DISCUSSION

P. Warren: A very brief comment as an outsider: I was very interested in your reinterpretation of Tn 516, to see this in terms of processes of religious personnel. A radically different interpretation, but one which fits, of course, extremely closely with the iconography.

A. Sacconi: Je remercie Monsieur Warren. En effet, c’est ce que je pense maintenant.

MYCENAEAN MILITARISM FROM A TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE. ONOMASTICS IN CONTEXT: λβως, δαμος, κλεως*

In this paper, after surveying the Linear B textual evidence that demonstrates palatial concern for centralized control and organization of military equipment and personnel, I use the evidence of onomastics and of textual/administrative context to explore the varying degrees to which fundamental cultural notions of ‘militarism’ permeated different levels and components of Mycenaean society. I particularly mark out: (1) the factors that must be taken into account in weighing the tablet evidence and (2) the tablet series and subject areas that are likely to yield meaningful results. I concentrate on three terms (λβως, δαμος and κλεως) that offer a view across social groups and divisions, and assess the evidence in contrast to naming patterns in the historical period. I also look at the names of individuals who have been identified as ‘collectors’.

The militaristic aspects of Mycenaean society are clear in the archaeological record (iconographic representations of military combat and military equipment; discoveries of weapons and armor; studies of Mycenaean defensive fortifications) from the formative period of the Shaft Graves through to the destruction of the mainland palaces.1 The Mycenaean textual evidence reinforces and supplements our view for a somewhat narrower span of time: the end of LM II (ca. 1400 B.C.) to the end of LH IIIB (ca. 1250 B.C.).2 The Linear B tablets indicate that the central palatial bureaucracy was concerned with the manufacture, warehousing, refurbishing, inspecting and distribution of military equipment (chariots, armor, helmets, swords, spears, javelins and arrow heads) and with requisitioning, distributing and tracking the raw materials needed for the manufacture of such equipment.3 Tablets concerned

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* I use the following abbreviations:
Atti e memorie 2 = E. De Miro, L. Godart, A. Sacconi (eds), Atti e memorie del secondo congresso internazionale di numismatica (1996);
CollMy = E. Risch and H. Mühlestein (eds), Colloquium Mycenum (1979);
HIP = F. Rechtel, Die historischen Personenamen der Griechischen (1917);
MGP = O. Landsdorff-Kleist, Mykenäische Griechische Personenamen (1958);
Mykematka = J.-P. Olivier (ed.), Mykematka (BCH Supplément 25: 1992);
RCET = Room of the Chariot Tablets.


3 The ideographic/logographic aspects of the tablets have been well exploited in relationship to archaeological comparanda in F. Vandenabeele and J.-P. Olivier, Les ideogrammes archéologiques du linéaire B (1979) which tellingly begins with (p. 17-154) and devotes nearly half of its discussion (158 of 284 pages: 48.6%) to defensive armor, offensive weaponry, horses, chariots and wheels, and ingots. We should note in addition that tablets which do not have any ideograms/logograms for military equipment are related to their manufacture or distribution, e.g., the single tablet PVJ 892 which records the collection from provincial centers of a total amount of ‘recycled’ bronze sufficient for ca. 33 arrowheads or 142 spearheads. Likewise the KN Ve(3) records list simply the names of ca. 77 pairs of men already in possession of complete sets of chariots, horses and body armor of the sort recorded explicitly (logographically) in the KN Sc series. Cf. J. Driessen, "The Arsenal of Knossos (Cretan) and Mycenaean Chariot Forces," in M. Lodewijckx (ed.), Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West European Societies, Acta Archaeologica
with chariot and chariot parts are attested at Knossos, Pyla, Tiryns and Khania; and Knossos, Pyla and Tiryns furnish tablets concerned with bronze body armor (sag. io-to روراه). Given that Tiryns has produced only 25 very fragmentary tablets, it is perhaps a reflection of the degree of militarism in Mycenaean palatial culture that 5 of the 12 that can be assigned to subject sets have to do with armor and chariot composition, while the others are concerned with personnel, cattle, landholding and perhaps provided agricultural instructions. At Khania we have a similarly significant percentage of admittedly few and rarely discovered documents: of 4 legible tablets, 1 fragment refers to 10 pairs of chariot wheels. For Linear B tablets and nodules found and published at Mycenae and Thbes also point out the hazards of discovery. The Mycenaean documents do not refer to military matters, but their particular archaeological contexts suggest that the establishments where the tablets and nodules were found did not have to do with the 'military sector.' The same answer might be proposed for the published material from Thbes, unless we can confirm the reasonable hypothesis that the phonetic abbreviation O used as a logogram in the Thbes Ug series and numbering 30, 14, 6, 5, 3, 5, and 2 units stands for o-pa-u-ta ('suspension pieces' or plates of bronze used in the manufacture of sets of armor and helmets). O forms a stand for o-pa-u-ta in the PY Sh series in quantities 22/12, 20/10 per set of armor, and 4 o-pa-u-ta are used for helmets along with 2 cheek-pieces.

The tablets also give us some insight into the organization of personnel for military purposes, although, as with all subjects, the textual evidence is not as complete or uniform site to site as we would wish it to be. The basic outlines of Mycenaean military organization have been presented in two early fundamental studies by L.R. Palmer and M. Lejeune. We shall not rehearse all the details here. The Linear B tablets from Pyla still suffice to give us a picture of a more or less elaborately structured Mycenaean polity, tightly controlled by an efficient bureaucracy, which guided with a smooth and practiced routine the many-sided defensive measures provoked by the situation that culminated in the destruction of the Palace of Tiryns. As with all historical assessments of Mycenaean culture we cannot give this capsule interpretation, e.g., the degree to which the state organization was 'totalitarian,' its bureaucracy 'efficient,' or its defensive measures provoked by a crisis situation. Still the main evidence is clear in its basic elements: the Pyla o-pa coastal-defense texts (PY An 657, 656, 519, 654, 601), the Pyla rower tablets (PY An 1, An 610, Ad 864), and production texts from all sites relating to military weaponry (e.g., PY Jn 892, other PY Jn bronze allotment tablets and the PY Sa and Sh series; the KN Ra and Sseries texts). Jan Driessen's work with the RCT (Room of the Chariot Tablets) records at Knossos (earliest collection of Linear B material) and their particular correlates from other Mycenaean sites gives us a full picture of


careful administrative monitoring of large-scale quantities of chariot equipment and armor: an estimated operational chariot force of ca. 179-250 units based on the Knossos Sc and Vc records.

The care taken within the Linear B records to keep track of military equipment and personnel can be made fair by the following statistics. Whereas the Linear B tablets contain less than 60 different kinds of vessels/container types, they contain 5 different lexical units for horse equipment and 18 different lexical units for weapons. For chariots and their component parts, Bernabe identifies 16 different basic terms at the central archives. This number becomes even less in the texts. This number is the vocabulary for either the materials or the construction methods used in the manufacture of chariot chassis and wheels, and it also correctly eliminates a term by opting for an alternative interpretation of a word (ωραίος) long thought to refer to the 'chariot' itself. That Bernabe's list is conservatively constructed and nonetheless large underscores the exacting attention paid to the production and maintenance of high-tech military equipment. Such meticulous precaution can reach the level of having repetitive individual inspection tablets (essentially sets of 4 and 6 duplicate texts) drafted - and then delivered to the central 'archives' at Pyla - for each and every piece that have been 'brought to' a state through the process of repair/refurbishing activity (known as o-pa) of an individual named a-me-ta. Moreover, at Pyla we can trace the sequence of palatal monitoring of the delivery of raw materials for military equipment to the construction/repair workshop (and personnel assigned to different categories of work) first in tablets and sealings from the workshop itself (VA 1825, VA 1824, WR 1328, WR 1329, An 1285, WR 1480) and then in a text recording related information in the central 'archives' (Vn 10). For a representative catalogue of lexical attested - and unattested - military terms, see Fig. 1.

This paper will accept the hard facts, archaeological, iconographical and textual, of Mycenaean militarism as a given. These make it possible to form a picture which is clear in broad outlines and in many particulars. With this general picture, we might ask how prevalent the need for manpower was throughout the Mycenaean world. We can make a start at an answer by tracing and nuanced the patterns and contexts of occurrence of names derived from terms relating to the sphere of warfare. For example, it must be significant that of over 2,000 personal names recorded in the tablets, only one or two ( schizophrenia) have been found which are significant for the 130-1700 BC period (see). The fact that more than 2 names are recorded for each individual suggests the existence of the LB world (e.g., the Hellenic epics (Pasištras in Od. 3.36). The last word for the concept war (polemos) as an 'engagement of opposing warriors or troops' is also surprisingly underrepresented in attested Mycenaean evidence (only two: Pellenos and Καθολικος Χριστιανος PY Jn 610 and Καθολικος Χριστιανος PY Jn 894). As we shall see below, the word for the abstract spirit of war, battle, slaughter' defined as the god Ares is more productive as an element in Mycenaean personal names. 13

9 DRIESSEN (n.s. 5) 490-493. Still available most fully in J. DRIESSEN, The Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos: Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of a Linear B Deposit ( Diss. Katholische Universiteit Leuven 1989); cf. vol. 1. 518. The textual/palaeographic side of this superb study, in progress, is scheduled to appear as a Supplementum in the volume The Scribal of the Room of the Chariot Tablets.
10 A BARTONER, "The Lexical Stock of Mycenaean Greek," in Mykenaion, 10-36, esp. 31-35. The term chariotis is conveniently discussed by A. BERNABE, "Rarae del melico minoico sobre el carro y sus partes," in Atti e memorie 2, vol. 1, 199-207.
11 For the different of these terms the last survival or not into later Greek, cf. BERNABE (supra n. 10) 206-208 as suggested by the abstract noun relating to 'work' or 'manufacture' rather than as a term for 'chariot' connected with 'work' (work) (Lat. refer). 12 The "PALAIMA" tablets are published in "The Linear B Tablets from Pyla," in Atti e memorie 2, vol. 1, 379-395.
MYCENEAN MILITARISM FROM A TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

Two factors limiting this kind of work are the interpretive ambiguity of many Mycenaean names and the difficulty of identifying precisely the status of a given individual across a fairly secure textual context. Fortunately, even though the Mycenaean onomasticon contrasts with the later Greek in having a generally greater percentage of uncompounded or shortened names, the large number of personal names in total on the tablets (over 2,000) gives us an ample data base, and many of the shortened names still yield the probable etymologies. We can also focus on culturally significant roots within names that remain recognizable in Mycenaean spellings of compounded or simplified names. Moreover, certain tablet groups, like those from the RCT, yield an extremely high percentage (as 90% of Greek names with which to work, and the context of the military and 'elite'.

A comprehensive study of the military ethos in the naming patterns attested in Mycenaean society would examine the occurrence of roots for fundamental notions: ikos (‘collective male fighting force’), arh (‘war spirit’), stath (‘strategy’), strat (‘army arranged in encampment’), ph(m) (‘war’), alt (‘force who permit de se defendre’), us (‘force’), areta (‘manly excellence’), kles (‘fame’), thars (‘courage’), and important verbal stems like ag (‘lead’), ager (‘gather, assemble’), alk (‘defend’), arkh (‘be leader’), elkh (‘hold, preserve’), men- (‘fight, contend, battle’), all of which are found in important formative elements in later Greek (and/or Homeric) naming patterns. This paper will treat the evidence selectively.

A mycenaean name can tell us about a given culture provided by a simple compilation of and commentary on the structure and meaning of names in common use among the Ilugos of Eastern Nigeria in 1970. From a handbook of current Ilugbo names, which I selected randomly from the shelves of the FCL Graduate Library at UT Austin in order to make sure that was virtually completely ignorant of the subject culture, I can deduce the importance in this society of:

1. the continuation of the parental lineage (13 names signifying "let my family/name/share not be lost or cease to exist" and others signifying satisfaction with the birth of a male child and stressing relationship with the father — or conversely that the birth of a daughter was the will of god and has to be accepted);
2. the role of the mother's kinmen in rearing children (8 names);
3. optimism and hope about the unknown future (8 names);
4. mediating or preventing conflicts with other social groups (8 names that encode warnings or advice on how to make peace to the name-bearer);
5. individuals identifying strongly with and respecting social groups (10 names, e.g., "men are the source of strength" and the backing of others is supreme);
6. personal achievement and striving (8 names, e.g., "I have achieved more than others");
7. the historical social conflict between traditional 'sacred' chiefs/kings (Nze) and 'secular' chiefs of villages and local communities (Eze) and the social significance of being associated with one or the other of these elites (11 names declaring the supremacy of Nze or Eze or identifying the name-bearer as child, daughter or even 'scepter' of Nze or Eze);
8. ELIEVSKY in Colloq. (myea no 14) 141-142. 79% of the personal names occurring in Linear B are considered 'short' and either uncompounded or hypocoristics (shortened forms of longer/compounded names).
8. identification as a commoner with the collective people (4 names signify the name-bearer is "son/daughter/voice/eyes of the people");
9. qualities that sacred (Nze) and secular (Eze) leaders should possess (6 names, e.g., "Nze does not exploit others" and "Eze does not exploit others");
10. the influence of the Christian Church (10 names indicating "blessing," "good news," "faith," "the church is supreme," "give praise to God" and "avoid sins");
11. native belief in supernatural forces and deterministic theory whereby a man's "Chi" (personal god) controls his destiny (ca. 59 names praising such powers and their attributes and their ability to effect good for the name-bearers);
12. the necessity to reassess the value of human life vis-a-vis the struggle for acquisition of wealth and property (9 names amounting, e.g., to "a human being/child is more important than wealth");
13. wealth and the ability of "Chi" to bestow wealth and of female children to bring wealth through dowries at marriage (37 names);
14. the fact of poverty (11 names attributing poverty to fate, bad luck, envy of others, wishing it away, and coming to terms with it as the will of "Chi" or the common lot of many people);
15. status within the family (9 names, including prestige titles relating to individuals who are rich and powerful in having full "vam houses");
16. life and death (11 and 24 names respectively);
17. skin color (8 names descriptive of light or black skin-tone);
18. war, peace, strength, martial virtue, violence (e.g., "killer of lions" and "cutter of heads").

The personal names by themselves then provide us with an insight into social organization and stratification, political, religious and cultural belief systems, historical developments (e.g., the introduction of Christianity and the persistence of native religious beliefs, the conflicts between power figures: Nze and Eze), the sources of wealth and methods of control of wealth in the community, and other general cultural values.

The Greco-Roman, of course, the overwhelming popularity in historical times of names compounded from such fundamental cultural terms as δῆμος ("the collective people"), δίκαιος ("justice"), ἱππος ("horse") and καλός ("fame"), and the relative rarity of such roots in the well-documented Mycenaean onomasticon are related to major cultural changes between the Mycenaean Bronze Age and the Greek historical period. For example, the two possible examples of Mycenaean personal names formed from ἱππος cited by Landau et al. have both proved to be 'ghosts.' This contrasts with ca. 185 different personal-name compound formations in ἵππος catalogued for the historical period.42 Obviousy paralleled by the evidence of the cultural significance of horse-owning (and corresponding classification in the rank of an ἡρώος or "cavalry man") made a much greater impact on naming patterns within society in the historical period than it did in the Mycenaean period, despite the prominence in the Mycenaean texts of horses (ca. 85 instances of the horse ideogram at Knosos and I [Sa 22] at Pylos) and chariots named after horses (ἱππός cf. KN SF, Sg and Sd series), a deity named ποτίσισσα-ἱππός (PY An 1281.1), and individual specialists known as "horse-feeders" (ἱππο-ποι). Even a landholding could be recorded as allotted to an individual ἰππόποι-ἱππος "for the sake of the horse" (PY Ea 59).43

Likewise stunning is the limited number of names deriving from δῆμος in the Mycenaean texts. The δῆμος is a central social institution in the Pylos landholding records (E-series). On the contemporary tablet KN Un 718, the δῆμος as an institution is ranked with the wanax and λαυγατες/λαυγατρα as one of the four major components of Pylian society. Landau cites a mere four possible compound forms: ἐκδαμα, ε-ντα-μο, ε-ντα-μο and the restoration δα-μο-κα-τετελε. The last is likely a 'ghost' with ca. 17 names derived from λαυς, the term that specifies the collective body of male fighting folk (Μαραθονας is the most common and most likely in Mycenaean,44 and is the element acted upon by the verbal stem (a-ke here representing either aget or ager) in the agent-noun term for the Mycenaean military leader: μαραθονας. From the historical records, we have ca. 80 and ca. 100 different compound-formations involving δῆμος as a first or second element respectively. These therefore clearly indicate the prominence and centrality of the historical polis.45 Such an instinct had not yet developed in the Mycenaean period wherein λαυς has a greater prominence.

The term λαυς in historical times is not rare in name formations, but it is less common than (a) καταβασιαν δημος a reference to the Mycenaean situation: Bechtle cites ca. 136 compound forms and a half-dozen names of simplified structure.46 The λαυς-names in Linear B (17 different names referring to 25 individuals) offer a convenient sample group to see the social levels at which this fundamentally militaristic concept is productive in name-giving (Fig. 2). The distribution pattern of these lambous-names underscores the importance of the concept of "male fighting force" in the culture of "elites" in Mycenaean society. The significant name Ekkhe-lambous (Fig. 2 §15) and the pattern of references to the individuals who bear that name in the Pylos tablets and another example of the name of Pylos reflect the dual or even tripartite nature of "kinship" in Mycenaean and general Indo-European society, e.g., contemporary Hittite culture.47 The "king" is chief representative of his people in relation to the divine sphere and guarantor thereby of communal prosperity, but he also may have, as his personal name here implies, the role of safeguarding "men of battle," even if, as the Mycenaean texts may suggest, the king is no longer the primary organizer and practical strategist for Mycenaean fighting forces. The prevalence of lambous-names among the elite Greek holders/owners of chariots and armor from the RCT at Knossos (Fig. 4 §2a, b, c, 6a, 6b, 6c, 7a, 10, 17a), and the name lambous in a ονομα group (Fig. 2 §11) and in a chariot-wheel production context (Fig. 2 §14b) further indicate that those who were engaged in military affairs used the key term for "male fighting force" in naming their children.

This lack of observation can even be brought to bear on how to interpret documents. While not decisive in determining whether to interpret KN As 1516 as a record of military personnel or a record of supervisors of industrial (bronze) workers, the occurrence in the text of two lambous-names (Fig. 2 §5, 9) and a theophoric name in καταβασιαν lends some support to the military reading. This is reinforced by the occurrence of other lambous-names in textual association with ἵππος (Fig. 2 §3) at Knosos and in the lauvanessian landholding series at Pylos (Fig. 2 §1). We should note that certain of the Mycenaean lambous-names recur in the onomasticon of Homeric epic (Fig. 2 §§6, 7b, 12, 14a, 17).48 Two other of the names, while not imbedded in Homeric

24 To this number we may add the personal name a-bi-reu, which, while not informative interpretive problems of its own, is generally taken to be a compound of bi and a-reu.
25 HPG, 123-132, including a further dozen or so names of simplified structure based on the root.
26 HPG, 279-285.
27 It should be noted that the tablets from Thesee, Tiryns, Mycenae and Khania do not contribute any names formed from λαυς or δῆμος.
28 §15 Ekha-kou, 'he who holds the fighting force,' i.e., either 'preserves his own' or 'holds in check' the enemy - for the first element cf. the agent-noun formation ekato = Hektor.

22 MGP, 251 and 167. On PY Aq 218.16 ge-tease is now read as complete instead of Landau's conjectured [7]?[g]e-tease corresponding to "ìmnológico, while Iq on KN Ca 895 is now seen to refer to the horse ideogram and not to the text and not to a human being named "Horse".
23 HPG, 210-220.
25 The more likely restoration, given the parallelism of PY tablet No 831.5, is µελα-μελαιος = "well-famous."
the supreme enlivening poem of war, emphasize slaughter and death (Fig. 2 §4, 5) in warfare and the strength one needs for combat (Fig. 2 §6). Yet others emphasize the importance of good military leadership in protecting and preserving literally 'nourishing' the fighting troops (Fig. §3, 7, 9, 14, 15, 16). Fig. §17, as well known, has given rise to Nagy's theory that an early form of oral martial epic like the Iliad with a hero named *Akhii-*llosos must already have existed in the Mycenaean period to inspire such naming of offspring. As usual, however, the Mycenaean data are rarely unequivocal. The *llosos naming element in two cases (Fig. 2 §2a and §5) finds a place among bronze-workers; and twice it occurs among shepherds (Fig. 2 §70 and §114a). In three cases (Fig. 2 §12, §16 and §17b) *llosos names designate persons of moderate economic standing, while in one case (Fig. 2 §4) the individual is a 'colleague' of some note in the central region of Crete.

Names in *klh*ros (ca. 110 and ca. 200 names with *klh*ros as a first or second element respectively) are conspicuous in historical Greek onomastics where the term itself captures striving for public prestige, fame and praise as a defining feature of Greek culture. *klh*ros names in Mycenaean are relatively rare. However, if we look at the elements with which *klh*ros is compounded in Mycenaean and historical times and the contexts of occurrences of Mycenaean *klh*ros-names, we may conclude that this highly important term was reserved in Mycenaean naming practice primarily for use among 'elites' whose achievements pertained to the military sphere. By contrast in historical times, through a kind of popular leveling mania, the term is applied to a broad range of spheres of accomplishment for which an individual could garner praise.

The Mycenaean personal names in *klh*ros serve as 'Wunschnamen' that the name-bearers are famous for: Fig. 3 §1 chariot wheels (or wheel-joining); Fig. 3 §3 hand/arm strength and dexterity; and Fig. 3 §4 ships; or that they be: Fig. 3 §2 very famous; Fig. 3 §5 truly famous. The rare patronymic form *ekre-ke-elo-elo-elo* (Fig. 3 §5) in and of itself conveys and denotes status, and the individuals whom it identifies rank as an *ekre*ta and a landholder of significant status. The sphere in which public fame for the name-bearer is intended to be invited (ships, chariot wheels, and arm strength and dexterity) can be interpreted as 'military', although other alternatives are possible. The fact that a significant proportion of individuals (2 of 7) with names derived from this root are among the military 'elite' either in the *kha* tablets or in the RCT supports the view that *klh*ros in the Mycenaean period could be attained through military accomplishment and prowess.

A final point of evidence to discuss here is the list of 'collectors' who are individuals of high economic and socio-political distinction and responsibility in the Linear B records from Knossos and Pylos (especially associated with the highly developed cloth industries and the manufacture of *klh*ros-hemmed cloths) who produce the raw material for cloths. If strictly defined on the basis of the occurrence of names in the 'collector'-position in Mycenaean sheep and cloth tablets, we have at Knossos 26 such individuals. Within their repertory of personal names are no *klh*ros-names and a single *llosos* name. It is perhaps significant that in the three instances when 'collector' names overlap with names from the RCT, two (a-*no-po*-ta and pe-*re-po*-ta) have as a formative element a particularly martial root we have seen in *llosos-names (§5 *po-ta = *Ak hos 'slyer'). Two other collectors have like formative elements: *ma-no-po*o (cf. §4 *no-po* = *Ak hos 'slyer') and anjo-po-ta. To identify four collectors at Knossos named respectively 'man-slyer', 'far-slyer', 'army-slyer' and 'poison-slyer' must say something significant about the sphere of activity through which ultimately they or their families attained their economic prominence.

There are four identifiable 'collectors' at Pylos: a-*klo-ta, a-*khe-ta, a-*do-*so and a-*phe-*do. All figure prominently in a variety of economic spheres, but without any direct military associations. Again it would seem significant that the first two of these four collectors have names derived from the root *klo*—which in its noun-abstractive form denotes the fundamental notion of fighting spirit and ability remembered and displayed in battle. The same root seems to be found in the name of the Knossos collector a-*khe* ( = "Akhe") and in the names of other prominent individuals at Pylos: an *khe* figure and the head of a *gosi-re-toja* among them. However, we should also note that a large percentage of individuals of high economic and/or administrative standing at Pylos and Knossos have names that are not or need not be connected to the military sphere (cf. *au-klo* and *pe-*ke-*ri*-). Conversely again we find a bronze-worker at Pylos with the splendid martial name *Akhsanor* (Py. Jn 415.5).

Judging by this selective view of the onomastic evidence, militarism was not all-pervasive in Mycenaean society. Yet cultural notions relating to warfare were well-attested in naming patterns in military contexts (including the significant name of the individual who is presumed to be one of Pylos). They are moderately attested among individuals for whom we posit high economic, socio-political and administrative status in the management of resources and industries within the Mycenaean palatial territories. It is still more intriguing to find individuals we think of as having lesser status (shepherds and bronze-workers: cf. *llosos*-names in Fig. 2 §2a, §5, §7b, §14a and *Akhsanor* in Py. Jn 415.5) bearing martial names; names are otherwise reserved for individuals of higher status. This should mean something either about the status of those particular 'professions' or about the family histories, fortunes and aspirations of the individuals who work in those professions.

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36 HPG, 238-248, and other names from secondary developments of the root.
37 Cf. BENNET (supra n. 16) 94 table 8.
38 *au-*do-*so appears in series An, Ca, Na, Na; a-*khe* in series An, Cc, Cc, Mi, Na; a-*khe- in series An, Cc, Eg, Fr, Fr, Nu, An, Wa, a-*phe-*do in series Cc, Eb, Ep.
39 a-*khe* = "Akhe" and a-*klo-ta = "Aklosat". On the meaning of the abstract noun derived from this root, cf. COLLINS (supra n. 21). There are, of course, other ways of reconstructing these names. But, especially for a-*khe-ta, parallels like *khe* - like *khe* - help to make the *khe*-identification.
40 For some other Mycenaean personal names formed from *klo* (cf. a-*kho-*no, a-*khe-*no, a-*klo-* to (head of a *gosi-re-toja on Py Fr 50 and 867) and the patronymic *akhos-* (on *khe* tablet Py. An 656.3).
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1. **rao-s-a-te (Labo-s-te)** PY Yo 802 an individual who holds land (GRA T 3) as pat-o-to ko-to-na in the series associated with the roa-tea.

2. **nao-ka-te (Lato-te)** PY Ja 478.5 a bronze-worker who is allotted a tao-raia.

3. **nao-ke (Lato-te)** KN Dia 605.1 in a list of paired personal names listed against single units of TELA.

4. nao-ne-po (Labo-i-po) KN As 4283.5 in a list of names and titles the first line of which establishes a clear connection with the class of "followers" (epi-kao) who are also specified as epi-kaoi ("sentinels"/guards" or "auxiliaries" or "overseers of apprentices") and perhaps serve as "inspectors" (eis-taeto).

5. **nao-ne-ka-te (Lato-po-te)** PY Yo 795.5 in a section of smiths with tao-raia in the district of ar-pa-teia (one of the principal districts of the Further Province).

6. **nao-po (restored as Labo-o-pa) KN Xa 590** from the BCT.

7. **nao-po (Labo-po)** KN Ce 615.1 of five personal names listed against BOS 1 on a fragmentary tablet from the BCT.

8. **nao-pa-po (Labo-o-pa)** KN Yo 205 a single individual listed on a similijoin tablet in a series for which Driessen proposes that the likelihood explanation is that these individuals already possess full military equipment (chariot and armor).

9. **a-o-te (Agro-te or Arke-te) KN Yo 316** from the same series as Yo 205 above.

10. **Yo 599.5 a "shepherd" at the minesite of ay-se-to-kao for whom eko is "collector" and PY Yo 1320.6 is an entry on a fragmentary "mixed-commodity" tablet.

11. **[Labo-tea] (compound in -taa) KN As 1516.15 entry is in a list of single men (either a military elite or a work force: cf. text n. 9) in a section headed by the term [pa]-e-to-tea. The same section contains an instance of a theopropic (pa-tea) formed from the god-abstract concept of war. This particular martial theopropic is found 5 times on 4 Knossos tablets from outside the BCT and another theopropic derived from ano is found on Xa 94 from the BCT (for a discussion of theophoroi from ano see "Kampferzust") in BCT documents, cf. RAILBACK (text n. 14) 1226.

12. **ag-e-kao (Mithlidi-a) KN As 1516.21 similar entry in another section headed by ano-e-kao here specified by a different location (kao-e-to) and a different personal name.

13. **k-e-tea (compound in -taa) KN VII) 7949 personal name entry of tablet cut at right from the BCT.

14. **per-ta-e (Peri-te)** PY Yo 654.15 an individual who is part of the a-o group of tao-tea as an a-o-a commander who recurs on the Pylos rower text 7084.1 immediately after the roa-tea (and 7 and 13e-wu). 53.

15. **Yale-tea (to be restored as Mele-tea) PY Yo 324.6 a list of individuals and in one entry a group of dao-tea allotted HORD.

16. **me-tea (Met-tea)** KN B 7904 a list of single individuals.

17. **e-te-tea (Ete-tea or Erte-tea) KN Yo 655.9 and Cn 131.10 a shepherd.

18. **Yo 5256 an individual whose asa labor on a pair of chariot wheels is registered.

19. **e-te-tea (Ete-tea or Erte-tea) PY Yo 718.2. 610.15, An 724.5, 519.1. Er 880.1, Un 853.1 the individual who fills the noass slot on the communal banquet contribution tablet Un 718 and furthermore in text contexts of equal status (and associated with the roa-tea) on two tablets recording rows, two other mixed-commodity tablets, and a tablet recording sizable orchard land planted in vines and fig trees.

20. **ne-te-tea (Ne-te-tea) or Nk-te-tea) PY Yo 79.5 a list of relatively prominent individuals and groups of specialist crafts personnel (eno-tea and eno-si) receiving HORD or HORD and OLIV.

21. **e-te-tea (Ete-tea or Erte-tea) or *e-te-tea*) KN Yo 719.196 from the BCT, an individual already in possession of a full complement of military equipment.

22. **Yo 70.9.2 (cf. ne-te-tea).**
Fig. 5 Mycenaean Personal names in κλάδος

§1a. ο-ο-κο-ρό(κ) (*)Arm-kleos (*)KN UN 83.5 a list of personal names, crafts personnel (cowherd, shepherd, bronze smith), and officials (rowing official, "mayor") on a tablet recording linen "contributions" at the toponym korito.

§1b. ο-ο-κο-ρό(κ) (*)Arm-kleos (*)KN UN 594.2 a large record of individual wheat distributions.

§2. ο-ο-κο-ρό(κ) (*)Arm-kleos (*)KN UN 981.1.b a record of a landholding specifying that the korito of Enkleos has trees planted upon it.

§3. ο-ο-κο-ρό(κ) (*)Arm-kleos (*)KN UN 487 a tablets recording the ws-fa of Khroskleos of two pairs of chariot wheels.

§4. ο-ο-κο-ρό(κ) (*)Arm-kleos (*)KN UN 214 from the BCT.

§5a. ο-ο-κο-ρό(κ) (*)Arm-kleos (*)KN UN 654.4 an ο-κο tablet on which the q-e-ta ("Follower") named Akroton, (itself a name derived from the significant marital term aikos) is specified by a rare patronymic adjective, a further sign of his "elite" distinction.

§5b. PA 84.15 an individual named q-e-ta is also so specified on a document pertaining to landholding (in the first section by officials of considerable status: q-e-ta and korito).

MYCENAEN MILITARISM FROM A TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

DISCUSSION

L. Godart: Je voudrais faire trois brèves remarques à propos de l'intéressante communication de Palaima. Au nom, en vérité de Aravanitos et Sacoce et en mon nom, sur la base de certains points que nous enseignons maintenant les tablettes de Thèbes, et qui complètent en quelque sorte le discours de Tom Palaima. Maintenant nous avons très clairement en mycénien des cavaliers à Thèbes: à plusieurs reprises nous avons des distributions, nous croyons des offrandes, à epi-ko. C'est évidemment le daith pluriel de foin, c'est-à-dire le cavalier. Cela intervient dans des tablettes où des chevaux sont attestés également. Deuxième point: on a, je crois, à présent accepté comme définitive l'interprétation "e-q-e-ta = follower" en associant e-q-e-ta à la racine de Erotus. Mais voilà qu'à Thèbes maintenant nous avons un verbe qui ne peut qu'être dérivé de la racine en question, et donc apparenté à Erotus également, c'est le verbe q-e-q-e, q-e-q-e. Or, la labio-vélaire du mycénien indique de manière on ne peut plus nette que c'est la racine seq", c'est-à-dire la racine de Erotus que nous retrouvons dans dyspepsia. Ne convient-il pas, par conséquent, sinon de remettre en question le sens de e-q-e-ta, du moins d'élargir à toute la gamme des significations qui sont liées à dyspepsia, c'est-à-dire "s'occuper de", les possibilités d'interprétation de e-q-e-ta? Faut-il nous cantonner dans une parenté linguistique stricte avec la racine, avec le mot Erotus, ou élargir le contexte et prendre en considération l'ensemble de la racine indo-européenne qui comprend également maintenant le verbe grec dyspepsia? Dernier point: nous avons maintenant akro-da-no ou a-ko-da-no chez un autre auteur à Thèbes, qui nous montre que ὥμοιος dans certains contextes particuliers - à Thèbes en tout cas - signifie "le peuple impliqué dans des cérémonies religieuses".

V. Aravanitos: A couple of additions to what Louis has said. I'm very glad, Tom, that you come back to the question of 5, the abbreviation in the Ug tablets, and that you don't reject the identification with o-pa-no-ta. We have some confirmation of the context of the armory there. So, again, e-q-e-ta must be the military chariots, e-q-e-pa-q-e, ὥμοιος, and, again, names like pe-ti-q-e relating to Ἐνδής, and so on. I have to refer you to the very important words you have written in Thalassa on the tablet VN 10: It seems that on a sealing - it is very important especially because it comes from the Treasury - we have the inscription e-pi 19, and the rest of the word which is very important for the military equipment you have written about.

T.G. Palaima: Merci beaucoup for all of that fine information.