MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DEFENCE
OF PYLOS

An657

O-u-ru-to o-pi-a-ra e-ki-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-jo o-ka-ra" Man 50

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

A²-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-go-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)

do-ro-o o-ka ro-o-wa
ka-da-si-jo mo-ro-pa" wo-20
ki-ri-ja-i-jo wa-tu-wa-o-ko 23-to-na
O-ka-ra" a²-ra-tu-wa Man 110

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

A²-te-po de-wi-j0 ko-ma-we
O-34-la-ge u-ru-pi-ja-jo
O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo Man 30

Vacat

Pi-ru-te ku-re-we Man 50

Me-1a-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-ri-ja-wo e-ru-ta-ra
O-34-la Me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de
Man 50
MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS

vacat
u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo ku-re-we MAN 60
me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta
a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo

vacat
ta-ti-ko-wo-wo o-ka to-wa
po-ki-ro-wo pe-ri-no de-u-ka-ri-jo
ra-pe-do do-go-ro pe-ri-ra-wo
e-no-wa-ro to-so-de pe-di-je-we

wa-wu-u-de ke-ki-de MAN 10
u-ru-pi-ja-jo MAN 10 ku-re-we MAN 20
ta-ku MAN 10
o-ka-ra MAN 10

An656
wa-pa-ro-jo o-ka ne-wo-ki-to
[[a-ta-je-u]] e-ri-ko-wo a-ki-wa-ni-jo [[ ?? ]] wa-ka-ti-ja-ra ke-ki-de sa-pi-da

vacat
me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta
pe-re-ko-ni-jo a-re-i-jo
ne-wa-ci to-ko-ji-ka ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo
MAN 20 me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta
di-ki-de

Vacat
da-wa-wo-jo o-ka a-ke-re-wa
a-wa-ki-wa-jo pe-ri-me-de [[ ?? ]] pu-ri-ja a-pu-ka-ne ke-ki-de po-ra-i MAN 20
me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta di-ko-na-ro a-da-ra-ri-jo

wa-wa-si ke-ki-de ne-wa MAN 10
me-ta-ge pe-i pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo e-ge-ta
vacat
a-ke-re-wa ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo MAN 50
me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta ka-e-sa-me-no
a-pu-ka

An661
'e-ko-[so]-no-jo o-ka e-o-te-u
a-ti-ri-[ ] i-da-i-jo e-se-re-a
ena-po-ro i-wa-20 MAN 70
ti-o-ri-jo ko-ro-ku-[ra]-i-jo MAN 20

ka-ra-do-ko ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo MAN [nn]
za-e-to-ko ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo MAN 20
me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo

vacat
a-ko-me-na-ta-o o-ka
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 (An 43) and has already been interpreted by me in previous papers. This interpretation, which needs revision only in a few minor details, was briefly that each paragraph first names the military unit concerned, the oka2, preceded by a proper name in the genitive singular (e. g. To-ro-o o-ka = Τρώως ὄρχα «the regiment of Tros »); then comes a place-name, e. g. ro-o-wo, 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-ra (Οξακία) 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

2 I adhere to the view that o-ka = ὄρχα (Attic ὄρχη). 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 λαγαγέτας and the Cretan σταραγέτας (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 λανός to be the total body of the warriors, with στατός and ὄρχη as subdivisions of decreasing size. The χόρμος, 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 Creta: the phrase ὁ Αθαλαλς σταρτός ἐκόμιον may once have meant « when the στατός of Αθαλαλς was on duty ». 
question were posted. After a number of entries of this kind, An43 concludes with the words me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo. The man in question is designated by name an patronymic.\(^1\) e-ge-ta was accordingly interpreted not as a verb (in any case the form corresponding to Attic ἐπταυ would be ἐξαςατο, e-ge-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 ἐξαςατο with the «companion» of Germanic society and to render 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 -sóc (Anö57.2) stationed at o-wi-to-no; ne-da-wa-ta-o = Në-dváto 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=Klwménou (Anö54.1) 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) = Στατιγωρίφρος (cf. Στάσικτος), followed by to-wa, which may be a place-name (see below); wa-pa-ro-jo (Anö56.1) = Γαλαλώιο with again no place-name since ne-wo-ki-to is most likely a personal name (see later); du-wo-jo-jo (ibid. 11) = Δροίων at a-ke-re-wa (see below); e[- ]-no-jo (Anö61.1) 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 Anö57 is the first since it has an introductory formula of a now familiar type\(^2\) — the particle o- prefixed to a verbal form. o-ru-to I interpret (so also Ventris) as ὅς ἀρντο. The syllabary has no sign ὕ, so ὕ-ru- is rendered u-ru-. The

\(^1\) That the addition of the patronymic was honorific in shown by the advice of Agamemnon to Menelaus (K 67 ff.) ἑβεῖσεν δ' ἃ κεν ἤτα, καὶ ἑράφορναι ἄνωθεν, πατρίδεν ἐκ γενεῆς ἄννωτων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, πάντας κοιλαναι.

\(^2\) On these formulae see TPhS 1954, p. 19 ff. Risch’s analysis (Colloque international sur les textes mycénien, Paris 1956, Brochure préliminaire [=Colloque] p. 100) of PY Cno2 as οἱ ἀσ ἔρωται is methodologically unsound since it is based on the single unclear o-a\(^2\) of Vn20.1, to the neglect of the numerous clear examples of o plus a verb; it equates jo-a with o-a\(^3\) it specifies the ἄνδρα as feminine; it fails to note that o\(^2\) or o\(^3\) is not an adequate answer to the question «of what kind?»; and finally it runs into the syntactical aporia of construing ἔρωται with place-names in the locative case.
verb in question is an archaic athematic verb ἐρόμαί (cf. ἐρῶ, ἐρώτος, ἐρατος, ἐρατος, ἐρατος, ἐρατος, ἐρατος, ἐρατος, ἐρατος) meaning «guard, protect». A particularly relevant example is K 416-7:

φυλαξάς ὅς ἐέρεαι, ἔρως;

οὗ τις κεκριμένη ὑμέται στρατῶν οὐδὲ φυλάσσει.

cf. § 107 φυλάσσω τε ἐρωμαι τε, where the verb appears as synonymous with φυλάσσω. We note here again the Arcado-Cypriote middle inflection in -τοι. ὁ-πί-α-τα is patently ὁπίαλα, and we may compare the "Ἑλος ἔφαλον πτολίηθρον of the Catalogue (B 584). It follows that ἐ-πί-κο-ω is likely to be the subject of the verb and with Ventris I was inclined to connect this word with κορέω, Ἰπποκόων, ἀμυνοκόν, Latin cæsio, etc. and to translate ἐπίκασια as «watchers». This interpretation would be supported by the fact that the responsible πα-σι-ρε-σι who is apparently in charge of the bronze-smiths (Jn845.7) is called ἐ-ρι-κο-ῶ, a personal name which might be attractively rendered «the careful watcher» (see below). Provisionally then we translate: «Thus (ὡς) 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-wa-so and o-ka-ra, |1

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1 J. B. Hofmann, *Etym. Wb. des Griech.* refers these words to the root *υ(ε)ρα*. On ἐρύμοντο (M 454), ἐρφαθαι (φ 151, etc.) see Schwyzer *Gr. Gram.* I p. 681.1.
as place-names. \textit{u-ru-pi-ja-jo} and \textit{ku-re-we} might be nominative plurals (see below). However, proceeding by analogy on the «structural» principle, I am tempted to conclude that the unambiguous \textit{i-wa-so} and \textit{o-ka-ra}, provide a clue for the ambiguous \textit{u-ru-pi-ja-jo} and \textit{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 \textit{MAN} entries and leave until later the question of increasing their number and establishing their location: \textit{o-ka-ra} (\textit{An 657.4}), \textit{a_{2}-ru-wo-te} (ibid. 8) \textit{ai-ta-re-u-si} (ibid. 10), \textit{o-ka-ra o-wi-to-no} (ibid. 13), \textit{o-ka-ra a_{2}-ra-tu-wa} (\textit{An 519.4}), \textit{a-pi-te-wa i-wa-so} (ibid. 8), \textit{u-ru-pi-ja-jo o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo} (ibid. 12), \textit{pi-ru-te ku-re-we} (ibid. 14), \textit{u-ji-ka-ki-ri-jo ku-re-we} (\textit{An 654.6}) \textit{po-ra-i} (\textit{An 656.13}), \textit{a-ke-re-wa} (ibid. 18), \textit{e-na-po-ro i-wa-so} (\textit{An 661.3}), \textit{ka-ra-do-ro} (ibid. 5), \textit{sa-e-to-ro} (ibid. 6), \textit{ti-mi-[to]-a-ke-i} (ibid. 10).

It is now necessary to discuss the words describing the troops in these entries. \textit{ke-ki-de} is usually linked with a toponymic adjective: this is clearest in \textit{me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de} (\textit{An 654.3}), for \textit{me-ta-pa} is one of the «nine» recurring place-names (see below). Certain, too, is \textit{ke-ki-de ku-pa-ri-si-jo} (\textit{An 657.8}) and \textit{ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de} (ibid. 10). This analogy suggests that we should similarly interpret \textit{wa-ka-ti-ja-ta} (\textit{An 656.4}) and \textit{a-pu_{2}-ka-ne} (ibid. 13). For the last we note that \textit{a-pu_{2}-ka} occurs as a description of \textit{ka-e-sa-me-no} (\textit{An 656.20}) and \textit{a-pu-ka}, presumably the same place (with orthographic alternation \textit{pu: pu_{2}}), as a description of \textit{ma-ra-te-u} in \textit{An 2128} (==29.15) (on the relevance of this text to the \textit{o-ka} tablets see later). The weight of evidence is an impediment to construing \textit{ke-ki-de ne-wo} as «young ke-ki-de» (\textit{An 656.15}). \textit{wa-wo-u-de} is a difficult problem which must be reserved.

Now \textit{ke-ki-de} are mentioned on two other tablets in another series—the \textit{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 \textit{SA} and a number: e. g.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Na322 pi-jiat} SA 30
  \item \textit{Na361 ti-mi-to-a-ke-e} SA 50
  \item \textit{Na419 re-u-ko-to-ro} SA 10
\end{itemize}

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

\textbf{2} See below on \textit{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—iypvoi). Now among these entries we find:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Na396</td>
<td>wo-no-ge-wa ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na405</td>
<td>to-ro-wa-so ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na516</td>
<td>ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na543</td>
<td>ka-ra-do-ro ko-[ro]-ku-ra-i-jo</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na928</td>
<td>u-ru-pi-ja-jo</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I leave for another occasion the discussion of the other «favoured» classes and individuals, who include the εάναξ 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; 56. u-ru-pi-ja-jo again in An519.11, 654.16, 661.12. Now the last word has been attractively interpreted as Φροξιαῖοι 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.):

αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσέας ἦγε Κεφαλλήνας μεγαθύμους,
οἱ δὲ Ἄθαχνοι εἶχον καὶ Νῆρετος εὔνασφιλλον,
καὶ Κροξύλες ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀγίλειτα τρηχεῖαν,
οἱ τε Ζάκυνθον ἔχον ἢδ' οἱ Σάμον ὁμφρερέμοντο,
οἱ τ' ἴππειρον ἔχον ἢδ' ἁτιπειρα' ἐνέμοντο.

εᾶ]-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 Κροξὺλαοι —and that like the Φροξιαῖοι 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 (An1.1).

Still more startling is the entry on a new fragment, An943.2:
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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-ra* would be broken. *u-ji-ka-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-ra* *a-a-tu-wa* (ibid. 4) *a-ke-ja wa i-wa-so* (ibid. 8). Moreover this tablet must be taken with Cn 3 (=22). As I have previously argued, this records the sacrifice of a single animal (presumably a bull) in the localities named. *e-na-po-ri i-wa-jo-ta* might be interpreted as «the people of Iwasos (are to sacrifice) at e-na-po-ri»; *o-re-mato 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. Tlepô, -ovôvôç). But this principle of interpretation breaks down with *a-ka-ka-ri-jo o-ka-ra* (ibid. 3), neither of which is plausibly to be interpreted as a nominative plural. And how are we to explain *a-ka-ka-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo* (ibid. 7), unless the last syllable is a scribal error? Provisionally I recall that in a previous paper 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 -ôôç. *ku-re-u* may well be such a name. But supposing that this is the derivative of a river or mountain name (e.g. Σχόρος «Quellbach des Malus, eines Nebenflusses des Alpheius in der Arkadischen Aigytis», PW sub voc.), then the same derivative could mean equal-

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series. Here, too, the clear examples furnish the basis for the interpretation of the unclear. It would be surprizing 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 *pu-ka-ke-re u* Nno 1.3 and *pu-ka-ke-ri jo* Na 52 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 pu-ka-ke.*
ly well "a man of Σχύρος". 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-qe-wa, ka-ra-do-ro, to-ro-wa-so and [?] thus appear as providing supplies¹ (so many daily rations?) for the Κρόξυλαος, who are stationed in ti-o-ri-jo, ka-ra-do-ro, sa-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-wì-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 -tvos or -tvos. 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 -eúç. But to-so-de immediately preceding sugests that nouns should follow. The interpretation of pe-di-je-we as «foot-

¹ I find it difficult to believe that SA (*3i) is FLAX, or indeed that NI (* 30) is Figs.
² Achaeans 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-ra₈ 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-ra₈ 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. Τίρυνθος, -υνθος). But this principle of interpretation breaks down with 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 -εύς. ku-re-u may well be such a name. But supposing that this is the derivative of a river or mountain name (e.g. Ξυμβος «Quellbach des Malus, eines Nebenflusses des Alpheius in der Arkadischen Aigytis», PW sub voc), then the same derivative could mean equal-

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¹ TPPhS 1954, p. 53.
² BICS II, 1955, p. 37, 38. I should wish to draw attention to the interpretation of pu₄-ra₄-a-ke-re-u Nno1.3 and pu₄-ra₄-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 pu₄. 
ly well «a man of Σχόρος». 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 Κροξό-λαος, 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 -θος or -τος. 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) fsu-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 -ές. But to-so-de immediately preceding suggests that nouns should follow. The interpretation of pe-di-je-we as «foot-

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1 I find it difficult to believe that SA (*31) is FLAX, or indeed that NI (*30) is FIGS.
2 Achaeans 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-we-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-qe of An519.11. Previously I had taken this as a personal name and had been persuaded that 34 = ai₂. Of this I am now less convinced and leave open the question of the value of the sign. 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 -qe 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 An566.13 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 pu₂ (*BICS* II, 1955, p. 44).
pi-82, me-ta-πα, pe-tο-no, pa-κι-ja-si, a-πu-πε, a-ke-re-wa, e-ra-te-i, ka-ra-do-ρο, 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 πi-82 to ri-jo. Now I have already demonstrated\(^1\) that the value of 82 is jai and identified pi-jai as Φεα(ι). Two places are attested in Homer which would fit the syllabic groups. One is the scene of Nestor’s battle against the Arcadians (Η 135ff.) Φειάς πάρ τείχεσσαι, Ἰαρδάνου ἀγων ἱέθρα. Bölte, who discusses the evidence,\(^2\) concludes: «Wir können nur annehmen dass der Kampf stattgefunden hat irgendwo an der Verkehrsline die Triphylien mit Arkadien verbindet... südlich vom Alpheius.» Better attested, however, is the Φε(ι)α(ι) 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 Ρίον, a πόλις Μεσσηνίς (Strabo VIII, 361 after Ephorus FHG I 238.20), the location of which is discussed by Valmin\(^4\). 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,

\(^{1}\) Eranos LIII, 1955, p. 2. The primary evidence there quoted is provided by the orthographic alternations in the man’s name ki-ri-ja-i-jo PY An519 (=3).3. ki-ra-i-jo KN Sci03 (see BICS II, 1955, p. 38), ki-ri-82-jo which yield a value -jai for 82. This is supported by a distributional observation, namely that the sign occurs mainly after the vowels i and e, so that the consonant is likely to be a glide sound. Finally the value yields a plausible name for a Mycenaean female deity. Note that pe-re-82 (Πηθεα) now recurs in a record of offerings: PY Un 1189 pe-re-82 ox 1, eve 1, pig + ka 1, sow 2.

\(^{2}\) Pauly-Wissowa XIX 2.1918.

\(^{3}\) In this line most editors agree in reading Φεάς for codd. Φεράς.

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-wo-to-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.

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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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nur annehmen dass der Kampf stattgefunden hat irgendwo an
der Verkehrslinie die Triphylien mit Arkadien verbindet... südlich
vom Alpheius.» Better attested, however, is the Ψε(ι)α(ι) which
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ki-ra-2-i-jo KN Sc105 (see BICS II, 1955, p. 38), ki-ri-82-jo which yield a value -jai
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\(^4\) M. N. Valmin, Etudes topographiques sur la Messénie ancienne, Lund 1930,
p. 23 f.
MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS

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 (A 670 ss.). Another for u-pa-ra-kirija 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-ri-ri-ja to ra-wa-ratija is inimical to the identification with u-pi-ka-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-ra4.

In An656.4 the wa-ka-ri-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 l. 7 Κροκύμων 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-wo-wo-pi (ll. 8-9, another plural place-name with the suffix -Σ), ro-o-wa (l. 10) and ta-ra-ke-wa (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-pu and e-ra-te-i; the a-pu-ke-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-pu-ke-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-wa at u-wa-si which looks like the locative of Υάδες. There is evidence however of a personal name u-wa-si-jo (KN Ai115) and if this is a toponymic
derivative, the assimilation suggests an ending -ανς- or -ανθ- (cf. Προβαλόνθος, Προβαλίοντος which gives support to the interpretation of ko-ri-si-jo as a derivative of Κόρυνθος, 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-a₄-te-pi of Na₁₀₀⁰ and the wa-a₂-te-ve of An 207.9, which again records men including ra-pte-re and other craftsmen. 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-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-ra₄-ak-re-wu₂, 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. Vn₁₃₀₅ 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. Evidently 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-names 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-go-ra₂. Note that here, too, e-wi-te-wi-jo and me-te-to are adjacent. But more important 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 (A 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-p-te-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-ra.

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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 πετα-group and a δέοπο-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-jia-ti-ja ta-to-mo o-pe-ro. ne-do-wo-ta-de will therefore be the accusative plus the «lative» particle -ς of a place-name nedwοn, which strikingly resembles the river Νέδον (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 IO. 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 Cn7. 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 Αίγας. 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 Αigeira 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 Rhypians (are to go) to Nedon». This however is ruled out by Cn3 where the entries read (l. 3 ff):

\[
\begin{align*}
    a₂-ra-tu-a & \quad o-ka-ra₃ & \quad \text{BULL (?) I} \\
    pi-ru-te ku-re-wε & \quad \text{BULL (?) I} \\
    e-na-po-ro & \quad i-wa-si-jo-ta & \quad \text{BULL (?) I} \\
    o-ru-ma-to & \quad u-ru-pi-ja-jo & \quad \text{BULL (?) I} \\
    a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo & \quad u-ru-pi-ja-jo & \quad \text{BULL (?) I}
\end{align*}
\]

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. An66I conducts us rapidly from e-na-po-ro i-wa-so past contingents of Kροξύλαυος at ti-o-ri-jo, ka-ra-do-ro (eighth most southerly of the «nine»), and sa-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, sa-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 sa-ma-e-wi-ja-ge, 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-da-a₂ pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo. The first word escapes interpretation though it resembles the introductory o-da-a₂ 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-ra₂-kö-ra-i-ja SA 200[+]
to-so-de o-vo-d-o-to SA[...

which pairs with Ng319
dæ-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja SA 1239
to-so-de o-bo-d-o-to SA 457

1 Furumark's interpretation as oḍbha «Anteile», which is favoured by VI. 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 oḍbha 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 δεόπο-group comparable with Latin trans- and cis-. I shall discuss below the geographical feature named in the syllabic group aɪ-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 -de of a place-name nedwón, which strikingly resembles the river Néδων (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 Aiγα(τ). 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 Rhypians (are to go) to Nedon». This however is ruled out by Cn3 where the entries read (l. 3 ff):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Bull (?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a₂-ra-tu-o o-ka-ra₃</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-ru-te ku-re-we</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-na-po-ro i-wa-si-jo-ta</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ru-ma-to u-ru-pi-ja-jo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ἄξεναντιον Ταυνάρο, which is the promontory marking the eastern extremity of the Messenian Gulf. There is a further reason for siting Rhion here—the name recurs elsewhere as the names of promontories: (1) τὸ Πίων τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν the coastal spur on the north Achaean coast north-east of Patrai, and (2) τὸ Πίων ἄχρον 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-ja* are evidently derivatives from an *a*-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 Αἰγαλέων. For this mountain we have only one source of information—Strabo VIII 359 ἐστι δ’ Ἡ Μεσσηνη μετὰ Τριφυλιὰν κοινὴ δ’ ἐστιν ἄμφοιν ἁχρα, μεθ’ ἦν τὸ Κορυφασίου. ὑπέρεκται δ’ ὅρος ἐν ἐπτὰ σταθίοις τὸ Αἰγαλέων τοῦτο τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης... ἦ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ Πύλος Ἡ Μεσσηνιακὴ ὑπὸ τῷ Αἰγαλέῳ πόλις ἦ, κατεσπασμένης δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τῷ Κορυφασίῳ τινὸς αὐτῶν ἤφθασαν. 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

Valmin, *op. cit.*, p. 169, rejects the identification of Rhion with Corone-Asine 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».

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 Ventris and Chadwick also identify as

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-

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1 op. cit. p. 135.
midable morphological difficulty of deriving ai-ko-ra-i-ja from Αίγαλέον, for as we have seen, the basic stem is likely to have been in -ǣ. This major obstacle surmounted, there still remains the fact that we should then have to allow an alternation in the second syllable between ι 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 Ψπο 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 Φροπαίαν. This would remove a longstanding doubt about the interpretation as Ὀκλυπαῖαν. On Τόξες (Hdt. I 149) and 'Ροπαίη (Steph. Byz.) which was situated within the Corinthian Gulf between Patrai and Aigion, see Pauly-Wissowa I A, i sub voc. 'Rhypes' (Bölte).