

## RELIGION AT PYLOS: THE EVIDENCE OF THE Fn TABLETS\*

### I.

The tablets classified as Fn at Pylos deal with issues of barley, sometimes accompanied by other foodstuffs (olives; figs; perhaps flour). The purpose of this paper is to ask the question: for what reason or reasons were these allocations made?

We can now be certain that one tablet in the series records ‘normal’ rations for ‘industrial’ workers (comparable e.g. to the rations listed as allocated to women textile and other workers – and their children – on the Ab tablets at Pylos). This is Fn 1427 (H 3), recently joined to An 7 by J.L. Melena.<sup>1</sup> Not only is there nothing on the record to suggest anything other than a purely secular context for the allocations, the recipients of which include builders (*to-ko-do-mo*, /*toikhodomoi*/) and sawyers (*pi-ri-(j)e-te-re*, /*pri(h)entēres*/): the tablet quotes both the daily and the monthly rates at which each of the groupings is paid, and monthly rations are immediately suggestive of a standard, secular, ‘industrial’ context. (For the appearance of the month sign, LUNA, on records of rationing of ‘industrial’ workers, see KN Am(1) 597, Am(2) 819, E 777, E 847, G 820.)

What, however, of the remaining tablets in the Fn group (none of which is in the same scribal hand as Fn 7 + 1427)? Do these also record rations for ‘normal’, ‘industrial’ workers?

There is no question that one tablet at least in the group lists allocations that have been (or will be) made in the context of religious, rather than secular, ‘industrial’ activity. This is Fn 187 (H 2), whose text reads as follows.

<b>Fn 187</b>			(H 2)
.1	a-pi-te-ja	HORD[ <i>qs</i> ]	<i>NI</i> 2
.2	po-si-da-i-jo-de	HORD[ <i>qs</i> ]	<i>NI</i> T 1
.3	ka-ru-ke	HORD [ <i>qs</i> ]	FAR
.4	pa-ki-ja-na-de	HORD T 1[ ]	<i>NI</i> T 1
.5	ka-ru-ke	HORD T 1 V 3	<i>NI</i> T 1 V 3
.6	de-do-wa-re-we	HORD T 1	
.7	ku-ri-na-ze-ja	HORD T 2	<i>NI</i> T 2
.8	u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja	HORD T 5	<i>NI</i> T 4
.9	o-pi-tu-ra-jo	HORD T 3	
.10	au-to-*34-ta-ra	HORD T 1	
.11	a-ma-tu-na	HORD T 1	
.12	te-qi-ri-jo-ne	HORD V 3	
.13	u-do-no-o-i	HORD T 3	
.14	po-te-re-we	HORD T 4	<i>NI</i> T 4
.15	a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i	HORD T 1 V 3	
.16	ka-ru-ke	HORD T 1 V 3	
.17	i-so-e-ko	HORD T 2[[ ]]	
.18	po-si-da-i-je-u-si	HORD T 1 V 3	
.19	*34-ke-ja	HORD T 1 V 3	<i>NI</i> [
.20	a-ro-ja	[HORD ] V 3	
.21	ka-ru-ke	HORD T ! V 3	
.22	<i>vacat</i>		

\* Some of the suggestions offered in this paper will also be found, in much less detail, in the summary, forthcoming in *BICS*, of my paper, ‘Some observations on the new Thebes tablets’, given to the London Mycenaean Seminar in January 1999.

1 J.L. MELENA, *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997) 171-176.

As will be seen, among the recipients on this record are the goddess *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*, the shrine of Poseidon (*po-si-da-i-jo-de*, /*Posidā(h)ion-de*/), and priests of Poseidon (*po-si-da-i-je-u-si*, /*Posidā(h)ijeusi*/); and it is highly probable therefore that all the allocations listed on the tablet have a religious connection. Some of the recipients are referred to by name, but others by a title. These include four heralds (see *ka-ru-ke*, evidently /*kārukei*/ (dat.), on ll. 3, 5, 16, 21), who are likely to have played a rôle in the performance of religious rites, as *kērukēs* regularly did in the Classical period,<sup>2</sup> and a group of /*askētriaī*/, ‘decorators’ (see *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* on l. 15). Though *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* are also referred to in a religious context on Un 219, where they are listed in parallel not only with cult officiants (including, again, a herald) but also divinities, including Artemis, Potnia and Hermes, and it is possible therefore that they carried out some special form of decorating in connection with religious ritual, they are much more commonly attested as specialist finishing workers in the textile industry, and they may therefore be listed on Fn 187 simply as ‘industrial’ workers who are temporarily involved in religious activity. There are many examples of this on the records: note for example the *ku-wa-no-wo-ko*, /*kuanoworgoi*/, ‘workers in blue glass paste’, and *ka-na-pe-we*, /*knaphēwes*/, ‘fullers’, who are listed in parallel with the goddess Potnia (and *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*) as recipients of the commodity \*190 on the Oi tablets from Mycenae.

Fn 187, however, is the only record in the Fn series written by scribe 2; and the question arises whether any of the other records in the group have a similar purpose, despite being by different writers.

Let us first examine Fn 50, written by a scribe whose hand Bennett and Palaima identify simply as ‘Class iii’. (As Palaima notes, the writing is similar, but not certainly identical to that of hand 45, the writer of a number of the other Fn records.)<sup>3</sup> Its text reads as follows.

## Fn 50

(S324 Ciii)

.1	a-ki-to-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD[ <i>qs</i>
.2	ke-ko-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD [ <i>qs</i>
.3	a-ta-no-ro , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD T[ <i>qs</i>
.4	me-za-ne	HORD V 2 a <sub>3</sub> -ki-a <sub>2</sub> -ri-jo V 2[
.5	me-ri-du-te	HORD V 3 mi-ka-ta HORD V 3
.6	di-pte-ra-po-ro	HORD V 2 e-to-wo-ko V 2
.7	a-to-po-qo	HORD V 2 po-ro-du-ma-te HORD V 2
.8	o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we	HORD V 2 i-za-a-to-mo-i HORD V 3
.9	ze-u-ke-u-si	HORD V 4
.10	v.[ ] <i>vacat</i>	
.11	au[-ke-i-]ja-te-wo , do-e-ro-i	HORD T 1
.12	mi-jo[-qa ] do-e-ro-i	HORD V 3
.13	a-pi-ē-ṛa do-e-ro-i	HORD V 3
.14	]-wō[ ]nē[ do-e-ro-]i	HORD T 3
.15	<i>vacat</i>	
.16	<i>vacat</i>	
.17	<i>vacat</i>	
.18	<i>vacat</i>	

The first three entries on the record deal with allocations to three *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, /*g<sup>w</sup>asilēwiai*/, or establishments of *qa-si-re-we*. Since *qa-si-re-we* are only attested elsewhere in the archives in connection with metal<sup>4</sup> and *qa-si-re-wi-ja* are mentioned on the Pylos Pa tablets in connection with the commodity designated by ideogram no. \*169, almost certainly beds, it would seem highly probable that the allocations listed in this section of the record are to

2 See e.g. XENOPHON, *Hellenica* 2.4.20 on Cleocritos, herald (*kērukēs*) of the Mysteries at Eleusis.

3 T.G. PALAIMA, *The Scribes of Pylos* (1988) 129.

4 In the Pylos Jn series with bronze; on Jo 438 with gold.

‘industrial’ workers involved in metal-working, bed-making or similar activity; and this might suggest a purely secular context for the tablet. As we have just noted, however, ‘industrial’ workers are often mentioned in the context of religious ceremonial; and the contents of the next section of the record, in ll. 4-9, in fact point strongly towards a context of cult activity for the document as a whole. While the first two recipients mentioned in this section are listed by name (*me-za-ne*, perhaps an error for *me-za-wo-ne*,<sup>5</sup> and *a<sub>3</sub>-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-jo*), the remainder are referred to by title: *me-ri-du-te* (almost certainly an error for *me-ri-du-ma-te*), *mi-ka-ta*, *di-pte-ra-po-ro*, *e-to-wo-ko*, *a-to-po-qo*, *po-ro-du-ma-te*, *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*, *i-za-a-to-mo-i* and *ze-u-ke-u-si*. Of these descriptions, no fewer than six recur elsewhere in lists of personnel who Jean-Pierre Olivier long ago – and in my view entirely convincingly – argued were “desservants de sanctuaire”: persons whose titles reflected activities they performed in connection with religious ceremonial.<sup>6</sup> With the list here, compare, for instance the list on An 39 recto and verso, l. 1:

<b>An 39</b>		(Ci, Ciii)
<i>Recto</i>		
.1	pu-ka-wo x	VIR 16
.2	me-ri-du-ma-te	VIR 10 x
.3	mi-ka-ta x	VIR 3
.4	o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we	VIR 4 x
.5	e-to-wo-ko x	VIR 5
.6	ka-sa-to x	VIR
.7	pu-ka-wo x	VIR 23
.8	me-ri-da-ma-te ,	VIR 6
.9	o-pi-]te-u-ke-e-we ,	VIR 5 x
.10	mi-ka-]ta ,	VIR 6 x
.11	e-]to-wo-ko ,	VIR 4 a-to-po-qo VIR 3
 <i>Verso</i>		
.1	po-ru-da-ma-te	VIR 4
.2	<i>vacat</i>	

Though the interpretations of these terms which Olivier and others have suggested are in many cases inevitably purely ‘etymological’ proposals, it is striking how many of them are capable of explanation as reflecting a cult activity. Thus *me-ri-du-ma-te* are evidently ‘superintendents of honey’ *vel sim.*; *mi-ka-ta* are probably ‘mixers’ (*/miktai/*) (of wine?); *e-to-wo-ko* may be ‘workers within (the sanctuary?)’ (*/entoworgoi/*), *a-to-po-qo* are ‘bakers’ (*/artopok<sup>w</sup>oi/*), *po-ro-du-ma-te* are probably ‘deputy superintendents (of honey??)’ and *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* are evidently ‘officials in charge of */teukeha/*’, most likely in the sense of vessels, chests or the like. Again, *pu-ka-wo*, listed on An 39 but not on Fn 50, are probably ‘fire-kindlers’ (*/purkawoi/*); and *di-pte-ra-po-ro*, listed on Fn 50 but not on An 39, are probably ‘wearers of skins’ (*/diphtherāphoroi/*). (Compare the figures clothed in sheep-skins on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus.) Moreover, there is much contextual evidence, some of which has only become available since Olivier wrote, to support his interpretation of these lists of personnel. Thus an *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u* is mentioned on PY Un 2, which there is now a great deal of evidence to indicate is a record of provisions for a major state-sponsored sacrificial banquet, held on the occasion of the initiation – perhaps the installation – of the king, at *Pa-ki-ja-ne*;<sup>7</sup> and some of the individuals named on the verso

5 As suggested by J.-P. OLIVIER, *A propos d'une "liste" de desservants de sanctuaire dans les documents en linéaire B de Pylos* (1960) 114-119.

6 OLIVIER (*supra* n. 5) Note, however, the caution expressed by M. LINDGREN, *The People of Pylos* (1973), in her discussions of the various terms in question (and particularly her point that while some of the persons concerned may have been involved in religious activity as part of their duties, this may not have been their sole concern).

7 C. PITEROS, J.-P. OLIVIER and J.L. MELENA, *BCH* 114 (1990) 171-184; J.T. KILLEN, *BICS* 39 (1994) 71-72.

of An 39 almost certainly recur on Fn 837 (on which see further below) in parallel with a reference to a priest. [With *pu-ko-ro* An 39 v.4 compare *pu-ko-ro* Fn 837.6; with *a-ko-so-ta* An 39 v.5 compare *a-ko-*[ . ]-*ta* Fn 837.4; with *pi-ri-ja-me-ja* An 39 v.6 compare *pi-ri*[ Fn 837.1; and note *i-je-re-u* (/hiereus/, ‘priest’) *a-ti*[ , in parallel position to *pu-ko-ro*, etc, on Fn 837.5.] Again, Fn 867 (on which also see below) contains not only *me-ri-du-ma-sj* (l. 6) (and a reference to the *qa-si-re-wi-ja* of *a-ki-to* which is mentioned on Fn 50, thus confirming the suspicion that this has ‘religious’ connections, in some contexts at least), but also the term *i-qe*[ , which it is tempting to restore as *i-qe-ja*, the epithet of the goddess Potnia which occurs on PY An 1281 (particularly since 1281 also contains a reference to *mi-jo-qa*, who is again mentioned on Fn 867: see line 4).<sup>8</sup>

Finally, the third paragraph of Fn 50 records allocations to the servants (*do-e-ro*) of various individuals: *au[-ke-i-]ja-te-wo do-e-ro-i* (l. 11), *mi-jo[-qa] do-e-ro-i* (l. 12), *a-pi-e-ṛa do-e-ro-i* (l. 13) and ]-*wo*[ ]*ṛe*[ *do-e-ro-]i* (l. 14). At first sight, it might seem that we have evidence here for allocations to purely secular, ‘industrial’ workers, since one of the ‘owners’ of the servants in question, *au-ke-i-ja-te-u*, is mentioned with others on Ub 1318 as the recipient of skins, many of which are specifically stated to be intended for manufacturing purposes.<sup>9</sup> But there is also evidence to suggest that *au-ke-i-ja-te-u* and two others of the ‘owners’ on Fn 50 have religious connections, like many at least of the other recipients on the record. Not only do all three of *au-ke-i-ja-te-u*, *mi-jo-qa* and *a-pi-e-ra* recur on An 1281, which also contains references to Potnia, and a servant or servants of *mi-jo-qa* on Fn 867, with its links not only with An 1281 but also with the lists of “desservants de sanctuaire” on An 39, Fn 50, etc.: there are good reasons for suspecting that *mi-jo-qa* and *a-pi-e-ra* are actually priestesses. As J.-P. Olivier has pointed out in his 1960 discussion,<sup>10</sup> the fact that their genitives are in *-a* must mean that *m.* and *a.* are feminine;<sup>11</sup> and the only females known to ‘own’ servants elsewhere in the records (apart from goddesses) are priestesses.

Fn 50, then, is likely to record issues of barley in a religious context of some kind; and, as we shall be seeing below, the same is likely to be true of Fn 324, another record in the same scribal hand. But what of the remaining records in the group? Let us next consider Fn 79, the text of which reads as follows.

## Fn 79

(H 45)

.1	<i>a<sub>3</sub>-pu-ke-ne-ja</i>	HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1[
.2	<i>a-ki-re-we</i>	HORD T 5
.3	<i>du-ni-jo , ti-ni-ja-ta</i>	HORD V 5
.4	<i>to-sa-no</i>	HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1
.5	<i>ne-e-ra-wo</i>	HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1
.6	<i>a-e-se-wa</i>	HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1
.7	<i>ka-ra-so-mo</i>	HORD V 5 [[ ]]
.8	<i>wa-di-re-we</i>	HORD T 2 V 3 OLIV T 7
.9	<i>pe-qe-we</i>	HORD T 1 V 4
.10	<i>ze-u-ke-u-si , i-po-po-qo-i-qe</i>	HORD 1 T 7 V 3
.11	<i>te-ra-wo-ne</i>	HORD V 5
.12	<i>to-wa-no-re</i>	HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1[
.13	<i>e-to-wo-ko-i</i>	HORD T 5 V 1
.14	<i>a-ki-to</i>	HORD T 2 V 3 OLIV 1
.15	<i>a<sub>3</sub>-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-jo</i>	HORD T 1 V 4

Though many scholars, including J. Chadwick (see further below), have taken this as a record of issues of a purely secular kind,<sup>12</sup> there are, I would suggest, at least some grounds for

8 For the restoration, see M. LANG, *AJA* 62 (1958) 190 n. 1.

9 See e.g. the reference on l. 7 to ‘a goat skin for sandals’: *di-pte-ra a<sub>3</sub>-za pe-di-ro-i*.

10 OLIVIER (*supra* n. 5) 134-135.

11 For this point about *mi-jo-qa*, see previously *Docs*<sup>2</sup> 217.

12 See e.g. PALAIMA (*supra* n. 3) 111, *re* Fn 187: ‘It has a decidedly religious character lacking on tablets of Hand 45’.

taking it as another record of allocations made in a religious context. First, as J.-L. Perpillou has stressed, there are several links between the record and the tablet we have just been examining, Fn 50, in terms of the recipients it names.<sup>13</sup> With *a-ki-to-jo qa-si-re-wi-ja* on Fn 50.1 compare *a-ki-to* on Fn 79.14; with *a<sub>3</sub>-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-jo* on Fn 50.4 compare *a<sub>3</sub>-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-jo* on Fn 79.15; with *e-to-wo-ko* on Fn 50.6 compare *e-to-wo-ko-i* on Fn 79.13; and with *ze-u-ke-u-si* on Fn 50.9 compare *ze-u-ke-u-si i-po-po-qa-i-qa* on Fn 79.10. The appearance of *e-to-wo-ko* on Fn 79 seems particularly significant, given that this is one of the descriptions that regularly appears in the lists of ‘desservants de sanctuaire’. (As we have seen, it may be /*entoworgos*, -oi/, ‘worker(s) within (the sanctuary?)’.) Moreover, while other records in H 45, the hand of Fn 79, are too fragmentary to allow us to say anything for certain about their affiliations, they also include Fn 837 and Fn 867, which as we have seen have clear connections with religious cult, and Fn 970, where ]*mi-ka*[ on l. 2 is possibly to be restored as *mi-ka-ta* (see Fn 50.5).<sup>14</sup>

If Fn 79 does record issues made in a ‘religious’ context, it may well provide us with a valuable clue as to the precise reason why the allocations it lists – and in turn those listed on the other Fn tablets which have religious affiliations – have been (or will be) made. In *The Mycenaean World*, John Chadwick has admirably discussed the amounts of barley listed on the tablet.<sup>15</sup> He begins with the observation (previously made by L.R. Palmer)<sup>16</sup> that if the figures are expressed in terms of the V unit viz. the second lowest unit of dry measure, all but one is a multiple of 5. The details are set out in the following table. As will be seen, the single exception to the general rule is in an entry (on l. 13) where the amount entered seems clearly to be V 31; it is not impossible, however, that the figure here is an error for V 30.<sup>17</sup>

Amount	No. of mentions
V 5	3
V 10	2
V 15	2
V 30	1
V 31	1
V 40	5
V 105	1

Table I. Amounts listed on Fn 79 (expressed in V)

Moreover, Chadwick notes, not only are all but one of the BARLEY figures on Fn 79 multiples of 5 V: the lowest amount recorded, 5 V itself, can attractively be explained as representing a basic man’s ration of V 1 per day for a 5-day period. V 1 = Z 4; and, as he points out, ‘some of the Pylos barley lists seem to imply rations as small as Z 3’. (The correctness of this observation has now been confirmed by the join of An 7 to Fn 1427, which shows that the Z 3 entries on ll. 3, 4 of the tablet indicate the daily amounts per person given to the *to-do-ko-mo* and *pi-ri-e-te-re*, whose monthly rations are shown on ll. 10 and 11 of the record.)<sup>18</sup> And given this evidence as a whole, Chadwick then concludes that ‘it is difficult to see any other solution’ than that *all* the persons named on Fn 79 are being ‘rationed for a 5-day period on the scale of V 1 (= Z 4) per day’.

13 J.-L. PERPILLOU, *SMEA* 17 (1976) 70.

14 Cf. F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario Micénico* I (1985) s.v. *mi-ka*].

15 J. CHADWICK, *The Mycenaean World* (1976) 118-119.

16 L.R. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963) 232 (with a different – and less convincing – explanation of the phenomenon from Chadwick’s).

17 CHADWICK (*supra* n. 15) 118 suggests that the fifth unit after T may not be a genuine stroke, and that the reading here may therefore be T 4 V 1 or V 25. From the photograph in the Cambridge Collection at least, however, the stroke, though shorter than three of the other four units, does look genuine. Its placing, however, suggests that it may have been added after the following V 1 had already been written (cf. the textual note in E.L. BENNETT and J.-P. OLIVIER, *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed* I (1973) 153); and one wonders whether the scribe, having originally written T 4 V 1 (= V 25), and then having decided to change the amount to T 5 (= V 30), added the extra stroke after T, but omitted to erase the V 1.

18 MELENA (*supra* n. 1) 173-174.

Fn 79, however, is not the only tablet in the group to show this kind of patterning in the amounts listed. On Fn 187 (the tablet recording *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*, the shrine and priests of Poseidon, etc.), all the amounts listed, as has often been noted, are multiples of V 3.<sup>19</sup> The details are shown in the following table.

Amount	No. of mentions
V 3	2
V 6	4
V 9	6
V 12	2
V 18	2
V 24	1
V 30	1

Table II. Amounts listed on Fn 187 (expressed in V)

Moreover, just as the lowest figure recorded on Fn 79 is V 5, which Chadwick analyses as a daily ration of V 1 for 5 days, so the lowest figure on Fn 187 is V 3, which one might analyse as a ration of V 1 for 3 days. Is it possible, therefore, that just as Fn 79 can plausibly be explained as a list of rations for a 5-day period, so Fn 187 is a list of allocations for a 3-day period? And if we are correct in suggesting that the allocations in both cases are being made in a 'religious' context, and not – as Chadwick (like most other commentators) has assumed in the case of Fn 79 – in a secular one, is it possible that what both tablets are recording is allocations of barley, etc. to participants in (and in some cases – see Fn 187 – to divinities worshipped at) two religious festivals: the first (see Fn 79) lasting five days, the second (see Fn 187) lasting three days?

There would seem no difficulty in understanding Fn 79, Fn 187 in this way. Festivals lasting three and five days are certainly attested in the Classical period;<sup>20</sup> and we have plentiful evidence, from many societies, of food being allocated to participants in festivals.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, we can readily explain the wide variation in the size of allocation listed on both records on the assumption that while some of the participants are 'paid' at a basic, subsistence level (those receiving as little as V 1 per day), larger allocations are given, on the one hand to groups, and on the other to persons of high status.<sup>22</sup> (In some cases, both these factors may well have been at work in determining the size of the allocation.)

But if Fn 79, Fn 187 record allocations for a five-day and three-day festival respectively, what of the remaining records in the Fn 'set' (other than the secular Fn 7)? Assuming, as seems probable, for reasons we have already seen or will see shortly, that all the remaining records are likewise concerned with 'religious' activity, what is the period or periods that these documents relate to?

19 See e.g. PALMER (*supra* n. 16) 233.

20 Of festivals at Athens, while many lasted a single day, the Thesmophoria and Anthesteria lasted three days and the City Dionysia five days (from 9 to 13 Elaphebolion). See e.g. E. SIMON, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (1983) 18 (*re* the Thesmophoria), 92 (*re* the Anthesteria), 102 (*re* the City Dionysia).

21 For evidence from Classical Athens, see H.W. PARKE, *Festivals of the Athenians* (1977) 188-189 on distribution of meat at the Dionysia and of 'mixed stews of the fruits of the earth' at the Pyanepsia and Thargelia. For evidence from Inca society see J.V. MURRA, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State* (1980) 121-122, including the following, quoted in KILLEN (*supra* n. 7) 70: 'Special occasions like the death of a king or the inauguration of a new one were occasions when food, *chicha* and cloth were distributed to the 'poor'.

22 While the allocations of V 40 to *a<sub>3</sub>-pu-ke-ne-ja*, *to-sa-no*, etc. on Fn 79 could in theory have been intended for groups named after these persons, the fact that no fewer than five different recipients are listed as being given this particular amount makes this improbable: it does not seem likely that as many as five different groups of workers would all have consisted of the same number of people. (Note also that it is probably significant that V 8, the amount most commonly recorded on Fn 324 (it occurs no fewer than eleven or twelve times) is one-fifth of V 40: see further below.) It is in keeping with the view that the size of allocations on the Fn records is status-related that the largest (or joint largest) allocation on Fn 187 is to the goddess *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*. (It is uncertain whether the figure in the relevant entry is T 5, which would make it the largest allocation on the record, or T 4, which would make it the joint largest [with that to *po-te-re-we*]).

There is much to suggest that Fn 50 and Fn 324, both the work of the same writer (S324 Class iii), record *daily* allocations: either because they relate to a one-day festival, or because the figures they list serve as the base on which allocations for a longer period can be calculated. (Compare the recording of both daily and monthly rates of rations for same groups of workers on the secular Fn 7.) Taking Fn 324 first, it is noticeable how many of the amounts on this record are one-fifth of amounts listed on Fn 79 (the record apparently listing five-day rations). The details are given in the following table. The left-hand column shows the amounts listed on Fn 324, the right-hand column those amounts multiplied by five. Figures shown in bold in the right-hand column are actually attested on Fn 79.

Amount		
V 1	x 5 =	<b>V 5</b>
V 2	x 5 =	<b>V 10</b>
V 2.5	x 5 =	V 12.5
V 3	x 5 =	<b>V 15</b>
V 6	x 5 =	<b>V 30</b>
V 7	x 5 =	V 35
V 8	x 5 =	<b>V 40</b>
V 15	x 5 =	V 75
(?)V 16	x 5 =	V 80
V 18	x 5 =	V 90

Table III. Amounts listed on Fn 324

Note in particular that the amount most frequently found on Fn 324 is T 1 V 2 = V 8, which occurs in no fewer than eleven (possibly twelve) entries on the record. V 8 multiplied by 5 is V 40 (T 6 V 4); and this is attested five times on Fn 79.

Fn 50, again, is not only written by the same stylus as Fn 324 (and like Fn 324 mentions *do-e-ro*, servants), it shows all the single (as opposed to group) recipients whose allocations are known as receiving either V 2 or V 3, both of them figures which recur on Fn 324. Note, moreover, that it is attractive to suspect that *a<sub>3</sub>-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-jo*, mentioned as a recipient both here (l. 4) and on Fn 79 (l. 15), receives five times the amount on Fn 79 as he does on Fn 50. Fn 79 lists *a<sub>3</sub>* as receiving T 1 V 4 = V 10; Fn 50 lists him as receiving V 2[ .

On the other hand, there is at least a little evidence to suggest that two of the more fragmentary records in hand 45, the hand of Fn 79, may, like that record, have recorded allocations for a five-day period. Fn 918 records an allocation of T 2 V 3, or V 15 (accompanied by one of T 5 of olives), and may also have listed an issue of T 6 V 4, or V 40, the most common allocation on Fn 79. (See the entry of ]6 V 4 on line 1.) The same amount may also have appeared on Fn 965: see ]T 6 V 4[ on line 3 there.

One puzzle remains: the figures on a final record in hand 45, Fn 41. Though the upper part of the tablet is badly damaged, the entries on ll. 13 and 14 have survived complete. The first of these entries records an allocation to *ta-re-wa* of HORD T 6 V 4 (= V 40): as we have seen, the figure most commonly recorded on Fn 79, and a multiple of V 5. On the analogy of Fn 79 (and, as we have just noted, of other records in H 45), we should have expected another multiple of V 5 in the next entry, which concerns an allocation to an *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u* (cf. Fn 50.8). Instead, however, the figure is HORD T 5 V 3 (= V 33), which is not a multiple of 5, though it is a multiple of 3, like the figures on Fn 187. Is the reason for this that Fn 41 is (exceptionally?) recording allocations for more than one period; and that while *ta-re-wa* is attending a five-day festival, the *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u* is only involved in a three-day rite (or is only present for three days of a five-day festival)??

## II.

If the explanation of the great majority of the Fn tablets that we have suggested here is correct viz. that these are records of allocations of barley and other foodstuffs made on the occasion of religious festivals, a final question that remains to be asked is whether we have evidence for similar records at other Mycenaean sites.

In a recent paper to the London Mycenaean Seminar, I suggested that whereas the great majority of the tablets newly discovered at Thebes which have so far been published appear to relate to religious offerings, of barley and other foodstuffs, of the kind found on numerous records in the Fh, Fp, Fs, Ga, Gg and M series at Knossos and the Fr series at Pylos, two of these documents, Av 100 and Av 101, which are the work of a different scribe (no. 304) from any of the writers of the ‘offerings’ records, evidently have a different function. The texts of these tablets read as follows.

**Av 100** (304)

*sup. mut.*

.1a ] V 2 Z 2  
 .1b ], po-te-we , si-to / ku-na-ki-si GRA 2  
 .2a ]so , / si-to GRA 3  
 .2b ] VIR 1 MUL 1  
 .3 ]no , pa-ro , zo-wa , e-re-u-te-ri  
 .4 ] wi-ri-ne-u VIR 1

**Av 101** (304)

*sup. mut.*

.1  
 .2 ] VIR 1 [  
 .3 ]po-me-ne VIR 2 da[  
 .4 ]a-ko-da-mo VIR 2 T 6 V[  
 .5 ]V 2 ma-di-je T 6 V 4 ko-ru-we T 2[  
 .6a ] ku-su-to-ro-qa  
 .6b ]te / si-to to-pa-po-ro[-i

Not only are these tablets solely (it seems) concerned with human recipients: the amounts of food that they record (which on Av 100 at least is qualified as GRA, wheat, rather than HORD, barley) are a great deal larger than the quantities listed on the ‘offerings’ tablets. In addition, at least some of the recipients they refer to can plausibly be identified as persons involved in religious activity. Not only are *ma-di(-je)*, *a-ko-da-mo* and *ko-ru(-we)* all individuals who appear on the ‘offerings’ records: the title *e-re-u-te(-ri)* on Av 100.3 recurs on Cn 3 at Pylos in the context of the supply of oxen, almost certainly for sacrifice; and *to-pa-po-ro(-i)* on Av 101.6 can plausibly be identified as a cult title, most likely /*torpāphoroihi*/, ‘basket-carriers’ (dat.).<sup>23</sup> (Compare the *kanēphoroi*, ‘basket-carriers’, familiar from Classical Greek ceremonial.) It is even possible that the *po-me-ne*, ‘shepherds’, on Av 101 and *wi-ri-ne-u*, ‘leather-worker’, on Av 100 are mentioned in this context, not because they are secular workers who are temporarily engaged in religious activity (though this is also possible: see further above and below), but because of a professional connection with cult: the shepherds as suppliers or tenders of animals for sacrifice; the tanner because he worked on hides of animals that were available for disposal after the sacrifice.<sup>24</sup>

Given this evidence, I suggested that the likeliest explanation of these records was that they recorded allocations of foodstuffs to persons participating in religious festivals viz. that these records had precisely the same purpose as the great majority of the Pylos Fn records. As I noted, it is in keeping with this suggestion that the amount of grain (?) issued to *ma-di(-je)* on Av 101.5 is T 6 V 4 (= V 40): as we have seen, the amount most often recorded on Fn 79 (a record, we have suggested, of issues of barley to persons participating in a five-day festival).

23 For the suggestion that *to-pa* on PY Ub 1318.3 (which might clearly be the same term as appears as the first element in *to-pa-po-ro[-i]*) is the genitive of /*torpā*/, ‘a large basket or hamper’, see *Docs*<sup>2</sup> 491, 587 (which compares Classical Greek *tarpē* [Pollux]).

24 See F. DÜRRBACH, *Inscriptions de Délos* (nos. 372-509) (1929) 440A 68 for the recording of income from the sale of hides of sacrificial animals in the accounts of the Delian Posidea.



Since I wrote my London paper, a further record by scribe 304 has been published: Av 106.<sup>25</sup> Its text reads as follows.

<b>Av 106</b>				(304)
	<i>supra mutila</i>			
.1			]ne-ti-ja-no	VIR 1
.2		]VIR 1	o-pi-ja-ro	VIR 1
.3	]ke-re-u-so	VIR 1	si-mi-te-u	VIR 1
.4	]na-e-si-jo	VIR 1	te-u-ke-i-jo	VIR 1
.5	]ta-me-je-u	VIR 1	ka-na-pe-we	VIR 6
.6	]sa-nwa-ta	VIR 1	a-re-pe-se-u	VIR 1
.7		] VIR 1	ru-ra-ta-e	VIR 2
.8			]ra	VIR 1
.9		<i>inf. mut.</i>		

It is immediately of encouragement for the belief that Av 100, 101 are concerned with personnel involved in religious ceremonial – perhaps, in the case of Av 101 at least, a religious festival lasting five days – that the list of individuals here includes, besides a large number of personal names, the term *ru-ra-ta-e* (l. 7). This can attractively be interpreted as */lurātae/*, ‘two lyre players’, who would clearly be at home in the context of religious ceremonial, as witness the lyre player on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, etc. There is also a reference on the record to a group of fullers, *ka-na-pe-we*, */knaphēwes/* (l. 5). If my suggestion about the function of the tablets in hand 304 is correct, these are probably best understood as a group of secular workers who are temporarily involved in cult activity. Note (as we have done earlier in the paper) the presence of *ka-na-pe-we* among the recipients of \*190 on the Oi tablets at Mycenae, the other recipients of which include not only the goddess *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* / *po-ti-ni-ja* but also a group of *ku-wa-no-wo-ko*, */kuanoworgoi/*, ‘workers in blue glass paste’, who presumably have a similar explanation in this (clearly religious) context.

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<sup>25</sup> See V. ARAVANTINOS, “Mycenaean texts and contexts at Thebes,” in *Florent Studia Mycenaea. Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995* (1999) 62.