

MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DEFENCE OF PYLOS

An657

o-u-ru-to o-pi-a₂-ra e-pi-ko-wo
ma-re-wo o-ka o-wi-to-no
a-pe-ri-ta-wo o-re-ta e-te-wa ko-ki-jo
su-we-ro-wi-jo o-wi-ti-ni-jo o-ka-ra₃ MAN 50

.5

vacat

ne-da-wa-ta-o o-ka e-ke-me-de
a-pi-je-ta ma-ra-te-u ta-ni-ko
a₂-ru-wo-te ke-ki-de ku-pa-ri-si-jo MAN 20

vacat

.10 *ai-ta-re-u-si ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de MAN 10*
me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta ke-ki-jo
a-e-ri-qo-ta e-ra-po ri-me-ne
o-ka-ra o-wi-to-no MAN 30 ke-ki-de-ge a-pu₂-ka-ne
MAN 20 me-ta-ge pe-i ai-ko-ta e-ge-ta

An519 (43)

to-ro-o o-ka ro-o-wa
ka-da-si-jo mo-ro-pa₂ wo-zo
ki-ri-ja-i-jo wa-tu-wa-o-ko 23-to-na
o-ka-ra₃ a₂-ra-tu-wa MAN 110

.5

vacat

ke-wo-no-jo o-ka ka-ke-[
tu-si-je-u po-te-u []-wo-ne-[
a-pi-te-wa i-wa-so MAN [

vacat

.10 *a₂-te-po de-wi-jo ko-ma-we*
o-34-ta-ge u-ru-pi-ja-jo
o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo MAN 30

vacat

pi-ru-te ku-re-we MAN 50

.15 *me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta ro-u-ko*
ku-sa-me-ni-jo

An654

ku-ru-me-no-jo o-ka pe-ri-te-u
wo-ne-wa a-ti-ja-wo e-ru-ta-ra
o-34-ta me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de
MAN 50

.10 *ti-mi-[to] a-ke-i ma-re-u ro-go-ta*
a-ke-[]-u a-ke-wa-to *pi-[82] a-ke-i*
a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo
ne-do-wo-ta-de MAN 30 *me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta*

An 654.2 *wo-ne-wa* Ventris, Bennett's text: *a-ne-wa* Bennett's facsimile.
 An 661.4 *ko-ro-ku-[ra]-i-jo* Bennett; .10 *ti-mi-[to]* Ventris, Chadwick; *ma-mo-u*
 Bennett; .11 *pi-[82]* Bennett.

This group of texts forms a set, unhappily incomplete, dealing with a subject of the greatest interest to the ancient historian—the military preparations against an expected attack from the sea on the territory of Pylos, an attack which was successful if we may judge from the fact that these tablets were preserved by baking in the fire which finally consumed the «Palace of Nestor». One tablet of the set was included in Bennett's provisional transcription (An43) and has already been interpreted by me in previous papers.¹ This interpretation, which needs revision only in a few minor details, was briefly that each paragraph first names the military unit concerned, the *oka*², preceded by a proper name in the genitive singular (e. g. *To-ro-o o-ka*=Τρῶος ὀρχᾶ «the regiment of Tros»); then comes a place-name, e. g. *ro-o-wa*, which is presumably the head-quarters of the unit; then follows a group of personal names which, I suggested, were officers,—and finally two place-names, e. g. *o-ka-ra₃* (Οἰχάλια) *a₂-ra-tu-wa* followed by the ideogram MAN and a number. The place-names were interpreted as indicating the sector to which the men in

¹ *Achaean and Indo-Europeans*, Oxford 1955, p. 20 ff.; *Trans. Phil. Soc.* (= *TPhS*) 1954, p. 51 ff.

² I adhere to the view that *o-ka* = ὀρχᾶ (Attic ἀρχή). That it is the name of a military unit is suggested by the Cyrenaean name Ἀρχαγέτας (*Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* IX 1 n.° 72.22), a formation which parallels λαφάγέτας and the Cretan σαρταγέτας (see the commentary of M. Guarducci, *Inscript. Creticae* IV p. 185). It is evident that the first element in all three compounds originally denoted a military unit. I take λαφός to be the total body of the warriors, with στρατός and ἀρχή as subdivisions of decreasing size. The κόσμος, as Hesychius (*s. voc*) implies, was a formation drawn up in battle order, so that the word developed the notion of «in action», «on duty». It is possible that we find a reflection of this one-time strictly military significance in the constitutional terminology of Crete: the phrase ὁ Αἰθαλεὺς σαρτὸς ἐκόσμιον may once have meant «when the σαρτὸς of Αἰθαλος was on duty».

question were posted. After a number of entries of this kind, An43 concludes with the words *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo*. The man in question is designated by name and patronymic.¹ *e-qe-ta* was accordingly interpreted not as a verb (in any case the form corresponding to Attic ἔπεται would be *keq^wετοι*, *e-qe-to*, in this dialect), but as a noun denoting a title. In view of the many parallels with Germanic society it seemed plausible to equate the *keq^wέτας* with the «companion» of Germanic society and to translate it as «count» (*comes*). This general interpretation stands and needs revision only in a few minor details.

The *o-ka* named are *ma-re-wo*, genitive singular of a personal name in -εύς (An657.2) stationed at *o-wi-to-no*; *ne-da-wa-ta-o* = Νεδράταο *ibid.* 6); no place-name follows and we conclude that this unit is also at *o-wi-to-no* (see below); *ku-ru-me-no-jo* = Κλυμένοιο (An654.1) and no place-name since *pe-ri-te-u* is likely to be a man's name (see later); *ta-ti-go-we-wo* (*ibid.* 11) = Στατιγ^wογήφος (cf. Στάσιππος), followed by *to-wa*, which may be a place-name (see below); *wa-pa-ro-jo* (An656.1) = Φαλπάλιο with again no place-name since *ne-wo-ki-to* is most likely a personal name (see later); *du-wo-jo-jo* (*ibid.* 11) = Δροίοιο at *a-ke-re-wa* (see below); *e-[]-no-jo* (An661.1) with no placename, if *e-o-te-u* is a personal name; *e-ko-me-na-ta-o* (*ibid.* 9) = Ἐρχομενάταο stationed at *ti-mi-[to] -a-ke-i* (see below).

The order in which the tablets should be arranged may follow from the geographical position of the places named (see below). But it is clear that An657 is the first since it has an introductory formula of a now familiar type² — the particle *o-* prefixed to a verbal form. *o-u-ru-to* I interpret (so also Ventris) as ὡς φρόντοι. The syllabary has no sign *wu*, so *wu-ru-* is rendered *u-ru-*. The

¹ That the addition of the patronymic was honorific is shown by the advice of Agamemnon to Menelaus (K 67 ff.) φθέγγεο δ' ἢ κεν ἴησθα, καὶ ἐργήγορθαι ἄνωχθι, πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, πάντας κυδαίνων.

² On these formulae see *TPhS* 1954, p. 19 ff. Risch's analysis (*Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens, Paris 1956, Brochure préliminaire* [= *Colloque*] p. 100) of PY Cno2 as οἶας ἦσονσι is methodologically unsound since it is based on the single unclear *o-a₂* of Vn20.1, to the neglect of the numerous clear examples of *o* plus a verb; it equates *jo-a* with *o-a₂*; it specifies the οἶαλοι as feminine; it fails to note that «2» or «3» is not an adequate answer to the question «of what kind?»; and finally it runs into the syntactical aporia of construing ἦσονσι with place-names in the locative case.

verb in question is an archaic athematic verb $\epsilon\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\iota^1$ (cf. $\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$, $\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega\rho$, $\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$, Homeric $\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$) meaning «guard, protect». A particularly relevant example is K 416-7:

φυλακάς δ' ἄς εἴρεαι, ἦρωσ,
οὔ τις κεκριμένη ρύεται στρατὸν οὐδὲ φυλάσσει.

cf. ξ 107 $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ τε $\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ τε, where the verb appears as synonymous with $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$. We note here again the Arcado-Cypriote middle inflection in $-\tau\omicron\iota$. $o\text{-}\rho\iota\text{-}a_2\text{-}ra$ is patently $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\iota}\eta\alpha\lambda\alpha$, and we may compare the Ἔλος ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον of the Catalogue (B 584). It follows that $e\text{-}\rho\iota\text{-}ko\text{-}\omega\omicron$ is likely to be the subject of the verb and with Ventris I was inclined to connect this word with $\chi\omicron\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, Ἴπποκόφων, ἀμνοχῶν, Latin *caveo*, etc. and to translate $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\phi\omicron\iota$ as «watchers». This interpretation would be supported by the fact that the responsible $\rho a_2\text{-}si\text{-}re\text{-}u$ who is apparently in charge of the bronze-smiths (Jn845.7) is called $e\text{-}\rho\iota\text{-}ko\text{-}\omega\omicron$, a personal name which might be attractively rendered «the careful watcher» (see below). Provisionally then we translate: «Thus ($\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) the watchers are guarding the maritime regions.» It appears necessary to stress that these troops are not battle formations; they represent an «early warning system», to use the technical term suggested to me by Professor Davison. This then is the stated purpose of the troop dispositions set out in this group of tablets.

I propose to postpone until later the question of the personnel and to concentrate on the MAN entries. Here we shall encounter some difficult problems and it will be well to state explicitly at the outset a basic principle of interpretation. The entries seem to be made on a stereotyped pattern. This enables us to pick out certain «places» in the formulaic structure. As a working hypothesis I shall assume that all words occupying the same «place» in the structure are to be classed together. This will make it possible to work from the known to the unknown, from the clear to the ambiguous. Thus in An654.16-18 we have four single entries followed by MAN. Of these four we know $i\text{-}wa\text{-}so$ and $o\text{-}ka\text{-}ra_3$.

¹ J. B. Hofmann, *Etym. Wb. des Griech.* refers these words to the root $*u(e)r\tilde{u}$. On $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ (M 454), $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (ϕ 151, etc.) see Schwyzler *Gr. Gram.* I p. 681.1.

as place-names. *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* and *ku-re-we*¹ might be nominative plurals (see below). However, proceeding by analogy on the «structural» principle, I am tempted to conclude that the unambiguous *i-wa-so* and *o-ka-ra*₃, provide a clue for the ambiguous *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* and *ku-re-we*, which I interpret accordingly as locative singulars of names of provinces or districts. I list briefly the obvious place-names which occur in the MAN entries and leave until later the question of increasing their number and establishing their location: *o-ka-ra*₃ (An 657.4), *a₂-ru-wo-te* (*ibid.* 8) *ai-ta-re-u-si* (*ibid.* 10), *o-ka-ra o-wi-to-no* (*ibid.* 13), *o-ka-ra*₃ *a₂-ra-tu-wa* (An519.4), *a-pi-te-wa i-wa-so* (*ibid.* 8), *u-ru-pi-ja-jo o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo* (*ibid.* 12), *pi-ru-te ku-re-we* (*ibid.* 14), *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo ku-re-we* (An654.6) *po-ra-i* (An656.13), *a-ke-re-wa* (*ibid.* 18), *e-na-po-ro i-wa-so* (An661.3), *ka-ra-do-ro* (*ibid.* 5), *za-e-to-ro* (*ibid.* 6), *ti-mi-[to]-a-ke-i* (*ibid.* 10).

It is now necessary to discuss the words describing the troops in these entries. *ke-ki-de* is usually linked with a toponymic adjective: this is clearest in *me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de* (An654.3), for *me-ta-pa* is one of the «nine» recurring place-names (see below). Certain, too, is *ke-ki-de ku-pa-ri-si-jo* (An657.8) and *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de* (*ibid.* 10). This analogy suggests that we should similarly interpret *wa-ka-ti-ja-ta*² (An656.4) and *a-pu₂-ka-ne* (*ibid.* 13). For the last we note that *a-pu₂-ka* occurs as a description of *ka-e-sa-me-no* (An656.20) and *a-pu-ka*, presumably the same place (with orthographic alternation *pu*: *pu₂*), as a description of *ma-ra-te-u* in An218 (=29).15 (on the relevance of this text to the *o-ka* tablets see later). The weight of evidence is an impediment to construing *ke-ki-de ne-wo* as «young *ke-ki-de*» (An656.15). *wa-wo-u-de* is a difficult problem which must be reserved.

Now *ke-ki-de* are mentioned on two other tablets in another series—the Na tablets to which we must now turn our attention. These are of a stereotyped pattern. They begin with a place-name which is followed by the ideogram *3I (SA) and a number: e. g.

Na322 *pi-jai* SA 30

Na361 *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* SA 50

Na419 *re-u-ka-to-ro* SA 10

¹ I withdraw the suggestion (*TPhS* 1954, p. 52) that this word meant «men-at-arms». Further consideration has convinced me that this word is ethnic-toponymic (see below).

² See below on *wo-wi-ja-ta*.

Many of these tablets have however additional entries of various types. Among these are Na514 *ku]-pa-ri-so ke-ki-de e-ko-si* SA 30, cf. the fragmentary Na 103: *ke]-ki-de* SA 16. We conclude provisionally that the community in question is assessed to deliver a certain number of SA, and in certain instances have given it to the *ke-ki-de*, who are stated to «have» it (*e-ko-si* = ἔχονσι). Now among these entries we find:

Na396	<i>wo-no-ge-wa</i>	^{<i>e-ko-si</i>} <i>ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo</i>	SA 30
Na405	<i>to-ro-wa-so</i>	^{<i>e-ko-si</i>} <i>ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo</i>	
Na516		^{<i>e-ko-si</i>}] <i>ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo</i>	SA 10
Na543	<i>ka-ra-do-ro</i>	^{<i>e-ko-si</i>} <i>ko-[ro]-ku-ra-i-jo</i>	SA 30
Na928		^{<i>e-ko-si</i>}] <i>u-ru-pi-ja-jo</i>	SA 10

I leave for another occasion the discussion of the other «favoured» classes and individuals, who include the *ῥάναξ* himself (Na334). For our present purpose it suffices to point out that the above three classes of men also occur in the *o-ka* tablets. With *ke-ki-de* we have just dealt. *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* occur in the MAN entries of An656.7, 18, 661.4; 5;6. *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* again in An519.11, 654.16, 661.12. Now the last word has been attractively interpreted as *Φρουπιαῖοι* and we may be encouraged to use this as an analogy for *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*. The word recalls a passage of the Catalogue describing the domains of Odysseus (B 631 ff.):

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤγε Κεφαλλῆνας μεγαθύμους,
οἳ ῥ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον,
καὶ Κροκύλει' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν,
οἳ τε Ζάκυνθον ἔχον ἠδ' οἳ Σάμον ἀμφινέμοντο,
οἳ τ' ἠπειρον ἔχον ἠδ' ἀντιπέραι' ἐνέμοντο.

za]-ku-si-jo occur in the list of oarsmen etc. in An610.12. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* are indeed *Κροκύλαιοι* —and that like the *Φρουπιαῖοι* they are contingents of Pylian allies, so that Pylos appears as the organising centre of a military effort which *inter alia* records the despatch of oarsmen to Pleuron (An.1.1).

Still more startling is the entry on a new fragment, An943.2:

] <i>te-o</i>	MAN 20[
] 8	<i>a-mi-ni-so</i> [
] MAN 14	<i>ko-tu-we</i> [
] <i>se-wo-te</i>	

some type of soldier. The word must evidently have similar meanings both in the Ma series and the An series under discussion. Let us test the assumption that it is nominative plural in the latter. In An 654.16 we should then have *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* and *ku-re-we* without an indication of their place and the evident parallelism of the following *i-wa-so* and *o-ka-ra₃* would be broken. *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo ku-re-we* (*ibid.* 6) could be interpreted as place-name and ethnic. In An 519.14 *pi-ru-te* could be the name (loc sing.) of the place and *ku-re-we* the ethnic for the troops. But this would break the evident parallel with *o-ka-ra₃ a₂-ra-tu-wa* (*ibid.* 4) *a-pi-te-wa i-wa-so* (*ibid.* 8). Moreover this tablet must be taken with Cn3 (=22). As I have previously argued¹, this records the sacrifice of a single animal (presumably a bull) in the localities named. *e-na-po-ro i-wa-si-jo-ta* might be interpreted «the people of Iwasos (are to sacrifice) at *e-na-po-ro*»; *o-ru-ma-to u-ru-pi-ja-jo* similarly as «the Rhypians at Erymanthus»; *pi-ru-te ku-re-we* as «the *ku-re-we* at *piruns*? (cf. Τίρυνς, -υρθος). But this principle of interpretation breaks down with *a₂-ra-tu-a o-ka-ra₃* (*ibid.* 3), neither of which is plausibly to be interpreted as a nominative plural. And how are we to explain *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo* (*ibid.* 7), unless the last syllable is a scribal error? Provisionally I recall that in a previous paper² I have tried to show that the Pylian toponymy includes double place-names of the pattern Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the second element gives precision to an ambiguous first element. Prominent among these second elements are the district names in -εβς. *ku-re-u* may well be such a name. But supposing that this is the derivative of a river or mountain name (e.g. Σχῦρος «Quellbach des Malus, eines Nebenflusses des Alpheius in der Arkadischen Aigytis», PW *sub voc.*), then the same derivative could mean equal-

series. Here, too, the clear examples furnish the basis for the interpretation of the unclear. It would be surprising to find unspecified «leather workers» on guard-duty. And why should they sacrifice a bull (?) (Cn3.4) ?

¹ *TPhS* 1954, p. 53.

² *BICS* II, 1955, p. 37, 38. I should wish to draw attention to the interpretation of *pu₂-ra₂-a-ke-re-u* Nn01.3 and *pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-ri-jo* Na52 as such double-barrelled place-names in which the second element is to be interpreted as the district name. This replaces the suggestion made in *Gnomon* XXVI, 1954, p. 66. See also M. Lejeune, *Minos* IV, 1956, p. 30 ff., in which the author lends support to the determination of 29 as *pu₂*.

ly well «a man of Σχῶρος». This would enable us to take *ku-re-we* as nominative plural in Ma90 and as locative singular of the district name in the An and Cn examples. That this district lies in the neighbourhood of *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* I shall try to make plausible below. Before leaving the Na and Ma series we must face the question why do the same ethnic names figure in them and in the An group, where they appear as active in coastguard duties. The answer may well be that they are Pylian allies in the struggle against a common enemy and that we have particularly in the Na series some aspect of the supply organisation for the army in the field. The localities for instance, of *wo-no-ge-wa*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *to-ro-wa-so* and [?] thus appear as providing supplies¹ (so many daily rations?) for the Κροκόλαιοι, who are stationed in *ti-o-ri-jo*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *za-e-to-ro*, *wo-wi-ja* (An656.7) and *a-ke-re-wa*. That the bronze-smiths, who are among the «favoured» categories in the Ma and Na series are engaged on war-work, has been stressed in a previous paper.²

We may now return to the remaining difficulties in the MAN entries of the An group. *o-wi-ti-ni-jo* (An657.4) is the adjective formed from the place-name *o-wi-to-no*. It follows that in the syllable *-to-* the vowel is an empty, orthographic vowel and the place-name will accordingly have ended in *-θνος* or *-τνος*. The adjective requires a noun. So *su-we-ro-wi-jo* may denote a class of men called up for guard duty parallel with *ke-ki-de*. It is just possible that they might be two toponymic adjectives in asyndeton «(men of) *su-we-ro-wo* and (men of) *o-wi-to-no* at Oichalia». More difficult is An654.14-15: *to-so-de pe-di-je-we wa-wo-u-de ke-ki-de*. On the analogy of the transparent *me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de* and *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de*, *wa-wo-u-de* might be expected to be the ethnic adjective qualifying *ke-ki-de*. We should then have to seek the name of the place where they are stationed, and this again, on the analogy of *a₂-ru-wo-te* and *ai-ta-re-u-si*, should on grounds of «position» be *pe-di-je-we*, which formally could well be the locative singular of a place-name in *-εῦς*. But *to-so-de* immediately preceding suggests that nouns should follow. The interpretation of *pe-di-je-we* as «foot-

¹ I find it difficult to believe that SA (*31) is FLAX, or indeed that NI (*30) is FIGS.

² *Achaean and Indo-Europeans*, p. 22 (quoting J. Chadwick); see also M. S. Ruipérez, *Colloque*, 1956, p. 111 f.

some type of soldier. The word must evidently have similar meanings both in the Ma series and the An series under discussion. Let us test the assumption that it is nominative plural in the latter. In An 654.16 we should then have *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* and *ku-re-we* without an indication of their place and the evident parallelism of the following *i-wa-so* and *o-ka-ra₃* would be broken. *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo ku-re-we* (*ibid.* 6) could be interpreted as place-name and ethnic. In An 519.14 *pi-ru-te* could be the name (loc sing.) of the place and *ku-re-we* the ethnic for the troops. But this would break the evident parallel with *o-ka-ra₃ a₂-ra-tu-wa* (*ibid.* 4) *a-pi-te-wa i-wa-so* (*ibid.* 8). Moreover this tablet must be taken with Cn3 (=22). As I have previously argued¹, this records the sacrifice of a single animal (presumably a bull) in the localities named. *e-na-po-ro i-wa-si-jo-ta* might be interpreted «the people of Iwasos (are to sacrifice) at *e-na-po-ro*»; *o-ru-ma-to u-ru-pi-ja-jo* similarly as «the Rhypians at Erymanthus»; *pi-ru-te ku-re-we* as «the *ku-re-we* at *piruns*? (cf. Τίρυνς, -υρθος). But this principle of interpretation breaks down with *a₂-ra-tu-a o-ka-ra₃* (*ibid.* 3), neither of which is plausibly to be interpreted as a nominative plural. And how are we to explain *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo* (*ibid.* 7), unless the last syllable is a scribal error? Provisionally I recall that in a previous paper² I have tried to show that the Pylian toponymy includes double place-names of the pattern Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the second element gives precision to an ambiguous first element. Prominent among these second elements are the district names in -εβς. *ku-re-u* may well be such a name. But supposing that this is the derivative of a river or mountain name (e.g. Σχῦρος «Quellbach des Malus, eines Nebenflusses des Alpheius in der Arkadischen Aigytis», PW *sub voc.*), then the same derivative could mean equal-

series. Here, too, the clear examples furnish the basis for the interpretation of the unclear. It would be surprising to find unspecified «leather workers» on guard-duty. And why should they sacrifice a bull (?) (Cn3.4) ?

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² *BICS* II, 1955, p. 37, 38. I should wish to draw attention to the interpretation of *pu₂-ra₂-a-ke-re-u* Nno1.3 and *pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-ri-jo* Na52 as such double-barrelled place-names in which the second element is to be interpreted as the district name. This replaces the suggestion made in *Gnomon* XXVI, 1954, p. 66. See also M. Lejeune, *Minos* IV, 1956, p. 30 ff., in which the author lends support to the determination of 29 as *pu₂*.

ly well «a man of Σχῦρος». This would enable us to take *ku-re-we* as nominative plural in Ma90 and as locative singular of the district name in the An and Cn examples. That this district lies in the neighbourhood of *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* I shall try to make plausible below. Before leaving the Na and Ma series we must face the question why do the same ethnic names figure in them and in the An group, where they appear as active in coastguard duties. The answer may well be that they are Pyliaian allies in the struggle against a common enemy and that we have particularly in the Na series some aspect of the supply organisation for the army in the field. The localities for instance, of *wo-no-ge-wa*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *to-ro-wa-so* and [?] thus appear as providing supplies¹ (so many daily rations?) for the Κροχόλαιοι, who are stationed in *ti-o-ri-jo*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *za-e-to-ro*, *wo-wi-ja* (An656.7) and *a-ke-re-wa*. That the bronze-smiths, who are among the «favoured» categories in the Ma and Na series are engaged on war-work, has been stressed in a previous paper.²

We may now return to the remaining difficulties in the MAN entries of the An group. *o-wi-ti-ni-jo* (An657.4) is the adjective formed from the place-name *o-wi-to-no*. It follows that in the syllable *-to-* the vowel is an empty, orthographic vowel and the place-name will accordingly have ended in *-θνος* or *-τνος*. The adjective requires a noun. So *su-we-ro-wi-jo* may denote a class of men called up for guard duty parallel with *ke-ki-de*. It is just possible that they might be two toponymic adjectives in asyndeton «(men of) †*su-we-ro-wo* and (men of) *o-wi-to-no* at Oichalia». More difficult is An654.14-15: *to-so-de pe-di-je-we wa-wo-u-de ke-ki-de*. On the analogy of the transparent *me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de* and *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de*, *wa-wo-u-de* might be expected to be the ethnic adjective qualifying *ke-ki-de*. We should then have to seek the name of the place where they are stationed, and this again, on the analogy of *a₂-ru-wo-te* and *ai-ta-re-u-si*, should on grounds of «position» be *pe-di-je-we*, which formally could well be the locative singular of a place-name in *-εύς*. But *to-so-de* immediately preceding suggests that nouns should follow. The interpretation of *pe-di-je-we* as «foot-

¹ I find it difficult to believe that SA (*31) is FLAX, or indeed that NI (*30) is FIGS.

² *Achaean and Indo-Europeans*, p. 22 (quoting J. Chadwick); see also M. S. Ruipérez, *Colloque*, 1956, p. 111 f.

soldiers» lacks supporting evidence, and if this particular contingent were singled out for such designation, it would seem to imply that the other entries consist of other types. It is unfortunate that there is no other evidence to determine whether or not *e-no-wa-ro* (*ibid.* 14), which precedes *to-so-de*, is anthroponym or toponym. At all events we must recall at the close of this undecided *crux* that in the clear cases *ke-ki-de* is accompanied by an toponymic adjective and a place-name in the locative.

This brings us to a reconsideration of *o-34-ta* An654.3, which must now be taken with the *o-34-ta-ge* of An519.11. Previously¹ I had taken this as a personal name and had been persuaded that *34* = *ai*₂. Of this I am now less convinced and leave open the question of the value of the sign.² But it is unlikely that two *persons* of the same name would accidentally occur at identical «places» in the formulaic structure. In view of the absence of a topographical indication in An654.3 to parallel *a₂-ru-wo-te* (An657.8), *ai-ta-re-u-si* (*ibid.* 10) and *o-ka-ra o-wi-to-no* (*ibid.* 13) I suggest tentatively that *o-34-ta* may be a place name, though this does not account for the appended *-ge* in An 519.11. It is worth noting, however, that in both texts the word begins a line. Can we use this fact as a criterion in our interpretation? Apparently not, for in An656.13 *pu₂-ti-ja* is a man's name and the unit (*a-pu₂-ka-ne ke-ki-de*) and its location *po-ra-i* all occur on the same line.

It is now time to attempt to give some geographical precision to the places mentioned in these troop dispositions, for, if successful, it would yield valuable information about the extent of territory the palace was seeking to defend. In this delicate task all possible information must be squeezed out of the context before we have recourse to the spelling rules in order to link up with information available from later Greek sources. This is particularly important for place-names, which often recur no less in Greece and adjacent areas, than in other linguistic areas. Of basic importance as a framework of reference is the fact that a number of documents list Pylian dependencies in a fixed order. E. g. Cn608(=02).3-11

¹ *TPhS* 1954, p. 52.

² It may well be simply a variant of *35* and have the value *pu₃* (*BICS* II, 1955, p. 44).

pi-82, *me-ta-pa*, *pe-to-no*, *pa-ki-ja-si*, *a-pu₂-we*, *a-ke-re-wa*, *e-ra-te-i*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *ri-jo*. It seems reasonable to suppose that this fixed order is a geographical one, so that we have a chain of the «nine» dependent centres extending from *pi-82* to *ri-jo*. Now I have already demonstrated¹ that the value of 82 is *jai* and identified *pi-jai* as Φεα(i). Two places are attested in Homer which would fit the syllabic groups. One is the scene of Nestor's battle against the Arcadians (H 135ff.) Φειᾶς παρ τείχεσσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα. Bölte, who discusses the evidence,² concludes: «Wir können nur annehmen dass der Kampf stattgefunden hat irgendwo an der Verkehrslinie die Triphylien mit Arkadien verbindet... südlich vom Alpheius.» Better attested, however, is the Φε(ι)α(i) which lies on the route taken by Telemachus on his voyage back from Pylos to Ithaca (ο 297)³. This place is mentioned in later authors (Thuc. II 25.3, Strabo VIII 342, etc; see PW *s. voc.*) and was the port of Olympia situated at the base of the promontory Ichthys.

ri-jo, at the other end of the chain, is to be identified with the town of Ῥίον, a πόλις Μεσσηνίας (Strabo VIII, 361 after Ephorus FHG I 238.20), the location of which is discussed by Valmin⁴. He concludes: «Le Rhion... doit être cherché sur l'Akritis... Pylos et Rhion sont mentionnés ensemble, ce qui pourrait faire penser que leurs territoires ont occupé respectivement les côtes ouest et est.» We shall later have some reason for slightly modifying this location but if we accept provisionally the identification, the nine places extend from Phe(i)ai in the north to Rhion in the south,

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² Pauly-Wissowa XIX 2.1918.

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⁴ M. N. Valmin, *Etudes topographiques sur la Messénie ancienne*, Lund 1930, p. 23 f.

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It is now time to attempt to give some geographical precision to the places mentioned in these troop dispositions, for, if successful, it would yield valuable information about the extent of territory the palace was seeking to defend. In this delicate task all possible information must be squeezed out of the context before we have recourse to the spelling rules in order to link up with information available from later Greek sources. This is particularly important for place-names, which often recur no less in Greece and adjacent areas, than in other linguistic areas. Of basic importance as a framework of reference is the fact that a number of documents list Pylian dependencies in a fixed order. E. g. Cn608(=02).3-11

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pi-82, me-ta-pa, pe-to-no, pa-ki-ja-si, a-pu₂-we, a-ke-re-wa, e-ra-te-i, ka-ra-do-ro, ri-jo. It seems reasonable to suppose that this fixed order is a geographical one, so that we have a chain of the «nine» dependent centres extending from *pi-82* to *ri-jo*. Now I have already demonstrated¹ that the value of *82* is *jai* and identified *pi-jai* as $\Phi\epsilon\alpha(i)$. Two places are attested in Homer which would fit the syllabic groups. One is the scene of Nestor's battle against the Arcadians (H 135ff.) $\Phi\epsilon\iota\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho \tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu, \text{'}\text{I}\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota \rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\theta\rho\alpha$. Bölte, who discusses the evidence,² concludes: «Wir können nur annehmen dass der Kampf stattgefunden hat irgendwo an der Verkehrslinie die Triphylien mit Arkadien verbindet... südlich vom Alpheius.» Better attested, however, is the $\Phi\epsilon(i)\alpha(i)$ which lies on the route taken by Telemachus on his voyage back from Pylos to Ithaca (o 297)³. This place is mentioned in later authors (Thuc. II 25.3, Strabo VIII 342, etc; see PW *s. voc.*) and was the port of Olympia situated at the base of the promontory Ichthys.

ri-jo, at the other end of the chain, is to be identified with the town of $\text{'}\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, a $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma \text{M}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\varsigma$ (Strabo VIII, 361 after Ephorus FHG I 238.20), the location of which is discussed by Valmin⁴. He concludes: «Le Rhion... doit être cherché sur l'Akritas... Pylos et Rhion sont mentionnés ensemble, ce qui pourrait faire penser que leurs territoires ont occupé respectivement les côtes ouest et est.» We shall later have some reason for slightly modifying this location but if we accept provisionally the identification, the nine places extend from Phe(i)ai in the north to Rhion in the south,

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which is bracketed by *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*, a cattle station which is thus distinguished from the capital Pylos. This northerly Pylos may be the scene of Nestor's affray (Λ 670 ss.). Another for *u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* occurs after *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja* in An298.1, which is a record of *ra-pte-re*. It must be added, however, that the proximity of *u-po-ra-ki-ri-jo* and *u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* to *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja* is inimical to the identification with *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, as we shall see below. So provisionally I content myself with noting its association with *ku-re-we*. With the next entries (16-18) we have already dealt: they form the north-south series leading back via *i-wa-so* to *o-ka-ra₃*.

In An656.4 the *wa-ka-ti-ja-ta ke-ki-de* are at *sa-pi-da(?)* and there is no ideogram and number, which is conceivably an oversight since the usual statement about the *e-ge-ta* follows. In 1. 7 Κροκύλαιοι are at *wo-wi-ja*. That this is a place-name is confirmed by the heading of An172 (=25), *ra-pte-re wo-wi-ja-ta* and it is interesting to note that the individual men are assigned to *e-ro-ma-to* (ll. 3-7), *a-we-u-pi* (ll. 8-9, another plural place-name with the suffix -έως), *ro-o-wa* (l. 10) and *ta-ra-ke-wi* (l. 11). The mention of *e-ro-ma-to*, if we are right in identifying this with Erymanthos, is again consistent with the northerly location of *ro-o-wa* (see above). The relationship of the heading to the individual entries is not clear since the top of the tablet is broken. But that we are moving southwards is shown by the fact that the next entry concerns the *du-wo-jo-jo o-ka* at *a-ke-re-wa*, which is the sixth link of the north-south chain of the «nine» between *a-pu₂* and *e-ra-te-i*; the *a-pu₂-ka-ne ke-ki-de* are at *po-ra-i*. Now another contingent has already been encountered in the second *o-ka-ra o-wi-to-no* (An657.8), which is again consistent with the north-south move we have deduced. *po-ra-i* looks like a dative-locative plural of the first declension and so is likely to be identical with the *po-ra-pi* of An1 (=12).4, the tablet which records the despatch of oarsmen to Pleuron. We find another reference in Nn228 (=01).6 where *po-ra-pi* is bracketed by *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* and *e-na-po-ro*. These last two places are associated elsewhere and the discussion below will show that *e-na-po-ro* cannot be far from *pa-ki-ja-si*. I conclude that *po-ra-i*, the station of the *a-pu₂-ka-ne ke-ki-de* in the area of operations of the *du-wo-jo-jo o-ka* with head-quarters at *a-ke-re-wa*, lies to the north of *a-ke-re-wa*. An 656.15 records the *ke-ki-de ne-wo* at *u-wa-si* which looks like the locative of Ἰάδες. There is evidence however of a personal name *u-wa-si-jo* (KN Ai115) and if this is a toponymic

derivative, the assibilation suggests an ending *-αντ-* or *-ανθ-* (cf. Προβά-
λινθος, Προβαλίσιος which gives support to the interpretation of *ko-ri-si-*
jo as a derivative of Κόρινθος, though this is unlikely to be identical
with the town on the Isthmus). In that case *u-wa-si* may possibly be
connected with the *wa-a₂-te-pi* of Na1009 and the *wa-a₂-te-we* of An
207.9, which again records men including *ra-p₂-te-re* and other crafts-
men. However there is a serious orthographical discrepancy which
renders the identification more than suspect and it is perhaps wiser
to content oneself with noting that *u-wa-si* occurs between *po-ra-i*
and *a-ke-re-wa*, where we again establish contact with our north-
south graduated guide-rule.

In An661, the *e[]no-jo o-ka* has men in *e-na-po-ro i-wa-so*. The
latter place has already been dealt above. In Na1027 (=02) SA 70
are booked against this locality. In Nn228, which again records
arrears (?) (*o-o-pe-ro-si ri-no o-pe-ro*) of SA, the place-names occur in
the following order: *u-ka-jo*, *ro-o-wa*, *pu-ra₂-a-ke-re-u¹*, *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*,
di-wi-ja-ta, *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, *po-ra-pi*, *e-na-po-ro*, *te-tu-ru-we*. An37 has
a-pi-no-e-[wi-jo], *e-na[-po-ro]* as its final entries. Vn130.5 again puts
a-pi-no-e-wi-jo next to *e-na-po-ro*: *me-ta-pa a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, *e-na-po-ro*
sa-ri-no-<wo>-te, *pa-ki-ja-si*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *pa-ki-ja-si*, *e-wi-te-wi-jo*, *me]-*
te-to. Here too, the north-south trend is evident starting with *me-ta-pa*
in the north. The picture is confused by the fact that the scribe has
to record two entries for *pa-ki-ja-si* as he has for *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*. Evi-
dently he has missed the second entry and then inserts it in the
wrong order after *ka-ra-do-ro*. This series shows *e-na-po-ro* linked via
a-pi-no-e-wi-jo with *me-ta-pa* and via *sa-ri-no-<wo>-te* with
pa-ki-ja-si.

The principle of geographical order and consistency on which we
are working may be tested by examining the records of other place-
names in the above series. Now a number of the places of Vn130
occur in a reverse order in Mn456, which records against place-na-
mes amounts of *146: *re-[]-ro ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*, *si-re-wa*, *me-te-*
to, *e-wi-te-wi-jo*, *ro-u-so*, *e-ri-no-wo-te*, *sa-ri-no-wo-te*, *e-pi-qo-ra₂*. Note
that here, too, *e-wi-te-wi-jo* and *me-te-to* are adjacent. But more im-
portant as a test is that *e-ri-no-wo-te* is the neighbour of *sa-ri-no-wo-*
te, for the latter links *e-na-po-ro* with *pa-ki-ja-si*. The evidence of Mn

¹ On this double place-name see *BICS* II, 1955, p. 41.

which is bracketed by *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*, a cattle station which is thus distinguished from the capital Pylos. This northerly Pylos may be the scene of Nestor's affray (Λ 670 ss.). Another for *u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* occurs after *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja* in An298.1, which is a record of *ra-pte-re*. It must be added, however, that the proximity of *u-po-ra-ki-ri-jo* and *u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* to *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja* is inimical to the identification with *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, as we shall see below. So provisionally I content myself with noting its association with *ku-re-we*. With the next entries (16-18) we have already dealt: they form the north-south series leading back via *i-wa-so* to *o-ka-ra₃*.

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These two tablets are evidently summations of the transactions represented in the Na series discussed above. The communities concerned are thus comprised in two contrasting groups and P. B. S. Andrews has brilliantly suggested that we have a contrast between a *περα*-group and a *δεῦρο*-group comparable with Latin *trans*- and *cis*-. I shall discuss below the geographical feature named in the syllabic group *ai-ko-ra-i-ja*. What concerns us at the moment is the fact that *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* (= *te-mi-ti-ja* | *ti-mi-ti-ja*) is in the group headed *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* in On300. Where is it? We have only one entry relating to the *e-ko-me-na-ta-o o-ka*, but it is suggestive. *ne-do-wo-ta-de* is a name which recurs in the locative form *ne-do-[wo]-te* in Cn4.6, a tablet headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja ta-to-mo o-pe-ro*. *ne-do-wo-ta-de* will therefore be the accusative plus the «lative» particle *-δε* of a place-name *nedwōn*, which strikingly resembles the river Νέδων (see map). What then of the *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*? This cannot be the name of a place, but is surely the nominative plural as it is in Na928, where as we saw they are recorded as receiving SA 10. It is unfortunate that this tablet is fragmentary, since it would have been of interest to know from what community these Pylian allies had received the supplies in question. There remains *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo*, one of the *o-ka* entries which recurs in Cn3. I have suggested elsewhere that this is one of the compound place-names of the order of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The first part, with its vowel *a₂*, is likely to be Αἶγα(ι).¹ This occurs frequently as the name of maritime localities in the Aegean area and we can fix it only if we can determine the location of the district name *a₂-ki-ri-jo* | *a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo* which gives it precision. I had thought that this might be Aigeira which lies next to Aigai on the north Achaean coast. In that case we might conceivably have interpreted the entry «the (men of) Aigai-in-Aigeira (and) the Rhy-pians (are to go) to Nedon». This however is ruled out by Cn3 where the entries read (l. 3 ff):

<i>a₂-ra-tu-a o-ka-ra₃</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>pi-ru-te ku-re-we</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>e-na-po-ro i-wa-si-jo-ta</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>o-ru-ma-to u-ru-pi-ja-jo</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo</i>	BULL (?) I

¹ See *BICS* II, 1955, p. 37.

456 is that *sa-ri-no-wo-te* lies to the north of *e-ri-no-wo-te*. This is confirmed by An427.2, which lists men against place-names in the following order: *a-pu₂-we*, *e-ri-no-wo-[te]*, *pa-ko*, *a-ke-re-wa*: *pa-ki-ja-si* the partner of *sa-ri-no-wo-te*, is the northern neighbour in the «nine» of *a-pu₂-we*, the partner of *e-ri-no-wo-te*. Our scribes reveal a heartening consistency which may increase our confidence in their further guidance. An661 conducts us rapidly from *e-na-po-ro i-wa-so* past contingents of Κροκύλαιοι at *ti-o-ri-jo*, *ka-ra-do-ro* (eighth most southerly of the «nine»), and *za-e-to-ro* (cf. An610.12).

With the entry relating to *e-ko-me-na-ta-o o-ka* we find that in our rapid advance south we have crossed an important divide. The reading is smudged, but there can be little doubt that both Ventris and Chadwick are right in reading the frequently attested *ti-mi-[to] a-ke-i* as the station of this unit. This place-name begins a new series of seven which are enumerated after the «nine» in Jn829(=09). They are *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*, *ra-]wa-ra-ta₂*, *sa-ma-ra*, *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*, *za-ma-e-wi-ja*, *e-re-i*. Some of this group occur associated in other texts: e. g. Vn493 *ti-mi-ti-ja*, *e-sa-re-wi-ja za-ma-e-wi-ja-qe*, *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*. But most important for our purpose is On300. The first half of this tablet, though it is fragmentary, is evidently concerned with the «nine»: clearly seen are the entries *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja ko-re-te-ri* (l. 2), *e-ra-te-i-jo ko-re-te-ri* (l. 5). The second half of the tablet, on the other hand, lists the following members of the «seven»: *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*, *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, *e-[ra-te]-re-wa-o*, *te-mi-ti-ja*, *sa-ma-ra*, *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. What is of importance is that this list is introduced by *o-de-pa₂-a₂ pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*. The first word escapes interpretation though it resembles the introductory *o-da-a₂*¹ which appears to mean roughly «the following» referring to the subsequent entry. For *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*, however, we have other evidence, notably in Ng332:

pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja SA 200 [++]
to-so-de o-u-di-do-to SA[

which pairs with Ng319

de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja SA 1239
to-so-de o-u-di-do-to SA 457

¹ Furumark's interpretation as *oḏaha* «Anteile», which is favoured by Vl. Georgiev, *Lexique des inscriptions créto-mycéniennes*, Sofia 1955, *passim*, is untenable. See for instance a text like Ma193. Furumark offers no explanation for the consistent ignoring of the *u* of the first syllable, nor is any evidence offered that *oḏas* ever meant «Anteil».

These two tablets are evidently summations of the transactions represented in the Na series discussed above. The communities concerned are thus comprised in two contrasting groups and P. B. S. Andrews has brilliantly suggested that we have a contrast between a *περα*-group and a *δεῦρο*-group comparable with Latin *trans*- and *cis*-. I shall discuss below the geographical feature named in the syllabic group *ai-ko-ra-i-ja*. What concerns us at the moment is the fact that *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* (= *te-mi-ti-ja* / *ti-mi-ti-ja*) is in the group headed *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* in On300. Where is it? We have only one entry relating to the *e-ko-me-na-ta-o o-ka*, but it is suggestive. *ne-do-wo-ta-de* is a name which recurs in the locative form *ne-do-[wo]-te* in Cn4.6, a tablet headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja ta-to-mo o-pe-ro*. *ne-do-wo-ta-de* will therefore be the accusative plus the «lative» particle *-δε* of a place-name *nedwōn*, which strikingly resembles the river Νέδων (see map). What then of the *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*? This cannot be the name of a place, but is surely the nominative plural as it is in Na928, where as we saw they are recorded as receiving SA 10. It is unfortunate that this tablet is fragmentary, since it would have been of interest to know from what community these Pylian allies had received the supplies in question. There remains *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo*, one of the *o-ka* entries which recurs in Cn3. I have suggested elsewhere that this is one of the compound place-names of the order of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The first part, with its vowel *a₂*, is likely to be Αἶγα(ι).¹ This occurs frequently as the name of maritime localities in the Aegean area and we can fix it only if we can determine the location of the district name *a₂-ki-ri-jo* / *a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo* which gives it precision. I had thought that this might be Aigeira which lies next to Aigai on the north Achaean coast. In that case we might conceivably have interpreted the entry «the (men of) Aigai-in-Aigeira (and) the Rhy-pians (are to go) to Nedon». This however is ruled out by Cn3 where the entries read (l. 3 ff):

<i>a₂-ra-tu-a o-ka-ra₃</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>pi-ru-te ku-re-we</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>e-na-po-ro i-wa-si-jo-ta</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>o-ru-ma-to u-ru-pi-ja-jo</i>	BULL (?) I
<i>a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo</i>	BULL (?) I

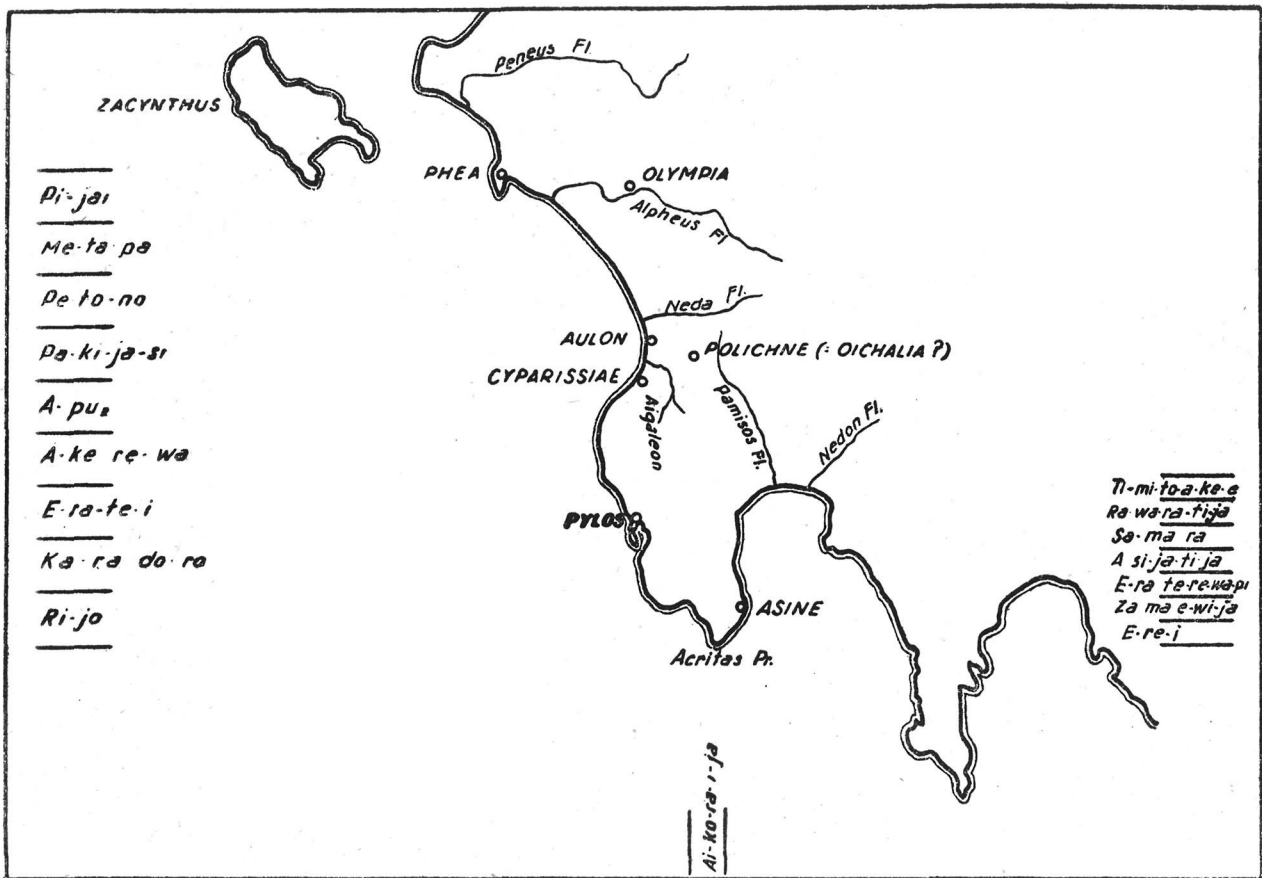
¹ See *BICS* II, 1955, p. 37.

geographical feature labelled *ai-ko-ra-i-jo* (-ja) which marks the transition. Since the *pe-ra* group starting with *ti-mi-to-a-k-e-i* evidently lie within the Messenian Gulf, whereas the *de-we-ro* group (seen from Pylos of course) lie along the western coast of Messenia, where communications for the most part are by sea, the natural point of division would be the promontory of Akritas. Now a town near this headland would certainly fit Strabo's description ἀπεναντίον Ταϊνάρου, which is the promontory marking the eastern extremity of the Messenian Gulf. There is a further reason for siting Rhion here¹—the name recurs elsewhere as the names of promontories: (1) τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Ἀχαικόν the coastal spur on the north Achaean coast north-east of Patrai, and (2) τὸ Ῥίον ἀκρόν on the west coast of Corsica (Ptol. III 2,3). On these grounds, too, I should be inclined to site Rhion near Akritas. *ai-ko-ra-i-jo*, *ai-ko-ra-i-ja* are evidently derivatives from an *ā*-stem *ai-ko-ra* and this conceals the Mycenaean name for the geographical feature in question. It remains to discuss the suggestion of Ventris and Chadwick that *ai-ko-ra-i-jo* is a derivative of Αἰγαλέον. For this mountain we have only one source of information—Strabo VIII 359 ἔστι δ' ἡ Μεσσηνία μετὰ Τριφυλίαν κοινὴ δ' ἔστιν ἀμφοῖν ἄκρα, μεθ' ἣν τὸ Κορυφάσιον. ὑπέρκειται δ' ὄρος ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις τὸ Αἰγαλέον τούτου τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης... ἡ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ Πύλος ἡ Μεσσηνιακὴ ὑπὸ τῷ Αἰγαλέω πόλις ἦν, κατεσπασμένης δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τῷ Κορυφασίῳ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὄκησαν. This information hardly permits us to go beyond Hirschfeld's cautious paraphrase (PW *sub voc.*) that Aigaleon is «ein Bergzug im westlichen Messenien, der sich nördlich von Pylos oberhalb der Küste hinzieht». Valmin writes apropos of Strabo's description: «Je ne vois aucun moyen d'expliquer le passage meilleur que de prendre l'Aigaleon pour toute la montagne de

¹ Valmin, *op. cit.*, p. 169, rejects the identification of Rhion with Coronasine and suggests that «Rhion aurait été le nom d'une plus grande partie de la côte de l'Akritas ou de celui-ci même». I too believe that Rhion meant «Cape Province» and that the Mycenaean scribes when listing the *de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* counted from Pheai down to and including the «Cape Province». As stated above, the «seven» are listed likewise starting from the most remote point and ending with Helos, which must therefore occupy a position adjacent to the promontory within the Messenian Gulf. The «confusion» which Bölte finds in Pliny's account is after all not so very serious.

Hagia Varvara et Koryphasion pour la région de la côte entre Pylos et le territoire de Kyparissia». ¹

It will be evident that a mountain in this situation can hardly have served as the key point which marks off the «nine» ending with *ri-jo* from the «seven» of which it is at least clear that *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* is near *ne-do-wo(n)*, which Ventriss and Chadwick also identify as



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS OF PYLOS.—In the arrangement of the «nine» and the «seven» tributary towns only the order is significant. The equidistant spacing is arbitrary and it is intended to provide a rough calibration of the western coast between Phea(i) and Acritas for the «nine» and of the eastern coast between the Nedon and Acritas for the «seven».

Nedon. Even if we were prepared to allow the magnification of Aigaleon into a major geographical feature dividing eastern from western Messenia, a feature which by some mischance has failed to secure mention by other authorities, we should still encounter the for-

¹ *op. cit.* p. 135.

midable morphological difficulty of deriving *ai-ko-ra-i-ja* from Αἰγαλέον, for as we have seen, the basic stem is likely to have been in *-ā*. This major obstacle surmounted, there still remains the fact that we should then have to allow an alternation in the second syllable between *a* and *o*. We may be excused from using the example once again to insist on a vital point of methodology. Before we resort to the spelling rules and the works of reference, the possibilities must be narrowed down by the analysis of contexts. This alone puts Aigaleon out of court. The net result of this investigation is that the only point in favour of connecting *ai-ko-ra-i-ja* with Aigaleon is that they have the first syllable in common.

This concludes our study of the watch stations which has led us from the region of the Alpheus round the coast to the river Nedon which crosses the boundary between Laconia and Messenia. A necessary conclusion is that these were the territories controlled by the king of Pylos during the last year of his state. The new documentary information will enable scholars to take up again some difficult problems of Homeric geography and to reach a new assessment of the reliability of the *Catalogue*. The questions of the personnel listed in these documents will be taken up in a later article.

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ADDENDUM.—The above paper embodies the substance of two lectures given before the Seminar of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London. During the discussion on May 2nd, following on my submission that *φρῦ* must be rendered in the syllabary as *u-ru*, P. B. S. Andrews made the valuable suggestion that if this were so, then *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* could stand for *Φροπιαῖοι*. This would remove a longstanding doubt about the interpretation as *Ὀλυμπιαῖοι*. On *Ῥόπες* (Hdt. I 149) and *Ῥοπαίη* (Steph. Byz.) which was situated within the Corinthian Gulf between Patrai and Aigion, see Pauly-Wissowa I A, 1 *sub voc.* 'Rhypes' (Bölte).