

POTTER AND FULLER: THE ROYAL CRAFTSMEN *

Three craftsmen in the Linear B tablets from Pylos are described as *wanakteros* 'pertaining to or of the *wanax*'.¹ Two are identifiable with certainty: *ke-ra-me-u* = *kerameus* 'potter' and *ka-na-pe-u* = *knapheus* 'fuller'. The identification of the third (*e-te-do-mo*) is less certain, although **entesdomos* (= **έντεσδόμος*; cf. *έντεα* and *δέμω*) 'armorer' is most plausible.²

Otherwise the adjective *wanakteros* (or its abbreviation *wa*) occurs sparingly.

1a. It describes target quantities of TELA cloth and LANA wool on tablets from Knossos (KN Lc 525, cf. also Le 654 for a textile delivery association).

1b. On a tablet from Knossos (KN X 976) it qualifies *po-pu-re-jo* 'purple-dye workers or purple-dye workshop'.³ In the Theban Of series (TH Of 36.1) it specifies as 'of the *wanax*' a single woman cloth worker⁴ known as a 'finisher'.⁵ This series has clear cultic/sanctuary associations and deals with allocations of WOOL.

2. The abbreviation *wa* is used to specify a contribution of HORD (= WHEAT⁶) as 'pertaining to the *wanax*' in the first of four entries dealing with WHEAT on tablet F 51 from

* I thank my colleague in Hittite/Mycenaean instruction Sara Kimball for providing me with a copy of Beal's important article on Hittite service/obligation/compensation and some small understanding of the Hittite situation. Of course, I am responsible for any imprecision in using this information here. I use the standard Mycenological site abbreviations: PY = Pylos; TH = Thebes; KN = Knossos; MY = Mycenae.

1 *wanax* is normally translated 'king'. For the most recent survey/discussion of the functions of the *wanax* in Mycenaean society, cf. T.G. PALAIMA, "The Nature of the Mycenaean *Wanax*: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions", in P. REHAK ed., *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992*, *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 119-139.

2 P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1968) 351-352: "έντεα pl. n. "équipement" en général (avec νηός, δαιτός p. ex.), mais plus souvent "armes défensives" (Hom., lyr., alexandrins), le sg. une fois (Archil. 6, Bergk)...en mycén. p.ê. *etedomo*, si c'est έντεσ-δομος;...en outre έντεσιμήστωρ · έμπειρος όπλων (Hsch., une autre glose donne la variante έντεομήστωρ)." The second element of the compound is connected with the verb δέμω which means precisely: *Dictionnaire*, 261: "construire par rangées égales et superposées". The first element appears securely nowhere else in Mycenaean, the interpretation of the first element of the compound *e-to-wo-ko* as from the same root being problematical (as are the contextual associations of this compound for a connection with 'arms' or 'armor': cf. PY An 39). The second element is compounded with stems for other things which are constructed of layers that are arranged one upon another: e.g., *na-u-do-mo* ('ship-builders') and *to-ko-do-mo* (wall builders). The verbal root of the second element is appropriate for the construction of the kinds of *to-ra-ke* we have attested ideographically and lexically in, for example, the Sh series at Pylos, where suits of body armor are made up of 20-22 larger and 10-12 smaller platelets. Cf. T.G. PALAIMA, "'Contiguities' in the Linear B Tablets from Pylos", in the *acta* of *II Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* held in Rome and Naples, Italy, October 14-20, 1991 (forthcoming).

3 T.G. PALAIMA, "Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets," in R. LAFFINEUR and L. BASCH eds., *Thalassa. L'Egée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques (StaReSO), Calvi, Corse (23-25 avril 1990)*, *Aegaeum* 7 (1991) 289-291.

4 The case of the nouns specifying the specialist recipients of the wool is ambiguous. Although tablet Of 26 is not structurally parallel in every way, one of its entries (*po-re-si* in line .3) is clearly dative plural. If we were to extend this parallel to TH Of 36, then we would have to interpret *a-ke-ti-ra₂* as a dative singular in both of its occurrences on the tablet. The other alternative is to interpret the form as a nominative plural of *rubric*, i.e., a kind of non-syntactical entry prompted by the bookkeeping categories on the tablet (there are parallels for this). The references to the king's single potter, fuller, and armorer provide some support for us to prefer the singular here.

5 The entry reads *a-ke-ti-ra₂ wa-na-ka* and in its context, discussed above, the feminine dative singular adjectival form: *wa-na-ka-te-ra* should be restored.

6 R. PALMER, "Wheat and Barley in Mycenaean Society", in J.-P. OLIVIER ed., *Mykenaiika. Actes du IX^e Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens, Athènes, 2-6 octobre 1990* (BCH Suppl. XXV 1992) 475-497.

the Room of the Chariot Tablets (hereafter = *RCT*) at Knossos. The third entry on the tablet is 'to Zeus' and the fourth seems to be 'to *ma-ka*' (another possible theonym).⁷

3. *wa-na-ka-te-ro* was written, in full or abbreviated form, on painted inscribed stirrup jars from Eleusis (EL Z 1), Tiryns (TI Z 29), Thebes (TH Z 839), and perhaps Khania (KH Z 16).

4. It is used to designate a *temenos* ('precinct', i.e., a parcel specially 'cut out' of the land of a community) as 'belonging to the *wanax*' on tablet PY Er 312. Er 312 might be in some way preliminary to another tablet (PY Un 718) containing a record of contributions to a central sacrificial banqueting ceremony in honor of the god Poseidon.

5. The abbreviation *wa* occurs on a new sealing from Pylos (Wr 1480) to describe 'handful(s)' or 'shafts' of javelins.⁸

The noun *wa-na-ka* itself in various cases, but always in the singular, also appears on tablets. It is of interest, however, that these references do not significantly expand the commodities/materials or economic sectors with which the *wanax* is directly connected or involved:

1a.-b. cloth and cloth production (raw and woven materials, specialized crafts personnel):

On PY La 622 found in the megaron at Pylos, 8 weighed whole units of some material (perhaps unstitched/unseamed cloth):⁹

v.1]wa-na-ka-to 8 [
v.2]141 M 1

v.1] "of the *wanax*" 8 whole units [
v.2]141 units + 1/3 or 1/30 unit

In the Pylos Na series the *wanax* is recorded on just 2 of 99 tablets in specific non-major locales to be in possession of a free allowance of raw flax.¹⁰

PY Na 334 .a wa-na-ka , e-ke
 pi-ka-na , e-re-u-te-ra SA 20

 the *wanax* possesses
THE PLACE NAME *pi-ka-na* free/exempt FLAX 20 units

2.-3. among deities (cf. the TH Of series and KN F 51) as a recipient of allotments of perfumed oil (PY Fr 1215, 1220, 1227, 1235, 1235¹¹) and the spice coriander (KN Ga[1]

7 From the Room of the Chariot Tablets also comes another peculiar religious text V 52 with listings of deities who later are major or minor figures (or epithets thereof) in the Greek pantheon.

8 C.W. SHELMEERDINE and J. BENNET, "Two New Linear B Documents from Bronze Age Pylos," *Kadmos* 34 (1995) 123-132. This document can be used in a secondary way to support the identification of *e-te-do-mo* as 'armorer' since it, too, links the *wanax* with weaponry.

9 The identification of the material here is conjectured from the term *a-ro-te* which describes 5 whole units of material in an entry on the *recto* of La 622. F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario Micénico* (1985), s.v. links *a-ro-te* tentatively with the definite cloth description: *a-ro-ta* which occurs linked with TELA + PA on PY La 626.b (and La 630). A gloss in Hsch. gives: ἄλωστοι ἄρραφοι (= 'unstitched'). These La tablets also come from Room 6 of the Palace of Nestor and form a special group.

10 Cf. also probably Na 1356. It is interesting that otherwise significant individuals, e.g., *we-da-ne-u*, or collective groups of skilled personnel hold such exemptions: *ka-ke-we* (smiths), *ku-na-ke-ta-i* (hunters), *na-u-do-mo* (ship-builders), *pu-z-te-re* (planters) and so on. It is also of interest that the locale here designated is a *hapax*, i.e., it represents a smaller-scale site or territory the only known economic interest of which is in flax production from which the *wanax* derives the 'free' or 'exempt' portion recorded on Na 334.

11 Cf. KN F 51 above for this positioning of the *wanax* among deities in records. Cf. particularly the association within the tablets of S1219 Cii discussed in C.W. SHELMEERDINE, *The Perfumed Oil Industry of Mycenaean Pylos* (1985) 85-86. Fr 1215 records anointing oil (*we-a-re-pe*) received by the *wanax* probably at the sanctuary of the *wanassa*. The two other lexical/phonetic entries: *sa-pe-ra* and *ra* are *hapax* and obscure. Fr 1219 from the same Stylus group lists anointing oil OLE + A allotted to Poseidon.

675).¹² See also PY Un 219, where in a long list of recipients of aromatics (*tu-wo*), the *wanax*, in the somewhat problematical form *a-na-ka-te*, is entered along with theonyms (*pa-de-we*, *a-ti-mi-te*, *e-ma-a₂*, *po-ti-ni-ja*), cultic functionaries (*di-pte-ra-po-ro*, *da-ko-ro-i*, and probably *ka-ru-ke*) and the *lawagetas*.¹³

4. on PY Un 2 the *wanax* is recorded as somehow participating in an initiatory ritual at the sanctuary site of *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Un 2 is a record of the foodstuffs collected on this occasion for a commensal banquet.¹⁴

Only references in three texts *might* appear not to fit into the spheres of interest defined above.

PY Ta 711 is the header text for the inventory of vessels and furniture undertaken on the occasion when the *wanax* actively made an 'appointment' of an individual as *da-mo-ko-ro*. Yet its archival association with text Un 718,¹⁵ the record of contributions for a commensal sacrificial banquet, might draw the text away from the purely bureaucratic/administrative sphere and into the ceremonial/cultic.

On KN Vc 73 and Vd 136 the lexical item *wanax* is listed, as otherwise are individual personal names, in series of texts from the *RCT* at Knossos.¹⁶ The two *RCT* tablets are linked by find contexts (and in certain cases by scribal hand) with the chariot and armor tablets (Sc) that give the *RCT* its name. They can then be associated with PY Wr 1480 and the references to the *e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro* on PY En 609.5 as substantiating a concern of the *wanax* with this sphere of weapons and armor.¹⁷ Jan Driessen in his dissertation on the *RCT* agrees with Chadwick's suggestion that the Vc simili-join tablets list single individuals for whom the entire process of being allocated two sets of armor (TUN), a chariot (BIG) and a horse or pair of horses (EQU) has already been completed. The Vd set is somehow related to such activities and contains not only the *wanax* but names of high-ranking individuals thought to be 'collectors'.¹⁸

Such a low number of references to 'royal' products, materials, possessions or personnel in over 5000 tablets from the major centers—where each *wanax* resides, presides and performs his ceremonial and other duties—of the Mycenaean palatial period is certainly striking. Likewise striking is the limited number of socioeconomic spheres and areas of occupational specialization in which references directly to the person of the *wanax* or the designation

12 Cf. PY Ga(1) 674 for a donation to the probable theonym *ma-ri-ne-u*.

13 Two features of the formatting structure of the text of Un 219 should be noted in favor of the identification of *a-na-ka-te* as (*w*)*anaktei*: (1) the collocation here, as in the PY E-series and as in TH Of 36, of the *wanax* with the *potnia*; (2) the positioning on the text of the *wanax* and the *lawagetas*. A problematical point is the occurrence of *e-ke-ra-ne* in line .1, if indeed this is a form of *e-ke-ra₂-wo* which might be the personal name of the *wanax* of Pylos.

14 The foodstuffs are designated as somehow dedicated or furnished or held by an official known as the *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u*. The elements of this word are derived from *ὀπί* and *τεῦχος* and the compound is taken as signifying a person 'in charge of the τεῦχεα'. The latter term, however, is problematical, meaning either 'armor, arms, ship's gear; or vessels, implements'. Thus this official can be interpreted either as a kind of 'store-keeper' or a kind of 'head-armorer'. Still there are other interpretations. The connection with a 'head armorer' here would also associate this tablet with the fifth sphere of interest (weaponry). But this is undercut both by the ceremonial banqueting food listed on PY Un 2 and by PY tablet An 39 on which two groups of 4 and 5 *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* are associated with such professionals/functionaries/officials as: 'mixers' (most likely a kind of temple functionary in charge of 'mixing' offerings such as wine, olive oil, honey); 'honey masters'; 'fire kindlers'; 'bakers'; and the problematical *e-to-wo-ko*, probably some nuance of the basic meaning 'he who works inside' (?a kind of chamberlain?).

15 Cf. T.G. PALAIMA, "The Last Days of the Pylos Polity," in R. LAFFINEUR and W.-D. NIEMEIER eds., *Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994, Aegaeum* 12 (1995) 623-633, plate LXXIV.

16 The context has led to the alternative suggestion that the word *wa-na-ka* here is actually a masculine personal name (like the chairman of Linguistics at UT Austin Robert KING) or a theonym (like the same person as he was viewed by some when he held the position of Dean of Liberal Arts), of which two alternatives the latter I would consider somewhat more likely, but neither option is compelling.

17 Keep in mind that on the Pylos land-holding series (Ea) connected with the *ra-wa-ke-ta*, there is listed another *e-te-do-mo* (Ea 808).

18 J. DRIESSEN, *The Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos. Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of a Linear B Deposit* (Diss. KU Leuven 1989) I, 222-230.

'pertaining to the *wanax*' occur. Why were a particular potter and fuller singled out in the surviving Pylos tablets (and a cloth-finisher in Thebes tablet Of 36) as connected with the *wanax* and how might their craft specialties have been important for the functions of the *wanax* in Mycenaean society?

In roughly contemporary Hittite documents, it is clear that specialist crafts personnel and other 'dependents' of varying rank and status were obligated to perform services for the king, the central palace, deities and religious sanctuaries/institutions—or even persons of high status and power—and in turn received benefits from such service, usually in the form of land grants with different specific rights to use and benefit from such landholdings.¹⁹ The category of ^GISTUKUL covered those who worked in the main for the king, though not necessarily the Great King. The list is certainly instructive for our interpretation of the specialists and functionaries connected, more or less closely, with the Mycenaean king. Documented ^GISTUKUL-men included: cooks, bakers, chamberlains, cup-bearers, waiters, scepter-bearers, water-providers, tent-keepers, tailors, fullers, garment-makers, custodians, runners, lookouts, horse-herds, beekeepers and milk-producers.²⁰ We should note that other people, like priests and weavers of holy cities, are classified in Hittite laws as *ukke*-people, who are themselves exempt from certain categories of obligation.²¹

The individual craftspersons listed in the Linear B tablets from Pylos and Thebes as *wa-na-ka-te-ro* (potter, fuller, cloth-finisher and 'armorer') certainly conform to this pattern, as does the more extended list of craftspersons and functionaries recorded in a text like PY An 39 (*supra* n. 14). These Mycenaean personnel overlap with the ^GISTUKUL-men: either exactly, cf. bakers (*a-to-po-qo*) and beekeepers (*me-ri-du-ma-te*); or in general sphere of activity, cf. clothing preparation and cleaning (*ka-na-pe-u* and *a-ke-ti-ra*₂), food preparation (*pu-ka-wo*: if the fire-kindlers are to be associated with the honey-masters, 'mixers', and bakers in this area of activity), and perhaps even chamberlain (*?e-to-wo-ko?*) and various aspects of the setting of table and of the managing of utensils and vessels (*?o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u?*). The question here is: why are the three single specialists (potter, fuller and 'armorer') alone designated as 'of the *wanax*' and why are they found in the context of records detailing landholdings in the area of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, the main religious district in the Linear B tablets from Pylos and a district devoted primarily to the cult of the goddess *potnia* (cf. TH Of 36)?

Let us first call attention again to the unusual nature of these references to potter, fuller and 'armorer' within the Linear B tablets.

(1) Of the estimated 4,000 dependent personnel in the Pylos tablets,²² reference is made to only 3 fullers and 4 potters.²³

19 See R.H. BEAL, "The ^GISTUKUL-Institution in Second Millennium Hatti," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 15 (1988) 269-305, for a comprehensive study of the various categories of obligation and compensation of crafts personnel and other specialists and functionaries connected with the Hittite king and queen. Page 300 provides the most concise definition: "A ^GISTUKUL-man seems to have been someone who performed a particular job for the king (or an institution or private magnate in the case of those given land grants). Instead of being paid directly in money or rations for his labor (a system bureaucratically demanding if done on a large scale, especially in a pre-monetary society), the ^GISTUKUL-man was paid in land. From this land he was expected to support himself and his family."

20 BEAL (*supra* n. 19) 291-292.

21 BEAL (*supra* n. 19) 279-280, 292.

22 S. HILLER, "Dependent Personnel in Mycenaean Texts," in M. HELTZER and E. LIPINSKI, eds., *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (1988) 63-68.

23 On PY En 467 and Eo 371: the 'royal' potter is named *pi-ri-ta-wo* and is one of the select group of *te-re-ta* who hold *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* land that they can sub-lease; on Cn 1287.4 the potter *qe-ta-ko* is listed in connection with other functionaries: *pe-re-ke-u* (probably 'weaver'), *a-ke-ro* (messenger), *ka-na-pe-u* (fuller), *di-u-ja do-e-ro* (servant of the goddess Diwia), *ke-re-ta-o do-e-ro*, with single (or in one case a pair) of she-goats: most likely sacrificial animals; on An 207 two potters are listed in a catalogue of specialized crafts personnel and identified by non-major toponyms or ethnics. Otherwise the word for potter occurs only in the dative on tablet MY Oe 125 from Mycenae. The references to fuller likewise are limited to the royal fuller on En 74.3, .23/Eo 276.2, .3 (named *pe-ki-ta*) who is not a *te-re-ta*, but rather one of the *o-na-te-re*, to one fuller named *a-ka-ta-jo* on Eo 269.B (who is a *te-re-ta* and holder of *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* land and probably to be associated with the goddess *po-ti-ni-ja*) and another named *te-re-do* on Cn 1287.2. Otherwise again a fuller is listed on a tablet from Mycenae Oe 129 and a group of fullers on Oi 701.5 and Oi 704.2 (in both the latter cases among technical crafts personnel associated with the goddess[es] *po-ti-ni-ja* / *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*).

(2) Pottery production and cloth manufacture are archaeologically/iconographically and textually (for pottery mainly in terms of products, for cloth in terms of raw materials, finished products and specialized crafts personnel) attested as intensive industries in Mycenaean times.

But references to 'potters' and 'fullers' are rare, and 'royal' involvement in such activities as the yearly raw flax assessment and collection is exceptional. Particularly for pottery, production would seem to have been carried out at the local level without documented orchestration by the central palace, perhaps through traditional mechanisms of control.

Designating certain kinds of cloth or raw materials for cloth (PY La 622 and Na 334 and 1356; KN Lc 525 and Le 654) and certain cloth-working specialists ('fuller' here at Pylos; 'finisher' at Thebes; and 'purple-dye workers or workshop' at Knossos) as 'royal' implies that the other cloth, dye-workers, materials and workers are not. Furthermore it implies a separation of centralized and palatially orchestrated cloth manufacture from the manufacture of cloth for somehow other 'royal' interests. The scale of these 'set-asides' for the *wanax* (exemptions being granted to the *wanax* on a mere 2 of 99 Na tablets and designating single craftspersons out of what must have been a much larger pool) would seem to imply that these materials and specialists are closely connected with particular functions and duties of the *wanax*. Given such a distinction, it is tempting to think that *pe-ki-ta* the fuller of the *wanax* and the unnamed cloth finisher of the *wanax* on TH Of 36, *pi-ri-ta-wo* the potter of the *wanax*, and perhaps also *a-tu-ko* the 'armorer' of the *wanax* are directly associated with his religious/ritual/cultic/ceremonial activities.

The references to all of these specialist craftspersons are imbedded in series/texts which we can say are dealing with matters in the religious sphere. The PY Eb, En, Eo and Ep series list in detail the landholdings of cult officials and functionaries (priest, priestess, 'key-bearer', and ca. 45 'servants of the deity' [23 being women]) in the district of *pa-ki-ja-ne* (the location of the main sanctuary of the goddess *po-ti-ni-ja*). On Thebes tablet Of 36 a woman manufacturer (*no-ri-wo-ki-de*) of special luminous cloth is entered with an allocation of wool, followed by the 'woman cloth finisher' of the *wanax*, followed by the 'woman cloth finisher' located at the *woikos* or 'house' of the *po-ti-ni-ja* (cf. *supra* n. 13 for other juxtapositions of the spheres of the *wanax* and the *potnia*). We should also note that the other named potter and fuller at Pylos (*ge-ta-ko* and *te-re-do* respectively on Cn 1287) are found in a context with sacrificial animals and again with servants of specific deities. Cn 1287 (like Oe 125 and Oe 129 from the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae which also list a potter and a fuller) comes from a separate building (the Northeast Workshop), and the concerns of the tablet are undoubtedly focused on the activities of that building.

(3) The *lawagetas*, who fills the second slot in the tri- or tetrapartite division of Mycenaean society (*wanax*, *lawagetas*, *damos* [*telestai*], *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma* [*e-re-mo*]) has as explicitly associated personnel (those designated as *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*) a 'wheelwright' (Ea 421/Ea 809) and a 'swineherd' (Ea 822). This further implies that the specific craftsmen associated with the *wanax* are directly related to those of his functions that are distinctive and separate from those of the *lawagetas*. L.R. Palmer argues that all the tablets of the Ea series refer both to a locale and to personnel associated with the *lawagetas*.²⁴ The Eb, En, Eo, Ep texts refer to the district of *pa-ki-ja-ne* and mainly to religious functionaries, among which the crafts specialists of the *wanax* are recorded. But the designation *wanakteros* is left out of two of the three references to *a-tu-ko* the 'royal' *e-te-do-mo*—undoubtedly because it would be understood from context. Thus it is probable that we should likewise expand the list of *lawagesios* craft specialists to include all such individuals recorded in the Ea series: we would add then three seamsters (*ra-pte-re*) recorded by name, an oxherd, a herdsman, and an *e-te-do-mo* to the wheelwright and swineherd mentioned above.

(4) Garments and vessels have a special place in the iconography of ritual ceremonies in the frescoes from the megaron at Pylos.²⁵ The quantity of drinking goblets from the 'waiting

24 L.R. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963) 84-85, 218-220.

25 Cf. PALAIMA (*supra* n. 1) 132-134 and plate XLI.

room/pantry' area of the palace suggests gift exchange in "irregular, non-obligatory transactions,"²⁶ while other iconographical data from Minoan and Mycenaean palatial cultures helps us to understand the place of wine and drinking rituals among the Mycenaean elite and the *wanax*.²⁷ Taken together this evidence suggests that the categories of 'royal' craftsmen we have attested, particularly those dealing with clothing (fuller and finisher) and vessels (potter), may have been obliged to render service to the *wanax* by producing or maintaining garments for wearing and utensils for drinking and eating that the *wanax* would have used and/or distributed on ceremonial or ritual occasions. It might then be argued that it is significant and meaningful—and not due to the hazards of preservation and discovery—that the *wanax* at Pylos has a potter and a fuller, while the military leader (*lawagetas*) does not. The compensation of these 'royal' specialists for performing such service would have been, like that of their counterparts among the Hittite ^{GISTUKUL}-men, allotments of land with varying stipulations attached. In our texts from Pylos, they are either *te-re-ta* with *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* or they are lower-ranked *o-na-te-re* with *o-na-to* land. Likewise parallel to the Hittite practice are the landholdings in *pa-ki-ja-ne* assigned to priests and religious functionaries of the goddess *potnia* and the landholdings elsewhere held by specialists connected with the *lawagetas*.²⁸

In the final analysis, the individual specialist craftspersons (potter, fuller, 'finisher', purple-dye workers or workshop) and crafts materials (cloth or raw flax and wool: cf. PY La 622 and Na 334; KN Lc 525 and Le 654) connected with the *wanax* can be viewed as having participated in the social process of distinguishing the rank and status of the *wanax*. The crafts specialists derived rewards for doing so. Skilled craft work "increase[s] aesthetic quality and imbues goods with socially valued inalienable qualities of their human (social) production." It is a common phenomenon in other societies that "ranking may be expressed by gradations of type of fabric or mode of costume construction such that the king may wear fine sewn or tailored cloth, elites wear costume of fine fabrics (silk, brocade) but made only of one piece of cloth, and commoners wear cotton or skins. Alternatively the king may be distinguished from other great lords by wearing fine mantles of cotton embroidered with multi-colored design and featherwork..."²⁹ We should remember that cloth is designated as *e-ge-si-ja* (i.e., for individuals of high status known as *e-ge-ta* or 'Followers') in the KN Ld series. It is no surprise then that the *wanax*, too, should have his own crafts specialists to attend to the needs of his person and functions.

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26 P. HALSTEAD, "The Mycenaean Palace Economy: Making the Most of the Gaps in the Evidence," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 38 (1992) 85.

27 J.C. WRIGHT, "Empty Cups and Empty Jugs: The Social Role of Wine in Minoan and Mycenaean Societies," in P. MCGOVERN *et al.* eds., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (forthcoming).

28 We might even compare the contextual associations (*supra* n. 13) between the *wanax* and the goddess *potnia* in the Mycenaean texts from Pylos and Thebes, with the close relationship between the Hittite king and the sun goddess Arinna, who served as his special patroness and protectress. It would be natural then for the crafts personnel of the *wanax* to have land grants in the territory of the *potnia*.

29 M.W. HELMS, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal* (1993) 157, 237-238 and n. 18, with references to Aztec, West African, and Indian societies. Cf. the conclusions of the iconographical study of Minoan kingship by N. MARINATOS, "Divine Kingship in Minoan Crete," in REHAK (*supra* n. 1) 47: "[The] authority [of the Minoan rulers] was reinforced by their costume, appearance and their ultimate control of rituals."