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### PYLIAN I-WA-SO AND I-WA-SI-JO-TA RECONSIDERED

**Abstract:** Based on new facts from an extended research study of the areas plausibly connected with *i-wa-so* and *i-wa-si-jo-ta*, mainly Eastern Arcadia and especially the Analepsis area, on the Arcadian — Laconian border, the paper is trying to connect both linguistically and archaeologically the above rubrics with the classical toponym IASOS to be located in the modern area of ANALEPSIS. The proposed theory is that either there was an O - KA force of the defensive type in the above area, called urgently back to Pylos, due to an extraordinary situation facing the Palace (possibly an attack) or that at about the end of the Pylian domination, an internal dispute broke out (revolution) forcing all those elements (possibly non-Greek) contained in the Pylos district (either as slaves or as special army units) to take the arms, leave the palace with their followers and settle in other places farther from the Pylos districts.

There have been various opposing or mutually exclusive attempts during the years towards the consideration of the Pylian Linear B rubrics *i-wa-so* (An 519. 8—654. 17—661. 3—Cn 655. 6) and *i-wa-si-jo-ta* (Cn 3.5). Unavoidably, all those attempts led to hastily drawn conclusions and poorly documented arguments<sup>1</sup>.

In fact, the rise of the dispute could very well be placed in 1976 when an article by Prof. D. Petruševska was published in ŽA XXV (1975), 432—36, involving the position of Arcadia and its possible role in the Pylian state. This publication triggered the reaction by Dr. J. Chadwick in Cambridge, who immediately tried a counteroffensive in MINOS, XVI (1977), 219—227, almost refuting every argument in Mme. Petruševska's paper, as well as Prof. M.D. Petruševski's two previous articles on geographical matters involving place names in Arcadia and their plausible connection with the ones mentioned in

<sup>1</sup> cf. the attempted methods of transcription and/or conclusions by L. R. PALMER, *Gnomon* 29, 1957, 568—9, H. MÜHLESTEIN, *Die O-ka Tafeln von Pylos*, Basel 1956 and the letters of P. B. S. ANDREWS to L. R. PALMER, Also, A. MORPUGO, *Lexicon*, Rome 1963, 117

the Pylian archives<sup>2</sup>. We will try to express our views on the subject, as clearly as possible based on recent reports<sup>3</sup> from the area which has been a conflicting element and which at the same time claims to have been associated with whatever is proclaimed by the two ambiguous rubrics, *i-wa-so* and *i-wa-si-jo-ta*.

It is true that Arcadia and especially the eastern part of the area has not been seen to archaeologically, at least adequately enough, as pointed out by both J. Chadwick and D. Petruševska<sup>4</sup>. There has been only one<sup>5</sup> systematic field survey in Eastern Arcadia by R. Howell, published in BSA 65, (1970), 79ff. and two references in two editions respectively of *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites* (London, 1965 and 1981). The Greek Archaeological Society had tried a rescue excavation in many sites of the Eastern Arcadian region, mostly under the supervision of the late Prof. K. Romaios<sup>6</sup>, in the early '50s, yielding a few important traces of prehistoric habitation and development in the area, especially on a site situated on the Arcadian — Laconian border, under the classical name of Iasos, or the modern Analepsis. But generally, a growing indifference and negligence regarding the fate of the few remarkable prehistoric (LHII and LHIIa-b) tomb-groups had much contributed to their total seclusion into darkness<sup>7</sup>.

Our field survey and research<sup>8</sup> undertaken 7 years ago in that certain area of Iasos (Analepsis), a few miles south-east of the ancient Tegea,

<sup>2</sup> see, ŽA XV, 1965, 326, as well as M. D. PETRUŠEVSKI, *Zur Toponomastik Griechenlands im mykenischen Zeitalter*, in „Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Alten Welt“, Bd. I (Alter Orient und Griechenland) Berlin 1964, 164 ff. Also, D. and M., D. Petruševski, *Iz najstarije geografije i toponimije južnog balkana*, Godišnjak XIII, Centar za balkanološka Ispitivanja, Knjiga 11, Sarajevo 1976, 327—337 and M. D. PETRUŠEVSKI, Pe-to-no and o-wi-to-no: Zwei Mykenisch-griechische Ortsnamen in südlichen Peloponnes, *Klio* 58 (1976), 289—294.

<sup>3</sup> see, E. J. KRIGAS, *Analepsis: the Prehistoric Synoikismos (Settlement) in Eastern Arcadia*, Ph.D. thesis, Athens 1984 (English transl.)

<sup>4</sup> cf. MINOS, 16 (1977), 226 and ŽA XXV, 1975, 432

<sup>5</sup> Let alone for some 18 th cent. historians (periegetai) who toured the area and tried to give a detailed account of what they had observed or had caught their interest, such as W. LEAKE, E. CURTIUS, J. KROMAYER, G. FOUGERES and TH. FUCHS. Pausanias had very early pinpointed the importance of this area devoting a whole part of his *Ellados Periegesis* to Arcadia.

<sup>6</sup> Romaios had dealt with the area and the whole Eastern Arcadian region for more than 30 years. He had devoted his life to archaeological excavations in many parts of the Peloponnese and Northern Greece (Macedonia) including the recently yielding remarkable finds sites of Pella, Pydna, Dion, Sindos etc. His early reports have been published in book-form under the title „*Mikra meletēmata*“ (:Minor Studies) Thessaloniki 1955.

<sup>7</sup> Mycenaean tomb-groups are usually made up of a major Mycenaean type: tholos tomb and a few smaller ones mainly of the same type. The tomb-group in Iasos includes a large tholos tomb, clearly of the Mycenaean style and about four still preserved tombs, of the cist—grave type. Such tomb—groups have been spotted and excavated in Messenia, bearing a striking resemblance to the ones in Iasos. For a detailed study and presentation of the finds in the Iasos tomb—group see, E. J. KRIGAS *op. cit.* (note 3). Also, R. H. SIMPSON, *Mycenaean Greece*, London 1981.

<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting that the whole area near the till now preserved tomb-group in Analepsis (Iasos) has been cultivated by the local villagers thus making every step of further search and study hard and gruesome.

will shed light to the whole region, because this site constitutes an important join among the rest of the prehistoric sites in the region. Upon recent published reports it can be reasonably argued that Iasos constituted a vital crossroads in the prehistoric times<sup>9</sup>. Namely, the linear B references to *i-wa-so* and *i-wa-si-jo-ta* can only be mere allegations of what in reality lies behind a plausible transcription of them. The name of Iasos has traditionally been carried through the ages<sup>10</sup>, in its classical form mainly by Pausanias, who describes the battle of the Spartans against the Achaeans in 147 B.C., in Book VII, 13,7 of his *Ellados Periegesis*. The definition in the appropriate chapter is as follows; „καὶ πῶλισμα Ἴασσον ἐλῶν... ἐν ὄροις μὲν χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς“ In this way we have a strong reference to a small „town“ on the Arcadian — Laconian border. The prehistoric remains there of a fortification wall as well as an extended tholos-tomb cemetery<sup>11</sup>, reaching possibly as far as the modern banks of the nearby river Sarantapotamos is a clear evidence of the choice of the inhabitants of the classical times who followed the traces of their predecessors, in building a town nearby the remains of the older one, judging only from the point of security, as it generally happens in the case of at least all the prehistoric settlements<sup>12</sup>.

It has been well argued that *i-wa-si-jo-ta* constitutes an ethnic name in the Pylian archive, by both A. Sainer<sup>13</sup> and J. Chadwick<sup>14</sup>. The figure of their contribution in Cn 3. 5, plausibly in connection with the ambiguous *e-na-po-ro* (a place name implying Methoni)<sup>15</sup> is BOS. 1. Its appearance in a coastguard text does not necessarily exclude the allegation that the real origin of the persons contained in this sense might not be near the coast. They contribute more than 80 people for the coastal guards, the o-ka, as follows:

An 519.8 :	a-pi-te-wa,	i-wa-so	VIR 20
An 654.17:		i-wa-so	VIR 10
An 661.3:		i-wa-so	VIR 70

<sup>9</sup> Signs of a kind of railway-like lines „cut“ on the rocks around the chapel of Analepsis can still be observed and may prove a continuous use of the site as a crossroads in the Mycenaean (and Classical) times. The lines can be easily followed towards the north into Arcadia and the south, into Laconia. See further, E. J. KRIGAS *op. cit.* (notes 3 and 7)

<sup>10</sup> see, Pausanias, *Ellados Periegesis*, Book VII, 13. 7, Xenophon, *Hellenika*, VI, 5. 22, Diodorus, Book XV, 63 ff., Thucydides, *Historiae*, VIII, 28. 2—3, 29. 1, 36. 1, 54.3

<sup>11</sup> see previous note 7

<sup>12</sup> See, R. HOWELL, *B S A* 65(1970) 79ff, R. H. SIMPSON, *Mycenaean Greece*, London 1981, and K. SYRIOPOULOS, *I Proistoria tis Peloponnesou*, Athens 1964 (newest edition in larger format, Athens 1983)

<sup>13</sup> A. SAINER, An Index of the place-names at Pylos, *SMEA* XVII (1976), 50

<sup>14</sup> J. CHADWICK, *Glossary to the Documents*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge 1973, 549

<sup>15</sup> see, A. SAINER, *op. cit.*, and J. CHADWICK, *U M M E*, Ch. 7 as well as *Mycenaean Geogaphy*, Cambridge 1977.

<sup>16</sup> see, J. CHADWICK, *op. cit.* note 14

In Cn 655.6 the contribution of *i-wa-so* is OVIS 70, but again the connection with the PN *we-da-ne-wo* and the plausibly recognisable *a-ko-ra* makes us consider an area that could easily contribute 70 sheep, one bull and about 90 men. Not such a large number for a well-to-do community but a remarkable one for one of a lesser degree of magnitude, based mainly on its fighting capacity and experience in battles, a community made up of possibly hunters, hard in battles, willing to fight for the state (or, persuaded to, or even obliged to. . .). Such people is hard to find in a coastal settlement, and we should remember that the fiercest raiders or tribal fighters came always from the inner parts of a country (let alone for the Hettites or the Philistines or the Phoenicians!). If *we-da-ne-wo* (gen. sing.) implies a „person of great importance“, as Chadwick argues<sup>16</sup>, then we are tempted to see him as the head of that tribal group, who offers from his own collection (cf. *a-ko-ra*), e.g.

Cn 655.6    ma-ro-pi, i-wa-so, we-da-ne-wo, a-ko-ra    OVIS<sup>m</sup> 70

As we have just mentioned above, *we-da-ne-wo* could plausibly imply a genitive singular, or a dative. Then this brings us obviously to the conclusion that we must expect a genitive (or, dative) for the neighbouring noun of dubious transcription, i.e. that of *i-wa-so*. It seems highly tempting to connect it with a plausible locative, cf. mod. Grk. Ἰάσῳ/Ἰάσῳ, As such, it would define a certain place name<sup>17</sup>. If, on the other hand, we accept *i-wa-so* as a qualifier to *we-da-ne-wo*<sup>18</sup> (cf. the Homeric „Ἰάσον Ἀργός“, Od XVIII, 246), or Chadwick's view<sup>19</sup> that *i-wa-so* could imply „a man's name, or a group of men“ we are still confronted by the notion that the actual origin of that name could render its sources from a place name as so often happens in the Linear -B- archive (cf. *a-ma-ru-ta* and *a-ma-ru-ta-o* in Eo 224, „Ἀμαρύνθιος“, ‘from Amarynthos’, a place name in Euboea, as well as *e-wi-ri-pi-ja* in Aa 60 and *e-wi-ri-po* in An 610 implying Euboean origin). Even Chadwick's remark of „a group of men“ could remind us of Thucydides' description of the Lacedaemonians against the Argeians battle of Mantinea (418 B.C), where 600 men are named „Sciritae“, originating from Sciritis, on the extreme frontier of Laconia towards Parrhasia (*Hist.* V, 33,1)<sup>20</sup>. The etymology of the name implies a hard and rock-infested area, such as Analepsis, (or, Iasos) has been (cf. σκίρον = hard rock) and the geographical position is the one

<sup>17</sup> Further on the subject: L. R. PALMER, *Gnomon* 29(1957) 568—9, H. MÜHLESTEIN, *Die O-ka Tafeln von Pylos*, (Basel 1956) 14 — 18, 20, 22, 40, A. MORPURGO, *Lexicon*, Rome 1963, 117

<sup>18</sup> cf. J. CHADWICK, *Glossary to the Documents*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge 1973, 549

<sup>19</sup> cf. above notes 18, 16, 14. Possibly a variant to *i-wa-si-jo-ta*.

<sup>20</sup> Thucydides mentions Sciritae in a few more instances, i.e. V, 67:1, 68:3, 71:2, 72:1—2

described by Pausanias<sup>21</sup>, Thucydides<sup>22</sup> and Xenophon<sup>23</sup>. It is self-evident that the Spartans had used that special military unit (just like the British Gurkhas) to fight against the Argeians and their allies. We have managed to trace lines of roadcuts cut on the rock implying an active communication of this area with both Arcadia and Sparta<sup>24</sup>. It would not seem far-fetched after all that to suppose a certain link with Pylos, as indirectly as it might have been. That link could not necessarily mean good relationship or even alliance. The fall of Pylos, foreseen by a number of people in its ranks had pushed them outside its frontiers, perhaps even led by a thirst for power and self-esteem, or fed up by a totalitarian and oppressive system of government<sup>25</sup>. The tomb-groups in areas not so far from the two areas controlled by the palace in Pylos (the *pe-ra<sub>2</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja* and the *de-we-ro-a<sub>2</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*) or even in a small distance from their frontiers have clearly been shown to belong to family-groups<sup>26</sup>, or even at least one soldier/high rank officer and a few plain cist, built, cut-in-the-rock type of tombs. The tholos type Mycenaean tombs are clearly reserved for the outstanding people in those communities, mainly those of military status<sup>27</sup>. The place names of Lousoi, Orchomenos, Enispe, Leuktron and Pleuron have yielded remarkable archaeological evidence for an active participation during the Mycenaean times<sup>28</sup>. Their linguistic coherence with similar Linear B rubrics as attempted by Mme. Petruševska<sup>29</sup> might not be as preposterous as Dr. Chadwick thinks<sup>30</sup>. We had better bring to our mind the recently excavated tomb-groups in Gouvalari and Voidhokoilia in Messenia, districts very near the palace in Pylos<sup>31</sup>. They clearly proclaim a common tomb-building technique spreading

<sup>21</sup> see, PAUSANIAS, *Ellados Periegesis*, Book VII, 13.7, Book VIII, 54 (where a new name appears for the same area, i.e. that of Symbola).

<sup>22</sup> see above note 10. Thucydides means Iasos in Caria and Mytilene, which may be linked to the one in Arcadia if we accept the possibility of immigration, as Chadwick points out for similar place-names.

<sup>23</sup> see, above note 10.

<sup>24</sup> see, above note 9.

<sup>25</sup> see, further on this subject the view by J. T. HOOKER, in *SMEA* 1982.

<sup>26</sup> This theory enforced by the recent excavations in Gouvalari, Voidhokoilia, Routsis in Messenia and mainly supported by the excavator Prof. G. S. Korrës, of the University of Athens has in essence refuted the view by Lord William Taylour that the burials were mainly those of outstanding kings and princes.

<sup>27</sup> As in Iasos, where the large tholos tomb bears clearly the marks of a special use, such as the burial of the outstanding hoplite and possibly his wife, because the finds include a few characteristics of female beauty care. There are even signs of a child burial in the same large tholos tomb, something that could tempt us to conclude a family use of the same grave.

<sup>28</sup> see. K. SYRIOPOULOS, *I proistoria tis Peloponnesou*, Athens 1964 and R. HOWELL, *B S A* 65 (1970), 79—127 as well as *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites*, BICS Supl. 16, 37—41

<sup>29</sup> In ŽA 1975 (XXV), 432—6

<sup>30</sup> In *MINOS* 16 (1977), 219—227

<sup>31</sup> see, previous note 26.

from the Pylos controlled areas to the far Eastern Arcadian region, underlined by a hasty effort of burying people without the lustre and wealth of the known Mycenaean centres<sup>32</sup>. It is really a „state of emergency“, a preface of a catastrophe for Pylos<sup>33</sup>, a lack of wealth but still an effort for preservation of the known types for Analepsis (Iasos) and the areas around as far as Tegea<sup>34</sup>.

We hope that this archaeological review has helped establishing our initial purpose of connecting the two Pylian rubrics of *i-wa-so* and *i-wa-si-jo-ta* with the classical Iasos (Analepsis) in Eastern Arcadia, and thus showing another aspect of this area little of which has been revealed.

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<sup>32</sup> Such as Mycenae, Kakovatos, Zygories

<sup>33</sup> *see*, previous note 25.

<sup>34</sup> *see*, previous notes 28, 12

Alojz Gradnik:

N A Š A Z E M L J A — T E R R A N O S T R A

Rómanós egomét vidi híc cohórtes  
 Et vastata fui feris ab Hunnis,  
 Per me túrmae Avarúm vagae ruebant  
 Atque Marcomanum et Gothum catervae  
 Nec non agmina sera Langobardum.  
 Me delebant, at haud securis atrox  
 Fregit, finitimi Veneti avari  
 Habsburgi neque crux, flagellum et ensis:  
 His cunctis tumulus fuit sepulcri  
 Tantum a mepte paratus atque apertus.  
 Solum omnes alimenta mi fuerunt,  
 Ut nutrirem ego vos; satis bibebam  
 Tot vestras lacrimas graves cadentes  
 Súdorémque simúl ego ipsa scissa,  
 Ut darem patrium focum domumque  
 Vobis et mea rura larga adessent  
 Vestris hostibus omnibus sepulcra.

*Ljubljana.*

*Vertit: S. Kopriva*