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## AEGEAN SCRIPTS

Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies  
Copenhagen, 2-5 September 2015

Volume I



# AEGEAN SCRIPTS

*Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium on  
Mycenaean Studies, Copenhagen, 2-5 September 2015*

Volume I

edited by

Marie-Louise Nosch  
Hedvig Landenius Enegren



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## Abbreviations

### I. Journals

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
<i>AAWW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse.</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>Antiquité Classique</i>
<i>ACD</i>	<i>Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis.</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς.</i>
<i>AIÖN</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli.</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>AOF</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports.</i>
<i>ArchAnAth</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών.</i>
<i>ASAA</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente.</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>BIBR</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome.</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London.</i>
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.</i>
<i>CArchJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal.</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology.</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly.</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>Τό Εργον τής εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.</i>
<i>G&amp;R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome.</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen.</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>

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<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
<i>JPR</i>	<i>Journal of Prehistoric Religion.</i>
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung).</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum.</i>
<i>MSS</i>	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.</i>
<i>OAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensa.</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La parola del passato.</i>
<i>PZ</i>	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>RAL</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei.</i>
<i>RCCM</i>	<i>Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale.</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus.</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes.</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques.</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines.</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica.</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi classici e orientali.</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.</i>
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni.</i>
<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>SSL</i>	<i>Studi e saggi linguistici.</i>
<i>TAPhS</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.</i>
<i>TPhS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society.</i>
<i>ZAnt</i>	<i>Živa Antika.</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>

## II. Mycenological conferences

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### III. Congresses

- 2<sup>nd</sup> Cretological Congress* Πεπραγμένα Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (1967).
- 8<sup>th</sup> Cretological Congress* Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Heraklion, 9-14 September 1996 (2000).
- 9<sup>th</sup> Cretological Congress* Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Elounda, 8-6 October 2001 (2006).
- 10<sup>th</sup> Cretological Congress* I' Διεθνές Κρητολογικό Συνέδριο, Khandia, 1-8 October 2006 (2011).
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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Marie Louise Nosch and Hedvig Landenius Enegren*

At the meeting of the *Comité international permanent d'études mycéniennes* (CIPEM) in Sèvres in September 2010, the CIPEM accepted Marie-Louise Nosch's suggestion to host the 14th Mycenological colloquium in Copenhagen. The first gathering took place in Gif-sur-Yvette near Paris in 1956. The spirit of good humour and collaborative enthusiasm established at the first colloquium became known within the field as *l'esprit de Gif*.

The group of countries and scholars at the mycenological conferences still reflect the correspondents and receivers of Ventris's work notes, which he had circulated to colleagues long before the internet made such a practice feasible.<sup>1</sup> The Gif colloquium included participants from Britain, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and the USA.

Today mycenological studies are also an active field of research in Germany, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, the Czech Republic, Cyprus, and Australia. It is still the founding members of CIPEM who represent the most numerous scholars in the field of Aegean scripts since 1956, but new scholars join the group, and the photographs from each mycenological colloquium illustrate how the number of participants increases. We are an expanding discipline. Another significant change is the increasing number of female scholars in the field. John Chadwick, in his speech at Salzburg in 1995 noticed the few female scholars,<sup>2</sup> but this has also changed since then. In Nürnberg 1981, the hosts graciously arranged for a parallel 'spouse program' during the colloquium. In Copenhagen, 24 of 57 participating scholars were women. Since the publication in 1954 of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Ventris and Chadwick strived to include other disciplines into the study of Aegean scripts, among others, the disciplines exploring texts from the ancient Near East.

Pierre Carlier and his co-organisers of the *13th Mycenological Colloquium*

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<sup>1</sup> Bennet 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Chadwick 1999, 36.

in Sèvres in 2010 were the first to convene special events on comparative studies of the Mycenaean palatial economy and Near Eastern palatial economies.<sup>3</sup> We believe this to be a particularly important yet challenging endeavour and we are happy that several colleagues took up the challenge and publish stimulating comparative studies in the present volume.

Since the Paris colloquium in 2010, we have lost colleagues who will be missed for their scholarly contribution as well as for the friendship that unites us: Pierre Carlier (1949-2011), Emmett L. Bennett Jr. (1918-2011), Petar Hr. Ilievski (1920-2013), Martin S. Ruipérez (1923-2015), Anna Morpurgo-Davies (1937-2014) and Margareta Lindgren (1936-2017). We would like to take this opportunity to dedicate this volume to one our discipline's first ladies, historical linguist Anna Morpurgo-Davies, a world-leading figure in the study of ancient Greek and Anatolian, and as such a role model for what it takes to conduct comparative analyses. We corresponded with Anna Morpurgo-Davies until a few months before she passed away in September 2014. She was trained by Gallavotti and was editor of the first lexicon of Mycenaean, published in 1963. In Oxford, she worked closely with professor of Comparative Philology, Leonard Palmer, and Hittitologist and epigraphist David Hawkins. In 1971, she succeeded Palmer as chair at Oxford.

In this volume we also wish to remember the very first female scholar in Aegean scripts, Alice Kober (1903-1950), and thus highlight her significant contribution to the field of Mycenaean studies. Alice Kober who received an MA and PhD from Columbia University became assistant professor at Brooklyn College. It was with a Guggenheim Fellowship that she was able to immerse herself full-time to the study of Linear B.<sup>4</sup> Her methodological approach to the study of the Linear B signary, in which she established that the Mycenaean script shows an inflected language, ultimately influenced Ventris's final decipherment of the script.<sup>5</sup>

We also wish to commemorate our Scandinavian colleague, Margareta Lindgren (1936–2017). A pupil of Arne Furumark, she continued the Linear B scholarly tradition at Uppsala University with her publication on the prosopography of Pylos, a fundamental work within Mycenaean Studies.

As head of the Department for Maps and Prints at the Uppsala University Carolina Library for many years, she kept in close contact with the Department of Archaeology and Ancient history as an immensely appreciated lecturer in Aegean Scripts, who really knew how to engage her audience with her keen sense of humour. On a personal note, she was the thesis advisor to the co-

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<sup>3</sup> Zurbach et al. forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice\\_Kober](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_Kober)

<sup>5</sup> <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/15875>

editor of this volume (Hedvig Landenius Enegren). Her last participation in a Mycenological Colloquium was in Rome in 2006 with a paper on Cypriot Scripts. Many of us remember her vivid personality and her enthusiasm in a wide range of interests that went beyond Linear B; these included in later years, among others, pistol target shooting and the Harry Potter books!

It was an honour to host the 14<sup>th</sup> *Mycenological Colloquium* in Copenhagen, 2-5 September 2015. We thank friends and colleagues for joining us for this event, and for their presentation and fruitful discussions. We are particularly honoured to hear of *l'esprit de Copenhague*, uniting us all in a friendly conversation on the advancement of knowledge in our field.

For hosting the conference on the exquisite premises of the Carlsberg Academy, the former private villa of brewer Jacobsen and domicile of Niels Bohr, we warmly thank the Carlsberg Foundation. For continued support and trust, we thank the Danish National Research Foundation and the University of Copenhagen. Egzona Haxha, Camilla Ebert and Louise Ludvigsen were our efficient and kind coordination and organisation hostesses and assistants. We warmly thank Maurizio Del Freo for all his help in editorial and other matters; for the indexation Mikkel Nørtoft and for editorial assistance Peder Flemstad. We warmly thank Lillian and Dan Finks Fond, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory and the R.K. Rasks Legat foundation for generous support for this publication. We are grateful to Alessandro Naso, Marco Bettelli and Maurizio Del Freo for welcoming the conference proceedings in the *Incunabula Graeca* series.

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TRACKING EUMEDES, THE UNGUENT-BOILER:  
MYCENAEAN TEXTUAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CLUES\*

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At our last meeting in Paris, I argued that the Ea series from Pylos, which features approximately 36 individuals, was closely connected with a tanning operation overseen by the palace administration.<sup>1</sup> I suggested that the land parcels recorded in the Ea tablets were held by individuals, who worked or lived on them, or both, for a certain period of the year while they were engaged in processing animal hides into durable leather. I noted that the occupational designations recorded in the Ea series could be plausibly associated, directly or indirectly, with the various stages of leather production: for instance, four men dealing with livestock (i.e., two ‘shepherds’, an ‘oxherd’ and a ‘swineherd’) could have provided the raw material of animal skins; specialist craftsmen, such as the ‘unguent-boiler’ and the ‘honey-man’, could have treated the leather; a ‘garment-worker’, three ‘leather-stitchers’, an ‘armourer’ and a ‘wheelwright/fitter’ could then have stitched and incorporated the leather into final products, such as clothing and footwear, armour, harness and saddle equipment, and chariot furnishings, all of which are mentioned in the Linear B tablets. I pointed to the apparent preoccupation of Hand 43, the scribe of the Ea series, with skilled crafts personnel on tablets **PY An 207** and **An 261**, and I suggested that the absence of women in the Ea series could be explained by the fact that the arduous activity of tanning has traditionally been regarded as a male occupation.<sup>2</sup> I also noted the likelihood that the Ea precinct, distinct from the

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<sup>1</sup> Nikoloudis 2012. For a different analysis, see Susan Lupack’s contribution in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> I consider the sole example of a seemingly feminine name in the Ea series, *i-ma-di-ja*, on **Ea 816**, to be a scribal error, given the existence of masculine *i-ma-di-jo* on **Ea 29**, but this is not certain, as noted by Weilhartner 2013. I thank Prof. Yves Duhoux for pointing out during discussion time that the name *i-ma-di-ja* could itself be masculine in gender and Dimitri Nakassis for mentioning that *i-ma-di-jo* and *i-ma-di-ja* might be variants of the same name (cf. *ma-ka-wo* and *ma-ka-ta* in the PY Jn series) in the same way that English ‘James’, ‘Jim’ and ‘Jimmy’ might refer to a single individual.

locality of the En/Ep texts, was situated beyond the immediate vicinity of the palace centre at Pylos, thereby reflecting an age-old practice of locating tanning sites away from inhabited areas in order to avoid the appalling stench from the decaying animal flesh, dung and urine involved in this work. A location near the coastline or a river would be ideal, given the constant supply of water needed to soak the hides during the various stages of the tanning process.

The present paper focuses on one of the individuals of the Ea series, namely Eumedes, the ‘unguent-boiler’ or perfumer. Using information from both the tablets in which he appears *and* their archaeological findspots, it aims to shed more light on Eumedes’ occupation and the reason for his inclusion in the Ea series.

Eumedes appears in only four texts in the Linear B corpus: **PY Ea 773, 812, 820** and **Fr 1184**. In the three texts of the Ea series (Figs. 1-3), he is a landholder, but the exact nature of his holdings are far from clear: in **Ea 773** he holds a parcel of land from the *da-mo* ‘damos’, in **Ea 812** the landlord is not specified (unless he is it), and in **Ea 820** he holds a parcel of land from the *\*me-ri-te-u* ‘honey-man’.<sup>3</sup> Eumedes is also identified in this series as an *a-re-po-zo-o* ‘unguent-boiler’ (**Ea 812, 820**). As such, he would have been skilled in the craft of making oil fragrant by boiling and soaking a variety of herbs in it,<sup>4</sup> and he also would have had the expertise to thicken the oil for use as an ointment or paste, for medicinal, cosmetic or other purposes,<sup>5</sup> by heating in it the correct quantities of ingredients, such as beeswax – perhaps provided by the ‘honey-man’ – and a variety of plant extracts, at just the right temperatures.<sup>6</sup>

**Fig. 1. PY Ea 773** (S28 H43)  
e-u-me-de , e-ke , o-na-to , pa-ro da-mo[ GRA (T) ]?

**Fig. 2. PY Ea 812** (S28 H43)  
.a ko-to-na  
e-u-me-de , a-re-po-zo-o , e-ke , GRA 1 T 8

<sup>3</sup> For the types of landholdings recorded in the Ea series, see Nikoloudis 2012, with references.

<sup>4</sup> *Perfume Industry*, 12-16, 38-39, 45-46: In stage 1 (‘stypsis’) of the perfuming process, the oil would have been boiled with certain plants, such as cyperus, to make it more receptive to scents, while stage 2 would have involved steeping the aromatics in cool oil, repeatedly straining and stirring the mixture and adding fresh aromatics to it over several days, potentially with some further heating, to give the oil its final fragrance. See also Kyriakidis 2011, 136-138.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to assisting in personal hygiene, perfumed oil was smeared on to textiles, making them ‘fragrant’ and ‘shining’ as they are described in Homer, while strictly ritual uses may have included anointing divine statues or their robes, pouring libations to the divinities, and more: *Perfume Industry*, 105; Weilharter 2012, 212-222; Fappas 2010, 235-269.

<sup>6</sup> Thickening of the oil occurred as a “side-effect” during stage 1 of the perfuming process (*Perfume Industry*, 13 n. 20), but in some cases (see below), a thicker paste itself may have been a desired outcome.

Fig. 3. PY Ea 820

(S28 H43)

.a a-re-po-zo-o  
e-u-me-de , e-ke , o-na-to , me-ri-te-wo , ko-to-na GRA [ ] T 1

Tanning, the process by which animal skins are gradually transformed into leather, also often includes the use of perfumed oil to soften the final product and improve its otherwise unpleasant odour. A vivid image of an ancient method of applying fatty substances to make leather supple is found in the *Iliad* (17.389-395), where the stretching of an oxhide for this purpose by a team of men is compared to the struggle between the Greeks and the Trojans over the body of the dead Patroklos:

ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀνήρ ταύροιο βοὸς μέγαλοιο βοείην  
λαοῖσιν δῶη τανύειν, μεθύουσαν ἀλοιφή·  
δεξάμενοι δ' ἄρα τοί γε διαστάντες τανύουσι  
κυκλός, ἄφαρ δέ τε ἰκμάς ἔβη, δύνει δέ τ' ἀλοιφή  
πολλῶν ἐλκόντων, τάνυται δέ τε πᾶσα διὰ πρό-  
ῶς οἱ γ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα νέκυν ὀλίγη ἐνὶ χώρῃ  
εἴλκεον ἀμφοτέροι·

*As when a man gives the hide of a great ox, a bullock,  
drenched first deep in fat, to all his people to stretch out;  
the people take it from him and stand in a circle about it  
and pull, and presently the moisture goes and the fat sinks  
in, with so many pulling, and the bull's hide is stretched out level;  
so the men of both sides in a cramped space tugged at the body  
in both directions;* (transl. R. Lattimore)

The Homeric name of the fatty oil product used in this process of softening leather, ἀλοιφή, corresponds to the Linear B term *a-ro-pa* (PY Fr 1225, 1242, 1355) meaning ‘unguent’, i.e., any substance, like a paste, that can be anointed or smeared, cf. verb ἀλείφω,<sup>7</sup> and, in our case, made from olive oil, as is indicated by the OLE ideogram (\*130) in the relevant Mycenaean texts.<sup>8</sup> The substance is reflected in the first element of the occupational title of Eumedes: \*ἀλειφαζός from ἄλειφαρ ‘unguent’ and ζέω ‘I boil’, hence ‘unguent-boiler’. The term that actually appears in the Ea series, *a-re-po-zo-o*, constitutes a variant spelling of the form found elsewhere in the corpus as *a-re-pa-zo-o* /*aleiphadzohos*/.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> DMic. s.v. *a-ro-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> The product in the Homeric example might be a form of olive oil or, as suggested by Triantalidou (2001, 278 n. 68), tallow, made from rendered animal fat.

<sup>9</sup> *a-re-po-zo-o*: Ea 812 (e-u-me-de) Hand 43, Ea 820 (e-u-me-de) Hand 43, Fg 374 (ko-ka-ro) S240 H1; *a-re-pa-zo-o*: Un 267.2 (tu-we-ta) S2 H1, Un 249.1 (pi-ra-jo) Cii.

The work of the *a-re-pa-zo-o* would have required a high degree of expertise. For the purposes of leather conditioning, a clear understanding of the composition and application of different strengths of liquid polishes or solid pastes, and their varied effects on the underlying properties of a range of animal skins, would be key to preventing staining, discolouration and stiffening of the different grades of leather products that had to be treated.<sup>10</sup>

The fourth tablet that features Eumedes belongs to the PY Fr series which, for the most part, records the delivery of oil to a variety of recipients, probably both divine and secular.<sup>11</sup> As Cynthia Shelmerdine has shown, Tablet **Fr 1184** (Fig. 4) differs from the majority of the Fr texts in that it records a delivery of olive oil (a substantial amount of 518.4 litres) within the palace's perfume industry, from Kokalos, another unguent-boiler at Pylos, to Eumedes.<sup>12</sup> John Killen suggests that "it may relate to a delivery of already perfumed oil from a junior unguent-boiler to a senior colleague, perhaps for quality checking."<sup>13</sup> Usually, tablets recording perfumed olive oil contain references to the specific fragrance of that oil, e.g., rose-scented or sage-scented oil (see below). On this tablet, however, the plain OLE 'oil' ideogram is ligatured with the abbreviation *we* of *we-(j)a-re-pe*, possibly meaning 'for anointing'.

**Fig. 4. PY Fr 1184**

(S1202 H 2)

- .1 ko-ka-ro , a-pe-do-ke , e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo , to-so
- .2 e-u-me-de-i OLE +WE 18
- .3 pa-ro , i-pe-se-wa , ka-ra-re-we 38

*Kokalos delivered so much oil:*

*for/to Eumedes: OLE +WE 518.4 litres*

*from i-pe-se-wa / at i-pe-se-wa's: 38 oil jars*

In his discussion of OLE+WE, Yves Duhoux points to compounds in –ηλειφής 'anointed with' from the verb ἀλείφω 'anoint', but acknowledges that the interpretation of *we-(j)a-re-pe* is not certain.<sup>14</sup> To account for the intervocalic *y* attested by the variant *we-ja-re-pe* (**Fr 1205, 1217**, etc), Cornelis Ruijgh posits a first verbal element *Fey-* 'to turn' as in to stir the oil in the process of perfuming and a second verbal element in -αλειφής.<sup>15</sup>

Duhoux notes that while the 38 vases for oil mentioned in the last line of

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Trantalidou 2001, 277-287. To take a very basic, modern example, consider the potential damage caused by using shoe polish on leather couches.

<sup>11</sup> *Perfume Industry*, 97-98; Bendall 2014, 142.

<sup>12</sup> *Perfume Industry*, 24, 41, 410.

<sup>13</sup> Killen 2008, 192 n. 77 (quote); Killen 2001, 179-180.

<sup>14</sup> Duhoux 2008, 311.

<sup>15</sup> *Etudes*, 379-380.



this text may have been empty, whether they were ‘from *i-pe-se-wa*’ or ‘at *i-pe-se-wa*’s place’ (he favours the latter), it is nevertheless tempting to suppose that they were indeed full of the oil said to have been delivered at the start of the text. The term *ka-ra-re-we* (pl.) is related to *χλαρόν*, a ‘vessel for oil’ (Hesychius), and probably refers to the Mycenaean stirrup jars, given that (a) *ka-ra-re-we* on **KN K 778.1** is followed by the ‘stirrup jar’ ideogram, \*210<sup>VAS</sup>, and (b) this ideogram is sometimes accompanied by the abbreviation *ka*.<sup>16</sup>

The substance recorded, OLE+WE, seems to be treated oil, rather than a true raw material, owing to the adjunct WE, but it would still have been in liquid form, since a liquid measure is used to describe it.<sup>17</sup> A liquid state would certainly suit the content of the jars. Its consistency, however, is unknown: perhaps it was thickened oil, but still thinner than unguent, or perhaps it was plain olive oil *intended for anointing*, possibly by being thickened later into an ointment or paste.

This tablet also differs from the other Fr texts in that it was not found in oil storeroom 23 where most of the Fr tablets were discovered;<sup>18</sup> instead, it had already been sent away to be filed in the Archives Complex of the palace, implying that this particular transaction had been completed. It was discovered in the Chasm between Rooms 7 and 8.<sup>19</sup>

The three Ea tablets that mention the landholdings of Eumedes were discovered in Room 7 of the Archives Complex, suggesting that they had arrived there relatively *recently* and were still waiting to be processed (they were not yet stored in inner Room 8).<sup>20</sup> Overall, some Ea texts were discovered in Room 7 and others in Room 8, with no clear pattern of distribution: a single name often appears on tablets found in both rooms in connection with landholdings of various types. For this reason, it has been suggested that this was a unified series that simply entered the Archives Complex at a *different time*.<sup>21</sup> If so, this difference in arrival time of the Ea tablets might have corresponded to a real time difference in the compilation of the recorded information (i.e., the landholding details already stored in Room 8 might have been compiled based on the actual landholding arrangements out in the field earlier on, whereas the information in Room 7 might have been drawn up at a later date). In this case, the restriction

<sup>16</sup> Duhoux 2008, 311.

<sup>17</sup> *Perfume Industry*, 24, 34.

<sup>18</sup> The two other exceptions of the Fr series, tablets **PY Fr 1202** and **1206**, were found in Room 38 and have been ingeniously interpreted by Lisa Bendall (2014, 156-157) as reflecting large, long-distance shipments of perfumed olive oil abroad.

<sup>19</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 205; *Perfume Industry*, 23-24.

<sup>20</sup> For details, see Lejeune 1976, 82-115; Del Freo 2005, 71-84.

<sup>21</sup> Pluta 1998, 249.

of Ea records dealing with Eumedes to outer Room 7 may not be coincidental. Perhaps his landholdings were in fact recorded at a later date, when he was physically present at the Ea site. Indeed, it would be rather *late* in the process of leather production that his expertise would be required on site to treat the leather (in the finishing stage, after the animal hides had been acquired, soaked in urine and stripped of their inner and outer layers, gradually tanned or smoked, and finally turned into leather<sup>22</sup>).

The findspots, then, might indicate that the three Ea texts that mention Eumedes reflect more recent activity, possibly subsequent to, or at least around the same time as, his receipt of the oil on **Fr 1184**<sup>23</sup>, oil having come presumably from the palace storerooms. Significantly, these archaeological findspots may allow us to track the actual movement of Eumedes (and perhaps also that of the oil) across the polity. Specifically, could the oil recorded on **Fr 1184** have been used by Eumedes, the ‘unguent-boiler’, to produce a perfumed oil paste for tanning purposes at the locality with which the Ea series was concerned and where Eumedes appears as a landholder? Was the oil sent to him, or taken by him, to be (further) processed and used there?

If this locality was indeed called *ti-no*, as proposed by Leonard Palmer in the 1960s<sup>24</sup>, then we have confirmation from another tablet, **Fr 1223** (Fig. 5), found in oil storeroom 23 of the palace, that more oil, including sage-scented and rose-scented oil, would soon be on its way to that precinct (note the allative *]ti-no-de* in line 1).

**Fig. 5. PY Fr 1223**

(–)

- .1 ]ti-no-de , e-ra-wo pa-ko-we , we-a-re-pe OLE+A s 2  
 .2 ]wo-do-we-qe we-a-re-pe OLE+A š 2  
 ... to *ti-no*, olive oil, sage-scented, for anointing, Oil+A 19.2 litres  
 ... and rose-scented, for anointing, Oil+A 19.2 litres

As Shelmerdine explains, OLE+A in this text might stand for Oil + ἄλειφαρ or ἀλοιφή (discussed earlier), indicating that this oil had also been thickened

<sup>22</sup> Nikoloudis 2012, 285. Of course, other variables could have resulted in the two scatters of Ea tablets. Perhaps they arrived altogether, but were being processed in two arbitrary batches. Alternatively, the two tablet groups might be meaningfully significant if they recorded, say, two distinct geographical subregions of the Ea locality, but these texts do not contain the topographical details required to test such an hypothesis. In any event, the three Ea texts that record Eumedes, found in outer Room 7, had not undergone final processing yet.

<sup>23</sup> As Richard Firth has confirmed (pers. comm.), it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the precise, original location of the texts retrieved from the ‘Chasm’.

<sup>24</sup> Palmer (*Interpretation*, 220) links *ke-re-te-u-ti-no* of **PY Na 565** with the man of the same name in the Ea series and similarly views as identical *du-ni-jo* of the Ea series and *du-ni-jo ti-ni-ja-ta* on **Fn 79.3** (*ti-ni-ja-ta* being a toponymic related to \**ti-ni-ja* ‘region of *ti-no*’).

for use as an ointment, but was still thin enough, again, to be recorded by the liquid OLE ideogram.<sup>25</sup> Note also that *we-a-re-pe* ‘for anointing’ is written in full here. Based on the available evidence, Shelmerdine concludes: “It may be that there is a real distinction between OLE, signifying liquid perfume, and *AREPA*, signifying a thicker unguent, and *we-ja-re-pe* might then be taken to indicate the consistency of the oil referred to (though the ideogram is still OLE, not *AREPA*).”<sup>26</sup> It is possible, as she further elucidates, that different scribes may have gone about recording similar information in slightly different ways.<sup>27</sup> For instance, OLE+*WE* (**Fr 1184**) may correspond, for the most part, to “we-a-re-pe OLE+A” (**Fr 1223**). The main difference between the (thickened) oil of **Fr 1184** and **Fr 1223** seems to be (a) the smaller amount and (b) the presence of fragrance in the latter.

It is tempting to consider whether both tablets **Fr 1184** and **Fr 1223** record oil being sent to *ti-no* for use in a specific industrial activity such as tanning. In this respect, it is important to emphasise again the well-attested connection between perfumery and tanning: throughout history, animal skins would be smeared with fatty substances and/or steeped in perfumed oils to make them pliable and usable.<sup>28</sup> If the item registered on **Fr 1184** was unscented olive oil (after all, it is not stated to be perfumed), Eumedes would have enhanced it himself at the palace, or, perhaps more likely, in the field where it was needed. The 38 vessels recorded on the same text may have been intended to transport the oil to its final destination. As Ventris and Chadwick<sup>29</sup> have calculated, these 38 jars would have contained about 13.6 litres each, resulting in the substantial total of 518.4 litres. The smaller amounts of scented oil on **Fr 1223** may have been sent later to boost supplies. Tablet **Fr 1223** was in fact found in the palace’s oil storeroom 23, suggesting that this delivery to *ti-no* had not yet taken place.

Evidence from Knossos demonstrates that oil was set aside for tanning purposes in that part of the Mycenaean world as well. Several texts in the KN Fh series (e.g., **Fh 5428**) indicate that olive oil was destined for the *wi-ri-ne-we* ‘tanner’ (dat. sing. /wṛīnēwei/) or ‘tanners’ (nom. pl. /wṛīnēwes/). The large amount of oil on KN **Fh 5428** appears to be unscented, like the oil delivered to

<sup>25</sup> *Perfume Industry*, 31-38, esp. 34.

<sup>26</sup> *Perfume Industry*, 31. For the ideogram/monogram *AREPA* (\*133), representing ἀλειφαρ, see, e.g., **PY Un 718.8** and **Un 853.4**, **Wr 1437**, **Un 6** and **Fr 1198** (in the last two texts, it occurs with a sign for liquid measure). Overall, in Shelmerdine’s opinion (1985, 17 n. 26), *AREPA* is thicker than OLE, but both may be “essentially liquids”.

<sup>27</sup> *Perfume Industry*, 35-37.

<sup>28</sup> Trantalidou 2001; Miller & Miller (1990, 56-57) note the interesting example of how the 17th century French rural city of Grasse, known for its high quality perfumed leathers, became a wealthy centre of perfume production by keeping its specialist perfumery art a secret.

<sup>29</sup> *Docs*<sup>2</sup>, 394.

Eumedes (**PY Fr 1184**).<sup>30</sup> To achieve the best result, it would probably need to be made fragrant by someone before being applied to the leather. So, it would seem that some stages of a perfumer's craft did not have to take place at the palace proper, at least not always. At Pylos, there were other unguent boilers<sup>31</sup> stationed at the palace who could continue the necessary work there,<sup>32</sup> while Eumedes went to supervise the perfume manufacture required at the tanning site.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to Eumedes and Kokalos (**Fr 1184**), two more individuals are described as 'unguent-boilers' in the texts from Pylos: Thyestes (*tu-we-ta* on **PY Un 267**) who receives a variety of ingredients used in perfume manufacture, including coriander, cyperus, fruits, wool, wine and honey,<sup>34</sup> and a Potnian 'unguent-boiler' by the name of Philaios (*pi-ra-jo* on **PY Un 249**).<sup>35</sup>

Thomas Palaima's recent interpretation of Tablet **PY Vn 130**, suggesting that perfume boiling could occur in different localities, i.e., that parts of the process could be decentralised,<sup>36</sup> would add support to the argument presented here, that perfume production was not an industrial activity whose various stages were necessarily always physically restricted to the palace headquarters. It would make sense to set up an unguent-boiler on site to guarantee ready access to the aromatic substances needed to treat the leather being produced – both in terms of the plant resources and other raw materials required by the unguent-boiler and in terms of the perfumed oils or pastes required by the tanners.

The Ea series has traditionally been viewed as a register of landholders in a non-occupational context. Given its tablet-writer's clear preoccupation with recording crafts personnel elsewhere (Hand 43: **An 207, 261**), it is argued here, once again, that its landholders, including an 'unguent-boiler' and a 'honey-

<sup>30</sup> While it is possible that some of the larger amounts of oil disbursements in the KN Fh series could have been used either for industrial production or for rations to be supplied to workers involved in those industries, Bendall (2014, 145-146) considers the large amount of oil on **KN Fh 5428** (355.2 litres) to have been "almost certainly intended for industrial production" (145). Similarly, it is reasonable to assume that the oil recorded on **PY Fr 1184** in a uniquely specialised context between two unguent-boilers was probably intended for perfume manufacture and not rations.

<sup>31</sup> See note 9 above.

<sup>32</sup> Courts 42 and 47 at the palace are among the spaces that have been identified as potential work areas for the manufacture of perfumed olive oil. *Perfume Industry*, 58-62.

<sup>33</sup> In contrast, Kyriakidis (2011, 139) views Eumedes as 'finishing' the perfumed oil and giving it its final fragrance *inside* the palace (by means of cold steeping), while the other unguent-boilers would be involved in preparing the oil during the first stage of the process (boiling), possibly working *outside* the palace.

<sup>34</sup> *tu-we-ta*: hapax. *DMic. s.v. tu-we-ta*. For a recent discussion of this tablet, see Duhoux 2008, 339-342.

<sup>35</sup> *pi-ra-jo* appears on a second text, **PY Ae 264**, as a 'goatherd', but it is impossible to tell if they are the same person. Nakassis 2013, 342. *DMic. s.v. pi-ra-jo*. Kyriakidis argues that *pi-ra-jo*, the Potnian 'unguent-boiler', worked at a sanctuary located away from the palace proper, but notes Lupack's suggestion that a sanctuary of Potnia may have existed inside the palace. See Kyriakidis 2011, 142; Lupack 2008, 119, 126-130.

<sup>36</sup> Palaima 2014. See also *Perfume Industry*, 22-23.

man', were participating in a work activity, specifically a tanning project. Tanning, like perfume manufacture, would have been an incredibly significant palace industry, dependent on the successful, coordinated access to, and use of, several resources, including land and water, plant and livestock management, and human labour. Tanning was instrumental in producing the essentials underpinning the proper functioning of palace (and other) life, including such items as clothing, footwear, transport and military equipment. The land held by Eumedes in the Ea series could have been granted to him by the administration to live on and to work on, in return for his specialist knowledge of perfume production required in the final stages of leather processing at the site. It is worth noting that while Kokalos elsewhere receives rations (in the form of wheat and figs on **PY Fg 374**), supporting the notion that he might have been a less experienced, junior 'unguent-boiler', as proposed by Killen,<sup>37</sup> Eumedes does not. As a more senior and trusted agent of the palace, and one who was required to supervise on site, Eumedes might have been rewarded for his services in a different manner - with land at *ti-no*.

Tracking Eumedes through the textual references and the archaeological findspots of the tablets encourages us to consider the distinct phases of his occupation as a perfumer and to think about where he might have received the oil he needed and where he might have boiled and processed it into one or more final products. Tracking him in time and space leads us to posit his physical presence, at least for a period of the year (several weeks, or more, depending on the degree of leather output<sup>38</sup>), at the locality of the Ea series where he was likely engaged in the manufacture of perfumed olive oil as well as a thickened oil product, or unguent, and even perhaps a wide range of both, for use in a Mycenaean tanning operation.

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<sup>37</sup> Killen 2001, 180.

<sup>38</sup> Could the Ea series (indirectly) represent a seasonal industrial site (Nikoloudis 2012, 298)?

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