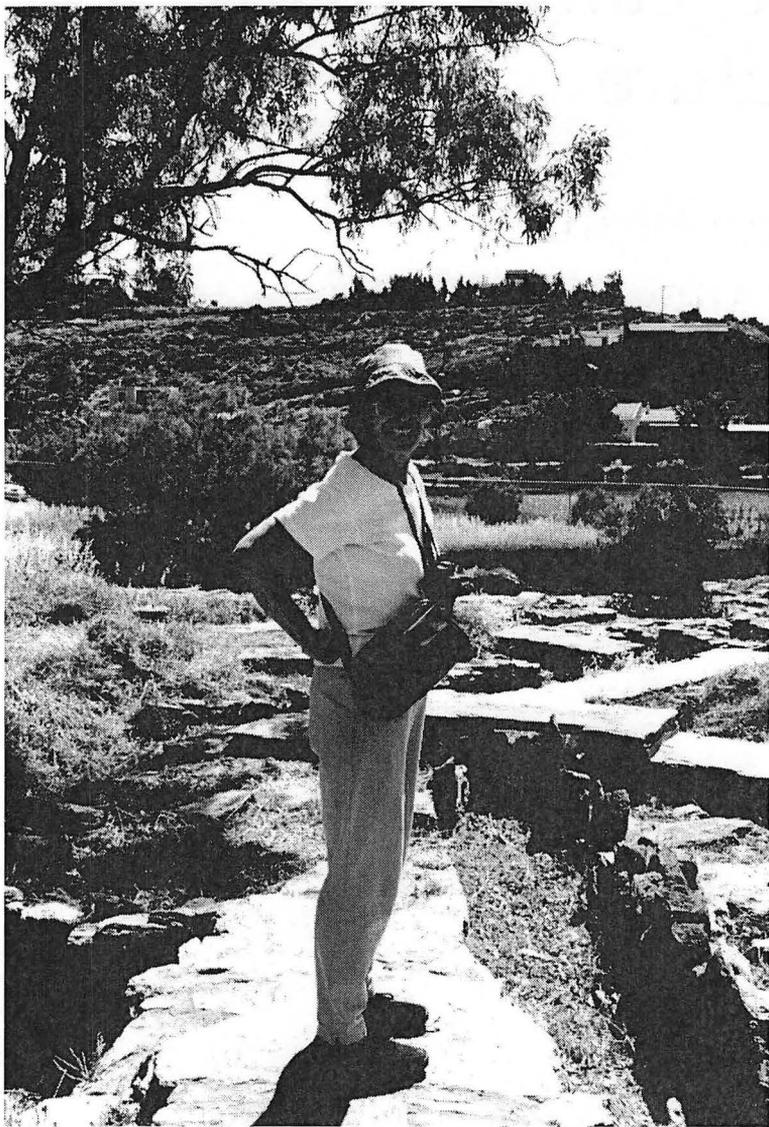


— Studies in Aegean —
— Art and Culture —

A New York Aegean Bronze
Age Colloquium
in Memory of Ellen N. Davis



Ellen N. Davis at Hagia Eirene, Kea, August, 2006. Photo by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos.

Studies in Aegean Art and Culture

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edited by

Robert B. Koehl



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Preface and Acknowledgments

With the passing of Ellen N. Davis on July 15, 2013, just a few weeks shy of her 75th birthday, the community of Aegean scholars lost one of its most valued and beloved members. As the news quickly spread, I immediately began to receive suggestions about how best to honor her memory along with requests from her many friends and colleagues to be included in whatever was decided. Since Ellen was a member of the New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium from its founding in the fall of 1978, along with Günter Kopcke, Malcolm Wiener, and the late Clairève Grandjouan, it seemed most appropriate to dedicate a special session to her memory. And so, on September 13, 2014, a group of us gathered at Hunter College's Roosevelt House and presented papers, which are published in this volume with the addition of one by her dear friend Christos Doumas.

Ellen Nancy Davis was born July 20, 1937, in Baltimore, Maryland. After her graduation from high school and following a short-lived marriage to her English teacher, Ellen enrolled at St. John's College in Annapolis where she honed her intellectual skills through their renowned and rigorous "great books" program. Thriving in this environment, and sure of her love of ancient art, she entered graduate school at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts, where she was quickly taken under the wing of her adored mentor, Peter von Blanckenhagen. Like many of us, visits to Greece sparked her love for the Bronze Age, which led to her 1973 doctoral dissertation on the Vapheio Cups and Aegean gold and silver ware published in the *Garland Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts* series

(Davis 1977). After receiving her Ph.D., Ellen became a full-time faculty member of Queens College, City University of New York, where she taught in the Art History Department until her retirement in 2000.

Even with her earliest studies, Ellen's approach was trailblazing, merging art history with technical analyses to differentiate Minoan from Mycenaean manufacture (Davis 1974, 1976, 1977). Indeed, it was always a great learning experience to stroll through the Athens National and Herakleion Archaeological Museums with Ellen, and see the great works of Aegean craftsmanship through her keenly observant eyes. I vividly recall her pointing to the frieze of plaster relief "snail shell" spirals that ran along the top of the wall in the Zakros gallery in Herakleion, and extolling how the love of three-dimensionality was uniquely Minoan; or to the small silver jug from Zakros with gold embellishments as an example of the Minoan penchant for color contrasts in metal ware, and indeed, the Minoan love of color, in general, especially as expressed in their frescoes.

Ellen loved nature in all its forms, and art, especially painting (Davis 1990a). Thus, when the Onassis Cultural Center brought the exhibition of Minoan art, "From the Land of the Labyrinth," to New York in 2008, it was particularly thrilling to stand with Ellen before the Partridge fresco, as she pointed out the exquisite brush strokes, shading, and highlighting on the feathers (as in Davis 2007). Not only a famous ailurophile, but a passionate bird watcher, Ellen had a particular affection for that painting, as she did for the Spring fresco from Akrotiri, with its playful (or aggressive) swallows. Indeed, using the classic Morellian method of attribution analysis, she convincingly identified the individual hands and reconstructed the structure of the workshop that painted the landscapes in the Spring fresco in an article that merits greater recognition than it has hitherto received (Davis 2000b).

Alongside Ellen's contributions to the study of Aegean precious metal vessels and wall painting, stand her break-through articles on Aegean iconography, notably her studies on the miniature ship fresco from Akrotiri (Davis 1983b), on representations of aging in the Akrotiri frescoes (Davis 1986; revised in Davis 2000b, 868–871), on the miniature frescoes from Knossos and the function of the central courts (Davis 1987), and on ruler imagery, or the lack thereof (Davis 1995). Ellen even weighed in on the still-debated date of the Theran eruption by introducing the "Ahmose" stèle into the discussion, thereby supporting the traditional synchronism of Late Minoan IA with the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Davis 1990b). Other ideas went unpublished, such as her belief that the marine scenes painted inside Late Minoan III sarcophagi were residual references to earlier practices of burial at sea.

All of the papers in this volume in some way build on, or were influenced or inspired by Ellen's work in several of the areas touched on above. In Chapter 1, Judith Weingarten revisits Ellen's study of the silver kantharos from Gournia and demonstrates that a re-dating of Minoan contexts, from Middle Minoan IB to Middle Minoan IIA, resolves issues that had previously vexed Davis, thereby supporting her belief that the Cretan lobed rimmed kantharos derived from Anatolian prototypes. In Chapter 2, Malcolm Wiener argues a Late Helladic IIIA:1 date for the burial context of the Vapheio Cups, and he looks into the history and cultural significance of the pairing of precious metal Aegean drinking vessels. In Chapter 3, Günter Kopcke defends Ellen's belief that Mycenaean gold came from Transylvanian sources, but also emphasizes the importance of Egypt in the acquisition of this metal, specifically for Crete. In Chapter 4, Philip P. Betancourt, Susan Ferrence, and James D. Muhly look to the north of Crete to explain the presence of certain types of metal objects found in Early and Middle Minoan burials from the Petras cemetery. In Chapter 5, Christos Doumas spans Cycladic prehistory in his investigation of the human experience in its many manifestations, observing how the changing roles of women and men are reflected in Cycladic art and iconography. Ellen's interest in the pigments used in Aegean wall painting is reflected in Chapter 6, by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos, who examines the purple rosettes from Xeste 3, Thera, and the illusions created by the juxtaposition of colors. In Chapter 7, Elizabeth B. Shank analyzes the various ways that water was depicted in Aegean miniature frescoes, including a remarkable three-dimensional rendering from Epáno Zakros. In Chapter 8, Bernice Jones deconstructs Evans's restorations of the two famous Snake Goddess statuettes based on her studies of Minoan women's garments, and reconstructs a third statuette from her examination of some hitherto largely overlooked fragments. In Chapter 9, Robert B. Koehl finds a homoerotic component in his interpretation of the male initiation rites he thinks are referenced in the imagery on a gold ring from Pylos and two sealings from Zakros. Finally, in Chapter 10, Thomas G. Palaima explores the etymology and ideology of Mycenaean Greek words associated with kingship—*wanaks*, *megaron*, *skēptron*, and *thronos*—and suggests that they derive from a non Indo-European, pre-Greek speaking population.

When discussions for a memorial colloquium began to coalesce, with the expectation that the papers would be published, Larissa Bonfante, Professor Emerita of Classics at New York University, volunteered to aid me in the task of editing. Though not an Aegean scholar, but a world-renowned Etruscologist (and close friend of Ellen), it seemed to me that someone from outside the "Bronze Age Mafia" would ensure they could be appreciated by

a wider audience of archaeological scholars. Working with Larissa on this volume has made my task easier, and I am grateful for all of her time and efforts. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers of the papers for this volume, for their valuable insights, additions, and corrections, and to the INSTAP Academic Press for undertaking its publication.

Finally, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Hunter College President Jennifer J. Raab for allowing us to hold the colloquium in the beautifully restored Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute at Hunter College and for sponsoring a fine luncheon for all the speakers and attendees. I am also grateful to the Institute of Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) and the M.H. Wiener Foundation for their financial support, without which the colloquium honoring Ellen would surely not have been the memorable occasion that it was.

Robert B. Koehl
New York City, NY
November 2015

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List of Abbreviations

AM	Ashmolean Museum	HT	Hagia Triada
ANM	Athens National Archaeological Museum inventory number	IE	Indo-European
cm	centimeter(s)	inv. no.	inventory number
<i>CMS</i>	<i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel</i>	INSTAP-	Institute for Aegean
d.	diameter	SCEC	Prehistory Study Center for East Crete
dim.	dimensions	LC	Late Cycladic
EC	Early Cycladic	LH	Late Helladic
EH	Early Helladic	LM	Late Minoan
EM	Early Minoan	m	meters
FN	Final Neolithic	MM	Middle Minoan
h.	height	Myc.	Mycenaean
HM	Herakleion Archaeological Museum inventory number	th.	thickness
HMs	Heraklion Archaeological Museum sealing	XRF	X-ray fluorescence
		w.	width

10

The Ideology of the Ruler in Mycenaean Prehistory: Twenty Years after the Missing Ruler

THOMAS G. PALAIMA

In my experience, Ellen Davis had a healthy outlook on scholarship. To her it was one long, extended conversation, and she gave her attention to what those who had come before her had said. In the St. John's College tradition, she wanted to know what others had to say about her ideas but did not worry about the future reception of her thoughts, and she looked forward to the new discoveries and new ideas of others. And she always, always, talked over ideas with us collectively and individually not as if they were removed from our lives, *in illo tempore*, like myths and tales for children or chess pieces for scholarly egos. Rather, she discussed topics in the Aegean Bronze Age as if they were part of the meaning our lives have *in hoc tempore*, right here and right now, over a bagel with a schmear, over dim sum, over the coffee-stained pages of yesterday's *New York Times*.

It was Ellen who first noticed that representations of the ruler were missing from the iconographical record of Minoan art, a perception that she publicly presented in 1985 at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America. She pointed that out to us so modestly, as she always did, that it took a collaboration of scholars, among them Robert Koehl and the late and much lamented Paul Rehak, to preserve Ellen's

thinking in print a full decade later (Davis 1995, esp. 18; Koehl 1995; Rehak, ed., 1995).

There is, indeed, also a scarcity of kingly imagery in Mycenaean art. This may be due to the reliance of the Mycenaeans on the Minoan pictorial tradition, which generally had provided them with appropriate and adequate prototypes, although not in this case. Yet we know that the Mycenaeans had kings, not only from the Linear B texts and from the survival of Homeric terms, but also from the evidence of Mycenaean architecture. Tholos tombs and the megara of the Mycenaean palaces are dominant architectural forms, strong evidence of an elite—of royalty. On Crete, the picture is different. The Minoan king is as elusive in architecture as he is in the pictorial art, unless we posit that the throne room at Knossos was actually a throne room, albeit not in the strict Mycenaean sense. It is clear that whatever ceremonies took place there were significant to how the people, even in the Mycenaean period, conceived of and responded to the power figures who presided at Knossos.

As in the formation of the Carolingian state around Pippin, Charlemagne, and their successors, and of the Hittite state around Hattusili I, Mursili I, and their successors, the continuing existence of Mycenaean palatial kingdoms depended on the central authorities being seen as capable of, and being trusted to, provide benefits. This benevolence was seen in the form of land grants, elevated social status and hierarchical distinctions, food allotments (through centrally monitored harvests and, though not archaeologically evident, importation of grain), feasts and festivals, major public works (aqueducts, road networks, dams, harbors, fortification walls, and impressive palatial buildings) and the employment opportunities such projects provided, general prosperity, and material well-being. The *wanaks* and *lāwagetās* had to be seen as benefactors in a literal and substantial sense. They also had to motivate and reward both regional and local nobility, palatial officials, and dependent personnel. Besides providing material prosperity, the Mycenaean rulers had to convey to the inhabitants an overall sense of security from outside threats and internal disorders, as well as the possibility of redress from local misapplications of justice (Palaima 2012b, 348).

To me, what is surprising about Ellen's observation 30 years later is not that Aegean rulers are neither evident in the iconography nor explicitly evident in any particular unit of Minoan architecture. What is surprising is that we have not made more of a concerted and collaborative effort to address the questions that Ellen's insight raises. By examining the evidence for rulers and ruler ideology in textual documentation, we can, if we are careful, get a sense of where the inhabitants in palatial territories of Mycenaean Greece got their ideas about power and how those ideas were put into practice.

The Mycenaean, in the two centuries we consider their heyday, ca. 1400–1200 B.C.E. (Late Helladic [LH] IIIA and IIIB), were a hybrid culture assembled over a period of at least 500 years by Indo-European (hereafter, IE) outsiders merging with and influenced by the beliefs, practices, customs, and cultural paraphernalia of what we still refer to as substrate inhabitants of the Aegean area, including what are called Minoan and Minoanized peoples. The Mycenaean were also under the influence of, and had both direct and transfused contacts with, high cultures in the surrounding Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolia, Egypt, and the Near and Middle East with long-established power structures and ideologies. These contacts must have affected the behavior and concepts of the Mycenaean palatial elites. Ellen would still be puzzled over how the very concept of “king” came to be and its afterlife. In poor imitation of Ellen, I will attempt to explain what I think the textual data tell us.

The Mycenaean king, or *wanaks*, is not missing from the Linear B texts, although occurrences of the term per se and derivatives of it are not all that common: 18 references, out of about 1,000 sizable texts, to the *wanaks* at Pylos (eight occurrences of which are the adjectival form *wanakteros*); six (three of which are adjectival) at Knossos, out of well over 2,000 sizable texts; two (one of which might be adjectival) at Thebes, out of at least 150 sizable texts; one now in the new tablets from the major Laconian palatial center being uncovered at Hagios Vasileios in Laconia (Vasilogamvrou 2015); plus single vase inscriptions from Tiryns, Thebes, Eleusis, and Chania with the adjectival form or the single-syllable abbreviation *wa*.

A broader look helps put these relatively modest numbers in perspective. For example, Leprohon, in discussing Egyptian royal ideology and state administration, points out the elusive nature of references to the Egyptian king in administrative texts (Leprohon 1995, 280). Where ceremonial or ritual duties are to be fulfilled, reference to the Egyptian king is present. If not, he is found rarely; oversight and control falls to other administrators, sectors, and offices. The same, judging from the nature of our Linear B texts, seems to be the case with references to *wanaks* or material things and people associated with the *wanaks*. For the Mycenaean period, all we have are narrow economically focused administrative texts. In the Linear B texts, the term *wanaks* is mostly linked to practical matters associated with the rituals, ceremonies, practices, and behaviors of the “office” of the Mycenaean ruler in tablets recording: (1) offerings of perfumed oil; (2) landholdings of specialist royal crafts personnel; (3) precious, and no doubt exclusively royally monopolized purple-dye workshops; (4) contributions to feasting events by what we would call key political figures and

social groups; and (5) ritual paraphernalia to be used in ceremonies that include sacrifice and communal banqueting (Palaima 1995, 1997, 2006).

There are, however, questions that the textual data are unlikely to answer. Surely there was a time in the southern Balkan Peninsula, the Cyclades, and Crete when the figure identified in the Linear B, and later early Greek historical texts, as the *wanaks* did not exist. How then did such a figure come to be, and where did the term used to identify him come from? What meaning did it have originally, and what meaning did the native Greek speakers among the Mycenaeans think it had? Once the position or institution of the *wanaks* came into being, what was involved in the passing of the authority of this position from one holder to the next, given that smooth and stable succession in offices of the greatest power is a desirable, although often unattainable, necessity in any culture (Palaima 2012b)? What did individuals who were not yet, but one day would be, *wanaks* think about the transition they would have to make, and then have made? What beliefs and expectations did they have? How were they enculturated to assume and hold the powers of *wanaks*? What did they use during this process to convince themselves and others that they were what we would call the “real deal”?

I have tried to answer some aspects of these questions over the past 20 years (Palaima 1995, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2012a, 2012b). In order to get better answers, I try here, as Ellen would have, to get some sense of how power figures functioned in the greater and longer enduring civilizations to the south and east of the Mycenaean mainland, the Cycladic islands and the island of Crete. This is the milieu in which the Mycenaeans were operating. If the Mycenaeans had been exposed to Ellen’s friend Malcolm Wiener’s “Versailles effect” from Crete (Wiener 1984, 17), they might have felt this effect also to some degree from Hittite Anatolia, Egypt, and the major centers of cuneiform cultures. My *modus cogitandi* here is as simple as Ellen’s always was. My objectives and strategy can be summed up as follows:

1. We should consider the preceding questions in the broader eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian, Near and Middle Eastern milieu in which Mycenaean culture was formed and in which it eventually competed and existed during the palatial period (ca. 1600–1200 B.C.E.).
2. We should consider whether a “Versailles effect” on the Mycenaeans came from more than Minoan culture.
3. If we can detect traces (often symbols and meaningful symbolic syntax) of extra-cultural influence in images and objects, perhaps we can also see them in the lexicon of terms for power and for the

instruments and trappings of power used by the Mycenaeans and the surrounding high cultures with which they were in contact. What I am proposing would be the linguistic correlate to “the visual expression of a specific intercultural, supraregional community of rulers that coalesced as a distinct sociopolitical entity during the late Bronze Age,” as identified by Feldman (2006, 8).

Before turning to these questions, at the other end of the historical process we ask how could the many regional leaders of the Mycenaean palatial territories, each known as *wanaks*, and the culture built around them, disappear so quickly at the end of the Late Helladic IIIB period (Crielaard 2011)? Should we be troubled by how quickly Mycenaean palatial culture seems to have vanished, even factoring in the elements of Mycenaean ruler ideology that were preserved for some time during LH IIIC by local rulers to legitimize their right to power (Maran 2006, 2011)? Does the fact that it disappeared in and of itself suggest that the structures of Mycenaean palatial territories were flawed or that the institution of the *wanaks* was not well suited to the conditions that prevailed in the Aegean during the Mycenaean palatial period (Palaima 2007)?

The answer is simple. Conditions were right for the *wanaks* and Mycenaean palatial culture to cease to exist, just as the seemingly firmly fixed institutions of German Kaiser and Russian Tsar, both based on a connection with and using terminology derived from Roman imperial culture, came to an end in less than a decade about a century ago (Belton 1998, 27). We should also note, as another instructive parallel even closer to our own time, how quickly many of the titles and terminology of the Nazi power system disappeared, especially the term for the sole power figure, *der Führer* (Elias 1983, 276–283), even though that system also based its ideological claim for legitimacy and its intentions for millennium-long perpetuation on earlier power systems and authority figures: the first Reich and second Reich were respectively the Holy Roman Empire and the Hohenzollern Dynasty. The German imperial phase of the Hohenzollern Dynasty originates with the proclamation of the German empire under a literal “Versailles effect” connected with the coronation of Wilhelm I as *Deutscher Kaiser* at the palace of Versailles on 18 January 1871, a date chosen for ancestral legitimization because it was the date when the first Prussian king, Frederick I, was installed in 1152 (Kitchen 1996, 207; on the titles and symbols of Prussian kings, see Stillfried 1875).

We may note that Adolf Hitler, as *Reichskanzler* and *Führer*, also proclaimed himself *Erster Soldat des Deutschen Reiches* (First Soldier of the German Reich) at the beginning of World War II, on 1 September 1939

(Toland 1976, 569–570; Lynch 2013, 198–199), and was known as *Hoher Protektor des heiligen Berges* (High Protector of the Holy Mountain) by proclamation of the Monastic State of Mount Athos after the Germans invaded Greece in 1941 (Feigl 1982, 58–59; Zwerger 2005, 262). Ellen would have seen the force and the complexity in such nomenclature (with its religious and war-related implications). She would have wondered how we might interpret power titles such as these in relation to what was equivalent for the Mycenaeans and Minoans.

Terminologies of Power: *Wanaks*, *Megaron*, *Skēptron*, and *Thronos*

My aim is to get insight into the particular force that those who held power wanted the titles to convey, and to try to understand how those titles and other symbols of power were received by the different classes of people whom the rulers ruled and with whom they interacted. In this context, I make observations about four terms: the title *wanaks* and the terms *megaron*, *thronos*, and *skēptron*, and their real world correlates.

Looking at other cultures can bring some comfort to Aegeanists. One of the Hittite terms used for their high king, *tabarna-/labarna-*, poses, if anything, even more difficulties concerning its ultimate origins. Yakubovich (2002, 94) in a provocative overview, cites the sober appraisal of Tischler (1988) regarding the term. His assessment would be a valid way of summing up discussion of the Mycenaean/historical Greek terms *wanaks/anaks* and *g^wasileus/basileus*:

Die etymologischen Versuche . . . sind schon beinahe unübersehbar geworden, haben bisher zu keinem allseits befriedigendem Ergebnis geführt.

Attempts at etymology have already become nearly illimitable and up to now have led to no conclusion that is satisfactory from all perspectives. (Translation my own)

The term *tabarna-/labarna-* does appear applied to Hittite kings in Hittite records referring to the earliest stages of state formation. It also occurs in non-IE Hattic and Akkadian texts and likely a non-IE element in Palaic. The Hittite language has a somehow related verb *tapar-* (“rule”). In some schools of thought, various forms of *tapar-* gave rise to the term *tabarna-/labarna-*. In others, forms of *tapar-* were responsible for the transformation from original *labarna* to *tabarna* once this foreign word had entered the Hittite lexicon, either (1) as a personal name for an early Hittite king, a kind of royal ancestor (see below, on the use of the term Caesar), or (2)

as an early title borrowed from the Hattic population with whom the IE “Hittites” mixed, or (3) as a *Wanderwort* from some other culture.

The evidence is as follows (Starke 1980–1983, s.v. Labarna; Beckman 2000b, 532; Soysal 2005; Kloekhorst 2008, 520–521). The term *labarna* appears in early Hittite texts dated to the 18th century B.C.E., and the term *tabarna* appears in the 16th-century B.C.E. proto-Hattic and Palaic texts at the same time that *tawananna* appears as a term for “queen.” *Labarna-/tabarna-* are used for Hittite kings in Hittite records referring to the earliest stages of state formation, as already noted, and they continue in use to the end of the empire. The title *labarna* (king) is important for legitimization, for association with divine power, for *Kampfkraft* (military prowess), and for *Fruchtbarkeit* (fertility and fruitfulness: crops, animals, humans). The title is also associated with the deity *ḫalmašuit* (the deified throne seat; see Starke 1980–1983, 407). In comparison, in Egypt the throne of the pharaoh was deified early on; the same hieroglyph identified both the “throne” and the goddess Isis. Lastly, in late Hittite *labarna* was used in reference to deceased kings.

The singularity and peculiarity of the word and its likely status as a loanword from a non-IE language are further highlighted by the fact that *tabarna-/labarna-* is rare among Hittite words in being “consistently written with the syllabographeme *BA*, . . . normally reserved for Sumerograms [*BA*] and Akkadograms [*PÁ*]” (Yakubovich 2002, 102, 108). This seems to be an attempt to capture precisely a consonant sound that was not in the normal Hittite phonemic repertory.

Oddly enough, the Linear B script, which was adapted from the Cretan Linear A script expressly to represent the Greek language in written form, has a series of signs retained from Linear A that Melena (1987, 222–230; 2014, 71–73, 89) has convincingly argued represent some kind of peculiar /b/ phoneme. Yakubovich (2002, 104–111) goes so far as to suggest that the toponymic noun *da-pu₂-ri-to* (*daburinthos*) found in the Linear B texts from Knossos, with the same fluctuation in representation of the initial *d/l* consonant (the word represented in Linear B *daburinthos* corresponds to historical Greek *laburinthos*) and the same effort to represent the labial stop /b/ by means of a special sign, ultimately derives from *tabarna-/labarna-*. He cites the Carian place name $\Lambda\beta\rho\alpha\nu\delta\alpha$ as a toponym derived from the root of this royal title. These places would then be identified simply as “place of the ruler” with a specification of the particular word for ruler that had gained rather wide usage as a *Wanderwort*. We should also note that Yakubovich (2002, 107) casts doubt on the standard explanation of the *labr-/labur-* element in *Labraunda* and *laburinthos*, stemming

from Plutarch 2.302a, that *labrus* means *pelekus* “double axe” in Lydian (cf. Beekes 2010, 819 [s.v. *laburinthos*], 1166–1167 [s.v. *pelekus*]). This increases the possibility of a connection with the root seen in *labarna*.

All this is not just wild speculation. Consider how widespread and long the title “Caesar” has traveled, both as a title and as a common term for power. It is manifest in Bulgaria, pre-imperial Russia, medieval Serbia, Germany, and Austro-Hungary. It was bestowed upon Octavian (Augustus) as an adopted name. Later it was assumed, without adoption on his accession, as a title by the emperor Claudius. It was later used by Diocletian as a title for heir apparent or emperor designate and for the secondary figure in a consortium, in the eastern empire from Constantine through Heraclitus and even afterwards. It was used in Persian and Arabic to refer to Roman and Byzantine emperors. And it was used after the Turks captured Constantinople to refer to the sultan in his capacity as literally “Caesar of the Roman Empire.”

Wanaks

Virtually the same kind of debate about the origin of the special term for “high king” in the Hittite texts continues concerning the term *wanaks* in scholarship on the Linear B texts. There have been many, to my mind, unpersuasive attempts at IE etymology (reviewed and refuted in Palaima 2006, 53–58). The latest attempt (Willms 2010) to revive an IE etymology does not take into account Palaima 2006 and uses a variant of a long-tried approach (Szemerényi 1979, 215–217; 1981) most recently advanced by Hajnal (see Palaima 2006, 55, for its shortcomings). The line of attack of Szemerényi, Hajnal, and Willms posits that *wanaks* goes back to an original form (*w*)*anakt-*, which Szemerényi segments as:

**wen-ag-t* IE **wen-* + **ag-* ‘lead’ + agent-suffix *-t* + *s*.

Willms (2010, 252–259) rejects Szemerényi’s (1981, 315) reasoning that *wanaks* ultimately derives from IE **wen-* or **weni-*, meaning respectively “clan” or “member of the clan,” so that the *wanaks* would be “leader of the kin, tribe,” according to Szemerényi (1979, 217) “a very suitable expression, it would seem.” Willms (2010, 257) asserts that “in IE times, when **wana*[*ks*] was formed, the root **wen-* was conceived with the two meanings (1) “to like,” “to love”; and (2) “to strive for,” “to make an effort,” “to fight,” or “to win.” Thus, in his view, the word *wanaks* can mean something like “he who leads ‘victory’” (cf. Rix and Kümmel 2001, 680–683, for the full range of meanings of what they take to be two separate roots, meaning respectively “*liebgewinnen*” and “*überwältigen*,” “*gewinnen*”).

Willms (2010, 260) then further overemphasizes the Mycenaean evidence for the connection of the *wanaks* with military affairs. The evidence is minimal: two tablets, Vc 73 and Vd 136, from the Room of the Chariot tablets at Knossos that associate the title *wa-na-ka* most likely with a single chariot of unknown type (i.e., the texts belong to a series of tablets that are intentionally scored and cut to function as chits connected each with a single chariot, and one tablet may be a copy of the other), and from Pylos an impressed nodule, Wr 1480 (a surface find), which has the abbreviation *WA* for the adjective *wanakteros* and the words *do-ka-ma* (“handful[s]” or “handle[s]”) and *pa-ta-jo* (either “javelin” or “of javelins”) on the other two faces. These texts do not prove a significant role of the *wanaks* in military affairs, nor that warfare was the semantic sphere of the root of the title.

Beekes (2010, 98–99, s.v. ἄναξ) argues convincingly, in my view, that *wanaks* is non-IE and that the suffix *-ak-* is pre-Greek. We should notice that a whole array of words with a like morphology have no good IE etymology and understandably so. Judging by their meanings, that is, the things they identify (e.g., plants, minerals, distinctive manufactured or technological items, customary social practices), words of this morphology would seem to have been Greek borrowings from non-IE languages and culture groups:

σάμαξ, σάμακος: “bulrush, mat of bulrush”

σάνδουξ, σάνδουκος: “bright red colorant, or cloth thereof”

δόναξ, δόνακος: “pole-reed, shaft of an arrow or pipe made thereof”

σιμίλαξ, σιμίλακος: “common yew tree, ivy-like weed, leguminous plant”

θῶραξ, θῶρακος (θύραξ): “cuirass, upper-body armor”

αὔλαξ, αὔλακος and variant ἄλοξ, ἄλοκος: “furrow” (Beekes 2010, 73–74)

κόρδαξ, κόρδακος: “name of a dance” (Beekes 2010, 750)

σάλπιγξ, σάλπιγγος: “trumpet”

σῦριγξ, σύριγγος: “quill, flute”

φήληξ, φήληκος: “wild fig”

φόρμιγξ, φόρμιγγος: “cithar, often called a lyre”

φῶυξ, φῶυκος or πῶυξ, πῶυκος: “a kind of bird, a heron.”

Even the very common historical term φύλαξ, φύλακος (“guard”) defies a convincing IE etymology and is classified by Chantraine (2009, 1187) as having the structure of the sample list of clear loan words just listed: “Un

terme comme φύλαξ a la même structure que κόλ-αξ, σκύλ-αξ, etc., mais avec un radical obscur; mots expressifs ou familiers, souvent sans étymologie.” Chantraine, in part on these grounds, considers *wanaks* (ἄναξ) as a loan word: “Ét[ymologie]: Inconnue. On admet que c’est un terme d’emprunt (pour les raisons de l’emprunt, voir Meillet, *Mél.Glotz*, 2,587 sqq.)” (Chantraine 2009, 80–81).

Later Greek κῆρυξ, κήρυκος (with long *upsilon* throughout), which is found (*ka-ru-ke*) in Mycenaean Greek in texts having some connection to ritual activities, is traditionally and reasonably—given the Mycenaean and historical Greek use of the term to designate a “messenger/announcer” with special qualities—related to Sanskrit *kāru-*, or “singer, poet.” Beekes (2003), however, has demonstrated that Greek in its word formation does not have an enlargement in *-κ-*, as we have noted, and that the etymological derivation of κῆρυξ from the IE root for *kāru-* leaves the length of the *upsilon* unexplained. On balance, therefore, consideration of word formation in the Greek lexicon would suggest that it is at this time in our scholarly understanding reasonable to assume a priori that a noun of the shape *wanaks* is pre- or non-Greek in origin.

Here then I rely on what I regard as the “gloss alternation” between *Iphigeneia* and *Iphiwanassa* in the traditions concerning the three daughters of Agamemnon (Palaima 2006, 58–62). The form *Iphiwanassa* with a non-Greek root in its second element is explained and replaced by *Iphigeneia*, a name with clearly understandable Greek roots. This would suggest that the root of *wanaks* and *wanassa* can be rendered by the Greek root **gen-*, denoting “birth,” “begetting.” The English word “king” and Germanic “König” are derived from the same root IE **gēnh₁-* (“beget, arise”).

These associations are reinforced by the meaning of the root of the standard Hittite word for king *ḫaššuš* (see the Hittite verb *ḫaš-* = “beget”; Palaima 1995, 2006). This nexus suggests that the Hittite and Mycenaean terms for “king” have to do with “begetting” and fertility, a conclusion reinforced by Nagy (1992, 144–145, as discussed below) who argues that “a semantic relationship between the concept of ‘beget’ and ‘king’ may be latent in the heritage of myth and ritual.”

Lastly, we should remember (Palaima 2006, 58) what Laroche and Watkins (Watkins 1986, 56–57) proposed for the names of two prominent members of the paramount royal dynasty of Troy in the *Iliad*, the old king Priam (*Priamos*) and the young prince Paris. Both names are clearly non-Greek. Paris in fact has an etymologically transparent alternative Greek name *Aleksandros* (cf. *Skamandrios* and *Astuanaks* for the son of Hektor). *Priamos* and *Paris* are identified as Luwian *Pariya-muwas* and *Pari-LÚ*. The first element of both names arguably comes from IE **perh₃*,

meaning “birth, produce,” and the second element from IE **meuh₁/h₃*, “abundant, reproductively powerful.” Both names emphasize “birth” and “generation,” which is in line with what we have been arguing for *wanaks*. Furthermore, if our reasoning is correct, then *Astu-anaks* would fit into the lineage of royal names at Troy splendidly and give three generations of names that emphasize the guaranteed fertility and progenerative powers of the ruler dynasty: Priamos > Paris > Astuanaks.

We should note that Szemerényi’s approach to an original IE source of *wanaks* would put it in the same semantic sphere of procreativity and family-clan association as my non-IE proposal. And in its survival as a technical term on the island of Cyprus in the historical period, the term *wanaks* also has to do with genealogical-family/clan relationships. The most pertinent occurrence is discussed by Masson (1961, 218) pointing to a passage of Aristotle found in Harpocration. It corroborates that in the historical period on Cyprus the term *wanaks* designated the son or brother of the king (*basileus*) of the community:

§211 o-wa-na-xe sa-ta-si-ya-se | sa-ta-si-ka-ra-te-o-se Ὁ φάναξ Στασίνας Στασικράτεος inscription du prince Stasias, fils de Stasikrates, à dater vers la fin du IV^e siècle. Le mot φάναξ signifie “prince,” comme à Idalion, §220, 2; le fait est confirmé par un passage d’Aristote, fr. 526 Rose . . . chez Harpocration, s.v. ἄνακτες καὶ ἄνασσα, indiquant que les fils et les frères d’un roi à Chypre sont appelés ἄνακτες.

As a counterbalance and note of caution, we should keep in mind that “Caesar” as a term for ruler is derived from the personal name of an early power figure and has a meaning that has no bearing on the function of the office it comes to identify, or on the qualities that those who hold the office should have, or the virtues they should embody and display. And, as Nikoloudis (2006, 231) points out, the Roman *pontifex* is not a literal “way/passage (> bridge)-maker.”

As significant as where the Hittite term comes from is what the force of its later use was. It functions in a similar way to how “Caesar” was appropriated in Kaiser and Czar. Whatever we believe about the historicity of an early Hittite king named Labarna, I agree with Yakubovich (2002, 100) that “it is *a priori* not unlikely that an early Hittite prince was given an auspicious name meaning ‘ruler’ [*vel sim.*], which was later ‘actualized’, as he became a king. It is also not impossible that in a later period the sense of the word *tabarna-/labarna-* implied a reference to this earlier ruler (or a group of rulers).” That is, in Hittite we would have embodied in the very title of the ruler a form of legitimization through reference to an ancestor.

We see this instinct in the preternatural entity or figure entered in the text of Pylos tablet Tn 316: *ti-ri-se-o-e* (dative), a literally intensified *hērōs* (Thrice-*hero*), among many important divinities (Zeus, Hera, Hermes, Posidaeia, Diwia). Lupack (2014) has argued that the occurrences of the term *wanaks* in the dative on the oil offering texts (Fr series) at Pylos refer to the ancestral, heroized or deified *wanaks* from whom each *wanaks* in the Mycenaean palatial period draws his legitimacy. The supernatural figure, called the Thrice-*hero*, would be a further manifestation of this practice. This cultic sanctification of an ancestral king figure and title is perhaps also seen in the building of *tholoi* and the special treatment of Grave Circle A as recognition of ancestral associations, whether we call this “worship” or not (Shear 2004, 11 n. 61), within architectural programs that are clear statements of power. There is an attractive parallel in how the term/title *tabarna-/labarna-* is used in Hittite texts much later than the period of the early figure Labarna who preceded Hattusili I (see Melchert 1978; Bryce 1981; Beckman 2000a, for the reading of important pertinent Hittite texts and efforts to make chronological sense of them).

We turn now to the three terms that are closely connected with Mycenaean kingship and ruler ideology: in Greek, these are *megaron*, *thronos*, and *skēptron*. These are the three most distinctive identifiers of power in the cultural milieu in which the Mycenaean rulers were operating.

Megaron

The word *megaron* is amply attested in Homeric texts and a single time in Mycenaean Greek, on a nodule from Midea, in the allative form *me-kar-ro-de megaronde* = “to the megaron.” Certainly it was understood by Mycenaean and later historical Greeks as connected with the adjective *meγas*, from IE **meǵ-h₂-*, meaning “much, many” but also “great and sublime,” “lofty,” “grand, vast, important,” and sometimes “powerful” (Chantraine 2009, 649–650). The unit to which it refers is the central architectural focus (and locus of power) of the Mycenaean palatial centers, a unit that seemingly developed out of a long tradition of important buildings with big rooms of the same general plan and design with hearths (Barber 1992, esp. 20; Werner 1993; Hitchcock 2010, 201–204; Hitchcock and Chapin 2010, 820).

If the canonical central *megaron* in Mycenaean palatial architecture does develop from Middle Helladic back into Early Helladic (EH) prototypes, even if they are not considered full and stylized palatial *megara*—and it is wise to be cautious about using the term *megaron* too loosely as a description of rectangular building elements (Darcque 1990; 2005,

318–319)—it would be reasonable to posit that the word used to identify this component of settlement architecture is a loan word. It is outside the scope of this paper to take the matter up in full, but we may let suffice three expressions of opinion about how the *megaron* form and the hearth within it develop through time (cf. Darcque 1990; Werner 1993):

This plan [of the *megaron*] is a formalization of the linear, axial arrangement characteristic of Middle Bronze Age architecture, and it has as its goal the circular monumental hearth in the centre of the megaron which is itself surrounded by four monumental columns (Wright 1994, 56).

It is clear that the large baked and stamped terracotta hearth rims of the EBA corridor houses were very important expressions of those communities and that they slowly reappear and become centralized and ultimately monumentalized among the rectangular and apsidal houses of the MBA in Central and Southern Greece (J.C. Wright, pers. comm., 22 January 2015).

The widespread use of rectangular rooms/structures, linear axiality and built hearths, however, seems to have been shared in EH II and EH III/Middle Helladic, whether by the same population or a different one. The term *megaron* as a categorical grouping for architecture is quite difficult to define precisely. Thus, I am hesitant to say for certain whether the *megaron* was present throughout the entire Bronze Age, was a palatial adaptation/crystallization of general architectural forms already present, or if the concept was introduced at some point but was not significantly unique relative to the pre-existing architectural vocabulary (K. Jazwa, pers. comm., 22 January 2015).

Beekes (2010, 917) believes that the word itself is a “technical loan from the substrate, perhaps adapted to μέγα.” He essentially is making the same kind of argument that was made with Labarnas/Tabarnas being associated, when taken into the Hittite lexicon, with the Hittite verb *tapar-*, meaning that a non-IE word (or root) gets taken into an IE language (Hittite and Greek) and is there associated with a much-used IE-derived word (root). Furthermore, as with our treatment of the morphology of *wanaks* above, Beekes (2010, xxxvi) cites the structure of clear loan words in the historical Greek lexicon like ἄσκαρος, βάσσαρα, γάδαρος, γίγγλαρος, κίσθαρος, κύσσαρος, λέσχαρα, and φάλαρα, and toponyms like Megara, Aptara (Crete and Lycia), Patara (Lycia), and Allaria (Crete) as support for *megaron* being a substrate term with a substrate suffix.

On the other hand, Melena (pers. comm., 16 August 2014, who considers *megaron* to mean the “lofty” room) regards *megaron* as readily explicable in Greek as **meg-h₂r-on*, comparing it to the verb form *megairō*. In turn, Beekes (2010, 917) sees it as unnecessary to reason that *megairō* has

to be based on *r*-stem noun forms **meg(-h₂)-r-* (“greatness” or **megh₂-ro* “great”), with yod-verbal suffixation, as posited by Chantraine (2009, 650), because the resultant *-air-* verbal suffix thus produced in Greek was so productive that it could be applied directly to a root ultimately coming from a substrate source, that is, *meg-*, and produce the historical verb form that ends in *-airō* without any intermediate form like **megh₂-ro*. Melena in turn explains the place name Megara as directly derived from the common plural usage of *megaron* (cf. *dōmata*) as “the place of lofty houses.” But this is at odds with and would leave unexplained the morphologically parallel place names that do not have apparent Greek etymologies. The same two lines of argument, for and against an inherited IE root, apply to the term *thronos* as well.

Regarding the *megaron* as an architectural statement of power and ritual center, one rather spectacular parallel is that of the Egyptian term *prʿ3* (pharaoh), which was first used as a title for the king of Egypt in the middle of the 18th dynasty after the reign of Hatshepsut (around 1460 B.C.E.) and continued in use throughout the rest of the Mycenaean period (Osing 1982). The title *pharaoh* means literally “the great (or greatest) house” (Leprohon 1995, 276; Hornung 1997, 286). It was used in this period alongside the word *tw* meaning “one, an impersonal construction” in order to designate it as applying to a person (von Beckerath 1984, 39). The end result then was that a term that “originally referred to the architectural entity of the palace . . . was later transferred to the institution and person of the [Egyptian] king” (Hornung 1997, 286), meaning, it became a title. This shift in usage coincides in its underlying meaning with the association of the Mycenaean power figure with “the big or lofty room” or *megaron* at precisely the time when the Mycenaean palatial system and, we would imagine, its corresponding architecture of power on the Mycenaean mainland, are making their first strides forward.

We should not forget that a main, if not the main, feature of importance for the Mycenaean *megaron* and related pre-Mycenaean architectural precursors was the “hearth” at its center. In Mycenaean palatial centers the throne faced the hearth, thus emphasizing the close association between the enthroned *wanaks* and the sacred powers of the hearth. The smoke and fire in the hearth also necessitated that the roof of the *megaron* be opened above it, thus connecting the *megaron* both architecturally and ritually and symbolically to the sky and sky-god. Pertinent here is the persistent memory of the importance of the *megaron* and central hearth as a ritual locus of power and of fertility.

Nagy (1992, 143) draws our attention to this fundamental significance of the “hearth,” in connection with the scepter, as preserved in Sophoclean tragedy:

In the *Electra* of Sophocles, Clytemnestra dreams that Agamemnon has come back from the dead to the realm of light (417–419; ἐς φῶς 419). The king seizes the *skēptron* “scepter” (σκῆπτρον 420) that had once been wielded by him, but which is now held by the usurper Aegisthus (420–421), and he places it firmly into the royal hearth, the *hestiā* (ἑφέστιον | πῆξαι 419–420). From the hearth, there then grows out of the scepter a shoot so vigorous that it covers with its shade all the kingdom of Mycenae (421–423). The focus in the inquiry that follows is this very symbol of the *hestiā* “hearth” as the *generatrix* of the authority that is kingship.

This regenerative life-giving power of the hearth, in connection with the sky-god above it in the *megaron*, is all the more remarkable given that when Achilles swears an oath while holding this very scepter in *Iliad* 1.236–237, he declares emphatically that it will never bloom again: οὐδ’ ἀναθλήσει.

Nagy (1992, 145) goes further and shows that in Hittite, the root *haš-* (“beget”) is related to the noun *hašša-* (“sacrificial fireplace”). We would argue that the same meaningful ritual and ideological association seems to be found in the Mycenaean palatial centers where the *wanaks* is firmly rooted in his *thronos* (see above for the Hittite and Egyptian association between the ruler and the sacred throne) and tends to the royal *hestiā*, the source of fire and fertility and of the bountifulness that is emphasized in Mycenaean palatial ideology (Palaima 2008, 384–386; 2012b). It is during the Mycenaean palatial period, too, that the main room of the *megaron* is upgraded and the hearth becomes its most dominant and central feature, with associated “throne” and columns for a clerestory (C.W. Shelmerdine and L.A. Hitchcock, pers. comm., 22 January 2015).

Skēptron

We now take up the wielded symbol of the power and vital charismatic authority of the ruler, the *skēptron*. Even Beekes, who is the keenest advocate of not going to desperate lengths to come up with an IE etymology for words in the historical Greek lexicon, especially when evidence is favorable that a term may be non-IE in origin, admits with regard to *skēptron* in Greek (with its conspicuous tool-suffix *-tron*) and cognates in other IE languages that “formally the words could certainly be of IE origin”

(Beekes 2010, 1350, s.v. σκήπτωμα). In this case, he proposes that since all certain IE cognates are European, “the distribution of forms and semantics rather point to a European substrate origin.” This may be going too far. But that narrowing of the source of the term does not substantially affect our argument.

The term *skēptron* is formed from the *-tron* “tool-suffix” designating an instrument relating to the action notion in the verbal root. The verb σκήπτομαι means “support oneself, lean (on),” and related forms in historical Greek have meanings—glossed or deducible from context—of “stick,” “branch,” “staff,” or “crutch” (Beekes 2010, 1350). The term *skēptron* is used in Homer for the royal scepter, notably of the house of Atreus, passed down to Agamemnon, while the term σκηπτ-ούχος meaning “scepter-holder” = “ruler” was used in historical texts to describe “Persians and other Asiatic peoples who have high office at court.” Cognates in Latin and Albanian mean “shaft, stalk, stick, and scepter” and in Old High German and Old Norse “shaft, spear, or lance.” We might here consider the figure on the Chania Master Impression (*CMS* V, Suppl. IA, no. 142; Hallager 1985) and take note of Pausanias (9.40.11) on the historically identified scepter of Agamemnon. Pausanias says it was a *doru*, or wooden spear (shaft), directly transmitted, we are told in Homer, from Zeus, through Hermes, to the Atreid dynasty down to Agamemnon (see Koehl, Ch. 9, this vol.).

As Chantraine (2009, 981) points out regarding *skēptron* in his entry on the verbal form *skēptomai*, Benveniste (1969, II, 29–32) demonstrated that in Greek alone among the IE languages was this root for “support” used for the power symbol that we still call the scepter as the term is applied to the many functions a king or claimant to power, temporary or permanent, might have: speaking in an assembled group with the right to be heard, rendering justice in different ways, asserting a right to command, and demonstrating divine legitimation. Notionally, the scepter is there to support power figures and claimants to power in these socially important activities. The impact that such a device of the ruler may have on those who are ruled is conveyed by Nexø (1917, 35), where the child of a common laborer feels the touch of the stick wielded by the owner of a farm estate to be “a caress of a divine nature” that conveyed “an elevating sensation in his shoulder as if he had been knighted” and transmitted “an intoxicating warmth . . . through his little body.”

One thinks here primarily of how shepherds lean on their wooden staffs and use them as weapons in defense of the flocks they guard. It is then easy to understand the phrase *poimēn lāwōn* used in Homer

(Haubold 2000, 21–24, calls “shepherd of the people” “an all-pervasive formula”) as an epithet for Mycenaean kings as “shepherd of the originally *inflowing* peoples” (Nikoloudis 2006, 231–236, esp. 235, for Mycenaean *lāwos*) and the direct transmission of the scepter of Agamemnon from Zeus through Hermes to the Atreid dynasty. It was passed in its last stage from Thyestes to Agamemnon who carried it and gained from it the legitimacy to *πολλῆσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν* (Hom. *Il.* 2.108) “to be *wanaks* over many islands and all Argos.”

By contrast, in Egypt various terms were used for the different types of scepters that were associated with the king (Kaplony 1986): (1) the *was* (“dominion”) scepter with a forked base and an animal head (dog or jackal) at the top (on the practical uses of the *was* scepter, see Schwabe and Gordon 1988); (2) the *ankh* signifying “life”; (3) the shepherd’s crook or *heqat* (cf. the verb *heqa* = “to rule”); (4) the flail or whip; (5) the mace, as an instrument of smiting enemies and asserting dominion; and (6) the *sekhem* signifying “power.” The *was* scepter is a good parallel for the Greek *skēptron* because it, too, is connected with the gods who wield it and bestow it upon the king who bears it as a mark of being divinely gifted and in turn wields it in the manner of a solicitous shepherd.

Of these various hand-held symbols of powers, the one that may also be pertinent here is the *ankh* scepter. Schwabe, Adams, and Hodge (1982) have proposed that this symbol in origin was the thoracic vertebrae from a bull’s spine, a source of vital fluid and sperm. It is striking that the Linear A and B phonetic repertoires share a phonetic sign (*17) that is identical with the *ankh* (Driessen 2000, 331, pl. 42). That its value in Linear B is *za*, the root syllable of the Greek word for “life,” deriving from a palatalized labiovelar that would fit perfectly with Minoan phonemic patterns (Chantraine 2009, 168–169 and 385, s.v. βίος and ζῶω), suggests that here, too, there could be some cross-cultural transmission of ideas, forms, and symbols.

Thronos

Our final term *thronos* likewise is etymologized in two tracks. Beekes (2010, 558, s.v. θρόνος) asserts that Greek words ending in *-ovos* are rare, that a suffix **-ono-* does not seem to have existed in Greek or in IE, and that words that would appear to have such suffixation, as traditionally explained, “are suspected to be of Pre-Greek origin.” He compares χρόνος “time” and Κρόνος, “the divine entity who is father of Zeus and whom Zeus overthrows.” Chantraine (2009, 1233) likewise says of attempts at

finding a convincing IE/Greek etymology for χρόνος through an analysis parallel to κλόνος (κλ-όνος) and θρόνος (θρ-όνος), that they provide neither a satisfactory root nor a satisfactory suffix. Beekes (2010, 718, s.v. κλόνος) applies the same line of the argument to κλόνος “excitement, throng, battle turmoil.”

The standard etymology proposed by Chantraine (2009, 442–443) and argued at length by de Lamberterie (2004) derives *thronos* from IE **d^her-*, meaning “to hold, support,” explaining its original meaning as “supporter, bearer.” Most tellingly, Beekes (2010, 558, s. θρόνος) argues that “no other words for ‘chair’ are derived from the proposed Indo-European root, nor does Greek have certain derivatives from this root.” But we have seen that Greek, among IE languages, has a special word for “ruler” and for “scepter.”

It is clear what the term refers to in the Mycenaean period because of the references to *thronos* (in the form *thornos*, Myc. *to-no*) on three tablets in the Ta inventory of ritual furniture and paraphernalia and to throne-workers (*thronoworgoi*, Myc. *to-ro-no-wo-ko*) on Knossos text As 1517. What is at issue here is whether at its very origin and perhaps continuing forward, the Mycenaean Greeks conceived of this power/symbolic piece of furniture in line with the notion of “support” that underlies, as we have seen, *skēptron*, and whether none, one, or both of these two terms derive from substrate culture(s) and substrate thoughts and concepts.

The Linear A and B sign *61 (Driessen 2000, 369, pl. 80) that has the phonetic value *o* in Linear B can reasonably be taken as a throne and in its fullest and most formal renderings a throne with a curved scepter. On Hagia Triada (HT) Linear A tablet 93a.6 it is word initial, a frequent slot for pure vowel signs. On HT 113.3 it might be word initial or even, possibly, ideographic. It appears as a rare (only three times) countermark on the inscribed nodules Wa 1279, Wa 1280, and Wa 1281. That this sign has the value *o* suggests that the term *thronos* was not derived acrophonically from whatever language(s) the Linear A script was devised to represent—its word for throne, using the acrophonic principle, would begin with *o*- or the corresponding vowel or semivowel value in the Minoan language.

Conclusion

Ellen, I imagine, would have a question, or perhaps two or three, after taking in what I have tried to “shine light on,” that is, “argue” in the literal sense. It is clear that Mycenaean power symbolism fits into the kinds of power symbolism used by surrounding high cultures of the mid- to late second millennium B.C.E. The Mycenaean ways of representing, presenting,

and legitimizing power, linguistically, iconographically, and undoubtedly in ceremonial performance, can be characterized as having a more limited repertory of elements than those of surrounding cultures that had longer periods of development. But *wanaks*, *thronos*, *megaron*, and *skēptron* emphasized “support,” “stability,” ancestral legitimacy, central ritual largeness and loftiness, progenerative capacities and bountifulness, and linkage to higher powers in the divine sphere. Taken all together ideologically, they offered reassurance of continuing fertility and life for the populations who viewed them with a sense of awe.

To sum up, the Mycenaeans and the Hittites applied non-IE terms to the supreme position of power and highlighted the association with early ancestral figures by using their titles (or their very names) to legitimize and secure the transmission of power down through royal lines. Both cultures used terms that emphasize the importance of the king as progenitor and guarantor of fertility. The Mycenaean king, in turn, associated himself symbolically with the hearth, the source of light and fire and the cultural advances that fire provides. The Hittite terms for “king” and for “hearth” share the same root meaning “beget” that we posit as the meaning of the non-IE root of *wanaks*. The “king” in both of these cultures is thus vital for the very life of the community. Like the Egyptian pharaoh, the Mycenaean king was ideologically linked to the “big hall.” The very title *pharaoh* has that meaning and is a true case of identification of the figure with his central, physical, and symbolic place in the community. The Mycenaean king’s throne (cf. the divinized thrones linked with the “ruler” in Egyptian and Hittite) and its ideological linking with the *megaron* and fertile, life-sustaining, regenerative hearth (*hestia*) emphasize the security and stability that the Mycenaean palatial centers promised as the *do ut des* of their social contracts with the peoples who lived within the territories that they dominated.

The main power figures in the Mycenaean period and in the early stages of later historical Greek culture wielded only the single simple *skēptron* (a wooden spear shaft). They did not make use of variant devices that rulers in Anatolia, Egypt, and the Semitic cultures of the Middle and Near East carried as symbols of distinctive powers and roles, including those that symbolize the exertion of violent force against enemies, or threats, foreign or domestic. This is a significant departure from the power symbolism we see in these other high cultures that could have “played Versailles” for the Mycenaean Greeks.

This might even explain why individual Mycenaean rulers are missing from palatial iconography. They might have staked their claim to their

power through their title and office, both legitimized through links to a founding ancestral figure. The title and role they assumed promised both enduring stability and continuity through procreative powers and the benevolent and protective wielding of military power that is characteristic of a “shepherd of his peoples.” They performed their roles as kings by demonstrating a healthy respect for what the historical Greeks surely called, and perhaps even their Bronze Age ancestors had called, *hubris*. It would not be necessary or perhaps even reverent—but it would have been *ou themis* within the Mycenaean and later Greek belief system—for the Mycenaean *wanaks* to propagandize his personal accomplishments on the ceremonial walls of the central *megaron*. It might have been *ou themis* for any of them to put forth publicly their accomplishments as individual rulers. And so we do not see them as individuals in the archaeological remains and we consider them missing. Yet the Mycenaean kings, each a *wanaks*, were there and in power. They were firmly fixed, presiding, and, at least in ideological theory, pious and sacred. And in this way, they offered protection and guaranteed fertility, prosperity, and satisfaction to the inhabitants of their individual territories.

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