ANCIENT GREECE: FROM THE MYCENAEAN PALACES TO THE AGE OF HOMER

Edited by
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Edinburgh University Press
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Edinburgh University Press Ltd
22 George Square, Edinburgh

Typeset in 11 on 13pt Times NR MT
by Servis Filmsetting Limited, Manchester, and
printed and bound in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wilts

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN-10 0 7486 1889 9 (hardback)
ISBN-13 978 0 7486 1889 7 (hardback)

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WANAKS AND RELATED POWER TERMS
IN MYCENAEAN AND LATER GREEK

Thomas G. Palaima

There have been numerous advances in scholarship1 (since Carlier, Royauté and Palaima 19952) affecting the interpretation of the two lexical items (wa-na-ka = later wanaks and qa-si-re-u = later basileus) and related terms (e.g., lāwāgetās and e-ke-ra₂-wo) associated with the concept ‘king’ within Greek language and culture. Here I shall deal with them systematically under various subject headings that I hope are more than arbitrary. My main aim is to demonstrate that the most recently proposed etymologies of the term wanaks either confuse the functions of the wanaks within the Mycenaean texts for the essential meaning (and ideologically basis) of the word itself or are attractive as explanations for the meaning of the term, but ultimately unconvincing in accounting for its history.

I argue that the essential meaning of the wanaks has to do, as in Hittite, with ‘birth, begetting and fertility’ and then with ‘lineage’.3 I then discuss many aspects of the attested functions of the wanaks in Mycenaean society.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF WA-NA-KA, QA-SI-RE-U AND E-KE-RA₂-WO:
LINEAR B, HITTITE AND HOMER

There are no convincing, that is, widely accepted, Indo-European etymologies of the Mycenaean terms wa-na-ka (later Greek ἀνάξ) and qa-si-re-u (later Greek

1 I dedicate this paper to the late Kees Ruijgh whose scholarly erudition, integrity, deep humanity and generosity are sorely missed by all of us who still work at the Mycenaean texts that he understood so deeply and explicated so clearly. I was helped in writing this paper by discussions with graduate students in Austin, particularly Kerri Cox, Amy Dill, Stephanie Nikoloudis and Dimitri Nakassis. Mark Southern and Sara Kimball advised me on some Hittite matters. All flaws in what I present here are mine.


3 I rely on the Hittite evidence for four reasons: (1) the contemporaneity and proximity of the Hittite culture to the Mycenaen; (2) the relatively ample written historical documentation pertinent to activities and functions of specific Hittite kings and to the ideology and practice of Hittite kingship; (3) the Hittites had reached a level of state formation more advanced than the Mycenaenans and under roughly parallel conditions; (4) the Hittite institution of kingship was heavily influenced by preceding indigenous and surrounding cultures, which I have come to believe is also the case with Mycenaean kingship.
The standard etymological dictionary (Chantraine 1968/1990: vol. 1, s.v. ἄνωξ and βασιλεύς) assumes both terms are non-Greek loan words. The reconstruction of the role of the wanaks in Mycenaean society offered in Palaima 1995 took this as a starting point, positing non-Indo-European origins for both terms. I argued then that qa-st-re-u derived from the pre-existing mainland culture with which the arriving Indo-European speakers merged. The term qa-st-re-u and the power figures whom it identified understandably survived into the relatively short-lived Mycenaean palatial culture (and after its collapse) at the village level of social, economic and political organisation. I also suggested that wa-na-ka might have derived from Minoan high culture which the Mycenaean elite clearly used as a source for prestige borrowing in the spheres of ritual, ideology and material culture.

It should be noted that Ruijgh 1999: 521 (going back to his seminal work Ruijgh 1967: 385 n. 166) flatly declares that the term ἡνακτ- is ‘sans doute préhellenique’ and gives it a meaning of ‘maître souverain’. This follows a time-honoured tradition of deducing the meaning of this inscrutable term from an understanding of how the word is used in Homer, the Linear B texts and later Greek (particularly in Cyprus where it refers, according to Aristotle Frag. 483 Rose, to the sons and brothers of the king or basileus). Ruijgh, for example, argues, from the use of wanaks and its feminine counterpart wanassa as epithets of deities, that the Homeric use of basileus with Zeus is metaphorical. What distinguishes the two terms, in Ruijgh’s view, is that the underlying meaning (‘la valeur fondamentale’) of the term wanaks is ‘divine sovereignty’, while the term basileus indicates in the historical period ‘mortal sovereignty’ and in the Bronze Age identifies mortal ‘roitelets’ (Ruijgh 1999: 525–7).

Ruijgh then goes further, analysing Homeric periphrases for prominent heroes. In fact, he takes the term ἱππως (heros) itself as a prehellenic term designating nobility, ‘seigneur’ vel sim. From the periphrases containing the terms ἱππως (hieros) and ἦς (cf. Latin vis) he argues that supernatural ‘force’ is a necessary quality of the Mycenaean king and later traditional heroes. He then posits that the formulae involving the words ἱππως, ἦς, and Ẃ-α (later Greek βίω) plus genitives or adjectival forms of proper names are survivals of Mycenaean noble titles or forms of address (cf. such English expressions as ‘your majesty’, ‘your honour’, or ‘your highness’). Ruijgh also proposes, on the basis of Homeric parallels (for instance, Priam and Hector, Oeneus and Meleager, Laertes and Odysseus), that the lówage-tás was the prince ‘heir apparent’ entrusted with directing military matters when the wanaks, who generally had such authority and responsibilities, was incapable of so doing because of age or absence. Ruijgh explains the absence of the term lówage-tás in the Homeric tradition purely on metrical grounds. Its metrical shape (- - - -) was unsuited to hexameter.

Ruijgh also mines Homeric personal names (Ruijgh 1999: 529–30) in an interesting way. Noting the occurrence of Ἀστό-ἁνωξ and Ἰφ-ἁνασσα as names respectively of a prince and princess of royal blood, Ruijgh argues that the terms wanaks and wanassa are reserved for use within royal and divine families. He then
proposes that the prehellenic culture from which wanaks was borrowed would have employed particular kinds of endocentric determinative compound name-formations. It follows then that the influence of this practice might be seen in Mycenaean pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka, which Ruijgh interprets as a proper name Πρεσεύ- Γανός (with the meaning ‘roi de rang prémént”). It should be noted, however, that one other fairly reasonable interpretation of pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka has been proposed (Aura Jorro, DMic II: s.v.).

There is obviously much that is tantalising in such speculations, and I myself am more inclined to favour certain forms of argumenta ex Homero than is currently fashionable. Nonetheless, it seems to be settling for too little to posit that the ‘meaning’ of wanaks is ‘sovereign master’, because: (1) wa-na-ka is used in Linear B and wanaks is used in Homer to designate a single elevated king at a rank above or considerably above the more numerous individuals known each as a basileus and (2) in Homer the term is used as an epithet of Zeus and other deities. This is to confuse ‘function’ with ‘essential meaning’, that is, it posits that the word wanaks means ‘sovereign master’ because the wanaks in Linear B and Homer seems to be a ‘sovereign master’. But I think Ruijgh’s scholarly instincts are correct. I have long thought that Αστυ-άναξ and Ιφώ-άνασσα are key terms for establishing what the meaning of *wanak- might be.

Hajnal 1998: 60–9 has proposed an interesting new Indo-European etymology for wanaks. It is a proposal of considerable merit. Hajnal starts by positing that lāwāgetās and wanaks are a ‘Begriffspaar’ (a conceptual pair). This has much to recommend it considering how the two figures are linked in important texts like Pylos Er 312.

Hajnal therefore looks for parallel structure in their forms. He sees the terms as once having been strictly parallel formations, after which the term lāwāgetās was modernised with an -etās ending. We should note that such words as ku-na-ke-te-i, o-wi-de-ta-i, ko-to-ne-ta, su-qo-ta, go-u-qa-ta, ai-ki-pa-ta, po-ku-ta, mi-kata, e-re-ta, e-qe-ta and do-po-ta show how productive this suffix was in certain spheres of Mycenaean economic and social terminology. The last two items (e-qe-ta = ‘follower’) and (do-po-ta = ‘house-master’) function in the sphere of elite social ranking and ritual. Thus analogical innovative pressure is here a priori reasonable. Here is Hajnal’s reconstruction:

lāwāgetās ultimately from *lah₂yo- h₂g- /
wanaks ultimately *h₂n-h₂ág- / with the first element traced to IE *yén(H) -
meaning ‘gewinnen, Gewinn’
these lead to

*lah₂yo- h₂g-tl ‘Person, die waffenfähige Bevölkerung leitet’
*h₂n-h₂ág-tl ‘Person, die Gewinn mit sich führt, erzielt’.

The implications of Hajnal’s proposal are, in my opinion, worth exploring.
The idea of the *wanaks* as ‘he who brings gain/profit’ is historically attractive, given how Wright 1995 explains the transformation from mainland chieftains to Mycenaean kings in terms of acquisition and controlled distribution and manipulation of prestige commodities, artefacts and symbols.4 We can even imagine that the more prestigious term (*wanaks*) was treated conservatively when the less prestigious term (*lāwāgetās*) was modernised by use of the popular agent-noun suffix -etās.

What then are the implications of Hajnal’s proposal? If a term like *lāwaks* was used originally for the office of ‘leader of the armed Volk’, then the absence of this term from the epic tradition has to be explained. *lāwaks* has a different metrical shape than *wanaks* (−− vs. −−), but it would not present the compositional problems caused by *lāwāgetās* (−− −−). Unless, then, the poems as we have them left out references to this political office as a kind of thematic fluke, the metrical unsuitability of the new formation *lāwāgetās* would have to provide, if we follow the implications of Hajnal’s argument, a *terminus post quem* for the generation of the story cycles contained in epic. That is, they would have to originate after the innovation *lāwaks* > *lāwāgetās*.

There is also a strong tradition in Homer, *Od*. 19.109 ff. and Hesiod, *Theog.* 225–47 (and even in Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus*) for the ideological notion of the *wanaks* (and later *bāsileus*) as intercessor with the divine sphere and guarantor of the general prosperity of his community. Given the potential length of the traditions that could convey such notions (Ruijgh 1995), it seems reasonable to trace them back to the formative stages of Greek culture where we find already in our written records the essential terminology with which such notions are expressed. Within this ideological framework, Hajnal’s etymology makes appropriate sense of compound names such as Ἀχιλλείωνος (that is, ‘he who secures profit for the town’) and Ἰφιαλλακτός (‘she who secures profit by force’).

On the negative side, it is one thing to imagine the innovation through -etās obtaining from the analysed form before the change of original *gl* to *kl*. It is harder to imagine once the nominative and all other stem-forms had become *lāwāk-l*. Besides arguing that the more prestigious term was treated conservatively while the less prestigious term was modernised, one could also make an argument from the transparency of meaning of the component elements. Thus one could argue that *lāwaks* > *lāwāgetās* occurred because of the transparent meaning of the component elements within early Greek (*lāwos* and *ag-*), but that *wanaks* > *wanagētās* did not take place because the first element was not used in any easily recognised free-standing noun-form. I hope you see then that I found much that is attractive in this proposal and have even thought of additional reasons for liking it, even if, ultimately, I prefer not to accept it.

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4 See also Palaima 1999 on the distinction between Mycenaean goblets and Minoan chalices in the important ritual text PY Tn 316, and Palaima 2003b on Minoan heirloom tripods used in major palatial commensal ceremonies.
Chantraine 1968, vol. 1, s.v. ἄνωξ argues, from the use of the epithet ἄνωξ ἀνθρώπων nearly uniquely for Agamemnon (and in conjunction with the common metaphorical notion of the ‘king’ as ποιμέν, λαῶν), that the underlying meaning of what he considers a loan word is ‘protecteur’. But this is to let a single metaphorical usage in the Homeric texts dictate opaque etymology.

In etymological (and Mycenaean and Homeritic) terms I would start with the analogy to contemporary Hittite society. The etymological connection of the Hittite terms ḫassu- ‘king’ (and ḫassussara ‘queen’) and ḫassar- ‘progeny, issue, offspring, descendant’ is not completely certain. However, if the etymological connection of the terms is not a mirage, then we might build a case that the underlying meaning of the term wanaks is connected with ‘birth’ and ‘generation’. This would be consistent with the importance of blood-line connection (1) discussed by Palmer for Germanic kings (Palmer 1955: 18-53, esp. 32-7); (2) seen in the importance of Mycenaean (and later archaic) burial and ancestor cult (as discussed by Wright 1995: 70 and Kilian 1986: 284), and (3) embedded in such Homeric and Hesiodic notions as ‘Zeus-born’ and ‘Zeus-nourished’ kings.

We would then derive the original meaning (and ideological basis) of the term wanaks not from the specific roles and functions the wanaks is seen performing in the Linear B tablets and the Homeric poems, but from a fundamental and primal Indo-European notion that is at the very basis of his power and authority: linkage through blood-ties to ancestral and divine power and guarantor through his own fertility of the purity and health of his people. Not only does the Hittite term for the royal line stress the importance of kinship and genealogical linkage with the divine sphere, but the Hittite king took his functions as the highest human


6 Palmer relies on Tacitus’ description of Germanic kingship (Germania 7): reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt and argues that the king in Indo-European societies ‘governed not by his personal qualities (virtute) but by his degree of “nobility”, that is “affinity” to earlier kings, who for their part in the last resort traced their descent to some distinguished popular hero or claimed a divine ancestor.’ Thus Palmer rejected ‘martial prowess’ as the main determinative of Mycenaean kingship.

7 This certainly plays a role in the divine genealogies of ‘Zeus-born’ and ‘Zeus-nourished’ kings in Greek tradition: cf. Homer, Od. 6.7 ff. for the lineage of the kings of Scheria stemming from Nausithous. The link to royal ancestors and to the divine (often one and the same) is usually not a later artificial development, but something that serves as a vital ideological basis for kingship from the outset, even in societies wherein direct succession through blood lines is unstable. For Hittite, cf. Gurney 1958: 121: ‘The belief that the reigning Hittite king impersonated the spirit of the royal ancestor Labarnas appears to date from the earliest times. Since the name of this ancestor is Hattic, it is unlikely that this belief originated with the Indo-European element in the Hittite nation.’
authority connected with the sacred realm extremely seriously, to the point where the need to perform rituals for the gods could and did outweigh other considerations, that is, his role as military commander.\footnote{8}

Further important clues are provided here by Watkins’ discussion (Watkins 1986) of Laroche’s theories about the name of Priam (Priamos) and Paris in the Iliad.\footnote{9} These are identified as Luwian Pariya-muwas and Pari-LU. The first element seems to come from IE *perh₃ ‘birth, produce’ and the second element from IE *meuh₃/h₃ ‘abundant, reproductively powerful’. Thus Priam, who in the Iliad is the archetype of the king in control of his community, and Paris, who as one of Priam’s chief sons causes problems connected fundamentally with his procreative proclivities, have names that emphasise ‘birth’ and ‘generation’.

If we then turn to the names that concern Ruijgh (‘Iφι-άνασσα and ‘Αστυ-άναξ), we can say first that the very survival of the community of Troy is powerfully bound up with two lives: Hek-tör, who literally is the agent for holding and preserving the community, and ‘Αστυ-άναξ, whose death will mean the extirpation of the royal blood line of Troy and who conversely, under better circumstances, would have been the active agent for its perpetuation. More importantly still, it would seem that the Homeric tradition is actively manipulating these redende Namen in sophisticated ways and with a clear understanding of their inherent meanings.

If we look then at ‘Ιφι-άνασσα in II. 9.145, we see that she is one of the three daughters Agamenon offers to Achilles: Chrysothemis, Laodike and Iphianassa.

\begin{verbatim}
ει δέ κεν Ἠργος ἰκώμεθ’ Ἀχαϊκόν, οὐθορ ἀροῦρης.
γαμβρός κέν μοι ἐοι· τίςο δέ ἐ ἰσον Ὀρέστῃ,
ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλή ἐνι πολλῇ,
τρεῖς δέ μοι εἰσὶ θύγατρες ἐνι μεγάρῳ ἑυσήκτῳ,
145 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα,
\end{verbatim}

(footnote 7 continued)

And the notion is not only Indo-European. For New World Mayan, cf. Schele and Freidel 1990: 97–99, 115–17. For Egyptian, cf. Frankfort 1948: 36–7, 89–104, and Fairman 1958: 76–8 and 97–9, with a concise description on p. 99: ‘The evidence that has been discussed suggests that the kingship of the reigning king resided in his predecessor. In other words, his kingly office is derived from and inherent in his ancestors, and it was in the establishment and preservation of the direct link with the ancestors that his claim to rule resided. One method of emphasizing that link was undoubtedly the performance of the funerary ritual for his predecessor, and indeed for all the company of ancestors’.

\footnote{8} For a thumbnail description of the religious duties and other functions of the Hittite king, see Macqueen 1986: 75–7, 115–16. For a fuller account, cf. Gurney 1958: 105–21. For a specific example of the king’s relationship to the divine, as chief priest of the state ritual and sacrifice, as personal servant of the gods, and as direct beneficiary of the patronage and protection of particular divinities, for instance, the sun-goddess Arinna and the storm-god, cf. Pritchard 1950: 397–9. In the 27th year of the Annals of Mursilis II, the king returns from a campaign in order to celebrate the Puruli-festival.

\footnote{9} Watkins 1986: 45–62, esp. 56–7. I thank Amy Dill and Mark Southern for this reference and for discussing this line of reasoning with me.
τάων ἦν κ’ ἐθέλησι φίλην ἀνάεδνον ἀγέσθω
πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος ἔγω δ’ ἐπὶ μείλια δόσω
πολλὰ μάλ’, ὡσ’ ὦ πώ τις ἔτε πέδωκε θυγατρὶ.

But later tradition varies. Euripides’ Orestes gives the three daughters of Agamemnon as Chrysothem, Elektra and Iphigeneia:

Ηλ. γαμεὶ δ’ ὁ μὲν δὴ τὴν θεοῦς στυγουμένην
20 Μενέλαος Ἐλένην, δ’ ὁ Κλυταμήστρας λέχω
ἐπίσημον εἰς Ἐλληνας Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ
ὁ παρθένοι μὲν τρεῖς ἔφυμεν ἐκ μιᾶς,
Χρυσόθεμμος Ἰφιγένεια τ’ Ἡλέκτρα τ’ ἐγὼ,
ἄρσην δ’ Ὀρέστης, μητρὸς ἀνοσιωτάτης,
25 ἡ πόσιν ἄπειρῳ περιβαλοῦσ’ ὑφάσματι
ἐκείνην ὅν δ’ ἔκατι, παρθένῳ λέγειν
οὐ καλὸν ἔως τοῦτ’ ἁσαφῆς ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν.

But Sophocles’ Electra knows Electra, Chrysothemis and Iphianassa:

ΧΟ: οὔτοι σοὶ μούνας, τέκνον, ἄχος ἐφάνη βροτῶν,
πρὸς δ’ τι σοὶ τῶν ἐνδόν εἰ περισσἀ,
οίς ὀμόθεν εἰ καὶ γονᾶς ξύναμος,
οία Χρυσόθεμμις ζωεὶ καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα,
κρύπτα τ’ ἁχέον ἐν ἴμβα,
ὁλβιός, ὃν ἀ κλείνα
γά ποτὲ Μυκηναιόν
δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν, Δίως εὑρονι
βήματι μολόντα τάνδε γὰν Ὀρέσταν.

The questions then become how many daughters did Agamemnon have and how did tradition manipulate and refer to them? Pape 1959: s.v. and many commentators on the Iliad maintain that Iphianassa = Iphigeneia, i.e., for a variety of reasons the names were interchanged one for another, again in ways that would seem to indicate conscious understanding of their synonymity.

Pape: IPHIANASSA
1. = Iphigeneia, Iliad 9.145, daughter of Agamemnon
2. Sophocles, Elektra 157 von ihr verschieden.

IPHIGENEIA
1. Daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnaestra, sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis, dann Priesterin derselben in Tauris Herodotus
4.103, Aeschylus Ag. 1534, Pindar P. 11.26
How are these names treated by Homerists? A sample of recent commentaries and the *Iliad* scholia gives us a clear view.

Among *Iliad* commentaries, Willcock 1976: 9.145 is a good starting point, because he lays out the different lines of interpretation. I have introduced in square brackets the names that Willcock here translates.

The names of the three daughters strike us as surprising in view of the stories of the children of Agamemnon as we meet them in the Attic tragedians. Elektra is not mentioned here; and if ‘Iphianassa’ is a variation of ‘Iphigeneia’, then Homer appears to be ignorant of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia before the Greeks sailed for Troy. The *Odyssey* knows of the vengeance of Orestes (named here in 142) for his father, but it, too, is silent about both Elektra and Iphigeneia. Later poets tried to introduce consistency by assuming Laodike to be another name for Elektra and treating Iphigeneia and Iphianassa as separate daughters. The whole is a good lesson for us that the ‘facts’ of mythology were not fixed.

It has been pointed out that the names of the three daughters in this line reflect aspects of the majesty of the great king (they might be translated ‘Divine Right’ [Chrysothemis], ‘Justice over the People’ [Laodice] and ‘Dominion’ [Iphianassa]), which is not true of the names of Elektra or Iphigeneia. It would be dangerous, however, to draw conclusions about relative antiquity from this observation.

Willcock here goes no further than to interpret the -anassa element of Iphianassa generically as ‘queen’ and to then roll up the iphi- element into an abstract ‘Dominion’. Likewise Chrysothemis is abstracted and its first element is rolled up into the abstract ‘Divine Right’, which makes great assumptions about what themis signifies in the name Chrysothemis, especially in this context.

Monro 1884: 9.145 simply explains that ‘Elektra and Iphigeneia are names unknown to Homer’. He goes on to call attention to ‘the echo of this line in Soph. *El.* 157 οἶα Χρυσόθεμις ζωή καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα’. Paley 1866: 9.145 observes:

Laodice and Iphianassa seem to have been called Elektra and Iphigeneia in the Cyclic poets. It has been inferred from hence that the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is a post-Homeric myth. This may be doubted. Other contemporary ballads may have contained it, and yet some may have ignored it.

His underlying assumption is that Iphianassa and Iphigeneia are the same figure. Therefore, he feels the need to explain how one and the same daughter can be present at Troy and offered to Achilles in a compensation package after having been sacrificed at the outset of the Trojan expedition. He doubts the view that the second story is an invention of post-*Iliad* tradition.
Leaf 1900: 9.145 agrees with Paley, but adds a complication, namely that the later epic tradition itself seems to have been confused about the identities of the daughters. Leaf argues:

Iphianassa seems here to be identical with Iphigeneia, whose death at Aulis is ignored by Homer. But according to the Kypria Agamemnon had four daughters, Iphigeneia and Iphianassa being distinct. This legend is followed by Sophocles, El. 157 (see Jebb 1880). Laodike was identified with Elektra by Stesichoros and his predecessor Xanthos (Jebb 1880: xix).

Leaf then agrees with the Greek scholia to the Iliad (Erbse 1969) that the later tradition invented the name Iphigeneia and the story of her sacrifice (or intended sacrifice) at Aulis. The scholia also help us to understand Willcock’s translations of these names, since they treat the three names as abstract qualities of kingship.

145a. (Χρυσόθεμες καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα:) ὅτι οὐκ οἴδε τὴν παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρως σφάγην Ἰφιγενείας. Α’

b. Χρυσόθεμες καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα: οἴκεια θυγατράσι βασιλέως τὰ ὄνοματα τρία γὰρ συνέχει τήν ἄρχην, νόμος ὀρθός, ἑπετεια κρίσις καὶ ἰσχύς. Α’ b(BCE³E4) Τ

Turning to other sources, Hesychius specifically asserts that Iphianassa is original, while the later poets substituted Iphigeneia:

Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon (Latte 1953: s.v.):
‘Ἰφιάνασσαν’ οἱ νεωτέροι ταύτην Ἰφιγένειαν λέγουσιν (I 145)

Finally Eustathius discusses what many, beginning with the ancient scholiasts, have noticed, that this triad of daughters symbolises three aspects of ‘good rule’: themis, dikē, and iphi-anassa. To Eustathius and others the last term simply means ‘ruling in strength’, but it would be even more appropriate in the way we understand it now: ‘powerful in generative force’ vel sim.

'Ετι ἵστεον καὶ ὅτι τρία συνέχει τὴν ἄρχην νόμος ὀρθός, κρίσις ἡ πρὸς τὸν δήμον καὶ ἰσχύς ἀρχοντα πρέπουσα. 'Οθεν καὶ Λαομέμον προσφυγὸς Χρυσόθεμοι καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσαν ἱστορεῖ τάς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν Χρυσόθεμος τοῦ ὀρθοῦ νόμου καὶ καθαροῦ παρώνυμος διά τὴν θέμην, ἡ δὲ Λαοδίκη τῆς κρίσεως τοῦ δικαζόμενου λαοῦ, ἡ δὲ Ἰφιάνασσα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἰσχύος, ἧτοι τοῦ ἰφι ἀνάσσειν. (Van der Valk 1971: 9.145)
Following, however, upon Hesychius and the *Iliad* commentators, and in keeping with what we have observed about the house of Troy, we have good reasons for maintaining that *Iphigeneia* is in fact a ‘gloss’-substitute for *Iphianassa*, i.e., a later name in which the underlying meaning of the -anassa component of the name is translated into Greek. The two are metrically equivalent, which would have been crucial if one wanted to ‘swap’ a completely transparent Greek name for a name whose second element was non-Greek and opaque in meaning. So I think that -geneia ‘translates’ -wanassa. Thus *Iphi-anassa* and *Astu-anaks* are meaningful names in connection with blood-line fertility, birth and progeny.

Lastly under the heading of etymology, one other key word in Linear B pertaining to *wanaks* has been subject to new interpretation. This is *e-ke-ra₂-wo*. The issues are well known to Mycenologists and are most recently discussed in my article in the Killen Festschrift on the tablets and dialect/idiolect features of Pylos scribal Hand 24 (Palaima 2002). In tablets Pylos Er 312 and Un 718, written by the same scribe, landholdings (Er 312) and contributions (*do-so-mo*) to a commensal ceremony (Un 718) by the four principal components of the overall society are listed (see now also Palaima 2004). In PY Er 312 these are: *wanaks* (in adjectival form *wa-na-ka-te-ro*), *lāwāgetās* (in adjectival form *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*), three title-holders who are landholders (*te-re-ta = telestai*, itself an important socio-political term with -tās suffix) and *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo* (the least prominent of the four components again noted in adjectival form).

The importance of the first two figures is made clear by: (1) their being listed first in a separate section, (2) their possession each of a *temenos* – the only individuals in the entire Linear B corpus accorded this distinction, and (3) by the binary-contrastive suffixation of the adjectival form *wa-na-ka-te-ro* which marks out the *wa-na-ka* in contradistinction to all other members of Pylian society. We should note proleptically in passing that it is most likely that the *wa-na-ka* who here possesses a *temenos* is a mortal and not a deity.

PY Un 718 lists as offerings to a commensal ceremony in honour of Poseidon in the district of *sa-ra-pe-da* contributions from four sources: an individual named *e-ke-ra₂-wo*, the *da-mo* (*dāmos*), the *lāwāgetās*, and the *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma*. The parallelism is clear. The tablets are written by the same hand. The ordering of entries and even groupings into sections on the tablets is meaningful with regard to ranking. The size of landholdings on PY Er 312 corresponds roughly proportionally to the quantity and value of contributions on PY Un 718. And those contributions seem to be ‘prospective’, that is, expected contributions calculated on the basis of, or at least proportional with, the landholdings listed in PY Er 312 (or their equivalent).

The variation between the collective *da-mo* (in Un 718) and the individual *telestai* (in Er 312) is explicable from what we know of Mycenaean landholding terminology. Likewise the variation between *ka-ma* (Er 312) and *e-re-mo*, literally ‘deserted’, i.e., ‘unsettled’, land (Un 718), as the designation for the type of land
and/or land organisation for the collective group indicated by the adjectival form wo-ro-kt-jo-ne-jo is also explicable. Moreover, Un 718 was discovered isolated within the Archives Complex in association with the famous Ta tablet set. It has associations with the wanaks and with commensal ceremonial equipment, furniture and ritual paraphernalia (Palaima 2004 with references). There are therefore many powerful reasons to reject Carlier’s continuing skepticism (Carlier 1998: 413) about the identification of the person e-ke-ra₂-wo as the wa-na-ka.\footnote{See, however, the proper caution of Documents²: 454. This identification, pace Carlier, does not rest merely or finally on the assumption that no individual besides the wanaks would command resources enough for the scale of contribution expected of e-ke-ra₂-wo on PY Un 718. Rather it is dictated by all the factors listed above and more. For example, the expected offering by e-ke-ra₂-wo of a single bull is in keeping with Pylian palataliconographical representations of a ‘royal’ offering ceremony where a supra-scale power-figure contributes a single bull. The name e-ke-ra₂-wo is appropriate for the wanaks. Further arguments relating to this identification and to the implications of the contents of these tablets will be advanced by Dimitri Nakassis and Stephie Nikoloudis in their Ph.D. dissertations with which Jim Wright and Pierre Carlier respectively are involved.}

The standard (although not without interpretive problems\footnote{ Aura Jorro, DMic I, s.v. e-ke-ra₂-wo: ‘Sin interp. gr. satisfactoria’.}) explanation of the name e-ke-ra₂-wo is *Eγέλαφον. Problems pertain to the use of the phonogram ra₂ and the alternative spellings] e-ke-ri-ja-wo (PY Qa 1292) and e-ke-ra-<wo->ne (PY Un 219) to represent what may be the same person. These were partially addressed by Leukart 1992 taking the line of approach that the sign ra₂ that originally represented a post-palatalized liquid came to be used for the double consonantal outcome of such a cluster in Greek (Leukart 1992: 293, and compare Linear B sign pte which clearly developed from original *pte).

However, a new alternative has been proposed by Melena 2001: 73: e-ke-ra₂-wo = /Enkhellawōnl/ < /Enkhes-lawōnl/. The logic is as follows: ra₂ can represent /rr/ or /ll/. These clusters may result from rll+y (etymological) or /rsl/, /rsl/, /lsl/ (analogical notation for geminates). There are attested compound formations like Homeric lenkhespodol ‘spear-brandishing’ (II. 2.131) and Pindaric lenkhespodol ‘spear-carrying’ (Nem. 3.107) that guarantee a first member lenkhes- for e-ke-ra₂-wo. The second element here is identified as /law-/ found in compounded form in Greek ἀξολοχόω, Chantraine 1968: s.v. ‘profiter de, jouir de’. The meaning would be ‘he who takes profit from (or delights in) his spear’. The alternative spelling in je-ke-ri-ja-wo would be explained as a ‘traditional’ representation of ra₂ in its original value of rja, while e-ke-ra-<wo->ne is perfectly acceptable ra = lla.

This reading of the the ‘king’s name’ is simple and efficient. It links his name with martial interests, which are already established in references to the wanaks per se in tablets from the Room of the Chariot tablets at Knossos (KN Ve 73 and Vd 136 and Pylos sealing PY Wr 1480), and in the tablet entries connecting e-ke-ra₂-wo with the provision/absence of sizable numbers of rowers (PY An 724.5-.6 and An 610.13).
THE WANAKS AND RELIGION AND RITUAL

The direct or indirect associations of the wanaks (and at Pylos of the individual e-ke-ra₃-wo whom we identify as the wanaks at the time the Linear B tablets from the destruction phase were written) with rituals in the religious sphere are seen in:

1. tablets of the PY Un series (contributions to commensal ceremonies: Un 2, Un 219, Un 718, Un 853 and Un 1426),
2. the PY Ta series (vessels, fire implements, furniture, and sacrificial implements associated with a commensal sacrificial ceremony on the occasion when the wanaks appointed an individual named Augewās to the office of da-mo-ko-ro, either some kind of land overseer or, less likely, a royal commercial agent of the king (Aura Jorro Dnic 1: s. da-mo-ko-ro); and
3. Knossos tablet KN F 51 (probably from the Room of the Chariot Tablets and recording quantities of grain in reference to di-we, wa, po-ro-de-uo-no and ma-ka).\textsuperscript{12}

References to the wa-na-ka in the context of oil (PY Fr 1220.2, 1227, 1235.1) and spice (KN Ga 675) have been taken in many ways: (1) as reflections of the semi-divine aspect of the Mycenaean wanaks, (2) as the use of the term wanaks as a reference to an actual deity, that is, Poseidon, and (3) my preference, as reflections of the prominence and ritual involvement of the wanaks without any implications as to his status as a semi-deity. Carlier 1998: 414 reasons that these texts demonstrate that the wa-na-ka was himself the object of cult, which is not historically or culturally unreasonable, but is surely not necessary. We should note that PY Un 2 records the fact of the initiation of a human wanaks as occasion for collection of foodstuffs for a commensal ceremony.

Ruijgh 1999, as we have mentioned, sees the references to the wa-na-ka in the Pylos Fr tablets and on Knossos tablet F 51 as demonstrating either the divinity of the wanaks or the applicability of the term wanaks to divinities themselves. Poseidon is a recipient in Pylos Fr-series tablets and does not occur in the same tablets with the wanaks. Ruijgh 1999: 524 points out that wanaks is used as an epithet of Poseidon in the Iliad, where it also appears commonly with Zeus. He then concludes that we are here in Linear B dealing with ritual offerings of oil that are made by invoking the deity either as Poseidon or as wanaks. His arguments hinge on two assumptions: (1) that all recipients in those Pylos Fr series tablets that are not clearly secular and practical monitorings of oil allocations (for instance, PY Fr 1184) are deities; and (2) accordingly that the terms wa-na-so-i and a-pi-uo-ro-i refer to deities.

It needs to be said that to rule out a-pi-uo-ro-i (Ruijgh 1999: 532) ‘to the attendants’ as a clear reference to the distribution of an allocated commodity to per-

\textsuperscript{12} See Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001. For the interpretation of Knossos tablet F 51, see Palaima 2003c and below.
sonnel associated with deities or their sanctuaries and instead to view the term as
a reference to minor deities is nothing other than asserting what one needs to
prove. In fact many ‘offering’ and ‘allocation’ series in the Linear B corpus13 mix
human functionaries and officials with deities. The tablet writers in all instances
are clearly focused on the allocations of particular commodities to cult locales or
into the cultic sphere, so designations such as ‘to Zeus’ or ‘to Poseidon’ can be
taken to stand for ‘to their sanctuaries or officials’.14 This explains the easy move-
ment in the tablets between theonyms and functionary titles.

Moreover, Ruijgh 1999: 532 rejects the interpretation of wa-na-so-i as ‘aux
desservants du wanaks’ on linguistic grounds that to me do not make sense:
namely that the development through rapid pronunciation of terms like su-za and
ka-za from σωκιά and χαλχία is unreasonable as an analogy for deriving wa-na-
so-i from ἔσωκ(τε)-ας. He asserts that such changes only affect words of fre-
quent use within a language such as ποίημα > ποίησις. But the very words that
Ruijgh isolates in the Linear B texts (su-za, ka-za, i-za, a₃-za) all satisfy this very
condition if we view usage according to how we would expect scribes to represent
or simplify words that they came across frequently in the course of their economic
administrative activities. Fig tree (su-za), bronze object (ka-za), chariot (i-za) and
goat skin (a₃-za) certainly would be frequent items of discussion and graphemic
representation by tablet-writers. Thus I see no impediments to interpreting wa-na-
ka, a-pi-qo-ro, and *wa-na-so in the Fr series as mortal wanaks, servants, and serv-
ants of the wanaks.15

Ruijgh’s interpretation of KN F 51 (cf. also Carlier 1998: 412) and even wa-na-
so-i is haunted by the spectre of ma-ka and Demeter as raised in the newly pub-
lished interpretations of the Linear B tablets from Thebes.16 Ruijgh in interpreting
Pyllos tablet Tn 316 and Knossos tablet F 51 has used particular restorations and
readings to identify deities who are essentially for him Demeter (or Mother Earth)
and Persephone (or Kore). This involves:

1. assuming a scribal error in the reading ma-na-sa on PY Tn 316 r.4 and
   changing it to otherwise unattested ma-<wa->na-sa;
2. interpreting the problematical sequence qo-wi-ja, nq-[ ] on Tn 316 v.3 as
   ‘to Demeter and her daughter’; and
3. reading ma-qe on Knossos F 51 as ma-ka and interpreting it and wa as ref-
   erences to deities.

13 For example, the Pyllos Fn series, the Knossos Fp series, the Thebes Uf series and even, accord-
ing to Ruijgh’s I believe mistaken interpretation, Knossos tablet F 51.
14 See also now Bendall 2002 for the ambiguity in determining why particular commodities are
allocated to sanctuaries or even targeted deities.
15 Note that Carlier 1998: 414 takes wa-na-so-i as ‘desservants du wa-na-ka’.
16 For a thorough critique of the problems with interpreting ma-ka in the TH Fq series as ‘Mother
It is remarkable to me how forced these attempts to find Demeter and Persephone in the Linear B tablets have become. There is no way of proving that the scribe of PY Tn 316 made an unforced error in writing a theonym on line 4 of the recto. It is then simply asserted, without any proof from later historical cult practice, that qo-wi-ja ‘the bovine one’ or, as Ruijgh 1999: 533 n. 92, puts it ‘la déesse des boeufs de labour’ here stands for Demeter. My checking in standard compilations of cult epithets and ritual has not found any strong, clear or natural association of Demeter with cows or plow oxen, and we would have to accept that Demeter would be referred to in two separate ways on this tablet. Finally, the reading of na-[ ] as na-qa is simply not consistent with the apparatus criticus for this vexed section of text.

I have argued elsewhere at greater length than is appropriate here that ma-ka both in the new Thebes Fq tablets and in Knossos F 51 (which deal with barley) is simply a nomen actionis μαξά ‘kneading’. The existence of this form is implied, according to Chantraine, s.v. μαξασσω, by the later Greek μαξευς, and Mycenaean uses many such ‘action noun’ forms. In a forthcoming paper, M. Meier-Bruegger has argued, as I have done, against interpreting de-go-no and po-ro-de-go-no as functionary titles. Rather they are clearly terms parallel to ma-ka and mean ‘meal’ and ‘preliminary (to the) meal’. This very brief excursus underscores why it is unnecessary to take wa in Knossos F 51 as anything more than an allocation to the human wanaks pure and simple. The ‘parallelism’ with di-we here does not dictate that the wa abbreviation be taken to refer to a divine wanaks or a deity referred to as wanaks.

Finally, Ruijgh’s firm belief that wa-na-so-i must refer to ‘the two queens’, that is, Demeter and Kore, also has consequences for his interpretation of the phrases ge-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja (Pylos Ta 711.2.3) and ge-ra-na a-mo-te-wi-ja (Ta 711.2). According to Ruijgh the adjective wa-na-se-wi-ja is to be ultimately linked to Ἀνάσας Ἡμᾶς ἔτεις τῶν διώσεων ‘la fête des initiés aux mystères des deux déesses’. But this is clearly unacceptable, as it ignores the parallelism in designation of the ritual vases in the Ta series. As Ruijgh himself admits wa-na-se-wi-ja is most easily explained as coming from *wanasseus, the likeliest meaning for which is the official who attends to the wanassa, i.e., the queen, and her affairs.17 The parallelism with a-mo-te-wi-ja which derives from *a-mo-te-u (attested in genitive a-mo-te-wo) is conspicuous.

Thus I think that it is reasonable to read wa-na-ka and wa-na-sa and related forms everywhere as references to mortal ‘kings’ and ‘queens’ and to reject alternative interpretations based on hyper-speculative readings and restorations and strained attempts to find Demeter in the Linear B tablets.

17 It is unnecessary to follow Carlier 1998: 414 in associating wa-na-se-wi-jo oil with ‘the servants of the wanassa’. It is rather designated as oil for the wanasseus.
THE WANAKS AND ECONOMY

The spheres of economic activity in which the adjective wa-na-ka-te-ro (or its abbreviation wa) occur clearly point to the limited involvement of the wanaks in oil and cloth production and the ‘setting aside’ or holding of land for or by the wanaks. This land, in turn, can be used for fruit, linen, oil or grain production. In the stirrup jars (Eleusis Z 1, Thebes Z 839, Tiryns Z 29) the jars with ‘royal’ oil stand in contrast to jars with ‘collector’-slotted personal names. Thus it is reasonable to assume that royal lands such as those designated in Pylos Er 312 and Er 880 produced oil that was then shipped to appropriate markets. The wanaks also seems to hold land that produces linen, see Pylos Na 334 and 1356 (Ruijgh 1999: 522).

Likewise the crafts or specialist personnel associated with the wanaks (ke-rama-me-u, ka-na-pe-u, e-te-do-mo at Pylos, a-ke-ti-ra at Thebes, and types of TELA and po-pu-re-jo [at Knossos) would point to individual specialist personnel attendant on the person of the wanaks and to the manufacture of cloth that could be used for the purposes (ritualistic or economic) of the wanaks (Palaima 1997). The very designation of these things as wa-na-ka-te-rol-ra implies that they are set apart from other parts of economic organisation. As Ruijgh 1999: 530 points out, wa-na-ka-te-ra textiles are contrasted with e-ge-si-ja (associated with the e-ge-ta) and ke-se-nu-wi-ja (associated with ksenoi and the practice of ksenia, that is, the formal social process of ‘guest-host’ interaction) textiles.

Conspicuous is the absence of any flocks of sheep designated as belonging to the wanaks, in contrast with those under the control of ‘collectors’ or designated as belonging to the deity po-ti-ni-ja. Likewise institutions or locations of production designated by do-de and wo-ko-de are also associated with ‘collectors’ and po-ti-ni-ja, but not the wanaks.

THE WANAKS AND THE MILITARY SPHERE

There is no need to belabour the presence of the wanaks in the military sphere. The evidence is minimal, but clear. Pylos sealing Wr 1480 makes reference to ‘royal handles of javelins’ (Shelmerdine and Bennet 1995: 123–32). Diesssen 2000: 213 interprets tablets Knossos Vc 73 and Vd 136 as somehow being ‘duplicates’ of one another (the Vd text was rewritten as Vc), so that the wanaks here would be recorded as in possession of one complete outfitting of chariot, horses and armour. Ruijgh’s notion that the entry wa-na-ka was written in larger characters than other personal names in Vd 136 because the wanaks was the supreme chief of the entire army is, of course, a speculation that is undercut if Vd 136 is simply,

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18 The collectors are high-status regional nobility (see Bennet 1992 and Olivier 2001) who play major roles in economic production. For their involvement in the perfumed-oil/stirrup jar trade, see Van Alfen 1996–1997.

19 Not two sets as proposed by Carlier 1998: 412.
as Driessen thinks, a preliminary version of Vc 73. Otherwise we have noted the presence of e-ke-ra₂-wó in rower texts at Pylos. But our military and potential military texts, pertaining both to personnel and equipment, feature prominently the ra-wa-ke-ta and the e-ge-ta and the collective groups known as the ra-wa-ke-si-ja and the qa-si-re-wi-ja. And, of course, the name e-ke-ra₂-wó, as interpreted by Melena, works well with Pylos sealing Wr 1480.

**THE WANAKS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATION**

PY Er 312 and PY Un 718 clearly establish the prominence of the wanaks within the socio-political hierarchy. He is also the only official in the entire Linear B corpus specifically recorded as having ‘appointment-authority’ (PY Ta 711). If da-mo-ko-ro is correctly understood to be a major figure in the administration of one of the two provinces of the palatial kingdom of Pylos, then the fact that he is appointed by the wanaks further heightens the socio-political prominence of the wanaks.

**WANAKS AND BASILEUS**

It has long been clear (at least since Morpurgo-Davies 1979) that the qa-si-re-u is a ‘local chieftain’ who is drawn into relations with the central palatial authority in specific circumstances (such as the bronze allotment texts of the Pylos Jn series). Otherwise the qa-si-re-u is conspicuously absent from palatio-centric records (especially those like PY Er 312 and Un 718 and the Pylos E-documents) and is not in the ‘chain of administrative command’ that the central palatial authorities set up to monitor and control economic and manpower activities in the palatial territory of Messenia. For these things the da-mo-ko-ro, ko-re-te-re, po-ro-ko-re-te-re, e-ge-ta, te-re-ta and ko-to-no-o-ko interface with the central palace and occur in palatial records, as do religious officials like the i-je-re-ja, du-ma-te, ka-ra-wi-po-ro and so on.

The most compelling point of Morpurgo-Davies’ argument was that titles connected with power and work that were intrinsically associated with, not to say invented by, the palatial centres and their interests disappeared from the later Greek lexicon. What survived in the sphere of power were the titles of individuals whose authority was not derived from the rather artificially overlaid palatial system. Thus with the destruction of the palaces, such words as du-ma, ko-re-te, po-ro-ko-re-te, and da-mo-ko-ro disappear. The term wanaks also disappears except in fossilised Homeric and cultic contexts and in a semantically transformed dialect usage.

That the qa-si-re-u, operating at, and deriving his authority from, the local or ‘village’ level, is called upon selectively for labour and other forms of economic

20 See the still sensible and clear discussion in Lindgren 1973: vol. 2, 32–3 and further references in Aura Jorro, DMic I, s. v. da-mo-ko-ro.
mobilisation is clear from the way the collective organisations known as qa-si-re-wi-ja, ra-wa-ke-si-ja, we-ke-i-ja and ke-ro-si-ja function in the Linear B texts (see Carlier 1995 and Deger-Jalkotzy 2002).

With the destruction of the Mycenaean palatial system, local community chieftains, each a basileus, would have continued to exercise their authority, but no longer alongside, or occasionally slotted into, the palatial system of regional hierarchical authority. The essential features of wanaks ideology (concerns with ‘birth’ and ‘lineage’ and ‘fertility’), as we have here explained them, were then transferred to the basileis, who on the local level might have legitimised their authority, even in the Mycenaean period, with a similar ideology. But the essential meaning of the term basileus remains opaque.

References


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