

# Mediterráneos



Mediterráneos:  
An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Cultures  
of the Mediterranean Sea

Edited by

Sergio Carro Martín, Arturo Echavarren,  
Esther Fernández Medina, Daniel Riaño Rupilanchas,  
Katja Šmid, Jesús Téllez Rubio  
and David Torollo Sánchez

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P U B L I S H I N G

Mediterráneos: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Cultures of the Mediterranean Sea,  
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We wish to remark our special gratitude to our supervisors for their guidance in the process of organizing this international conference. Furthermore, we want to highlight the assistance and dedication of our colleagues Stefania Silvestri and Estrella Samba for their firm support.

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—The editors

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**SECTION 1.**

**LINGUISTICS**



# INTRODUCTION

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Linguistics is probably the field within humanities with the highest level of formalization, making it (again arguably) the province of the human sciences closest to the “hard” sciences, at least as long as the rigour of theoretical methodology is concerned. This is one of the reasons why this book devoted to studying so many sides of the Mediterranean peoples and civilizations opens with the section collecting the linguistics papers (the other causes being pure hazard and the editors’ fancy).

The evolution of linguistics during the last four decades has resulted in such a huge transformation of the whole discipline that speaking about the “new linguistics” is by no means an hyperbole: the cognitive revolution, the application of digital technologies to almost every single aspect of the linguistic inquiry, the advances in the fields of typology, comparative studies, etc. the breath of new linguistic material that can be properly studied (orders of magnitude grater to the material that could be studied just one century ago), the advanced application of statistics... all has resulted in a complete transformation of our way to approach human language and its relation with the human mind and the human society.

During the same four decades Philology (understood as the study of the written sources and its relations with the individuals and the social and cultural milieu in which they were born and transmitted to other readers) has experimented a transformation almost as profound. Once considered the epitome of “outdated knowledge” or the typical endeavour of just wistful white aged western intellectuals, Philology has managed to make itself again suggestive, provocative and relevant (and, to use the fashion word, even sustainable) by adapting to their own ends most of the methodological improvements, technological advances and attitudinal shifts experienced by linguistics and all the human sciences related with it, most notably history, archaeology and sociology. The papers of this section fall mostly into the “philological” side of linguistics.

The section starts with Chapter 1, an insightful paper by Miguel Valério “Cypro-Minoan tablet RASH Atab 004 as Akkadian text and its role in the decipherment of the script”, in which the Portuguese philologist and archaeologist presents a full reevaluation of part of the well known Cypro-Minoan tablet RASH Atab 004. This important document was described by É. Masson as a genealogical name-list containing Semitic and Hurrian onomastics. The new reading of the sequence 51-28, based on the author’s detailed paleographic comparison of the tablet’s script with Linear A and the Cypriot syllabary (as the mother and daughter scripts, respectively, of the Cypro-Minoan script) not only implies the need of re-reading the tablet as a different type of document (a scribal exercise written in Akkadian) but also may shed new light onto this as of yet undeciphered script.

Chapter 2, “El epíteto regio  [F35 + G5] durante el Reino Antiguo egipcio” (“the royal epithet  [F35 + G5] during the Egyptian Old Kingdom”) by Francisco L. Borrego Gallardo is a historic and semantic analysis of one of the Pharaoh’s “free epithets”. Opposed to a series of well known regal designations, “free epithets” is the modern name given to a variegated set of terminology destined to praise the King of Egypt in ways less directly understandable from our contemporary stand outside the Egyptian court’s Sitz im Leben. After considering the previous interpretations of the epitheton, Borrego Gallardo dissects the graphematical uses of its two components and concludes that  has a fair richer repertoire of meanings than is commonly recognized, and proposes a new interpretation of the full epithet that can be translated as “the Perfect One” of “The Youthful”. The author gives then a detailed semantic study of the implications of his proposal.

Pragmatics is also at the center of the next two chapters. Chapter 3 is María Pereira’s “Expresión de las formas de tratamiento en Eurípides: el caso de los nombres propios” (“Forms of address in Euripides: the use of proper names”). This paper is a description of the use of the personal names in the vocative case in all the complete tragedies of Euripides from a sociolinguistic point of view, and it stresses the importance of a clear and detailed statistical analysis of quantitative data in linguistic studies.

Chapter 4 returns to Egypt, but this time to Ptolemaic times. Rodrigo Verano Liaño’s “Documentación privada en los papiros de Oxirrincó: caracterización y tipología textual” (“Private documentation in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri: characterisation and typology of the texts”) is, as the title suggest, a description of the textual diversity of several private documentary papyri, and especially the private letters, and gives several examples of the methodological complexities that the analysis of such texts implies for the modern researcher.



## CHAPTER ONE

# CYPRO-MINOAN TABLET RASH ATAB 004 AS AKKADIAN TEXT AND ITS ROLE IN THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE SCRIPT

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### Abstract

This paper revisits the renowned Cypro-Minoan tablet RS 25.20, renamed RASH Atab 004 in the new corpus of Olivier (2007). The first comprehensive study of this document was conducted by É. Masson (1973) who interpreted it as a genealogical list written in a NW Semitic language and containing Semitic and Hurrian onomastics. The central point of her theory was the structure of the text and the sign-sequence 51-28, which she transcribed as *bi-mu* and read as ‘son’. In subsequent decades this view was endorsed with more or less modifications by other scholars. Here I consider an important problem of previous investigation –the division of CM in four distinct script varieties and the lack of a well-established paleographic sign-chart– and propose a new approach with the assignment of some new hypothetical values to CM syllabograms. These values are based on a paleographic comparison with the mother (Minoan Linear A) and daughter (Cl. Cypriot syllabary) scripts. The consequence is the re-reading of the sequence 51-28 in our tablet as *ma-ru* ‘son’ and the reinterpretation of the tablet as a possible scribal exercise written in Akkadian. This new hypothesis presents remarkable implications to our knowledge of the so-far undeciphered CM script, the historical ties between Cyprus and Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age and the sociolinguistics of Peripheral Akkadian.

**Keywords:** Cypro-Minoan, Ugarit, RASH Atab 004 tablet, decipherment, Peripheral Akkadian.

### Resumen

Este artículo reexamina la célebre tablilla chipro-minóica RS. 25.20, renombrada RASH Atab 004 en el nuevo corpus de Olivier (2007). El primer estudio detallado de este documento fue producido por É. Masson (1973), que lo interpretó como

una lista genealógica escrita en un idioma noroeste-semítico y conteniendo onomástica semítica y hurrita. La base de su teoría fue la estructura del texto y la secuencia de signos 51-28, que transcribió como *bi-nu* y leyó como ‘hijo’. En las décadas siguientes esta teoría fue acogida con más o menos modificaciones por otros investigadores. Aquí tenemos en cuenta un importante problema de la investigación anterior –la división del CM en cuatro variedades de escritura y la ausencia de una tabla de signos paleográfica bien constituida– y proponemos una nueva aproximación con algunos nuevos valores hipotéticos para silabogramas chipro-minóicos. Estos valores se basan en una comparación paleográfica con las escrituras madre (lineal A minóica) e hija (silabario chipriota clásico). La consecuencia es la relectura de la secuencia 51-28 de nuestra tablilla como *ma-ru*, ‘hijo’, y la reinterpretación de la dicha como un posible ejercicio de escriba en idioma acadio. Esta nueva hipótesis aporta notables implicaciones para nuestro conocimiento sobre la todavía indescifrada escritura CM, sobre los lazos entre Chipre y Ugarit en la Edad de Bronce Final y sobre la sociolingüística del acadio periférico.

**Palabras clave:** chipro-minóico, Ugarit, tablilla RASH Atab 004, desciframiento, acadio periférico.

## 1. Introduction\*

Cypro-Minoan (henceforth CM) is the script devised around the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE by Pre-Greek Cypriots. Its name owes to the fact that it was inspired by Linear A (henceforth LA) the logo-syllabary of Minoan Crete (ca. 1850-1450 BCE). This is hardly surprising as Cyprus was an inescapable checkpoint in the sea trade routes connecting the different regions of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age (LBA). Although the island was located at the fringe of the cuneiform world, LA was the most economical choice for an inspirational script: whereas the Mesopotamian logo-syllabary consisted of hundreds of signs and required knowledge of both Sumerian and Akkadian, the Minoan system made use of only around one hundred –half syllabograms and half logograms.<sup>1</sup> The

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\* I am grateful to Brent Davis (University of Melbourne), Yves Duhoux (Université Catholique de Louvain), Yitzhak Shapir and Richard Lehmann for various and helpful remarks and references. Nevertheless, the responsibility for the views here upheld remains mine alone. The alphanumeric names of documents and sign numbers of Cypro-Minoan refer to Olivier (2007).

<sup>1</sup>18<sup>th</sup> century texts from Mari mention that merchants from *Kaptara* (identified with Minoan Crete) met with Mariot traders at Ugarit. Different sorts of Cretan products were traded to Mari. The chief of the Kaptarian dealers at Ugarit enjoyed a respectable status and was accompanied by a *targumannu*, i.e. interpreter (Singer 2000: 23, with ref. to Villard 1986: 402, n. 106; Karageorghis 2004: 21, with ref.

thus far published CM charts also show a grid of around one hundred signs indicating that it must have been a syllabary of open syllables (i.e. of consonant + vowel), like its mother, LA, and its daughter, the Classical Cypriot syllabary (henceforth CCS). This last script was used in Cyprus in Classical times (ca. 11<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE) to write the local (Arcado-Cypriot) dialect of Greek but also an undeciphered local language known as Eteo-Cypriot. Unfortunately, CM remains unintelligible. Several attempts to decipher have been made and some partial and isolated readings have been proposed. Hiller (1985: 79-93) summarizes these works whereas Palaima (1989) discusses problems of decipherment and criticizes previous attempts. Davis (forthcoming) also addresses methodological issues. All three works include complete bibliographical references.

The present corpus of CM consists of a total of around 3700 signs in 217 documents (Olivier 2007), numbers which are in clear contrast with the larger corpora of Linear A ( $\approx$ 7500 signs on  $\approx$ 1500 objects; see Duhoux 1998: 8) and Linear B (presently  $\approx$ 72.000; see Younger 2010).<sup>2</sup> It includes a series of records of clear administrative nature (e.g. some tablets and a cylinder of clay) but also some inscribed objects interpreted as votive (e.g. a votive liver or kidney, KITI Mexv 001.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that CM was also used in religious contexts like its parent LA and unlike Linear B (LB), which was chiefly administrative (Davis, forthcoming).

The first and provisional CM sign-chart was produced by É. Masson (1974: 11-15), who divided the script in four varieties. The first of these was “archaic” CM, consisted of 36 signs on four of the oldest known inscribed objects, dating to ca. 1550-1400 BCE.<sup>4</sup> The second variety, CM1, to which the scholar attributed the majority of CM inscriptions, amounts to nearly 1000 signs on around 160 objects (including 83 clay

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to Knapp 1996: 17-19). In light of these contacts, it has even been suggested that Cypro-Minoan was developed as result of Cypriot traders’ contact with Minoans at Ugarit.

<sup>2</sup> Archaeological data account for this discrepancy: unlike contemporary Aegean palaces, several LBA Cypriot sites were abandoned rather than destroyed in violent fires –Enkomi, Kition and Sinda are exceptions; see Drews (1993: 11-12). As a consequence, CM inscribed clay objects in the island were not baked into more enduring ceramic –as frequently happened in contemporary Aegean and Near Eastern contexts– and they remained as plain clay objects unable to survive the long exposure to moisture.







<sup>3</sup> See Karageorghis and Masson (1971) and Olivier (2007: 240, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> These previously included a clay weight (6 signs), a cylinder seal (4 signs) and a clay tablet (nr. 1885, 23 signs) from Enkomi and a jug from Katydhata (3 signs). Olivier’s (2007: 30) holistic edition presents as such only the tablet no. 1885 from Enkomi (= ENKO Atab 001).

balls) and was described by her as resembling “archaic” CM, yet characterized by a more “supple” ductus with a “certain elegance”. CM2, limited to three clay tablets (altogether containing ca. 1310 signs), contrasts with CM1 in that it is more “square and squat”. Finally, Masson distinguished a fourth class, CM3, based mostly on a geographical basis as this variety occurred only in the area of Ugarit and presumably contains some signs not attested in other varieties.

One of Masson’s major criteria in differentiating these varieties was that of *linearity* vs. *cuneiform* (i.e. wedge-like shaping). According to her, inscriptions with a linear ductus were assumed to be closer to LA and therefore older. This criterion is illusory, since ductus depends on writing material and, while linear shapes are the result of inscribing in hard surfaces (like metal or fired pottery), wedge-shapes are usually done on softer media (namely wet clay). Thus, there are examples of some cuneiform-like LA inscriptions and linearity simply indicates the use of a harder writing surface, not chronology, meaning that Masson’s “archaic” CM variety is doubtful (see Palaima 1989: 154 and Davis, forthcoming). On the other hand, this criterion caused an obvious anomaly in her division: the corpus of CM1 is by far larger than the corpora of the rest of the varieties. If we add to this picture the hypothesis that CM3 is strictly geographically (not paleographically) motivated, it becomes clear that the whole division of CM is altogether questionable (again Palaima 1989: 146, 154-158).

Various CM2 signs that Masson presents as having no CM1 correspondent, in fact do bear a resemblance to attested CM1 signs. As an example we may observe from her chart that signs 50 and 53 exist only in CM1 and CM3 whereas sign 51 is attested in CM2 and CM3.

	CM1	CM2	CM3
50		–	
51	–		
53		–	

However, they are all similar and seem to be descendants of the LA “cat face” sign (LA/LB 80 *ma*).<sup>5</sup> This Minoan syllabogram –as any sign in any writing system that is inscribed on different materials and used over an extensive period of time in different regions– shows a significant variation:

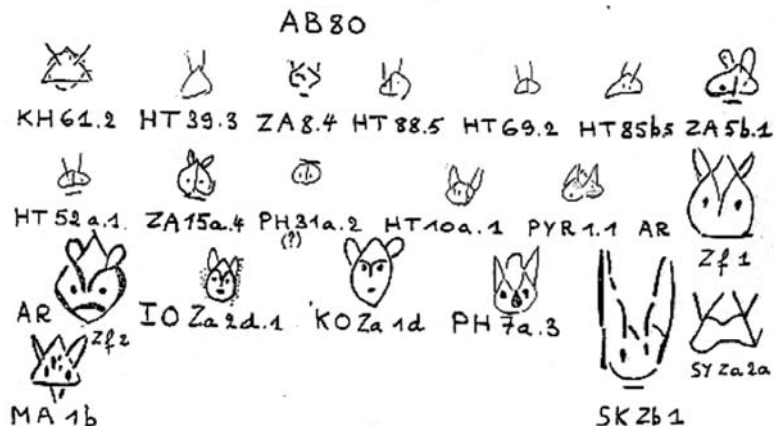


Fig. 2 – Paleography of LA sign 80 (after GORILA: pl. 41).

On a particular level, this means that CM sign 50-51/53 possibly bore the phonetic value of *ma* (or similar). Generally, though, it demonstrates, as Palaima had already pointed out, that CM requires a thorough paleographic study producing charts with all regional and chronological variants of each sign.

## 2. RASH Atab 044: previous investigation

There are only eight inscribed items –with a total of 228 signs– containing É. Masson’s CM3 variety. Six out of the eight CM3 documents are minor inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> The remaining documents are two clay tablets

<sup>5</sup> This example is taken from Davis (forthcoming) who goes further and argues that signs CM 50-55 stand for a single syllabogram, descendant from LA/B *ma*. However, signs CM 51, 52 and 54 are used distinctively, for example, in ENKO Atab 003 and therefore exist independently. Notice that in Olivier’s new edition (2007; see the grids in pp. 413, 415), Masson’s CM 54 and 55 are aggregated into just one sign, CM 54, whereas earlier CM 43 now appears as CM 55.

<sup>6</sup> RASH Aėti 001 (DamMus RS 94.2328) –a clay *etiquette*, 2 signs; RASH Aėti 002 (DamMus RS 99.2014) –an unpublished clay fragment (part of a seal?)

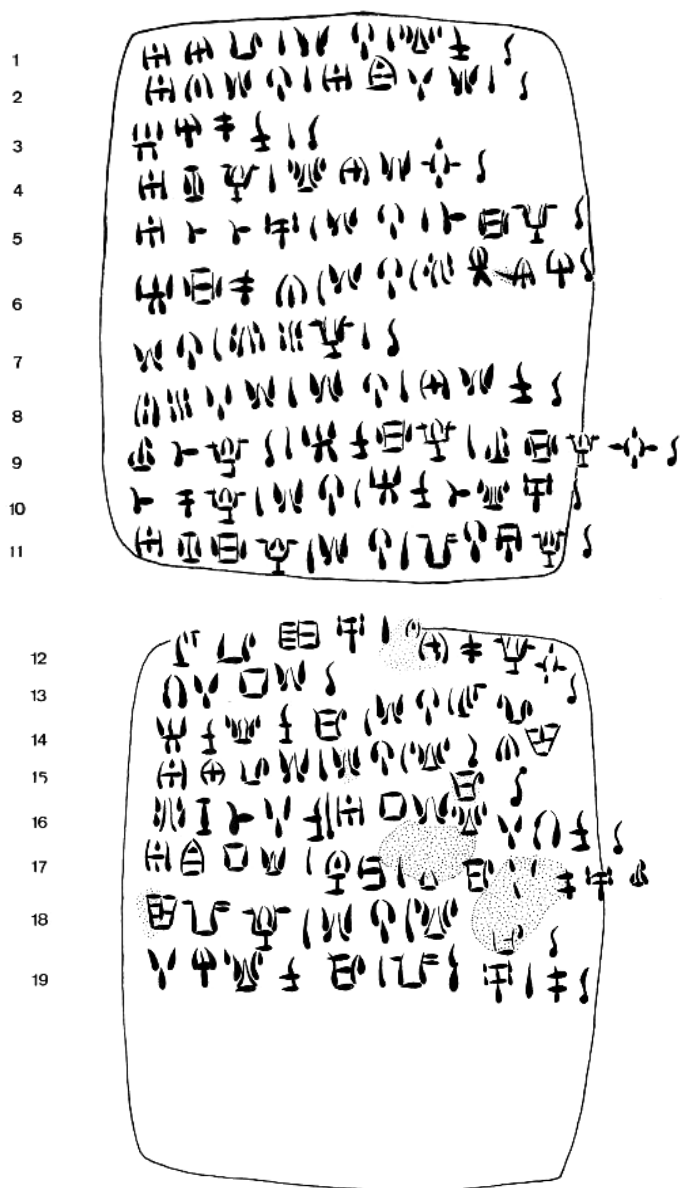
from Ras Shamra: RS 17.06 (= Olivier's RASH Atab 001) and RS 20.25 (= RASH Atab 004) with 60 and 159 signs respectively. RASH Atab 001 was found in an area of Ugarit which has been interpreted as a private library and was accompanied by a large number of texts written both in cuneiform Akkadian and in the Ugaritic cuneiform abjad. This library has been dated to ca. 1275-1200 BCE. Given its convex surface and small square format (40mm x 43mm), RASH Atab 001 resembles the numerous small Akkadian tablets found at Ras Shamra.<sup>7</sup>

The second of these tablets, RASH Atab 004, constitutes the object of this article (figs. 3-4). It was unearthed in 1956 at Ras Shamra, in an excellent state of preservation. It comes from the so-called Archive of Rap'anu, a building containing numerous written records and interpreted as a "private library". It is to be dated roughly in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE –namely to the reigns of the last four kings of Ugarit (see van Soldt 1986: I, 184). The tablet has a total of 19 inscribed lines (11 in the obverse and 8 in the reverse) and its shape is much like that of Ugaritic tablets of oblong format (68x58x17 mm). Another common point with Ugaritic documents is the fact that sometimes the lines go beyond the margins of the tablet and continue to its side, whereas Cypriot tablets fully respect the margins.

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mentioned by Yon (1999: 117, fig. 4), presumably containing five signs (see Olivier 2007: 386, n. 1); RASH Atab 002 (= RS 19.01, DamMus 0.49.88) –a fragmentary clay tablet, 8 signs; RASH Atab 003 (= RS 19.02, DamMus 0.49.89) –a fragmentary clay tablet, 24 signs; RASH Mvas 001 (Louvre AO 14.747) –a hemispheric silver bowl, 3 signs; SYRI Psce 001 (YaleMusUniv 358) –a hematite cylinder seal (obtained at Latakia, 10 km south of Ugarit), 4 signs. See O. Masson (1957b: 27, nos. 358, 359) and É. Masson (1974: 20-23), cited in Davis (forthcoming): since tablets RASH Atab 002 and 003 (which have been dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE) contain signs that have been attributed to the CM1 variety of É. Masson, scholars have regarded them as evidence of the presence of LBA Cypriots at Ugarit.

<sup>7</sup> See Schaeffer (1954: 39-40 and 1956: 228-9), O. Masson (1956: 239-40, 245-6 and 1957b: 26-7, n. 357) and É. Masson (1974: 24-9, 59 n. 63, figs. 12-13 and 1986: 185-7, fig. 5).



Figs. 3 and 4 – Drawings of sides A (above) and B (below) of RASH Atab 004 (É. Masson 1973: 36-37, figs. 1-2).

Olivier (2007: 498) transnumerates the document as following:

- A.1: 102-25-87 | 51-28 | 55-09 ¶  
 A.2: 102-23-51-28 | 102-74-82-51 | ¶  
 A.3: 104-58-06-09 | ¶  
 A.4: 102-02-100 | 55-25-51-40 ¶  
 A.5: 102-04-04-96 | 51-28 | 04-71-100 ¶  
 A.6: 104-71-06-23 | 51-28 | 38-105-23-58 ¶  
 A.7: 51-28 | 38-35-100 | ¶  
 A.8: 103-35-82-51 | 51-28 | 25-51-09 ¶  
 A.9: 37-04-100 ¶ | 104-09-71-100 | 37-71-100-40 ¶  
 A.10: 04-08-100 | 51-28 | 104-09-04-55-96 ¶  
 A.11: 102-02-71-100 | 51-28 | 92-28-95-100 ¶  
  
 B.12: 19-87-72-96 | 23-25-06-100-40 ¶<sup>8</sup>  
 B.13: 21-82-75-51 ¶  
 B.14: 104-09-55-09-70 | 51-28 | 19-91-73-23 ¶  
 B.15: 102-25-87-51 | 51-28 | 55-70 ¶  
 B.16: 38-01-04-82-09 | 102-75-51-55-82-21-09 ¶<sup>9</sup>  
 B.17: 102-74-75-51 | 27-69 | 55-70-[?]-06-96-37  
 B.18: 73-92-100 | 51-28 | 55-70 ¶  
 B.19: 82-58-55-09-70 | 92-11-96 | 06 ¶  
 B.20-23: *vacant*<sup>10</sup>

The structure of the text prompts its interpretation as an enumeration because almost every line corresponds to one entry. There are only two exceptions: l. 9 includes two entries whereas ll. 17-18 taken together comprise one. Each entry ends with a drop-like stroke that may well function as a sort of “paragraph” marker – a feature also paralleled in Ugaritic cuneiform documents. In most cases, the lines consist of a group of three sign-sequences of which the medial one, 51-28,<sup>11</sup> is repeated ten times on both sides (ll. 1, 4- 8, 10-11, 14-15, and 18). It is even possible that the scribe neglected a divider in l. 2 where we read 102-23-51-28, in which case there would be an eleventh instance. Some lines contain only two sign-sequences (ll. 4, 7, 9 and 12) or even just one (ll. 3, 9 and 13). Ll.

<sup>8</sup> The doubtful sign could as well be CM 27, so another possible reading is 27-25-06-100-40.

<sup>9</sup> Here Olivier (2007: 406) regards sign 51 as doubtful but I think its reading is certain, according to the drawing provided by the scholar in his edition.

<sup>10</sup> Detail added by the author.

<sup>11</sup> This sequence was transnumerated 53-28 in É. Masson (1973).



16, 17 and 19 present a different configuration: É. Masson (1973: 38) hypothesizes that the first two might provide a description of the list whereas the final entry could bear the name of the scribe or an abbreviated formula, perhaps some sort of colophon. Moreover, the tablet exhibits different types of entries, namely in those lines with only two sign-sequences. The scholar noted that in ll. 4, 9 and 12 the second sequence always ends with the same syllabogram, and she thought it might conceal a common suffix that possibly operated with the same semantic purpose as the two-sign medial word of other entries.

Bearing all these points in mind, É. Masson (1973: 38-39) interpreted the tablet as a name-list structured with the formula ‘X son of Y’, whereby the medial sequence 51-28 would mean ‘son’. This is a type of document well attested in the vast repertoire of written records from Ugarit. In this scenario, l. 7 would simply read as ‘son of X’, whereas ll. 4, 9 and 12 (with only two sequences) would bear a personal name followed by an appellative that replaced ‘son of X’. Hence the repeated syllabogram in the second sequence would be a genitive, patronymic or appellative suffix. Finally, those lines where only one sequence appears (3, 9 and 13) would contain a single personal name. Because the tablet is so similar to other records found at Ugarit, Masson’s next deduction was that the names encrypted therein must be Semitic or simply “Eastern” (1973: 39).<sup>12</sup> Thus in her following steps, she relied on the assumption that sequences with more than three signs represented complex names with suffixes or two-element compounds, namely theophoric names.

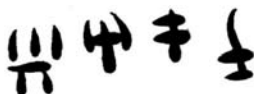
Her first step was to identify three vowels, *a*, *i* and *u*, not just based on their high frequency, namely word-initially, but also on the formal comparison with the counterparts of these signs in LB and CCS. She also admitted that a “small number of signs” which possessed an identical shape and the exact same value in LB and CCS might have been used in CM for the same syllables, or at least might have had the same consonantal value, and thus she assigned the values *da*, *pa*, *ti* and *tʰ* to four signs.<sup>13</sup> Masson may have had a trivocalic system (*Ca*, *Ci*, *Cu*) in mind, since she noted the correspondence between *a*, *i* and *u* and the Ugaritic vocalic inventory (1973: 40, n. 3). Finally, the scholar proposed a reading

<sup>12</sup> To this respect, É. Masson notes that from a repertoire of 36 different signs, 30 are already known from CM1 and CM2 and concludes that the rest are innovations devised to notate sounds of a language other than the one spoken at Cyprus. As I attempt to demonstrate in the grid of section 3, this may not be so, at least not in all cases.

<sup>13</sup> This last sign resembles LB and CCS *to* but Masson chose to transcribe only the consonantal value.

for the “keyword” of the tablet i.e. the much-repeated medial sequence 51-28, which presumably meant ‘son’. Bearing on the supposition that the underlying language was NW Semitic, she read it as *bn*, under a syllabic form *bi-nu*. Although this step was part of a “working hypothesis”, we may say that her assignment of values was at least partially arbitrary. Her preference for *bi* owed to the fact that the Semitic word for ‘son’ is vocalized with *i* in cuneiform spellings of appellatives, e.g. *bin-ili*. Be it as it may, this step added two further syllabograms to her grid: CM53 = *\*bi* and CM28 = *\*nu*.

After these observations, Masson noted that three sequences in lines 9, 10 and 14 began with the same two signs: *\*104-09*. The first one, CM 104, she had already identified as the vowel *i* (see above). These three sequences had a similar structure (the first two signs were repeated and after them came three different others, i.e. 2 + 3 signs) and therefore Masson assumed these were two-element theophoric names. She then theorized that the underlying element in *i-09-* was NW Semitic *’il* ‘god’, and read CM 09 as *li*. And, indeed, CM 09 is very similar to CCS *li* (see below). This triggered a domino-like effect that further allowed her to read *-pa-li* in the first sign-sequence of the third entry of RASH Atab 004.A:



104-58-06-09

Notice that apart from CM 09 = *li*, Masson had already identified CM 06 as *pa* because the latter is identical in LA, LB and CCS. She then conjectured that this word-final *-pa-li* represented the divine name Ba‘lu by comparing CCS examples of personal names where *-pa-lo(-se)* stands for *-βαλος* (genitive *-βαλω*), the Hellenized form of Phoenician *B’L* (see É. Masson 1973: 42-43). Suitably, Masson was able to found all her identifications combined in a clay ball from Enkomi (ENKO Abou 080),<sup>14</sup> where the sign-sequence 104-09-06-09 could be transliterated as *i-li-pa-li*. This reading matches the NW Semitic name *’ilb l*, i.e. ‘Ba‘lu is my god’ and it proved how well interconnected Masson’s previous predictions were. As seen in the abovementioned CCS examples, the fact that the

<sup>14</sup> The inscribed clay balls retrieved from Enkomi seem to have had some administrative function, although it is not clear which one exactly. They generally contain a single sign-group, frequently followed by a divider and one separate sign (maybe functioning as a logogram). Therefore, they are likely to bear personal names.

Semitic the *ʿayin* (a voiced pharyngeal fricative) was not notated in this sort of syllabary is not surprising.

Encouraged by these identifications, Masson continued her quest for personal names in RASH Atab 004. She noticed that nine names in the tablet ended with the same sign, as per her, the cognate of LB 24 *ne* (and probably also the predecessor of CCS *ne*). Since there are also numerous Ugaritic names that end with *-n*, she believed the sign should instead be as read *ni/e*, which she later (in the *Corrigenda* to her 1974 work) corrected to *nu*, at the same time changing 51-28 to *bi-ni* = /bin/. She also thought that the word-final syllabogram in the second sequence of lines 4, 9 and 12 corresponded to the NW Semitic ethnic marker and assigned it the semi-vocalic value of *y*. From here on, she made several identifications by attempting to recognize Ugaritic personal names in the tablet. Apart from herself, in subsequent years scholars like Saporetti (1976), Faucounau (1977a/1977b), Nahm (1981) sought to follow this line of work, but with little consequence. In 1986, É. Masson admits that her “lectures sporadiques n’annoncent pas un déchiffrement”.












### 3. A new comparative-paleographic approach and the Akkadian hypothesis

In section (2) we revisited É. Masson’s strategy to compare a number of CM syllabograms with their LB and CCS counterparts, whereas in section (1) I argued that CM sign 50/51/53 is the probable descendant of LA/B 80 = *ma*. Here I propose applying a similar, though more systematic method: I shall compare each CM sign (only the forms attested at Ugarit, when possible) to its counterparts in both the mother (LA) and the daughter (CCS) scripts. The point is to list as many CM signs as possible that appear to be halfway between LA<sup>15</sup> and the CCS and accordingly assign tentative phonetic values to them. From a methodological viewpoint, as remarked by Palaima (1989: 138), it is dangerous to compare the CM signs of a specific hand in a given document to standardized Minoan characters because, as noted in section 1, LA itself shows a high degree of paleographical variation depending on site, period and writing material. So here we compare CM to specific LA signs in particular Minoan documents,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Even though LA is still undeciphered and so far only read through Mycenaean values, it is preferable to use it since CM descends directly from it, not from the Mycenaean system.

<sup>16</sup> CM 02 vs. AB 24 = *ne* (HT 13.6); CM 04 vs. AB 01 = *da* (HT 95a.1); CM 05 vs. AB 02 = *ro* (ZA 15b.5); CM 06 vs. AB 03 = *pa* (HT 102.1); CM 08 vs. AB 05 = *to* (HT 122b.6); CM 09 vs. AB 53 = *ri* (HT 90.1); CM 13 vs. AB 06 = *na* (HT 9a.3);


















































rather than more standard, artificial forms.<sup>17</sup> In some instances, there is no clear CCS descendant, but the resemblance to an LA predecessor is too significant to be ignored (CM 50/51/53 vs. LA/B 51 = *ma* is one such case). Otherwise is also true (cf. CM 01 = *\*we* with no clear LA antecedent). This paleographical comparison yields the following grid:<sup>18</sup>

NR. CM 3	LA	CM 3	CS	NR. CM3	LA	CM 3	CS
01	—	 <i>*we</i>	 <i>we</i>	37	 <i>pu<sub>2</sub></i>	 <i>*pu</i>	 <i>pu</i>
02	 <i>ne</i>	 <i>*ne</i>	 <i>ne</i>	44	 <i>se</i>	 <i>*se</i>	 <i>se</i>

CM 23 vs. AB 34 = *ti* (ZA 9.1); CM 25 vs. AB 77 = *ka* (HT 10b.3); CM 27 vs. AB 41 = *si* (HT 28b.1); CM 28 vs. AB 26 = *ru* (VRY Za 1b); CM 37 vs. AB 29 = *pu<sub>2</sub>* (PK Za 15); CM 44 vs. AB 09 = *se* (HT 27b.5); CM 50/51/53 vs. AB 80 = *ma* (HT 39.3); CM 69 vs AB 57 = *ja* (HT 7a.2); CM 70 vs AB 67 = *ki* (HT 93a.2); CM 82 vs. AB 31 = *sa* (ARKH 1a.6); CM 87 vs AB 60 = *ra* (ZA 7a.1); CM 95-96 vs AB 54 = *wa* (HT 85b.4); CM 98-100 vs. AB 30 = *ni* (KH 88.2); CM 102 vs. AB 08 = *a* (ARKH 1a.5); CM 104 vs. AB 28 = *i* (CR<sup>7</sup> Zf 1).

<sup>17</sup> Of course, to achieve more optimal results, the same *modus operandi* ought ideally to be followed in the case of comparisons with CCS. Unfortunately, however, at this point of my research I have not yet had the possibility to put this into practice.

<sup>18</sup> The descendants of Linear A signs 60 = *ra* and 53 = *ri* appear in the CCS as *la* and *li*. Unlike its Aegean predecessor, CCS has two liquid series, <|> and <ɾ>. On this I base my choice of attributing the hypothetical values of *\*la* and *\*li* to CM signs 87 and 09, while maintaining *\*ru* for CM 28, the latter having no clear descendant in CCS. Some of these hypothetical values (in some cases only approximately) have already been suggested by other scholars (see Hiller 1985), which I acknowledge here: 01 = *we*; 04 = *ta*; 05 = *lo*; 27 = *si*; 44 = *se*; 70 = *ki*; 87 = *la* (Faucounau 1977a/1977b, Saporetti 1976b, Nahm 1981); 02 = *ne*; 28 = *ru*; 91 = *mi* (Nahm 1981); 06 = *pa*; 09 = *li* (É. Masson 1974, Faucounau 1977a/1977b, Saporetti 1976b, Nahm 1981); 08 = *to*; 53 = *ma* (Faucounau 1977a/1977b); 23 = *ti*; 95 = *wa*; 102 = *a*; 104 = *i* (É. Masson 1974, Faucounau 1977a/1977b, Saporetti 1976b, Nahm 1981); 37 = *pu* (Faucounau 1977a/1977b; Valério 2007: 6, n. 7); 82 = *sa* (Faucounau 1977a/1977b; Nahm); 100 = *ni* (É. Masson 1974, Nahm 1981). In a recently published article, Duhoux (2009: 42) also assigns some tentative phonetic values that match those proposed here: 01 = *we*<sup>??</sup>; 04 = *da*<sup>?</sup>/*ta*<sup>?</sup>; 05 = *ro*<sup>?</sup>/*lo*<sup>?</sup>; 06 = *pa*<sup>?</sup>; 08 = *to*<sup>?</sup>; 23 = *ti*<sup>?</sup>; 44 = *se*<sup>?</sup>; 102 = *a*<sup>?</sup>.

04				50-51/53			~ ma
05				69			~ ja
06				70			~ ki
08				82			~ sa
09				87			~ la
13				91			~ mi
23				95			~ wa
25				98-100			~ ni
27				102			~ a
28			~ ru	104			~ i

To this table I add the hypothetical reading of CM 38 as *u*, according to É. Masson. Notice that these tentative phonetic values must be taken *cum grano salis* because 1) even when the graphical forms of the signs are identical, their readings might not (cf. Greek P = /t/ vs. Latin P = /p/); and 2) even in cases of deciphered scripts, our transliterations are only conventions that do not necessarily convey the underlying phonemes.

The real test to a grid of phonetic readings is one's ability to produce, based on it, readings that can be corroborated not only by their *internal coherence* in the documents of a given script but also by *external evidence*. So the following step is naturally to apply these hypothetical values to RASH Atab 004. This exercise produces the following result:

- A.1: *a-ka-la | ma-ru | 55-li ¶*  
 A.2: *a-ti-ma-ru | a-74-sa-ma | ¶*  
 A.3: *i-58-pa-li | ¶*  
 A.4: *a-ne-ni | 55-ka-ma-40 ¶*  
 A.5: *a-ta-ta-96 | ma-ru | ta-71-ni ¶*  
 A.6: *i-71-pa-ti | ma-ru | u-105-ti-58 ¶*  
 A.7: *ma-ru | u-35-ni | ¶*  
 A.8: *103-35-sa-ma | ma-ru | ka-ma-li ¶*  
 A.9: *pu-ta-ni ¶ | i-li-71-ni | pu-71-ni-40 ¶*  
 A.10: *ta-to-ni | ma-ru | i-li-ta-55-96 ¶*  
 A.11: *a-ne-71-ni | ma-ru | 92-ru-wa-ni ¶*
- B.12: *19-la-72-96 | ti-ka-pa-ni-40 (or si-ka-pa-ni-40) ¶*  
 B.13: *21-sa-75-ma ¶*  
 B.14: *i-li-55-li-ki | ma-ru | 19-mi-73-ti ¶*  
 B.15: *a-ka-la-ma | ma-ru | 55-ki ¶*  
 B.16: *u-we-ta-sa-li | a-75-ma-55-sa-21-li ¶*  
 B.17: *a-74-75-ma | si-ja | 55-ki-[?]-pa-96-pu*  
 B.18: *73-92-ni | ma-ru | 55-ki ¶*  
 B.19: *sa-58-55-li-ki | 92-11-96 | pa ¶*  
 B.20-23: vacant

The immediate implication is that the presumable word for 'son' is now transcribed as *ma-ru*. This challenges the idea of an underlying NW Semitic language and has an important repercussion: Akkadian *mārum* 'son' becomes *the only possible* comparanda.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> It is true that in documents from Ras Shamra one can find the Ugaritic phrase (used as divine epithet) *mr mnmn* 'son of someone' (see text KTU 1.123:22). But this is not proper Ugaritic as it consists of a calque from Akkadian *mār* (DUMU)