THE ZAKRO PITHOS INSCRIPTION, AGAIN*

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Reading:
2. a-ta-nu-ti de-ka a-re ma-re-na.Ti-ti-ku

Comments:
1.1. VIN 21

William Brice reads here VIN 32 because he interprets a third, rather deep, horizontal stroke in the VINUM-ideogram as another ten. In my opinion this "stroke" is a damaged spot on a line of fraction. The lower vertical stroke behind, but clearly under the two tens has been interpreted by Brice as a second unit. His own fine and meticulous drawing of the inscription favours an interpretation of this stroke as a word-divider half-way in between VIN 21 and the following word.  

*1. I am gratefully indebted to my colleague Jan Maarten Bremer who pointed out some terrible mutilations of the noble English language.

*2. Literature:
Jan G.P. Best, A Linear A Inscription on a Pithos from Epanô Zakro, in: TALANTA IV, 1972, pp. 82 - 84 = Best, Zakro a
Jan P. Stronk, A Pithos from Epanô Zakro, in: TALANTA IV, 1972, pp. 85 - 87 = Stronk, Zakro b
J.G.P. Best, Inscriptions from Zakros, in: Festoen (Scripta Archaeologica Groningana 6), Groningen-Bussum, 1974, pp. 91 - 93 = Best, Zakro c
N. Platon-W.C. Brice, Inscribed Tablets and Pithos of Linear A System from Zakro, Athens 1975, pp. 82 - 85 = Brice, Zakro d

1. Brice, Zakro d, pp. 82 - 83.
Fig. 1a
The Zakro Pithos Inscription.

Fig. 1b
Drawing of the Zakro Pithos Inscription
From: Brice, *Zakro d*
1.2 *Di-di-ka-se*

On the analogy of the two other personal names on the pithos, *A-se* and *Ti-ti-ku*, both already attested in the Haghia Triada corpus of tablets,\(^2\) *Di-di-ka-se* (cf. for the beginning: Z13a.1, with the personal name *Di-di-ko-ra-me*) can be taken in the context of the inscription (see translation below) as a third personal name.

1.3. *a-sa-mu-ne*

From Akkadian *assammû*, large drinking vessel, here directly referring to the pithos itself.\(^3\) This vessel name is not only attested at Epanô Zakro, but also in a Semitic text from Alalakh;\(^4\) *-ne* is comparable with affirmative *-n* in Ugaritic texts which mention other vessel names, such as *krpn* and *mmskn*.\(^5\) In the HT-texts *-e* and *-i* are alternatively used as empty vowels in final position, so in the Thracian personal name *Pi-ta-ka-se* (Phittakas), writing variant *Pi-ta-ke-si* (Phittakès), or in *Ti-ti-ku-ni*, a personal name of presumably Hurrian origin, in Alalakh attested both as *Titiku* and *Titikun* (with affirmative *-n*).\(^6\)

1.4. *A-se*

Personal name at Haghia Triada.\(^7\)

2.1. *a-ta-nu-tï*

*ta*: with Brice, I do consider the treacherous second horizontal "stroke" a damaged spot and reconstruct L74 with syllabic value

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\(^2\) Cf. for the personal name *A-se* in Haghia Triada Louk C. Meijer, Eine strukturelle Analyse der Hagia Triada-Tafeln, Amsterdam 1982, p. 114, for the personal name *Ti-ti-ku* in Epanô Zakro and Haghia Triada Best, Zakro a, p. 84; Best, Zakro c, p. 93.

\(^3\) Best, Zakro a, p. 83 (*a-sa-mu*); Best, Zakro c, p. 92 (*a-sa-mu-ne*).

\(^4\) Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 8, p. 21:265, 19 (*ana as-sâ-am-mi*).

\(^5\) Best, Zakro c, p. 92 (*a-sa-mu-ne* compared with Ugaritic *krpn* and *mmskn*).


\(^7\) HT 93a.3; HT 132.1: Meijer, Strukturelle Analyse, Index I, p. 133.
ta. The form should be compared with the Ugaritic verb atn, to give, with -ti as the ending of the first person singular in the perfect: I have given.8

2.2. de-ka
Robert Stieglitz has convincingly identified this word with the biblical masculine form of the demonstrative pronoun dēk-, this, that.9
Here it shows with -a the regular masculine singular accusative, thus referring to the masculine noun a-sa-mu-ne in line 1 and connecting both lines with each other.

2.3. a-re
Read as a-le. (NWS: l/r alternation in texts!) this word, perhaps with final empty vowel but not necessarily so, is comparable with the Ugaritic preposition l (al), to, for.10

2.4. ma-re-na
From the Ugaritic root mr', to command, has been derived a verbal substantive, often used in the plural form mrum, commanders (of certain guilds).11 Here it has got the pronoun -na, our, comparable with its Ugaritic counterpart -n, which has been shown to be vocalized -nā by Cyrus Gordon.12

2.5. Ti-ti-ku
Personal name at Haghia Triada.13 The word-divider between ma-re-na and Ti-ti-ku puts this last personal name in the same position as Di-di-ka-se and A-se.14

10. Gordon, Zakro e.
12. Idem, UM I, p. 31, 6.11.1 c.pl. -n.
14. Cf. for the structure of the inscription as a whole APPENDIX 1 and 2.
Translation:
line 1: 21 standard units of liquid measure of wine\textsuperscript{15}: (supplied by) \textit{Di-di-ka-se}; the pithos: (supplied by) \textit{A-se}
line 2: I, \textit{Titiku}, have given this to our guild-master

The inscribed pithos from Epanō Zakro (along the road to Katō Zakro), nicely decorated with cords along its neck and body, was found together with at least 7 (possibly 8) other uninscribed ones of the same size and decoration in Storeroom Theta of a large production centre of wine (with a double wine-press in situ!).\textsuperscript{16} The socio-economic situation seems to be clear: \textit{Titiku}, the owner or controller of the production centre, was accustomed to record incoming products of persons, dependent on him, such as the vine-grower \textit{Di-di-ka-se} and the potter \textit{A-se}, according to the recording rules followed in the temples of Haghia Triada and the palace of Katō Zakro. He was in a position to offer a gift to the guild-master of both his two inferiors and himself. If we take into account that the 8 identical pithoi in his storeroom contained in all some 160 bat of wine, we may conclude that his status was comparable with that of the presumable landlord \textit{De-ku-na-se} (Z12a.1) whose tenants delivered to the palace at Katō Zakro a total (\textit{ku-lu}) of 68 bat of \textit{me-ki-di} wine (a presumably rather ordinary wine to be used with food, cf. Ugaritic \textit{mgd}) and 17 bat of \textit{ra-ko-me} wine (a \textit{distilled} export-wine of a better quality, cf. AHW s.v. \textit{lahāmu} III).\textsuperscript{17} In his turn, \textit{Di-di-ka-se} must have been a rather important vine-grower, of the same social status as \textit{Qe-si-z V-e} (Z12a.2), \textit{Tu-mi-ti-za-se} (Z1a.3-4) and \textit{E-L114 (?)} (Z8a.7). Out of the, in all, 11 readable tablets from Katō Zakro no less than 7 record deliveries of the two wine varieties mentioned above and the names of vine-growers, supervised by a person named \textit{Qi-qa-ru} (Z1a.1, 10a.1), who might be equated with \textit{Ki-ke-ro} in the Linear B script from Knossos.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{15} Cf. for the biblical (perhaps also Ugaritic) measure of the \textit{bat} as the standard liquid unit of wine on the Zakro pithos Stronk, Zakro b.


\textsuperscript{17} Cf. for \textit{me-ki-di} wine in abbreviation \textit{me}: Z4/5a.1, Z12a.3 and 6; cf. for \textit{ra-ko-me} wine in abbreviation \textit{ra}: Z9.1, Z12b.3 (Brice, Zakro d, \textit{passim}) and K2005 (wine, presumably exported from Katō Zakro to Ayia Irini in Keos: Kadmos IX, 1970, p. 110, No. 6).

So the production of wine in the Zakro region seems to have taken place on a large scale under the supervision of the palace-official Qiqa-ru, "our guild-master" (from Knossos?). It is remarkable that through the lines of the Zakro pithos inscription we can catch a glimpse of the socio-economic situation, so convincingly described by Stefan Hiller for the registration of Cretan vine-plantations in the Linear B script from Knossos.  

APPENDIX

1. Bronze bowl at Chania, decorated with fringe and inscription.  
Literature: SMEA 23, 1982, pp. 61 - 72  
Reading:  
A-ra-ko ku-qa-wa-sa-tu ma-lu Au-ta-de po-ni-za

Translation:  
Arakos: the fringe, Autade filled up with writing

A-ra-ko: Greek personal name in Linear B from Knossos in nominative = Arakos  
kku-qa-wa-sa-tu: fringe = guhaššu or guhaššu (cf. writing variants gu-ḫa-aššu, gu-ḫa-as-si, gu-ḫašša-a-te/ti): noun in nominative masculine singular  
ma-lu: fill (up) = malù (AHW: (an)füllen, mit Intarsien einlegen, eingliedern): absolute infinitive, followed by the subject, in Ugaritic commonly used to express past time (Ugaritic ml')  
Au-ta-de: personal name in Linear A (= A-ta-de) in nominative po-ni-za: noun in accusative, masculine singular (nom.: ponizu), a loan-word from Greek Linear B (cf. po-ni-ki-jo and in later Greek phoinikèia = writing, poinikastas = writer (Crete), phoinikographos = writer (Mytilene).

2. Golden garment-pin with inscribed handle  
Literature: BCH 105, 1981, pp. 3 - 25  
Reading:  
a-ma-wa-si.Ka-ni-ya-mi.i-ya.za-ki-se-nu-ti.A-ta-de

Translation: There, do drive out, Kaniyami, and set them (i.e. the clothes) free!: Atade

*a-ma-wa-si: amma*, interjection "there", before imperative second feminine person singular -i in *waši*, do drive out (AHW: (w)asû)

*Ka-ni-ya-mi*: feminine personal name in nominative (cf. *kn̄m* in Ugaritic), -i perhaps: my (-i: possessive pronoun of the first singular person in Ugaritic)

*i-ya*: writing variant for *u-ya* = and (cf. *uky* in Ugaritic)

*zak-i-se-nu-ti*: *zaki*, -i imperative second feminine person singular from *zakû*, to set free, followed by -se-nu-ti = *šunuti*, them, these, in accusative masculine plural, used behind verbal forms (cf. AHW s.v. *zakû*: ú-zak-ki-šu-nu-ti)

*A-ta-de*: masculine personal name of the giver (= *Au-ta-de* sub 1).