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II

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LAND TENURE AND SOCIAL POSITION IN MYCENAEAN GREECE *

In order to interpret the social history of Mycenaean Greece, it will be necessary to establish the social hierarchy of the groups of people mentioned in Mycenaean texts. In addition to the political and bureaucratic hierarchy which has previously been studied, an investigation of the property owners listed on the tablets can provide valuable information about social strata and social groups. But this information could speak to us only if essential structural ties have first been established and interpreted; the Mycenaean social structure, however, remains poorly understood, except at the top with the *wa-na-ka* and at the bottom with the *dâmos*.

And what is more, even when we try to explain a certain aspect of a well-known Greek society, an unusual document may astonish us very significantly. I will give one example: a first-century Spartan inscription, in which half of the words appear to be Mycenaean:

οἱ σιθηθέντες ἐπὶ Νικόκλεος·
ιερεία, ἱερεύς, πράτολα, βίδυος, ἔφορος,
νομοφύλαξ, γυναικονόμος, κᾶρυξ, μάντις, αὐλητας,
κιταριστάς, διδάσκαλος κατὰ νόμον, ἀρχιτέκτων, γλυφεύς, χρυσοτάς, κλωστάς,
παιανίας, ψιλινοποιός, καταρθής, γραμματεύς, ῥογεύς,
ἀναγνώστας, ὑπερέτας, πάροχος, ἀρτοκόπος, στεφανοπολῖς, μάγιρος ¹.

The social structure of Spartan society is known much better than Mycenaean, so I was interested to find an alternative structure, one very different from that which we know in connection with the military and totalitarian organization of Lacedaemonian society.

The question of land tenure in Mycenaean Greece has actually been investigated by all scholars working with Linear B texts, but many problems remain, first and foremost because of the complex and obscure system of terms denoting plots of land and landholders ².

I shall therefore investigate a part of this system: the terms *te-re-ta*, *da-ma-te*, *ko-to-no-o-ko* as holders of plots of land, either *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*, *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na*, or both. My aim in this investigation is to arrive at an internal interpretation that relies on the Mycenaean texts and on Greek evidence, even though some of my results may remain

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1 IG 5 (1) 209.8.

2 For example it was noted by P. de FIDIO, "Mycènes et Proche-Orient, ou le théorème des modèles", *Mykenaiika. Actes du IXe Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens (Athènes, 2-6 octobre 1990)*, BCH Suppl. XXV (1992), 181.

preliminary. For this purpose I have used mainly the Pylos tablets of the En/Eo and Eb/Ep series.

The term *te-re-ta* used to be interpreted as τελέστας³, or τελεστήρ from τέλος - "duty" and "payment", with the common meaning "men of the τέλος"; with further development either in the religious field, such as "initiation priests", "religious officials"⁴, or in the social-political field, with the meaning "men of the (feudal) burden", "barons"⁵ or "les hommes en charge", magistrat"⁶, "service man"⁷. Usually the connection with the verb τελέω is supposed⁸.

On this interpretation of the word *te-re-ta*, however, the text of PY Eb 149, in which *te-re-ta su-ko* is mentioned, remains unexplained: it would be strange to expect something like "taking service to fig trees".

Most important, however, is that this interpretation does not explain the right of *te-re-ta* to hold the *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na pa-ro da-mo* "plot of land from the community". We may only postulate that the right of *te-re-ta* to hold their property comes from *wa-na-ka*⁹. S. Deger-Jalkotzy, using the verbs *wo-ze* and *te-re-ja* in the tablets dealing with land tenure, established the existence of a huge net of social relations, including payment for land not only from the taxes paid in production, but also by work. This reconstructed system allowed her to compare the organization of land tenure in Mycenaean and Near Eastern kingdoms¹⁰.

This construction seems to be fragile: first, in the Hittite records the interpretation of "men of tools" and "men of service", in connection with land tenure is uncertain¹¹; secondly, we would expect the damos to be paying taxes, but Mycenaean texts constantly refer to only one social group - *ka-ma-e-we* (and the holders of the plots of land called *ka-ma*) *wo-ze*, *te-re-ja*, and even *te-ra-pi-ke*.

Whereas, the double accounting system, including preliminary (series Eb, Eo) and the summary accounts (series En, Ep), which are written by very experienced scribes (Hands 41 and 1)¹², allows us to think that consistently sophisticated accounts were kept.

It seems that we need to return to the old and neglected connection of *te-re-ta* with Gk τηρέω, proposed by M. Ventris and supported by W. Merlingen at the very beginning of Mycenaean research. Merlingen understood it as "Ausseher, Wärter"¹³. It is always useful to interpret the Mycenaean form using both Indo-European etymology and Greek usage. But this cannot be the case here, because we do not have the certain IE etymon; it is therefore necessary to look for a group of words that have the same ties between the noun and verb as we find in Mycenaean.

3 For the list of proposed interpretations see M. LINDGREN, *The People of Pylos. Prosopographical and Methodological Studies in the Pylos Archives II* (1973), 144; F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario Micénico*, II (1993), 338-339.

4 J. CHADWICK, *Minos* 5 (1957), 126 ff.

5 L.R. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963), 85.

6 L. DEROY and M. GÉRARD-ROUSSEAU, *Le cadastre mycénien de Pylos* (1965), 80-81.

7 PALMER (*supra* n. 5), 457; S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Zum Charakter und Herausbildung der mykenischen Sozialstruktur", A. HEUBECK & G. NEUMANN eds., *Res Mycenaee. Akten des VII Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Nürnberg vom 6-10 April 1981* (1983), 103-104.

8 BENNETT, "The Landholders of Pylos", *AJA* 60 (1956), 157.

9 de FIDIO (*supra* n. 2), 190.

10 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 7), 89-111.

11 de FIDIO (*supra* n. 2), 191-196, with lit.

12 T.G. PALAIMA, *The Scribes of Pylos* (1988), 37, 99, 188, 102.

13 W. MERLINGEN, *Das Vorgriechische und die sprachwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen* (1955).

The verb τηρέω is very productive. It was used from early archaic times and has the meaning “to observe, watch over, take care of, guard”. I shall argue that its semantics and usage sometimes correspond to the nouns οὔρος, ἐπιούρος, ἔφορος, which are in turn connected with the verb ἐπιόρομαι, which is always separated by the tmesis prefix and means “to keep watch”. Also important here are nouns including the compounds -ορος and -ουρος. Both τηρέω and the group of ἐπιόρομαι are used for very different objects including:

Τηρέω, which means, “to observe, watch over, take care of, guard”, can be used in connection with very different objects. These include:

house or shrine, and the property they include, e.g. δώματα τηρήσαιμι (*HH Cer.* 141-2). In Aristophanes’ *Pax*, Hermes watches over the property of the gods when they are away:

τὰ λοιπὰ τηρῶ σκευάρια τὰ τῶν θεῶν,
χυτρίδια καὶ σκαφίδια κάμφορείδια. (*Aristoph.*, *Pax* 201)

A quite good parallel to δώματα τηρήσαι is the adjective οἰκουρός, ὄν, “watching or keeping the house”, including οἰκουρός ὄφις, “the sacred serpent (in the Acropolis)” *Aristoph.*, *Lys.* 759, and noun οἰκουρός “mistress of the house, housekeeper” *Soph.*, *Fr.* 487, *E. Hec.* 1277, cf. *Od.* 15. 89 οὔρον ἰὼν κατέλειπον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι. It is interesting to compare with Homeric οὔρος the words addressed by the Danaids to Pelasgus, who arrives with his soldiers at *Aeschyl.* *Suppl.*, 248:

ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ πότερον ὡς ἔτην λέγω
ἢ τηρὸν ἱεροράβδον ἢ πόλεος ἄγον;
“But whom do I answer? private citizen, priest or holy prophet?”¹⁴

Τηρέω and its derivatives may have as their direct object the country or its citizens: as in *Pi. P.* 2.88 χῶταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι “the wise keep watch” (οἱ σοφοὶ here are inspired poets who advise kings, as opposed to the tyrants)¹⁵. The same idea is represented in *Il.* 13. 450: Μίνωα τέκε Κρήτη ἐπίουρον, and in *Νέστωρ* ... οὔρος Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 8. 80, 11, 840, etc.). Cf. *Aeschyl.* *Suppl.* 674 τίκτεσθαι δ’ ἐφόρους γὰς ἄλλους εὐχομεθ’ αἰεὶ.

“other administrators of the land to succeed the present ones” (*transl.* Johansen and Witle, 1980).

In these examples, the country and the citizens (or the army in the case of Nestor) was an object, and the subject was always human. In a passage of Aristophanes, the subject is deities, δαίμονες, who say they guard and watch (τηροῦμεν) human beings from unwise decisions:

αἴτινες τηροῦμεν ὑμᾶς. ἦν γὰρ ἢ τις ἔξοδος
μηδενὶ ξὺν νῶ, τὸτ’ ἢ βροντῶμεν ἢ ψακάζομεν. (*Aristoph.* *Nub.* 579).

Both roots of τηρέω and ὀράω also denote the overseeing of the juridical norms and laws, interstate treatments and oaths, state secrets and peace. I shall cite only words with the root τηρέω that often occur in the Greek Orators and in Aristotle: τήρησις τῆς πολιτείας (*Aristot. Pol.* 1380^a 30), which recalls *Od.* 17. 487: θεοὶ ... ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορόντες. Standard idioms in the orators include τηρεῖν ὄρκους (*Democrit.*, 239), in

¹⁴ AESCHYLUS, *Suppliants*, translated by J. LEMPKE (1975).

¹⁵ Interpretation proposed by D. Obbink.

Isocrates τηρεῖν παρακαταθήκας (Isocr. I, 22), τηρεῖν ἀπόρρητα (Lys. 31. 31), τηρεῖν εἰρήνην (Demosth. 18, 19), or τηρητῆς δίκης (Diod. Sic. 3. 4).

Let us now look at Myc. *tēretai*, as derived from τηρέω, bearing in mind the semantics of this verb. *Te-re-ta* has two kinds of usage.

First, *te-re-ta su-ko*[*po-ro-du-ma*] PY Eb 149 (Hand 41) and PY Ep 613+1131.4 (*te-re-ta, su-ko, pa-ro-du*[...- Hand 1). Of two interpretations (*su-ko* as a proper name and *sukôn* - genitive plur. - "fig trees") the second one is preferable. It is therefore now possible to interpret *te-re-ta su-ko* as the *têrêtâs sukôn* - the 'person(s) who guards the fig-trees'. For the semantics compare κηπουρός ὄφεις (Euph. 154), "keeper of the garden = chthonic deity".

Here it is necessary to mention also the word μορίαί, "the sacred olives", in the Academy in Athens. Aristotle noted that archons in particular look after (τηρέω) them (Aristot. *Ath.* 60. 18). They were sacred trees and the income from them came to the city. So the sacred was combined with utility. But the sacred character of this duty of the archons must be underlined: this is borne out by the fact that those who injured them were judged by Areopagus and punishment was very severe. It should be noted that sacred fig-trees existed elsewhere in Greece as well. It is therefore possible to suppose sacral guarding of fig-trees by *te-re-ta*, too, and this sacral character would make the difference between them and a local¹⁶ occupational term *o-pi-su-ko* (PY Jn 829.2 and Jn 881.2), "supervisors of fig-trees". For *o-pi-su-ko* the latest interpretation is based on the comparison with Gk σιτοφύλακες, "corn-inspectors" (Lys. 22. 16, Arist. *Ath.* 51)¹⁷.

The second usage of the word *te-re-ta*, besides other tablets attested in PY En 609, is of great importance for understanding the term *te-re-ta*:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------|
| .1 | pa-ki-ja-ni-ja , to-sa , da-ma-te , | DA 40 |
| .2 | to-so-de , te-re-ta , e-ne-e-si | VIR 14 |

In this introductory sentence let us note first the use of the verbal form 3rd plur. pres. *en-ehensi*, literally "they are in". This verb, with the prefix *en-*, in Mycenaean texts, is a hapax. In this text the very appearance of *en-ehensi* emphasizes its meaning¹⁸.

Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja (*scil. ktoina*) we have to understand as an adjective¹⁹ (dat.-loc. sg. fem.). For the analogy, cf. *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* (PY Fr 1236) usually without the verb which Chadwick interpreted as "territory of Pakianes"²⁰. The beginning of the document, then, is: "they are in the (or: among the) *ktoina* of *Pakijana*" the major center in Hither Province²¹. It has to be especially noted that *Pa-ki-ja-na* occurs in Pylos texts also as an important religious center. It seems to be situated close to Pylos.

16 I owe this important note to Ruth Palmer.

17 AURA JORRO (*supra* n. 3), 43.

18 The Greek usage of ἔνειμι, Myc. *en-ehensi*, shows that:

1) It controls the dative and denotes "to be in", with objects such as ἄργυρος ἀσκῶι ἔνεστι (*Od.* 10. 45), νοῦς ἔνεστι ὑμῖν ἐγγενῆς (*S. El.* 1328). With the dat.-loc. we find also the meaning "to be among" (cf. *Il.* 5. 477 ἡμεῖς δὲ μαχόμεσθ' οἳ πέρ τ' ἐπικούροι ἔνειμεν: "And it is we that fight, we that are but allies among you" (transl. A.T. Murray) (cf. *Theogn.* 1135).

2) It controls the old locative: οἶκοι ἔνεστι γόος *Il.* 24. 240; Ἄρης οὐκ ἔνι χώραι (*A. Ag.* 78) (anap.) with the absolute meaning "to be present in a place".

19 I disagree with J. Chadwick (*Documents in Mycenaean Greek* [1973²], 589) who wanted to see in the variability *pa-ki-ja-na/-ni-ja* the same variants as in Ἀκαρνάνες / Ἀκαρνανία.

20 M. VENTRIS and J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1973²), 568.

21 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 12), 99.

te-re-ta. From the tablets of the series En/Eo we can gather the following information about *tēretai* (I shall include in this summary some information from other documents, as well):

1) PY En 609 is a document about *tēretai* who are in *Pa-ki-ja-na*.

2) They represent a close group of fourteen (or thirteen) men, which is specified by number. Almost the same names also occur in the series Ep/Eb, and there they also represent a group.

3) They own the land called *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*. Their plots (without an indication of what kind of land they have) are also listed in Er 312 just after *wa-na-ka-te-ro* and *ra-wa-ke-si-jo te-me-no*. Their plots of land stay in the summarizing document in Ed 411, also without any indication of kind.

4) They share their land with the individuals called *o-na-te-re* - people having plots of land from the *tēretai*, perhaps as recompense for some offices; *o-na-te-re* are apparently lower in rank. Note also that *o-na-te-re* include the priest and priestess of the *Pa-ki-ja-na*.

5) Presumably they sacrally guard the economy, the property (cf. *te-re-ta su-ko*) and are responsible for preserving it. This function may be evident in their designations, which are related to handcraft: cf. *a-ka-ta-jo-jo ka-na-pe-wo* "of A. cloth-dresser" to the livestock, *ti-qa-jo-jo po-me* "of the T. shepherd", who has a big plot of land.

6) They may also be responsible for executing some additional functions, which are partly unclear to us e.g., one of them, *pe-re-qo-ta-o*, has two additional definitions: *pa-da-je-we* and *pe-qo-ta*.

7) They are related to the king: one of the *te-re-ta* is *pi-ri-ta-wo-no ke-ra-me-wo wa-na-ka-te-ro* "of P., the king's potter" (PY Eo 371/En 467). The relationship with *da-mo* is, however, much more evident²².

It is difficult to reach any final conclusions about the functions of the *tēretai*. Very approximately, their functions remind one of the functions of ephors in Early Sparta, who observed and oversaw proper timing for ritual and political action.

da-ma-te in the title of PY En 609. 1.2 is the subject of the sentence *to-sa da-ma-te DA 40*. The sign *DA* in the Pylos and Knossos texts is usually associated with the WOMAN (PY Aa 792, 815, Ab 379, etc.) or with the MAN ideogram (PY As 625, KN As 608)²³, and is usually interpreted as "supervisor"²⁴. In PY En 609 the ideogram is not represented, and the number goes just after the sign *DA*, the way it does in TI Ef 2 *]qo-u-ko-ro DA I to-sa-pe-mo GRA 6[*. For the term *da-ma-te*, we do not have a certain interpretation.

If we bear in mind that En 609 deals with *Pakijana*, which was a large cultic center in the Pylos kingdom, and persons listed in the document are usually related to the cult, it seems quite probable that *da-ma-te* is a compound noun from *da* + *manteis*²⁵.

22 "On the PY Un 718 in fact they are identified with *damos*" (de FIDIO [*supra* n. 2], 190 with bibliography).

23 In the Theban texts it may come with the WOOL ideogram (cf. TH Of 34, 39, 40). For the complete list, including also unclear cases, see J.-P. OLIVIER, L. GODART, C. SEYDEL, C. SOURVINO, *Index généraux du linéaire B* (1973). The most complicated is presumably the text TI Ef 2 *]qo-u-ko-ro DA I to-sa-pe-mo GRA 6[*, in which sometimes *DA* is interpreted as *damartes* 'familiae', 'family units', 'homesteads'.

24 VENTRIS-CHADWICK (*supra* n. 20), 537.

25 For the explanation of the inflection of the *da-ma-te* perhaps we have to accept the reconstruction of E. HAMP ("KN L 693 QE-TE-O and μάντις", *Minos* 19 [1985], 52) who proposes to restore a diphthongal stem μαντηι- < *m(a)nteHi/m(a)ntHi analogic to the Skr. *sakhâ/sákhi* = Avest. *haxay-/hasi-* < *sok^wooH/sok^wHi*. For semantics, cf. LINDGREN (*supra* n. 3), 31-32: "It seems more probably to be a

The word μάντις is very well represented in Greek dialects, and always occurs without assimilation *-ti- > -si-²⁶. The semantical capacity of this word is extensive: it may denote a deity, a hero, a man, as well as objects, like comets (Herm. ap. Stob. 1. 21. 9), grasshoppers (Theocr. 10. 18), green garden-frogs, and even cabbage (Nic. Fr. 85, 7). Usually, however, the word is connected with prophecy²⁷.

However, the proposed etymological connections between *da-ma-te* and μάντις require us to postulate for **ma-te* = μάντις the common meaning of “diviner”, which is well represented in texts from Homer on - for example *Il.* I. 62-63, in which the word μάντις seems to mean the priest or the magician interpreting dreams. This is however not always the accepted interpretation. Some would argue against the function of divination for the Homeric priest²⁸.

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα
ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν,

We must look now at the first part of the compound *da-ma-te*. There are two possibilities of explaining *da-*. First is to see in it the prefix with the augmentative value which is semantically analogical to ἡγα-; this prefix is known in Aeolian as ζα-. It is notable that in Homer a short vowel before ζα- remains short. Now sometimes in Homeric poetry we find the form δα- instead of ζα-. These examples are not abundant, but they do exist - e.g.: δάσκιος (*Od.* 5. 470), “thick-shaded, bushy”, cf. σκιά, “shadow”, ζαμενής· ἄγαν ἰσχυρός (Hesych.), ζάθεοι· θεῖοι (Hesych.)²⁹, which occurs also in Eurip. *Bacchae* 121

terminus technicus indicating a “household, land cultivating unit”, “familiae”, or something like that. For more proposals see F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario Micenico*, I (1985), 151-152.

26 This is not the suffix -ti- used to produce the *feminina* (*masculina* among them are very rare, see M. LEJEUNE, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien* [1972], 51, n. 4 and P. CHANTRAINE, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* [1933], 275). M. Lejeune tries to explain the form without assimilation by the form *-tei- of the suffix. Cf. P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1968), 665.

27 The 56 compound nouns with μάντις are well-known: θεσπιομάντις, στρατόμαντις, ὄρνεόμαντις. Part of them include a valuation, like ἀριστόμαντις, “the best of prophets” and ψευδόμαντις. But mostly they reflect something from ordinary life φαρμακόμαντις, ἰατρόμαντις, ἀλευρόμαντις, ἀλφιτόμαντις, πυρόμαντις, κριθόμαντις (“one who divined by barley”), γεώμαντις and many others.

28 Μάντις “diviner, seer, prophet”, in some Homeric contexts seems to be synonymous to the word ἱερεύς. For instance, in *Il.* I. 62, after nine days of the pestilence, Achilles led by Hera who felt sorry for the Danaioi, convoked the assembly and spoke to the Atræides:

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα
ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν,
ὅς κ' εἴποι ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
εἴ ταρ ὅ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται ἠδ' ἑκατόμβης,
αἶ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων
βούλεται ἀντιά σας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῦ ναι.

“Nay, come, let us ask some seer or priest, yea or some reader of dreams - for a dream too is from Zeus (transl. by A.T. Murray, 1960). As W. Leaf pointed out (W. LEAF, *Iliad*, Vol. 1² [1960], *ad loc.*), “the ἱερεύς is mentioned merely as an authority on ritual (65), not as a diviner; for the Homeric priest as such seems to have had no functions of divination; there are no omens from sacrifices”. This is absolutely true, except that in this case one question remains: why did Achilles propose to ask such a person for divination, who had no connection on how to get an explanation of the will of deity. Cf. also *Od* 17, 383 where μάντις is mentioned among the others δημοεργοί.

29 In B. SNELL ed., *Der Lexikon der frühgriechischen Epos* (“von Gottheit durchdrungen, durchgöttert, numinös”).

(to compare with epic ἡγάθεος, Dor. ἀγάθεος “most holy” of places immediately under divine protection, Pylos, Lemnos: *Il.* 1. 252; 2. 722) ³⁰.

If my interpretation of *da-ma-te* is phonetically correct, we may try to understand this word as the “the most important diviners”.

The group of *damantes* consists of twenty-eight persons (the number of the pieces of land is 35) ³¹.

Tēretai and *damantes* stand close to one other because no group except the *damantes* obtains earth from the *tēretai*. The ties between the two groups reflect a kind of subordination.

It is interesting to note that the priestess *E-ri-ta* (*i-je-re-ja Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*) and the priest *We-te-re-u* do not occur among the *tēretai*, but among the *damantes*, even though they have a very special position among *damantes*, which is represented by the dimensions of their pieces of land, and by the fact that the *do-e-ro* which belong to them also have land from *tēretai*.

It is also quite interesting to look at the names of the *damantes*. These may not be their real names, but professional occupations: e.g., *po-so-re-ja* may be interpreted as “one who divined by smoke”, or *ki-ri-te-we-ja* may be “ones who divined by barley”, cf. κριθόμαντες, etc.

One more difference has to be noted: *damantes* are men and women, but the *tēretai* are all men. Let us note that only in the tablets En/Eo and Ep/Eb, dealing with the land holders related with the religious functions or with the economic activities of Mycenaean shrines ³², women occur, and they are not represented in the Ea series.

It is important that *damantes* occur only in the heading formula of the document (PY En 609); usually they appear however as *i-je-re-ja*, *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, and very often as *te-o-jo do-e-ra/o*. Thus we may conclude: *damantes*, “the most important diviners”, are related to the religious center of Pylos’ kingdom. They are subordinate to *te-re-ta* and for their service they receive plots of land from *te-re-ta*. *Damantes* are not only diviners, they perform other activities, too. The man denoted once as *te-o-jo e-te-do-mo* and a second time as *wa-na-ka-te-ro e-te-do-mo* presumably demonstrates the very close relations between the palatial and the temple economy. *Te-re-ta*, which occur in PY Eb/Ep series, are always denoted as *ko-to-no-o-ko* ³³.

Now let us try to look at the term *ko-to-no-o-ko*. The interpretation of this term as *ktoina* + *okhos* is accepted without any doubt ³⁴. One problem, however, causes us to doubt this. On the basis of the etymology we would expect that a *ko-to-no-o-ko* owns both

30 P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1968), 245. The alteration δα-/ζα- is sometimes seen as purely metrical and sometimes as a reflex of dissimilation (δα- < ζα-). Whatever the explanation, we may explain that *Da-* in *da-ma-te* is connected with *da-ko-ro*, “desservant de temple”, which is later found as ζά-κορος; M. Lejeune (*supra* n. 26, 114, n. 1) interprets the last term as a compound *da-* “temple” + κορος.

31 Nine women, described as *te-o-jo do-e-ra*, (*Ko-ri-si-ja* has two plots of land). Nineteen men described as *te-o-jo do-e-ro* (*E-ko-to* has two, and *ta-ra₂-to* has four plots of land). One priestess called *e-ri-ta*. One priest called *We-te-re-u* owns two plots of land. One servant of the priestess called *E-ra-ta-ra*. One man called *A-tu-ko* is denoted as *e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro* - “the king’s artificer” (but in tablets of the Eo series he is denoted as *e-te-do-mo te-o-jo*).

32 Cf. P. CARLIER, “La femme dans la société mycénienne”, E. LÉVY ed., *La femme dans les sociétés antiques* (1983), 21.

33 The only mention of *ko-to-no-o-ko* in the Eo series is Eo 247: *pa-ro a₃-ti-jo ko-to-no-o-ko*.

34 LINDGREN (*supra* n. 3, 88) wrote: “That it is to be interpreted as “a person having a *ko-to-na*” is obvious and needs no discussion”.

ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na and *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na*. But in the Pylian archives they are related only to the *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na*, and are a close group of landholders called *te-re-ta*.

This fact seems to me to be essential, and I shall try to look for an interpretation in line with it.

The verb ἔχω has not only the meaning “to have, to hold, to possess” (usually from this starts *ko-to-no-o-ko* “landholders”), but also the meaning “hold in guard, keep safe”.

In *Il.* 24. 729-30 Andromache says to Hector:

ἦ γὰρ ὄλωλας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅς τέ μιν αὐτήν

ρύσκει, ἔχεις δ' ἀλόχους κεδνάς καὶ νήπια τέκνα,

“For thou hast perished that didst watch thereover (ἐπίσκοπος), thou that didst guard it and keep safe (ἔχεις) its noble wives and little children” (transl. A.T. Murray).

This meaning “to protect, to guard” is better represented in compound names ending on -οχος, -ουχος. Oedipus (*S. O.C.* 1458) calls Eumenides ταῖς σεμναῖσι δημούχοις θεαῖς (“with the championship of the dread goddesses who dwell among your folk”), and the Athenians γὰς δημούχοις (*S. O.C.* 1087); In *S. O.C.* 1348, Oedipus, addressing the Chorus of the Ἀττικῶν γέροντες says ἄνδρες τῆς δὲ δημούχοι χθονός. Oedipus addresses very similar words to the same Chorus in the very beginning of the tragedy (*S. O.C.* 145): ὦ τῆσδ' ἔφοροι χώρας: “O guardians of this land”.

The very word δημούχοι in these examples seems to be formulaic. The number of examples of compound names with -οχος, -ουχος, with the meaning “guardian, protector”, may be enlarged using epithets of the gods, such as Ἀθηναίη Πολιοῦρχος (*Hdt.* 1. 160), Πολιοῦχοι θεοί (*A. Th.* 312, lyr.), Πολιοῦχοι δαίμονες (*A. Th.* 822, lyr.).

We do not need to argue the antiquity of this pattern of word formation and of semantics, since it seems very probable that in Mycenaean *ko-to-no-o-ko* we find the same idea: “protectors, guardians of *ktona*”, - of both *ki-ti-me-na* and *ke-ke-me-na*.

Prosopographic analysis of persons called *ko-to-no-o-ko* and registered on the tablet PY Ep 301 is very interesting: seven of them³⁵ occur on En/Eo series as *tēretai*³⁶, two as *damantes*³⁷, and only three new names appear (*ku-so*, *ke-ra-u-jo*, and *ko-tu-[ro2]*) instead of three names of *tēretai*³⁸. Thus we may say that most of the *tēretai* at the same time are *ko-to-no-o-ko*, “protectors of *ko-to-na*”.

For their services they have a reward from the people - *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na*. The protection of the land may be mostly understood as religious, and presumably also as juridical. We may see these juridical functions, e.g., in the trial concerning Erita, attested on PY Ep 704:

- Eb 297** .1 i-je-re-ja , e-ke-qe , e-u-ke-to-qe , e-to-ni-jo , e-ke-e , te-o
 .2 ko-to-no-o-ko-de , ko-to-na-o , ke-ke-me-na-o , o-na-ta , e-ke-e
 .3 GRA 3 T 9 V 3

35 See E.L. BENNETT and J.-P. OLIVIER, *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed II* (1976), app. criticus: “*ko-to-no-ko* to be taken as a single word... though it is by no means conspicuous enough, one might suppose it to apply to lines .3-.6 as well to .2”, see also E.L. BENNETT, “Pylian Landholding Jots and Titles”, A. HEUBECK & G. NEUMANN eds., *Res Mycenaeae. Akten des VII Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Nürnberg vom 6-10 April 1981* (1983), 45.

36 *a3-ti-jo-qo* (En 74), *wa-na-ta-jo* (En 609), *a-da-ma-o* (En 659), *pi-ke-re-u* (En 74/Eo 160), *ra-ku-ro* (En 659/Eo 281), *pa-ra-ko* (En 609/Eo 224), and *a-i-qe-u* (En 659/Eo 471).

37 *a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro / te-o-jo* (En 609/Eo 211) and *ta-ta-ro* (En 609/Eo 224).

38 *ti-qa-jo-jo* (En 467/Eo 278), *po-te-wo* (En 467/268), and *pi-ri-ta-wo-no* (En 467/Eo 371). In the list of *tēretai* these three persons are registered in the separate tablet En 467, and do not have any *onateres*.

In PY Ep 704 instead of the *ko-to-no-o-ko* the *dâmos* appears:

Ep 704 .5 e-ri-ta , i-je-re-ja , e-ke , e-u-ke-to-qe , e-to-ni-jo ,
 e-ke-e , te-o, da-mo-de-mi , pa-si , ko-to-na-o ,
 .6 ke-ke-me-na-o , o-na-to , e-ke-e , to-so pe-mo GRA 3 T

“The priestess has and declares that she has an *etonijo teo*, but the *ko-to-no-o-ko* and/or *da-mo* say(s) that she has a reward of the *kotona kekemena...*”

It is, of course, not coincidence that *damos* and *ko-to-no-o-ko* appear in this passage as synonyms; it seems to be possible to see here the substitution of the terms analogous to this we see on PY Un 718 and Er 312.

To conclude: *ko-to-no-o-ko* are the protectors of *ko-to-na*. For accomplishing this duty they receive plots of land from the *dâmos*. Usually this duty is accomplished by *tēretai*. In this way *ko-to-no-o-ko* and *tēretai* are closely related to the *dâmos*.

My final conclusions may be stated briefly.

Te-re-ta were an institutionalized group, and the institution of *te-re-ta* was very important for the Pylos kingdom. Connected with the religious center at *Pa-ki-ja-na*, they represented a monolithic group, whose essential guard was “to guard religiously the country”. Their special function was to protect land and people, and as such they were called *ko-to-no-o-ko*.

Damantes, the diviners, represented the prominent group of *te-o-jo do-e-ro*, and were subordinate to *tēretai*. The body of this group shows more diversity than *te-re-ta*. They performed the diverse duties of prophets, priests, and practical counsellors. For their duties they were payed.

Without any doubt *tēretai* have the very high position within the social hierarchy of the Polos' kingdom. The emphasis of their belonging to the religious center at *Pa-ki-ja-na* shows a particular significance of the religion in both economic and political life. The close relationship of the institution of *tēretai* with the *da-mo* allows us to assume that historically it could be a relic of the previous temple economy. My result of terminological investigation needs to be approved by the more detailed analysis of the Mycenaean texts and by the archaeological investigation.

Vanda P. KAZANSKIENE

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