

AN INDEX OF THE PLACE NAMES AT PYLOS

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INTRODUCTION

This index is a list of place names and ethnic adjectives found on the Pylos Linear B tablets. The list contains all words which are more than remotely likely to be place names, with the reference of each occurrence and the different forms of each word added; the vast majority of the places are in the kingdom of Pylos, but a few (e.g. *Pleuron*) very probably are not. There are a number of ethnic adjectives descriptive of women and, occasionally, objects (e.g. Zacynthian wheels) which seem to refer to foreign places; only one of these can certainly be shown to refer to a place under direct Pylian control: *ti-nwa-si-ja*, which is a rather special case as it appears that **ti-nwa-to* may be a community outside the borders of the kingdom, although subject to the king at Pylos. Adjectives which are descriptive of men and which may be ethnic, on the other hand, usually do not refer to foreign places.

The *raison d'être* of the index is to list the place names found at Pylos and to give a brief account of the contexts in which they occur: both to show what is recorded as originating from or located at the place (it is often very difficult — if it is at all possible — to tell which of these is correct) and also to show what other places occur on the same tablet, at least those in close proximity, and which are perhaps to be associated geographically.

The index, then, attempts to be an objective listing, but there are two areas in which the criteria are necessarily subjective: the decision whether or not to include a word which is possibly a place name, and the decision to exclude certain names in the lists of associated places. Some lesser facts are also excluded: e.g. the assessments of bronze on Jn 829. Reasons for considering a word to be suitable or unsuitable for inclusion, attempts to suggest a location for a number of the places and other subsidiary topics are discussed.

There is a strong bias towards including words which are marked “just

possibly a place name”: those where there is insufficient evidence, often structural parallelism, to allow more than a mere possibility. There are many words which various scholars have regarded as place names which are not listed: those which admit a more likely interpretation and those about which the evidence is so inconclusive that, at the risk of incompleteness, the desire for brevity has prevailed.

It is this same desire that is at the root of the decision to exclude some associated names where they are not in fairly immediate juxtaposition. There should be sufficient cross-references to enable a full list to be built up where one is not actually given, but it is expected that this index will be used in conjunction with the texts. An example is the list of places on An 207: the full list is given s.v. *ka-ro-ke-e* and there is a reference to that entry in the entry of every other place in the list; another is Mn 456: the full list is s.vv. *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* and *e-ri-no-wo*, and reference is made to one or the other. It is in the interests of readability that the major places have relatively few references to associated places; a further reason is shown below. It also occasionally happens that if a reference is given in another context it is not repeated in the discussion of associations. Likewise where the form of a name which differs from the form of the lemma at the head of the entry occurs on more than one tablet, it may not be repeated with each reference.

The choice of lemma has been made in almost all cases by selecting the simplest and least oblique form found, a reminder that one can record only what has survived. A reconstruction has been attempted in one or two entries: e.g. *e-ra-to*, **ne-do-wo* and **ti-mwa-to*.

I shall make no apology for the lack of a regular pattern in the longer entries; in each case the form of the entry has depended on the information available, and I have taken it as often by subject as according to the strict alphabetical order of the tablet references. In the same way there are some artisans whose activities are recorded in translation, while others' are not — many of the latter because there is no sufficient translation. (“Artisan” will be found usually to have the meaning “person employed in a trade or service” rather than being roughly equivalent to “craftsman” in a restricted sense).

Once the full list of places and their associations had been produced, it was hoped that it would be possible to construct a very rough map of the relative locations of the places which did not stand in isolated contexts. The principle on which this was tried was to consider two places mentioned in the same context likely to be to a certain extent in geographical proximity. This principle is subject to a great many modifications and cross-checks: no-one could suggest that *ro-o-wa* (An 1.2) and *ri-jo* (An 1.3) are very close together, but it is reasonable to assume that *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* and *e-na-po-ro* (Nn 228.5 .6, Vn 130.4 .5 and perhaps [An 37.3 .4]) are in fairly close proximity, although Vn 130 seems a very unsafe base on which to rest any theories in this field. The method is naturally most reliable where several

references corroborate one another. It is open to some criticism, it is subject to a great deal of uncertainty (not helped by the habits of the scribes) and is far from accurate; it is also applicable to only just over half the place names. The list of Na tablets on pp. 102 - 103 of IP includes many names which occur on that one tablet alone and which cannot be located by this method.

The arrangement of two geographical areas seems fairly clear, mainly, it would appear, because there is only a limited amount of information available about each and thus less chance of conflict: one is the Further Province, the other is the *pi*-*82 area in the Hither Province (possibly extending into the Further Province) which, it is suggested, is the area between Malthi (a possible site for *pi*-*82) and Kyparissia and perhaps also to the east of Malthi.

The basis of the association method is the internal evidence of the tablets; it is possible to relate this set of conjectures to the physical geography of the kingdom by using a number of 'fixed points', the placing of which is fairly certain. A discussion of this will be found below. As these 'fixed points' are the major towns (or rather, perhaps, communities) for the most part, 'the nine' in the Hither Province and 'the seven' in the Further Province in particular, one can understand why there are more references to them in the entries of minor places than references to minor places in the entries of the major towns.

Where there is evidence, place names have been marked as belonging to one or other province (HP or FP); a question mark indicates that there is more doubt than that usually occasioned by the association method.

2. THE FIXED POINTS

The arguments on which much of this section is based are to be found in the chapter by Dr John Chadwick in *Minnesota Messenia Expedition*. I wish to thank Dr Chadwick for permitting me to see his chapter in proof and am attempting no more than to summarise a part of his conclusions. (See also ΕΣΤΙ ΠΥΛΟΣ ΠΡΟ ΠΥΛΟΙΟ: *Minos* 14 (1973) pp. 39-59.)

There is only one fixed point in the Pylian kingdom: the palace at Ano Englianos. No other Mycenaean site in the kingdom can with certainty, in the absence of further evidence, be allocated a name from those recorded on the tablets. It is possible, however, from the evidence of the tablets to create a skeleton plan of the locations first of the major centres and then of lesser ones. Since this is an exercise in hypothesis, it is necessary to recognise both that the conclusions are tentative and not based on indisputable fact, and also that it is possible in many cases to locate places within a general area only rather than to point to a known site.

The Hither and Further Provinces

Various documents show that the Pylian kingdom was divided for administrative purposes into two provinces, perhaps originally separate kingdoms which were joined together by some means at a time well before the date of our records. This division is very clearly demonstrated by Ng 319 and Ng 332 which record a large quantity of a commodity designated by the syllabic sign *SA* (*31); the commodity is very probably flax, and is so called hereafter. The information provided by the tablets of the Na series, with which these tablets are connected, indicates that the two figures represent the total assessment for the kingdom.

The provinces are called *de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja*, the Hither Province (HP), and *pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja*, the Further Province (FP). These names, which share the element *-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja*, may be compared to the Roman *Gallia cis-alpina* and *trans-alpina*. The common part bears a striking resemblance to *Aigaleon*, the classical name for the mountain range which runs down to Cape Akritas and which probably marks the border between the provinces for most of its length; it seems, however, that a part of the west coast of the Messenian Gulf, probably the area to the south of Longá, is included in the Hither Province.

A number of tablets record place names in a regular order; of these lists the most important are Jn 829, which records 16 major towns (towns, communities, districts) each of sufficient importance to have a *ko-re-te* ("mayor") and a *po-ro-ko-re-te*, and On 300, on which a number of the same places appear, five of them, all of which are found towards the bottom of Jn 829, under the heading *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*. From the evidence of On 300, and from the existence of other lists corresponding to the first nine places on Jn 829 (Cn 608, Vn 20), the sixteen names may be divided: nine in HP ('the nine') and seven in FP ('the seven'), an order which one may reasonably expect to have geographical significance.

Hither Province

pi.*82
me-ta-pa
pe-to-no
pa-ki-ja-ne
a-pu₂
a-ke-re-wa
ro-u-so / *e-ra-to*
ka-ra-do-ro
ri-jo

Further Province

ti-mi-to a-ke-e
ra-u-ra-ti-ja
sa-ma-ra
a-si-ja-ti-ja
e-ra-te-re-wa-pi
za-ma-e-wi-ja
e-re-e

There are some variations in these lists: *e-ra-to* and *ro-u-so* seem to be interchangeable (although they are probably not exactly the same);

e-re-e is replaced by *a-te-re-wi-ja* in the Ma series (see below, p. 22); *za-ma-e-wi-ja* has a close connexion with *e-sa-re-wi-ja* (cf. Vn 493.3), and in the Ma series the district represented here by *za-ma-e-wi-ja* alone appears to have been divided between that place and *e-sa-re-wi-ja*.

It will become apparent later that the order is roughly circular (bearing in mind that towns are placed according to topographical suggestion and not by some divine map-maker), starting towards the north of HP (*pi**82) and continuing, in FP, from south to north (*e-re-e*).

The o-ka tablets

There is a set of five tablets, almost certainly complete, forming a single document, which adds to the skeleton plan which has so far evolved. This set can be shown to have been designed to be read in the following order: An 657, An 654, An 519, An 656, An 661 (although An 519 may precede An 654). The heading of this set (An 657.1) reads "The watchers are guarding the coastal regions thus"; the assumption, therefore, that all the places recorded are coastal may confidently be made. Since only the last lines of An 661 concern FP, it is reasonable to assume that the list starts at the far north of HP, probably near the River Neda (there are good strategic and archaeological reasons for locating the northern border of the kingdom there and none for locating it further north), that it runs south along the coast and may well end at the eastern border of the kingdom, near the River Nedon in the Kalamata area (*ne-do-wo-ta-de*: An 661.13).

The correspondence of the *o-ka* tablets and Jn 829 reinforces the likelihood of the geographical progression of 'the nine' and hints that the same is true for 'the seven': *a-ke-re-wa*, *ka-ra-do-ro* and *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* appear in the same order in both documents, and the men from *me-ta-pa* (*me-ta-pi-jo*: An 654.3) are probably stationed not far from their homes.

The Aa, Ab and Ad tablets

The tablets of the Aa series provide further help in allocating places to the appropriate province. E. L. Bennett has shown that the tablets formed two sets, written by different scribes and stored separately in the Archive Room: the larger set (Hand 1) recording women and children in HP, the other (Hand 4) those in FP. Consequently, where a place is mentioned on one of the Aa tablets, it is allocated to its province without further explanation in the entry.

There are two series of tablets which have a close connexion with the

Aa series: the Ab tablets, which record the same groups¹ of women and children as the HP set of the Aa tablets (although the numbers² do not correspond exactly, suggesting that the counts were taken at different times, some months apart), and the Ad series recording sons of the women in both provinces. From the combination of these three series a picture emerges of some 49 groups of women and children, perhaps as many as 1500 in total, spread through the kingdom. The two royal seats, Pylos in HP and *Leuktron* in FP, have the largest concentrations: 28 and 6 groups respectively; *ro-u-so* in HP, with two large groups, was probably a subsidiary centre.

The Ma tablets

I must thank Miss C. Shelmerdine for her kindness in permitting me to make use of "The Pylos Ma Tablets Reconsidered" which is in the course of publication. In this article Miss Shelmerdine explores the trail blazed by W.F. Wyatt in "The Ma Tablets from Pylos".

The tablets of the Ma series record contributions of various commodities, the exact identity of which is uncertain, but which appear to be agricultural products of some sort or other. If Ma 126, which is anomalous, is ignored, all the contributions are assessed against the important places discussed earlier: the nine major towns of HP and eight places in FP, six of which correspond to 'the seven'. Each town is assessed for contributions of six commodities in the ratio 7 : 7 : 2 : 3 : 1½ : 150. The constant proportion, which is subject to very little variation, must surely indicate that the commodities were generally available throughout the kingdom.

The commodities are each represented by an ideogram:

- A. *146: measured in units; probably connected with textiles.
- B. *53: measured by weight; invariably the same number as A.
- C. *44: measured by weight.
- D. *152: measured in units; perhaps ox-hides, as elsewhere.
- E. *61: measured by weight.
- F. *13: measured in units; honey elsewhere, but the quantities involved make this improbable.

From the figures of the assessments the towns in each province fall into two "sub-groups" of roughly equal production, and these are each divided into

¹ The groupings and readings of these tablets are taken from *A Mycenaean Industry*: J. Chadwick and J.T. Killen (Cambridge, forthcoming). I am most grateful for being allowed to use this material.

² Where there is a discrepancy between the readings of the Aa and Ab tablets of a group, the figure quoted is either an average or the higher of consecutive numbers.

two "tax-contributors". The correspondence is not exact, but it is sufficiently close for the grouping to be obvious (and obviously right), and most of the discrepancies admit of convincing explanation.

	Hither Province		Further Province
I a 1	<i>pi</i> .*82	II a 1	<i>ra-wa-ra-ta₂</i>
	<i>me-ta-pa</i>	II a 2	<i>e-sa-re-wi-ja</i>
I a 2	<i>pe-to-no</i>		<i>za-ma-e-wi-ja</i>
I b 1	<i>pa-ki-ja-ne</i>	II b 1	<i>a[.]ta₂</i>
	<i>a-pu₂</i>		<i>sa-ma-ra</i>
	<i>a-ke-re-wa</i>		<i>ti-mi-to a-ke-e</i>
I b 2	<i>ro-u-so</i>	II b 2	<i>e-ra-te-re-we</i>
	<i>ka-ra-do-ro</i>		<i>a-te-re-wi-ja</i>
	<i>ri-jo</i>		

It will have been observed that the towns in HP follow the order which has been established as a geographical progression southward; it is suggested by Dr Chadwick in an appendix to "The Pylos Ma Tablets Reconsidered" that the grouping of the towns in FP has a similar significance and that each "tax contributor" represents a separate area. The province is tentatively to be divided from east to west by the Skala range of hills, and from north to south by the River Pamisos and its tributary, the Mavroumenos. The areas represented by each "tax-contributor" will be called 'the north west quarter of FP' etc.

NORTH

a-te-re-wi-ja
e-ra-te-re-we

e-sa-re-wi-ja
za-ma-e-wi-ja

a[.]ta₂
sa-ma-ra
ti-mi-to a-ke-e

ra-wa-ra-ta₂

The assessment for FP is about one sixth higher than the assessment for HP whether from political causes or because the province is more productive of these commodities; the figures for flax shew the opposite (Ng 319, Ng 332): HP is assessed at a much higher figure than FP. The size of the assessments for agricultural products of each town is expressed as 'low' (less than 20 units of A.), 'moderate' (20 - 30 units of A.) or 'large' (above 40 units of A.).

One further point emerges: there appears to be the possibility that the towns were assessed for other commodities in similar ratios or groups.

OVIS + TA

Two tablets list OVIS+TA: Cn 4 and Cn 595. They are similar in form: each begins with a place name followed by the words *ta-to-mo o-pe-ro*; the remainder of the tablet consists of a list in the form of a place name and a number of OVIS+TA. Both tablets list men also: one at each location of sheep on Cn 4, but less regularly on Cn 595. The special attribute of these sheep is uncertain but the ligature TA is probably an abbreviation of *ta-to-mo*. The tablets record a deficit (*o-pe-ro*) but it is unclear whether the sheep are expected at *a-si-ja-ti-ja* and *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi* or have failed to arrive, or, perhaps more likely, whether the sheep have been bred at these two places and are being sent out to replace losses.

From the fact that *me-ta-pa* and *e-ri-no-wo* are listed as the locations of sheep, the lists would appear to have some connexion with HP; on the other hand, each of the places at the head of the tablets is found among the seven major towns of FP. A sensible compromise, therefore, is to locate the sheep near the border between the provinces. The evidence of Jn 829 and of the Ma series indicates that *a-si-ja-ti-ja* lies to the south of *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*; the locations of *me-ta-pa* and *e-ri-no-wo* suggest that the other places listed on Cn 4 are also to be located to the south of those recorded on Cn 595.

In the Index the locations of OVIS+TA are referred to as being 'in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*' or 'in the list headed *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*'.

With the information so far, an outline of the relative location of places begins to adopt recognisable form. The next stage is to link the outline with the physical geography of the kingdom; this principally depends on fixing the location of *pa-ki-ja-ne* in the close vicinity of Pylos (cf. Tn 316), probably near Chora. A number of indications support the theory; I have found no evidence to upset it.

Brief suggestions for the location of many of the important places, based especially on Chapter 7 of *Minnesota Messenia Expedition*, are made in individual entries.

3. GLOSSARY OF MYCENAEAN WORDS USED IN THE INDEX other than place names and personal names.

a-ke-ti-ri-ja

An adjective descriptive of women: either "practitioners of a trade" (although it is not known what they did), or sempstresses: *akestria* or *askētria*.

a-pi-ḡo-ro

ἀμφίπολοι, maidservants.

a-pu-ko-wo-ko

Makers of headbands, perhaps for horses.

a-ra-(ka-)te-ja

Spinning women: *alakateiai* (cf. ἡλακάτη).

a-to-ro-ḡo

Bakers: *artopoḡoi*.

da-ko-ro

Perhaps "temple servant".

do-ḡe-ja

The name of a goddess (genitive singular) who owns a number of slaves (perhaps: who has a number of ministers); alternatively a description of women (nominative plural).

e-ke-ro-ḡo-no

Perhaps "wage earners".

e-ḡe-ta

A high ranking member of the king's retinue, with religious and military functions and special privileges. It is possible that on the *o-ka* tablets they are not only the agents by whom communications are transmitted, but also the officers in charge of a detachment of the main army. (ἐπέτης = Count).

i-je-re-ja

Priestess (ἱέρεια).

i-na-ma-ta

The meaning of the word is obscure; cf. *Documents* p. 295.

i-wa-so

The description of a number of men (80+) on the *o-ka* tablets; it is almost certain that this is connected with *i-wa-si-jo-ta*, which is found (Cn 3.5) in the same association.

ke-ki-de

The description of some 130 men, located by the evidence of the *o-ka* tablets in the northern and central parts of HP and connected with flax (military supplies? or payment?).

ke-u-po-da

Probably a title; *ke-po-da* (Na 568) is probably a variant spelling.

ki-ti-me-no

Settled land, not controlled by the Demos: *ketimenos*, presumably to be connected with κτιζω.

ko-re-te

A local government official, perhaps "mayor". It seems that they are important local figures and are probably to be found only in the larger communities.

ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo

An adjective descriptive of men: over 140 are mentioned on the *o-ka* tablets, all towards the south of HP. They are mentioned also in connexion with flax (cf. *ke-ki-de*).

It has been suggested that some or most of the possibly ethnic adjectives descriptive of men on the *o-ka* tablets are not ethnic, in the sense derived from a place name, but rather tribal.

ko-wa, ko-wo

It must be remembered that these two words have the dual meanings of "daughter/son" and "immature girl/ boy".

ku-re-we

The name of a class of men. About 130 are mentioned on the *o-ka* tablets and they are recorded at Cn 3.4 and Ma 90.2, where they receive a rebate of agricultural products. All references can be located in the part of HP north of Pylos.

Lawagetas

See *ra-wa-ke-ta* below.

Leuktron

See *re-u-ko-to-ro* in the Index.

ma-ra-ne-ni-jo

The description of men at *za-ma-e-wi-ja* who receive a rebate of agricultural products (Ma 393.3); they may be artisans or perhaps connected with the military.

ma-ra-te-we

A class of men, perhaps artisans, who are allowed a rebate of flax (Na 245).

me-re-ti-ri-ja

Probably "corn-grinders". Also *me-re-ti-ra₂*.

me-ri-da-ma-te

Perhaps "superintendants of honey", *meli-damartes*, a title probably indicating one of the several duties of the office. *me-ri-du-ma-te* may be a variant (cf. An 39).

me-ta-ki-ti-ta

The name of a class of men, "new-" or "fellow-settlers"; *metaktitai*, connected with *ki-ti-me-no* (cf. μέτοικος).

mo-ro-qa

The possessor of a share (a measure of land), i.e. a landholder: *mo(i)ro-qq"ās*.

Nedon

See **ne-do-wo* in the Index.

ne-we-wi-ja

The description of textile workers at Pylos.

no-ri-wo-ko

The description of women, artisans, at *Leuktron*.

o-nu-ke-ja

"Women who make *o-nu-ka*", which is something to do with textiles, (cf. ὄνυξ).

o-ka

The word means something like "command", probably both the area guarded and the head-quarters in each area of a section of the main army of the kingdom held in readiness to be deployed into whatever part the information received from the coastguards indicates to be necessary; probably *orkhā* (ἀρχή).

The *o-ka* tablets are An 657, An 654, An 519, An 656, An 661. See above, p. 21.

o-ka-ra₃

The name of a class of men; some 200 are recorded on the *o-ka* tablets located in the northern half of HP.

o-pi-ro-qa

A class of women, ?? supernumeraries (ἐπιλοιποι).

o-ti-ri-ja

The name of a class of women, artisans.

pa-ke-te-ja

The description of women (artisans); just possibly "measurers". The word may be connected with *pa-ko-to* (a vessel).

pa-wo-ke

The description of women at Pylos. There is some difficulty in offering a reconstruction of this word; the two most common are: *par-worges* and *pan-worges*. In the first, the apocope of *para-* to *par-* is without parallel; likewise the omission of the second consonant of *pan-* is irregular, but the fact that it would occur at a morpheme boundary may be reason enough. If either is correct: "casual" or "general workers".

pe-ki-ti-ra₂

Wool carders.

pe-ra₃-qa

The description of men receiving a rebate of agricultural produce at *ri-jo* (Ma 193.3). Cf. περιαιβοί, but there seems very little likelihood of any connexion with Dodona.

Pleuron

See *pe-re-u-ro-na-de* in the Index.

po-ku-ta

The name of a class of men; *-kbutās* (χέω) perhaps.

po-ro-ko-re-te

The deputy of a *ko-re-te*: *pro-ko-re-te* (deputy mayor).

po-ti-ni-ja

Potnia, “the Lady, the Mistress”; a goddess. See further Chadwick in “Potnia”: *Minos* 5 (1957) p. 117.

Pylos

See *pu-ro* in the Index. Pylos is not printed in italics; the modern town is referred to as modern Pylos.

go-u-ko-ro

Oxherds, cowherds (βουκόλοι).

ra-pte(-re)

The description of a number of artisans, perhaps “saddler”. It is not disputed that they sew, but it seems likely that the articles which they sew are made of leather and not of cloth, which seems to be women’s work. *Rhaptēr, rhapteres*.

ra-pi-ti-ra₂

Sewing women, sempstresses (see *ra-pte* above).

ra-qi-ti-ra₂

The description of women, artisans; the meaning of the word is obscure, but it is almost certainly not the same as *ra-pi-ti-ra₂*.

ra-wa-ke-ta

Lāwāgetās (cf. λαγέτας), “leader of the people”, perhaps the commander in chief of the Pylian army.

ra-wi-ja-ja

Captive women (*lāwiaiai*).

re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo

Bath attendants: cf. λοετροχόος (Odyssey XX.297).

ri-ne-ja

Flax workers, linen weavers: *lineiai*.

si-to-ko-wo

This word occurs at the beginning of a list of women at Pylos. If it is dative singular it may mean “for the grain measurer”, the chief officer of the granary at Pylos; it may, alternatively, be nominative plural and refer to the women: *Sito-khowōi*.

ta-te-re

The description of artisans; perhaps *stateres*, and connected with σταδμός: *ta-to-mo*.

te-pe-ja

The description of women, makers of *te-pa*, a heavy woollen cloth.

te-re-ta

The description of a class of men, religious functionaries (cf. τελεστά on an Olympian inscription of the sixth century BC). See also Chadwick in “Potnia”: *Minos* 5 (1957) p. 126.

to-sa-me-ja

The description of a class of women, perhaps artisans.

we-we-si-je-ja

Wool workers: *werwesieiai*.

DA

This may be a unit of land measurement (although it is certainly not that in the Aa and Ab series); the suggestion is very tentative.

OLE+A

"Oil for anointing", cf. *ἀλοιφή*.

OLE+PA

"Sage-scented oil": *pa-ko-we*, *sphakowen*.

OVIS+TA

A particular category of sheep. TA is almost certainly the abbreviation for *ta-to-mo* (σταθμός). See also above p. 24.

SUS+SI

A category of pig; SI is probably the abbreviation of *si-a₂-ro*: *σφαλοὶ* = fattened.

*146

The ideogram for what is probably some kind of textile.

Weights and measures.

Of the three systems of measurement used by the Mycenaeans (weight, dry measure by volume and liquid measure) we are concerned only with the two latter. The units of ploughland (see *a-ke-re-wa*: Eq 213) are expressed as major units of seed corn (about 96 litres); perfumed oil is measured in terms of a series of liquid units, the major unit of which is about 28.8 litres, a value which would make a major unit of water or wine very close in weight to the major unit of weight (about 29 kg.¹). The value of the unit of flax is unknown; my own guess, based on no real evidence, is that it may represent a man-load of about 50 kg., but it could equally well be double or a fraction of that figure.

The liquid measure series is:

1 major unit = 3 S = 18 V = 72 Z.

The major unit indicates the identity of the commodity.

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¹ The suggestions for the absolute values of the major units have been kindly provided by Dr Chadwick.

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5.

In general the Index follows the Wingspread Convention: see *Mycenaean Studies*, edited by E. L. BENNETT, Madison 1964, pp. 260-262.

Where the sign + occurs between two place names, it indicates that the place under discussion occurs on the tablet between the two others (cf. *e-ri-no-wo*, Mn 456.8).

I cannot adequately express my indebtedness to Dr John Chadwick; for he both inspired this work and has given lavishly of his time in help and criticism. I must, in particular, thank him for permitting me to use matter in the course of publication and to quote from it, often without special acknowledgement.

Cambridge, August 1972.

Since I submitted this work for publication, the first part of *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed* has appeared. I have been able to make minor changes in order to bring the Index as far as possible into line with PTT.

February 1974.

THE INDEX

a-ka-na-jo

Cn 328.2 .3 .4 (.5); a possible place name or descriptive adjective, associated with *ro-u-so*. Cn 328.5 has only the sign *a*; it is extremely likely both that this is an abbreviation and that the word should stand at the beginning of lines 2 - 15. There are 640 sheep and 220 goats. These animals are included in the total number in the entry dealing with *ro-u-so*. *a-ka-na-jo*[: Xa 1337.2.

a-ka-re-u-te

This is the second portion of a compound name; see *ma-ta a-ka-re-u-te* and *ta-to a-ka-re-u-te*.

a-ka-si-jo-ne

Jn 389.1; the location of 16 bronzesmiths.

a-ke-re-wa (HP)

One of the nine major towns of HP, between *a-pu₂* and *e-ra-to / ro-u-so* (Cn 608.8; *a-ke-re-wa-de*: Vn 20.8), on or near the coast (An 656.11 .18) and the station of 70+ *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* and an *e-ge-ta* described as *a-pu₂ka*. Its placing on An 656 suggests that it lies towards the south of the Bay of Navarino, perhaps near modern Pylos. 10 men, and 6 missing, are recorded (Ac 1277); 25 rowers are supplied (An 610.7) and several more are recorded as missing (An 724.9). It has a *ko-re-te* (Jn 829.9, Jo 438.28) and is mentioned on three bronzesmith tablets (Jn 310.1: 21 men; [Jn 693.1]: 3 men; Jn 725.23: 4+ men). 8 units of ploughland are recorded (*a-ke-re-wa o-ro-jo*: Eq 213.2); it is most unlikely that this represents the total of agricultural land available; it must record only a particular category. The assessment for agricultural products is moderate (Ma 222.1). There are 250+ sheep (Cn 202.1). Also: [An 427.2], the location of 2 bakers (*a-to-po-go*)?

a-ke-re-wa-ge: Vn 493.11.

a-ke-re-we: Un 1193.3; this form appears to derive from an alternative formation in *-ευς* and is probably dative singular rather than nominative plural. The more common form in *-e-wa* derives from *-εφα(τ)*, the number of which is probably plural. Further examples of the *-e-we* formation are to be found on the same tablet (*wo-no-ge-we*) and on Ma 333 (*e-ra-te-re-we*). The evidence from the Ma series on this point is not clear cut: Ma 222 gives *a-ke-re-wa* which, on the assumption of a fair degree of uniformity, suggests that the forms in *-e-wa* and *-e-we* may not be parallel; only *a-pu₂we*, *pa-ki-ja-pi* and *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* can certainly be said to be in the "dative" case, although it is very probable that the other towns listed in the Ma series are also. The only conclusion, it seems, that may confidently be drawn is that reference is being made to

one place only by both forms. The formation in $-\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ is also illustrated in the place name *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u*. See also Appendix 2.

a-mi-ni-so

An 233 [+] 943.2; a possible place name, associated with *ko-tu-we*. Both names have been interpreted as Cretan (*a-mi-ni-so* is frequent on the Knossos tablets), but there is no evidence to locate them outside the Pylian kingdom. *ko-tu-we* may be associated with *a-pi]-no-e-[wi-jo* and *a-ke-re-wa*.

a-ne-u-te

163 sheep (Cn 40.7 .13) and 45 goats (*a₂-ne-u-te*: Cn 599.2); it is in the vicinity of *pi**82.

a-no-ke-wa

An 192.5; *a-no-ke-we*: An 192.13 (possibly a variant, cf. *a-ke-re-we*); just possibly a place name, but found on one tablet only.

a-nu-wa

An 207.10; the location of 4 goldsmiths, associated with *a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo*. (See *ka-ro-ke-e* for the full list of associated places.)

a-o-ri-jo (HP)

]o-ri-jo: An 661.4; the coastal location of 30 *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, associated with *e-na-po-ro* + *ka-ra-do-ro*.

a-o-ze-jo

See *e-ro₂-ne a-o-ze-jo*.

a-pa-re-u-pi (HP)

Cn 286.1, Cn 643.1, [Cn 719.10]; 100 sheep and 40+ male animals, probably pigs; it is in the neighbourhood of *pi**82.

a-pa-ri-ka-na-we-ja

Na 246; 15 units of flax.

a-pa-ta

Na 551; 6 units of flax.

a-pe-ke-e

Jn 431.16; the location of bronzesmiths (28 + 14 or more belonging to *Potnia*); 47 men are recorded at the end of the tablet in an uncertain context, perhaps slaves of the bronzesmiths.

a-pe-ke-i-jo: Jn 431.1; the adjectival form of the place name, used to describe the first 28 bronzesmiths.

a-pi-ke-ne-a]

Xa 1044; this may be a place name; cf. Homer (*Iliad* II.593) Ἀμφιγένηα, which is not sufficient evidence for a location in HP. It could equally well be a woman's name.

a-pi-no-e-wi-jo (HP)

The location of men in a list of artisans ([An 207.13]), see *ka-ro-ke-e*

for the full list, and of 15 bronzesmiths ([Jn 605.1]). An assessment of 2 units of *146 (perhaps connected with textiles) (Mb 1396) and a deficit of 28 units of flax (Nn 228.5) are recorded. It is associated with *me-ta-pa* and *e-na-po-ro* ([An 37.3], Vn 130.3 .4). Also: [Xa 58], and perhaps [An 615.17].

a-pi-te-ja

Fn 187.1; a place name or a woman's name, perhaps in a HP context.

a-pi-te-wa (HP)

The coastal location of a number of *i-wa-so* in the *o-ka* of *ke-wo-no*, probably to the south of *ro-o-wa* and therefore on the Bay of Navarino (An 519.8). Flax is produced (Na 1021).

a-po-ne-we (? HP)

A port, placed after *te-ta-ra-ne*; it provides 7 rowers for *Pleuron* (An 1.6) and 37 rowers and some *me-ta[-ki-ti-ta* (An 610.10).

a-pu-ne-we: Ad 684 sup. mg.; this is very likely to be simply a variant, since it is also associated with rowers.

a-pu₂ (HP)

One of the nine major towns of HP, between *pa-ki-ja-ne* and *a-ke-re-wa* (*a-pu₂-we*: Cn 608.7, *a-pu₂-de*: Vn 20.7), with a *ko-re-te* (*a-pu₂-we*: Jn 829.8, *a-pu₂-ja*: Jo 438.11). It is the location of 5 *da-ko-ro* (*a-pu₂-we*: An 427.1), and of 9 bronzesmiths (Jn 693.5). The assessment for agricultural products, with a rebate for the smiths, is moderate (Ma 124.1); it is assessed for one unit of *189 (Qa 1294).

The suggested equation of *a-pu₂* with the Homeric *Ἄπυ* (*Iliad* II.592), which is itself, it has been suggested, a misconception derived from phrases such as *Ἰύλου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον* (*Odyssey* III.485), seems improbable, if not impossible. While there are occasions on which *a* is used for *a₃*, *pu₂* appears always to have the value *phu* (or *bu* perhaps). The place is perhaps to be located near Koukounara. (MME)

a-pu₂-ka

An ethnic adjective, though probably not from *a-pu₂* (a formation from *a-pu₂* would be unparalleled in Greek). It describes an *e-ge-ta* stationed at *a-ke-re-wa* (An 656.20), 20 *ke-ki-de* at *o-wi-to-no* (*a-pu₂-ka-ne*: An 657.13) and 20 at *po-ra-i* (An 656.13).

a-pu-ka may be connected (Aq 218.15).

a-re[

Cn 485.9; just possibly a place name, associated with *da-we-u-pi*.

a-ri-go

An 723.2; a possible place name. The location of one man, associated with *ra-wa-ra-ta* if this is a place name; the identification of *a-ri-go* as a place name relies on the parallel position.

a-sa-pi

Na 523; flax produced.

a-se-e

The location of one man (An 18.4), associated with *i-na-ni-ja* and *te-re-ne-wi-ja* ([An 852.4]).

a-si-ja-ti-ja (FP)

One of the seven major towns of FP, between *sa-ma-ra* and *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi* with a *ko-re-te* (Jn 829.16, On 300.11). It is the location of a shepherd (Ae 134) and of at least 21 bronzesmiths (Jn 750.1). It heads a list recording a deficit of 92 OVIS+TA (Cn 4.1); see Introduction, p. 24. It is also the location of large numbers of sheep (Cn 254). Also: Cn 1197.1, Xa 639.

a-[.]ta₂ (Ma 397.1) is almost certainly a variant spelling, the illegible sign, the traces of which cannot be matched to any known sign, having the value *sja*. An assessment in the Ma series is to be expected for *a-si-ja-ti-ja* and the moderate assessment on Ma 397 is what one would expect. There is a rebate for the bronzesmiths. From the evidence of the Ma series it is to be located in the south west quarter of FP and is the northernmost of the three towns in that quarter.

a-sa-ti-ja: Mn 162.4; 4 units of *146 are recorded. This form is probably another variant spelling.

a-si-wi-ja

Fr 1206; probably ethnic, a description of *Potnia*: "Asian" (i.e. Lydian). Cf. *a-*64-ja*.

a-so-na

An 129.6; obscure, but possibly a place name.

a-te-re-wi-ja (FP)

The location of 70 sheep (Cn 40.14); a moderate assessment for agricultural products (Ma 335.1). The evidence provided by the Ma series indicates that this replaces *e-re-e*, and is confirmed by the association with *e-sa-re-wi-ja* (An 830.6). Associations with places in HP (e. g. *me-ta-pa*: Aa 779 inf. mg.) suggest the far north west of FP. *DA* 30+ is recorded on An 830.

]-re-wi-ja(-qe) probably belongs here (Vn 493.6).

a-ti-ri-ja]

Ae 27; perhaps a place name.

a-to-mo

Aq 64.8, Jn 832.9, Jn 881.6, Jo 438 mg. sin.; probably not a place name. Cf. Lejeune: *Historia* 10 (1961) p. 424.

u-wa-si-ja

An 615 [.2] .3; perhaps a place name, associated with *ko-ni-ja*, *o-pi-ke-ri-jo* and *e-po-wi-ja*; possibly in HP.

a-we-u-pi (? HP)

An 172.8 .9; the location (or origin) of two men; associated with *e-ro-ma-to* + *ro-o-wa*, *ta-ra-ke-wi*].

*a-*64-ja*

The ethnic description of 35 women at Pylos and about 23 children (Aa 701, Ab 515, *a-*64-ja-o*: Ad 315) and of *ri-ne-ja* women at *Leuktron* (Ad 326). It is used as a woman's name (Vn 1191.2). Perhaps *Aswiai*: cf. Chadwick: *Minos* 9 (1968) p. 63. Cf. also *a-si-wi-ja*.

a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo

The origin of 30 *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* being sent to the *Nedon* (An 661.12). *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo* (adjectival form) in a similar context, in connexion with other coastguard groups, (Cn 3.7), where the associated places *pi-ru-te* and *e-na-po-ro* suggest a location in HP, south of *a-ke-re-wa*.

] *a₂-ke-wo-a-ki-[to?*

Na 928; 10 units of flax; held by the *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*.

a₂-ki-ja

An 830.13; the location of 60+ *go-u-ko-ro*, associated with *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*, *e-sa-re-wi-ja* and *pi-*82*, possibly north FP.

a₂-ki-ra

Na 856; 10 units of flax. (*a₂-ki-ra* of *we-da-ne-u*)

a₂-ma-[.]wa

Na 1092; 6 units of flax.

a₂-ne-u-te

See *a-ne-u-te*.

a₂-pa-tu-wo-te

Cn 599.3 .4 .5 .7; the location of 180 goats and 30 pigs. It is in the vicinity of *pi-*82*.

a₂-ra-tu-a (HP)

The coastal location of 110 *o-ka-ra₃* near *ro-o-wa* (*a₂-ra-tu-wa*: An 519.4); in a similar coastguard context (Cn 3.3).

a₂-ri-sa

Eq 213.1; there is a very faint chance that this is a place name, connected with *a-ke-re-wa*.

a₂-ru-wo-te (HP)

An 657.8; the coastal location of 20 Kyparissean *ke-ki-de*, associated with *o-wi-to-no* and *a₃-ta-re-u-si* in the north of HP.

a₂-te-po

An 519.10; a place name or a man's name. If a place, on the coast, mid-HP.

a₂-zo-qi-jo

Un 1193.4; a place name or a man's name, connected with *a-ke-re-we* and *te-so-qe*.

a₃-ki-po-de

Mb 1397; a possible place name, *146 may be recorded.

a₃-se-we

Cr 868.1; the location of [deer], associated with *ne-se-e-we*, *te-re-ne-wi-ja* and *na-pe-re-wa*.

a₃-ta-re-u-si (HP)

An 657.10; the coastal location of 10 Kyparissean *ke-ki-de*, associated with *o-wi-to-no* and *a₂-ru-wo-te*; in the north of HP.

a₃-wi-jo

Na 533; 7 units of flax. See Ruijgh: *Etudes*, p. 181 for a discussion of the name.

a₃-zo-wo[

Cn 485.5; inscribed over erased [*da-we-u[*], possibly a place name. See *da-we-u-pi*.

da-ka-ja-pi

Gn 720.1; probably a place name. 10 units of wine are recorded.

da-mi-ni-ja (? FP)

Ad 697; apparently a place name, the location of an unknown number of sons of flax workers. There is no number after VIR; there are three possibilities: (a) that this signifies zero; (b) that it signifies one; (c) that it signifies a number which the scribe did not know at the time of writing the tablet and intended, perhaps, to fill in later. One pointer to the correct choice, though of doubtful value, is the word *ri-ne-ja-o* which is obviously genitive plural; while it is patently absurd to speak of the son of ... women (in the sense 'born from') it is not unlikely that the scribe wrote the formula without giving it much thought (all other Ad tablets refer to more than one man), nor indeed is it so odd to speak of the son of what he may have regarded as a group (but see also Ad 669). It is most likely, however, that (c) is correct; it is certainly, in many ways, the most satisfactory solution and the habit is not only very common even nowadays but also seen elsewhere on the tablets.

da-mi[-ni-ja (suppl. Bennett): Aa 96; the location of 1+ women and 13 girls. From the scribal hand the place is in FP.

da-mi-ni-jo: An 610.13; the description or location of 40 men, associated with places in the south east of HP.

da-nu-wa-a-ri[

Mn 1412.5; a possible place name, associated with *ma-to-pu-ro* and *o-no-ka-ra[-o-re*. It may be two words: *da-nu wa-a-ri[*.

da-we-u-pi

Cn 485.1 - .8 (erased from Cn 485.5; *a₃-zo-wo[* written over); Cn 925: 60 pigs.

de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja

Ng 319.1; the Hither Province (HP). (See Introduction, p. 20 and

Chapter 7 of MME.) 1239 units of flax and a deficit of 457 units are recorded.

di-u-ja-jo (HP)

Tn 316 v. 4; the shrine of *Diwya* at Pylos or *pa-ki-ja-ne*.

di-wi-jo: Mb 1366 (variant spelling); 2 units of *146. *di-wi-jo-de*: Fr 1230; OLE+A V 1.

di-wi-ja-ta (HP)

Nn 228.4; a deficit of 60 units of flax is recorded; associated with *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* and *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*.

do-ro-qa so-wo-te

Na 384; 30 units of flax.

e-ko-me-no

The location of 150 sheep (Cn 40.5 .6) and 57 pigs (Cn 599.8), in the vicinity of *pi*-*82. 20 units of flax are recorded on both Na 406+1088 and Na 941, with a rebate for bronzesmiths on the latter of 14 units. It is just possible that]*mē*-no (Jn 937.1) belongs here; there are indications of a community of bronzesmiths, at least twelve in number. Perhaps Ἐρχομένως.

e-ko-so-no

Na 507; 2+ units of flax.

e-na-po-ro (HP)

The coastal location of 70 *i-wa-so*, south of *a-ke-re-wa*, but not as far as *ka-ra-do-ro* (An 661.3), perhaps Methoni. It occurs on Cn 3.5 in connexion with coastguards. 70 units of flax (Na 1027) and a deficit of 33 units (Nn 228.6) are recorded. It is associated with *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* ([An 37.4], Vn 130.5) and with *po-ra-i* and *na-i-se-wi-jo* ([Mn 1408.4]). Also: [Mb 1435].

e-ni-pa-te-we (HP)

The location of 26 bronzesmiths associated with *a-ke-re-wa* (Jn 725.1), at least 13 of whom reappear in a list of 16 bronzesmiths at the same place (Jn 658.2). In view of the possibly misleading association with the erased]*na-i-se-wi-jo*], it may lie to the south of *a-ke-re-wa* (cf. also *e-na-po-ro*).

e-no-wa-ro

An 654.14; a place name or a man's name. In the *o-ka* of *ta-ti-qa-we-u*, coastal mid-HP.

e-pi-jo-ta-na (FP)

Aa 95; the location of 8 women and 15 children; the women are called flax workers on Ad 687.

]e-*pi-ja-ta-ni-ja*: Ad 687; record of flax workers' sons.

e-pi-ko-o (FP)

Aa 94; the location of 14 women and 13 children; the women are described as flax workers on Ad 672.

e-pi-ko-e: Ad 672; the location of 7 sons of the women.

e-pi-qo-ra₂

Mn 456.10; probably a place name, with HP associations: *ro-u-so*, *e-ri-no-wo* (q.v.), *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*, in a list assessing small quantities of *146. The name has been equated with Ἐπιπολαί, but the identification of *ra₂* as *rja* makes this, at first sight, rather difficult.

e-po-wi-ja

An 615.9 .10 [.11]; a possible place name, associated with *a-wa-si-ja*, *ko-ni-ja* and *o-pi-ke-ri-jo*.

e-ra-po ri-me-ne

An 657.12; a place name or the names of two men; associated with *o-wi-to-no*, coastal north HP. The words have been identified with ἔλαφος and λιμήν.

e-ra-te-re-wa-pi (FP)

One of the seven major towns of FP, listed between *a-si-ja-ti-ja* and *za-ma-e-wi-ja* (Jn 829.17) with a *ko-re-te* (*e-ra-te-re-wa-o*: Jo 438.27). *e-[]-re-wa-o* (On 300.10) may be connected. It heads a list of 31 + OVIS + TA (recording a deficit) and 3 or 4 men, and is there associated with *me-ta-pa* (Cn 595.1); see Introduction, p. 24.

It is the origin of the man *Plouteus* (*po-ro-ϖ[te]-ju*) (Vn 493.4). A man of that name (i) has 90 sheep at *pi**82 (Cn 131.5); (ii) is a bronzesmith at *a-ke-re-wa* (Jn 310.5). It is impossible to tell if either of these men originated from *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*.

e-ra-te-re-we: Ma 333.1; a large assessment is recorded for agricultural products. The evidence of the Ma series places the community in the north west quarter of FP. See *a-ke-re-we* on the variation *-e-wa* / *-e-we*; in this case, there can be no doubt whatever that the *-e-wa* form is plural. See also Appendix 2.

e-ra-to (HP)

The form given as the lemma is in fact a reconstruction, but a sufficiently safe one (from *e-ra-to-de*) for it to be unnecessary to mark it with an asterisk.

e-ra-to replaces *ro-u-so* on lists of the nine major towns of HP (*e-ra-te-i*: Cn 608.9, *e-ra-te-i-jo*: On 300.5, *e-ra-to-de*: Vn 20.9). It has been suggested that *e-ra-to* is the name of the chief settlement in the area called *ro-u-so*, inland and to the south east of *a-ke-re-wa*; others have put forward the suggestion that, on the contrary, *ro-u-so* is the town and *e-ra-to* the district. Whatever the true facts are, there is no evidence to point conclusively in either direction; all that can fairly be said is that there is some overlap, but that it is uncertain what.

e-re-e (FP)

The last and northernmost of the seven major towns of FP, placed after

za-ma-e-wi-ja (*e-re-i*: Jn 829.19). It has a *ko-re-te*; the *po-ro-ko-re-te* is mentioned also on Jo 438 (*e-re-e*: Jo 438.19); it is possible that *e-re-* (Jo 438.3) refers to this place. It appears that *a-te-re-wi-ja* replaces it in the Ma series. The alternation between *-e-e* and *-e-i* probably reflects forms in **-esei* and **-esi* respectively; the more frequent form at Pylos of s-stem nouns (dative/locative) is the one in *-e-i* (cf. *ti-mi-to a-ke-e/i*). Also: *e-re-e* [: Xn 442.1.

It is always very difficult, in cases where *e-re-e* is followed by a lacuna, to tell whether it is the place name or, as it is on An 724, a verb.

e-re-e-u: Nn 831.4; this may be the ethnic adjective from *e-re-e*, but is here probably a man's name.

e-re-e-we: the heading of a list of two men, one ? at *a-ri-go*, the other ? at *ra-wa-ra-ta* (An 723.1); in a list recording small numbers of sheep headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, and preceded by *e-sa-re-we* (Cn 1197.5); also: Jn 881.1.

e-re-e-wo: Na 284; a rebate of 10 units of flax. There is something unusual about the entry; the word is paralleled on five occasions by *ka-ke-we* and once by *ma-ra-te-we*, which are probably nominative plural (they could be dative singular) but are neither genitive singular nor plural. Scribal error cannot be ruled out; compare Na 106, Na 425 and Na 941.

e-re-de

Fr 1228, Mn 1411.2; probably the allative form of a place name. It is unlikely to be that of *e-re-e*, which probably comes from **ἔλος*; this form would have to derive from an ablauting form such as **ἔλες*, not an impossibility but unusual. Associated with *ma-se-de*.

e-ri-no-wo (HP)

On a tablet recording small numbers of men, associated with *a-pu₂*, *pa-ko* (?), and *a-ke-re-wa* (*e-ri-no-wo[-te*: An 427.1); 7 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (*e-ri-no-wo-te*: Cn 4.5); 20 units of ploughland, associated with *a-ke-re-wa* (q.v. on this point) (*e-ri-no-wo-to o-ro-jo*: Eq 213.3); 24 units of flax, with a rebate of 6 units for the bronzesmiths (Na 106); in a list of places in both provinces assessed for small quantities of *146: *re[-u-ko-to-]ro*, *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*, *si-re-wa*, *me-te-to*, *e-wi-te-wi-jo*, *ro-u-so* + *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*, *e-pi-go-ra₂* (Mn 456.8).

e-ri-to-ti-no

Cn 4.7; 10 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. Cf. *ti-no* ?

e-ro-ma-to (? HP)

An 172.3 - .7; 5 men, associated with *a-we-u-pi* and *ro-o-wa*.

e-ro₂-ne a-o-ze-jo

Na 588; flax produced.

e-sa-re-wi-ja (FP)

One of the major towns of FP, with a *ko-re-te* (On 300.9), coupled

with *za-ma-e-wi-ja* (Vn 493.3). It has a large assessment for agricultural products (Ma 330.1) and is to be grouped with *za-ma-e-wi-ja* in the north east quarter of FP. Also: An 830.8.

e-sa-re-u: Na 395, Na 527, Na 568; epithet of *ke-u-po-da/ke-po-da*.

e-sa-re-we: Cn 1197.4; 3 + sheep, associated with *a-si-ja-ti-ja* and connected with *e-re-e-we*.

e-u-de-we-ro (HP)

Aa 772, Ab 379, Ad 670; the location of about 8 women and 5 children, and 4 of the women's sons. The women are called flax workers on Ad 670.

e-u-ta-re-wo wo-wo

Na 525 (Xa 525 + Na 1085); flax produced?

e-wi-ku-wo-te

Na 604; 10 units of flax.

e-wi-ri-pi-ja ? (FP)

The location of 16 women and 18 children (Aa 60).

It is possible that it is not a place name, but rather a description of the women (perhaps ethnic), and that they are to be included in the number of those located at *Leuktron*; if so (there are arguments both ways) and if *e-wi-ri-po* is their place of origin (which is not certain), this will share with *ti-nwa-si-ja* the distinction of being one of the two ethnic adjectives descriptive of women which refer to places governed from Pylos. In view of the suggestion that **ti-nwa-to* may be an island off the coast, it is interesting to compare the location of *e-wi-ri-po* on the Methoni strait, between the mainland and the island of Sapientsa, suggested in *Documents* (p. 145).

e-wi-ri-po (? HP)

An 610.6; 9 rowers, associated with *a-ke-re-wa, ri-jo* See *e-wi-ri-pi-ja* (above).

e-wi-te-wi-jo (? HP)

20 units of flax, with a rebate of 10 units for the *ma-ra-te-we* of the *Lawagetas* (Na 245); in a list of assessments of small quantities of *146, associated with *me-te-to + ro-u-so, e-ri-no-wo* (Mn 456.6); associated with *pa-ki-ja-ne* also (Vn 130.10). It is probably to be located in HP, up in the hills near the road between Kalamata and Pylos.

i-ka-sa-ja

Gn 720.2; probably a place name, associated with *da-ka-ja-pi*; 9 units of wine are recorded.

i-na-ne

One man, associated with *te-re-ne-we* (An 18.7); one man, associated with *mu-ta-pi* and *qe-re-me-ti-wo* (*i-na-pi*: [An 5.8]), although as the entry is erased, little weight must be placed on this association.

- i-na-ni-ja*: one man, associated with *re-ši-we-i* and *a-se-e* (An 18.3). Also: Ae 8, Ae 72.
- i-pe-me-de-ja(-jo)* (HP)
Tn 316 v. 4; the shrine of *Iphimedeia* at Pylos.
N.B. The name can only have developed thus as a result of popular etymology; *ιφι-* would normally result from *wi-pi* (cf. *wi-pi-no-o* = *Ἰπίνοος*).
- i-te-re-wa* (? HP)
The *ko-re-te* appears to be *Klumenos* (*ku-ru-me-no mo-ro-qa*) (Aq 64.5); the *o-ka* of *Klumenos* contains *ke-ki-de* from *me-ta-pa* (An 654.1-4), which suggests, although this is a thoroughly unreliable test, that *i-te-re-wa* might be in the vicinity of *me-ta-pa*. Also: Jo 438.25.
- i-wa-si-jo-ta*
Cn 3.5; a tribal or ethnic adjective, connected with *e-na-po-ro* and occurring in a coastguard context (cf. *i-wa-so* on the *o-ka* tablets).
- ka-pa-ra₂-de*
Aa 788, *ka-pa-ra₂-do*: Ad 679.a; the description, possibly ethnic, of 24 women and 10 children at Pylos; they are also called *ku-te-ra₃* on Ad 679, which records 6 of their sons. They are listed on the tablet headed *si-to-ko-wo* (An 292.2).
- ka-pe-se-wa-o wo-wo*
Cn 453; the location of 46 goats. The name is composed of two elements: a (man's) name in the genitive case and *ῥοος*; *ῥοια* may be discerned in (e.g.) *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*. See Appendix 1.
- ka-ra-do-ro* (HP)
One of the nine major towns of HP, between *e-ra-to/ro-u-so* and *ri-jo* (Cn 608.10, Jn 829.11, *ka-ra-do-ro-de*: Vn 20.10), with a *ko-re-te* (Jo 438.12). It is the coastal location of a number of *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* (An 661.5). The assessment for agricultural products is low (Ma 346.1); 30 units of flax, held by the *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* (Na 543). It is associated with *e-na-po-ro*, *pa-ki-ja-ne* and *sa-ri-no-te* (Vn 130.8). Also: Ac 1273, Qa 1304, Xn 952.
The word may well be a dual: "the two ravines", and Chadwick (MME) suggests that the location could be Phoinikous, on the coast south east of Methoni, where an important Mycenaean settlement has been discovered.
- ka-ra-u-jo*: An 424.2; now read *ka-ra-do-ro*. The location of at least one *ra-pte*, associated with *sa-ri-nu-wo-te* (cf. *sa-ri-no-te*, above) and *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo*.
- ka-ro-ke-e*
An 207.16; the location of a number of *ra-pte-re*, associated with *re-ka-ta-ne*, *wa-a₂-te-we*, *a-nu-wa*, *a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo]*, *so-ro-pe-o*, *ko-ri-si-jo* + *ra-ni-jo-ne*, *]ka-si-da*.

]ka-si-da

An 207.18; the location of 20 + *ra-pte-re*; see preceding entry.

ke-e (FP)

Aa 93, Ad 295; the location of 6 women and 15 children and 13 of the women's sons. The women are called flax workers on Ad 295.

ke-i-ja: Qa 1303; IP reads *ke-i-ja i[-je-re-ja*.

ke-i-jo: Na 577; 14 units of flax.

ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na (? HP)

Nn 228.3; a deficit of 5 units of flax, associated with *ro-o-wa*, *pu₂-ra₂-a-ke-re-u* + *di-wi-ja-ta*, *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* It has probably no connexion with *ke-e*.

ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na: Xa 70; most probably a variant spelling.

ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo (? HP)

An 424.3; the location of 2 *me-ri-du-ma-te*, associated with *ka-ra-ḏo-ro* and *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*. The formation is a man's name (genitive case) and *wo-wo* (ἄρος); see Appendix 1.

ke-re-si-jo

Ta 641.1, Ta 709.3; "of Cretan style" (possibly "of Cretan origin"); in the phrase *ke-re-si-jo we-ke*: "Cretan work". These tablets should probably not by themselves be regarded as providing evidence of contemporary trade with Crete; the suggested interpretation is either that the tripods were made locally in the Cretan style or that they were antiques, imported when new.

ke-re-te

An 128.3; possibly an ethnic adjective (nominative plural): Cretan.

ke-re-ti-wo

Na 547; 30 units of flax.

ke-re-za (HP)

An area of Pylos, the location of about 19 *we-we-si-je-ja* women, 15 children and 14 of the women's sons (Aa 762, Ab 217, [Ad 318]) and 27 "captive" women, 14 children and 15 of the women's sons (Aa 807, Ab 586, Ad 686).

Arguments that *ke-re-za* is a descriptive adjective must fall at the hurdle in Ad 686 where it is not changed and does not agree with *ra-wi-ja-ja-o*; the same is true on Ad 318, but the reading is less secure.

ki-ka-ne wi-jo-de

Vn 48.2; the allative form of a place name or the name of a shrine; associated with *ki-wo-na(-de)*, *]ra-si-ne-wi-ja*.

ki-ma-ra

Aa 63, *ki-ma-ra-o*: Ad 668; the description of three women at *Leuktron*, probably ethnic. Also 9 children and 4 of the women's sons.

ki-ni-di-ja

Aa 792, Ab 189, *ki-ni-di-ja-o*: Ad 683; the description of 21 women and

21 children at Pylos. They are also to be found on the list headed *si-to-ko-wo* with *ka-pa-ra₂-de* and *ko-ro-ki-ja* ([An 292.4]). Perhaps *Κυλδαται*.

ki-si-wi-ja

Aa 770, [Ab 194], *ki-si-wi-ja-o*: Ad 675; the description, possibly ethnic, of 7 women and 10 children at Pylos. The women are also described as *o-nu-ke-ja* (a trade name).

] *ki-te-jo*

Na 197; 30 units of flax, perhaps a rebate. It is possible that this is not part of a place name.

ki-wo-na-de

Vn 48.4; the allative form of a place name or a shrine, associated with *ki-ka-ne wi-jo(-de)* and] *ra-si-ne-wi-ja*. If the correct reading is *ki-wo-na-de*, it is probably from *κίτων* "pillar", used as a place name.

ko-no (HP)

ko-no o-ro-jo: Eq 213.6; 40 units of ploughland are recorded, associated with *a-ke-re-wa* (q.v. on this point), *e-ri-no-wo*, *ko-tu-we* and *o-te-pe-o-jo*.

ko-ni-ja: An 615.4; associated with *a-wa-si-ja* + ... *o-pi-ke-ri-jo*, *e-po-wi-ja* on a tablet recording single men of which little can be read.

ko-ni-jo: An 610.14; the description of 126 (? men). Perhaps to be connected with *ko-no*; they both occur in contexts suggesting the southern half of HP.

ko-ri-to (? ? FP)

Ad 921; the location of ? 11 sons of *te-pe-ja* women. While there seem no convincing reasons for locating it in one province rather than the other, Chadwick prefers FP on the basis that it is statistically far less likely, assuming the loss of the connected Aa tablet, that there should also be no trace of an Ab tablet of the same set. This is a flimsy argument on which to hang the attribution, but there seems none better. Palmer too (*Interpretation*, p. 136) follows Bennett in locating it in FP. Also: just possibly [Nn 831.1].

ko-ri-si-jo: an adjectival form probably derived from *ko-ri-to*; the origin or location of a number of *ra-pte-re*, associated with *a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo]*, *so-ro-pe-o* + *ka-ro-ke-e* (An 207.15); of 13 *ta-te-re* (An 209.1). For the form only cf. *Κόρινθος*, *Κορίνθιος*.

ko-ro-du-wo

Na 1041; 10 units of flax. Possibly to be read *ko-ro-jo-wo-wo* (Bennett).

ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja (? FP)

Mn 456.3; in a list of places assessed for *146, associated with *re[-u-ko-to]-jo* + *si-re-wa*, *me-te-to*, *e-wi-te-wi-jo*, *ro-u-so*, *e-ri-no-wo*, *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*, *e-pi-go-ra₂*. If the restoration of *Leuktron* is correct, the tablet seems to record places starting in FP, crossing into HP at *me-te-to*,

with very roughly a progression to the east and north. See also the preceding entry.

The name seems to be formed from a man's name (genitive case) and *wo-wi-ja*; $\delta\rho\iota\alpha$; see Appendix 1.

ko-ro-ki-ja

Aa 354, Ab 372, *ko-ro-ki-ja-o*: Ad 680; the ethnic description of 8 or 9 women and about 4 children at Pylos; they are listed on the tablet headed *si-to-ko-wo* with *ka-pa-ra₂-de* and *ki-ni-di-ja* (An 292.3).

]ko-ro-te-wi-jo

Na 512; 7 units of flax.

ko-tu-we (HP)

20 units of ploughland, associated with *a-ke-re-wa* (q.v. on this point), *e-ri-no-wo* + *o-te-pe-o-jo*, *ko-no* (*ko-tu-wo o-ro-jo*: Eq 213.4); 60 units of flax (Na 908); associated with *a-pi-]no-e-[wi-jo* (An 615.16) and with *a-mi-ni-so* and *]se-wo-te* (An 233[+]943).

The name has been interpreted as Gortyn, but there is no evidence which compels the location either of this place or of *a-mi-ni-so* outside the Pylian kingdom, nor is it certain that the interpretation is correct.

? *ku-]no-ka-ra-o-re*

Na 1038; now read *o-]no-ka-ra-o-re*.

ku-]pa-ri-so (HP)

Na 514; 30 units of flax, held by the *ke-ki-de*.

ku-pa-ri-si-jo: An 657.8 .10; the description of 20 *ke-ki-de* located at *a₂-ru-wo-te* and of 10 at *a₃-ta-re-u-si*.

The form of the name makes the identification with Kypanissia very likely; the modern name is derived from the classical Κυπαρισσία or Κυπάρισσος (cf. Homeric Κυπαρισσήεις) and is an archaising replacement for the mediaeval Ἀρχαδία .

ku-te-ra₃

Aa 506, Ab 562, *ku-te-ra-o*: Ad 390; the description of 28 women at Pylos; also used of *ka-pa-ra₂-de* women (Ad 679). Cf. Κύθηρα , perhaps as the origin of the women rather than as a parallel form.

ku-te-re-u-pi

The home of a slave's parents (An 607.2); 100 units of flax (Na 296). See also preceding entry.

ma-ra-ne-nu-we ? (HP)

The location or description of 40 rowers, associated with *te-ta-ra-ne*, *a-po-ne-we* + *po-ti-ja-ke-e ... za-e-to-ro*, three of which are probably to be located on the coast of the south of HP (An 610.11); *po-ti-ja-ke-e* has associations with the south of FP. Associated with *wi-ja-we[* and *]ma-ne[* ([Mn 1410.2]). The *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* (Ma 393.3), who are allowed a rebate at *za-ma-e-wi-ja*, are perhaps not connected.

ma-ra-ti-sa

An 830.4; a word surrounded by lacunae. Palmer (*Interpretation*, p. 133) marks it as a place name, justifying this by "structural 'parallelism'".

ma-ro (? HP)

The location of large numbers of sheep, in the close vicinity of *pi*-*82: 140 sheep (Cn 40.10 .12), 235 sheep (*ma-ro-pi*: Cn 40.8 .9), 1659+ sheep (Cn 655.1 - .20), 182 sheep (Cn 719.1 - .3). *ma-ro* (Cn 328.2) is probably a man's name.

ma-]ro-pi: Cn 643.5; 100 goats.

ma-se-de

The destination of 6+ sheep (Cc 1285); associated with *e-re-de* (Mn 1411.3).

ma-ta a-ka-re-u-te

Cn 4.9; a compound name, the location of 7 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

ma-to-ro-pu-ro

Cn 595.5; the location of one OVIS+TA in the list headed *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*; probably *Mātorpulos*.

ma-to-pu-ro: Mn 1412.4; perhaps a spelling error, but quite possibly a genuine variant form reflecting the development of *r̥ to *or: *Mātorpulos*. It is associated with *o-no-ka-ra[-o-re* and *da-nu-wa-a-rī*].

]ma-ne

Mn 1410.3; probably a place name, associated with *wi-ja-we* and *ma-ra-ne[-nu-we*. It may be connected with *da-mi-ni-jo* if the conjecture *da]-ma-ne* is correct. Cf. perhaps *]ma-ne* (Mn 1407.1); 19 units of *146.

me-ka-o wo-wo

Na 571; 30 units of flax.

me-sa-po

Na 606; 5 units of flax.

me-ta-pa (HP)

One of the nine major towns of HP, between *pi*-*82 and *pe-to-no* with a *ko-re-te* (Cn 608.4, Jn 829.5, Vn 19.2, *me-ta-pa-de*: Vn 20.4). The location of 10 women and 7 children, of whom 3 and 1 have the additional location *a-te-re-wi-ja* (Aa 752, Aa 779, Ab 355); the location or origin of *ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo*, who is an *e-ge-ta* near *pi-ru-te* on An 519.15, and associated with *o-wi-to-no* (Aq 218.4); the location of *do-ge-ja* (An 607.1). It provides 22 men plus 7 missing (Ac 1280), and 50 *me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de* (An 654.3), but is almost certainly not coastal. It is the location of 30 goats (Cc 660) and of 5 OVIS+TA in the list headed *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi* (Cn 595.2); Palmer (*Interpretation*, p. 172) very tentatively puts forward the suggestion that this might refer to a village of the same name in FP but also thinks that his theory might

be an unnecessary complication. There is a moderate assessment for agricultural products, with rebates for the bronzesmiths and the *ku-re-we* (Ma 90.1). Also: Aq 64.16, Vn 130.2, *me-]ta-pa-qe*: Vn 493.9.

The town is probably to be located towards the western end of the Kyparissia river valley or perhaps on higher ground overlooking it. The disposition of *ke-ki-de* on the *o-ka* tablets suggests that *me-ta-pa* may even lie to the south of *ku-pa-ri-so*. The location of *me-ta-pa* 'somewhere in Elis or in the vicinity' (Palmer: *Interpretation*, p. 65), based on a treaty of friendship between τὸς Ἀναίτο[ς] καὶ τὸς Μεταπίος (Cauer-Schwyzler 414), ought also to be mentioned, even though most of the Mycenaean evidence seems to indicate that this would be to place it too far to the north. In view of Palmer's suggestion that there might have been two places called *me-ta-pa* within the Pylian kingdom (although it seems unlikely and is not much pursued), it seems open to suggest that the *me-ta-pi-jo* of Mycenaean times and the Μεταπίοι of the inscription may not have come from the same place.

me-te-to (? HP)

The destination of 3 masons, associated with Pylos, *sa-ma-ra* and *Leuktron* (*me-te-to-de*: An 35.2); in a list recording assessments of *146, associated with *e-wi-te-wi-jo* and *ro-u-so* (Mn 456.5 (see *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* for the full list), Vn 130 [.11].13); 60 units of flax (Na 337). Also: *me-te-]*: Wa 1093. It lies near the border between HP and FP, perhaps just in HP.

me-za-na

Cn 3.1, Sh 736; it has been suggested that this is a place name, but there seems little proof. It is unlikely to be Μεσσήνη (Μεσσάνα) if the classical name contains μέσσοσ; but since -άνα is a pre-Greek suffix, it is just possible that Μεσσ- could be derived from *Mekj-, through an intermediate *Met^s-, which would yield Mycenaean *me-z-*.

me-za-]: Xn 1151.1.

me-za-ne: Fn 50.4; this is probably the dative case of a personal name; Olivier suggests *me-za-(wo-)ne*.

mi-ra-ti-ja

Two groups of women in HP are so described: at Pylos, 16 women and 10 children (Aa 1180, Ab 573 (they are also called *a-ra-te-ja*, probably *a-ra-(ka-)te-ja*), *mi-ra-ti-ja-o*: Ad 380; Ad 689 has *a-so-qi* superscript); at *ro-u-so*: 54 women and about 54 children (Aa 798, *mi-ra-ti-ra*: Ab 382). Μιλάτιαι, but from Crete or Ionia?

mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi

La 635; a possible place name (cf. *ka-pe-se-wa-o wo-wo* for the formation).

mu-ta-pi

The location of 22 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, associated

with *qe-re-me-ti-re* (Cn 4.2) and with *qe-re-me-ti-wo* (An 5.7), almost certainly the same place.

mu-to-wo-ti

Eb 495 (mg. sup.); just possibly a place name, locative case.

na-i-se-wi-jo (? HP)

The location of 8 bronzesmiths (Jn 692.1). It is deleted from a tablet recording bronzesmiths at *e-ni-pa-te-we* and *a-ke-re-wa* ([Jn 725.18]); the same smiths are named on both Jn 692 and Jn 725 (erased) and the same total of bronze is allocated, but divided differently. A small quantity of *146 is recorded in association with *ro-o-wa*, *po-ra-pi* + *e-na[-po-ro]* (Mn 1408.3).

na-pe-re-wa

Cr 868.4; the location of deer, associated with *a₃-se-we*, *ne-se-e-we* and *te-re-ne-wi-ja*.

ne-de-we-e

Cn 595.3; the location of 9 OVIS+TA in the list headed *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*.

**ne-do-wo* (FP)

The lemma is a reconstruction (from *ne-do-wo-ta-de*: An 661.13, and *ne-do-wo-te*: Cn 4.6).

The location of 4 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (Cn 4.6). The coastal destination of 30 *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo* (An 661.13), associated with *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*. It is almost certainly the river Nedon; there is no reason to hesitate in placing the men and the sheep at quite different points along the river.

ne-se-e-we

Cr 868.2; the location of deer, associated with *a₃-se-we* + *te-re-ne-wi-ja*, *na-pe-re-wa*.

ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja (HP)

An 656.7; the location of 20 *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, on the coast to the north of *a-ke-re-wa*.

ne-wo-ki-to is mentioned at An 656.1; he is also called "the priest" (Aq 218.3). It is possible, but by no means necessary, that the place name refers to this man. (*wo-wi-ja*: probably ὄρια).

ne-wo-pe-o (HP)

The location of 8 women, about 8 children and 6 sons of the women (Aa 786, Ab 554, Ad 688). The location of a *Potnia* with 100 sheep and 190 pigs (Cc 665).

The arguments that this is a descriptive adjective rely on the reading of Ad 688, which is most unusual in that *ko-wo* has no qualifying genitive unless that function is fulfilled by *ne-wo-pe-o*, but if Ad 688 had not survived (it is fully admitted that this is a very risky argument) there would be no cause to doubt, from Aa 786 and Ab 554, that it

was a place name; the doubts raised by Ad 688 do not, in the circumstances, seem sufficient to alter that view.

o-no-ka-ra-o-re

20 units of flax ([Na 1038]); associated with *ma-to-pu-ro* ([Mn 1412.3]). These may not belong together.

o-pi-ke-ri-jo

A possible place name, associated with *e-po-wi-ja* (An 615.8) and with *ro-o-wa* (*o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de*: An 724.3).

o-pi-ra-i-ja

Cn 1286.1; a possible place name; 3 sheep and 1 goat are recorded. The remainder of the tablet is part ruled, but uninscribed.

o-re-e-wo wo-wo (FP)

Cn 600.1 - [.5]; the location of 422 sheep, associated with *re-qa-se-wo wo-wo* and *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*.

o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u

Jn 320.1; the location of 15+ bronzesmiths.

o-ru-ma-to (HP)

The location of *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* (Cn 3.6).

o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo: An 519.12; the description of 30 *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* who are to be located on the coast south of *ro-o-wa* and to the north of *pi-ru-te*. *o-ru-ma-to* is quite likely to be in the same area, but a little inland. Cf. Ἐρύμανθος.

o-te-pe-o-jo (HP)

po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo o-te-pe-o-jo o-ro-jo: Eq 213.5; 6 units of ploughland, associated with *a-ke-re-wa* (q.v. on this point), *e-ri-no-wo*, *ko-tu-we* + *ko-no*.

o-wi-to-no (HP)

The location of 8 women and about 10 children (Aa 775, Ab 277); the women are called *to-sa-me-ja* and 3 of their sons are recorded (Ad 685); connected with *a-e-ri-qa-ta* (Aq 218.5; and perhaps the location of 30 *o-ka-ra*: An 657.13). The coastal location of the northernmost *o-ka* (An 657.2) and the description of 50 *o-ka-ra*₃ (*o-wi-ti-ni-jo*: An 657.4).

pa-ka-a-ka-ri

Na 926; 6 units of flax, held by *a₂-ku-mi-jo*.

pa-ki-ja-ne (HP)

The name of this place is distinguished by the variety of forms it affects. There are four groups, two of which are noun and two adjectival.

i) *pa-ki-ja-ne* (nominative in *-es*): Vn 19.4, Xa 113.1.

pa-ki-ja-na-de (allative, accusative in *-as* + *-de*): Fn 187.4, Fr 1209, Fr 1217.3, Fr 1233, Vn 20.6.

pa-ki-ja-si (dative in *-si*): An 18.11, Cn 608.6, Tn 316.2, Un 2.1, Vn 130.7 .9.

pa-ki-ja-pi (instrumental in *-phi*): [Eb 338.A], Jn 829.7, Ma 221.1.

- ii) *pa-ki-ja-na* (feminine singular in *-ā*): Eb 339[+]409.A, Eb 1176.A, En 609.16 [.18], Eo 224.6 .8, Na 561.
- iii) *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* (adjectival form of (ii)): En 609.1, [Jo 438.10], On 300.3.
- iv) *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo* (*a-ko-ro*): Fr 1236.1.
pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo (*me-no*): Fr 1224.
pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i (dative plural): Fr 1216.

One of the nine major towns of HP, between *pe-to-no* and *a-pu₂* (Cn 608.6, Jn 829.7, On 300.3, Vn 19.4, Vn 20.6), with a *ko-re-te* ([Jo 438.10]) and a large religious establishment, a *Potnia* and priestesses (Eb 339.A, Eb 1176.A, En 609.16 [.18] = Eo 224.6 .8) and a key-bearer ([Eb 338.A]). It has 14 *te-re-ta* and DA 40 (? land units) (En 609.1). There are six tablets which record quantities of olive oil, mostly for religious purposes (OLE V[: Fr 1209; OLE+PA 1 V 2: Fr 1216; OLE+A V 1: Fr 1217; OLE+PA Z 2: Fr 1224; OLE+PA V 1: Fr 1233; OLE+PA S 1 V 1: Fr 1236), and one recording a mixed offering of grain, oil, animals, wine etc. (Un 2.1). The assessment for agricultural products is moderate with a rebate for the bronzesmiths (Ma 221.1); 26+ units of flax (Na 561). Also: Fn 187.4, Vn 130.7 .9; Xa 113.1. An 18.11 probably does *not* record 254 carpenters at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. *pa-ki-ja-ne* is the closest of the nine to Pylos (cf. Tn 316.2) and may well have a close connexion with the Volimidhia cemetery near Chora.

pa-ko

An 427.2; a possible place name, the location of 5 *me-ri-du-ma-te*, associated with *a-pu₂*, *e-ri-no-wo* + *a-ke-re-wa*.

pa-ko-wa

La 624; just possibly a place name. (Textiles)

pa-na-pi (FP)

Cn 45.10; 34 goats, associated with *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*.

pa-to-wo-te

Jn 706.1; apparently the location of 19 bronzesmiths.

pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja

Ng 332.1, Wa 114.2; *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*: On 300.8; *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja*: Pa 398.a.

The further province (FP). (See Introduction, p. 20 and Chapter 7 of MME.) 200+ (but less than 900) units of flax are recorded, as is a deficit (Ng 332). The figures for the two provinces shew that HP produces at least 50% more flax than FP, which is what one might expect (cf. Loy, pp. 25, 27.). The list on On 300 contains *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*, *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, *e-[ra-te]-re-wa-o*, *te-mi-ti-ja*, *sa-ma[ra]* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja*; also *te-po-se-u* who is called *ti-nwa-si-jo ko-re-te* at Jo 438.21.

pe-re-u-ro-na-de

An 1.1; the destination of about 30 rowers, mainly from the south of HP. Πλευρών (in Aetolia ?).

pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo e-ge-ta: An 656.16; the ethnic adjective, probably used as a personal name.

pe-re-wo-te

30 units of flax (Na 513); also: Xa 176.1. .2.

*pe-re-*82-jo* (HP)

Tn 316 v. 4; the shrine of *pe-re-*82* at Pylos.

pe-to-no (HP)

One of the nine major towns of HP, between *me-ta-pa* and *pa-ki-ja-ne* (Cn 608.5, Vn 19.3, *pe-to-no-de*: Vn 20.5), with a *ko-re-te* (Jn 829.6). 69 men (and one missing) are recorded (*pe-ti-ni-jo*: Ac 1275). A large assessment for agricultural products, with a rebate for the bronzesmiths (Ma 120.1). It is also mentioned in a fragmentary list of major communities of both provinces ([Vn 493.10]).

The figures indicate that this is a very large community: the highest number of men (of those recorded) in the Ac series, twice or three times as many SUS+SI (Cn 608) and as much wine (Vn 20) as any other town in HP, and well over double the quantity of agricultural produce (Ma 120). The location is uncertain, but is probably on the higher ground inland from Philiatra.

]pi-jo-de

Fr 1230; the destination of OLE+A; now read *di-wi-jo-de*.

pi-ka-na

Na 334; 20 units of flax; the king has free.

pi-ru-te (HP)

The coastal location of 50 *ku-re-we*, south of *ro-o-wa* and *a-pi-te-wa* (An 519.14); in a similar context (Cn 3.4).

pi-we-re (HP)

Aa 1182; a possible place name, the location of 7 women and several children.

*pi-*82* (HP)

The furthest of the nine major towns of HP, next to *me-ta-pa* (Cn 608.3, Vn 19.1, *pi-*82-de*: Vn 20.3), with a *ko-re-te* (Jn 829.4). 20 men are listed (Ac 1276); 60 *go-u-ko-ro*, associated with *ra-u-ra-ti-ja* and *a₂-ki-ja* (An 830.12); a moderate assessment for agricultural products (the tablet also mentions *Leuktron*) and a rebate for the bronzesmiths (Ma 225.1); 30 units of flax (Na 322). The location of at least 2742 sheep and 210 goats (Cn 131.1, Cn 643.3 .4, Cn 719.4 -[.8]). Also: Jo 438.26.

*pi-*82* (? *Piswa*: Πῖσα) is probably to be located well inland in the

northern pass between the two provinces, with good communications into FP: perhaps Malthi.

pi[-.]te (? HP)

An 427.3; the location of 3 men, associated with *a-pu₂*, *pa-ko*, *e-ri-no-wo[-te]*, *a-ke-re[-wa]*. Cf. *pi-ru-te*; *pi-pu-te* is a possible reading for this word. The middle sign is quite legible but is thought not to be *pu*; it is certainly not *ru*.

po-ra-i (HP)

The coastal location of 20 *a-pu₂-ka-ne ke-ki-de* (An 656.13). It sends 4 rowers to *Pleuron* (*po-ra-pi*: An 1.4); a deficit of 10 units of flax (Nn 228.6), and an assessment of 5 units of *146, associated with *ro-o-wa*, *na-i-se-wi-jo* and *e-na[-po-ro]* (Mn 1408.2). Also: *po-ra*: Xa 432. The position of *po-ra-i* on An 656 places it north of *a-ke-re-wa* and probably on the Bay of Navarino, a short distance from modern Pylos.

po-ru

Na 541; a possible place name.

po-si-da-i-jo

Tn 316 v. 1; *po-si-da-i-jo-de*: Fn 187.2.

The shrine of Poseidon (*po-se-da-o*) at Pylos.

po-ti-ja-ke-e

The location of one *ra-p_{te}*, associated with *ra-wa-ra-ta₂* (An 298.2); of 6 rowers ? provided (associations in the south HP, possibly on the east of the central range of hills) (An 610.11).

po-]ti-a-ke-si

An 1281.9; the location of a *Potnia*. Cf. the preceding entry (with caution).

po-to-ro-wa-pi (FP)

The location of 4 women and 7 children (Aa 76) and the son of a flax-worker (of the same group of women) (Ad 678); mentioned in connexion with textiles (La 623). 30 units of flax (Na 262).

po-wi-te-ja

The location of 19+ bronzesmiths (Jn 601.1); 29 units of flax, with a rebate of 2 units for the smiths (Na 923).

pu-ro (HP)

Pylos, the palace at Ano Englianos and the community of which it was the centre; the extent of the district known as Pylos is quite unclear, since it may include places as far away as *pa-ki-ja-ne* (cf. London: both the City of London and the whole conurbation). The archaeological evidence of a large community surrounding the palace (Blegen & Rawson: *The Palace of Nestor* I, p. 33) is amplified by the fact that records have survived of some 461 slave women, 402 children and 183 men and 66 younger sons of the women located at Pylos, a total of 1112. The full

population has been estimated at over 3000, far too many to be accommodated in the palace alone.

The tablets of series Aa, Ab and Ad fall into groups, each of which deals with a number of women and their children (see Introduction, p. 21) and they are here recorded in those groups. It must be noted that in the Aa series the only tablet which mentions Pylos is Aa 1180 (to distinguish the women from those of the same description at *ro-u-so*); in all other cases the place must be supplied by considering the scribal hand of the tablet and by comparison with the corresponding tablet of the Ab or Ad series. The 53 women and 10+ boys (the beginning of a longer list) of An 292 are among those recorded at Pylos in the Aa series; the tablet is headed *si-to-ko-wo* and it is suggested that it is a list of slaves who are to draw rations from the granary master at Pylos. There are also recorded 14+ women, *i-je-re-ja do-e-ra* (Ae 303), and a number of slaves of the key-bearer (Ae 110). It is the location of 2 carpenters (An 35.2); of a *Potnia* receiving gifts at *pa-ki-ja-ne* (if the tablet does mean this, it may exemplify the wide use of the name) (Tn 316.3) and of the shrines of Poseidon, *pe-re-*82*, *Iphimedeia*, *Diwya* and Zeus (Tn 316 v. 3 .7 .11; the word *pu-ro* is written in large characters at the left on each occasion and also appears at Tn 316.10, Tn 316 v. 16). It is mentioned in connexion with a mixed list of large quantities of crops and small numbers of animals (Un 138.1). Also: Va 15.1 .2 and verso.

pu-ro-jo: An 129.4; the origin of *za-mi-jo*; 10 men.

pu-ro: Aa 61; see *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo* and *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*.

pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo (FP)

A compound name, the second element of which also appears alone; for full details, see *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*. There is no doubt that *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo* and *ra-wa-ra-ta₂* (etc.) are the same place, but it is possible that the use of the compound name has some significance.

On one tablet alone, Aa 61, the first element, *pu-ro*, is found in a context which indicates that it is not the palace, but an abbreviation for *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo*. Two things point to this conclusion: the tablet was written by the scribe (Hand 4) who was responsible for all the tablets in the Aa series which refer to FP (see Introduction, p. 21). The tablet records *ze-pu₂ra₃* at *pu-ro*; Ad 664 records *ze-pu₂ra-o ko-wo* at *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo*. The inference that these two tablets refer to the same group is almost inescapable.

pu₂ra₂a-ke-re-u (HP)

Nn 228.3; a deficit of 10 units of flax, associated with *ro-o-wa + ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*; mid-HP. Cf. *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u* for the formation; speculation that these two places, or either of them,

might be in the vicinity of *a-ke-re-wa* (see Palmer: *Interpretation*, p. 76), while probably correct, must be treated a little cautiously.

pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-ri-jo: (? ethnic adjective) Na 425; 27 units of flax, with a rebate of 3 units for the bronzesmiths.

]a-ki-ri-jo: Xa 1387; this may belong here.

qe-re-me-e

Na 540, [Mn 1409.2]; 30 units of flax. See *qe-re-me-ti-wo* below.

qe-re-me-ti-wo

The location of the man *sa-ni-jo*, associated with *mu-ta-pi* (An 5.6). It may be mentioned on a tablet recording deer (Cr 875.3).

qe-re-me-ti-re: Cn 4.3; the location of *sa-ni-jo* (and therefore very probably the same place as *qe-re-me-ti-wo*); 16 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, also associated with *mu-ta-pi*.

qo-pi-ja

Na 329; 5 units of flax.

qo-ro-mu-ro

Na 841; 10 units of flax.

qo-ta

Na 532; 7 units of flax.

qo-ta-wo

Na 522; 7 units of flax.

ra-i-pi

Na 530; 14 units of flax.

? *ra-]i-pi*: Cn 595.6; 5 OVIS+TA in the list headed *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*.

It is just possible that this belongs here.

ra-mi-ni-ja

Ab 186; the ethnic description of 7 women and 3 children at Pylos: *Lāmniai*.

ra-ni-jo-ne

An 207.17; the location of a number of *ra-pte-re*, associated with *a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo ... ka-ro-ke-e +]ka-si-da*.

ra-u-ra-ti-ja (FP)

On 300.9; *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*: An 830.11; ? *ra-wa-ra-ta*: An 723.3; *ra-wa-ra-ta₂*: An 298.1, [Jn 829.14], Ma 216.1; *pu-ro*: Aa 61; *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo*: Ad 664, *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*: Cn 45.1 - .3 .8 .9 .12. See *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo* above.

One of the seven major towns of FP, between *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* and *sa-ma-ra* (On 300.9) with a *ko-re-te* ([Jn 829.14]). The location of 26 women and 25 children called *ze-pu₂-ra₃* (Aa 61) and of 7 sons of the women who are also called flax workers (Ad 664). The location of 66 *qo-u-ko-ro* (An 830.11) and a *ra-pte*, associated with *po-ti-ja-ke-e* (An 298.1); of 110+ sheep and 190 goats (Cn 45.1 - .3 .8 .9 .12). The assessment for

agricultural products is large (Ma 216.1) and is the full assessment for the whole south east quarter of FP.

]ra-si-ne-wi-ja

Vn 48.4; possibly a place name, associated with *ki-ka-ne wi-jo-de* and *ki-wo-na-de*.

re-ka-ta-ne

An 207 [.6 .7] .8; the location of 16 men, perhaps associated with *a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo]*.

re-pe-u-ri-jo

Cn 40.11; the location of 82 sheep, associated with *ma-ro*, *a-ne-u-te* and *a-te-re-wi-ja*, in the vicinity of *pi*.*82.

re-qa-se-wo wo-wo (FP)

Cn 600.6 .9 .10; the location of 220 sheep, associated with *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* and *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*.

re-ši-we-i

An 18.4; the location of one ? man, associated with *i-na-ne* and *a-se-e*.

re-u-ko-to-ro (FP)

Leuktron, the main city of FP, standing in relation to the province rather as Pylos does to HP. Two sites have been suggested as the location of this place: Ellenika near Kalamata, and Nichoria, in the south west corner of the Pamisos valley, which seems the more likely; there is as yet, however, little firm evidence.

As at Pylos, there are a number of groups of slave women, their children and their sons; the community is considerably smaller than the one at Pylos and there are only six groups, a total of 67 women, 106 children and 23 sons, slightly above one sixth of the number at Pylos. As at Pylos, in the Aa series the scribe has omitted the name *re-u-ko-to-ro*.

Description	Aa	women	girls	boys	Ad	men	boys
<i>a-ke-ti-ri-ja</i>	85	12	16	8	290	2	
<i>a-ra-ka-te-ja</i>	89	37	26	16			
<i>a</i> .*64- <i>ja</i>					326	3	9
<i>ki-ma-ra</i> ¹	63	3	5	4	668	4	0 ²
<i>no-ri-wo-ko</i> ¹	98	8	10	5	669	5	0 ²
<i>me-re-ti-ri-ja</i>	62	7	10	6	308	—	—

1. These descriptions are not found at Pylos.

2. The figure 0 indicates that there is no entry for *ko-wo*.

It is possible that the group of 16 women and 18 children recorded on Aa 60 are also to be located at *Leuktron* and that *e-wi-ri-pi-ja* is a descriptive, or ethnic, adjective.

Leuktron is the location of 4 masons (An 35.3); it may have received agricultural products from *pi*-*82 (Ma 225.2a); it may occur in a list of places assessed for *146, associated with *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* ([Mn 456.2]). 10 units of flax (Na 419).

]re-wi-ja(-qe)

Vn 493.6; probably a place name, perhaps *a-te]re-wi-ja*.

ri-jo (HP)

The last of the nine major towns of HP, after *ka-ra-do-ro* (Cn 608.11, *ri-jo-de*: Vn 20.11). It has a *ko-re-te* and is placed next to the first town of FP ([Jn 829.12]). It is probably to be located on the east coast of the Messenian gulf, near modern Koroni; the name 'Plov is associated with this place, which was the classical 'Αστὴν (Strabo VIII, 360).

5 rowers are provided for *Pleuron* (An 1.3), 24 are listed (An 610.8); 10+ men (An 724.14). The assessment for agricultural products is small and there is a rebate for the bronzesmiths and the *pe-ra₃-qo* (Ma 193.1). 24 units of flax, with a rebate of six units for the smiths (Na 252). Also: Xn 1445.1 ?

ri-na-ko-ro

An 129.5; obscure, but just possibly a place name, associated with *a-so-na* (which is also marked obscure) and *pu-ro-jo*.

ri-sa-pi

Na 924; flax produced (there is no number after the ideogram), with 10 units free for *me-to-re*.

ri-so-wa

Aq 218.2; probably a man's name; Palmer (*Interpretation*, p. 453) marks it as a place.

ri-so-we-ja

Na 1040; 6 units of flax.

ro-o-wa (HP)

An important sea port, probably that of Pylos, at the north of the Bay of Navarino; it is the location of the *o-ka* of *Trōs*, associated with *a₂-ra-tu-a* (An 519.1). It provides 8 rowers for *Pleuron* (An 1.2), is the station of absent rowers (An 724.1), and has connexions with a number of important men: *e-ke-ra₂-wo*, the *Lawagetas* and *me-nu-wa*, whom it is reasonable to connect with the palace. *ro-o-wa* occurs also in a list of men, associated with *e-ro-ma-to*, *a-we-u-pi* + *ta-ra-ke-wi* (An 172.10). A deficit of 35 units of flax is recorded (Nn 228.2), associated with *u-ka-jo* + *pu₂-ra₂-a-ke-re-u*, *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* ...; it may not have survived in the Na series, unless *]wa* on Na 568 is to be restored *ro-o]wa*, a restoration which is suggested by the mention of shipwrights on the tablet: 20 units of flax and a rebate of 50 units. Assessed for *146, associated with *ro-u-so* (Mn 1370.2) and with *po-ra-i* and *na-i-se-wi-jo* (Mn 1408.1).

ro-ro-ni-ja

An 830.8; a possible place name, though very doubtful, associated with *e-sa-re-wi-ja* (FP).

ro-u-so (HP)

A very important place; if correctly restored at Jn 829.10 it replaces *e-ra-to* as one of the nine major towns of HP, south east of *a-ke-re-wa*, although it may rather be the area of which *e-ra-to* is the chief settlement (see the discussion of this point s.v. *e-ra-to*). If correctly restored on Jn 829 and at [Jo 438.9], it has a *ko-re-te*. The location of 32 women and 26 children called *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* (Aa 717, Ab 1099) and of 54 women and about 54 children called *mi-ra-ti-ja* (Aa 798, *mi-ra-ti-ra*: Ab 382). It is mentioned in connexion with 1106+ sheep and 446+ goats (Cn 285.1, Cn 328.1). The location of at least 7 bronzesmiths (Jn 832.1). A small assessment for agricultural products (Ma 365.1); of *146 (Mb 1398) and of one unit of *146, associated with *e-wi-te-wi-jo* + *e-ri-no-wo* (Mn 456.7); associated with *ro-o-wa* (Mn 1370.1). Also: Un 47.1 (see below).

ro-u-]so-de: Fr 1238; the destination of olive oil: OLE S 1.

ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro: the location of gods (gods' shrines); offerings of OLE+PA (S 1; V 4: Fr 1220.1; V 3: Fr 1226). A mixed contribution of figs, wine, barley, sheep (*ro-u-so ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*]: Un 47.1). It produces timber: 100 axles and 100 saplings (Vn 10.4). 7 units of *146 and one of *166 are recorded (Ua 1413).

ro-u-si-je-wi-ja: Ub 1315.2; a descriptive adjective standing as a noun in the context of chariot harness (it may be unconnected with *ro-u-so*).

ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja

Na 1053; flax produced.

ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te

Jn 415.1; the location of 12 bronzesmiths.

sa-ma-ra (FP)

One of the seven major towns of FP, between *ra-u-ra-ti-ja* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* with a *ko-re-te* ([Jn 829.15], [On 300.11]). The destination of 3 masons, associated with Pylos, *me-te-to* and *Leuktron* (An 35.3). A moderate assessment for agricultural products, with a rebate for the bronzesmiths (Ma 378.1); grouped with *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* in the south west quarter of FP. Also: Wa 730.2.

sa-ma-ri-wa

Na 527; flax produced. Cf. *sa-ma-ra*.

sa-ra-pe-da

Probably a holding of land, held as [*ki-]ti-me-no* by *e-]ke-ra₂-wo* with very large quantities of wheat (94 units) and figs listed, although they are probably to be regarded as expressions of the size of the land holding

(*sa-ra-pe-do*[: Er 880.2). A gift to Poseidon, given by *e-ke-ra₂-wo*, of wheat, wine, cheese, honey, a bull and a hide is recorded (Un 718.1).

sa-ri-nu-wo-te (HP)

The location of 10 + *ra-pte-re*, associated with *ka-ra-do-ro* (An 424.2); in a list of places assessed for small quantities of *146 with *ro-u-so*, *e-ri-no-wo* + *e-pi-qo-ra₂* (Mn 456.9). If Na 544 and Na 1094 belong together (*sa-ri-nu[-wo-]te* SA 40), 40 units of flax.

sa-ri-no-te: Vn 130.6; a variant spelling, associated with *e-na-po-ro* + *pa-ki-ja-si*, *ka-ra-do-ro*.

se-ri-no-wo-te: Qa 1290; the location of a priest.

The name seems to be connected with *σέλινον* (cf. the spice tablets from Mycenae, e.g. MY Ge 604.2), the initial *s* of which probably indicates that it is a loan word; the alternation of *a/e* in the first syllable can be explained as the result of a problem that causes world-wide confusion: the attempt to bring the sounds of one language within the spelling conventions of another.

]se-wo-te

An 233[+]943; a possible place name, associated with *ko-tu-we* and *a-mi-ni-so*.

si-jo-wo-te

Cn 4.10; 10 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

si-re-wa

This occurs on an exceptional tablet (Ma 126.1) with the word *i-na-ma-ta* superscript and with a very small assessment of three of the six varieties of agricultural products, in deficit. It is assessed for 2 units of *146, associated with *Leuktron*, *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* + *me-te-to* (Mn 456.4).

so-ro-pe-o

An 207.14; the location of a number of *ra-pte-re*, associated with *a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo* + *ko-ri-si-jo*, *ka-ro-ke-e*.

su-we-ro-wi-jo ?? (HP)

An 657.4; probably a man's name; Palmer (*Interpretation*, pp. 154, 155) marks it as a possible place name, the station of 50 *o-wi-ti-ni-jo* *o-ka-ra₃*.

ta-mi-ta-na

Na 248; 30 units of flax; free for the huntsmen.

IP reads *ta_mi*[*tana* at Mn 1409.1, but the reading is very uncertain.

ta-ra-ke-wi [(?) HP)

An 172.11; the location of one man, associated with *e-ro-ma-to*, *a-we-u-pi* and *ro-o-wa* (which is the only name on the list which occurs elsewhere).

ta-to a-ka-re-u-te

Cn 4.4; a compound name, the location of 7 OVIS+TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

te-re-ne-we

An 18.6; the location of an absent mason, associated with *i-na-ne*, also with *a-se-e*.

te-re-ne-wi-ja: the location of one or more men, in connexion with cowherds and carpenters, associated with *a-se[-e]* (An 852.2); the location of deer (Cr 868.3).

te-re-te-we

An 607.4; it is very doubtful whether this is a place name. 13 women are mentioned, the slaves (of) *do-ge-ja*. There may be a connexion with *me-ta-pa*.

te-se-e

Na 531; 18 units of flax.

te-so-ge

Un 1193.4; just possibly a place name, associated with *wo-no-ge-we* and *a-ke-re-we*.

te-ta-ra-ne (HP)

A port, placed between *po-ra-i* and *a-po-ne-we*, supplying 6 rowers for *Pleuron* (An 1.5); it supplies also 31 rowers (An 610.9) and is associated with *ri-jo*. See *te-tu-ru-we*.

te-tu-ru-we (HP)

40 units of flax (Na 1054); a deficit of 38 units (Nn 228.7), associated with *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, *po-ra-i* and *e-na-po-ro*. Perhaps the same place as *te-ta-ra-ne*.

ti-mi-to a-ke-e (FP)

The first of the seven major towns of FP, occurring after *ri-jo* and before *ra-u-ra-ti-ja* (Jn 829.13) with a *ko-re-te* (*ti-mi-ti-ja*: Jo 438.24, *te-mi-ti-ja*: On 300.10) called *pe-ri-mo* (Aq 64.6). (The e/i alternation appears to be simple variation (cf. *e-re-e*); *ti-mi-to* appears always as a compound, *ti-mi-ti-ja* by itself.) The headquarters of the *o-ka* of *Erchomenatas*, probably at some distance from the coast, and of 30 *a₂ka-a₂ki-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo* being sent to the *Nedon* (*ti-mi-to a-ke-i*: An 661.10). 17+ men (*te-mi-ti-jo*: Ac 1278); the location of 200 sheep, 66 goats and 42 pigs, associated with *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* and *re-qa-se-wo wo-wo* (Cn 600.7 .8 .11 - .15). A moderate assessment for agricultural products, with a rebate for the bronzesmiths (Ma 123.1), grouped with *sa-ma-ra* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* in the south west quarter of FP. 50 units of flax (Na 361). Also: Vn 493.2; just possibly to be extracted from Aq 218 verso.

ti-ni-ja-ta

Fn 79.3; perhaps an ethnic adjective.

ti-no

The location of 90 *go-u-ko-ro*, perhaps associated with *pa-ki-ja-ne* (An 18.9). The destination of oil OLE+A S 4 (*ti-no-de*: Fr 1223). Perhaps also: *ke-re-te-u-ti-no*[: Xa 565.

ti-nwa-si-jo

An ethnic adjective, describing *a-ta-o* (Fn 324.12). *te-po-se-u* is the *ko-re-te* of **ti-nwa-to* (Jo 438.21). It is probably used as a man's name on Ea 810, which records 3½ units of wheat.

ti-nwa-si-ja: the description of 9 women and about 5 children at Pylos, probably weavers (Aa 699, Ab 190) and 7 of the women's sons (*ti-nwa-ti-ja-o*: Ad 684), with some connexion with *a-pu-ne-we*.

ti-nwa-ti: Xa 633.

The position of *te-po-se-u* on On 300 and the fact that this is the only ethnic adjective descriptive of women from a place which is certainly subject to Pylos (but cf. *e-wi-ri-pi-ja*) suggest that **ti-nwa-to* is a community outside the two provinces, perhaps an island, or perhaps a town on the eastern coast of the Messenian Gulf.

to-ro-wa-so (? HP)

Na 405 + 621; 10 units of flax, held by the *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, and therefore probably in the southern half of HP.

to-wa

An 654.11; a man's name or a place name, in the *o-ka* of *ta-ti-go-we-u*.

u-de-wi-ne

Cn 595.4; the location of 2 men and 8 OVIS+TA in the list headed *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*.

u-de-wi-ni-jo: Jn 413.5; probably a man's name.

u-ka-jo (HP)

Nn 228.2; a deficit of 20 units of flax, associated with *ro-o-wa*

u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja (FP)

An 298.1; coupled with *ra-wa-ra-ta₂*, the location of a small number of *ra-pte-re*, associated with *po-ti-ja-ke-e*.

u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja: Cn 45.4 - .7 .11; the location of 135 sheep and 70 goats, associated with *pa-na-pi* also.

u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo ? (HP)

An 654.6; the origin of 60 *ku-re-we* in the *o-ka* of *ku-ru-me-no*, which is probably stationed quite near *me-ta-pa*.

u-po-di-jo-no wo-wo

Na 105; 10 units of flax.

u-po-jo

Possibly a place name, or perhaps an epithet (cf. *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*), always in the phrase *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (Fn 187.8, Fr 1225); associated with *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* (Fr 1236).

*u-ra**86

Na 466; 10 units of flax.

] *86: Na 1039 and Na 1086 have been tentatively read as ?*u-ra*] *86, but this restoration seems very dangerous because there is no example

of the same place occurring more than once in the Na series other than *e-ko-me-no*, which is mentioned on a tablet of a different type.

u-ru-pi-ja-jo

An ethnic or tribal adjective, not Ὀλυμπιαῖοι, but probably *wrupi*. It is found in coastguard contexts: 30 men (*u-ru-pi-ja-jo o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*) in the *o-ka* of *ke-wo-no* (An 519.11) and 10 men in the *o-ka* of *ta-ti-go-we-u* (An 654.16), both in HP; 30 men *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo*) sent to the *Nedon* (An 661.12). They hold]*a₂-ke-wo-a-ki-[to* with 10 units of flax (Na 928) and are listed at Cn 3.6 and (*u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo*) Cn 3.7.

u-wa-si (HP)

An 656.15; the location on the coast of 10 young *ke-ki-de* in the *o-ka* at *a-ke-re-wa*, perhaps to the north.

wa-a₂-te-pi

10 units of flax (Na 1009). Also: Xa 1377.

wa-a₂-te-we: An 207.9; the location of 10 *po-ku-ta*, associated with *re-ka-ta-ne + a-nu-wa ... a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo*.

] *a₂-te-we*[: Mn 1371.1 may belong here.

wa-ka-ti-ja-ta

An 656.4; a possible ethnic adjective, descriptive of *ke-ki-de*.

wa-na-so-i

Possibly a place name or a shrine (perhaps a divine name), the destination (really location) of scented oil OLE+PA (V 1: Fr 1222; [S 1 V 1]: Fr 1227; V 1: Fr 1228; 1 (unit) V 3: Fr 1235 [.1].2; also Fr 1251.

wa-no-so-i: Fr 1219.2; probably a variant spelling. OLE+A V 2 is sent to Poseidon.

wa-no-jo wo-wo

The location of 345 sheep (Cn 40.1 - .4) and 180 goats (Cn 599.1 .6), associated with *e-ko-me-no*, *a₂-ne-u-te ...*, in the vicinity of *pi.*82*.

wa-re-u-ka-ra]

Na 576; flax produced.

wa-tu

Eq 36[+] 887.1, Tn 316 v. 1; possibly a place name, and just possibly φαστύ, the lower town, round the palace at Pylos.

wa-wo-u-de

An 654.15; possibly a place name, or an adjective descriptive of 10 *ke-ki-de* in the *o-ka* of *ta-ti-go-we-u*. Perhaps also *wa-wo-u-* (Xa 200.1).

wi-ja-da-ra

Ae 142 (Ad 142); a place name or a woman's name.

wi-ja-we]

Mn 1410.1; associated with *ma-ra-ne[-nu-we* and]-*ma-ne*]. It may not be the same place as *wi-ja-we-ra₂*.

*wi-ja-we-ra*₂ (? HP)

The location of 40 pigs, associated with *a-pa-re-u-pi* + *pi* *82 (Cn 643.2); the location of 262 sheep, associated also with *ma-ro* (Cn 719.9 .11 .12); the location of 8 bronzesmiths (Jn 478.1).

wi-nu-ri-jo

An 610.8; a place name or an ethnic adjective, associated with *ri-jo*.

wo-no-ge-wa (? HP)

Na 396; 30 units of flax, held by the *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, and therefore probably in the southern half of HP.

wo-no-ge-we: Un 1193.2; DA 10 (? a measure of land), associated with *a-ke-re-we*, *te-so-ge*. Cf. *wo-ge-we*.

wo-ge-we

An 610.7, An 724.13; it is very likely that this is not a place name, but rather a description of men. Associated with *a-ke-re-wa* + *ri-jo*.

wo-tu-wa-ne

Cn 4.8; the location of 9 OVIS + TA in the list headed *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

za-e-to-ro (HP)

The coastal location of 20 *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* (An 661.6), associated with *e-na-po-ro*, *a-o-ri-jo*, *ka-ra-do-ro*; the last place to be named before the *o-ka* based at *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* in FP. It is probably to be located to the north of *ri-jo*, perhaps near Longá, from where a road leads to modern Pylos. It provides 3 rowers (An 610.12), associated with *ma-ra-ne-nu-we*, [*za*]-*ku-si-jo* + *da-mi-ni-jo* and *po-ti-ja-ke-e*.

za-ku-si-ja

Sa 751, Sa 787.B; the name of a type of wheel and apparently the ethnic adjective from Zacynthus.

[.]*ku-si-jo*: An 610.12; the description of 8 rowers, associated with *ma-ra-ne-nu-we*, *po-ti-ja-ke-e* + *za-e-to-ro*. This may not belong here.

za-ma-e-wi-ja (FP)

One of the seven major towns of FP, between *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi* and *e-re-e*, with a *ko-re-te* (Jn 829.18). The assessment for agricultural products is moderate, with a rebate for the *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* (Ma 393.1); it is grouped with *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, with which it is also closely associated elsewhere (*za-ma-e-wi-ja-ge*: Vn 493.3), and is to be located in the north east quarter of FP.

ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na[

Xa 70; perhaps a variant spelling of *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* and, if so, probably to be located in the southern half of HP.

ze-pu₂-ra₃

The ethnic description of 26 women and 25 children (Aa 61) who are also called flax workers (*ze-pu₂-ra-o*: Ad 664) at *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo*. It is perhaps connected with Ζεφυρ(λ)α, i.e. Halicarnassus.

APPENDIX

1. Place names in *wo-wo* and *wo-wi-ja* (probably ὄρος and ὄρια), preceded by a man's name in the genitive case.

<i>e-u-ta-re-wo wo-wo</i>	
<i>ka-pe-se-wa-o wo-wo</i>	<i>ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja</i>
<i>ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo</i>	<i>ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja</i>
<i>ko-ro-jo-wo-wo ?</i>	<i>ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja</i>
<i>me-ka-o wo-wo</i>	
<i>mo-ro-ko-wo-wo(-pi)</i>	
<i>o-re-e-wo wo-wo</i>	
<i>re-qa-se-wo wo-wo</i>	
<i>u-po-di-jo-no wo-wo</i>	
<i>wa-no-jo wo-wo</i>	

2. Place names in *-e-wa*. See J. Chadwick "Greek and Pre-Greek", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1969, p. 97.

<i>a-ke-re-wa</i>	<i>a-ke-re-we</i>
<i>a-no-ke-wa</i>	<i>a-no-ke-we</i>
<i>a-pi-te-wa</i>	
<i>e-ra-te-re-wa(-pi)</i>	<i>e-ra-te-re-we</i>
<i>i-te-re-wa</i>	
<i>na-pe-re-wa</i>	
<i>si-re-wa</i>	
<i>wo-no-ge-wa</i>	<i>wo-no-ge-we</i> (? <i>wo-ge-we</i>)

3. Place names in *-a-na* and *-a-ne*. (See *me-za-na* and *pa-ki-ja-ne*.)

	<i>a-pu-ka</i>
	<i>a-pu₂-ka</i>
<i>e-pi-jo-ta-na</i>	<i>e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja</i>
<i>i-na-ne</i>	<i>i-na-ni-ja</i>
<i>me-za-na</i>	
<i>pa-ki-ja-na</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-ni-ja</i>
<i>pa-ki-ja-ne</i>	
<i>pa-na-pi ?</i>	
<i>pi-ka-na</i>	
<i>re-ka-ta-ne</i>	
<i>ta-mi-ta-na</i>	
<i>te-ta-ra-ne</i>	
<i>wo-tu-wa-ne</i>	

It seems probable that *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* and *ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na* are not to be included: *-xρήνη* may not show pre-Greek *-άνα*.

WOMEN AT PYLOS

Description	Aa	Ab	Ad	Aa: wo- Ab: men girls boys			Ad:	Ad:
				men	girls	boys	men	boys ¹
—	785	388	? none	One woman, called <i>a-da-ra-te-ja</i>				
<i>a-ke-ti-ra₂</i>	815	564	666	38	33+	16	20	7
<i>a-pi-go-ro</i>	804	?[580]	690	32	26	15	10	4
<i>a-pu-ko-wo-ko</i>		210	671 ³	8	7	8	3 ^{2,3}	4 ³
<i>a-ra-ka-te-ja</i>	240		677	21	25	4	30	9
<i>a*64-ja</i>	701	515	315	35	12	13	—	—
<i>e-ke-ro-go-no</i>	? 854 ⁵	{563 1100	See Ad 691 ⁴	—	—	—	See note 4	
<i>ka-pa-ra₂-de</i>	788		679	24	8	2	6	0
<i>ki-ni-di-ja</i>	792	189	683	21	11	10	5	4
<i>ki-si-wi-ja</i>	770	194	675	7	4	6	3	5
<i>ko-ro-ki-ja</i>	354	372	680	9	3	1	5	0
<i>ku-te-ra₃</i>	506	562	390 (679)	28	—	—	22	0
—	? 955 ⁵	575		One woman, probably called <i>me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta</i>				
<i>me-re-ti-ri-ja</i>	764	789		6	7	2		
<i>mi-ra-ti-ja</i>	1180	573	{380 689	16	3	7	{3 2	0
<i>ne-we-wi-ja</i>	695	560	357	21	10	6	6 ²	0
<i>o-pi-ro-go</i>	777	899	691 ⁴	8	3	4	9	0
<i>o-ti-ri-ja</i>	313	417[+]1050	663[+]674	21	12	8	1+	7
<i>pa-ke-te-ja</i>	662	{745 746	See Ad 671 ³	9/4	5/2	11/0	See note 3	
<i>pa-wo-ke</i>	795	558	See Ad 691 ⁴	4	2	1	See note 4	
<i>pe-ki-ti-ra₂</i>	891	578	694	7	4	4	4	3
<i>ra-mi-ni-ja</i>		186		7	1	2		
<i>ra-pi-ti-ra₂</i>		555		38	20	19		
<i>ra-qi-ti-ra₂</i>		356[+]1049	667	6	3	2	2	0
See <i>ke-re-za</i>	807	586	686	27	8	6	15 ²	0
<i>re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo</i>	783+1263	553	676	38	13	15	22	11
<i>ti-nwa-si-ja</i>	699	190	684	9	3	2	5	2
See <i>ke-re-za</i>	762	217	318[+]420	19	6	9	8	7

The tablets in numerical order:

Aa 240, 313, 354, 506, 662, 695, 699, 701, 762, 764, 770, 777, 783+1263, 785, 788, 792, 795, 804, 807, 815, ? 854⁵, 891, ? 955⁵, 1180. Apart from Aa 1180, none contains the word *pu-ro*.

Ab 186, 189, 190, (194), (210), 217, 356[+]1049, 372, 388, 417[+]1050, 515, 553, 555, 558, 560, 562, 563, 564, 573, 575, 578, (580), 586,(745), (746), 789, 899, 1100. Of these Ab 194, 210, 580, 745, 746 do not contain the word *pu-ro*.

Ad 315, 318+420, (357), 380, 390, (663[+]674), 666, 667, 671, 675, 676, 677, 679, 680, 683, 684, 686, 689, 690, 691, (694). Ad 357, 663, 694 do not contain the word *pu-ro*.

¹ The figure 0 indicates that there is no entry for *ko-wo*. N.B. Ad 689 has the entry *ko-wo* with no numeral following; this may mean that there were no boys or merely that the number was not known to the scribe. (See *da-mi-ni-ja* above.) A dash indicates that the number has not survived.

² Men marked absent: 5 (Ad 671), 3 (Ad 357), ? 1 (Ad 686).

³ Ad 671 records the sons of *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, *ka-ru-ti-je-ja* and *pa-ke-te-ja*.

⁴ Ad 691 records the 9 sons of three groups of women: *o-pi-ro-go*, *e-ke-ro-go-no* and *pa-wo-ke*.

⁵ Aa 854 and Aa 955 may possibly belong to the Ad series.

See also the notes: Introduction p. 21.