

ALLOTMENTS OF HORD AND VIN TO CARPENTERS (*te-ka-ta-si*)
AT THEBES (TH Fq 247, Gp 112, 114, 147, 175)*

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1. THE INTERPRETATION OF MYC. TE-KO-TO AS BUILDING CARPENTER

The most reliable evidence for the term *te-ko-to* (τέκτων) is at Knossos and Thebes: at the nominative plural, *te-ko-to-ne* /tektōnes/, it is attested in the list of personnel KN Am 826.2, and at the dative plural, *te-ka-ta-si* /tektasi/ (< *tektḥsi), in records of allotments of wheat (*121/HORD)¹, TH Fq 247.3, and wine, TH Gp 112.1, 114.2, 147.2 (*te-ka-]ta-si-qe*), 175.2 (*te-ka-]ta-si*).

The term seems to be attested at Pylos as well, but with a lesser degree of certainty. There we find the variants *te-ko-to-na-pe* (PY An 18.2.7 and An 852.3) and *te-ko-to-a-pe* (PY An 5.1-5), which can be interpreted as *te-ko-to a-pe* /tektōn apēs/, i.e. τέκτων ἄπης (3^d pers. sg. impf. of ἄπειμι) 'a carpenter was absent'². Nevertheless *te-ko-to-(n)a-pe* occurs on all three tablets in parallel position to place-names and, for this reason, has been interpreted by a number of scholars as a toponym³. Moreover, in two other tablets from Pylos, we find, respectively, one possible compound and a syllabic sequence, which may contain the term *te-ko-to*. The first one is *pa-te-ko-to*, that appears as recipient of wheat in the record of payments in kind PY Fn 7.9 (= An 7 + Fn 1427). It should be an occupational noun /pantektōn/ *παντέκτων 'carpenter of all work' or 'carpenter *par excellence*', which could mean 'architect'⁴. The second is *pi-ro-te-ko-to*, that occurs in the land-tenure tablet PY Es 650 v.5. It could be divided as *pi-ro te-ko-to*, i.e. personal name + occupational name: Φίλων τέκτων 'Philon, the carpenter'⁵.

* This paper is based on one paragraph of my doctoral dissertation, which was submitted to the Department of Antiquity "G. Pasquali" of the University of Florence in March 2011 and entitled *Buildings and Builders in Mycenaean Times: A critical assessment of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence*. I would like to thank Prof. A. M. Jasink, who was my Ph.D. advisor, and Dr. M. Del Frio for reading my dissertation and providing many useful comments. Any error or misunderstanding is of course due to my sole responsibility.

¹ Although the official transcription for the ideogram *120 is GRA and HORD for *121, there is strong evidence to consider the first as the ideogram for barley and the second for wheat (see PALMER 2008, in particular p. 632-637, with references).

² CHADWICK 1967, p. 23-34; *Docs*², p. 182 and 584; *DMic.* vol. I, s.v. *te-ko-to* and *]a-pe-e-šj[*.

³ LEJEUNE 1960, p. 18 and n. 69; PALMER 1963, p. 33, 52, 77, 132, 456; KILLEN 1996-1997, p. 179-185.

⁴ MÜHLESTEIN 1956, p. 80; MELENA 1996-1997, p. 175.

⁵ *Docs*², p. 276 and 278; *DMic.* vol. II, s.v. *pi-ro-te-ko-to*; KILLEN 1996-1997, p. 181.

Although in alphabetical Greek the term τέκτων, -ονος can also be used in a general meaning, 'joiner' and even 'craftsman', there is no doubt that the original meaning was 'carpenter', a person who builds wood structures, for buildings or for ship hulls. The identification of the mycenaen *te-ko-to-ne* as carpenters is proved by the etymological link with the Indoeuropean root **tek-* of the verb τεκταίνω 'work with the ax', 'build a structure'⁶, and by the fact that they should perform a different job from that of the *du-ru-to-mo*, an occupational name corresponding exactly to alphabetical Greek δρυτόμος 'wood-cutter' (cf. δόρυ and τέμνω)⁷. The wood-cutters are attested in the tablet PY Vn 10 where they deliver axles (*a-ko-so-ne*) and other objects called *e-pi- *19-ta*⁸ to the palace's wheel or chariot workshop (*a-mo-te-jo-na-de*).

In Homer the term τέκτων is used both for ship and building carpenters. *Exempli gratia*, in *Il.* VI 315-316 the expression τέκτονες ἄνδρες οἱ οἱ ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ αὐλήν, is used to designate the carpenters engaged in building the Paris's Palace, in *Od.* XVII 339-341 τέκτων is called the craftsman who planes and makes straight to the line the wooden door jambs, and at verse 384, in the same book, the expression τέκτων δούρων (cf. δόρυ, δόρατος τό 'plank' or 'beam' of wood) could refer to builders and/or to νηῶν τέκτονες 'ship-carpenters' (*Od.* IX 125-127)⁹.

Despite the double meaning we have just seen, there are two main reasons to suggest that the *te-ko-to-ne* attested in the Linear B tablets were carpenters employed in building rather than in ship construction:

1) The terms *pa-te-ko-to* (*pan-tektōn*) and *te-ko-to-na-pe* (*tektōn apēs*) are attested together with the *to-ko-do-mo* *τοιχοδόμος 'mason', respectively in PY Fn 7 and in An 18.

2) The use in Mycenaean Greek of the compound *na-u-do-mo* meaning 'ship-builder', cf. ναῦς and δέμω (PY Na 568.B, Vn 865.1, Xa 990.1 [*ex* Xn 990], KN U 736.1)¹⁰. The most meaningful attestation is in the tablet KN U 736, where a *na-u-do-mo* (ναυδόμοι dat. sing., better than nom. pl.) seems to receive 10 *e-to-ro-qa-ta* /entrok^wātās/, cf. τροπός, a technical term that indicates a twisted leather thong with which the oar was fastened to the thole, this interpretation is confirmed by the shape of the following ideogram *181, which resembles a thong. Thus the *na-u-do-mo* would be a skilled carpenter responsible for the overall construction of ships¹¹. The interpretation as a compound based on να(F)ός + δέμω and the consequent meaning 'temple-builder' must be rejected for its orthography (one would expect it to be **na-wo-do-mo* *ναφοδόμοι) and because the Mycenaean temples were not so monumental to require specialised labour exclusively employed in their construction.

Finally, we can note that the Mycenaean trade names generally derive from the name of the raw material (for example *ka-ke-u* χαλκεύς 'smith', from *ka-ko* χαλκός

⁶ CHANTRAINE 2009, s.v. τέκτων.

⁷ Cf. LINDGREN 1973, vol. II, p. 41-42.

⁸ The interpretation of this term is extremely doubtful, see CIVITILLO 2008, p. 134-136 and 143-144; DUHOUX 2008, p. 347-349.

⁹ For a wider discussion on the τέκτονες in Homer see ROUGIER-BLANC 2005, p. 313-315.

¹⁰ *Inter alios* WAANDERS 2008, p. 34.

¹¹ PALAIMA 1991, p. 288.

‘copper’ *vel* ‘bronze’)¹² or from the finished product (for example *a-re-pa-zo-o* *ἄλειφαζός ‘unguent boiler’, from *a-re-pa* ἄλειφαρ ‘unguent’; *to-ko-do-mo* *τοιχοδόμος ‘wall-builder, mason’, from *to-ko* τοίχος ‘wall’). Among the few exceptions we find *te-ko-to* and *pi-ri-je-te*, cf. πρίστης ‘sawyer’, from *pi-ri-je* /priēn/, cf. πρίων, -ονος ‘saw’, which is attested, at nom. and dat. pl., in the same tablet with *pa-te-ko-to* and *to-ko-do-mo* (PY Fn 7)¹³.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE TABLETS TH FQ 247, Gp 112, 114, 147 AND 175

The term *te-ka-ta-si* is attested in five tablets found in the mid-1990s during the emergency excavation in the Odós Pelopidou at Thebes: Fq 247, a page-shaped tablet written, as most part of the Fq series, by Hand 305, and Gp 112, 114, 147, 175, palm-leaf-shaped tablets, written by Hand 306 (the palaeographical analysis of Gp 175 is more doubtful because of the shortness of the preserved text). To make the paper easily readable as much as possible, the transcriptions and possible translations of the five tablets are given below. Note that *te-ka-]ta-si-ge* in Gp 147.2 and *te-ka-]ta-si* in Gp 175.2 are integrations suggested by the editors in apparatus (AGS 2001), but I think it’s quite likely that they are integrated directly into the transcriptions.

Fq 247 (305)

sup. mut.

- .1 ɔ-ti-ri[-ja-i]
- .2 ka-wi-jo V 1 i-qo-po-qo[
- .3 te-ka-ta-si V 1 a-me-rɔ[
- .4 o-]u-ko-we-i Z 2 ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-jo[
- .5]Z 3 a-ka[

inf. mut.

- .1 for the *otirijai*...
- .2 for *Kawijos* (wheat) V 1, for those who feed the horses...
- .3 for the carpenters V 1, for *Ameros*...
- .4 for *Oukowes* Z 2, for *Dorojos*...
- .5 for... Z 3, for *Akadei*...

Gp 112 (306)

- .1 te-ka-ta-si , VIN V 6[
- .2 *56-ru-we V 2 [

- .1 for the carpenters wine V 6...
- .2 for *56ruwe (wine) V 2...

¹² For the discussion on the uncertainty about the exact meaning of the term *ka-ko* χαλκός, ‘copper’ and/or ‘bronze’, see MICHAÏLIDOU 2008.

¹³ For the Mycenaean trade names, see CREVATIN 1971 and VOUTSA 2001.

Gp 114 (306)
 .1 *56-]rū-we V 3
 .2]2 te-ka-ta-si V 2

.1 for *56ruwe (wine) V 3
 .2 for... V(?) 2, for the carpenters V 2

Gp 147 (306)
 .1]qē-te-jo , [
 .2 te-ka-]ta-si-qe , qe-te-jo VIN 4[

.1 ...to be paid
 .2 ...and to the carpenters to be paid 4 units of wine...

Gp 175 (—)
sup. mut.
 .1]vestigia[
 .2 te-ka-]ta-si V 3 Z 1[
 .3]vacat [

.2 for the carpenters (wine) V 3 Z 1...

The Fq series consists of 126 fragments from an assumed minimum of 13 - 18 page-shape tablets, on the basis of the count of the most frequently occurring and securely identifiable word (*ko-wa*)¹⁴. Much of this series, including Fq 247, was found *in situ*, in a building that was destroyed by fire in the late LH IIIB2, in association with pottery, carbonized fig seeds and cereals¹⁵. These archaeological finds suggest that this area might have been a storeroom, thus it is probable that the Fq tablets were written by someone who was in charge of the distributions of the agricultural commodities kept in this storeroom or set of storerooms.

Though the ideogram is not present in the fragment Fq 247, we can be sure it was HORD, by analogy with other tablets of the series, which record allotments of wheat, perhaps both grain (HORD) and milled grain (FAR)¹⁶, to various individuals and groups, some of which attested also in other Thebes series.

The quantities of wheat are expressed in subunits V and Z, which correspond respectively to 1/60 and 1/240 of the major unit (ca. 96 l)¹⁷, and are very low, mostly between V 1 and Z 1, only in few cases they exceed V 3 (maximum T 2+). Apart from this series, such low amounts of HORD are not otherwise attested. It may be worth remembering that HORD Z 1 should correspond to about 1/2 litre of wheat

¹⁴ Respectively JAMES 2002-2003, p. 399 and PALAIMA 2008, p. 386.

¹⁵ JAMES 2002-2003, p. 398-399.

¹⁶ The interpretation of the sign *65/*129 as ideogram FAR, suggested in AGS 2001 and followed, *inter alios*, by KILLEN 2006, p. 103-106, has been criticised by T. Palaima, who proposes to interpret it as the phonetic abbreviation *ju* for 'son' (PALAIMA 2006, p. 146-148).

¹⁷ Docs², p. 394.

and be equivalent to one of the possible three meals included in a daily subsistence ration of HORD Z 3¹⁸. In some tablets the scribe has summed up the amount of wheat distributed, but, because of the gaps in all these texts, it is never possible to check the accuracy of the amounts of the single allotments. In Fq 254[+]255.15 the readable total is [T]3V3 Z 2 (= Z 86), but originally it was perhaps T 6 or 7 V 3 Z 2 (= Z 158 or 170); in Fq 214.14, T 6 V 5[(= Z 164); in Fq 252.6,]T 7 V 2[Z 2[(= Z 178); in Fq 276.10, T 8 V 2[(= Z 200); in Fq 269.7 HORD 1 V 2[]Z 3[(= Z 251); in Fq 277.4 (HORD)]2 T 6 V 4 Z 1 (= Z 641). From these sums we know that, even if the individual allocations were small, the total amount of wheat disbursed by the Palace in each tranche of distribution was considerable, with an attested maximum of Z 641, which corresponds to 256,4 litre of wheat, assuming Z = 0,4 l.

The Gp series consists of 53 fragments and one whole tablet (Gp 109), not found *in situ*, and deals with allotments of wine to various individuals and groups, sometimes associated with FAR (Gp 110.2, 124.2, 144.1, 153.2, 215.1.2, 303.1)¹⁹ or CYP+O (Gp 290.1).

Many recipients occur both in the Fq and Gp series (*i-qo-po-qo(-i)*, *te-ka-ta-si*, *56-*ru-we*, *mo-ne-we*, *to-jo*, *a-ra-o*, *ra-ke-da-mo-ni-jo(-u-jo)*, *a-me-ro*, *ku-no*, *ke-re-na-i*) and some of them also in the Av series (es. *a-ko-da-mo*, *to-pa-po-ro-i*). Thus it seems that such distributions of different agricultural commodities were in some way linked. Nevertheless it is meaningful that in the Fq tablets the recipient most frequently attested, always in the first position and with the largest amounts, is *ma-ka*, that occurs only once in the Gp series (201.a) and with a relatively modest quantity of wine (V 1+). Moreover in the Gp series the other two most attested recipients of the Fq series, *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa*²⁰, do not occur. As suggested by M. Lejeune, the distributions of the two series might deal with the setting up of two different types of religious ceremonies²¹. In the Gp series no record ends with the total of the wine distributed, but the small erased tablet Gp 161 contains exclusively amounts of wine without other indications, thus, at line 2, the large amount VIN 6 S 2, i.e. 192 l, might be a total. As we see below, also Gp 109 and 147 might record two totals of wine to be paid, respectively, to the place called *63-*te-ra* and to the group of carpenters. Apart from Gp 161, the quantities of wine range from a minimum Z 2, i.e. 0,8 l, for a single person in Gp 345 (*56-*ru-we*), to the maximum VIN 4+, i.e. 115,2 l, for the group of carpenters in Gp 147 (*te-ka-]ta-si-qe*). Between these two extremes the majority of allotments are in quantities S 1 (9,6 l), V 2 (3,2 l), and V 1 (1,6 l)²². Finally we note that the same recipients, either single individuals, groups or places, do not receive always the same quantities, which instead vary record by record.

Let us now move to consider the most important issue and, at the same time, the most controversial: the function of the records of the Fq and Gp series. I think

¹⁸ Cf. MELENA 1996-1997, p. 173-174.

¹⁹ For the doubts on the interpretation of the sign *65/*129 see above n. 16.

²⁰ The reading *ko-wa* in Gp 210.2 is highly unlikely (AGS 2001).

²¹ LEJEUNE 1997, p. 292.

²² We can be confident with the relative values of the liquid measures VIN (1), S (1/6) V (1/18) and Z (1/72); on the contrary, the absolute value VIN = 28,8 l, though plausible, is conventional (cf. Docs², p. 393-394).

that the bulk of the evidence points to the interpretation of such allotments of HORD, FAR, VIN e CYP+O in the context of religious ceremonies²³:

- 1) The amounts of HORD recorded in the individual entries on the Fq tablets, are extremely small (often Z 1 or Z 2), thus they are difficult to explain in a context different from that of the ritual consumption, for example as rations, payments or handouts.
- 2) The commodities recorded, in particular HORD, VIN and FAR, make regular appearances on religious records.
- 3) Among the recipients appear personages with duties consistent with the celebrations of religious rituals, such as the *to-pa-po-ro-i* 'bearers of torches'²⁴ or 'bearers of baskets or hampers'²⁵, and place names in the allative form, such as **63-te-ra-de*. They might be cult places, on the basis of the comparison with indications in the allative form like *di-wi-jo-de* 'to the sanctuary of Zeus' (PY Fr 1230 e KH Gq 5)²⁶. Moreover, the fact that the wheat and wine are not only delivered to specific individuals and groups of workers, but also generally sent to some places, does not fit with the idea of simple payments for work or services done to the Palace.
- 4) There are some analogies between the distribution of HORD and possibly FAR of the Fq series and those of the PY Fn series. The latter seem to record daily distributions of food to participants in festivals lasting several days; those of the Fq series, because of the lower amounts, might be allotments of single meals on the occasion of religious feasts as well²⁷.
- 5) The tablet Gp 109 records a large amount of wine 'to be paid' (*qe-te-jo*) to a place called **63-te-ra(-de)*. It can be compared with KN Fp 363, which records amounts of olive oil 'to be paid' (*qe-te-a*) to a sanctuary localized in a specific place (*da-*83-ja-de / i-je-ro*). On the basis of this comparison, we can hypothesize that also the wine recorded in Gp 109 was delivered to a cult place (**63-te-ra-de*). On the other hand, the interpretation of the syllabic sequence *di-wi-ja-me-ro* in Gp 109.1 still remains uncertain. The editors suggest ΔιΨιας μέρος 'the share of *Diwia*', a feminine divine name linked to Ζεύς²⁸, but J. Killen suggests the interpretation of /dwiāmeron/ as '(for?) a two-day period', on the basis of the comparison with τριήμερον 'space of three days'. If the wine delivered in Gp 109 should have lasted for two days, one can suppose that also the other tablets of the same series record allotments of wine during festivals lasting more than one day²⁹.
- 6) In Fq 126.1, the temporal clause *o-te tu-wo-te-to* can be interpreted as ὅτε θύος θέτο 'when the burnt offering (incense offering) was made'³⁰ or 'when

²³ Cf. LEJEUNE 1997, in particular p. 292; AGS 2001, p. 363-369; SACCONI 2001, p. 468; SACCONI 2005, p. 430-431; HILLER 2006, p. 71; KILLEN 2006, p. 82-90; GUILLEUX 2010.

²⁴ AGS 2001, p. 172.

²⁵ PALAIMA 2006, p. 140.

²⁶ Place names in the allative form often appear in records of offerings to the sanctuaries, but obviously are not exclusively in this kind of records (cf. ROUGEMONT 2009a, p. 109).

²⁷ AGS 2001, p. 363-369 and KILLEN 2006, p. 97-98.

²⁸ AGS 2001, p. 377 and 390; SACCONI 2005, p. 430-431.

²⁹ KILLEN 2006, p. 98.

³⁰ AGS 2001, p. 186-188; JAMES 2002-2003, p. 402-404.

he had placed the sacrifice (on the altar)³¹. Thus it points specifically to the religious sphere.

- 7) The high frequency among the recipients of wheat and wine of names linguistically comparable to Greek names of animals seems more than a possibility: *ku-ne*, cf. κύων, κυνός 'dog', *ke-re-na-i*, cf. γέρανος 'crane', *e-mi-jo-no-i*, cf. ἡμίονος 'mule', *ka-no*, cf. χάν, χανός 'goose', *e-pe-to-i*, cf. ἐπετόν 'creeping thing', 'reptile', *o-ni-si*, cf. ὄρνις, -ιθος 'bird'³². Taking into account that the Mycenaean personal names do not seem particularly linked to animal names, we must remember that in the Greeks' religious beliefs animals were manifestation of the divine, as we can argue by the many historical epithets, myths, sacerdotal charges and ceremonies linked to animals, as well as by the high frequency of animal clay figures and figurines and pictorial representation in Mycenaean religious contexts³³. Among the many possible interpretations, some deserve to be mentioned like those of holy animals, alive or artificial, of hypostasis of the deity, and of names of priests or persons, possibly bearing animal masks, who held a role in worship³⁴.
- 8) On Fq 200.2 we find traces compatible with the reading *i-je-ro*, that could be the adjective 'holy' referring to HORD or, better, the noun 'temple', meaning that the wheat was sent to the temple, and of the derived personal name *i-je-re-wi-jo* in Gp 303.1³⁵.

The interpretation of the terms *ma-ka*, *o-po-re(-i)* and *ko-wa*, which regularly appear in the Fq series as the first recipients of the highest amounts of HORD, is disputed. They are interpreted by the editors as theonyms, respectively, *Mā Īā* 'Mother Earth' (Demeter), *Ἐπώρης* 'god of the fruits' (Zeus), and *Κόρη* (Persephone)³⁶, but many other scholars prefer to interpret *ma-ka* and *o-po-re-i* as personal names³⁷,

³¹ Cf. RUIJGH 2004, p. 23-28; RUIJGH 2006, p. 160-163; PERPILLOU 2009, p. 154 and 157-159. According to Ruijgh the understood subject would be the priest, on the contrary, according to Perpillou it would be the *wanax* because the aorist middle *te-to* /*t^heto*/ *theto* would express the devoted initiative of the offerer (the *wanax*) who delegates the fulfilment (to the priest).

³² Some of these interpretations are plausible, others compulsive (WEILHARTNER 2007, p. 342 and ROUGEMONT 2009a, p. 109-112 and 123-126; *contra* DUHOUX 2010). On the contrary, we must reject the interpretation of *ko-ro* as χοῖρος 'pig' (AGS 2001, p. 167 and 270-271). The comparison between the records written on Ft 219 and 220 shows that the terms *si-to* and *ko-ro* should represent homogeneous things, in opposition or in alternation to each other. Thus, as *si-to* likely indicates the 'ration of cereals' or, because Ft 220 record olives, more generally the 'food for humans', *ko-ro* could correspond to κόρος, a noun derived for the verb κορέννυμι 'satisfy', perhaps meaning 'fodder, food for animals' (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010, p. 85).

³³ Regarding reptiles, for example, we can remember the clay snakes from the cult Center at Mycenae (MOORE, TAYLOUR 1999, p. 63-66, tables 23-25), and, regarding mules, the mule-headed genii on a miniature fresco fragment from Mycenae, possibly based on the iconography of the Egyptian hippopotamus god Taweret (WEINGARTEN 2000, in particular p. 118, fig. 6).

³⁴ See the detailed discussion and bibliographical references in ROUGEMONT 2009a, p. 112-126.

³⁵ Cf. AGS 2001, p. 206 and HILLER 2006, p. 71.

³⁶ AGS 2001, p. 188-194; RUIJGH 2004, p. 1-25; HILLER 2006, p. 71.

³⁷ See DUHOUX 2002-2003; JAMES 2002-2003, p. 400-402; KILLEN 2006, p. 102-103; PALAIMA 2006, p. 140-141. The attestation of the term *ma-ka* in Gp 201.a as recipient of wine rules out the suggestion by T. Palaima that it is a *nomen actionis* /*māgā*/ *μαγή, cf. μάζα 'grain cake', from the root of the verb μᾶσσω 'knead', meaning a standard daily allocation used to make grain cakes (PALAIMA 2008, p. 387).

instead *ko-wa* could be simply κόρη 'girl/daughter', as in the tablets of Pylos and Knossos, or a feminine personal name. As far I am concerned, since the evidence listed above hardly get a more satisfactory explanation out of the global religious interpretation (records of offerings of small amounts of wheat and greater amounts of wine in occasion of religious feasts), the interpretation of *ko-wa* as the goddess κόρη is the most likely, but doubtful remain the nouns *o-po-re(-i)* and *ma-ka*.

The epithet of Zeus is Ὀπωρεύς, thus in Linear B one would expect a dative singular *o-po-re-we* or *o-po-re-wi*, but not *o-po-re-i*. Nevertheless, C. J. Ruijgh has shown with strong arguments that in Mycenaean the nouns in -εύς can present a form in -ης, thus the equivalence Ὀπώρης = Ὀπωρεύς would be perfectly legitimate such as the derivation of Ὀπώρης from ὀπώρα 'the latter part of summer, the season of fruits', then 'fruits' for metonymy³⁸. On the other hand, it has also been suggested the interpretation as *Ὀπώλης, from the root **ol-* of the verb ὀλλυμι 'destroy' (lat. *ab-oleo*), or as a compound from ὀπί and ὄρος, -εος 'mountain', which could be compared with *me-to-re(-i)*, a name attested at Thebes (Fq 132.[5], 229.[7], 252.2, 254 [+], 255.7, 276.[9], 292.2), Pylos (Na 924.B), and Knossos (Kn Da 5295.B, Og <4467>.2), thus *me-to-re-i* would mean literally 'beyond the mountain' and *o-po-re-i* 'on the mountain'³⁹. *Me-to-re* is surely an anthroponym at Knossos and Pylos, but at Thebes it cannot be ascertained, because the divine name can also be used as anthroponyms (cf., for example, the case of *di-wo* 'Zeus', used as personal name in KN Dv 1503.B). *O-po-re-i* is attested exclusively at Thebes. It appears on eleven tablets of the Fq series as the first recipients of relatively large amounts of HORD, thus it might be a man as well as a god of war or mountains, in any case not recognizable in the classical Greek *pantheon*.

Regarding *ma-ka*, I would like to suggest taking into consideration the possibility of the phonetic interpretation /makhā/, which would correspond to μάχη in Ionic dialect. In this case, it might be a personification of the battle, the fight. This hypothetic Μάχη 'Goddess of the Battle', although not attested in the classical Greek *pantheon*, would be a figure parallel to the goddess called *Bellona*, from the word *bellum*, in Latin. Other names, attested in Linear B as sure divine names, are not present in the Greek *pantheon* of the first millennium, such as the Goddess *pe-re*-*82 (PY Un 6 and Tn 316)⁴⁰. Moreover, recent studies based on grave findings and on anthropological comparisons have shed light on the link between war and religious beliefs in Mycenaean Age⁴¹. Finally, the presence of one or maybe two warrior goddesses in the Mycenaean *pantheon* is assured by at least four images: two of a female figure wearing or linked to a boar's tusk helmet and two of a female figure bearing a big eight-shaped shield⁴². The female figure wearing the boar's tusk hel-

³⁸ RUIJGH 2004, p. 18-23.

³⁹ GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006, p. 39.

⁴⁰ ROUGEMONT 2005, p. 335-339 and 370-376, tab. 2.

⁴¹ WHITTAKER 2008, in particular p. 73-78 and 83-84.

⁴² See IMMERWAHR 1990, p. 191-192, Nos. 7 and 9; NIEMEIER 1990, p. 167-168, figs. 1 and 2. We must ignore the cases in which the eight-shaped shields are used as filling motives in scenes related to the sphere of worship, such as those with sacrificial animals or female figures in procession (e.g. CMS I, no. 75 and 132).

met and carrying griffin is represented in a Fresco fragment from the Cult Center of Mycenae and can be compared with the cultic scene engraved on a gold signet ring from the tomb I at Isopata, near Knossos, featured by female figures and a boar's tusk helmet (CMS II.3, no. 51). The female figure bearing (or with the body in the form of) a big eight-shaped shield is represented on a stucco *pinax* and on a gold signet ring with a well known scene of worship (CMS I, no. 17), both from the Cult Center area of Mycenae. Many scholars identify in these figures a warlike goddess prefiguring Athena⁴³, but this is a speculative suggestion as well as the hypothesis of a Goddess of the Battle called Μάχη possibly co-existing with a different warrior Goddess.

Among the recipients of wheat in the Fq series appears also the noun *a-pu-wa* (Fq 229.3, 254 [+] 255.4, 257.[2], 275.2, 339.2, 343.[2], 382.[2]), which might be interpreted as a theonym in the dative 'Αρνυία⁴⁴. Nevertheless the expected Mycenaean form would be **a-pu-ja* and the mention of a single Harpy seems odd, thus it is better to interpret *a-pu-wa* as a feminine personal name⁴⁵.

Therefore, at Thebes, the single delivery of HORD (Fq 247.3) and the four of VIN (Gp 112.1, 114.2, 147.2 and 175.2) to the τέκτονες should be intended in the context of religious feasts.

In the Fq series, HORD allotments are arranged in descending order and the recipients tend to occupy the same position and to receive more or less the same amount in each record they occur. Although such an order is not rigid, we can assume that it reflects a vertical hierarchy. If so, the persons who usually appear in the lower half of tablets and receive Z amounts should have a lower social *status* than persons recorded in the highest half and supplied with V amounts⁴⁶. And indeed in the tablet Fq 247 the text seems to be arranged according to such descending order, in fact at lines 1-3 those who receive V amounts of wheat are recorded, and at lines 4-5 those who receive Z amounts. Recipients of V amounts are two individuals, called *ka-wi-jo* and *a-me-ro*, and three groups: *o-ti-ri[-ja-i]*, a trade name of doubtful linguistic interpretation, but indicating female workers engaged in the textile industry⁴⁷, *i-qa-po-qa[-i]*, likely interpreted as ὑποφορβοῖς 'for the grooms'⁴⁸ and *te-ka-ta-si* τέκτασι 'for the carpenters'. Recipients of Z amounts are three individuals [*o-*] *u-ko-we-i*, *do-ro-jo* and *a-ka[-de-i]*. The whole group of carpenters receives an amount equal to that of the man called *ka-wi-jo* at line 2, i.e. V 1 (= Z 4). On the basis of this amount we can suggest that the carpenters were two, receiving HORD Z 2 *pro capite*, or four, receiving HORD Z 1 *pro capite*, an amount of wheat likely equivalent to one meal on subsistence rations⁴⁹. The latter hypothesis would be preferable in view of the fact that for two individuals the scribe could have used the dual form rather than the plural.

⁴³ *Inter alios* IMMERWAHR 1990, p. 121 and NIEMEIER 1990, p. 168.

⁴⁴ AGS 2001, p. 214 and IODICE 2008b.

⁴⁵ ROUGEMONT 2005, p. 332; PALAIMA 2006, p. 142.

⁴⁶ JAMES 2002-2003, p. 407-414.

⁴⁷ AGS 2001, p. 215.

⁴⁸ AGS 2001, p. 202.

⁴⁹ JAMES 2002-2003, p. 406.

Despite the incomplete documents and the greater variability in the amount of wine distributed to each individual or group in the various documents in which they occur, as well as from the records of the Gp series it is possible to infer a hierarchy of recipients based on the frequency of attestation and the amount received⁵⁰. The same recipients, in fact, appear in more records, but with different frequency, a consequence of the fact that the transactions recorded in the Gp series, such as those of the Fq series, were repeated during the administrative cycle with a certain rhythm. The place name at the allative form *63-*te-ra-de*, perhaps a cult place, occurs in 15 tablets and, in total, receives the largest amounts of wine (S 1+, S 1 V 1+, S 2, VIN 1+, VIN 2 V 5, perhaps VIN 2 S 2 V 2 and VIN 4), *56-*ru-we*, likely a personal name in the dative singular, occurs in 13 tablets and receives quantities ranging from Z 2 to V 1-4, the *e-pe-to-i* (ἐπετοῖς 'for the reptiles') in 7 tablets receives variable amounts (V 1, S 1, S 1 V 1), and the *te-ka-ta-si* obtains 4 different allotments, V 2, V 3 Z 1+, V 6+ and VIN 4+. Other recipients, personal, place and trade names have lower frequencies. Thus, although based on fragmentary data, we note that the carpenters are at the 4th place in the list of frequency and that they are associated to the largest allotment of wine in the series, VIN 4+ (Gp 147.2). Since Gp 147 is a fragment and we are confident with the restoration *te-ka]-ta-si-qe*, i.e. τέκτασι-τε 'and to the carpenters', one could wonder if, at line 2, the four or more units of wine were all intended to be paid (*qe-te-jo*) to the carpenters or, with a rather odd text arrangement, to the carpenters and to another group of workers fallen in *lacuna*. The comparison with the whole Gp 109 tablet, where the first line ends with *qe-te-jo* followed by *vacat*, as well as in Gp 147.1, and the amount of wine to be paid is written at the beginning of the second line, dissolves such a doubt. We can suggest, in fact, that the first part, now lost, of line 2 of the tablet 147 contained the amount of wine related to the entry of the first line, followed directly by *te-ka]-ta-si-qe*, for space reasons. In other words, the general outline of Gp 147 would be: 'to be paid to X *tot* and to be paid to the carpenters VIN 4+'. Due to the large amounts and to the verbal adjective *qe-te-jo*, it is possible that these two tablets record the total of wine corresponding to some periods of work, that were likely distributed in more allotments.

In the small fragment Gp 175 the allotment V 3 Z 1+ to the carpenters is the only one still readable. In Gp 112 and 114 appear both the carpenters and a man called *56-*ru-we*, other recipients have fallen in *lacuna*. Whereas in the first tablet the carpenters receive the largest amount (V 6+, *56-*ru-we* receives V 2) and consequently are recorded first. In the second, on the contrary, the allotment received by the individual (V 3) is bigger than that of the group (V 2) and thus the order of registration is reversed.

As we have already said, the lowest amount recorded in Gp series is Z 2 delivered to *56-*ru-we* in Gp 345. Thus it is likely that the minimum ration delivered *pro capite* was indeed Z 2, i.e. about 0,8 l of wine likely diluted as in classical Greek symposiums. If so, *56-*ru-we* would receive four portions in Gp 112 and six in Gp 114. The question is: why does the same person receive time after time different

⁵⁰ LEJEUNE 1997, p. 290-291.

amounts of the same commodity? The reason or, in other words, the multiplicative factor might be, for example, the numbers of meals provided during the ceremony, perhaps lasting more than one day, assuming that VIN Z 2 was a standard amount of diluted wine consumed in a meal, but this alone does not explain why the amounts assigned to *56-ru-we and to the *te-ka-ta-si* do not vary in a simple direct proportion one would expect if the variation was due exclusively to the different duration of the ceremony (cf. Gp 112 and 114). Another explanation may be that the amount depends on the number of working days to be rewarded. Moreover, in the case of the group, the amounts may vary due to one of the factors just mentioned and/or in relation to the changes in the number of group members. Thus if the carpenters always received the minimum portion Z 2 *pro capite*, they would be 4 in Gp 114.2, and 12 in Gp 112.1, if the amount V 6+ had been complete. Nevertheless the number of the members does not seem to affect the decision on the amount to assign to the group, since in this case we would expect that the number of group members was written, as in the tablets of Pylos Ab series. Moreover, as we can see in Gp 114, there is no relation between the amount owing to a single person, V 3 (= Z 12), and that, in theory, owing to each carpenter of the team that receives in total V 2 (= Z 8), in fact the proportion $1 : 12 = x : 8$ gives no plausible result. If the number of carpenters were fixed, perhaps 4, as we have supposed above for Fq 247, they would receive the minimum portion Z 2 *pro capite* in Gp 114, and Z 6 in Gp 112, but Gp 175.2 would remain problematic because the readable amount is V 3 Z 1, i.e. Z 13+, and to make this amount divisible into four, we should suppose an original V 3 Z 4, although in this case we would expect the notation V 4. Finally, as we have suggested above, Gp 147 might contain a total, which in theory would correspond to Z 72+ (about 28, 8 l) *pro capite*, but this reading is doubtful.

In a radically secular and perhaps a little too modernistic view, the tablets of the Fq series have been interpreted as day-by-day records of actual daily distributions of HORD to individuals and groups over a half month period⁵¹. Because the amounts of HORD distributed in the Fq series are very regular, but too low to be subsistence rations, such allotments have been called supplemental rations, delivered to workers and officials and differentiated on the basis of the position occupied in the social hierarchy, but it has not been cleared as supplemental in respect to what⁵². In this view, the variation in the amounts allocated to different individuals would depend on the importance of services and work done for the authority which controlled these allocations, and the absent people in a certain tablet would be absent for the corresponding working day.

In the Gp series, the non proportionality of allocations to the different recipients in the same tablets prevents the hypothesis that each tablet records allocations corresponding to a day's work, differentiated according to the importance of the work performed and/or the *status* of the recipients, because in this case the same recipients would always have received the same quantities or, at least, always proportionally higher or lower in respect to those of the others. One can check this

⁵¹ PALAIMA 2008, p. 386.

⁵² JAMES 2002-2003.

comparing the allocations to the *te-ka-ta-si* and to **56-ru-we* in Gp 112 and 114. In addition, in Gp 109, where a payment of wine is recorded (VIN 2 V 5) for **63-te-ra-de*, the term *di-wi-a-me-ro* could be interpreted as /dwiāmeron/ 'for two days'⁵³. Therefore, if the other tablets recorded daily distributions of wine, we would expect to find regularly, in association with **63-te-ra-de*, half of VIN 2 V 5, that is VIN 1 V 2 Z 2, or quantities very close to it, instead they vary from S 1 to VIN 4 and they never coincide with VIN 1 V 2 Z 2. In conclusion, the Gp tablets do not record canonical and regular payments, but probably wine distribution, with minimum allocations of Z 2 per person, and of cyperus (Gp 290) in the context of religious ceremonies which duration and number of participants might vary. Also very regular offerings of modest amounts of wheat in the Fq series can be framed in the context of religious ceremonies, but probably belonging to different cults and rituals, at least for what concerns the products provided by the Palace to the participants, who were more or less the same. Finally, if the offerings of HORD might be easily understood as individual meals, consumed during the feast, those of VIN, much larger and variable (from 0,8 to 28,8 l) and assigned to both individuals and groups, should have been for collective consumption during the ceremony, but the possible remaining might have been taken away.

The *te-ko-to-ne*, therefore, were not maintained by the Palace of Thebes according to a regular supply of rations, but enjoyed allotments of wheat and of a luxury commodity, the wine, probably as rewards for services rendered, through the system of 'cult offerings'⁵⁴. It is not difficult to acknowledge that, under a strictly economic profile, the religious feast and the partaking of 'ritual meals' were functional to implement mobilization of goods, such as cereals, wine and scented oils, and to maintain, according to a predetermined annual monitoring, a system of storage and redistribution essential for the economic life of the kingdom⁵⁵. In the Mycenaean Age, moreover, the close intermingling of sacred and secular, in the economic, political and social areas, is testified both at epigraphy level (70% of the resources recorded in the tablets pertains to the religious sphere and all the most important social segments have ties with the religious context), and at the archeological level (in the Palaces both crafts and administrative activities as well as religious ones are, in fact, well attested)⁵⁶.

3. ALLOTMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES TO WORKFORCE IN RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

To conclude the discussion on the allocation of agricultural products to lay workers in religious contexts, we propose a quick comparison with the records of

⁵³ KILLEN 2006, p. 98. But in AGS 2001, p. 277-278 it is suggested /Diwiās meros/ 'the part of the goddess *Diwia*'.

⁵⁴ For a comprehensive analysis of records of offerings at Thebes, see WEILHARTNER 2005, p. 194-201.

⁵⁵ On this subject see MARAZZI 2006, for an interesting comparison between Mycenaean and Hittite "systems of cult offerings". The concept of redistribution/mobilization of goods is of ongoing interest to scholars interested in Late Bronze Age economy and the semantic debate is still alive. On the matter see recently HALSTEAD 2011 with references.

⁵⁶ See BENDALL 2007 and LUPACK 2008.

the series Oi of Mycenae and Av of Thebes. The seven tablets of the Oi series were found in the *Citadel House*, name given by Wace, before digging, to the area behind the terrace wall, part of the *Annex of the South House*, in turn clearly tied to the *Cult Center*. They record distribution of the product *134/*190, perhaps tallow or an aromatic product or beer⁵⁷, to gods (in Oi 701.3 the *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* and in Oi 704.1 the *po-ti-ni-ja*), to priests/prophets (in Oi 701.4 the *po-ro-po-i*, dative plural of *προπός, comparable with θεο-πρόπος 'augur', 'prophet') and to groups of craftsmen. In Oi 701.5 and 704.2 we have the fullers (*ka-na-pe-u-si*, dat. plur. of *ka-na-pe-u*, κναφεύς) and in Oi 701.7, 702.4, 703.2 and 704.4 the workers of *cyanus* (*ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i*, dat. plur. of *κυ(F)ανο-φοργός, cf. *ku-wa-no* κύανος 'lapis lazuli' or 'glass paste'). Looking at the quantities and the order of registration, it seems that even the distributions of *190 in the tablets of the series MY Oi may reflect a hierarchy of roles, so that the higher quantity of *190 belongs to the *po-ti-ni-ja*, followed by that belonging to the *po-ro-po-i* and lastly the one belonging to the craftsmen.

The religious interpretation of the majority of Thebes tablets is controversial, among these there are also those of the Av series, which record barley and personnel, both male and female, perhaps destined to various sanctuaries of Boeotia⁵⁸. The allocation of personnel to sanctuaries is attested with certainty in PY An 1281, and there are numerous examples of offerings of cereals to gods, however, no element of the series Av refers without any reasonable doubt to the religious context.

The interpretation of the term *si-to* in Av 100.2.3 and 101.6b as Σιτώ, the name of Demeter in Sicily⁵⁹, in my opinion, is unlikely and definitely preferable that of 'ration of cereals, food'⁶⁰. In any case, among the recipients of GRA also shepherds, *po-me-ne* (Av 101), a hide craftsman, *wi-ri-ne-u* (Av 100), a group of fullers *ka-na-pe-we* and a *a-re-pe-se-u*, perhaps the unguent boiler/perfumer (Av 106)⁶¹ appear, more or less directly, in the Av series of Thebes. In An 1281 the staff in the service of the *Potnia* is recorded according to a hierarchical organization that provides superiors (names in dative) and attendants (names in nominative), the craftsmen of Av series seem to belong or have to account to others, as the *wi-ri-ne-u* (*ῥινεύς, cf. ῥινός 'skin') to the inspector *zo-wa* (Av 100.4b-5)⁶². The amounts of barley allocated are comparable to those of wheat of the Fn series, whose religious connotation was highlighted by Killen⁶³, with a minimum V 12, allocated to a single person, and a maximum V 180, allocated to a single person (*po-te-we*), but intended to be distrib-

⁵⁷ See Docs², p. 506-507; PITEROS, OLIVIER, MELENA 1990, p. 163-166; WEILHARTNER 2008, p. 417-418. The attestations on the nodules of Thebes Wu 48.α; 80.α; 89.α; 95.α; 98.α and on KN U 7063 suggest a product derived from animals, while the attestations on MY Go 610 and Ue 661 would suggest an aromatic product.

⁵⁸ AGS 2001, p. 166-179.

⁵⁹ AGS 2001, p. 167.

⁶⁰ *Inter alios* KILLEN 2006, p. 99 and PALMER 2008, p. 629-632.

⁶¹ See myc. *a-re-pa-zo-o* / *a-re-po-zo-o* *ἄλειφαζός, from *a-re-pa* ἄλειφαρ, -ατος 'unguent', in turn from the verb ἀλείφω (Iodice 2008a).

⁶² Different is the hypothesis presented in AGS 2001, p. 168, according to which *wi-ri-ne-u* would be the name of a "collector". On the possible interpretations of the term *wi-ri-ne-u* see ROUGEMONT 2009b, p. 423-424.

⁶³ KILLEN 2001.

uted to a group of *ku-na-ki-si*, likely γυναιξί ‘for the women’, but we do not know how many individuals it was composed of (Av 100.2).

4. CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

As we have seen the *tektones* are always recorded in a group, but their number is never specified. If they were always four, as we have assumed on the basis of Th Fq 247 to get an idea of the value of the assignments, each of them would have received a portion of wheat equivalent to only one meal consumed during the feast (HORD Z 1), and jugs of wine for a variable quantity *pro capite*, perhaps depending on the duration of the ceremony and/or the days of work. The minimum amount of wine, likely diluted, per person in the Gp series seems to be Z 2 *die*, i.e. about 0,8 l, but we see much higher amounts as well (see *supra* § 2, p.) for which we should suppose both a common ritual consumption and a private, later consumption of the surplus.

Since the carpenters were not maintained according to a regular supply of rations, but, at least at Thebes, received handouts of wheat and, likely as rewards, good amounts of wine, a luxury item, in the context of religious ceremonies, we can conclude that they enjoyed a relatively high social position in the Mycenaean society and/or that people who worked for the Palace and participated at the feasts were exceptionally skilled workers.

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