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TA-U-RO-QO-RO



Studies in Mycenaean Texts, Language and Culture  
in Honor of José Luis Melena Jiménez

Edited by

Julián Méndez Dosuna

Thomas G. Palaima

Carlos Varias García

CENTER FOR HELLENIC STUDIES

Trustees for Harvard University

Washington, DC

Distributed by Harvard University Press

Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England

2022

*TA-U-RO-QO-RO: Studies in Mycenaean Texts, Language, and Culture in Honor of José Luis Melena Jiménez*, edited by Julián Méndez Dosuna, Thomas G. Palaima, and Carlos Varias García

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Published by Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.

Distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England

Printed by Gasch Printing, Odenton, MD

Cover Design: Joni Godlove

Production: Kerri Cox Sullivan

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ISBN: 978-0-674-27257-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2022936187



José Luis Melena Jiménez

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'J' followed by 'Luis' and 'Jiménez'.



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## Preface

WORKS OF SCHOLARSHIP, LIKE HUMAN LIVES, move through time and space in ways as unpredictable as the human lives to which they are attached. This Festschrift in honor of José Luis Melena is no exception. What has made the contributors persist in perfecting their papers is the unique individual whom we are honoring.

José Luis Melena is, among philologists, a unique example of wisdom, capacity for work, tenacious determination, a deep and reverent sense of the vocation of being a scholar and a concomitant recognition that it is a rare privilege to pursue scholarly truths as a life's work. Personally—and all of us contributors have felt the effects of José's personality—he is generous towards others and has an unwavering sense of humanity, despite the disappointments, frustrations, sorrows, and miseries we inevitably confront as we live out our lives. In his career life and in his home life, José has been tested as if a modern Job. As William Faulkner put it about one of his most memorable characters, it is often a signal mark of success in the lives we lead to endure and endure and endure. José has done that and done so much more for all of us and for many others with equanimity and with intelligent understanding of human weaknesses.

Born in 1946, while still an adolescent schoolboy in his native San Sebastián at the beginning of the 1960s, during one of his frequent visits to the Reading Room of the Municipal Library, he began to read with great interest a Spanish translation of *The Aegean Civilization* by Gustav Glotz: *La Civilización Egea* (1926). He remembers being captivated by drawings of the Knossos tablets, much like the decipherer of Linear B, Michael Ventris, reading Adolf Erman's *Die Hieroglyphen*. And at once he was clear about where he was going to direct a big part of his studies: the Aegean writing systems.

A few years later, he found on the shelves of the library of the Peñaflorida Institute, where he was studying for the Higher Baccalaureate, a precious book, *Diecisiete tablillas micénicas* by Manuel Fernández Galiano (1959). He read it in full, as well as all the works available about Mycenae during his high school years in

## Preface

San Sebastián. Such an early and determined sense of vocation in a recondite and complex area of scholarly inquiry that was studied by very few people in those days is very rare. In some ways it parallels the boyhood interests of Michael Ventris, who in young adulthood in the late 40's and early 50's, after his military service in World War II, virtually abandoned the career field of architecture that his mother more or less had dictated that he take up and instead worked intensively toward the decipherment of Aegean scripts, his real passion.

With characteristic intelligence and determination and Delphic self-knowledge, José Luis Melena stayed his course. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in October 1965, having just arrived in Salamanca to begin his university studies, he caught the attention of Manuel García Teijeiro, who was going to teach Mycenaean Greek, and the leading Spanish figure in the understanding of Mycenaean script and language, Martín S. Ruipérez himself. José asked specifically for the two volumes of *Scripta Minoa* (1909 and 1952) and for the run of the journal *Minos*. It was clear why José Luis Melena chose the University of Salamanca to study Classical Philology.

But staying the course was not without investigating seriously other areas of interest. Recently, José reminded us (personal communication August 3, 2021) that “my Master Thesis dealt with the taboo in Ancient Greece (1970) as a preliminary study for my [then proposed] PhD dissertation on the Homeric words for ‘strength’ which I eventually abandoned for a Mycenaean subject.” We can see how far José went down this alternative path by reading his impressive early article that merged intensive study of Indo-European and Homeric vocabulary with what has been his lifelong passion for Mycenology: “El testimonio del micénico a propósito de los nombres de las distintas fuerzas en Homero,” *Emerita* 44:2 (1976): 421–436.

From the time he received his diploma (with Extraordinary Award) in 1970 to today, José Melena has done enormous and extraordinary work in virtually all the subfields that make up the field of Mycenaean studies. He has provided all kinds of help, sometimes without due recognition, to hundreds of researchers around the world, beginning with his decisive work in the edition of *Acta Mycenaea*, the proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium of Mycenaean Studies organized by his teacher Martín S. Ruipérez in 1970. The *acta* were published as separate volumes of the journal *Minos* XI (1971) and XII (1972). This and many other tasks, which include his doctoral thesis (“Estudios sobre las inscripciones de Cnoso,” Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1973) and his work on the journal *Minos: Revista de Filología Egea*, were carried out in a first stage of job instability and regular travel (Madrid, Salamanca, Canarias) until he achieved the position of Professor of Greek Philology at the University of the Basque Country, in 1983.

Mycenology would not have had the strong development that it has had throughout the world in the last fifty years without the tireless cooperative work of José Luis Melena. Among many other major scholarly duties that he performed during all this time, it is worth mentioning first and foremost the journal *Mínos*. For over four decades (1970–2011), its enormous international prestige in this field was due almost exclusively to the work of José Luis Melena, first as secretary and then as editor.

It is a pity that, for various reasons, this tribute could not appear in the journal to which José dedicated a large part of his life. We are very grateful to the Center for Hellenic Studies, especially to Gregory Nagy, Leonard Muellner, Kerri Cox Sullivan, and Jill Curry Robbins for their roles in publishing our *Festschrift*. We thank Charles Delattre, Roser Gómez Guiu, Jörg Weilhartner, Jared Petroll, and Zafeirios Adramerinas, who were of great help with proofing and formatting these complicated texts. Tom Palaima always thanks Garrett Bruner, PASP archivist, for locating needed materials.

José's excellent scientific production and his capacity for work and planning made it natural for José to be chosen Secretary General of the Comité International Permanent des Études Mycéniennes (CIPEM) in 1990, relieving John Chadwick. At the same time he replaced Martín S. Ruipérez as representative of Spain in CIPEM. He went well beyond working dutifully in these two key positions until he voluntarily ceded them to successors twenty years later in 2010.

The scientific prestige of José Luis Melena transcends the scope of Mycenaean and Classical Philology, as is made clear by two important external recognitions. The first is his appointment in 1987 as Cultural Attaché of the Embassy of Spain in Athens and Director of the Instituto Cultural Español Reina Sofía (now known as the Instituto Cervantes) in the Greek capital, a position from which he was ignominiously dismissed in 1990 through political machinations. The second was receiving the Euskadi Research Prize from the Basque Government in 1999.

We would like to close on a personal note beyond the expressions of gratitude that we have made, as have other contributors, in our papers and/or in the section of brief personal comments that closes this volume.

I, Carlos Varias García, would like to highlight the unparalleled kindness of José Luis Melena in guiding my doctoral thesis. In a letter written in January 1991 that I have treasured ever since receiving it, José Melena, having just recently arrived in Vitoria after enduring the shock of being removed from Athens, responded to my letter from Barcelona asking him to direct my doctoral thesis. José not only welcomed my request, at a very difficult time for him, but also proposed a change of thesis topic from one having to do with Mycenaean anthroponymy to another, the joint study of the inscriptions in Linear B of Mycenae.

## Preface

The letter contains an impeccable argument that later proved to be correct. My thesis, from beginning to end, has the stamp of José Luis Melena, and without him as director it would never have seen the light of day. Such was his continuous support and scientific direction that I received as doctoral student, despite being at a different university. José's support was just as decisive throughout my entire academic career for which I have many times heartily thanked him. Thank you, again, José.

I, Tom Palaima, consider José my second mentor, after Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. José shares with Emmett a sincere sense of the fun in working on problems having to do with the Mycenaean Greeks and the writing system that they used. I was honored that he invited me to serve first on the *Comité de Redacción de Minos* from 1986–2011; then as assistant editor and book review editor 1990–95, and finally as co-editor and book review editor 1995–2011. Working with José, our labors were no burden at all. His open-mindedness, high scholarly standards humanely applied to submissions, and his critical and truly selfless enthusiasm for new ideas were so wonderful to absorb that it is only in recent years that I have come to see how exceptional these attributes were within our field or any scholarly fields. I share fully Carlos's sense that José Melena is a generous person.

There are stories that could be told of how calmly José withstood personal professional attacks and life tragedies that would have caused most human beings to respond by becoming bitter and hateful or by despairing of life itself. I share with Carlos a deep sense of gratitude for the forty-one years now that I have known and cooperated with José. I have asked him many stupid questions. I have always gotten careful, sincere, and kind answers.

We are sure that if life circumstances permitted Julián Méndez Dosuna, who did an enormous amount of work in organizing, collecting, and editing this volume in the first years of work on it, would add reflections similar to ours. Without Julián's work, this volume would not exist. He is truly, not just alphabetically, its first editor.

We, all three of us, are proud to have José Luis Melena as a mentor, a colleague, a guiding spirit, a friend, and a fellow explorer in the often sad and sorrowful pathways of life

We thank all our fellow contributors for making this volume a thank offering worthy of a remarkable scholar and human being.

Carlos Varias García, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona  
Thomas Gerard Palaima, PASP, University of Texas at Austin  
Julián Méndez Dosuna, Universidad de Salamanca

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## Abbreviations

CoMIK	J. Chadwick, L. Godart, J. T. Killen, J.-P. Olivier, A. Sacconi, and I. A. Sakellarakis, <i>Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos</i> , 4 vols. (Cambridge-Rome, 1986–1998).
DMic.	F. Aura Jorro, <i>Diccionario Griego-Español</i> . Anejos I–II: <i>Diccionario micénico</i> , 2 vols. (Madrid, 1985, 1993; repr. 1999).
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Docs <sup>2</sup>	M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, <i>Documents in Mycenaean Greek</i> , 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1973).
Documents	M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, <i>Documents in Mycenaean Greek</i> (Cambridge, 1956).
EDG	R. S. P. Beekes, <i>Etymological Dictionary of Greek</i> , Leiden Indo-European Dictionary Series 10 (Leiden, 2010).
KT <sup>6</sup>	J. L. Melena, in collaboration with R. J. Firth, <i>The Knossos Tablets. Sixth Edition. A Transliteration</i> (Philadelphia, 2019).
PTT <sup>3</sup>	J. L. Melena, with the collaboration of R. J. Firth, <i>The Pylos Tablets. Third Edition in Transliteration</i> (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2021).



TA-U-RO-QO-RO

𐌲𐌳𐌹𐌹





*pa-ki-ja-ne, pa-ki-ja-na,  
and pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*

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*In a little hilltop village, they gambled for my clothes  
I bargained for salvation an' they gave me a lethal dose  
I offered up my innocence and got repaid with scorn  
"Come in," she said, "I'll give you shelter from the storm"*  
—Bob Dylan<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

In honor of the rigorous reasoning used by José L. Melena in his scholarly writing, I here continue my investigations of how key word units in the Linear B texts have been interpreted through time and why we have come to have, in many cases, mistaken notions of their meanings. Here we will look at how different forms of the toponym identified correctly as the chief sanctuary district associated with the Palace of Nestor at Pylos (*pa-ki-ja-ne, pa-ki-ja-na, and pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*) have been (mis?)interpreted and used in discussions of Mycenaean geography, state formation, regional administration, economy, society, religion, and ritual practices and in relationship to the later historical Greek lexicon. As Melena knows, it is best to know what we do *not* know.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bob Dylan, "Shelter from the Storm" (copyright © 1974 by Ram's Horn Music; renewed 2002 by Ram's Horn Music). In memory, José, of Jimmy LaFave performing this at our request in the Cactus Café at the University of Texas at Austin sometime in mid-October to early November 1999.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that herein I have put what José Melena elsewhere (personal email 12/02/2015) has called my characteristically "exaggerated adjectives" to accurate use in describing his virtues as a scholar and as a human being. I thank Maurizio del Freo and Vassilis Petrakis for helpful comments on several points in the penultimate draft of this paper.

I propose leaving open how we are to “read” in Greek the clearly pre-Greek *pa-ki-ja-ne* / *pa-ki-ja-na* / *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*, given that we do not have any sure means to identify the root from which it is formed. Proposed connections with the Greek verbal root *sphag-* (‘slit the throat’, ‘sacrifice through slaughter’) are not compelling, nor are connections with the historical island of *Sphakteria* as derived from *sphag-*.

*pa-ki-ja-ne* / *pa-ki-ja-na* / *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* are likely from a different root than *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* in the Knossos texts. For *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* a connection with *sphag-* (‘slit the throat’, ‘sacrifice through slaughter’) is tenable.

The root for *pa-ki-ja-ne* / *pa-ki-ja-na* / *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* that I tentatively put forward is the root of ὁ σφάκος, the ‘sage apple’ or *salvia pomifera* or Cretan sage, because of the prevalence and economic and cultural importance of this shrub in Mycenaean palatial Messenia and by analogy with other phytonymic toponyms attested in Linear B times like \**ti-mi-to a-ko*, [*ku*]-*pa-ri-so*, *pi*-\*82, and \**ne-do-wo*.

## Keywords

Linear B, *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *Sphakteria*, *sphag-*, sanctuary

## Part 1. Historical Homage to José Melena

It is hard to do justice in honoring a scholar like José Luis Melena. In the very title of this Festschrift, our editorial triumvirate uses a coining *ta-u-ro-qo-ro* \**ταυροπόλος* to approximate with less violent connotations his nickname *el matador* (literally *ταυροσφάγος*)<sup>3</sup> arising from his unique status as a commanding, elegant, and noble scholarly presence among the most notable scholars in the seven decades that Linear B has had the attention of serious students of ancient scripts, languages, and material culture. In recognition of his diverse and singular contributions to the field of Mycenology and to the broader fields of Aegean prehistory, the history of the Greek language, and the study of writing systems that have preserved the stages of their developments for us, we might add as epithets *πολύτροπος*, *πολύτεχνος*, *πολύμνηστος* (in the active and passive senses), *πολυμήχανος*, *χαλκέντερος* (à la Didymus), *χαριδότης* (like Dionysos to his legion of followers), and *τριφύλατος* (with a pun on the meaning of the prefix as an intensifier and as it might be derived from the tricephalic editorship of this volume).

For over twice as long as Odysseus was away from Ithaca, I have had the benefit of relying upon José Melena’s keen intellect, wide-ranging knowledge,

<sup>3</sup> Our original title, *ta-u-ro-qo-no*, literally ‘bull-slayer’, alluded both to the tradition of bull-fighting and to Theseus (Mycenaean *te-se-u*) who was a (*mi-no*-)*ta-u-ro-qo-no* in a labyrinth like the one on the verso of Cn 1287 as seen on our cover. We changed the title at the request of a contributor. It now emphasizes Melena’s major role in tending attentively to the scholarly needs of the many bulls, and bovines, in the china shop of Mycenology.

remarkable ingenuity, incomparable versatility, uncompromising honesty, cooperative generosity, sound judgment, patient advice, and unwavering dedication to the life of the mind and to the nurturing of the human spirit. His work ethic exceeds that of anyone I know in the academic and public intellectual areas in which I have worked. As a scholar he practices humility and conveys a sense of satisfaction. His genius puts him in a class by himself.

We know José Melena as a master of epigraphy, palaeography, linguistics, textual explication, and the study of human beings in their physical world and how they function as social creatures now and over three millennia ago. If a time machine were to place the polymath Eratosthenes alongside José, Eratosthenes would acknowledge that he himself was rightly nicknamed ‘*bēta*’.

My first contact with José Melena was over forty years ago, the result of a small Forum note<sup>4</sup> I submitted, as my first foray into scholarship, to the monthly bibliographical (and, at that time, more) newsletter *Nestor* that my mentor Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. had brought into being and then monthly put together and distributed to interested scholars the old-fashioned way, via the postal service. I submitted it just before heading to Greece to study the Pylos tablets in the National Archaeological Museum (October 1979–April 1980) for my Ph.D. dissertation. I was responding to an earlier Forum submission by José Melena.<sup>5</sup> In particular, I was weighing the likelihood that the partially preserved second and third signs of the fragmentary painted inscription in question could be read to provide us with another secure, according to then-existing evidence, instance of the use of a sign with a dummy vowel at the end of a word ending in -κς, in this case \**ka-ru-ka*.

I dimly remembered this as being a bit of young and impertinent foolishness that our *ta-u-ro-qo-ro*, as he moved into his prime, took in stride. But rereading it now, I see that I held to making palaeographical observations pro and con that formed an *argumentum* in the literal sense of ‘shedding light on a topic’ and not in the sense that James Boswell uses when he describes Samuel Johnson as ‘arguing for victory’. I adopted this manner of writing, from which I have deviated in the last forty-two years only rarely and slightly, yet nonetheless to my regret, following the examples of Bennett and Melena, both of whom deserve to be called true ‘gentlemen’, καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, in the fullest positive meaning of the phrase.

Since then, it has been my privilege to work alongside José, metaphorically and physically, at times cooperating in the editing of articles and book reviews in *Minos*, at other times being entrusted with reading through and commenting on drafts of his precisely reasoned *opuscula* and his magisterial *opera*, the three

<sup>4</sup> Palaima 1979.

<sup>5</sup> Melena 1979.

most recent major works being (1) the magisterial *KT*,<sup>6</sup> all of the readings in which I checked for INSTAP Academic Press as a cooperative practicum together with graduate students Cassandra Donnelly and Caolán Mac An Aircinn, at the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory (PASP); (2) his definitive overview of Mycenaean writing, commissioned by Yves Duhoux and the late Anna Morpurgo Davies;<sup>7</sup> and (3) his definitive transcription of the Linear B tablets from Pylos that supersedes the two recent competing editions that were largely based upon Melena's work in progress.<sup>8</sup> He has read many of my own papers in draft and offered comments that have brought me back from error or led me to deeper and more sophisticated thinking. I will be forever in his debt—and Jean-Pierre Olivier's—for arranging with lightning speed to publish the Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. Festschrift in the *Suplementos a Minos* series, when intractable conditions concerning the contents of the volume unexpectedly developed with the editors of the originally intended series.<sup>9</sup>

One of the highlights of working alongside Emmett Bennett and José Melena in person was our discovery of “contiguities” (leaf-shaped Linear B clay tablets, forming a set relating to a specific subject, that clearly nested in a group one with another) in the Pylos Sh series in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens on December 4, 1989, when Erik Hallager was also present.<sup>10</sup> A bit later, during the Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, José helped me in concocting and then publishing a Mycenaean limerick:<sup>11</sup>

1. te-qa-jo , a-pu pa ka-ru-to-jo
2. pu-ro-de , pe-re , DE ta-u-ro-jo
3. ta-ra-sa , ta-ra-ku-ja
4. na-u-qe , qa-ra-du-ja
5. i-ke-to , me-ta po-ro-wi-to-jo

Our spoof was so good in its poetics and in its scholarly commentary that it has been cited in a prominent scholarly journal as genuine proof that Linear B was used to write poetry: “le seul poème de l'épigraphie mycénienne,”<sup>12</sup> in and of itself not an impossibility.

Another memorable moment was observing José masterfully employ Socrates' maieutic method in a graduate seminar at PASP in fall 1999 and switch

<sup>6</sup> Melena 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Melena 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Melena 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Olivier and Palaima 1988. I still remember Olivier saying to me when I called him from Rome: “We shall go to the third peninsula!” He meant Spain.

<sup>10</sup> Palaima 1996:379–396, especially 379, 391–392 and n1. See also Melena 2021:ix.

<sup>11</sup> Palaima and Melena 1992:2501–2502.

<sup>12</sup> Sergent 1994:370n29.



Figure 13.1. Model of Archives Complex (AC) at Pylos built by José L. Melena at PASP 1999 (or 2000?). Clay tablet label giving name of creator and date of work: *me-re-na, we-ko* 2000. Photo: Thomas Palaima and Garrett Bruner, January 5, 2019.



Figure 13.2. Model of Archives Complex at Pylos built by José L. Melena at PASP 1999 (or 2000?). Entrance to Palace of Nestor with AC at left. Photo: Thomas Palaima and Garrett Bruner.

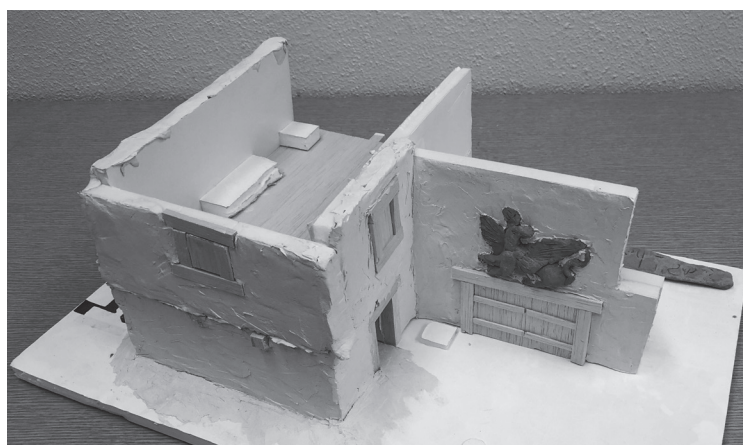


Figure 13.3. Model of Archives Complex, entrance to Palace of Nestor with AC at left with doors and upper room visible. Photo: Thomas Palaima and Garrett Bruner.

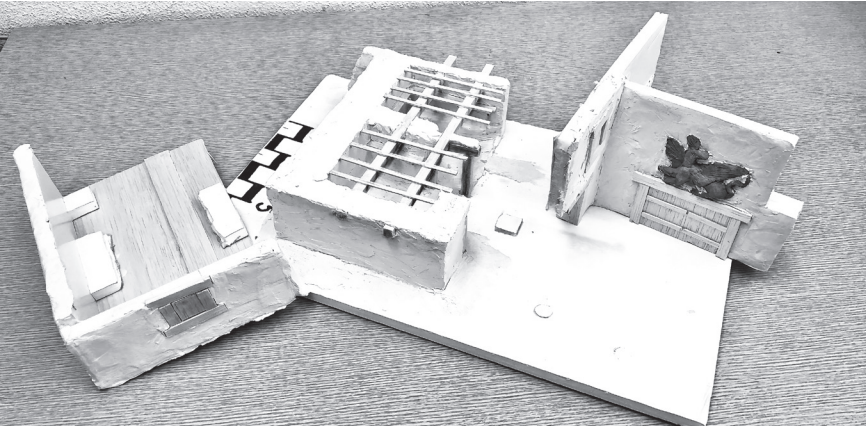


Figure 13.4. Model of Archives Complex, components removed to reveal interior of the AC and the cm. scale. Photo: Thomas Palaima and Garrett Bruner.

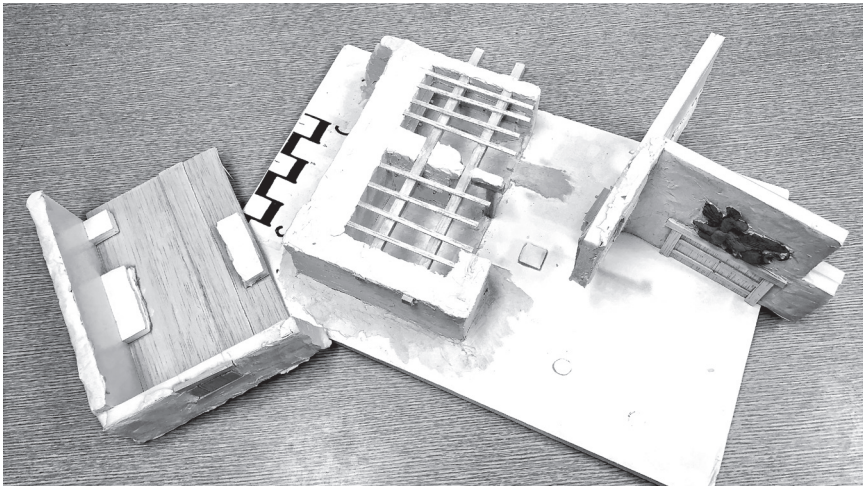


Figure 13.5. Model of Archives Complex. Photo: Thomas Palaima and Garrett Bruner.

from linguistic analytical thinking to artistic creativity, producing with materials from the bargain art supply store Hobby Lobby a three-dimensional model of the entrance and Archives Complex of the Palace of Nestor, complete with removable roof. It is still preserved in PASP (figs. 13.1–13.5) and dated in Linear B by the creator as his work (*we-ko*) from or anticipating the year 2000.<sup>13</sup>

I have witnessed José Melena conduct himself with honor many times over the years in situations of considerable diplomatic and personal duress—when

<sup>13</sup> The model and the clay tablet indicating the year *might* date from May 2000, when José Melena was also in Austin.

he was out in true storms, what Dylan elsewhere calls “the cruel rain and the wind,”<sup>14</sup> without any shelter—in a manner worthy of the full sense of the adjective ἀγαθός. The principle *nihil nisi bonum et de viventibus* dictates that I not give any particular examples.

I will note here, however, that on April 2, 2003, I received an email with the subject heading *declaration de guerre*. This was eleven days after the president of the United States, citing specious pretexts and inventing and invoking the morally and strategically unsound principle of “preemptive warfare,” had ordered the combined military forces in Operation Iraqi Freedom to attack the country of Iraq. Many of us could see that this “purveyance of force,” as Martin Luther King would have called it, would cause terrible unjustifiable harm to innocent people and death, destruction, and political destabilization over many years. I had written public commentaries speaking out for restraint and peace, and in this José Melena joined me by letting me voice his own opinions freely and extensively.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, I thought at first that the email of April 2, 2003, with the subject heading *declaration de guerre*, would contain comments on my public political writing in opposition to the Iraq War. It turned out to be a statement declaring war on me as a scholar for ideas I had expressed in standard scholarly venues that adhered to the scholarly courtesies observed by the editors of and contributors to the publications in which they appeared.<sup>16</sup> In one case, I wrote with considerable reluctance in response to a specific request from the editors of a scholarly journal that I express my viewpoint on the scholarly matters under discussion.<sup>17</sup> To this day, this email letter stands out as an extraordinary aberration from scholarly norms. Unfortunately it is not atypical of other declarations and actions José Melena had to deal with in various high-level positions he has held during his career of service to our field. The letter of April 2, 2003, and the unilateral “war” it declared became even harder to comprehend when a former student and close friend and scholarly collaborator of mine, Col. Ted Westhusing, committed suicide in Iraq on June 5, 2005.<sup>18</sup> José Melena supported me in my resolve to maintain *l’esprit de Gif* and a polite disposition throughout this one-sided *guerre*, which has never been rescinded or suspended. He is still the supreme advocate and most conspicuous practitioner of this spirit inspired by the guiding principles of the United Nations after World War II.

<sup>14</sup> Bob Dylan, “Percy’s Song” (copyright © 1964, 1966 by Warner Bros. Inc.; renewed 1992, 1994 by Special Rider Music).

<sup>15</sup> Palaima 2001. The quotation in the title is of a reasoned statement of José L. Melena.

<sup>16</sup> Palaima 2002 and Palaima 2003a.

<sup>17</sup> Palaima 2003b.

<sup>18</sup> Palaima 2007.

## Part 2. One More Vocabulary Problem in the History of Mycenaean Textual Studies

In miceneo la sibilante i.e. \*/s/ mostra vari esiti: a contatto con i suoni occlusivi si conserva come /s/; all'inizio di parola davanti a vocale o davanti a /w/ e in posizione intervocalica si trasforma in un suono aspirato /h/; a contatto con le sonanti, infine, da luogo a suoni geminati.

In lineare B sono presenti notazioni particolari di /s/: (a) di norma nei contesti /sC/ la sibilante non è notata graficamente (p.es. *pa-ka-na* /*ph<sup>h</sup>asgana*/ 'spade' (: φάσγανov); fa eccezione la notazione cnosia *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* /*sp<sup>h</sup>aktēria*/ 'animali da sacrificio' vs. *pa-ki-ja-ne* /*Sp<sup>h</sup>agiānes*/ a Pilo); (b) /-s/ finale non è mai notata graficamente (p.es. *wa-na-ka* /*wanaks*/, *qo-o* /*g<sup>w</sup>ōns*/ (acc. pl.) 'buoi').

José Luis García Ramón (2016:218)

### Notation of /s/

The orthographic rule according to which /s/ before consonant is not written, either in syllabic coda (*ti-ri-po-di-ko* Τριποδίσκος) or word-initially (e.g. *pe-ma* σπέριμα), is broken:

#### A) In names:

*i-su-ku-wo-do-to* MN KN Fh 348.1 (Hand 141) /*Isk<sup>h</sup>u<sup>w</sup>odotos*/.

*]sa-ka-ri-jo* MN KN V(7) 1523.3 (Hand 101) /(*I*)*sk<sup>h</sup>ali<sup>o</sup>s*/ cf. ἀνίσχαλος, ἴξαλος.

#### B) In contextually supported words:

*e-sa-pa-ke-mē*[-*na* KN L 7375 (= 508bis).a, L(9) 7401.a (Hand 213?): cloth description, perhaps /*espargmena*/ 'swaddling clothes' cf. σπάργανα (J. T. KILLEN *per litteras* and *Documents*<sup>2</sup>, 546) or less likely /*esp<sup>h</sup>agmena*/, cf. σφάζω, but in what sense?

A dubious form *sa-pa* KN L 693.2 (Hand 103) could in theory be interpreted as a metal 'wedge' /*sp<sup>h</sup>ān*/ followed by a small quantity of 50 g but see below §17.3.4.2.9 for an etymological difficulty and an alternative interpretation.

*sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* KN C(2) 941.B (Hand 112), X 9191.a: livestock description /*sp<sup>h</sup>aktēria*/ 'suitable for slaughtering', cf. σφάζω.

*si-ki-ro* KN U 8210.1 (along with *DIPTTE* on line .2) /*skirros*/ 'gypsum' used for treating parchments?

José L. Melena (2014:104, §17.3.4.2.3)



Here I continue to investigate how we have come historically to commonly accepted interpretations of particular word units in our Linear B texts that influence how we reconstruct the Mycenaean world. I have done something similar with \**ti-mi-to a-ko*,<sup>19</sup> *o-ze-to*,<sup>20</sup> *ka-zo-de*,<sup>21</sup> \**a-pu*,<sup>22</sup> and *ko-re-te*,<sup>23</sup> and, of course, *wa-na-ka* and *qa-si-re-u*.<sup>24</sup> In this case, I will discuss clearly related terms that have long bothered me in regard to how they are used in discussions of Mycenaean geography, state formation, regional administration, economy, society, religion, and ritual practices and in relationship to the later historical Greek lexicon: *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *pa-ki-ja-na*, and *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*.

My discussion will also, I hope, make clear the danger of interpreting the Linear B documents by following strands between lexical items occurring in different archaeological and administrative contexts and within different sets of tablets by different scribal hands, without examining each occurrence independently in its peculiar record-keeping environment and without continuing to recognize as hypothetical interpretations originally put forward as such.

Michael Ventris first presented the tentative evidence for the decipherment of Linear B during a BBC broadcast of July 1, 1952. Since then, in standard treatments of how the Linear B script represents Greek words and of the state of the Greek language in the Mycenaean palatial period, the related forms *pa-ki-ja-ne* (clearly a nominative plural masculine consonant stem noun in -εϛ), *pa-ki-ja-na* (a nominative singular feminine α-stem noun ending in -ᾱνᾱ and potentially other ambiguous case forms) and *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* (a nominative singular feminine α-stem noun in -iᾱ and, of course, potentially other case forms as tolerated by Mycenaean “spelling rules”) have been interpreted (see citations from García Ramón and Melena above) as related to the later Greek verbal root σφαγ-. σφαγ- has no identifiable cognates outside of Greek and therefore is considered a possible pre-Greek root that may also be seen in the word used for sword in the Linear B texts: φάσανον reconstructed “as φασγ-/σφαγ-.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Palaima 2000. \**ti-mi-to a-ko* = \*Τιμίνθων ἄγκος.

<sup>20</sup> Palaima 2014:85: “*o-ze-to* is from the same root (see historical Gk. ζέω) as *ze-so-me-no* and the second element of the compound *a-re-pa-zo-o* and the phrase is to be interpreted (p. 87) as either (1) aorist ὄ(s) *dzesto* (for the type of aorist, compare εὔκτο, δέκτο, and γέντο) ‘thus he boiled, seethed,’ or (2) athematic present ὄ(s) *dzestoi* ‘thus he is boiling, seething.’”

<sup>21</sup> Palaima 2020a:127: “*ka-zo-de* should be interpreted as \**kalkh-yonde*, from the loan word *kalkhā* (historical Greek κάλχη) used both for the murex, the marine mollusk, and for the purple dye which is extracted from it. The late adjectival formation *kalkhion* is used for the purple dye. A metathesized form of this word, identical then in its stem to *khalk-os*, is attested.”

<sup>22</sup> Palaima 2020b.

<sup>23</sup> Palaima forthcoming.

<sup>24</sup> Palaima 2016; 2006; 1995.

<sup>25</sup> Furnée 1972:300; EDG, 1426–1427, s.v. σφάζω; 1556, s.v. φάσανον; Chantraine 2009:1036–1037, s.v. σφάζω. See most recently the characteristically comprehensive and carefully reasoned treat-

In 1953, Ventris and Chadwick discussed the term in a critical part of their fuller argument in support of the decipherment.<sup>26</sup> In trying to convince a skeptical scholarly readership that Ventris's values produced sound results, the showstopper was the list of Cretan place names that could be read in the Knossos texts in tablets related by contents. Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., who was decently reserved in discussing the decipherment of Linear B, in fact once told me that "the Knossos place names were the Rosetta Stone." Indeed, Ventris and Chadwick presented six cases of related terms in the Knossos texts that formed part of Kober's triplets of (1) toponym in noun form, (2) masculine or neuter adjective in -ιος, and (3) feminine singular or neuter plural adjective in -ιά or -ια. Having some corroboration from mainland texts was important, so Ventris and Chadwick continued:

Apart from *Pu-ro* Πύλος and *Pa-ki-ja-* Σφαγία?, the Pylos place-names (recurring as a group on the Tablets An07–09, 12, 14, 19, Cn02–07, 09–15, Jn09, Kn01, Ma01–19, On01, Vn01–04) appear to refer to local villages whose classical names are unknown. But several of them reflect Greek vocabulary.<sup>27</sup>

What should be noticed here is that Ventris and Chadwick did not deal with the full forms (particularly the noun suffixation) of the plural ethnonym (*pa-ki-ja-ne*), the singular toponyms (*pa-ki-ja-na* and *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*), and the toponymic adjectives (*pa-ki-ja-ni-jo/-ja*). The question mark that signaled their own doubt about this identification persisted ten years later in the caution used by Anna Morpurgo in her masterful first lexicon of Mycenaean Greek<sup>28</sup> interpreting *pa-ki-ja-na*, among other now-discarded options, as a "topon[ymum] in -ānā exiens" and for *pa-ki-ja-ne* (s. *pa-ki-ja-pi*): "quod ad formam attinet, stirps in -n- exiens videtur: intell. fortasse -ānes, -ānas; gr. Σφαγία conferri potest, sed v. Docs. p. 143."

If we follow Morpurgo Davies's cautionary instruction and turn to *Docs*,<sup>2</sup> 143 in the unchanged main text of the 1956 edition we read:

We were at first inclined to associate *Pa-ki-ja-* with Σφαγία, a known name of the island of Sphacteria. Two considerations, however, have caused us to question this: the Mycenaean name appears to be alternatively *Pa-ki-ja-na*, *Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* (fem. *a*-stem?) or *Pa-ki-ja-ne* (= -ānes,

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ment of Mycenaean terms that might be connected with the root σφαγ- in Petrakis 2021:346–354 *et passim*, who points out: "Tom Palaima has, on numerous occasions, been exceptionally explicit in putting forward the intriguing rendering of the name as 'the place of (ritual animal) slaughter', although he recently questioned his own interpretation" (Petrakis 2021:350 and n30).

<sup>26</sup> Ventris and Chadwick 1953:89–90.

<sup>27</sup> Ventris and Chadwick 1953:90.

<sup>28</sup> Morpurgo Davies 1963:227–228. As it persists in John Bennet's geographical studies (see note 29).

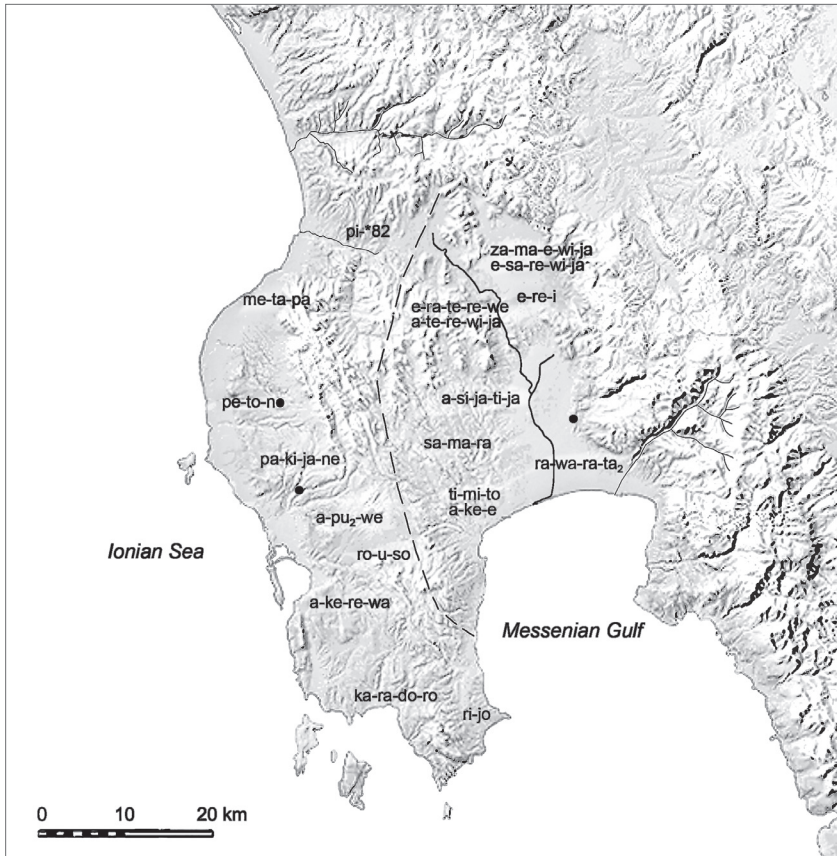


Figure 13.6. The geography of Late Bronze Age Messenia with Linear B toponyms placed in their most likely locations. After figure 4 in Del Frio 2016:639, here reproduced with kind permission of the author.

plural), neither of which corresponds closely with any classical form of the name; and Webster has pointed out that it is an important place and that the amount of land it possesses seems too large for that available on Sphakteria.

We now know that the likely location of the district identified by this complex of forms most likely has nothing to do with the island with the historical name Sphakteria.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Bennet (2011:152) identifies it as the fifth of nine second-order districts in the Hither Province. It takes the place of the main center Pylos (= *pu-ro*), which is closely associated geographically, administratively, and ceremonially with *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Bennett cautiously reads it as “possibly Σφαγιᾶνες.” Regarding the history of scholarship on correlating the 250 place names attested in the Pylos texts with archaeological sites and areas, see the admirably clear and controlled

We also acknowledge that our source for the alternative name (Σφαγία) given to the island is late (second century CE) and that in the later lexicographical and geographical tradition Σφαγία<sup>30</sup> may itself be the result of a rationalizing folk-etymologizing of what was once a pre-Greek toponym and ethnonym with endings that are typical of pre-Greek.

As is frequently the case in the history of Mycenological scholarship, an attractive original proposal precluded seeking and considering viable alternatives. In fact, Hesychius preserves a gloss §2840<sup>31</sup> σφάκια· τῆς ἀμπέλου τὰ κλήματα (“the branches of the grape vine”). This would provide a suitable root for a phytonymic ethnonym or toponym and one referring to an important agricultural resource in the Mycenaean palatial period. This would be analogous to \**ti-mi-to a-ko* and \**tirminthos* < τέρμινθος *Pistacia terebinthus* and the widely accepted Pylian place name [ku]-*pa-ris-so*<sup>32</sup> κυπάρισσος = *Cupressus sempervirens* = the cypress tree and cypress wood. See also *pi*-\*82, which, according to Melena (personal communication), means ‘Pinewood’ (/pitus/ ‘Aleppo pine tree’ collective /pitu-a/ > pitwa > piswa. There is also ὁ σφάκος, the “sage apple,” or *Salvia pomifera*, or Cretan sage, which grows naturally on low and rocky hills (0–800 m in altitude) in Crete and Greece, preferring strong sunshine and dry, sandy soil: §2841 σφάκος· χόρτος, ὃν τὰ κτήνη ἐσθίει, “a plant, which the cattle eat.” Gall wasps produce edible galls on this hardy shrub that were harvested and made into an edible delicacy for human beings.<sup>33</sup>

In addition, Stephanus of Byzantium citing a verse of Lycophron (third century BCE) gives us the following discussion of a toponym Σφήκεια (< *Sp<sup>h</sup>ākeia*), πόλις Εὐβοίας. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Κύπρος ἐκαλεῖτο. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σφήκες. Σφήκειαν δὲ καὶ Κεράστειαν τὴν Κύπρον, “Sphākeia is a polis in Euboea. Thus even Cyprus used to be called. The ethnic is Sphākes. Sphākeia and Kerasteia Cyprus.” The *Etymologicum Magnum* gives the same information in more detail. See also Hesychius §2884: Σφήκεια· ἡ Κύπρος τὸ πρότερον.

I have here in transliteration changed to an etymological long *alpha* the *eta* that is used in historical spellings in order to highlight that σφήξ, σφηκός comes from long *alpha* and is compared by Beekes (*EDG, s.v.*) to similar pre-Greek

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synthetic treatment by Del Frio (2016:634–643). See p. 639 and figure 4 (here reproduced with Del Frio’s kind permission as our fig. 13.6) for his hypothetical map of the provinces and districts of the kingdom of Pylos.

<sup>30</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Σφακτιρία cites Pausanias as identifying the island with this toponym and Favorinus as the source for the island being called by the alternative place name Σφαγία. The other tradition recorded by Stephanus is that Sphacteria was the place name of a border site between Elis and Messene so named because it is where the Heraclidae concluded treaties attended by animal sacrifices.

<sup>31</sup> Hansen 2005:391. All glosses given with identifying numbers are from Hansen 2005.

<sup>32</sup> Sainer 1976:44; *Docs*<sup>2</sup>, 416.

<sup>33</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia* 662E cites Eurpolis: βροσκόμεθ’ ὕλης ἀπὸ παντοδαπῆς ... κύτισον τ’ ἠδὲ σφάκον εὐώδη.

words in *-ks*<sup>34</sup> like μύρμηξ ‘ant’ and σκώληξ ‘earth worm’. μύρμηξ may be related to the famous toponym and ethnonym discussed in Stephanus of Byzantium: Μυρμιδονία, χώρα τῶν Μυρμιδόνων· οὕτως γὰρ ἡ Αἴγινα ἐκλήθη, “Myrmydonia, the territory of the Myrmidons. For Aegina has been thus [i.e., by this name] called.” I mention this information because if we are dealing with clearly pre-Greek ethnics and toponyms in *-ānes* and *-ānā*, we should not have been so quick to “Hellenize”—notice I do not say Indo-Europeanize—the root of *pa-ki-ja-na* and *pa-ki-ja-ne* as connected to the verbal root *sphag-*.

The original reconstructions of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *pa-ki-ja-na*, and *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* linking them to the later Greek root *sphag-* for ‘ritual slaughter via throat slitting’ were only tentatively put forward. The identification began to be used without any question mark when we established that the region identified as *pa-ki-ja-ne/pa-ki-ja-na/pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* contained many sanctuaries where blood sacrifices *could* have taken place.<sup>35</sup> This was further reinforced when it was proposed to read the key text PY Tn 316 as perhaps recording human sacrifice.<sup>36</sup>

This identification almost defies logic. If regions with developed sanctuaries where sacrificial slaughter could take place were named for the ritual acts that took place there, we would expect toponyms based on the σφαγ-, θῦ-, or φον- roots<sup>37</sup> to be reasonably frequent (as, for example, personal names in *qo-no* and later Greek -φόνος, -φατης, -φοντης<sup>38</sup>) and, if named after the cults had been established, to show, at least in part, Greek naming patterns. They are not and do not.

Further complicating the interpretation here are three other noun forms that have been brought to bear: *pa-ke-te-re*, *pa-ke-te-ri-*[, and *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*. From Pylos on PY Vn 46.6 and Vn 879.4, it is clear now from context that we are dealing with building materials, probably for ships,<sup>39</sup> interpreted reasonably as ‘dowels’, i.e., *pāktēres* from the root of πήγνυμι. These have nothing to do with the root *sphag-* or with ritual practices or animal sacrifice. From Mycenae, the evidence is complicated by the fact that on (1) tablet Ue 611.3 and on (2) inscribed nodule Wt 506, we have respectively (1) an entry of 30 *pa-ke-te-re* among other entries of vases of different kinds and (2) the word *pa-ke-te-ri-ja* alongside the word *ka-na-to*.

Again induced by what we might call *sphag-*mania, the terms at Mycenae have also been connected with the verbal root of σφάζω and interpreted as vase

<sup>34</sup> On the pre-Greek origins of words ending in *-ks* in the historical Greek lexicon, see Palaima 2016:141–142 with references.

<sup>35</sup> See Gérard-Rousseau 1968:167–169 for an assessment of the evidence for the locality identified as *pa-ki-ja-ne* (and related terms) and establishing its important religious associations.

<sup>36</sup> Best surveyed and studied now in Notti, Negri, and Facchetti 2015:127–133.

<sup>37</sup> See Petrakis 2021:345–348 for words relating to animal sacrifice.

<sup>38</sup> Von Kamptz 1982:224, 226.

<sup>39</sup> Palaima 1991:295–301 and Palaima and Hocker 1990–1991.

receptacles for blood sacrifice involving ritual slaughter. But they have been interpreted in other reasonable ways: (1) *pa-ke-te-re* as the plural of an agent noun (cf. κρᾶτήρ) standing for a container in which things can be ‘fixed’ or ‘congealed’ (later Greek πήκτικος refers to ‘curdled’ or ‘coagulated’ liquids like γάλα), namely cheese from milk (Euripides, *Cyclops* line 190) and cream-cheese (Theocritus 11.20) and even wax and salt from brine (all items attested in our Linear B texts);<sup>40</sup> and (2) *pa-ke-te-ri-ja*<sup>41</sup> referring to such containers in the neuter plural by means of a noun form using the ‘tool’ suffix, ultimately related to the agent noun: \*πηκτήριον, plur. \*πηκτήρια. Nothing in the archaeological contexts of the tablets and nodules or the textual contexts in which the terms appear makes an interpretation of these texts as references to cultic vases connected with sacrificial slaughter of animals compelling or preferable.<sup>42</sup>

A third term would seem to complicate matters. It is *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* on a tablet that is now identified as Cf 941, from a set of six Cf tablets known securely to come from Knossos area I3. It is fair to say that an *opinio communis* has been reached by a chain of inference that interprets the ethnonymic and toponymic evidence from Pylos and at least the noun forms from Mycenae as derived from \*σφαγ-. Using their supposed cumulative weight, *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* is interpreted as an adjective either in the feminine plural modifying the 10 she-goats on line Cf 941.B or in the neuter plural modifying both the 10 she-goats (line .B) and the 8 or so he-goats (line .A) altogether and in either case meaning something like ‘animales destinados al sacrificio.’<sup>43</sup>

It should be noted, however, that the six texts definitely forming part of the work of Hand 112 from area I3 at Knossos specify male and female goats and sheep in varying numbers as being *pa-ro* ‘under the control of’ single individuals specified by name. The only two words not part of this bureaucratic formula for ‘who is in charge’, are *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* (Cf 941) and *a-ka-wi-ja-de* (Cf 914). The latter is clearly an allative phrase stipulating where animals are going. This then would make it possible for the term *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* in this series and findspot context to be dative-locative locational or even a temporal specifier of a particular event or occasion, e.g., ‘at [or within the time period of] the *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*’.

<sup>40</sup> Panagl (1972:73, 81) interprets *ka-na-to* in the same context as a receptacle name κάνασθον, an attested variant of κάναστρον = a basket used in manufacturing cheese.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Leukart, this volume, pp. 110, 111, 114, 115

<sup>42</sup> Gérard-Rousseau (1968:165–166) rightly concludes: “ces interprétations étymologiques de *pake-tere* et *kanato* ne permettent pas conclure à un emploi religieux des termes, car rien ne confirme ces hypothèses dans le contexte.”

<sup>43</sup> *DMic.*, s.v. The full argument was first advanced in Killen 1996:74–75 and 79–80, where he discusses *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* on what is now known as KN Cf 941; *sa-pa-ka-* [ on KN X 9191.a; and the adjoined *sa* on KN C 394 r. .3, v. .2 and perhaps U 7063.2 [now C 7063] and argues for an interpretation everywhere as */sphaktēria/* (or related adjectival forms in the cases of the adjunct abbreviations). See Rougemont 2016:319 and nn. 140–143 for alternatives and complications in interpreting the full word and the adjunct. See also Petrakis 2021:350–354.

The tablet Cf 7064, which seems to “describe” he-goats and she-goats as *a-ki-ri-ja*, most likely ἄγρια ‘wild’,<sup>44</sup> is only tentatively assigned to scribal hand 112 and its findspot is unknown.

Nonetheless the interpretation of *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* on the Knossos texts as ‘for butchery, for sacrifice’ makes the best sense and could also make sense for *sa* as an adjunct with OVIS<sup>m</sup> and CAP<sup>m</sup> on KN C 394. On C 394, *sa* = σηκός ‘enclosure’ would be equally compelling based on a clear parallel with OVIS+TA relating to /stat<sup>h</sup>mos/ (σταθμός) ‘in steading’.<sup>45</sup>

Working further through this material, there are many implications and un-addressed questions. First we should note that the identification of *pa-ki-ja-ne* as Σφαγιᾶνες is still considered only a possibility by Bennet.<sup>46</sup> This is admirable and proper caution, given how this entire line of identification started and continued. In contrast, however, the “Glossario” in the most recent comprehensive handbook of Mycenology identifies all the toponymic and ethnonymic forms in the Pylos texts as representing /Sphagiā-/.<sup>47</sup> Whatever the root is, the form *pa-ki-ja-ne* must be a consonant declension plural ethnonym of the class that produce toponyms in -ā from the root, analogous to how Κρήτες yields a corresponding toponymic form Κρήτη.

Let us leave aside *sa-pa-ke-te-ri-ja*, the very spelling of which might differentiate its root from that of the forms of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *pa-ki-ja-na*, and *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*. Pre-Greek ethnonyms and toponyms parallel to *pa-ki-ja-ne* and *pa-ki-ja-na* in the Pylos texts are laid out clearly by Sainer, here with details supplemented and/or corrected by me:<sup>48</sup>

	<i>a-pu<sub>2</sub>-ka</i> (sg, in -ān)	
	<i>a-pu<sub>2</sub>-ka-ne</i>	
<i>e-pi-jo-ta-na</i>	<i>i-na-ne</i>	<i>e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja</i>
<i>me-za-na</i>		<i>i-na-ni-ja</i>
<i>pa-ki-ja-na</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-ne</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-ni-ja</i>
<i>pa-na-pi</i>		
<i>pi-ka-na</i>		
<i>ta-mi-ta-na</i>	<i>re-ka-ta-ne</i>	
	<i>te-ta-ra-ne</i>	
	<i>wo-tu-wa-ne</i>	

<sup>44</sup> Rougemont 2016:318.

<sup>45</sup> Rougemont 2016:319 and 335.

<sup>46</sup> See above, note 29. Other cautious scholars discuss even the religious aspects of the district of *pa-ki-ja-ne* / *pa-ki-ja-na* / *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* without translating these Linear B word units, e.g., Hiller 2011:182 and 196–197.

<sup>47</sup> Piquero 2016:771.

<sup>48</sup> Sainer 1976:62.

- (1) *a-pu<sub>2</sub>-ka-ne* (in the Pylos *o-ka* texts An 656.13 and An 657.13): singular in  $\bar{\alpha}\nu$  *a-pu<sub>2</sub>-ka* (PY An 656.20).
- (2) *e-pi-jo-ta-na* (Aa 95) and *e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja* (Ad 687): locations of women cloth workers.
- (3) *i-na-ne* (PY An 18.7 and instrumental locative *i-na-pi* PY An 5.8) and *i-na-ni-ja* (An 18.3; also Ae 8 and 72): locations of men for wall-building operation.
- (4) *me-za-ne* (PY Fn 50.4 whether dative singular or nominative plural, in allocations of barley to specialists and to *do-e-ro*; cf. singular toponym form *me-za-na* in PY Cn 3.1, a list of allocations of single male bovids).<sup>49</sup>
- (5) *pa-na-pi* (Cn 45.10, a record of herds of mainly she-goats and she-sheep associated with notable collectors): *pa-na-pi* is a singleton in the list.
- (6) *pi-ka-na* (Na 224): 20 units of flax that the *wanaks* ‘holds’ ‘free’: *wa-]na-ka*, *e-ke e-re-]u-te-ra*.
- (7) *re-ka-ta-ne* (An 207.8 and confidently restored on lines .6 and .7): this plural *ethnicon* occurs on each of three lines of entries of men: .6 *a-de-te-re* VIR 2; .7 *ke-ra-me-we* VIR 2; .8 *da-ko-ro* VIR 12. Other localities on An 207 include groups of men designated as *pi-ri-je-te-re*, *po-ku-ta*, *ku-ru-so-wo-ko*, *me-ri-da-ma-te*, *to-ko-so-wo-ko*, *ra-pte-re*.
- (8) *ta-mi-ta-na* (Na 248): 30 units of flax free for the dog-leaders: *e-re-u-te-ro ku-na-ke-ta-i*.
- (9) *te-ta-ra-ne* (An 1.5): one of five communities who provide rowers going to Pleuron.
- (10) *wo-tu-wa-ne* (Cn 4.8): a steading location for sheep OVIS in a list headed by the secondary center *a-si-ja-ti-ja* in the Further Province.

We should note that all these localities, unlike *pa-ki-ja-ne/pa-ki-ja-na*, are minor and rural and do not feature prominently in the palatial administrative documents. They are the kinds of sites that we would expect to be identified by ethnonyms and toponyms of pre-Greek form. Compare in historical and Homeric Greek widely attested: Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Τροϊζῆνες, Ἀθαμᾶνες, Δυμᾶνες,<sup>50</sup> Ἀτιντᾶνες, Ταλαιᾶνες, Αἰνιᾶνες, Ἀγρινιᾶνες, Δαιᾶνες, Φοιτιᾶνες.<sup>51</sup>

In the formation of the regional state of Messenia in the late Mycenaean palatial period, the sanctuary locale *pa-ki-ja-na* and community of people *pa-ki-ja-ne* out in the landscape were associated with *pu-ro* when it grew to be the major

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *i-qa-ne* likely dative singular personal name of this type in PY Xa 176.1. Not treated in *Docs<sup>2</sup>* or *DMic*.

<sup>50</sup> Frisk 1960:498, s.v. Ἑλλάς.

<sup>51</sup> Von Kamptz 1982:161–162.



center for all of Messenia. Like other place designations in Sainer's list, the place identifiers for this district likewise have pre-Greek form; and the ethnic name *pa-ki-ja-ne* (*-ānes*, sg. *-ān*) seems to have generated the place name forms *pa-ki-ja-na*, "toponymum. in *-ānā* exiens," following Morpurgo Davies (above, note 28). If this were not the case, we would expect a designation of the collective group via an adjectival formation from *pa-ki-ja-na* (ending in *-ānā* = -ήνη) in -ιος. That would give us *\*pa-ki-ja-na-jo* (i.e., *\*pa-ki-j-αναῖοι*, which does not occur) as with the ethnics for the citizens of Ἀθήνη Athens and Μυκίνη Mycenae in historical Greek: Ἀθηναῖος, -α, -ον, Μυκηναῖος, -α, -ον, and in Mycenaean Greek the adjectives *di-ka-ta-jo* (KN Fp 1.2) and the personal names *te-qa-ja* (KN Ap 5864.4 and PY Ep 539.6) and *te-qa-jo* (TH Wu 47.β) from place names *\*di-ka-ta* (in allative *di-ka-ta-de* KN Fh 5467) and *\*te-qa* (in allative *te-qa-de* MY X 508.a and TH Wu 51.β, Wu 65.β, and Wu 96.β).<sup>52</sup>

Absent evidence in Linear B for forming the toponymic adjective in this way from the *ā*-stem toponym, it is probable that *pa-ki-ja-na* is the extended distinctive spelling of an original pre-Greek geographical name in *-ān* -ην of the kind traced by Fick spread over Caria, Crete, Attica, and the Peloponnese: Θήρην, Ρισήν, Ρίττην, Τροισήν, Ἀραφήν, Ἀραδίην, Βλισσήν for which forms in *-ήνā* are attested, e.g., Βλισσήνα, Λεβήνα, Σουλήνα.<sup>53</sup> See especially the northern Peloponnesian polis Τροισήν and the Carian place name Τροισήνη.<sup>54</sup> Lindner (1995) expands the list: Ἀτρήνη (Thessaly); Κυλλήνη (Arcadia, Elis, Aetolia); Πριήνη (Caria); Κυρήνη (Libya).<sup>55</sup>

In the case of *pa-ki-ja-ne/pa-ki-ja-na*, derivation from the pre-Greek roots connected with grape vines σφάκ-, with wasps σφηκ- or with the widespread and economically exploited flowering shrub σφάκος (*Salvia pomifera*) would be tenable. All three are important features of the natural environment. The σφάκος, like the terebinth (*\*ti-mi-to-*), is important in olive oil production and trade (cf. *pa-ko-we* = *\*σφακόφεν* in thirteen entries of olive oil in the PY Fr series<sup>56</sup>) in the late Mycenaean palatial period in Messenia. A derivation from σφηκ- might refer, as in historical Greek, to a wasp-like, i.e., narrow-waisted (narrowing at the center), formation of the terrain with crests or peaks on either side,<sup>57</sup> or to a locality where the gall wasps and the σφάκος (Cretan sage) would be found bountifully. The "wasp" should not be ruled out, especially in

<sup>52</sup> See the catalogue of other similar adjectival forms from -ήνη place names in Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἀδράνη, e.g., Ἀδρηναῖος, Κυρηναῖος, Πελληναῖος, Μιτυληναῖος.

<sup>53</sup> Fick 1905:36, and also 25, 30, 37.

<sup>54</sup> Fick 1905:72.

<sup>55</sup> Lindner 1995:697, column 2.

<sup>56</sup> *DMic.*, s.v. *pa-ko-we*.

<sup>57</sup> Hesychius §2890 σφηκός λόφου· τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ λόφου, τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ὠτων ἀποκρεμάμενον τοῦ λόφου.

light of the historical tradition of referring to Cyprus with a toponym from this very root: Σφήκεια (< *Sp<sup>h</sup>ākeia*).

Regarding the interpretation of *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, it draws attention for two reasons: (1) the representation of the initial pre-consonantal /s/ that is generally omitted in spellings where /s/ occurs before stop consonants in the Linear B texts; and (2) the spelling with *ka* instead of expected *ke*, for which contrast *pa-ke-te-re* and *pa-ke-te-ri-ja*. The conspicuous parallel of *wa-na-ka-te-ro* spelled many times (PY En 74, 609; Eo 160, 276, 371; Er 312; KN Le 654, Lc 525, El Z 1, TH Z 839) with sign *ka* by different tablet-writers in different series, including a vase painter, and never with the sign *ke*, which would be the standard Mycenaean spelling, is generally explained as the result of analogical pressure from the spelling of the paradigmatic nominative singular form of the noun with an a dummy vowel as *wa-na-ka*.

If the same kind of analogical pressure were to explain the spelling *-ka-te-* versus expected *-ke-te-* in *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, we might then think of a noun form in the nominative singular that ends in *-ks* and would have some cultural importance. Two candidates would be (1) \*σφάξ from the verbal root σφαγ- as attested historically in compounds like διασφάξ ‘fente, fissure, gorge, brèche’ (Chantraine 2009: s.v. σφάζω) and referring geographically in Herodotus (2.158, 3.117) to a ‘river gorge’ and in Lycophron (317) to a ‘cleft in the earth’; and (2) the already discussed insect σφήξ, σφηκός.

We should not be quick to dismiss the insect option, especially given its association with the sage plant.<sup>58</sup> Two wasps are famously rendered with exquisite accuracy on the gold pendant from the Chrysolakkos tomb at Mallia (MM IIB),<sup>59</sup> implying both close study of the creatures and their symbolic importance in artistic and ceremonial representation. Wasps, σφήκες, are used as a metaphor for the dangerous and aggressive ferocity of none other than the Myrmidones in Homer, *Iliad* 16.257–267. Elsewhere wasps are characterized as exhibiting positive social behaviors like cooperative nesting and common obtaining and sharing of food.<sup>60</sup> We should notice that these two historical *-κς* nouns refer to (1) the natural terrain (gorges or clefts geologically cut or sliced into the landscape); and (2) socially well-organized and feisty insects. The peculiar treatment of the initial /s/ might also further differentiate the root of *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* with the root σφαγ- ‘slit the throat’ or \*σφάξ (attested in compounds as, metaphorically, slits in the landscape, i.e., ‘gorges’ or ‘clefts’) from the root

<sup>58</sup> On wasps in Greek antiquity, see Davies and Kathirithamby 1986:75–83.

<sup>59</sup> LaFleur, Matthews, and McCorkle 1979.

<sup>60</sup> LaFleur, Matthews, and McCorkle 1979:209, 212. See also Koehl 2011:197–201, arguing that the wasp pendant was manufactured in the Levant, but clearly (p. 201) as a highest-quality commissioned piece.

of the ethnonym and toponym (*pa-ki-ja-ne* and *pa-ki-ja-na*) at Pylos, σφάκος, σφάκου ‘Cretan sage’.<sup>61</sup>

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In summary then, although nothing can be concluded with absolute certainty, I would propose leaving open how we are to “read” in Greek the clearly pre-Greek *pa-ki-ja-ne/pa-ki-ja-na/pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*, given that we do not have any more means to identify the root from which it is formed than when Gérard-Rousseau reached the same conclusion fifty-three years ago.<sup>62</sup> Connections with *sphag-* (‘slit the throat’, ‘sacrifice through slaughter’) are wishful thinking and not compelling as are connections with the historical island of *Sphakteria* as derived from *sphag-*.

We should certainly delink the Pylos ethnonym and toponym from discussions of how to read *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* in the Knossos texts, for which a connection with *sphag-* (‘slit the throat’, ‘sacrifice through slaughter’) is tenable. Likewise, pending further evidence or stronger arguments, we should not link the names of vases *pa-ke-te-re* and *\*pa-ke-te-ri-ja* with the root *sphag-* (‘slit the throat’, ‘sacrifice through slaughter’) either. This is only done now without any supporting contextual evidence and through a kind of zeal to discover or uncover (or even manufacture) more information about ritual practices in the Mycenaean palatial period.

If forced to choose a most likely suspect to be the root for *pa-ki-ja-ne/pa-ki-ja-na/pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*, I would put forward ὁ σφάκος, the “sage apple” or *Salvia pomifera* or Cretan sage, because of the prevalence and economic and cultural importance of this shrub in Mycenaean palatial Messenia and the analogy with *\*ti-mi-to a-ko*, [*ku*]-*pa-ris-so*, and locative/dative *ne-do-we-te /Νεδφόντει/* and allative *ne-do-wo-ta-de /Νεδφοντάδε/*, the last two identified with the river Nedōn (Νέδφων) and the reed plant that grows along it to this day.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Del Frio (email Jan. 5, 2019) makes a suggestion in the form of a question. Given that the *-i-* vowel apparently belongs neither to the root nor to the *-anes* suffix, might the *-i-* element in *pa-ki-ja-ne* be compared to the *-i-* in historically attested Ταλαιᾶνες, Αἰνιᾶνες, Ἀγρινιᾶνες, Δαιᾶνες, and Φοιτιᾶνες. In any case, the *-i-* vowel is a “problem” to explain even for derivation from *sphag-* (‘slit the throat’, ‘sacrifice through slaughter’) since it would require the creation of a Greek noun form in *-iá* that then would use pre-Greek suffixation.

<sup>62</sup> Gérard-Rousseau 1968:169: “aucune des suggestions avancées ne peut recevoir de preuve decisive.”

<sup>63</sup> See <https://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/mastchs-summer-seminar-2021-friday-july-23-summaries-of-presentations-and-discussion/> (last accessed February 23, 2022) §§48.5–48.6; Lamberterie 2017:157–158.

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