PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES IN MYCENAEAN GREECE

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2006

Abstract

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The aim of this thesis is to investigate the evidence concerning the existence of a Mycenaean priesthood. The existence of religious specialists responsible for the performance of ritual acts is universal and can be attributed to their role as intermediaries between humans and the divine. Evidence from the Linear B tablets attest to the existence of priests (*i-je-re-u*) and priestesses (*i-je-re-ja*) during the high point of the Mycenaean period, responsible for mediating between the people and the divine in the performance of ritual acts. Textual and iconographic evidence indicate the performance of various cult practices, such as animal sacrifice and the celebration of festivals, complemented by archaeological evidence of cult installations and equipment employed.

The fact that the majority of the evidence associates priests with the palatial centres indicates that they were closely connected to them, and that most likely the office of priesthood was restricted to the elite, even though the existence of priests in communities away from the palatial centres is not overlooked. Textual evidence provides information concerning the organisation of the priesthood, indicating that it was associated with a body of cult assistants, while a hierarchy existed among priests, most likely defined by the cult place they operated at and its connection with the palace. Finally, the examination of the association of cult places with economic matters in the Linear B tablets concludes that cult places were not economically independent and that instead part of the economy was set aside for their maintenance and their cult needs.

Acknowledgements

This study would have not been completed without the valuable help of a number of people. I would like to thank first of all my supervisor Prof. W. G. Cavanagh, for always being there to help and without whose constant encouragement, support and enthusiasm I would not have managed to complete the study.

Dr. Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr. Merkourios Georgiades for their vital help in terms of suggestions and corrections on parts of the thesis and for their endless encouragement and stimulating conversations. Dr. James Roy for reading and correcting the English in some parts of the study and for his useful comments. Dr. Mark Pearce and Dr. Hamish Forbes for comments on various parts of the thesis. Dr. Chris Loveluck and Dr. Amy Bogård for their encouragement and interest in the progress of the study.

Prof. John Bennet for discussing with me some of the Linear B terms and for the valuable information I received from him, as well as his encouragement in using more the Linear B texts in the study. Dr. Paul Rehak for answering some questions concerning the figure on the Vapheio ring and Dr. John Younger for kindly sending me a copy of Dr. Rehak's article on children as acolytes prior to publication. Prof. Palaima for providing me and allowing me to read his article on the Mycenaean wanax before publication. Also, Dr. Marika Zeimbekis for being so kind to provide me with a copy of her MA dissertation on the Minoan Priesthood.

My friends Theano Psomiadou, Elisabet Sotiroudi, Maria Kitsiou, Katerina Tzimopoulou and Katerina Psatha for their endless support and encouragement, without which I would have never managed and Maria, in

particular, for translating some of the Italian articles. My colleagues Ellen Cross, Kathryn Soar, Andrew Souter and Nicola Stone for their help, patience and support and for sharing my anxiety during writing-up. Chikako Sugawara for her interest and enthusiasm and for providing me with some articles relevant to the study and my housemate Dr. Sherifa Kamal Hassanein for her support and for being like a mother to me, while we lived together.

The encouragement of my parents and brother has been vital and I am indebted to them for their patience and support.

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Chapter I: Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the evidence concerning religious personnel in the Mycenaean period. This chapter will begin by briefly assessing the previous research on the subject up to the present, in order to point out the need for a more thorough and concerted examination. Then, the aims and methodology of the study will be presented in detail.

A brief historical review on the study of Mycenaean religion

The study of religion and religious specialists has always attracted the interest of scholars, not only in the field of archaeology but also in other disciplines. The study of Greek religion and its origins in particular, has been the subject of many studies[1], due to some similarities between the prehistoric religion of the Greek mainland and the religion of the Classical period.

The religion of the Mycenaean Greek mainland has, for a long time, been thought to form a unity with the Minoan religion, mostly due to similarities in the iconographic expression. One of the earlier and most influential studies was Evans' work on Cretan religion and the mainland, based on the examination of religious representations, which however was greatly influenced by the religions of Egypt and the Near East. Thus, in his study of the Mycenaean tree and pillar cult[2], apart from mixing Minoan and Mycenaean evidence, Evans often extrapolated parallels from Egypt and the Near East[3], reaching conclusions on the basis of similarities, overlooking the existence of different sets of beliefs.

[1] For example Nilsson, 1999 [1949], 1950, Persson, 1942a, Burkert, 1985 and Dietrich, 1986.
[2] Evans, 1901.
[3] Burkert, 1985, 24.

Evans' work was followed by that of two other important scholars, Nilsson and Persson[4], who similarly based their examination of Minoan and Mycenaean religions mainly on the iconography. Indeed, the similarities between Minoan and Mycenaean religious representations rendered the distinction between the two religions difficult[5], although both scholars noted the possibility of differentiation between the two[6]. More specifically, the occurrence of religious representations in Mycenaean palaces as in the Minoan ones and the presence of typical Minoan cult objects on the mainland, like tripod offering tables and double axes, led Nilsson to suggest that cult was performed in the same forms on the mainland as on Crete, therefore "the Minoan and the Mycenaean religions were identical in their outward forms"[7], even though these may have been expressing different ideas[8]. Thus, similarities in cult equipment and symbols and the inability of Nilsson to dissociate the Helladic element from the Cretan[9], were taken as an indication of similar religious practices[10], which according to him were due to wholesale introduction into the mainland[11]. Nilsson's study, however, was undertaken before the decipherment of Linear B. Persson on the other hand, clearly stated that there were certain differences between Crete and the mainland[12], implying that these would be visible also in the religious expressions of the two cultures.

[4] Nilsson, 1950; Persson, 1942a.
[5] Baumbach, 1979, 144; Burkert, 1985, 21.
[6] Persson, 1942a, 5; Nilsson, 1950, 30-33.
[7] Nilsson, 1950, 7.
[8] Nilsson, 1999, 9.
[9] Hägg, 1985a, 203.
[10] Nilsson, 1950, 7.
[11] Hooker, 1976, 191.
[12] Persson, 1942a, 5; Niemeier, 1990, 165.

On a similar line of argumentation was Picard's study of the prehistoric religions of Greece[13], where Mycenaean religion was once again seen under the influence of Minoan Crete. Moreover, since religious texts in the sense these were found in Egypt and the Near East were absent from Minoan Crete and the mainland, "Minoan-Mycenaean" religion was often compared to religions that were better understood and their beliefs were frequently used for the explanation of Minoan and Mycenaean beliefs. These studies nevertheless, were conducted at a time when Aegean archaeology was still at its infancy and the archaeological evidence was confined to the sites of Mycenae and Knossos, which justify the actual interpretations, but at the same time render the particular studies unreliable.

Therefore, due to the similarities in the symbols employed in the two religions and the inadequate knowledge concerning the way they were used in Minoan and Mycenaean cult, it is not surprising that most scholars were inclined to analyse either the Minoan symbols occurring in Mycenaean religion[14], or the origin of the two religions and their relation to the later Greek religious practice[15]. In addition, earlier studies did not even draw a line between Classical and Mycenaean religion, thus interpreted the Mycenaean evidence in the light of classical Greek religion[16].

The equation between Minoan and Mycenaean religion was eventually criticised by a number of various scholars[17]. The differentiation of the two religions could be demonstrated by the absence of important Minoan ritual objects, like snake-tubes, as well as the scarcity of actual specimens of horns of

[13] Picard, 1948.
[14] Nilsson, 1950, 7.
[15] Nilsson, 1950; Persson, 1942a; Burkert, 1985; Chao, 1975, 221.
[16] Tsountas and Manatt, 1897, 294-315.
[17] Mylonas, 1966a; Vermeule, 1964, 282; Treuil *et al.* 1996, 555; Taylour, 1999, 44.

consecration and double axes[18]. More importantly, studies have emphasised that Minoan influence on Mycenaean cult was mostly a phenomenon of the Early Mycenaean period and consisted mainly of adapting religious symbolism and specialised cult equipment, which the Middle Helladic people lacked[19], rather than mere adoption of Minoan religious beliefs[20]. In addition, the Minoan symbols and equipment were those that could be adapted to the Mycenaeans' own religious beliefs and practices[21].

Following the decipherment of Linear B, the individual character of Mycenaean religion became clearer[22] and the differences with Minoan cult more obvious, since the tablets, although administrative records, therefore of limited information concerning religion, shed some light on Mycenaean religion. The texts have provided valuable evidence for the deities worshipped and have substantiated the existence of priests and priestesses, cult places, even religious festivals, which combined with the evidence from artistic representations, contributed significantly in the reconstruction of Mycenaean religion and ritual. Furthermore, the equation of some of the Mycenaean deities with later Greek gods has demonstrated the continuity of religion on the Greek mainland, in addition to the fact that it revised existing theories about the origin of some Classical deities.

Moreover, several important archaeological discoveries, in particular the Cult Centre at Mycenae, the Temple at Phylakopi and various cult assemblages, as in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns, further clarified the picture of Mycenaean

[18] Hägg, 1985a, 205; Treuil *et al.* 1996, 555.
[19] For an examination of Middle Helladic religion see Hägg, 1997.
[20] Hägg, 1996; Whittaker, 2002, 151.
[21] Hägg, 1985a, 210; Whittaker, 2002, 151. Niemeier (1990, esp. 170) has expressed a similar idea for the iconography of gold rings.
[22] Sakellarakis, 1995, 33.

cult[23] and provided substantial evidence about Mycenaean religious practices, which differentiated them from the Minoan ones. Mylonas made further progress by basing his study and conception of Mycenaean religion, not only on the Linear B tablets, but particularly on objects found exclusively on the Mycenaean territory and excluding those found on Crete[24]. Upon the same line of argumentation and following Brelich's suggestion, Hägg has managed to advance our understanding of Mycenaean religion and its relation to the Minoan, by distinguishing various levels of Mycenaean cult, expressed more definitely in two extreme ends, the "official" or "state" cult and the "popular" cult[25]. The similarities between Mycenaean and Minoan religion, then, reflected mostly the official aspect and were based on the ability of the upper classes to afford luxury objects and their desire to adopt foreign customs and fashions from a civilisation, which was more advanced in this respect[26]. It was the official aspect of the Mycenaean religion then that bore similarities with the Minoan and consequently the Minoan elements in Mycenaean cult practices were much more superficial than the evidence seemed to suggest[27]. This assumption has led to the rise of new questions concerning the "Minoan connection" and the degree of influence on Mycenaean religion and cult. The main question focuses on the structure and origin of Mycenaean religion: which elements of Mycenaean religion belonged to the mainland tradition and which were adaptations from the Minoan, a question especially related to the Shaft Grave period and the corpus of gold and

[23] Hägg, 1996, 599.
[24] Mylonas, 1966a; Niemeier, 1990, 165.
[25] Hägg, 1981a, 36; 1985a, 1995, 1996, 1998.
[26] Hägg, 1981a, 36.
[27] Hägg, 1988, 214. In favour of a unity between Minoan and Mycenaean religions see Dietrich, 1986, 1-40.

silver rings from the tholos and chamber tombs of the Peloponnese[28]. Based upon this distinction between "official" and "popular" cult, Kilian has connected the presence of clay phi and psi figurines with popular cult[29], thus providing an important insight both on the subject of "popular" cult and on the function of figurines, an issue that has occupied scholars for many years[30]. In addition to the existence of different levels of religion[31], the existence of temporal and regional variation[32] has been emphasised. Moreover, Renfrew has contributed significantly in the identification of places of worship[33], by providing a set of criteria and thus rendering the recognition of cult places more secure. Finally, Wright has emphasised the need to use methodology and analytical models in the study of Aegean religion, in order to acquire a more in depth understanding of it[34].

Therefore, there is overall enough information concerning the gods that were worshipped in the Mycenaean period, part of the cult practices and festivals and even the existence and organisation of the cult personnel[35]. In addition, the profound examination of the archaeological and iconographical evidence has contributed and still contributes to a better understanding of cult practices and expressions of religious behaviour[36]. Some of the most valuable studies are those dealing with the iconographical evidence, in particular these by Mylonas,

[28] Hägg, 1996, 601.
[29] Kilian, 1990.
[30] For the types and function of the Mycenaean clay figurines see French, 1971, 1981b.
[31] Hägg, 1981a.
[32] Renfrew, 1981a.
[33] Renfrew, 1985, 18-26.
[34] Wright, 1995a. Indeed, he applied a model in the Early Mycenaean period in his examination of the emergence of political structure (1995b).
[35] Hägg, 1996, 600.
[36] Hägg, 1996, 601.

Xenaki-Sakellariou, Niemeier, Immerwahr and Kontorli-Papadopoulou[37]. Similarly, studies on the typology[38] and function of Mycenaean cult buildings[39] have offered insight in Mycenaean beliefs and have shed light on Mycenaean cult practice. Studies focusing on economic matters associated with religion[40] have provided a better understanding of the organisation of cult, whereas interest on feasting and banqueting[41] has emphasised the political manipulation of ritual and the socio-political importance of food and drink consumption[42]. Finally, recent study brought to light another side of Mycenaean cult, which for many years has been controversial, namely the cult of the dead[43], putting into focus important aspects of the socio-political significance and employment of cult. Therefore, recent studies have set new questions, focusing on the actual character of Mycenaean religion and its configuration. It is not surprising then that Mycenaean religion still fascinates scholars as it did fifty years ago.

The study of cult specialists in the Mycenaean period

Since it was more important to understand and define the character of Late Helladic (LH) religion, it is understandable why earlier studies did not engage themselves thoroughly with the examination of Mycenaean cult personnel. Evans dedicated a substantial part of volume IV of his *Palace of Minos* in the study of figures in long robes depicted on frescoes and seals[44], but his interpretation was occasionally biased, especially in favour of his "Priest-

[37] Mylonas, 1977; Xenaki-Sakellariou, 1985b; Niemeier, 1990; Immerwahr, 1991; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1996.
[38] Van Leuven, 1975, 205, 1978, 1981.
[39] Whittaker, 1997; Albers, 1996.
[40] Killen, 1987, 1994, 2001a; Bendall, 1998-1999, 2001, 2004.
[41] Killen, 1994, 2001a, 2004; Wright, 1996; Palaima, 2004.
[42] Hamilakis, 1998; 1999.
[43] Gallou, 2005.
[44] Evans, 1935, 404-405, 412-414.

king" theory, where he combined the political and religious authority to the person of the king. However, he recognised the religious status of the figures represented on the basis of the acts they performed and their long robes.

Similarly, Nilsson identified cult officiates on the basis of their costume, which could either be a long robe, often worn by deities, or more usually the animal hide skirt[45]. The identification of the latter and its association with cult officials was first made by Paribeni in his study of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, who also recognised it on certain seal impressions[46]. The recognition of the animal hide skirt as a cult costume was, according to Nilsson's interpretation, probably due to religious conservatism that preserved the first garment man ever wore[47], but also due to its clear association with animal sacrifice. Another characteristic of cult specialists noted both by Evans and Nilsson was the axe, which has been compared to Syrian and Egyptian parallels, although Evans did not restrict the use of axes merely to persons of priestly office, but also to princely personages[48].

It was after the decipherment of Linear B that most studies concerning religious personnel appeared, based on the references of priests (*i-je-re-u*) and priestesses (*i-je-re-ja*) in the Linear B tablets. One of the earliest studies is Lejeune's work[49], which however simply listed the tablets where references of priests and priestesses were attested. Similar was the work by Gérard-Rousseau[50] and Lindgren[51]. On the other hand, Piccaluga was the first to provide a more in depth analysis and the first who attempted to define the specific duties of the

[45] Nilsson, 1950, 155, 159.
[46] Paribeni, 1908, 5-87; Nilsson, 1950, 155.
[47] Nilsson, 1950, 157.
[48] Evans, 1935, 414.
[49] Lejeune, 1958.
[50] Gérard-Rousseau, 1968.
[51] Lindgren, 1973.

priest and separate them from other cult assistants[52]. More detailed research was conducted by Murray[53], in which she has gathered all references to priests, priestesses and cult assistants, but since her study focused generally on Mycenaean religion, she did not attempt to reconstruct the tasks and organisation of the Mycenaean priesthood. In his article on the Mycenaean cult personnel, Hooker focused exclusively on the examination of the evidence from the Pylos tablets[54]. He, however, repeated the remarks made by Ventris and Chadwick in the *Documents* that simply noted the nature of the entries concerning priesthood. It seems therefore that a study combining all the evidence for Mycenaean religious personnel is missing and is requisite.

In her study of Minoan Religion, N. Marinatos[55] assessed the Minoan priesthood on the basis of representations of figures in long robes with characteristic hairstyle and cult insignia, such as maces and axes, which she identified as priests. Similarly, any figure co-depicted with animals or animal heads was interpreted as a priest, on the basis of a sacrificer-victim relationship. However, very few such portraits of priests exist on the mainland, therefore Marinatos' suggestions cannot be expanded to Mycenaean Greece. Representations of priestesses on the other side are not easily identifiable and any figure in a flounced skirt and open bodice could be seen as a priestess, while at the same time she could be a goddess or a member of the elite. Finally, Rehak's studies on the representation of priests[56] are instructive. His examination of the priest with the tethered griffin from Vapheio and his argument that the figure is rather an administrator, has contributed in the definition and identification of

[52] Piccaluga, 1967.
[53] Murray, 1979.
[54] Hooker, 1989.
[55] Marinatos, 1993.
[56] Rehak, 1994; 2000.

priesthood, both in terms of their representation and of their social position. Representations of the priesthood, however, seem to occur both in palatial and in more popular art, like the Tanagra larnakes and the pictorial vases, which constitute a subsequent source of information concerning the Mycenaean priesthood.

In terms of the existence of cult assistants in the Mycenaean period central is J.-P. Olivier's dissertation[57]. Olivier was able to recognise a group of cult officials, which he named "desservants de sanctuaire"[58]. His study demonstrated that the entries in the PY An series, owed their common features to the existence of one or more "lists" which these tablets copied[59]. Since the component titles of the original list might have been grouped together, they must have shared a common factor, which according to Olivier, was either a common location or an organisation[60]. Therefore, he suggested that all entries were referring to groups of men who functioned as cult officials. These were considered of a lesser status than the actual priests and priestesses, but were in charge of the essential services at various shrines[61]. It must be noted though that the etymological interpretation of the words is far from certain and that the definition of some of the offices often depends on extrapolation from the Greek religion (*ka-ra-wi-po-ro*/key bearers, *pu-ka-wo*/πυρκόοι-fire tenders), which is not always a safe indication, even though for some of the words there are contextual connections with cult[62]. The interpretation therefore of such officiates requires careful examination.

[57] Olivier, 1960.
[58] Olivier, 1960, 139.
[59] Olivier, 1960, 137.
[60] Olivier, 1960, 29.
[61] Olivier, 1960, 140, 143.
[62] Murray, 1979, 404.

Mycenaean priests and priestesses are mentioned in almost every study dealing with Mycenaean religion. Mylonas, even, attributed the Southwest building at Mycenae to the use of religious personnel and especially the High Priest[63]. No study, though, so far has attempted to gather the evidence concerning the Mycenaean priesthood and define their tasks, their social status, their organisation, even their socio-political role. Moreover, past interpretations concerning the role of the priesthood were directed by the specific theory each scholar wanted to support, clearly seen in the case of Evans. Often, parallels were drawn from the Egyptian, Near Eastern, even Classical Greek priesthoods.

The significance of the study of Mycenaean priests and priestesses will first of all address a subject that was never thoroughly examined and will clarify an important aspect of Mycenaean cult -its officiants- thus providing a more complete and comprehensive picture of Mycenaean religion and its ritual expression. Nevertheless, the contribution of the study is not only restricted to a more complete perception of Mycenaean cult, but also affects, as we will see, the understanding of Mycenaean society.

Aims of Thesis

The main aim of the thesis is to investigate the role of the priesthood in the Mycenaean period, both in terms of the tasks and duties they performed, as well as their social status. For the examination of the subject will be at first applied anthropological methods, in order to explain the necessity for the presence of religious specialists in every society. Then, the archaeological evidence for the existence of priests in the Mycenaean society will be presented.

[63] Mylonas, 1975b, 250.

The evidence consists of references in the Linear B tablets, artefacts and buildings that could attest the performance of complex ritual acts, burials that could indicate the existence of priests and finally iconographic depictions that could represent cult personnel.

Anthropological study suggests that the function of priests as religious specialists and intermediaries between the people and the divine bestowed on them an important role within the community. This characteristic of the priesthood could have been reflected in various aspects of socio-economic and political life, for example in the tenancy of land, or in rich burials.

Since most evidence concerning the Mycenaean priesthood derives from the major arts and Linear B tablets a close connection and interdependence between the palaces and the priests may have existed, which would presumably affect in specific ways the social position of priests. Tied in with this issue is the question of the economic independence or not of sanctuaries, which will be thoroughly assessed.

In addition to questions concerning the social standing of Mycenaean priesthood, the study will address the issue of its organisation and structure. Olivier's study has showed that cult assistants may have been part of the body of religious specialists, suggesting a certain complexity and hierarchy among the cult personnel. The existence of cult specialists other than priests does not only imply a complex organisation of the priesthood and a specialisation in the performance of ritual, but also contributes to the understanding of ritual practices themselves. Finally, the possibility that different bodies of priests existed based on the possible division of Mycenaean religion in "official" and "popular" will also be addressed.

Chronological and Cultural Setting

Similarities in the construction and decoration of Mycenaean citadels – the rulers' dwellings-, their fortification with Cyclopean walls and a similar administrative system, suggest that the Mycenaean period was characterised by political unification under local rule, though with regional variation. Major palatial centres have been uncovered at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Athens, Thebes, Orchomenos and Iolkos (**fig. 1**) and evidence suggests that territories in their vicinity were under their palatial administrative control, the best example provided by Pylos and the distinction of its territory between Hither and Further Province[64]. This unification is further attested in religion[65], indicated by similar religious depictions, in the architecture of cult buildings and in the cult equipment used, though, once again some regional variation is noted. At Mycenae and Tiryns cult buildings were incorporated within the Cyclopean walls. In addition to palatial cult buildings, sanctuaries have also been uncovered in settlements, e.g. the shrine of Ayios Konstantinos at Methana, the Shrine at Phylakopi and the so-called Temple at Ayia Irini, and in the open-air, such as Apollo Maleatas, Aphaia and perhaps Kalapodi[66].

The study, therefore, will be limited chronologically to the acme of Mycenaean culture, when the emergence and consolidation of a centralised and highly hierarchical political system is noted[67], reflected in the aspects mentioned above. The period extends to the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., which are defined

[64] For the subject see Bennet, 1995 and 1999, whereas for Thebes see Aravantinos, 2004.
[65] Though note the distinction between "official" and "popular" cult mentioned above.
[66] Whitley, 2005, 56. Recent excavation has revealed LH IIIA and IIIB remains, but since the site is currently under excavation, it is not possible to determine if they were related to cult or domestic activity.
[67] Gallou, 2005, 2.

in ceramic terms as the LH IIIA and the LH IIIB period (c. 1425/1390-1190/1180 B.C.)[68]. Nevertheless, some reference to the preceding and following periods will be necessary and inevitable.

Outline of the Study

Chapter I: Introduction.

Chapter I comprises the introduction, where the purpose and the aims of the study are outlined. It also presents briefly previous research on the subject and emphasises the absence of a specialised study focusing on Mycenaean priesthood. Finally, it sets the chronological boundaries of the thesis.

Chapter II: The Anthropology of Religion

Chapter II considers the concept of religion through a number of different approaches, in an attempt to distinguish its different elements, which will assist in the understanding of the socio-political and ideological role of religion and cult. It also investigates the role of the priesthood from an anthropological point of view, which explains its necessity in officiating in cult and outlines its role and duties.

Chapter III: The Role and Function of Priests, Priestesses and Cult Assistants

This chapter presents the evidence for the existence of priests and priestesses in the Mycenaean period and examines the ritual acts they were performing. The examination combines both written and iconographic evidence

[68] For the LH IIIA and IIIB chronology see Shelmerdine, 2001, 332.

and archaeological remains of cult equipment and religious performance. Furthermore, it re-examines the subject of "cult-assistants" raised by Olivier[69] and attempts to define their function and the degree of their involvement in religious cult.

Chapter IV: The Social Status of Priests and Priestesses

Chapter IV examines the social position of the priesthood as the religious specialists of Mycenaean society. The possession of land, slaves and the provision of priests with commodities, usually of a higher quality than those given to workers is seen as indicative of their elevated status. This chapter aims to assess the evidence and draw conclusions on the social position of priests and priestesses, but it also attempts to understand in depth the organisation and structure of the Mycenaean priesthood and its relationship to sanctuaries and the palace.

Conclusions: The Mycenaean Priesthood

Finally, the conclusions will attempt to define the role and social status of Mycenaean priests in the light of the evidence examined in the previous chapters. In addition, it will also briefly consider the continuity or discontinuity not of Mycenaean priesthood after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces at the end of LH IIIB. This examination will reflect the nature of the connection that existed between the priesthood and the palatial society.

[69] Olivier, 1960.

Chapter II: The Anthropology of Religion

In order to understand the reason for the existence of religious specialists and their role and function, it is important first of all to understand why people need religion. The existence of religion can be attested in all societies[70], whether "simple" or "complex", suggesting that the need of man to believe in a supreme power, be it a god, spirits or powers, has primarily a psychological origin. However, according to some scholars, religion as well as belief in general, have often surpassed their role in providing a framework for the explanation of the supernatural and have also acquired a role in the formation of social systems. Thus, the nature of religion is complex, combining both psychological and social elements. In order to understand the way religion functions, it is necessary to distinguish its components and understand the way each one of them affects societies. For this purpose a summary of the theories formed to explain religion is necessary before we proceed to the study of the role of religious experts.

Theories and Approaches in the Study of Religion

The study of the origins of religion, the reason of its creation and existence, as well as its nature, still occupies the minds of scholars and although various different theories have been proposed even before the 19th century, most of them have been found inadequate to explain the precise nature of religion and to incorporate all the psychological and sociological aspects of it. The most popular theories can be divided into those that examine religion from a

[70] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 222.

sociological point of view, in other words as a social phenomenon (Durkheim, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Levi-Strauss, Marx, Godelier), to those that approach religion from a psychological point of view, which treat religion as a means of satisfying needs of a psychological nature, usually stress caused by the fear of death and of the unknown (Marett, Malinowski, Freud) and to those that see religion as an attempt to understand and explain the world, in other words, the intellectualist approach[71] (Spence, Tylor, Frazer, Horton, Skorupski).

The sociological theorists define religion either from a structural-functional approach or from a structural approach. The former, with Durkheim as its main supporter, is based on Spencer's notion that a society like an organism consists of specialised dependent parts, each functioning for the maintenance of that society[72]. The structural-functional theory in addition argues that religion is not only a specialised part, but has a structure determined by social structure[73]. Religion for Durkheim is a projection of the social values of society and its reality depends on the reality of its effects, even if its beliefs and explanations are false and its social origins disguised[74]. According to him, "religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden -beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them"[75]. Durkheim saw religion as a means of making symbolic statements about society, as a projection of its social values. His emphasis though was on the social group and not on the

[71] Hamilton, 1998, 4. For an introduction to the subject see Cunningham, 1999 and Hamilton, 1998, 1-15. As Hamilton (1998, 4-5) notes, these categories, first distinguished by Evans-Pritchard, are useful in the organisation of the different theories, but often theories do not conform purely to one category only.
[72] Cunningham, 1999, 42.
[73] Cunningham, 1999, 42.
[74] Bowie, 2000, 17.
[75] Durkheim, 1954, 47.

individual psyche[76]. In other words, religion for Durkheim symbolised social structure, served as a classificatory system, and integrated society by reaffirming social identity[77].

Radcliffe-Brown took Durkheim's argument a little further by describing how religious rituals "regulate, maintain and transmit from one generation to another sentiments on which the society depends"[78]. Also, in response to Malinowski's emotionalist interpretation of magic and religion as providing relief, he argued that in the same way it can be demonstrated that religion and magic create on men fears and anxieties of spirits, of God, or hell[79].

Structuralism on the other hand and especially Lévi-Strauss, regard both religion and social structure as originating in the unconscious structuring activities of the mind[80], whereas the symbolic approach to religion argues that religion, as well as magic are symbolic and that the symbolism is intended and the participants in the ritual are aware of it[81]. Symbolists, with Geertz as their main supporter, are only interested in what religion represents, since religion is not seen as a way to explain the world, but as a means to establish "powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men"[82]. Geertz stresses the influence of religion on social structure, describing religion as a symbolic system, which brings a sense of cosmic order to existence and shapes our perception of reality[83]. Religious symbols establish powerful and pervasive

[76] Bowie, 2000, 17.
[77] Cunningham, 1999, 45.
[78] Radcliffe-Brown, 1956, 157.
[79] Cunningham, 1999, 49.
[80] Lévi-Strauss, 1963, 21, 55-66.
[81] Cunningham, 1999, 55.
[82] Geertz, 1973, 4.
[83] Geertz, 1973, 90.

moods and motivations to people, which are transmitted in some kind of ceremonial form, i.e. rituals[84].

Horton's definition, who thought that structural symbolism was not really working, described religion as "an extension of the field of people's social relationships beyond the confines of purely human society", where human beings see themselves as being in a dependent relationship with the "non-human alters"[85]. In other words, religion is an extension of social relationships, a notion that agrees with some elements of Durkheim's definition[86].

The intellectual approach considers religion as an intellectual response to otherwise inexplicable events by attributing them to divine intervention[87]. The early intellectualist approaches (Tylor, Spencer, Frazer) were characterised by the conviction that human society and belief systems evolve and develop a better understanding of the world, which results in the displacement of previous, largely magical and religious ideas[88]. The emotionalist view (Marett, Malinowski, Freud) on the contrary, sees religion and magic as the release of different types of emotion[89]. Malinowski, particularly, has argued that both magic and religion "arise and function in situations of emotional stress", such as crises of life[90]. Finally, Freud regarded religion as a particular type of emotionally disturbed adult behaviour, caused by unpleasant or traumatic experiences of the childhood, particularly with what he called the "Oedipus complex", that have been repressed in the unconscious[91].

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[84] Geertz, 1973, 112.
[85] Horton, 1993, 23, 31-32.
[86] Bowie, 2000, 23.
[87] Cunningham, 1999, ix.
[88] Hamilton, 1998, 5.
[89] Hamilton, 1998, 6-7; Cunningham, 1999, ix.
[90] Malinowski, 1992, 87.
[91] Freud, 1919, 234-243, 260; Cunningham, 1999, 25.

The approach though that has attracted most attention is the so-called *phenomenological method*, founded by the German philosopher Edmund Husserl, which studies the phenomena of religion, that is objects, as they are experienced and not objects as such[92]. This approach tries to provide a neutral description of the experience of an object, rather than explain the cause or the validity of the experience[93]. Some of the most important supporters of this approach are Otto, Jung, Eliade and Smart, who tried to interpret religion by examining the sacred by the way it is experienced. Jung moreover regarded religion as essential to self-fulfilment and related it to the collective unconscious, a part of the mind that is inherited by each individual containing the collective experiences of the individual's ancestors[94]. Finally, Smart's dimensional approach on religion regards it as a multifaceted phenomenon with overlapping spheres, rather than a concept that can be identified and studied in isolation[95]. Smart tries to understand religion by examining what religious acts mean to the actors. An accurate description of religion includes the study of its various aspects or dimensions as he calls them, which consist of the ritual or practical, the doctrinal or philosophical, the mythic or narrative, the experiential or emotional, the ethical or legal, the organisational or social, the material or artistic, and finally the political and economic[96].

Definitions of Religion and Its Function

Definitions of religion naturally vary a lot according to which aspect of religion is emphasised. Thus, Müller saw religion as a mental faculty, which

[92] Cunningham, 1999, 32.
[93] Cunningham, 1999, 32.
[94] Jung, 1969, 5-105, esp. 5, 6, 8, 43, 46, 50, 62; Cunningham, 1999, 35.
[95] Bowie, 2000, 25.
[96] Smart, 1996, 10-11.

allows humans to apprehend the infinite under different names and under various disguises, whereas Tylor has argued that religion was an attempt by human beings to make sense of their experiences and of the world they live in, that is why he defined religion as simply "the belief in Spiritual Beings"[97]. Similarly, Engels argued that religion is the fantastic reflection in human minds of the external forces that control his daily life and supported that religious change is caused by socio-economic change and that it legitimises exploitation[98]. Douglas supported the idea that religion and magic are not so much designed to explain natural events, as to organise society, although she admits that they are both to an extent explanatory, though only on concepts that account for misfortune[99]. Finally, Godelier interpreted religion from a socio-economic perspective, agreeing to a certain extent with Marx, but also with the intellectualist description of religion as explanatory, as a means of knowing reality and explaining it[100].

It is clear, therefore, that even though there are so many different approaches to the meaning and function of religion, a single theory cannot include all the aspects of religion. Each approach seems to cover a single aspect of religion and not all, and most scholars themselves realised that religion has other functions in addition to the one they have studied. Smart's interpretation especially, shows the diversity of religion[101]. Religion then can have many different roles, which do not necessarily contradict each other.

However, what are the needs that religion covers? In other words, why do people actually believe? The fact that there is no society without some kind of

[97] Tylor, 1903, 424; Bowie, 2000, 22.
[98] Cunningham, 1999, 8.
[99] Douglas, 1970, 110-111; Cunningham, 1999, 60.
[100] Godelier, 1977, 178-180; Cunningham, 1999, 94.
[101] See above.

belief, suggests that there is a psychological need in people to believe in the existence of some kind of superior power. The existence of such a power, be it a god, a spirit, or a force, either explains events that cannot be logically explained, or provides people a kind of safety and certainty. Religion may have its origin in the need of people to explain otherwise inexplicable things, although in modern societies scientific explanations have been proposed for almost any question that troubles humanity.

Religion then can have three functions: the cognitive or intellectual one, which provides people with answers on otherwise inexplicable events, the psychological one, which helps people cope with the uncertainties and hardships of life, and the sociological one, where religion serves as a means to prevent conflict and enhance social solidarity.

Religion's cognitive function serves the need of humans to have explanations for all aspects of the world that surrounds them. Religious beliefs provide answers and explanations to things that cannot otherwise be explained. Without religion, much of the world would be incomprehensible and inexplicable, something that the human mind would not be able to tolerate, that is why origin myths, for example, explain things like the creation of the sky and the earth, where people got their language and so on[102]. Geertz moreover, supports the notion that religion provides the assurance to the believers that the world is meaningful, that everything is happening for a reason and that injustice is eventually corrected[103]. Humans, being cultural beings, cannot tolerate events that contradict the basic premises and world view of their cultural tradition, yet such events do happen and people are able to maintain their world view in spite

[102] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 223.
[103] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 224.

of contradictions, with the help of religion[104]. People need to believe that the world is an orderly one, and religion assures them of that[105].

Psychologically, religion helps individuals cope with anxieties such as illness, accidents, deaths and other misfortunes. Such anxieties can be better handled emotionally if one believes that they have a reason and meaning[106]. Death and extinction is perhaps the most important reason why people believe, because it is so unreasonable. Religion provides both an explanation but also a certainty that human beings do not just perish, but live on in a world usually much better than the one on earth[107]. Therefore, it provides both an emotional relief for the loss of another person, but also a relief from stress about one's own death. However, some societies do not have the notion of a pleasant afterlife, like the Dobu from Melanesia, who believe that when someone dies his ghost goes to the Hill of the Dead where they have a shadowy existence and mourn for their homeland[108]. Even so, this belief provides an explanation about what happens after death.

Religion is psychologically useful because it relieves anxieties and fears, and helps one cope with life's uncertainties and hardships, although sometimes religion can actually increase anxieties. Religion provides a sense of order which is essential both to the individual and the society, functions as an outlet for emotions, comforts people and brings them together socially, acts as an agent of change, and satisfies the need to explain the meaning of life and misfortune[109]. In addition, since people do not have absolute control over the circumstances of

[104] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 224.
[105] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 224.
[106] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 224.
[107] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 342; Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 224.
[108] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 224.
[109] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 341.

their lives, or often they cannot overcome problems either with the application of science or technology, they often turn to religion in order to maximise this control through supernatural means[110]. All societies have rituals that propitiate supernatural forces, sets of beliefs concerning what we call the soul and notions about life after death[111].

Finally, the purpose of the social role of religion is to instil and maintain common values, which would result in conformity to cultural norms and would promote cohesion and co-operation[112]. Religion can serve as a mechanism for social control, since through a series of both positive and negative sanctions it maintains the social order by encouraging or discouraging socially appropriate or inappropriate respectively behaviours[113]. Every religion is an ethical system prescribing proper ways of behaving, and especially when these sanctions are backed with supernatural authority, they are bound to be very authoritative[114]. In other words, religion according to the sociological theory exists because of the useful effects it has on people[115]. Rather than helping individuals cope emotionally, religion is a way by which societies maintain harmonious social relationships between individuals and groups, since it encourages people to respect other people's rights and to perform their duties[116]. Also, it enhances the cohesion of society by making people feel their interdependence on one another and on their traditions[117]. Religion strengthens a person's sense of group identity and belonging since, because it contains its own unique structural features, those

[110] Ferraro, 1992, 268; Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 224.
[111] Ferraro, 1992, 262.
[112] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 225.
[113] Ferraro, 1992, 267.
[114] Ferraro, 1992, 267.
[115] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 225.
[116] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 225.
[117] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 225.

who practise it will share in its mysteries, whereas those that do not, will be excluded[118]. It is precisely this notion of unity that has been supported by Durkheim, who saw religion as a way for society to promote social solidarity[119]. Religion can also reduce stress and frustrations that often lead to conflict. For example, disenfranchised or powerless people in stratified societies sometimes use religion as a means of diffusing their anger and hostility that would otherwise be directed to against the social system[120]. The social function of religion though, does not serve the individual himself, but rather the society, which may encourage the presence of religion in order to enhance social unity and peace. In other words, the cognitive and psychological function of religion helps the individuals themselves, whereas the social role of religion rather helps the society itself.

Religion then can serve both personal and communal -social- purposes, and can manipulate people in both ways. Psychologically, the manipulation of people depends also on the fact that religion deals with forces that only few can understand and control, which by itself provides to those claiming knowledge of them an authority that cannot be easily challenged, especially if these people claim or can demonstrate to have the favour of the god. Thus, any religious specialist by definition can claim authority on the supernatural and can achieve psychological manipulation. Priests particularly may have a greater possibility in establishing their authority because they are often supported by the state.

[118] Ferraro, 1992, 267.
[119] Durkheim, 1954.
[120] Ferraro, 1992, 267.

The Role and Function of the Priest

The Function of Religious Specialists

Most religions both in ancient and modern societies, as well as complex and simple ones, have someone to lead at cult occasions[121], guide, or interpret religious beliefs for the others[122], in other words a religious specialist. The existence of a specialist depends primarily on the need of people to have an intermediary between them and the divine[123], since the divine or supernatural is something that most people fear because they do not understand it and cannot control it. Therefore, they employ intermediaries, who have the ability to communicate with the divine, especially for the performance of rituals, which when performed correctly can affect its attitude towards humans[124].

Quite often, religious specialists demonstrate the special relation they have with the divine by possessing a natural talent in interpreting it, a characteristic usually considered to be given by the deity and to indicate his/her favour[125]. The talent consists of an inner sensitivity in feeling the supernatural and understanding its signs, whereas often these persons are chosen by the divinity itself, usually by a revelation of the deity/spirit. Shamans particularly, before they become spiritual people, frequently have a life crisis, like an illness, during which they are summoned by the spirits[126]. This contact with the divine strengthens the connection between it and its representative and enhances further the position of the latter as a specialist in the supernatural domain[127].

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[121] Burkert, 1985, 95.
[122] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 328.
[123] Maringer, 1977-78, 101; Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 330; Dowden, 2000, 225.
[124] Nikoloudis, 2001, 11.
[125] Wallace, 1966, 56.
[126] Powers, 1986, 169; Winkelman, 1992, 34, 47; Bowie, 2000, 207.
[127] Wallace, 1966, 56, 57.

The primary role of a religious specialist then, is to function as an intermediary between people and the divine, but also as its interpreter and representative. The religious specialist is the person who knows how to approach the divine and how to restore peace and order with it when these are interrupted, because he/she understands the will of the god and knows the ways to appease him[128]. The religious specialists then by their authority as mediators reduce the risk of error that is probable in the private approach to the divine of people who do not understand it[129]. It is not surprising, then, that people in almost all societies seem to feel more comfortable with a triadic relationship with the divine[130], i.e. with the existence of an intermediary.

The primary function of religious specialists is the performance of ritual, a task that needs knowledge and spiritual power for its accomplishment. Ritual as a religious act[131] is a "stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests"[132]. Religious rituals are performed in order to influence the divine or the spiritual powers to intervene favourably on behalf of those performing it[133]. The most dramatic form of ritual and the most influential one is the sacrifice, performed either in honour of the divine, out of gratitude, or out of need for something beneficial[134]. The primary purpose of religious ritual, then, is functional, that is, to bring a result through its performance. Therefore, the role of the religious specialist as a leading figure in the performance of ritual is necessary, since the

[128] Wallace, 1966, 56.
[129] Dowden, 2000, 225.
[130] Dowden, 2000, 225.
[131] For the examination of ritual in general see Bell, 1992 and Alexander, 1997.
[132] Turner, 1977, in: Argyle, 2000, 127.
[133] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 221.
[134] Dowden, 2000, 171.

specialist knows and understands the will of the divine, has the knowledge to perform correctly the ritual acts, and is in a state of purity –usually in terms of sexual abstinence and fasting- that allows him/her to approach the divine.

In many societies the fundamental ritual act that religious specialists have to perform is the sacrifice[135], the ritualised killing typically of a domesticated animal[136], which constitutes the ultimate offering for establishing beneficial relations with the divine[137]. The sacrifice is considered to create a relationship between the sacrificer, and consequently all those he/she represents, and the god[138]. The sacrifice aims in affecting and maintaining the bond and the communion between man and god, upon which people's well-being depends[139]. The purpose of the sacrifice, as of any offering to the god, has traditionally been explained under the *do-ut-des* theory ("I give to you in order that you give to me") and was based on the assumption that the god receiving the gift will feel obliged to help the one offering it[140]. Nevertheless, various scholars have criticised the inadequacy of this explanation by emphasising different aspects of the sacrifice and the offering in general. Some studies have interpreted sacrifice as a way of channelling violence, so that society can maintain its stability[141], whereas others have explained sacrifice primarily as a means of communicating with the divine, even though in many cases it may also have the character of payment[142]. Due to limitation of space it is not possible to enter into a detailed

[135] Beard and North, 1990, 9.
[136] Burkert, 1985, 55; Dowden, 2000, 172.
[137] James, 1962, 145.
[138] James, 1962, 145; Burkert, 1985, 57; Arens, 1988, 224.
[139] James, 1962, 36.
[140] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 334.
[141] Girard, 2003; Burkert, 1983.
[142] Baal, 2003.

analysis of the subject[143]. Suffice it to say, though, that sacrifice is the primary ritual act that allows humans to establish a relation with the divine –from whatever motives. In order for this relationship to be valid and in order for the divine to engage in the ritual, a specialist must be present[144]. It is not surprising then that in most societies religious specialists were employed for its performance and that especially in ancient societies, such as the Greek and the Roman, it was the main task of the priest[145].

Sacrifice also creates another bond between people and the divine by sharing a communal meal, whether this is the animal as an offering or the actual divinity represented as an animal[146]. Through the act of sharing food, communication is established between the people and the divine, whereas through the act of eating and drinking as embodied experiences, the divine is sensed[147].

The significance of sacrifice and the need for a specialised person to perform it is related to the killing and shedding of blood, an act that causes horror and requires divine sanction[148]. Burkert in *Homo Necans* has demonstrated how sacrifice arose from hunting and how it was eventually ritualised due to the terror it caused[149]. In addition, if sacrifice is not performed correctly, it will evoke the anger of the divine. In Classical Greece for example, the presence of the priest in animal sacrifice was required for the religious death of the animal to be valid and in order for the action to be noticed and accepted by the gods[150]. Only the

[143] One of the traditional studies, though often criticised, is Hubert and Mauss, 1964. Very useful for the examination of the subject is Carter's (2003) anthology of essays and Burkert, 1987.
[144] Durand, 1989, 104.
[145] For a discussion of the subject see Beard and North, 1990, 1-14.
[146] James, 1961, 145.
[147] Burkert, 1983, 40.
[148] Dietrich, 1988, 36.
[149] Burkert, 1983.
[150] Durand, 1989, 104.

religious specialist can take the burden, the pollution and terror of the killing, because he has a different status –a liminal one.

Religious specialists may hold various roles or duties depending on the type and the complexity of the given society. Therefore, a religious specialist may function as the "interpreter" already mentioned, since he/she is capable of interpreting signs on the basis of a body of specialist knowledge and/or charisma, appearing either in nature or in dreams, or in animal parts during sacrifice[151]. At the same time he/she can be the "rememberer", the one who preserves traditions, whether narrative, like myth, teachings as the doctrine, or practice, i.e. ritual[152]. Often he/she is the "advisor", perhaps both on religious and secular matters, as well as the "authority", when acting as a judge, something that may be characteristic of a "theocratic" state[153]. The religious specialist may also be the "validator" functioning as the authority in ritual performance and/or the "functionary" charged with the task of performing ritual dancing or singing, and as the "warden", when maintaining the paraphernalia of religion -temples, offerings, cult objects[154]. Finally, the religious specialist may function as what Dowden has called a "showman", when exploiting special psychological powers, such as altered states of consciousness, a common practice among shamans[155].

Religious specialists can also be healers, by acting as the mediator between the person who seeks to be healed and the god. The specialist also consults the patient on the things he has to do or offer to the god in order to be

[151] Burkert, 1985, 112; Dowden, 2000, 226.
[152] Maringer, 1977-78, 101; Dowden, 2000, 226.
[153] Dowden, 2000, 226.
[154] Dowden, 2000, 226. That was partly the meaning of the title ιερεύς and ιέρεια in Classical Greece (Garland, 1989, 77; Dowden, 2000, 241).
[155] Dowden, 2000, 226.

cured[156]. Finally, religious specialists can function as seers. This is due to their ability to interpret signs sent by the divine, through which they give direction and guidance to men, although in a cryptic form[157]. Such signs were usually celestial phenomena and dreams[158]. The observation of the flight of birds especially, had an important role, not only in Classical Greek divination, but also in Etruscan and Roman traditions[159]. Sacrifice, on the other hand was also very important and was an act where everything was a sign, from the way the animal approached the altar –whether willingly or not- to the way various parts of the animal were burned[160]. All these attributes do not necessarily characterise all religious specialists. They are simply indicative of the possible roles specialists may have in different societies.

The role of a religious specialist varies among religions, but there are three categories of specialists that are noteworthy due to the significant roles they have in their societies: the shamans, the prophets and the priests. Shamans are charismatic figures, believed to have been chosen by the spirits to be intermediaries between their world and the human beings. Shamans can either be women or men, and cross-culturally they have the ability to hallucinate, sometimes with the help of drugs and sometimes as a result of natural ability, in order to be possessed by spirits whom they have invited, or to leave their bodies and visit spirits in the next world[161]. A prophet is a charismatic leader who offers solutions in times of social unrest. He/she usually has suffered some intense spiritual experience, which as a result make him/her feel he/she has a mission to

[156] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 231, 232.
[157] Burkert, 1985, 111.
[158] Burkert, 1985, 112.
[159] Burkert, 1985, 112.
[160] Burkert, 1985, 112.
[161] Maringer, 1977-78, 105; Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 328; Argyle, 2000, 134.

fulfil[162]. The prophet's claim to authority is based on personal revelation, that is why charisma is very important[163].

In contrast to prophets who emerge when the social order is disturbed, priests are usually well established in society, and are usually found in complex ones, where religion is practised on a larger scale and more publicly than elsewhere[164]. Priests, like shamans and prophets, are religious specialists who mediate between human beings and gods, but unlike the other two, they learn doctrines and rituals from other, older priests[165]. Personality and personal experience are much less relevant for priests than they are for shamans and prophets, and priests are officeholders with an authority based on their official position[166].

The Role of the Priest

As Beard and North noted a few years ago, there is no framework of cross-cultural discussion of the nature and role of priestly activity[167]. In their very illuminating collection of papers concerning the priesthoods in ancient societies[168], a number of issues arose in terms of the role and position of priests, such as the fact that many secular people had priestly functions, whereas priests often performed "non-priestly" functions, or that pagan priests were not moral leaders and never stood apart from the political order[169]. The definition of priesthood is problematic, due to the authority of priests being so embedded in

[162] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 329.
[163] Weber, 1963, 46-47.
[164] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 330.
[165] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 330.
[166] Hicks and Gwynne, 1995, 331.
[167] Beard and North, 1990, 6.
[168] Beard and North, 1990.
[169] Beard and North, 1990, 1, 4.

political and social authority[170]. Naturally, the purpose of this study is not to answer these difficult questions, but it is necessary to be aware of them in the examination of the Mycenaean priesthood.

What seems to be a defining characteristic of a priest is his function as mediator between humans and gods[171]. The priest establishes and maintains contact between the sacred and the community[172]. Another decisive characteristic of priests and the principal ritual performed by them, is the animal sacrifice to honour the divine often followed by a meat meal[173]. Priests are usually, though not always, full-time specialists who receive their livelihood from their professional activities and/or are supported by others[174], or they hold the profession as a result of their social position, for example because they are the head of a lineage or the king, providing them with considerable power[175]. Priests usually seek their role voluntarily, even though they may be expected to follow the profession because of inheritance of the position by a descendant[176]. Indeed, priesthoods are often hereditary, frequently associated with the hereditary control of temples[177]. If priests are not appointed to the profession by heredity, then they are appointed by training in the performance of rituals[178].

The selection of priests is mostly based on social inheritance, social succession, or political action involving appointment to the office by others or taking it by force or negotiation[179]. The training of priests usually involves

[170] Beard and North, 1990, 8, 9.
[171] Dhavamony, 1973, 221; Beard and North, 1990, 9.
[172] Dhavamony, 1973, 212.
[173] Burkert, 1985, 55, 57; Garland, 1989, 77; Beard and North, 1990, 9; Dowden, 2000, 241; Smart, 1996, 219. See above.
[174] Klass, 1995, 67-68.
[175] Winkelman, 1992, 71.
[176] Winkelman, 1992, 71.
[177] Burkert, 1985, 96; Smart, 1996, 219.
[178] Smart, 1996, 219.
[179] Winkelman, 1992, 34, 71.

learning how to officiate in public ceremonies[180] and it is often quite lengthy, given that priests must master the complex rituals needed to perform their role[181]. Therefore, priests have knowledge of rituals or ceremonial behaviour, which are indicative of their supernatural power[182] and high status as religious authorities. Moreover, priests should know the scriptures, the lore and learning of the faith and the mythology[183], which make them guardians of the sacred tradition[184], whereas as mediator they have a central role in rite and keep and restore fidelity to religious tradition[185].

Priests generally act because it is their social function as representatives of the community to carry out certain rituals and activities[186]. These are usually community functions and calendrical rites occurring at certain times, such as harvests and commemorative feasts[187] and rites marking the transition of members of the community from one role or status to another (rites of passage), which emphasise the organised form of religion priests are engaged to. As a consequence, priests can also be defined as individuals who devote all or a regularly scheduled part of their time to their duties[188].

The complexity of the priestly office, then, suggests a more developed skill and consequently a specialisation[189]. Specialisation in turn implies knowledge and transmission of this knowledge, which suggests some form of organisation for the training of the future priests. However, the degree of this

[180] Winkelman, 1992, 71.
[181] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 234. An example is the priest in Zoroastrianism, who has to be trained to the proper pronunciation of the verbal formulae of the prayer (Smart, 1996, 220).
[182] Winkelman, 1992, 71.
[183] Smart, 1996, 220.
[184] Wallace, 1966, 36.
[185] Dhavamony, 1973, 212-213.
[186] Dhavamony, 1973, 212-213; Winkelman, 1992, 34, 69, 71.
[187] Winkelman, 1992, 71; Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 234.
[188] Powers, 1986, 171.
[189] Dowden, 2000, 227.

organisation depends on the society itself and the level of social organisation. The existence of a well organised priesthood may be a characteristic of developed and hierarchical societies, where the development of the state has led to the creation of a system of public offices[190], one of them being that of the priest. This is suggested by the fact that priests are usually organised into a hierarchical priesthood under the sponsorship of a formal government, the state[191]. This does not mean that in less developed societies there are no priests, only that there we should expect a less formal, homelier religious specialism and perhaps also a part-time one[192].

Therefore, the political power priests can have is based on the one hand on their authority as religious specialists, as well as on their connection with the divine, and on the other hand on their association with the political power. Often priests can function as socio-political leaders[193], further emphasising the political control they can have. Finally, the influence of priests is very often enhanced by the theocratic organisation of the society. In societies where the king has both political and religious functions the priesthood has a stronger dominance. This is due to the priests' role as representatives of the king in his religious function. All these do not imply that religion and priesthood are simply a creation for coping with the psychological or social needs of the people, or a means of manipulating them and the belief in the existence of a supernatural force/forces should not be underestimated.

[190] Winkelman, 1992, 71; Dowden, 2000, 228.
[191] Peoples and Bailey, 2000, 234.
[192] Dowden, 2000, 228.
[193] Winkelman, 1992, 75.

The Priesthood in Minoan Crete

Since Minoan influence on Mycenaean culture was significant, especially during the early stages of Mycenaean society, it is important to look briefly into Minoan priesthood. An examination of the Minoan priesthood has already been done[194]. In addition, due to the vast archaeological material and the large bibliography concerning Minoan religion, the topic will be approached in a summarised way. The study will focus on the palaces and will be limited chronologically to the Neopalatial period (MMIII-LM IB, c.1750-1490 B.C.[195]), since it was during this period that Mycenaean Greece received most Minoan influences. Finally, the divine character of the Minoan ruler will be examined briefly in order to decide what was his role in Minoan cult and how this affected the priesthood.

Minoan Religion in the Neopalatial Period

The origins of Neopalatial religion must be sought in the Protopalatial period, where appear for the first time many features that define its cult practice. With the emergence of the first palaces also appear small rooms for the performance of cult, suggested by the presence of equipment for the preparation of food and drink and other possible cult paraphernalia[196]. At the beginning of the Neopalatial period appear a few changes, such as a decline in the number of peak sanctuaries and a change in their character from popular to more "palatial", whereas evidence for burial ritual ceases. Finally, cult performed in the palaces becomes richer and more complex, suggesting a deliberate reorganisation of cult

[194] Zeimbekis, 1991. I am very grateful to Dr. Marika Zeimbekis for sending me a copy of her unpublished dissertation on Minoan Priesthood and allowing me to use it in my thesis.
[195] Rehak and Younger, 2001, 384, 391.
[196] Rehak and Younger, 2001, 433.

along official lines. This is also suggested by the fact that with the destruction of the second palaces, many forms of cult equipment connected with them and the major centres disappear and tombs re-emerge as religious foci, thus indicating a re-emergence of more popular beliefs and customs[197].

During this period cult was performed in Bench-type sanctuaries, in Lustral Basins and Pillar Crypts[198] and in Central Courts, as in the Protopalatial period. New types of sanctuaries and sacred areas also appeared, such as Tripartite Shrines[199]. The Bench sanctuary, the Lustral Basin and the Pillar Crypt were not confined to the palaces, but always occurred in buildings identified as residential. The Bench type sanctuaries were the most simple cult buildings, consisting of one or more benches for the deposition of offerings[200]. Lustral Basins and Pillar Crypts on the other hand were architecturally distinctive rooms, the former identified by its sunken floor, rectangular or sometimes square, columned parapet and L-shaped stair[201]. The function of Lustral Basins has been debated[202], but the association of some Lustral Basins with the Throne Room, like at Knossos and Phaistos and the presence of cult objects such as a bull's head rhyton and horns of consecration, may emphasise their ritual function[203]. They were probably used for ceremonies of anointing and lustration as Evans has suggested for the Lustral Basin in the northwest section of the Knossos palace[204].

[197] Rehak and Younger, 2001, 434.
[198] For a discussion of the function of the rooms see Gesell, 1985, 22-29.
[199] Gesell, 1985, 19.
[200] Gesell, 1985, 32.
[201] Gesell, 1985, 22.
[202] Graham (1969, 99-108) for example interpreted them as bathrooms, whereas Nordfeldt (1987) and Rutkowski (1986, 131, 135) and Marinatos (1993, 77-81) supported their religious use. For the debate concerning Lustral Basins see Platonos, 1990, 141-144.
[203] Gesell, 1985, 23, 32.
[204] Evans, 1930, 8-9.

The Pillar Crypt was a rectangular room with a central pillar[205] and has been associated with the cult of the dead, since it was also found in the tomb, whereas there is a clear connection of it with the double axe and the bull[206]. The room may have been used in cult in the same way as the Lustral Basin[207].

Minoan Priests and Ritual Practices

Warren has subdivided Minoan rituals into rituals of invocation and rituals of offering. The purpose of the former was to invoke the epiphany of the deity and included the performance of dance and other ritual movements[208]. Offering rituals aimed at appealing to the beneficence of the deity and included the offering of gifts, such as foodstuff, liquids, flowers and animals. The role of the priests in such practices was based on their state of purity, which deemed them capable of establishing communion with the divine[209], but also on their knowledge of how to perform the ritual the right way, in order to engage the divinity. The priest, as a mediator between the people and the divine, belongs to the liminal zone. Therefore, his role in ritual action would have also been to lead the cult activity and to control the mental state and expressive activity of other cult participants[210].

Priests were primarily involved in animal sacrifice, blood and liquid libations, but also in ceremonies associated with the appearance of the deity, such as dance and baetylic rituals. Animal sacrifice is attested by iconographic depictions on a number of seals, showing pigs and bulls lying on sacrificial tables

[205] Gesell, 1985, 2.
[206] Gesell, 1985, 33.
[207] Gesell, 1985, 13.
[208] Warren, 1988, 14.
[209] Zeimbekis, 1991, 33.
[210] Zeimbekis, 1991, 33.

or platforms (**fig. 2**), but also by actual remains of altars[211]. The process presumably involved selecting and preparing the animal, bringing it to the place of sacrifice –perhaps in a procession accompanied by music-, setting it on the altar/sacrificial table and cutting its throat and collecting the blood, which would then be used in a libation[212], whereas parts of the animal were probably then cooked and consumed in a communal meal by the participants or the priests[213]. This can be supported by the presence in some shrines of hearths and/or benches, or burned layers with animal bones[214]. The slaughtering of the animal took place probably on movable tables rather than fixed altars, since evidence for the latter is very scarce[215].

The sacrifice was most likely conducted in an outdoor setting, since the shrines are generally quite small, but also because outside more people could watch the ritual[216]. The popular character of animal sacrifice is also attested by the association of the court at Phaistos with the Upper West Court Shrine during its Neopalatial phase, when it was enlarged and a door was opened that allowed access also to the public from the West Court, as opposed to the earlier restricted access to the palace inhabitants[217]. The shrine consisted by an anteroom, the sanctuary, two preparation rooms (V and VI), with built-in facilities for grinding and for storage and drainage of liquid, two storage rooms and an open-air hearth[218]. The room identified as the sanctuary (VIII) had a terracotta hearth in the centre of the floor and benches lining the room for the deposition of offerings

[211] The topic has been examined in detail by Marinatos, 1986.
[212] Marinatos, 1986, 29; Warren, 1988, 28.
[213] Marinatos, 1986, 38, 49; Warren, 1988, 28.
[214] Marinatos, 1986, 49; Warren, 1988, 28.
[215] The stone construction in the NW corner of the central court of the palace at Phaistos and the stepped altar of Juktas may be exceptions (Marinatos, 1986, 14, 15, 49; 1988b, 12, 15).
[216] Marinatos, 1986, 15, 18, 49.
[217] Gesell, 1985, 11; Marinatos, 1993, 100.
[218] Gesell, 1985, 11.

and cult equipment[219]. The hearth area and the grinding room suggest that food offerings together with a ritual meal may have been part of the cult, whereas traces of burning on the hearth may also suggest food offerings[220]. The connection of the shrine with the West Court and the existence of an outdoors hearth give a communal character to it and connect it with public rites performed in the Court, further supported by the fact that the hearth's size is suitable for large animal sacrifice[221].

Any pouring vessel may have been used for libations, but the presence of animal rhyta and libation tables particularly attest to the performance of libations, both with the blood of the sacrificed animal and other liquids, such as water, wine, milk and honey[222]. During the Neopalatial period most evidence for libations comes from pillar crypts, in the form of vats placed in front of pillars and fragments of ritual vases[223].

Ritual dancing and baetylic cults –involving baetyls, pillars and trees[224]-, may have aimed at invoking the appearance of the divinity[225]. Warren has reconstructed the ritual based on depictions on seals as such: first a man or a woman approached the baetyl, perhaps having already offered a female dress – since often baetyls are depicted together with a dress-, he/she then kneeled and touched the baetyl and summoned the divinity to the stone by gestures. The arrival of the divinity was represented by a bird or a butterfly. The participant

[219] Gesell, 1985, 11; Metaxa-Muhly, 1984, 116, 120.
[220] Gesell, 1985, 11, 65.
[221] Gesell, 1987, 124.
[222] Marinatos, 1986, 25-32.
[223] Marinatos, 1986, 30.
[224] For ritual dancing see Warren, 1984 and 1988, 14-15, for trees see Evans, 1901, whereas for baetyls see Warren, 1990 and Marinatos, 1990.
[225] Warren (1990, 354, 353-363) has thoroughly examined the evidence of rituals connected to sacred boulders and argues in favour of a baetylic cult.

finally, embraced and kissed the stone in communion with it and the divinity[226]. The cult symbols often included in the scene confirm the ritual actions and the presence of the divinity[227]. Although depictions of baetylic cults are common, actual baetyls are very few[228]. Baetylic cults may have been associated with the shaking of the tree and ecstatic dance, presumably as part of the ritual to summon the divinity or a way to fall into ecstasy[229]. In some depictions the focus is not the kneeling figure, but the female in the middle probably dancing, which may have been a priestess who controlled and directed the ritual[230]. Therefore, in baetylic cults, the individuals who provoked the epiphany of the deity were certainly priests and priestesses, although, the most important role of a priestess would have been to impersonate the goddess in ritual performances, like in enacted epiphany or other ceremonies[231].

The most ceremonial expression of enacted epiphany would have been that performed in the "Throne Room" at Knossos[232] during its second phase[233]. The throne, then, would accommodate a priestess representing the goddess[234] rather than a king. Although originally Reusch argued that the ritual was performed in the actual "Throne Room", Niemeier later proposed the door between the "Throne Room" and the "Inner Sanctuary" as the place where the epiphany took place, since griffins also flank this place and because a sudden

[226] Warren, 1988, 18; 1990, 359.
[227] Warren, 1988, 18; 1990, 359.
[228] For the sites where these were found see Warren, 1988, 18; 1990, 360-361.
[229] Marinatos (1990), however, has shifted the focus from the stone to the tree and suggested that the ritual was related to fertility, death and renewal of the natural world.
[230] Marinatos, 1990, 82, 90.
[231] Hägg, 1983a, 184 ; Niemeier, 1987; Cameron, 1987; Marinatos, 1993, 143, 162. Cameron (1987, 321-325) for example, has interpreted the palatial wall paintings of Knossos as a thematic system, where various stages of the festival of the Great Goddess including the sacred marriage between the Goddess and a male are depicted.
[232] Niemeier, 1987, 163-168. For a discussion of the function of the Throne Room see Rutkowski, 1986, 127-128.
[233] For the building phases of the "Throne Room" complex see Niemeier, 1987 and Mirié, 1979 as cited there.
[234] Niemeier, 1987, 165.

appearance was necessary for the epiphany[235]. The "Inner Sanctuary" would be reached by the "Service Section", a complex that could have functioned as preparation rooms for the priestess, who would then "appear" in the entrance from the "Inner Sanctuary" to the "Throne Room" and would be seated on the throne[236]. This ritual may have been related with the offering of a dress and the dressing of the impersonator of the goddess[237], which could have taken place also in the preparation rooms[238].

Of great importance to Minoan cult seems to have been public rituals performed in West Courts and Central Courts. Such gatherings probably took the form of seasonal public festivals, where both the populace and the palace inhabitants participated and which may have began even in the Protopalatial period[239]. The presence of large circular pits interpreted as granaries[240], may support this theory and may suggest that the palaces functioned as storage and distribution centres[241]. The causeways, which in all three palaces were related to the granaries, may have functioned as processional ways, whereas the so-called theatral areas could have been platforms where the priests or important people stood during the ceremony[242] (**fig. 3**). Whether these ceremonies were associated with the epiphany of the deity is a matter of controversy[243], though it is possible

[235] Niemeier, 1987, 165.
[236] Niemeier, 1987, 167.
[237] For a detailed examination of the subject see Korres, 1981, 659-688. This ritual is also depicted on seals and probably also in the shrine of the House of the Ladies at Thera (Marinatos, 1984a, 102, 104; Warren, 1988, 20-22).
[238] Niemeier, 1987, 166.
[239] Marinatos, 1987a, 133-143. The use of courts for religious ceremonies is also suggested by iconographic evidence, e.g. the "Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco" and the "Grandstand Fresco" both from the palace at Knossos.
[240] For the various theories see Marinatos, 1987a, 133. These granaries disappear in the Neopalatial period -except from Mallia-, but harvest festivals could have continued despite some modifications in the ritual (Marinatos, 1987a, 138).
[241] Marinatos, 1987a, 137.
[242] Marinatos, 1987a, 137; Zeimbekis, 1991, 40.
[243] Hägg, 1983a, 185; 1987; Marinatos, 1993, 258, n. 93; Davis, 1987, 158; Preziosi and Hitchcock, 1999, 82.

that in such large gatherings, the palace may have presented the "goddess" to the population in an attempt to impress and manipulate the crowd.

The ceremonies taking place in the Central Court at Knossos and ritual contests in particular, may have been associated with the East Hall, the religious function of which is suggested by the decoration of the walls with griffins and the presence of horns of consecration and of four figurines[244]. The religious function of the room is also suggested by the Grand Staircase fresco, which would have functioned as a signpost[245] and would have led an actual procession of priests and priestesses to the East Hall.

Priests and Priestesses in Minoan iconography

Very informative concerning Minoan priests is the iconography on seals and gold rings. Priests are either depicted only by their heads -known as portrait seals-, or in full stature. In the portraits they are often depicted with bucrania or other animals, considered as sacrificial victims, whereas a characteristic hairstyle, cropped in the front forming a fringe and longer at the back, as well as a beard or a cap may have been attributes of priests[246]. Priests in Minoan iconography have traditionally been equated with figures in long robes, an equation first made by Evans[247]. Nevertheless, the long robe can also be an attribute of high status and therefore the identification cannot only depend on the costume of the figure[248]. Consequently, figures in long robes have been attributed a priestly status mostly on account of the ritual objects they hold. Zeimbekis, in her study, conferred a priestly status to male figures carrying a hammer axe or a

[244] Hägg, 1983b, 548-549.
[245] Hägg, 1985b, 211.
[246] Marinatos, 1993, 128.
[247] Evans, 1935, 404; Marinatos, 1993, 127; Rehak, 2000, 44.
[248] Zeimbekis, 1991, 14.

mace, to those depicted with a lunate axe, to the woman bearing an animal and finally to the woman holding the "snake frame".

The association of actual specimens of hammer axes and votives with areas of ritual activity suggests that the axe had an emblematic as well as an instrumental function and that therefore it conferred a priestly status to the individual carrying it[249] (**fig. 4**). Furthermore, the areas where hammer axes were found suggest that they were associated with prestigious public cult activity, but whether they were used to stun the animal cannot be attested from the iconographic evidence, although it seems quite likely[250]. The identity of the lunate axe bearer (**fig. 5**) is more problematic, since the object could have had an emblematic rather than a functional purpose, being absent from most pictorial representations of sacrificial ritual[251], even though Marinatos has interpreted it as emblematic of sacrifice[252]. The instrument could have been used in animal sacrifice as a knife, dagger or sword, but its rare depiction could suggest that its use was restricted to specific individuals, indicating their special status in cult activity[253]. Finally, Marinatos has also identified as priests figures holding bows, a reference according to her to the hunting character of the priest[254]. Thus, portraits of priests associated with heads of animals or predators can be connected to ritual hunting[255]. Priests can also be depicted with birds –perhaps an association with the epiphany of the deity- and perhaps even with fantastic creatures[256].

[249] Zeimbekis, 1991, 3-11.
[250] Zeimbekis, 1991, 10; For maces used to stun the animal see Manti-Platonos, 1981, 82 and Hägg, 1998, 102.
[251] Zeimbekis, 1991, 17-19.
[252] Marinatos, 1986, 22.
[253] Zeimbekis, 1991, 17.
[254] Marinatos, 1988b, 18; 1993, 129.
[255] Marinatos, 1993, 131.
[256] Marinatos, 1993, 132.

Priestesses on the contrary have no distinctive dress, since a female in a flounced skirt and an open bodice can be a goddess, a priestess or a lady of the elite, and perhaps only the context can reveal the identity of the person[257]. Hide-skirts were also worn in religious scenes and some scholars argue that they were worn both by priests and priestesses[258]. In Minoan iconography the hide-skirt is related more with processions than with sacrifice[259], contrary to what would have been expected given the relationship between the sacrificer and the victim[260]. It is probable then that priests and priestesses wore the hide-skirt during certain festivals[261].

Nevertheless, priestesses can also be recognised by the ritual acts they are depicted performing. The woman bearing an animal (**fig. 6**), which is distinguished from depictions of "Potnia Theron", has been identified as a priestess[262] on account of the presence of a second female figure and/or a cult structure, indicating that the practice is taking place in the human sphere, but also on the lifeless position of the animal, suggested by his hanging head and legs[263]. The scene refers to a post-sacrificial phase of the ritual[264]. The woman represents a priestess carrying in a procession the stunned sacrificed animal towards a structure on which it will be consecrated[265]. This is further supported by the fact that the animals depicted are usually of the domesticated rather than wild species, which rules out the possibility that the woman is carrying a quarry[266]. Finally, depictions of a woman holding the "snake frame" (**fig. 7**) are interpreted by many

[257] Marinatos, 1993, 141.
[258] Sapouna-Sakellaraki, 1971, 123; Marinatos, 1993, 137.
[259] Marinatos, 1993, 135.
[260] For an examination of sacrificial ritual see Burkert, 1983.
[261] Marinatos, 1993, 137.
[262] Sakellarakis, 1972, 256, 258; Marinatos, 1986, 12.
[263] Palikisianos, 1996, 842; Zeimbekis, 1991, 21, 23.
[264] Marinatos, 1988b, 16; Zeimbekis, 1991, 24.
[265] Sakellarakis, 1972, 256, 258; Marinatos, 1986, 12; 1988b, 16; Zeimbekis, 1991, 24.
[266] Zeimbekis, 1991, 25.

scholars as representing the culminating point of cult activity during which a priestess impersonating a goddess, raises the "snake frame"[267]. This is suggested by the frontal position of the woman, which is usually reserved for divine personages, whereas the "snake frame" and the act of raising it associate it with the human ritual sphere[268]. In addition, the frontal pose of the figure suggests that the scene represents the culminating point of the ritual, rather than a preliminary phase[269].

Zeimbekis has suggested that the lunate axe bearer was of a high social status and was involved in palatial, perhaps exclusively Knossian cult activity, since most of the relevant seals were found at Knossos. Similarly, the impersonator of the goddess who holds the "snake frame" was probably firmly associated with the palace of Knossos[270]. On the contrary, the frequent existence of actual hammers in a variety of cult assemblages and architectural settings, suggests that it was an attribute of priests active within a wider topographical and social context[271]. The "woman bearing the animal" motif on the other hand was probably associated with more common and less exclusive sacrificial practices, suggested by the widespread distribution of seals with this depiction and the sacrifice of a small animal, indicative of a less prestigious ceremony[272]. Finally, it is possible that there was a relationship between sealstones, ownership and status and that the seals depicting the hammer and lunate axe bearer were owned by priests. The absence of an interaction with a deity or a depiction of the spatial

[267] Zeimbekis, 1991, 26 and 27-28 for the role of the "snake frame".
[268] Zeimbekis, 1991, 26-27.
[269] Zeimbekis, 1991, 26.
[270] Zeimbekis, 1991, 30.
[271] Zeimbekis, 1991, 30.
[272] Zeimbekis, 1991, 30.

and temporal context of the sacrificial act, could suggest that what was emphasised was the cult celebrants' status[273].

The Function of Minoan Priests

Zeimbekis has divided Minoan ritual activity into communal, aiming at gaining the beneficence of the deity on behalf of the community and into cult activity focusing on rites of passage[274]. Since this section is interested in the political role priests could have, it focuses on the performance of communal ritual. Communal cult activity was performed in communal cult places and involved the participation of the community or a representative cross section of it as an audience[275]. Ceremonies performed in the Central Courts then belonged to this category, where the community, or most likely representatives of the community, were allowed entrance to the palace, which otherwise was restricted[276]. The purpose of such ceremonies would be very specific. Public open spaces in general are used to control the contact between the populace and the authority, but also to convey a certain message[277]. In Neopalatial Crete the association between large congregations and ritual acts may have been used as an instrument from a particular group -presumably the elite or the priesthood- in "mass communication"[278] and in establishing a common ideology, since courts were territorial markers, which would help the political authority to control the populace[279]. The ruling elite may have used ritual in order to preserve its

[273] Zeimbekis, 1991, 31.
[274] Zeimbekis, 1991, 34.
[275] Zeimbekis, 1991, 34.
[276] Gesell, 1985, 61.
[277] Vansteenhuyse, 2002, 240.
[278] Vansteenhuyse, 2002, 240.
[279] Vansteenhuyse, 2002, 241-242.

authority in a ritualised form[280]. In this case the role of the priests would have been vital in establishing and maintaining the ideology.

The political use of cult during the Neopalatial period can also be observed in its centralisation, one aspect of which was the ceremonies taking place in the courts. Such ceremonies indicated that cult was controlled by the palaces and that festivals took place as a means of gathering large numbers of people for display of that power, what Moody terms "a source of prestige"[281]. The centralisation in cult is also attested in the additional resources channelled in the elaboration of specific peak sanctuaries, belonging to palatial or urban centres[282], for example that of Juktas[283], where cult becomes more restricted and controlled than before[284]. Both the centralisation of peak sanctuaries and the restricted access to palaces in the Neopalatial period, could have been parts of the process by which the palatial elite –in which can be also included the priesthood- used religion to maintain its hierarchical position[285].

It is possible, therefore, that the priesthood was strongly connected with the ruling elite, since the latter would depend on the support of the priesthood to stabilise its political power. In its turn, the priesthood may have depended on the elite for material rewards. It is also possible that members of the elite held priestly offices. Taking all these into consideration, it is possible to argue that the social status of priests and priestesses as palace personnel and religious specialists would have been quite high, suggested also by the existence of

[280] Vansteenhuyse, 2002, 243.
[281] Moody, 1987, 240.
[282] Peatfield, 1990, 127.
[283] For a detailed description of the sanctuary of Juktas and for the control of Knossos see Karetsou, 1981. For the control of peak sanctuaries in general see Peatfield, 1987 and Moody, 1987.
[284] For a more detailed discussion of this subject see Moody, 1987.
[285] Peatfield, 1990, 130.

priestly insignia, like the lunate axe. In addition, it is possible that priesthood was a hereditary office, or that future priests and priestesses were trained from an early age. A seal from a private collection in Zurich depicting the head of a bearded man facing another head could represent this master-apprentice relationship and could emphasise the continuity of generations in the priestly office[286]. Initiation rites and particularly those associated with girls may indicate the preparation of future priests and priestesses. The strong religious character of the crocus-gatherers fresco from Xeste 3 at Thera, for example, and especially the presence of the goddess[287] may suggest that the scene depicts initiation rites of young priestesses[288] (**fig. 8**). Finally, the existence of cult assistants, who would help with the ritual acts although it cannot be substantiated seems quite possible, since tasks such as grinding and preparing some of the offerings may have been done by them and not by the priests.

The Minoan Priest-King

Very relevant to the study of the Minoan priesthood is the theory that both religious and political power gathered in one person, the king. The notion of the Priest-King was first put forward by Evans[289], who nevertheless did not define clearly his nature, nor his duties, but rather speculated that the Minoan king would also have priestly duties[290], a notion influenced by the cultures of Egypt and the Near East, where theocracy was established[291]. Nevertheless, although the Minoans were in contact with these civilisations and were familiar

[286] Marinatos, 1993, 133.
[287] For a more detailed examination of the identity of the figure see Warren, 1988, 30.
[288] For a detailed discussion of the topic see Rehak, 2004.
[289] Evans, 1921, 3-4; 1928, 774-794.
[290] Koehl, 1995, 25.
[291] Davis, 1995, 11. For a detailed account of how Evans formulated the Priest-King theory see Bennett, 1961-62.

with their ruler images, they never used them to represent their own rulers[292] and indeed there are very few possible Minoan representations of the ruler. Of these, the so-called "Priest-King" and the young Minoan Prince of the Chieftain Cup are the most prominent candidates. However, there is not a single representation, which could be considered with certainty as depicting a ruler and of the aforementioned representations the reconstruction of the "Priest-King" has been challenged many times[293]. In addition, although ceremonial scenes are common in Minoan art, no kingly figure appears to preside or even participate in them[294].

In terms of the so-called "Priest-King", the ambiguity concerning the finding of the fragments[295] and the reconstruction, which changed from a figure leading a sacred animal to holding a sceptre[296], weakens Evans's evidence for the existence of a Minoan Priest-King. In addition, it is possible that the figure was female than male and that it was part of a procession of many figures[297].

In addition to the "Priest-King" fresco, Evans also argued that the imposing figure with the staff from the Ayia Triadha Chieftain Cup represented a young Minoan Prince giving orders to an officer of the guard[298]. Koehl however, has argued very convincingly that the scene depicts a "rite of passage" ceremony[299] (**fig. 9**). The smaller figure is the initiate and the bigger figure is an older man who initiates him. The military garb, the ox hide –a sacrificed victim- and the cup itself are gifts from the older youth to the initiate[300]. Very similar to

[292] Davis, 1995, 12.
[293] First by Coulomb, 1979, then by Niemeier, 1988. For a detailed discussion of the fresco and its different reconstructions see Niemeier 1986, 1987 and 1988, Davis 1995, Shaw 2004 and Sherrat, 2005.
[294] Waterhouse, 1974, 153.
[295] Marinatos, 1993, 71
[296] Evans, 1928, 788; Niemeier, 1986, 235, 237.
[297] Shaw, 2004, 76.
[298] Evans, 1928, 790; Davis, 1995, 13.
[299] Koehl, 1986.
[300] Koehl, 1986, 105, 106.

the figure with the staff is the figure depicted on the Master Impression sealing (**fig. 10**). Hallager, who studied the sealing, did not favour one interpretation, but examined both possibilities: the figure as a human ruler and as a god. The figure could be a conqueror, associated with the fortified city, or a ruler protecting his settlement[301]. Alternatively, he may be the Minoan king, depicted on top of his palace, the centre of Minoan society and religion, indicated by the horns of consecration[302]. If the figure is human, his religious significance is suggested by the four unidentified objects next to him. Finally, the figure can be a god, due to the similarity in gesture with the Mother of the Mountain sealing and the Epiphany Ring[303]. Niemeier believes that both the figure in the Master Impression and the Chieftain are deities, as all examples of the commanding gesture[304]. In addition, the Mother of the Mountain sealing may represent the Minoan king receiving his insignia –the staff- from the goddess[305], suggested according to Rutkowski by the size and scale of the male figure in comparison to the goddess[306].

Evans has argued that some of the figures in long robes holding sacrificial implements, or associated with sacred symbols such as a dove, a dolphin and a griffin may represent the Priest-King[307]. However, none of them seems to differentiate either in dress or in the objects held in order to indicate a combination of a royal and priestly function and therefore it is not possible to support this interpretation. In addition, Marinatos' theory mentioned already that these figures were priests, seems more probable. Relevant to the identity of the

[301] Hallager, 1985, 31.
[302] Hallager, 1985, 31.
[303] Hallager, 1985, 32.
[304] Niemeier, 1986, 242.
[305] Rutkowski, 1986, 88; Hallager, 1985, 32.
[306] Rutkowski, 1986, 88.
[307] Evans, 1935, 404, 412-414.

long robed figures is the theory supporting that Minoan Crete was divided in numerous autonomous political units of varying sizes, of which the major palaces were the largest and usually the richest[308]. Each of these may have had its own internal hierarchy, dominated by a local aristocracy[309]. Therefore, the figures identified as priests could have represented kings or chiefs of the Minoan city-states, who also had in their hand the religious authority[310]. This is suggested, according to Koehl, by the fact that even though the axe was the main token of priestly function, it was also found in the palace at Mallia as an emblem of royal regalia[311]. Nevertheless, this find could simply indicate the existence of priests in the palace, also suggested by the existence of cult areas, since as Zeimbekis has argued the hammer axe seems to have been the chief symbol of priests being active in a wider topographical and social context than the lunate axe bearers[312].

Marinatos has argued that the similarity in representation between deities and rulers in Minoan iconography indicates divine kingship, where both the king and the queen had a religious function[313]. Kings and queens were considered as representatives of gods on earth and this may explain why the emphasis was on performance[314]. In this way the Minoan rulers claimed divine heritage and their ultimate authority was reinforced by their costume, appearance and their ultimate control of rituals[315]. Therefore the priestess impersonating the goddess at the ceremony taking place in the Throne Room was actually the Queen, who would

[308] Cherry, 1986, esp. 24, 26; Koehl, 1995.
[309] Koehl, 1995, 27-28.
[310] Koehl, 1995, 31.
[311] Koehl, 1995, 31.
[312] Zeimbekis, 1991, 30.
[313] Marinatos, 1995b. Platon (1983, 276) goes even further by arguing that priesthood was restricted to the royal family, the divine genos, which had blood relations to the deity.
[314] Marinatos, 1995b, 45.
[315] Marinatos, 1995b, 47.

become a goddess the minute she sat on the throne[316]. The Priestess-Queen may have been depicted on the fresco from the Corridor of the Procession at Knossos, since her dress bears similar decoration with the Throne Room frieze, that of rosettes. This woman then would embody the palace and the lineage would pass on through her[317]. Marinatos has also argued that the façade of the Knossos palace inspired the iconography of sacred architecture, namely the so-called tripartite shrine, another proof that Minoan Crete was theocratic[318].

The absence of male images in Minoan religious iconography is indeed remarkable, whereas the predominance of female images and their active involvement in religious life provides no justification to the notion of a priest-king. Marinatos' study on the role of women at the palace of Knossos on the basis of fresco representations has concluded that there was a hierarchy of women with the high priestess as the head[319]. Whether this was true or not, the frescoes certainly suggest that women played an important role in ritual, which seems to weaken the theory of a priest-king. To suggest a Minoan matriarchy would certainly be very farfetched, but in terms of religious frescoes not many male images occur, and it seems unlikely that no representation of the king as priest would have survived anywhere on Crete.

The existence of a complicated system of ritual practices clearly indicates that cult was used as a means to promote and stabilise an ideology from which the elite benefited and where the contribution of priests was very important. It has been argued that in theocracies cult was used as "a ceremonial façade", which hided the desire of the elite to establish and legitimise itself, to maintain

[316] Marinatos, 1995b, 43.
[317] Marinatos, 1995b, 46.
[318] Marinatos, 1995b, 45.
[319] Marinatos, 1989, 33-50; Koehl, 1995, 25.

its authority and enhance the inequality in the access of resources[320]. Minoan palaces could have been used as such façades, especially Knossos[321], and could have been based on theocracy. Nevertheless, although there is no objection that the elite of the palaces used ceremonies for political purposes as well as religious and that the two were closely connected, there is not enough evidence to support the existence of sacral kingship in Minoan Crete[322]. Nevertheless, this does not rule out the possibility that the Minoan ruler had also religious duties.

This study has certainly not exhausted the subject of Minoan priesthood. It simply tried to summarise the evidence and attempted an interpretation on the function and social position of Minoan priests and priestesses. The emphasis was on the Neopalatial period, the culture with which the emerging societies of Mycenaean Greece came into contact. Similarly, it was not possible to conclude on the subject of Minoan theocracy, but it seems that more important was the fact that cult was clearly manipulated by a specific segment of the society rather than whether the ruler had a religious role and/or a divine status.

Chapter III: The Role and Function of Priests, Priestesses and Cult Assistants in the Mycenaean Period

This chapter will examine the evidence –both direct and indirect- for the existence of religious specialists in the Mycenaean period. The direct evidence

[320] Webster, 1976; Pilali-Papasteriou, 2004, 323.
[321] Pilali-Papasteriou, 2004, 324-326.
[322] Hooker, 1983, 139.

consists of references to priests, priestesses and other cult specialists in Linear B documents, whereas the indirect comprises a larger body of sources, including evidence for the performance of ritual acts, e.g. animal bones suggesting the performance of animal sacrifice, and actual archaeological remains of cult buildings and cult equipment. The evidence is further complemented by the iconography, depicting the performance of ritual acts, which clearly suggest the involvement of specialists, who officiate in them. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is on the one hand to present the evidence for the existence of priests in the Mycenaean period and on the other to describe their duties and their function as cult specialists.

The evidence of priesthood in the Linear B tablets

The Linear B documents are a fragmentary source of evidence for the existence of a priesthood in the Mycenaean period and the performance of cult practices. The character of the texts is exclusively economic and administrative and therefore the texts provide a limited insight into religious beliefs and practices. Even so, the Linear B tablets comprise a body of evidence, which when combined with the iconographic and archaeological evidence allows us to reconstruct and interpret cult practices and the involvement in them of religious personnel.

The evidence of Mycenaean religion from Linear B has been categorised by Hiller in a complete and very coherent way[323]. The evidence consists of texts that relate to religion both directly, e.g. the lists of offerings and sacrificial animals, and indirectly, e.g. texts of economic character containing religious

[323] Hiller, 2002.

terms, but also by general references to religion, such as theonyms and theophoric personal names, religious titles, such as *i-je-re-u*, *te-o-jo do-e-ro*, names of cult places, such as *i-je-ro*, *wo-ko-de* and *na-wi-jo* as well as terms deriving from names of deities, e.g. *di-wi-jo* or *po-si-da-i-jo*[324], and references to religious festivities and dates of religious character[325]. Finally, the archaeological evidence of cult buildings and places, cult installations and equipment complements the evidence.

The evidence for the Mycenaean priesthood can similarly be divided into direct and indirect references. The direct evidence consists of references to individuals defined as religious specialists and specifically as *i-je-re-u* and *i-je-re-ja* meaning someone responsible for performing the sacred acts, τὰ ἱερὰ ῥέζει. The indirect evidence consists of general references to Mycenaean religion as summarised above, for example the existence of deities, cult places and religious festivities.

Priests and priestesses, defined by their profession, *i-je-re-u* (ἱερεύς) and *i-je-re-ja* (ἱέρεια) respectively, are mentioned in documents recording personnel (PY An and KN Am and As series), land tenure (PY Ep/Eb and En/Eo series) and the disbursement of commodities (PY Qa, PY Fn and KN Fp series). The tablets of Pylos and Knossos are the most informative on the Mycenaean priesthood. The tablets of Mycenae have so far provided no evidence, whereas the tablets of Thebes, though quite informative on Mycenaean religion, have not provided direct references to priests and priestesses.

Priests and priestesses are usually mentioned in the texts with their names and the designation of their profession and occasionally with the place-name of

[324] Carlier, 1987, 257.
[325] Hiller, 2002, 230.

the sanctuary where they perform. The presence in the tablets of personal names not followed by a profession is problematic, since it is not certain whether they indicate the same person or not. Entries where the same profession follows a particular name definitely indicate the same individual. If the same name indicates the same person, then we know for certain two priests at Pylos: *we-te-re-u* and *sa-ke-re-u*. *Ri-so-wa* and *ne-wo-ki-to* mentioned in An 218.1 and .3 respectively are ambiguous, since they could either be personal names[326] or place-names[327] as will be examined below.

We-te-re-u is the priest that occurs more often in the documents[328], in most cases followed by the term *i-je-re-u*[329], confirming his identification as a priest. In PY Ed 317.2 *we-te-re-u* is not followed by his profession and it is not clear whether this suggests a different person or is simply an omission because it is not necessary for his identification. However, the character of the tablet, which records plots of land held by religious personnel, comprising the priestess, the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* and the *e-qe-ta*, supports his identification with *we-te-re-u* the priest. In tablets PY Eb 472.1 and Eb 477.1 *we-te-re-u* is followed by *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, the meaning of which is uncertain. Ventris and Chadwick interpret it as a title of a priest[330], whereas L. R. Palmer as an ethnic name from *ti-no*[331]. The existence of the compound *o-pi* and the term *ti-ni-ja-ta* referring to a tradename or title may suggest an interpretation as "supervisor of the seashores" or may indicate a priest responsible for the people of *ti-ni-ja*[332]. However, it seems more

[326] Vermeule, 1964, 246, 296; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 177, 193.
[327] Lejeune, 1960, 135, n. 29; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 563; Murray, 1979, 351.
[328] Eb 472.1, Ed 317.2, En 74.16=Eo 247.7, En 659.4=Eo 444.3, Ep 539.13.
[329] The different spelling *i-e-re-u* occurring in En 74.16 and En 659.4 should be considered simply as a variant spelling (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 547).
[330] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 566.
[331] Palmer, 1963, 439.
[332] Ruijgh, 1967, 196, n. 483; Lindgren, 1973II, 108.

likely that, since the term defines a different person than the priest with the entry of his ethnic name, *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* is necessary to distinguish him from *we-te-re-u* the priest. Perhaps if *we-te-re-u* the priest were also an *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, only one of the two designations would be stated, most likely the fact that he was a priest, rather than both. The fact that *we-te-re-u* the priest held land at *pa-ki-ja-ne* may indicate that this was also the place where he performed his religious duties[333].

The name *sa-ke-re-u*[334] is only defined once as *i-je-re-u* in PY Ea 756.1. Other references to the name are not followed by any designation, with the exception of Ep 613.7, where *sa-ke-re-u* is defined as *i-je-ro-wo-ko*[335]. If the term preceding *i-je-ro-wo-ko* is indeed *sa-ke-re-u*, then the name is probably referring to two different persons. As in the case of *we-te-re-u*, different designations following the name *sa-ke-re-u* seem to indicate different individuals. This is suggested also by the presence of a *sa-ke-re-u* in PY Jn 431, defined as a *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* smith[336].

Another priest known by name may be *a-o-ri-me-ne*[337] mentioned in PY Qa 1296 receiving an amount of *KE*. The commodity represented by *KE* or by the ideogram **189* is still unidentified, although Ventris and Chadwick have suggested it refers to some kind of textile[338]. L. R. Palmer, on the contrary, has argued that the commodity defines a material required for the manufacture of perfumes and unguents[339]. The presence of a priestess in Qa 1289 and a man associated with *po-ti-ni-ja* in Qa 1299 indicates the religious context of the Qa

[333] Murray, 1979, 348.
[334] Ea 756.1, Ea 56.1, Ea 304.1, Ea 776.1, Ep 613.7, Jn 431.
[335] The examination of the meaning of *i-je-ro-wo-ko* will take place in the chapter concerning cult assistants.
[336] Murray, 1979, 350.
[337] Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 34; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 531.
[338] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 485.
[339] Palmer, 1963, 372.

series and the cult use of the commodity *KE*. Finally, in Qa 1290 an unnamed priest is associated with the place-name *se-ri-no-wo-te*.

The identification of *ri-so-wa* and *ne-wo-ki-to* as priests is ambiguous. Both terms followed by the designation *i-je-re-u* appear only once, in PY An 218 listing personnel. The structure of the first paragraph of the tablet seems to suggest that the first term in each entry is a personal name, followed by a patronymic designation and a place-name[340]. Therefore *ri-so-wa* and *ne-wo-ki-to* could be personal names. Furthermore, the presence of *ri-so-wa* in Xd 7756 from Knossos suggests that it is not a place-name but a personal name[341]. Even though the Knossos tablet is very fragmentary and the context in which *ri-so-wa* appears is not clear, it is very unlikely that the same place-name would occur in Knossos as in Pylos. In PY Na 1040 the term *ri-so-we-ja* is found, interpreted as a place-name[342], but it does not help much in the understanding of *ri-so-wa*, unless it is the case of an ethnic name used as a personal name. In this case, then, the presence of *ri-so-wa* in the Knossos tablet would perhaps be problematic. Unfortunately, the term does not appear in any other tablet either from Pylos or Knossos to be able to draw a conclusion.

The occurrence of *ne-wo-ki-to* twice in tablet PY An 656.1 and .7, in the latter case followed by *wo-wi-ja*, which probably meant ὅρια, borders[343], seems to favour the interpretation of the term as a place-name rather than a personal name. The context of the text, which is part of the *o-ka* tablets dealing with military detachments responsible for guarding the coastal regions[344], further supports this interpretation, whereas Palaima has argued that *ne-wo-ki-to* was

[340] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 142.
[341] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 580.
[342] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 580.
[343] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 193, 593.
[344] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 184; Hooker, 1980, 123-126.

part of the area of *ti-no*[345]. The term *da-i-ja-ke-re-u* following *ne-wo-ki-to* has been explained either as a personal name or an epithet of a priest, meaning perhaps δαϊαγρεύς, "divider of lands", or even a place-name, like *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u* (PY Jn 320) and *pu(2)-ra(2)-a-ke-re-u* (PY Nn 228)[346]. Since *ne-wo-ki-to* is probably the place-name, *da-i-ja-ke-re-u* would either be the personal name of the priest or an occupational term. Unfortunately, the interpretation is problematic[347] and since the term *da-i-ja-ke-re-u* does not appear in any other tablet for comparison there can be no conclusion.

If *ne-wo-ki-to* was indeed a place-name, then, the priest stationed there could be identified with the *e-qe-ta* of *ne-wo-ki-to*, since the individuals *ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo* (An 519.15), *a-e-ri-qo-ta* (An 657.12) and *a-i-ko-ta* (An 657.14) mentioned in the same paragraph with *ne-wo-ki-to i-je-re-u* appear in the *o-ka* tablets as *e-qe-ta*[348]. This interpretation could be further supported by the theory that the *e-qe-ta* had also religious functions[349]. Since the only *e-qe-ta* recorded for the place *ne-wo-ki-to* is *di-wi-je-u* (An 656.9) it is possible that he was both a priest and an *e-qe-ta* at *ne-wo-ki-to*[350]. Why he was not mentioned with both his titles, i.e. *i-je-re-u* and *e-qe-ta*, may depend on the nature of the tablet and what the scribe was interested in recording each time. L. R. Palmer, however, has argued that *di-wi-je-u* was a title of a person who was to act as an *e-qe-ta*, rather than a name[351]. This interpretation would still agree with the theory of the priest of *ne-wo-ki-to* being at the same time an *e-qe-ta*, but it does not explain why the

[345] Palaima, 1989, 117.
[346] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 76, 142; Ruijgh, 1967, 160, n. 326; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 178, 537.
[347] Ruijgh, 1967, 160, n. 326, 211; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 537.
[348] Lindgren, 1973II, 30.
[349] Jalkotzy, 1976, 200.
[350] Lindgren, 1973II, 30.
[351] Palmer, 1963, 174-175.

same person would be recorded in so many different ways, since the term *di-wi-je-u* has also been associated with Zeus and interpreted as the priest of Zeus[352].

Another priest may be *we-da-ne-u*, recorded in the PY Es series. Many interpretations have been proposed for the term, which have been summarised by Ilievski[353]. The term has been interpreted by Heubeck on etymological grounds to mean "chief priest"[354], but it seems more likely that if the term was not a name, it probably denoted an ethnic in -ευς[355]. L. R. Palmer, based on his theory that on a divine estate both an *e-qe-ta* and a priest were stationed, has identified *we-da-ne-u* as the priest of *ne-wo-ki-to* instead of *di-wi-je-u*, given that the latter was the *e-qe-ta* of the place[356]. However, Palmer's theory on the "collegiality" between an *e-qe-ta* and a priest cannot be founded, therefore it is not accepted. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence to associate either of the two individuals with cult, and the fact that both *we-da-ne-u* and *di-wi-je-u* were mentioned in the Es series together with Poseidon and the inscrutable **34-ke-te-si*, does not necessarily verify the religious status of these individuals[357] as Palmer has argued[358]. The tribute (*do-so-mo*) offered to both of them might have been associated with some secular function, since there is not enough evidence from the series itself to indicate the purpose for which the payments were made[359]. *We-da-ne-u* has strong livestock connections and a prominent role in the management of other livestock, he appears in association with flax locales in the Further Province of Pylos and possesses a contingent of twenty men in the rower

[352] Aura Jorro, 1993I, 182. For all the interpretations of the term see Ilievski, 1966.
[353] Ilievski, 1966, 238.
[354] Ilievski, 1966, 239.
[355] Ilievski, 1966, 240.
[356] Palmer, 1977.
[357] Murray, 1979, 384.
[358] Palmer, 1963, 222.
[359] Murray, 1979, 384.

text PY An 610[360]. Similarly, *di-wi-je-u* seems to have been in charge of a cattle-grazing district in the area of *ne-wo-ki-to*[361]. Furthermore, the religious associations of the two individuals may have been related to their responsibility to provide animals and in particular oxen for religious ceremonies[362]. The significance of both individuals cannot be doubted, but since there is no reference of them as priests there can be no certainty that they were and therefore I will not include them in the argument.

Finally, in the KN Am 821 tablet the entry *i-je-re-u po-me* appears among various persons and place names. The interpretation of the entry is problematic[363], but if we accept that the first entry on this list is always a name and the second a place name, then the *po-me* is a place name and the *i-je-re-u* is simply denoting the office of a person, whose name is not mentioned. Murray, however, offers two other possibilities, that *i-je-re-u* is the personal name of the shepherd mentioned on the previous line or that the entry is not referring to a priest at all[364]. The entry *i-je-re-u po-me* also appears in KN As 821. Aravantinos *et al.* have interpreted *po-me* appearing in KN Dd 1376.B as a personal name[365]. Indeed, it seems more plausible that in all entries of *i-je-re-u po-me*, the latter designates the personal name of the priest. The possibility that a priest was also a shepherd is less likely.

References of priestesses occur more frequently in the texts and mostly in the E series[366] of Pylos. However, it is probable that most of them are referring to

[360] Palaima, 1989, 104-108, 114; Bendall, 2004, 106.
[361] Palaima, 1989, 116.
[362] Palaima, 1989, 116.
[363] For various interpretations see Murray, 1979, 345.
[364] Murray, 1979, 345-346.
[365] Aravantinos *et al.* 2001, 169.
[366] Eb 297.1, Eb 317.1, Eb 409.1, Eb 416.1, Eb 1176.1, Eo 224.6, .8=En 609.16, .18, Ep 539.7, .8, Ep 704.2, .3, .5.

the same priestess, the *i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na*. This is most likely *e-ri-ta* mentioned in Ep 704, since the Eb/Ep series are dealing with the *pa-ki-ja-ne* district. We know only three priestesses by name: *ka-wa-ra* in Qa 1289, *ke-i-ja* in Qa 1303[367], and *e-ri-ta* in Ep 704.3, .5. The name of the priestess mentioned in Qa 1300 is unfortunately lost. Olivier, however, has interpreted the terms *mi-jo-qa* and *a-pi-e-ra* appearing in PY Fn 50.12, .13, Fn 867.4 and An 1281.11, .13 as priestesses because they own slaves, a notion supported also by Killen[368]. The occurrence of both names in PY An 1281, a tablet of religious character, suggested by its heading referring to *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* and by the reference of *po-ti]-a-ke-si po-ti-ni-ja*[369] may support this interpretation. The tablet records the allocation to individuals of men recorded by their personal names as slaves[370].

E-ri-ta is mentioned by name twice, but only in a single tablet, that of Ep 704. Under her title as *i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na* found in En 609.18=Eo 224.8, Eb 339.1, Eb 409.1 and Eb 1176.1 more entries may have been made for her person[371]. It is not very clear whether the absence of the name suggests that only one priestess was operating at *pa-ki-ja-na* and therefore her name was known to the scribes, or that the entries were referring to a different priestess. It seems more likely, though, that if another priestess were present at *pa-ki-ja-na* the scribes would have recorded her name. This does not mean that there was only one priestess at *pa-ki-ja-na*, the religious centre of Pylos –indeed this is very unlikely-, but that for some reason only *e-ri-ta* was holding land.

[367] *Ke-i-ja* could also be an ethnic name used as a personal name, like in the case of *ke-i-jo* in Na 577 (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 552).
[368] Olivier, 1960, 132-136; Killen, 2001a, 438.
[369] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 226; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 483.
[370] Olivier, 1960, 135; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 483.
[371] Murray, 1979, 354-35.

In PY Ae 303, a tablet dealing with groups of women, a priestess is mentioned as receiving fourteen female slaves on account of the sacred gold[372]. The entry is quite obscure and it is not certain whether the slaves were given to the priestess in return for the gold or they were allocated to look after it[373]. The latter interpretation has been taken as indicative of the existence at Pylos of a priestess in charge of a shrine, where a quantity of gold was deposited[374] or, according to Ventris and Chadwick, gold ritual objects[375]. Unfortunately, the meaning of this entry is uncertain. The obscure association of *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* with metal, as well as a probable connection between cult buildings and workshops, may suggest that cult buildings or religious personnel had some kind of access to or control over the metal production, either in its raw or its finished form. This issue, however, will be discussed more thoroughly in a different chapter.

At Knossos references to priestesses are found in the Fp series, a series of texts comprising a ritual calendar and recording offerings of oil sent to places, divinities and priests[376]. In tablets Fp 1.10 and Fp 13.3 is mentioned the *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*, the "priestess of the winds". It seems that this title defined a priestess of a particular cult, present both at Knossos and *u-ta-no* mentioned in Fp 13.3, since the omission of the place designation could mean that this was located in the vicinity of the palace[377]. The *u-ta-no a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*, then, could refer to a different priestess[378]. The absence of the personal name of the priestess must suggest that the title was enough to define her. Finally, in KN Fp 13.2, Fp 14.2

[372] Hooker, 1980, 105.
[373] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 166.
[374] Hooker, 1989, 166.
[375] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 166.
[376] Chadwick, 1966; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 303.
[377] Murray, 1979, 322.
[378] Murray, 1979, 346.

and perhaps Fp 16 is mentioned some *qe-ra-si-ja*, considered by some scholars to mean "the Huntress"[379], although it is not clear whether it refers to a goddess or a priestess. Hooker's suggestion that it is a title referring to Artemis[380] cannot be substantiated, since the two never occur together. Similarly, Vermeule's argument that the term could refer to the augur[381] is hypothetical, since we do not know if there were diviners during that period. It is more probable, though, that the term refers to a divinity[382].

Finally, the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*[383] should also be mentioned, even though she did not have the role of a priestess. Her involvement and association with priests and priestesses suggest that she had a higher status than cult assistants and that her role as a religious official was quite important. In PY Eb 338.1 the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* is mentioned with her name *ka-pa-ti-ja* and is associated with *pa-ki-ja-ne*. The tablet informs us that she holds a *ke-ke-me-no ko-to-no*. She is mentioned in PY Un 443+998.3 by her name only in a problematic context, where she is recorded to have given GRA 1 and *MA+RE*. In Ep 539.9 and PY Ae 110 the slave of *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* is mentioned, indicating that she could possess slaves. In Ed 317.1 and Un 6v.3 the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* is associated with a priestess, whose name is not mentioned and who Lindgren has argued is the same person in both tablets[384]. The association of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* with religious personnel, as in PY Ed 317, indicates her distinctive role and status, especially since the tablet records the amount of land held together by the priestess, the priest *we-te-re-u* and an *e-qe-ta*.

[379] Vermeule, 1964, 293; Hooker, 1980, 153.
[380] Hooker, 1980, 153.
[381] Vermeule, 1964, 293.
[382] Ruijgh, 1967, 118, 135; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 577.
[383] *Ka-ra-wi-po-ro*: Eb 338.1, Ed 317.1, Ep 704.7, Jn 829.2, Un 6 v.3, Vn 48.7; *Ka-ra-wi-po-ro-jo*: Ae 110.
[384] Lindgren, 1973II, 72, 73.

One unusual reference is the occurrence of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* in PY Jn 829 together with the local authorities, the *ko-re-te-re* and the *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* in the contribution of bronze for *na-wi-jo,* the meaning of which is debated. Ventris and Chadwick have argued that the entry refers to the contribution of bronze for ships[385], but L. R. Palmer has argued that instead of a ship the *na-wi-jo* is the temple and that the entry is referring to the bronze that was kept in it[386]. The latter case would fit better the religious role of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, suggesting that she could have been an assistant in the temple, a sort of sacristan[387]. Whatever the interpretation of the term *na-wi-jo,* the obligation of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* to hand in (*do-so-si*) an amount of bronze has been considered as indicating the role of cult places in bronze-working[388]. The presence of arrowheads and spearheads in the supply, indicating a worked material, complicates the matter. It has been suggested that the arrowheads and spearheads might have been offerings or dedications[389]. However, the entry could be referring to the obligation to hand in old material to be melted down and reworked. The association of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* with metals may indicate her economic role as a cult assistant[390]. An economic role has also been attributed to priests and priestesses, a possibility that will be examined later on.

Mycenaean religion as ritual action and performance

In his study on Minoan religion Warren defined ritual action as things done (δρώμενα), things said or sung (λεγόμενα) and things displayed or

[385] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 357.
[386] Palmer, 1962, 708; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 358.
[387] Ruipérez and Melena, 1996, 197.
[388] L. R. Palmer, 1962, 708.
[389] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 358, 513.
[390] Lindgren, 1973II, 73.

envisioned in epiphanies (δεικνύμενα)[391]. These ritual actions would have been performed in specific places and in a specific sequence[392], as well as at specific times during the year[393]. The purpose of these actions would have been the communication of human beings with the divine, which would be achieved by the sequence of actions, particularly by the final act[394]. That is the reason why ritual acts were necessarily performed by someone with an exact knowledge of what to do and how to do it. Warren also subdivided Minoan rituals into rituals of invocation and rituals of offering[395]. The purpose of the former was to invoke the epiphany of the deity by means of dance and other ritual movements[396]. Offering rituals aimed at appealing to the beneficence of the deity and included the offering of foodstuff, liquids, flowers, animals and other gifts, such as cloth and metalwork[397]. Of course, Mycenaean ritual acts were not necessarily the same with those of Minoan religion, but Warren's tripartite division is helpful for understanding Mycenaean ritual practice as well.

In terms of Mycenaean ritual, written, iconographic and archaeological evidence complement one another and indicate that both ritual acts for the invocation of the divinity and offering rituals were performed. The written evidence consists of documents recording offerings such as animals, foodstuff and cloth to deities or at cult places. Large-scale art and the minor arts illustrate the practice of prayer, animal sacrifice, libations, processions and other ceremonies, in relation to the existence of cult buildings, cult installations and

[391] Warren, 1988, 13.
[392] Warren, 1988, 13.
[393] Evidence that a religious calendar existed in the Mycenaean period comes from the Linear B documents recording religious offerings made at specific months, such as KN Fp series.
[394] Warren, 1988, 13.
[395] Warren, 1988, 35, fig. 19.
[396] Warren, 1988, 14.
[397] Warren, 1988, 35, fig. 19.

equipment of ritualistic character, and leave no doubt as to such ritual acts forming part of Mycenaean cult.

Hägg has divided Mycenaean rituals into two categories: those that have left substantial evidence, like sacrifice, communal feasting, libations and offerings, and those that have left very little or no evidence at all, but which were most probably part of ritual, like processions, dancing, prayer and purification[398]. Naturally, emphasis will be given to ritual acts that have left substantial evidence.

Animal sacrifice and blood rituals

The practice of animal sacrifice during the Mycenaean period is attested by written evidence, actual remains of altars and apparatus used in sacrifices, animal bone assemblages associated with cult buildings or areas, and finally iconographic evidence either depicting the actual act or implying it. The written evidence consists of documents recording the offering of animals to gods at sanctuaries, presumably as sacrificial victims. However, since some of these documents listing large numbers of animals have been interpreted as indicating the gathering of animals for state banquets[399], it is necessary to distinguish between sacrifices performed as part of ritual practices taking place in cult areas and the slaughtering of animals for feasting. This, however, will be discussed more thoroughly in reference to banqueting.

Animal sacrifice was performed both in relation to the cult practices taking place in cult buildings and as part of Mycenaean funerary rites and/or the cult of the dead. Indeed, most of the artistic evidence comes from funerary

[398] Hägg, 1998, 100.
[399] Piteros, Olivier and Melena (POM), 1990; Killen, 1994; Palaima, 2004.

iconography. The most detailed representation of animal sacrifice is depicted on the long side of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (**fig. 11**). The scene depicts a bleeding bull tied on a sacrificial table and whose blood is collected in a vessel. Underneath the table two goats await their turn for sacrifice. On the other long side a libation scene is depicted, presumably involving the pouring of the blood of the sacrificed animal[400] in a vessel that may have been the upper part of a rhyton rather than a krater[401] (**fig. 12**). The occasion is related to funerary rites or the cult of the dead, in honour of the deceased, identified as the figure in front of the tomb[402]. In addition, the three animals carried by the male figures in the presentation scene may have represented zoomorphic rhyta, containing the triple libation, milk mixed with honey, wine (perhaps in this case replaced by the blood of the animal) and water, which would be poured together and mixed in the rhyton or krater depicted in the libation scene[403].

Such evidence implies the employment of the blood of the sacrificed animal for pouring libations and suggests that when libation installations were found in the immediate vicinity of an altar, the libation that accompanied the sacrifice was probably a blood libation, poured or channelled into the earth[404]. Nevertheless, the possibility that the libation installations and the altars were used for bloodless offerings cannot be ruled out, especially since the evidence for burnt animal sacrifice is limited. Animal sacrifice is also depicted on the Tanagra larnakes. A larnax from Tomb 16 depicts two bulls, one held on leashes by a

[400] Marinatos, 1986, 25. Long (1974, 36, 39), though, is sceptical and rather favours the notion that the scene depicts the mixing of liquids, such as wine and water in honour of the goddess, symbolised by the double axes. Traces of a thin pink line noted by Paribeni, although not preserved now, suggest that the liquid poured from the bucket into the krater could have been blood (Long, 1974, 36).
[401] Long, 1974, 36, 62-63.
[402] Long, 1974, 73.
[403] Laffineur, 1991, 280.
[404] Hägg, 1990a, 183.

male figure in a short tunic. Similarly, larnax 6 from Tomb 22 depicts on one long side a flock of goats and in the middle a male figure between two oversized goats, one of which he stabs with a sword (**fig. 13**). Alternatively, the animal may be held on leashes[405], but either way it seems very likely that animal sacrifice is implied. Both male figures may represent priests. Evidence of animal skeletons associated with burials also indicates the connection between animal sacrifice and funerary rites[406]. Some examples are the horse and bull sacrifices uncovered in Tholos A in the cemetery of Phourni at Archanes[407] and the horse sacrifices found in a chamber tomb at Nauplion, in the dromos of the Tholos tombs at Marathon and at Aidonia in Nemea[408].

That animal sacrifice was part of the funerary rites is also suggested by written evidence. Godart has argued that the oxen recorded on the KN Ch series may have been intended for sacrifice in funerary ceremonies[409], due to the careful description of the colour of the oxen and their qualification as *si-a(2)-ro*, σίαλος[410], meaning fattened. Further, KN Ch 896 suggests that the oxen offered for sacrifice were not labour animals, but young animals, νέϜω Ϝετάλω, meaning born in the year[411].

An instructive example of the performance of animal sacrifice in connection to blood libation is provided by Room Gamma 1 in Tsountas' House Shrine. It involves a bolster-shaped platform featuring an unusual circular extension with a round depression (**fig. 14**). Libations were performed in the

[405] Gallou, 2005, 100.
[406] For a detailed examination see Cosmetatou, 1993 and Gallou, 2005, 101-104.
[407] Sakellarakis, 1997, 165. Though the religious status attributed to the deceased may account for the animal sacrifice.
[408] Cosmetatou, 1993, 31-32, 37-38; Gallou, 2005, 103.
[409] Godart, 1999, 249-254.
[410] Killen, 1994, 77.
[411] Godart, 1999, 249-250.

sinking of the circular depression of the structure, which may have accommodated the pointed end of a rhyton or a libation vessel[412]. In addition, Wace argued that the groove formed between this projection and another one next to it terminated to the mouth of a two-handled jar embedded in the floor and was most certainly intended for libations[413]. Even though Mylonas argued that no trace of such a jar survived[414], the groove could still have been used for libations and the liquid would have been simply absorbed by the earth. It is possible that animal sacrifice was performed on the slaughtering stone to the north of the bolster-shaped altar and libation using the animal's blood was performed on the bolster-shaped platform[415]. In the case of pouring animal blood a jug or an animal-head rhyton would have been used[416], as the evidence from Ayios Konstantinos suggests.

i) *Animal bones*

Although the iconographic evidence suggests the performance of animal sacrifice, actual animal remains in sanctuaries are not well attested. Deposits of ash and animal bones have been uncovered at Apollo Maleatas, Ayios Konstantinos, Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, Ayia Irini, Eleusis, Asine (LH IIIC) and perhaps also at Midea. At Apollo Maleatas bull and goat bones were found on a terrace altar in a deposit of black, fatty ashes including broken pottery, figurines, weapons and other offerings[417]. Stemmed cups and fine ware of the early

[412] Wace, 1951, 254.
[413] Wace, 1951, 254. Hägg, 1990a, 178; 1998, 104
[414] Mylonas, 1974, 119.
[415] Mylonas, 1977, 21. The space between the horseshoe-shaped altar and the wall of Room Γ, covered by a layer of plesia and forming a sort of low step, may have been deliberate for the officiating priest to stand on it (Mylonas, 1972, 24; 1975b, 245).
[416] Hägg, 1990a, 183.
[417] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 59; Hägg, 1998, 100.

Vapheio type were particularly common, whereas the weapons found consisted of actual bronze swords and votive imitations, daggers and spearheads. Finally, phi and psi figurines were well represented, along with clay bovine and horse figurines[418]. Fragments of bronze animal rhyta were also found[419], further suggesting animal sacrifice. Lambrinoudakis has characterised the site as a "Brandopferaltar", an open-air site, where burnt offerings and animal sacrifice were performed[420].

The most secure evidence of burnt animal sacrifice was uncovered on the hill of Ayios Konstantinos at the Methana peninsula, dating to LH IIIA-B[421]. Room A has yielded strong evidence for the performance of both libations and animal sacrifice[422]. The room consists of a stepped stone-built bench in the northwest corner, a central platform constructed of thin stone slabs and a low ledge running along the southern wall[423] (**fig. 15**). A small hearth in the southeast corner formed by a few rough stones was filled with a thick layer of ash containing burnt animal bones, mostly of juvenile pigs[424]. Next to it a spit stand and a quern were found together with tripod cauldrons and other cooking ware, intended for the preparation of meals[425]. The study of the bone material from Rooms A, B and Γ has demonstrated that Room A was the main cult area, where animal sacrifice took place, as suggested by the majority of bones having been exposed to high temperatures and also by the presence of body parts with little or

[418] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 59.
[419] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 62.
[420] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 59. However, note Bergquist's (1988) reservations.
[421] For a detailed description of the site see Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 1991, 1995, 2001 and 2002.
[422] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 213; 2002, esp. 27-32.
[423] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 213.
[424] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 1991, 73; 1995, 242; 2001, 215; Hamilakis and Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2004, 139.
[425] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2002, 28-29.

no meat on them[426]. Most of the bones belonged to very young, even newborn, pigs that could have been thrown into the fire as whole carcasses[427]. However, there is also evidence for filleting, suggesting that some of the meaty parts would have been stripped off their carcasses before they were consumed by the fire[428]. The presence of a LH IIIB rhyton in the shape of a young pig with an orifice at its muzzle suggests its use for blood libations[429] (**fig. 16**) and may indicate the aforementioned association between animal sacrifice and blood libation. The platform in the centre of the room, located in close proximity to where the rhyton was found, may have served as a sacrificial altar, especially if we take into consideration the fact that the bone assemblage of the room was dominated by juvenile pigs, which due to their small size could have been slaughtered indoors[430]. The hearth of Room B on the contrary, was probably used for the preparation of sacral meals and has produced bones mainly of sheep and/or goat of older age and mostly unburned[431].

At Mycenae animal bones were uncovered in a pit deposit of ash including burnt wood and pottery sherds, approximately 1m west of the round altar[432] in the courtyard of the Temple Complex. It is possible that it was formed after some ritual was performed[433]. The deposit dates to LH IIIB and Mylonas has interpreted the bones as sacrificial remains, although most of them were not burnt and traces of cut marks are absent[434]. However, the nature of the deposit as

[426] Hamilakis and Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2004, 143-144.
[427] Hamilakis and Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2004, 143.
[428] Hamilakis and Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2004, 143.
[429] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 216. The use of animal-head rhyta for blood libations both in religious ceremonies and funerary rites has been suggested by Laffineur, 1986, 83-86 and Hägg, 1990a, 183-184.
[430] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 216.
[431] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 215-216.
[432] Mylonas, 1973, 103; 1975, 249; 1977, 43, 104.
[433] Mylonas, 1973, 102; Hägg, 1998, 100, n. 8.
[434] Mylonas, 1973, 102.

well as its proximity to the altar may indicate that its contents formed the remains of rites performed on the altar. The rites probably included the pouring of libations, suggested by the spouted phiale, the two skyphoi and the stirrup jar, animal sacrifice, suggested by the animal bones and the offering of gifts, implied by the three-legged pyxis and the figurines[435]. Layers of ash including unburned bones of small animals were also found in both earlier and later levels in the area of the round altar indicating the continuous ritualistic use of the site. Other bone assemblages have not been found in the Cult Centre at Mycenae, even though altars have been uncovered, e.g. the platform and the boulder in Gamma 1 at Tsountas' House Shrine, which were probably used for the slaughtering of sacrificial animals[436].

Animal bones have also been uncovered in the hearth in the megaron of Tiryns, mixed with thick ash[437], and in the Lower Citadel associated with the LH IIIC cult buildings[438]. The deposit, though, has been interpreted as remains of sacral meals that were consumed outside the cult building[439]. Burnt animal bones found in various places at the palace of Pylos[440] also indicate animal sacrifice, since these were the result of a single deposition rather than a collection of disposal bones burnt independently[441]. Further, many of the bones, which were mostly of bulls and one steer, had traces of cut marks, suggesting that they have been stripped of the meat before burning[442]. These animal remains were found in Room 7 of the Archive Complex together with miniature kylikes and a sword

[435] Mylonas, 1982, 316-317.
[436] Mylonas, 1974, 120; 1982, 313.
[437] Whittaker, 1997, 147.
[438] Hägg, 1998, 101, 109.
[439] Hägg, 1998, 101.
[440] Isaakidou *et al.*, 2002.
[441] Stocker and Davis, 2004, 62.
[442] Stocker and Davis, 2004, 62.

and were interpreted as remnants of animal sacrifice[443], which however was performed for feasting purposes[444]. Why such a deposit was found in an archive room is not clear and Stocker and Davis's suggestion that the administration required physical proof that the rituals were performed[445], although not very convincing, remains the only explanation put forward to date.

Recent restudy of the excavation and the material from Eleusis has demonstrated that Megaron B was associated with a peribolos and a platform of non-structural function (LH IIIA1), which may have been used in ritual activity[446] (**fig. 17**). The cult function of the complex may be further supported by the presence of a large number of LH figurines in the immediate periphery of Megaron B and by a deposit of ashes, burnt bones of sheep, goats or pigs found together with fragments of alabastra, goblet stems and coarse jars (LH IIB-LH IIIA1) uncovered in one of the drains[447]. Cosmopoulos has demonstrated that this deposit could have been washed down from the platform into the drain[448].

Evidence of animal sacrifice may have also been found at Midea. Rooms XXXII and XXXIII of the Lower Terrace revealed three superimposed LH IIIB floors, which produced a clay model of a tripod offering table, beads probably of a necklace, a clay female figure and a clay offering stand. On the lowest floor of Room XXXII was found a hearth containing charcoal, ashes and fifty small fragments of animal bones, suggesting that the hearth may have been used in ritual[449]. However, until the excavation is completed there can be no certainty.

[443] Stocker and Davis, 2004, 70; Halstead and Isaakidou, 2004, esp. 143-150.
[444] Halstead and Isaakidou, 2004, 147.
[445] Stocker and Davis, 2004, 73.
[446] Cosmopoulos, 2003.
[447] Cosmopoulos, 2003, 11, 17-19.
[448] Cosmopoulos, 2003, 17.
[449] Walberg, 1999, 890.

Animal bones mixed with cooking vessels[450] have also been uncovered in burnt deposits at Kalapodi (LH IIIC), but will be examined in detail in another chapter. Finally, close to the stone bench in Room XXXII at Asine (LH IIIC) on the floor was found a thick layer of charcoal, ashes, sherds and bones. In spite the excavator's interpretation as a refuse from a hearth or kitchen stove[451], it is possible that it was a hearth used in animal sacrifice and that the room was a communal shrine, as indicated by the presence of a stone-axe among the finds[452].

ii) *Altars and burnt deposits*

The evidence for built altars that would have been used in animal sacrifice is limited, namely to the slaughtering stone and the bolster-shaped altar in Tsountas' House Shrine, the rectangular structure that replaced it later, and the round altar at the courtyard south of the Temple. In Room 3 at Dimini, identified as ancient Iolkos, situated at the back of the main room of megaron B and accessed via it, was found a platform with holes, reminiscent of the platform at Gamma 1 at Tsountas' House Shrine. This platform was associated with a kylix and a number of human and animal figurines[453]. An impressive altar made of clay was uncovered in the anteroom of megaron B on the same axis as the entrance[454] (**fig. 18**). On the west side of the altar, which is H-shaped, two depressions were constructed, according to the excavator for the placing of branches on festival days or when ritual was performed. In front of the altar and to the east was uncovered a base made of stone, perhaps for a small column or

[450] Felsch, 1999, 165, 167.
[451] Hägg, 1981b, 93.
[452] Nilsson, 1950, 112. The examination of this room will take place in another chapter.
[453] Adrimi-Sismani, 1999-2001, 92-93.
[454] Adrimi-Sismani, 1999-2001, 90-92, 100.

for the deposition of cult paraphernalia, such as offering tables[455]. The excavator has attributed a cult function to both structures, but since no evidence of burnt matter was found, the function of the installations was probably for the deposition of bloodless offerings. However, the site is still under excavation and no firm conclusions can be drawn.

Burnt deposits have been uncovered in Rooms 5 and 6 at Ayia Irini. In Room 5 extensive burned strata found on the floor in the middle of the room suggest the existence of fireplaces[456]. In Room 6 a series of burnt layers of ash and carbonised matter extending from the LH IIIA level to the LH IIIC one was uncovered in the area beneath and around the LH IIIC altar[457]. Finally, on certain occasions, low platforms or benches could have functioned as altars. Also, the existence of tables made of perishable material such as wood is a possibility that should not be ignored[458].

iii) *Sacrificial instruments*

The performance of sacrifice is also indicated by the presence of sacrificial instruments, such as hammer axes and swords[459]. Stone hammers, some of which were found in cult contexts throughout the Aegean, would have been used to stun the animal[460]. Although most specimens come from Minoan Crete, examples from the mainland have been uncovered on the acropolis of Nauplia -unfortunately out of context-, in Room XXXII at Asine and in Room 31

[455] Adrimi-Sismani, 1999-2001, 91-92.
[456] Caskey, 1971, 385.
[457] Caskey, 1981, 127.
[458] Marinatos, 1986, 15.
[459] For the clarification of the terms hammer and mace see Zeimbekis, 1991, 3.
[460] Hägg, 1998, 102.

of the Cult Centre at Mycenae[461]. It is interesting to note the recording of two stunning-axes on PY Ta 716 (*wa-o* from ἄορ) and two swords (*qi-si-pe-we* from ξίφος)[462], whereas figures holding such instruments are represented on seals, e.g. CMS I, 225 and CMS I, 226, both from Vapheio[463]. A pommel of a ceremonial sword was uncovered in Building VI of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns, the so-called House of the Priestess (LH IIIB2)[464], whereas an ivory pommel was found in Room 31 of the Cult Centre[465], although the possibility that it was an offering, like the miniature swords found at Apollo Maleatas[466], should not be ruled out[467]. Alternatively, the pommel could have been part of a staff rather than a sword and may have been associated with the status of the priesthood, rather than with animal sacrifice. The possibility that swords were also used as sacrificial instruments is suggested by CMS XI, 52 depicting a goat lying on a table with a sword/dagger stuck in its neck[468] (**fig. 19**). Similarly, seal CMS V, 608 from Naxos features all the equipment employed in animal sacrifice, consisting of a sword or dagger, a sacrificial table or a tripod offering table[469], a rhyton, a spouted libation jug, a krater or a jar and a palm tree[470] (**fig. 20**). Finally, double axes of the Minoan type found on the mainland have been considered to serve as the instrument of sacrifice, but their manufacture from thin metal sheet and their size rather suggest their use as symbols of the sacrificial act. In the case of

[461] Manti-Platonos, 1981, 78, fig. 6; Taylour, 1969, 95-96; 1970, 275.
[462] Nikoloudis, 2001, 14; Palaima, 2004, 114.
[463] Manti-Platonos, 1981, 81-82.
[464] Kilian, 1983, 304.
[465] Taylour, 1969, 96.
[466] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 62.
[467] Kilian-Dirlmeier, 1990, 158.
[468] Marinatos, 1986, 12; Kilian-Dirlmeier, 1990, 158.
[469] Long (1974, 62) interprets it as a sacrificial table, but Hägg (1998, 105) sees it as an offering table.
[470] Long, 1974, 62; Kardara, 1977, 6; Younger, 1988a, 129; Kilian-Dirlmeier, 1990, 158; Nikoloudis, 2001, 21. For the symbolism of the palm tree see Morgan, 1988, 28, Marinatos, 1984b with the relevant bibliography and Gallou, 2005, 51.

Apollo Maleatas one rather solid bronze double axe could have been used as a slaughtering instrument, in contrast to the other examples from the site[471].

To sum up. The evidence for animal sacrifice consists of actual animal remains associated with rooms, areas and/or installations which have been connected to the practice of ritual also by the presence of cult equipment, by the presence of altars and burnt deposits associated with them, which may have been the product of burned animal bones, and by the existence of instruments mostly depicted in the iconography and associated with animal sacrifice. The evidence can be complemented by references in Linear B and by iconographic depictions. Animal sacrifice may be recorded in KN C 394 listing animals offered to *pa-de*, identified as a deity, and in KN U 7063[472]. PY Cn 3 also records names of deities receiving bulls, presumably as sacrificial victims[473]. CMS I, 80 from Mycenae depicts a figure in long robe in front of a table on which a boar is tied, sacrificing or dissecting the animal[474] (**fig. 21**). Similar representations of animals on sacrificial tables both from Crete and the mainland[475] confirm that such depictions represented animal sacrifice[476]. Priests, therefore, would have performed animal sacrifice both as part of rituals taking place either in cult buildings or in courts and altars associated with them and as part of funerary rites and the cult of the dead. In both cases the animal may have been led to the altar or the spot of sacrifice by a procession, suggested by the Pylos procession fresco

[471] Hägg, 1998, 102.
[472] Nikoloudis, 2001, 15.
[473] Godart, 1999, 250.
[474] Marinatos, 1986, 25. Evans' and Mylonas' suggestion (1983, 205) that the figure is a sort of haruspex about to examine the intestines of the animal does not seem valid, since there is no other evidence to support the performance of hepatoscopy in the Bronze Age Aegean (Marinatos, 1986, 25).
[475] Representations of sacrificial animals on tables on seals from the mainland are: CMS I, 203 from Nauplia, CMS I, 236 from Vapheio, CMS I, 264 from Tragana and CMS IX, 52 from Mycenae.
[476] Marinatos, 1986, 11-12.

and perhaps by the Processional Way at the Cult Centre at Mycenae leading to Tsountas' House Shrine, and would have consisted most likely of the officiants and the assistants, in which offerings, symbols and cult equipment may have also been carried. The priest then would have consecrated the animal and sacrificed it, possibly by stunning it first. The involvement of the priest would have been necessary in order to engage the divine and make the sacrifice accepted, by saying the right prayers and doing the necessary acts in the correct way and right order. Whether there was sex discrimination in animal sacrifice is not clear, even though the most informative iconographic scene of the act (the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus) depicts women officiants.

Ceremonial banqueting and drinking rituals

Priests also participated in sacrificial banquets, since the latter were often associated with deities and religious celebrations and in drinking rituals. The initiative of both practices would have been to establish a communion with the gods. Through the ritual performance of libation and sacrifice connection with the divine would have been established and the presence of the gods would have been experienced[477]. The act of eating and drinking as embodied experiences would involve emotions and sensual reactions, in which the consumption of alcoholic drinks, such as wine, would have further contributed[478]. Finally, ceremonies such as the appointment of officials, although secular matters, may, in a society where religion and cult was present in all its manifestations, have been accompanied by religious ceremonies and rites in order to bestow divine favour on the candidate.

[477] Gallou, 2005, 87.
[478] Hamilakis, 1999, 57-58.

The evidence for Mycenaean sacrificial feasting comes mostly from Linear B documents and consists of texts recording the contribution of animals for such ceremonies, the collection of foodstuff from various components of the society and the inventorying of banqueting paraphernalia[479]. In their study of the Wu sealings found at Thebes and recording animals supplied to the centre by various places[480], Piteros, Olivier and Melena showed that there are close similarities between the sealings and tablet PY Un 138, which records animals and foodstuff for which two individuals named *du-ni-jo* and **me-za-wo* are responsible[481]. These similarities concern the terms used for the transaction, such as *qe-te-a(2),* or the formula *pa-ro* + personal name, like *pa-ro du-ni-jo* in Un 138 and *pa-ro sa-me-we* in Wu 60, as well as in the number and species of the animals recorded[482]. They concluded that the animals in both cases were destined for a similar fate, i.e. consumption at a ceremonial banquet, and that consequently the number and species of the animals constituted a standardised list for a major festival that would have fed about 1,000 people[483]. In addition, the characterisation of the pigs as "yearlings" or "fattened" further indicates that these animals must have been destined for consumption, whilst olives and wine were also noted in Un 138[484]. This is also attested by the extraordinary number of bulls recorded on KN C (1) 901+7661+8049, as well as the animals recorded on the KN C (2) series and the association on KN C (2) 941, C 1561 and X 9191 of the animals with the adjective *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, σφακτηρία, which may mean

[479] Palaima, 2004, 98.
[480] POM, 1990, esp. 171-184; Nikoloudis, 2001, 13.
[481] Palaima, 2004, 109.
[482] Killen, 1994, 72.
[483] Hägg, 1998, 103; POM, 1990, 179.
[484] Nikoloudis, 2001, 13-14.

victims destined for slaughter or sacrifice and consumption at some kind of ceremonial banquet[485].

An indication concerning the occasion that would have demanded such a banquet may be supplied by PY Un 2. The tablet lists foodstuff at the disposal of the *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* at *pa-ki-ja-na* at the time of the initiation of the king[486]. The food listed would have been sufficient for 1,000 people, a number fitting the celebration of the inauguration of the new king[487]. Another occasion may have been the appointment of *au-ke-wa* as *da-mo-ko-ro* recorded in Ta 711 -the header of the series-, although it is not certain whether the items were recorded for use in a feast in honour of the *da-mo-ko-ro*, or because he was assuming responsibility for them by becoming *da-mo-ko-ro*[488], although the former seems more likely.

Sacrificial banquets, however, were also performed in honour of deities, suggested by Un 6 and Un 718, where animals, such as cattle, sheep and pigs, and food, like barley, cheese, honey and wine, were offered to Poseidon[489]. In Un 718, particularly, Poseidon is associated with a specific place-name, that of *sa-ra-pe-da*. Further, the tablet indicates that the foodstuff was a donation offered by various members of the society, like *e-ke-ra(2)-wo* –presumably the wanax-, the *ra-wa-ke-ta* (a high official), the *da-mo* (the community or the elite) and the *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma*, some kind of social/land organisation[490]. The tablet

[485] Killen, 1994, 74-75; Nikoloudis, 2001, 15.
[486] Palaima, 2004, 109.
[487] POM, 1990, 179; Killen, 1994, 72; Nikoloudis, 2001, 14.
[488] Palaima, 2004, 114.
[489] The religious character of banquets seems to be suggested also by the Ta series, which if the introductory tablet is Ta 711, the occasion for the banquet was the installation of an individual named *au-ke-wa* to the office of *da-mo-ko-ro* (Palaima, 2004, 114). The ceremony was also religious, since animal sacrifice was involved, suggested by the recording of sacrificial implements, sacrificial knives and stunning axes and the two ceremonial bridles –presumably to lead the sacrificial animal (Palaima, 2004, 233).
[490] Yamagata, 1995, 61; Nikoloudis, 2001, 14; Palaima, 2004, 109.

clearly records the offering of animals and foodstuff for a banquet at a sanctuary probably fairly close to the palace to honour the deity. The occasion does not seem to have been a festival, because there is no term to denote such a thing, but it is likely that the Poseidon of *sa-ra-pe-da* may have been celebrated on a specific day.

Evidence that banquets took place in sanctuaries only comes from the Linear B texts, since with the exception of Pylos, Apollo Maleatas and perhaps Tsoungiza, large deposits of bones have not been found in other sites. The deposits of burnt selected animal bones found in six excavation units from both inside and outside the palace complex of Pylos[491] and stores of tableware in pantries in the palace, suggesting large-scale drinking ceremonies[492], indicate state banquets. The Procession fresco depicting people carrying objects and a large-scale bull in the middle (**fig. 22**) has been interpreted as indicating the performance of animal sacrifice, taking place in an open-air shrine[493], followed by a banquet and drinking ceremony, implied by the "Banquet Scene" in the Throne Room (**fig. 23)**. Palaima has further associated the Procession fresco with a feasting ceremony officiated over by the wanax himself, since on tablet PY Un 718 a bull is recorded as an offering from the wanax and the fresco depicts one male figure larger in scale than the others positioned in front of the procession[494]. Indeed, drinking[495] was also part of feasting, suggested first of all by the presence of wine among the foodstuff collected for banquets[496], by iconographic

[491] Stocker and Davis, 2004, 62.
[492] Säflund, 1980; Davis and Bennett, 1999, 110; Halstead and Isaakidou, 2004, 147.
[493] Palaima, 1995, 133.
[494] Kilian, 1988, 300, n. 1; Palaima, 1995, 132-133.
[495] The importance of drinking ceremonies for the Minoan and Mycenaean societies has been emphasised by Wright, 1996.
[496] PY Ua 17.1, Un 2.6, Un 138.3, Un 718.3, .7, .11, .12.

evidence, like the "Campstool Fresco" and the "Banquet Scene" [497] and the presence of large numbers of kylikes found in the palaces of Pylos and Thebes[498]. Finally, the PY Ta series recording furniture and cult equipment, may actually record the paraphernalia associated with such ceremonies, which were probably repeatedly used on banqueting occasions[499]. The connection between the two may be further demonstrated by the fact that Un 718 and the Ta series were placed together in a special area in Room 7 of the Archives Complex, probably for handy access to their information[500].

Where exactly such ceremonies took place is not certain. Specifically for Pylos it has been suggested that feasting ceremonies took place in Court 63, since it could accommodate large gatherings, but also because the nearby Rooms 60, 67 and 68 were found packed with vessels for eating and drinking[501] (**fig. 24**). Shelmerdine has proposed Court 88, which had access to the pantries of the main building of the palace, as a possible site for feasting[502]. The existence of a built altar in Court 92 may emphasise the possibility that such rituals were performed in open space but within the palace[503]. Alternatively, the slaughter and the banquet may have taken place in some outlying field or sanctuary[504].

Deposit EU 9 of Tsoungiza (LH IIIA2) not associated with any architectural remains and consisting of animal bones, some burnt, others with cut marks, vessels for eating and drinking and figurines, has also been interpreted as

[497] Wright, 1996, 295; 2004, 41. The reconstruction of a bull lying on a sacrificial table associated with the "Banquet Scene" (McCallum, 1987a, 94-96, 132-133) is not certain, since there is no evidence for the table (Palaima, 1995, 132, n. 43).
[498] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 350; Keramopoulos, 1909, 71.
[499] Palaima, 2004, 112, 114.
[500] Palaima, 2004, 113.
[501] Davis and Bennet, 1999, 110.
[502] Shelmerdine in: Nikoloudis, 2001, 18.
[503] Nikoloudis, 2001, 19.
[504] Nikoloudis, 2001, 18.

remains of feasting[505]. Among the figurines were found the lower part of a figure reminiscent of the "Lady of Phylakopi" dating to the LH IIIA[506]. The deposit suggests a ceremony involving drinking, sacrifice and slaughter followed by consumption on-site, but it seems that most of the meat was distributed to participants for consumption in their own communities, implying that feasting at Tsoungiza had a political significance, even though it was associated with a religious activity[507], suggested by the presence of the large figure and the figurines.

Since there is stronger evidence about the slaughtering of animals for banquets than for animal sacrifice, the purpose of the slaughtering has been debated. Hägg has argued that the majority of the animal bones found on a cult site was due to sacred banquets rather than to sacrifice for sacrifice's sake[508]. Similarly, Bergquist has challenged the notion of burnt animal sacrifice and demonstrated that it is an anachronistic inference from historical burnt-animal sacrifice[509]. She also drew attention to the fact that these deposits may have constituted human waste from sacral meals consumed by the worshippers and the cult personnel[510]. However, there should be a distinction between the evidence. The evidence, either textual or archaeological, for large-scale consumption of animals concerns exclusively the palaces or areas under palatial control. Methana and Tsoungiza so far are exceptions, although the proximity of the latter site to Mycenae may account for that[511]. Moreover, although these banquets could have taken place on both secular and religious occasions, the animals would probably

[505] Wright *et al.*, 1990, 636; Wright, 1994, 69. Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004.
[506] Wright *et al.*, 1990, 636; Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004, 91-92.
[507] Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004, 81, 93.
[508] Hägg, 1998, 101.
[509] Bergquist, 1988, 21-34.
[510] Bergquist, 1988, 30.
[511] Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004, 94.

have been sacrificially slaughtered. Burkert has demonstrated the connection of animal sacrifice with the biological heritage of human beings, as well as the reasons why the act was later ritualised[512]. Therefore, it seems reasonable to argue that all animals slaughtered in a ceremony were sacrificed in honour of a deity.

With respect to the cult practices performed in cult buildings or areas, though, it is not certain whether a sacral meal followed the sacrifice and if it did, who were allowed to participate. In the case of Room Gamma 1 at Mycenae, if a meal followed the animal sacrifice it would not involve a large assembly due to the small size of the room and, although its north side was open, the access via the narrow Processional Way, which could also be closed by a door, indicates that access was controlled and restricted. The same is true for the cult buildings at Ayios Konstantinos and Ayia Irini. This subject will be examined in detail below in connection with the function of Mycenaean cult buildings.

References in Linear B, though, seem to suggest that there were individuals responsible for the preparation of sacral meals, the *de-qo-no* (δειπνός), the banquetier responsible for the preparation of a sacral meal made of barley given by the palace, and the *po-ro-de-qo-no* (προδειπνός), interpreted as the vice-banquetier, who may have held a similar task[513]. The fact that such preparations are mentioned in the tablets may suggest that the occasion was a public festival.

The difference, then, between state banquets and animal sacrifice would depend on the number of people involved, as well as on who was involved and who was excluded, whereas specifically in the case of Mycenaean Greece the

[512] Burkert, 1983.
[513] Aravantinos, *et al*., 2001, 225; Sacconi, 2001, 467-468.

identity of the person officiating in the ceremony –whether the priest or the wanax as part of his religious role- is also important for the distinction. The occasion would perhaps also be different for banquets, since this would not necessarily be of a religious nature. Indeed, according to Wright, the Linear B tablets indicate that "feasts were sponsored by the state or the wanax to mark royal activities"[514]. Nevertheless, the association of recipients and place-names with some PY Fr tablets and banqueting records, e.g. Fn 187[515] support the connection of banquets with religious celebrations. The association of deities, such as Poseidon and place-names, such as *pa-ki-ja-na* and *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* both with oil offerings and with foodstuff destined for banquets may suggest that offerings of perfumed oil were disbursed on the occasion of banquets[516]. Banquets then would clearly be of a large scale and were probably performed both on political and religious occasions. Both occasions would have been appropriate either for the wanax or/and members of the higher hierarchy to display their economic capacity and their access to resources.

Libation and drinking rituals

Contrary to sacrifice the evidence for libation, that is "the pouring of a liquid as a drink-offering to a divine recipient"[517], is quite rich in the Mycenaean world. The central role of drinking and pouring ceremonies in Mycenaean cult has been emphasised by Hägg and Wright[518]. The devices used for libations were either permanent or movable installations. Since libations could have been

[514] Wright, 2004, 36.
[515] For a detailed discussion see Bendall, 1998-1999.
[516] Bendall, 1998-1999, esp. 9.
[517] Hägg, 1990a, 177.
[518] Hägg, 1990a; Wright, 1996.

performed on various occasions, in different ways and with different liquids, there is a wide range of different installations and movable equipment[519].

Fixed installations have been found in Room Gamma 1 (LH IIIB), which were already described, at Ayios Konstantinos at Methana (LH IIIA-B), Berbati (LH IIIB) and Asine (LH IIIC). In the courtyard F at Ayios Konstantinos a rounded boulder was placed between a low stone-built bench and the wall (**fig. 25**). The boulder had a deep conical hollow cut into it that was pierced through, but no receptacle was found below the piercing, suggesting that any liquid poured into the hollow would have probably been absorbed by the earth[520]. In the same area the lower end of a conical rhyton was uncovered, which further supports the use of the installation for the performance of libations[521]. Room G, a spacious hall entered from Area F, displays a close similarity with Room XXXII at Asine. Like Room XXXII it features two stone bases for wooden columns symmetrically placed on the main axis. In the northeast corner of the room a low rectangular bench-like structure was found, built of rough stones and earth[522]. At the outer corner of the structure a deep conical depression was cut into a small projection of the native rock, reminiscent of the bolster-shaped altar in Tsountas' House Shrine, which similarly must have been used for the pouring of libations[523]. Finally, the upper part of a large coarse jar, resting on the floor with its neck turned to the ground, was found in the southwest corner of Room A, and it was probably used for libations[524].

[519] Hägg, 1990a, 178.
[520] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 216.
[521] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 216.
[522] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 216.
[523] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 216.
[524] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 214.

Similar installations were also found in Room XXXII at Asine and Room B at Berbati. At Asine an upside down jar was placed between the stone bench and the wall[525] (**fig. 26**). The base of the jar has been deliberately cut away[526] so that the liquid would have been channelled through the jug into the floor or earth[527]. An installation uncovered in Room B at Berbati dating to the second phase of its use in LH IIIB has been interpreted as an altar. The structure was placed on a ledge cut in the rock in the middle of the back wall, while two rows of stones next to it formed a channel, closed at the right end by two smaller stones[528]. The channel could have been used for libations, where the liquid would pass along it and disappear into the floor of the room[529]. Under the stones at this end were firmly fastened the base and part of the stem of a kylix[530]. In Room C to the north of the building complex containing Room B, an installation for libations was also found. In the northwest corner a large LH IIIB krater came to light (the Berbati Bull Krater), half sunk into the floor with intentionally pierced bottom[531]. Finally, in rooms T5 and T7 in the Cult Centre of Mycenae Mylonas found the necks of amphoras fixed in such a position as to receive libations[532] that would similarly allow the liquid to be absorbed by the earth.

A channel linking two shallow depressions found in the megaron of the palace at Pylos was probably used for libations performed by the person seated on the throne[533] (**fig. 27**). In the anteroom of the megaron at the palace of Mycenae Papadimitriou uncovered an alabaster slab with a shallow oval

[525] Hägg, 1981b, 93.
[526] Nilsson, 1950, 113; Hägg, 1990a, 181.
[527] Hägg, 1990a, 181; 1996, 610.
[528] Persson and Åkerström, 1938, 61; Åkerström, 1988, 201.
[529] Åkerström, 1988, 201; Hägg, 1996, 610.
[530] Persson and Åkerström, 1938, 61; Nilsson, 1950, 116; Hägg, 1990a, 181.
[531] Åkerström, 1988, 201-202; Hägg, 1990a, 181.
[532] Mylonas, 1973, 101; Hägg, 1990a, 180.
[533] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 87-88; Hägg, 1990a, 178.

depression next to a rounded low altar and a square platform that he wrongly interpreted as a throne[534]. This structure has been paralleled to the libation channel of Pylos[535]. Finally, the circular hollow structure found outside the megaron at Tiryns may have been an altar used for libations on a large-scale, or a sacrificial pit[536], since it is very similar to the altar found on top of Shaft Grave IV of Grave Circle A at Mycenae[537].

In addition to cult installations, libations were performed using two kinds of movable equipment, for pouring the liquid and for receiving it. The simplest equipment was a jug for pouring and a bowl for receiving the liquid[538]. Tripod offering tables were also used to receive liquid offerings[539]. These are often associated with pouring vessels comprising a set[540]. A tripod table of offerings was found *in situ* next to the great hearth of the Pylos megaron together with miniature kylikes through which the libations would have been poured[541], whereas another set of a tripod offering table and miniature vases was uncovered in Corridor 18 at Pylos[542]. Finally, the tripod table of offerings found on the bench in the Temple Complex in front of a clay figure may have also been used for libations[543].

Sets of vessels for libations provide information on how these were performed, as well as on the liquids employed. We already discussed the use of animal-head rhyta for blood libations[544]. Similarly triton shells would have been

[534] Papadimitriou, 1955, 230; Mylonas, 1966a, 62; Hägg, 1990a, 180.
[535] Papadimitriou, 1955, 230; Mylonas, 1966a, 62.
[536] Yavis, 1949, 34; Iakovidis, 1983, 13; Hägg, 1990a, 181.
[537] Müller, 1930, 137-138.
[538] Hägg, 1990a, 178.
[539] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa, 1982, 20.
[540] Marinatos, 1984a, 22; Hägg, 1990a, 183.
[541] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 89; Hägg, 1990a, fig. 9; 1998, 105.
[542] Hägg, 1990a, n.52.
[543] Gallou, 2005, 84.
[544] For the functions of Minoan and Mycenaean rhyta see Koehl, 1981.

used for water libations, as at Ayios Konstantinos[545]. In this case the use of water, probably seawater, would be in context with a deity connected with water that, as has been suggested, was worshipped at the shrine[546], although whether the deity was Poseidon is not certain[547]. Actual rhyta have been found in Building VI, the so-called House of the Priestess (LH IIIB2) and in the courtyard associated with the LH IIIC Room 117 in the Lower Citadel at Tiryns, in Room A and Area F at Ayios Konstantinos, at Phylakopi and in the "Rhyton Well" in the vicinity of the Cult Centre at Mycenae[548].

Libation ceremonies involving drinking, as in Mycenaean funerary rites, were usually performed using the kylix. Very informative in terms of libations performed as part of funerary rites and the cult of the dead are two examples from Tanagra and Tiryns. The Tanagra larnax from Tomb 36 depicts two figures separated by a checkerboard panel, the left a female mourning figure and the right perhaps also a female figure holding a kylix (**fig. 28**), probably a reference to the pouring of libations at the entrance of the tomb[549]. Similarly, a fragmentary LH IIIB2 krater from Tiryns represents a seated figure holding up a goblet or kylix[550] (**fig. 29**). The chariots depicted in front of the figure are probably a reference to games performed as part of funerary rites[551] and support the funerary character of the scene. In addition, the scene on a pictorial vase from Alike,

[545] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 214. For the uses of triton shells see Åström and Reese, 1990.
[546] Konsolaki, 1991, 72; 2001, 214.
[547] The association of Poseidon with water that the excavator suggests may be an anachronism, given that in the Mycenaean period the name Poseidon (*potei-*, Lord and *da-*, earth?) probably meant "the lord of earth" or "the husband of the earth goddess" (Parke, 1977, 97; Burkert, 1985, 136, although he is circumspect), whereas his association with water first appears in the Homeric Epic (Burkert, 1985, 136). However, the identification of the deity with Poseidon may be based on the presence of chariot figurines.
[548] Kilian, 1981, 58; Whittaker, 1997, 182; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 213-216; Renfrew, 1985, 239, 275, 324; Koehl, 1981, 186.
[549] Immerwahr, 1995, 116.
[550] Kilian, 1980.
[551] Crouwel, 1981, 145; Gallou, 2005, 126. For funerary games see Gallou, 2005, 125-127.

depicting a female figure in a long robe standing between palm trees and drinking from a cup may also have funerary associations, suggested by the palm trees[552] (**fig. 30**). The frequent occurrence of kylikes in the stomion of the dromoi of Mycenaean chamber tombs indicates the performance of libations, in which some of the liquid was poured out and some was drunk[553], as a farewell toast offered to the deceased. The fact that these vessels were found shattered indicates that those involved in the burial or veneration rites would break the vessels after drinking, perhaps as a rite of passage in a gesture of exorcising evil, i.e. death, as is the custom still in modern Greece, when the funeral procession leaves the house of the deceased. The presence of libation channels, that is parallel grooves cut in the floor of the stomion in some Mycenaean chamber tombs[554], also indicates libations[555]. The usual occurrence of rhyta in tombs in Mycenaean Greece[556] more than in cult contexts[557], further indicates that libations were part of funerary rites. Finally, the spirits of the dead, identified as the *di-pi-si-jo-i*, *ti-ri-se-ro-e* and *do-po-ta* are recorded as recipients of oil (PY Fr 1220, 1231, 1232, 1240) and gold drinking vessels (PY Tn 316), further indicating the association of libations with funerary rites, whereas another use for the oil may have been for anointing the funerary stelai[558] on the occasion or during the festival in honour of the dead.

[552] Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 92. The figure has also been interpreted as smelling a flower, like the scene on CMS I, 279 from Routsi (Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 92). For the symbolism of the palm tree see Morgan, 1988, 28, Marinatos, 1984b, and Gallou, 2005, 51.
[553] Hägg, 1990a, 183.
[554] Dendra nos. 6, 8 and 9 (Persson, 1942b), Thebes Kolonaki nos. 15 and 26, Archive Heraeum nos. II and XLIV and Tholos Tomb 1 at Tragana at Pylos (Åkerström, 1988, 202).
[555] The interpretation of the grooves for the wheels of the vehicle upon which the deceased was carried (Keramopoulos, 1917, 159, 194) or for the skid poles to facilitate the wooden coffin (Persson, 1942b, 156-157) does not seem very convincing (Åkerström, 1988, 202-203).
[556] Koehl, 1981, 187; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 115.
[557] Hägg, 1990a, 183.
[558] Gallou, 2005, 95, 98.

The association of drinking with Mycenaean ritual is attested by the presence of kylikes in cult buildings, such as the megaron at Pylos and Room A at Ayios Konstantinos[559]. In the latter case the kylikes were associated with the bench. Kylikes were also found in Room 19 of the Temple. Drinking vessels and containers were reported from all phases of the temple at Ayia Irini, suggesting that wine may have been important in the cult performed there[560].

Linear B tablets also indicate the performance of libations, as they record the receiving of oil, honey and wine[561] by sanctuaries; these would have been used in libations in addition to water, milk and blood[562]. Indeed, the role of liquids, especially wine, and of pouring and drinking vessels in Mycenaean religion is further emphasised by their appearance as offerings to deities in PY Tn 316[563]. Moreover, the appearance of drinking vessels in Linear B records, especially shapes made of gold or silver and used in ceremonies[564], further emphasises the importance of drinking. Corroborating evidence is provided by iconographic evidence mentioned above, including the gold ring from Tiryns depicting the performance of libations by genii before an enthroned figure.

Finally, the importance of drinking ceremonies has been suggested by the evidence of drinking vessels found at Pylos and Thebes and is also indicated by the existence of a festival associated with wine. The festival of *me-tu-wo ne-wo*, μέθυος νέος, meaning the "new wine", probably celebrated, as the name

[559] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 301-305; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 213. Since there are some objections concerning the cult function of Room 93 and Court 92 of Pylos (Bendall, 2003), they will not be examined. For the secular function of Room 93 and Court 92 see below.
[560] Caskey, 1981, 127.
[561] The KN Fp series records the disbursement of oil to sanctuaries, such as *di-ka-ta-de* and *a-mi-ni-so-de*, presumably to be used in libations. KN Gg 702 and 705 record honey offered to deities, which may suggest the sending of the commodity to the deities sanctuaries. PY Vn 20 records the disbursement of wine to various centres among which is *pa-ki-ja-na*.
[562] Hägg, 1990a, 178.
[563] Gallou, 2005, 95.
[564] Wright, 1996, 301.

suggests, the production of new wine and may have been connected with fertility cults.

The Mycenaean Cult of the Dead

Before completing the examination of the evidence concerning the ritual acts that comprised Mycenaean cult practice, it is important to discuss briefly the Mycenaean cult of the dead. The existence during the Mycenaean period of a cult addressed to the dead has been demonstrated by the study undertaken by Gallou[565]. The Mycenaean cult of the dead was namely the desire of Mycenaean society to ascribe sacred status to its ancestors and to propitiate them with offerings and acts analogous to those addressed to the divine[566]. The focus of the cult was naturally the tombs and involved the post-funerary visits to the tombs and the offering of drink and food to the dead in the form of animal sacrifice, offerings of foodstuff and libations with various liquids[567].

The cult was performed inside the burial chamber, suggested by especially reserved areas within some tombs and involved the use of cult installations, such as platforms, benches and altars and cult equipment, such as vessels for libations and drinking and tables of offerings[568]. Since space was limited inside the chamber, participation was restricted[569], although participants could have stood in the open spaces created in front of some funerary monuments[570]. During the ceremony invocation rituals would have been performed to summon the divine and to allow the worshippers to express their

[565] Gallou, 2005.
[566] Gallou, 2005, 135.
[567] For libations and animal sacrifice as part of the cult of the dead see Gallou, 2005, 87-105.
[568] Gallou, 2005, 91-105, 131.
[569] Gallou, 2005, 130.
[570] Gallou, 2005, 131.

reverence[571]. In order for the ritual to be more effective, actual cult images and/or symbols may have been used[572]. Libations, sacrifice and feasting would have invoked the presence of the ancestors and would have facilitated the communication with them[573]. The ceremony would have also involved the display of the ancestral relics to the celebrants, to demonstrate the incorporation of the deceased into the ancestral collectivity[574].

The social significance of the cult of the dead is suggested by the scale of investment in cult facilities, such as decorated façades and wall paintings, saddle roofs, side chambers, benches, altars, hearths, sacrificial pits, carefully cut and stuccoed dromoi, which would have demonstrated the social status and wealth of their owners[575]. Moreover, the performance of sacrificial rites, sophisticated offering rituals and athletic games of heroic character would have reflected the prosperity of a few individuals or of a whole community[576]. Finally, the establishment of official places for the cult of the dead, such as Grave Circle A and the Dendra "Cenotaph"[577], indicates that the cult of the ancestors was considered as a communal affair[578]. Moreover, the existence of festivals associated with the dead suggests formalisation and periodicity of the cult in LH IIIA-B times and associates it with the official religion and with the participation of priests.

Although pollution taboos associated with the handling of the dead may have prohibited priests from coming into contact with the dead, the fact that the

[571] Gallou, 2005, 131.
[572] Gallou, 2005, 131.
[573] Gallou, 2005, 131.
[574] Gallou, 2005, 131.
[575] Gallou, 2005, 131-132.
[576] Gallou, 2005, 132.
[577] Gallou, 2005, 28-29, 127-128.
[578] Gallou, 2005, 132.

cult involved the performance of ritual acts and the employment of sacred equipment and symbols, such as images of the deities, implies the participation of religious specialists who led and officiated at the ceremony. Indeed, if theophoria in particular, was performed as part of the cult of the dead, the involvement of priests is clearly suggested, since the handling of such objects would not have been allowed to individuals of no sacred status.

Festivals

The performance of festivals in the Mycenaean period can primarily be attested by references in the Linear B tablets and specifically by the PY Fr series, recording the disbursements of perfumed oil to individuals and place-names. The KN Fp series, similarly recording offerings of oil to places, divinities and priests, also constitutes a religious calendar[579], but instead of festivals as the occasion of the disbursements month-names are recorded, which may indicate festivals celebrated in these months. The month *di-wi-jo-jo* (KN Fp 5) for example may have derived its name from a festival dedicated to *di-we*, Zeus. In addition, some terms have been interpreted as festivals due to their etymological associations with words, which are documented as recipients of offerings, like *wa-na-se-wi-jo* and *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*[580], from *wa-na-so-i* (PY Fr 1222, Fr 1227) and *di-pi-si-jo* (PY Fr 1240, Fr 1220, Fr 1231).

The Linear B evidence for festivals suggests that a sacred calendar was already established in LH IIIA-B, demonstrating standardised ritual acts and a well-established religious authority. The iconographic evidence, mainly from the palatial centres, emphasises the official character of such ritual practices.

[579] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 303.
[580] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 250; Konstandinidou, 1989, 14.

Therefore, although we lack written evidence describing the ritual acts performed in festivals we have visual testimony, which is complemented by actual archaeological remains.

Bennett was the first to argue that a religious calendar consisting of names of festivals appeared in the PY Fr series[581]. He compared the endings of the terms *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* (Fr 343, Fr 1217) and *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (Fr 1222) with the suffix "-*terion*", typical of names of Greek festivals, such as Anthesteria[582]. He concluded that the two Mycenaean terms were in the dative, denoting moments rather than periods of time and certain actions or rites taking place in a festival or in a religious calendar[583]. The etymological interpretation of *to-no-e-ke-ti-ri-jo* and *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* according to Bennett is lekhe-stro-terion, meaning the "bed-spreading" and throno-helke-terion, the "Drawing of the throne" respectively[584].

Based on the written evidence, we can now be certain that the Mycenaean sacred calendar included several festivals, namely the theophoria (the 'Carrying of the God'), the throno-helke-terion (the 'Drawing of the Throne'), the lehke-stro-terion (the 'Spreading of the Bed'), the *me-tu-wo ne-wo* (μέθυος νέος, 'The Festival of the New Wine'), the *ke-se-nu-wi-jo* (ξενFίων, the 'Festival of the Foreigners'), the *wa-na-se-wi-jo* (the 'Festival of the Wanassa') and the *di-pi-si-wi-jo* (the 'Festival of the Thirsty Ones', i.e. the Dead). Also, the various names of months, like *di-wi-jo* (the month of Zeus), *de-u-ki-jo* (the month of Deukios) and *po-ro-wi-jo* (the month of Navigation) may derive from festivals of the same

[581] Bennett, 1958, 27-32.
[582] Bennett, 1958, 30.
[583] Bennett, 1958, 30.
[584] Bennett, 1958, 30-31.

name[585]. A clear indication of the latter is the entry *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* (Fr 1224), which, since *pa-ki-ja-na* is the location of a sanctuary, probably refers to the month in which the great festival took place[586].

The precise meaning of each of these festivals, with the exception perhaps of the theophoria, is still not clear, but the purpose here is not to solve this problem. It is generally accepted that the terms denote religious festivals, suggested by their association with Poseidon (Fr 343) and the sanctuary of *pa-ki-ja-na* (Fr 1217)[587] and therefore what interests us is the involvement of the priesthood in their performance.

i) *te-o-po-ri-ja*

The term has been interpreted as a festival by Ventris and Chadwick and L. R. Palmer, but the latter also provided a second interpretation of that the term as a name of a functionary[588]. The word has been interpreted as a festival due to the occurrence of the ending *–ria* that denotes festivals in the Classical period, such as Thesmophoria[589], but also due to the etymology of the term. The etymological interpretation of *te-o-po-ri-ja* according to Ventris and Chadwick was "divine possession"[590], but the term rather means "to carry the god" from the words *te-o* (=god) and "*–po-ro*" (=to carry), denoting a ritual practice where the god was carried[591]. Another possible interpretation reads the second component as -φόρος, meaning "offering" and the term *te-o-po-ri-ja* as a festival where gifts

[585] Konstandinidou, 1989, 14.
[586] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 478, 568.
[587] Bendall, 1998-1999, 3.
[588] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 585; Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 202; Palmer, 1963, 457.
[589] Hiller, 1984, 147.
[590] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 585.
[591] Hiller, 1984, 140; Burkert, 1985, 45.

were offered to the god[592]. Iconographic and archaeological evidence, though, rather suggest that the festival involved the actual carrying of the image of the god in the form of an idol or figurine made of clay or of other perishable material.

The term theophoria appears in the Knossos tablets Ga 1058 and Od 696[593], the latter possibly linked to L 698[594]. The religious context of tablet Ga 1058 is suggested by the presence of coriander[595], a commodity often offered to deities or sanctuaries[596] and by the presence of *ma-sa*, a place-name, which according to Hiller may have also been a cult place[597]. In KN Od 696 the festival is associated with *e-pi-ro-pa-ja,* a particular type of cloth made partly of wool[598]. The fragment L 698 is also referring to a particular cloth, defined by the ideogram **164* and characterised as *pe-ko-to,* but although the two fragments belong to the same tablet, it is not clear how these are linked, whereas the exact meaning of the text and how the different types of cloth were associated with the festival is not certain either[599]. Hiller has argued that the cloth destined for the deities may have been recorded in the L series under the **164* ideogram (L 520 and L 698) and due to its small weight[600]. However, the context of both fragments led him to suggest that a particular cloth was offered to the deity either before the performance of the festival in order to be used at it or during the

[592] Hiller, 1984, 147.
[593] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 585.
[594] Chadwick, Killen and Olivier, 1971, 231; Hiller, 1984, 139.
[595] The ideogram CYP is falsely written as PYC in the tablet (Hiller, 1984, 142).
[596] It appears for example in KN Ga (3) 456.1 associated with *pa-de*, a deity and in KN Ga (3) 465.1 associated with *a-mi-ni-so* (Hiller, 1984, 142).
[597] Hiller, 1984, 141-142.
[598] Hiller, 1984, 143.
[599] Hiller, 1984, 143.
[600] Hiller, 1984, 146.

festival[601]. Ruipérez and Melena themselves have also suggested that as part of the festival a new cloth was offered to the deity[602].

The offering of cloth to divinities is often mentioned in the tablets. In PY Un 853 and KN M 719 cloth defined with the ideogram **146* is offered to Poseidon and Enesidon respectively –if the latter is the name of a deity[603]. The presence of the ideogram **164* also in L 698 may be interpreted as an offering to the sanctuary of Marineus, if we accept the]*ne-we* as part of the name *ma-ri-ne-u* and the *wo-ke* is οἶκος, temple. Chadwick, Palmer and Godart further have interpreted *ma-ri-ne-u* as a god related specifically to the production of wool[604], hence the offering of wool to him. The latter is a possibility, but not particularly necessary, since male deities could be given cloth as an offering regardless of their association with its production, as we already saw. Finally, the offering of cloth to cult places is apparently attested by TH Of 36, where an amount of wool is sent to the *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* of the shrine of Potnia (*po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de*)[605]. This suggests that wool at least was used by the sanctuaries, either for the ritual acts performed, or for the needs of the priesthood, but most likely for both. The use of cloth or robes in ritual as dedications to the deity may also be suggested by the entry in Fr 1225, where oil for the ointment of robes is associated with *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja*[606].

[601] Hiller, 1984, 150. For representations of this practice from the Aegean in general see Korres, 1981.
[602] Ruipérez and Melena, 1996, 193.
[603] Hiller, 1984, 144. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, 543) interpreted it as possibly a divine name.
[604] Chadwick, 1976, 99; Hiller, 1984, 143. The religious association of this name may be further indicated by the entry found in KN As 1519, which records a group of men destined to "the house of Marineus" (Chadwick, 1976, 99), understood as the shrine of Marineus, by Ga 674, where Marineus receives coriander and by Gg (2) 713+994, recording the female slave of Marineus receiving honey.
[605] Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 1975, 87, 89.
[606] Shelmerdine, 1995, 103; 1998, 109.

Two fragments showing hands holding figurines, one from the Cult Centre at Mycenae[607] (**fig. 31**), the other from Tiryns[608] (**fig. 32**), testify to the performance of theophoria. Boulotis has suggested a reconstruction of fresco fragment 103 from Tiryns, where the female hand holding the figurine is also holding a piece of cloth, although it is possible that the artist meant to depict two hands rather than one[609]. As a parallel to the offering or receiving of cloth by the divinity may be used the fresco fragment from Phylakopi of a female hand holding a piece of cloth[610], although of a much earlier date.

In spite of the difficulties in understanding precisely what kind of cloth was offered to the deities and in what form, it seems certain that gifts of cloth were offered to the sanctuaries to be used in festivals, as suggested also by the iconographic evidence. It is also possible that different types of cloth were offered to the deities for use in different practices. For example, the idol depicted on the fragment from Tiryns has two black "strings" decorating it, something that appears quite often in the iconography as part of the hieratic dress of priestesses, e.g. on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus. This may suggest, then, that in addition to the cloth given as an offering, the idols used for the theophoria may have been decorated with some kind of cloth, perhaps wool worn also by the priesthood participating in the ceremony. Alternatively, the cloth given may have been used for these streamers. The importance of this "decoration" may be reflected on the depiction of such streamers at the back of the figure from Mycenae[611] (**fig. 33**) and on the figures from Tiryns (**fig. 34**), though of a later date (LH IIIC). These streamers were not locks of hair as Vermeule has argued, nor do they seem to

[607] Kritseli-Providi, 1982, 79.
[608] Boulotis, 1979; Hägg, 1998, 112.
[609] Boulotis, 1979, 63.
[610] Boulotis, 1979, 60.
[611] Boulotis, 1979, 63.

have been exclusively funerary[612], since they were also found on figures uncovered in cult buildings.

Cloth was not the only offering carried in the festival. Archaeological evidence from cult buildings suggests that objects such as jewellery (usually necklaces), serving and drinking vessels, pyxides and commodities such as perfumed oil or spices were also offered to deities. A depiction of a female figure holding a necklace from the Cult Centre at Mycenae (**fig. 35**) as well as an assemblage of beads associated with a figure uncovered on a platform in Room 32 of the Cult Centre[613] supports this notion. Beads, presumably from a necklace, were also found in the Room with the Idols of the Temple Complex at Mycenae placed in a small bowl and in the West Shrine at Phylakopi, which Renfrew interpreted as destined to adorn the figures[614], the images of the deity. Finally, PY Tn 316 records the offering of gold cups to various deities on the occasion of a ceremony, perhaps a festival, taking place at their shrines.

The festival of theophoria may be depicted also on the Tanagra larnax from Tomb 15, representing a figure holding a figurine with upraised arms, approached by a procession of three figures (**fig. 36**). This depiction suggests that theophoria was also practised in festivals in honour of the dead, suggested also by the discovery of a large wheel-made female figure of the type used in theophoria in Tomb 40 at Mycenae[615]. Another way by which the image of the deity may have been carried is on a pole. An anthropomorphic vase from Mycenae with a hole on its base made before firing may be suggestive of this

[612] Vermeule, 1965, 146; Long, 1974, 38.
[613] Taylour, 1970, 277.
[614] Renfrew, 1985, 408, 372, 385.
[615] Gallou, 2005, 58.

practice[616], where the pole would have been inserted into the hole to hold up the idol. This practice would enable the participants to see the image better than if held by the hand[617]. Indeed, according to Mylonas impressions of wood were found in the base and the opening of this idol[618]. Finally, the idols from the Temple of the Cult Centre at Mycenae may have similarly been carried in processions, even if they represented cult celebrants rather than deities, as Moore has argued[619].

The purpose of carrying the image of the deity would be as an occasion for the public to see it, as well as the sacred symbols, which otherwise were kept inside the sanctuary. It is possible then that the procession started from the cult building, took the image around, and brought it back to the sanctuary[620]. The evidence does not indicate whether the bearer of the image was defined by sex. On the fresco from Tiryns the figure is certainly female suggested by the white colour of the hand, but whether it represents the priestess carrying the idol or the goddess receiving it, is not clear. On the Tanagra larnax the sex of the person holding the idol cannot be identified. Perhaps there was no restriction, or the person depended on the occasion. Perhaps, in a ceremony where a female goddess was venerated, the votaries would have been priestesses.

The carrying around of the image of the deity, presumably in a procession, would not only have been an occasion for the worshippers to see it, but could also have been related to the actual appearance of the deity. The objective of the ceremony may have also been to induce the appearance of the divinity. Eliade has argued that festivals repeat the creative acts of the deities and

[616] Mylonas, 1975a, 157; Boulotis, 1979, 63; Hägg, 1998, 112; 2000, 175.
[617] Boulotis, 1979, 63.
[618] Mylonas, 1983, 210.
[619] Moore, 1988, 221; 1999, 115.
[620] Hägg, 2000, 176; 2002, 143, 146.

that during the celebrations it is believed that what takes place is the actual primary act, not an imitation of it[621]. The Mycenaean theophoria, then, might have been an equivalent of the Minoan epiphany, where the carrying of the image of the deity also aimed at provoking the appearance of the divinity.

The epiphany of the deity may have also been enacted, as has been suggested for the scenes depicting a seated female figure receiving veneration, e.g. CMS I, 17[622]. In such cases a priestess could have acted the role of the deity. This interpretation was based, according to Hägg, on the fact that the seated figure seems to interact with the other figures and therefore represented a human being rather than the deity[623].

ii) *to-no-e-ke-ti-ri-jo*

Linear B texts also provide evidence for a festival related to the "throne", called *to-no-e-ke-ti-ri-jo*, interpreted by Bennett as throno-helke-terion (from θρόνος + ἕλκω) meaning the "Drawing of the Throne"[624], by L. R. Palmer as στονο-εγερτήριον, the "Raising of the Lamentation over the Dead Young God"[625], by Milani as θοινοhεχετήριον, the Sacred Banquet/Sacrifice[626], by Stella and Caratelli as θορνοhεκχευτήριον, the Unction of the Throne[627] and by Hiller as θρονοhενχευτήριον (from ἐγχέω), a festival where libations were

[621] Eliade, 1959, 68-72.
[622] Although gold rings have been considered a problematic source for the interpretation of Mycenaean cult, due to their strong Minoan influence, Niemeier (1990) has demonstrated that the scenes adopted were specific (processions of figures towards a seated female figure, a shrine or altar), suggesting that these scenes reflected Mycenaean beliefs and practices.
[623] Hägg, 1986, 46; Niemeier, 1990, 167.
[624] Murray, 1979, 317.
[625] Palmer, 1963, 252, 459.
[626] Aura Jorro, 1993II, 362.
[627] Stella, 1959, 256; Carratelli, 1959, 418. Stella interprets the term as a festival during which oil was spread on the throne, in analogy to a similar practice mentioned in an inscription from Mari.

offered to the throne[628]. Promponas has also given a different interpretation to the term, translating the *to-no-* as θρόνα or θρόνος, referring to a decorated peplos and has argued that the festival involved the offering of a decorated peplos to the deity, a custom that survived to the Classical period at the festival of Panathenaia[629].

Archaeological and iconographic evidence, however, suggest the religious importance of thrones in Mycenaean cult. The presence of clay models with or without occupants in cult buildings and tombs[630] indicates that these had a significant role in ritual, either practical or symbolic (**fig. 37**). On the basis of the discovery of a clay model of a litter in a house at the Acropolis of Tiryns (**fig. 38**), Demakopoulou has argued that actual litters or movable seats were used to carry officials or religious personnel[631], an opinion also supported by Hägg who has suggested that in processional festivals priests and priestesses may have been carried on litters[632]. The practice of carrying persons in litters may be attested by artistic representations, for example the fragment depicting a male figure holding with both hands the handle of a litter from the west corridor of the Oil Merchant House at Mycenae[633]. Litters were probably known in the Mycenaean world, suggested by the aforementioned example and by earlier Theran and Minoan specimens[634] and therefore the possibility that these were used for the carrying of religious personnel in ritual cannot be rejected, although the location of such

[628] Hiller, 1970, 78, 85, 92.
[629] Promponas, 1974, esp. 52 and 84.
[630] Mycenae, Pylos (Room 97), Berbati, Nauplion, Voula, Dendra, Delphi (Apollo sanctuary and Marmaria), Thebes, Tiryns, Lerna, Argive Heraion, Prosymna, Tanagra, Korakou, Perati (though of LH IIIC date), Delos, Aigina (Mylonas, 1956; Spyropoulos, 1969b, 14; French, 1971, 167-172; Tamvaki, 1973, 246-253).
[631] Demakopoulou, 1989, 27-28. For another litter uncovered in Attica see Crouwel, 1981, 53, 162 and Demakopoulou, 1989, 28-30.
[632] Hägg, 1998, 111-112; 2000, 175.
[633] Demakopoulou, 1989, 29.
[634] Demakopoulou, 1989, 27-30; Hägg, 1998, 112.

ceremonies should be examined. The presence of clay models of thrones in cult buildings, then, may be reminiscent of such a ritual act. Nevertheless, their presence in tombs rather suggests that thrones were used for the symbolic transportation of the deity and for this purpose were offered to shrines[635].

The significance of the throne is also suggested by a LM IIIA2 larnax from Klima Mesaras on Crete, which depicts on one of its long sides a large throne behind which stands on an elevated platform a male figure, perhaps a priest[636] (**fig. 39**). The secondary place of the figure as well as the exaggerated size of the throne suggests that emphasis is placed on the item rather than the figure, perhaps as the symbolic representation of the divinity[637]. The figure perhaps represents the rites performed in association with the throne. The association of the festival with the PY Fr series recording oil may suggest that libations with oil were performed in relation to the throne. These could have been performed in honour of the wanax as a cult-figure himself or to the throne as the aniconic presence of the deity[638]. If rituals associated with the throne were performed in honour of the wanax, then these could have been performed within the megaron. The presence of a libation channel next to the throne in the megaron at Pylos could be associated with such a ritual act and with Hiller's notion that during the festival libations were offered to the throne. The presence of tablets of the Fr series and pithoi containing oil in Room 23 directly at the back of the megaron[639], may further suggest that these were placed there for practical reasons, i.e. for the needs of the ceremonies performed in the megaron.

[635] Demakopoulou, 1989, 27-28.
[636] Rethemiotakis, 1995, esp. 173, although he suggests that the figure may be a xoanon.
[637] Rethemiotakis, 1995, 177.
[638] Gallou, 2005, 56.
[639] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 134-139; Shelmerdine, 1985, 70.

iii) *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo*

The word *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* mentioned in PY Fr 343+1212 and Fr 1217 has been interpreted by Bennett as lehke-stro-terion, the "Strewing of the Bed", from λέχος meaning bed or couch and στρώννυμι meaning to make or to prepare[640]. This festival has been equated with the ἱερὸς γάμος, the sacred marriage[641]. Another opinion, however, is that the word was referring to a divine banquet[642] at which images of the gods were displayed on couches and food was offered to them[643]. The etymology of the word, though, rather favours the first interpretation. This festival may have celebrated the sacred marriage of a god with a goddess, where a bed or a couch would have been prepared. The divine couple could have been represented by specific deities or by the wanax and the wanassa, as cult-figures themselves. Alternatively, a priest or a priestess could have united with the deity. The objective of this ritual act, as is known mostly from Near Eastern and perhaps Classical parallels[644], was to bring fertility to the human and the natural world[645].

The existence of clay models of beds mostly dating to LH IIIB1-2[646] perhaps supports the celebration of such a ritual, especially since two specimens, one in Budapest and the other in the Vlastos collection in Athens, have two reclining figures on them[647]. However, the absence of a clear context for any of these specimens does not allow us to reach conclusions. The festival also

[640] Bennett, 1958, 31.
[641] Chadwick, 1976, 97; Vermeule, 1964, 296.
[642] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 579.
[643] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 251; Chadwick, 1976, 97; Ruipérez and Melena, 1996, 193.
[644] Burkert (1985, 108) notes that the evidence from Greece is "scanty and unclear".
[645] Guthrie, 1950, 54.
[646] Such specimens have been uncovered at Mycenae in the House of the Warrior Vase and another of unknown context and at Zygouries (French, 1971, 172).
[647] Tamvaki, 1973, 254-255, especially 253; Vermeule, 1979, 54, fig. 10.

included libations or unction, since in Fr 343 oil is given to Poseidon on the occasion of the festival.

iv) *ke-se-nu-wi-jo*

The term may be interpreted as ξενFίων, meaning "Entertainment" or "Banquet"[648]. L. R. Palmer has interpreted *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* and *ke-se-nu-wi-jo* as parts of the same festival, where the sacred marriage was followed by a ritual banquet, both ensuring prosperity for the year to come[649]. It is not necessary that the two ceremonies were related and were parts of the same festival. *Ke-se-nu-wi-jo* may have been an occasion when food and drink was offered to the deities. Murray, however, does not accept that the term refers to a festival, and has noted that the feminine form of the word was found four times in the KN Ld series (573, 574, 585, 649) and was used to describe the quality of the cloth[650]. Therefore, the masculine equivalent when occurring may be describing the quality of the oil it is referring to[651]. Indeed, since *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* has been interpreted as referring to a particular cloth reserved as gifts for the foreigners, it is only logical to accept a similar interpretation for *ke-se-nu-wi-jo*. Nevertheless, this does not rule out the interpretation that the term defines the oil as destined for the festival of the Foreigners.

[648] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 251, 254, 427.
[649] Palmer, 1963, 251.
[650] Murray, 1979, 318.
[651] Murray, 1979, 318.

v) *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*

The term and the related forms of *di-pi-si-jo* and *di-pi-si-jo-i* occur exclusively in the PY Fr series[652]. Guthrie was the first to propose the interpretation of *di-pi-si-jo* as the Thirsty Ones, that is the Dead, who receive libations. The interpretation was based mostly on the existence of the Minoan bottomless vessels and on the later Greek epigraphical references, for example the Orphic gold-leaf guides for the dead[653], which describe the dead as being thirsty. Guthrie, though, interpreted *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* as a shrine of the chthonians, ancestors and heroes[654]. Shelmerdine has argued that the term signifies a place-name[655], whereas Gérard-Rousseau interpreted it as "endroit oú se faisaient les massages après le bain"[656]. L. R. Palmer accepted that the term is in the dative and refers to recipients, who to him are the personification of parched nature[657], though he later changed his opinion and agreed with Guthrie that the term referred to the dead (the "Thirsty Ones") and connected *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* with a corresponding festival dedicated to the dead celebrated on the third day of Anthesteria, the so-called Χύτροι[658]. Based on the association of the term with oil offerings and religious practices, many scholars suggested that the *di-pi-si-jo-i* could have been a class of divinities or their religious attendants[659]. Gallavotti suggested that they were members of personnel responsible for carrying the oil during the ceremonies, but he has not ascribed to them a religious status[660]. S. Marinatos equated the term with the Minoan Genii, charged with the protection

[652] Fr 1218, Fr 1240, Fr 1220 and Fr 1231 respectively.
[653] Guthrie, 1959, 45; Gallou, 2005, 97.
[654] Guthrie, 1959, 46.
[655] Shelmerdine, 1985, 73-79, 127-128.
[656] Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 62.
[657] Palmer, 1961, 125; 1963, 252.
[658] Palmer, 1961, 126.
[659] Shelmerdine, 1985, 73-74, n. 130; Gallou, 2005, 97.
[660] Gallavotti, 1959, 101.

of the vegetation and possessing the power to provoke rain, and rejected the notion that it had any connection to the dead, who were honoured with other offerings[661]. Adrados drew attention to the Thessalian month Δίψιος and argued that the term must reflect a cult title and that *di-pi-si-jo-i* designated the cult functionaries of a goddess Δίψα or Διψία[662]. Finally, Ventris and Chadwick interpreted the term as nominative plural denoting a place-name or a festival connected with Διψία[663].

The term, nevertheless, probably refers to the dead as Guthrie first suggested. The archaeological evidence is suggestive of the Mycenaean belief that the post-mortem condition of the soul required liquids and drink offerings. This is indicated by the predominance of drinking vessels and pottery associated with liquids deposited in tombs and the existence of grooves through which libations were channelled into the chamber[664]. Further, the importance of oil particularly in Mycenaean mortuary performance is suggested by the presence of alabastra, stirrup jars and other oil containers in tombs[665]. The association of the festival with oil and the dead, then, could refer to the employment of cloth and oil in the sacred ceremonies performed in the tombs, namely the secondary treatment, which involved the removal of the skeletal remains from the chamber to be cleaned and perhaps wrapped in a new shroud and displayed to those who attended the ceremony[666].

[661] Marinatos, 1966, esp. 267.
[662] Adrados, 1968, esp. 190; 1970, 180.
[663] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 479.
[664] Gallou, 2005, 98.
[665] Gallou, 2005, 98.
[666] Cavanagh, 1978, 171-172; Gallou, 2005, 113-114.

vi) *wa-na-se-wi-jo*

Ventris and Chadwick have interpreted the term as the adjectival form of *wa-na-so-i*, either meaning "the two Queens" or referring to a place-name[667]. According to L. R. Palmer *wa-na-se-wi-jo* denoted a festival dedicated to "the Wanassa", the Mother Goddess[668]. The term is quite problematic and its interpretation is very difficult, but using *di-pi-se-wi-jo* as a parallel I will accept that the term denotes a festival associated with the wanassa, the queen. The oil attributed to it would then have been used in the ceremony. The cult function of the wanax may suggest that the queen could also have had a religious status, for which she was honoured, but what exactly this festival involved is not possible to say. Unfortunately, our limited knowledge about the queen does not help in the interpretation. The presence of female processions and in general the emphasis placed on female figures in the iconography found in the palaces may suggest that a ceremony in honour of the queen was performed in them, involving the offering of gifts from female votaries. In light of this the ewers (*qe-ra-na*) mentioned in PY Ta 711.2 and .3 and described as *wa-na-se-wi-ja* could refer to gifts for the queen[669], although the particular tablet may not refer to such a religious ceremony. Equally, the queen could have impersonated the goddess in ceremonies, especially if she had a religious status. The matter, though, is open to discussion and indeed the absence of any information concerning the queen as well as the ambiguous meaning of *wa-na-so-i* does not allow us to reach any conclusions.

[667] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 479, 589.
[668] Palmer, 1963, 253, 356, 461.
[669] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 335; Lindgren, 1973II, 155

vii) *Processions*

The evidence concerning the performance of religious processions comes mostly from fresco decoration, since it is the most frequent theme of Mycenaean wall painting. Processional frescoes were found in most Mycenaean palaces and, given that they have been the focus of many studies[670], the emphasis will be on the purpose of the procession theme rather than on the description of the frescoes. Religious processions were also depicted on gold rings[671].

As a procession may be considered any painting that consists of groups or single individuals formally progressing towards a focal point, which when depicted is usually a seated female figure most likely representing the goddess[672] or a location, represented by altars and cult structures[673]. The scenes are quite standardised, usually consisting of female figures carrying objects and/or flowers or in the adoration gesture -left hand raised to the forehead- or both. The processions can either be towards a deity or a sanctuary, the latter occurring exclusively on gold rings, at least judging from the existing evidence. Most Mycenaean processions consisted exclusively of female figures dressed in the Minoan ceremonial costume –open bodice and flounced skirt-, each holding a gift, such as flowers, stone vases and wooden or ivory boxes, known as pyxides (**fig. 40**). Processional frescoes of a monumental scale, i.e. life-size, have been discovered at Knossos, Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos[674]. Finally, the fresco fragments found in a deposit at Ayia Triadha between the tomb with the

[670] Peterson, 1981; Kritseli-Providi, 1982; Immerwahr, 1990; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1996.
[671] CMS I, 17 from Mycenae depicts two women and a small figure, probably a young girl, approaching a seated figure and holding flowers, CMS I, 361 from Pylos three female figures moving towards a seated female figure, larger in scale and most likely a deity, and CMS I, 86 and CMS I, 108 from Mycenae a procession approaching a sacred structure.
[672] Immerwahr, 1990, 114.
[673] Shaw, 1997, 494.
[674] Peterson, 1981, 26.

sarcophagus and the villa dating to LM IIIA[675], although useful, are unfortunately out of context. One of the frescoes depict a procession of women carrying offerings or libation vessels and moving towards a seated female figure, probably representing the goddess, whereas another fresco depicts a woman in a diagonally banded robe leading two deer towards an altar or shrine[676].

It is generally agreed that the intention of processional frescoes was not only decorative, but also functional[677]. Their religious character is suggested by the fact that the objects depicted being as carried by the votaries are usually associated with deities from other contexts[678]. Necklaces of beads particularly have been found in Room 32 of the Cult Centre deposited on benches as offerings, whereas PY Tn 316 itemises donations of vessels to deities[679]. Processional frescoes then depicted the ceremonial offering of gifts to the deity, including libations as suggested by the vessels carried, either reminiscent of the actual act taking place in the sanctuaries, or because such acts also took place in the palatial centres.

Processional frescoes, therefore, should not be examined out of context. Their position in relation to the layout of the overall structure is very important. Most areas where processional frescoes were found have either a religious character, like the Cult Centre of Mycenae, or consist of narrow corridors. The fact that these corridors usually led to a room with a cult function suggests that they had a religious function as processional ways[680]. Therefore, the role of processional frescoes was to direct the actual procession as "sign posts" and to

[675] Immerwahr, 1990, 102-103, 181.
[676] Immerwahr, 1990, 102, 181.
[677] Niemeier, 1992, 98; Cavanagh, 2001.
[678] For example, the figurines found in the Temple Complex at Mycenae holding or wearing necklaces (French, 1981b, 173).
[679] Sacconi, 1987; Shelmerdine, 2001, 370.
[680] Cavanagh, 2001, 131.

perpetuate the procession during the period when no ritual was performed[681]. The fact that a similar practice, that is scenes depicting actual ceremonies carried out in the same room they decorate, was common also in Egyptian temples and Minoan palaces[682] may further justify the validity of this notion. This may be the case at Thebes, where the processional fresco did not occupy a processional way but a room, which may have been used as a shrine[683]. The fresco decorated the entire wall space of Room N, a small dark room off a corridor, where the only light must have come through the door from the corridor[684]. All figures were moving to the right except for one, which was facing left, suggesting that the figures could have moved in each direction around the room to converge at a point somewhere along the north wall[685], perhaps a seated goddess or an altar[686].

The fresco from Tiryns also consisted of life-size women –at least eight- moving in both directions[687]. The figures were shown in profile, walking bare foot along a dado representing a wooden beam and carrying objects, such as pyxides[688]. The precise location of the fresco is unfortunately unknown, since it was removed and thrown into the rubbish deposit[689], therefore it is not possible to have a good understanding of its function.

At Mycenae there are perhaps five processions ranging from life-size down to one-third, but their original position is unknown, except for the pieces

[681] Niemeier, 1992, 98.
[682] Marinatos, 1984a, 32.
[683] Peterson, 1981, 46.
[684] Vermeule, 1964, 191.
[685] Peterson, 1981, 47.
[686] Vermeule, 1964, 191; Lang, 1969, 52.
[687] Peterson, 1981, 70; Immerwahr, 1990, 114.
[688] Peterson, 1981, 70, 73.
[689] Peterson, 1981, 69; Immerwahr, 1990, 114.

found at the Cult Centre[690]. Specifically, in the Southwest Building –Mylonas' House of the High Priest-, numerous fragments of female figures with flounced skirts were found, most of them standing, but also at least two seated[691]. One of the figures is the so-called "Mykenaia", a life-size figure with frontal torso and head turned in profile, holding a necklace[692]. The fresco has been connected with some fragments of flounced skirts and has been interpreted as a goddess who has just received a necklace from a female procession[693]. Both this fresco and the theophoria fresco mentioned before also from the Southwest Building[694] probably depicted the culmination of the processions, which was the acceptance by the goddess of offerings borne by votaries[695].

The female figure depicted on some of the frescoes, like the "Mykenaia", may have been a representation of the deity, supposed to appear in sanctuaries and receive the offerings. Alternatively, a real person may have impersonated the deity in more elaborate ceremonies. This person could have been the high priestess or the queen herself as the high priestess. If indeed such ceremonies took place, they must have been performed either in the megaron or an open court, since the size of cult buildings would not render them suitable.

Mycenaean processions usually consisted of female figures. On the mainland a procession of male figures has been uncovered so far only at Pylos, a presence that could be explained by the strong link between Pylos and LM Knossos[696], but also by the fact that the fresco does not depict a procession of

[690] Immerwahr, 1990, 117. Frescoes of women probably belonging to processions were also found at the Citadel House area, but they have been poorly published (Immerwahr, 1990, 117) and therefore will not be examined.
[691] Immerwahr, 1990, 119.
[692] Immerwahr, 1990, 119.
[693] Kritseli-Providi, 1982, 78; Immerwahr, 1990, 119.
[694] Kritseli-Providi, 1982, 78-79.
[695] Immerwahr, 1990, 119.
[696] Immerwahr, 1990, 117.

votaries bringing gifts, but probably the wanax leading a sacrificial animal, as was mentioned above[697]. The figures of the fresco were placed in two bands, with a large-scale bull in the middle[698]. The male figures wore either kilts or long bordered robes and this variety in costume may indicate different roles, with the men in long robes having a religious role, but those in kilts being the assistants, since they seem to be carrying the equipment for the sacrifice[699]. The only woman depicted is perhaps either a priestess or a member of the royal family[700], since her costume alone is not indicative of her role. The position of the fresco at the Vestibule and with all the figures proceeding from right to left towards the Throne Room has been seen as an intentional action, representing a real procession towards the room[701]. This fresco has been associated with ceremonial feasting rather than with the offering of gifts to the divinity, suggested also by the "Banquet" scene[702], and may have had a functional purpose, to remind one of the ritual actions taking place elsewhere and at the same time to allow a symbolic performance of the ritual indoors[703].

The sacrificial animal may also have been led to the altar in a procession, suggested by the aforementioned fresco and the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus[704]. The latter example is perhaps dubious since the left part of the sacrificial scene is damaged, but the preserved lower panel depicting a row of white feet seems to indicate a procession of approximately four female figures in addition to the one standing in front of the table. A procession of male figures leading a bull,

[697] It is noteworthy that Tournavitou (1999, 123) reports a male procession bearing gifts uncovered in one of the houses to the northwest of the acropolis of Mycenae.
[698] Lang, 1969, 38.
[699] Lang, 1969, 193.
[700] Lang, 1969, 193.
[701] Lang, 1969, 193.
[702] See above.
[703] Palaima, 1995, 133, n. 47.
[704] Fresco fragments from Ayia Triadha also suggest processional themes with lyre-players and women leading a deer to the altar (Immerwahr, 1990, 181).

presumably to be sacrificed, is also depicted on a rhyton from Ayia Irini[705]. The vessel definitely had a ritual or ceremonial function, suggested by its decoration and shape and by the fact that it was found in the temple[706].

Procession was probably the ritual that came first in the temporal sequence of the acts performed in a Mycenaean religious festival[707]. Procession is defined as the "ritual movement of a number of participants through a given space"[708]. It is the simplest form of festival but at the same time the most fundamental, since it is the primary medium by which a group is formed and through which the active participants separate themselves from the crowd. The procession, then, is an occasion for the participants to display themselves in front of the deities and the public who watches[709]. For these reasons ceremonial processions are an essential feature of festivals[710]. In addition and particularly in Mycenaean cult it may have been a way to display symbols, objects and the sacred image of the deity.

The starting point of Mycenaean processions may have depended on the occasion. At the festival of theophoria, for example, the procession may have started from the sanctuary carrying the image and symbols of the deity, and may have ended back at the sanctuary, in other words it would have been cyclical[711]. Alternatively, in ceremonies involving only the deposition of offerings, the procession may have started somewhere else and ended at the sanctuary to deposit the objects. A procession leading an animal to be sacrificed presumably terminated at the altar, but it is not certain where it started.

[705] Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 93.
[706] Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 92.
[707] Hägg, 2000, 175.
[708] Graf, 1996, 55; Hägg, 2000, 175.
[709] Graf, 1996, 59.
[710] Burkert, 1985, 99.
[711] Hägg, 2000, 175.

Iconographic representations of priests and priestesses

The evidence for the Mycenaean priesthood is not only limited to references in the Linear B tablets, but also includes iconographic representations. These mostly come from palatial art, both large and minor scale, but there are some depictions from popular art. Depictions of priests have been mostly identified on the basis of the religious character of the scene and the cult character of the practices the figures are depicted performing, since often their costume alone cannot indicate their religious status. This is due to the frequent similarity in dress between figures representing deities, rulers and individuals of a religious function. The religious practices consist mostly of animal sacrifice and libations, but also practices associated with deities or religious structures, as we have already seen.

Portraits of priests are very rare in Mycenaean iconography, as opposed to the Minoan, where priests can be recognised in many cases[712]. A priest is represented on CMS V, 608 from Naxos, mentioned above, dressed in a kilt and holding a spear in a flexed arm. The cult role of the figure depicted cannot be contested, since the religious associations of the scene (the equipment and the palm tree) and the cult role of the equipment (offering table, krater, conical rhyton, jug and sword) are very clear[713].

In the assessment of the evidence for animal sacrifice and libations we had the chance to examine the representations that provide information for such practices. These consist of depictions on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, on some of the Tanagra larnakes and on some pictorial vases. Since the depictions have

[712] For examples see Marinatos, 1993, p. 128-131.
[713] Though see Hägg, 1998, 105.

already been described, they will not be repeated. Instead, an attempt will be made to decide if priests were depicted in a specific way in terms of costume, hairstyle and regalia.

On the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus the women performing the animal sacrifice and the libation are dressed in hide skirts, but behind them, also engaged in the same rites, are two female figures in long robes and plumed hats (polos hats). The identification of the priestesses is difficult, since the women in hide skirts could have been acolytes, the so-called *di-pte-ra-po-ro*, or priestesses, since the hide skirt has been seen by scholars, such as Nilsson and Sapouna-Sakellaraki[714], as the hieratic costume worn on ritual ceremonies. The hide skirt usually appears on sealstones, as on CMS I, 226 from Vapheio and perhaps on CMS I, 132 from Mycenae worn by the figure to the right (**fig. 41**), but garments reminiscent of the hide skirt are depicted on the frescoes from Room 31 of the Cult Centre at Mycenae. In these cases, the garment is not a skirt but looks like a robe. Since hide skirts and "tails" are also worn by the male porters in the "presentation" scene on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, who were clearly acolytes, it seems then that dress alone cannot define the status and function of the figures. The scenes on the sarcophagus could suggest that different costumes probably indicated different tasks and different status. Both the women dressed in hide skirts and those in long robes were probably priestesses. Perhaps, then, the fact that the porters wore the hide skirt may have had to do with their association with animal sacrifice and the libations they were carrying, since the objects they hold have also been interpreted as rhyta, two zoomorphic and one in

[714] Nilsson, 1950, 155, 158; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, 1971, 123.

the form of a boat[715]. A hide skirt is probably also worn by the figure holding a hammer axe[716] -certainly a priest- on the prothesis scene on the Elis krater (LH IIIC), mentioned below.

Finally, the decorative program of Room 31 of the Cult Centre at Mycenae is very informative concerning the iconographic depictions of priests. The fresco found *in situ* consists of two registers and was painted in connection with a platform adjacent to the east wall of the room, which more probably was used as an altar[717]. The fresco to the side of the platform depicts a woman holding sheaves of grain in her upraised hands (**fig. 42**). Due to the association of the figure with the altar depicted on the side of the platform and suggested by the horns of consecration, it has been interpreted as a priestess bringing offerings of grain[718]. Traces of an animal (paws and tail), belonging probably to a flying griffin[719], have been connected with the figure. The latter is dressed in a robe probably of a material similar to the hide skirt, wears a polos and sealstones, supporting the theory that priestesses were often depicted dressed in a similar way to the deities.

The figures on the upper register of the fresco facing each other are almost life-size, one with an enormous sword pointing downward between them (**fig. 43**). The right figure is holding a sceptre whereas between it and the sword float two small figures with outstretched arms towards the figure on the left, the upper one red and the lower one black[720]. The main figures are dressed differently; the right one is wearing a Minoan flounced skirt and the left one a

[715] Laffineur, 1991, 280. The use, however, of boat models as containers of liquid is not attested in the Aegean, as Laffineur (1991, 280) notes.
[716] Vikatou, 2001, 276, 279.
[717] Taylour, 1969, 94; Rehak, 1984, 539; Marinatos, 1988a, 245.
[718] Marinatos, 1988a, 246.
[719] Marinatos, 1988a, 246.
[720] Immerwahr, 1990, 121; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1996, 63, 103.

straight blue dress with fringed borders[721]. The problem in the interpretation lies on the uncertainty of whether both figures are to be construed as goddesses, or one of them as a priestess[722]. Due to the fact that the two women are facing each other the scene could depict the final point of a procession, with the priestess representing the whole procession. Nevertheless, the fact that the "priestess" is holding a staff/spear, and the presence of the two diminutive figures (representing souls?), suggest that the scene is not an ordinary one. Marinatos has argued that both figures are goddess, since there is no pronounced difference and the two figures seem equivalent[723]. Further, if the right figure had been a priestess, she would have one of the positions of offering or adoration, whereas the position of both figures above the altar suggests that they were both the recipients of offerings made on the altar[724]. Gallou, nevertheless, has attributed a chthonic character to the fresco by comparing the left figure in dress and position to the dead person depicted in front of the tomb on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, and identified it as a chthonic divinity[725]. The figure seems to be ascending, suggested by the depiction of the left foot in a lower level than the right one, whereas the weights and the fringe of the robe seem to form a slightly oblique incline following the movement of the feet[726]. In addition, the setting of both scenes seems to be funerary, suggested by the decorated façade, reminiscent of Mycenaean decorated tombs[727]. Finally, another chthonic element is the sword held by the figure, which is piercing the floor[728]. The right figure, then, could

[721] Immerwahr, 1990, 121.
[722] Immerwahr, 1990, 121; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1996, 103.
[723] Marinatos, 1988a, 247.
[724] Marinatos, 1988a, 245, 247.
[725] Gallou, 2005, 38.
[726] Gallou, 2005, 38.
[727] Gallou, 2005, 38.
[728] Gallou, 2005, 38.

have been either a priestess or a goddess leading the souls, represented by the diminutive figures[729], to the deity[730]. Since both the diminutive figures and the larger figure are facing the divinity it is perhaps more likely that the figure represented a priestess.

Priests or priestesses also seem to have been depicted in long robes, as is suggested by sealing 80 from Mycenae –a sacrificial scene-, a depiction on a larnax from Tomb 36 at Tanagra and the larnax from Klima Mesaras. The larnax from Tomb 36 at Tanagra may also depict a priest/priestess in long robe, although the possibility that it depicted a mourner cannot be ruled out. In the scene of theophoria on a larnax from Tomb 15, the figure holding the figurine has certainly a religious status, even though its sex cannot be determined. The female figures dressed in the Minoan flounced skirt and polos hats on a number of larnakes have also been interpreted as priestesses[731]. Their elegant garments could perhaps suggest that they led the ritual lament in honour of the dead[732]. The figures depicted in the scenes of prothesis (**fig. 44**), were most likely ordinary women, probably relatives of the deceased or even professional mourners[733].

The male figures depicted in processions on the larnakes from Tombs 6 and 60 could have represented priests, even though N. Marinatos interpreted them as warriors[734]. On the long side of a larnax from Tomb 6, a checkerboard panel separates two pairs of male figures performing ritual gestures (**fig. 45**). The checker divider could indicate an architectural setting, either the tomb or some

[729] Marinatos, 1988a, 248.
[730] Gallou, 2005, 38.
[731] Cavanagh and Mee, 1995, 46-47; 1998, 107-108.
[732] Cavanagh and Mee, 1995, 47; Mee, 1998, 165.
[733] Immerwahr, 1995, 110; Gallou, 2005, 96.
[734] Marinatos, 1997, 283.

unspecified and deliberately vague focal point connected with funerary rites[735]. The first figure on the left panel could be identified as *exarchos*, since only he seems to be holding a flame-shaped instrument[736]. Moreover, the fact that a deliberate differentiation seems to be observed in the helmets or hats they wear, may indicate a distinction of priestly or political status or office or even both[737]. The same differentiation is observed on the scene of larnax 1 from Tomb 60.

In terms of male figures dressed in long robes with diagonal bands, Rehak has argued in favour of their secular status, identifying them as palatial administrators[738]. It seems that the evidence is quite ambiguous, but the fact that the male figures on the Tanagra larnakes are engaged in ritual acts could support their religious role. Uncertain are also the figures depicted with animals, like for example the scene on a larnax from Tomb 22, representing a figure either stabbing an animal or holding it on leashes, although the implication of the scene with animal sacrifice as part of funerary rites rather suggests that the figure is a priest.

The female figure on the Alike jug in Attica, depicted in long robe standing between palm trees, sniffing a flower or drinking from a cup[739], most likely represents a priestess. The robe is decorated only with a line starting from the neck that splits down the skirt, perhaps suggesting folds. The figure seems to be wearing a cap with a dangling plume, like those worn by sphinxes, unless it represents hair[740]. The scene could represent a priestess in a "sacral" cap holding a chalice, like the figures on the Theran and "Campstool" frescoes, but it has also

[735] Marinatos, 1997, 284.
[736] Gallou, 2005, 96.
[737] Gallou, 2005, 96.
[738] Rehak, 2000, 45.
[739] Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 92.
[740] Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 92.

been interpreted as funerary, where the woman is saying farewell to the dead, a parallel of the scene on the Window krater, where the women seem to combine the gesture of saying farewell to the dead and the gesture of sniffing flowers[741]. It is possible that the depiction is referring to the ceremonial drinking or libation in a funerary context. The status of the figure is not easily defined, but perhaps its association with the palm trees in addition to the act of libation and the dress of the figure could indicate its religious role.

An unusual representation of priestesses is depicted on the krater from Elis (**fig. 46**). The female figure behind the bier, although depicted as a mourner could have been a priestess due to what appears to be a sacral knot at her waist[742]. The second female figure could also had been a priestess, since she seems to be associated with the animal and therefore animal sacrifice[743].

It seems therefore that the identification of Mycenaean priests and priestesses in the iconography should depend mostly on the context and on the association of such figures with cult practices and with religious symbols, rather than with specific costumes. This does not mean that the costume was not relevant. The fact that figures performing ritual acts are often depicted in the same dress and regalia with figures identified as deities, could have been a deliberate act to demonstrate the connection between deities and their officiants. A clear example is the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, where the priestesses in long robes are dressed similarly in terms of costume, polos hat and sealstones with the goddesses depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus. The hide skirt also seems to have been worn in ritual practices, as was also the long robe. In addition, priests

[741] Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 91.
[742] Schoinas, 2001, 261.
[743] Schoinas, 2001, 261.

were occasionally depicted in kilts, as the seal from Naxos suggests and the figures associated with animals in the Tanagra larnakes.

One final question that needs to be examined is whether priests were disguised when performing ritual acts. There are no depictions of priests wearing masks or animal costumes in palatial art and the notion that the genii were priests in disguise[744] is not generally accepted[745]. The genii were most probably fantastic creatures and the representations depict them as actual creatures rather than as human beings wearing animal skins. Evidence that priests wore masks in the performance of some ritual acts has been suggested by Karageorghis for Cyprus in the Late Cypriot period[746]. Skulls of bulls and other animals, from which the frontal part and the horns have alone survived, found in large numbers in the sanctuary of Enkomi have been interpreted as masks to be worn during religious ceremonies[747]. The god venerated in the sanctuary wore a helmet with horns[748], suggesting that he may have had some connection with the bull and with animals having horns in general.

Even though evidence of such practices is lacking for the Mycenaean period[749], the discovery of an hydria (LH IIIC) in the cemetery of Kamini at Naxos depicting eight figures dancing in a circular formation[750] is a piece of evidence that cannot be ignored (**fig. 47**). The uniqueness of this representation is that some of the figures seem to be represented having an animal head[751]. Specifically, the fourth and the fifth figure seem to have the head of a horse, the

[744] See for example Evans, 1935, 432.
[745] Hägg, 1983a, 184.
[746] Karageorghis, 1971; 1996. See also Nys, 1995.
[747] Karageorghis, 1971, 263.
[748] Karageorghis, 1971, 263.
[749] Note, however, van Leuven's (1989, 195-196) suggestion that the gold masks uncovered in Grave Circle A and B at Mycenae were used in cult.
[750] Mastrapas, 1996.
[751] Mastrapas, 1996, 798.

sixth that of a bird and the eighth that of a cat[752]. The excavator has interpreted the vessel in which was placed a small cup (κυάθιο) functioning as a sieve, as a ritual vessel storing a special kind of drink used in libations in honour of the dead[753]. That the scene has a religious character cannot be contested, since dancing is clearly associated with ritual mostly in depictions in small-scale art. Representations of dancing are more common in Minoan Crete[754], but a dance is also depicted on a Tanagra larnax from Tomb 22, suggested by the deliberate alteration of female figures in red and black, associating it with funerary rites[755] (**fig. 48**).

Even though there is very limited evidence to support the idea that priests performed specific ceremonies wearing animal skins and masks, the depiction from Kamini seems to suggest this possibility. This practice would have been in accordance with funerary rites, where fertility and regeneration would have been celebrated, as well as the transition from one state to another (rites of passage)[756]. The presence of a small figure may represent the soul of the deceased, like the figure in the fresco in Room 31 of the Cult Centre at Mycenae. It is interesting to note that a similar representation was found on a larnax from the cemetery of Mochlos on Crete. The larnax from Tomb 10 (LM IIIA1) was decorated just beneath the rim with two figures, with their hands on their waist, suggesting that they may be dancing, each wearing pointed shoes and possibly a dagger and one of them wearing an animal mask, representing a jackal[757]. However, the absence of more substantial evidence does not allow us to be definite and forces us to

[752] Mastrapas, 1996, 798-799.
[753] Mastrapas, 1996, 798, 799.
[754] Mastrapas, 1996, 800-801.
[755] Spyropoulos, 1974, 24-25; Gallou, 2005, 37.
[756] Tonkin, 1992, 228.
[757] Brysbaert, 2001.

suggest, that if such ceremonies took place, they were probably associated with a more popular aspect of cult and perhaps may have been a regional custom.

Cult buildings and their function

The function of Mycenaean cult buildings is directly associated with cult practices and the participation of religious personnel. It is necessary, then, to examine their role in relation to the cult practices performed, since this will determine the involvement or exclusion of particular people.

The identification of buildings as foci of ritual activity is based on the criteria outlined by Renfrew[758]. According to these criteria in order for a building or place to be identified as a place of ritual activity it should consist of i) special facilities for the practice of ritual, such as altars, benches, hearths and devices for libations, ii) attention focusing devices, iii) material objects brought as offerings, such as beads or figurines, iv) special portable equipment, such as lamps, braziers and pottery used in the ritual acts, v) a cult image or its aniconic representation, iv) symbols and animal symbolism associated with the deity venerated, vii) evidence of animal sacrifice, viii) evidence of drinking, such as containers and drinking vessels and perhaps also food, and finally ix) evidence of concepts of cleanliness and pollution.

Sacred places in general can have many symbolic functions[759]. They can act as a centre in terms of physical orientation, as a microcosm of the heavenly realm, or as a transcendent-immanent presence[760]. Sacred places can also function as a meeting-point, where the gods have revealed themselves and

[758] Renfrew, 1985, 11-26.
[759] For a detailed discussion of the function and symbolism of sacred places and temples see Turner, 1979 and Jones, 2000, 92-108.
[760] Turner, 1979, 18-33.

communicate with humans[761]. Specifically, the temple is generally considered as the "house of god"[762], where the god resides either in an abstract or in a concrete form, usually as a statue. Since metaphysically the sacred place belongs to the liminal zone, it presents a link between the natural and the supernatural world[763] and therefore by entering it one comes into contact with the supernatural. Therefore the sacred place or the sanctuary functions as a means of communicating with the divine[764] and as a place where people expect to come into contact with the supernatural[765].

Whittaker in her study of Mycenaean cult buildings has proposed two functions for them. Mycenaean cult buildings could have either functioned as the dwelling of the god or as a congregational point[766]. In the first case they were considered as the abode of the deity, where the latter was believed either to be permanently in residence or to appear at certain times and usually in connection to certain rituals. In the second case, the cult building functioned as a place of assembly for congregational worship and ritual activity[767]. These two functions, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, since a cult building can be both the dwelling place of the deity and a place of organised ritual activity, like for example the Hindu temple[768]. Finally, as the abode of the deity the cult building could also be an adyton, where access is limited and only allowed to the religious personnel, like the Egyptian temples[769]. Public communal activity in Egyptian

[761] Turner, 1979, 22.
[762] Jones, 2000, 93.
[763] Leach, 1976, 82.
[764] Whittaker, 1997, 143.
[765] Schachter, 1992, 56.
[766] Whittaker, 1997, 143.
[767] Whittaker, 1997, 143.
[768] Whittaker, 1997, 143.
[769] David, 2002, 190.

temples took place in open courts in the precinct of the temple[770] whereas in Greek sanctuaries communal activity was focused on the altar outside the temple, since the temple building itself was the house of the god that sheltered its cult statue[771].

Regarding the Mycenaean cult buildings, the similarity in basic architectural conception between Mycenaean sacred and domestic architecture, demonstrated by Whittaker, may indicate that sacred architecture developed out of local domestic architecture[772]. This would explain the lack of uniformity and regularised plan of Mycenaean cult buildings. Furthermore, since there seems to be a similarity between the architecture of cult buildings and that of houses, it is possible that cult buildings were considered as the dwelling place of the deity[773]. The association in the Linear B tablets and specifically in TH Of 36 and perhaps also in KN As 1519.11 of the term oikos with deities, then, could suggest that the former was referring to sanctuaries[774]. The evidence from Mycenaean cult buildings does not indicate a room where the cult image would have been kept, functioning as an adyton. The cult buildings which have produced one or two small rooms having the character of adyta, like Tsountas' House Shrine (Room Gamma), the Temple Complex (Room 19), the Room with the Fresco (Room 32), the West Shrine at Phylakopi (Room A) and perhaps Ayia Irini (Rooms 1 and 2), have not produced evidence that a cult image was venerated there.

In Room Gamma no figure was found, nor was a bench or a platform where the statue could have been placed. Room Gamma was used for cult before

[770] David, 2002, 190.
[771] Whittaker, 1997, 144; Davies, 1982, 41, 43; Burkert, 1985, 88.
[772] For a detailed analysis see Whittaker, 1997, 120-138, 161.
[773] Whittaker, 1997, 136, 144.
[774] Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 1975, 88-89; Whittaker, 1997, 144. For a different opinion see Hiller, 1981.

its extension was built. Whether its character changed to an adyton when it was incorporated in Gamma 1 is not certain (**fig. 49**), though Mylonas favours this interpretation[775]. It seems, however, that in this phase the room was probably used as a storeroom for the cult equipment, whereas ritual activity took place in Gamma 1, suggested primarily by the bolster-shaped altar, the platforms running along the east and south walls, and the miniature vases and the shallow dish found near them[776]. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the room only produced exceptional small finds mostly of Mesopotamian origin, which were probably offerings, whereas both the plaque with the figure-of-eight shield and the miniature fresco with a helmeted female figure holding a griffin[777] found in the same room have very strong associations with a warrior goddess that may have been worshipped at Mycenae[778]. The presence of these finds and particularly of the fresco certainly attributes a sacral character to the room, but their presence is the result of the cult use of the room before its incorporation in Gamma 1.

Room 19 of the Temple could also have served as an adyton, since idols and clay snakes were found in it (**fig. 50**). The room, however, did not have a platform on which the figures as cult images would have been placed together with the offerings. The absence of a platform together with the state in which the figures were found and the mixed cult equipment found inside[779], which included figures and clay snakes together with pottery and tripod offering tables used in the ritual[780], seems to suggest that the room was a storeroom (**fig. 51**).

[775] Mylonas, 1977, 19, 92.
[776] Wace, 1951, 254; Mylonas, 1972, 117.
[777] Mylonas, 1982, 311.
[778] For a warrior goddess worshipped at Mycenae see Rehak, 1984 and 1999.
[779] Moore and Taylour, 1999, 83.
[780] Moore and Taylour, 1999, 17, 32, 71, fiche p. 166-175.

In Room 32 of the Cult Centre (**fig. 52**) –otherwise known as the Shrine- a figure with upraised arms was found on a platform. At the north end of the platform was found an assemblage of forty-four beads, whereas in the room were also uncovered stirrup-jars, kylikes and cups[781]. The room was a storeroom rather than an actual shrine[782], because the vessels uncovered appear to be for use in the ritual performed rather than votives. Besides, the existence of the fresco and the platform in Room 31 seems to indicate that this was the focus of ritual activity.

The presence of a niche in Room A of the West Shrine of Phylakopi (**fig. 53**) may suggest that this was used as an adyton prior to the collapse, given also that the Lady of Phylakopi was found in it together with another female figure beside her[783]. The niche could have been used to display the image of the deity or sacred symbols, suggested by the bovine figures and fragments of a female figure found *in situ,* of which some may have been deliberately deposited in a damaged state[784], perhaps because they were considered too sacred to be discarded. The possibility, however, that the room may have been a storeroom for images and votives not currently in use[785] cannot be ruled out[786]. The latter is also suggested by the finds and by the presence of three incomplete figures that were broken in an earlier use[787]. Room B in this period has produced a large concentration of obsidian, tools, pottery and a female and a bovine figure[788]. Finally, the discovery of parts of statues in Rooms 1 and 2 at Ayia Irini may suggest that these were used as adyta (**fig. 54**), but the presence of statues also in other

[781] Taylour, 1970, 277.
[782] Hägg, 1996, 606.
[783] Renfrew, 1978, 10; 1981b, 70; 1985, 112.
[784] Renfrew, 1978, 9; 1985, 114.
[785] Renfrew, 1985, 372.
[786] Though Whittaker (1997, 21) argues that the open niches communicating with the main room suggest that Rooms A and B were not merely storerooms.
[787] Renfrew, 1985, 373.
[788] Renfrew, 1985, 116-117.

rooms[789] rather overthrows this notion. In addition, none of the statues found in Rooms 1 and 2 appears to have been a cult image and therefore there is no strong indication that the rooms were adyta rather than simply storerooms. It should be noted, though, that both at Phylakopi (LH IIIA2) and Ayia Irini (MBA) the use of the cult buildings begins earlier than the cult buildings of the mainland examined here, while both sites have earlier Minoan influence. Therefore, regional variation should also be taken into account and generalisation should perhaps be avoided[790].

Since adyta to house the cult image seem to be absent from Mycenaean cult buildings, it is possible that the whole area of the cult building was considered as the dwelling of the deity, or as the place where the deity appeared[791]. The large figures found in Room 18 of the Temple, in Room 32 and in the cult buildings of the Lower Citadel of Tiryns may have represented the image of the deity, towards which the offerings and the rituals would have been addressed[792]. A similar interpretation has been suggested for the wheel-made figure found at Midea dating to LH IIIB2 (**fig. 55**), whereas those found at Tsoungiza in deposit EU 9 (LH IIIA) and at Aphaia on Mount Oros on Aigina (LH IIIA2-B) may have also had such a function[793] (**fig. 56**). Large figures could have also represented votaries or the priesthood to perpetuate the ritual acts. This has been suggested for the figures of Room 19[794], but specifically these figures are unique and so probably was their function (**fig. 57**). Morris, for example, has

[789] Caskey, 1986, 5.
[790] For regional variation see Hooker, 1976, 190-212 and Renfrew, 1981a, 31.
[791] Whittaker has argued that the presence of offerings rejects the possibility of the cult buildings being adyta (1997, 144), but there is the possibility that these were deposited by the priesthood.
[792] Taylour, 1969, 92; 1970, 278; Renfrew, 1985, 364; Kilian, 1981, 54-58.
[793] Demakopoulou, 1999; For a description of the Tsoungiza figure see Wright *et al*., 1990, 636; Dabney *et al*., 2004, 91-92. For the Aigina figure see Pilafidis-Williams, 1995.
[794] Moore, 1988; Moore and Taylour, 1999, 93-101. For a discussion of the different opinions concerning these figures see Papaeuthimiou-Papanthimou, 1997, 86-88.

suggested that their use was funerary or that they may have represented the ancestors as protecting "daimones"[795]. Indeed, it is more likely that the idols represented the ancestors or some mythological figures who, however, could have been depicted performing ritual acts, as Moore has argued on the basis of their hand postures[796].

Benches and platforms found in all cult buildings were used for the deposition of objects, either offerings and/or cult equipment[797]. Only a few of the platforms may have been hearths[798]. In most cases on the platforms or benches were deposited small offerings, like beads, pottery vessels and figurines, as on the platforms in Room 18 of the Temple and Rooms 31 and 32 of the Cult Centre at Mycenae, the West Shrine at Phylakopi and Room A at Ayios Konstantinos. In the cult buildings of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns the evidence indicates that pottery, small figurines and larger decorated female ones with upraised arms were placed on the benches in all periods[799]. An exception is Room 93 at Pylos, where pottery, particularly kylikes and miniature kylikes was found indicating the performance of libations, even though installations for libations were not found. Alternatively, the room may have been used as a repository where the cult equipment -the drinking vessels- was kept, for ceremonies performed in the court[800].

The pottery uncovered in the cult buildings suggests that ritual practices, such as libations, were performed in them. This is suggested by rhyta found in

[795] Morris, 1992, 209. It is worth noting van Leuven's (1989, 199-200) remark that the figures found in the Temple seem to correspond in number and sex to the deceased of Grave Circle A, suggesting the possibility that the figures represented ancestors.
[796] Moore and Taylour, 1999, 93-101.
[797] Hägg, 1998, 106.
[798] Hägg, 1998, 106.
[799] Hägg, 1998, 109.
[800] Nevertheless, the religious function of the room has been debated, a question that will be examined more thoroughly later on.

Room A at Ayios Konstantinos, in Rooms 117 and 110 at Tiryns, in the West Shrine at Phylakopi and the Cult Centre at Mycenae[801]. Pottery, such as kylikes, cups and containers found at Ayios Konstantinos (Room A), the Temple (stored in Room 19) and Pylos (Room 93)[802], further supports this notion.

Finally, the presence of cooking and food preparation utensils found in cult buildings may suggest the preparation of food, either as an offering or for consumption as a sacral meal. This practice is mostly attested by the evidence from Ayios Konstantinos (Rooms A and B), but the existence of hearths, grinding tools, such as querns, mortars, grinders and pounders, and cooking vessels in Room B of the West Shrine and in the courtyard[803], and in Room 31 and Room XI of the Temple[804], suggests that this was a common practice. It should be noted, though, that in the hearth of Room XI only ash was found[805]. Whether the food was destined as an offering to the deity or to be consumed by the priesthood it is not possible to decide. Only at Methana can such a distinction be made, where Room A has provided evidence for animal sacrifice and Room B for sacral meals. The absence of traces of fire, though, could suggest that the food was consumed by the participants, even if it was destined for the deity, as was the case for example in Egyptian and Babylonian cult[806].

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[801] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 213-216; Kilian, 1981, 53; Renfrew, 1985, 239, 275, 324; Koehl, 1981, 186.
[802] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2001, 213; Moore and Taylour, 1999, 32; Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 303-305.
[803] Renfrew (1985, 388), however, also suggests the possibility that the evidence from Room B and the courtyard reflects domestic activities by the priests or priestesses that looked after the sanctuary.
[804] Renfrew, 1985, 99-100; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, 2002, 29; Taylour, 1969, 95; 1970, 275; Moore and Taylour, 1999, 31, 35, 115. Blegen's (1928, fig. 152) identification of an unpainted bowl found north of the hearth as a cooking pot, however, is not shared by others (Moore and Taylour, 1999, 35).
[805] Moore and Taylour, 1999, 11, 115, pl. 3a, fiche 110.
[806] David, 2002, 193, 194; Hooke, 1962, 46.

If animal sacrifice was performed in Room Gamma 1, it could have been followed by a sacral meal among the cult personnel or whoever was attending the ritual, who would sit on the platforms along the south and east walls[807]. The shallow dish and the small amount of pottery uncovered might perhaps support such a notion, although the diminutive size of the pottery rather suggests it was votive[808]. The bench built at the turn of Tsountas' Corridor may similarly have been used as a seat for the observers of the ritual[809].

Mycenaean cult buildings, then, functioned as places where the cult equipment was kept, where offerings to the divinity were deposited and consequently where the divinity was thought to be present or to appear. The existence of benches and platforms for the deposition of offerings and/or symbols suggests that display was an important element of the cult. The presence of cult installations and pottery for drinking and pouring indicates that ritual acts such as libations were certainly performed in the cult buildings, but the evidence for animal sacrifice is quite limited.

Finally, concepts of pollution and cleanliness suggest that the building was considered a sacred place and that those entering it, officiating or participating in the ritual acts should be cleaned. Such concepts are indicated by the presence of basins and clay vats, e.g. the vat in Room XI of the Temple[810]. The strongest evidence of ritual cleansing comes from the Room with the Fresco Complex, where a bathtub associated with a hydria, a jug and an alabastron were uncovered[811]. Finally, the presence of braziers in Rooms XI, 18 and 19 of the

[807] The dimensions of the platforms (1m width and 0,45m height) may support this interpretation.
[808] Wace, 1951, 254.
[809] Mylonas, 1972, 20, 23; 1982, 310.
[810] Moore and Taylour, 1999, 115.
[811] Taylour, 1970, 275; Castleden, 2005, 146.

Temple suggesting the burning of incense[812] may have also been associated with rituals of purification and/or as experience inducing devices.

Size, access and participation

The small size of cult buildings and the number of people these could have accommodated has already been noted by scholars. In addition, the difficulty in accessing cult buildings clearly indicates that right of entry was not granted freely. Both these elements of cult buildings, that is the small size and the complicated access, suggest a deliberate control of what was happening in the cult buildings and on who was participating.

The size of Mycenaean cult buildings varies[813], but with the exception of the Megaron in the Cult Centre at Mycenae, they usually do not exceed 4 or 5m x 2 or 3m. This suggests that the maximum number of people each of these buildings could have accommodated at one time would be approximately 10-20. Indeed, Moore and Taylour have suggested that the Temple Complex probably had a capacity of around 20 people[814].

The small size of the cult buildings suggests that these were either only places for the deposition of offerings to the deity, or that, if ritual activity took place in them, the number of people participating was limited. Whether entry to the cult buildings was free or not can perhaps be suggested by the examination of the access routes. A restricted access can be best seen at the Cult Centre of Mycenae. The approach to the Cult Centre seems to have been a circuitous one[815] (**fig. 58**), whereas the presence of so many different cult buildings suggests that

[812] Whittaker, 1997, 170; Moore and Taylour, 1999, 79, 85-86.
[813] For the dimensions of Mycenaean cult buildings see Whittaker, 1997, 163-183.
[814] Moore and Taylour, 1999, 114.
[815] Moore and Taylour, 1999, 9.

each formed a single independent unit perhaps used for different purposes. Access to the Cult Centre could have been achieved mainly by two ways: one from the Processional Way and the other along the West Cyclopean Wall. The most obvious way would be through the Processional Way, which ran above the Cult Centre to the east and connected this part of the palace with the buildings of the upper slope[816]. The beginning of this roadway was roofed and probably decorated with frescoes[817]. A few meters after the bottom stair there was a door, suggested by the presence of a large threshold and sockets at both ends for the pivots of the door leaves[818], as well as traces of burned wood and dark soil[819]. The existence of a door suggests that entry to the area was allowed only at certain times[820]. An alternative route led from the Lion Gate and Grave Circle A along the West Cyclopean Wall, past the South House, through the courtyard with the round altar to the south of the Temple Complex[821]. Although the corridor broadened in several places, it was for some of its length only 1m wide[822]. Therefore, it is clear that access to the Cult Centre was not easy, whereas the wooden door at the beginning of Tsountas' Corridor strongly indicates control of access, which was probably restricted to the priesthood. Hägg's opinion that the Cult Centre did not serve the elite, but the common people who lived in the palace[823], does not seem plausible due to the elaborate decoration of the cult buildings and the cult paraphernalia. Rehak stressed the emphasis in Room 31 on symbols of power associated with the ruling elite, such as the sword,

[816] Iakovidis, 1983, 45.
[817] Iakovidis, 1983, 45. This is suggested by a fresco fragment of a chariot followed by a rider recovered at the part of the way before Tsountas' Corridor (Mylonas, 1972, 19).
[818] Mylonas, 1975b, 247-248; Iakovidis, 1983, 45.
[819] Mylonas, 1972, 19.
[820] Mylonas, 1982, 318.
[821] Gallou, 2005, 26.
[822] Rutkowski, 1986, 180-182; Gallou, 2005, 26.
[823] Hägg, 1996, 607.

the sceptre/staff and the lion[824]. However, this argues against the use of the shrine by workers from the nearby workshops, as he argues[825] or by the common people of the palace as Hägg argues.

If, then, access to cult buildings was restricted to very few people and probably only to the priesthood, communal ritual performance may have been performed in the courtyards or open areas associated with cult buildings, like the area of the round altar south of the Temple Complex at Mycenae and in the courtyards of Phylakopi and Tiryns. This is also supported by the presence of an altar and traces of animal sacrifice and/or sacral meals in the courtyard of the LH IIIC cult buildings in the Lower Citadel at Tiryns[826]. These courtyards, however, were similarly very small, suggesting that even there participation may have been limited[827].

Large gatherings, then, could have taken place in the courts of the palaces and would involve presumably a public show, like festivals and feasting. Such large courts have been found at Pylos and Tiryns, whereas at Mycenae Grave Circle A could have been used as a place for such communal activities[828]. The altar in front of the megaron at Tiryns may have been used for libations on a large scale, appropriate for the performance of the rite as an expression of the state religion, although some of its constructional details argue against this function[829].

[824] Rehak, 1992, 58. For the staff as a symbol of status, either of the ruler or the priesthood see Boulotis, 1999.
[825] Rehak, 1992, 58.
[826] Kilian, 1981, 56; Hägg, 1998, 109.
[827] Whittaker, 1997, 144.
[828] Cavanagh, 2001, 129-130; Gallou, 2005, 28-29.
[829] Hägg, 1990a, 181.

The existence of a built altar in Court 92 may emphasise the possibility that such rituals were performed in open spaces but within the palace[830]. Banquets and festivals especially could have taken place in one or more of the outdoor courts of the palace[831]. Shelmerdine has proposed Court 88, which had access to the pantries of the main building of the palace, as a possible site for feasting[832]. Court 63 has also been proposed, since it could accommodate large gatherings, but also because nearby Rooms 60, 67 and 68 were found packed with vessels for eating and drinking[833]. It should be kept in mind, though, that the number of people participating would be defined by who was allowed to enter the palace, since once again access was controlled by propylaea and narrow passages. It is also possible that on the occasion of festivals and banquets a larger number of people may have been allowed to enter the palace than normally would be permitted. Such ceremonies, though, had a different character from those performed inside or in the vicinity of the cult buildings.

To sum up. Mycenaean cult buildings were places where other ritual acts in addition to the deposition of offerings were also performed. This was most likely due to the belief that the deity either resided in the shrine or appeared at certain times. Although it is not clear how free the entry to cult buildings was, the difficulty in accessing most of Mycenaean cult buildings, attested by narrow passageways and/or the existence of doorways, seems to suggest that it was most likely restricted. This theory is complemented by the small size of the cult buildings. The evidence from Mycenaean cult buildings, then, could suggest that priests and priestesses were responsible for performing regular ritual acts in

[830] Nikoloudis, 2001, 19.
[831] Nikoloudis, 2001, 18.
[832] Shelmerdine in: Nikoloudis, 2001, 18.
[833] Davis and Bennet, 1999, 110.

them. Such rituals might have been restricted only to the priesthood or to a very limited number of people.

Cult assistants and their role

The notion that in addition to priests and priestesses specific professions were associated with the performance of cult in the Mycenaean period[834], makes the examination of the role of these professionals necessary for the understanding of the organisation of the Mycenaean priesthood.

The term "cult assistants", or rather "desservants de sanctuaire" was first used by Olivier to refer to a group of posts, whose titles according to him indicated cult officials of a lesser status than priests[835]. Some of these cult assistants were first examined by other scholars, such as Lejeune and Chantraine[836], but it was Olivier who associated this group of professions with cult, based both on the fact that they occurred together in tablets and on etymological evidence. Olivier argued that a series of entries which occurred almost in the same order in different texts were actually lists of temple servants[837]. He interpreted these common terms occurring mostly in the PY An series as indicative of the existence of one or more "liste-types" recording professions of a cult status, of which the surviving records were copies[838]. This list was then modified according to the circumstances and its purpose was to help

[834] Olivier, 1960.
[835] Olivier, 1960, 143.
[836] Lejeune, 1957; Chantraine, 1958.
[837] Olivier, 1960, esp. 137-147.
[838] Olivier, 1960, 137.

the scribes record various transactions involving some or all of the officials on the list, simply on the basis of a fixed order that would be known to them[839].

The tablets that may have been "liste-types", as Olivier called them, are PY An 39I and II, An 594 and Fn 50. The An 39 tablet was considered as two different lists[840], since it was written by two scribes[841]. Thus, six names of professions (*me-ri-du-ma-te, mi-ka-ta, o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we, e-to-wo-ko, a-to-po-qo* and *po-ro-du-ma-te*) mentioned in An 39I and II are also found in almost the same order in Fn 50. In addition, the first three names of An 39 (*pu-ka-wo, me-ri-du-ma-te* and *mi-ka-ta*) were identical with the three profession names of tablet An 594 (*pu-ka-wo, me-ri-du-ma-te* and *mi-ka-ta*), listed in the same order[842]. Therefore, the professions and the order in which they were recorded in the original list may have been the following: *pu-ka-wo, me-ri-du-ma-te, mi-ka-ta* - always occurring in this order- followed by *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we, e-to-wo-ko, a-to-po-qo* and *po-ro-du-ma-te* not in a set order. These entries in An 39 and An 594 are followed by the ideogram MAN and a number. Olivier has shown that the ideogram is the subject and not the object, since all individuals referred to with their personal names are followed by the number one and those designated by their professions by a number varying from three to twenty-three[843]. It is clear that the number denoted the individuals of the particular profession that the tablet wanted to record. Thus, the only reason why a group of professions would be repeatedly occurring together in records is because they had something in

[839] Murray, 1979, 401. An example of this practice can also be found in the grouping of the Nine and Seven towns of the two provinces of Pylos in tables Cn 608, Jn 829, Vn 19 and 20 (Murray, 1979, 401).
[840] Lines 1-6 of the tablet comprise of one list (An 39I) and lines 7-11 and the first line of verso the other (An 39II).
[841] The different spelling of the term *me-ri-du-ma-te*/*me-ri-da-ma-te* is then probably due to the two different scribes writing the tablet (Olivier, 1960, 32).
[842] Olivier, 1960, v.
[843] Olivier, 1960, 19.

common; either they were based on one location, and/or they contributed to a single organisation[844].

The purpose of tablets An 39I, II and An 594 was to register a number of individuals associated with a number of particular professions, operating in one or more districts of Pylos. On the other hand, Fn 50 listed some of these professionals as receivers of **121*[845], either as handouts during a festival as Killen has argued, or as payment for their services. Based on Chadwick's observation that Fn 79 records rations for a 5-day period on the scale of V1 (= Z4) per day[846], Killen has interpreted the Fn tablets as recording allocations made in a religious context and specifically on the occasion of festivals, suggested by the presence of divinities[847]. This interpretation is also supported by Fn 187, which similarly records allocations of **121* for a 3-day period, since all the quantities are multiples of V3[848]. Killen has argued that the tablets record the giving of food to the participants of a festival, as was done in Classical Greece in festivals such as the Panathenaia, the Pyanepsia and the Thargelia or in Inca society[849]. The difference in the allocations, with some people receiving a larger amount of **121* or receiving olives or figs in addition, has been explained as indicating either groups or persons of higher status[850]. This suggestion is demonstrated by the fact that in Fn 187 *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* receives the largest allocation (T5)[851].

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[844] Olivier, 1960, 29; Murray, 1979, 404.
[845] For the debated identification of ideograms **120, *121* and **129* see R. Palmer, 1992, Halstead, 1995 and Killen, 2004. I personally prefer Ruth Palmer's identification but in order to avoid confusion I will use the ideograms.
[846] Chadwick, 1976, 118-119.
[847] Killen, 2001a. The only exception is tablet Fn 1427 joined to An 7, which is of a secular character (Killen, 2001a, 435).
[848] Killen, 2001a, 440.
[849] Killen, 2001a, 440; Parke, 1977, 47, 75, 188-189.
[850] Olivier, 1960, 145; R. Palmer, 1989, 102; Killen, 2001a, 440.
[851] Killen, 2001a, 440, n. 22.

The distribution of foodstuff to the participants in a festival may also be supported by evidence from the Thebes tablets Av 100 and Av 101[852]. The religious content of the texts and of the people mentioned may be further suggested by the fact that some of the recipients on Av 100 and 101, such as *a-ko-da-mo, ma-di-je* and *ko-ru-we* are involved in religious activity, since they appear in the "offerings" records (TH Fq series)[853]. It should be noted though that Av 100 lists amounts of **120*, which is wheat according to the traditional interpretation[854] not barley, which is usually the commodity given as a religious offering[855].

The people mentioned in the PY Fn tablets do not always have religious associations. In reality only Fn 187 has religious references, such as *po-si-da-i-jo-de, pa-ki-ja-na-de, u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* and *po-si-da-i-je-u-si*. Olivier's "cult assistants" appear only in Fn 50, with the exception of *ze-u-ke-u-si i-po-po-qo-i-qe* and *e-to-wo-ko-i*, who appear also in Fn 187. The occurrence of most cult assistants in Fn 50 must either mean that they performed together at a specific place, or that the scribe for some reason found it easier to group these people together. If the tablet has no religious character, then the occurrence of these people together may simply suggest that they functioned together and that the tablet was a record of allocations of the **121* commodity made to them. However, the tablets have shown that often the entries are not related to each other and that the same tablet may have references to deities together with secular people. In this case, the importance of the document would be on the commodity listed or on the occasion during which the tablet was written.

[852] Aravantinos, 1999, 58; Killen, 1999a, 219.
[853] Killen, 1999a, 218; 2001a, 442.
[854] Killen, 1999a, 218.
[855] Killen, 2004, 157.

Thus, Fn 50 may have been written on the occasion of a festival, as Killen has argued for Fn 79 and Fn 187, but the allocations of foodstuff given to these people may have been a sort of payment for the service they performed during this festival rather than just foodstuff given away on the occasion of the celebration. Unfortunately, these professionals do not appear in any of the subsistence tablets in order to conclude whether they depended on the palace. However, the small amount of **121* given to them rather suggests that these certainly did not depend totally to the palace for their subsistence.

Before examining each of the professions identified as having an assistant role in cult it is necessary to define what we mean by the term "cult assistants". Olivier identified as cult assistants the following terms: *pu-ka-wo*, *me-ri-du-ma-te*, *po-ro-du-ma-te*, *mi-ka-ta*, *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*, *e-to-wo-ko*, *a-to-po-qo*, *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*, *da-ko-ro*, *di-pte-ra-po-ro* and *ra-pte-re*. At first he considered the possibility that these men were performing domestic functions for the palace administration in various parts of the kingdom, but eventually he favoured the view that they were in fact cult officials, but of a lesser status than priests[856]. Nevertheless, Olivier based his interpretation on the fact that some of these professions occurred together in some documents and must therefore have something in common, as well as on the etymological interpretation of the terms, which often suggests a cult function. This though is a circular argument, since in some cases the only verification that a term had religious associations is its occurrence with other terms that may have a religious function, either through contextual connections with cult or parallels in the cult terminology of Classical

[856] Olivier, 1960, 140, 143.

Greece[857], which is not always a safe indication. Still, the occurrence of these professional terms together in so many different tablets cannot be merely accidental.

Killen uses a more general definition of their function, as "persons whose titles reflected activities they performed in connection with religious ceremonial"[858], a definition that I personally prefer, since some of these professionals –if not all- may have had both a secular and a religious function.

The evidence does not allow us to attach these people to a specific sanctuary or deity. The PY An texts simply record the number of these particular professionals but very rarely do they associate them with a place-name. According to Olivier, an exception may be Fn 50, which may be referring to the sanctuary of *pa-ki-ja-na* since it was one of the original lists[859]. In An 424 ten *ra-pte-re* are recorded for *sa-ri-nu-wo-te,* which is most likely *se-ri-no-wo-te* recorded in PY Qa 1290 as the location of a priest[860]. Again in An 424 two *me-ri-du-ma-te* and two *da-ko-ro* are associated with *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo*, but there is no indication that this place is a cult place.

Indeed, it is noteworthy that these "cult assistants" were never associated as a group with a place-name. Whether, though, the absence of a place-name meant that these people were not attached to a sanctuary, or that there was no need to provide a place designation is a question that cannot be answered. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that whenever the place-name was specified it was a deliberate action[861]. It is perhaps possible to argue that since these people were not attached to a sanctuary, they were sent by the palace to

[857] Murray, 1979, 404.
[858] Killen, 2001a, 437.
[859] Olivier, 1960, 146.
[860] Murray, 1979, 340.
[861] John Bennet, personal communication.

specific places when needed, for example on the occasion of festivals, as suggested by the Fn tablets. Their presence in the personnel An series indicates that they were considered as personnel and may support this interpretation.

pu-ka-wo[862]

The term appears only at Pylos in tablets listing personnel and always followed by *me-ri-du-ma-te* and *mi-ka-ta*[863]. There are fifty-eight *pu-ka-wo* registered in the tablets, but only three are associated with a place-name, that of *pi-pu-te* in An 427.3[864]. The generally accepted interpretation of the term is πυρκϝάοι (Cf. πυρκαεύς, πυρίκαος)[865], but the actual interpretation may vary from "fire-kindlers", "stokers" and "charcoal burners"[866] to "guardians of the sacred fire"[867]. Olivier has favoured the latter interpretation, although he argued that these "bruleurs de feu" may have had the responsibility for all fires of the sanctuary they served, both domestic and sacred[868], or they could even be functionaries in the palace[869].

me-ri-du(da)-ma-te[870]

Lejeune has interpreted them as attendants of the "sacred honey" and Olivier has followed this interpretation[871]. The first component of the word is

[862] An 39.1,.7; An 424.1; An 427.3; An 594.1.
[863] Olivier, 1960, 33.
[864] Lindgren, 1973II, 126.
[865] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 180, 575; Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 192.
[866] Lindgren, 1973II, 126.
[867] Stella, 1958, 44.
[868] Olivier, 1960, 36. Gérard-Rousseau (1968, 192) similarly argues that the title may not have been restricted to cult assistants.
[869] Lindgren, 1973II, 126.
[870] *Me-ri-du-ma-te*: An 39.2; An 424.2; An 427.2; An 594.2; Fn 50.5. *Me-ri-da-ma-te*: An 39.8; An 207.11. *Me-ri-du-ma-si*: Fn 869.6.
[871] Olivier, 1960, 42-43; For the etymology of the term see Lejeune, 1957 and Morpurgo, 1958. For a detailed examination of the various interpretations of the term see Olivier, 1960, 37-45.

me-ri, (μέλι) meaning honey. Another interpretation is that *me-ri* is from μέλλω, meaning "to be destined to"[872], but this interpretation does not seem very likely, since it is not certain if μέλλω was indeed expressing the future tense[873]. The second component is *du-ma*, meaning "overseer", "supervisor" or "attendant"[874]. No individual *me-ri-du-ma-te* is known by name, even though approximately twenty-nine of them were found in the tablets[875]. As with *pu-ka-wo*, this profession may have had both secular and cult associations[876]. The fact that honey was widely used as an offering indicates that these people could have had cult associations[877], presumably being responsible for the honey used in ritual, but one wonders whether the title could also be referring to a person working for the palace as a storekeeper of honey.

po-ro-du-ma-te[878]

The term appears also as *po-ru-da-ma-te*, indicating that it may be composed either by *po-ro* or *po-ru* and may have two different meanings. *Po-ro* can either be πρό, as in the case of *po-ro-ko-re-te*, and mean vice-, and therefore *po-ro-du-ma-te* would mean vice-*du-ma-te*[879], or *po-ro* may be the object of the specialised activity of the *du-ma*. In the first case the term may refer to "un intendant de sanctuaire adjoint"[880]. In the second case, the most likely suggestion is that *po-ro* means σπόρος, seed, and that *po-ro-du-ma-te* is an "attendant of the

[872] Lindgren, 1973II, 96.
[873] Lejeune, 1957, 140; Lindgren also objects to this interpretation, since even if the term expressed aspirants, there is not justification why it concerned only this profession (Lindgren, 1973II, 96).
[874] Lejeune, 1957, 136; Lindgren, 1973II, 41.
[875] Lindgren, 1973II, 96.
[876] Lindgren, 1973II, 96.
[877] Murray, 1979, 405.
[878] *Po-ro-du-ma-te*: Fn 50.7; Ep 613.4; *Po-ru-da-ma-te*: An 39, verso 1.
[879] Olivier, 1960, 47.
[880] Olivier, 1960, 141; Lindgren, 1973II, 122.

seeds"[881]. Therefore, Lejeune has suggested that the *me-ri-du-ma-te* were superintenders of honey and the *po-ro-du-ma-te* of sowing[882]. It should be noted though that the word for seed in the Linear B is *pe-mo* (σπέρμα), not σπόρος and that *po-ro* or *po-ru* are never associated with the meaning of seed. Another possibility is that *po-ru* is the correct reading and that *po-ru-da-ma-te* is a different term, interpreted as πολυδάμαρτες, which would refer to attendants of a more general function[883]. However, it seems more likely that both terms have the same meaning, especially since they always occur after *e-to-wo-ko* and *a-to-po-qo*[884].

The second component of the term is *du-ma*, which as Lejeune demonstrated derives from *da(2)mat-* and has the sense of "attendant"[885]. Ventris and Chadwick argued that *du-ma* is a local official and an alternative to *ko-re-te*[886], whereas L. R. Palmer interpreted it as an official of a higher rank from *ko-re-te* with temple connections[887]. The interpretation of the term is quite problematic, while the interpretation of *po-ro* as vice- may not be as safe as it is generally thought to be[888]. For want of a better interpretation though, I will accept that *po-ro-du-ma-te*/*po-ru-da-ma-te* is referring to a vice-*du-ma-te*, defining an official of a lesser status and authority than the *du-ma*, although the religious status of this office is dubious.

[881] Lindgren, 1973II, 122.
[882] Lejeune, 1957, 141.
[883] Lejeune, 1957, 140, 143.
[884] Olivier, 1960, 45; Palmer, 1963, 229.
[885] Lejeune, 1957, 136.
[886] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 512.
[887] Palmer, 1963, 415.
[888] I am grateful to Prof. John Bennet for drawing my attention to this problem.

mi-ka-ta[889]

Mi-ka-ta, like the *me-ri-du-ma-te*, is the only profession found in all four lists[890]. The term has been interpreted as μίκτας, mixers of the liquid offerings, such as wine, oil, honey and others[891]. It is the only profession from the group that occurs also at Knossos, in tablet Vc 64 followed by the number one, but the text is too fragmentary to conclude anything from it[892]. There is no indication of place for the *mi-ka-ta*[893]. However, PY Ep 617.13 registers the land-holding in the area of *pa-ki-ja-ne* of a *mi-ka-ta,* who is a *ka-ma-e-u* and whose name may be *ko-tu-ro(2)*[894]. If indeed that is the name of the mixer, then it is possible that he appears also in Eb 892 and Ep 301.13[895], although in the first case he is defined as *pa-da-je-u* –probably an ethnic name[896]- and in the second only as *ko-to-no-o-ko*. Alternatively, two different individuals with the same name may be recorded. If *ka-ma* was a special kind of lease, reserved only for religious functionaries, or those with cult connections, then the cult function and the distinctive status of the *mi-ka-ta* is supported[897]. This is further supported by the fact that the Ep/Eb set seems to concern people with a religious status[898].

[889] An 39.3, [.10]; An 594.2; Eb 839.1= Ep 617.13; Fn 50.5; KN Vc 64; The *-]ka-ta* occurring in An 128.1 and.2 may be restored as *[mi-]ka-ta* , but also as *[we-]ka-ta* (Lindgren, 1973II, 98).
[890] Olivier, 1960, 47.
[891] Lejeune, 1957, 139-140; Olivier, 1960, 55. Palmer (1963, 435) also agrees that the term designated some kind of a temple functionary, but does not specify his role.
[892] Olivier, 1960, 48.
[893] Lindgren, 1973II, 98.
[894] Lang, 1959, 132.
[895] Lindgren, 1973II, 98.
[896] Olivier, 1960, 53; Palmer, 1963, 202. Deroy's interpretation (1963, 429-445) that *ka-ma-e-u mi-ka-ta pa-da-je-u* is a person with two occupations according to the season, an agricultural one (*ka-ma-e-u*) and a naval one (*pa-da-je-u*= navigator, from πηδός= ship) seems unlikely, since *ka-ma-e-u* is a social and not an occupational designation (Lindgren, 1973II, 98).
[897] Though Gérard-Rousseau (1968, 144) is sceptical about the religious function of the *mi-ka-ta*.
[898] Lindgren, 1973II, 98.

o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we[899]

The *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* has been interpreted as ὀπιτευχέευς, designating an individual in charge of τεύχεα, most likely in the sense of vessels, chests or the like[900]. Their number is approximately nine, but there are no indications of place for any of them[901]. The term is also found in KN B 798.10, a tablet dealing with mixed names of professions and proper names[902], in a slightly different spelling, but most likely the same word. This term does not have a fixed place in the lists, as the others have[903]. In Homer the term τεύχεα usually refers to armour and the rig of a ship and, therefore, Ventris and Chadwick have suggested that the term may have been related to σκάφος, boat[904], although it is not clear in what sense. However, in later authors the term has the meaning of libation vessels and funerary urns, whereas the verb τευχέω in Homer has the sense to "prepare the food or meal". Therefore, it is possible that the function of this profession was to attend to the kitchen and be in charge of the vessels and to distribute them to the various kitchens[905]. An *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u* is mentioned on PY Un 2, which has been interpreted as a record of provisions for a major state-sponsored sacrificial banquet held on the occasion of the initiation or installation of the king at *pa-ki-ja-ne*[906]. The presence of this person in such a document clearly demonstrates that he had some task to perform in relation to the ceremony recorded. The tablet suggests that *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* was responsible for the foodstuffs recorded in it, presumably in the sense of gathering them from the

[899] *O-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*: An 39.4 [.9]; Fn 41.14; Fn 50.8. *O-pi-te-<u->ke-e-u*: Un 2.2. *O-pi-te-u-ke-we*: KN B 798.10.
[900] Killen, 2001a, 437.
[901] Lindgren, 1973II, 107.
[902] Olivier, 1960, 56, n.1
[903] Olivier, 1960, 56.
[904] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 512, 585.
[905] Olivier, 1960, 60.
[906] Killen, 2001a, 437.

different sources and keeping them until the ceremony, or having the responsibility to bring them in the place where the ceremony would take place. It is possible that he was also responsible for the cooking and feasting paraphernalia[907], such as those recorded in the Ta series. The fact that heirlooms are also found among these objects[908], indicating their importance in cult, may attribute a higher status to *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* in relation to other assistants as keeper of such heirlooms. The occurrence of the term τεῦχος in PY Sb 1315.1, a document concerning objects of leather (*te-u-ke-pi*), interpreted as ηνία attached to the armours[909], indicates that the meaning of τεύχεα is not clear, but the task of *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* can be deduced from contextual evidence[910].

e-to-wo-ko[911]

The term has been interpreted either as "armourer" (ἐντοϝοργός), from ἔντεα meaning arms or armour[912], or as an occupational term (ἐντοϝοργός) from ἐντός, meaning inside, designating individuals that have some kind of task – probably sacred- to perform inside the temple[913]. The second component –*wo-ko*, –ϝοργός however, derives from *ϝέργω, meaning "to work" and therefore refers to "the maker of something"[914]. The term is unfortunately quite problematic. If έντεα is indeed referring to arms, the relation of an armourer with cult is very strange, unless he is making weapons used in ritual, either as cult equipment or

[907] Killen, 1992, 376.
[908] Palaima, 2004, 113.
[909] Olivier, 1960, 61; L. R. Palmer, 1963, 328.
[910] Lindgren (1973II, 107) is quite careful and accepts a more general task for him, that of a "store-keeper".
[911] *E-to-wo-ko*: An 39.5 [.11]; Fn 50.6; KN Fh 462. *e-to-wo-ko-i*: Fn 79.13.
[912] Olivier, 1960, 64; Lindgren, 1973II, 53.
[913] Olivier, 1960, 68; Lindgren, 1973II, 53; Killen, 2001a, 437, although he does not specify whether he considers their task as sacred or not, whereas Gérard-Rousseau (1968, 107) rejects completely the possibility of a sacred task.
[914] Olivier, 1960, 63; Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 107; Gregersen, 1997b, 44.

as offerings, like sacrificial knives, the existence of which is known from the Ta series[915] and specimens found in cult buildings. There is no indication of place for the *e-to-wo-ko*. Its occurrence in Fn 50 may indicate his presence in *pa-ki-ja-ne*, whereas KN Fh 462 is too fragmentary to provide any information. The connection of craftsmen with cult is not unusual, since smiths are also associated with it in texts.

a-to-po-qo[916]

The term is also found in tablets from Mycenae and has been interpreted as referring to bakers. MY Oe 117 is too fragmentary to provide any information, but MY Au 102 is a list of names followed by a number and the tradename *a-to-po-qo* at the bottom[917]. It is indeed interesting that the *a-to-po-qo* in this tablet are all registered by name[918]. Only a group of *a-to-po-qo* recorded in An 427.3 may have a place indication, that of *a-ke-re-wa*[919]. The task of the bakers would probably have been to prepare the offerings (πόπανον or πελανός), but perhaps also the bread destined for the priesthood[920]. The occurrence of bakers among cult assistants has also parallels with Classical Greece, with the ἀρτοκόπος at Olympia responsible for producing offering-cakes, as well as with Egypt, where bakers could be found attached to temples[921]. In addition, the bakers would fit very well with the existence of women (*si-to-ko-wo*) in charge of measuring the

[915] Palaima, 2004, 113.
[916] An 39.11; An 427.3; Fn 50.7; MY Au 102.14; MY Oe 117. The term *a-si-to-po-qo* found in PY Eb 177=Ep 613 may also mean baker (Olivier, 1960, 73), or it may be a confusion between *a-to-po-qo* and *si-to-po-qo*, meaning "cook" (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 534). For the etymology of *a-to-po-qo* as ἀρτοπόπος and not ἀρτοκόπος see Duhoux, 1974.
[917] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 179; Lindgren, 1973II, 27.
[918] Lindgren, 1973II, 27.
[919] Lindgren, 1973II, 27.
[920] Olivier, 1960, 73.
[921] Murray, 1979, 406.

grain and those in charge of grinding it (*me-re-ti-ri-ja*)[922]. Nevertheless, the *a-to-po-qo* most certainly had a secular function as well[923]. Whether there were specific individuals who served the sanctuaries or not cannot be verified since only once is a place indication mentioned (An 427.3). The presence of *a-to-po-qo* in *a-ke-re-wa*, one of the nine towns of the Hither Province[924] indicates that the trade of the baker was not limited exclusively to the palace or the sanctuaries[925]. Whether bakers with a religious function were distinguished from those with a secular one cannot be verified from the Linear B evidence so far. It is interesting to note, though, that two rare figurines thought to represent someone making bread were found at Tsoungiza in a feasting deposit, together with a female figure[926]. It is not certain whether this association supports the religious status of the practice of making bread, or whether the figurines were symbolic of the offering of bread to the divinity or perhaps even offerings by bakers.

di-pte-ra-po-ro[927]

The *di-pte-ra-po-ro* (διφθεραφόρος) have been identified with acolytes wearing during their task an animal skin or a leather garment[928], from διφθέρα meaning leather[929]. Alternatively, the term may refer to "leather sellers" (διφθεραπώλος), or it may be equated with the Cypriot "schoolmaster" (διφθεράλοιφος) by metathesis[930]. According to L. R. Palmer *di-pte-ra-po-ro* is a

[922] Olivier, 1960, 69; The examination of *si-to-ko-wo* as cult assistants, suggested by Aravantinos *et al.* will take place later in the chapter.
[923] Lindgren, 1973II, 28. Gérard-Rousseau (1968, 49) for example does not accept their religious function.
[924] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 142, 416, 529.
[925] R. Palmer, 1992, 487.
[926] Wright *et al.*, 1990, 636; Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004, 91-92.
[927] *Di-<pte>ra-po-ro*: Ea 814; *Di-pte-ra-po-ro*: Fn 50.6; Un 219.6.
[928] Olivier, 1960, 122.
[929] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 217, 540.
[930] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 217; Lindgren, 1973II, 34.

craftsman designation and the second component *–po-ro* presumably conceals a verb appropriate to a technical processing of "hides"[931]. He does not accept that the term refers to people wearing hides, but he does accept that they may be temple officials with "hide" connections[932], although it is not very clear what he means. Other interpretations put forward are that the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* were tanners or scribes[933], since the meaning of *di-pte-ra* is leather. Nevertheless, the term most likely refers to people wearing an animal skin, from *-po-ro* meaning φέρω, to carry and consequently to wear. Noteworthy is that priests used to wear the skin of a sheep during the sacrifice in a cult on Cyprus[934]. Olivier associates the term with various Minoan representations of men dressed in skins[935], but with the exception of CMS I, 226 from Vapheio and the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, such Mycenaean representations are absent. Two of the women associated with animal sacrifice and libation and the men carrying gifts represented on both long sides of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus wear hide-skirts. These scenes indicate that both men and women could wear the *di-pte-ra*. The male figures wearing the hide skirt are clearly acolytes, since they carry gifts or cult equipment (rhyta) offered to the figure in front of the structure[936]. We already saw that both the women in hide skirts and those in long robes depicted on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus were priestesses and that their dress defined their tasks and status. Whether the term *di-pte-ra-po-ro* referred to the actual sacrificers is not certain, whereas in the case they were, the fact that they did not have the status of a priest cannot be explained. It is, then, more likely that the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* were acolytes

[931] Palmer, 1963, 229.
[932] Palmer, 1963, 413.
[933] Caratelli, 1954, 111.
[934] Olivier, 1960, 123.
[935] Murray, 1979, 407.
[936] The long robe of this figure cannot be interpreted as a hide skirt, even though it is made of the same material.

who helped in animal sacrifice and for that reason were associated with the hide skirt. It is very probable that they received the skin of the sacrificial animal as a privilege for the task they performed. A *di-pte-ra-po-ro* mentioned in Un 219 receives the commodity O and a sheepskin. The tablet is a list of names among which appear deities and cult assistants (*ka-ru-ke* and *di-pte-ra-po-ro*) as receivers of various commodities, different for each person.

References to *di-pte-ra-po-ro* are also found in texts recording land tenure. In PY Ea 814.a there is a *di-pte-ra-po-ro* known by the name *o-ke-u*, who has *o-na-to* from *ku-ro(2)*, whereas in Ea 259 he also has an *o-na-to pa-ro da-mo*[937]. Finally, a fresco fragment found at the old palace of Tiryns[938] has been described as depicting an altar and a male figure wearing an animal skin, whom Kilian equated with a *di-pte-ra-po-ro*[939]. Behind the figure is what looks clearly like a vessel. The fresco is too fragmentary to be certain of what it represented, whereas the presence of figures wearing lion skins at Pylos may suggest that the fresco did not have a religious theme.

da-ko-ro[940]

The term is only found at Pylos and it has been interpreted as sweepers. The first component of the term is dem/dom/dm, which means house and the second *-ko-ro*, from κορέω, meaning "to sweep"[941]. The profession has been equated with the Classical one of ζάκορος, meaning "servant of the temple"[942],

[937] Lindgren, 1973II, 34.
[938] Tiryns II, pl. II.7
[939] Kilian, 1981, 53.
[940] *Da-ko-ro:* An 424.3; An 427.1; An 207.8; *Da-ko-ro-i*: Un 219.5
[941] Olivier, 1960, 101.
[942] Murray, 1979, 407.

with a more specific sense of one who sweeps the floor of the temple[943]. In addition, parallels of such functionaries from the Egyptian and the Hittite religion may further support this interpretation[944]. In the Classical period the task of ζάκορος as well as that of νεωκόρος[945] were quite inferior in the sacerdotal order, but slowly became attendants of the sanctuary[946]. Nevertheless, there is no strong evidence to suggest that the *da-ko-ro* had a religious function, while Gérard-Rousseau has argued that these individuals may have had a secular task as "sweepers"[947]. There are approximately nineteen *da-ko-ro*, of whom twelve have a place indication of *re-ka-ta-ne* (An 207.8), two of *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo* (An 424.3) and five of *a-pu(2)-we* (An 427.1)[948].

te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro[949]

There is some doubt about the professional meaning of the term. Ventris and Chadwick have suggested the interpretation τευτλ-αγόρος, "beetroot-collector" (from τεύτλον), but not all scholars accept it[950]. L. R. Palmer, for example, has suggested that it may be a place-name[951]. The term is found in An 424.1, but the state of the tablet does not allow us to know either the ideogram nor the number[952]. In Eo 297.1 one *ru-*83-o* is defined as *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*[953] and is a holder of *ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na*. The same name occurs in En 74 as one of the

[943] Olivier, 1960, 101; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 538.
[944] Olivier, 1960, 104.
[945] Similarly, designating a person serving, tending or sweeping the temple (Liddell and Scott, 1172).
[946] Olivier, 1960, 102.
[947] Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 53.
[948] Lindgren, 1973II, 31.
[949] An 424.1; Eo 276.1.
[950] Olivier, 1960, 97; Palmer, 1963, 137.
[951] Palmer, 1963, 93, 137.
[952] Olivier, 1960, 96.
[953] Lindgren's (1973II, 145, n.1) suggestion that the word may be an actual name, since An 424.1 does specify if the term is referring to one person or more, does not seem plausible.

te-re-ta of *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Finally, *pi-*82* restored in An 424.1, may be a place-name where the *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* operated[954]. The interpretation of the term as "beetroot-collector" is highly unlikely, even though no other definition can be suggested for the time being.

ra-pte-re[955]

Ra-pte-re is the plural of *ra-pte*, and has been interpreted as ῥαπτήρ, "sewers" or "leather-workers", from the verb ῥάπτω[956]. The number of *ra-pte-re* is approximately fifty-nine and the term is found at Pylos in records of personnel and land. Three *ra-pte-re* may be known by their personal names: *e-ro(2)-qo*, who holds an *o-na-to* from *i-ma-di-jo* in Ea 29 and an *o-na-to me-ri-te-wo ko-to-na* in Ea 813[957]. *Ti-ri-da-ro*, who has a *ka-ma* in Ea 28, an *o-na-to pa-ro da-mo* in Ea 460 and an *o-na-to* from *ka-do-jo* in Ea 754. Finally *ze-pu2-ro*, mentioned only in Ea 56, as holding an *o-na-to* from *sa-ke-re-we*[958]. In An 207 the term appears after eight names of professions that do not seem to have anything in common[959], although among the professions appear *da-ko-ro* and *me-ri-da-ma-te*. The individuals of this list are defined by ethnic adjectives, for example *ko-ri-si-jo* (An 207.15) probably meaning Κορίνθιοι (from *ko-ri-to*, Κόρινθος), or place-names, such as *so-ro-pe-o* (An 207.14), *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (An 207.13), or *ka-si-da* (An 207.18)[960].

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[954] Lindgren, 1973II, 146.
[955] *Ra-pte*: An 172.1; Ea 28; Ea 29; Ea 56; Ea 325; Ea 460; Ea 754; Ea 813; *Ra-pte-re*: An 207.14, .15, .16, .17, .18; An 298.1, .2; An 424.1, .2; KN Fh 1056; V 159.5. *Ra-pte-ri-ja*: Ab 555; Sb 1315[.1], .2.
[956] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 578; Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 242; L. R. Palmer, 1963, 136, 451; Murray, 1979, 408.
[957] The name also appears in Ea 325, but the tablet is very fragmentary and only the name and the profession are recorded.
[958] Lindgren, 1973II, 132-133.
[959] Olivier, 1960, 79.
[960] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 182, 556;

In An 424 –one of Olivier's "parent-lists"- the *ra-pte-re* are associated with the place-names *pi[ ]* (An 424.1), *ka-ra-do-ro* and *sa-ri-nu-wo-te* (An 424.2). The *ra-pte-re* of An 298 may also be associated with place-names[961], namely with *ra-wa-ra-ta(2)*, *u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* and *po-ti-ja-ke-e*. In An 172 the term *wo-wi-ja-ta* may be the name of the *ra-pte*, since in Jn 658.8 it is also found as a personal name, in this case of a smith. The term also appears in KN Fh 1056, where an allocation of oil follows the entry *ra-pte-re* and in V 159.5, which is a list of place-names mixed with personal names and where *ra-pte-re* is followed by the number twenty, but with no MAN ideogram[962]. *Ra-pi-ti-ra(2)*, mentioned in PY Ab 555 is probably the feminine of the term[963] and designates a group of women, but it is found in a different context from that of *ra-pte-re*.

Olivier has argued that the term *ra-pte-re* in fact referred to scribes (γραφεῖς), deriving from the noun ῥαφίς[964], meaning stylus, a sharp-pointed tool used to make marks of clay tablets. However, he favoured this interpretation because he considered the occupation of "tailors" as inappropriate and not of the same social or functional class as the others on the list[965]. If γραφείς is the correct interpretation, then we are provided with a term for scribes, which has not been recognised yet in the tablets. There is nothing in the tablets to oppose such an interpretation, since it is very likely that scribes would be recorded in the texts like any other profession[966]. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the word from the

[961] Lindgren, 1973II, 133; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 579, 589, 574.
[962] Olivier, 1960, 82.
[963] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 578; Oliver, 1960, 84; Palmer and Baumbach, 1963, 242; Lindgren, 1973II, 132.
[964] Olivier, 1960, 92-93.
[965] Murray, 1979, 409.
[966] Lindgren, 1973II, 133.

verb ράπτω seems more probable[967], since two related forms, *ra-pte-ri-ja* and *e-ra-pe-me-na* are found in texts related to leather and cloth[968].

Another interpretation takes *ra-pte* and *ra-pi-ti-ra(2)* as deriving from the verb λάμπω and meaning "torch-men", a profession, which may have had a secular or a cult function[969]. However, this interpretation does not explain the *ra-pte-ri-ja* group and it is not possible to separate *ra-pte* from *ra-pte-ri-ja*[970]. Therefore, it seems more likely that the word referred to persons who, if they had a religious status, would most probably be responsible for the preparation of a ritual dress, or may have practiced their craft for the profit of the shrine[971]. With the exception of An 424 the *ra-pte-re* are not associated with any of Olivier's cult assistants in other tablets and therefore their cult function cannot be deduced from their association with other cult personnel.

The *ra-pte-re* most probably would have been palatial artisans of a high status whether they had religious associations or not. The existence of clothes associated with the wanax (*wa-na-ka-te-ra*), the Followers (*e-qe-si-ja*) and the Foreigners (*ke-se-nu-wi-ja*)[972], the latter perhaps as gifts[973], as well as the presence of tailors (*ra-pte-re*), fullers (*ka-na-pe-u*)[974] and decorators or specialist finishing workers (*a-ke-ti-ri-ja*)[975] suggests a highly specialised textile production, which was certainly controlled by the palace[976]. Therefore, it is not

[967] Murray, 1979, 409.
[968] The term *ra-pte-ri-ja* means ραπτήριαι and is found in Sb 1315 defining the making of reins -with stitching work- (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 578), whereas *e-ra-pe-me-na* –sewn- (Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 241-242) is found on the Knossos textile tablet L 647.B.
[969] Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 216, 242; Lindgren, 1973II, 133. Though compare with *to-po-po-ro-i*.
[970] Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 242.
[971] Murray, 1979, 410.
[972] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 315-318.
[973] Though see Driessen, 1984, 52-56, esp. 55.
[974] Barber, 1992, 312-313.
[975] Killen, 2001a, 436.
[976] For a detailed discussion see Killen, 1984.

possible to argue that the *ra-pte-re* had exclusively a religious function. On the contrary, it is more likely that they were palatial personnel and that the clothes destined for cult and the sanctuaries were produced in the palaces and distributed by the palaces. The only evidence to support that some processing of cloth was done in the sanctuaries could be provided by TH Of 36, where an *a-ke-te-ri-ja*, a decorator as Killen has interpreted the term[977], at the oikos of Potnia receives an amount of wool[978].

ki-ri-te-wi-ja[979]

The term has been translated as κριθείαι[980] and it always appears as a group. In PY Ep 704.4/Eb 321.1 the group lease land collectively at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Since the term is present in this particular document and is inserted between two references to the priestess *e-ri-ta* of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, it seems that the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* held a fairly prominent place in the cult organisation of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, as a corporation of religious women[981].

The text describes the parentage of a group of women, who have either a father a slave of *do-qe-ja* or a bronze-smith and a mother either from *ku-te-re-u-pi* –the name of a place[982]- or a slave of *di-wi-ja*. The absence of the term *do-qe-ja* from any other document makes its interpretation very difficult. The presence of *do-e-ro*, however, may indicate that it is a personal name and specifically a

[977] Killen, 1984, 58.
[978] The meaning of this entry and the association of sanctuaries with workshops will be examined in another chapter.
[979] *Ki-ri-te-wi-ja*: An 607.1; Eb 321.1/Ep 704.4; *ki-ri-te-wi-ja-pi*: Un 1426+1428.6; KN E 777.1; Fp 363.2
[980] For other interpretations as χρισταί or κριταί see Aura Jorro, 1993I, 363.
[981] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 554; Palmer, 1963, 428.
[982] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 167.

feminine name, either the name of a goddess or priestess[983], since the only females known to own slaves are either goddesses or priestesses[984]. Although the tablet is problematic, it may suggest the religious function of these women on account of the religious status of their parents. The occurrence of smiths does not invalidate the interpretation, since smiths and metalworking had some relation with sanctuaries and deities, suggested by the reference of the smiths of *po-ti-ni-ja* in PY Jn 310.14.

Finally, the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* are also mentioned in KN Fp 363.2. The Fp series comprised a ritual calendar[985]. The presence of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* in such a context may suggest their religious role, but since the tablet is fragmentary no conclusions can be drawn. The *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* are also present in KN E 777, recording the distribution of monthly rations to various groups of women, one of which is the Knossian *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*[986], although the term may also be referring to the two following entries[987]. The entry in PY Un 1428 is too fragmentary to provide any information.

It is not clear what was the function of the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* in cult, if indeed they were related to cult. Ruijgh has suggested that the term may be a derivative of a theonyme Kritheus, the god of barley[988] (from *ki-ri-ta*, κριθή, barley[989]). Killen has suggested that the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* may be a priestly class of women in the service of the god of barley, responsible for guarding the commodity, before

[983] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 128. The opposite theory that *do-qe-ja* is the occupational title of the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* is supported by Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 167.
[984] Killen, 2001a, 438.
[985] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 303.
[986] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 214-215.
[987] Killen, 2004, 167.
[988] Ruijgh, 1967, 129.
[989] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 167, 554; L. R. Palmer, 1963, 428.

giving it to the workers[990]. Ruth Palmer has similarly associated them with barley, which was probably important to the worship of a deity and argued that even though their task is not clear, it would probably have been an honour rather than a menial occupation[991]. Perhaps their task had to do with distributing barley as handouts in festivals.

The importance of cereals in cult in general is suggested by the fresco from Room 31 at the Cult Centre at Mycenae, depicting a woman holding two sheaves of grain. This figure has been interpreted both as a priestess[992] and as a deity[993], but due to its position it seems more probable that she is a human being, carrying the sheaves of grain to the altar[994]. The evidence does not suggest that the status of the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* was associated with ritual, but the fresco indicates the importance of grain in cult, as does the existence of *si-to-po-ni-ti-ja*, a deity associated with grain[995].

However, the context of PY An 607 is not clearly religious. The *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* recorded in the tablet have at least one parent who is a slave and who is always mentioned first. Deger-Jalkotzy in her study of the tablet has demonstrated that the text is a list and a description of thirteen slave women who are *do-qe-ja*, an occupational term perhaps meaning "reaper"[996] and who were sent to *me-ta-pa* and placed at the disposal of the *e-qe-ta*[997]. The description of the parentage served as a means of identifying the women[998]. It is possible then

[990] Killen, 2004, 167. In this case **120* is identified as barley (HORD) and not as wheat (GRANUM).
[991] Palmer, 1992, 486.
[992] Marinatos, 1988a, 245-252.
[993] Immerwahr, 1990, 121.
[994] Marinatos, 1988a, 246. For the possibility that this is a goddess and perhaps specifically *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* see Daniilidou, 1986, 336-338 and n. 139.
[995] R. Palmer, 1992, 486.
[996] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 167, 541.
[997] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1972, 158.
[998] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1972, 158.

that the text had no religious associations but simply recorded slaves, who were working for the palace and who were the product of slave union. For Deger-Jalkotzy the smiths mentioned in the text were also slaves of bronzesmiths, the existence of which was also suggested by the PY Jn series[999], whereas the *di-wi-ja do-e-ra* mentioned in An 607.3 was also a common slave with no religious associations[1000]. Nevertheless, the presence of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* in the *pa-ki-ja-na* district holding land cannot be explained if the group did not have a religious status. Even though slaves in the Mycenaean period may have been allowed to hold land it seems unlikely that they would do so in the religious centre of Pylos together with the religious personnel. However, it has been argued that individuals defined as *do-e-ro/ra* did not actually have the status of slaves, but rather the term indicated a position of dependency[1001]. This is suggested by the fact that *do-e-ro* are able to contribute to foodstuff to banqueting[1002].

In this light then, the holding of land by *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* can be explained regardless of whether they had a religious status or not. The interpretation of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* is quite difficult and it seems that with the evidence so far we cannot reach any conclusions. Therefore, I will leave the question of their religious status open.

i-je-ro-wo-ko[1003]

The *i-je-ro-wo-ko* has been interpreted as ἱερουργός, the person who performs the holy actions[1004], τὰ ἱερὰ ῥέζει, namely the sacrifice[1005]. The

[999] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1972, 150; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 352-353.
[1000] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1972, 140.
[1001] Bendall, 2004, 108.
[1002] Bendall, 2004, 108.
[1003] Ep 617.7.
[1004] Lindgren, 1973II, 57.

difference between *i-je-re-u* and *i-je-ro-wo-ko* then would be defined by the meaning of *-wo-ko*[1006]. As we saw with the examination of *e-to-wo-ko* this ending characterises the "maker of something". It is possible then that the term may refer to the man who produces sacred things[1007], and not to the person who performs the sacrifice, though what exactly this person produced is not certain. Although both a priest and an *i-je-ro-wo-ko* are called *sa-ke-re-u*, they were probably different individuals, as is suggested also by the existence of a smith with the same name (PY Jn 431.17)[1008]. There is only one reference to the *i-je-ro-wo-ko*, in Ep 617.7 as a holder of a *ka-ma* at *pa-ki-ja-ne*.

te-o-jo do-e-ro/ra[1009]

This designation is used exclusively in the Pylos E tablets in order to describe approximately one hundred men and women. Of these, 45 belong to the sacred precinct of *pa-ki-ja-ne*[1010]. Only one reference occurs outside Pylos, at KN Ai 966, but in a slightly different spelling[1011]. The Ai (3) series seems to list slaves with their owners and locations, but since all references are to secular people, the reason for the presence of *te-o-jo do-e-ro* is not clear. *Te-o-jo do-e-ro* were certainly not chattel slaves, since they were always mentioned by name[1012]

[1005] Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 205; L. R. Palmer, 1963, 422; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 548.
[1006] Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 112.
[1007] John Bennet, personal communication.
[1008] Murray, 1979, 350.
[1009] For a full list of the tablets were these individuals appear see Tovar, 1961 and Murray, 1979, 365-365.
[1010] Burkert, 1985, 45.
[1011] Murray, 1979, 362.
[1012] Some of their names also occur in other series (An, Ae, Jn and Cn) but Murray (1979, 366) does not consider it likely that any of these correspondences indicate the appearance of the "slaves of the god" in records other than the E series.

and had the right to own land[1013]. The possibility that these were actual slaves but had certain privileges[1014] is less likely.

It is important that these persons appear with their names and not simply with their "title", which suggests that there was a desire either not to be mixed with others of the same name, or to be honoured. Since *te-o-jo do-e-ro* only appear in the E series it is possible that the term might have been an honorary title given perhaps both to secular and/or religious personnel for some reason that we do not know and that part of this honour was the distribution of land. Alternatively, it may have described people who were under the service of particular gods, whereas it is possible that these were the actual cult assistants.

ka-ru-ke[1015]

In Fn 187 are mentioned four *ka-ru-ke* receiving barley. It is interesting to note that not all of them receive the same amount, whereas some receive figs or flour in addition to barley. No *ka-ru-ke* is mentioned by name. A single *ka-ru-ke* mentioned in PY Un 219 receives wool and two other commodities. In the same tablet are mentioned deities, such as *e-ma-a(2)* and *po-ti-ni-ja*, the wanax and the *ra-wa-ke-ta* and cult assistants, such as the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* and the *da-ko-ro-i*. The role of the *ka-ru-ke* may have been similar to that of heralds in Classical Greece and especially in the Eleusinian Mysteries, where the herald read the proclamation[1016].

[1013] Burkert, 1985, 45; Deroy, 1989, 128.
[1014] Deroy and Gérard, 1965, 42.
[1015] PY Fn 187. 3, .5, .16, .21; Un 219.3.
[1016] Mylonas, 1961, 233.

a-pi-qo-ro-i[1017]

The term has been equated with the Greek ἀμφίπολος, meaning servant[1018] and has been interpreted as referring to a general female occupational designation, in the sense of "waiting-women", "serving-women" or "attendants"[1019]. The term would not have any religious associations if it did not appear in PY Fr 1205, where it has been interpreted as "servants of a god/shrine", or even "The Two Servants" or "The Two Handmaidens", meaning goddesses[1020]. The religious associations of the *a-pi-qo-ro* then depend on whether the recipients of the oil recorded in the Fr series are divine beings, cult personnel, or a mixture of gods, cult personnel and secular recipients[1021].

The existence of female workgroups at Pylos is attested also by other references, such as the *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*, the decorators or the *re-wo-to-ro-ko-ro*, the bath-attendants, therefore it is not necessary that the *a-pi-qo-ro* had a religious status. The possibility that the *a-pi-qo-ro* were attendants of the deity, suggested by the meaning of the term ἀμφί, meaning "on both sides" and by the existence of representations of a deity "flanked" by two figures is not very likely. The presence of *a-pi-qo-ro* in the PY Aa and Ad series suggests their secular function, whereas their presence in Fr 1205 would not necessarily indicate a religious status, since the oil distributed to them could have been for secular purposes[1022]. Lejeune, however, has favoured an interpretation for the *a-pi-qo-ro* as divinities in the service of another, due to their presence in the Fr series[1023].

[1017] *A-pi-qo-ro:* PY Aa 804, Ad 690; TH Of 34. *A-pi-qo-ro-i:* PY Fr 1205.
[1018] Liddell and Scott, 93; Hiller, 1987, 239.
[1019] Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 171, 235; Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 37; Lindgren, 1973II, 21; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 532; Killen, 1984, 58.
[1020] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 249, 408; Lindgren, 1973II, 21; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 480.
[1021] Lindgren, 1973II, 21.
[1022] Shelmerdine, 1985, 105.
[1023] Lejeune, 1962, 15, n. 67.

The evidence, though, from most written evidence does not suggest that the *a-pi-qo-ro* had a religious role.

Musicians

Iconographic and written evidence suggests that musicians were also engaged in ritual performance. The purpose of music was to create an otherworldly atmosphere compatible with the liminal character of ritual acts. The association of music with sacrificial ritual is suggested by the iconography of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus. According to Long the aulete is playing in order to summon the birds[1024], whose perching on the double axes has been taken to indicate the arrival of the goddess or goddesses, symbolised by the double axes, whereas the lyre-playing seems appropriate for a chthonic sacrifice or for the funerary rite of a ruler[1025]. The association of the flute-player with animal sacrifice would be in accordance with the tense moment at the point when death occurs, whereas the lyre-player is more fitting with the less emotional performance of libation. A lyre-player is depicted in the throne room at Pylos, suggesting that musicians may also have taken part in banquets[1026]. Lang's suggestion though, that his music would sooth the sacrificial victim –the bull- and at the same time would entertain the participants in the banquet[1027], again relates music to animal sacrifice. In this case, nevertheless, the musician seems to be more related to the bird flying above him, rather than to the bull.

[1024] Note the association of the lyre-player with birds on a pictorial vase from Chania (Tzedakis, 1970).
[1025] Long, 1974, 38, 65, 73.
[1026] For a detailed examination of the fresco and the role of the lyre-player see Younger, 1988b, 47-48.
[1027] Lang, 1969, 110, 194; Younger, 1988b, 47.

The religious association of music is also suggested by the scene on a pyxis from Kalamia on Crete (LH IIIB), depicting a male figure holding a lyre in one hand and a branch in the other[1028] (**fig. 59**). The double-axe and the horns of consecration indicate the religious character of the scene, while the birds flying above the figure may symbolise the epiphany of the deity. The scene on a krater from Nauplion may be of a religious character, depicting a figure in long robe decorated with crosshatched patterns next to a giant lyre, which is as tall as the figure itself and consists of seven strings and the tuning pegs[1029]. The presence of triton and tortoise shells at Phylakopi may also indicate their use for the provision of music[1030]. Finally, the existence of lyre-players and their association with religious ceremonial may also be indicated by the reference of *ru-ra-ta-e* in the Thebes tablet Av 106.7[1031], whereas it seems that the profession was reserved for men[1032].

Cult assistants in the Thebes tablets

In the examination of banquets we saw the presence of people responsible for the preparation of sacral meals. These are the *de-qo-no*, recorded in TH Fq 254, meaning δειπνός, banquetier[1033] and the *po-ro-de-qo-no* mentioned in KN F 51, which may refer to a vice-banquetier[1034]. According to the publishers of the new Thebes tablets, cult assistants are also the *a-ko-ro-da-mo*, the *si-to-ko-wo* and the *to-pa-po-ro-i*. *A-ko-ro-da-mo* has been identified as a cult assistant who was responsible for gathering the participants in religious ceremonies. The term

[1028] Tzedakis, 1970, 111.
[1029] Karageorghis and Vermeule, 1982, 92.
[1030] Renfrew, 1985, 325-326, 383-384.
[1031] Aravantinos, 1996, 136; Aravantinos *et al.*, 2001, 323; Killen, 2001a, 443.
[1032] Marinatos, 1987b, 33.
[1033] Sacconi, 2001, 467.
[1034] Sacconi, 2001, 467, although note the objection of Bennet about *po-ro* in n. 888.

consists of ἄγορος, meaning gatherer and δήμος, meaning the people[1035]. *Si-to-ko-wo* has been translated by Ventris and Chadwick as measurers of cereal, from σίτος meaning grain and χέω meaning to measure, probably defining officials responsible for issuing the rations[1036], but Aravantinos *et al.* interpreted the second component as κοέω meaning to attend, and therefore *si-to-ko-wo* as "desservants de sanctuaire de Σιτώ", a divine name referring to Demeter[1037]. Finally, the *to-pa-po-ro-i* have been identified as people holding torches, from *to-pa* (στορπάν) meaning lighting and consequently light and *po-ro* meaning to carry[1038]. Ventris and Chadwick, however, have interpreted *to-pa* as τάρπη, a large basket[1039] and Palaima has been very sceptical concerning the interpretation as "torch-bearers". According to him it could either refer to "pack animals or to human beings identified by a title similar to the Greek *kanephoroi*"[1040]. Similarly, the arguments for the interpretation of *a-ko-ro-da-mo* and *si-to-ko-wo* are very weak and therefore I will not accept these terms as possible cult assistants. Concerning the *si-to-ko-wo* I prefer L. R. Palmer's interpretation that "these women may form work crews under the direction of the *si-to-ko-wo* to process the grain consumed at Pylos"[1041], whereas in terms of the *a-ko-ro-da-mo* there is no other evidence to support the existence of such an assistant, even if we accept the etymological interpretation, which Palaima rejects completely[1042].

In summary, the existence of a group of professions associated with religious ceremonial cannot be denied. The evidence, however, suggests that

[1035] Aravantinos *et al.*, 2001, 170, 321.
[1036] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 166, 419, 582.
[1037] Aravantinos *et al.*, 2001, 323.
[1038] Aravantinos *et al.*, 2001, 172, 323.
[1039] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 491, 587.
[1040] Palaima, 2003, 115; Killen (2001a, 442) also seems to favour this interpretation.
[1041] Palmer, 1992, 489.
[1042] Palaima, 2003, 114.

these professionals might have had both a secular and a religious function. Further, they were probably more associated with festivals and public ceremonies than cult, since none of them can be related with a sanctuary. The professionals that appear in the Fn series are the *me-ri-du-ma-te*, the *po-ro-du-ma-te*, the *mi-ka-ta*, the *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*, the *e-to-wo-ko*, the *a-to-po-qo* and the *di-pte-ra-po-ro*. With the exception of *po-ro-du-ma-te*, the interpretation of which is not certain and *e-to-wo-ko*, the participation of all the other professionals in festivals recorded in the Fn tablets could be explained as performing tasks related to the ceremony, such as preparing the offerings or food (*me-ri-du-ma-te* and *a-to-po-qo*), mixing the offerings or drinks (*mi-ka-ta*), or bringing the vessels needed for the ceremony (*o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*). The appearance of *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u* in Un 2 can be explained in the context of feasting. The presence of *di-pte-ra-po-ro* and *da-ko-ro* in Un 219 together with the *ra-wa-ke-ta* is strange, but the occurrence of individuals with such a different status in one tablet may be explained by the occasion on which the tablet was written. It is very unlikely that the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* or the *da-ko-ro* had the same status as the *ra-wa-ke-ta*. Therefore, the reason why such different individuals occur together is because the tablet records the distribution of various commodities to them.

Therefore, I prefer to interpret the *te-o-jo do-e-ro/ra* as cult assistants and Olivier's cult assistants as professionals with religious associations, in the sense that they performed tasks related to cult when needed, but they also performed secular tasks. In addition, some of Olivier's cult assistants seem to have a different status from others, which could suggest that these had different roles and participated in different ceremonies. The fact that a *mi-ka-ta* holds a *ka-ma*

whereas other “cult assistants” do not, could suggest a different status, but could also suggest that this individual simply had specific duties to perform and for that reason held a particular type of land. The *te-o-jo do-e-ro/ra* on the contrary show a closer association with religion, since except from the etymology of the term they hold land in the area of *pa-ki-ja-ne* and are known by name.

The *di-pte-ra-po-ro* may also be excluded, since as indicated by the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus they were directly involved in cult practices. The possibility that the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* were actually priests responsible for performing the animal sacrifice cannot be rejected, since the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus clearly shows wearers of the skin performing cult practices. The only indication that this interpretation may not be correct is that priests and *di-pte-ro-po-ro* occur in different texts and never co-exist. In addition, the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* holds land in the Ea series, not at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Since the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* were the wearers of the hide, they were directly associated with the animal skin and with the animal sacrifice. Therefore, their presence in Fn 50 may suggest that animal sacrifice was performed in the festival. Unless the term *di-pte-ra-po-ro* defined the priest and priestess performing the animal sacrifice and was an honorary title, it cannot be concluded what the difference was between them and the actual priests.

Instead of being lists, the tablets where cult assistants appear may record them for a reason. Since the reason does not seem to be the fact that they belonged to a place, since when this is recorded it is usually different for each profession -except perhaps Fn 50-, then the common element must be the ceremony. In other words, these professions occur together because they have some duties to perform in a ceremony. This does not necessarily presuppose a

religious status for these professionals, but a function associated with ceremonies.

Children as acolytes in Mycenaean cult

The possibility that children were involved in the performance of ritual practices should not be ignored, even though the evidence is quite limited[1043]. The evidence of children in general in the Bronze Age is restricted to a few references in the Linear B tablets as dependent workers, a few burials, for example the child burials in the Shaft Graves[1044] and the remains of children's bones at Knossos[1045], some representations in ivory, terracotta and bronze, on rings, sealstones and pictorial vases, and finally some fresco depictions[1046]. Most of this evidence, however, is limited to Crete, whereas images of children are almost absent from Mycenaean art[1047].

Approximately 200 tablets from Pylos and Knossos record children in the so-called personnel series (PY Aa, Ab and Ad; KN Ai, Ag and Ak). Children are mentioned as components of family units, as recipients of rations, and as accompanying workgroups of specialised labourers[1048]. In the Pylos personnel series, the documents dealing with rations simply count boys and girls with their mothers, but at Knossos the children are differentiated also by age, defined either as *me-wi-jo*, *me-u-jo* (younger) or *me-zo* (older), although it is not clear what these terms meant for the Mycenaeans. What the tablets imply is that children

[1043] I am very grateful to Dr. Younger for allowing me to read Dr. Rehak's article on children as acolytes before publication.
[1044] Rehak, personal communication; Mylonas, 1966a, 91-93. For an examination of children's burials see Gallou, 2004.
[1045] Warren, 1981, esp. 159.
[1046] Rehak, personal communication. For a detailed presentation and discussion of the material related to children see Rutter, 2003.
[1047] Rystedt, 2001, 393.
[1048] Olsen, 1998, 382.

were working with their mothers and when they reached a certain age were trained by their fathers in their profession[1049].

In addition to the written texts, iconographic evidence of children in Mycenaean Greece is scarce and consists of the ivory group from Mycenae, a fresco fragment from the Cult Centre at Mycenae, a scene on a krater from the cemetery of Ayia Triadha at Elis (LH IIIC) and the kourotrophoi figurines, which although suggestive of the concept of child care, do not however provide any further information. The theme of two figures carrying a small one between them represented in terracotta figurines and on scenes on pictorial vases, e.g. the LH IIIB2 krater from Klavdhia, Cyprus, most likely referred to the divine sphere, either representing groups of divinities[1050] or worshippers in front of a cult image[1051] and therefore will not be examined.

In terms of cult involvement Rehak interpreted the "theophoria" fresco from the Cult Centre at Mycenae as depicting the offering of a girl to the seated goddess. The small figure has been identified as a figurine offered to the divinity[1052], but the naturalistic tilt of the head recalling the girl standing on the platform in front of the goddess on the Xeste 3 fresco and the odd pose of the arms, as well as the yellow tunic with red dots that resembles the pattern of the Theran girl's veil, have convinced Rehak that this figure represents a girl[1053]. Evidence that such a practice existed in Mycenaean Greece is very slight. A post-palatial clay figurine from Mavro Spelio in Crete, which is probably under Mycenaean influence, represents a female holding a child in a strange way, not

[1049] Olsen, 1998, 384.
[1050] For the examination and interpretation of such terracotta groups see Mylonas, 1954, 150, 1956, 120, Korres, 1968, 113-114, Polychronakou-Sgouritsa, 1986 and 1999-2001.
[1051] Rystedt's (2001) interpretation of the Klavdhia scene.
[1052] Immerwahr, 1990, 119.
[1053] Rehak, personal communication. See Immerwahr, 1990, 119 for the possibility of dedicating a child to the divinity.

facing it but holding it backwards in outstretched arms, as though she is presenting it or handing it to someone else[1054]. Marinatos argues that the figurines may have been part of a complex and that the woman perhaps was presenting the child to a divinity[1055]. Other than that, there is nothing to support such an interpretation and although the dedication of a child to the divinity may have been practised, the fresco from the Cult Centre most likely depicts the festival of theophoria.

The scene depicted on the gold ring from Mycenae (CMS I, 17) may support the involvement of children in cult (**fig. 60**). The scene is a procession of two priestesses holding flowers towards a seated one. The seated figure is probably also a priestess, who performs the epiphany of the goddess. An unusual feature in the scene is the presence of two children[1056], definitely girls, one in front of the priestess/goddess and the other behind the tree where she is seated. The fact that the girl is offering flowers to the "goddess" as do the priestesses, suggests that she is also involved in the ritual act taking place and that she is a human being. The function of the second girl is uncertain, but she seems to be picking fruit or flowers from the tree, presumably to offer it to the "goddess". The ritual bending of the tree in this case seems out of the question, since the tree shows no signs of bending. It is interesting to notice that this girl is wearing strips of cloth, as do the priestesses in the same scene and on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus. Although it is not certain what these strips symbolised, it is certain that they were associated with persons of religious status. Therefore, it seems reasonable to argue that this girl has similarly a religious role, perhaps in association with the priestess/goddess, since she stands behind her and she is

[1054] Marinatos, 1995a, 583; Rutter, 2003, 47.
[1055] Marinatos, 1995a, 583.
[1056] Female servants according to Niemeier (1990, 167).

differentiated from the other girl. The fact that she does not have hair locks, as depicted on the other girl may indicate she is younger, whereas there is no doubt that the strips represent cloth and not hair. A puzzling feature is what looks like a pile of stones on which the second girl seems to stand. Such designs on seals usually indicate pavements, but its purpose on this particular sealing is not clear. Finally, a priestess, suggested by the flounced skirt and the strips of cloth, is depicted with two girls on a sealing from Mycenae (CMS I, 159). The girls are depicted wearing the same skirt as the priestess; the lack of breasts and their size clearly suggest that they are young (**fig. 61**).

Although the iconographic evidence of children in Mycenaean Greece is quite limited, some representations could perhaps support the theory that they functioned as cult assistants. Representations on seals of younger women may indicate the involvement in cult of various ages, suggesting perhaps that girls whose purpose was to become priestesses were trained from an early age. Such young women may be depicted on sealing CMS I, 108 showing a procession of three female figures towards a shrine. The leading figure may be younger than the others, suggested by her much smaller bosom (**fig. 62**). According to Sakellariou one of the three figures in CMS I, 132 is younger than the other two and is dressed in animal skin[1057], suggested by a sort of "tail" hanging at the back. Similarly, the figure bending over what looks like a table on CMS I, 126 may be younger, although her position may account for the absence of breasts.

Stronger evidence for the religious role of children may come from a krater from Chamber Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha in Elis (LH IIIC) depicting a small figure participating in a scene of prothesis (**fig. 46**). The small size of the figure

[1057] Sakellariou, 1966, 73.

is deliberate and means that the purpose of the painter was to show it as a child, since there was space to depict an adult[1058]. That it is certainly a child may also be suggested from the fact that no hair is depicted, although the rest of the figures –who are adults- have hair. All the figures of the scene seem to have a religious status. The leading figure, which is male, is holding an instrument like a stone axe[1059] and may be related to animal sacrifice, suggested by the goat following the second priestess and the animal depicted under the bier, identified as a dog[1060], even though its position is reminiscent of the sacrifice scene on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus. The goat, on the other hand, is certainly a sacrificial animal[1061] as suggested also by an indication of a rope and the fact that a figure was probably leading the animal[1062]. The leading priest may be a phallic figure, engaged in wild dancing[1063]. The dead figure seems also to be a priest, suggested by the unusual position of one hand, which seems to touch the forehead in the adoration gesture and also by the fact that the figure has open eyes (or rather one eye!). The identification of the leading figure and the dead man as priests may be further suggested by their dress, which seems to be a hide skirt, since the fringes sticking out were probably an attempt of the painter to represent the skin of the animal. The figures behind the bier are priestesses, suggested by the possible sacral knot the leading one is wearing, their hairstyle and their long robes, which may have been decorated with stripes[1064]. It seems therefore quite likely that the small figure following the leading priest is a child, whose presence in the

[1058] Schoinas, 1999, 260.
[1059] Schoinas, 1999, 258.
[1060] Schoinas, 1999, 258.
[1061] Schoinas, 1999, 259.
[1062] Schoinas, 1999, 259.
[1063] Schoinas, 1999, 258, 259.
[1064] Schoinas, 1999, 258.

ceremony may be explained by its religious role, or by its association with the dead priest, which may further emphasise its religious status.

In the iconographic evidence children appear as accompanying adults in the performance of rituals. On the gold ring from Mycenae, the girl offering the flowers is not distinguished from the other priestesses, whereas the second girl behind the "goddess" may even have a special status since she is singled out of the rest and seems to have a special connection with the priestess/goddess. The child from the Elis krater seems also to be associated with the leading priest. The fact that children appear in the documents as young apprentices –therefore future workers- indicates that they were considered as active members of the society. In addition, the fact that children were making clay tablets, indicated by the palmprints found at the back of the Knossos tablets[1065], designates that children were a working force. Their status was certainly not that of an adult, but it seems that children were allowed to participate in specific professions. Therefore, the participation of children in cult would not be unusual, especially if the purpose was to train them to become future priests and priestesses. If the office of a priest and a priestess was hereditary or at least restricted to members of the elite, it is very likely that the individuals who were destined to be cult specialists were prepared from an early age. Moreover, children could have been engaged in tasks and posts demanding absolute purity and sexual restraint[1066], such as the handling of sacred symbols. Finally, the existence of rich child burials, such as the Shaft Grave III of Grave Circle A with the two infant-sized gold suits[1067], or the girl buried at Koukounara with jewellery and two alabastra placed on either side of her head in a position suggesting that the oil would have been poured on her

[1065] Rutter, 2003, 48.
[1066] Parker, 1983, 92.
[1067] Mylonas, 1966a, 91-93; Graziadio, 1991, 437.

hair[1068] and the Tholos Tomb at Dendra with the burial of the "little princess"[1069], could suggest the distinctive status of these particular children. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that the rich burials reflected the status of the parents and probably had more to do with social standing rather than religious. However, the absence of any written evidence to support the participation of children in cult should be noted. The only texts where children are referred to are the aforementioned personnel series, suggesting that their absence was deliberate, i.e. children were not involved in cult, unless the absence of other texts was due to preservation. Perhaps future research may shed more light in the roles of children in the Mycenaean society.

Chapter IV: The Social Status of Mycenaean Priests and Priestesses

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the social position of the priesthood by combining both written and archaeological evidence. The references to priests and priestesses in Linear B tablets, examined in the previous chapter, clearly indicated that the concerns of these individuals were closely associated with the palaces. Furthermore, the mere reference in the tablets of individuals by their personal names, as is the case with most of the priests mentioned in the documents, is considered by scholars as a significant indication of status. Therefore, any information about the priesthood deriving from the Linear B tablets most likely concerned the priests who were attached to or

[1068] Marinatos, 1958, esp. 191.
[1069] Persson, 1931, 14.

associated with the palaces. The possession by priests and priestesses of land and their control of individuals subordinate to them, the so-called *i-je-re-u do-e-ro*, seems to suggest that the priesthood may have had a relatively high status. Nevertheless, priests may have also operated in communities independent of palatial control and of the official cult. Therefore, one on the objectives of this chapter is to examine this issue in more detail. In addition, this chapter will also look into subjects that are associated with the organisation of the priesthood, such as the connection of priests with sanctuaries and the possibility that priests had an economic role. It is hoped that this will decide whether Mycenaean priesthood was only confined to members of the elite, or comprised a profession with a certain independence from the palace. Finally, since some scholars have argued that specific ritual objects found in burials can designate the religious function of the deceased, a brief examination of the evidence will take place in an attempt to decide whether burials of priests can indeed be identified and what they can tell us about the status of the priesthood.

Priests and Priestesses as Land Holders

Priests and priestesses are recorded as landholders in documents dealing with land tenure (PY Ep/Eb, En/Eo[1070] and Ea series). Although these documents record amounts of grain, it is certain that this defined the size of cultivated land[1071], as was the case in Babylonia and Assyria[1072]. The exact way in which the system of land tenure functioned in Mycenaean Greece, or at least at Pylos, is

[1070] The extended Ep series consist of the smaller and earlier tablets of the Eb series. Similarly, the series En include the information presented in the Eo tablets, that is why they are treated as groups (Hooker, 1980, 226), although see Carpenter, 1984 for the opposite opinion. The Ea tablets consisted of simple recordings of plots of land owned by individuals, whereas the Ep/Eb and En/Eo of more complicated land ownership.
[1071] Deroy and Gérard, 1965, 12.
[1072] Clay, 1938, 22.

still obscure and many interpretations have been put forward[1073]. These were based on the examination of the E series from Pylos, the most extensive records so far dealing with land. The series consists of the description of land tenure in five regions, of which only the names of two survive, that of *pa-ki-ja-ne* (the En/Eo series, but probably also the Ep/Eb series) and that of *sa-ra-pe-da* (Er 312 and Er 880)[1074]. No exact equivalent to the PY E series has been found so far at any other site[1075]. However, since some of the terms used in land tenure tablets have been found in texts from Knossos and Tiryns[1076], it is possible that there were similar landholding institutions at these centres. Despite the difficulties in understanding the exact meaning of the land tenure terminology, some conclusions can be drawn concerning the involvement in it of the Mycenaean priesthood and/or of religious personnel in general.

Although opinions differ[1077], I accept the predominant interpretation that *ki-ti-me-na* refers to private land, since it was always leased from an individual and *ke-ke-me-na* to communal land[1078], over which the *da-mo* had some kind of control, since the land was leased from it[1079]. The terms have always been considered as opposites[1080], since they appear on separate sets of tablets and

[1073] L. R. Palmer (1963, 86-87), for example, paralleled the Mycenaean system of land tenure to that of Germanic and Hittite institutions, based on the common Indo-European background. For an excellent discussion of the subject and the different approaches see Palmer, 1998-99.
[1074] Ruipérez and Melena, 1996, 145.
[1075] R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 224.
[1076] KN Uf 981, 1020, 1031, L 5909, Uf 833, 983; TI Ef 3.
[1077] Duhoux (1976, esp. 21) and Dunkel (1981) supported the notion that *ke-ke-me-na* referred to fallow land and *ki-ti-me-na* to cultivated land, suggesting the practice of a crop rotation system (Carpenter, 1983, 87), though palaeobotanical evidence has rather shown that there was intensive agriculture (Deger-Jalkotzy, 1983, 103). Carpenter (1983, 85, 88) has suggested that *ki-ti-me-na* referred to better land, closest to the village, defined as "enclosed" and *ke-ke-me-na* to poorer or marginal land.
[1078] Bennett, 1956, 125, n. 16.
[1079] L. R. Palmer, 1954, 28; 1963, 186; Deroy and Gérard, 1965, 20; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 233; Hooker, 1980, 139. For the various interpretations of the two terms see Duhoux, 1976, 9-27.
[1080] Duhoux, 1976, 22; Dunkel, 1981, 18.

therefore must indicate contrasting situations[1081], even though etymologically they do not seem to be opposites[1082]. The term *ko-to-na* has been equated with κτοίνα, meaning a field or a plot of land[1083]. Both types of land are "leased", described by the term *o-na-to*[1084]. *O-na-to,* according to Ventris and Chadwick, may also mean a plot of land given to a person as a reward, for services rendered[1085]. Bennett's opinion, however, that *o-na-to* refers to land held by secondary subjects –the *o-na-te-re-* and *ko-to-na* to that held by primary subjects –the *ko-to-no-o-ko-* [1086] seems more likely, especially since the terms usually do not appear together.

It is probable that both the En/Eo and the Ep/Eb series refer to the area of *pa-ki-ja-ne*[1087]. The first Pylos set -as it is called- deals with the *ki-ti-me-na* land and consists of thirteen paragraphs[1088] that refer to fourteen *te-re-ta,* as stated in the introduction of the first document (En 609)[1089]. The set records the holdings of *te-re-ta* from which they allocate plots to various individuals[1090]. All records are presented in a standardised formula. Both the *te-re-ta* and the "tenants" mentioned in the tablets are referred to by their personal names. The latter include male and female "servants of the god", a *do-e-ra* of the priestess, the priest *we-te-re-u,* the priestess of *pa-ki-ja-ne* named *e-ri-ta* and three royal (*wa-*

[1081] Duhoux, 1976, 22; R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 229, 230.
[1082] R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 248.
[1083] L. R. Palmer, 1954, 25, 26; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 232; Chadwick, 1976, 111; Hooker, 1980, 138.
[1084] Ruipérez and Melena, 1996, 146.
[1085] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 235. The term probably derived from the verb ονίνημι, which means "to have profit" (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 235; Liddell and Scott, 1231), here presumably "to have the use" (Brown, 1956, 388).
[1086] Bennett, 1956, 118.
[1087] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 250.
[1088] These are included in tablets En 609, En 74, En 659 and En 467 with the equivalent Eo tablets (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 246-250).
[1089] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 241.
[1090] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 190; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 241-242; Hooker, 1980, 231; R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 249.

na-ka-te-ro) craftsmen: an *e-te-do-mo*, a fuller (*ka-na-pe-u*) and a potter (*ke-ra-me-u*).

In the *ke-ke-me-na* formula[1091] instead of records of private land of which plots are leased, the phrase *pa-ro da-mo* appears in the majority of the cases. In addition, the term *ko-to-no-o-ko* appears, which may indicate that the person referred to is a "plot owner"[1092], or as Bennett argued a primary holder of land[1093]. The *ko-to-no-o-ko* defines the names of the major holders of the *ke-ke-me-na* land, many of whom are identified as *te-re-ta* of the *ki-ti-me-na* land[1094]. The second Pylos set, therefore[1095], records individuals holding land that presumably belongs to the *da-mo*, whereas among them appear six of the *te-re-ta* of the *ki-ti-me-na* land[1096], suggesting that these probably owned both private and communal land. In this set the names mentioned are not defined by their "status", as in the *ki-ti-me-na* land. The third Pylos set[1097] lists individuals who seem to share a religious function[1098]. In this set are mentioned a priestess, a key-bearer and a *te-o-jo do-e-ra*, together with the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, a group of women possibly with religious connections. Finally, the fourth set[1099] records "leases" held mostly by "servants of the god".

The exact function of the *te-re-ta* is not clear and many interpretations have been put forward[1100]. The term has been interpreted as "men of the

[1091] Second, Third and Fourth Pylos Set.
[1092] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 250.
[1093] Bennett, 1956, 118.
[1094] R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 234.
[1095] Ep 301 and the equivalent Eb tablets (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 252).
[1096] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 250.
[1097] Ep 704 and the equivalent Eb tablets (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 256, 257).
[1098] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 252.
[1099] Ep 02, Ep 03, Ep 04 and Ep 705 (Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 258-264).
[1100] L. R. Palmer (1954, 39, 86, 190-192; 1963, 85) interpreted them as "barons" or "men of the (feudal) burden", suggesting that the word was a landholding term referring to those who held land in return for "feudal" service, Brown (1956, 395) as priests, Chadwick (1957, 127) as

τέλος[1101]", meaning duty, whereas Bennett has argued that one of their functions was connected to "tax" and "assessment"[1102]. In other words, the function of the *te-re-ta* was economic, even though their exact duties are unknown. It is possible that they were responsible for taxes and/or service obligations to the palace and that is why they were connected to the *ki-ti-me-na* land[1103]. Kazanskiene's opinion that the *te-re-ta* were an institutionalised group connected with *pa-ki-ja-ne*, whose duty was to guard religiously the country[1104] is not very likely since the religious function of the *te-re-ta* does not seem to be supported by other evidence[1105]. Therefore, it seems more likely that their function was economic, even though the land they held may have been the result of their position and/or of their services towards the palace, regardless of their function.

The Ea series also dealing with land tenure refer to a different group of personalities and to a different locality[1106]. They consist of simple records, listing individuals with the amount of land they possessed, but since the profession of these individuals does not always appear[1107], the series cannot contribute much to this discussion. Among the landholders, though, appears a priest called *sa-ke-re-u* (Ea 756.1[1108]), who is probably the same person mentioned in Ea 776, even though in this case his profession is not defined. This person is probably different from the *sa-ke-re-u* of the Ep tablets (Ep 613.7), defined as *i-je-ro-wo-ko*,

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"initiation priests", Guthrie (1959, 42) as barons who also had religious duties and Vermeule (1964, 297) as high rank officials with both religious and military functions.

[1101] From the verb τελέω (Kazanskiene, 1995, 604), meaning to complete, to fulfil something (Liddell and Scott, 1771).

[1102] Bennett, 1956, 120.

[1103] R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 243.

[1104] Kazanskiene, 1995, 605, 611.

[1105] Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 217.

[1106] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 218; Murray, 1979, 350.

[1107] Exceptions are two *ra-pte-re*, *ti-ri-da-ro* (Ea 28, 460, 754) and *e-ro(2)-qo* (Ea 29, 325, 813).

[1108] Though the spelling of the word is *i-je-re-wo*, rather than *i-je-re-u*.

suggested by the different profession and by the assumption that the Ea series deal with another district.

There is no equivalent at Knossos to the E series from Pylos, since the tablets with the wheat ideogram, also classified as E, do not share any similarities with the Pylos land tenure tablets and probably simply record actual consignments of grain from outlying villages, since the amounts listed are exceptionally large[1109]. However, the term *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* appears (KN E 846.1 and E 1569.2), which may refer to the temenos of *ra-wa-ke-ta*[1110]. A parallel to the Pylos land tenure tablets is provided by the Uf series from Knossos, where terms such as *ko-to-i-na, ke-ke-me-na* and *te-re-ta* indicate an association. The ideogram PA is used for the measurement of the land, which is a smaller unit than DA occurring at Pylos[1111]. Unfortunately, the evidence of land tenure from Knossos is fragmentary and therefore not much information can be extracted from the tablets, but the majority of the records probably involved the places *qa-ra* and *ti-ri-to*, which most likely were quite close to the centre, as *pa-ki-ja-ne* was to Pylos[1112].

The presence of priests both in the *ki-ti-me-na* and the *ke-ke-me-na* records, suggests that they could hold land both from that belonging to the palace and from that belonging to the *da-mo*. Killen has argued that all the areas recorded in the E series were close to the palace, which could imply that the latter had direct control over them[1113]. Consequently, the individuals who held land there may have done so by being in the service of the palace and the land could have been given as payment or as a privilege. It is perhaps not possible to

[1109] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 269.
[1110] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 270.
[1111] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 270.
[1112] Killen, 1985, 246.
[1113] Killen, 1985, 246.

distinguish which of the two was the case. The exceptional character of some of the landholders, either members of the priesthood or royal workers[1114], would be in accordance with that. Indeed, Deger-Jalkotzy has identified Mycenaean landholding as a "feudal" system, where the ruler would distribute land in return of services[1115], supporting the notion that this could have been their payment. The priests and the religious personnel holding land at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, then, would have done so by being in the service of the palace, since *pa-ki-ja-ne* was the cult centre of Pylos. Indeed, the priestess *e-ri-ta* was certainly performing her religious duties at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, as indicated by the fact that she is specifically identified as the priestess of this specific cult place (Ep 704.3,.5/ Eb 339.A). Similarly, the priest *we-te-re-u*, who was also a landholder at *pa-ki-ja-ne* and is associated with *e-ri-ta* in PY Ed 317, may have performed his priestly functions there[1116].

Similarly, the *wa-na-ka-te-ro* workers were at the service of the king performing specific functions for him[1117]. In the case of *pe-ki-ta* the fuller and *pi-ri-ta-wo-no* the potter, it has been argued that they supplied garments and vessels to the king, to use or distribute on ceremonial occasions[1118]. Thus, it can be argued that most of the people registered to hold land at *pa-ki-ja-ne* were of a high status, either religious or in relation to the king, or even both.

According to Finley, the fact that in the Mycenaean transactions of land there is no indication of rent in money or kind together with the fact that offices are mentioned, suggests that land was held with an office, status or occupation and that obligations to and from the centre were calculated and met by

[1114] Killen, 1985, 246.
[1115] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1983, 104; Gregersen, 1997a; Palmer, 1998-1999, 244.
[1116] Murray, 1979, 348.
[1117] De Fidio, 1992, 177; Palaima, 1997, 412; Shelmerdine, 1999, 23.
[1118] Shelmerdine, 1999, 23.

allocations of lands and products, either agricultural, industrial or intellectual[1119]. In other words, people who held land or worked on the land had the obligation to render either appropriate services or allocations of products[1120]. The tablets reflect a stratified Mycenaean society where each stratum was connected in the texts either with a function –religious or economic- or with a holding of land, or both[1121]. The purpose for drawing up the E series was to provide a basis for some exaction of tribute or other obligation. However, since no record of the assessment or collection of an impost on this land has been preserved, it is possible that the land of the En/Eo, Ep/Eb and Ea tablets was not subject to tribute[1122]. This would support the notion that the land was held in return for service, rather than in return of taxes.

The possibility that land was given in return for services may also be suggested by the fact that some holders of *ka-ma* were obliged to perform certain actions, although these obligations were not only limited to individuals holding a *ka-ma* but also to some holding *ke-ke-me-na* (Eb 338/Ep 704.7-8). The term *ka-ma* has been interpreted as ἀγρός, meaning field[1123] and *ka-ma-e-u* as the person who held a *ka-ma*[1124]. Furumark has suggested that the people who held *ka-ma* were craftsmen who performed services in compensation for the land they held[1125]. Among the individuals holding a *ka-ma* however, were a *ra-pte* (Ea 28) and an *a-si-to-po-qo* (Eb 177), but also a *te-o-jo do-e-ro* (Eb 156) and *sa-ke-re-u* the *i-je-ro-wo-ko* (Ep 613.7), which suggests the interpretation is not totally

[1119] Finley, 1981a, 210.
[1120] Finley, 1981a, 210.
[1121] Finley, 1981a, 206.
[1122] Foster, 1981, 81.
[1123] L. R. Palmer, 1954, 46; Brown, 1956, 390.
[1124] Brown, 1956, 390.
[1125] Furumark, 1953, 103-120; Brown, 1956, 392.

correct and that the group of *ka-ma-e-u* was probably heterogenous[1126]. The term, then, may have been referring to a different type of holding that demanded certain obligations[1127] whose accomplishment was the concern of the palace[1128].

However, there is a religious aspect to the problem that cannot be ignored. Most of the individuals holding land in the En/Eo and Ep/Eb series have religious associations, the priests and the *te-o-jo do-e-ro-i* for obvious reasons and the *wa-na-ka-te-ro* for their association with the wanax[1129]. The matter becomes more complicated because we do not know the exact status of the *te-o-jo do-e-ro-i*. Their presence, however, at *pa-ki-ja-ne* in such a large number may further support the religious status of the landholders of the area, since no *te-o-jo do-e-ro/ra* appear in the Ea series[1130]. However, a religious function cannot be attributed to all land holders of *pa-ki-ja-ne* and it seems more probable that land was given to people associated in general with the palace, in the sense that they performed services both religious and secular for the palace and/or specifically for the king. Indeed, the landholding situation at *pa-ki-ja-ne* may have been so complex due to its proximity to the palace[1131].

Some questions arise concerning the land tenure of priests. Firstly, the land priests possessed was not confined to the *ki-ti-me-na* land. The Third Pylos set mentions the priestess of *pa-ki-ja-ne e-ri-ta* as having *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* from the *da-mo* (Ep 704.3) in addition to the *ki-ti-me-na* of *a-ma-ru-ta* (Eo 224.8). Similarly, the priest *we-te-re-u* held land from the *ke-ke-me-na* (Ep 539.13). If priests held land from the *ki-ti-me-na* of the palace because they

[1126] Brown, 1956, 392.
[1127] Lejeune, 1975, 65.
[1128] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 261.
[1129] Shelmerdine (1999, 23), however, does not necessarily associate this with the religious status of the wanax.
[1130] Murray, 1979, 367.
[1131] R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 249.

performed duties for it, their holdings from the *ke-ke-me-na* land should indicate that they performed duties for the *da-mo* as well. If, however, the *ke-ke-me-na* tablets also referred to the area of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, the land holdings of priests could be understood as a form of payment from the palace, some of which was from the land belonging to the palace and some from the land of the *da-mo*, perhaps as an obligation of the latter towards the palace.

The fact that land was recorded and that lists of landowners were drawn up and kept in the palace archives, suggests that ultimately the palace had control over the land. This is further suggested by the proximity of *pa-ki-ja-ne* to the centre and the presence of the *wa-na-ka-te-ro* personnel among the landholders[1132]. The E series were not part of a cadastral survey made by the palace in order to avoid any dispute over land ownership, since there is no precise information about the location of the land recorded[1133]. Nevertheless, the fact that the palace made these records suggests that it had some practical interest on them[1134]. Therefore, this could mean that the land belonged to the palace and that the palace distributed it to specific people, who therefore owed their duties and services directly to the wanax[1135].

This does not mean that the role of the *da-mo* should be underestimated. Some parts of the *ke-ke-me-na* were available for distribution by the *da-mo*[1136]. The texts suggest that the *da-mo* was, according to Lejeune, "une entité administrative locale á vocation agricole"[1137]. The *da-mo* had the right to possess land, from which it could allocate plots to individuals probably in return for local

[1132] Killen, 1985, 245.
[1133] Killen, 1985, 244.
[1134] Killen, 1985, 244.
[1135] Murray, 1979, 393.
[1136] R. Palmer, 1998-1999, 243.
[1137] Lejeune, 1965, 6.

dues and services, suggested by the frequent references to holders of communal land, who have to perform some function (*wo-zo-e*) and in some cases they do not[1138]. An example of this is *ka-pa-ti-ja* the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* mentioned in Ep 704.7/Eb 338. The *da-mo* probably could also hold plots of land presumably for communal exploitation[1139]. In this way the *da-mo* was able to sustain itself, by collecting some kind of taxes in the form of produce both from the rented and the communal land[1140]. Further, the fact that the *da-mo* may not have been so subordinate as is usually thought[1141], is also suggested by the dispute with the priestess *e-ri-ta* over some land she held from the community. However, the land that the priesthood held from the *da-mo* could have been a form of obligation from the part of the community towards the priests. This could have either been an obligation towards the palace and therefore towards the priests as religious personnel dependent of the palace, or an obligation towards cult. That the *da-mo* had at least some obligation to contribute with commodities for religious ceremonies is clearly stated in PY Un 718.7, where it offers barley and wine to Poseidon of *sa-ra-pe-da*[1142]. The case of *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* is more complicated, since she seems to have held land only from the *da-mo* and that she was under the control of the community for which she had to perform some duties and she did not (Eb 338). However, her association with the priestess of *pa-ki-ja-ne* in tablet Un 6v. and in general with the religious personnel of *pa-ki-ja-ne* in Ed 317 suggests that she was closely connected to them and also that she may have had some duties to perform to the sanctuary at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. It is possible that the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* had obligations both to the palace and to the *da-mo*. Her special

[1138] Chadwick, 1976, 113; Murray, 1979, 393.
[1139] Lejeune, 1965, 7.
[1140] Lejeune, 1965, 7.
[1141] L. R. Palmer, 1984, 155; Shelmerdine, 1999, 24.
[1142] For a discussion of this specific topic see Palaima, 2004, 110-111.

function can also be supported by her presence in PY Jn 829, associated with the contribution of bronze.

The fact that the priesthood held a lot of land and at the district of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, suggests that it had an elevated status. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the largest land plots at *pa-ki-ja-ne* were held by the priestess *e-ri-ta* (about 474l.) and the priest *we-te-re-u* (72l.)[1143], as well as *ka-pa-ti-ja* the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*. It is possible that the status of these people was reflected on the size of their plots and by the type of tenure under which they held them[1144]. The amount of land the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* held is not preserved, but Lejeune has estimated based on the entry in tablet Eb 317 that she held an equivalent of 1248l. of land (Wheat 10 T 4)[1145], which is indeed very much for her status. Tablet Ed 317 lists the land held by the so-called "Quatre Grands" and is probably a summary of the land holdings recorded in other tablets[1146] apparently at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. This is suggested by the reference of a priestess, the key-bearer, *we-te-re-u*, who is probably the same priest recorded in En 74 and En 659[1147] and an *e-qe-ta*, probably *a-pi-me-de*[1148]. Due to the association of priestess *e-ri-ta* with the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* on other tablets (Ep 704), it has been argued that the priestess mentioned in Ed 317 was also *e-ri-ta*[1149]. If that was the case, then, both the presence of *e-ri-ta* and *we-te-re-u* may suggest that the tablet was referring to *pa-ki-ja-ne*[1150].

The case of *e-ri-ta* demonstrates the complexity of the Mycenaean land tenure system and also that the terms under which land was held probably

[1143] Deroy and Gérard, 1965, 90.
[1144] Hooker, 1987, 314.
[1145] Lejeune, 1966, 261.
[1146] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 257.
[1147] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 258.
[1148] Lejeune, 1966, 260; Lindgren, 1973II, 47.
[1149] Murray, 1979, 356.
[1150] Murray, 1979, 357.

reflected the status of the holder. In addition to the land *e-ri-ta* held, she had a dispute with the *da-mo* over a plot she characterised as *te-o e-to-ni-jo*[1151]. The term *e-to-ni-jo* could have defined a special type of land holding[1152], although it is not certain whether it carried specific privileges[1153] or exemptions from tax[1154], or that it belonged to the divinity[1155]. Since there is no evidence to show that priests were obliged to pay taxes, the land probably did not carry exceptions from tax. Therefore, it probably had some special status. The special status of the *e-to-ni-jo* could be suggested by the fact that it does not appear frequently in the tablets and when it does it is associated with a priestess (Ep 704.5), as well as on the fact that there is some dispute about it. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that it is the "higher species of holding"[1156]. The possibility, however, that it was a privilege given only to religious functionaries suggested by Bennett[1157] could also be supported by the presence of the term in PY An 724.12 in relation to an *e-qe-ta*[1158], a position perhaps charged with religious duties[1159]. *E-ri-ta* also seems to have some interest in another plot which *u-wa-mi-ja*, a *te-o-jo do-e-ra* holds as an *i-je-re-ja ke-ra*. The meaning of *ke-ra* is not certain, but it is clear it was special in some way otherwise the scribe would not have made a note of it. It might have been something like a "beneficial pension" or a "gift of

[1151] Murray, 1979, 356.
[1152] Bennett (1956, 128-129) based on Ep 704.5 has argued that *o-na-to* and *e-to-ni-jo* were opposites, that an *e-to-ni-jo* could not have been an *o-na-to*.
[1153] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 253; Murray, 1979, 356.
[1154] Vermeule, 1964, 296; Chadwick, 1976, 114-115.
[1155] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 421; Shelmerdine, 1998a, 93; Contra Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 106.
[1156] L. R. Palmer, 1954, 46.
[1157] Bennett, 1956, 131.
[1158] Murray, 1979, 377.
[1159] L. R. Palmer, 1977; Deger-Jalkotzy (1978, 200) clearly supports the notion that they also had priestly functions.

honour"[1160]. Murray is of the opinion that the plot may have been a gift to the priestess and that she then had leased it to the *te-o-jo do-e-ra*[1161].

To conclude, it seems that land was connected to profession and status. Since *pa-ki-ja-ne* was probably situated close to the palace or at least it was under the control of the palace as its primary religious centre, the land was given to individuals in the service of the palace, whether they had religious functions or not. The *wa-na-ka-te-ro* craftsmen, specifically, could also have had a religious status due to their association with the wanax and his religious role. The presence of a *mi-ka-ta* (Eb 839) and an *a-si-to-po-qo* (Ep 613.6) could similarly be explained as being in the service of the palace, suggested by the fact they are both *ka-ma-e-u* and not necessarily as having a religious status. The land given to the priesthood by the palace suggests that they were under its control, or in its service and for that reason land was given to them as a privilege or a sort of payment. Further, the land given by the *da-mo* and received by the priests may have been an obligation towards the palace and/or towards cult. The status of the priests might have enabled them to hold land that was not under the control of the palace. The fact that *e-ri-ta* had some dispute with the *da-mo* may suggest that she tried to use her status as a priestess and her association with the palace to acquire more land, but it also means that she had access to land belonging to the *da-mo*.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that the texts only record specific priests holding land. Although, this may have been the result of chances of preservation it is similarly possible that it was deliberate. It is not possible to argue that throughout the kingdom of Pylos the only priests and priestesses were

[1160] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 253, 256, 553.
[1161] Murray, 1979, 356.

those mentioned in the E series. This is further suggested by the existence of the priests *ri-so-wa* and *ne-wo-ki-to* (PY An 218), who are not recorded as holding any land. Although the evidence is quite limited I would argue that a hierarchy existed in the priesthood and that only the priests and priestesses who were closely associated with the palace had the privilege of holding land. These were specifically *we-te-re-u*, *e-ri-ta* and *sa-ke-re-u*, though it should be noted that the latter is only mentioned in the Ea series, holding land from that of *ra-wa-ke-ta*[1162], which may suggest that he did not have the same status as the priests of *pa-ki-ja-ne*.

The "slaves" of the priesthood

The Mycenaean terms *do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra*[1163] found in the Linear B tablets have generally been equated with the classical δούλος and δούλη[1164]. There are two main interpretations of the meaning of these designations: one that emphasises the unfree status of the *do-e-ro/ra*, equating it with that of a slave and another simply pointing out the general subordinate status of these individuals in relation to another person, suggesting more a position of a servant[1165]. In the texts *do-e-ro-i* are recorded either without or with their personal names. In the first case they can be recorded in groups or individually, preceded by a personal name in genitive[1166] as the only specification, presumably indicating their owner. In the second case they are recorded by their personal names and defined as *do-e-*

[1162] Hiller, 1988, 57.
[1163] Associated with priestesses: PY Ae 303, Eb 1176.A, En 609.16, Eo 224.6, Ep 539.7, .8, Fn 50.12, .13, Fn 867.4. Associated with priests: KN Ak 824, Ak (2) 7024.3, Ap 628+5935.1, .2, .3, B 822.1b, B (1) 5984.b, C 911.4, .5, .6, .9, .11, .12, .13, C 912.5, v.1, C 915.B. Lejeune (1959, 129) also mentions X 1036, X 1037, X 5877.1, .2 and X 7856. The *ka-ra-wi-po-ro do-e-ro/ra*: PY Ae 110, Ep 539.9.
[1164] General studies concerning slaves in the Mycenaean period are Lejeune, 1959 and Olivier, 1964 and 1987 and Garlan, 1988, 24-29.
[1165] Lindgren, 1973II, 36.
[1166] Lindgren, 1973II, 36.

ro or *do-e-ra* and can be connected with a person identified by his/her personal name, a title or a name of a divinity, all in the genitive case[1167].

Do-e-ro-i, whether belonging to priests or to individuals appear in documents dealing with livestock (KN C and PY Cn series), rations (PY Fn series) and land tenure (PY E series)[1168]. Eighteen "slaves" also appear as subordinate to some of the smiths recorded in the Jn series dealing with bronze allotments (e.g. Jn 706 v.1 and Jn 750.13.)[1169]. Since very few of the smiths were recorded with a *do-e-ro*, Lindgren has suggested that this association was probably a "status symbol" for the smiths[1170].

Female "slaves" (*do-e-ra*) also appear in tablets dealing with personnel, such as the KN Ak series, listing women with their children. In this specific series the term *do-e-ra* appears only once, though, on Ak (2) 7024.3. Ventris and Chadwick believed that the women recorded in the PY Aa, Ab and Ad series were also slaves, due to the menial tasks they performed[1171], but the actual term *do-e-ra* does not appear at all in these tablets. It is rather the fact that the women recorded often form ethnic groups[1172] that led Ventris and Chadwick to this conclusion. Such groups have been considered to indicate slaves[1173], who could have been war captives[1174]. The absence of the term *do-e-ra* may not have been important, since to record a status that was self-evident would not have been necessary[1175]. Killen, however, has argued that the absence of the term suggests that only some of the women recorded in the KN Ak series were *do-e-ra*, those

[1167] Lindgren, 1973II, 37.
[1168] Es 644, 650, 703; Ep 539; Eb 847.
[1169] Lejeune, 1959, 134; Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 353.
[1170] Lindgren, 1973II, 37.
[1171] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 156.
[1172] For example, *ki-ni-di-ja* in PY Aa 792, Ab 189 and Ad 683, interpreted as "the women of Knidos".
[1173] Uchitel, 1984, 260.
[1174] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 156, 162; Billigmeier and Turner, 1981, 4.
[1175] Lindgren, 1973II, 39. Chadwick (1988, 90) is also of the same opinion.

defined as such, but in this case the term defined a sub-group of workers[1176]. The series PY Aa and Ab and KN Ak, then, most likely recorded wholly dependent workers, maintained by the palace on a full-time basis[1177].

This suggests that the term *do-e-ro/ra* was not attributed to chattel slaves and that it indicated more a position of dependency with regard to another person, rather than a state of servitude[1178]. This position of dependency is also suggested by the presence in the tablets of persons called by an adjectival derivation of their master's title, e.g. *wa-na-ka-te-ro*[1179]. Further, it seems that *do-e-ro-i* depended indirectly on the palace, in the sense that they belonged to an individual, who himself depended on the palace[1180]. *Do-e-ro-i* could belong both to the service of high functionaries and to corporations[1181]. Among the superiors of "slaves" are recorded religious functionaries, such as priestesses and *e-qe-ta*. It should be noted that *ka-pa-ti-ja* the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* also had "slaves"[1182].

The presence of *do-e-ro-i* in documents recording land tenure (PY E series), the offering of livestock for banquets (PY Cn and KN C series) and handouts given probably in festivals (PY Fn series), clearly suggests that these had a special social position. Hiller has argued that the subsistence of the *do-e-ro-i* was arranged either by receiving food rations or by holding small pieces of land[1183], but this may not be the case, since the Fn tablets did not record rations, but handouts. The contribution of animals by the *do-e-ro* of *a-pi-qo-ta* in KN C (2) 915.B and by the *do-e-ro* of *ke-re-ta-o* in PY Cn 1287.7 suggests that these

[1176] Killen, 1979, 133; Chadwick, 1988, 90.
[1177] Killen, 1979, 133.
[1178] Aura Jorro, 1993I, 186; Bendall, 2004, 108.
[1179] Hiller, 1988, 55.
[1180] Hiller, 1988, 53.
[1181] Hiller, 1988, 53.
[1182] Ep 539.9 and perhaps also Ae 110, if we accept that *ka-pa-ti-ja* is the key-bearer at Pylos, who probably was.
[1183] Hiller, 1988, 54.

"slaves" were individuals of some status[1184]. The importance of state banquets as arenas for displaying social status has been emphasised by Bendall[1185]. Therefore, the significance of the contribution of these "slaves" is quite clear. Further, the *do-e-ro* of *we-da-ne-u*[1186], mentioned in PY Es 650.6 and 644.6 -the latter a second version of the former[1187]- and in 703.1, contributes wheat to Poseidon as an offering for the month *ki-ri-ti-jo-jo*. This further indicates the elevated position of individuals in general defined as *do-e-ro/ra*[1188].

In terms of the *do-e-ro/ra* of priests and priestesses, which is our main concern, their presence in land tenure texts suggests a relatively high status, although not necessarily the highest[1189]. Their possession of land in the area of *pa-ki-ja-ne* may have been due to the fact that their owners held land in the same area and not because they had a religious function. Nevertheless, the presence of "slaves" of two priestesses in Fn 50 may indicate that the *do-e-ro-i* were also involved in religious performance[1190] as were their "owners", suggesting that their function in general was associated with that of their "owners". In addition, the elevated status of the *do-e-ro-i* of priests is suggested by the fact that they were mentioned by name in the Linear B tablets[1191]. An ambiguous reference found in PY Ae 303 may further support the cult function that *do-e-ro-i* could have had. The tablet records a group of fourteen "slaves" of the priestess,

[1184] Bendall, 2004, 108.
[1185] Bendall, 2004.
[1186] *We-da-ne-u* is often mentioned in the Es series, but there is nothing to suggest he was a priest of Poseidon or indeed any priest as Palmer (1977, 35, 52) has suggested.
[1187] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 276.
[1188] It should be noted though that both Lejeune (1959, 130) and Olivier (1987) have argued based on written evidence that "slaves" were sold and bought.
[1189] Bendall, 2004, 208.
[1190] Olivier (1964, 6, n. 10) is also in favour of a cult function as opposed to a secular one.
[1191] The names of the *do-e-ro-i* of *mi-jo-qa* and *a-pi-e-ra* may be mentioned by name in PY An 1281.7, .8, .11, .13 (Hiller, 1988, 54).

evidently in charge of an amount of sacred gold[1192], even though the exact meaning of the tablet remains dubious.

If the "slaves" of the priests were involved in cult, their involvement may have been different from that of the *te-o-jo do-e-ro*, especially if the latter were individuals dedicated to the deity. In the latter case, what their actual duties were and what the difference between them, the so-called cult assistants and the *te-o-jo do-e-ro* was are open questions. The *te-o-jo do-e-ro* were probably individuals dedicated to the service of the god and hence the actual cult assistants, in the sense that they could have been more closely and directly associated with regular cult practices. Whatever their role, they were clearly linked to the deities. The "slaves" of the priests could also have been associated with the social position of the priests rather than their cult role, though the presence of *do-e-ro-i* in Fn 50 may rather suggest the latter. It is worth noting that no *do-e-ro* of the priest/priestess makes a contribution to banquets, nor for that matter does any priest.

What can the *do-e-ro-i* of priests suggest about the status of priests themselves? Although there was probably a distinction between the *do-e-ro-i* referred to anonymously as groups and those mentioned by their personal names[1193], in general *do-e-ro-i* were probably individuals with a relatively high standing. It is possible then that the "possession" of a *do-e-ro* was an indication of elevated status. The status of the "slaves" then could have reflected the status of their "owners", but could also attribute to his/her owner a high status.

[1192] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 127.
[1193] Garlan, 1988, 29.

Burials of Priests

The purpose of this brief examination of burials is to decide whether burials of religious specialists can be identified on the basis of grave offerings or the treatment of the deceased and if so, what conclusions can be drawn from the burial context concerning the social status of priests. The study of mortuary practices has been considered to provide insight in several aspects of a given society such as social organisation and status. Complexity in mortuary evidence was considered to reflect and equal social complexity[1194], whereas differentiation in mortuary practices could be attributed to the varying status of individuals[1195]. Consequently, the analysis of mortuary remains would indicate degrees of ranking in a given society and the relative wealth and status of men and women as well as their role when alive[1196]. The social position of the deceased would be expressed in various ways of which the most obvious would concern the expenditure on the tomb, the handling of the body and the quantity and quality of the offerings. Indeed, the choice of the objects placed in the tomb could be determined by the desire to equip the deceased for the afterlife, but could also be determined by the desire to mark that person's deeds or character[1197], as well as his/her various social identities and roles when alive[1198].

In terms of the Mycenaean period, the difficulty in studying the burial evidence rests on the fact that the association -and the conclusions drawn from it- between a burial and its offerings can only be valid in a context where the former is clear and deliberate[1199]. The character of Mycenaean burial practices, however,

[1194] Binford, 1971 in: Barrett, 1988, 30.
[1195] Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 6.
[1196] Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 121.
[1197] Parker Pearson, 1999, 7.
[1198] Parker Pearson, 1982, 99; Barrett, 1988, 30; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 122.
[1199] Laffineur, 1992, 105.

makes this association difficult. Since the majority of Mycenaean tombs were used for collective burials at different periods, the association of individual burials with their grave goods is not always possible, whereas the sweeping away of earlier interments and later disturbances, further obscure the association. It is necessary, therefore, to treat the evidence with caution, although this does not mean that the burials cannot provide information about the status and the profession of the deceased.

By LH IIIB Mycenaean society had reached a complexity, which had resulted in social inequality reflected in various aspects of social life. This complexity stimulated the development of a variety of offices, professions and occupations, which might have been differentiated in burial[1200]. References in the Linear B tablets clearly show the existence of a number of professions such as potters, fullers, smiths and others. The complexity of the Mycenaean society is further reflected in the burial evidence, mostly in the elaboration of tombs, the ritual and their offerings, whereas it has been considered possible that the burials of various professionals such as craftsmen, fishers and priests could be recognised depending on the character of the offerings found accompanying them[1201].

The notion that burials of priests could be recognised by the presence of specialised grave offerings was first put forward by Blegen[1202]. These particular objects have been interpreted as specialised on the basis of their association with the performance of ritual and consisted of perforated vessels and tables of offerings.

[1200] Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 111.
[1201] Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 111.
[1202] Blegen, 1937, 206-215.

In Tomb XLIV at Prosymna Blegen identified two burials as belonging to priests[1203]. The earlier occupant of the tomb (LH I) was accompanied by a set of objects of ritual character, namely a table of offerings, a cup, a conical rhyton and three jugs -one decorated with double axes- pierced at the bottom[1204]. The specialised character of the vessels made Blegen reject his original interpretation that they constituted the equipment used in the worship of the dead in favour of the priestly function of the interment[1205]. Moreover, the association of a later burial (LH III) of the same tomb with a large gold signet ring –a token of priestly office, according to Blegen-, found beneath the bones of the left forearm and a triple kernos, a vessel of ritual character[1206], has led him to suggest that the two burials indicated succession in priesthood within the same family[1207], since chamber tombs most probably functioned as family vaults.

Similarly, Immerwahr, following Blegen's interpretation, identified the objects found in Tomb XXVI at the Athenian Agora as the paraphernalia of a priest[1208]. These consisted of a pierced hydria of LH IIIA2-B date and a vessel of pomegranate shape, probably of ritual function[1209]. Upon the same line of argumentation, Koehl has proposed that rhyta and libation vessels "may be documented to have formed part of the ritual equipment of priests from at least as early as LMI/LH IIA, based on iconographic and contextual analyses of habitations and graves" and that this association continued into LM/LH IIIB[1210].

[1203] Blegen, 1937, 206.
[1204] Blegen, 1937, 211, 213.
[1205] Blegen, 1937, 213-214.
[1206] Blegen, 1937, 209, 214.
[1207] Blegen, 1937, 214.
[1208] Immerwahr, 1971, 228.
[1209] Immerwahr, 1971, 229.
[1210] Koehl, 1996, 403.

Although rhyta and offering tables formed part of the cult equipment of priests as suggested for example by the seal from Naxos, when found in a burial context they do not necessary imply the religious role of the deceased. Such vessels could have been used for ritual practices in funerary rites and/or in the cult of the dead and left in the tomb as offerings. Indeed, pierced vessels could have replaced rhyta for the performance of libations in the course of funerary rites[1211].

Offering tables on the other hand could have been used in connection with libation vessels, whether a rhyton or any other pouring vessel, as a receptacle of the liquid[1212]. Therefore, the presence of offering tables in tombs could similarly suggest their use in the ritual performed for the deceased rather than taken as an indication of his/her religious status. It is worth noting that offering tables have also been found unaccompanied by pierced vessels and in tombs that have not been associated by the excavators with priests, e.g. the small clay tripod table of offerings in Tomb 46 of Mycenae and the miniature painted table of offerings from Tomb XXXV at Deiras[1213]. Offering tables could have also been used separately from pouring vessels to hold offerings, such as wheat, barley, flour, fruits and so on[1214] or for the burning of offerings and such must have been their use when found on their own in tombs.

One way of identifying priests in the burial context is perhaps by understanding the main characteristic of priests. Priests are essentially intermediaries between the people and the divine. This gives them knowledge and authority over religious matters and constitutes them as individuals who have

[1211] Koehl, 1981, 186. For the performance of libations and animal sacrifice as part of funerary rites suffice it to remind the scenes on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus.
[1212] Hägg, 1990a, 183.
[1213] Xenaki-Sakellariou, 1985, 119; Deshayes, 1966, 108, 163.
[1214] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa, 1982, 32.

a special relation with the divine. This special relation might have been reflected in the rituals performed.

According to this notion, two burials with unusual ritual both found on Crete may have been associated with individuals of a religious status. Tholos Tomb A at Archanes featured an inner chamber to the left of the entrance to the tholos, which accommodated a single burial (LM IIIA) placed in a larnax[1215]. The skeleton of a horse cut into pieces was found inside the tholos to the right of the entrance leading to the chamber[1216], whereas the skull of a bull was built into the blocking wall of the same entrance[1217] (**fig. 63**). The burial was lavishly furnished with gold jewellery, faience, steatite and rock crystal beads, clay and bronze vessels, a bronze mirror with an ivory handle and five gold signet rings uncovered inside the larnax[1218]. One of the rings depicted a cult scene (HM 989), whereas the rest were decorated with religious symbols, including the figure-of-eight shield[1219]. The elaborate ritual, which certainly had a symbolic meaning, and the rich furnishings of the tomb have been interpreted by the excavator as corresponding to a person with a high status and particularly with religious responsibilities, a Queen or a Princess-Priestess[1220].

The LH III burial in Tomb 15 at Mochlos has also been attributed to a highly ranked individual with ritual function due to the presence of ritually "killed" pottery. The burial was placed in a larnax furnished with a great number of objects, including a krater and a jug, cups and bronze blades and has been

[1215] Sakellarakis, 1967, 278.
[1216] Sakellarakis, 1967, 278.
[1217] Sakellarakis, 1968, 239.
[1218] Sakellarakis, 1967, 279-281.
[1219] Sakellarakis, 1968, 239.
[1220] Sakellarakis, 1968, 239, 245-246.

identified as belonging to an adult male[1221]. Two objects were ritually "killed": a conical rhyton and a jug. The rhyton was placed inside a sheath, after its funnel was deliberately and carefully broken and discarded. The jug's handle and spout were also broken and discarded. The parts of the objects that were missing were not found in the tomb, which means that they were broken and discarded before their deposition[1222]. Two more rhyta were found in the tomb turned upside down, probably parts of a funerary ceremony[1223].

According to the excavator, the deliberate breaking of the objects rendered them the same status with their owner and designated that they no longer had any function for the living[1224]. The ritualistic use of both objects, the one for pouring a libation, the other for filling the libation vase indicate, according to the excavator, that the deceased held an important ritual status within the community[1225] and that these objects served as his cult equipment. The excavator identified the deceased with a *te-re-ta*, also mentioned in the Linear B tablets[1226], who had a high rank in the provinces and a ritual function[1227]. Although Soles is convinced that the burial was that of an individual charged with religious duties[1228], this is not so straightforward, since the mere presence of cult equipment cannot provide conclusive proof of the religious status of the deceased, as has already been argued. Similarly, the deliberately broken vessels (ritual violence) may have been part of the typical funerary rites performed for

[1221] Soles, 1999, 789.
[1222] Soles, 1999, 789.
[1223] Soles, 1999, 790.
[1224] Åström, 1987, 216; Soles, 1999, 789.
[1225] Soles, 1999, 790.
[1226] Soles, 1999, 790.
[1227] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 120-121, 408.
[1228] That he was specifically a telestas is probably a speculation, whereas the religious function of the *te-re-ta* is not incontestable.

the dead as indicated by the presence of broken kylikes in the stomion and/or the dromoi of some chamber tombs.

Although the beliefs behind funerary rites would have been common for every individual, though with regional variation[1229], the way they were performed may have varied according to the status of the deceased. Not all priests would have been buried in such elaborate tombs and with such elaborate ritual as the one in the Archanes tholos, for example. Is it possible then that specific objects connected not only with his/her office but also with his/her status could designate the religious status of the deceased?

Tomb 26 at Megalo Kastelli at Thebes has produced a bronze sceptre[1230], probably the symbol of an office[1231] and an indication of the owner's high prestige, but whether the staff defined a religious or a political office is not clear. Most probably it could have defined both offices, although on the fresco of Room 31 at the Cult Centre at Mycenae one of the two female figures –probably a priestess- is holding a staff, clearly associating the object with cult. The presence of hammer axes in tombs could also indicate the religious profession of the deceased as has been suggested for cases in Minoan Crete[1232], supported also by depictions of figures holding such specimens identified as religious personnel[1233]. Nevertheless, both such depictions and actual specimens have been found only on Crete or on imported Minoan examples (CMS I, 226 and I, 225 from the Vapheio tomb)[1234]. The presence of a mace-head in Room 31 of the

[1229] Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 70. For regional variation in burials in LH IIIA-IIIB see Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 61-88.
[1230] Keramopoullos, 1917, 197.
[1231] Tsountas and Manatt, 1897, 167-169; Dickinson, 1977, 84, 121, n. 16.
[1232] Zeimbekis, 1990, 9.
[1233] Manti-Platonos, 1981, 81, n. 3, 82.
[1234] An out of context specimen was found at Nauplia (Manti-Platonos, 1981, 78).

Cult Centre at Mycenae[1235] supports the theory that such objects were used in cult, but until a specimen is found in a burial context there can be no association between priest and object, as in Minoan Crete.

It is worth mentioning an unusual tomb uncovered during the construction of the site museum at Mycenae, which although it consisted of a large number of double axes, an object that could associate the burial with that of a priest, the burial was, rather, identified with that of a craftsman. The grave was found on the north slope beyond the perimeter fence below the Lion Gate and held the inhumation of a single male accompanied by twenty bronze double axes, placed in rows one on top of the other[1236]. The double axes were placed with their sockets looking up, indicating that they were probably put in the tomb with their handles vertical, whereas close to the right hand of the dead was an unusual bronze tool[1237]. On top of the grave a bronze cauldron was placed upside down, probably a tomb marker. Near the tomb a bothros contained several clay vessels[1238]. Due to the absence of pottery, the tomb cannot be securely dated, but a *terminus post quem* of LH IIIB2 has been suggested on the basis of the bronze objects[1239]. The tomb is indeed exceptional and the offerings and the ritual associated with it could suggest the burial of a religious official. However, the excavator has identified the burial with that of a bronzesmith and interpreted the double axes and the two cauldrons found in and on the top of the burial as objects produced by him[1240]. The bronze tool found close to the hand of the dead could not be identified, but was certainly not used in ritual as a hammer axe, since its

[1235] Taylour, 1970, 275.
[1236] Onasoglou, 1995, 27-28.
[1237] Onasoglou, 1995, 28.
[1238] *Ergon* 1985, 116.
[1239] Onasoglou, 1995, 29.
[1240] Onasoglou, 1995, 47.

cutting-edge was very sharp[1241]. In addition, it should be noted that although the double axe has a religious association, examples from sanctuaries on the mainland have been found only at Apollo Maleatas and the specimens found there were votives or display items rather than items for actual use[1242]. On the contrary, the examples from the tomb appear to have been more of practical use; on what and for what purpose, however, is not certain.

Another example of a possible burial of a priestess based on the grave goods uncovered, namely two ivory pyxides, is Tomb I in the Athenian Agora, the so-called *Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides*. The tomb is exceptional in its architectural form and the quality of the offerings[1243]. No skeleton was discovered, but it seems more likely that this was removed sometime in the Mycenaean period, rather than the tomb being a cenotaph[1244]. The tomb contained a single female burial, judging from the nature of the finds[1245]. The wealth of the tomb is suggested by the quality of the finds, which included ornaments of thin gold sheet and a number of clay vessels such as three-handled jars, some of which were uncovered on a bench at the east side of the tomb[1246]. The association of this burial with a priestess may be based on the presence of the pyxides, since although circular pyxides are not very common as grave goods, they do appear as offerings in processional frescoes. A fresco fragment of the female procession at Thebes depicts the extended arms of a figure holding an almost rectangular object[1247], which may represent a pyxis. Similarly, three fresco fragments of the same scene from the New Palace at Tiryns depict a richly

[1241] Onasoglou, 1995, 28.
[1242] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 59-65, esp. 62, fig.10 and 12.
[1243] Immerwahr, 1971, 158.
[1244] Immerwahr, 1971, 159.
[1245] Immerwahr, 1971, 159.
[1246] Immerwahr, 1971, 163-165.
[1247] Mantzourani, 1995, 130.

decorated ivory pyxis carried by a female figure[1248]. Finally, a fragment from the frieze of women from the Megaron at Mycenae may depict part of an ivory pyxis similar to that from Tiryns[1249]. The character of the pyxides as offerings carried by priestesses in processions as well as their relative rarity as grave goods in relation to the unusual character of Tomb I, may reflect the burial of a person of a particular religious status. Ivory pyxides were associated with wealthy female burials[1250], which would be in accordance to the high status of a priestess. Alternatively, the burial could have been that of a wealthy woman who at some point held a religious office.

Similarly, the presence of gold rings with cult scenes could have designated the burial of a priest, due to their religious iconography, which relates them more with a religious specialist than with any other individual. Gold rings and sealstones with religious scenes have been found in a number of tombs[1251], depicting a variety of religious themes, such as processions of women towards a shrine (Tomb 55, CMS I, 86; Tomb 71, CMS I, 108), the epiphany of the deity (Tomb 91, CMS I, 126; Tomb 10 from Dendra, CMS I, 191; Pylos Tholos Tomb IV, CMS I, 292) and worshippers in front of an altar (Tomb 84, CMS I, 119; Routsi Tholos Tomb 2, CMS I, 279). All these burials were richly furnished[1252]. In particular, Tomb 91, contained rich grave offerings, but rather than a single burial, three skulls were associated with them[1253]. Similarly, Tomb 10 from Dendra (LH II/III) accommodated a single female burial and rich offerings,

[1248] Mantzourani, 1995, 133.
[1249] Mantzourani, 1995, 132.
[1250] Immerwahr, 1971, 107.
[1251] Mycenae Tombs 55, 71, 84 and 91, Dendra Tomb 10, Pylos Kato Englianos Tholos Tomb IV, Tholos Tomb 2 at Routsi. Note that the study is restricted only to burials containing sealstones or rings with cult scenes.
[1252] Tomb 71: Laffineur, 1990, 124. Tomb 84: Xenaki-Sakellariou, 1985a, 238-241; Laffineur, 1990, 124. Tomb 91: Xenaki-Sakellariou, 1985a, 254-262; Laffineur, 1990, 126, 128.
[1253] Laffineur, 1990, 126.

which were uncovered in shafts I and II[1254]. Since no other skeletal remains were uncovered it is certain that the offerings belonged to the female burial found in shaft I. Tholos Tomb IV at Pylos contained weapons and jewellery in addition to the gold ring and the so-called "Pylos Jewel", a signet ring with an engraved griffin[1255]. Although the location of the grave close to the palace may in itself be a sufficient indication of the high status of the people buried in it[1256] regardless of their religious status, the association of priests with the palaces could suggest the possibility that the particular burial was that of a priest.

In iconography, priests and priestesses are often depicted wearing seals as bracelets, e.g. the Vapheio seal and the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, indicating that sealstones could have been a token of their office, although it is certain that such a practice would not have been restricted to priests. There can be no doubt, however, that such objects were given only to members of high social rank[1257]. This was due, on the one hand, to their qualitative value as objects, since they were made of precious or semi-precious material and, on the other, to their symbolism. Iconography in antiquity was not used simply for the sake of motifs, but bore a meaning[1258]. Therefore, it could be possible to identify a specific design or a specific class of designs not only as direct evidence of and direct testimony to practical aspects of everyday life, but also as an expression of religious beliefs and practices[1259]. An example of this application is Kilian-Dirlmeier's study of the material from the Vapheio tholos tomb, in which she

[1254] Persson, 1942b, 74, 81, 87, 89; Laffineur, 1990, 140.
[1255] Laffineur, 1990, 140.
[1256] Laffineur, 1990, 140.
[1257] Laffineur, 1990, 119.
[1258] Laffineur, 1990, 117.
[1259] Laffineur, 1990, 117.

concluded that the iconography displayed on the grave goods is a further illustration of social, political and economic status of the deceased[1260].

The religious implications of the iconography of all these rings cannot be doubted. Therefore, it is perhaps not wholly groundless to assume an association between rings with religious scenes and priests. This interpretation would be based on the fact that priests and priestesses enjoyed a high status as cult specialists, therefore their burials would have been richly furnished, but also on the assumption that the religious scenes depicted on the rings would have had a specific meaning to their owners. Moreover, Laffineur has argued that the status of the dead could have also been artistically enhanced and that certain iconography was an additional evidence of high status[1261]. It is worth mentioning that the woman buried in Tholos Tomb A at Archanes, was accompanied, among other gold rings, by one depicting the ritual for calling up the epiphany of the deity (HM 989)[1262].

If iconography, then, was a means of conveying a message, it could perhaps be used in the identification of burials of priests. It is difficult, however, to decide whether depictions of funerary rites on larnakes suggest the burial of a religious specialist or simply scenes from ritual practices. A number of depictions on the Tanagra larnakes would have been associated with funerary iconography and with Mycenaean concepts of what N. Marinatos has called the "fantastic landscape of the beyond"[1263]. Examples of this may be the depictions of sphinxes on some of the larnakes[1264]. Similarly, larnakes depicting priests and priestesses in processions or performing ritual acts such as libations (the larnax

[1260] Laffineur, 1990, 119.
[1261] Laffineur, 1992, 108-111.
[1262] Hägg, 1983a, 184.
[1263] Marinatos, 1997.
[1264] Marinatos, 1997, 290.

from Tomb 36) and hunting/animal sacrifice (Tomb 16 and larnax 6 from Tomb 22) would have reflected the ritual performed or believed to be performed as part of the funerary rites and would not have necessarily attributed a religious status to their interments.

However, the exceptional decoration and religious symbolism of some larnakes could perhaps define the religious role of their interment. An example of this is the larnax from Klima Mesaras (LM IIIA2)[1265], decorated with a variety of themes both secular and religious. The latter consist of horns of consecration, incurved altars and a depiction of a throne. The significance of the throne is emphasised by its depiction in a larger scale than the priests, standing on a podium behind it. The throne could have symbolised the aniconic presence of the deity, since it is found in cult buildings as well as to burial contexts[1266]. The iconography of the larnax has connotations of regeneration expressed by the palm trees[1267], as well as (according to the excavator) by the throne, which would have been related to deities associated with death and regeneration[1268] and could have expressed the wish that the deceased be born again in another world[1269]. The unique decoration of the larnax could perhaps indicate the importance of the deceased and, by associating him/her with the divine, designate his/her religious function. A similar case may perhaps have been the burial in the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus as indicated by the depictions of elaborate funerary rites and the strong religious symbolism[1270].

[1265] Rethemiotakis, 1995.
[1266] Rethemiotakis, 1995, 176; Gallou, 2005, 56.
[1267] For the symbolism of the palm tree in relation to regeneration see Morgan, 1988, 28 and Gallou, 2005, 51.
[1268] Rethemiotakis, 1995, 177.
[1269] Rethemiotakis, 1995, 179.
[1270] Long (1974, 50), however, has argued the deceased may have been a ruler.

It is clear, therefore, that extracting evidence from the burial context in order to reconstruct the role of the deceased is quite problematic for many reasons. That is why the aim of this examination was on the one hand to point out the problems in Blegen's identification of priestly burials and on the other to suggest a few possible indications for the identification of such burials. It is thought that the presence of cult equipment in burials is not enough to prove the religious status of the deceased, since it could have been used in the funerary ritual. There are also other factors that need to be taken into consideration. The fact that Mycenaean priests and priestesses are depicted in palatial art, suggests a close association between the two. In addition, the fact that priests are mentioned in Linear B tablets indicates that they probably enjoyed privileges and belonged to high society. Therefore, their tombs must have been richly furnished as were most tombs of members of the elite. It is possible, then, that the status of priests as elite obscured their status as religious specialists, or alternatively both statuses may have been emphasised.

If priests and priestesses were members of the elite charged for some time with religious duties, it is possible that their status as elite would have been emphasised more. On the other hand, if the priesthood was a full-time occupation, a hereditary position and/or an office with privileges, then dead priests/priestesses would have been equipped in the burial with the insignia of their office. The matter becomes complicated even more by the diversity of the themes depicted on seals and rings that appear together as burial goods, which

seem to suggest that the person possessing them may have had a range of responsibilities, which were not restricted only to the religious sphere[1271].

Finally, the possibility that the status of religious specialists may have been expressed in other ways cannot be ruled out. The fact that they were intermediaries between the supernatural and humans, would confer a mystic element to their personality, which may have been expressed in ways that would not survive in the archaeological record.

The Social Position of Women as Priestesses

Women appear in the Linear B tablets as workers and as religious personnel only[1272], suggesting perhaps that priesthood conferred a high status on women and that consequently it may have been restricted to female members of the elite. It is therefore very important to examine the religious role of women and the position these had in society as priestesses.

The PY Aa and Ab and KN Ak series record women with children, probably their own, as specialised workers[1273]. As we have seen already, these women may have been slaves and not *do-e-ra*, as Chadwick argued. Some of the women recorded in these series were employed in menial tasks in domestic activities, like the *a-pi-qo-ro*, "attendants", the *me-re-ti-ra(2)*, "corn-grinders" and the *re-wo-to-ro-wo-ko*, "bath-attendants"[1274]. However, the use of a number of women in more demanding tasks, mostly in the textile industry, indicates that

[1271] Such an example is Tholos Tomb 2 from Routsi associated with weapons and a male burial and containing a number of sealstones, both of secular and religious themes (Laffineur, 1990, 138).
[1272] The subject has been examined by many scholars, for example Billingmeier and Turner, 1981, Carlier, 1983 and Chadwick, 1988.
[1273] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 155, 162; Billingmeier and Turner, 1981, 3.
[1274] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 155-156; Chadwick, 1988, 90.

some of them were specialised, such as the *a-ke-ti-ra(2)*, the "cloth finishers", the *i-te-ja*, the "weavers" and the *ra-pi-ti-ra(2)*, the "seamstresses"[1275].

The status of these women was clearly that of dependent personnel, since the purpose of the documents was the allocation and issue of rations to them from the palace[1276], which clearly constituted an important labour force for the palace. Further, at Knossos texts were found that recorded women being under training[1277]. The recording of a number of women as groups under an ethnic name, e.g. *ki-ni-di-ja* (PY Aa 792), suggests that they could have been slaves or immigrants, also supported by the fact that most of these places do not occur in the Linear B tablets, implying that they were situated outside the frontiers of Pylos[1278]. The case of Knossos is different, since all the groups described by ethnics came from districts on Crete that were under the control of Knossos[1279].

In addition to textual evidence the social position of women is reflected in art, mostly palatial. Women are depicted in hunting scenes, e.g. the Tiryns Boar Hunt[1280], suggesting that women of high standing could participate in such activities, but probably only as spectators[1281]. Other representations of women depict them in windows[1282], suggesting that they were probably quite confined[1283]. In Minoan Crete women were depicted in public places[1284], though

[1275] Chadwick, 1988, 90.
[1276] Chadwick, 1988, 90.
[1277] Carlier, 1983, 20; Chadwick, 1988, 91.
[1278] Chadwick, 1988, 91.
[1279] Chadwick, 1988, 92.
[1280] Such frescoes have been found at Tiryns, Orchomenos and Pylos (Immerwahr, 1990, 129-133).
[1281] Immerwahr, 1990, 129-130, pl. 69; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou, 1993, 107, 116.
[1282] Fresco fragments from the Ramp House deposit and the battle scene at the megaron both from Mycenae (Immerwahr, 1990, 110, 122, pl. 54) and a scene on a Tanagra larnax from Tomb 6.
[1283] Marinatos, 1997, 284.
[1284] Olsen, 1998, 390.

it seems in events mostly of a religious character[1285]. In the Mycenaean period, apart from the hunting scenes, women were restricted to religious scenes emphasising their involvement and importance in cult. Women were usually depicted in processions, but there are scenes suggesting that women officiated in ritual acts, such as libations and animal sacrifice, e.g. the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus.

The women depicted on the Tanagra larnakes in the scenes of prothesis or as mourners were probably ordinary women or professionals responsible for such things rather than priestesses. It should be noted that since the Tanagra larnakes belonged to the popular level of cult, they depicted a more popular aspect of death. Then, these women (probably the elders of the community) may have had a special status in their community as possessing the knowledge to perform such rites that were connected to death and pollution (miasma). In the popular levels of society, women may have had a variety of roles and a liberty that aristocratic women perhaps did not. The fact that priestesses dressed in the Minoan costume were depicted on the Tanagra larnakes does not necessarily mean that that the people of Tanagra shared the same conception of priestesses as the palaces, since such depictions, especially that of the procession may have simply been motifs imitated from palatial art and adapted to the needs of the funerary iconography of the Tanagra people. In addition, some of the scenes may have depicted an idealised everyday life[1286]. This, however, does not mean that priestesses did not participate in funerary rites, since both the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus and a krater from Ayia Triadha at Elis -though dating to the LH IIIC- clearly indicate the role

[1285] An exception is perhaps the Ship Fresco from Thera, although N. Marinatos (1984a, 52-61; 1987b, 27) has attributed to it religious as well as military overtones. In addition, the religious role of the woman that stands out is suggested by her association with horns of consecration.
[1286] Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 108.

of priestesses in death rites. Their role, however, seems to have been associated more with rites such as animal sacrifice than with the treatment of the body towards which there was probably some notion of pollution.

The predominance of female figures in depictions of religious ceremonies is striking, since it is certain that male priests also existed. Why there was such a predominance is difficult to answer, unless that the representations of female figures found in palatial art simply reflected the involvement of women of the elite in ritual acts. Another possibility would be to associate the female predominance in religious scenes with the veneration of a female deity who was the protectress of the palace and as such she had primarily female attendants in her service. This notion could probably be in accordance with the veneration of the "warrior goddess"[1287], the evidence for which is concentrated at Mycenae (**fig. 64**), but also suggested by the usual location of cult buildings close to fortification walls[1288], whereas the common depiction of processions of women approaching female deities –whether actual female deities or priestesses impersonating them- may support the idea that priests served male deities and priestesses female[1289].

A category of representations associates seated women with drinking ceremonies that may reflect another aspect of their function as priestesses. Rehak in his study concerning the function of the Mycenaean megaron has suggested that the room also served for drinking ceremonies that were directed by a woman, either a priestess or a queen, who may have been equated with Potnia mentioned in the Linear B tablets -if we accept that the epithet did not refer to a

[1287] For the examination of the evidence concerning the veneration of a warrior goddess see Rehak, 1984 and 1999.
[1288] Rutkowski, 1986, 185; Whittaker, 1997, 154.
[1289] A notion supported, for example, by Dickinson (1994, 291).

deity[1290]. His conclusion that a woman officiated in such ceremonies was based on iconographic evidence depicting more seated female figures than male ones[1291]. If a woman presided over the drinking ceremonies taking place at the megaron it is almost certain that this would have either been the queen, perhaps in parallel with the religious function of the wanax, or the high priestess, if the latter was not the same person. However, drinking ceremonies did not only have a religious function, but also a social and political one as Wright has demonstrated[1292]. Therefore, such depictions could have reflected the social role of elite women in entertaining visitors or members of the elite for example, a role which would not have been reflected in the tablets. Nevertheless, the absence of any corroborating evidence about the social role of women does not allow us to draw any conclusions.

The land tenure system also suggests that women had a social status that enabled them to own land only through cult, since any other woman seems to have been excluded[1293]. The only women holding land were the priestess of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, the *te-o-jo do-e-ra*, which also must have had a cult function, the *i-je-re-ja do-e-ra* and the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro do-e-ra*. In addition, the only group of women that owned land were the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, who also probably had a religious function. The Ea series, which deal with a different district, mention no woman as landholder.

The evidence, then, suggests that women appear in the documents either as skilled and unskilled workers or with a sacerdotal role. If the former were mostly slaves, immigrants or even peasants, then the only other role Mycenaean

[1290] Rehak, 1995, 112, n.182.
[1291] Rehak, 1995.
[1292] Wright, 1996.
[1293] Cantarella, 1987, 16.

women could have would be associated with cult. Further, the absence of any priestesses in the personnel records may suggest that although in the case of men the office of a priest could have been considered a profession, in the case of women it may have been a privilege or even an obligation and therefore was most probably confined to the women of the elite. This is also suggested by the fact that women of the elite and priestesses were depicted in the same way, whereas their high social status was further indicated by their jewellery, costume or administrative regalia[1294]. The evidence from richly furnished burials examined above could perhaps also support this notion. Further, the dispute between *e-ri-ta* and the *da-mo* over land indicates that the priestess was legally independent and probably that women could achieve independent status only through cult[1295]. Indeed, no other woman appears in the palatial administration[1296], with the exception of the Wanassa, who may have been the queen.

The Religious Role of the Wanax

In the study of Mycenaean priests it is necessary to examine also the religious role of the wanax -since there is evidence to support his religious function- and investigate his association and position in relation to the priesthood. Since the theory of the "priest-king" has been examined in connection to Minoan priesthood it will not be repeated here.

[1294] Olsen, 1998, 382.
[1295] Chadwick, 1976, 115; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou, 1993, 120.
[1296] Carlier, 1983, 10. Billigmeier and Turner's notion that in the tablets appear secular women of high status, such as *pu(2)-ke-qi-ri* (PY Ta 711) and *ke-sa-da-ra* (PY Fg 368 and 828) does not seem probable, since Ventris and Chadwick (1973, 575) recognise the former as a man's name and the latter is probably associated with rations rather than land.

The notion of the religious role of the wanax has been supported both by archaeological and written evidence. The megaron, as the seat of the Mycenaean ruler, has been associated with the performance of ritual practices, best attested at Pylos, in the association of the throne with the libation channel, suggesting that the person seated on the throne was performing ritual acts. In terms of the written evidence, the wanax appears in Linear B documents with religious associations. These consist of records that involve personnel associated with him in landholdings connected to *pa-ki-ja-ne* (PY Er 312.1, En 74.3 and .23, En 609.5 and Eo 371.a), records of the distribution of scented oil and spices from the palace stores to divinities and to the wanax himself (PY Fr 1215.1, 1220.2, 1227, 1235.1, KN Ga 675), evidence of the wanax undergoing or presiding over an initiation (PY Un 2.1) and evidence suggesting that he made an appointment or burial (PY Ta 711.1)[1297].

However, the evidence has also been considered as suggestive of the divine or semi-divine status of the wanax. The association of the wanax with *pa-ki-ja-ne*, where he held a *temenos*, encouraged L. R. Palmer to argue that the wanax was a sacral king and the head of the Pylian society, linked very closely to Potnia[1298]. Walcot also supported the idea of the wanax being a sacral king, in the sense that he was considered to be a living god and he argued that the Mycenaeans took this idea under the influence of Egypt[1299]. However, his argument was based only on evidence from Greek mythology and therefore has not been very convincing[1300]. The fact that the wanax possessed a temenos has been interpreted by scholars such as Webster to indicate the divine nature of the

[1297] Palaima, 1995, 131.
[1298] Palmer, 1963, 83-84, 86.
[1299] Walcot, 1967, 53-62.
[1300] For a brief criticism of his argument see Mylonas, 1966b, 148.

wanax[1301], or by Hooker as describing a precinct of a divine and not a human wanax[1302]. In addition, references of the wanax in tablets recording perfumed oil and spices together with names of deities have been interpreted either to indicate his semi-divine aspect, or the use of the term as a reference to an actual deity. L. R. Palmer, for example, argued that the wanax could have been the title of a god, specifically the Young God, whom the Mycenaean ruler would have represented in cult[1303].

Further scholars, such as Carlier, have argued that the wanax as the ruler of the Mycenaeans was himself the object of a cult. Carlier, especially, based his argument on the fact that in the PY Fr tablets where the wanax is mentioned, he is a divine receiver of the offerings, like Poseidon and Potnia[1304]. Furthermore, Ruijgh has interpreted the references to the wanax in these tablets and KN F 51 as indicating either the divinity of the wanax or the use of the term to divinities themselves. He therefore supported the proposal that the term was used as an epithet of Poseidon[1305] and argued that all recipients in the Fr tablets that were not clearly secular were deities and that terms such as *wa-na-so-i* and *a-pi-qo-ro-i* referred to deities[1306] rather than to assistants (*desservants*) of the wanax[1307], or to simple servants[1308]. Nevertheless, in many documents recording allocations, names of deities and secular functionaries are mixed[1309]. The *a-pi-qo-ro-i,* for example, have also been interpreted as secular personnel[1310]. In addition, it is quite possible that designations such as "to Poseidon" in reality referred to the

[1301] Webster, 1962, 455.
[1302] Hooker, 1979, 106.
[1303] Palmer, 1963, 83.
[1304] Carlier, 1998, 414.
[1305] Ruijgh, 1999, 524.
[1306] Ruijgh, 1999, 532.
[1307] Carlier, 1998, 414.
[1308] Palaima, personal communication.
[1309] Palaima, personal communication.
[1310] Shelmerdine, 1985, 97-98.

sanctuary of the deity, or perhaps even to the officials of the sanctuary[1311], suggesting the possibility that the commodity was sent there to be used in ritual.

What seems to connect the wanax with ritual and suggests his religious role is his connection in the PY Fr series (Fr 1215, 1220, 1227 and 1235) with names of deities and particularly with terms that are associated with religious ceremonies, such as *di-pi-si-jo-i* (the Thirsty Dead) and *wa-na-so-i* (the Two Queens). This association could also be suggestive of the divine status of the wanax, but complementary evidence examined below rather suggests that he himself performed ritual acts, as a high priest[1312]. In this sense then, the association of the wanax with deities could reflect the prominence and ritual involvement of the ruler and not necessarily indicate a divine or even semi-divine status[1313]. In addition, the offering of perfumed oil could have been an honour due to his religious status and his role as the chief intermediary between the gods and his people[1314] and/or could have been destined for his use in specific religious ceremonies, where he presided. Further, the term *temenos* in the Mycenaean period most likely did not have the religious meaning it had in later periods and may have simply denoted a plot of land[1315], since the *ra-wa-ke-ta* also possessed one (PY Er 312).

The wanax is also associated with artisans, defined as *wa-na-ka-te-ro* (PY En 609.5: *a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro*; PY En74.3, .23: *pe-ki-ta ka-na-pe-u wa-na-ka-te-ro*; PY Eo371: *ke-ra-me-wo wa-na-ka-te-ro*). Although it is possible that such industries simply reflected the economic involvement of the

[1311] Palaima, personal communication.
[1312] Contra Mylonas, 1966b.
[1313] Palaima, personal communication.
[1314] Driessen, 1992, 21; Palaima, 1995, 134. Mylonas (1966b, 138) however, does not agree and identifies in this case the wanax with a god.
[1315] Mylonas, 1966b, 139; Palaima, 1995, 131.

wanax[1316], it is also possible that these artisans were producing vestments for wearing[1317] and utensils for drinking and eating that the wanax would use and/or distribute in ceremonies or ritual occasions[1318].

The fact that these artisans held land at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, where mostly religious personnel held land, has been considered as indicative of the religious function of the wanax[1319]. According to this notion, plots of land at *pa-ki-ja-ne* may have been given as a privilege or compensation[1320] to religious personnel. Therefore, the presence of the *wa-na-ka-te-ro* artisans was suggestive of the religious status of the wanax, in the service of whom they were appointed. However, this association does not presuppose the religious function of the ruler. It is possible that land at *pa-ki-ja-ne* was given in return for services performed by professionals directly associated with the palace and the wanax, regardless of whether they had a religious status/function or not. Hence, although the artisans defined as *wa-na-ka-te-ro* might have produced objects to be used in ceremonies by the wanax, these individuals may not have had a religious status. They certainly had a high status, due to their association with the ruler and the palace and that is why they held land in an area controlled by the palace and probably situated close to it.

The religious role of the wanax may also be supported by the cult function of the megaron as his seat, suggested by the presence of cult installations, frescoes of religious character and by the organisation of the palace

[1316] Note that the wanax also had his own workshops (Hooker, 1979, 104), since at Knossos (KN X 976.1a) he appears to have a purple-dye workshop under his control (Palaima, 1995, 133).
[1317] The cloth defined as *wa-na-ka-te-ra* in KN Lc (1) 525.a may have been made especially for the king to wear in the ceremonies he officiated, although Killen has argued that the *wa-na-ka-te-ra* may have simply been a cloth of an exceptionally fine type, like the "royal" cloth mentioned in Assyrian records, which was a cloth of fine quality but not necessarily intended to be worn by the king (Hooker, 1979, 104; Killen, 1994, 69, n.12).
[1318] Palaima, 1997, 412.
[1319] Palaima, 1995, 131.
[1320] Palaima, 1997, 412.

around the megaron, which made it the focus[1321]. The organisation of the megaron –consisting of a long hall approached through a porch with an intervening anteroom[1322]- was such that produced "one more shell around the core", since one had to pass first the porch and then the vestibule before reaching the throne[1323], whereas in the case of Tiryns access to the megaron was further averted by a series of porches and courts. Therefore, the difficulty in accessing the megaron could suggest its cult function and the fact that as the focal point of the official religion[1324] it was protected.

Cult installations found either inside the megaron or at the entrance, the presence of the hearth, the fresco decoration, as well as the difficulty in accessing the megaron and its physical connection with cult areas, as at Mycenae, seem to indicate that its function combined two aspects, the political and the religious, with the ruler presiding in both. The symbolism of the circular monumental hearth (**fig. 65**), which was the focus of attention in all Mycenaean megara, suggested by the plan of the megaron and the decoration that enframed the hearth and placed it in the centre of attention has been examined thoroughly by Wright[1325]. The symbolic meaning of the hearth appears in many Indo-European cultures, as well as in Classical Greece, where the goddess Hestia represented both the centre of the domestic sphere and the navel that connected the hearth to the earth[1326]. In the case of Mycenaean Greece, the central position and the monumentality of the hearth in the palaces, as well as its association with cult

[1321] Kilian, 1988, 293; Shelmerdine, 2001, 350.
[1322] Dickinson, 1994, 153.
[1323] Wright, 1994, 54.
[1324] Kilian, 1988, 293.
[1325] Wright, 1994, 56, 57-60.
[1326] Wright, 1994, 57.

paraphernalia, as in the case of Pylos, may suggest a similar interpretation[1327]. According to Wright even the columns surrounding the hearth -the bases of which survive at Pylos, Tiryns and Mycenae[1328]- have the symbolic meaning of connecting it with the heavens[1329], since columns often appear in Minoan and Mycenaean religious iconography[1330]. The most instructive example is the Lion Gate relief at Mycenae, where the association of the column with the altars represents the religious character of the palace –the seat of the wanax- protected by the lions[1331]. The hearth and the sacred fire it held, then, could have been the centre of ceremonies, such as drinking and feasting, since it was a symbol of the relationship between human beings and divinities and both these ceremonies involved oath-taking, libations and animal sacrifice to the gods[1332].

The religious function of the megaron is also suggested by the presence of other cult installations. At Pylos the libation channel situated to the right of the throne clearly indicates that this arrangement was used for libations performed by the person seated on the throne[1333], the existence of which is suggested by a rectangular depression on the stuccoed floor[1334]. The significance of the throne and of the person who sat there is further indicated by the arrangement of the frescoes[1335], which consisted of couchant griffins and lions flanking the throne[1336], symbols associated with power and the divine[1337]. Further, the throne was set on the cross axis of the hearth, emphasising the human authority that

[1327] Wright, 1994, 57.
[1328] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 77; Mylonas, 1966a, 63.
[1329] Wright, 1994, 58-59.
[1330] Evans, 1901.
[1331] Wright, 1994, 51, 58.
[1332] Wright, 1995a, 346.
[1333] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 87-88; Hägg, 1990a, 178; Shelmerdine, 1998a, 83.
[1334] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 79; Mylonas, 1966, 55.
[1335] McCallum, 1987b, 296; Kilian, 1988, 293.
[1336] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 78; Rehak, 1995, 101.
[1337] Morgan, 1988, 52-53.

administered the cults[1338], symbolised by the hearth, which was the focus of attention rather than the throne[1339]. The palace hearth may have also symbolised the centre of the state and therefore the wanax was in this sense the father and chief[1340]. Moreover, the existence of a balcony running around all four sides of the hall[1341], further seems to suggest the performance of some kind of ceremony at the megaron, which was presumably watched also by people from up there, although such a balcony seems to have existed only at Pylos[1342].

At Tiryns the axiality of the megaron is enhanced by its orientation to a circular altar in the great court[1343] (**fig. 66**), suggesting a connection between the two. Similarly, an altar made of clay was uncovered at the anteroom of megaron B at Dimini on axis with the entrance[1344].

Finally, by the south column base of the portico (aithousa) of the megaron at Mycenae Papadimitriou discovered in 1954 the foundations of an altar and the remains of a table of offerings with a spiral decoration[1345]. Near these he also found a shallow basin-like depression into the floor, divided into two parts, recalling in a sense the libation channel found in the megaron at Pylos[1346] (**fig. 67**). The presence of such installations indicates that some kind of ceremony took place there, perhaps related to offerings or purification before entering the megaron, thus further emphasising its sanctity. The latter seems to be also supported by the restricted access, suggested by the presence of a door at

[1338] Wright, 1994, 57.
[1339] Wright, 1994, 56.
[1340] Wright, 1994, 58.
[1341] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 79.
[1342] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 78, 81.
[1343] Müller, 1930, 137-138. Yavis, 1949, 34; Iakovidis, 1983, 13; Hägg, 1990a, 181; Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997, 306.
[1344] Adrimi-Sismani, 1999-2001, 90-92, 100.
[1345] Papadimitriou, 1955, 230; Mylonas, 1966, 62.
[1346] Mylonas, 1966a, 62.

the portico that restricted access to the anteroom[1347]. Although the place where the throne must have stood in the main room, according to parallels from Tiryns and Pylos, is unfortunately missing since parts of the room collapsed[1348], it is reasonable to assume that it existed.

The religious character of the megaron is further emphasised by the fresco decoration of the walls[1349], which best survives at Pylos. The vestibule and the inner room of the megaron are linked by the fresco decoration, depicting a procession with a bull being led in the megaron, whereas to the right as one enters the megaron is a scene of ritual feasting[1350]. It is very unlikely that animal sacrifice was performed inside the megaron, since it would have been difficult to physically manoeuvre a bull through the corridors[1351]. Further, the actual bringing of the animal in the megaron would not have been necessary, since the symbolism and the message conveyed by the fresco would have been adequate.

All these elements of the megaron suggest that the wanax was officiating in certain religious ceremonies, some of which were performed inside the megaron itself. However, there is some scepticism concerning this notion. Traditionally, the megaron has been identified as the seat of the wanax and indeed since the written evidence clearly indicates his existence it seems logical to place him in the most monumental building of the citadel. However, as Rehak has pointed out, most seated figures in Mycenaean iconography are female[1352]. Lions and griffins that flank the throne at Pylos, can be associated both with male

[1347] Mylonas, 1966a, 62.
[1348] Mylonas, 1966a, 62.
[1349] Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997, 306.
[1350] McCallum, 1987a, 108, 130; Wright, 1994, 56.
[1351] McCallum, 1987a, 120.
[1352] Rehak, 1995, 96, 114.

and female figures of authority[1353]. Rehak argues that it was the seat of a woman, possibly the Potnia or queen, who oversaw the symposia taking place there[1354]. The former interpretation was based on the recurring depiction of seated women associated with drinking and pouring and on the absence of real evidence suggesting the domination of a single male ruler, but rather the existence of several interrelating figures of authority[1355]. Palaima on the other side has emphasised the involvement of the wanax as presiding over such ceremonies, which included ritual sacrifices[1356]. Although the involvement of women in ceremonies, e.g. processions performed in the palace and perhaps specifically in the megaron cannot be denied, as well as the possibility that the Queen may have been the object of veneration and/or may have presided in religious ceremonies, there is little doubt that the wanax was the central figure of authority in the Mycenaean society around whom the palatial system was created[1357].

The religious role of the Mycenaean ruler is particularly stressed in the case of Mycenae by the whole organisation of the palace, which emphasises the megaron, by its connection to the Cult Centre and specifically to the altar in Tsountas' House Shrine, by the monumentality and religious associations of the Lion Gate, which clearly marks the transition into an area of special ritual significance[1358] and also by the connection of the megaron to Grave Circle A. Further, the presence of two monumental entrances to the palace, one through a

[1353] Morgan, 1988, 52; Rehak, 1995, 110.
[1354] Rehak, 1995, 117.
[1355] Rehak, 1995, 116.
[1356] Palaima, 1995, 132.
[1357] Palaima, 1995, 125; For a detailed examination see Kilian, 1988.
[1358] Wright, 1994, 54.

formal propylon and the other through the Grand Staircase, reinforces the notion of passing through boundaries in order to reach the seat of the authority[1359].

Moreover, the incorporation during LH IIIB of Grave Circle A into the citadel of Mycenae, where it was preserved as an ancestral ground[1360], has been associated with attempts to legitimise and reinforce authority through claims to ancestry. Such claims would have been demonstrated by the performance of ritual, indicated by the existence of an altar above Grave IV, as described by Schliemman and a hollow between Graves I and IV, excavated by Keramopoullos, used in rites in honour of the dead[1361]. According to the indicators established by Cavanagh concerning the issue of open spaces, such as courts and squares, the area of Grave Circle A –c. 500sq.m- was definitely used for large gatherings[1362] (**fig. 68**). Its size[1363], its access, which was more direct than in other Mycenaean open spaces, as well as the fact that the ceremony performed inside would have been visible from the walls, the roof of the Granary, the Ramp and buildings further away indicate its function for the performance of religious ceremonies[1364]. The character of the latter is suggested by the discovery of phi and psi figurines, cult equipment, traces of fire and animal bones at the base of the stelai and the *epichosis* and by the stratified ashes and pottery sequence from Keramopoullos' hollow, which was probably connected to the altar found by Schliemann[1365]. Finally, the fact that the eastern semicircle of Grave Circle A was paved with slabs, creating a proper space for

[1359] Wright, 1994, 54.
[1360] Gallou, 2005, 21.
[1361] Gallou, 2005, 21.
[1362] Cavanagh, 2001.
[1363] The size of Grave Circle A probably allowed the gathering of approximately 120-140 people, estimated by Gallou (2005, 29).
[1364] Cavanagh, 2001, 130.
[1365] Gallou, 2005, 29.

those attending the ceremonies, as well as the carefully constructed entryway and the elaborate threshold[1366] further indicate the use of the place for ceremonies.

The twofold function of the wanax as the political and the religious authority would have been necessary for his establishment and for the maintenance of his political authority. The notion of the wanax was the product of a transitional society based on many local chieftains[1367] (βασιλείς) to a society where single figures (each being a wanax) controlled large and separate territories and local communities, in which the βασιλείς still functioned[1368]. In order to stabilise the wanax, it would have been necessary to create an ideology that would justify and sustain this differentiation[1369]. The *wanax ideology*[1370] would have created and would have been reflected in the palace centres, suggested by the throne rooms and the focus on the central hearth[1371], where ceremonies that practically and symbolically united the individual communities took place[1372].

Further, Palaima is of the opinion that the power of the wanax would have been more effective and stable if the wanax had a special authority, the source of which lay outside the Helladic culture, where the βασιλείς were central figures[1373]. Such an ideology would have emerged during the Shaft Grave period, a period with a strong Minoan influence, especially in Messenia and the Argolid, the two regions where the evidence for the formation of palatial culture is strongest[1374]. It is possible, then, that the wanax ideology and its symbols were

[1366] Gallou, 2005, 29.
[1367] For a detailed examination of the subject see Wright, 1995b, esp. 69-75.
[1368] Palaima, 1995, 125.
[1369] Palaima, 1995, 125.
[1370] Kilian, 1988.
[1371] Wright, 1994, 56-58.
[1372] Palaima, 1995, 125-126.
[1373] Palaima, 1995, 126.
[1374] Wright, 1995b, 69; Palaima, 1995, 126.

introduced from Minoan culture, which may have adopted the idea from the Near East[1375], in order to help establish and authorise the primacy of the new system on the Greek mainland[1376]. One of the functions of the wanax would have been religious, as a religious functionary, since his identification with the religious authority would have further justified and stabilised his political control.

Wright in his study of the formation of Mycenaean society and the emergence of kingship, has compared the Mycenaean society with chiefdoms and argued that as the chief would maintain the societal system through the proper execution of rituals, so the Mycenaean ruler by introducing Minoan rituals and beliefs to his society would reinforce his authority[1377] as these would differentiate him and the cult performed in the palaces from the cult performed by the populace, i.e. the commoners[1378]. Further, by rendering honours to his ancestors and presiding over ceremonies dedicated to them, clearly suggested by the Grave Circle A, the wanax would justify by this act his position[1379].

The power and authority of the wanax may have been intimately connected with and derived from his religious associations[1380]. His authority was probably directed mostly towards public displays, suggested by architectural features at Tiryns and Mycenae, such as large rampways leading to the palace or linking it with the Cult Centre and the courts before the megara, suitable for large gatherings. These displays represent a totality of political, religious and ancestral power in their use of architectural monuments and symbolism[1381]. In this context would fit the elaborate banquets, which would have constituted an occasion for

[1375] An idea also supported by Watrous, 1987.
[1376] Palaima, 1995, 127.
[1377] Wright, 1995b, 71.
[1378] Wright, 1994, 54.
[1379] Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997, 307; Gallou, 2005, 138.
[1380] Palaima, 1995, 129.
[1381] Wright, 1995b, 74.

the wanax to show his authority both in the political and the religious sphere. Although banquets[1382] had important political implications in terms of who could participate and who was excluded, as well as who could afford to contribute foodstuff and who could not[1383], the occasion for them was probably a religious festival or celebration. The Linear B tablets (PY Un 2, 6, 718 and 853) provide evidence for the wanax being a major contributor of foodstuff in such ceremonies[1384], which most of the time were clearly associated with religious ceremonies.

The wanax, then, may have been the *μέγας ἀρχιερεύς*, the chief priest, who presided in official ceremonies, ritual sacrifices and feasts[1385]. Palaima argues that the purpose of these banquets was to help establish a collective identity and to unify the inhabitants of palatial territories[1386]. The wanax would have presided in such ceremonies, as a representative of the link that united his people, but also in order to display his power and control over his people and his connection to cult.

Public ritual banquets were a means for the wanax not only to perform an important religious duty but also to display and reinforce his power[1387]. Furthermore, the emphasis on cattle and particularly on adult bulls would have underlined the significance of these ceremonies, given the magnitude in the economic sense of the simultaneous sacrifice of several large animals that took some years to rear[1388]. This act may have been commemorated on the fresco at

[1382] For a detailed examination of the subject see POM, 1990, Killen 1994, and especially Palaima 2004.
[1383] For a detailed discussion see Palaima, 2004 and Bendall, 2004.
[1384] For a detailed examination of the topic see Palaima, 2004.
[1385] Palaima, 1995, 132.
[1386] Palaima, 2004, 217.
[1387] Palaima, 1995, 132.
[1388] Isaakidou *et al*., 2002, 89.

the Vestibule at Pylos[1389] and would associate the wanax directly with the continuity of festivals. The latter would constitute a symbolic assurance of the kingdom's prosperity through adequate provisioning of the gods and communicate a message of political strength and stability through association with the festival calendar and an explicit ideology of divine protection[1390]. The authority and stability of the wanax, then, depended both on the political and economic control he exercised and on the manipulation of religion and cult practices.

The religious role of the wanax does not diminish the importance and the function of the priesthood. The status of the priesthood as the religious specialists *par excellence* would not have been affected by the cult function of the ruler, since he would have presided occasionally and only in specific ceremonies in order to demonstrate his religious authority. Therefore, the wanax would have performed animal sacrifices and libations, perhaps specifically for the sake of the community and he may have been in charge of certain old and traditional cults, especially those that were believed to have been instituted by his ancestors[1391]. The religious functions of the wanax may have been limited to ceremonies performed in the megaron and in public spaces and would have been associated with feasting, whereas the tasks of the priesthood would have been associated both with ceremonies and ritual performed in cult buildings.

[1389] Palaima, 1995, 132.
[1390] McCallum, 1987b, 296; Davis and Bennet, 1999, 115.
[1391] Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997, 307.

The Priesthood as an Institution

A most important question concerning Mycenaean priesthood remains whether this was an office exclusively associated with the palaces or not. The examination of the position of women in Mycenaean society has indicated that the office of the priestess conferred a high status to women. Since most of the professions of women associated them with dependent personnel it seems reasonable to argue that the office of the priestess was restricted to women belonging to the elite. In terms of male priests, the situation may have been different and priests may have been considered as having a profession, which was recompensed in a manner similar to craftsmen, for example.

The purpose of this section, then, is to examine whether the priesthood was a profession rather than a duty restricted to the upper classes. In addition, evidence from the Linear B texts suggests that cult places may have been to a certain extent independent and capable of procuring their own maintenance, which could indicate that priests were not completely subordinate to the palatial centres.

Sanctuaries and Priesthood

In order to have a better understanding of the organisation of the Mycenaean priesthood it is necessary to examine its connection with cult places. The existence of sanctuaries implies the presence of religious personnel operating in these places. Although priests are mentioned in the Linear B tablets, they are rarely associated with the sanctuary where they operated. The question that arises, then, is whether ascribed religious personnel were permanently

associated with a sanctuary, or whether they were appointed by the palace to perform rituals at specific times at various sanctuaries. In other words, whether priests were restricted to the palaces and were considered as palace personnel sent to perform cult ceremonies where and when needed. The archaeological evidence indicates the participation of religious specialists not only in sanctuaries associated with the palaces, but also in cult places belonging to the sphere of popular cult. Further, it is possible that evidence from the Linear B tablets suggests that the palaces were responsible for providing offerings only to cult places situated close to them and therefore to those belonging to the official cult. If that was the case and priests existed outside the palaces and the large centres, then questions concerning their status arise. If the palace did not control the cult places in areas away from it, does this imply that the local communities were responsible for them and for assigning their religious personnel, or was this the duty of an official appointed from the palace?

"Official" and "Popular" Cult

Most evidence of priests and priestesses derives from written texts and palatial art. Therefore, the priesthood in the form it can be reconstructed from the evidence was an organ of the palaces and of state religion, that is why is has always been connected with the elite.

The diversity noted in the Mycenaean sanctuaries and cult places together with differences in the character of the material culture related to cult found in different kinds of sanctuaries, led to the development of the theory that Mycenaean religion consisted of different levels of cult, of which the two

extremes were represented by the state or official cult and the popular cult[1392]. Was then the participation of priests restricted to the cult buildings belonging to the official cult or did priests officiate at every level of cult?

The cults of the official level were those connected primarily with the palaces, although they may have also been practiced at smaller centres in the regional towns, but with more modest equipment[1393]. These cults were practiced by the upper classes, who could afford and had access to luxury objects, but who especially had contacts with foreign countries[1394]. This contact with foreign countries and particularly with Crete and the willingness of the upper classes to adopt foreign customs and fashions gave to the state cults their character[1395], and as discussed above it was a way of reinforcing the authority of the upper classes[1396]. That is why the expression of the official cult is so strongly influenced by Minoan prototypes. This Minoanisation, however, was rather a superficial influence mostly attested in artistic representations. Indeed, the actual existence of Minoan cult equipment on the mainland is very limited[1397] and the objects that were introduced served a practical function in Mycenaean cult. Similarly, there are many features of Mycenaean cult that lack Cretan equivalents, most importantly Mycenaean shrines and altars, which were very different from Minoan ones[1398].

The official character of the cult performed in a given place would be recognisable through its association with the palace, but also by the cult

[1392] Hägg, 1981a, 1985a, 1995, 1996.
[1393] Hägg, 1981a, 36.
[1394] Hägg, 1981a, 36.
[1395] Hägg, 1981a, 36.
[1396] Wright, 1995b, 71.
[1397] Minoan altars with incurved sides occur only in iconography, the so-called snake-tubes or tubular vessels are completely absent, whereas in terms of horns of consecration only two specimens exist, in the palaces of Pylos and Gla (Hägg, 1985a, 207).
[1398] Hägg, 1985a, 212.

equipment used. Thus, the centre of official cult practice was the megaron unit, which was the focus in all Mycenaean palaces[1399]. The similarity in architectural form clearly suggests that it served a common function in all palaces[1400]. In addition to the megaron, the palaces contained other cult places, whether rooms, as at Tiryns (Rooms 119, 117, 110 and 110a) or complexes of rooms and buildings, like the Cult Centre at Mycenae. Both the location of these places inside the palace complex and their cult equipment indicates that these were associated with the official cult.

With the exception of the palatial cult buildings, the identification of cult places as belonging to the official cult would depend on the installations and the equipment found in them. The latter would consist of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic figurines, large animal and human terracotta figures, chariot models, miniature furniture and vessels, and rhyta, to which Hägg has added the occurrence of religious frescoes[1401]. Such features indicate not only the association of cult places with the palatial centres and the influence they received from them, but also the complexity of the ritual acts performed. These included animal sacrifice, associated or not with sacred meals, libations and drinking ceremonies and also practices that have left no traces, such as rituals associated with the large figures and figurines in general. In addition to the megaron and the cult buildings found in the palaces, cult places associated with the official cult were also found at Ayia Irini on Keos, Phylakopi on Melos and probably Ayios Konstantinos at Methana.

[1399] Only at Thebes the existence of a megaron is still not definitely attested, because the architectural remains are sparse, although two successive structures have been identified on the acropolis (Shelmerdine, 2001, 350).
[1400] Rehak, 1995, 98.
[1401] Hägg, 1995, 389.

Popular cults on the other hand were practiced by people who lived outside the palaces and the large centres. The cult places belonging to this category consisted of open-air sanctuaries, house shrines, caves or sources of water[1402]. The feature that identifies popular cult places as such is the presence of a specific category of offerings, namely the ordinary terracotta figurines –usually phi, psi and kourotrophic figurines, animal figurines and thrones- occurring together with a limited repertoire of pottery shapes[1403]. In addition, most of the popular cult places lacked elaborate architectural buildings.

However, the diversity noted in Mycenaean cult places cannot be explained by a binary categorisation into official and popular cult, but according to various levels of ritual activity[1404], since between one extreme and the other there are a number of cult sites that cannot be grouped in either category. Complexity of the ritual performance is a good indication for the participation of religious specialists. This would be reflected in the archaeological remains by the presence of cult installations, but also by the cult equipment. Therefore, cases such as Tsoungiza, Megaron B at Eleusis, Ayios Konstantinos and Aphaia on Aigina and probably also Klenies support the involvement of religious personnel[1405]. Some of these sites have produced cult equipment similar to that found in palatial cult buildings, such as large figures (Tsoungiza and Aphaia), and/or evidence of complex ritual practices, such as animal sacrifice and/or banqueting (Ayios Konstantinos and Eleusis). Indeed the cult equipment from Aphaia is noteworthy, since it includes a number of pottery vessels, such as rhyta -both conical and animal-head ones (bull and hedgehog)- askoi, kylikes and a

[1402] Hägg, 1981a, 38.
[1403] Hägg, 1995, 389.
[1404] Wright, 1994, 73.
[1405] The case of Asine will be examined in another chapter, since it dates to the LH IIIC.

great number of terracotta animal and human figurines (phi, psi and tau, kourotrophic[1406], hollow psi figurines, chariots, thrones and boats) and large figures[1407]. The presence of this equipment together with the large figures, the hollow psi figurines, which may have been carried on poles[1408], and a ring vase, clearly suggest complex ritual acts and the participation of religious specialists, even though no structures were found at the site[1409]. Further, the presence of containers (stirrup jars and jugs), kylikes and bowls indicate libations, drinking and/or offerings, as do the miniature specimens[1410].

The existence of a platform at Megaron B at Eleusis could have been used for display in the performance of ritual, perhaps specifically as an altar[1411], which would definitely support the involvement of officiating priests.

The cult equipment of Amyklaion, which includes large figures, is similar to that from palatial cult buildings[1412], which could suggest the performance of ritual acts similar to those performed in the official cult buildings and consequently the participation of religious personnel, even though no structures were uncovered at the site. Wright notes that the absence of a palace to which to relate the sanctuary should not affect the interpretation, since in Lakonia rather than a single centre there probably existed a number of strong communities, such

[1406] The large number of the kourotrophos type figurines and the presence of hedgehogs and bovines, the latter two associated with agriculture, suggest that the deity worshipped at the site as probably a female one, connected with childcare and fertility, both human and agricultural (Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 138, 142).
[1407] Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 73-76, 125, 129.
[1408] Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 14-16, 129.
[1409] No altar was found either, but it is possible that the continuous rebuilding of later altars may have eliminated any trace of it (Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 125). The absence of structures may have been the result of keeping the equipment at the settlement and brought to the site for the ritual, as was the case with Minoan peak sanctuaries, where cult equipment, excluding votive offerings, was not kept at the site but was brought from the palace for the performance of cult (Peatfield, 1990, 128).
[1410] Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 131-132.
[1411] Cosmopoulos, 2003, 8.
[1412] Wright, 1994, 65.

as Pellanes, the Menelaion, Vapheio and others[1413]. The Amyklaion, then, would have been the focus of regional ritual activity[1414].

Finally, although the site of Klenies near the chapel of Ayia Triadha (LH IIIB), was interpreted by the excavator, Frickenhaus, as a sacred spot where the passing travellers deposited votive offerings[1415] and by Kilian as an open-air sanctuary, used in non-official cult practice[1416], the character of the cult equipment rather suggests more complex ritual performance. The site was definitely not a "roadside shrine", because the presence of large idols and rhyta, reminiscent of the official cult, as well as kylikes or drinking vessels, suggest the performance of complex rituals rather than the simple deposition of offerings. The presence of large figures in particular (which could have been used as cult images) is a very strong indication of the complexity of the ritual acts. Further, the nature of the rituals, which included libations and drinking ceremonies suggested by the animal rhyton and the kylikes found deliberately broken[1417], indicate that these required an officiant. The absence of any structures certainly presents problems for the argument, but the nature of the equipment presupposes the presence of a specialist, even if the performance of ritual acts was occasional, since the deposition of votives by the worshippers would not necessarily have been associated always with ritual acts. The presence of a large number of female figurines, which is considered as the feature *par excellence* of popular cult[1418] does not rule out this argument.

[1413] Wright, 1994, 65.
[1414] Wright, 1994, 65.
[1415] Hägg, 1981a, 39.
[1416] Kilian, 1990, 190.
[1417] Kilian, 1990, 190.
[1418] Hägg, 1981a, 39.

On the other hand, the Marmaria area at Delphi, which has likewise produced large number of figurines, some small objects of obsidian, steatite, amber and some pottery sherds[1419] but no structures, could well have been literally a popular shrine. The discovery of thirty figurines lying on a flat stone[1420] may suggest some kind of repository for the deposition of the votives[1421]. The site has not produced evidence of any other ritual act performed[1422] and therefore it seems that it was only used as a sacred spot where people deposited figurines and other small objects as offerings to some deity[1423]. The participation of a religious specialist in this case should not be anticipated. Similarly, in the case of ritual acts performed in house shrines, as at Berbati, it is not certain if a cult specialist would have been necessary. Libations could have also been performed by people who were not religious functionaries, although in the case of Berbati the existence of an installation for libations is noteworthy.

Cult Places and Priests

The limited number of references to cult places in the tablets[1424] and the small number of priests and priestesses known to us from the texts suggest that the texts were restricted to places and to priests directly associated with the palace. Cult places are identified in the Linear B tablets[1425] by the content of the texts in which they appear –usually records of offerings- and references to named deities receiving offerings have been interpreted as designating the sanctuary of

[1419] Hägg, 1981a, 38.
[1420] Demangel, 1926, 13.
[1421] It has also been suggested that the hole in the upper part of the body of some figurines was used to hang them by a thread from the branches of trees in a sacred grove (Hägg, 1981a, 38), although their function as amulets worn by people is also a possibility.
[1422] The presence of some pottery sherds cannot provide much information.
[1423] The idea that the figurines were made on the spot supported both by Demangel (1926, 34, n. 1) is uncertain, because no direct evidence was found.
[1424] KN Fh, Fp and Fs series and PY Tn 316 and Fr series.
[1425] The most detailed studies on the subject are Carlier, 1987 and Killen, 1987.

the deity. The same interpretation has been given to terms such as *i-je-ro*, *wo-ko-de* and *na-wi-jo* as well as terms deriving from names of deities, e.g. *di-wi-jo* or *po-si-da-i-jo*, for Zeus and Poseidon respectively[1426]. On the other hand, in cases of references to deities without a place-name, it is very difficult to distinguish whether the offerings were destined to the cult place of each deity or to a single cult place, where a number of deities were venerated. Furthermore, the absence of the place-name of the sanctuary has been considered to indicate a location very close to the palace or the palace itself[1427]. This has been suggested for the KN Fp (1) series where, with the exception of the *a-mi-ni-so pa-si te-o-i*, the other locations were not specified[1428]. PY Tn 316[1429] may have been a similar case, as the list of cult places (*pa-ki-ja-si*, *po-si-da-i-jo*, *pe-re-*82-jo*, *i-pe-me-de-ja-jo-de*, *di-u-ja-jo-qe*, *e-ma-a(2)* and *di-u-jo*) comes under the heading of *PU-RO*, which could denote the palace of Ano Englianos as the centre of the kingdom[1430], or the people of Pylos, which may or may not have been restricted to the aristocracy, or even to the whole town. No other specification about the location of the sanctuaries is provided. However, whatever the actual meaning of *pu-ro*, it is almost certain that the term was referring to the palace and the area around it that was under its direct control, since the term never appears in the lists of the towns being under the dominion of the palace. The unique character of Tn 316 and the elaboration of the ceremonies described further support the possibility that these were performed very close to the palace.

[1426] Carlier, 1987, 257.
[1427] Killen, 1987, 164.
[1428] Killen, 1987, 164.
[1429] For a detailed examination of the tablet see Sacconi, 1987.
[1430] Chadwick, 1977, 40; Bennet, 1995, 592.

The Fr series of Pylos mention the *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* (Fr 1236.1), which probably was a different place from *pa-ki-ja-ne*[1431] but within its district, *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* (Fr 1220.1, Fr 1226.1), perhaps similarly in the district of *ro-u-so* and *ti-no* (Fr 1223.1). All these places have been located in the Hither Province, perhaps even close to the palace[1432]. *Ro-u-so* was the seventh town in the lists of the towns of the Hither Province, whereas *pa-ki-ja-ne* was the fourth. The presence of *ro-u-si-jo* in Un 47 receiving a variety of commodities, suggesting it could have been a place for banquets, indicates the interest of the palace, especially since the ceremony, festival, or even banquet recorded in Fr 1220 is associated with the wanax. Finally, on PY Er 880.2 dealing with land and PY Un 718 dealing with commodities, the term *sa-ra-pe-da* or *sa-ra-pe-do* is found. *Sa-ra-pe-da* is probably the name of the place where the shrine of Poseidon was located[1433], suggested by the association of the two in Un 718.1. Whether this was the same site with *po-si-da-i-jo* is not certain, but the possibility should not be rejected. If that was the case, the area defined as *sa-ra-pe-da* could have been the district around the sanctuary, whereas if there was such a connection between *sa-ra-pe-da* and *po-si-da-i-jo*, the reference of the priests of Poseidon in Fn 187 would further support the notion that most of the priests mentioned in the Pylos texts were attached to sanctuaries closely associated with the palace. This is probably the case anyway, indicated by the obligation of the palace to provide the offerings at the festival. The association of *e-ke-ra(2)-wo*, who was probably the wanax, with this area in tablets Er 880 and Un 718 might further imply that the area (and consequently the sanctuary) was situated close to the palace, as was *pa-ki-ja-ne*, or at least that the palace had a

[1431] Carlier, 1987, 263, n. 28.
[1432] Chadwick, 1972, 106; Killen, 1987, 170.
[1433] Murray, 1979, 342. L. R. Palmer (1963, 216) argues that it was land sacred to Poseidon.

direct control of it. Alternatively, Palaima has argued that *sa-ra-pe-da* was a sub-locale of the district of *pa-ki-ja-ne*[1434]. The absence of *sa-ra-pe-da* from the lists of the towns of the Hither province could also support this interpretation.

In terms of other place-names the location of which has been identified, *a-mi-ni-so* has been equated with modern Amnisos, lying close to Knossos to the north. Similarly, the place-names forming the *tu-ri-so* group (namely *su-ri-no*, *u-ta-no*, *ti-ri-to*, *qa-mo*, *pu-so*, *ru-ki-to* and *qa-ra*) seem to have been situated in the area of Tylissos west of Knossos, suggesting that place-names associated with the group must have also been located somewhere in the general area of Tylissos[1435]. In this area was situated the site of *u-ta-no*, which was specifically associated with the "priestess of the winds" (Fp 13.3), suggesting it was the location of a specific cult. Finally, Killen has indicated a location towards the west of the central area of the island for *di-ka-ta* and *ma-sa*[1436]. The absence of reference in the offering records to other places, such as *ku-do-ni-ja* (Kydonia) or *pa-i-to* (Phaistos), which were situated further afield, is striking and may have been deliberate.

Even though there are uncertainties about the location of some sanctuaries, it has been argued on the evidence from the Linear B tablets that, at both Knossos and Pylos, the palace was responsible for sending offerings to sanctuaries situated in the immediate vicinity[1437], which were probably the most important ones and were directly associated with the official cult of the palace. The palaces do not seem to have had the same obligation for cult places located

[1434] Palaima, 2004, 110.
[1435] Killen, 1987, 165, 167-168, 169.
[1436] Killen, 1987, 173.
[1437] Killen, 1987; Carlier, 1987, 265-267.

some distance from the centre[1438], suggested by their absence from texts of cult offerings. Their deliberate absence from the texts is also supported by the fact that references to place-names situated in the Further Province of Pylos, such as *re-u-ko-to-ro*, its "capital" (Jn 829) and *pa-i-to* or *ku-do-ni-ja* (e.g. KN Ce 59, Lc 481, Da 1156 and F 841) in terms of Crete, confirm that the palace had dealings with places situated away from it. Therefore, for sanctuaries situated further away from the palace this responsibility was probably a local concern[1439].

References to priests without the place-names of the sanctuaries where they performed may further support this theory. The absence of a designation of the place where the priest *a-o-ri-me-ne* and priestesses *ke-i-ja*, *mi-jo-qa* and *a-pi-e-ra* officiated may indicate that they operated close to the palace. The only exception would be the priest of *se-ri-no-wo-te*[1440], but since the location of this place-name is unknown there can be no conclusion either way. Perhaps the fact that the palace was responsible for sending commodities to them suggests that these priests operated under its control. The absence of the place name where they operated as well as the fact that the priests were defined by name could indicate that the priests were well known and consequently that they operated somewhere closely connected to the palace, either in the palace itself or in cult places in its vicinity.

The responsibility for providing sanctuaries with offerings and personnel not supplied by the palace was the concern of the local community or perhaps of an official appointed from the palace. The *e-qe-ta*, for example, may have also

[1438] Killen, 1987, esp. 163, 172.
[1439] Killen, 1987, 163.
[1440] That this was a place-name is suggested by its occurrence on An 424.2, Mn 456.9 and Na 1094 and Murray (1979, 340, 351) has argued that it was probably situated somewhere in the Hither province, although this is not certain.

had religious functions[1441]. The religious function of the *e-qe-ta* may be reflected at his presence in PY Ed 317 among religious personnel, as well as in An 218, where the priest of *ne-wo-ki-to* may have also been an *e-qe-ta*, given that the other individuals mentioned in the same paragraph appear as *e-qe-ta* in the *o-ka* tablets[1442]. L. R. Palmer, specifically, has argued that the *e-qe-ta* were representatives of the wanax, who were responsible for accompanying the detachments listed in the *o-ka* tablets and who also had religious functions[1443]. The religious associations of the *e-qe-ta* are not clear, but the possibility cannot be rejected. Gérard-Rousseau defined the *e-qe-ta* as "un fonctionnaire du palais appelé a intervenir dans les domains religieux, juridique, fiscal et administratif"[1444]. Indeed, these individuals may have had a combined character, since they also appear in the records as receiving goods from the palace[1445] and the term may have defined a person of a more general function in relation to the people he was attached to in each case, who was sent by the palace to follow up certain operations[1446].

Priesthood and hierarchy

Textual evidence suggests that a form of hierarchy or differentiation in status existed among the priesthood and the cult assistants, namely the *te-o-jo do-e-ro* or the assistants in ceremonies –Olivier's "desservants de sanctuaire". Even though the recording of priests and cult assistants in different administrative texts may have been due to what needed to be recorded each time, other evidence also

[1441] L. R. Palmer, 1963, 142, 152, 221, 418; Deger-Jalkotzy, 1976, 200.
[1442] Lindgren, 1973II, 30.
[1443] Palmer, 1963, 221.
[1444] Gérard-Rousseau, 1968, 94.
[1445] Thomas, 1995, 351.
[1446] Lindgren, 1973II, 48; Mylonas Shear, 2004, 49.

suggests different status. If the term *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* (PY Fn 187.18) was referring to the priests of Poseidon[1447] and not to the whole cult personnel of the sanctuary, then the fact that these priests were mentioned as a group could suggest a lower status as opposed to the priests mentioned individually by name. Finally, there are also instances where the priest is only defined by the place-name of the sanctuary he serves, e.g. *i-je-re-u se-ri-no-wo-te* (PY Qa 1290). It is interesting to note that priestesses do not occur as yet as groups, supporting the theory that for women being a priestess was not a profession in the same sense as for male priests.

The difference in status may have been decided by the cult place where they performed and its connection with the palace. This would be in accordance with the important status of *we-te-re-u* as the priest of *pa-ki-ja-ne*. The fact that the priest of *se-ri-no-wo-te* does not appear in the land tenure documents could, of course, be due to chances of record preservation, but could also suggest that his status was not high enough to hold land, at least at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, or that this privilege was restricted to priests closely associated with the palace. Whether he held land somewhere else it is not easy to tell, but such possibility should not be excluded. A similar case might have been the priest *sa-ke-re-u*, who held land in another locality (PY Ea 756.1).

Sanctuaries and Workshops: A "temple economy"?

The decipherment of the Linear B tablets has shown that the Mycenaean economy reflected in the texts resembled very much that of the Near Eastern

[1447] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 574; Killen, 2001a, 436.

kingdoms, hence an "Asiatic" economy[1448]. However, the similarity in the economic system, which was dominated by large palace-complexes that owned land and dominated industrial production, does not necessarily mean that the Mycenaean economy was an exact copy of the economy of Near Eastern kingdoms. Furthermore, the association of cult areas with evidence of production, usually metalworking in the form of unfinished objects, raw material and tools[1449] has led scholars to suggest that sanctuaries had an active role in procuring their livelihood[1450]. The archaeological evidence seems to be further complemented by written evidence. Linear B texts appear to reflect an association between production and religion, suggested by the characterisation of smiths (e.g. PY Jn 310) and flocks of sheep (e.g. KN Dl 943) as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, belonging to Potnia. Further, the term *wo-ko*, οίκος appearing in relation to deities and produce, such as textiles (TH Of 36), has been considered by some scholars as designating some sort of sacred industry[1451]. This practice of production by the sanctuaries has been paralleled to the Near Eastern system of "temple economy" and it has been suggested that a similar system existed in Mycenaean Greece, albeit much more restricted and constituting only one sector of the economy[1452]. L. R. Palmer, in particular, has supported the notion of a "temple economy"[1453], even though he never examined the matter in detail.

In fact, most scholars today agree that whatever the association of religion with economy in the Mycenaean period it cannot be characterised as a "temple economy" and certainly not in the form and scale of its counterparts in Near

[1448] Killen, 1985, 242. For a definition of the "Asiatic" economy see Finley, 1985, 28-29.
[1449] Hägg, 1992, 29.
[1450] Lupack, 1999, 26.
[1451] Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 1975, 94; Palmer in: Hiller, 1979, discussion; Hägg and Marinatos, 1981, 217; Knapp, 1986, 49.
[1452] Hiller, 1981, 103.
[1453] Palmer, 1963, 95, 137, 221, 230, 278, 280, 482; 1963, 40.

Eastern kingdoms. Nevertheless, although some connection between religion and production seems to be reflected in the Linear B tablets, there is some scepticism about the extent and nature of this association. Killen, for example, has argued that if sanctuaries produced material and were indeed able to redistribute commodities, it would have been on a modest scale, since the nature of Mycenaean economy does not seem to have been able to sustain another redistributive centre (the "temple") next to the palace without it fragmenting and endangering its authority[1454]. Furthermore, the re-exanimation of the archaeological evidence, which was focused on the misidentification of workshop areas as such[1455], has weakened the argument.

The purpose of this examination, then, is to decide whether there was some form of control from the part of the religious sector over production and what was its nature. First, however, it is necessary to define what is meant by "temple economy" in order to be able to conclude whether such an economy existed in any form in the Mycenaean period.

Near Eastern temple economy

By "temple economy" we mean a society where temple-complexes possessed resources in the same manner as did palace-complexes. More specifically, the temples owned land and its produce, maintained herds of animals both for work in the fields and as stock-breeding and were able to engage a labour force[1456], which in New Kingdom Egypt was often partly paid by the temples themselves in the form of food and other commodities[1457], suggesting

[1454] Killen, 1985, 256-261.
[1455] Kryzskowska, 1997; Bendall, 2003.
[1456] Kemp, 1972, 661; Postgate, 1972, 815-818.
[1457] Janssen, 1979, 509.

that the temples had surplus produce. As a consequence, the temples possessed their own storehouses, workshops and transport ships[1458] and occasionally they may have also been involved in trade[1459], suggesting that the economic function of the temples was similar to that of the state. Therefore, in societies where such an economy existed, the temple possessed sufficient wealth to act as a stabilising force, it was able to cover its people's basic needs and even supply capital for business transactions[1460]. In other words, temple economies produced a surplus of income[1461]. The source of the temples' wealth consisted of offerings and gifts from the community served by the temple and by kings and private individuals. These gifts could even include people or land[1462]. Indeed, land constituted the actual basis of the temple's wealth and power and enabled it to act as the community's emergency granary[1463]. The amount of land temples held varied and must have depended on their importance[1464], whereas some of it was exploited directly by the temples and some indirectly in the form of tax, obligation or rent[1465]. The economic activities of the temples were so extensive that they required administrators to organise them[1466]. For example, important temples in Mesopotamia, like the temple of Marduk in Babylon, had managers, executives, archivists, accountants, secretaries and other functionaries, who were in charge of different sectors of the economic side of the temple[1467]. That is why

[1458] Janssen, 1979, 508.
[1459] Postgate, 1972, 817.
[1460] Postgate, 1972, 814.
[1461] Kemp, 1972, 660.
[1462] Postgate, 1972, 815; Janssen, 1979, 511. In Egypt, for example, some individuals donated land, offerings or services to the temple, which in turn maintained their mortuary rites (David, 2002, 197).
[1463] Postgate, 1972, 816.
[1464] Postgate, 1972, 816; Thompson, 1990, 98, 104.
[1465] Kemp, 1972, 658; Janssen, 1979, 510.
[1466] Janssen, 1979, 508.
[1467] Leick, 2003, 110.

the temples also kept their own archives[1468]. In New Kingdom Egypt some temples also owned mines, which supplied the materials used in the temple's workshops to produce the equipment and the possessions of the god. Further, some temples like Karnak, possessed their own fleets of ships used for tax collection[1469]. The fact that the overseers of the temple domains were often laymen attached to other government services[1470] indicates the extent of the economic activities of temples.

Mycenaean sanctuaries and economy

Before examining in detail the association of Mycenaean sanctuaries with production it is important to look very briefly into the economic system of Mycenaean Greece, since the existence of a non-palatial economy may have played an important role in the upkeep of cult places. Studies have indicated that palatial administration controlled only specific aspects of the economy, of interest to the palace[1471]. For example, it is fairly certain that a number of sheep existed outside the palatial control of Knossos, since those controlled by it would not have been enough to cover the needs of the population[1472]. Moreover, the acquisition by the palace of commodities (e.g. pulse crops) and objects the production of which was not recorded in the texts (e.g. pottery) further points to the existence of a parallel non-palatial economy, many aspects of which were absent from the administrative records[1473]. Thus, sanctuaries might have had economic exchanges that were not recorded in the texts, although they most

[1468] Kemp, 1972, 670; Janssen, 1979, 508.
[1469] David, 2002, 197-198.
[1470] Janssen, 1979, 509.
[1471] Shelmerdine, 1999, 21; Parkinson, 1999, 75.
[1472] Halstead, 1981, 332.
[1473] Shelmerdine, 1999, 21; Halstead, 1988, 526; 1999, esp. 38; Killen, 1999b, 88.

probably would have been on a smaller scale. This would have been especially the case with sanctuaries of smaller communities since, as established already, their maintenance was most probably the responsibility of each community. This question, however, will be discussed in more detail below.

An association between religion and production seems to be supported both by archaeological and written evidence, and studies[1474] have tried to understand the extent of the involvement of the religious sector in production. Others, however, have challenged the theory that such a connection is supported by the archaeological evidence[1475]. The criteria proposed by Tournavitou for the identification of workshop areas[1476] have provided a new understanding of the archaeological remains. A more careful examination of the Northeastern Building at Pylos[1477] has demonstrated that this was not a workshop area, as was previously thought[1478], but probably a clearinghouse or a redistributive centre for goods and personnel[1479]. Similarly, the evidence for material processing found in the basements of the so-called Megaron, the open area north of the Room with the Fresco and in Room 32 of the Cult Centre at Mycenae[1480] is ambiguous. The argument concerning the Northeastern Building at Pylos has been presented by Bendall and therefore only the key points will be mentioned here.

The Northeastern Building is an independent unit that has been interpreted as a workshop area[1481]. A cult function has been attributed to Room 93, Court 92 in front of it and the roofed colonnade 94 to the northeast of the

[1474] Hägg, 1992; Lupack, 1998; 1999.
[1475] Bendall, 2003.
[1476] Tournavitou, 1988.
[1477] Bendall, 2003.
[1478] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 299.
[1479] Bendall, 2003, 184, 224.
[1480] French, 1981a, 45.
[1481] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 299.

court. The rest of the complex consists of five rooms (Rooms 96-100). The small room 96 might have been an office or room that according to the excavators served the shrine (Room 93) to which it was attached[1482]. In Room 98 a considerable quantity of bronze was found, mostly strips, wire, pins and chunks of metal, melted presumably by the action of fire that destroyed the palace, which led the excavators to identify this room as the storage area of material used in the complex, and Room 97 as the actual working area[1483]. Room 99 might also have been a storeroom, where materials would have been kept, whereas Room 100, according to the excavators could have served the manufacture of fine objects in ivory and bronze, as suggested by the finds uncovered[1484].

An examination of the distribution of artefacts, such as flakes of obsidian, knives, blades and others, considered to support the on-site manufacture throughout the palace has not indicated a deliberate concentration in the Northeastern Building[1485]. On the contrary, large assemblages of such artefacts are usually found in storerooms[1486]. The large quantities of ivory and bronze would be consistent with storage and cannot in themselves support an assertion of on-site manufacture[1487], since a workshop assemblage would have included a number of unfinished pieces and waste[1488]. Concerning the presence of Linear B tablets and sealings in the complex, considered as supportive of the interpretation of the Northeastern Building as a workshop, these are usually not found in workshop areas[1489] and therefore cannot sustain this argument. Their presence,

[1482] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 309.
[1483] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 316.
[1484] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 321, 325; Tegyey, 1984, 66-67.
[1485] Bendall, 2003, 185-196.
[1486] Bendall, 2003, 195-196.
[1487] Bendall, 2003, 194.
[1488] Tournavitou, 1988, 453-454.
[1489] Tournavitou, 1988, 456; Shelmerdine, 1997, 387.

though, in the complex would be understandable if the latter was functioning as a storeroom area, especially since the nature of the texts suggests that the tablets found there constituted an archive rather than a deposit[1490].

Finally, the identification of Room 93 as a shrine has always depended on dubious evidence, since the room itself did not produce enough material and certainly not much to suggest ritual activity[1491]. The mere presence of kylikes is not diagnostic of religious practice[1492], least of all at the palace of Pylos, where they were uncovered in large numbers and in various contexts[1493]. The only strong evidence in favour of the shrine interpretation is provided by the "altar" in Court 92. Bendall has stressed the fact that the structure is unparalleled elsewhere and that Mycenaean altars are different in form, even the freestanding ones[1494]. Therefore, the interpretation of the structure remains problematic, as is the function of Room 93. What seems to be certain is that the Northeastern Building was not a workshop but a major storage facility, possibly for weaponry, and the seat of unusual administrative activity, whereas the large number of sealings suggests that the building was a point of entry of goods for the whole palace[1495]. In addition, the evidence suggests a movement of personnel on too large a scale to have been working in the building itself[1496].

Specific areas in the Cult Centre at Mycenae have similarly been interpreted as workshops. Tools, raw materials and partly worked pieces of valuable raw material such as ivory, were concentrated in the basements of the

[1490] Bendall, 2003, 198-224.
[1491] Castleden, 2005, 146.
[1492] Bendall, 2003, 185.
[1493] Blegen and Rawson, 1966, 351; Bendall, 2004, 113 (diagram).
[1494] Bendall, 2003, 186.
[1495] Bendall, 2003, 224.
[1496] Bendall, 2003, 224. Tegyey (1984, 69) for example has argued that some of the tablets dealing with groups of men, like PY Ac 1272-1280 may have been the work force of the workshop.

so-called Megaron, in the open area north of the Room with the Fresco and in Room 32, the so-called "Shrine" or Room with the Ivories[1497] (**fig. 69**). French argues that since the lighting in both the basements of the Megaron and Room 32 seems inadequate for workshops, it is quite likely that these areas were storerooms that dispensed material, which was worked in the open area to the north of the Room with the Fresco and in other parts of the site[1498]. This may indicate that the sanctuary, as the owner of valuable materials, handed them to artisans, who worked them and returned the finished objects and the scrap material back to the sanctuary[1499]. The presence of small clay objects, then, would be better understood if they were to be interpreted as counters or tallies related to the recording of the material[1500]. However, nowhere in the tablets is recorded the distribution of valuable raw material to sanctuaries or over to religious personnel, with the exception of PY Jn 829 and Ae 303 examined below.

The dimensions of Room 32 (2.8 x 1.0m) certainly rule out the possibility that it might have been used as a workshop and its identification as a storeroom for cult equipment and votive offerings seems most plausible. Several pieces of worked ivory, possibly votive, were uncovered in the room, whereas a single block of raw ivory from which several layers had been taken[1501] is the only evidence that unworked ivory might have been stored there. Furthermore, the possibility that the Room with the Fresco was not a shrine but a workshop and that the people working there were under the patronage or protection of the

[1497] French, 1981a, 45; 2002, 85; Hägg, 1992, 30; Whittaker, 1997, 168.
[1498] French, 1981a, 45; Hägg, 1992, 30.
[1499] French, 1981a, 45, 48; Hägg, 1992, 30.
[1500] French, 1981a, 45.
[1501] Lupack, 1999, 30.

divinity[1502] does not seem likely, on the basis of the cult equipment found in the room and the fresco decoration, which rather points to its religious function. The material uncovered in the basements of the Megaron consisted of pottery, worked and scrap ivory, an elephant's tusk, boar's tusks and a hippopotamus tooth[1503] and could perhaps suggest that it was a storeroom. However, the absence of debitage clearly suggests that Room 32 and the Megaron were not workshop areas, whereas examination of the material points rather to the fact that the rooms could not even be identified as storerooms for an ivory workshop[1504].

The uncovering of a quantity of small objects, many of them in an unfinished state and of a steatite mould in the area between the Temple and the Room with the Fresco, led to its identification as a workshop area[1505]. It might have also been used as a storeroom, although whether it was roofed or not is not clear[1506]. Tournavitou, however, has argued that since corroborating evidence such as debitage, raw materials and tools is missing, the area cannot be identified as a workshop, whereas the mould was probably not *in situ*[1507]. The quantity of raw material from these three areas was too small to suggest it was used in production, even though this might be justified by the fact that ivory was a valuable material and may not have been distributed in large quantities. It is clear, therefore, that the evidence is not conclusive for the interpretation of the

[1502] Murray, 1979, 400.
[1503] Whittaker, 1997, 168; French, 2002, 85. Though the hippopotamus tooth was burnt and partly calcined prior to deposition (Krzyszkowska, 1997, 146).
[1504] Krzyszkowska, 1997, esp. 148.
[1505] Taylor, French and Wardle, 1981, 17-18.
[1506] French, 2002, 92.
[1507] Tournavitou, 1997, 233.

areas as workshop or storage areas. Perhaps the only possible suggestion for the time being is that the raw material was deposited in these areas as an offering[1508].

Finally, an association between cult and production seems to be indicated at Ayios Konstantinos at Methana and Phylakopi. At Ayios Konstantinos, a workshop (Room Δ) –identified as such by the presence of tools (grinders and pounders), bits of corroded metal and a crucible- is situated next to the cult areas, Rooms A and B[1509]. Nevertheless, since the excavation has not been published yet, there can be no certainty, and before all the material from Room Δ is presented its identification as a workshop is an open question. It should also be noted that such associations may not have been deliberate, but the result of lack of space. Metal finds in the form of slag and the presence of crucibles were uncovered in both shrines at Phylakopi and in the "temple" of Ayia Irini[1510]. However, they can be better interpreted as votives than as by-products of metalworking as suggested by their association with other offerings, such as terracotta figures and figurines[1511]. The high concentration of obsidian artefacts in the shrines at Phylakopi should perhaps be similarly explained. That the shrine was able to trade these artefacts[1512] seems unlikely, although it is possible that at Phylakopi the elite and the priesthood was one and the same and the interests of the two spheres interrelated.

Finally, although the so-called Potter's Quarter (Rooms A and B) at Berbati does not consist of a shrine with an industrial component, as has been argued for the examples from Pylos and Mycenae examined above, but rather a

[1508] See also Krzyszkowska, 1997, 148. Contrast for example the House of Artisans at Mycenae, where there is ample evidence in favour of its identification as a workshop (Tournavitou, 1997, 237).
[1509] Konsolaki, 1991, 73; Lupack, 1999, 32.
[1510] Schallin, 1997, 148, 149-150; Caskey, 1981, 132.
[1511] Schallin, 1997, 156, 159.
[1512] Lupack, 1999, 33.

workshop with a religious aspect, it has often been used to support the association between cult and production[1513]. A kind of bench made of unworked stones was uncovered in the right corner of the back wall of Room A, on which fragments of a large amphora (LH IIIB), a spoon and a fragmentary clay plaque were found, whereas a little higher but in connection to the bench were also found fragments of terracotta psi figurines[1514]. Room A and the kiln were built over by a larger complex, of which Room B has revealed an installation interpreted as an altar[1515]. This was placed in the middle of the back wall on a ledge cut in the rock, whereas two rows of stones next to it formed a channel, closed at the right end by two smaller stones[1516]. Under the stones the base and part of the stem of a large cup were firmly fastened, suggesting that the liquid of libations passed through the channel and the cup and disappeared into the floor of the room[1517]. It is noteworthy that one of the stones forming the front row of the channel is of larger dimensions than the rest, which in association with the discovery of a fragmentary figurine could suggest its use for the deposition of cult paraphernalia[1518]. Finally, in the northwest corner of room C, situated north of the architectural ensemble, was found a krater half sunk into the floor[1519]. Its base was pierced and the broken pieces removed, but its lower part was protected on the outside by fragments of LH IIIB pottery. The krater was deliberately pierced from the inside after it was placed into the floor, suggesting its use for libations[1520] as was the jar at Asine[1521]. Lupack has argued that Berbati

[1513] Lupack, 1999, 34.
[1514] Åkerström, 1968, 49; 1988, 201.
[1515] Åkerström, 1968, 49; 1987, 24; 1988, 201.
[1516] Åkerström, 1988, 201.
[1517] Åkerström, 1968, 50; 1988, 201.
[1518] Åkerström, 1988, 201.
[1519] Åkerström, 1968, 49; 1988, 201; Hägg, 1990a, 181.
[1520] Åkerström, 1968, 50; 1988, 202.
[1521] Hägg, 1981b, 93; Whittaker, 1997, 146.

demonstrates a link between religion and industry, perhaps in the sense that the potters were worshipping a deity, who supervised and ensured the outcome of their manufacturing process[1522]. Åkerström, however, has supported the view that the cult installations were simple house altars as suggested by the existence of cooking ware and traces of cooking[1523], an interpretation that seems more plausible.

Evidence from the Linear B tablets

Some kind of association between the religious sector and production, which may suggest that the latter was under the control of the former, seems to be indicated by references in the Linear B tablets dealing with flocks and personnel, mostly smiths, defined as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*. These occurrences have been interpreted as indicative of the sanctuary's possession of goods or persons designated in this way[1524] and have suggested the involvement of sanctuaries in animal husbandry, agriculture and metal production[1525].

Specifically, flocks of sheep associated with Potnia appear exclusively on the Dl series from Knossos[1526], which record sheep and the amount of wool expected to be produced[1527], indicating that the purpose of flocks was the production of wool. Most of these sheep were associated in the texts with the place-name *si-ja-du-we*, but there is no corroborating evidence to support that this was a sanctuary as Lupack has argued[1528]. It could have simply been a place of pasture land where the *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* sheep were kept. Instead of arguing,

[1522] Lupack, 1999, 34.
[1523] Åkerström, 1968, 50; 1988, 202, and n. 2.
[1524] Lupack, 1999, 26.
[1525] Lupack, 1999, 27, 28.
[1526] Dl (1) 933, 943, 946, 950, 7147, 7503.
[1527] Killen, 1964, 1, 9.
[1528] Lupack, 1999, 27.

therefore, that the flocks were managed by a particular sanctuary, it is more probable that these flocks, like most flocks, were situated in various places but were managed by the palace and only their produce belonged to the Potnia. This is suggested by the fact that the purpose of the flocks was the wool they would produce and also that wool described as belonging to Potnia is mentioned on KN X 997+D 7206 and X 7742[1529]. The written evidence for textile production at Knossos and Pylos indicates that this was performed on a large scale and that it was controlled by the palaces[1530]. Thus, it seems likely that the existence of flocks of sheep belonging to Potnia indicated that the palace was responsible for the flocks' management, but the produce was given to others[1531], in this case the sanctuaries. Noteworthy is Darcque's observation that there was nothing special about the *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* sheep and bronzesmiths, since both were treated in the same way as normal flocks of sheep and normal bronzesmiths[1532].

The smiths designated as belonging to Potnia and the unguent boiler defined as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, who received ingredients in PY Un 249[1533] were probably similar cases and the latter would have produced perfumed oil for ritual use, perhaps especially for the Potnia. The fact that perfumed oil manufacture was a centralised activity, since at neither Pylos or Knossos is there a record relating this activity with a place-name[1534], further emphasises the control of the palace. The existence of smiths who had a special connection with Potnia and/or her sanctuary, the *ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*[1535], does not necessarily mean that they were attached to a specific sanctuary. It is rather suggestive of the existence

[1529] Killen, 1964, 15.
[1530] Killen, 1984.
[1531] Killen, 1964, 15.
[1532] Darcque, 2005, 296.
[1533] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 225; Shelmerdine, 1985, 20, 42.
[1534] Killen, 2001b, 171.
[1535] Hiller, 1979, 190.

of particular smiths dedicated to the goddess in the sense that any profit deriving from their work was devoted by the palace to her[1536], perhaps in the form of tax, or that they were responsible for producing objects used in ritual[1537]. This is further indicated by the fact that the palace supplied them with the raw material[1538], thus they were under the *ta-ra-si-ja* system.

Gillis has argued in favour of a different interpretation of the meaning of *ta-ra-si-ja*. She argued that instead of being a demand to produce objects with raw materials supplied by the palace, it might have been a demand by the palace for finished objects as an obligation[1539]. This would imply that the palace was not giving the material but demanded *ka-ko* in the form of manufactured objects. The palace, then, would not have controlled the process of metalworking, but only the finished objects. This could be further supported by the absence of any mention of what these smiths should produce[1540]. According to this interpretation the *ka-ko na-wi-jo* mentioned in PY Jn 829 could be better understood if this industry was decentralised and the material was kept in the villages or in local shrines[1541]. However, it seems unlikely that metal was so easily accessed; it is more plausible, therefore, to argue that the palatial centres controlled both the metal resources and the production, even if the smiths were not directly under their supervision. Perhaps the *ka-ko na-wi-jo* may actually refer to objects rather than to raw material, which were requested in order to be melted down[1542]. This

[1536] Murray, 1979, 397, 400.
[1537] Though Smith (1992-1993, 184) emphasises the fact that *ta-ra-si-ja* is related to actual craft activity.
[1538] Lupack, 1999, 27.
[1539] Gillis, 1997, 511.
[1540] Gillis, 1997, 511.
[1541] Gillis, 1997, 511, n. 33. However, Hiller's interpretation that *ka-ko na-wi-jo* is referring to the bronze used in decorating buildings (Hiller, 1979) is a possibility.
[1542] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 358.

would explain the association of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* with bronze in PY Jn 829, since as the key-bearer of the sanctuary she would have access to its storerooms.

Therefore, sanctuaries were associated with raw material and craftsmen designated as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, which were, however, controlled by the palace and not by the sanctuaries. This is also suggested by a reference in KN G 820 of *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* women workers recorded as receiving rations[1543], presumably performing a task that its produce was destined for cult. The fact that these women received rations from the palace clearly indicates that the palace was responsible for them and that they probably worked in palatial workshops. The sanctuaries, then, did not have surplus and could not provide rations. Similarly, since the smiths belonging to Potnia were working under the *ta-ra-si-ja* system and received distributions from the palace, they were palace functionaries, i.e. attached craftsmen[1544].

In Linear B tablets from Thebes and Knossos[1545] the term *wo-ko* appears, which has been interpreted as οἶκος, temple[1546], since it is usually associated with a deity[1547]. More specifically the term has been interpreted to designate an industrial unit of a divine establishment[1548] or some sort of sacred industry[1549] due to its textual association with raw material or labour force. Hiller has argued in favour of an economic function of the oikos, which had a work force, although

[1543] Lupack, 1999, 27.
[1544] Tournavitou and Sugerman, 2000, 76.
[1545] The notion that *wo-ke* appearing in PY Sh 736 is referring to *wo-ko* I think is problematic and therefore will not be included in the argument. Similarly, there is no strong evidence to support the identification of *me-za-na* associated with *wo-ke* as a deity (Palmer, 1963, 434). I prefer Ventris and Chadwick's (1973, 522) interpretation that *me-za-na wo-ke* is to be taken together and that it refers to the type of craftsmanship.
[1546] Liddell and Scott, 1204-1205.
[1547] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 592; Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 1975, 89. I follow Chadwick's (Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 1975, 89) interpretation that *do-de* is referring to the house of a human being and therefore the amounts of wool associated with it are not considered relevant.
[1548] L. R. Palmer, 1976, 443-444; L. R. Palmer in: Hiller, 1979, discussion.
[1549] Hägg and Marinatos, 1981, 217; Knapp, 1986, 49.

not exclusively or primarily sacral[1550]. This work force was listed in the tablets, e.g. KN As 1519.11 where the *ma-ri-ne-u wo-ko-de* -presumably the shrine of the god *ma-ri-ne-u*[1551]- was associated with a list of ten male names[1552]. In addition, a group of women in TH Of 25 and Of 35 receiving wool were also called *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i*, a derivative of *ma-ri-ne-u*[1553], considered to have been women in the service of the deity[1554].

A similar entry appears on TH Of 36, recording the dispatch of a unit of wool and an *a-ke-ti-ra(2)*, a textile decorator to the *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de*, the house or shrine of Potnia[1555]. The amount of wool given (1 unit= 3kg)[1556] does not seem to have been sufficient for the needs of a sanctuary[1557], although this would have depended on the use of the wool. If this was only used for cloth decoration, for example, a small amount would suffice[1558]. The small amounts of wool destined to deities recorded in the tablets of Thebes[1559] therefore may have been used either for weaving garments for the divinity, i.e. the cult image, or for other ritual purposes, e.g. to decorate the image of the deity. The fact that cloth was used to decorate the clay image of the deity is suggested by the Tiryns fresco of the theophoria, depicting two bands or ribbons on either side of the figure, whereas suggestive is also the presence of such streamers painted on clay figures. Of the same concept would have been the streamers associated with the garments

[1550] Hiller, 1981, 99-103.
[1551] Chadwick, 1976, 99.
[1552] Murray, 1979, 401. The term was originally reconstructed as [*di*]-*ri-ne-wo wo-i-ko-de* by Chadwick, Killen and Olivier (1971, 27), but seems more probable that it was *ma-ri-ne-u*.
[1553] Chadwick, 1976, 99.
[1554] Aura Jorro, 1993II, 426.
[1555] Murray, 1979, 398; Hooker, 1980, 155.
[1556] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 314.
[1557] It has been estimated that this amount of wool would be sufficient for the annual needs of a single person in southern Greece (Halstead, 1981, 327).
[1558] Nosch, 2000, 47.
[1559] Namely TH Of 28.2 mentioning *e-ra* (Hera), Of 31.3 mentioning *e-ma-a(2)* (Hermes) and Of 36.2 mentioning *po-ti-ni-ja*.

of priests and acolytes worn during ritual, clearly shown on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus scenes and on some of the Tanagra larnakes. Chadwick has suggested that at least some of the wool would have been used in offerings and to adorn priests, even victims, presumably the animals destined for sacrifice[1560]. It is possible, therefore, that the *ku* wool associated with deities or sanctuaries was raw material destined for the dressing and decoration of the cult image[1561] and the garments of priests and members of ceremonial processions, as indicated by artistic representations[1562]. This would explain why wool was given in small quantities. This is clearly indicated by the offering of wool in TH Of 26.3 to *po-re-na*, "the terracotta figures that were dedicated to shrines for cult purposes"[1563] and this practice may have particularly been associated with specific festivals or ceremonies, such as the *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*[1564].

The fact that deities received wool does not mean that sanctuaries possessed workshops where this was processed, since this may have been used as raw material. In addition, the fact that woven textiles were sent to priests and to sanctuaries presumably for use in ritual may suggest that cult places were not able to meet their needs themselves. Textiles found in tablets of religious context are identified by the ideograms **146*, **164*[1565], **166+WE* and *TELA+TE* and were offered to deities and cult personnel[1566]. Whether the latter received them as remuneration[1567] is yet to be concluded, since the garments might have been

[1560] Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 1975, 91.
[1561] Nosch and Perna, 2001, 477.
[1562] Gallou, 2005, 109.
[1563] Gallou, 2005, 109.
[1564] Nosch and Perna, 2001, 474. For the examination of the term and its association with cult see Gallou, 2005, 108-110.
[1565] The textile **164* particularly seems to have been some kind of a special textile, due to its small weight and may have specifically been associated with the festival of theophoria (Hiller, 1984, 146).
[1566] Nosch and Perna, 2001, 473.
[1567] Nosch and Perna, 2001, 473.

provided in order to be worn in the ceremonies. The garments offered to cult personnel were *TELA+TE* and perhaps also **146*, whereas those offered to deities consisted of *we-a(2)-no *146* and **166+WE*[1568]. Religious personnel are also associated with the **189* or the *KE* ideogram (PY Qa series), designating some kind of textile, which Ventris and Chadwick have identified as a specific robe worn by the priests in ceremonies[1569].

The fact that the Linear B tablets record the production of both textiles offered to deities and those offered to the priesthood, clearly indicates that these were not produced in cult places. This seems to be suggested by the fact that the palace sends **146* cloth to *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* even though it is produced at *ro-u-so* and delivered to Pylos as a tax contribution[1570]. The **146* ideogram probably defined a relatively simple fabric or garment, which could be produced by non-specialist weavers in various districts of the kingdom, as opposed to fabrics produced by specialist workers of the palace[1571]. Furthermore, the palace of Pylos requests of **146* as taxation payment[1572], implies that not only the sanctuaries were not sustaining themselves, but were maintained by the redistributive system of the palace, parts of which came through taxation. Moreover, *TELA+TE* is associated with the *ta-ra-si-ja* system in tablets KN Le 642 and PY La 1393[1573], a further indication that it was under palatial control and not under the control of the sanctuaries.

With the exception of TH Of 36 there is no other firm evidence to suggest the existence of textile workers in the service of sanctuaries. Perhaps the entry is

[1568] Nosch and Perna, 2001, 473, 476.
[1569] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 485.
[1570] Nosch and Perna, 2001, 473.
[1571] Killen, 1984, 62.
[1572] Killen, 1984, 62; 1988, 180; Nosch and Perna, 2001, 473.
[1573] Nosch, 2000, 51, 53; Killen, 2001b, 163.

referring to a shrine within the palace and for that reason it is defined as oikos, and the *a-ke-ti-ra(2)* might have actually been palatial personnel. It should be noted that the *a-ke-ti-ra(2)* in this entry is in the nominative plural case[1574], suggesting that rather than receiving the wool themselves, the decorators are sent to the oikos together with the wool, presumably to perform some duty. The presence of *a-ke-ti-ra(2)* also in PY Un 219 and Fn 187 in relation to ceremonies may mean that these decorators had some task to perform in relation to religious ceremonies, either in terms of decorating the actual cloth used, or some other kind of decoration[1575]. This might have been the reason why they were associated both with deities and religious ceremonies.

The wool send to the oikos of Potnia is not enough evidence to support the idea that sanctuaries could process raw material and that the oikos was some kind of industry. Similarly, the men given to the oikos of *ma-ri-ne-u* need not have constituted a work force. Since *ma-ri-ne-u* was probably a deity, the men could have been individuals dedicated to him, those that once in the service of the deity would be defined as *te-o-jo do-e-ro-i*. In terms of the women defined as *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i* the interpretation is more difficult, but most likely the word similarly defined individuals in the service of the deity. Therefore, the most likely interpretation for *wo-ko* is that it simply referred to the sanctuary of a deity situated very close or even within the palace, also suggested by the absence of a place-name.

The presence of a number of religious personnel as landholders in the area of *pa-ki-ja-ne* has been taken as suggestive that the sanctuary had control over the produce of this land and that the sanctuary and perhaps other sanctuaries

[1574] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 529.
[1575] Killen, 2001a, 436.

like it, presided over their own economic system of collection and redistribution in a similar way to the palace, but on a smaller scale[1576]. This would imply a certain economic independence of the sanctuaries, which would allow it to support itself, by using the produce of this land for the sustenance of its religious functionaries[1577].

If that was the case, it is possible that this practice was reflected in the PY Es series. The series record the land holdings of thirteen men at an unknown area (Es 650). The area could have been that of *sa-ra-pe-da*, due to the occurrence of the name of Poseidon and the formula *do-so-mo*, which appear in PY Un 718 recording offerings sent to Poseidon at *sa-ra-pe-da*[1578]. The obligation of these individuals to give amounts of grain to Poseidon and three human recipients, recorded in individual tablets, seems to suggest that they had the use of the land and in return they were obliged to provide part of the produce to them, either as a tax or as a religious contribution[1579]. This could suggest, then, that the land was associated with Poseidon and his sanctuary, but its use was appointed to specific people in return for providing for the maintenance of the sanctuary. Part of their obligation was also towards *we-da-ne-u* and *di-wi-je-u* and **34-ke-te-si* (a deity or a person), probably due to some commitment or tax, although this does not necessarily presuppose the religious status of the recipients[1580]. Perhaps *we-da-ne-u* and *di-wi-je-u* were palatial officials responsible for such matters and they received part of the produce as a payment. The fact that this arrangement was recorded in the administrative records suggests that the use of land associated with sanctuaries was the concern of the palace. This further supports the theory

[1576] Lupack, 1998, 424; 1999, 26.
[1577] Lupack, 1999, 26.
[1578] Ventris and Chadwick, 1973, 275-284.
[1579] Lang, 1964, 37, 45.
[1580] Murray, 1979, 226, 384.

that part of the palatial economy was set aside for the maintenance of cult places, but that it was controlled by the palaces and not the sanctuaries.

The case at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, however, was not the same, since the formula used (*ki-ti-me-na*/*ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*) was different. It is clear that the land at *pa-ki-ja-ne* was controlled by the palace through the *te-re-ta* and by the *da-mo* and with the exception of the *te-o e-to-ni-jo* there is no indication that the land belonged to a deity. Furthermore, it has been proposed that religious personnel held land at *pa-ki-ja-ne* as a result of their close association with the palace and in return for their services. This suggests that the land was given for the personal use of the religious personnel, which may also be supported by the fact that priests, although they held many plots of land, never appear as primary holders. The land they held was either controlled through the *te-re-ta* by the palace or by the *da-mo*. If the land of *pa-ki-ja-ne* belonged to the sanctuary, the role of the priests would have been more active and this is not supported by the texts. The land of the En/Eo, Ep/Eb and Ea tablets was not subject to taxation[1581], thus it was given in return for services. If that was the case, the notion that *te-o e-to-ni-jo* in Ep 704.5 was a special plot with tax exemptions[1582] is not valid. Nevertheless, this type of land holding was certainly special, otherwise there would not have been a dispute about it. The question, however, of what was so special of this particular plot and what its association was with the deity still remain unanswered. Perhaps the plot offered exemption from services instead of exemption from tax.

Furthermore, if sanctuaries owned land and animals and controlled production, officials responsible for the affairs of the sanctuaries, identified as

[1581] Foster, 1981, 81.
[1582] Vermeule, 1964, 296.

"belonging" to them, would have been recorded in the tablets. Alternatively, the priests themselves might have had responsibility over such matters. Nevertheless, with the exception of the land tenure tablets, priests do not feature in any other texts as an economic factor. An exception is perhaps the case of *we-da-ne-u* and *di-wi-je-u*, but since their religious status is not clearly suggested from the Linear B tablets, there can be no conclusion.

There is another matter that needs to be examined: whether the goods offered to the priesthood were destined for them or for the sanctuaries where they performed. Lupack has suggested that the offerings were mostly made in the name of the deities, indicating that this support was given to the religious personnel in recognition of the religious services they performed for the society and the status they accrued thereby[1583]. It is not certain whether foodstuff provided for feasting should be included, even when it formed part of religious festivals, since these offerings would have been made at specific intervals rather than to cover the regular needs of the sanctuaries. It is true that it is not clear how often ritual was practiced in Mycenaean sanctuaries, but it seems likely that cult was not limited only to the performance of festivals.

The commodities received by priests consisted of that denoted by the ideogram **189* or *KE* (PY Qa series), another kind of textile recorded as *TELA+TE* (PY Un 6 verso) and olive oil (KN Fp). The fact that the name of the priest or priestess is mentioned as the recipient of commodities seems to suggest that these were given to them for personal use, otherwise it would not have been necessary to record both the sanctuaries and the personnel. The recording system appears to have been quite precise in terms of who received what. Therefore, if a

[1583] Lupack, 1999, 26.

commodity was sent to a priest of a particular sanctuary, it seems probable that it was destined for him and not the sanctuary, probably for his personal use in the ritual. Thus, in the case of the olive oil given to the "priestess of the winds" and the textiles recorded in the Qa tablets and in Un 6, it seems likely that they were given to the priests for their use in connection with religious ceremonies and not for the upkeep of the shrines, as some scholars have argued[1584].

The texts do not seem to suggest that the priests were supplied with commodities for their everyday use. Although the evidence is fragmentary, the texts in which members of the priesthood appear, are usually associated with some kind of religious activity. This, in turn, could suggest that priests covered their personal needs through other means, which can suggest either that priests were members of the upper class and/or that they also had other occupations or that sanctuaries had other ways of acquiring commodities.

It is clear from the evidence that Mycenaean sanctuaries did not function on the model of the Near Eastern temple-complexes. However, some evidence connecting religion with economy exists, therefore it is necessary to define the nature of this relationship. Firstly, it has been established that sanctuaries were not associated with workshops and could not process raw material. If sanctuaries processed material some indication would have been included in the texts, e.g. the distribution of raw materials to cult places. However, with the exception of wool in the TH Of tablets, there is no evidence supporting this notion. Similarly, the possibility that sanctuaries possessed metal such as bronze (*ka-ko na-wi-jo* in PY Jn 829) or gold (*ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo* in PY Ae 303) has been taken to refer to finished objects rather than raw material. In addition, the evidence suggests

[1584] Mylonas, 1977, 47; Chadwick, 1988, 200; Hooker, 1989, 163.

that any production, even that of a subordinate centre, was fully controlled by the palace[1585]. There is no strong evidence to suggest that sanctuaries were economically independent with their own labour force. Finally, archaeological evidence does not indicate that sanctuaries were associated with storage facilities to keep surplus –the storerooms of cult equipment naturally cannot be considered as such.

The fact that most transactions related to cult and especially those related to material and craft production were recorded and hence controlled by the palace clearly suggests that sanctuaries mentioned in the tablets were palace dependent. Unless, then, the economy of cult and the economy of the state were interrelated, there does not seem to be enough evidence to support the notion that sanctuaries were economically independent, at least as suggested by the Linear B tablets. Furthermore, the offerings sent to cult places situated close to or inside the citadel might have been part of taxation and other obligations from various districts towards the palace, which would then be (re)distributed to cult places. This may also be suggested by the PY Es series, where the contribution of grain to Poseidon, presumably referring to the sanctuary, was in the form of taxation or obligation.

In the examination of the relationship between palaces and sanctuaries it was noted that the centre was responsible for providing cult places with commodities, offerings, vessels and textiles needed for the performance of rituals and ceremonies, but mostly to cult places situated close to it. The fact that such offerings were often recorded monthly suggests that the palace probably had an obligation to supply the sanctuaries on a monthly basis and/or specifically in

[1585] Killen, 1984, 60.

relation to festivals. The amounts, however, were usually small and one wonders whether these were enough to sustain the sanctuaries. Bendall has examined the quantities of oil offerings sent by the palaces of Knossos and Pylos to the sanctuaries and has concluded that these were indeed small, therefore the contribution of commodities for religious purposes by the palaces was limited[1586]. It is not clear whether the offerings sent from the palace to the cult places constituted the only means through which the latter could cover their needs, or was simply the palace's contribution for cult. Perhaps the latter was the case, that is why part of the economy –the *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-* was set aside for the upkeep of the cult places[1587]. If cult places received offerings from other sectors of the society, for example from the worshippers, is not certain. The tablets do not record such a practice, suggesting either that it was done in a small scale or being of no concern to the palace. In terms of smaller cult places, independent from the palace, however, the situation would certainly have been different and there probably existed a more direct relationship between sanctuary and community in terms of "economic exchanges", since the only way for the cult place to sustain itself may have been through the community it served, given that the palace did not provide any offerings.

One aspect of the possible involvement of priests in production might have been their responsibility for arranging, for example, what the smiths would produce. This could be the case especially with priests operating in cult places directly associated with the palaces, e.g. at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Since priests had authority over religion and its cult symbols and equipment, it is probable that

[1586] Bendall, 2001, esp. 450. Foodstuff for banquets should not be included in this argument, since this was for consumption at a particular time for a specific reason by a large number of people and therefore was not a regular offering.
[1587] Halstead, 1999, 39.

they supervised the production of objects related to cult, without this necessarily suggesting that cult places possessed actual workshops. It is possible, that as in the case of cult assistants, who were employed only when needed, a similar loose relation existed between sanctuaries and workers, whereas sanctuaries situated close to or inside the palaces could have employed workers belonging to the palace personnel for their own purposes. In this sense, then, Mycenaean religion might have had an indirect relation with economy and may have controlled production and redistribution through the means of the palace economy.

To sum up. The palace assigned the produce of specific sectors of the economy to Potnia, as a means of sustenance of the sanctuary, which would have been a more direct and systematic way to provide sanctuaries with material to cover their needs. No "temple economy" operated in the Mycenaean period and sanctuaries do not seem to have been associated with workshops or to have processed raw material. The evidence suggests that part of the state economy was put aside for cult, but the role of the priests is not reflected in the texts. However, the possibility that exchanges took place between sanctuaries and other sectors of the society that were not recorded in the texts cannot be excluded, especially since a parallel "economy" seems to have existed, but nor can it be concluded from the textual evidence so far.

Conclusions: The Mycenaean Priesthood

Examination of Mycenaean ritual practices has demonstrated the participation of religious specialists, who are defined in the Linear B texts as *i-je-*

re-u and *i-je-re-ja*. Although most of the evidence for priests derives from sources associated with the palaces, namely the Linear B tablets and the large and small-scale art, other archaeological evidence indicates that cult specialists also officiated in cult performed in sanctuaries attached to smaller communities. Therefore, in order to gain a better understanding of Mycenaean priesthood, it is important to examine both aspects. Having established the character of priesthood in LH IIIA-B, I shall briefly consider the questions of its origin in the Early Mycenaean period and how it continued in existence after the collapse of the palatial administration. The purpose of the examination of the Early Mycenaean and LH IIIC periods is to clarify further the relationship between palace and priests and their status in the LH IIIA-B period.

Priesthood and Palaces

The organisation of ritual and the role of priests and priestesses

As the mediator between humans and the divine, the role of the Mycenaean priest was primarily to lead the ritual practice by performing, saying or singing the appropriate acts and envisioning the divine epiphany. The role of the priest was to perform the sacred acts as a representative of the community. In addition, he/she was in charge of leading the religious experience of the participants[1588].

Mycenaean cult was probably divided into "public" and "private" ritual acts, namely into ritual practices that were performed in public, involving large congregations and those limited to a small group of people, possibly just the priests. "Public" rituals were performed in the much larger open areas outside the

[1588] Zeimbekis 1991, 33.

small cult buildings that would have, therefore, accommodated a larger number of people. Participation in "public" rituals, however, might have similarly been restricted to a specific number of individuals (hence the quotation marks in "public"). Albers, in particular, has argued that commoners would have been denied access and participation to rituals performed in the central courts[1589]. This may further be suggested by the nature of sacrificial banquets, which would have served as arenas for social display, in which only specific elements of society participated. "Public" rituals would have included sacrificial banquets –clearly suggested by the contribution of animals and foodstuff by certain individuals- and possibly celebrations of religious festivals. The public character of banquets and festivals is also implied by the presence of a number of individuals, Olivier's "cult assistants", whose duties met the needs of such ceremonies.

Nevertheless, it is possible that certain festivals were even more open to the public. It has been argued, for example, that the theophoria might have been an occasion for the public display of an image of the deity and of other sacred symbols, which would have been otherwise kept inside the sanctuaries. It is possible, then, that the festival included a cyclical procession -processions probably formed part of most "public" rituals- that carried the image of the deity and the symbols from the sanctuaries around the citadel or even the settlement and then returned them to the sanctuary/sanctuaries[1590]. This would have enhanced the religious authority of the palace as the place where the deity appeared and would have promoted the notion of a divine favour protecting the ruler and his followers, and at the same time would also have encouraged a sense of solidarity. The task of priests in religious festivals would have been, then, to

[1589] Albers, 2001, 137.
[1590] Hägg, 2002, 143, 146.

lead the ceremony by saying the appropriate things and to carry the cult image and the other cult paraphernalia involved. In this task priests were most likely supported by cult assistants. Finally, priests, and more likely priestesses, might have impersonated the deities during the performance of ritual acts and/or mythic events.

"Private" ritual acts, on the other hand, could be defined as cult practices performed inside the cult buildings and involving a restricted number of individuals. Mycenaean cult buildings were probably the places where the cult equipment was kept and where offerings to the divinity were deposited. Since benches and platforms were used for the deposition of offerings, it means that display was an important element of Mycenaean cult and that ritual acts performed inside the cult buildings were not restricted simply to the deposition of offerings[1591]. Also, ritual acts involving libations, the preparation of food, even animal sacrifice, as in the case of Ayios Konstantinos, were performed inside the cult buildings, as indicated by the occurrence of drinking vessels, animal bones, ashes and cult installations, such as benches and tables of offerings. Cult buildings were, therefore, considered as places where the divinity was present or appeared and where veneration took place.

We cannot be certain whether sanctuaries were publicly accessible or not. The occurrence of terracotta female and animal figurines in some sanctuaries, identified as votives and usually connected with the popular aspect of Mycenaean cult, may imply the possibility that any worshipper wishing to deposit an offering was allowed access to the cult building. As Whittaker has noted, the function of the Mycenaean cult buildings was probably fairly complex

[1591] Whittaker, 1997, 154.

since they were used for organised ritual activity and perhaps as places for the enactment of perpetual ritual, but also for the deposition of votive offerings[1592]. Whether access was restricted or not was probably a matter for each sanctuary. Noteworthy is the case of Tiryns, where popular cult seems to have been performed in specific areas of the palace, namely to the south of court XXX[1593], distinguished from that performed in the official cult buildings.

The precise nature and regularity of the rituals performed inside cult buildings is still unknown, but it could be argued that they did not involve the complex daily ritual performed in Egyptian and Babylonian temples[1594]. The regular ritual practices would have involved the purification of the cult precinct, the ritual deposition of offerings, such as food offerings (cakes, fruits and other) and objects (vessels, cloth, figurines, jewellery), the bringing of liquids (e.g. oil, wine, milk) and libations and, finally, the performance of animal sacrifice and sacred meals as suggested by the remains of animal bones. The sacred meals might have been prepared by the cult assistants. It is possible that the performance of such rituals, in particular the preparation and consumption of sacred meals, was confined to priests and priestesses, since the small size of Mycenaean cult buildings could not accommodate more than 10-20 individuals at a time. The courts associated with the cult buildings probably served for the performance of ritual connected with the latter, but they were just as small and not suitable for large gatherings. Their cult character is reflected by cult deposits but mostly by the existence of cult installations, such as the platform in front of Tsountas' House Shrine and the round altar at the court in front of the Temple at

[1592] Whittaker, 1997, 154.
[1593] Kilian, 1990, 193-197.
[1594] For the character of the Egyptian and Babylonian daily ritual associated with cult images see Hooke, 1962, 48; Oppenheim, 1977, 184, David, 2002, 193 and Leick, 2003, 111.

Mycenae, the baetyl at the sanctuary of Phylakopi and the rounded boulder in courtyard F at Ayios Konstantinos. Such ritual practices would have been performed at regular intervals.

The fact that large wheel-made figures found in several cult places were employed in ritual acts, such as the theophoria, suggests that when no such festival was performed, one of the tasks of priests or cult assistants would have been to look after them. Moreover, the possibility that these figures were employed in other rituals in addition to theophoria and/or were displayed within the cult building in a certain way to create a specific sensation as suggested for the "Lady of Phylakopi" and the idols found in the Temple at Mycenae[1595], would attest to the involvement of priests and to the use of cult buildings for the performance of ritual and not only for the deposition of offerings. In addition, the cult character of certain features such as the baetyl at Phylakopi and the alcove at the Temple at Mycenae should not be underestimated.

Cult was also performed inside the megaron. It is possible that in this case the wanax, and even occasionally the queen, officiated at the events. However, the involvement of priests in these ceremonies is implied by the existence of processional ways decorated with corresponding frescoes, which must have functioned as routes along which actual priestly processions passed. In cases where the processional way terminated at the megaron, as at Pylos, it could be argued that some of the ritual acts taking place there involved the participation of both the wanax and the priest(s). The ceremonies performed inside the megaron were most likely of both religious and political nature, given the dual character of the megaron. Priests could also have officiated at drinking ceremonies, although

[1595] Renfrew, 1985, 114, 372; Moore, 1988; Moore and Taylour, 1999, 93-101.

as Wright has argued, the social and political meaning of drinking was significant[1596], suggesting that most likely the wanax would have officiated at them. The "Campstool Fresco" at Knossos and the "Banquet" fresco decorating the megaron at Pylos seem to depict such ceremonies, in which the figures in long robes could have represented officials in general, among whom priests and/or guests might have also been represented.

The involvement of priests in ceremonies appointing officials would have been essential in a society where divine sanction was part of most socio-political activities. Therefore, priests would have the responsibility either to ensure that the specific person had divine approval or to transmit it to the candidate by specific rites, even though the task of appointing the official probably fell to the wanax. Similarly, although the wanax would have officiated at sacrificial banquets, as part of his religious duties, priests and acolytes might have also been involved in ritual acts in order to assist him in their performance, whatever the sacred or political emphasis of the ceremony. Furthermore, it should be noted that there was often not a clear distinction between secular and sacred in Mycenaean society.

Priests may have also performed the rites of passage, such as birth, initiation, marriage and funerary rites. In addition to specific rites the priests may have had to perform, their involvement might have also consisted of guiding the religious experience of the initiate[1597]. It should be mentioned, however, that priests might not have been involved in all stages of the rites of passage[1598]. In initiation rites, for example, the officiants might have been the adult members of

[1596] Wright, 1996, 290-307.
[1597] Zeimbekis, 1991, 55.
[1598] See for example Holm and Bowker for the different degree of the involvement of religious specialists in the rites of passage in different religions.

the society, who possessed similar experience and knowledge[1599]. This is also implied by the involvement of women of no sacred status in the treatment of the body and the preparation of the dead (prothesis scenes) and in death rituals, as depicted on the Tanagra larnakes. Even though the Tanagra larnakes concern a "village" community, where the participation of priests might have been limited or different than in a palatial setting, it is possible that some of these rites were performed by common people, due to notions of pollution (miasma) associated with death. It is noteworthy that in the Later Greek tradition priests were not supposed to come into contact with the dead[1600]. The women in Minoan court dress depicted on some of the larnakes (**fig. 70**), presumably represented priestesses, but it is not certain that their involvement was implied or that the scenes depicted an idealised version of everyday life, where ideally priests and priestesses should participate in the ceremonies[1601]. However, the identification of the figures on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus and those on the krater from Elis as priests is certain, suggesting their involvement in funerary rites. It is possible, then that, although notions of pollution concerning the dead body would prohibit priests to come into contact with it, their presiding over other ritual acts associated with the burial, such as prayer or animal sacrifice for example, would have been expected. The same may have been true for other rites, such as birth, initiation and marriage, where the involvement of religious specialists, even if they simply supervised the ceremony, would also confer an official character to the rites.

[1599] An example –although Minoan- may be Koehl's (1986) interpretation of the Chieftain's Cup.
[1600] Parker, 1983, 36, 43
[1601] Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 108.

Finally, the role of priests as "rememberers" of sacred tradition should also be emphasised, since by transmitting their knowledge of how to perform the rituals, priests preserved the religious tradition.

Cult assistants –the *te-o-jo do-e-ro/ra-* were presumably involved in every cult activity. The upkeep of cult buildings might have been one of their tasks and might have also involved the preparation and maintenance of the shrine for the ritual, e.g. the removal and discard of the remains of previous ritual practices. Their tasks could have also involved the preparation of offerings, but they may also have had a more active role in ritual, such as carrying offerings and/or the cult equipment as suggested, for example, on the presentation scene of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus. Their participation was certainly essential in festivals, where ritual performance was on a larger and more elaborate scale. Likewise, if children were indeed in the service of priests as acolytes and trainees, their tasks would have involved helping throughout the various stages of the ritual in order to acquire priestly knowledge. Finally, the maintenance and security of the sacred equipment would have been the task of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*.

In terms of the organisation of Mycenaean priesthood, an important question is whether priests were full-time personnel or alternatively they performed their duties when required, thus combining priestly duties with other occupations as was the case in ancient societies[1602]. As regards women, the office of priesthood may have been restricted to females drawn from the elite. This is suggested by the fact that although textual evidence suggests that women could have a profession, e.g. as textile workers, only women associated with cult seem to have had an elevated status. It seems very likely, then, that the only profession

[1602] Beard and North, 1990, 2.

suitable for women of the elite was that of a priestess. It is difficult to tell, however, whether such offices were held for a given term or for life. Perhaps the fact that some priesthoods were associated with titles, for example the "priestess of the winds" or even the priestess of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, could suggest that the individuals occupying the office did not do so for life.

It has been assumed that priests had also other occupations[1603] and perhaps the absence of a clear characteristic of their profession in the funerary record may support this theory, even though the evidence from burials is still problematic. The case of *we-da-ne-u* and *di-wi-je-u*, who seem to have had also an important role in matters associated with livestock[1604], would support this theory if the religious associations of these individuals were not so ambiguous. Due to the fragmentary evidence from the Linear B tablets, the fact that the records were annual and not all information was recorded or preserved, it is possible that there are aspects of the Mycenaean priesthood that are ambiguous, therefore the question remains open.

Palaces and priests

The association between priesthood and palaces raises certain questions about the nature of their interrelation, i.e. whether it reflected control by the palaces over cult and consequently the priesthood or whether this relationship was more one of interdependence. The clear distinction of an "official" cult performed in the palaces and in palatial cult places, identified by specific equipment and ceremonies, in addition to the important social and political

[1603] Lupack (1999, 28), for example, has suggested that religious personnel was involved in agriculture, animal husbandry, metalworking, perfume oil industry and textile manufacture.
[1604] Palaima, 1989, 104, 107-108, 114-118. Although Palaima does not specify if he considers these two individuals as priests.

implication it had, indicates the role of the priesthood in maintaining and supporting a specific ideology that would have legitimated the existing order. Furthermore, distinguishing the cult practiced in the palaces from that practiced outside the palaces was essentially to discriminate the palatial elite from its subjects and from other elite groups, and in order to achieve that the contribution of the priesthood would have been vital.

Another important aspect of Mycenaean priesthood is hierarchy, possibly linked with the status of the cult place in which the priest performed, i.e. on the connection between the palace and the particular sanctuary. It is interesting that priests, with the exception of the priests of Poseidon, were usually not identified by the deity they served, but by the cult place where they officiated, e.g. *i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na*, *i-je-re-u se-ri-no-wo-te*, *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*, perhaps suggesting that the cult place was more important than the deity. Since Mycenaean sanctuaries do not seem to have been as independent and powerful as in Ancient Egypt and therefore did not provide the means for priests to enhance their status through wealth, priests would have attained high standing through their association with specific cults. It is understandable then why *e-ri-ta* and *we-te-re-u* held a high position as officiants at *pa-ki-ja-ne*.

Finally, it is noteworthy that no priest contributed offerings to religious ceremonies, as various other segments of society did, e.g. PY Un 718. The absence of contributions on behalf of the priesthood was most probably due to their function as cult officiants, although interesting are the contributions of the wanax, which emphasised his combined role as political and religious authority. The exclusion of priests as contributors to banquets and consequently from social competition, enhanced on the one hand their status and their role as religious

authorities but, on the other, suggest that the position of priests was not open to such challenge through competition. This further implies that the office of priesthood was restricted.

The fact that the palace does not seem to have appointed the priests operating in other communities is surprising, given that other officials were, e.g. the *ko-re-te* and the *e-qe-ta*. The absence of a clear interference by the palace in the religious matters of other communities under its control suggests either that one of the other officials was also charged with religious duties, or that cult was a matter for which each individual community was responsible. This shows that the office of the priest in "state" religion was probably restricted to the elite and was certainly not an open profession. Whether the office was hereditary is not easy to tell, although such an interpretation could perhaps explain the involvement of children in the service of cult.

Finally, defining the social position of priests and placing them within the Mycenaean social hierarchy is not an easy task, when written evidence is so fragmentary and the burial record so ambiguous. Mycenaean society was certainly a highly stratified one, with the wanax, the palace and the palace-specific officials and administrative functionaries at the top of the social pyramid[1605]. The palace officials consisted of the *ra-wa-ke-ta*, the *e-qe-ta* and their followers and, according to De Fidio, the priesthood followed after these officials[1606]. What is certain is that in such a stratified society the priesthood had a clear social position connected with specific obligations and privileges. Their role as cult officiants and religious authorities would have ascribed them with a

[1605] Palaima, 1995, 124.
[1606] De Fidio, 1992, 181.

specific high standing, which would have been enhanced by their association with the "official" cult.

Priests in smaller communities

The existence of communal sanctuaries in areas not associated with a palace, in other words what we would conventionally call sanctuaries of the "popular" sphere, suggests organised cult and the participation of cult specialists. The cult places examined do not all comprise of the same evidence of cult practices. Therefore, there can be no general theory concerning the nature of the ritual practices and the involvement of priests. Rather, there seems to have existed sanctuaries where cult was performed regularly, such as Ayios Konstantinos, Eleusis, Aphaia and Apollo Maleatas and places where cult practices might have been performed on a less regular basis such as Klenies.

Sanctuaries that belonged to settlements, such as Ayios Konstantinos at Methana, Eleusis and presumably Apollo Maleatas were certainly the focus of rituals performed on a regular basis by religious specialists. In terms of open-air sanctuaries though, such as Aphaia, it is more difficult to define whether the site was visited regularly for the performance of cult and whether priests were involved. The elaborate cult equipment found at Aphaia seems to support the interpretation that it was the focus of complex cult practices, perhaps serving a number of communities and that priests officiated at the ritual, even if cult was performed occasionally. The finds from Aphaia indicate that the worshippers had access to elaborate equipment and votives and that the character of the cult performed might have been influenced by the mainland, since it was so close to

it[1607]. This suggests that cult performed outside the palaces could be quite elaborate, depending on the cult place and the community it served, whereas the influence it received from other sites and particularly from larger centres would also have played an important role.

Furthermore, the case of Tsoungiza indicates the function of rituals as the focus for the gathering of different communities. The evidence has been interpreted as an indicator of regional feasting[1608]. The presence of a female figure similar to those found at Phylakopi and Mycenae, suggests that the feast was associated with a religious activity[1609], hence implying the performance of "public" rituals outside the palatial sphere.

It has been argued that the relationship between palace and village communities should not be seen as a static one, but as an intense and dynamic relationship, where the palace acted as a force accelerating the process of transformation and the creation of hierarchies within local communities[1610]. Competition among the elites of these communities would have generated the practice of feasting and the establishment of public ritual[1611], in other words of organised and periodical ritual. Specific communities, then, especially those under the influence of a palatial centre, as Tsoungiza was of Mycenae, would imitate the ritual performed there in an attempt to differentiate itself from other communities by associating themselves with the palatial centre.

It is difficult to compare such dissimilar cult practices, as those performed in the sanctuaries referred to in this section and it should be stated once again

[1607] Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 128.
[1608] Consumption of large amounts of meat, the small size of the settlement and the "missing" parts of the cattle, implying that meat was distributed, favour the possibility of a regional feast, involving participants from different settlements (Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004, 81, 93).
[1609] Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004, 93.
[1610] De Fidio, 2001, 23.
[1611] Dabney, Halstead and Thomas, 2004, 94.

that no general conclusion can be drawn. The existence of religious specialists in smaller societies is certain, once there is evidence of cult performed in places other than house shrines, even more if there is evidence of public ritual. The degree of involvement would have depended on the complexity of the ritual acts, whereas the complexity of each community and the influences it received would have defined the function and the position of cult specialists.

The Priesthood from the Early Mycenaean Period to After the Destruction of the Mycenaean Palaces

The political setting

Studies of religion from a sociological point of view have shown that priests were tied in with the existence of organised and institutionalised cult[1612]. The organisation of cult suggests the existence of cult places, which require personnel to maintain them and perform the appropriate ritual practices. On the other hand, the priesthood is not only associated with organised cult practice, but also with a stratified society[1613]. However, even though there is no doubt that during the Mycenaean palatial period there existed a body of priests responsible for the performance of cult, its existence during the early stages of Mycenaean society cannot easily be verified, even though some kind of intermediary between the people and the divine most likely existed.

Mycenaean society during the Shaft Grave period (MH III to the beginning of LH IIA[1614]) was dominated by different chiefdoms, reflected in the existence of many sites with ostentatious tombs, whether tholos or chamber

[1612] Weber, 1963, xxx; O' Dea, 1966, 47.
[1613] Klass, 1995, 68.
[1614] Rutter, 2001, 135.

tombs[1615]. During this period a clear differentiation among groups, evidently seen in the two Grave Circles at Mycenae is attested for the first time. Control of supplies, access to exotic objects and connection with elites of a more advanced culture, namely Minoan Crete, were the means through which different ruling groups tried to differentiate themselves and enhance their power[1616]. The connection with elites of a more advanced culture can be attested, according to Wright, by the consistency with which much of the material from the Shaft Graves can be compared to that from palace sites like Knossos and Zakros, suggesting a strong connection between the owners of the objects and persons of high rank of the Minoan palaces[1617]. In such a society, leadership would have been exercised by a small elite group, probably depending on lineage[1618], as is suggested by the presence of women and children in both Grave Circles.

Therefore the chief, in order to distinguish further his position and stabilise his power, would have manipulated cult. As Wright has argued, a main characteristic of chiefdoms is the capacity of the chief to maintain the societal system through the proper execution of rituals, a responsibility claimed as a right through lineage ties to the ancestors[1619]. Since the ancestors would act as intermediaries to the supernatural forces of the society, the dominant lineage would assume a major role in the performance of ritual, thus providing the chief with religious authority in addition to his economic power[1620]. Therefore, as his ability to trade allowed him access to luxury items, his religious authority would

[1615] Dickinson, 1977, 53; Wright, 1995b, 69; Rutter, 2001, 139; Shelmerdine, 2001, 349.
[1616] Dickinson, 1977, 54; Dietz, 1991, 326.
[1617] Wright, 1995b, 70.
[1618] Dickinson, 1977, 57; Touchais, 1989,119; Mylonas Shear, 2004, 18.
[1619] Wright, 1995b, 70.
[1620] Wright, 1995b, 70. It is noteworthy van Leuven's (1989, esp. 193-196) theory that the deceased buried in Grave Circle A at Mycenae may have had religious duties as suggested by their association with god masks and models of shrines.

enable him to acquire powerful conceptual knowledge through his access to differently constructed belief systems and rituals of foreign societies, which he could impose on his own society, further separating himself from his followers and the commoners[1621]. The adoption of Minoan rituals and beliefs, then, must be seen in this light. More importantly, though, this shows that during the transitional period, before Mycenaean society was stabilised, the performance of cult in the emerging centres may have been shifted from cult practitioners to the ruler/chief and perhaps to his lineage. This combination of political and religious power is perhaps seen in the burial of the Vapheio tholos, where the presence of an actual lunate axe head in connection with the seal depicting a robed figure carrying a specimen –both of Minoan origin-, could imply the political and religious office of the deceased, as well as the adoption of Minoan symbols as means of expressing status and office[1622]. The religious function of the deceased may further be supported by the religious iconography of some seals, one of which depicts a figure in long robe accompanied by a griffin[1623]. Indeed, Kilian-Dirlmeier in her study has stressed the manifold responsibilities and functions of the deceased of the Vapheio tomb within his social, political and economic environment as reconstructed by the nature of the furnishings placed in his tomb[1624].

Wright has argued that the formation of Mycenaean religion is best understood in evolutionary terms, since it began as early as the end of MH period, possibly the result of a collection of cult institutions and rituals from

[1621] Wright, 1995b, 70.
[1622] Wright, 1995b, 71; For the examination of the lunate axe and the status of the figures carrying it see Zeimbekis, 1991, 13-19. For the finds in the Vapheio tholos see Tsountas, 1889 and Korres, 1976.
[1623] For the opposite opinion see Rehak, 1994. For the association of griffins with sacred personage see Tzavella-Evjen, 1970, 109.
[1624] Laffineur, 1990, 119.

various regions, bound together by common Helladic social institutions[1625]. This idea associated with the theory that emerging chiefs became the exclusive cult officiants, suggests that the concept of priesthood did not exist during this period, but it developed as Mycenaean society became more stable and stratified[1626]. The rise of a priesthood of course does not presuppose that the rulers lost their religious duties, since even in a stable society the ruler would still need to demonstrate his connection with the supernatural, as examples from many ancient societies verify. At this stage, however, the ruler's duties would probably take the character of public display and the performance of ritual acts would be the responsibility of specialists, as was the case in Mycenaean Greece.

Early Mycenaean cult

The earliest Mycenaean sanctuary so far is the one underlying the later sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, dated as early as the MH period[1627]. The cult performed in the Early Mycenaean period involved animal sacrifice and burnt offerings, as indicated by the remains of a Mycenaean altar terrace under the Archaic stratum[1628]. The presence of prestige objects, such as Vapheio cups, objects of Minoan influence, e.g. double axes, stone vases and seals[1629], and the evidence for the sacrifice of bulls, indicate that the people visiting the site belonged to the upper class, who selectively adopted Minoan traits to suit their

[1625] Wright, 1995a, 343; 1995b, 72.
[1626] Indeed, the connection between ritual specialists and a pronounced social hierarchy has been emphasised by scholars from other disciplines, see for example Douglas, 1970, 86-87 and Bell, 1992, 130.
[1627] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 59, 63.
[1628] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 59.
[1629] Lambrinoudakis, 1981, 62.

own practices and beliefs[1630]. It is quite possible then that individuals of the same group were the officiants of cult at the site.

Evidence for early cult practice has also been uncovered at Eleusis. The pottery from Megaron B dates its construction in LH II, but more secure evidence for cult practices comes from the LH IIB-LH IIIA1 material, namely alabastra, remains of fire, ashes and animal bones discovered in the drain washed down from its original position on the platform[1631]. Furthermore, the presence of figurines in its vicinity, although from disturbed deposits, could have originally been deposited in Megaron B and/or the platform, thus providing further evidence that cult was performed in both areas probably as early as LH IIB[1632]. Since Mycenaean religious architecture might have developed from local domestic architecture[1633], Cosmopoulos has suggested that Megaron B was a building used both as a residence and as a family shrine[1634]. Changes in the architecture of the building, namely the addition of a platform and a peribolos in LH II/IIIA1, indicate a progressive complexity and formality in cult, which could have stimulated the emergence of specialists, who would have undertaken the task of preparing and performing the ritual practices.

This evolutionary theory according to which cult was originally performed in the house of the ruler and then gradually to cult places, could also be supported by the fact that during the late MH period, when a form of stratification began to appear, Malthi provided evidence for organised religion, in addition to clear characteristics of social organisation and stratification[1635]. Hägg,

[1630] Hägg, 1996, 604.
[1631] Cosmopoulos, 2003, 14, 17.
[1632] Cosmopoulos, 2003, 19.
[1633] Whittaker, 1997, 136.
[1634] Cosmopoulos, 2003, 19.
[1635] Wright, 1994, 45.

in particular, has considered the so-called Ceremonial Room featuring a hearth as a possible focus of cult activity[1636], suggesting that at first the house of the ruler might have been both the political and the religious centre of the community.

Of course, it is implausible to argue that people did not practice cult and that there were no cult practitioners during the MH period. The topic of MH cult practice has already been examined by Hägg[1637] and suffice here to mention that animal sacrifice and communal feasting seem to have been important elements of MH ritual, suggested by the contemporary remains of Apollo Maleatas[1638] and that cult might have been performed in small communities, as implied by the altar at Nisakouli in the Gulf of Methoni, which consisted of burnt animal bones and pottery including a twin bowl, most likely for ritual use[1639]. Therefore, it is preferable to argue that during the MH period cult may have been performed in specific places by religious practitioners, but when chiefdoms and rulers began to emerge in the Early Mycenaean period they monopolised ritual performance. Wright, based on Wallace's theory on cult institutions, has suggested that during the Early Mycenaean period the cults performed were individualistic and shamanistic[1640]. Cult was performed either without a mediator or, if one existed, he was a part-time practitioner, bestowed by birth, training or inspirational experience with a special power, who intervened with the divine for a fee on behalf of human clients[1641]. Due to the restrictions imposed on this thesis it is not possible to examine this question in detail, but it would be plausible to suggest

[1636] Wright, 1994, 45.
[1637] Hägg, 1997.
[1638] Hägg, 1997, 17.
[1639] Choremis, 1969. The existence of a burial pithos and an earth-cut grave though could relate the altar with funerary practices, especially since there were no other remains of the Mycenaean period at this spot (Hägg, 1997, 16), though neither the precise date and function of the structure lying 8m away from the altar are known.
[1640] Wright, 1994, 77.
[1641] Wallace, 1966, 86.

that cult might have been performed by part-time specialists, who either showed some charisma and/or had the knowledge to perform the ritual, perhaps handed down from a member of their own family. Such practitioners, however, most probably acted independently from any ruling group. When different groups began to emerge and compete for power, they could have used the performance of rituals as a means to enhance their power, particularly the ruler's power, and the religious authority of cult practitioners would have been diminished. Once social hierarchy was stabilised and cult became solidly organised, a different type of religious organisation –the priesthood- would have emerged. Due to space limitations it is not possible to elaborate in this theory, which hopefully could be the topic of future research.

Religion and Cult after the Collapse of the Palaces

The Mycenaean palatial centres were destroyed some time at the end of the 13th or early in the 12th century B.C.[1642]. However, some prominent sites were reoccupied, like Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, Athens and Knossos, as well as some less prominent ones[1643]. The period that followed the downfall of the palaces brought a gradual change in the character of LH IIIC culture. The destruction of the palaces and subsequently the collapse of the administrative system resulted in the fragmentation of the political power, which became local and was probably now in the hands of chiefs[1644]. With the absence of the palatial centres to control and monopolise production and commerce, regions that were previously part of the cultural koine of LH IIIA-B were allowed to develop their own pottery

[1642] For a discussion of the different theories on the collapse of the palaces see Thomas and Conant, 1999, 20-26.
[1643] Thomas and Conant, 1999, xxiii.
[1644] This may be suggested by the survival of the term *qa-si-re-u* in the Classical basileus (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 28).

styles[1645] and to partake in economic enterprise and foreign relations[1646]. Most elements connected to the palaces disappeared, such as fresco painting and sealstones[1647].

Nevertheless, the character of LH IIIC was primarily Mycenaean, suggested by the survival of a recognisably Mycenaean pottery style and by the maintenance of the practice of multiple burials in chamber tombs[1648]. This character changed gradually, but overall the picture of the period immediately after the destruction of the palaces seems to have been that of small communities controlled by local chiefs and developing their own local pottery style. Smaller communities, then, continued to exist and gave life to new social forms[1649], thus making LH IIIC a creative period of transition and transformation, during which some sectors of the Mycenaean heritage were adapted and passed on to the first millennium[1650].

More specifically, at the turn of LH IIIB1 to IIIB2 (Phase VII) Mycenae suffered extensive damage, which was quickly repaired[1651]. At the end of LH IIIB2 (Phase VIII) the palace suffered another destruction by fire, which signalled the end of the administrative control[1652]. Before this destruction the Temple at the Cult Centre was sealed up and the Shrine (Room 32) was abandoned[1653]. Nevertheless, the destruction did not affect all areas of the palace and repairs took place in various buildings of the Cult Centre, including the

[1645] Finley, 1981b, 65; Kilian, 1988b, 135.
[1646] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1998a, 124.
[1647] Whitley, 2001, 77.
[1648] Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 135; Whitley, 2001, 77. The practice of cremation, although not completely unknown before LH IIIC, became the preferred rite at the end of LH IIIC (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 136).
[1649] De Fidio, 2001, 24.
[1650] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1998a, 125.
[1651] Taylour, French and Wardle, 1981, 9; French, 1998, 3.
[1652] Taylour, French and Wardle, 1981, 10; French, 1998, 3, 4.
[1653] Taylour, French and Wardle, 1981, 10.

Temple and Tsountas' House Shrine, until the whole of the Citadel House area was destroyed in an intense conflagration[1654]. During LH IIIC, the Cult Centre continued to be used, as suggested by the pottery, e.g. kylikes, kraters, stirrup-jars, lekanai and bowls[1655], but it is uncertain whether its religious character was also preserved[1656], given that the pottery could similarly have a domestic or a cult use. Nevertheless, the repairs of floors and walls in the area of the Temple during Phase IX and the construction of an altar and a stone structure on an earth pedestal in Phase X, both attributed to the LH IIIC period, could suggest that some of the buildings in the Cult Centre continued to be used for cult purposes during this period until the area was abandoned in the final phase of LH IIIC[1657]. Noteworthy is the continuity of the South-West Quarter (LH III B2-IIIC) that featured religious iconography and a room with a central hearth which, according to Mylonas, was the seat of the high priest and his personnel[1658].

Finally, the erection of structures directly over the destruction layer in the Great Court has been interpreted as a stage of immediate reoccupation[1659]. If the notion behind the reoccupation at the Great Court was the same noted at Tiryns with the construction of Building T, namely an attempt by a group to claim power by rebuilding and associating itself with the past[1660], then some continuity of cult in the Cult Centre could perhaps be expected, in addition to the fact that some memory of the old ways would have survived, especially in the immediate successive period.

[1654] Taylour, French and Wardle, 1981, 10; French, 1998, 4.
[1655] Iakovidis, 1983, 71; 2003, 120.
[1656] Thomas and Conant, 1993, 7.
[1657] Taylour, French and Wardle, 1981, 11, 12-13; Moore and Taylour, 1999, 2.
[1658] Mylonas, 1983, 148-150.
[1659] French, 2002, 136-138.
[1660] See below.

The palace at Pylos was never reoccupied after its destruction in LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early[1661]. At Tiryns at the end of LH IIIB1 a conflagration necessitated another rebuilding in LH IIIB2, which was also an occasion to extend the Cyclopean fortifications around the entire citadel, including the Lower Citadel[1662]. At the end of LH IIIB2 the site was again destroyed, according to Kilian, by an earthquake[1663], after which the Lower Citadel was rebuilt and re-occupied into the Submycenaean period[1664]. The area comprised domestic and cult buildings dating to LH IIIB2 and IIIC[1665]. The Lower Town, situated around the hill and occupied since the EH period, expanded during the LH IIIC Early-Middle and continued to be inhabited until the LH IIIC Late[1666], suggesting that even if parts of the site were abandoned, others were reoccupied and flourishing. This is attested by the building of a succession of LH IIIC sanctuaries (Rooms 119, 117, 110 and 110a according to date) along the west wall of the Lower Citadel, all opening off a court[1667].

All buildings featured platforms attached to the north and occasionally to the west wall (**fig. 71**). With the exception of Room 119, the rest of the rooms provided exceptional decorated pottery, including miniature vessels, whereas large female figures, figurines and animal figures were also found (**fig. 72**). Large female figures were placed on the platforms as suggested by the discovery of some lying in front of the platform in Room 110a[1668]. All buildings were associated with an altar in the courtyard, where the discovery of a female clay

[1661] Desborough, 1964, 94; For a re-examination of the date of destruction of Pylos see Mountjoy, 1997.
[1662] Kilian, 1988b, 134; Shelmerdine, 2001, 335.
[1663] Kilian, 1988b, 134.
[1664] Zangger, 1994, 207; Shelmerdine, 2001, 335. For a discussion of the causes of the LH IIIB2-LH IIIC destruction see Zangger, 1994, 207-211.
[1665] Shelmerdine, 2001, 335.
[1666] Shelmerdine, 2001, 335. Though see Zangger, 1994, 211-212.
[1667] Kilian, 1981, 53-56; Whittaker, 1997, 180.
[1668] Whittaker, 1997, 182-183.

figure, a clay rhyton in the form of a bull, miniature vessels and twenty-two clay figurines[1669] attest to its ritualistic use also for animal sacrifice[1670]. The similarity between the LH IIIB deposits in Casemate 7 and those found in the LH IIIC cult buildings emphasises the cult function of the former and attests to the continuity of official cult in the Lower Citadel[1671].

Finally, re-examination of the so-called Building T[1672] has demonstrated that the structure belonged to the Mycenaean period and that its construction was the initiative of a ruling group that wished to stabilise its authority by associating itself with the past[1673]. Arguably, Building T, a megaroid structure, consisted probably of two rooms and was the last Mycenaean megaron, built sometime after the catastrophe over the ruins of the old megaron, albeit narrower[1674] (**fig. 73**). The incorporation of the room where the throne stood points to the continuing focus of social hierarchy on one person[1675]. In addition, the transformation of the round altar at the Great Court to a square platform-like structure must have taken place contemporarily with the construction of Building T as suggested by the incorporation of building material from the round altar in it[1676]. It is possible, then, that religious practices were continuously performed in the megaron and at the altar, although with some differences as implied by the abandonment of the central hearth, emphasised also by the creation of an elongated room divided into two aisles by a central row of columns[1677]. This architectural alteration may reflect a socio-political and religious change with the

[1669] Whittaker, 1997, 182.
[1670] Kilian, 1981, 56.
[1671] Kilian, 1981, 56; Whittaker, 1997, 181.
[1672] Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997, 159-162; Maran, 2001.
[1673] Maran, 2001, 120.
[1674] Maran, 2001, 115.
[1675] Maran, 2001, 115.
[1676] Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997, 160; Maran, 2001, 115.
[1677] Maran, 2001, 117.

disintegration of Mycenaean centralised kingdoms and state controlled religious rituals and the emergence of a new type of social organisation[1678]. There are, therefore, obvious elements of change and simplification at the megaron and the ceremonies performed therein as suggested by the fact that the throne and the person seated there was less mysterious, since it was visible to anyone entering the room. On the other hand, there is evidence for reuse of palatial official symbols, such as the area of the throne and the altar[1679]. During LH IIIC, then, there existed some kind of political power at Tiryns as suggested by the building activities at the Lower Citadel, the megaron and the settlement around[1680], which Maran has interpreted as attempts by the ruling group to restore parts of the old social order and to legitimise their authority by linking it to the old tradition[1681].

In a paper on Systems Collapse, Renfrew set out a number of predictable consequences of the termination of centralised control[1682]. Among them was the eclipse of temples as major religious centres, often followed by their survival modified as local shrines[1683]. With the end of palace organisation the central support of a state religion disappeared and followed a fragmentation and decentralisation of cult practice, which could no longer depend in the same way upon the central palace organisation[1684]. Elaborate and sophisticated cult practices and public displays almost certainly ceased and cult returned to a simpler form that Renfrew described as "'folk' cults and beliefs"[1685] and which was conventionally called "popular" cult in LH IIIB. In Mycenaean cult, the

[1678] Walberg, 1995, esp. 91.
[1679] Maran, 2001, 118-119.
[1680] Kilian, 1988b, 135.
[1681] Maran, 2001, 120.
[1682] Renfrew, 1979, esp. 482-485; 1981a, 29.
[1683] Renfrew, 1981a, 29.
[1684] Renfrew, 1981a, 30; 1985, 436.
[1685] Renfrew, 1981a, 30.

locus of the "official" cult was primarily the megaron and the cult buildings situated inside the citadel. The destruction of the palaces put an end to the cult practices performed in the megaron, or at least in the case of Tiryns, modified and probably simplified them, as also implied by the erection of cult buildings in the Lower Citadel. Deger-Jalkotzy has argued that cult buildings and images, the prerogative of Mycenaean palaces, developed in the course of LH IIIC into public sanctuaries and the images of protective deities of the damos[1686]. We do not know to what extent this may be true, since as Maran has suggested for Tiryns, the collapse of the centres would have stimulated competition among the surviving groups for power, which to an extent would have used the "old ways" to legitimise themselves.

The survival of "popular" cult is suggested by the material culture uncovered in LH IIIC cult places, such as Kalapodi and Amyklaion, which does not differ from that of LH IIIB sanctuaries and by the fact that both sites flourished during LH IIIC. The LH IIIC archaeological material from Kalapodi consists of deposits in front of the two Archaic temples and of an architectural complex including a circular stone structure that the excavator interpreted as a furnace for the preparation of offerings[1687]. The presence of animal bones (sheep and goats mostly, but also bulls, pigs and deer) mostly unburnt and cooking vessels[1688], testifies to the performance of animal sacrifice and, possibly, of sacral meals. In addition, a number of clay female and animal figurines was found, including the head of a large figure with a polos, which probably belonged to a figure with a hollow body, similar to those found at Mycenae,

[1686] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1998a, 125.
[1687] Felsch, 1999, 164.
[1688] Felsch, 1999, 165, 167.

Tiryns and Phylakopi[1689]. The site has also produced evidence for the processing of crops (querns, grinders and pestles and crop remains in offering hearths) and perhaps metalworking[1690]. Kalapodi was probably an open-air shrine that functioned as a cult centre to the neighbouring area, whereas the structures might have served the needs of the shrine and the worshippers[1691]. Finally, the uncovering of LH IIIA2-B levels could possibly imply cult continuity[1692].

Although the sanctuary of Amyklaion was established in mid-LH IIIB, it flourished mostly during the LH IIIC[1693]. No architectural remains have survived at the site, even though the existence of a single building or an altar cannot be ruled out[1694]. The existence of a cult area is indicated by the presence of figurines and pottery, scattered in the whole area of the precinct of the Classical shrine[1695]. These consisted of a large number of psi figurines, two horsemen, many animal figurines (horses, dogs, birds and sheep), wheel-made bulls and hand-made bovids[1696]. A fragment of a large female head with a polos and of a hand holding a kylix approached by a snake probably belonged to large figures (LH IIIB), perhaps representing the deity[1697] (**fig. 74**). With the exception of scanty pottery sherds no other cult equipment was found[1698], although certain of the barrel bulls might have served as rhyta as suggested by the hole at the chest of the animal[1699]. According to Demakopoulou, the relative paucity of the finds and the scarcity of pottery may indicate that the site functioned more as a place where votives were

[1689] Felsch, 1999, 166.
[1690] Felsch, 1999, 164, 165.
[1691] Felsch, 1999, 169.
[1692] Whitley, 2005, 56. The site though is currently under excavation and therefore it is not possible to determine if the remains are related to cult or domestic activity.
[1693] Demakopoulou, 1982, 51, 82, 126.
[1694] Demakopoulou, 1982, 85.
[1695] Demakopoulou, 1982, 79.
[1696] Demakopoulou, 1982, 43, 85.
[1697] Demakopoulou, 1982, 54-56, 88.
[1698] Demakopoulou, 1982, 89.
[1699] Demakopoulou, 1982, 58, 61.

offered to the deity/deities, perhaps by a farming community, which might have been situated on one of the neighbouring hills rather than a place where more elaborate ritual acts took place[1700]. The presence of large figures, though, might suggest a more organised aspect of cult, since they could have been used as cult images towards which rituals would have been addressed.

A shrine that was clearly established in LH IIIC is Room XXXII of House G at Asine, which might have served as a communal shrine. It is a quite impressive room with two column bases along the central axis[1701] (**fig. 75**). The room has been ascribed a cult function due to the presence of a stone bench at the north wall and the existence of an upside down jar with cut away base to the east of the bench in the small area between it and the wall, used in libations[1702]. To the west of the bench there was a deposit of pots and figurines framed on its south side by a few stones and in the west by pebbles. The objects, rather than fallen from the bench, might have been deliberately deposited on or among the ashes and charcoal in the centre of the fill[1703], perhaps for ritual purposes. Finally, a thick layer of charcoal, ashes, pottery sherds and bones mixed with mud-bricks was deposited close to the bench. The excavator interpreted it as refuse from a hearth or a kitchen stove that was successively swept down from the bench[1704]. Among the objects found in the room were a kernos, a stone axe of Neolithic type, a few figurines and a terracotta head, the so-called "Lord of Asine"[1705], though it is not certain whether these objects were found *in situ* or

[1700] Demakopoulou, 1982, 80, 85.
[1701] Hägg, 1981b, 91.
[1702] Hägg, 1981b, 93; 1990a, 180; Whittaker, 1997, 163.
[1703] Hägg, 1981b, 93.
[1704] Hägg, 1981b, 93.
[1705] Nilsson, 1950, 112; Hägg, 1981b, 93; 1998, 110.

have fallen from the bench[1706]. The ritual acts performed in this room consisted of libations and food offerings as suggested by the small animal bones stored in a pot[1707], whereas the objects deposited among the ashes and the charcoal might have been ritually offered to the deity/deities venerated in the room, although traces of burning on the objects have not been noted. The terracotta figure head dates to mid-LH IIIC[1708] and was probably re-dedicated[1709]. Whatever its function, the presence of a large figure attributes to the shrine an "official" character, which in this context would suggest public use[1710].

Having examined the situation on the mainland it is now appropriate to turn to the islands. The Aegean islands, which were closely linked to the interests of the palaces on the mainland, were naturally affected by the consequences of the destruction of the centres, although it is difficult to relate the sequence of events on the mainland with the history of the islands during this period[1711]. The picture that arises from the examination of the LH IIIC phases of the sanctuaries at Phylakopi and Ayia Irini is that of impoverishment -especially at Phylakopi-, but not of change in the character of the cult, at least until the end of the period.

Melos had been under firm Mycenaean influence since LH IIIA, when a megaron-like residence was built[1712]. Even though Phylakopi took measures by extending the fortification system at the same time as on the mainland (end of LH IIIB1), the East Shrine was constructed in LH IIIB[1713]. After the collapse of both shrines in early LH IIIC either by an earthquake or hostilities, a blocking

[1706] D'Agata, 1996, 39.
[1707] Hägg, 1998, 110.
[1708] D'Agata, 1996, 39, 46. For the various interpretations see D'Agata, 1996, 40-41.
[1709] Hägg, 1981b, 94, discussion; 1996, 610.
[1710] D'Agata, 1996, 46.
[1711] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1998b, 107.
[1712] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1998b, 107.
[1713] Deger-Jalkotzy, 1998b, 107.

wall was built in the middle of the West shrine, restricting cult activity to the area north of the blocking wall and the East shrine until late LH IIIC[1714]. No major changes, however, appear in cult. The north-west platform of what was left of the West shrine continued in use, whereas another was probably erected to the north-east corner[1715]. The finds from the East shrine and those uncovered near the north-west platform of the West shrine show continuity from the preceding period, although large female figures and bovine figures are lacking and the baetyl might have no longer been visible[1716]. More importantly, the north/male versus south/female dichotomy, characteristic of the cult practiced in the West Shrine from LH IIIA until its collapse in the early LH IIIC period and attested by the finds associated with the north-west and south-west platforms of the shrine[1717], seems to have been replaced by one of west/male versus east/female[1718]. This suggests that even though the sanctuary might have declined, the old cult still persisted, though with poorer means and re-used material[1719]. The final phase of the sanctuary shows similar signs of impoverishment and re-use of material[1720], although it includes a small head of gold, which might have belonged to a cult image. By this time the north-east platform of the East shrine was covered by the floor level, but the significance of the location was probably preserved as reflected by the material found near it[1721].

Cult at Ayia Irini continued only in certain parts of the sanctuary, namely Rooms 3 and 6, which communicated through a doorway[1722]. On the contrary,

[1714] Renfrew, 1981b, 67; 1985, 378-379.
[1715] Renfrew, 1985, 379.
[1716] Renfrew, 1985, 381.
[1717] Renfrew, 1985, 105-110, 370-371.
[1718] Renfrew, 1985, 381.
[1719] Renfrew, 1981b, 73; 1985, 380-381.
[1720] Renfrew, 1981b, 73.
[1721] Renfrew, 1981b, 73.
[1722] Caskey, 1984, 241, 245.

Rooms 5 (the so-called corridor), 1 and 2 fell out of use in LH IIIC, although later LH IIIC activity is evident in Room 1[1723]. The cult performed was similar to that dating to LH IIIB as indicated by the benches in Room 6, whereas the erection of an altar or hearth by the time of the second LH IIIC floor[1724], attests that cult was maintained. Finally, in the late LH IIIC period a small shrine (BB) was constructed over the N corner of Room 6, while the rest of the building was by this time abandoned, with the exception of Room 2[1725]. The first phase of this shrine has not produced much pottery, whereas the succeeding phase dates to the Protogeometric times[1726]. The finds of the LH IIIC phases show continuity in cult with emphasis placed on drinking as proven by the pottery found[1727]. Finally, as regards Aphaia on Aigina, there is some pottery dating to middle LH IIIC, but there is no other evidence to support continuity in cult until the Late Geometric period[1728].

What can LH IIIC cult, then, tell us about the status of priests during this period? The existence of individuals specialised in the performance of ritual is a phenomenon of every society, but their organisation and character are defined by the character of a particular society. The role of the specialist essentially depends on the fact that he/she has the knowledge and/or charisma to perform the ritual in the right way in order to engage the divine. Although religious specialists during the Mycenaean period were not restricted to the palaces, the organisation and character of the priesthood as reflected by the iconographic and written evidence during the palatial period was the outcome of a specifically structured society,

[1723] Caskey, 1984, 244.
[1724] Caskey, 1984, 243.
[1725] Caskey, 1984, 252.
[1726] Caskey, 1984, 252.
[1727] Caskey, 1984, 244, 245, 252.
[1728] Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 160.

i.e. a palatial one, and was strongly tied with it. During the palatial period, priests enjoyed a high status as religious specialists associated with the palaces. However, following the collapse of the palatial centres and of the social hierarchy their high status position will have changed. Cult knowledge and religious symbolism remained essentially the same during the following period as suggested by the preservation of the main elements of LH IIIB cult[1729], only simpler, since with the collapse of the state support of religion, "official" cult practices also disappeared. The character of the cult specialists, then, after the fall of the palaces must be seen in the context of the socio-political changes and more importantly of change in cult. This brief study of LH IIIC cult does not claim to have addressed and answered all questions associated with it. Rather, it attempted to present in general the disposition of LH IIIC cult and of religious specialists in order to emphasise the nature of Mycenaean priesthood during its heyday, which was to a great extent a product of palatial society.

[1729] Whittaker, 1997, 181.

Appendix*

I. PYLOS

Un 2

.1 pa-ki-ja-si, mu-jo-me-no, e-pi, wa-na-ka-te

.2 a-pi-e-ke, o-pi-te-ke-e-u

.3 HORD 16 T 4 CYP+PA T 1 v 3 o v 5

.4 FAR 1 T 2 OLIV 3 T 2 **132* S 2 ME s 1

.5 NI 1 BOS 1 OVISm 26 OVISf 6 CAPm 2 CAPf 2

.6 SUS+SI 1 SUSf 6 VIN 20 S 1 **146* 2

Un 6

.1 po-se-da[-o-ne

.2 vacat

.3 pe-re-*82 BOSf 1 OVISf 1 SUS + KA 1 SUSf 1

.4 pe-re-*82 BOSf 1 OVISf 1 SUS + KA 1 SUSf 1

.5 *vacat*

.6 **146* 37 **166*[ ] LANA 5

.7 A+RE+PA s 1 v 1

.8 BOSm 2 BOSf 2 OVIS[

Verso

.2]i-je-re-ja TELA+TE[

.3 ka-]ra-wi-po-ro TELA+TE[

Vn 20

.1 o-a(2) e-pi-de-da-to

.2 pa-ra-we-wo wo-no

.3 pi-*82-de 50

.4 me-ta-pa-de 50

.5 pe-to-no-de 100

.6 pa-ki-ja-na-de 35

.7 a-pu(2)-de 35

.8 a-ke-re-wa-de 30

.9 e-ra-to-de 50

* The appendix consists of a selection of Linear B tablets referred to in the study.

.10 ka-ra-do-ro-de 40

.11 ri-jo-de 20

.12 vacat

An 39

.1 pu-ka-wo X VIR 16

.2 me-ri-du-ma-te VIR 10 X

.3 mi-ka-ta X VIR 3

.4 o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we VIR 4

.5 e-to-wo-ko X VIR 5

.6 ka-sa-to X VIR

.7 pu-ka-wo X VIR 23

.8 me-ri-da-ma-te VIR 6

.9 o-pi]-te-u-ke-e-we VIR 5 X

.10 mi-ka-]ta VIR 6 X

.11e-]to-wo-ko VIR 4 a-to-po-qo VIR 3

.12] *vacat*

Verso

.1 po-ru-da-ma-te VIR 4

.2 *vacat*

.3 qa-ra(2)-te VIR

.4 pu-ko-ro VIR

.5 a-ko-so-ta VIR

.6 pi-ri-ja-me-ja VIR

.7 e-ni-ja-u-si-jo VIR

.8 pte-jo-ko VIR [qo-ta-wo VIR [

.9 a-ta VIR te-o-po-[VIR

vestigia

vacat

Fn 50

.1 a-ki-to-jo, qa-si-re-wi-ja HORD[

.2 ke-ko-jo, qa-si-re-wi-ja HORD [

.3 a-ta-no-ro, qa-si-re-wi-ja HORD T[

.4 me-za-ne HORD v 2 a(3)-ki-a(2)-ri-jo v 2[

.5 me-ri-du-te HORD v 3 mi-ka-ta HORD v 3

.6 di-pte-ra-po-ro HORD v 2 e-to-wo-ko v 2

.7 a-to-po-qo HORD v 2 po-ro-du-ma-te HORD v 2

.8 o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we HORD v 2 i-za-a-to-mo-i HORD v 3

.9 ze-u-ke-u-si HORD v 4

.10] *vacat*

.11 au[-ke-i-]ja-te-wo do-e-ro-i HORD T 1

.12 mi-jo[-qa] do-e-ro-i HORD v 3

.13 a-pi-e-ra do-e-ro-i HORD v 3

.14]-wo[ ]ne[do-e-ro-]i HORD T 3

.15-.19 *vacat*

En 74

.1 ru-*83-o ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T [5

.2 o-da-a(2) o-na-te-re ru-*83-o ko-to-na e-ko-si

.3 pe-ki-ta ka-na-pe-u wa-na-ka-te-ro [o-]na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.4 mi-ra te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.5 te-se-u te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na[-to e-ke to-so-de]pe-mo GRA T 4

.6 ma-re-ku-na te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA v 3

.7 e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA v 3

.8 ma-*79 te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA v 3

.9 e-*65-to te-o-jo do-e[-ro] o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA v 1

.10 *vacat*

.11 a(2)-ti-jo-qo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 5 v 4

.12 o-da-a(2) o-na-te-re e-ko-si a(2)-ti-jo-qo ko-to-na

.13 e-pa-sa-na-ti te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2

.14 ku-*63-so te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.15 ta-ra(2)-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.16 we-te-re-u i-e-re-u o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 5

.17 e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.18 ko-ri-si-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 5

.19 *vacat*

.20 pi-ke-re-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na ti-so-de pe-mo GRA 2 T 6

.21 o-da-a(2) o-na-te-re e-ke-si pi-ke-re-wo ko-to-na

.22 a(3)-wa-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.23 pe-ki-ta ka-na-pe-u wa-na-ka-te-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2

.24 ko-ri-si-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 5

Fn 79

.1 a(2)-pu-ke-ne-ja HORD T 6 v 4 OLIV 1[

.2 a-ki-re-we HORD T 5

.3 du-ni-jo, ti-ni-ja-ta HORD v 5

.4 to-sa-no HORD T 6 v 4 OLIV 1

.5 ne-e-ra-wo HORD T 6 v 4 OLIV 1

.6 a-e-se-wa HORD T 6 v 4 OLIV 1

.7 ka-ra-so-mo HORD v 5 [OLIV]

.8 wa-di-re-we HORD T 2 v 3 OLIV T 7

.9 pe-qe-we HORD T 1 v 4

.10 ze-u-ke-u-si, i-po-po-qo-i-qe HORD 1 T 7 v 3

.11 te-ra-wo-ne HORD v 5

.12 to-wa-no-re HORD v 5

.13 e-to-wo-ko-i HORD T 5 v 1

.14 a-ki-to HORD T 2 v 3 OLIV 1

.15 a(2)-ki-a(2)-ri-jo HORD T 1 v 4

Fn 187

.1a-pi-te-ja HORD [ ] NI 2

.2 po-si-da-i-jo-de HORD [ ] NI T 1

.3 ka-ru-ke HORD [ ] FAR

.4 pa-ki-ja-na-de HORD T 1[ ] NI T 1

.5 ka-ru-ke HORD T 1 v 3 NI T 1 v 3

.6 de-do-wa-re-we HORD T 1

.7 ku-ri-na-ze-ja HORD T 2 NI T 2

.8 u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja HORD T 5 NI T 4

.9 o-pi-tu-ra-jo HORD T 3

.10 au-to-*34-ta-ra HORD T 1

.11 a-ma-tu-na HORD T 1

.12 te-qi-ri-jo-ne HORD v 3

.13 u-do-no-o-i HORD T 3

.14 po-te-re-we HORD T 4 NI T 4

.15 a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i HORD T 1 v 3

.16 ka-ru-ke HORD T 1 v 3

.17 i-so-e-ko HORD T 2 [v 3]

.18 po-si-da-i-je-u-si HORD T 1 v 3

.19 *34-ke-ja HORD T 1 v 3

.20 a-ro-ja [HORD] v 3

.21 ka-ru-ke HORD T 1 v 3

.22-23 *vacat*

An 218

.1 o-da-a(2) a-na-ke-e o-pe-ro-te

.2 ri-so-wa i-je-re-u [ ] VIR 1

.3 ne-wo-ki-to i-je-[re]-u da-i-ja-ke-re-u VIR 1

.4 [ro]-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo me-ta-pa VIR 1

.5 a-e-ri-qo-ta [ ] o-wi-to-no VIR 1

.6 ai-ko-ta a-da-ra-[ti-jo] VIR 1

.7 *vacat*

.8 *vacat*

.9 o-da-a(2) e-ke-jo-to a-ko-to-no

.10 pa-ku-ro(2) de-wi-jo ZE 1

.11 [a]-ka-re-u e-ko-me-na-ta-o ai(2)-te ZE 1

.12 [ ] ke-ki-jo ZE 1

.13 [pi-]me-ta po-ru-da-si-jo ZE 1

.14 [ ] me-nu-a(2) ZE 1

.15 ma-ra-te-u a-pu-ka ZE 1

.16 [.]-qo-te-wo i-*65 ZE 1

Un 219

.1 e-ke-ra-ne, tu-wo 2 O 1[

.2 pa-de-we O 1 pa-de-we O 1

.3 ka-ru-ke, PE 2 KA 1 O 6

.4 te-qi-jo-ne, O 1 a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i, KA 1

.5 a-ti-mi-te, O 1 da-ko-ro-i E 1

.6 di-pte-ra-po-ro, RA 1 O 3 ko-ro[ ] 1

.7 a-na-ka-te, TE 1 po-ti-ni-ja[

.8 e-[ ] U 1 e-ma-a2, U 1 pe-[

.9 a-ka-wo-ne, MA 1 pa-ra-[ ]2

.10 ra-wa-ke-ta, MA 1 KO 1 [ ]ME 1 O WI 1

.11 KE 1 [ ] *vacat*

.12-17 *vacat*

PY Ae 303

.a i-je-ro-jo

.b pu-ro i-je-re-ja do-e-ra e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo MUL 14[

Tn 316

.1 po-ro-wi-to-jo

.2 i-je-to-qe pa-ki-ja-si do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe

.3 PU-RO ake po-ti-ni-ja AUR **215*vas 1 MUL 1

.4 ma-na-sa AUR **213*vas 1 MUL 1 po-si-da-e-ja AUR **213*vas 1 MUL 1

.5 ti-ri-se-ro-e AUR **216*vas 1 do-po-ta AUR **213*vas 1 MUL 1

.6-.10 *vacat*

Tn 316

v.1 i-je-to-qe po-si-da-i-jo a-ke-qe wa-tu

v.2 do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke

v.3 PU-RO AUR **215*vas 1 MUL 2 qo-wi-ja na-[ ] ko-ma-we-te-ja

v.4 i-je-to-qe pe-re-*82-jo i-pe-me-de-ja-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe

v.5 do-ra-qe pe-re-po-re-na-qe a pe-re-*82 AUR **213*vas 1 MUL 1

v.6 i-pe-me-de-ja AUR **213*vas 1 di-u-ja AUR **213*vas 1 MUL 1

v.7 PU-RO e-ma-a(2) a-re-ja AUR **216*vas 1 VIR 1

v.8 i-je-to-qe di-u-jo do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke

v.9 di-we AUR **213*vas 1 VIR 1 e-ra AUR **213*vas 1 MUL 1

v.10 di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we AUR **213*vas 1 MUL 1

v.11 PU-RO *vacat*

v.13 *vacat*

Ed 317

o-da-a i-je-re-ja ka-la-wi-po-ro-qe e-qe-ta-qe [ ]

we-te-re-u-qe o-na-ta to-so-de pe-mo GRA 21 T 6

Fr 343

.a e-ti-we

.b po-]se-da-o-ne re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo OLE[

An 424

.1 pi[ ] ra-pte-re VIR 12 pu-ka-wo VIR 6 te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro[VIR

.2 ka-ra-do-ro, ra-pte-re VIR[ ] 1 sa-ri-nu-wo-te, ra-pte-re VIR 10[

.3 ke-ra-ti-jo-jo, wo-wo, me-ri-du-ma-te VIR 2 da-ko-ro VIR 2 [

An 427

.1 a-pu(2)-we, da-ko-ro VIR 5 e-ri-no-wo[-te VIR

.2 pa-ko, me-ri-du-ma-te VIR 5 a-ke-re[-wa VIR

.3 a-to-po-qo VIR 2 pi-[ ]-te, pu-ka-wo VIR 3

Un 443+998

.1 ku-pi-ri-jo tu-ru-pte-ri-ja o-no MA+RU 10 **146* 10

.2 po-re-no-zo te-ri-ja MA+RU 3

.3]do-ke ka-pa-ti-ja HORD 1 te-ri-ja GRA 2 MA+RU 5

An 607

.1a

.1b me-ta-pa, ke-ri-mi-ja, do-qe-ja, ki-ri-te-wi-ja

.2 do-qe-ja, do-e-ro, pa-te, ma-te-de, ku-te-re-u-pi

.3 MUL 6 do-qe-ja, do-e-ra, e-qe-ta-i, e-e-to,

.4 te-re-te-we MUL 13

.5 do-qe-ja, do-e-ro, pa-te-, ma-te-de, di-wi-ja, do-e-ra,

.6 MUL 3 do-qe-ja, do-e-ra, ma-te, pa-te-de, ka-ke-u

.7 MUL 1 do-qe-ja , do-e-ra, ma-te, pa-te-de, ka-ke-u,

.8 MUL 3

.9-10 *vacat*

.11 ka

.12-14 *vacat*

En 609

.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

.3 wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 2 v 1

.4 o-da-a(2) o-na-te[-re] e-ko-si wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na

.5a GRA v 1

.5b a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro o-na-to e-ke pe-mo

.6 i-ni-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2 v 4

.7 e-*65-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2

.8 si-ma te-o-jo do-e-ra o-n-a-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.9 vacat

.10 a-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 2 T 3

.11 o-da-a(2) e-ko-si a-]ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na o-na-te-re

.12 so-u-ro te-o-jo do-]e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so pe-mo GRA v 3

.13 e-do-mo-ne-u te-o-]jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.14 e-sa-ro te-o-jo do-]e-ro o[-na-to]e-ke[to-so-de]pe-mo GRA v 3

.15 wa-na-to-jo te-re-ta o-]na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.16 [e-ra-ta-ra I-je-re-ja do-e-ra] pa-ki-ja-na o-na-to e-ke to-so pe-mo GRA T 1

.17 po-so-re-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra]o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1 v 3

.18 [i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na o-na]-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 3

Ep 613 [+] 1131

.1 ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma]o-pe-ro[du-]wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e

.2 e-me-de te-re-ja to-so-]de [pe-mo]GRA 10 T 1

.3] vestigia [ke-ke-]me-na ko-to-na ka-ma-e-u wo-ze-qe to-so- pe-mo[GRA

.4 te-re-]ta su-ko po-ro-du[o-pe-ro-qe] du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e o-u-qe wo-ze[

.5 to-]so-de pe-mo GRA 10[ ] *vacat*

.6]-re-u a-si-to-po-qo ka-ma e-ke-qe wo-ze-qe to-so pe-mo GRA 1 T 2

.7]ke-re-u i-je-ro-wo-ko ka-ma-e-u o-na-to e-ke wo-se-qe to-so pe-mo GRA 1 T 2

.8 sa-sa-wo]o-na-to e-ke ka-ma-e-u e-pi-qe to-me te-ra-pi[-ke]to-so pe-mo GRA 1 T 5

.9 e-u-]ru-wo-ta te-o-jo [do-e-]ro e-ke-qe[ka-]ma o-na-to wo-se-qe to-so-pe-mo

GRA 1 T 3

.10 pe-]re-qo-ta pa-de-we-u[e-]ke-qe ka-ma o-na-to si-ri-jo ra-ke to-so pe-mo GRA 1

.11 pa-]ra-ko e-ke-qe ka-ma ko-to-no-o-ko e-o to-so- pe-mo GRA 1

.12 po-]so-re[-ja te-]o-jo do-e-ra e-ke o-na-to pa-ro pa-ra-ko to-so pe-mo GRA T 1 v 3

.13 ko[-tu-ro mi-]ka-ta pa-de-we-u ka-ma-e-u e-ke-qe wo-se-qe to-so pe-mo GRA T 5

.14 we-ra]-jo po-]ti-ni-ja-we-jo o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so pe-mo GRA T 2

.15a pe-mo

.15b ko-pi-na te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so GRA T 2

.16 mi-ra te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA T 1

.17 qe-ri-ta te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo pe-mo GRA T 2

.18]*vest.*[te-o-]jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA v 3

.19 te-o-jo] do-e-ra [o-]na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA v 4

.20]ra-so te-o-jo [do-e-ro o-]na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so[pe-mo GRA

Es 645

.1 se-no po-si-da-o-ne do-so-mo GRA T 5

.2 *34-ke-te-si do-so-mo GRA v 2

.3 we-da-ne-wo do-so-mo GRA v 2

.4 di-wi-je-we do-so-mo GRA v 2

.5 *vacat*

An 656

.1 wa-pa-ro-jo o-ka ne-wo-ki-to

.2 [di-wi-je-u] e-ri-ko-wo a(2)-di-je-u

.3 a-ki-wo-ni-jo [ ]

.4 wa-ka-ti-ja-ta ke-ki-de sa-pi-da

.5 me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta

.6 pe-re-qo-ni-jo a-re-i-jo

.7 ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo

.8 VIR 20 me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta

.9 di-wi-je-u

.10 *vacat*

.11 du-wo-jo-jo o-ka a-ke-re-wa

.12 a(2)-ku-ni-jo pe-ri-me-de [ ]

.13 pu(2)-ti-ja a-pu(2)-ka-ne ke-ki-de po-ra-i VIR 20

.14 me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta di-ko-na-ro a-da-ra-ti-jo

.15 u-wa-si ke-ki-de ne-wo VIR 10

.16 me-ta-qe pe-i pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo e-qe-ta

.17 *vacat*

.18 a-ke-re-wa ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo VIR 80

.19 me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ka-e-sa-me-no

.20 a-pu(2)-ka

.21 *vacat*

En 659

.1 qe-re-qo-ta-o ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 2 T 3

.2 o-da-a(2) o-na-te-re e-ko-si qe-re-qo-ta-o ko-to-na

.3 ra-su-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.4 we-te-re-u i-e-re-u o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 1

.5 tu-ri-ja-ti te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke pa-ro pe-re-qo-ta pe-qo-ta to-so pe-mo GRA T 9

.6 ta-ra(2)-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA v 3

.7 *vacat*

.8 a-da-ma-o-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 8

.9 o-da-a(2) o-to-te-re e-ko-si a-da-ma-o-jo ko-to-na

.10 ta-ra(2)-to te-o-na do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2 v 4

.11 *vacat*

.12 a-i-qe-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 2

.13 o-da-a(2) ta-ra(2)-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 v 3

.14 *vacat*

.15 ra-ku-ro-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me[-na]to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T 1 v3

.16 o-da-a(2) i-ra-ta te-o-jo do-e[-ro o-]na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA v 3

.17 *vacat*

.18 a-ka-ta[-jo-]jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo GRA 3 T 2

.19 o-da-a(2) ka-ra-*56[-so te-]o-jo[do-]e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA T 2

Ep 704

.1 o-pe-to-re-u qe-ja-me-no e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so pe-mo[ ]GRA 2 T 5

.2 u-wa-mi-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke-qe i-je-re-ja ke-ra to-so pe-mo GRA T 1 v 3

.3 e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA T 4

.4 ki-ri-te-wi-ja o-na-to e-ko-si ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo GRA 1 T 9

.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 9

.7 ka-pa-ti-ja ka-la-wi-po-ro e-ke ke-ke-me-no o-pe-ro-sa du-wo-u-pi wo-ze-e o-u-wo-ze

.8 to-so[pe-mo GRA]4

Un 718

.1 sa-ra-pe-da po-se-da-o-ni do-so-mo

.2 o-wi-de-ta-i do-so-mo to-so e-ke-ra(2)-wo

.3 do-se GRA 4 VIN 3 BOSm 1

.4 tu-ro(2) TURO(2) 10 ko-wo *153 1

.5 me-ri-to v 3

.6 *vacat*

.7 o-da-a(2) da-mo GRA 2 VIN 2

.8 OVISm 2 TURO(2) 5 a-re-ro AREPA v 2 *153 1

.9 to-so-de ra-wa-ke-ta do-se

.10 OVISm 2 me-re-u-ro FAR T 6

.11a -ma

.11b VIN s 2 o-da-a(2) wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-

.12 GRA T 6 VIN s 1 TURO(2) 5 me-ri[

.13 *vacat* [ ] 1 v 1

Jn 829

.1 jo-do-so-si ko-re-te-re du-ma-te-qe

.2 po-ro-ko-re-te-re-qe ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe o-pi-su-ko-qe o-pi-ka-pe-e-we-qe

.3 ka-ko na-wi-jo pa-ta-jo-i-qe e-ke-si-qe ai-ka-sa-ma

.4 pi-*82 ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.5 me-ta-pa ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.6 pe-to-no ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.7 pa-ki-ja-pi ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.8 a-pu2?-we ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.9 [a]-ke-re-wa ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.10 ro-u-so ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.11 [ka]-ra-do-ro ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.12 [ri]-jo ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.13 [ti]-mi-to a-ke-e ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.14 [ra]-wa-ra-ta2 ko-re-te AES ss 3 # 3 po-ro-ko-re-te AES # 3

.15 [sa]-ma-ra ko-re-te AES ss 3 # 3 po-ro-ko-re-te # 3

.16 [a]-si-ja-ti-ja ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te # 3

.17 e-ra-te-re-wa-pi ko-re-te AES ss 2 po-ro-ko-re-te # 3

.18 za-ma-e-wi-ja ko-re-te AES ss 3 # 3 po-ro-ko-re-te # 3

.19 e-re-i ko-re-te AES ss 3 # 3 po-ro-ko-re-te # 3

Un 853 [+] 869 [+] 870 [+] 876

.1]-ke-ra(2)-u-na e-ra[

.2 po-se-da-o-ne re-[ ]no 6 [

.3 *146 18[ ]LANA 2 M 2[

.4 AREPA v 4 [ ]1 OVISm 1 OVISf 1 CAPf[

.5 SUS+KA 2 SUSf 4[ ]FAR T 1 v [

.6 VIN 5 TELA [1] TELA+PA 1

.7-9 *vacat*

.10]3[

Fr 1220

.1 ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro pa-ko-we OLE + PA v 4

.2 di-pi-si-jo-i wa-na-ka-te OLE + PA s 1

II. KNOSSOS

Fp (1) 13

.1 ra-pa-to me-no *47-ku-to-de OLE v 1 pi-pi-tu-na v 1

.2 au-ri-mo-de OLE v 4 pa-si-te-o-i S 1 qe-ra-si-ja S 1

.3 a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja OLE 1 u-ta-no a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja S 1 v 3

E 777

.1 ko-no-si-ja/ ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i LUNA 1 GRA 100[

.2 a-mi-ni-si-ja LUNA 1 GRA 100 [

.3 pa-i-ti-ja LUNA 1 GRA 100[

v.1 a-ze-ti-ri-ja GRA[

Dl (1) 950

.A po-ti-ni-]ja-we-jo OVISf 50 LANA 5 [

.B si-ja-du-]we o ki OVISm 50 o LANA 5 [

III. THEBES

Of 36

.1 no-ri-wo-ki-de ku LANA 1 a-ke-ti-ra(2) wa-na-ka[

.2 po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de a-ke-ti-ra(2) ku LANA 1

TH Fq 254[+] 255

.1 de-qo-no HORD T 1 v 2 Z 3 o-te a-pi-e-qe ke-ro-ta

.2 pa-ta ma-ka HORD T 1 v 2 Z 2 a-ko-da-mo v 2

.3 o-po-re-i[ ]ma-di-je v 1[ ]1 ka-ne-jo v 3

.4 ko-wa Z 2 a-pu-wa Z 2 ko-ru Z 2

.5 qe-re-ma-o v 1 Z 2 zo-wa v 1 a-me-ro v 1

.6 ka-wi-jo FAR v 1 *63[ ]ka[ ] i-qo-po-qo-i v 1 Z 1

.7 a-ra-o FAR v 1[ ]v 1 me-to-re-I Z 2

.8 *deest*

.9]*vestigia*[

.10]a-nu-to Z 1[ ]to-jo[ ]Z1 mi-ra-ti-jo[

.11 e-pi-do-ro-mo Z 1 pi-ra-ko-ro Z 1 de-u-ke-nu-we Z 1

.12 ko-du-*22-je Z 1 do-ra-a(2)-ja Z 1

.13 ra-ke-mi-ni-jo FAR v 2 a-ke-ne-u-si v 2

.14 o-u-wa-ja-wo-ni Z 2 mo-ne-we v 3

.15 ku-su-to-ro-qa HORD[T]3 v 3 Z 2

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List of Abbreviations

A. Journal/Series

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology/ Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
AC	L'Antiquité Classique
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutchen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AR	Archaeological Reports
ArchDelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
ArchEph	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
ArchKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
EAZ	Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift
Ergon	Τὸ Ἔργον τὴς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας

JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JPR	Journal of Prehistoric Religion
KrChron	Κρητικά Χρονικά
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensia
MonAnt	Monumenti Antichi
PAE	Πρακτικά τὴς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
ProcBritAc	Proceedings of the British Academy
PP	La Parola del Passato: Rivista di Studi Classici
REA	Revue des Etudes Anciennes
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
WA	World Archaeology

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Fig. 26 Room XXXII at Asine, showing the bench and the jar with cut away base (after Hägg, 1990a, p. 180, fig. 5).

Fig. 27 Libation channel at the megaron at Pylos (after Hägg, 1990a, p. 179, fig. 3).

Fig. 28 Figure with kylix from a Tanagra larnax from Tomb 36 (after Immerwahr, 1995, p. 115, fig. 7.5).

Fig. 29 Enthroned figure on a krater from Tiryns (after Kilian 1980, p. 22, fig. 1).

Fig. 30 Female figure in long robe from a jar from Alike (after Gallou, 2005, p. 230, fig. 76b).

Fig. 31 Theophoria fresco from the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Mylonas, 1983, p. 209).

Fig. 32 Reconstruction of the Theophoria fresco (fragment 103) from Tiryns (after Boulotis, 1979, p. 60, fig. 1).

Fig. 33 Front and back view of a figure with streamers from Mycenae (after Mylonas, 1966a, fig. 128).

Fig. 34 The back side of a female figure showing streamers from Tiryns (after Demakopoulou, 1988, fig. 25).

Fig. 35 The Mycenaean Lady or Goddess (Mykenaia) from the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Immerwahr, 1990, coloured pl. XX).

Fig. 36 Theophoria from a larnax from a tomb at Tanagra (after Gallou, 2005, p. 215, fig. 60).

Fig. 37 Clay model of a throne (after French, 1971, pl. 28c).

Fig. 38 Clay litter model from Tiryns (after Demakopoulou, 1989, pl. 4δ).

Fig. 39 Larnax from Klima Mesaras, side B (after Rethemiotakis, 1995, p. 168, fig. 4).

Fig. 40 The Procession fresco from Thebes (after Immerwahr, 1990, coloured pl. XXI).

Fig. 41 CMS I, 132, depicting a procession of women with the one on the right wearing a hide skirt.

Fig. 42 Lower register of the fresco from Room 31 from the Cult Centre at Mycenae, depicting a female figure carrying grain sheaves (after Ozanne, 1990, p. 149).

Fig. 43 Sketch restoration of the upper register of the fresco from Room 31 (after Marinatos, 1988a, p. 251, fig. 3).

Fig. 44 Prothesis scene from a Tanagra larnax (after Immerwahr, 1990, p. 156, fig. 41e).

Fig. 45 Male procession from a larnax from Tomb 6, Tanagra (after Marinatos, 1997, p. 285, fig. 5).

Fig. 46 Krater from chamber tomb 5 of the cemetery of Ayia Triadha, Palaioboukouvina, Elis (after Schoinas, 1999, p. 257, fig. 1).

Fig. 47 Jug from Kamini, Naxos (after Mastrapas, 1996, p. 798, fig. 1 and 2).

Fig. 48 Larnax from Tomb 22, side A, Tanagra (after Immerwahr, 1990, coloured pl. XXI).

Fig. 49 Plan of Room Gamma at the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Hägg, 1998, p. 102, fig. 1).

Fig. 50 Isometric view of the Temple Complex at the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Moore and Taylour, 1999, p. 21, fig. 6).

Fig. 51 Room 19 of the Temple Complex at the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Moore and Taylor, 1999, p. 27, pl. 7a).

Fig. 52 The Room with the Frescoes at the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after French, 2002, p. 90, fig. 41).

Fig. 53 Sketch plan of the cult buildings of Phylakopi (after Renfrew, 1981b, p. 68, fig. 1).

Fig. 54 The "temple" at Ayia Irini (after Preziosi and Hitchcock, 1999, p. 136, fig. 85).

Fig. 55 The lady of Midea (after Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou, 2001, pl. L).

Fig. 56 Female figure from Aphaia (after Pilafidis-Williams, 1995, p. 230, fig. 1).

Fig. 57 Type B anthropomorphic figures from the Temple Complex of the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Moore and Taylour, 1999, p. 53, pl. 13).

Fig. 58 Routes to the Temple Complex of the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Moore and Taylour, 1999, p. x, fig. 1).

Fig. 59 Pyxis from Kalamia, Crete (after Demakopoulou, 1988, fig. 105).

Fig. 60 A sketch of CMS I, 17 (after Niemeier, 1990, p. 167, fig. 1).

Fig. 61 CMS I, 159.

Fig. 62 CMS I, 108.

Fig. 63a Tholos A at Archanes showing the burial of the horse (after Sakellarakis, 1997, p.164, fig. 119).

Fig. 63b Plan of Tholos A at Archanes showing the burial of the horse and the bull's head built in the blocking of the entrance to the side chamber (after Sakellarakis, 1997, p. 165, drawing 39).

Fig. 64 Helmeted female figure with griffin (after Bourdakou-Karyka, 2004, p. 53, fig. 87).

Fig. 65 Hearth from the megaron at Pylos (after Bourdakou-Karyka, 2004, p. 44, fig. 74).

Fig. 66 Plan of Tiryns showing the axiality between the megaron and the altar (after Mylonas Shear, 2004, fig. 9).

Fig. 67 The “aithousa” of the megaron at Mycenae with the depression (after Mylonas, 1966a, fig. 58e).

Fig. 68 Sketch plan of Grave Circle A at Mycenae showing possible space for ceremonies (after Preziosi and Hitchcock, 1999, p. 175, fig. 113).

Fig. 69 Plan of the “workshop” areas in the Cult Centre at Mycenae (after Taylour, 1970, p. 271, fig. 1).

Fig. 70 Scene depicting priestesses on a larnax from Tomb 6, Tanagra (after Immerwahr, 1990, p. 156, fig. 41a).

Fig. 71 Plans of cult buildings Room 117 and 110 of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns (after Kilian, 1981, p. 52, fig. 4 and 5).

Fig. 72 Female figure from Room 110 of the Cult Buildings of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns (after Demakopoulou, 1988, 25).

Fig. 73 Tiryns Building T (after Maran, 2001, pl. XXXI).

Fig. 74 Polos from a clay figure and hand holding a kylix, both found at Amyklaion (after Demakopoulou, 1982, pl. 67 and 68a).

Fig. 75 Schematic plan of House G at Asine (after Hägg, 1981b, p. 92, fig. 1).