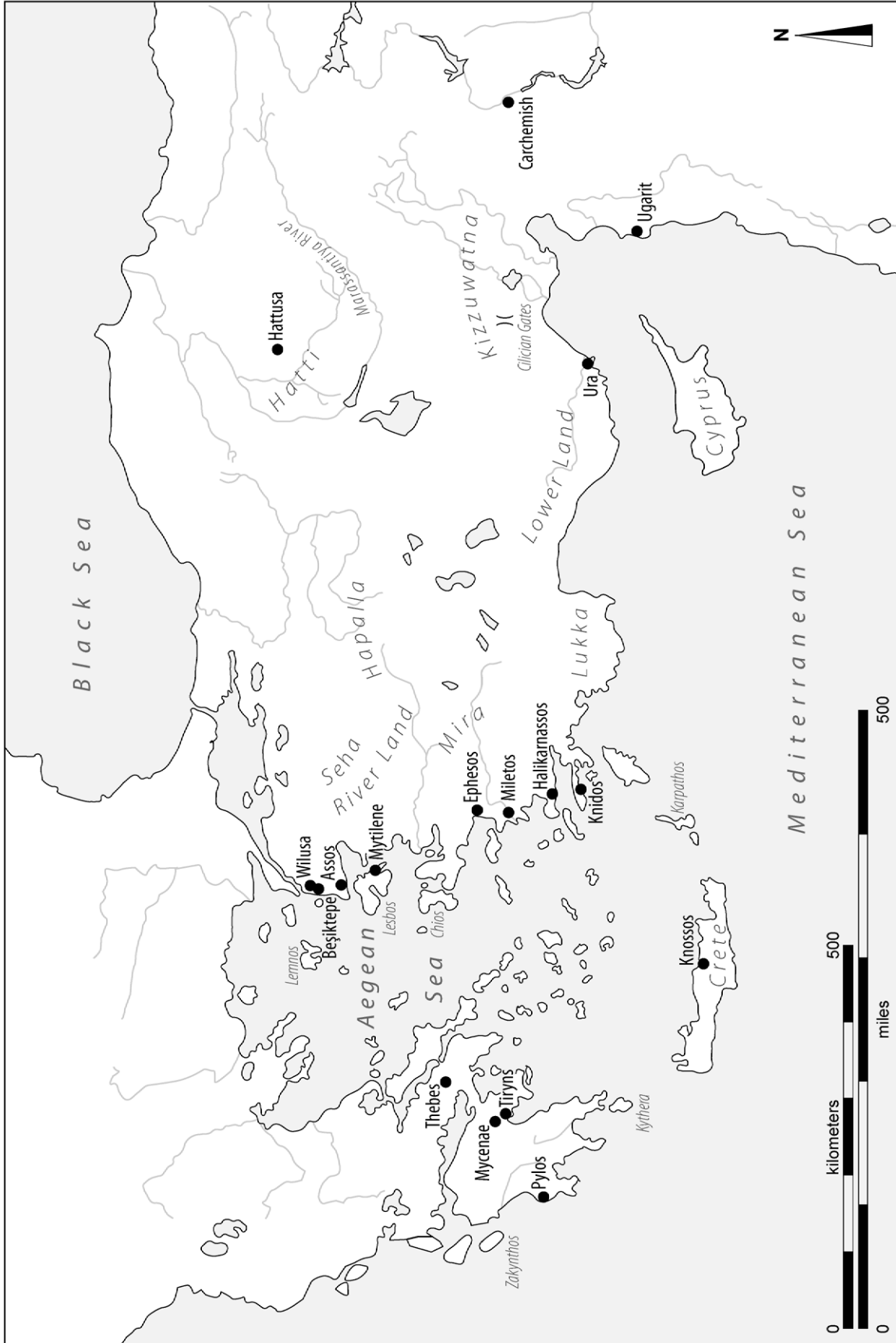
Hosted and co-sponsored by the Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies of Emory University, the conference, "Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors in Ancient Anatolia: An International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction" was made possible by the generous support of many sponsors. From within Emory, the sponsors include the Center for Humanistic Inquiry, the Department of Anthropology, the Department of Art History, the Department of Classics, the Department of Religion, the Graduate Division of Religion, the Graduate Program in Culture, History and Theory, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Institute for Comparative and International Studies, the Michael C. Carlos Museum, the Office of International Affairs, the Program in Classical Studies, the Program in Mediterranean Archaeology and the Program in Linguistics. Support from outside the University came from the American Schools of Oriental Research, the Georgia Middle East Studies Consortium, the Georgia Humanities Council, the Foundation for Biblical Archaeology and the Hightower Fund. The publication of these proceedings was made possible by a subvention from Emory College and the Emory Graduate School of Arts & Sciences. Thanks also go to Susanne Wilhelm of Archaeoplan for preparing the maps for the volume.

The conference "Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors" underscored how all our fields of study can benefit from a cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary approach. If, in publishing these proceedings, we draw attention to the importance of Anatolia in recovering the cultural heritage of the western world, then our efforts have been worthwhile. Many at the conference expressed the hope that it might be the beginning of a regular series of formal conversations on the topic, and one participant predicted that the conference would usher in a new era of cross-disciplinary cooperation. We certainly hope so.

## ABBREVIATIONS

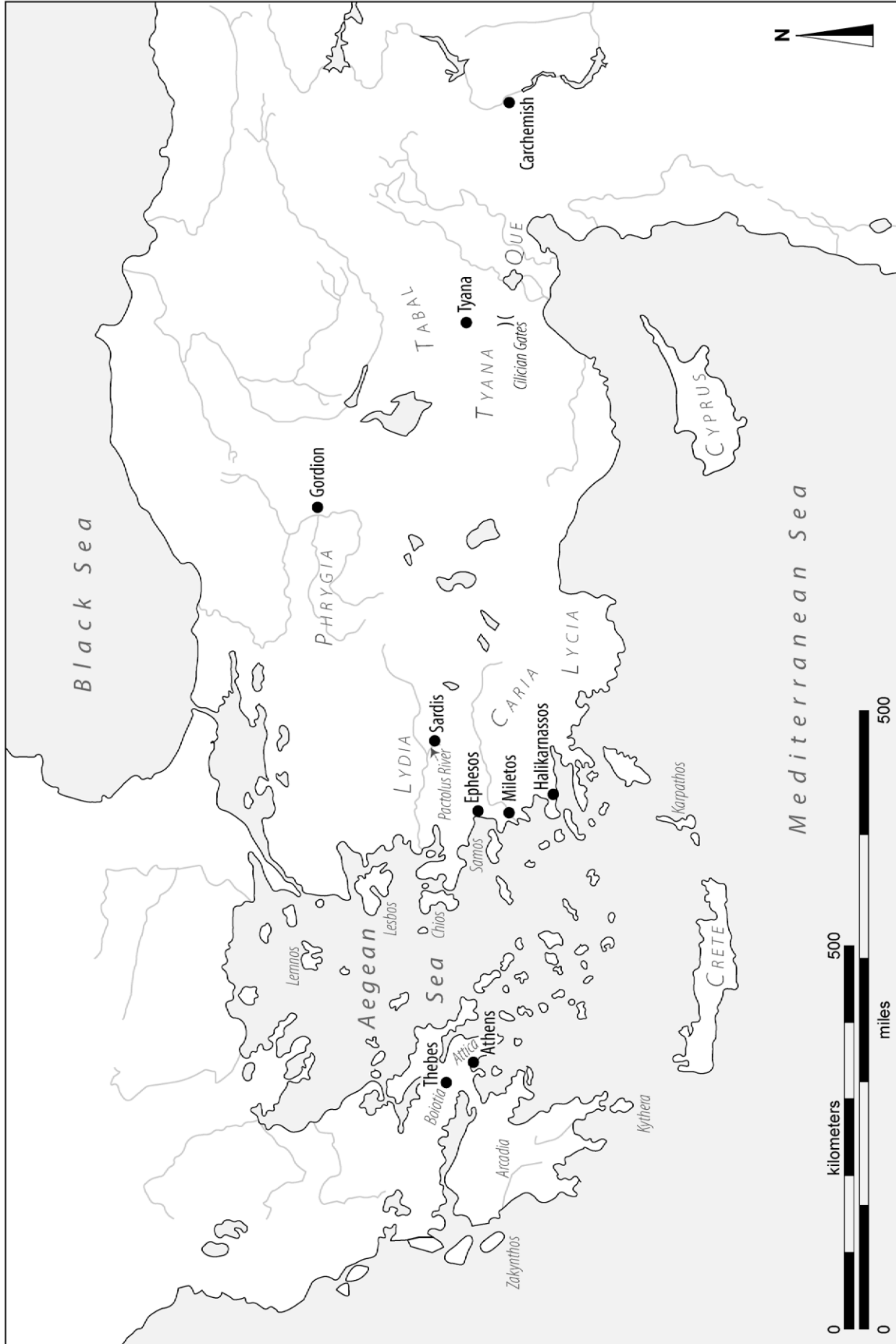
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1958–1981.
Alc.	Alcaeus
Anac.	Anacreon
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AP	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
Euphorion, <i>ap Ath.</i>	Euphorion, <i>ap Athenaeus</i> “ <i>Deipnosophistae</i> ”
Ar., <i>Thesm.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>
Archil.	Archilochus
Arnobius, <i>Adv. nat.</i>	Arnobius, <i>Adversus nationes</i>
Ath.	Athenaeus
ca.	circa
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CANE	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . New York, Scribner’s Sons, 1995
CDA	J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> . 2nd corrected printing. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2000.
CHD	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–
Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrep.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrepticus</i>
CLL	H. C. Melchert, <i>Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon</i> . Chapel Hill, N.C., self-published, 1993.
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian
CNR	Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
CTH	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris, Klincksieck, 1971.
CTH suppl.	E. Laroche, Premier supplement, <i>RHA</i> 30 (1972), 94–133.
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
DLL	E. Laroche, <i>Dictionnaire de la langue louvite</i> . Paris, Maisonneuve, 1959.
DLU	G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, <i>Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica</i> . Aula Orientalis Suppl. 7–8. Barcelona, AUSA, 1996.
FGrH	F. Jacoby, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin, Weidmann, and Leiden, Brill, 1923–.
Firmicus Maternus, <i>De. err. prof. rel.</i>	Firmicus Maternus, <i>De errore profanarum religionum</i>
fl.	floruit
fr.	fragment
Gr.	Greek
HED	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin, Mouton, 1984–
HEG	J. Tischler, <i>Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1977–
Hitt.	Hittite
HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Homer, <i>Il.</i>	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
Homer, <i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
[Hom.], <i>Marg. P.Oxy.</i>	Pseudo-Homer, <i>Margites</i> , <i>Oxyrhynchus Papyrus</i>

HW	J. Friedrich, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1952.
HW <sup>2</sup>	J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . 2. Auflage. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975–
Iamblichus, <i>De Myst.</i>	Iamblichus, <i>De mysteriis</i>
IBoT	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri</i> . Istanbul 1944, 1947, 1954, Ankara 1988.
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IEG	M. L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi graeci</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991–1992.
<i>Il. Comm. ad. Π</i>	R. Janko, <i>The Iliad: A Commentary</i> , vol. IV: Books 13–16. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1916–.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . 60 volumes. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1921–1990
KN	Knossos tablet
Lith.	Lithuanian
Luw.	Luwian
Lyc.	Lycian
Lyd.	Lydian
MesZL	R. Borger, <i>Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon</i> . Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 2003.
MHG	Middle High German
MSL XIII	B. Landsberger et al., <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</i> , vol. 13. Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1971.
MY	Mycenae tablet
Myc.	Mycenaean
Myl.	Mylesian
Nic. Dam.	Nicolaus Damascenus
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Or.	<i>Oratio</i>
Pal.	Palaic
PIHANS	Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul
[Plutarch], <i>De mus.</i>	Pseudo-Plutarch, <i>De musica</i>
Plutarch, <i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
PMG	D. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , Oxford, Clarendon, 1962.
PN	personal name
PRU 4	C. F.-A. Schaeffer, <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV</i> . Paris, Imprimerie Nationale & Klincksieck, 1956.
PY	Pylos tablet
r.	ruled
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
Strabo, <i>Geog.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
s.v.	sub voce
Theoc.	Theocritus
trans.	translated by
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971–.
Ugar.	Ugaritic
<i>Ugaritica V</i>	J. Nougayrol et al., <i>Ugaritica V</i> . Paris, Geuthner, 1968.
UT-PASP	University of Texas at Austin Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory
vel sim.	<i>vel similia</i> “similar word”
Verg.	Virgil
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World



Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.





Anatolia and the Aegean in the Iron Age



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## MULTICULTURALISM IN THE MYCENAEAN WORLD

*Stavroula Nikoloudis*

The form of cross-cultural interaction examined in this paper is the physical presence and interaction of culturally diverse population groups and individuals in the Mycenaean world, as indicated by the information contained in the Greek Linear B texts (ca. 1400–1200 BC). Davis and Bennet (1999) have emphasized the ability of the Mycenaean palatial systems to absorb distinct populations. At the Greek mainland site of Pylos, for instance, the initial consolidation of the kingdom, or “Hither Province,” in the LH IIIA period (fourteenth century BC) and the addition of the “Further Province” early in the LH IIIB period (thirteenth century BC), would have involved reconfiguring the relationships between the various inhabitants of the region. Feasting and palatial iconography depicting military conquests were media through which overall group identity could be reinforced. The Linear B texts provide evidence of this inherent cultural pluralism, which is worth investigating in spite of the challenges involved in retrieving such information from tablets that are often fragmentary, written in a proto-literate stage of Greek, and used entirely for economic purposes.

Multiculturalism is defined as the existence of “several cultural or ethnic groups within a society” (Oxford Dictionary 1996). While it is the former kind of identity group that is primarily addressed here, a word on each of these occasionally overlapping social constructs is warranted. A *cultural group* is taken to be an aggregate of people generally sharing the same life-style, adaptive strategies within their ecological setting, and symbolic systems of communication. As Eriksen (2000, 202) puts it, “people who live in the same place and interact intensively get a lot of shared experiences.” As Rapoport (1980, 287) explains,

culture is about a group of people who have a set of values and beliefs which embody ideals and which are transmitted to members of the group through enculturation.... These beliefs lead to a world view – the characteristic way of looking at the world and ... of shaping the world. These ideals also create a system of habits and consistent choices. These rules, therefore, both reflect an ideal and create life-styles....

These life-styles, or behavioral similarities, may leave traces in the material record. While cultural features such as language, religion and customs, including dress and diet, can often serve as “surface pointers” or “markers” of a particular ethnic identity, the defining criteria of an *ethnic group* are, instead, as outlined by Hall (2002, 9–24), a shared myth of common kinship and descent (whether real or imagined), an association with a specific territory, and a shared sense of history. Not all cultural groups are ethnic groups. To take a modern example, not all Arabic-speaking people consider themselves to be one ethnic group (Renfrew 1987, 216).

An ethnic group is self-ascribing. It is fluid in its capacity to assimilate with, or differentiate itself from, other groups (whether they share the same material *culture* or not). There may exist varying degrees of ethnicity (e.g., local and supra-local units). Ethnic group membership becomes especially critical when the

integrity of the group is threatened, and ethnicity itself “often emerges in the context of migration, conquest or the appropriation of resources by one group at the expense of another” (Hall 2002, 10; also Renfrew 1987, 214–18). The most fruitful starting point for studying ancient ethnic affiliations is the textual record, where self-conscious group identifications and testimonies about kinship and territorial ties are preserved (Hall 2002, 23–24; Shennan 1989, 14).<sup>1</sup> The Mycenaean accounting records, however, lack the rich ethnic discourse articulated in Classical Greek literature. The term “Mycenaean” is itself a modern coinage (Davis and Bennet 1999, 112), applied to the *relatively* homogeneous material culture found on mainland Greece and the southern Aegean in the Late Bronze Age, as well as to the inhabitants of these regions. That some members of these *cultural* groups spoke Greek is reasonably certain (Linear B documents), but whether they identified themselves as an *ethnic* group (and if so, by what name) is not.

#### THE LINEAR B TOPONYMICS

The most compelling textual evidence *related* to the theme of ethnicity consists of toponymics. In Mycenaean scholarship, these adjectival descriptions of people are often, and probably erroneously, called “ethnics.” As far as we can tell, they often refer simply to the geographical origins of groups and individuals (as understood and identified by the Mycenaean administrators). These people would have brought cultural baggage from their homelands (some similar and some different beliefs and practices). Lifestyles may subsequently have undergone changes due to processes of acculturation and *degrees* of assimilation. Still, the use of these toponymics reflects the multicultural (awareness) and composition of the “Mycenaean” population.

At a local level (Fig. 1), in terms of geography, at the mainland site of Pylos, the texts of the A-series, recording personnel who seem to be dependent on the Palace for their rations, feature female workers grouped by toponymics, including women from the nearby island of Kythera, to the south. Tablet An 610 records some five- to six-hundred male rowers, including about seven from the island of Zakynthos, to the northwest. In the *o-ka* set of tablets, the contingents of about eight hundred men in total guarding the coast of the kingdom of Pylos are occasionally described by toponymics clearly associated with local place names. Some toponymics, given their position in the entries, appear to serve as personal names, e.g., in the land tenure series at Pylos, *te-qa-ja* “Theban woman” who is a *te-o-jo do-e-ra* “servant of the god” (PY Ep 539) and *ka-pa-ti-ja* “woman from the island of Karpathos” (near Crete) who is a “key-bearer” (PY Ep 704). Both these job descriptions seem to belong to the religious sphere. At Knossos, there is a Theban woman involved in the Cretan cloth production industry (KN Ap 5864), and a group of men from the mainland site of Nauplia, or Tiryns (KN Fh 5432).<sup>2</sup> At Mycenae, a Zakynthian man is recorded alongside assessments or allocations of wool (MY Oe 122). At Thebes, a name “Lakedaimonios” or “son of Lakedaimon,” alluding to the toponym used at least in later times for Sparta or the region of Laconia, in the Peloponnese, appears on a number of tablets, e.g., the TH Fq series (Palaima 2002b, 483). These textual details attest to an intermingling of different groups and individuals between the Mycenaean centers of the mainland and Crete.

Beyond the immediate geographical sphere, an interesting *pattern* of distribution of toponymic adjectives seems to corroborate the archaeological picture provided by the ceramic evidence, indicating that while, thanks largely to the Minoans, the fourteenth century BC was the time of greatest contact between the Aegean and Egypt (in the reign of Amenhotep III), a shift in focus occurred in the thirteenth century BC, as the Mycenaeans became prominent, with closer ties developing between the Aegean and Anatolia (Shelmerdine 1998, 296). Male individuals listed as Egyptian are restricted to Knossos, Crete. These Knossos tablets may reflect contacts previously established by the Minoans as they are relatively earlier in date [LM IIIA2 or IIIB] than the mainland texts [end of LH IIIB] (294–96). In contrast, toponymics referring to

## Local:

PY A- series (Aa, Ab, Ad) series of dependent female workers, including:

	<i>ku-te-ra<sub>3</sub></i>	/Kuthērrai/	(nom.pl.)	“women of Kythera”
PY An 610	<i>ṣa-ku-si-jo</i>			male rowers from island “of Zakynthos”
PY o-ka set:	e.g., <i>u-ru-pi-ja-jo</i>		(nom.pl.)	An 519, etc. “men of Olympia”(?)
PY Ep 539	<i>te-qa-ja</i>	/Thēbaiā/	(nom.sg.)	“woman of Thebes”
PY Ep 704	<i>ka-pa-ti-ja</i>		(nom.sg.)	“woman of Karpathos”
KN Fh 5432	<i>ṣa-u-pi-ri-jo-i</i>	/Nauplioihi/	(dat.pl.)	“men of Nauplia” (=Tiryns?)
KN Ap 5864	<i>te-qa-ja</i>		(nom.sg.)	“woman of Thebes”
(and other women have names derived from known Cretan toponyms (e.g. <i>pa-i-ta</i> “of Phaistos” and <i>e-ra</i> “of e-ra”))				
MY Oe 122	<i>za-ku-si-jo</i>	/Dzakunsios/	(or dat.)	“man of Zakynthos”
TH Gp 227	<i>ra-]ke-da-mi-ni-jo-u-jo</i>	/Lakedaimonios huios/	& Fq series (in dat.sg.)	“son of Lakedaimon” or “Lakedaimnios, son”

## Further afield:

Egypt: these occur on texts from Crete.

KN Db 1105	<i>a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo</i>	/Aiguptios/	(nom.sg.)	“Memphite” or “Egyptian” [shepherd]
KN F(2)841	<i>mi-sa-ra-jo</i>	/Misraios/	(nom.sg.)	“Egyptian” [recipient of figs & olives]

Western Anatolia: these are especially common on mainland texts.

PY A- series of dependent women-workers, incl.:

	<i>a-*64-ja</i>	/Aswiai/		“women of Asia (Lydia)”
		[Hittite “Assuwa” = <i>a-swi-ja</i> ? = Lin.B <i>a-*64-ja</i> = “Asia”]		
	<i>ki-ni-di-ja</i>	/Knidiai/		“Knidians” (& on PY An 292)
	<i>ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>3</sub></i>	/Dzephurai/		“Halikarnassos”(Strabo 14.2.16)
	<i>mi-ra-ti-ja</i>	/Milātai/		“Milesians”
	<i>ki-si-wi-ja</i>	/Kswiai/		“Khians”
	<i>ra-mi-ni-ja</i>	/Lāmniai/		“Lemnians”
	<i>ra-wi-ja-ja</i>	<*lāwiā (λεία “war-plunder”)		“captives”
	<i>a-si-wi-jo</i>			shepherd’s name, PY Cn 285; landholder’s name, PY Eq 146
	<i>a-*64-jo</i>			name, PY Cn 1287, Fn 324, Jn 832
	<i>ra-mi-ni-jo</i>			PY An 209, Cn 328, Cn 719
	<i>ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ro</i>			stitcher ([ <i>ra-]pte</i> ) who holds land, PY Ea 56
MY	<i>a-si-wi-jo</i>			MY Au 653, Au 657 (personnel lists)
TH	<i>mi-ra-ti-jo</i>			references to “Milesian” individual(s?) in Fq series
KN	<i>a-si-wi-jo</i>			KN Df 1469 shepherd
	<i>a-*64-jo</i>			KN Sc 261 (from RCT: LM II date -i.e., earlier)
	<i>ki-si-wi-jo</i>			KN V(2) 60 [+] <sup>151</sup> (from RCT)

Cyprus: these are found equally on Crete and mainland sites.

KN	<i>a-ra-si-jo</i>	/Alasios/		KN Df 1229, Fh 369, X1463: human(s)
	<i>ku-pi-ri-jo</i>	/Kuprios/		-KN Od 667: adjective modifying wool (i.e., <i>ku-pi-ri-ja</i> “Cypriot” & <i>ke-[re-si]-ja</i> “Cretan”), esp. in KN Fh (oil) series: toponymic (or adjective describing the oil)
PY	<i>ku-pi-ri-jo</i>			shepherd Cn 131, Cn 719; bronzesmith Jn 320; “collector” Un 443 (-wool, cloth, alum)

Fig. 1 Sample of Toponymics attested in the Linear B tablets.  
(Crete KN: Knossos, Mainland PY: Pylos; MY: Mycenae; TH: Thebes)

western Anatolia are especially common on tablets from the mainland Mycenaean sites: at Pylos, the A-series personnel lists (which, as stated above, include local women) also feature groups of working women with toponymics linking them to the eastern Aegean (Chadwick 1988, 79), for example, women from Knidos, Halikarnassos, Miletos, and from the islands of Khios and Lemnos off the Anatolian coast, as well as women from “Aswia,” that is, Hittite *Assuwa* > \**Asswiya*- “(land) of Assuwa” (Melchert 2003, 7 n. 10), possibly referring to the area of later Lydia (Chadwick 1988, 79).<sup>3</sup> The A-series deals with some 750 women and their children (a total of about 1500 individuals). The tablets record the location of these groups of women in the palatial territory of Pylos and the rations allocated to them. The women are described either by toponymic or occupation. They include corn-grinders, bath-pourers/attendants and, predominantly, textile-workers, namely, weavers, distaff women, sewing women, flax or linen workers, cloth finishers and headband makers (Chadwick 1988). They are not described as “slaves” (*do-e-ra*), but usually tablets dealing with issues of rations are irregular and in the nature of ad hoc payments for services, whereas the comprehensiveness of the A-series could imply that the Palace was solely responsible for these women’s livelihood (Chadwick 1988, 90–93). Whether the women were captives or refugees, i.e., slaves or free, is debatable. One group of these women (Aa 807) is specifically called *ra-wi-ja-ja* “war-captives,” a derivative of \**lāwiā* “war-plunder” (attested as Attic λεία, Ionic λήϊη). In Chadwick’s opinion, the rest of the women were *bought* in the slave markets of the eastern Aegean coastal sites for exploitation as a labor force. Each group, which may have shared a mother tongue and perhaps even expertise in a particular craft activity, would have been kept together for effective communication and maximum productivity. Their toponymic designations may have in fact specified the trading-posts from which they were bought (Chadwick 1988, 92) or, like ethnics, they may have been hereditary and the women designated by them actually born in Pylos (Carlier 1983, 17). In two cases, there is a connection between these women and the male rowers of the PY An texts, but it is unclear if casual sexual encounters (ensuring for the Palace another generation of dependent workers) or more stable family bonds are implied.<sup>4</sup> The rest of the examples in fig. 1 from Pylos, Mycenae, Thebes and Knossos seem to be names of individuals. Where details exist, they do not appear to be restricted to a specific occupation or status. Open to interpretation are a few relating to Syria-Palestine (in Cline 1994, 129). The toponymics relating to Cyprus occur in fairly equal amounts on Crete and the mainland, with the peculiar distribution of *a-ra-si-jo* and *ku-pi-ri-jo* potentially reflecting the enduring contact between Cyprus and the Aegean over time (Shelmerdine 1998, 296).<sup>5</sup> The term *ku-pi-ri-jo* “Cypriot” may modify commodities or people (295). At Pylos, *ku-pi-ri-jo* designates or names individuals associated with sheep-herding, bronze-working and mixed commodities, including wool, cloth and alum (a dye mordant).

The individual *ku-pi-ri-jo* “Cypriot” on PY Un 443 is interpreted by Killen as a “collector” – a term that refers to “prominent members of the palace élite who have been allocated part of the productive capacity of the kingdom for their own benefit” in return for services rendered by their workgroups or in return for commodities acquired (Killen 1995, 218). One of the functions of “collectors” may have been to organize external trade, either personally conducting it or arranging it through a third party. Given that perfumed olive oil is known to have been exported from Crete and that Cyprus happens to be one of the Mediterranean sources of alum, Killen suggests that the individual called *ku-pi-ri-jo* in the Knossos Fh oil-series and the *ku-pi-ri-jo* who provided the palace at Pylos with alum were both given their names because “they (or their fathers or grandfathers) were members of the palace élite, one at Knossos and the other at Pylos, who had a particular involvement in the trade with Cyprus” (Killen 1995, 221). This system of royal trade agents is thought to have resembled the Near Eastern *tamkar* system, involving semi-independent merchants who were accountable to the palace (Killen 1995, 220–21).

It should be reiterated that, in many cases where individuals are concerned, it is difficult to determine if these terms served as true toponymics or if they had come to be used as actual personal names (Palaima 1991, 280). Also, in the case of toponymics, identifying a person as “Egyptian” does not necessarily imply

that (s)he is of Egyptian birth. Instead, it may be the result of an individual's taste for things Egyptian or dealings (e.g., trade) with that country or an extended stay there. Even today, for instance, an expatriate Greek returning to Greece from Australia is regularly identified as "So-and-so, the Australian." Nevertheless, in spite of the variety of ways that toponymics can be used, they reveal the cultures with which the Mycenaean interacted, either directly or indirectly (Shelmerdine 1998, 296).

#### ONOMASTICS

If handled cautiously, onomastics may also be useful in exploring cultural diversity. While we lack the rules that may have operated in the Mycenaean transmission of names, a particular *pattern* of distribution may prove meaningful. This is precisely the case with the numerous studies carried out on the personal names from Knossos (Crete), which have found that non-Greek personal names appear (a) in larger numbers among the individuals of the lower classes of Mycenaean society, and (b) more frequently in the Knossos archive than on the mainland. For example, most of the twenty-five high-status collectors' names at Knossos can be identified as Greek, whereas most of the shepherds' names are non-Greek (Ilievski 1992, 337–38). The non-Greek names on Crete (such as those with the "pre-Greek" suffix -σοος, -σσα represented in the Linear B script by the endings -so, -sa) are thought to belong, for the most part, to the population groups that the Mycenaean encountered when they arrived there. Some features of the non-Greek names are characteristic of Anatolian languages, as seen in names such as *pi-ja-mu-nu* (KN L 5901), *wa-du-na-ro* (KN C 912), *ku-ka-da-ro* (KN Uf 836).<sup>6</sup>

Confirmation of the multicultural character of Mycenaean society is provided by the names of the divinities worshipped. On Crete, the non-Greek name of the (Minoan) divinity *pi-pi-tu-na*, on KN Fp 13 (Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001, 458), suggests that the Mycenaean, like the Hittites, were open to the idea of integrating foreign gods into their pantheon. Similarly, on the Greek mainland, the popular Mycenaean goddess *Potnia*, "Mistress" (derived from the Indo-European root \**pot-* relating to "power"), is accompanied on a tablet from Pylos by the epithet *a-si-wi-ja : po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* (PY Fr 1206) "Asian *Potnia*" (see note 3).

#### THE TAWAGALAWA LETTER AND THE MYCENAEAN EVIDENCE: HITTITES, LUWIANS, MYCENAEANS

A striking piece of evidence for the interaction of Mycenaean and western Anatolians in the thirteenth century BC is found in the Hittite Tawagalawa Letter (discussed in Bryce 2003), now generally ascribed to Hattusili III (1264–1239 BC). In this letter, originally comprising three tablets, only the last of which survives, the Hittite king complains to the king of Ahhiyawa (whose name is not preserved) about the transplantation of Hittite subjects to Ahhiyawa (*KUB XIV 3 iii 7–17*). Ahhiyawa is taken to refer to the Mycenaean world or some component of it.<sup>7</sup>

In the Tawagalawa Letter, the Hittite king complains about the rebel Piyamaradu's practice of raiding Hittite subject territory and removing large numbers of Hittite subjects from it. In this case, about seven thousand people from the Lukka Lands (referring either specifically to the southwestern Anatolian homeland of Luwian speakers [later Lycia] or to the broader region inhabited by them) had been transplanted to Ahhiyawa. Some had apparently gone willingly (as refugees), while others had been taken by force. The Hittite king wanted them to be returned (Bryce 2003, 76–78, 85).

There were probably two main incentives for Ahhiyawa's interest in western Anatolia, namely, the acquisition of raw materials, lacking or rare in the Greek world (e.g., timber, gold, copper), and the recruitment of labor from the Luwian regions. Workers were needed for the palaces' large-scale textile industries and massive construction projects. When Strabo later wrote that the fortification walls of Tiryns

were built by Cyclopes from Lycia (Strabo, *Geog.* 8.6.11), he could have been drawing on a tradition that recognized the input of the Bronze Age Lukka people (Bryce 2003, 85–86). The recruitment of labor through the forced resettlement of conquered people was common practice in Anatolia. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the Hittites regularly raided Luwian territory in the west and transported people and livestock back to the Hittite homeland (Bryce 2003, 84). The dependent working women of the A-series at Pylos recruited from western Anatolia might reflect a similar practice in the Mycenaean world.

The “rower” texts from Pylos (PY An 1, An 610, An 724) are also suggestive in this regard. They record male rowers who seem to provide their services in return for the use of land. The relevant lines of PY An 724 (ll. 3–4) read *ki-ti-ta o-pe-ro-ta e-re-e ktitān ophēlonta ereen* “settler/landholder owing service as a rower.” Tablet PY An 610 (fig. 2) refers to “settlers” *ki-ti-ta* (l. 2), “after-settlers” *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* (l. 5), and “immigrants” *po-si-ke-te-re* (l. 6). This terminology could suggest that the settling of/access to the land takes place in stages. The thirty rowers listed in An 1 are sailing off for duty to a site called Pleuron (perhaps north of the Peloponnese). The status of these men is unclear, but they seem to possess a degree of independence from the palace uncharacteristic of mere slaves. Slaves do not typically need to fulfill obligations; they are simply put to work. Could it be that these rowers included foreign refugees seeking asylum with the rulers of Pylos as a means of escaping political or economic hardship at home? Seeking refuge with another leader was a regular phenomenon in Anatolia, where alliances were constantly shifting between individuals and between states (Bryce 2003, 51–59). Some of the western Anatolian states may in fact have preferred to cultivate commercial and other links with Ahhiyawa than to continue their relationship with the Hittites whose treaties with them typically banned them from dealing directly with foreign powers (Bryce 2003, 80).<sup>8</sup>

It is also worth considering whether the Linear B texts provide evidence for the kind of (voluntary or forced) relocation of entire communities alluded to in the Tawagalawa Letter. It is tentatively proposed that Tablet PY Un 718 might refer to an enclave of such foreign inhabitants. This tablet is one of a set of three texts (PY Un 718, Er 312, Er 880) written by a single tablet-writer (Hand 24) dealing with the site of *sa-ra-pe-da* (translation in Palaima 2004).<sup>9</sup> It records the anticipated contributions of food and drink for a banquet in honor of the god Poseidon. Four contributors are listed (fig. 3): *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* (l. 2), generally (but not universally) taken to be the name of the king of Pylos, who “will give” (*do-se*) barley, wine, a bull, cheese, a sheepskin and honey; the *da-mo* (l. 7), the established group of landholders and administrators, expected to give barley, wine, two sheep, cheese, anointing oil and a sheepskin; the *ra-wa-ke-ta*, i.e., *lāwāge(r)tās* (l. 9), “the one who leads (<*agō*) or assembles (<*ageirō*) the \**lāwos*,” traditionally viewed as the military commander, who will give two sheep, flour and wine; and the enigmatic *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma* (l. 11), appearing only in this set of texts, expected to contribute barley, wine, cheese and honey.<sup>10</sup> In this tablet, just as *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* (l. 2) may be viewed as the symbolic head of the (privileged) group following him, the *da-mo* (l. 7), so the *lāwāge(r)tās* may be seen as the representative of the *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma*, possibly a group of agricultural laborers. The syntax strengthens these associations: in ll. 7 and 11, the adverbial *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* (= “thus also”) links each group to the individual recorded before it, while in l. 9 (Palaima, personal communication) the *-de* of *to-so-de* (“and so much [the *lāwāge(r)tās* will give]”) effectively separates the two sets of information. Could this reflect an underlying division between “rulers” (palace and *da-mo*) and “ruled”? In my dissertation I argue that the *lāwāge(r)tās* served as a liaison officer between the privileged, landholding members of Mycenaean society and the less privileged, landless individuals and groups, including foreigners. He seems to have played a key role through such avenues as military service and agricultural labor in mediating the incorporation of outsiders into the Mycenaean community.

PY Un 718 offers three pieces of evidence for the settlement of immigrant groups: (1) As Palaima (2002a) has observed, the Special (=unusual) dative ending in *-i* in the word *po-se-da-o-ni* “[contribution(s)] to/for Poseidon” (l. 1) instead of the Standard Mycenaean dative ending in *-e* [in the Linear B script], and the form *pe-ma* (= *sperma* “seed grain”) in related tablets PY Er 312 and Er 880 instead of the regular *pe-mo*, may reflect



PY An 610		(S1 H1)	
.1	me-za-[ ]ne , e-re-ta [ ]vacat [		
.2	vestigia[ ] , ki-ti-ta	VIR 46 [	
.3	me-]t̥a-ki-ti-ta	VIR 19 [	]vac.
.4	]wa , ki-ti-ta	VIR 36 [	]vac.
.5	m̥e-ta-ki-ti-ta	[ ] VIR 3 [	
.6	e-wi-ri-po	VIR 9 po-si-ke-te-re [	VIR
.7	a-ke-re-wa	VIR 25 wo-qe-we [	VIR
.8	ri-jo	VIR 24 wi-nu-ri-jo [	VIR
.9	te-ta-ra-ne	VIR 31 me-ta-ki[-ti-ta	VIR
.10	a-po-ne-we	VIR 37 me-ta[-ki-ti-ta	]v. [VIR qs
.11	ma-ra-ne-nu-we	VIR 40 po-ti-ja-ke-e	VIR 6[
.12	z̥a-ku-si-jo	VIR 7 za-e-to-ro	VIR 3
.13	da-mi-ni-jo[ ]	VIR 40 e-ke-ra <sub>2</sub> wo-no	VIR 40
.14	we-da-ne-wo	VIR 20 ko-ni-jo 126 me-ta-ki-ti-ta	VIR 26
.15	po-ku-ta	VIR 10 we-re-ka-ra , te-qa-ta-qe	VIR 20
.16	vacat		[
.17	vacat		[
.18	] vacat		[
.19	] vacat		[
NB:			
l.1	e-re-ta	ἔρείται	“rowers”
l.2	ki-ti-ta	κτίται	“inhabitants” (Classical κτίτης, κτίζω “I occupy”)
l.5	m̥e-ta-ki-ti-ta	μετακίται	“after-settlers”
l.6	po-si-ke-te-re	<ποσ-ηικτήρ (< ποτί (Doric for πρόσ) “to” + ἴκω “I come”):	pos-ik-tēres “immigrants, newcomers”

Fig. 2 Linear B tablet PY An 610 (from Palace of Nestor Vol. IV edition in progress, by Melena, Palaima et al.)

PY Un 718		(S312 H24)	
.1	sa-ra-pe-da , po-se-da-o-ni , do-so-mo		
.2	o-wi-de-ta-i , do-so-mo , to-so , e-ke-ra <sub>2</sub> -wo		
.3	do-se , GRA 4	VIN 3	BOS <sup>m</sup> 1
.4	tu-ro <sub>2</sub> , TURO <sub>2</sub> 10	ko-wo , *153 1	
.5	me-ri-to , v 3		
.6	vacat		
.7	o-da-a <sub>2</sub> , da-mo ,	GRA 2	VIN 3
.8	OVIS <sup>m</sup> 2 TURO <sub>2</sub> 5 a-re-ro , AREPA V 2	*153 1	
.9	to-so-de , ra-wa-ke-ta , do-se ,		
.10	OVIS <sup>m</sup> 2 me-re-u-ro , FAR T 6		
.a			-ma
.11	VIN S 2 o-da-a <sub>2</sub> , wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo , ka-		
.12	GRA T 6 VIN S 1 TURO <sub>2</sub> 5	me-ri[	
.13	vacat [ me-]ri-ṭo v 1		
NB:			
l.1	“Special” (i.e., unusual) dative ending in -i (instead of -e) in: po-se-da-o-ni		

Fig. 3 Linear B tablet PY Un 718 (from Palace of Nestor Vol. IV edition in progress, by Palaima, Melena et al.)

a different dialect – perhaps that of the scribe or of the people from whom the recorded information was obtained at *sa-ra-pe-da*. If so, could it be that the speakers of a foreign mother tongue were producing this peculiar pronunciation? (2) The *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* group will contribute the least amount of all the contributors, probably reflecting its inferior status, possibly due to the foreign origin of (some of) its members. (3) One wonders whether the place name *sa-ra-pe-da*, which appears only in this set of texts, and seems to be a nominative neuter plural in Un 718, could have been formed from the Hittite adverb *šarā* “up, upwards” and noun *peda-* “place, spot, location” meaning something like “grounds/plains high up.” This would be an appropriate place name for a site near the mountain range separating the Hither (west) and Further (east) Provinces of the kingdom of Pylos. The Further Province was incorporated into the kingdom by/early in the thirteenth century (Davis and Bennet 1999, 115), perhaps some decades before the Tawagalawa Letter was written, but it is unlikely that the large-scale population movement reported in this letter was an isolated incident. The Further Province would have been a logical place for the Pylian administrators to settle newcomers from overseas. A plural for the word *peda-* (n.) “place” is not attested in Hittite, but the ending of *sa-ra-pe-da* could be explained as a grammatically integrated lexical transfer whereby Greek speakers normalized the ending to their own neuter plural *-a* when they adopted it into Greek. A Luwian origin can also be posited, given the existence of Cuneiform Luwian *sarra* “up(on)” and Hieroglyphic Luwian *sara* “on, above; over, up,” *pida-* (n.) “place, precinct” (Melchert 1993; Payne 2004). Indeed, the Greek mainland and Crete furnish a number of Luwian-related names, including that of mainland Mt. Parnassos (Luwian *parna-* (n.) “house”; García Ramón 1998, 932). It is tempting to view the form *sa-ra-pe-da* as originally coined for an uninhabited area on the mainland by Hittite or Luwian settlers or by Greek-speaking officials overseeing these settlers’ migration to the Greek mainland from Anatolia.

The name of another site in the Further Province of Pylos possibly tied to that part of the world is *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (PY Jn 829, On 300). It could perhaps refer to the area of Assuwa, if borrowed directly from the Egyptian rendering of Assuwa, which also lacks a *-w-* (digamma): in fifteenth-century BC Egyptian texts, “Assuwa” is recorded as *J-s-jj* (=Isy) or as *A-si-ja* (Cline 1997, 193). Otherwise, and more likely given that the digamma is in fact rendered in Linear B toponymics referring to Assuwa (see fig. 1), Mycenaean *a-si-ja-ti-ja* could be a derivative of “Assos” (Melchert, personal communication), a site located in Classical times on the Anatolian coast, north of Lesbos. Adding *-ijo-* to the base *\*Assa/o-* would give “(the land) of Assos.” The derivation of Greek place name Βοιωτία < Βοιωτός [< Βοῖον (ἄρος)] (García Ramón 2002, 276) is instructive: Mycenaean *a-si-ja-ti-ja* could, in a similar fashion, mean “the place of – the person from – the land of Assos.” Perhaps then, *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, located in the Further Province of Pylos, was named after an Anatolian homeland site by/for settlers relocated on the Greek mainland.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In comparison with the Classical Greek evidence of Athenians who were of Ionian ethnicity (at least according to some versions) and Spartans who were Dorian, the Linear B corpus could be said to preserve the toponymics corresponding to the Classical Greek “Athenians” and “Spartans” but not the ethnic groupings. We do not know the ethnicity of the Milesian women of the PY A-series, for instance, or of the Lemnians, or the Khians.<sup>11</sup> Regarding the fluidity of ethnic identity, it is not difficult to imagine that migrants arriving in Mycenaean regions would initially feel like outsiders, especially if attached to a territory elsewhere, while their children and grandchildren might feel ties of allegiance with both the land of their ancestors and, increasingly so, with the land of their own birth. In terms of degrees of identity, the toponymics – we have no certain “ethnics” to work with – suggest that the (people whom we call) Mycenaean generally thought and operated on the basis of small-scale, local-level identity groups.<sup>12</sup> Lacking the rich discourse of foundation myths and genealogies through which ethnicity may have been constructed and manipulated,

the Mycenaean textual evidence does not permit the fine-tuned analysis of ethnicity possible for the Classical Greek world. Yet, it has the advantage of constituting *real* data. These real economic documents strongly suggest that the arrival of groups, whether from nearby or further afield, like the female workers from the Anatolian coastline and the “settlers” on the rower texts, would have produced the *conditions* (e.g., migration and the accompanying competition between groups over land, food and other resources) in which ethnic consciousness is known to emerge or intensify. Mycenaean society, like any other, was created through complicated and perhaps at times contradictory strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Its members had varied cultural pasts and quite likely varying ethnic allegiances.

As it stands, the Linear B evidence attests to the physical presence and interaction in the Mycenaean world of culturally diverse population groups and individuals. The toponymics surveyed in this paper relate to local, nearby and overseas place names, and the individuals and groups designated by them include seemingly dependent female workers, as well as high-status individuals probably acting as semi-independent merchants, and a range of other members of Mycenaean society including shepherds, bronzesmiths, rowers and landholders. The non-Greek form of some personal names also suggests mixed populations. The rowers described as “settlers” and “immigrants” point to the arrival of newcomers. The cultural diversity of the Mycenaean world was created in part by importing to it the labor forces, from the Lukka Lands and elsewhere, required to sustain the Mycenaean palatial systems. The acquisition of such human resources from western Anatolia, in particular, whether by force or invitation, or both, is highlighted by the Luwian connection in the Tawagalawa Letter and may have been the underlying reason, at Pylos, for the existence of a settlement called *sa-ra-pe-da* and for naming a Further Province site *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. The mention of “foreign” divinities, such as “Minoan” *pi-pi-tu-na* and “Anatolian” *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja*, hints at an acceptance, even celebration, of “otherness” or diversity. The Linear B tablets, fragmentary though they are, offer us valuable glimpses of the multicultural character of Mycenaean society resulting from its interaction with, and input from, its Aegean and Anatolian neighbors.

#### NOTES

This paper deals specifically with the textual evidence pertaining to multicultural, direct *human* interaction in the Mycenaean world. A study of the relevant archaeological evidence is under way. Textual and archaeological data concerning items of *trade* are discussed, with references, in Niemeier (1998), Shelmerdine (1998), Cline (1994), and Palaima (1991). I thank T. Burnes, P. Carlier, C. Justus, S. Kimball, T. Palaima, C. Shelmerdine, M. Southern, and J. Wright for their comments, C. Melchert for generously answering my linguistic queries on the terms *sa-ra-pe-da* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, and J. L. García Ramón for all his help with *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo*. Any shortcomings in any argumentations are entirely my own.

- 1 Based on his study of the textual corpus, Hall proposes a distinction between the *aggregate* nature of ethnic composition in the late Archaic Greek period and an *oppositional* mode of ethnic consciousness in the Classical period (2002, 179–80). In the former case, he cites examples of genealogies being manipulated by influential players, like the Thessalians, who could *add* an eponymous figure of their own, or attach themselves to an existing one, in a key position in the family tree of a given descent group, as a means of legitimizing their emerging power and territorial claims in a particular region. The main ethnic groups at the time were the Dorians, Ionians, Akhaians and Aioliens. In the Classical period, an overarching Hellenic ethnic consciousness was forged in *opposition* to the external threat of the barbarian Persians.
- 2 The identification of Nauplia as Tiryns is supported by the inscription on the Kom el-Hetan statue base of Amenhotep III of the four major mainland palatial sites: Mycenae, Dikte (=Boiotian Thebes), Messana (=Pylos) and Nauplia (=Tiryns) (Shelmerdine 1998, 292; Palaima 1991, 280).
- 3 As Cline (1997, 190–92) explains, while the coalition of western Anatolian states known as Assuwa in the Hittite texts had ceased to exist before the time of most of the Linear B tablets, “it is now fairly certain that the name ‘Assuwa’ gave rise to the Greek name ‘Asia’ (‘Assuwa’ = Hittite *A-as-su-wa* > ‘Aswia’ = Linear B *A-si-wi-ja* and other variations > Greek Ἀσία = ‘Asia’)” (1997, 192). While eventually applied to most of western Anatolia, the term

- 'Asia' was first used by later Greek authors to refer only to the west-central region of Lydia (1997, 192). Thus, whether Assuwa itself was originally restricted to the northwest is not entirely clear (Melchert 2003, 7).
- 4 (1) A note added on PY Ad 684 describes the children in question as *a-pu-ne-we e-re-ta-o ko-wo* "sons of the rowers at *a-pu-ne-we*" (=variant spelling of *a-po-ne-we*, a site known from PY An 1 and An 610 to provide rowers). (2) The boys on PY Ad 697 are said to be *e-re[-ta] qe-ro-me-no* "serving as rowers" (Chadwick 1988, 55, 58, 87–88; Carlier 1983, 14–20; Palaima 1991, 286). Del Freo (2001–2002) persuasively argues that *ko-wo* could mean "apprentice" instead of "son."
  - 5 The toponyms *a-ra-si-jo* and *ku-pi-ri-jo* coexist at Knossos, but the former is absent from Pylos, leading Shelmerdine to wonder whether *Alasija* may have been "a designation (perhaps earlier, perhaps in a different language) for all or part of Cyprus ... that the Pylian scribes rejected" preferring the alternative Greek form *Kupros* (Shelmerdine 1998, 296). In the case of the Egyptian toponymics preserved at Knossos, distinct language sources or degrees of identification may suffice to explain the presence of both *a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo* and *mi-sa-ra-jo* (Cline 1994, 128) in contemporary contexts.
  - 6 According to Billigmeier (1970, 179), Anatolian features include a tendency to vowel harmony, prefixes such as *a-ra-*, *da-ra-*, *ku-ka-*, *wa-du-*, *pi-ja-*, and suffixes such as *-da-ro-*, *ma-ro-*, *na-ro-*, *na-to-*, in which the *-o* is explained as "possibly the result of the Hellenization of these names."
  - 7 If Ahhiyawa does *not* refer to a Mycenaean power, then (a) there is no identifiable reference to the Mycenaeans in the Hittite texts, in spite of the material evidence for Mycenaean contact with western Anatolia and the eastern Aegean, and (b) only it (i.e., textually attested Ahhiyawa) has left no trace of its existence in the archaeological record (Bryce 1989, 3–4). Perhaps the most serious problem with the identification is that Ahhiyawa appears in the Hittite texts as a single entity, whereas the Mycenaean states definitely operated as independent palatial territories (Niemeier 1998, 44; Bryce 1989, 5). It is quite possible, however, as Bryce points out, that one center could occasionally take the lead (as Mycenae is said to have done in Homer's *Iliad* during the Trojan War). Alternatively, perhaps the center with closest ties to the Hittites presented itself as the leader and/or the Hittites perceived and portrayed one center as such. Linguistically, Finkelberg argues that a descendant of the form *Ahhiyawa* could in fact correspond to the Greek *Akhaia* (*Akhaioi*, *Argeioi* and *Danaoi* being the three collectives that Homer uses, interchangeably, to refer to the Greeks). Her study presents "the Greek stem *\*Akhaiw-* as derivative of the stem *Ahhiyaw-* by the application of phonetic regularities attested for the Greek language": *Ahhiyaw-* > *\*Ahhiaw-* > *\*Ahhyaw-* > *\*Akhaw-* > *\*Akhaiw-* > Ἀχαι- (Finkelberg 1988, 133–34; also Hall 2002, 49–55).
  - 8 Tablet An 610 is fragmentary and difficult to interpret. Expert treatments of the "rower" series of texts include Chadwick (1987); Killen (1983a); Perpillou (1968). Helpful Ugaritic parallels show them to be recruitment records or registers of naval personnel, supplied by communities for a fleet controlled by the Palace, levied according to the normal principles of Mycenaean taxation (Palaima 1991, 285–86). For an alternative view of these documents as a call-up for an overseas migration, i.e., an expedition of men sent to colonize a site off the mainland, see Wachsmann (1998, 126–27, 159–61) and Yasur-Landau (2002). Yasur-Landau suggests that since the terms *ki-ti-ta*, *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*, *po-si-ke-te-re* do not appear in the main landholding texts dealing with the Pylian kingdom (PY E-series), they may point to individuals settling *outside* the boundaries of the Pylian polity. Chadwick (1987, 82) nevertheless links the *ki-ti-me-na* lands of the E-series with precisely these *ki-ti-ta*. An alternative (speculative) explanation for these terms' absence from the E-series is that they designated relatively marginalized members of society and not the landholders and leasers with whom the palace authorities were directly concerned in the E-series. The rowers might have used/worked on (some of) the lands mentioned in the E-series which were "held" by others.
  - 9 For an excellent discussion in support of the interpretation of *sa-ra-pe-da* as a place name as opposed to a land tenure term, see R. Palmer (1994, 66–72).
  - 10 The noun *ka-ma* is known from the PY land-tenure texts (E series) to designate a particular kind of land plot. It seems that it may refer both to the land and to the group of people working it. Here, its animate nature is indicated by the verb "will give" (ll. 3, 9), implied for each of the four parties. The accompanying term, *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo*, is either a possessive adjective built to a man's name resulting in "*\*Wroi-kiōn's ka-ma*," according to Killen (1983b, 83–88), or a toponymic adjective built to the word for "break," \*Ἔρωξ, such as a natural or artificial break in the earth's surface, with *\*Wrōgiōn* being the "Place of the Breaks," as outlined by Heubeck (1966). For the alternative view that the term was built to the IE root *\*werg-* "to do, work" (ἔργον, etc.), see the reservations of Palmer (1963, 27, 214): in particular, the "r" of *\*werg-* is typically not rendered in the Linear B Script, e.g., *we-ka-ta* \*Ἔργατάι "workers" (referring to plough oxen on KN Ce 59).
  - 11 Given the fluidity and varying degrees of ethnicity, the Classical Athenians, who are known to have been intensely

- loyal to their city, could be thought of “as in some sense ethnic groups” (Renfrew 1987, 217). Perhaps the same applied to (some of) the population groups recorded in the Linear B texts. Two ethnic groups known from the Classical period, Ionians and Akhaians, *might* be alluded to in the texts from Knossos (the names seem to match, but whether they had ethnic value at this time is simply unknown): a fragmentary record of men, KN B (4) 164, includes a viable nominative plural form *i-ja-wo-ne* (*Iawones* > *Iōnes*) but the reading is uncertain (e.g., Hall 2002, 71 n. 74), while on KN C (2) 914, the allative form *a-ka-wi-ja-de* (“to *a-ka-wi-ja*”) might refer to a site (of Akhaians?) on Crete, or the mainland, or elsewhere, to which fifty sheep and fifty goats are being sent or, hypothetically (Killen 1994, 78), to a religious festival, the Akhaia.
- 12 *ke-re-te* (*Krētes*) “Cretans” appear on a list of (crafts?)men on PY An 128 and, apparently as a personal name in the singular, *ke-re* (*Krēs*), on the list of men on KN As 1516 (l.17), but it is unclear if, in the Bronze Age, the term referred to the inhabitants of Crete at a supra-local level or to a specific subset of the island’s population (cf. Hall 2002, 70–71 and Bryce 2003, 43–44).

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