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THE OKA TABLETS AGAIN

The listing together on Cn3 of five groups which have regularly been identified with five groups appearing on the Oka tablets suggests that, in the An listing as well, the five groups may have been more closely juxtaposed than the most generally accepted order¹ (An657 -519 -654 -656 -661) permits. That is:

Cn3.3	a2ratua okara3	An519.4	okara3 a2ratuwa	OKA III
Cn3.4	pirute kurewe	An519.14	pirute kurewe	OKA IV
Cn3.5	enaporo iwasijota	An661.3	enaporo iwaso	OKA IX
Cn3.6	orumato urupijajo	An519.11	urupijajo orumasijajo	OKA IV
Cn3.7	a2kaa2kirijo urupijajojo	An661.12	a2kaa2kirijo urupijajo	OKA X

It seems worth while to see if a simple change in the Oka tablet order may bring the five groups of Cn3 into closer contact without in any way disrupting accepted geographical assumptions.

It is clear that An657 must be first in the series because of its heading. Both the unfinished state of An661 and the location of its Oka X at *timito akei* in the Further Province (when all other known places are in the Hither Province) make it certain that this is the last of the five (preserved) Oka tablets, so its order may not be changed. But An519's second place is based on simple numerical order (after An657) combined with the presence on both An519 and An654 of one sign-group (*o34ta*) which is variously interpreted as a place or as a troop.²

¹ This order appears in the early publications of Ventris-Chadwick (*Documents* 1956, 188–194) and Palmer (*Minos* 4, 1956, 120–145), presumably as being the numerical order after An657 with its series heading. Both E. Risch (*Athenaeum* 46, 1958, 336) and L. Deroy (*Les leveurs d'impôts dans le royaume mycénien de Pylos*, 1968, 13), follow that order. In *Documents*² (1973, 429) the order is corrected by placing An519 after An654, but no reason is given, and the old Oka-numbers continue to be used. R. Schmitt-Brandt (*SMEA* 7, 1968, 92–94) argues for the following order: An657 -656 -519 -654 -661, putting the first two together because of *apuzkame* in both, and the second pair together because of *o34ta*.

² L. R. Palmer (*The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*, 1963, 154–158) takes *o34ta* as a place, and, because of its presence in the last part of An519 and the first part of

If An519 is moved to a position just before An661, the five groups of Cn3 would come together in Okas VII, VIII, IX and X, as follows:

Cn3.3	a2ratua okara3	An519.4	okara3 a2ratuwa	OKA VII
Cn3.4	pirute kurewe	An519.14	pirute kurewe	OKA VIII
Cn3.5	enaporo iwasijota	An661.3	enaporo iwaso	OKA IX
Cn3.6	orumato urupijajo	An519.11	urupijajo orumasijajo	OKA VIII
Cn3.7	a2kaa2kirijo urupijajojo	An661.12	a2kaa2kirijo urupijajo	OKA X

The following chart lists in the new order the ten Okas with their possible geographical connections, that is, known place-names and known ethnic adjectives along with others presumed to be such because of parallelism (see below, p. 117). These geographical connections will be useful to demonstrate the way in which this new order exhibits the kind of concentration at the southern end of the Hither Province's Nine Towns that we should expect before the transition to the Further Province's *timito akei* in Oka X.

(Key: * marks known place-names and ethnics; O and T respectively indicate place-names attached to an Oka or to an individual troop in an Oka; ethnic adjectives are assumed to describe troops.)

An	Oka	Place-names (and presumed)	Ethnics (and presumed)
657	I	*owitono O	*owitinijo
	II	a2ruwote T a3tareusi T erapo rimene T	*kuparisijo *kuparisijo owitono (for *owitinijo) *apuzkane
654	III		*metapijo upijakirijo
	IV	wawou(de) TTTT	pedijewe
656	V	*newokito O newokito wowija T	wakatijata
	VI	*akerewa O *porai T uwasi T *akerewa	*apuzkane ?newo?

An654, maintains that order. Ventris and Chadwick (*Docs.*² 567) take *o34ta* as a class of men.

519	VII	*roowa O	a2ratuwa
	VIII	apitewa T	
661			*orumasijajo
			pirute
			[]orijo
		*karadoro T	
		*zaetoro T	
	X	*timito akei O	
		a2kaa2kirijo T	
		nedowota(de)	

We look first to new Oka VI, largely because its location in *akerewa* (An656.11) gives us an immediate fix on the sixth place in the north-south Nine Town order. Then the fact that *akerewa* is included along with *rijo* (the ninth of the Nine Towns) in a list headed by *roowa* (An724) suggests a possible relationship among the three that would fit with *roowa* as the location of new Oka VII to the south of new Oka VI. Further connection comes with new Oka VI's *porai* which appears (as *porapi*) with both *roowa* and *rijo* in An1, thus confirming *roowa*'s presumed southern connections; *porai* (as *porapi*) is also listed on Mn1408 and Nn228 with both *roowa* and the *enaporo* that appears in Oka IX, thus connecting An519's *roowa* in new Oka VII both with *porai* in new Oka VI and with *enaporo* in Oka IX.³ In addition, *roowa* is linked in Mn1370 with *rouso*, which comes in at least one Nine Town list (Jn829) between *akerewa* and *karadoro*, thus again seeming to link new Oka VI at *akerewa* with the *karadoro* in Oka IX through the *roowa* of new Oka VII.⁴

The connection of new Oka VI's *akerewa* and *porai* with new Oka VII's *roowa* seems secure. Next in new Oka VII (An519.4) comes the first of the groups on Cn3: *azratua okaraz* as *azratuwa okaraz*. The next three groups on Cn3 follow both in new Oka VIII and in Oka IX (An661.1–8), but not in strict order:

Cn3.4	pirute kurewe	An519.14	pirute kurewe	OKA VIII
Cn3.5	enaporo iwasijota	An661.3	enaporo iwaso	OKA IX
Cn3.6	orumato urupijajo	An519.11	urupijajo orumasijajo	OKA VIII

³ The fact that *akerewa*, *porai*, *roowa*, *rijo* and *enaporo* are listed in different orders in An1, -724, Mn1408 and Nn228 is no impediment to these connections since there is no indication that those lists involve a strict north-south order.

⁴ Other presumed geographical terms in new Okas VI–VIII are either otherwise unknown (An656 *uwasi*; An519 *apitewa*) or provide little information (An656 *nawo*, not geographical elsewhere in Pylos; An519 *azratuwa*, *orumasijajo*, *pirute*, only on Cn3). For An519's *o34taje* as a masculine name rather than a place see below, p. 120.

This lack of exact correlation in order as in orthography (*iwasijota* vs. *iwaso*) and in formula (*orurato urupijajo* vs. *urupijajo orumasijajo*) need not be of any great importance when we remember how often it seems that scribes are confused in small ways, whether because they were compiling from idiosyncratic individual records that could be picked up out of order, or because they were taking dictation from several persons with different accents all competing for their attention. But surely it is no mere coincidence that Cn3.7 as the last entry matches the last group in Oka X (An661.9–13): *a2kaa2kirijo urupijajojo* — *a2kaa2kirijo urupijajo*. Thus the five groups of Cn3 are brought together in the final four Okas of the An tablets.

Each of the five groups on Cn3 is preceded by either a place-name or an ethnic. Of these only *enaporo* can provide a geographical fix. As seen above, its connections are with *roowa* and *porapi*.⁵ And one other place noted in Oka IX (An661.7) adds support to those connections: *zaetoro* is associated on An610 with *akerewa* and *rijo* of the lower end of the Nine Town list and with *aponewe* and *tetarane* which appear on An1 with *roowa*, *rijo* and *porapi*.

For a proper testing of the newly suggested order of the Oka tablets it will be necessary to restudy from the beginning all relevant constituent parts of each Oka's record and note the various formulas, their arrangement and their presence or absence, in order to make clear the extent to which differences are significant or, as is elsewhere the case with Pylos records, simply the result of copying from a variety of individual records. It will be best to work backward from the two least ambiguous elements in the texts of the various contingents that make up the Okas, that is, (1) the numbers of men that give the absolute size of each of the 26 groups into which the ten Okas are divided (except for the one group in An654.4 where the word *sapida* seems to take the number's place); and (2) the phrase which in eleven cases follows the number and attaches to the contingent a distinguished supernumerary (*metaqe pei eqeta* and name).

Moving backward then from these ends of each contingent's account, we find that in one or the other of the two positions immediately preceding the number there appears one of the following six terms

⁵ The appearance of *enaporo* on Vn130 does not provide additional information since the order there, with *pakijasi* both preceding and following *karadoro*, seems not to be north-to-south. Other possibly geographical terms in new Okas VIII–X are either otherwise unknown (An661 [*lorijo*]) or provide no additional information (An661 *a2kaa2kirijo* only on Cn3).

(*kekide* eight times, *korokuraijo* five times, *okara*(2) four times, and *kurewe*, *iwaso*, *urupijajo* each three times). In 18 of the 26 groups, one of the six terms immediately precedes the number; in the other eight, one of the six is next to last before the number. It has therefore seemed probable that these six terms define the groups and name the various kinds of troops that make up the Okas.⁶

The two possible positions of the six troop-names suggest that those names are not alone in defining the troops but are always paired with the term occupying the other position. That other term seems always to be either an adjective or a place-name (see Tables below). And since seven of the 13 apparent adjectives accompanying troop-names are transparently ethnic (*owitinijo*, *kuparisijo* twice, *apuzkane* twice, *metapijo*, *orumasijajo*), it is reasonable to think that the other six (*upijakirijo*, *wakatijata*, *newo*, *azratuwa*, *pirute*, [*Jorijo*]) may be the same, especially as in the case of the eight troops where the adjective's place is taken by another sign-group it is always a place-name (*owitono*, *newokito wowija*, *akerewa*, *apitewa*, *enaporo*, *zaetoro*, *karadoro*, *azkaaazkirijo*). The equivalent adjective describing the other five groups, which are lumped together in new Oka IV (An654.14–18) as *tosode*, is *pedijewe*, which by virtue of its possible meaning as “plainsmen” neatly splits the difference between geographical place-name and ethnic designation. Furthermore, that the choice between ethnic adjective and place-name is a matter of indifference is suggested by the use on Cn3 of the place-name where the Oka tablet An519 uses the ethnic: *orumato* and *orumasijajo*. And if the place-name can be substituted for the nominative plural ethnic describing the men to be counted, it may be thought of as in the so-called independent nominative case used in lists and such.

The Tables below are designed not only to show the various ways in which ethnic/place+troop combinations are recorded, but also to identify the role played by the sign-groups immediately preceding that combination and their connection, if any, with the troop in question. Position 1 is the last before the number, which in eleven cases is followed by the *eqeta* phrase; Position 2 is next to last, and so on. The following abbreviations are used: *No.* notes the number of men in the previous troop and thus marks the boundary between troops; *EQ* = the name of the previous troop's *eqeta*, again marking the boundary; *MN* = an officer, usually of the Oka as a whole and so not specific

⁶ The military interpretation of the Oka tablets has proved generally more convincing, despite Deroy's arguments in *Les levures d'impôts dans le royaume mycénien de Pylos* 1968.

Ethnic adjective and troop in positions 2 and 1

An	O _{ka}	4	3	2	1	N _a	E _{qeta}
657	I	kokijo MN	suwerowijo MN III	owitinino	okara ₃	50	
	II	<i>vacat</i> III	atareusi <i>Ploc</i>	kuparisijo	kekide	10	aeriqota
654	III	erutara MN	o34ta MN III	metapijo	kekide	50	
	III		<i>vacat</i> III	upijakirijo	kurewe	60	arekuturuwo
656	V		<i>vacat</i> III	wakatijata	kekide	sapida	pereqonijo
519	VIII		<i>vacat</i> III	pirute	kurewe	50	rouko
661	IX		VIR 70 N _a III	[Jorijo	korokurajijo	30	

Place-name and troop in positions 2 and 1

An	O _{ka}	4	3	2	1	N _a	E _{qeta}
656	V	pereqonijo	areijo EQ III	newok. wowija	korokurajijo	20	diwijeu
	VI		<i>vacat</i> III	akerewa	korokurajijo	80	kaesameno
519	VIII	poteu MN	etawoneu MN III	apitewa	iwaso	20	
661	IX	idaijo MN	esere ₂ MN III	enaporo	iwaso	70	
	IX		VIR [30] N _a III	zaetoro	korokurajijo	20	worotuminijo
	IX		VIR 29 N _a III	karadoro	korokurajijo	10	

Troop and ethnic adjective in positions 2 and 1

An	O _{ka}	4	3	2	1	N _a	E _{qeta}
657	II	taniko MN III	a ₂ ruwote <i>Ploc</i>	kekide	kuparisijo	20	
	II		VIR 30 N _a III	kekideqe	apu ₂ kane	20	a ₃ kota
656	VI	adaratijo EQ III	uwasi <i>Ploc</i>	kekide	newo	10	pereuronijo
519	VII	watuwaoko MN	mutona MN III	okara ₃	a ₂ ratuwa	110	
	VIII	komawe MN	o34taqe MN III	urupijajo	orumasijajo	30	

Troop and place-name in positions 2 and 1

An	Oka	4	3	2	1	No.	Egeta
657	II	aeriqota EQ III	erapo rimine Ploc	okara	owitono	30	

Ethnic/place-name and troop in positions 3 and 2

An	Oka	4	3	2	1	No.	Egeta
661	VI X	pu ₂ tija MN III akewato MN III	apu ₂ kane a ₂ kaa ₂ kirijo	kekide urupijajo	porai Ploc nedowatade Pal	20 30	dikonaro ?

Exceptional five-troop combination

An	Oka	Collective 4	Ethnic? 3	Destination 2	Troop 1	No.
654 III	IV	tosode	pedijewe	wawoude Pal	kekide urupijajo kurewe iwaso okara ₃	10 10 20 10 10

to the following troop;⁷ *Ploc* = a place-name in the locative case; *Pal* = place name in the allative case; ? = uncertain. Since the first three (*No.*, *MN* and *EQ*) belong to what precedes (except for An519.10–12), and in some places a blank is left between contingents, the Tables show that the full description of a troop may be limited to two or three words. ||| marks each troop's beginning.

Notes on the Tables (pp. 118–119):

1. The last five troops, of Oka IV, differ from the previous 21 in being all lumped together as *tosode pedijewe*, but with *pedijewe* taking the place of the ethnic and *tosode* pulling the groups together, the whole group is most like the *a2kaa2kirijo urupijajo* of Oka X in having a place-name in the allative case.

2. All the sign-groups labelled *MN* except *o34ta(qe)* and *suwerowijo* will be accepted as such because of their usage elsewhere. Because *o34ta* (*o35ta*) is an indubitable masculine name at Thebes (Ug3) and because it occurs in both An654.3 (Oka III) and An519.11 (Oka VIII) after other masculine names indicating Oka officers, a very good reason is required to define it in any other way. It need not even be much of a coincidence that there should be two men of the same name among the fifty officers named on the Oka tablets if the name was common enough to appear among our very few masculine names at Thebes. Moreover, for the last word of a series to be given a *-qe* is paralleled not only in the fourth troop of Oka II (An657.13: *kekideqe*) but also in Ta709.2 (*itowesa pedewesa soweneja audewesage*) and Vn46.11–12 (*tatomo arowo epi65ko 1 eruminija 2 kiwoqe 1*).⁸ Its presence in these two places, as opposed to its absence in other parts of the Oka texts, is presumably to be credited to the possible idiosyncrasies of the individual scribes or records from which the Oka tablets were compiled.

suwerowijo has most often been taken as a place-name, largely because a place-name precedes three of the five troops on this tablet⁹. But, as may be seen from the Tables above, a locative place-name precedes the

⁷ Only in one case (An519.10–12) are there officers who appear to belong to an individual troop.

⁸ See C. Ruijgh, *Etudes sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* 1967, 310.

⁹ The last troop is also without a locative place-name; this absence (*kekideqe apuzkane*) is explained by Schmitt-Brandt (*op. cit.* 78, n. 9) as follows: the *-qe* on *kekide* shows that this group also, like the one preceding (*okara owitono*), is stationed in *owitono*. But considering other instances where the place-name substitutes for the ethnic, *okara owitono* is most likely to be parallel to *owitinijo okara3*, *kekide kuparisijo* and *kuparisijo kekide*, and not to the locatives *azruwote*, *aitarensi* and *erapo rimene*.

place/ethnic+troop combination for only five of the 21 regular troops (*azruwote*, *aitareusi*, *erapo rimene*, *porai* and *uwasi*). Further, *suwerowijo*'s adjectival-type ending seems more appropriate for a masculine name than for a place-name: and even if *suwerowijo* were a place-name, the fact that it is unknown makes it immaterial as evidence.

3. The place-names that in Okas I, V, VI, VII and X come after *oka* are generally assumed to be Oka headquarters. The absence of such indicated locations for Okas II, III, IV, VIII and IX might suggest that there were only five district headquarters serving various numbers of Okas: *owitono* for Okas I–IV; *newokito* for Oka V; *akerewa* for Oka VI; *roowa* for Okas VII–IX; and *timito akei* for Oka X. It should be possible to account for the very different sizes of such districts, but it will be necessary first to look at the place-names in the locative that occur in connection with individual contingents. The fact that they occur so comparatively seldom suggests that they are necessary only when there is no other indication of the troops' location. That is, the place-names in the locative should indicate the location of those particular troops with which they are associated as being different from the place indicated by the ethnic or place-name attached to the troop-name. Thus in Oka I the *owitinijo okaraz* are not only from *owitono*, as the ethnic adjective asserts, but also at *owitono*, but in Oka II because the two *kuparisijo kekides* are not in *kuparis-*, their locations (*azruwote*, *astareusi*) are noted as part of the troop description. Similarly, Oka II's *okara owitono* (= *owitinijo*) is not at *owitono* but at *erapo rimene*, while *kekidege apuzkane* is at *apuzka*.

In Oka III (An654.1–9) where no location is given, it is to be assumed that the *metapijo kekide* are at *metapa* and the *upijakirijo kurewe* are at the place referred to by the ethnic adjective. Oka IV presents a different problem: if the designation of all five troops as *pedijewe* is to be taken as describing their provenience from the 'plain' it is obvious that they can do little about guarding the coast if they are located there; the presence here of an allative place-name (*wawoude*) therefore seems both fortuitous and right: they are all to go to *wawou*.

In Oka V, where the Oka headquarters are at *newokito*, the *wakatijata kekide* can be presumed to be carrying out their duties at home, in the place from which the ethnic adjective is derived. But the questions raised both by the absence of a number and the presence of the obscure *sapida* make certainty of any sort about this troop difficult. That this Oka's second troop, *korokurajjo*, should be both from and stationed at what seems to be a neighbour or dependency of *newokito*, the Oka headquarters, that is *newokito wowija*, seems to be appropriate.

The three troops of Oka VI are apparently located as follows: the *apuzkane kekide* are not in *apuzka* but in *pōra*; similarly the *kekide newo* (whether they are a youthful troop or from “Newtown”) are to be found in *uwa*; only the *akerewa korokuraijo* are to remain in their home-town, which happens also to be the Oka’s headquarters.

Although Oka VII’s headquarters is located at *roowa*,¹⁰ its one large troop appears to be stationed at its home in *azratuwa*. The three troops of Oka VIII are all located in their home-towns: *iwaso* at *apitewa*; *urupijajo* at *orumato*, and *kurewe* at *piru*-. In the same way, the four troops of Oka IX are stationed at home: *iwaso* at *enaporo*, and the three troops of *korokuraijo* respectively at the town of the []*orijo* and at *karadoro* and *zætoro*.

The single preserved troop of Oka X, like the five troops of Oka IV, is to go elsewhere, that is, to the allative *nedowotade*. It would be most satisfactory if *a2kaa2kirijo* was not a topographical term but a geographical one like *pedijewe* so that these “mountaineers” would have to be sent elsewhere to guard the coast.

4. If the regular terms (excluding *pedijewe* and possibly *a2kaa2kirijo*) that accompany troop names have topographical significance, both as places of origin and as stations (except where another is specified), the close connection of places in Okas VI—X that we saw above should be evident also in Okas I—V: and here we see that, of the comparatively few known place-names or ethnics in those Okas, three stand out as a group to tie all five together — *owitono* with its ethnic *owitinijo* (An657.2,13); *metapijo*, the ethnic of *metapa* (An654.3); and *newokito* (An656.1,7). The appearance of all three on adjacent lines of Aq218.3—5 seems to provide evidence of their relative location, and *metapa*’s place as second in the north-south array of the Nine Towns points to an absolute location toward the north. This is strengthened by the location of the modern Kyparissia, if that bears any relation to the ancient town of which *kuparisijo* is the ethnic. The only other ethnic in Okas I—V for which we have other evidence is *apuzkane*, the probable town of which (*apuka*) not only appears on Aq218 along with the three place-names above (although in a second paragraph) but also defines one *marateu* who may well be the same man as the *marateu* who is an officer

¹⁰ However, since a place-name occurs after only five of the ten Okas, it might be that it is not the location of the Oka but of its leader, and then only when there is a possibility that he might be confused with another man of the same name, as in the case of *duwojo*, the leader of Oka VI at *akerewa*, and a *duwojo* who is an *atarasijo kaken* of *asijatija* (Jn750.12).

of Oka II, to which *kekideqe apuzkane* belongs. Furthermore, the *eqeta* who accompanies that troop is named *azkota*. His presence on Aq218, immediately after the line in which *aeriqota* [*]jo owitono* appears, makes it likely that this *aeriqota* may be the same man who is *eqeta* with Oka II's *kuparisijo kekide* at *astareusi*. So far the geographical agreement among the first five Okas seems secure.

An apparently awkward complication is added by the presence in Oka VI of not only a second *apuzkane kekide* but also an *eqeta* with the same ethnic adjective, *kaesameno apuzka*. How can it be, if Okas I–V appear to be located in the north and Okas VI–X in the south, that *apuzkane* personnel appear in both Okas I and VI? An answer that is probable, from the point of view of Pylos as the centre from which commands go out, is that the order of Okas I–V is from south to north and that of Okas VI–X from north to south, thereby leaving Okas I and VI adjacent in the neighbourhood of the place represented by the ethnic *apuzka*. Family relationships seem to bear this out: *azkota*, the *eqeta* with Oka II's *kekideqe apuzkane*, appears on Aq218 with the patronymic *adaratijo*. Also, since the *apuzkane kekide* of Oka VI has as its *eqeta* one *dikonaro adaratijo*, the two apparent brothers bring together Okas II and VI just as do the two troops of Okas II and VI (*kekideqe apuzkane* and *apuzkane kekide*). In addition, *maraten*, one of the officers of Oka II (An657.7), is listed with *apuka* in Aq218.15. The suggested order then, reading from north to south, in two sections both starting from Pylos, is as follows:

Oka	Tablet	Places/Ethnics	Eqeta
V	An656.1–9	newokito, wakatijata, newokito wowijo	pereqonijo areijo diwijeu
IV	An654.11–18	pedijewe, wawoude	
III	An654.1–9	metapijo, upijakirijo	arekutura wo etew.
II	An657.6–14	azruwote, kuparisijo (2) aitareusi, erapo rimene, owitono, apuzkane	kekijo aeriqota azkota
I	An657.1–4	owitono, owitinijo	
PYLOS			
VI	An656.10–20	akerewa (2), apuzkane, porai, uwasi, ?newo?	dikonaro adaratijo pereuronijo kaesameno apuzka
VII	An519.1–8	roowa, azratuwa	
VIII	An519.6–16	apitewa, orumasijajo, pirute	rouko kusamenijo

IX	An661.1—8	enaporo, [Jorijo, karadoro, zaetoro	worotuminijo
X	An661.9—13	timito akei, a2kaa2- kirijo, nedowotade	(no name)

This order was based on parallels with Cn3 and other geographical considerations, but it has produced a kind of symmetry in the placement of *egetas* which has been missing in other orders. The rather apologetic explanations to which that absence has given rise can now be dispensed with, and the Pylian authorities can be seen to have spread not only their troops but also their noble ‘companions’ more or less evenly throughout the area to be covered, but with at least one at each extreme and a concentration near Pylos. From our point of view it might seem awkward that one tablet (An656) should include both the Oka farthest north and the Oka nearest Pylos to the south, but for scribes in centrally-located Pylos it must have seemed natural always to start from home base and to keep together on the same tablet the officers and men stationed sufficiently nearby to be used, if necessary, as re-inforcements for some troubled spot at a distance. In this military situation the usual north-to-south order would be less useful.

Finally, this new arrangement of the Oka tablets with Pylos as the centre can be seen also to make sense of the otherwise puzzling matter of Oka ‘headquarters.’ That is, only five of the ten Okas are given locations, and if the assumption is that the other five are to be assigned to the last-named location, the new order of tablets (with numbers of men) presents the following picture in comparison with that of the usual order:

New order			Usual order		
V	<i>newokito</i>	(20)?	I—II	<i>owitono</i>	(130)
I—IV	<i>owitono</i>	(300)	III—VI	<i>roowa</i>	(380)
	PYLOS		VII	<i>newokito</i>	(20)?
VI	<i>akerewa</i>	(110)			
VII—IX	<i>roowa</i>	(340)	VIII—IX	<i>akerewa</i>	(240)
X	<i>timito akei</i>	(30)	X	<i>timito akei</i>	(30)

Aside from the usual order’s unlikely geographical associations (most notably the interpolation of *roowa* between *owitono* and *newokito*), its grouping of Okas at the five headquarters has no readily apparent rationale. And if, as the location of Oka X suggests, the order is from north to south, the uncertainty displayed by *newokito*’s Oka absent number and erased personnel sits awkwardly at what must have been

the centre of the organization. In the new order, on the other hand, we see that the chief concentration of forces is around Pylos itself. A second concentration toward the south goes a long way toward justifying the inclusion of *timito akei* in an otherwise west-coast operation. In line with this southern concentration is the uncertainty about the far north Oka headquarters at *newokito*, with its questions about both numbers of men and the identity of subordinate officers. Surely the fact that the word *sapida* is substituted for the usual number ("apparently replaces entry giving number of men", *Documents* pp. 193, 581), the smallness of Oka V's second contingent, and the presence of two *eqeta* combine to suggest that a special situation in the north required special measures. If in these circumstances we were to guess at an appropriate meaning of *sapida*, the possibilities might be something like "local force to be drafted."

At any rate, it seems as if there was less immediate concern or knowledge of the situation about that area as long as the area immediately north of Pylos was more than adequately manned: and such an attitude would fit neatly either with expectation of forces attacking from the south or with inroads¹¹ already achieved by invaders from the north who had left the situation there in some disarray.¹²

¹¹ I have already suggested elsewhere ("Es Proportions", *Mycenaeen Studies, Wingspread* 1961 ed. E. L. Bennett, Jr., pp. 37–52; "Cn Flocks," *Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaeen Studies* edd. L. R. Palmer and J. Chadwick, 250–259) the possibility that some part of the Pylian kingdom had been over-run so that corporations of 14 had been reduced to 13.

¹² I am grateful to Joanna Smith for reading an earlier version of this paper and making useful suggestions to improve its clarity.