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MYCENAEAN MILITARISM FROM A TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE. ONOMASTICS IN CONTEXT: *lāwos*, *dāmos*, *klewos**

In this paper, after surveying the Linear B textual evidence that demonstrates palatial concern for centralized control and organization of military equipment and personnel, I use the evidence of onomastics and of textual/administrative context to explore the varying degrees to which fundamental cultural notions of 'militarism' permeated different levels and components of Mycenaean society. I particularly mark out: (1) the factors that must be taken into account in weighing the tablet evidence and (2) the tablet series and subject areas that are likely to yield meaningful results. I concentrate on three terms (*lāwos*, *dāmos* and *klewos*) that offer a view across social groups and divisions, and assess the evidence in contrast to naming patterns in the historical period. I also look at the names of individuals who have been identified as 'collectors.'

The militaristic aspects of Mycenaean society are clear in the archaeological record (iconographic representations of military combat and military equipment; discoveries of weapons and armor; studies of Mycenaean defensive fortifications) from the formative period of the Shaft Graves through to the destruction of the mainland palaces.¹ The Mycenaean textual evidence reinforces and supplements our view for a somewhat narrower span of time: the end of LM II (ca. 1400 B.C.) to the end of LH IIIB (ca. 1200 B.C.).² The Linear B tablets indicate that the central palatial bureaucracy was concerned with the manufacture, warehousing, refurbishing, inspecting and distribution of military equipment (chariots, armor, helmets, swords, spears, javelins and arrow heads) and with requisitioning, distributing and tracking the raw materials needed for the manufacture of such equipment.³ Tablets concerned

* I use the following abbreviations:

Atti e memorie 2 = E. DE MIRO, L. GODART, A. SACCONI (eds), *Atti e memorie del secondo congresso internazionale di micenologia* (1996);

CollMyc = E. RISCH and H. MÜHLESTEIN (eds), *Colloquium Mycenaicum* (1979);

HPG = F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (1917);

MGP = O. LANDAU, *Mykenisch-Griechische Personennamen* (1958);

Mykenaiika = J.-P. OLIVIER (ed.), *Mykenaiika (BCH Supplément 25: 1992)*;

RCT = Room of the Chariot Tablets.

- 1 E.g., cf. J. YOUNGER, *The Iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Sealstones and Finger Rings* (1988) 124-129, 260-267, 272-276; H.G. BUCHHOLZ (and J. WIESNER) (ed.), *Kriegswesen*, Teil 1 and Teil 2 (*Archaeologia Homerica* I, E 1-2, 1977-80); M. LANG, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, II. *The Frescoes* (1969) 71-74, 22H64-30H64, Pls 16-21, 117, 123-124; S.E. IAKOVIDIS, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (1983).
- 2 The dating of the various Linear B documents has recently been conveniently surveyed by I. HAJNAL, *Sprachschichten des mykenischen Griechischen (Minos Suppl. 14, 1997) 12-19*. On the dating of the Knossos tablets to different destructions in LM II and LM III, see now J. DRIESSEN, "Le palais de Cnossos au MR II-III : Combien de destructions?" in J. DRIESSEN and A. FARNOUX (eds), *La Crète Mycénienne, BCH Suppl. 30* (1997) 113-134. For the LM II destruction date of the Room of the Chariot Tablets, cf. J. DRIESSEN, "An Early Destruction in the Mycenaean Palace at Knossos," *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 2* (1990).
- 3 The ideographic/logographic aspects of the tablets have been well exploited in relationship to archaeological *comparanda* in F. VANDENABEELE and J.-P. OLIVIER, *Les idéogrammes archéologiques du linéaire B* (1979) which tellingly begins with (p. 17-154) and devotes nearly half of its discussion (138 of 284 pages: 48.6%) to defensive armor, offensive weaponry, horses, chariots and wheels, and ingots. We should note in addition that tablets which do not have any ideograms/logograms for military equipment are related to their manufacture or distribution, e.g., the single tablet PY Jn 829 which records the collection from provincial centers of a total amount of 'recycled' bronze sufficient for ca. 33,000 arrowheads or 142 spearheads. Likewise the KN Vc(1) records list simply the names of ca. 77 pairs of men *already in possession* of complete sets of chariots, horses and body armor of the sort recorded explicitly (logographically) in the KN Sc series. Cf. J. DRIESSEN, "The Arsenal of Knossos (Crete) and Mycenaean Chariot Forces," in M. LODIEWIJKX (ed.), *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies, Acta Archaeologica*

with chariots and chariot parts are attested at Knossos, Pylos, Tiryns and Khania; and Knossos, Pylos and Tiryns furnish tablets concerned with bronze body armor (sing. *to-ra* or *to-ra-ka*). Given that Tiryns has produced only 25 very fragmentary tablets, it is perhaps a reflection of the degree of militarism in Mycenaean palatial culture that 5 of the 12 that can be assigned to subject-sets have to do with armor and chariot components, while the others are concerned with personnel, cattle, landholding and perhaps mixed agricultural commodities.⁴ At Khania we have a similarly significant percentage of admittedly few and randomly discovered documents: of 4 legible tablets, 1 fragment refers to 10 pairs of chariot wheels.⁵ The Linear B tablets and nodules found and published at Mycenae and Thebes also point out the hazards of discovery. The Mycenae documents do not refer to military matters, but their particular archaeological contexts suggest that the establishments where the tablets and nodules were found did not have to do with the 'military sector.' The same answer might be proposed for the published material from Thebes, unless we can confirm the reasonable hypothesis that the phonetic abbreviation *O* used as a logogram in the Thebes Ug series and numbering 30, 14, 6, 5, 3, 3, and 2 units stands for *o-pa-wo-ta* ('suspension pieces' or plates of bronze used in the manufacture of sets of armor and helmets). *O* does stand for *o-pa-wo-ta* in the PY Sh series in quantities 22/12, 20/10 per set of armor, and 4 *o-pa-wo-ta* are used for helmets along with 2 cheek-pieces.

The tablets also give us some insight into the organization of personnel for military purposes, although, as with all subjects, the textual evidence is not as complete or uniform site to site as we would wish it to be. The basic outlines of Mycenaean military organization have been presented in two early fundamental studies by L.R. Palmer and M. Lejeune. We shall not rehearse all the details here.⁶ The Linear B tablets from Pylos still suffice to give us a picture of a more or less "elaborately structured totalitarian polity, tightly controlled by an efficient bureaucracy, which guided with a smooth and practised routine the many-sided defensive measures provoked by the situation that culminated in the destruction of the Palace of Nestor."⁷ As with all historical assessments of Mycenaean culture, we can debate aspects of this capsule interpretation, e.g., the degree to which the state organization was 'totalitarian', its bureaucracy 'efficient', or its defensive measures provoked by a crisis situation. Still the main evidence is clear in its basic elements: the Pylos *o-ka* coastal-defense texts (PY An 657, 656, 519, 654, 661), the Pylos rower tablets (PY An 1, An 610, Ad 684), and production texts from all sites relating to military weaponry (e.g., PY Jn 829, other PY Jn bronze allotment tablets and the PY Sa and Sh series; the KN Ra and S-series texts).⁸ Jan Driessen's work with the *RCT* (Room of the Chariot Tablets) records at Knossos (our earliest collection of Linear B material) and their particular correlates from other Mycenaean sites gives us a full picture of

Lovaniensia 8 (1996) 491-492. The hazards of discovery are pointed out by the PY Sa series. The Sa tablets give detailed descriptions of chariot wheels, categorizing them as *old* or *new*, *serviceable* or *not serviceable*, *bound in bronze* or *silver*, manufactured of different woods, or with a *termis* of ivory. Some wheels are described as *e-qe-si-ja* ('belonging to' or 'of the type used by' *e-qe-ta* 'Followers'); others are described as *Zakynthian* (we know of *Zakynthian* rowers on PY An 610). One tablet (Sa 757) alone lists as many as 151 wheels. Yet no tablets at Pylos list whole assembled chariots or chariot components other than wheels.

4 J.L. MELENA and J.-P. OLIVIER, *TITHEMY*, *Suplementos a Mimos* 12 (1991) 27-32.

5 E. HALLAGER, M. VLASAKIS and B.P. HALLAGER, "The First Linear B Tablet(s) from Khania," *Kadmos* 29 (1990) 24-34.

6 L.R. PALMER, "War and Society in a Mycenaean Kingdom," in A. CHASTAGNOL *et al.* (eds), *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (1977) 35-62; M. LEJEUNE, "La civilisation mycénienne et la guerre," in M. LEJEUNE, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne*, Troisième Série (1964-1968) (1972) 57-77.

7 PALMER (*supra* n. 6) 61-62, who points out that the central bureaucracy continued to function with calm efficiency, whatever the external threat or 'state of emergency' might have been. On the 'state of emergency' problem, cf. T.G. PALAIMA, "The Last Days of the Pylos Polity," in R. LAFFINEUR and W.-D. NIEMEIER (eds), *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age*, *Aegaeum* 12: 2 (1995) 623-634.

8 See also the interpretation of Knossos tablet As 1516 as a record of military organization: J. DRIESSEN, "Quelques remarques sur la 'Grande Tablette' (As 1516) de Cnossos," *Mimos* 19 (1985) 170-193. For an alternative treatment of this text as a record of 'supervisors' or owners of industrial workers, cf. J.T. KILLEN, "Bronzeworking at Knossos and Pylos," *Hermathena* 143 (1987) 64.

careful administrative monitoring of large-scale quantities of chariot equipment and armor:⁹ an estimated operational chariot force of ca. 173-250 units based on the Knossos Sc and Vc records.

The care taken within the Linear B records to keep track of military equipment and personnel can be made clear by the following statistics. Whereas the Linear B tablets contain lexical references to 26 different kinds of vases/containers and 5 items of furniture, they contain 5 different lexical units for horse equipment and 18 different lexical units for weapons.¹⁰ For chariots and their component parts, Bernabé identifies 16 different basic terms that are attested in the texts. This number does not include the specialized descriptive vocabulary for either the materials or the construction methods used in the manufacture of chariot chassis and wheels, and it also correctly eliminates a term by opting for an alternative interpretation of a word (*wo-ka*) long thought to refer to the 'chariot' itself.¹¹ That Bernabé's list is conservatively constructed and nonetheless large underscores the exacting attention paid to the production and maintenance of high-tech military equipment. Such meticulous preoccupation can reach the level of having repetitive individual inspection tablets (essentially sets of 4 and 6 duplicate texts) drafted – and then delivered to the central 'archives' at Pylos – for each of ten sets of armor that have been 'brought into a state of readiness' through the repair/refurbishing activity (known as *o-pa*) of an individual named *a-me-ja*.¹² Moreover, at Pylos we can trace the sequence of palatial monitoring of the delivery of raw materials for military equipment to the construction/repair workshop (and personnel assigned to different categories of work) first in tablets and sealings from the workshop itself (Va 1323, Va 1324, Wr 1328, Wr 1329, An 1282, Wr 1480) and then in a text recording related information in the central 'archives' (Vn 10).¹³ For a representative catalogue of lexically attested – and unattested – military terms, see Fig. 1.

This paper will accept the hard facts, archaeological, iconographical and textual, of Mycenaean militarism as a given. These make it possible to form a picture which is clear in broad outlines and in many particulars. With this general picture, we might ask how prevalent the military *ethos* was among different population groups recorded in the texts. We can make a start at an answer by tracing and nuancing the patterns and contexts of occurrence of names derived from terms relating to the sphere of warfare. For example, it must be significant that of over 2,000 personal names recorded in the tablets, only one (*ta-ra-to/ta-ra 2-to* PY Eo 247.6/En 74.5) might be formed from the root which is used for 'army' in later Greek: στρατός στρατιά. The noun does not occur in Linear B either, which might say something about methods of military organization during this period: the essential meaning of the term is 'encamped army' referring to troops literally 'spread out' spatially in encampment. This root yields 90+ personal names during the Greek historical period, but only one in the Homeric epics (*Peisistratos* in *Od.* 3.36). The later word for the concept 'war' (*polemos*) as an 'engagement of opposing warriors or troops' is also surprisingly underrepresented in attested Mycenaean Greek personal names (only two: *Ptolemas* PY Jn 601.4 and *Eu]ruptolemos* PY Fn 324.27). As we shall see below, the word for the abstract 'spirit of war, battle, slaughter' deified as the god *Ares* is more productive as an element in Mycenaean personal names.

9 DRIESSEN (*supra* n. 3) 490-493. Still available most fully in J. DRIESSEN, *The Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos: Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of a Linear B Deposit* (Diss. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 1989): cf. vol. I, 318. The textual/pinacological side of this superb study, updated and long in proof, is scheduled to appear as a *Suplemento a Minos* under the title *The Scribes of the Room of the Chariot Tablets*.

10 A. BARTONEK, "The Lexical Stock of Mycenaean Greek," in *Mykenaiika*, 19-56, esp. 31-53. The terminology for chariots is conveniently discussed by A. BERNABÉ, "Estructura del léxico micénico sobre el carro y sus partes," in *Atti e memorie* 2, vol. 1, 195-207.

11 For a chart of these terms and their survival or not into later Greek, cf. BERNABÉ (*supra* n. 10) 206. *wo-ka* is interpreted as *worgā* an abstract noun relating to 'work' or 'manufacture' rather than as a term for 'chariot' connected with **wegh-*, **wogh-* (Lat. *veho*).

12 T.G. PALAIMA, "'Contiguities' in the Linear B Tablets from Pylos," in *Atti e memorie* 2, vol. 1, 379-396.

13 ID., "Transactional Vocabulary in Linear B Tablet and Sealing Administration," in M. PERNA (ed.), *Acts of the International Sphragistics Conference Naples 29 February to 2 March 1996* (forthcoming).

The pioneering work of Landau, Lindgren, Ilievski, Baumbach, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann in the field of Mycenaean onomastics¹⁴ collectively has demonstrated how the study of personal names can be used to reconstruct such things as ethnic makeup, social stratification and social change through time. Here I am interested in the general values, attitudes and ideology of a culture as a whole and in its component segments. The iconography of seals and sealings, objects of fine art, and wall paintings splendidly illuminates ideology. But the onomastic evidence of the Linear B tablets covers more diverse social strata: groups of dependent workers; the individual royal crafts personnel of the *wanax* and *lawagetas* or *lawagertas*; shepherds; high-status 'collectors' who 'managed' sheep, the specialized groups who worked cloth and other economic operations; individual administrators; military commanders; elite owners or allocates of chariots. Simply put, iconography offers little evidence of the cultural attitudes of rural shepherds.

The underlying principle for this kind of onomastic study is stated simply by Neumann;¹⁵ "Die Mykener pfliegen - wie viele Völker damals und heute - ihren Kindern 'Wunschnamen' beizulegen, Namen, die die Ideologie dieser Gesellschaft erkennen lassen." Study of names given by parents to children, especially if the names have been traditionalized in such practices as the historical Greek and Lithuanian of naming grandchildren after grandparents ('Pietätsnamen' in Neumann's nomenclature), enable us to construct a diachronic view of cultural values even from a chronologically limited set of data. A particular need in working with the Mycenaean evidence is to concentrate on sets of tablets for which interpretive contexts are well-established. Among individuals of 'elite' standing (military, economic, administrative and social) we may consider the names of 'chariot-holders' from the *RCT* at Knossos, the names of 'collectors' at Knossos and Pylos, the leaders of *o-ka* contingents at Pylos, and individuals of clear distinction such as *e-ke-ra₂-wo* (likely to be the *wanax*: PY Un 718.2, An 610.13, An 724.5, Un 853.1?, Un 219.1), *a-ko-so-ta*, *pu₂-ke-qi-ri* and *au-ke-wa* at Pylos.¹⁶ Among individuals of 'middle' status, we might consider names in the Pylos Ea series (especially crafts personnel reasonably associated with the *ra-wa-ke-ta*) and the religious functionaries and 'royal' crafts personnel of the other Pylos E-series. Among individuals of yet lower status, the best-attested examples might be the shepherds.¹⁷

14 The fundamental work on Mycenaean onomastics remains *MGP*. On the cultural significance of Mycenaean naming patterns, cf. G. NEUMANN, "Wertvorstellungen und Ideologie in den Personennamen der mykenischen Griechen," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 131 (1994) 127-166; P.H. ILIEVSKI, "Interpretation of Some Mycenaean Personal Names. Nomina Theophora," in S. JALKOTZY *et al.* (eds), *Florent Studia Mycenaea. Proceedings of the Xth International Mycenaean Conference, held in Salzburg, Austria 30 April to 5 May, 1995* (forthcoming); "Vocabulary Words from the Mycenaean Personal Names," in *CollMyc*, 135-146; and "Observations on the Personal Names from the Knossos D Tablets," in *Mykenaiika*, 321-348. This line of approach has also been well exploited by scholars like L. BAUMBACH, "An Examination of Personal Names in the Knossos Tablets as Evidence for the Social Structure of Crete in the Late Minoan II Period," in O. KRZYSZKOWSKA and L. NIXON (eds), *Minoan Society* (1983) 3-10 (for Greeks vs. non-Greeks in the Knossos As tablets). Cf. also L. BAUMBACH, "The People of Knossos: Further Thoughts on Some of the Personal Names," in *Mykenaiika*, 57-63; J.T. KILLEN, "The Knossos Ld (1) Tablets," in *CollMyc*, 176-179 (for the pool of 'aristocratic'/'dynastic' names shared by 'collectors' site to site and even used in adjectival formations to describe workgroups 'owned' by 'collectors'); and J. RAILSBACK, *Mycenaean Theophoric Names* (M.A. Thesis: University of Texas at Austin 1997) (for an understanding of the social significance of theophorics). The so far unparalleled comprehensive prosopographical study of a Mycenaean site is M. LINDGREN, *The People of Pylos* (1973).

15 NEUMANN (*supra* n. 14) 128.

16 On these categories and the issues connected with identifying 'collectors' and their relative status, cf. J. DRIESSEN, "Collector's Items. Observations sur l'élite mycénienne de Cnossos," and J. BENNET, "'Collectors' or 'Owners'? An Examination of Their Possible Functions within the Palatial Economy of LM III Crete," in *Mykenaiika*, 197-214 and 65-101 respectively.

17 Cf. ILIEVSKI in *Mykenaiika* (*supra* n. 14) and J.-P. OLIVIER, "KN : Da-Dg," in J.-P. OLIVIER and T.G. PALAIMA (eds), *Texts, Tablets and Scribes, Supplémentos a Minos* 10 (1988) 219-267. Unfortunately the large numbers of dependent women in the Pylos Aa, Ab and Ad series are listed by *ethnica* or by occupational designations.

Two factors limiting this kind of work are the interpretive ambiguity of many Mycenaean name forms¹⁸ and the difficulty of identifying precisely the status of a given individual even in a fairly secure textual context.¹⁹ Fortunately, even though the Mycenaean *onomasticon* contrasts with the later Greek in having a greater percentage of uncompounded or shortened names,²⁰ the large number of personal names in total on the tablets (over 2,000) gives us an ample data base, and many of the shortened names still yield probable etymologies. We can also focus on culturally significant roots within names that remain recognizable in Mycenaean spellings of compounded or simplified names. Moreover, certain tablet groups, like those from the *RCT*, yield an extremely high percentage (*ca.* 70%) of Greek names with which to work, and the context there is decidedly military and 'elite.'

A comprehensive study of the military *ethos* in the naming patterns attested in Mycenaean society would examine the occurrence of roots for fundamental notions: *lāwos* ('collective male fighting force'), *arēs* ('war spirit'), *nikā* ('victory'), *strat-* ('army arranged in encampment'), *p(t)ole-* ('war'), *alk-* ('force qui permet de se défendre'), *wis* ('force'), *areta* ('manly excellence'), *klewes-* ('fame'), *thars-* ('courage'), and important verbal stems like *ag-* ('lead'), *ageir-* ('gather, assemble'), *al(e)k* ('defend'), *arkh-* ('be leader'), *ekh-* ('hold, preserve'), *men-* ('cause to remain/stand fast'), *nes-* ('bring back safely'), all of which are found as important formative elements in later Greek (and/or Homeric) naming patterns.²¹ This paper will treat the evidence selectively.

A succinct example of what personal names can tell us about a given culture is provided by a simple compilation of and commentary on the structure and meaning of names in common use among the Igbos of Eastern Nigeria *ca.* 1970.²² From a handbook of current Igbo names, which I selected randomly from the shelves of the PCL Graduate Library at UT Austin in order to make sure that I was virtually completely ignorant of the subject culture, I can deduce the importance in this society of:

1. the continuation of the paternal lineage (13 names signifying "let my family/name/lineage/share not be lost or cease to exist" and others signifying satisfaction with the birth of a male child and stressing relationship with the father - or conversely that the birth of a daughter was the will of god and has to be accepted);
2. the role of the mother's kinsmen in rearing children (8 names);
3. optimism and hope about the unknown future (8 names);
4. mediating or preventing conflicts with other social groups (33 names that encode warnings or advice to others as to how to treat the name-bearer);
5. individuals identifying strongly with and respecting social groups (10 names, e.g., "men are the source of others' strength" and "the backing [of others] is supreme");
6. personal achievement and striving (3 names, e.g., "I have achieved more than others");
7. the historical social conflict between traditional 'sacred' chiefs/kings (Nze) and 'secular' chiefs of villages and local communities (Eze) and the social significance of being associated with one or the other of these elites (11 names declaring the supremacy of Nze or Eze or identifying the name-bearer as child, daughter or even 'scepter' of Nze or Eze);

18 ILIEVSKI in *CollMyc* (*supra* n. 14) 136 n. 5.

19 Even when we have a precise designation of the office or title of an individual or the work or service s/he performs, we cannot always be certain of status. For example, it has been proposed that *pe-ki-ta* who is *wa-na-ka-te-ro ka-na-pe-u* on PY En 74.3, .23; Eo 160.3, Eo 276.2 is not simply the 'king's laundryman' but rather something like 'Master of the Cloth.' Cf. KILLEN (*supra* n. 14) 160 n. 19.

20 ILIEVSKI in *CollMyc* (*supra* n. 14) 141-142: *ca.* 75% of the personal names occurring in Linear B are considered 'short' and either uncompounded or hypocoristics (shortened forms of longer/compounded names).

21 Basic meanings of roots here are derived from P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1968-1980). For the meaning of the concept *alkē* as a force, activated by memory, that underlies a warrior's outward ability to fight, cf. D. COLLINS, *Immortal Armor: The Concept of Alkē in Archaic Greek Poetry* (1998). Just as BERNABÉ (*supra* n. 11) traced variations in the technical vocabulary between the Bronze Age and the historical period, so we might expect some meaningful variation in the sphere of personal names. Cf. the diachronic study of A. MORPURGO DAVIES, "Terminology of Power and Terminology of Work in Linear B and Greek," in *CollMyc*, 87-108.

22 I. MADUBUIKE, *A Handbook of African Names* (1976) 29-76.

8. identification as a commoner with the collective people (4 names signifying that the name-bearer is "son/daughter/voice/eyes of the people");
9. qualities that sacred (Nze) and secular (Eze) leaders should possess (6 names, e.g., "Nze does not exploit others" and "Eze should not exploit others");
10. the influence of the Christian Church (10 names indicating "blessing," "good news," "faith," "the church is supreme," "give praise to God" and "avoid sins");
11. native belief in supernatural forces and deterministic theory whereby a man's "Chi" (personal god) controls his destiny (*ca.* 60 names praising such powers and their attributes and their ability to effect good for the name-bearers);
12. the necessity to reassert the value of human life vis-a-vis the struggle for acquisition of wealth and property (9 names asserting, e.g., "a human being/child is more important than wealth");
13. wealth and the ability of "Chi" to bestow wealth and of female children to bring wealth through dowries at marriage (37 names);
14. the fact of poverty (11 names attributing poverty to fate, bad luck, envy of others, wishing it away, and coming to terms with it as the will of "Chi" or the common lot of many people);
15. status within the family (9 names, including prestige titles relating to individuals who are rich and powerful in having full 'yam houses');
16. life and death (11 and 24 names respectively);
17. skin color (8 names descriptive of light or black skin-tone);
18. war, peace, strength, martial virtue, violence (e.g., "killer of lions" and "cutter of heads").

The personal names by themselves then provide us with an insight into social organization and stratification, political, religious and cultural belief systems, historical developments (e.g., the introduction of Christianity and the persistence of native religious beliefs, the conflicts between power figures: Nze and Eze), the sources of wealth and methods of control of wealth in the community, and other general cultural values.

In the Greek sphere, of course, the overwhelming popularity in historical times of names compounded from such fundamental cultural terms as δῆμος ('the collective people'), δίκη ('justice'), ἵππος ('horse') and κλέφος ('fame'), and the relative rarity of such roots in the well-documented Mycenaean *onomasticon* are related to major cultural changes between the Mycenaean Bronze Age and the Greek historical period. For example, the two possible examples of Mycenaean personal names formed from ἵππος cited by Landau have both proved to be 'ghosts.'²³ This contrasts with *ca.* 183 different personal-name compound formations in ἵππος catalogued by Bechtel for the historical period.²⁴ Obviously on present evidence the cultural significance of horse-owning (and corresponding classification in the rank of an *hippeus* or 'cavalry man') made a much greater impact on naming patterns within society in the historical period than it did in the Mycenaean period, despite the prominence in the Mycenaean texts of horses (*ca.* 85 instances of the horse ideogram at Knossos and 1 [Sa 22] at Pylos) and chariots named after horses (*i-qi-ja* cf. KN Sf, Sg and Sd series), a deity named *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* (PY An 1281.1), and individual specialists known as 'horse-feeders' (*i-po-po-qi-i*). Even a landholding can be recorded as allotted to an individual *e-ne-ka i-qi-jo* 'for the sake of the horse' (PY Ea 59).²⁵

Likewise stunning is the limited number of names deriving from *dāmos* in the Mycenaean texts. The *dāmos* is a central social institution in the Pylos landholding records (E-series). On the commensal banquet tablet PY Un 718, the *dāmos* as an institution is ranked with the *wanax* and *lawagetas/lawagertas* as one of the four major components of Pylian society. Landau cites a mere four possible compound forms: *e-ke-da-mo*, *e-u-da-mo*, *e-u-ru-da-mo* and the restoration *da-] mo-ke-re-we-i*. The last is likely a 'ghost.'²⁶ This contrasts with *ca.* 17 names

23 MGP, 231 and 167. On PY Aq 218.16 *qi-te-wo* is now read as complete instead of Landau's conjectured [P]-*qi-te-wo* corresponding to * ἵπποθέων, while *i-qi* on KN Ca 895 is now seen to refer to the horse ideogram and entry on the text and not to a human being named 'Horse'.

24 HPG, 219-226.

25 S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Noch einmal zur Ea-Serie von Pylos," in OLIVIER and PALAIMA (*supra* n. 17) 113-115.

26 The more likely restoration, given the parallelism of PY tablet Nn 831.3, is *a-] mo-ke-re-we-i* = "wheel-famous."

derived from λαφός, the term that specifies the collective body of male fighting folk (Männerbund) in Homer and most likely in Mycenaean,²⁷ and is the element acted upon by the verbal stem (*a-ke* here representing either *ag-* or *ager-*) in the agent-noun term for the Mycenaean military leader: *ra-wa-ke-ta*.²⁸ From the historical records, we have ca. 80 and ca. 100 different compound-formations involving δῆμος as a first or second element respectively. These in fact celebrate the prominence and centrality of the δῆμος in the historical *polis*.²⁹ Such an instinct had not yet developed in the Mycenaean period wherein λαφός has a greater prominence.

The term λαφός in historical times is not rare in name formations, but it is less common than δῆμος, a reversal of the Mycenaean situation: Bechtel cites ca. 136 compound forms and a half-dozen names of simplified structure.³⁰ The λαφός-names in Linear B (17 different names referring to 23 individuals) offer a convenient sample group to see the social levels at which this fundamentally militaristic concept is productive in name-giving (Fig. 2).³¹ The distribution pattern of these *lāwos*-names underscores the importance of the concept of 'male fighting force' in the culture of 'elites' in Mycenaean society. The significant name *Ekhe-lāwōn* (Fig. 2 §15) and the pattern of references to the individual who bears that name in the Pylos tablets and who is probably the *wanax* of Pylos³² reflect the dual or even tripartite nature of 'kingship' in Mycenaean and general Indo-European society, e.g., contemporary Hittite culture.³³ The 'king' is chief representative of his people in relation to the divine sphere and guarantor thereby of communal prosperity, but he also may have, as his personal name here implies, the role of safeguarding 'men of battle,' even if, as the Mycenaean texts may suggest, the *wanax* is no longer the primary organizer and practical strategist for Mycenaean fighting forces. The prevalence of *lāwos*-names among the elite Greek holders/owners of chariots and armor from the *RCT* at Knossos (Fig. 2 §6a, 6b, 6c, 7a, 10, 17a), and the appearance of *lāwos*-names at Pylos in an *o-ka* group (Fig. 2 §11) and in a chariot-wheel production context (Fig. 2 §14b) further indicate that those who were engaged in military affairs used the key term for 'male fighting force' in naming their children.

This kind of observation can even be brought to bear on how to interpret documents. While not decisive in determining whether to interpret KN As 1516 as a record of military personnel or a record of supervisors of industrial (bronze-) workers, the occurrence in the text of two *lāwos*-names (Fig. 2 §8, 9) and a theophoric name in *ares* lends some support to the military reading. This is reinforced by the occurrence of other *lāwos*-names in textual association with *e-ge-ta* (Fig. 2 §3) at Knossos and in the *lawagesian* landholding series at Pylos (Fig. 2 §1). We should note that certain of the Mycenaean *lāwos*-names recur in the *onomasticon* of Homeric epic: Fig. 2 §6, 7a, 12, 14a, 17.³⁴ Two other of the names, while not imbedded in

27 Most recently discussed by W.F. WYATT, "Homeric and Mycenaean Λαός," *Minos* 29-30 (1994-95) 159-170: *laos* = 'contingent,' 'collection,' 'band,' "in the first instance to denote a troop of followers of a leader, generally but not always in wartime, [and] subsequently came to denote 'people' through the intermediary of leader = king" (169).

28 To this number we may add the personal name *a-ki-re-u*, which, while not without interpretive problems of its own, is generally taken to be a compound of ἄχος and λαφός.

29 *HPG*, 123-132, including a further dozen or so names of simplified structure based on the root.

30 *HPG*, 279-283.

31 It should be noted that the tablets from Thebes, Tiryns, Mycenae and Khania do not contribute any names formed from λαφός or δῆμος.

32 §15 *Ekhe-lawon* 'he who holds the fighting force,' i.e., either 'preserves' his own or 'holds in check' the enemy - for the first element cf. the agent-noun formation *e-ko-to* = *Hektor*.

33 For a full analysis of the various forms of this name in the Linear B tablets, cf. A. LEUKART, "Les signes *76 (*ra2*, 'rja') et *68 (*ro2*, 'rjo') et le nom du grande prêtre de Poséidon (sinon du roi) à Pylos," in *Mykenaiika*, 387-405. On the functions of the I.-E. king as 'priest'/military leader/guarantor of communal wealth and fertility, cf. E. MASSON, *Le combat pour l'immortalité. Héritage indo-européen dans la mythologie anatolienne* (1991) 225-250, and T.G. PALAIMA, "The Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions," in P. REHAK (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean*, *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 119-139.

34 Cf. H. VON KAMPTZ, *Homerische Personennamen* (1982) 205-206, either exactly or with component elements reversed.

the supreme enculturating poem of war, emphasize slaughter and death (Fig. 2 §4, 5) in warfare and the strength one needs for combat (Fig. 2 §6). Yet others emphasize the importance of good military leadership in protecting and preserving and literally 'nourishing' the fighting troops (Fig. §3, 7, 9, 14, 15, 16). Fig. 2 §17, as is well known, has given rise to Nagy's theory that an early form of oral martial epic like the *Iliad* with a hero named *Akhi-lāwos must already have existed in the Mycenaean period to inspire such naming of offspring.³⁵ As usual, however, the Mycenaean data are rarely unequivocal. The *lāwos* naming element in two cases (Fig. 2 §2a and §5) finds a place among bronze-workers; and twice it occurs among shepherds (Fig. 2 §7b and §14a). In three cases (Fig. 2 §12, §16 and §17b) *lāwos*-names designate persons of moderate economic standing, while in one case (Fig. 2 §4) the individual is a 'collector' of some note in the central region of Crete.

Names in κλέφος (ca. 110 and ca. 200 names with κλέφος as a first or second element respectively)³⁶ are conspicuous in historical Greek onomastics where the term itself captures striving for public prestige, fame and praise as a defining feature of Greek culture. *klewos*-names in Mycenaean are relatively rare. However, if we look at the elements with which κλέφος is compounded in Mycenaean and historical times and the contexts of occurrences of Mycenaean *klewos*-names, we may conclude that this highly important term was reserved in Mycenaean naming practice primarily for use among 'elites' whose achievements pertained to the military sphere. By contrast in historical times, through a kind of popular leveling mania, the term is applied to a broad range of spheres of accomplishment for which an individual could garner praise.

The Mycenaean personal names in *klewos* serve as 'Wunschnamen' that the name-bearers be famous for: Fig. 3 §1 chariot wheels (or wheel-joining); Fig. 3 §3 hand/arm strength and dexterity; and Fig. 3 §4 ships; or that they be: Fig. 3 §2 very famous; Fig. 3 §5 truly famous. The rare patronymic form *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* (Fig. 3 §5) in and of itself conveys and denotes status, and the individuals whom it identifies rank as an *e-ge-ta* and a landholder of significant status. The sphere in which public praise for the name-bearer is intended to be invited (ships, chariot wheels, and arm strength and dexterity) can be interpreted as 'military', although other alternatives are possible. The fact that a significant proportion of individuals (2 of 7) with names derived from this root are among the military 'elite' either in the *o-ka* tablets or in the *RCT* supports the view that *klewos* in the Mycenaean period could be attained through military accomplishment and prowess.

A final set of evidence to discuss here is the list of 'collectors' who are individuals of high economic and socio-political distinction and responsibility in the Linear B records from Knossos and Pylos (especially associated with the highly developed cloth industries and the management of sheep who produce the raw material for cloth). If strictly defined on the basis of the occurrence of names in the 'collector'-position in Knossos sheep and cloth tablets,³⁷ we have at Knossos 26 such individuals. Within their repertory of personal names are no *klewos*-names and a single *lawos* name. It is perhaps significant that in the three instances when 'collector' names overlap with names from the *RCT*, two (*a-no-qa-ta* and *pe-re-qa-ta*) have as a formative element a particularly martial root we have seen in *lāwos*-names (§5 *-qa-ta* = *-k^{hw}ontas* 'slayer'). Two other collectors have like formative elements: *ra-wo-qa-no* (cf. §4 *qa-no* = *-k^{hw}onos* 'slayer') and *wi-jo-qa-ta*. To identify four collectors at Knossos named respectively 'man-slayer,' 'far-slayer,' 'army-slayer' and 'poison-slayer' must say something significant about the sphere of activity through which ultimately they or their families attained their economic prominence.

There are four identifiable 'collectors' at Pylos: *a-ke-o*, *a-ko-so-ta*, *we-da-ne-u* and *a-pi-me-de*. All figure prominently in a variety of economic spheres, but without any direct military

35 G. NAGY, "The Name of Achilles: Etymology and Epic," in A. MORPURGO DAVIES and W. MEID (eds), *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to Leonard Palmer* (Innsbrücker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 15, 1976) 209-237.

36 *HPG*, 238-248, and other names from secondary developments of the root.

37 Cf. BENNET (*supra* n. 16) 94 table 8.

associations.³⁸ Again it would seem significant that the first two of these four collectors have names derived from the root *alk-* which in its noun-abstract form denotes the fundamental notion of fighting spirit and ability remembered and displayed in battle.³⁹ The same root seems to be found in the name of the Knossos collector *a-ke-ta* (= *Alketas*) and in the names of other prominent individuals at Pylos: an *o-ka* figure and the head of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* among them.⁴⁰ However, we should also note that a large percentage of individuals of high economic and/or administrative standing at Pylos and Knossos have names that are not or need not be connected to the military sphere (cf. *au-ke-wa* and *pu₂-ke-qi-ri*). Conversely again we find a bronzeworker at Pylos with the splendid martial name *Alksanor* (PY Jn 415.5).

Judging by this selective view of the onomastic evidence, militarism was not all-pervasive in Mycenaean society. Yet cultural notions relating to warfare are well-attested in naming patterns in military contexts (including the significant name of the individual who is presumed to be *wanax* of Pylos). They are moderately attested among individuals for whom we posit high economic, socio-political and administrative status in the management of resources and industries within the Mycenaean palatial territories. It is still more intriguing to find individuals we think of as having lesser status (shepherds and bronze-workers: cf. *lāwos*-names in Fig. 2 §2a, 5, 7b, 14a and *Alksanor* in PY Jn 415.5) bearing martial names that are otherwise reserved for individuals of higher status. This should mean something either about the status of those particular 'professions' or about the family histories, fortunes and aspirations of the individuals who work in those professions.

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38 *we-da-ne-u* appears in series An, Cn, Es, Na, Un; *a-ke-o* in series An, Cc, Cn, Mb, Xa; *a-ko-so-ta* in series An, Cn, Eq, Fn, Pn, Un, Va, Wa; *a-pi-me-de* in series Cn, Eb, Ep.

39 *a-ke-o* = *Alkeos* and *a-ko-so-ta* = *Alksoitas*. On the meaning of the abstract noun derived from this root, cf. COLLINS (*supra* n. 21). There are, of course, other ways of reconstructing these names. But, especially for *a-ko-so-ta*, parallels like *o-ta-ki* = *Oitalkis* help to make the *alk*-identification.

40 For some other Mycenaean personal names formed from *alk*, cf. *a-ka-ma-jo*, *a-ka-me-ne*, *a-ka-sa-no*, *a-ke-u*, *a-ki-to* (head of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* on PY Fn 50 and 867) and the patronymic *a-ki-wo-ni-jo* (on *o-ka* tablet PY An 656.3).

Fig. 1 Representative Mycenaean Military Terminology

1a. weapons and armor⁴¹

written form	phonetic	meaning	reference	logogram
a 3 -ka-sa-ma	aiksmans	points (for spears and javelins)	PY Jn 829	
a-[ko-so-ni-ja	[a]ksonia	small shafts	KN U 437	*246
do-ka-ma	doksmai	'handles' (for javelins)	PY Wr 1480	
e-ke-i-ja	enkheija	(shafts) for spears	PY Va 1324	
e-ke-si	enkhes(s)i	spears	PY Jn 829	
e-ke-a	enkea		KN R 1815	*230
e-ke-pi	enkhesphi		KN Wb 5131	
e-po-mi-jo	epōmijō	shoulder-pieces (of armor)	KN Sk 789+	
ko-ru	korus	helmet	KN Sk 5670+	*191
ko-ru-to	koruthos		PY Sh 733+	
ko-ru-pi	korupphi		PY Ta 642	
o-pa-wo-ta	oparwota	suspension pieces (of armor, helmets)	KN Sk 5670+	
			PY Sh 737+	
pa-ka-na	phasgana	sword (or dagger?)	KN Ra 1540+	*233
pa-ra-wa-jo	parawwaiō	cheek-pieces (of helmet)	KN Sk 789+	
			PY Sh 737+	
pa-ta-ja	paltaia	javelin	KN Ws 1704+	*254
pa-ta-jo-i	paltaiōhi		PY Jn 829	
pa-ta-jo	paltaiōn		PY Wr 1480	
pe-di-je-wi-ja	pediēwiai	(javelin handles) for infantry troops	PY Wr 1480	
qe-ro2	sk ^w elion, ō	arm-guards? (of armor)	KN Sk 7751+	*162+QE
qi-si-pe-e	k ^w siphee	Swords?, knives? (in a ceremonial inventory)	PY Ta 716	*234
to-ra-ka / -ke	thōrāks / -kes	body armor	TI Si 5	

1b. missing: no identifiable references to shields or to greaves.

2a. personnel and organization⁴²

o-ka	orkhā	military detachment
ra-wa-ke-ta	lawagetās	leader of the lawās or lawagertās = assembler of the lāwos
e-qe-ta	ek ^w etās	'Follower'
e-re-ta	eretās	rower
to-ko-so-ta	toksotās	archer

2b. terms missing: στρατός (army) στρατηγός (army commander) στρατιά (army) λόχος (company) λοχαγός (company commander) όπλίτης (armed infantryman) ίππεύς (cavalry soldier) άσπιστής (soldier armed with a small shield) πελταστής (light-armed soldier)

41 List does not include chariot terminology for which cf. BERNABÉ (*supra* n. 10). + signifies that there are additional references at a particular site. For ideographic documentation, cf. VANDENABEELE-OLIVIER (*supra* n. 3). The word for 'bow' appears in the compound word for bow-maker : to-ko-so-wo-ko who are five in number on PY An 207.12.

42 List only includes terms written independently, not as elements of compound terms or personal names.

Fig. 2 Mycenaean Personal names in λαφός

1. *ra-wo-do-ko* (*Lāwo-dokos*) PY Ea 802 an individual who holds land (GRA T 3) *qo-qo-ta-o ko-to-na* in the series associated with the *ra-wa-ke-ta*.
- 2a. *ra-wo-ke-ta* (*Lāwo-?*) PY Jn 478.3 a bronze-worker who is allotted a *ta-ra-si-ja*.
- 2b. *ra-wo-ke-ta* (*Lāwo-?*) KN As 605.1 in a list of paired personal names listed against single units of TELA¹.
3. *ra-wo-po-qo* (*Lāwo-p^horg^wos*) KN As <4493> in a list of names and titles the first line of which establishes a clear connection with the class of 'Followers' (*e-qe-ta*) who are also specified as *e-pi-ko-wo* ('sentinels/guards' or 'auxiliaries' or 'overseers of apprentices') and perhaps serve as 'inspectors' (*e-re-u-te*).
4. *ra-wo-qo-no* (*Lāwo-k^{hw}onos*) KN B 798.7, KN D1 928.A, KN D 1650.a, KN Mc 4462.A and (?) KN X 9333 a 'collector' appearing in sheep-herding texts (at the site of *da-wo*) and a mixed-commodity record at the site of *ti-ri-to* (central Crete near Knossos).
5. *ra-wo-qo-ta* (*Lāwo-k^{hw}ontās*) PY Jn 750.7 in a section of smiths with *ta-ra-si-ja* in the district of *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (one of the principal districts of the Further Province).
- 6a. *ra-wo-te* (restored as *Lāwo-sthenās*) KN Xd <330> from the *RCT*.
- 6b. *ra-wo-ti-jo* (*Lāwosthios* hypocoristic for *Lāwo-sthenes*) KN Ce 61.3 one of five personal names listed against BOS 1 on a fragmentary tablet from the *RCT*.
- 6c. KN Vc 203 a single individual listed on a simili-join tablet in a series for which Driessen proposes that the likeliest explanation is that these individuals already possess full military equipment (chariots and armor).
- 7a. *a-ke-ra-wo* (*Age-lāwos* or *Arkhe-lāwos*) KN Vc <316> from the same series as Vc 203 above.
- 7b. PY Cn 599.3 a 'shepherd' at the minor site of *a-2-pa-tu-wo-te* for whom *a-ke-o* is 'collector' and PY Un 1320.6 an entry on a fragmentary 'mixed-commodity' tablet.
8. *[.]ke-se-ra-wo* (compound in *-lāwos*) KN As 1516.13 entry in a list of single men (either a military elite or a work force: cf. text n. 8) in a section headed by the term *[qa]-si-re-wi-ja*. The same section contains an instance of a theophoric (*pa-na-re-jo*) formed from the god = abstract concept of war: *ares*. This particular martial theophoric is found 5 times on 4 Knossos tablets from outside the *RCT* and another theophoric derived from *ares* is found on Xd 94 from the *RCT* (for a discussion of *theophorica* from *arēs* = 'Kampfeswut' [3 in *RCT* documents], cf. RAILSBACK [text n. 14] 12-26).
9. *a-pi-ra-wo* (*Amphi-lāwos*) KN As 1516.21 a similar entry in another section headed by *qa-si-re-wi-ja* here specified by a different location (*se-to-i-ja*) and a different personal name.
10. *]ke-ti-ra-wo* (compound in *-lāwos*) KN V(1) 7049 personal name entry on tablet cut at right from the *RCT*.
11. *pe-ri-ra-wo* (*Peri-lāwos*) PY An 654.13 an individual who is part of the *o-ka* group of *ta-ti-qo-we-u* (an *o-ka* commander who recurs on the Pylos rower text An 724.8 immediately after the *ra-wa-ke-ta* [.7] and *e-ke-ra-wo* [.5]).
12. *]de-ra-wo* (to be restored as *[Me]de-lāwos*) PY Fn 324.6 a list of individuals and in one entry a group of *do-e-ro-i* allotted HORD.
13. *me-ta-ra-wo* (*Meta-lāwos*) KN B 799v.4 a list of single individuals.
- 14a. *e-ti-ra-wo* (*Eti-lāwos* or *Erti-lāwos* cf. *Ἐτίερτης*) PY Cn 655.9 and Cn 131.10 a shepherd.
- 14b. PY Sa 1264 an individual whose *wo-ka* labor on a pair of chariot wheels is registered.
15. *e-ke-ra-wo* and variants (*Ekhe-lāwōn*) PY Un 718.2, An 610.13, An 724.5, Un 219.1, Er 880.1, Un 853.1 the individual who fills the *wanax* slot on the commensal banquet contribution tablet Un 718 and then occurs in textual contexts of equal status (and associated with the *ra-wa-ke-ta*) on two tablets recording rowers, two other mixed-commodity tablets, and a tablet recording sizable orchard land planted in vines and fig trees.
16. *ne-e-ra-wo* (*Nehe-lāwos* cf. *Νηλεύς*) PY Fn 79.5 a list of relatively prominent individuals and groups of specialist crafts personnel (*ze-u-ke-u-si* and *e-to-wo-ko-i*) receiving HORD or HORD and OLIV.
- 17a. *a-ki-re-u* (*Akhilleus* hypocoristic of **Akhi-lāwos*) KN Vc (1) 106 from the *RCT*, an individual already in possession of a full complement of military equipment.
- 17b. PY Fn 79.2 (cf. *ne-e-ra-wo*).

Fig. 3 Mycenaean Personal names in κλέφος

- §1a. *a-mo-ke-re*[(**Armo-klewēs*) PY Nn 831.3 a list of personal names, crafts personnel (cowherd, shepherd, bronzesmith), and officials (rowing official, 'mayor') on a tablet recording linen 'contributions' at the toponym *ko-ri-to*.
- §1b. *]mo-ke-re-we-i* (**Armo-klewēs*) PY Fn 324.2 a large record of individual wheat distributions.
- §2. *e-ri-ke-re-we* (**Eri-klewēs*) KN Uf 981.b a record of a landholding specifying that the *ko-to-i-na* of *Eriklewēs* has trees planted upon it.
- §3. *ke-ro-ke-re-wo* (**Kherro-klewēs*) PY Sa 487 a tablet recording the *wo-ka* of *Kherroklewēs* of two pairs of chariot wheels.
- §4. *na-u-si-ke-re*[(**Nausi-klewēs*) KN Xd 214 from the *RCT*.
- §5a. *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* (**Etewo-klewe-[h]ios*) PY An 654.8-9 an *o-ka* tablet on which the *e-qe-ta* ('Follower') named *Alektru ōn* (itself a name derived from the significant martial term *alek-*) is specified by a rare patronymic adjective, a further sign of his 'elite' distinction.
- §5b. PY Aq 64.15 an individual named *ne-qe-u* is also so specified on a document pertaining to landholding (in the first section by officials of considerable status: *mo-ro-qa* and *ko-re-te*).

DISCUSSION

L. Godart: Je voudrais faire trois brèves remarques à propos de l'intéressante communication de Palaima. Au nom, en vérité de Aravantinos et Sacconi et en mon nom, sur la base de certains points que nous enseignent maintenant les tablettes de Thèbes, et qui complètent en quelque sorte le discours de Tom Palaima. Maintenant nous avons très clairement en mycénien des cavaliers à Thèbes: à plusieurs reprises nous avons des distributions, nous croyons des offrandes, à e-pi-ko-i. C'est évidemment le datif pluriel de ἔφιππος, c'est-à-dire le cavalier. Cela intervient dans des tablettes où des chevaux sont attestés également. Deuxième point: on a, je crois, à présent accepté comme définitive l'interprétation "e-qe-ta = follower" en associant e-qe-ta à la racine de ἔπομαι. Mais voilà qu'à Thèbes maintenant nous avons un verbe qui ne peut qu'être dérivé de la racine en question, et donc apparenté à ἔπομαι également, c'est le verbe a-pi-e-qe, ἀμφιέπω. Or, la labio-vélaire du mycénien indique de manière on ne peut plus nette que c'est la racine seq^w, c'est-à-dire la racine de ἔπομαι que nous retrouvons dans ἀμφιέπω. Ne convient-il pas, par conséquent, sinon de remettre en question le sens de e-qe-ta, du moins d'élargir à toute la gamme des significations qui sont liées à ἀμφιέπω, c'est-à-dire "s'occuper de", les possibilités d'interprétation de e-qe-ta? Faut-il nous cantonner dans une parenté linguistique stricte avec la racine, avec le mot ἔπομαι, ou élargir le contexte et prendre en considération l'ensemble de la racine indo-européenne qui comprend également maintenant le verbe grec ἀμφιέπω? Dernier point: nous avons maintenant a-ko-ro-da-mo ou a-ko-da-mo chez un autre scribe à Thèbes, qui nous montre que δάμος dans certains contextes particuliers - à Thèbes en tout cas - signifie "le peuple impliqué dans des cérémonies religieuses".

V. Aravantinos: A couple of additions to what Louis has said. I'm very glad, Tom, that you come back to the question of ὄ, the abbreviation in the Ug tablets, and that you don't reject the identification with o-pa-wo-ta. We have some confirmation of the context of the armory there. So, again, i-qe-ja a-mo-ta has to be the military chariots. i-qa po-qa, ἵπποφορβός, and, again, names like pe-ri-qe relating to κλέος, and so on. I have to refer you to the very important words you have written in *Thalassa* on the tablet Vn 10: it seems that on a sealing - it is very important especially because it comes from the Treasury - we have the inscription e-pi 19, and the rest of the word which is very important for the military equipment you have written about.

T.G. Palaima: Merci beaucoup for all of that fine information.