POTTER AND FULLER: THE ROYAL CRAFTSMEN

Three craftsmen in the Linear B tablets from Pylos are described as wanaktersos ‘pertaining to or of the wanax’.¹ Two are identifiable with certainty: ke-ra-me-u = kerameus ‘potter’ and ka-na-pe-u = knaphues ‘fuller’. The identification of the third (e-te-do-mo) is less certain, although *entesdomos (= *éntesdómos; cf. éntës and δémos) ‘armorer’ is most plausible.² Otherwise the adjective wanaktersos (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-po-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

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¹ 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 Mycenaological site abbreviations: PY = Pylos; TH = Thebes; KN = Knossos; MY = Mycenae.


⁴ wanakteros is less common and in its context, discussed above, the feminine dative singular adjectival form: wanakteros (or its abbreviation wa) should be restored.

⁵ 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

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* Non-Indo-European Origins

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⁶ 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-so 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-keti-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.

⁷ The entry reads a-keti-ra₂ wa-naka[ and in its context, discussed above, the feminine dative singular adjectival form: wa-naka-te-ra should be restored.

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. SHELMERDINE 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. AURAJORRO, Diccionario Micenico (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: ἀθώτοις · ἄφροφοι (= '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-ve (smiths), ku-na-ke-ri (hunters), na-u-do-mo (ship-builders), pu-gi-te-re (planters) and so on. It is also of interest that the locale here designated is a habax, 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 Ci discussed in C.W. SHELMERDINE, 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 habax and obscure. Fr 1219 from the same Stylus group lists anointing oil OLE + A allotted to Poseidon.
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 the onomata (pa-de-we, a-ti-mi-te, e-ma-a₂, po-ti-ni-ja), cultic functionaries (di-pie-ra-po-ro, da-ko-ru-i, and probably ka-ru-ke) and the lawagetas.\textsuperscript{12}

On PY Un 2 the wanax is recorded as somehow participating in an initiatory ritual at the sanctuary site of pa-ki-jā-ne. Un 2 is a record of the foodstuffs collected on this occasion for a communal banquet.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{15} the record of contributions for a communal 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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'.\textsuperscript{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

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\textsuperscript{12} Cf. PY Ga(1) 674 for a donation to the probable onomata ma-rin-eu.

\textsuperscript{13} Two features of the formatting structure of the text of Un 219 should be noted in favor of the identification of q-na-ka-te as (w)ananakti: (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 eke-ko-ne in line .1, if indeed this is a form of eke-ko-ne which might be the personal name of the wanax of Pylos.

\textsuperscript{14} The foodstuffs are designated as somehow dedicated or furnished or held by an official known as the o-pi-te-uke-e-u. The elements of this word are derived from sē and τέριος and the compound is taken as signifying a person 'in charge of the τέριον'. The latter term, however, is problematical, meaning either 'arm, 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-uke-e-u 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?).


\textsuperscript{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 onomata (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.

\textsuperscript{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).

'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. 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. 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. The individual crafts-persons listed in the Linear B tablets from Pylos and Thebes as wanaka-te-ro (potter, fuller, cloth-finisher and 'armorer') certainly conform to this pattern, as does the more extended list of craft-persons 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-qqo) and beekeepers (meridu-ma-te); or in general sphere of activity, cf. clothing preparation and cleaning (ka-na-pe-u and a-ke-ti-ra2), 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 (te-to-wo-ko?) and various aspects of the setting of table and of the managing of utensils and vessels (to-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 pakijane, 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, reference is made to only 3 fullers and 4 potters.
(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 crafts-persons 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 craftpersons 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 poti-nija). 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 poti-nija (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 (qe-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-ko-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 wanakters 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 seamstresses (ra-p-te-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,” 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. 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 GlSTUKUL-men, allotments of land with varying stipulations attached. In our texts from Pylos, they are either ter-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.

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 Le 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...” We should remember that cloth is designated as e-qe-sija (i.e., for individuals of high status known as e-qe-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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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.”