

A-NA-QO-TA

STUDIES PRESENTED TO
J. T. KILLEN

EDITED
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(= *MINOS* 33-34)



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A TIME FOR OFFERINGS: DEDICATIONS OF PERFUMED OIL AT PYLIAN FESTIVALS*

John Killen was an early contributor to the growing evidence for Linear B documentation relating to state-organised ceremonial banqueting¹, an area of studies attracting attention from an increasing number of scholars². It is an honour to offer a small token on the subject in the present volume.

I will suggest here that some of the perfumed oil offerings in the Fr series at Pyles were not part of regular monthly entitlements (as seems to have been the case for the Pp series at Knossos)³, but were given specifically for consumption at certain festivals organised by the palace.

* I am grateful to J. Bennett and R.J.E. Thompson for commenting on drafts of this manuscript, and to John Killen for comments on the spoken version (see below). All mistakes are my own. I would also like to take the opportunity to express my deep gratitude to John Killen for his great attention and kindness to me as a student, a gratitude which will resonate with all those who have had the fortune of working with him. Some of this paper was presented on 10 May 2000 at the 11th International Mycenaean Colloquium, and I am grateful to T.G. Palaimas and the CIPEM committee for the opportunity to give a talk, despite part having already been promised for the present volume. The Faculty of Classics and Jesus College, Cambridge kindly funded my travel to the colloquium.

¹ In their publication of the Thebes Wu sealings, Chr. Pitaros, J.-P. Olivier and J.L. Melien, *JChN* 144, 1990, pp. 103-164 (=POM), compared them with PY Un 138 and Un 2, identified as lists of foodstuffs for banqueting. In a series of papers and articles from 1990 onwards, John Killen extended the findings to other sites and further investigated issues involved: «Observations on the Thebes Sealings», *Mylennia*, pp. 365-380 (paper presented in 1990); «Thebes Sealings, Knossos Tablets and Mycenaean State Banquets», *BICS* 39, 1994, pp. 67-84; «Thebes Sealings and Knossos Tablets», *Ant. Roma-Napoli*, pp. 71-82 (paper presented 1991); «The Pyles Ta tablets revisited», *JChN* 122, 1998, pp. 421-422. Cf. also *ibid.*, n. 11.

² E.g. L. Godart, *Florentine Studies Mycenaean*, pp. 249-256; J.L. Davis & J. Bennett, *Athens*, pp. 105-120; C.W. Shelmerdine and C. Vasilakis both at the 11th International Mycenaean Colloquium, proceedings forthcoming.

³ *Documents*?, pp. 303-305.

interpretations have been suggested for both sign-groups⁹, but their precise meaning is not crucial for our purposes here. What is important is that it is generally accepted they represent names of festivals. Moreover, that these were religious festivals is suggested by their association with Poseidon in Fr 343 and the well-known shrine of *pa-ki-ja-na* in Fr 1217.

So we begin with evidence that some of the disbursements of the Pylae Fr series were made on the occasions of religious festivals. But these are only three out of 35 relevant¹⁰ documents. What about the other disbursements? I believe there is evidence that some of the other disbursements of the series may also have been made on the occasions of festivals. Of particular interest is a set of associations between Fu 187 and several Fr tablets. Fu 187 has recently been identified by John Killen as a list of rations for servants and functionaries at a state sponsored festival¹¹. The text is as follows¹². Sign-groups on which we shall focus are underlined.

Fu 187	.1	a-pi-te-ja	WORD []	NY 2
	.2	<u>pa-si-da-i-jo-de</u>	WORD []	NY T 1
	.3	ka-ra-ke	WORD []	Tab
	.4	<u>pa-ki-ja-na-de</u>	WORD T II []	NY T 1
	.5	ka-ra-ke	WORD T I v 3	NY T I v 3
	.6	de-de-wa-re-we	WORD T 1	
	.7	ka-ri-na-re-ja	WORD T 2	NY T 2
	.8	<u>a-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja</u>	WORD T 5	NY T 4
	.9	a-pi-ta-ra-jo	WORD T 3	
	.10	au-to- ²⁴ ta-ra	WORD T 1	
	.11	a-ma-to-na	WORD T 1	
	.12	te-qi-ri-jo-ne	WORD v 3	
	.13	a-do-ro-o-i	WORD T 3	
	.14	po-te-re-we	WORD T 4	NY T 4
	.15	a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i	WORD T I v 3	
	.16	ka-ra-ke	WORD T I v 3	
	.17	i-so-e-ko	WORD T 2 [v 3]	
	.18	<u>pa-si-da-i-jo-u-si</u>	WORD T I v 3	
	.19	²⁴ ke-ja	WORD T I v 3	NY T I v []
	.20	a-ro-ja	[WORD] v 3	
	.21	ka-ra-ke	WORD T I v 3	
	.22-23			

⁹ For discussion and bibliography cf. Daffin II, *supra*.

¹⁰ For "relevant" in the present context cf. *supra* n. 4.

¹¹ J.T. Killen, «Religion at Pylae: The evidence of the Fu tablets», in *Pottery, Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age, Aegean 23*, 2001, in press.

¹² For the new reading in line .19, see Bennett, *Mykonos*, p. 108.

Mixed in with the various temple servants are: a toponym, the cult centre of *pa-ki-ja-na* (.4); a deity, *a-po-jo Potnia* (.8); and two indirect references to Poseidon — his shrine the *Poúdikos* (.3), and a group called by his name, *po-si-da-je-u-si*, possibly priests, attendants or some other sorts of persons in his service.

References to *pa-ki-ja-na*, *a-po-jo Potnia*, and Poseidon are all found also in the Fr series.

pa-ki-ja-na-de appears on Fr 1209, 1211, 1217 and 1233. Fr 1216 also contains a reference to *pa-ki-ja-na*, through the word for a group based on the toponym. The text of 1217, in which *pa-ki-ja-na* was associated with a festival, was given above; the other texts are as follows¹⁵.

Fr 1209	<i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i>
Fr 1211	<i>pa-ki-ja-na-de e-ti-we OLE v</i>
Fr 1233	<i>[ho-pa-ki-ja-na-de OLE+PA v 1</i>
Fr 1216 .1	<i>pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i , pa-ko OLE+PA 1 v 2</i>
.2	<i>vacat</i>

a-po-jo Potnia appears on Fr 1225 and Fr 1236. On Fr 1236 she is specifically located at *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro*, a variant of *pa-ki-ja-na*¹⁶, and is thus linked to this toponym.

Fr 1225 .1	<i>e-ra-y-wo , a-po-jo , po-ti-ni-ja</i>
.2	<i>we-a-y-na-i , a-ro-pa OLE+A s 1</i>
Fr 1236 .1	<i>pa-ki-ja-ni-jo , a-ko-ro , a-po-jo , po-ti-ni-ja , OLE+PA s 1 v 1</i>
.2	<i>vacat</i>

Poseidon appears on Fr 1219, 1224 and 343 (text above, where he is associated with a festival). Like *a-po-jo Potnia*, he too is associated with *pa-ki-ja-na*, this time through the use of a month name based on the toponym — *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-je-ne-no*, the 'month of *pa-ki-ja-na*', in Fr 1224¹⁷.

Fr 1219 .1	<i>vacat</i>
.2	<i>wa-na-so-i , po-ne-da-e-ne OLE+A v 2</i>

¹⁵ For the dissociation of 1209 and 1211, see *supra* n. 4.

¹⁶ The bibliography on *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* is extensive; DMC II, 228.

¹⁷ Since *pa-ki-ja-na* is the location of a shrine, it seems likely that this reference may be to the month in which the major festival there took place (*Documents*², p. 478, 568).

Fr 1224 { *pa* *pa-ko-wa*, *a-ti-wa*
pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no, *po-se-da-o-ne* OLIV+P4 x 2

What I find compelling about this group of associations is that *all* of the shrines and deity names represented on Fr 187 are found in the Fr series¹⁶. It is also worth noting that *pa-ki-ja-ne* and, to a lesser extent, Poseidon are among the more common references in the Fr tablets, and that they have links with banqueting records beyond the Fr series. Un 2 and Un 6 are actual lists of animals and foodstuffs for banqueting. The texts are as follows¹⁷.

Un 6	0		<i>supra mulla</i>	
	.1	<i>po-se-da[-o-ne]</i>	<i>nos¹ [] (vrs¹ [])</i>	<i>nos+KA 1</i>
	.2		<i>nos¹</i>	<i>nos¹ 2</i>
	.3	<i>po-re+H2</i>	<i>nos¹ 1 (vrs¹ 1)</i>	<i>nos+KA 1</i>
	.4	<i>po-re+H2</i>	<i>nos¹ 1 (vrs¹ 1)</i>	<i>nos+KA 1</i>
	.5		<i>nos¹</i>	<i>nos¹ 2</i>
	.6	<i>*146 H2</i>	<i>*166+H2E</i>	
	.7	<i>AREPA s 1 v 2</i>		
	.8	<i>nos=2</i>	<i>nos¹ 2 (vrs¹)</i>	
6	v		<i>prior pars sine regulis</i>	
	v.1		<i>[]-je-re-ja</i>	<i>TEL.A+7E</i>
	v.2	<i>ka-[ra-si-po-ro</i>		<i>TEL.A+7E</i>
			<i>religae pars sine regulis</i>	
Un 2	.1	<i>pa-ki-ja-si</i> , <i>mu-ja-ne-no</i> , <i>a-pi</i> , <i>wa-na-ka-te</i>		
	.2	<i>a-pi-e-ke</i> , <i>a-pi-te-ke-e-u</i>		
	.3	<i>nos¹ 16 t 4 cys+P4 t 1 v 3 Q v 5</i>		
	.4	<i>nos 1 t 2 OLIV 3 t 2 *132 s 2 ME s 1</i>		
	.5	<i>NY 1 nos 1 (vrs¹ 26 cys¹ 6 CAP=2 CAP¹ 2</i>		
	.6	<i>nos+3d 1 nos¹ 6 vrs 20 s 1 *146 2</i>		

Poseidon appears in Un 6 receiving various animals, probably for sacrifice, and *pa-ki-ja-ne* is the location of goods being sent on the occasion of the 'initiation of the king' on Un 2. Un 2 raises another possible connection with the Fr series, since *warar* — in the dative — is the recipient of perfumed oils on four, or possibly five, Fr tablets (Fr 1215, 1220, 1227, [1234]¹⁸, 1235). The arguments surrounding whether this refers to a human or divine *warar* are

¹⁶ It may also be significant that in Fr tablets 1224 and 1236 Poseidon and *a-pa-jo Poseis* are each associated with *pa-ki-ja-ne*, as they are in Fr 187. One is tempted to wonder if the fact that Fr 1224, 1236 and Fr 187 were written by the same scribe, H2, is meaningful. However, H2 wrote so many of the Fr tablets that this may not be significant.

¹⁷ For new reading of Un 6, see Bennett, *Mykenische*, p. 105.

¹⁸ Only *wa-ne* is preserved. Equally possible restorations would be *wa-na-ne-i* or *wa-na-ne-ja*.

lengthy and well known, and there is no need to discuss them here¹⁹. I simply wish to note another possible connection between banqueting records and the Fr series.

It is further worth noting that there is a general correspondence between the *toponyms* represented in both types of records. Apart from *pa-ki-jo-no*, the only two other *toponyms*²⁰ represented in the Fr series are *ti-no* and *ro-u-ti-jo a-ko-ro*, a variant of the major toponym *ro-u-so*²¹. Both of these appear also in banqueting records.

ro-u-ti-jo a-ko-ro appears on Fr 1220 and 1226. Its association with religion is explicitly indicated in Fr 1226, where the disbursement is designated 'to the gods'.

Fr 1226 .1	<i>ro-u-ti-jo, a-ko-ro, pa-ko-we</i>	OLE+PA v 4
.2	<i>di-pi-ti-jo-i, wa-ra-ka-ir</i>	OLE+PA s 1

Fr 1226 .1	<i>ro-u-ti-jo, a-ko-ro, te-a-i, pa-ko-we</i>	OLE+PA v 3
.2	<i>wa-ir</i>	

ro-u-ti-jo a-ko-ro appears also on Un 47, a list of goods for banqueting.

Un 47 .1	<i>ro-u-so, ro-u-ti-jo, a-ko-ro</i>
.2	NY T 9 v 3
.3	CVT+O 3 T 4 v 1
.4	HOGB 41 T 1 v 4
.5	OWS 13 OWS 8

This tablet was written by H42, a scribe who (at least partly) specialised in writing banqueting records²². For instance, he wrote Un 138, where we have a

¹⁹ Whether the *warrior* is divine or human, it can be argued that a *ritual context* is indicated by his constant occurrence with the words *wa-ra-ro-i* and *di-pi-ro-i*. The meaning of these sign-groups is also much disputed — cf. Shelmendorf *supra*, n. 4, pp. 73–79, for an excellent discussion. The insight that the words function as addresses, whatever their semantic significance is crucial (Damonides², p. 479; Shelmendorf, *loc. cit.* p. 74), and I concur that they are probably plural 'daives of advantage' (Shelmendorf, *loc. cit.* p. 77). Whatever the case, a religious association is indicated at least for *wa-ra-ro-i* by its associations with Poseidon on Fr 1219 and with a festival name on Fr 1222. Parallel usage suggests a similar association for *di-pi-ti-jo-i*. Thus, whether the *warrior* be human or divine, a *ritual context* is implied. (If human, for instance, he could be operating in some way 'on behalf of' the gods.) Cf. also Stavrianopoulos, *Poltheia*, pp. 423–433.

²⁰ By this is meant *toponyms proper*, rather than *shrines* based on deities' names, like the *Possidion*.

²¹ The formation is parallel to *pa-ki-jo-ti-jo a-ko-ro*. Again, the bibliography is extensive; *DAMC* III, n.c.

²² T.G. Palaima, *Shades Mycenae* (1988), pp. 108–110.

TABLE 1. Correspondences Between the Banqueting and Fr Records

Recipient/Place	Fr offerings	Banqueting
<i>pa-re-de-ne</i>	Fr 343, 1219, 1244	Fa 187.2.18; Un 6, 716, 833
<i>a-pa-ja pa-ti-ri-ja</i>	Fr 1225, 1236	Fa 187.8
<i>pa-ti-ja-ne</i>	Fr 1233 &c.	Fa 187.4, Un 2
<i>ti-ne-de-ti-ri-ja-ne</i>	Fr 1223	Fa 79.3, Un 1387 (<i>de-ti-ja</i>)
<i>ne-ti-ri-ja ti-ti-ne</i>	Fr 1220, 1226	Un 47 (note also Un 1413)
<i>wa-na-ka-ri?</i>	Fr 1215 &c.	Un 27 (note also Un 1426)

list of foodstuffs for banqueting described as being *pa-re* 'with, from, by, etc.', a man named *de-ti-ja*²².

The other toponym, *ti-ne*, appears in Fr 1223 with the allative *-de*. Unlike the Fr documents we have so far examined, 1223 is not clearly related to religious offerings, since no known deity or well-attested shrine name appears on it. But it is suspicious that one of the only other (probable) appearances of *ti-ne* in the Pylae documents is in Fa 79 — another festival rations list identified by Killen — where it is applied as an ethnic, *ti-ne-ja-ne*²³, to a man *de-ti-ja*. It is possible that this is the same *de-ti-ja* who appears in Un 138²⁴, though certainly is impossible in the absence of further data.

We may summarise the toponyms and figures appearing on both banqueting tablets and Fr offering tablets as in Table 1. By 'banqueting tablets' here is

²² For interpretation as a banqueting record, see POM (supra n. 1), pp. 178–180.

²³ The form would be based on the designation *ti-ne-ja* 'region of *ti-ne*'. cf. DAFic II, x.v. There are possible parallels for Mycenaean ethnics in *-ra-ja*: e.g. *ti-ne-ti-ja-ne*, *ti-qa-na(7)*.

²⁴ As suggested by Palaima, supra n. 22, p. 110 (esp. n. 67), 116. The name *de-ti-ja* appears numerous times at Pylos. It pertains to at least two different men (cf. An 192) and most likely more. L.R. Palmer suggested that *de-ti-ja ti-ti-ja-ne* was the same man as appears in the Ae and Ea series (*Interpretations*, pp. 138, 226). M. Lindgren proposed that the *de-ti-ja* of Un 138 may be the same as in Ae and Ea, but preferred to relate these to the *de-ti-ja de-ne* of An 192.3 and On 300 rather than the man of Fa 79 (*People II*, pp. 146–147, 187). Palaima offers a third combination, that the *de-ti-ja* of Un 138, Ae, Ea and Fa 79 are the same person. His reason for connecting the man of Un 138 and the Ae tablets is the scribal hand, H42, which is persuasive, though caution should be maintained since there are after all numerous instances of the same scribe recording different individuals. Palaima does not give his reason for bringing in Fa 79, though obviously for the purposes of the present paper the equation seems attractive. Regarding the connection with the Ea tablets written by H43, I prefer to reserve judgement for the time being. Lindgren gives some cogent arguments in favour (*People II*, p. 187) and K. Plota's suggestion that Ea and Ae were filed together may lend weight to the hypothesis (=The Pylos Ae series and Hand 43=, paper presented at the 11th Mycenaean Colloquium, proceedings forthcoming). Note also the possibly related designation *ti-ti-ri-ja-ne* which is applied to a man *wa-re-ne-a* who is a priest at *pa-ti-ja-ne* (Eh 472.A, Eh 477.A; Ea 74.16+).

TABLE 2. Recipients, Places and Groups Mentioned in Banqueting Records

Recipients/ figures involved	Places	Groups
<i>pe-re-da-a-re</i> <i>a-pe-ja-pe-di-ni-ja</i> <i>wa-re-da-te</i> <i>pe-re</i> ²²	<i>pe-ni-da-i-jo-de</i> <i>pe-ni-jo-na-de</i> <i>re-u-ni-jo a-da-re</i> <i>de-ni-jo ti-ni-ja-da</i> <i>re-re-pe-det</i> ²³ <i>ti-ma-ni-jo</i>	<i>pe-ni-da-i-jo-u-ni</i>

meant all tablets of the *Fn* series except *Fn* 7²⁴, and those *Ua* and *Un* records which have been identified as recording lists of foodstuffs for banqueting²⁵.

The general consistency of associations between *Fr* tablets and records relating to festivals and banqueting is striking. Further, the impression that there is a connection is enhanced when we consider the large proportions of both banqueting and *Fr* records that have such links.

Let us consider first the banqueting records. Many of the 'banqueting tablets' contain no useful text, but the data from those which do can be summarised as in Table 2. Figures and places that appear also in the *Fr* tablets are in bold face. It can be seen at a glance that a majority of the deities and all the attested shrines occur also in the *Fr* series²⁶.

Now let us consider a similar table for the *Fr* tablets. Table 3 lists all recipients, places, groups and times found in the non-industrial disbursement tablets. Festival names and items which appear also in banqueting tablets are in bold.

Though the links here are numerous, they do not constitute the majority of references, such as was observed in the case of the banqueting tablets. However, when we consider the number of *Fr* tablets involved, the figures are more

²² *Fn* 7 is a result of the join *An* 7 + *Fn* 1427 by J.L. Malena, *Atenea* 31-32, 1996-1997, pp. 171-176. For dissociation from other *Fn* tablets cf. Killen *supra* n. 11.

²³ I take these here as: *Un* 975, 17, 25, 434(?) , *Un* 2, 6, 47, 138, 718, 853, 1177 and 1185. Tablets such as *Cn* 3, *Cn* 608 and *Vn* 20 are also related to banqueting, though they are structurally different from the mixed commodity tablets and function in different ways. We thus exclude them here. Also excluded are mixed commodity records without foodstuffs, even where these are clearly related to religion, since without foodstuffs they are not clearly related to banqueting. It should be noted that given the large amount of current scholarly activity in this area of research, the list I give here is subject to modification.

²⁴ The only deity who does not appear as a recipient of *Fr* oil offerings, *pe-re*²², does appear in an 'offering' context in *Tn* 316. With regard to 'attested shrines', the following should be noted. *ti-ma-ni-jo* is not a shrine, but is applied as an ethnic to a man *a-re-o* in *Fn* 324. *re-re-pe-da-te* may, but need not, be a shrine. It is associated with Poseidon in *Er* 880 and *Un* 718, but as the location of land-holdings.

TABLE 3. Recipients, Places, Groups and Time Designations in the Fr Tablets

Recipients	Places	Groups	Times
<i>pa-ri-de-u-re</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-u-de</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-u-jo-i</i>	<i>pa-ki-ja-u-jo-jo me-re</i>
<i>a-pa-jo pa-ri-ai-ja</i>	<i>(pa-ki-ja-u-jo a-de-re)</i>	<i>wa-re-u-i</i>	<i>re-de-u-jo-re-u-jo</i>
<i>wa-re-u-ja-re</i>	<i>re-u-ai-jo a-de-re</i>	<i>di-ji-ri-ja-i</i>	<i>ta-re-u-de-re-jo</i>
<i>pa-ri-ai-ja</i>	<i>thi-u-de</i>	<i>a-pi-qa-re-i</i>	<i>pa-re-ai-ja</i>
<i>pa-ri-ai-ja a-ai-ai-ja</i>	<i>di-ri-ja-de</i>		<i>me-ka-re me-re</i>
<i>me-re-re ai-i-ja</i>	<i>me-ki-ia-de(?)</i>		
<i>re-ai</i>	<i>a-re-de??</i>		
<i>ri-ri-re-re-e</i>			
<i>e-qa-me-re</i>			

None

(?) *me-ki-ia-de* need not be a toponym. Since the word is incomplete, the *-de* need not stand at the end — and even if it did, *-de* can represent many things in Mycenaean apart from the allative, so nothing is proved. The word is unknown elsewhere at Pylos. It may be related to *me-ki-re-ki-ri-re* on Aa 955 and Ah 575, but this is probably a woman's name, not a toponym (Chadwick, *Studies in Mycenaean*, p. 81).

impressive. The recipients and places associated with banqueting are among the more pervasive in the Fr series. 17 out of 35 tablets have such references — so about 49%²⁸. We can thus say that a major proportion — about half — of the Fr series deals with figures or places which appear also in banqueting contexts.

So how do we explain these associations? One possible explanation is that the Pylians simply happened to concentrate on particular deities and shrines, so that those deities and shrines would be likely to appear in different contexts related to religion, without those contexts being specifically related to *thase*. I think, however, we can go a bit farther. The explicit mention of festival names on some of the Fr tablets allows reasonable certainty that *some* offerings of perfumed oil were disbursed on the occasions of festivals. Given this observation, it seems likely that the concentrated association of deities and shrines found on Fr 187 with various Fr tablets is more than accidental. I would not wish to argue that all non-industrial disbursements of the Fr series were offerings given on the occasions of banquets, but I wish to suggest that many more of them were than has hitherto been recognised.

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²⁸ Even if we exclude the more tenuous connection with the woman, we still have about 77%.

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