PY An 610 TABLET AND ITS PARENTHEtical NOTE

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to reconsider the interpretation of the word ko-ni-jo and to offer an alternate view of its meaning and role in the document, hence the lines 13-14 whose entries form a coherent group in relation to the entire text. The term parenthetical note is used to indicate that this word further explicates the related entries and that the number that is written beside it does not indicate the total number of rowers. This interpretation necessarily also includes consideration of da-mi-ni-jo as the name of the person who has a function of a "collector" and who controls a group of flax-workers mentioned on the tablet with a note that indirectly points to maritime context.

In Pylian archive there are three tablets directly dealing with rowers, each of them recording different information. An 1 records rowers going to Pleuron (e-re-ta, pe-re-u-ro-na-de, i-jo-te) listing 30 men from five coastal towns of the Pylian kingdom, enough to man a single ship, triaconter. An 724 mentions rowers absent from four towns, mentioned also either in An 1 or An 610. Tablet An 610 is particularly interesting because it indicates a system of recruitment based mainly on landholding. Content of all three tablets has already been studied in detail, but due to their fragmentariness and difficulties in interpreting individual words, except in case of An 1, they are still open for interpretation.

By joining several fragments and considering a few suggestions offered in studies of certain scholars, namely Chadwick and Bennett, the text of An 610 is slightly different since PTT I edition. Figure 9 with second VIR in line 6 Chadwick supplies from


2 Information on the tablet is taken from PTT I, 59; Chadwick, 1987, 75–6; T. G. Palaima, The Scribes of Pylos, Roma 1988, 36; E. L. Bennett, Jr., “A
the deleted text of line 7, he also implies me-ta[-ki-ti-ta in line 10 and inserts space between second figure 40 and square bracket in line 13. First entry in line .12, previously ]-ku-si-jo VIR 8, Bennett now reads as za-ku-si-jo VIR 7. Finally, Melena takes Xn 1151 as most likely the upper left-hand corner of the tablet AN 610 completing the heading. Taking these suggestions into account the text should read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>VIR 3</th>
<th>VIR 9</th>
<th>VIR 19</th>
<th>VIR 36</th>
<th>VIR 4</th>
<th>VIR 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.1</td>
<td>me-za-[wo-]ne, e-re-ta</td>
<td>vacat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.2</td>
<td>j, ki-ti-ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>.3</td>
<td>me-jta-ki-ti-ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>.4</td>
<td>]wa, ki-ti-ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>.5</td>
<td>me-ta-ki-ti-ta</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>.6</td>
<td>e-wi-ri-po</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>.7</td>
<td>a-ke-re-wa</td>
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<td>.8</td>
<td>ri-jo</td>
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<tr>
<td>.9</td>
<td>te-ta-ra-ne</td>
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<tr>
<td>.10</td>
<td>a-po-ne-we</td>
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<tr>
<td>.11</td>
<td>ma-ra-ne-wo-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>.12</td>
<td>za-ku-si-jo</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.13</td>
<td>da-mi-ni-jo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.14</td>
<td>we-da-ne-wo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.15</td>
<td>po-ku-ta</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many deletions are visible on this large page-shaped tablet. The deletions are a consequence of reorganizing the document in regards to its format. The main scribe of the Pylian archive H1, who also scribed An 1 tablet with the same stylus, S1, and An 724 with stylus S 657, ruled twenty lines. The first line contains the title, and the next four lines contain one entry each, all aligned in a column. It is very likely that toponyms were inscribed in lines 2 and 4, but due to the tablet damage they are not visible. From line 6 on the scribe changes the input form in regards to the quantity of entered information. Now the information is entered in two columns while leaving out the word ki-ti-ta from main entries. As Chadwick points out, in further text the word ki-ti-ta is assumed. In the same manner as in lines 6 and 7 one entry was written in one column, and was later deleted in order for line 6 to have the form of two columns, the scribe deleted a part of the entry in lines

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3 Chadwick, 1987, 76.
14 and 15 in order to inscribe three entries in line 14. Over original [[VIR ko-ṇi-jo VIR[ ]] in line 14 it was written ko-ṇi-jo 126 me-ta-ki-ti-ta VIR 26, while [[me-ta-ki-ti-ta]] was moved from line 15\(^4\). Although it is considered that line 14 has three entries due to lack of space, the last five lines are left blank.

Considering that the majority of the tablet has been thoroughly interpreted in existing literature, in this paper we will only consider a number of elements, particularly focusing on the last written lines. The rowers are primarily identified as a certain social class indicating historically common practice of obligatory military service in accordance to the landholding system. Hence the majority of the entry make ki-ti-ta, κτίτα, ‘settlers, inhabitants’, who are on the ki-ti-me-na land, κτιμένα\(^5\). They are followed by me-ta-ki-ti-ta, *μετα-κτίτα, who are, in the context of this document, also the only document containing this word, taken to be an accompanying person or a substitute to κτίτα, therefore someone of a subordinate category. To this secondary entry Chadwick also has suggested other parallel groups, po-si-ke-te-re *ποσίκτηρες (cf. προσίκτωρ), literally ‘coming towards’, po-ku-ta, we-re-ka-ra and te-ga-ta. In most cases the form in which groups of rowers were entered is such that they are listed by their place of origin, then an ethnic or an anthroponym where it is given that the main contingent is made up of ki-ti-ta, followed by the secondary entry.\(^6\) About a half of the locations listed on this tablet are also on An 1 or 724, while the rest of the locations can, with more or less certainty, be identified as such and be located. The first column in lines 6 to 11 is made up of toponyms, while the second column contains either the secondary entries or the new entries according to the toponym. In the second column of line 12 there is also a toponym (za-e-to-ro), but before it, in the first column there is an ethnic za-ku-si-jo, Ζακύνσιοι, whose occurrence is interpreted in various ways\(^7\). This is also one of the

\(^1\) In the same manner in line 7. it was written a-ke-re-wa over [[po-si-ke-te-re]], which was moved to the previous line and written over [[VIR | ]] v. PTT I, 59.

\(^2\) Determining term ki-ti-ta making the majority of recruited rowers, Chadwick (1987, 82) concludes: “The term ki-ti-ta must therefore be reconstructed as /ktitā/, cf. κτίτης “inhabitant”... Its semantic value can be defined as ‘one who holds ktimena land’, and the connexion between land-holding and obligation to man the fleet becomes clear: ktimena land must be held subject to an obligation to provide military service. This obligation will be met either by appearing in person or by sending another on one’s behalf”.

\(^3\) Ibid. 77-78.

\(^4\) “The presence of men from a near-by kingdom is not surprising in a muster of forces; if the enemy was coming by sea round the south of the Peloponneso, Zakynthos too would be exposed to danger.” Chadwick, 1987, 78 cf. “The presence of Zakynthians may indicate a general direction for the fleet, as this is the only group outside the mainland Greece mentioned in the Row-
reasons for believing the purpose of this tablet is not to merely record the total number of men available for rowing service, as determined by Killen, but to record a particular event.

The information about rowers is organized differently in the last lines. There is no mention of the rowers’ place of origin, but considering the fact that some of the groups of rowers have been listed by anthroponyms in genitive, and those were the names of the prominent persons from Pylian kingdom, it is likely that these entries refer to Pylos itself. The tablet was not entered as a designation is not unusual for H1 as the location in the entire set of Aa 240 is only mentioned if it was not Pylos (e.g. Aa 772, 775, 786), while the only exception is pu-ro that was listed in Aa 1180. Unlike him H21 and H23, the scribes of corresponding tablets of Ab and Ad series always list it. If for a moment we ignore the figures that could be related to Pylos, the largest groups of rowers separately number 40-odd people. 40 men originate from location ma-ra-ne-ru-we (.11). Also, in lines 2 and 4 groups of 46 and 36 rowers are entered. Due to the tablet damage it is not clear to what do entries refer, but most likely some toponyms were written there. Moreover, based on the comparison of coastal locations listed in Rower and o-ka tablets it was suggested to restore [ro-o-]wa in line 4 and [ti-mi-to-a-ke]-e in line 2. But it is significant that, besides these locations, the same number of rowers is entered with E-ke-ra2-wo as well as with da-mi-ni-jo, both inscribed in the same line (.13). It is considered possible that this is a nom. pl. masc. ethnic adjective derived from toponym *Δάμνος, therefore *Δάμνιοι, with reference to Ἑπίδαμνος. Nothing prevents us from concluding that this is an anthroponym, and indeed, this assumption is increasingly accepted and as such it corresponds to...
the assumption that entries in this line relate to Pylos. *Da-mi-ni-jo* (personal name in the genitive case or in the form of possessive adjective derived from his personal name) as a “collector” occurs in Knossos on numerous D-series tablets. “Collectors” are prominent members of the ruling élite who have been allocated a part of the productive capacity of the kingdom for their own benefit, as explained by Killen13. Considering that in Knossos some of the owners of workgroups are involved in the production of textile, the interesting coincidence is with the form *da-mi-ni-ja* used to describe a group of linen workers, *ri-ne-ja-o* on *PY Ad 697* tablet, a tablet that has an additional note *e-re* [qe-ro-me-no] which implicates joining of their sons to rowing service14. It is generally accepted that on this tablet, as well as on the corresponding *PY Aa 96*, also the only places this form was mentioned, is a toponym. But recently it has been taken as a possibility that “...*da-mi-ni-ja* is a scribal error for *da-mi-ni-je-ja* (a possessive adjective formed from a man’s name, *da-mi-ni-jo*), in which case there would be work groups under the supervision or ownership of a man named *da-mi-ni-jo*...”15. Although avoiding interpretation as a scribal error is advisable, assumption that this is a name of a man under whose supervision were the linen workers whose sons are serving as rowers (based on an additional note, although there is no numeral after VIR), corresponds to the one on *An 610.13* where there is also a name of a man who gives 40 rowers. This makes it possible that in Pylos there is a *Da-mi-ni-jo* a “collector” who owns a workgroup from a textile production area and who provides rowers same as *We-da-ne-u* (although half as much), who is generally accepted as one of the four “collectors” of Pylos. The hypothesis that *Da-mi-ni-jo* is a “collector” was already stated by Olivier, moreover, he included him as one of the 12 “international collectors”16.
Even if in previous interpretations of this tablet Da-mi-ni-jo and We-da-ne-wo were not mentioned as “collectors”, also providers of rowers, it was always clear that E-ke-ra₂-wo, who gave 40 rowers, is a name of an important person in Pylian kingdom, perhaps the most important, actually wa-na-ka, ἤναξ. As the only persons mentioned by name consecutively, they jointly give 100 rowers, implying as in previous entries, that they are ki-ti-ta. Now we are getting to an interesting part where the word ko-ni-jo is written with a numeral but without an ideogram VIR, followed by me-ta-ki-ti-ta VIR 26. Considering that all the previous entries of me-ta-ki-ti-ta were interpreted as secondary to the previous one, it should be so in this case as well, thus 26 me-ta-ki-ti-ta follows 126 ko-ni-jo (sc. ki-ti-ta). In the early interpretations of the tablet the lack of an ideogram led scholars to believe it was some sort of an object, not people. This hypothesis was, however, quickly discarded and explained by the lack of space. This is also apparent because of the traces of deletions indicating that it is very likely that in the past there was an ideogram. Changing the entry form from two columns to three, consequently limiting the writing space, forced the scribe to omit the ideogram. Such a parallel was already seen. However, why did the scribe decide to delete and to abandon the form when he could see that the content of the document is nearing to the end and he still had six lines drawn out, out of which five lines were left unused?

ko-ni-jo as hapax legomenon raised different interpretations, but it is mainly accepted that this is nominative plural ethnic derived from toponym ko-no (PY Eq 213.6), which is supposed to have been located in province de-we-ro-a₂-kο-ra-i-ja. However, here is a number that greatly exceeds any other found on this tablet, concerning both ki-ti-ta and me-ta-ki-ti-ta. Is it possible to assume and what would be the basis for such assumption, that the group marked by an ethnic outnumbers the ones coming from other locations or from the one confirmed ethnic za-ku-si-jo? Even more so, even if the location of their origin is from within Pylian kingdom, it is not mentioned in any other tablet with maritime

Killen’s idea identifying 66 of them, in those same Proceedings, F. Rougemont (“Some thoughts of the identification of the “collectors” in the Linear B tablets”, 130), by contrast, expresses caution (referring to J. Bennet) when identifying people as “collectors” “...in other economic areas, except when the “collector” concerned is already mentioned in sheep or cloth records.”.

17 Most recently v. Nakassis (op.cit.) and his critics (p. 16, fn. 78) on Petrakis’s (2008) suggestion that E-ke-ra₂-wo is a local aristocrat or chieftain of a region.

18 Documents³, 187; 431.

19 Chadwick also pointed out such parallel (with KN Fp 1), 1987, 76.

20 DMic., ss.vv. ko-ni-jo, ko-no. Also v. suggestion that 126 ko-ni-jo comes from the north in discussion in Chadwick, 1987, 84.
context. More than a half of the certain toponyms on this tablet are confirmed on other tablets about rowers, or at least in o-ka set which records coastal towns\(^{21}\), and for a place where so many rowers come from we would expect to have been mentioned somewhere. There is a form ko-ni-ja which is taken as a place designation on tablet An 615, suggesting to be another list of rowers. And while ko-ni-ja as feminine adjective with noun χώρα implied could be a toponomic designation, other records on tablet do not particularly imply that this tablet is a rowers list. Only the phrase j̄o-no, e-go-te[, written on lat. inf., is taken as a connection with An 724, but by Melena’s joining fragments and re-examining of the tablet\(^{22}\), the new reading is j̄w̄o-no, e-go-te[ thus there is a need for a new interpretation. Another problem arises if we question why the scribe decided to enter this information about ko-ni-jo specifically on this place. If we logically assume that the records from line 15 are related to the group from Pylos, and that E-ke-ra-wo, ϝἄναξ, Da-mi-ni-jo (personal name in the genitive case or in the form of possessive adjective derived from his personal name) and *We-da-ne-u are the members of the elite, perhaps even the royal family related to Pylos rather than to some other location, how would we explain the insertion of an ethnici between these two sets of entries?

Considering that linear B is not entirely suitable for writing in Mycenaean Greek, words consisting of two syllables and three syllables, are the most difficult to interpret, especially if they are also *hapax legomena*. Sometimes different words with different meanings have the same spelling as in ko-no which is in above mentioned examples related to a toponym, while on other tablets it is a phytonym (KN Ga 953, MY Ge 602, 603, 604), that also has an alternative spelling ko-i-no (MY Ge 606). In linear B documents there is another graphically similar form, ko-na. On PY Ep 212.3 it is taken as “possibly erroneous repetition of preceding ko-to-na, or adj. koinās?”\(^{23}\). It also occurs on TH X 105.1, with preceding j̄o-sa, and MY Ue 652.1 where it is interpreted as an adjective comparable to κοινός.\(^{24}\) Bartoněk offered a possibility of a different interpretation, aside from the form in gen. sg., still preferring the one in dat. sg. f., κοινή, meaning “gemeinsam, zusammen mit”.\(^{25}\) For both ko-na and ko-ni-jo we can assume the same

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\(^{21}\) a-ke-re-wa: An 724.9, An 656.11. 18; wa-ge-we: An 724.13; ri-jo: An 1.3, An 724.14; te-ta-ra-ne: An 1.5; a-po-ne-we: An 1.6 (a-pu-ne-we, Ad 684); za-e-to-ro: An 661.6; ?ro-o-wa?: An 1.2, An 724.1, An 519.1 (restoration [ro-o-]wa proposed by Chadwick, 1987, 77).

\(^{22}\) https://www2.hf.uio.no/damos/ (20. 3. 2013.).

\(^{23}\) Documents\(^{\text{\textcopyright}}\), 555.

\(^{24}\) DMic., s.v. ko-na.

\(^{25}\) A. Bartoněk, Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch, Heidelberg, 2003, 211, 569.
stem which has already been done in some interpretations.\textsuperscript{26} Traditional etymology of adjective κοινός is *konjos < *komjos (cf. lat. cum) and it is likely that the metathesis of group -nj- occurred later, after the time of the tablets, or, at least, it was not completed in the Mycenaean period.\textsuperscript{27} There are too few examples to confirm this, however in the opposite case, where metathesis is already implemented, the examples are also vague. ko-na as hapax is not indicative for either of these two states, while ko-no, with alternation ko-i-no, is not the same word and in its stem it has a diphthong that did not necessarily have to occur through\textsuperscript{28}.

As Ruijgh already stated, considering that group sonant + ĵ still existed in Mycenaean, examples for –wi- (di-wi-jo, di-u-jo; me-wi-jo, me-u-jo) and -ri- (a-ro2-a), can be found, while for sets -nj- ĵ–ļ–j there are no certain examples.\textsuperscript{29}

Considering everything that has been stated so far we can assume that ko-ni-jo, same as ko-na, perhaps also ko-ni-ja\textsuperscript{30}, belong to the stem from which later kouvōs forms, where diphthong is a reflection of metathesis from -nj- following –o-, and it is precisely the case of ko-ni-jo where it is visible that it had no yet been implemented. This consonant group will be resolved in spelling with –ni-j, just as the –nu-, is resolved with –nu-Ľ, in other words between sonant n and semivowel ĵ vowel ĵ is inserted, just as between sonant n and semivowel u vowel ĵ is inserted (pe-ru-si-nwa / pe-ru-si-nu-wa, e-nwa-ri-jo / e-nu-wa-ri-jo). The sound ĵ, ĵ, is simpler to interpret due to the fact that in Mycenaean Greek it was left in its original state in all of the positions of the word, unlike ĵ which is susceptible to changes that themselves are

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{26} e.g. L. R. Palmer, The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts, Oxford, 1963, repr. 1969, 429: "men of the kouvōn(?)".

\textsuperscript{27} Traditional etymology is being questioned (v. M. Lejeune, Phonetique historique du mycenien et du grec ancien, Klincksieck 1972, 156) primarily because on an m at the end of the stem that in Greek it becomes an n. Since Mycenaean still uses an *m (e.g. PY Ta 641.1 e-me po-de, *eμας = ĵεμα) it would be expected to also be present in ko-ni-jo. However, if we assume that the group *mj has become *nj, already in pre-Greek stage, or rather in Proto-Indo-European, it is reasonable to conclude that kouvōs is formed from komjos > *komjos and that it can be comparable to lat. cum < *kom that still keeps an *m from the stem. Credits for this footnote go to my colleague Daniel Nečas Hraste.

\textsuperscript{28} σχονος which is used to explain ko-nο/ko-i-no itself has unclear etymology, v. Chantraire, DELG, s.v.

\textsuperscript{29} C. Ruijgh, Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien, Amsterdam, 1967, 66–67. But v. p. 66 fn. 91: “Si l’interprétation [A]ɲeƙoquences could have different meanings, and even when it is in the same form. ko-ni-ja (An 615.4) will be hard to interpret since it has lack of context and its following word is not complete in the second part.
not finished and as such have an impact on spelling (e.g. initial and intervocalic i̯ > h). But, ra2 as homophone of ri-ja (ki-ra2-i-jo / ki-ri-ja-i-jo, a-ke-ti-ra2 / a-ke-ti-ri-ja) shows the kind of vocalization we would expect too for -ni-. Since in post-Mycenaean time -rij- and -nj- following vowel a or o have metathesis, there is a possible parallel even with a- roar2-jō (KN So 4437) if it is accepted as a scribal error based on contamination of a- roar2-e (KN L 735.1, 7409.A) with *a-ri-jo-e.31

Thus we would reconstruct ko-ni-jo as nom. pl. m. adjective κοινοί or adverbial acc. sg. κοινόν meaning “jointly, together” which describes three preceding entries and one following. This way, groups inscribed under Da-mi-ni-jo, E-ke-ra2-wo-no, We-da-ne-wo and me-ta-ki-ti-ta are numbered 126. This number is excluded from the total number of recorded men, which is by no means stated at the end, and therefore is forming some sort of parenthetical remark describing that these groups are joined together in some way. Perhaps this insert points to the projected quota that Pylian elite gives, and that in order to be complete, is filled with 26 me-ta-ki-ti-ta as some kind of a substitution while 100 rowers are already provided (similar to Chadwicks’ suggestion for po-si-ke-te-re as men who have come in addition to the quota demanded of their home town32). This should solve the doubt as to why ko-ni-jo when interpreted as an ethnic and inserted between persons who are related to Pylos by their positions, and those who are designated with appellative and whose entries also relate to Pylos which is implied. This parenthetical note is actually an unusual occurrence regarding the system of recording, but we could allow occasional departure from a set form of archiving if there is a peculiarity that needs to be mentioned in relation to other information. Besides that, we think that the reason why the scribe squeezes records forming three column entry is only because they are related to one coherent group of records. Indication of that nonuniformity and usage of other solutions in recording data belonging together are last two entries in line 15 coupled with enclitic –qe. This, however, does not need to be an unique case if we accept Killen’s hypothesis of me-za-na wo-ke as parenthetical note in PY Sh 736, although it is of a different character in relation to ko-ni-jo note.33 We are aware that these interpretations could face some problems mainly regarding direct attestation, but since previous interpretations are not very probable, and especial-

31 Interpretation generally admitted is *ἄρρος-ς(ζ), cf. superl. ἀρρός, later replaced by ἀρείον, v. DMic., s.v. a-ro2-a. Ruijgh (1967, 30) suggested scribal error and concluded: “Le scribe a donc écrit –jo au lieu de –e sous l'influence de l'autre possibilité orthographique.”.
32 Chadwick, 1987, 78.
ly not certain, our aim was to stress another possibility that could fit linguistic, orthographical and contextual data.

After the above discussion about ko-ni-jo as a note, which was the purpose of this paper, we will finally look at the problem arising from adding the fragment Xn 1151 to the tablet An 610, which “is most probably the upper left-hand corner of the tablet” and thus complements the heading in first line me-za-{wo-}ne, e-re-ta. Before this joint we would perhaps assume the form as in PY An 724 tablet, toponym + appellative + verb, therefore toponym ending with –ne, or, as Chadwick assumed, a verbal form with o- at its beginning. But now, with this joint, interpretation of the heading becomes a bit complicated because me-za-{wo-}ne should be dat. sg. of an anthroponym attested in other tablets in forms me-za-wo, nom. (KN Sc 222), me-za-wo-ni, dat. (PY Un 138.5) and me-za-ne (PY Fn 50.4) taken as a scribal error for me-za(w)ne. It might be surprising to find all of these men, almost 500, to be listed under one personal name. What role to give him? First thing that comes to mind is that this is an admiral of the Pylian kingdom’s or Messenian fleet. In other Pylian documents, a person by the same name is mentioned as a recipient of 4 l. of barley entered under three βασιλεῖς and before a3-ki-a2-ri-jo in Fn 50 and he pays his dues with 578 l. of barley and 840 l. of olives, described as ka-pa, in Un 138. Nothing directly indicates this sort of office. In fact, there is no direct evidence for navy organization and officers’ ranks in linear B documents and the information that could be related to officers are scattered on documents without maritime context. This is just a name of one officer (PY An 723, Cn 1197, Jn 881, Na 284, Nn 831) interpreted as *ἐρθεύς ‘official in charge of rowers’, ‘head of τὰ σκάφεα’. Above all, it is tempting to find some explanation of this new heading but we ought to wait for confirmation of this joint as certain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


35 Chadwick, 1987, 76.
36 There is also erroneous writing me-ri-du-te for me-ri-du-ma-te in line 5.
37 a3-ki-a2-ri-jo is probably an anthroponym *Αἰγι-χάλος, derived from an ethnic *Αἰγι-χαλός (cf. αἰγιαλός), it could be too an appellative (v. Documents*, 91: “shore-man”), v. DMic., s.v. a3-ki-a2-ri-jo.


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