A) The Tablets of Pylos Mb series.

E.L. Bennett Jr. and J.-P. Olivier in *PTT*² attribute to this series 25 tablets, and the attribution to this series is based on the presence of ideogram *146*, the form of the tablets and the quality of the clay.

More recently E.L. Bennett³ has also attributed to this series 8 tablets of the Xa series which do not present ideogram *146* because they are fragmentary, but they have in common with the Mb tablets all the other characteristics, and he has joined Mb 1399 and Mb 1403.

Mb 1406⁴, which does not present any ideogram, has been excluded from the series and will be reclassified as Ea 1406.

After the new joins of J.L. Melena⁵ still unpublished, the series now consists of 30 palm leaf tablets of which only 17 present ideogram *146*.

Find-spots.
The series is rather homogeneous with respect to the find-spots. In fact 29 of

---

¹ This article is the complete version of that which will appear in an abridged form in the Proceedings of XI Mycenological Conference. Austin, May 7-13 2000, T.G. Palaima & CH.W. Shelmerdine eds., [forthcoming]. I would like to thank CH. Shelmerdine for some clarification about the find-spots and the scribes hands. For editorial reasons in all documents in linear B quoted, uncertain readings are indicated by underlining rather than a dot as is usually the case.


³ Bennett 1992, pp. 126–127. The relevant Xa tablets are: Xa 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1383, 1386, 1387.

⁴ This originates from trench 8 SW, Palaima 1988, pp.107, 166 and 209. Prior publication Lang 1961, p. 160, pl. 56. It is attributed to scribe S28 H 43?, the scribe of Ea series. Reclassified at the suggestion of J.T. Killen, in Bennett, Melena, Olivier, Palaima, PofN IV, [forthcoming].

⁵ Melena 2000–2001, [forthcoming]. I would like to thank J.L. Melena for same clarification about these new joins. The joins are: Mb 1365 + Mb (exXa)1386 and Mb (exXa)1376 + Mb 1395.
the 30 tablets were recovered in the South-Western Building or in its immediate proximity\(^6\), while one, \textbf{Mb 1336}, originates from room 97 of the North-Eastern Building. (Fig. 1)

**Scribes.**

23 of the 30 Mb tablets are of Hand 14. These are:


\textbf{Mb 1398}, \textbf{Mb 1381} and \textbf{1405} must be ascribed to Class ii.

\textbf{Mb 1402} belongs to Class i\(^7\)

\textbf{Mb 1336}, \textbf{1400} and \textbf{1433} are not attributed to any scribe.

The Mb tablets have a very simple scheme of recording. They consist of one or sometimes two words followed by ideogram \(^{*146}\) and numerals.\(^8\)

\textbf{Mb 1396} and \textbf{Mb 1365} are two typical examples.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Mb 1396}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item a-pi-no-e-wi-jo \(^{*146}\) 2
    \end{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Mb 1365}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ]ke-do-jo-no [ ]i-jo \(^{*146}\) 4 [ 
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Interestingly, the scheme of tablet \textbf{Mb 1396} is the same of Na tablets.

\textbf{Na 419}

re-u-ko-to-ro SA 10

Both record a commodity consigned to the palace and show a toponym, the ideogram of the commodity and the numerals. It is important to underline the fact that linen and garment \(^{*146}\) represent two types of fiscal entry.

The words found in the Mb documents are toponyms or men’s names, or in any case words identifying a particular place or a particular individual.

In two cases (\textbf{Mb 1379} and \textbf{1401}) the preposition \textit{pa-ro} precedes the man’s name.

Let us consider now all the words which appear in the series.

1) \textit{a-ke-o}.

It appears in \textbf{PY Mb 1434}

\begin{itemize}
  \item ti[ a-ke-o, u[ \(^{*146}\)
\end{itemize}

and \textbf{PY Mb 1378}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item a-ke-o [ \(^{*146}\)
\end{itemize}

---

\(^6\) Only \textbf{Mb 1396} and \textbf{1397} are found further to Southeast, in trench 14–16.

\(^7\) Palaima 1988, p. 118 highlights the fact that perhaps also \textbf{Mb 1402} is to be attributed to hand 14. : «Of the few signs forms on Mb 1402, signs 77 (ka) has a Class i form with the vertical stoke cutting the orizontal. Compare Mb 1401 (Hand 14).».

\(^8\) The only exception is \textbf{Mb 1434}, \textit{which present the signe ti[ above a-ke-o u[} \(^{*146}\).
It is certainly a man’s name in the nominative case in PY An 192.14, in Cc 660 and in Xa 1378 (a-ke-o[ ]). He is one of the collectors of Pylos, present in the genitive case in the Cn series.

2) ]a-ki-ri.

PY Mb 1363 ]a-ki-ri *146[

It is probably the same toponym, ]ka-a-ki-ri[ present in PY Mb 1432 which, as M. Lejeune9 suggests, could be read as pa-ka-a-ka-ri toponym which appears in PY Na 926 or also as ]a2-ke-wa-a-ki-ri which appears in Na 928.10

3) ]a-ki-ri-jo[

PY Mb 1387 ]a-ki-ri-jo [ *146

It is probably an ethnic derived from the toponym ]a-ki-ri.

4) a-pi-no-e-wi-jo.

PY Mb 1396 a-pi-no-e-wi-jo *146 2

It is a well documented toponym. It appears in PY An 37.3, and 207.13, in PY Jn 605.1, in PY Nn 228.5, in PY Vn 130.3,4 and in PY Xa 58, which is in all probability a fragment of the Na series11.

It can be located without doubt within the territory of the de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-i-ja.

5) a3-ki-po-de.

Mb 1397 a3-ki-po-de *146[

For M. Lejeune is «loc.sing. ou nom. pl.; lieu-dit tirant sa désignation du nom αίγιπονιους du “chévrepied”»12.

Also M. Ventris and J. Chadwick13 consider it a toponym.

It is worth underlining the existence of the man’s name a3-ki-po, which appears in KN U 4478.9

---

9 Lejeune 1971, p. 370. : «Les fragments Mb 1363:...]akiri et Mb 1432:...]kaakiri, si on les rapproche de pakaakari, font penser à un second élément disyllabique, que les scribes écrivaient soit —ak(a)ri soit —ak(i)ri. Le toponyme de Mb 1432 pourrait alors se restituer: [pa]kaakiri et être identique au pakaakari de Na 926;».

10 Shelmerdine [forthcoming], Melena 1997, pp. 284–285. I would like to thank C. W. Shelmerdine who has provided me with her texte before the publication.

11 Bennett and Olivier 1973, p. 271


6) a₃-me-wa

PY Mb 1376 a₃-me-wa [*146 5
In PY Vn 865.2 it is an individual in the nominative case in a list of na-u-do-mo.

7) ]de.

PY Mb 1399 de [*146 11
It is difficulty to say if this is indeed the ending of an allative.

8) di-wi-jo.

PY Mb 1366 di-wi-jo [*146 2
Variant of di-u-jo, derived from the root of di-we, interpreted by everybody as the sanctuary of Zeus (di-wi-jo-de OLE+A v 1 in PY Fr 1230) or, less probably as a toponym.

9) ]e-na-po-ro[  

PY Mb 1435 ]e-na-po-ro[ [*146
It is a well attested toponym, whose location is probably in the de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja. It is associated three times with another toponym of the Mb series a-pi-no-e-wi-jo in PY An 37.4, Nn 228.7 and Vn 130.

10) ]jo.

PY Mb 1336 ]jo [*146 11
It could be the last syllable of a man’s name in the genitive case, or of an ethnic, masculine or neutral.

11) ]ka-a-ki-ri[

PY Mb 1432 ]ka-a-ki-ri[ [*146
This can be reconstructed as the toponyms pa-ka-a-ka-ri or ]a₂-ke-wo-a-ki-ri, see n°2.

12) ]-ka-te

PY Mb 1402 ]-ka-te [*146 5
The probable reading is wa-na-ka-te or pi-ro-ka-te, a man’s name attested at ro-u-so in PY Jn 832.10 with pa-qo-si-jo man’s name which appears also in Mn 1412.2.
It is worth remembering that ideogram *146 appears in a list of goods to be used in a ceremony in honour of the wa-na-ka in PY Un 2.

13) ka-wa-ti-ro |

PY Mb 1401 pa-ro, ka-wa-ti-ro *146 |

ka-wa-ti-ro is a man’s name in the nominative case in PY An 340.2 and perhaps in Jn 431.24 ( )wa-ti-ro). But here is in the dative.

As for the meaning of the preposition pa-ro, Ventris and Chadwick14 translate it as: « from or at the hands of (a person) ».

C. Ruijgh15 has underlined the possibility that the expression pa-ro da-mo translates as «auprès de la communauté» or «de la communauté».

J.L. Melena16 in KN Ld 584.2 translates pa-ro followed by e-ta-wo-ne-we, as ‘apud’.

J.T. Killen17, considers e-ta-wo-ne-u as a finisher of textiles and translates the expression pa-ro e-ta-wo-ne-we «chez, at e-ta-wo-ne-u» , in the sense that at the time of inscribing the tablet, the textiles are still with the finisher, and will later be sent to the palace.

Olivier Piteros ad Melena18 consider: «des formules avec pa-ro...une localisation sans mouvement et extérieure au centre administratif: «auprès de X ». ».

From the analysis of these interpretations, above all of those originating from the textile industry, it seems to me that we can translate the expression pa-ro ka-wa-ti-ro as ‘from ka-wa-ti-ro’ or more likely as ‘at ka-wa-ti-ro’ (i.e. «in the place where ka-wa-ti-ro resides» see infra).

14) )ke-do-jo-no |

PY Mb 1365 )ke-do-jo-no[ ]i-jo *146 4 [ |

=PY Mb 1386 (ex Xa 1386) )ke-do-jo-no[ +PY Mb 1365 ]i-jo *146 4[ |

)ke-do-jo-no[ is clearly linked with the man’s name ke-do-jo, which appears in PY Ua 158.

Probably a man’s name in the genitive (Κέρδοιο) or in the nominative case (Κερδόιος). The presence of the word i-jo, presumably ‘son’ (gr. νιός), after ke-do-jo-no, points to a genitive. It is only attested in this document.

15) ke-sa-da-ra.

PY Mb 1380 ke-sa-da-ra, [ *146

14) Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 569
15) Ruijgh 1967, p.95
17) Killen 1979, pp.160–161
18) Olivier, Piteros and Melena 1990, p. 152.
It is a man’s name which appears in **PY Fg 368** where he/she receives 5 units of wheat and five of figs and in **PY Fg 828** where he/she receives 5 units of wheat. More uncertain is the case of tablet **An 435.2** (*ke[-]*-*sa-da-ra*), which is the result of the recent joins of J.L. Melena.

*ke-sa-da-ra* is also present in **PY Mn 1368.2.3**.

It is usually interpreted as a woman’s name, *Κωσσάνδρα*, even if, as Ilievski reports, there are men’s names ending in *-da-ra* like: «Τυνδάρης, a well-know Greek mythological name...»

16) **na-me**

**PY Mb 1379**

| pa-ro na-me[ | *146 |

It is perhaps to be read as *pa-ro-na-me*.

*na-me*[ is probably a man’s name.

17) **ne-ja, ne-wa**

**PY Mb 1381**

| ne-ja, ne-wa | *146 |

The word *ne-wa* is an adjective probably in the feminine nominative plural, used in other contexts in connection with various commodities, particularly LANA in **TH Of 34.1** (*a-pi-*-*qo-ro ne-wa ko-tu-ro* DA LANA 3...*) and in **MY Oe 111.3** (*ne-*-*wa o-u-*-*ka LANA*) with the meaning of ‘new’, gr. νέος as opposed to *pe-ru-si-nwa*, «last year’s».

The word *ne-ja* can be reconstructed in various ways. Given the layout of the Mb tablets, which present a toponym or a man’s name, and given that there is no attestation of a toponym ending in *ne-ja*, one should perhaps look at the men’s names known from Pylos. Among these, the most interesting could be *a3-pu-ke*-ne-ja, which, like *ke-sa-da-ra*, receives food rations in **PY Fn 79.1** (*a3-pu-ke-ne-ja HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1*).

The reading *ri*-ne-ja ‘linen workers’ cannot be disregarded, considering that ideogram *146* represents a garment which could also be made out of linen. Less likely are the readings *i-do-me*-ne-ja, who is a *te-o-jo do-e-ra* attested as an usufructuary in **PY Eb 498.1** and **Ep 212.9**. and *te-do-ne-ja* woman’s name attested in **PY Vn 851.10**.

---

19 Melena 1997, p. 278. PY Xa 435 is reclassified as PY An 435.
20 Ilievski 1992, p. 326
21 Bennett and Olivier 1973, p. 271.
22 Lindgren 1973, Part I p. 81
23 Mb 1405 and 1381 possibly fragments of same tablet.
24 Shelmerdine [forthcoming].
18) ]-no-wi-jo [ 

PY Mb 1383 ]-no-wi-jo [ *146
Not referable to any attested word.

19) ro-u-so.

PY Mb 1398 ro-u-so *146[
It is a well attested toponym which can be situated in the de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-i-ja. It is one of the nine districts of the Hither Province cited in Ma 365.1.
It appears also in PY Aa 717 and 798, Ab 382 and 1099, Cn 285.1 and 328.1, Fr 1238 (ro-u]-so-de), Jn 829.10 and 832.1, Jo 438.9, Mn 456.7 and 1370.1, Un 47.1 and Vn 130.12. In this last tablet it is associated with a-pi-no-e-wi-jo and e-na-po-ro, toponyms of Mb/Mn series as well as me-ta-pa, ka-ra-do-ro, pa-ki-ja-si, which enables us, as we have seen above, to locate a-pi-no-e-wi-jo and e-na-po-ro in the de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-i-ja, and to reasonably consider them as villages of less importance then the nine districts.

20) ]se-we

PY Mb 1433 ]-se-we *146 [ 
Not referable to any attested word.

21) u-ma[

PY Mb 1405 u-ma[ *146
Not referable to any attested word.

22) wa-a2-te-pi.

PY Mb 1377 wa-a2-te-pi, ne[ *146 
wa-a2-te-pi is a toponym also attested in Na 1009. It probably appears also in PY An 207.9 in the form wa-a2-te-we, where it is associated with a-pi-no[-e-wi-jo, and in PY Mn 1371.1 where the first syllable is missing ( ]a2-te-we[).

23) ]wi-jo.

PY Mb 1436 ]wi-jo *146[ 
It can be reconstructed, perhaps, as di-wi-jo (Mb 1366) or as the toponyms a-pi-no-e-wi-jo (Mb 1396) and na-i-se-wi-jo (Mn 1408.3), but not classifiable with certainty.

24) ]wo

PY Mb 1430 ]wo *146 3
Not classifiable.
In sum, in the *Mb* series, it is possible to identify 6 different individuals (plus 3, who cannot be identified with certainty), 7 toponyms, 1 adjective and 1 preposition\(^\text{25}\). (see table 1).

The case of *ke-do-jo-no* is likely genitive and (*pa-ro*) *ka-wa-ti-ro* is dative. For *a\text{-}3\text{-}me-wa[, a-ke-o, ke-so-da-ra* and *]a-ki-ri-jo* it is impossible to define if they are in nominative case or dative.

(Table 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men's names, ethnics and individuals identifiable:</th>
<th>Toponyms and places identifiable:</th>
<th>Non classifiable words:</th>
<th>Adjectives:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Table Content" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Table Content" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Table Content" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Table Content" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) The tablets of the Pylos *Mn* series.

Let us analyse, now, the tablets of the *Mn* series and try to understand the significance of this series, which has many features in common with the *Mb* series and, like the *Mb* series, is very fragmentary and obscure.

First of all, as already underlined by E.L. Bennett and J.-P. Olivier\(^\text{26}\), tablet *Mn* 11 must be reclassified for two reasons. Firstly, it does not present ideogram *J46*, which appears in all *Mn* tablets. Secondly, it features four ideograms *RI*, *ME*, *J52* and *J249*, which do not appear in the other *Mn* tablets.

\(^{25}\) In *Mb* 1364, 1400, 1429 and 1431 appears only the ideogram *J46* and numerals. In *Mb* 1404, only the numerals.

\(^{26}\) Bennett and Olivier, p. 200.
Whereas the first three are found in the Ma series, the fourth ideogram, unidentified, only appears in this document.

In reality this tablet cannot be classified in any other existing series and only has in common with the Mn series the characteristic 'page' layout.

In the next edition of the texts of Pylos this document will be included in a new series, especially created, and classified as Mm 11.

The Mn series now consists of 13 tablets, page shaped.

Scribes.

Three different scribes are responsible for the inscription of these texts.
Mn 1367,1368,1369,1371,1409,1410,1411 and 1412 are the work of scribe H 14.
Mn 1370, 1407 and 1408 are the work of stylus S1398 Cii.
Mn 162 and 456 belong to scribe S90 H2.

Find-spots.

All the Mn tablets (except for Mn 162, 456 and 1409) originate from the South-Western Building.(Fig. 1)

Mn 162 and 456 originate from the Archives Complex.

Mn 1409 originates from the surface earth of trench 25, and was found east of the group of tablets from the South-Western Building, but can nonetheless be considered as part of this group.(Fig.1)

Let us analyse, therefore, all these documents to highlight the links between the series Mb and Mn.

Tablet Mn 162 records quantities of *146.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn 162</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>vacant</td>
<td>(S90 H2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>*146</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>*146</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>deest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-sa-ta</td>
<td>*146</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>pa-ro, ke-ku-ro</td>
<td>*146</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-sa-ti-ja</td>
<td>*146</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>vacat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>vacat</td>
<td>[</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

27 Bennett, Melena, Olivier and Palaima, PofIN, [forthcoming]. I would like thank J. L. Melena and J.-P. Olivier who have provided me with a preview of the pages relating to the Ma, Mb, Mm, Mn series and Ea 1406.

In line 6 there appears *ka-sa-ta* a hapax of difficult interpretation, probably a man's name (cf. *[-]-sa-ta* in KN As 1517.3)

In line 7, « at *ke-ku-ro* » 4 units of *146* are recorded.

*ke-ku-ro* is a man’s name also attested perhaps in KN Xd 7656 (*ke-ku-ro* [ ])

In line 8 there appears the village of *a-sa-ti-ja*, well known in both the form *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (On 300.11) and *a-[.]-ta* (Ma 397.1). Also the name of this village is followed by 4 units of *146*.

The tablet *Mn 456* is a list of districts and sub-districts, most of them in the *de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-ja*. In fact *me-te-to*, *e-wi-te-wi-jo*, *ro-u-so*, *e-ri-no-wo-te* and *sa-ri-nu-wo-te* are certainly situated in the Hither Province. For *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*, *si-re-wa* and *e-pi-qo-ra*2 it is impossible to establish the location with certainty. The presumed presence in the first line of *re-[u-ko-to-]*ro has led Sainer29 to locate the toponym *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* (which appears soon after *re-[u-ko-to-]*ro) in the Further Province.

This interpretation is unconvincing.

I believe various interpretations of this word are possible.

First possibility. We can consider *PY Mn 456* as a list of toponyms of the two provinces, where *re-u-ko-to-ro* appears in the first line either by chance or because it is the most prestigious location in the document, if it is true that it represents the main centre of the Further Province, as Pylos would be for the Hither Province.

Second possibility. If *re-u-ko-to-ro* is the main centre of the Further Province, why does it appear in *PY Ma 225* as a sub-district of *pi-*82, one of the districts of the Hither Province?

This attestation of *re-u-ko-to-ro* seems to refer to a toponym of lesser importance than the *re-u-ko-to-ro* attested in the *Ad* series, and it would be situated in another province.

---

29 Sainer 1976, pp. 43–44.
J. Chadwick's explanation that: «Perhaps the solution lies in the location of this town near the frontier between the two provinces» does not seem convincing.

A more plausible explanation, in my opinion, could be that the re-u-ko-to-ro, which appears as a small village belonging to the district of pi-*82 in the Hither Province, is a toponym other than the one known as the main centre of the Further Province. This circumstance still occurs in both ancient and modern Greece, where in the same region one finds dozens of place names like Platanos, Monastiraki, Haghia Triada etc.

I do not think that the argument that such a possibility would have created confusion at the time of the registration is valid, as this circumstance is well attested in the texts in Linear B also for men's names, and one name often refers to more than one individual.

No scribe would have confused the small re-u-ko-to-ro of pi-*82 with the main centre of the Further Province.

Third possibility. The reconstruction as re-[u-ko-to-ro] at line 1 could be wrong, in which case, then, in all probability, this could be a list of toponyms all situated in the Hither Province.

In this case an acceptable reading could be re-[pe-u-ri-jo], a toponym present in PY Cn 40.11.

The bottom part of the vertical line of sign JO, also common to sign RO, could have caused the confusion of reading between the two signs.

In lines 1 and 14 of Cn 40 there appears in the genitive case a-ke-o, which, as we have seen, also appears in Mb 1378 and 1434.

re-pe-u-ri-jo belongs to the Hither Province and Sainer locates it in the vicinity of pi-*82.

Mn 1367

1 |*146 26 (H 14)

Tablet Mn 1368 presents in lines 2 and 3 the man's name ke-sa-da-ra (See series Mb n° 15).

Mn 1368

1 ki-[ ]-to, ka[ *146
2 ke-sa-da-ra, e-[ *146
3 ke-sa-da-ra i-no[ *146

Mn 1369

1 ]*146[
Tablet Mn 1370 shows the two well-known toponyms of the Hither Province ro-u-so and ro-o-wa (See Mn 1408)

Mn 1370 (S1398 Cii)

| .1 | ro-u-so          | *146 |
| .2 | ro-o-wa          | *146 |

In Mn 1371 in a very fragmentary context there appears the word ]a2-te-we[, which could be reconstructed as the toponyms wa-a2-te-we of An 207.9, and wa-a2-te-pi of Mb 1377.

Mn 1371 (H 14)

| .1 | ]a2-te-we[       | *146 |
| .2 | ]-te[            | *146 |

The text of Mn 1407 is very fragmentary. Since large quantities of *146 are associated with the words ]ma-ne and ]-jo, I think that these are likely to be two toponyms. In fact -ma-ne[ in Mn 1410.3 follows a registration relating to an other toponym, ma-ra-ne[-nu-we.

Mn 1407 (S1398 Cii)

| .1 | ]ma-ne           | *146 19[ |
| .2 | ]-jo             | *146 27[ |
| .3 | ]               | *146 4[ |

In Mn 1408 four toponyms of the Hither Province are recorded ro-o-wa, po-ra-pi, na-i-se-wi-jo and e-na[-po-ro

Mn 1408 (S1398 Cii)

| .1 | ro-o-wa          | *146 [ |
| .2 | po-ra-pi         | *146 5 |
| .3 | na-i-se-wi-jo    | *146 2 [ |
| .4 | e-na[-po-ro      | *146 |

The first one, ro-o-wa, is a well attested toponym.

It is, first of all, the site of a coastguard post as it appears from An 519.1 (toro-o, o-ka, ro-o-wa) and we also find it in PY An 1.2, where it appears in the list of places which have to supply rowers to be sent to Pleuron (e-re-ta, pe-re-u-ro-na-de, i-jo-te), in An 172.10 and in An 724.1, recording absent rowers (ro-o-wa, e-re-ta, a-pe-o-te).

ro-o-wa is also attested in Mn 1370, following ro-u-so, and in Nn 228.2 which records the debt (o-pe-ro) of 35 units of linen related to ro-o-wa.
On Na 568: «is to be restored ro-o]-wa, a restoration which is suggested by mention of shipwrights on tablet»\(^{35}\).

It is interesting to note that in An 1.2 ro-o-wa immediately precedes ri-jo, one of the nine districts of the Hither Province, supplying eight rowers against the five of ri-jo. This association reinforces the idea that ro-o-wa is located in this province.

M. Ventris and J. Chadwick\(^{36}\) hypothesize that this could be the port of Pylos at the North of the Bay of Navarino.

The second toponym recorded in Mn 1408, po-ra-pi, shows the registration of 5 garments of the type *146.

It refers, without a doubt, to a place of the Hither Province, as it is associated with toponyms of this province also in Mn 1408, in the above mentioned An 1.4 (in which it supplies four rowers to be sent to Pleuron) and in Nn 228.6 (which records the debt of 10 units of linen). Finally, it appears in the dative-locative case in An 656.13 as a place where there are 20 ke-ki-de, and also in this case it is in relation to a toponym in the Hither Province, a-ke-re-wa.

A.P. Sainer\(^{37}\) locates po-ra-pi in the north of a-ke-re-wa in the bay of Navarino not too far from today’s Pylos.

\(^{2}\) units of *146 are associated with the third toponym na-i-se-wi-jo. It appears in Jn 692.1 and 725.[[18]], where it is the place in which some ka-ke-we receive a certain bronze quantity as ta-ra-si-ja.

The fourth toponym e-na[-po-ro is well documented, and it is likely to be situated in the de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-i-ja.

e-na-po-ro is associated three times with a-pi-no-e-wi-jo, in PY An 37.4, Nn 228.6 and Vn 130.5.

It also appears in PY An 661.3, Cn 3.5, Mb 1435 and Na 1027.

In Mn 1409 only the word qe-re-me[ appears, which can be reconstructed probably as the toponym qe-re-me-e also present in Na 540.

Mn 1409

```
.1 ] vestigia [ qe-re-me[*146]
```

In Mn 1410, in line 1 there appears the word wi-ja-we[ which can be reconstructed as wi-ja-we-ra\(_2\), a toponym which can convincingly be located in the Hither Province, since in Cn 643.2 and Cn 719.11,12 it is associated with two toponyms of de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-i-ja, ma-ro-pi and pi-*82.

Mn 1410 (H 14)

```
.1 wi-ja-we[ *146
.2 ma-ra-ne[ *146
.3 [.]-ma-ne[ *146
```

\(^{35}\) Sainer 1976, p.55.


\(^{37}\) Sainer 1976, p.51.
In line 2 there appears the word ma-ra-ne[ which can be reconstructed as ma-ra-ne[-nu-we. This toponym which supplies 40 rowers in An 610.11, is located by A.P. Sainer\(^{38}\) on the coast south of the Hither Province, whereas S. Hiller\(^{39}\) locates it in the Further Province between za-ma-e-wi-ja and ra-wa-ra-ta\(_2\).

The toponym ma-ra-ne-nu-we is to be related to the ethnic ma-ra-ne-ni-jo, but I do not find enough evidence to exclude, as Sainer\(^{40}\) does, (without a reason) that this ethnic represents the inhabitants of ma-ra-ne-nu-we. For [,]-ma-ne in line 3, see Mn 1407.

In Mn 1411 e-re-de and ma-se-de are probably two toponyms with the ending of the allative. ma-se-de is followed by ro-u-si[ which is probably to be reconstructed as ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro, adjectif of ro-u-so also present in Mb 1398. (Cf. ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro in PY Fr 1220.1, 1226.1, Ua 1413 Un 47.1 and Vn 10.4). Therefore, like ro-u-so, ma-se-de probably is to be located in the Hither Province.

Mn 1411

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
.1 & vestigia [ \\
.2 & e-re-de , wa[ \\
.3 & ma-se-de, ro-u-si[ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The tablets Mn 1411 and Mb 1336 present anomalies compared to the other tablets in the Mb/Mn series.

In Mn 1411 ma-se-de and e-re-de would seem to be allatives. This opinion is held by M. Lejeune\(^{41}\), who considers the two words to be accusative singulars in -ην of a toponym in -ει. The problem is that in the Linear B texts no example exists, and Lejeune proposes this hypothesis although aware of its limitations. If, following Lejeune, we consider ma-se-de and e-re-de two allatives, we should automatically maintain that the quantities of *146 are registered as outgoing, not as incoming.

The other attestations of ma-se-de in Cc 1285 (ma-se-de , OVIS\(^\text{m}\) 6[ ) and e-re-de in PY Fr 1228 (wa-na-so-i, e-re-de OLE + PA v 1) does not give us any interesting indication.

I maintain that given the lack of attestation, it is not possible to pronounce on the significance of these two terms.

Mb 1336 probably present an analogous situation if we admit that di-wi-jo represents the sanctuary of Zeus. Also in this case *146 would be outgoing, be-

\begin{footnotes}

38 Sainer 1976, p. 44.
40 Sainer 1976, p. 44.
\end{footnotes}
cause this product (like all the Ma products) is recorded in other texts (Un 6.6, Un 853.3 Un 2.6) as being distributed to sanctuaries rather than the other way round. If this were the case, the fact that Mb 1336 is the only Mb tablet not to come from the Southwestern Building could be relevant. As well as the scribe is not among the scribes of the Mb series.

If, on the other hand, di-wi-jo is a toponym, then the problem does not arise.

Therefore, from the analysis of Mn 1411 and Mb 1336, we can assume that currently it is not possible to understand these documents nor precisely define their function. But if we could prove that both documents recorded goods which were outgoing, then how could we justify these two exceptions to the rule?

I have no difficulty in accepting that some Mb or Mn tablets could record *146 as exiting the palace. Indeed, the fact that they belong to these two series does not automatically imply that the documents recorded goods which were only incoming.

If we consider tablet Ua 1413 we note that like the Mb tablets, it presents a palm leaf shape, the same type of clay, and ideogram *146. Furthermore, the scribe of Ua 1413 (Ci) is one of the scribes of the Mb series. Finally, also Ua 1413 comes from the Southwestern Building42.

Line 2 of this document contains the toponym ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro, which also appears in Mn 1411. The only difference which determines its classification in series Ua is the simultaneous presence of ideogram *166+WE and of ideogram *146 so that if the tablet which is already mutilated on the right lacked a further fragment and ideogram *166, this would no doubt have been catalogued as Mb.

In this text, eight garments (7 units of *146 and 1 of *166+WE) were sent into a sanctuary in the territory of ro-u-so.

If Mb 1411 and Mb 1336 had really recorded *146 at the exit, then the three documents would have the same meaning, as they would record consignments of garments to sanctuaries, two of which are in the territory of ro-u-so.

In the first line of Mn 1412 there is the preposition pa-ro followed by ka-ra[ (or perhaps ka-ra-wa]) which F.A. Jorro43 considers as a man’s name. If the reading of the third sign were correct, this could be the name ka-ra-wa-ni-ta, which appears in PY Cn 45.12 (pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo ka-ra-wa-ni-ta a-ke-o-jo CAPm 100) and is associated with a-ke-o, a collector who appears in the Mb and Mn series44.

Mn 1412

(H 14)

.1 pa-ro, ka-ra-
.2 pa-qo-si-jo[ *146
.3 o-no-ka-ra[ *146
.4 ma-to-pu-ro[ *146

42 Palaima 1988, p. 118: «Ua 1413 resembles Mb 1434 (Hand 14) in clay texture, tablet size and arrangement of text.».
43 Jorro 1993, p. 323
44 In PofN IV ka-ra-do-wo is not excluded.
For the meaning of the preposition *pa-ro*, please refer to the no 13 (Mb 1401) above.

*pa-qo-si-jo* (or *pa-qo-si-jo-jo*) appears in line 2, this being a man’s name in the nominative or genitive case; A *pa-qo-si-jo* is recorded in Jn 601.8 (*qa-si-re-u, pa-qo-si[\[-jo ]*) and in Jn 310.8 under the heading *a-ke-re-wa, ka-ke-we, ta-ra-si-ja, e-ko-te*. In Jn 832 the bronze-smith/decorators recorded (among whom is *pa-qo-si-jo*) are related to the place of *ro-u-so (ro-u-so ka-ke-we, a-ke-te-re)*, also present in the Mb and Mn series. In line 10 *pa-qo-si-jo* precede the men’s name *pi-ro-ka-te* probably the same which appear in Mb 1402 ( *\[-ka-te *146 5* ). Therefore is probably that the *pa-qo-si-jo* of Jn 832 is the same individual attested in Mn 1412.

In line 3 there is the toponym *o-no-ka-ra* [ which is probably to be identified with *o]-no-ka-ra-o-re* of Na 1038.

In line 4 the toponym *ma-to-pu-ro* is probably a variant of the toponym ma-\[-ro-pu-ro* (Cn 595.5) whose location remains uncertain.

A hapax appears in line 5, *da-nu-wa-a-ri* [ which M.Ventris and J.Chadwick consider a toponym.

In line 6 *po-ro* cannot easily be interpreted.

From the table below one realises that, contrary to what happens in the Mb series, the majority of the words which are clearly identifiable are toponyms. We have 25 attestations of 23 different toponyms, and there are only 3 men’s names which are identifiable with certainty.

The case of (*pa-ro*) *ke-ku-ro* is dative. For *ka-sa-da-ra* and *pa-qo-si-jo* it is impossible to define if they are in nominative case for dative.

(Table 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men’s names</th>
<th>Toponyms</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>e-re-de</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke-ku-ro</td>
<td>a-sa-ti-ja</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ma-se-de</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-sa-da-ra</td>
<td>re[ ]-ro</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>o-no-ka-ra[-o-re</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-qo-si-jo</td>
<td>ko-jo-wo-wi-ja</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>si-re-wa 1</td>
<td>Uncertain Toponyms</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain men’s names</td>
<td>e-wi-te-wi-jo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>da-nu-wa-a-ri</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-ra[wa-ni-ta</td>
<td>ro-u-so</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>*ma-ne</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ka-sa-ta</td>
<td>me-te-to</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable words</td>
<td>e-ri-nu-wo-te</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e[-</td>
<td>sa-ri-nu-wo-te</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e[-te</td>
<td>e-pi-qo-ra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Prepositions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-no[</td>
<td>ro-o-wa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e[-</td>
<td>]a2-te-we[</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>pa-ro</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 Bennett and Olivier 1973, p. 200.
How can we interpret the registrations of the *Mb* and *Mn* series?

In the document which present only a toponym followed by a certain quantity of *146*, is the product registered as incoming or outgoing?

First of all it should be said that in the case of the *Mb* tablets the quantities vary from 1 to 5 units except for two cases in which there are 11 pieces.

I think that these registrations of *146* cannot be interpreted as outgoing, as one could not explain how the palace should receive as a contribution, for instance, from the entire district of *ro-u-so*, 17 units of *146* and then send up to 11 units to a smaller site.

If one imagines that the commodities are arriving at the palace, then everything becomes clear. Also in a tablet like *Ma 333* only the name of a place sending *146* to the palace is registered, followed by the ideogram and the numerals.

The role of the men’s names remains to be explained, whether they appear alone as *a-ke-o*, *a3-me-wal*, *ke-sa-da-ra*, *pa-qo-si-jo* and *ke-do-jo-no*, or preceded by the preposition *pa-ro* like *ka-wa-ti-ro* and *ke-ku-ro*. In the case of the men’s names which appear without the preposition, if we imagine that the commodity is recorded on exit, i.e. as consigned, for instance, to *a3-me-wal* in five units (*Mb 1376*), we have to explain why in *Ma 193* the entire district of *ri-jo* collects a total of 17 units of *146* for delivery to the palace, while *a3-me-wal* alone would recive five units. Besides, this individual, who would receive about a third of the contribution from the whole district, appears to be a modest *na-u-do-mo* (provided he is the same individual) cited only once in *PY Vn 865.2*.

We should not forget that only very few units of *146* are offered even to divinities (one unit to *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* in *KN M 719*).

A possible explanation is that these individuals do not receive but rather send a certain quantity of *146* to the palace. The registrations of the *Mb* and *Mn* series, therefore, would record consignments to the palace from an individual or a place.

In the case of *Mb 1401*, *pa-ro ka-wa-ti-ro* would mean either ‘from ka-wa-ti-ro’, and in this case *pa-ro* would be a more precise specification than in the other cases, or — more convincingly — ‘at ka-wa-ti-ro’ in the sense that a certain quantity of *146* is situated momentarily with this individual, to be subsequently delivered to the palace. We have already seen that J.T. Killen had

---

suggested that in KN Ld 584.2 pa-ro followed by the man’s name e-ta-wo-ne-we could be translated as ‘at e-ta-wo-ne-u’, in the sense that, at the time of the tablet’s inscription, the textiles to be manufactured were still with this individual to be sent to the palace at a later stage.

Let us try to understand what the role of these individuals could have been.

The best known are ke-sa-da-ra, a-ke-o, a3-me-wa and pa-qo-si-jo.

In PY Fg 368 ke-sa-da-ra receives five units of wheat and five of figs and in PY Fg 828 five units of wheat.

a-ke-o has numerous attestations in the texts in linear B, particularly in the Cn and Cc series of Pylos, from which he appears to be a ‘collector’.

a3-me-wa, as we have seen, appears in a list of na-u-do-mo.

pa-qo-si-jo is a bronze-smith active in ro-u-so.

It is hard to tell whether these deliveries of *146 to the palace are contributions from individuals from a certain place, and therefore to be regarded as part of the contribution from that place, as in the case of the Mc series from Knossos, where individuals are recorded contributing four commodities directly to the palace.

I think that it is more likely that these four characters are not just contributors, but rather individuals involved in the collection and processing of *146 originating from various places in the kingdom of Pylos. This would explain logically why a certain quantity of *146 is temporarily kept with these individuals.

Besides, the role of link between the palace and other individuals has been ascertained for both a-ke-o and ke-sa-da-ra. The role of ‘collector’ has already been established for a-ke-o. In the case of ke-sa-da-ra it is impossible to imagine that 10 units of wheat and five of figs were for personal consumption. It is logical to assume that ke-sa-da-ra gets from the palace wheat and figs for consumption by the staff performing some activities under his supervision. These activities would be related to the collection or manufacture of *146 in the various villages.

If we analyse the toponyms and men’s names appearing in the Mb and Mn series, we realize that some occur in both series. For instance, among the men’s names, ke-sa-da-ra appears in Mb 1380 and Mn 1368, while among the toponyms ]e-na-po-ro[ appears in Mb 1435 and Mn 1408 (e-na[po-ro]), and ]a2-te-we[ of Mn 1371, is probably the same place which appears in Mb 1377 (wa-a2-te-pi). Both series record exclusively quantities of *146, but whereas the Mb tablets are very simple registrations, nearly always on one line only, inscribed on tablets in the shape of ‘palm leaf’, the Mn tablets have more lines and are in the form of ‘page’. All this could lead us to believe that the Mn tablets represent a recapitulation of the texts of the Mb series. Moreover, whereas in the Mb series (see table 1) we have 6 men’s names and 7 identifiable toponyms, in the Mn series (see table 2) the toponyms are 25 as opposed to just 3 men’s names, which seems logical, as a recapitulative document could recap under one toponym the preliminary data relating to more men’s names and toponyms listed in the Mb tablets.

If we consider the toponyms in these two series (see table 3) we realize that a significant portion also appear in the Na and Nn series of Pylos.
How can we explain the fact that these toponyms appear in both the series which records linen and in the Mb and Mn tablets?

From the analysis of the attestations of *146 (particularly PY Un 1322.4 and KN J 693.1) it becomes evident that one of the materials employed in the manufacturing of this textile *146 is without doubt linen.

When we read in the Ma tablets that, for instance, the district of me-ta-pa supplies the palace with 28 units of *146, this does not mean that these have been produced at me-ta-pa, but simply that they originate from the territory of which me-ta-pa is the principal centre.

It is clear, also, that in the same territory where a certain commodity is produced, there can be 'ateliers' where that commodity is processed into the end product.

The toponyms which are common to the Mb/Mn and Na/Nn series only show that part of the *146 sent to the palace and manufactured with linen, originates from villages where the linen was produced.

This circumstance raises a question. If the texts mention *146 in wool and linen, why in the Ma tablets, which record the arrival of these commodities at the palace, is only the ideogram *146 used, without indication of either linen or of wool?

In my opinion one material does not exclude the other. I believe that the quantities of *146 recorded per single district do not refer to only one type of textile, but that only the total number of garments *146 sent to the palace from each district was recorded. On the other hand, it would not make sense to think that all the garments requested by the palace would be the same size, considering that the recipients could be slightly or heavily built. On the other hand, in the texts there exists the variant me-sa-to 'medium quality' or 'medium size', but in none of the Ma tablets is there mention of a similar type of *146. Likewise, the skins recorded by ideogram *152 do not present any specification of quality, whether cow-, sheep- or goat skins.
On the other hand, even if the *146 recorded in Ma were of linen only, we would still be missing a distinction between the *146 made of ordinary linen and those made of special linen (ri-no- re-pa-to) or an indication of the different sizes.

The explanation is probably that the Ma series only registers the number of garments which every district had to contribute, otherwise we would have a long list of details pertaining to the different types of garments. It is logical to assume that the proportion between *146 of wool and linen was well known to both the single villages and the palace, and it was not recorded in the Ma tablets.

Let us try to clarify the relationship between the Mb and Mn series on the one hand, and the Ma series on the other hand.

As discussed, everything seems to suggest that the Mb and Mn tablets are registrations of *146 arriving at the palace, whether directly from a place, or through individuals who had the task of organizing the collection in the villages and eventually the transformation of the product.

But in what way do Mb/Mn registrations overlap those of the Ma series?

If we consider tablet Ma 126, we can observe that it presents a totally different scheme from those of the other tablets in the same series. A minor site, si-re-wa is cited in connection with a debt from the previous year for the products *146, RI and KE.

Ma 126 (S90 H 2)
.a i-na-ma-ta
.1 pe-ru-si-nu-wa, si-re-wa, o-pe-ro, do-si-mi-ja
.2 *146 3 RI M 1 KE M 1

Tablet Ma 225 cites a debt relating only to re-u-ko-to-ro, which appears here to be one of the villages of the district pi-*82, homonym of the main centre of the Further Province.

These are the only two cases in which the names of smaller villages appear, and these contributions are a trace of the preliminary registrations of the Ma tablets.

The village of si-re-wa also appears in tablet Mn 456, which records contributions of *146 from various places including ro-u-so.

Also in tablet Mn 162 there appears a toponym also attested in the Ma tablets, a-sa-ti-ja (Ma 397, a-[.]ta2) and the same ideogram *146.

Like the Mn tablets, also the Mb tablets only record quantities of *146 and also in this case a toponym, ro-u-so, is in common with the tablets Ma.

There are, therefore, three elements common to the Ma and Mb/Mn tablets: the presence of ideogram *146 and two toponyms.

Moreover, the scribe of the Ma series, S90 H2, has also inscribed the two tablets Mn 162 and 456, which originate, it should be remembered, from room 8, like the Ma tablets.

This same scribe is also the author of the registration on sealings Wr 1457 which shows ideogram *152 (one of the six which appear in the Ma series) and Wa 730 which shows the word do-si-mi-ja-qe, also present in Ma 126.2 (do-si-mi-ja).
Sealing Wr 1457 was attached to a knot or a string which closed a box or a basket, which probably contained the tablets recording the arrivals of *152 to the palace, or was attached to the strings of a bale which contained the product itself.

Already on the occasion of the conference POLEMOS I underlined that there is enough evidence to suggest that tablets Ma 126, Mn 11, Mm 162, Mn 456 and sealings Wr 1457 and Wa 730 are preliminary documents, waiting to be incorporated into the Ma breakdown.

Also J.T. Killen has proposed, but only for Mn 162 and Mn 456, that these two documents «were detailed breakdowns of the contributions of this commodity from various places and persons within the Ma districts a-si-ja-ti-ja and ro-u-so respectively.».

Moving from my previous viewpoint and the authoritative opinion of Killen, it seems to me that there is enough evidence to consider the Mb/Mn registrations as preliminary documents to the Ma tablets.

I believe that the Mb and Mn documents would have been inscribed in the vicinity of the collection place of *146, where they would have been prepared as short notes concerning one individual or village, and later on, once a certain number of data had been collected, these would have been transcribed in the Ma Tablets.

But how can we explain the fact that except for Mn 162 and 456 the vast majority of the registrations Mb/Mn belong to scribes different from that of the Ma series? And how is it possible to explain, on the other hand, that Mn 162 and 456 have been inscribed by the same scribe as that of the Ma tablets?

The answer to these questions has been convincingly provided by C. W. Shelmerdine.

The American scholar in a recent contribution presents a reconstruction which coincides perfectly with what we hypothesised above in respect of the purpose of the Mb and Mn tablets. She proposes, in fact, that the Southwestern Building represents a separate department of the palace specialising in the collection and monitoring of *146 and maintains, furthermore, that the registrations Mb and Mn were provisional registrations made by different scribes. At a certain point in the year, the central administration of the Archive Complex would examine the balance of *146 and scribe S90 H2 would transcribe on to tablets of type Mn 162 and 456 the data from the Mb/Mn tablets which were then used to obtain the complete balance, the one recorded in the Ma tablets.

C.W. Shelmerdine thus explains convincingly how the scribes of the Mb and Mn tablets, except for Mb 162 and 456, are different from those of the Ma tablets and, vice-versa, why these two documents are of the same scribe as that of the Ma tablets.

At this point, we can add that at the time of the destruction of the Pylos palace, not all of *146 had been delivered to the palace, as is shown by the Ma tablets, which record a debt; it is evident that a part of the registrations of the

49 Shelmerdine [forthcoming]
deliveries made to the palace (Mb/Mn tablets), were still waiting to be transcribed on to the Ma tablets.

REFERENCES


Fig. 1 Find-spots of Mb - Mn Tablets