

COLLOQUIUM ROMANUM

ATTI DEL XII COLLOQUIO
INTERNAZIONALE DI MICENOLOGIA

ROMA · 20-25 FEBBRAIO 2006

SOTTO L'ALTO PATRONATO DEL PRESIDENTE DELLA REPUBBLICA

A CURA DI

A. SACCONI, M. DEL FREO, L. GODART, M. NEGRI

II.



«PASIPHAE» · II.

PISA · ROMA

FABRIZIO SERRA · EDITORE

MMVIII

PASIPHAE

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA
E ANTICITÀ EGEE

DIRETTORI:

LOUIS GODART · ANNA SACCONI

SEGRETARIO DI REDAZIONE:

MAURIZIO DEL FREO

II.

(2008)



PISA · ROMA

FABRIZIO SERRA · EDITORE

MMVIII

PREMESSA

Nel 2001 decidemmo di creare una rivista internazionale di filologia e antichità egee dal nome "Pasiphae" e di affiancare alla rivista stessa una collana intitolata Biblioteca di "Pasiphae" destinata ad accogliere monografie relative alle civiltà egee.

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Iniziamo ora la pubblicazione della rivista "Pasiphae", che uscirà con cadenza annuale: i numeri I (2007) e II (2008) escono contemporaneamente e contengono gli "Atti del XII Colloquio Internazionale di Micenologia", svoltosi a Roma dal 20 al 25 febbraio 2006.

Roma, dicembre 2007.

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SUSAN LUPACK

THE NORTHEAST BUILDING OF PYLOS AND An 1281

Both Hofstra¹ and Bendall² have recently proposed that the structure traditionally referred to as the “Northeast Workshop” of Pylos³ should now be called by the more generic term the “Northeast Building” (hereafter, NEB). This is because Hofstra’s and Bendall’s detailed analyses of the structure and its contents have shown that the NEB was not used solely as a workshop dedicated to specific types of production. Hofstra does think that some workshop activities were conducted within the Building.⁴ For instance she says that « there is evidence for lithics production, leather working, wood-working, [and] possibly chariot repair » but that this « repair and “production” work of different sorts » was not the primary focus of the building’s occupants.⁵ Rather, Hofstra and Bendall agree that the building must have served predominantly as a storage facility and administrative clearinghouse that managed the collection and subsequent disbursal of livestock, various goods, raw materials, and groups of workers. Presumably Blegen and Rawson came to the conclusion that the NEB served as a workshop because one of the most common activities recorded on the NEB tablets is the allocation of raw materials to craftsmen.⁶

The bulk of the tablets that deal with industrial work, and others that record inventories, are concerned with weapons, chariots, and items that would have been made for the chariots, like reins and halters. For this reason Bendall finds more value in Blegen’s original interpretation of the NEB as an armory of sorts. **Ub 1318** for instance gives a list of craftsmen’s names, the number of hides being disbursed to them, and the items they were supposed to make out of those hides.

Ub 1318

- .1 au-ke-i-ja-te-we , ka-tu-re-wi-ja-i di-pte-ra 4 [••••]di-pte-ra 2 au-ke-i-ja-te-we , o-ka , di-pte-ra [
- .2 au-ke-i-ja-te-we o-pi-de-so-mo , ka-tu-ro₂ , di-pte-ra 4 ka-ne-ja , wo-ro-ma-ta 4
- .3 me-ti-ja-no , to-pa , ru-de-a₂ , di-pte-ra 1 a-re-se-si , e-ru-ta-ra , di-pte-ra 3 wo-di-je-ja , pe-di-ra 2
- .4 we-e-wi-ja , di-pte-ra , 10 wi-ri-no , we-ru-ma-ta , ti-ri-si , ze-u-ke-si 1
- .5 wi-ri-no , pe-di-ro , e-ma-ta 4 e-ra-pe-ja , e-pi-u-ru-te-we , E 2
- .6 a-pe-i-ja , u-po , ka-ro , we-[]-ja 1 u-po , we-e-wi-ja , e-ra-pe-ja E 1
- .7 mu-te-we , we-re-ne-ja , ku[]pe-re 1 mu-te-we , di-pte-ra , a₃-za , pe-di-ro-i 1
- .8-9 vacant

1. S. HOFSTRA, *Small Things Considered: The Finds from LH IIIB Pylos in Context*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin 2000.

2. L. BENDALL, “A Reconsideration of the Northeastern Building at Pylos: Evidence for a Mycenaean Redistributive Center”, *AJA* 107 (2003), p. 181-231.

3. C.W. BLEGEN and M. RAWSON use this designation for the building in *PoNI*.

4. S. HOFSTRA, *Small Things*, cit., p. 273; ID., personal communication, August 2006.

5. S. HOFSTRA, personal communication, August 2006.

6. This identification has also been made by subsequent scholars. For instance, T. G. PALAIMA (“The Transactional Vocabulary of Mycenaean Sealings and the Mycenaean Administrative Process”, in *Administrative Documents in the Aegean and their Near Eastern Counterparts*, M. Perna [ed.], Torino 2000, p. 270) says that the wheel assembly workshop (or chariot workshop) mentioned on **Vn 10.2** (*a-mo-te-jo-na-de*) « seems indeed archaeologically to be the Northeast Workshop, judging from the references to *a-ko-so-ne* found on tablets therein ».

In the first line, for instance, we have four hides (*di-pte-ra*) being given to *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* to be made into saddlebags (*ka-tu-re-wi-ja-i*). Other items being manufactured are straps (*o-ka*), bindings of pack saddles (*o-pi-de-so-mo ka-tu-ro₂*), and sandals (*pe-di-ra/ro-i*), which could have been made to be worn by those driving the chariots. **Ub 1315** seems to be an inventory of similar items such as reins (*a-ni-ja*), 16 red hides (*di-pte-ra e-ru-ta-ra*), and 11 pairs of new halters (*ne-wa po-qe-wi-ja ZE*).

Ub 1315

.1]-wo-ja a-ni-ja , te-u-ke-pi , 5 di-pte-ra₃ e-ru-ta-ra l 6[
 .2 ro-u-si-je-wi-ja 6 ra-pte-ri-ja a-ni-ja 3
 .3}a 2
 { ne-wa , a-ni-ja , a-na-pu-ke , 5 dwo 2 a-pu-ke 9 a-ni-ja-e-e-ro-pa-ja-qe-ro-ṣa
 .4}a 1
 { a-pe-ne-wo 4 a-pu-ke , a-pe-ne-wo ne-wa po-qe-wi-ja ZE 11

Ub 1316 and **1317** also record hides, but do not specify what the hides were to be made into. We can, however, speculate that they were to be used in the manufacture of items similar to those on **Ub 1316** and **1318**. **An 1282** continues this theme in that it lists 90 men altogether who are being put to work on manufacturing chariots (*a-qi-ja-i*),⁷ wheels (*a-mo-si*), halters (*po-qe-wi-ja-i*) and handles or shafts (*do-ka-ma-i*).

An 1282

.1 a-qi-ja-i VIR 18 a-mo-si VIR 18
 .2 ki-u-ro-i VIR 13 po-qe-wi-ja-i VIR 5
 .3 do-ka-ma-i VIR 36
 .4-5 vacant

Va 1323, **Va 1324** and **Vn 1339** contribute to the image of the NEB as a center associated with chariots and military equipment in that they record axles (*a-ko-so-ne*, **1323**, **1324** and **1339**), spears (*e-ke-i-ja*, **1324**, **1339**), and infantry spears (*pe-di-je-wi-ja*, **1324**), while **Vn 1341** records 200 darts or javelins (*pa-ta-jo*). Killen proposes that words such as *e-ke-ja* (**Vn 1339**) and *a-ko-so-ne* (**Va 1324**) may refer to wood for making spears and axles rather than the finished products.⁸ Sealings found in the NEB demonstrate that some of these materials were delivered to and perhaps also stored in the NEB. **Wr 1328**, for instance, records a delivery of infantry spears⁹ and **Wr 1480** records a delivery of darts or javelins (*pa-ta-jo*) and handles or shafts (*do-ka-ma*). **Ja 1288**, which most likely records an allocation of bronze to a man named *ka-ra-wi-so*,¹⁰ shows that the bronze used in the

7. *A-qi-ja-i* being a mistake for *i-qi-ja-i* (J. T. KILLEN, “New Readings and Interpretations in the Pylos Tablets”, in *Florent*, p. 349).

8. J. T. KILLEN, “New Readings”, cit., p. 348.

9. *Pe-di-e-wi* appears on the sealing but it is probably an error for *pe-di-je-wi-ja*, which is found on **Vn 1338**.

10. The case of *ka-ra-wi-so* is ambiguous but C. W. SHELMEERDINE (“Industrial Activity at Pylos”, in *Tracata Mycenaea*, p. 334 n. 8) points out that it is more likely that *ka-ra-wi-so* is in the dative « since the amount [of bronze, which is AES M 4 N 1 P 6] is the most common allotment size for individuals on the Jn tablets ».

construction of the chariots, wheels and weapons was also a concern of the NEB. In addition to the tablet evidence, over 600 arrowheads were actually found in the NEB.

The finished weapons and their condition were also a concern of the NEB managers. The **Sa** series, which was found in the Archives Complex, but which was probably written in the NEB, inventoried and assessed the quality of 85 pairs of chariot wheels. **Sa 682**, for example, records wheels that were ‘unfit for service’ (*no-pe-re-a₂*), while **Sa 287** describes its wheels as ‘bound with silver’ (*a-ku-ro de-de-me-no*).¹¹ The one tablet of this series, **Sa 1313**, that was found in the NEB, was identified as belonging to the **Sa** series because it was written by the same hand as the rest of the series (Hand 26) and because the one full word found on **Sa 1313**, *we-je-ke-e*, which most likely means ‘serviceable’,¹² is also found on many other tablets within the **Sa** series.¹³ This makes it likely that the **Sa** tablets were all written within the NEB and subsequently transferred to the Archives Complex.¹⁴ The same might be conjectured for another set of tablets found in the Archives Complex, the **Sh** series, which records another item of military equipment: corselets.¹⁵ We can conclude therefore that the NEB was the site of an inventory of chariot wheels, and most likely of corselets as well.

Hence the administrators of the NEB were responsible not only for the production of chariots and weaponry but also for its maintenance and repair.¹⁶ Clearly this was a prime concern of those working in the NEB.

But, as Hofstra points out, the facilities necessary for doing the heavy work are not present in the NEB, and therefore cannot have served as the workshop where the metalworking and leather tanning was done. Another problem for the workshop theory is raised by the number of workers recorded on the tablets found within the NEB. In addition to the 90 workers seen above on **An 1282**, the **Ac** series records 138 men (102 men present and 36 missing)¹⁷ who were being called up as corvée labor from the main districts of the Hither Province and at least one of the districts of the Further Province.¹⁸ As Lang said, « the anonymous and summary form of the record on these tablets ... makes it more likely that these groups of men ... are slaves or workmen for some activity of which [the NEB] was the headquarters ... ».¹⁹ Lang

11. *Docs*², p. 373-375.

12. C. W. SHELMERDINE, “Industrial Activity”, cit., p. 335.

13. To be precise, the dual form *we-je-ke-e* appears most often in this series (a total of eighteen times) but three **Sa** tablets actually have the regular plural *we-je-ke-a₂*: **Sa 787.A**, **791** and **843**.

14. *Scribes Pylos*, p. 156. C.W. SHELMERDINE, “Industrial Activity”, cit., p. 333, 335.

15. C. W. SHELMERDINE, “Industrial Activity”, cit., p. 335. J. T. KILLEN, “New Readings”, cit., p. 345-347.

16. See T. G. PALAIMA (“Transactional Vocabulary”, cit., p. 269-271) for a discussion on how these sealings and tablets reflect Pylian administrative methods of monitoring deliveries and production work.

17. The tablets and their figures are **Ac 1272**: VIR 2, o 8; **1274**: VIR 6, o 13; **1275**: VIR 25, o 1; **1276**: VIR 20; **1277**: VIR 10, o 6; **1278**: VIR 17, o?; **1279**: VIR ?, o 1; **1280**: VIR 22, o 7.

18. The extant place names are *me-ta-pa*, *a-ke-re-wa*, *pi-*82*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, and two, *pe-ti-ni-jo* and *te-mi-ti-jo*, seem to be the adjectival forms of *pe-to-no* and *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*.

19. C. W. BLEGEN, M. LANG, “The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1957”, *AJA* 62 (1958), p. 190.

uses the word “headquarters” advisedly since the size of the NEB, as Bendall works out in detail,²⁰ was not spacious enough to accommodate such large numbers of men. It is likely, therefore, that these workers were being assembled in the area of the NEB, but that they would have been sent to another site for their specific tasks. Thus the majority of the work implied by the tablets found in the NEB must have been conducted elsewhere, although some of the raw materials required for the work were stored there and the work was administered by managers who were located there.

Other activities were also administered within the NEB. For instance, **Un 1322**, which most likely records payments (*o-no*)²¹ of wheat and figs to a net-maker and a weaver, indicates that the managers of the NEB oversaw various types of work or that they were involved in various aspects of personnel management.²²

Cc 1283-1285, **Cn 1286-1287** and several sealings (e.g. **Wr 1325**, **1331** and **1334**) demonstrate that small numbers of sheep and goats were delivered to the NEB. Tegyeey proposed that these animals were to supply the workshop with the leather needed for the bridles and straps found on the other tablets.²³ Hofstra saw other possible uses for the animals – that they were to be slaughtered for food, or, given the fact that many of the animals were female (e.g. those on **Cn 1287**), that they could have been used for their milk or in religious ceremonies.²⁴ Both Aravantinos²⁵ and Killen²⁶ have also proposed that the animals were used in religious festivals. The fact that the sealings include the word *o-pa*, which Killen has proposed means ‘finishing’ or, in this context, ‘fattening for slaughter’ would recommend this interpretation.²⁷ Killen, however, does not think that the sacrificial and industrial uses of the animals are necessarily contradictory: once an animal has been sacrificed its hide could be used for industrial purposes. It is possible then, that for whatever purposes the animals met their ends, their hides were to be used in the manufacturing processes that the NEB was responsible for.

The contexts of **Un 1321**, which deals with wine and grain, and **Un 1319**, which deals with grain and other foodstuffs, are unclear. It can be said though that these

20. L. BENDALL, “A Reconsideration”, cit., p. 203-206.

21. J. CHADWICK, “Pylos Tablet Un 1322”, in *Mycenaean Studies*, p. 19-26. J. T. KILLEN, “Some Further Thoughts on ‘Collectors’”, in *Politeia*, p. 218. The first three lines of **Un 1322** include the word *o-no*, which, if translated as ‘price’ or ‘consideration’, may indicate that these workers were actually being paid for their work rather than simply receiving rations. Lines 4 and 5 of **Un 1322** appear to represent actual exchanges of goods: the cloth (represented by *146) is valued in terms of wheat.

22. L. BENDALL, “A Reconsideration”, cit., p. 209-211.

23. I. TEGYEY, “The Northeast Workshop at Pylos”, in *Pylos Comes Alive*, p. 71.

24. S. HOFSTRA, *Small Things*, cit., p. 274, 290-291.

25. V. L. ARAVANTINOS, “Santuari e Palazzo: Appunti sui rapporti economico-amministrativi tra la sfera del culto e il potere politico in età micenea”, in *Anathema: regime delle offerte e vita dei santuari nel Mediterraneo antico*, G. Bartoloni, G. Colonna, C. Grottanelli (ed.), Roma 1989-1990 (*Scienze dell’Antichità* 3-4), p. 257. ID., “The Mycenaean Inscribed Sealings from Thebes: Problems of Content and Function”, in *Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration*, T. G. Palaima (ed.), Liège - Austin 1990 (*Aegaeum* 5), p. 162.

26. J. T. KILLEN, “Mycenaean *o-pa*”, in *Florent*, p. 334. Also see T. G. PALAIMA, “Transactional Vocabulary”, cit., p. 264-265.

27. J. T. KILLEN, “Mycenaean *o-pa*”, cit., p. 332-334.

tablets show that the administrators of the NEB were involved in handling goods that were not connected with industrial activities, thereby contributing to the definition of the NEB as a clearinghouse. The **Qa** series, which most likely records disbursements of a type of cloth (*189), also contributes to the view that the NEB was a clearinghouse. I will return to the religious associations of these tablets and their significance further on.

Thus, it is clear that the administrators working in the NEB were involved in a variety of activities. They handled the delivery and subsequent disbursal of various goods, they managed large groups of personnel, and they oversaw the upkeep and production of chariots and other items of military equipment, and it is this latter area of responsibility that seems to have been the chief concern of the NEB's administrators. With this context in mind, I propose to take a fresh look at the religious associations of the NEB. Among its nearly 60 Linear B tablets there is one in particular, **An 1281**, that merits our attention because of the link it provides between the religious sector and the industrial activities administered in the NEB.

An 1281

- .1 po-]ti-ni-ja , i-qe-ja
 .2]-mo , o-pi-e-de-i
 .3 a-ka , re-u-si-wo-qe VIR 2
 .4 au-ke-i-ja-te-we []
 .5 o-na-se-u , ta-ni-ko-qe VIR 2
 .6 me-ta-ka-wa , po-so-ro VIR 1
 .7 mi-jo-qa[]e-we-za-no VIR 1
 .8 a-pi-e-ra to-ze-u VIR 1
 .9]-a-ke-si , po-ti-ni-ja , re-si-wo VIR 1
 .10 au-ke-i-ja-te-we[]ro VIR 1
 .11 mi-jo-qa , ma-ra-si-jo [] VIR 1
 .12 me-ta-ka-wa , ti-ta-ra-[] VIR 1
 .13 a-pi-e-ra , ru-ko-ro VIR 1
 .14-15 vacant

An 1281 is an industrial tablet in that it records the allocation of workers to people whose names are in the dative. Shelmerdine calls the people whose names are in the dative « craftsmen in charge of workshop operations »²⁸ and therefore we may see them as managers. For example, *o-na-se-u* and *ta-ni-ko* on line 5 are being allocated to *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* on line 4. The other names in the dative are *me-ta-ka-wa*, *mi-jo-qa* and *a-pi-e-ra*, and this list of four managers is repeated in the second paragraph of the tablet: *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* appears on lines 4 and 10, *me-ta-ka-wa* on lines 6 and 12, *mi-jo-qa* on lines 7 and 11, and *a-pi-e-ra* on lines 8 and 13. Three of these managers appear again on other tablets in positions of authority. For instance, *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* appears three times on **Ub 1318** (twice on line 1 and once again on line 2), which, as seen above, was also found in the NEB. In the context of **Ub 1318** *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* must have been responsible for seeing that the hides were made into the leather goods specified on the tablet.

28. C. W. SHELMEKDINE, "Industrial Activity", cit., p. 340.

The names of three of the four **An 1281** managers are also found on **Fn 50**, a tablet which was found in the Archives Complex.

Fn 50

.1	a-ki-to-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD [<i>qs</i>
.2	ke-ko-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD [<i>qs</i>
.3	a-ta-no-ro , qa-si-re-wi-ja	HORD T[<i>qs</i>
.4	me-za-ne HORD V 2	a ₃ -ki-a ₂ -ri-jo V 2[
.5	me-ri-du-te HORD V 3	mi-ka-ta HORD V 3
.6	di-pte-ra-po-ro HORD V 2	e-to-wo-ko V 2
.7	a-to-po-qo HORD V 2	po-ro-du-ma-te HORD V 2
.8	o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we HORD V 2	i-za-a-to-mo-i HORD V 3
.9	ze-u-ke-u-si HORD V 4	
.10	v. [] <i>vacat</i>	
.11	au[-ke-i-]ja-te-wo , do-e-ro-i	HORD T 1
.12	mi-jo[-qa] do-e-ro-i	HORD V 3
.13	a-pi-e-ra do-e-ro-i	HORD V 3
.14]-wō[]ne[do-e-ro-]i	HORD T 3
.15-18	<i>vacant</i>	

Au-ke-i-ja-te-we appears on line 11, *mi-jo-qa* on line 12 and *a-pi-e-ra* on line 13. Here allocations of grain are being given to the slaves (*do-e-ro-i*) of the managers. It must be no coincidence that these names were grouped together on **Fn 50** just as they were on **An 1281**. They were probably well known to the scribes as a group of managers associated with the NEB, and therefore their slaves were known by their affiliation with these managers rather than by their own names.²⁹

An 1281's religious associations are demonstrated by the fact that the deity Potnia, like the other managers, appears twice on **An 1281**: on lines 1 and 9. On line 1 she is Potnia *i-qe-ja*, which can be read as ἵππεία or Hippeia. Thus here she is the Mistress of the Horses. The second line of **An 1281** reads *o-pi-e-de-i*, or ὀπι ἔδεη, from ἔδος 'seat'.³⁰ Killen defines the *o-pi* element as meaning 'chez', or, in industrial contexts, 'at the workshop of'.³¹ Therefore it seems reasonable to translate *o-pi-e-de-i* as 'at the seat or shrine of Potnia'. The Potnia on line 9 has no such evocative epithet as Hippeia, rather she is the Potnia of]-*a-ke-si*, which is generally restored as the locative of *po-ti-ja-ke-e*, a toponym which appears on two other tablets: **An 610.11** in association with six *e-re-ta* or 'rowers', and on **An 298.2**, in association with *ra-pte-re* or 'tailors'. The fact that there is a second place name indicates that there must have been a second seat or shrine located some distance from the first over which Potnia was considered to preside.³²

Both of the Potnias of **An 1281**, like the other managers on the tablet, receive workers, and therefore we may assume that she too was considered to be in charge of workshop activities. Of course, it was not the deity Potnia herself who was actually receiving and managing the workers, but rather, most likely, a religious

29. A *do-e-ro* of *mi-jo-qa* is also seen on **Fn 867.4** receiving grain.

30. *DMic. s.v. o-pi-e-de-i*.

31. J. T. KILLEN, "The Knossos *o-pi* Tablets", in *Primo Congresso*, p. 636-643.

32. M. LANG (in C. W. BLEGEN, M. LANG, "Excavations of 1957", cit., p. 190) was the first to propose that there were two workshops represented on **An 1281**.

functionary working in her name. I have argued elsewhere that when we see the name of a deity associated with economic resources, as for instance on the Thebes textile tablets and the Knossos sheep tablets, the workshop or flock of sheep must have been attached to and managed by a shrine dedicated to the deity recorded on the tablet.³³ I would make the same argument here: that the men are being sent to workshops that were associated with shrines of Potnia. Or, in other words, I think these “seats” of Potnia functioned as both shrines and workshops.

The fact that a location is given for each Potnia, but not for the following managers, sets up a two-paragraph structure for **An 1281**, and we may therefore infer that the records following each heading were meant to be associated with the first. Thus, the managers who follow lines 1-2 and line 9 were most likely working for the shrine / workshops of Potnia. Because of their association with Potnia, Ventris and Chadwick identified them as « priests or religious functionaries of some sort ».³⁴ Killen has added to their religious associations by showing that the disbursements of grain on **Fn 50**, the tablet that lists three of **An 1281**'s managers, were being allocated in connection with a religious festival.³⁵ Considering this religious context and their affiliation with Potnia on **An 1281**, it seems likely that *mi-jo-qa*, *a-pi-e-ra* and *me-ta-ka-wa*, which are female names, were priestesses, while *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* was most likely a priest. Olivier has also thought it likely that these women were priestesses on the grounds that nowhere else on the tablets do we see women in charge of men unless they held titles within the religious hierarchy (such as *e-ri-ta* the *i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na* and *ka-pa-ti-ja* the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* on **Ep 539.7-9**).³⁶

Thus, at this point we have established that the four people named in the dative are managers in charge of workshop activities that were administered within the NEB, that they were affiliated with the workshop / shrines of Potnia mentioned at the heads of the paragraphs, and that they were most likely members of the religious hierarchy themselves. This much on its own provides us with a significant example of religious personnel who were involved in managing economic activities; activities, it should be noted, that were of some importance to the palatial elite. That the religious sector was involved in the Mycenaean (and here we can say even more specifically in the palatial) economy, is made clear by this tablet. But before I go into the details of how we might characterize the working relationship between the religious managers and the palace, it is pertinent to discuss the possibility, and its ramifications, that the first shrine / workshop on **An 1281** may be equated with the NEB itself.

I have already proposed that we can identify **An 1281**'s seat of Potnia Hippeia with the NEB.³⁷ I made this identification partially because one of the rooms in the NEB, room 93, has been identified as a shrine. At the time that I was originally

33. S. LUPACK, “Palaces, Sanctuaries and Workshops: The Role of the Religious Sector in Mycenaean Economics”, in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, p. 26; ID., “Deities and Religious Personnel as Collectors”, in *Fiscality*, p. 89-108.

34. *Docs*², p. 483.

35. J. T. KILLEN, “Religion at Pylos: The Evidence of the Fn Tablets”, in *Potnia*, p. 435-443.

36. *Desservants*, p. 135-136.

37. S. LUPACK, “Palaces, Sanctuaries”, cit., p. 27.

writing, the NEB was still thought of as a workshop, and on this basis I saw in the NEB a connection between the religious sphere and workshop activities. This view, however, specifically that the NEB constitutes evidence for a shrine-workshop connection, has been admirably challenged by Bendall, who states that « if the building was not a workshop, the association falls ». ³⁸ My aim, however, was not simply to show a connection between religious personnel and industrial production. Rather, I think that the more significant aspect of this area of Mycenaean studies is to investigate the overall involvement of the religious sector in the Mycenaean economy as a whole, and this can be done by looking at instances where religious personnel are involved in specific economic activities, whatever their nature. Thus, the interpretation of the NEB as an administrative center, rather than simply as a workshop, does not undermine my arguments concerning the religious sector's role in Mycenaean economics; rather it enhances them by showing, as I have already proposed on the basis of the Linear B evidence, that religious personnel were involved not just in production work, but in the broader management of various economic activities.

There is, however, another issue to address, and that is the question of whether room 93 can plausibly be interpreted as a shrine, a view which Bendall also challenges. ³⁹ If room 93 is deemed not to be a shrine, then indeed the identification of the NEB as Potnia's shrine / workshop is on much shakier ground. However, I should point out that it would not negate the evidence of the NEB tablets, which on their own show that religious personnel were active in the economic side of Mycenaean society. What we would lose is an important example (although not the only one) ⁴⁰ of the complementary, physical manifestation of such activity in the archaeological record.

Nonetheless, I think a strong case can be made for the identification of Potnia's seat with the NEB. One argument in favor of this theory is that line 1 of **An 1281** does not provide Potnia Hippeia with a specific place name (in contrast with line 9), which would therefore imply that her seat was located at the palace itself. ⁴¹ The most obvious location then would be the NEB. Also, the industrial activities that were managed at the NEB seem particularly well suited to the deity mentioned on **An 1281**, whose epithet "Hippeia" connects her to horses and chariots. Indeed, Shelmerdine has pointed out to me that it may have been the epithet Hippeia itself which served to indicate that she was located at the NEB. ⁴² It seems possible, therefore, that the NEB, one of whose main occupations was to oversee the production of chariots and other military equipment, was presided over by the goddess Potnia Hippeia, and managed, in part, by the religious personnel working in her name.

38. L. BENDALL, "A Reconsideration", cit., p. 184-185.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 185-186.

40. See S. LUPACK, *The Role of the Religious Sector in the Economy of Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Greece*, BAR (forthcoming).

41. E. L. BENNETT, JR., "Correspondances entre les textes des tablettes pyliennes des séries Aa, Ab et Ad", in *Études Mycéniennes*, p. 121-136.

42. C. W. SHELMEARDINE, personal communication, October 2001.

Furthermore, I think it is possible to see room 93 as a shrine, not solely because of the references to Potnia found on **An 1281**, but rather because of several pieces of archaeological evidence, which, when considered together, make a case that cannot be dismissed too lightly.

It is true that room 93 did not produce a full assemblage of religious finds.⁴³ But what was found is consistent with the room having been used for religious purposes. Fragments of 32 normal-sized kylikes were found, as well as one miniature votive kylix, 15 other diminutive vessel bases and a fineware dipper. Very often items of this type are found within religious contexts and are thought to be used in ritual drinking and the pouring of libations.⁴⁴ While it is true that such a small sample of items cannot on its own establish a religious function for the room, nonetheless it is possible that this is what they were used for.⁴⁵

Also, three terracotta figurines were found in other parts of the building. A female figurine with a bird-like head was found in room 97, while the head of a female figurine, also with a bird-like face, was found in room 99.⁴⁶ An animal figurine, most likely a horse, was found in corridor 95.⁴⁷ The date of this last figurine has been questioned,⁴⁸ but if upon further examination a Mycenaean date is confirmed, it would provide an interesting link to Potnia Hippeia of **An 1281**. It is possible that these figurines could be the remnants of a more substantial assemblage of religious items that were originally used within the building, but which were cleared out when the occupants left.

Another interesting point concerning the nature of the finds in room 93 is that there was a distinct lack of any industrial materials. A few stone chips and flakes were found in room 93, but these possibly stray pieces are insignificant when

43. See S. LUPACK, "Palaces, Sanctuaries", cit., p. 28-29, for my discussion of the floor of the NEB and how I think that it probably did not vanish as Blegen had originally proposed. I should also mention here that it has been suggested that the shrine was built first as an independent structure, and that the rest of the NEB was added on afterwards, at which point the shrine went out of service (L. BENDALL, "A Reconsideration", cit., p. 186, n. 31; and implied in C. W. SHELMEARDINE, "The World According to Perimos: A Mycenaean Bureaucrat Talks Back", in *Autochthon. Papers presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the occasion of his retirement*, A. Dakouri-Hild, S. Sherratt [ed.], Oxford 2005, p. 202). I have spoken to Cooper on this point, who, as director of MARWP, led the re-excavation of the palace at Pylos, and he has confirmed that the entire building was constructed simultaneously. Hence room 93 must be construed with the rest of the NEB.

44. A. D. MOORE, †W. D. TAYLOR, *The Temple Complex, Well Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel of Mycenae 1959-1969*, fasc. 10, Oxford 1999, p. 79-80. IID., *The Room with the Fresco Complex, Well Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel of Mycenae 1959-1969*, fasc. 11, Oxford (forthcoming). Also see R. HÄGG, "The Role of Libations in Mycenaean Ceremony and Cult", in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, R. Hägg. G. C. Nordquist (ed.), Stockholm 1990, p. 177-184.

45. Votive kylikes were also found in rooms 96, 98 and 99 of the NEB (and in room 7 of the Archives Complex, where they were found with burnt ox bones). Perhaps they were used in these rooms too for some libation ritual.

46. *PoNI*, p. 311-312, 322.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 307-308.

48. M. POPHAM says that this figurine may be dated to the Geometric period ("Pylos: Reflections on the Date of its Destruction and on its Iron Age Reoccupation", *OJA* 10 [1991] p. 324).

compared with the abundance of materials that were found in the other rooms of the NEB.⁴⁹ It is unlikely, therefore, that they had been so thoroughly cleaned out of room 93 as to leave it practically bare of such items. The fact that room 93 is without such materials leads me to believe that it was definitely not used for industrial or even storage purposes. Nor were any of the building's tablets or sealings found in room 93, so it could not have served as an office either.

The special nature of room 93 is further indicated by its architectural details. Two large poros blocks framed the room's wide door, and in the upper surfaces of those blocks were dowel holes into which further blocks or wooden beams must have been fitted. Blegen called the poros blocks "decorative antae".⁵⁰ In addition, the room's threshold was marked by stone slabs, a feature which was not found anywhere else in this otherwise utilitarian building. Hofstra has noted that the façade of room 93 « resembled the architectural façades depicted in fresco at Pylos, surmounted by lions and sphinxes », ⁵¹ which have been interpreted as representing shrines.⁵² Also, it seems that room 93 and the colonnade that bordered the open court were meant to form a cohesive visual unit. Two nearly complete blocks of poros and several pieces of other blocks were found which Blegen and Rawson think must have fallen from the entablature of the colonnade and the façade of room 93.⁵³ With similar blocks being used for room 93 and the colonnade, the courtyard would have had a unified and somewhat monumental aspect. Bendall has suggested that this was done in order to « maintain architectural coherence for the palace's frontal aspect », and I agree that this may have been part of the Pylians' motivation for dressing up the façade of the NEB. However, I also think that at this late stage of the palace's life, after the industrial courts 42 and 47 had already obscured the monumental nature of the palace's northeastern entrance, the Pylians would not have made such efforts unless the nature of the building itself merited them. Thus I think that while the portico was certainly used at times to shade those who worked in the NEB, it was probably also used to shade those attending the religious rites that were conducted in front of room 93.

That religious rituals were performed in the courtyard is indicated by another rather distinctive structure associated with room 93. Within the court is situated a painted poros block measuring 0.64 x 0.60 m that stands about 3 m southeast of the shrine, very nearly on its longitudinal axis, which was identified as an altar by its excavators.⁵⁴ The identification of this block as an altar has, however, been challenged. Cooper argued (to me in person) that, since there were no signs of

49. Room 96 is also an exception to this rule. It shares a wall with room 93, and may have been associated with it in purpose.

50. *PoNI*, p. 304.

51. S. HOFSTRA, *Small Things*, cit., p. 65.

52. Cf. *PoNII*: see p. 131-140 for a discussion of the façades, and pl. 75, 76, 136, and I and R for photos and reconstructions.

53. *PoNI*, p. 302.

54. *PoNI*, p. 302.

burning on the top of the block, it could not have been used for offerings.⁵⁵ Bendall also finds it significant that the Pylos altar shows no signs of burning, but she limits her comparison to the freestanding features found at Mycenae.⁵⁶ Restricting one's comparanda in this way cannot be justified; the comparison should more logically be made between all Mycenaean features that were used for religious offerings. If we look at the numerous Mycenaean altars we find that it is fairly common for them to show no signs of burning. For instance, in the Cult Center at Mycenae the Temple had three features that must have been used for offerings that were not burnt: in the main room of the Temple (room 18) neither the central dais (which Taylour says may have been used for libations)⁵⁷ nor its bench shrines were burnt,⁵⁸ and in the anteroom of the Temple (room XI) the rectangular feature made of white clay was also free of burning.⁵⁹ The platform in room 32 of the Room of the Fresco Complex was also used for offerings that were not subject to being burnt.⁶⁰ Furthermore, one of the altars that Bendall lists as having been used for burnt offerings, the Round Altar,⁶¹ was probably not used for such. It is understandable that she listed it in this way because Taylour says that there was « a quantity of ashes around it ». ⁶² However, Mylonas, who wrote in more detail about the area (and was its excavator) says that the altar was covered by a thick coat of plaster and « does not exhibit signs of fire or burning ». He goes on to say that « at a distance of 1.2 m west of the altar a pit was found, filled with ashes, bones of small animals and sherds ». ⁶³ Thus the ash that Taylour mentions was probably part of the destruction debris.⁶⁴

The rectangular altar that stood outside of Tsountas' House Shrine, or the "edicule" as it is sometimes called, is similar to the Round Altar, in that the main part of the altar was coated with fine plaster and did not exhibit any burning; but it had a round hole near to it that contained ash and fragments of burnt bones.⁶⁵ In both of these cases burnt offerings were connected with the cults associated with the

55. F. COOPER, personal communication, 1996. Cooper offered the alternative explanation that it could have served as a column base. I however think this could not have been the case since there are two extant column bases nearby of an entirely different construction.

56. L. BENDALL, "A Reconsideration", cit., p. 186; and even with this limited sample, only three of her five examples, two of which were built as hearths, display signs of burning.

57. W. D. TAYLOUR, *The Mycenaean*, London 1983, p. 50. Also see A. D. MOORE, †W. D. TAYLOUR, *Temple Complex*, cit., p. 82.

58. W. D. TAYLOUR, "New Light on Mycenaean Religion", *Antiquity* 44 (1970), p. 273-274.

59. A. D. MOORE, †W. D. TAYLOUR, *Temple Complex*, cit., p. 12. Moore proposes that this feature may have been used as a basin.

60. W. D. TAYLOUR, "New Light", cit., p. 275.

61. L. BENDALL, "A Reconsideration", cit., p. 186 n. 27.

62. W. D. TAYLOUR, *The Mycenaean*, cit., p. 61.

63. G. MYLONAS, *Mycenae Rich in Gold*, Athens 1983, p. 141-142. E. B. FRENCH, †W. D. TAYLOUR (*The Ancillary Areas of the Cult Centre, Well Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel of Mycenae 1959-1969*, fasc. 13, Oxford [forthcoming]) note that, contrary to what Mylonas has said, no reference to animal bones can be found in the excavation notes.

64. E. B. FRENCH and †W. D. TAYLOUR (*Ancillary Areas*, cit., [forthcoming]) say that the ash pit indicates there were « burnt offerings somewhere in the vicinity ».

65. G. MYLONAS, *Mycenae Rich in Gold*, cit., p. 137.

altars, but the actual burning must have taken place somewhere else, possibly on portable braziers. The published reports concerning the horseshoe-shaped altar within Tsountas' House Shrine can also be confusing because Mylonas says that its plaster bore « slight traces of smoke ». ⁶⁶ But Mylonas goes on to emphasize the libation aspects of the altar, ⁶⁷ as does Taylour, who does not mention any smoke. ⁶⁸ Shelton, who will soon be publishing a full account of Tsountas' House Shrine, was able to clear up this confusion. She says that « The very slight burning on the surface was from the burned destruction of the shrine itself », and that the altar was used « probably for libations exclusively ». ⁶⁹ Just to the north of the horseshoe-shaped altar there was another feature: a large boulder (1.15 x 0.70) wedged into the ground, with the plaster of the floor overlapping its base. Its exact use is unclear but Mylonas suggests that it was « a “slaughtering stone” on which sacrificial animals were laid to be killed and their blood collected, to be used for libations » presumably on the horseshoe-shaped altar nearby.

In addition to the features from Mycenae's Cult Center, there was also a low rounded altar found in the porch of Mycenae's great megaron that was associated with an alabaster slab that Hägg thinks must have been used for libations. ⁷⁰ We can add to this that none of the four altars in the two shrine buildings at Phylakopi show any sign of burning. ⁷¹ Nor does the altar inside room 117 (and its subsequent manifestation, room 110) in the Lower Town at Tiryns, ⁷² nor do the three cult features found at Berbati. ⁷³ The bench altars of Methana and Asine were also free of any sign of burning. ⁷⁴ More significant than these perhaps is the LH IIIB round altar (max. diam. 1.21 m, ht. 0.35 m) that stood in the courtyard in front of the main Megaron of Tiryns. ⁷⁵ In LH IIIC the Megaron was rebuilt on a smaller scale

66. G. MYLONAS, *Mycenae Rich in Gold*, cit., p. 135.

67. On the western side of the altar there are two projections; one is circular and had a hole in the center, which was coated with lime and seems designed as a receptacle for libations. The other projection created a groove between it and the circular projection, which was also plastered. The neck of an amphora was set in the floor at the end of the groove (G. MYLONAS, *Mycenae Rich in Gold*, cit., p. 135).

68. W. D. TAYLOUR, *The Mycenaean*, cit., p. 49. In an earlier publication MYLONAS himself (*The Cult Center of Mycenae*, Athens 1972, p. 38) does not mention any smoke.

69. K. SHELTON, personal communication, September 2006.

70. R. HÄGG, “The Role of Libations”, cit., p. 180.

71. For a discussion of these altars and their assemblages see C. RENFREW, “The Sanctuary at Phylakopi”, in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, p. 67-80.

72. K. KILIAN, “Zeugnisse Mykenischer Kultausbung in Tiryns”, in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, p. 53-54. Also see K. KILIAN, “Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1977”, *AA* (1979), p. 389, and ID., “Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1976”, *AA* (1978), p. 460. These two altars are actually of IIIC date, but I think they may be included in this survey (particularly the earlier one) since they and their finds demonstrated clear continuity from the IIIB period.

73. A. AKERSTRÖM, “A Mycenaean Potter's Factory at Berbati near Mycenae”, in *Primo Congresso*, p. 49.

74. E. KONSOLAKI, “The Mycenaean Sanctuary on Methana”, *BICS* 40 (1995), p. 242. R. HÄGG, “The House Sanctuary at Asine Revisited”, in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, p. 93.

75. H. SCHLIEMANN (with contributions by DÖRPFELD), *Tiryns*, London 1886, p. 206-208, 337-340. K. MÜLLER, *Tiryns III: Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes*, Augsburg 1930, p. 137. Also see R. HÄGG, “The Role of Libations”, cit., p. 181 n. 36, and K. KILIAN, *ibid.*, p. 184.

(Building T),⁷⁶ and the round altar was renewed in that it was encased in a larger rectangular altar (3.25 x 2.68 m). In addition to the fact that no burning was found in association with this altar, it also parallels the one at Pylos in its being placed opposite the room it was associated with, and in its being set in the open air. Unfortunately we do not know what the exterior of the Tiryns altar looked like since only the stones were preserved, but Dörpfeld thought that it must at least have been covered in plaster.⁷⁷

To be sure, there are religious features in the Mycenaean world that do exhibit signs of being used for burnt offerings. For instance, the main room of the Room of the Fresco Complex (room 31) did contain a hearth that appears to have been built specifically for cult purposes.⁷⁸ The Citadel House Megaron and the anteroom of the Temple also had hearths,⁷⁹ the first one of which Bendall includes in her list of altars with burning.⁸⁰ Also at Methana and Asine,⁸¹ hearths were found within the cult rooms, but they were separate from the bench altars that had not been used for burnt offerings. As for actual altars that do show signs of burning, the altar on the eastern wall of the room 31 of The Room of the Fresco Complex had three disc-shaped features along its western edge that had some ash on them.⁸² Moore calls these “miniature hearths” and suggests that there was a «second use of fire within the room». ⁸³ There was also an oval altar to the north of the cult room 117 in the Lower Town of Tiryns whose associated layers preserved slight traces of ash.⁸⁴

From this survey it seems that Mycenaean altars did not always or even usually show signs of burning, and if the cult practices of a certain shrine did involve burnt offerings, a separate hearth or a brazier was usually provided to accommodate them. Thus it seems that the evidence would not support the assertion that the painted block at Pylos could not be an altar simply because it did not exhibit signs of burnt offerings.

Also, while it is true, as Bendall asserts,⁸⁵ that the most common type of Mycenaean altar is the bench shrine set against a wall, there are four freestanding altars within the Cult Center at Mycenae: the dais in the Temple, the horseshoe-shaped altar inside Tsountas’ House Shrine, the edicule outside Tsountas’ House

76. C. W. BLEGEN, “The So-Called Temple of Hera at Tiryns”, appendix of *Korakou, a Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth*, Boston 1921, p. 130-134. J. MARAN, “Das Megaron im Megaron”, *AA* (2000), p. 1-16.

77. H. SCHLIEMANN (DÖRPFELD), *Tiryns*, cit., p. 206.

78. W. D. TAYLOUR, *Well Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel of Mycenae 1959-1969*, fasc. 1, Oxford 1981, p. 17.

79. W. D. TAYLOUR, *The Mycenaean*, cit., p. 59, and A.D. MOORE, †W. D. TAYLOUR, *The Temple Complex*, cit., p. 11, respectively.

80. L. BENDALL, “A Reconsideration”, cit., p. 186 n. 27.

81. E. KONSOLAKI, “Methana”, cit. p. 242. R. HÄGG, “Asine”, cit. p. 93.

82. W. D. TAYLOUR, “Mycenae, 1968”, *Antiquity* 43 (1969), p. 94-95. Taylour also says that it wasn’t clear whether the ash came from the original use of the rings or from the destruction layer, and doesn’t mention them again in subsequent publications.

83. A. D. MOORE, †W. D. TAYLOUR, *Fresco Complex*, cit. (forthcoming).

84. K. KILIAN, “Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1977”, cit., p. 390.

85. L. BENDALL, “A Reconsideration”, cit., p. 186.

Shrine, and the Round Altar outside of the Temple. A fifth may be added if you consider the hearth in the Room of the Fresco Complex to be equivalent to an altar,⁸⁶ and even a sixth if you include the “slaughtering stone” in Tsountas’ House Shrine. The rounded altar in the porch of the megaron is also a freestanding structure. Furthermore, the edicule and the Round Altar, like the one at Pylos, stand outside of their shrines. They are not, it is true, centered in front of their entries, but they are clearly associated with them. Taylour says of the Round Altar that « it fronts on to the southwest entrance of the Temple »⁸⁷ and the edicule is placed very near to the entrance to Tsountas’ House Shrine. It should be recalled that during the first phase of Tsountas’ House Shrine its front entryway was entirely open to the court in front of it, which meant that the edicule was even more a part of the shrine than it would seem if there had been walls and a door.⁸⁸ Again, Tiryns should not be overlooked since two of its altars are freestanding, and are situated in the open air: the one in the Lower Town that stands outside room 117 and the round altar in front of the Megaron. The latter of these two is, as I mentioned above, most like the altar at Pylos in that it is centered in front of the entryway to the room it served.

All in all, it seems that one of the most notable characteristics of Mycenaean altars and cultic features is their diversity of form. Bendall advises caution in our interpretation of the frescoed block at Pylos, and she is correct in doing so, but to object to its being an altar on the grounds that it « has no certain parallel »⁸⁹ is not well-founded. It is true that none of the altars provide an exact parallel for the Pylos altar, but they are all fairly idiosyncratic, with none of them providing a good parallel for any of the others.

Furthermore, positive arguments can be made for the block having been used as an altar. While it is common for altars in Mycenaean shrines to be coated with white plaster, only one, the altar inside the Room of the Fresco (room 31), was as elaborately painted as the one at Pylos. As it was found, the northwestern and northeastern sides of the block had less of their faces left above ground due to the rising slope of the floor of the courtyard, which must have been re-finished several times in order to facilitate the movement of goods in and out of the NEB. However, the altar had not been neglected: the fresco that covered its sides as well as its top surface had been repeatedly renewed, and the same design was applied each time, which speaks of a long-standing tradition that one would expect in a religious setting. It is true though that the design of the fresco on the Pylian altar is not as clearly religious as the one at Mycenae: it consists of a repeated pattern of three parallel dark wavy lines that run nearly vertically at intervals up the altar. Within the intervals are cream and red-colored bands. Lang says that this type of design is « a stylized imitation of ca. 0.60 m. plaques of cut stone which are imagined to be various in color and marked with darker veins » and actually, this motif is not

86. As L. BENDALL does (“A Reconsideration”, cit., p. 186 n. 27).

87. W. D. TAYLOUR, *The Mycenaean*, cit., p. 61.

88. G. MYLONAS, *Cult Center of Mycenae*, cit., p. 38; ID., *Mycenae Rich in Gold*, cit., p. 135.

89. L. BENDALL, “A Reconsideration”, cit., p. 186.

uncommon in secular areas of the palace where it is often used in dadoes.⁹⁰ But the design was not confined to secular sites. For instance it is also seen on the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus on the base of the double axe. Blegen proposed that the Pylian altar could be considered analogous to the tables of offering that are « familiar at Pylos and at other Mycenaean sites ... since they too bear painted decoration, not only around the rim, but across the top ». ⁹¹ On the other hand, we may compare the Pylian altar with the many freestanding, externally placed altars that are pictured on sealings and seal rings found in Mycenaean contexts. These images may have been created at an earlier date than the Pylos altar.⁹² Nonetheless, I think it is not too far-fetched to suppose that such altars were not unknown in Late Mycenaean times, and that the altar at Pylos was among those in use.

Thus, I think the frescoed block can reasonably be regarded as having been an altar, and the room that it stood in front of as having been a shrine. If this is granted, then we may with some confidence identify the seat of Potnia on **An 1281** as the NEB.

But what about the second seat of Potnia on **An 1281**, the one at *po-ti-ja-ke-e*? How does that fit in? Previously I proposed that the second seat of Potnia was the original location of the chariot workshop.⁹³ But at that time there was still something of a problem with this idea: why would you have two workshops devoted to the same activity? Now that it is clear that the NEB was used predominantly as an administrative center, and that most of the actual work could not have taken place there, the fact that there were two centers makes better sense. While the NEB was the center of administrative activities, the actual manufacture and repair work – the processes that required more space – were probably done at the *po-ti-ja-ke-e* site. It follows then that the more logical location for the chariot workshop of **Vn 10** would be at *po-ti-ja-ke-e*. This would also be the logical place to locate the 90 men listed on **An 1282**, who were certainly being assigned to tasks that were in line with the interests of the NEB.⁹⁴

Given that the NEB was added onto the palace late in its history (Cooper has confirmed that the NEB was the last construction project that the Pylians completed before the palace was destroyed)⁹⁵, we can suppose that the workshop at *po-ti-ja-ke-e* had been in operation before the NEB was constructed. At the point we see in the tablets, the two workshops were operating in conjunction with each other, which must be the reason why the managers were the same at both places. But why did the Pylians feel the need to build the NEB? It seems that in the late LH III period the Pylians were aware that their strategic position was not as secure as it had been when the palace was first built. As Shelmerdine has pointed out, they therefore

90. *PoN* II, p. 164-165.

91. *PoN* I, p. 302.

92. J. YOUNGER, “Aegean Seals of the Late Bronze Age: Stylistic Groups, VI. Fourteenth-Century Mainland and Later Fourteenth-Century Cretan Workshops”, *Kadmos* 26 (1987), p. 44-73.

93. S. LUPACK, “Palaces, Sanctuaries”, *cit.*, p. 30.

94. The men of the **Ac** series may also have been destined to work there, but as there is no specification of the type of work they were to do we cannot be sure on this point.

95. F. A. COOPER, “The Pylos Project” at <http://clvl.cla.umn.edu/marwp/pylos.html>.

made changes to the palace, such as the addition of courts 42 and 47, for the sake of bringing the production of special goods, such as perfumed oil, close into the palace.⁹⁶ Other changes made to the palace structure make it clear that the Pylians were modifying it so that it would be a more utilitarian complex.⁹⁷ We may presume then that the NEB was constructed in order to bring the administration of its important industries, and probably some of the costly materials used in those industries, close to the palace, where they could be more easily monitored and protected, while the actual construction work was left in its original position.

Because the two workshops must have been working closely with each other, the identity of **An 1281**'s *po-ti-ja-ke-e* should be reconsidered. Palmer places the *po-ti-ja-ke-e* of **An 610** and **An 298** in the Further Province because it appears on **An 610** after *ri-jo*, the last Hither Province town on **Jn 829.12** and **Vn 20.11**.⁹⁸ Sainer says that it has « associations in the south HP, possibly on the east of the central range of hills ... ». ⁹⁹ This makes one wonder, could the managers at both workshops have been the same if they were so far apart? I think the two places must have been much closer to each other, which means that the *po-ti-ja-ke-e* of **An 1281** may not have been the same place as the *po-ti-ja-ke-e* of **An 610** and **An 298**, but a place closer to Pylos that happened to have the same name. Of course it is also possible that the *]-a-ke-si* of **An 1281** should be restored differently.

Another issue that must be addressed is the relationship of the palatial administration to the religious managers. The palace clearly held the position of upper management, so to speak, and, as Hofstra points out, most of the goods administered by the NEB were for the use of the palatial elite.¹⁰⁰ It seems then that the religious and secular authorities were intertwined in the NEB of Pylos. But how did this come about?

Two explanations are possible. The first is that the religious functionaries were prominent individuals within the palatial society and garnered their positions as a result of their high status. While this is certainly possible, another possibility presents itself if we look at the situation from a diachronic point of view. If, as I have proposed, the *po-ti-ja-ke-e* workshop had been in operation for quite some time before the NEB was constructed, then it is possible that originally it was the religious personnel who had sole control over that workshop. I have proposed elsewhere that religious personnel managed several of the textile workshops at Thebes and two of the bronze-working shops of the **Jn** series, and that they filled the same position within Mycenaean society as the individuals called "collectors".¹⁰¹ Perhaps the religious personnel at *po-ti-ja-ke-e* held similar positions within their community. If so, then the original workshop at *po-ti-ja-ke-e*

96. C.W. SHELMEARDINE, "Architectural Change and Economic Decline at Pylos", in *Studies Chadwick*, p. 557-568. SHELMEARDINE reiterates this view in "Workshops and Record Keeping in the Mycenaean World", in *Mykenaiika*, p. 394.

97. J. WRIGHT, "Changes in Form and Function of the Palace at Pylos", in *Pylos Comes Alive*, p. 19-29.

98. *Interpretation*, p. 69.

99. A. P. SAINER, "An Index of Place Names at Pylos", *SMEA* 17 (1976), p. 53.

100. S. HOFSTRA, *Small Things*, cit., p. 293.

101. S. LUPACK, "Deities and Religious Personnel as Collectors", cit.

would have been quite independent of the palatial administration when it was first founded, with the entire operation being associated with the shrine dedicated to Potnia.

It may be significant then that the **Qa** series was also found within the NEB. Melena has recently proposed that the **Qa** series records honorary gifts, or γέραα, that were to be given to titled members of the religious hierarchy and other elites.¹⁰² Among the religious personnel who receive the honorary gifts are two priests (*i-je-re-u*: **Qa 1290** and **1296**), two priestesses (*i-je-re-ja*: **Qa 1289** and **1300**), and probably another priest or priestess on **Qa 1303** (*i[-je-re-ja/-u]*). There is also a man named *ka-e-se-u* who bears the title “Potnian” (*po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo*) on **Qa 1299**, and **Qa 1308** records a *pa-ke-u*, which can be taken as σφαγεύς, a ‘slayer’ or ‘sacrificer’.¹⁰³

It is of course possible that these gifts were being given to a group of religious personnel who were not associated with the NEB, but it is interesting to consider the possibility that some of the gifts were actually meant for the religious personnel of the shrine or sanctuary attached to the original workshop at *po-ti-ja-ke-e*. One might even wonder if the gifts were being given to the religious functionaries by the palace in recognition of, or in exchange for, their efforts in the workshop. Since it was indeed the elite of the palace who benefited from the products that were manufactured in the workshop, it may have been in the palace’s best interests to pay their respects to the religious personnel who were managing the production of these goods.

How then did the workshop and its religious personnel become so much governed by the palatial administration? It is possible that something similar happened with the workshop as I have proposed for the sanctuary at *pa-ki-ja-ne*.¹⁰⁴ As the influence of the *wanax* of Pylos and his administrators grew, perhaps they saw the *po-ti-ja-ke-e* workshop as a perfect spot to manufacture goods that were of great importance to the palatial elite, and to the defense of their city. The original workshop could have been brought, maybe gradually, maybe all at once, into the palatial system. Perhaps the palatial administration only stepped in at the point

102. J. MELENA, “Mycenaean Religious Texts: The Significance of New Joins and Readings”, talk presented at the University of Texas at Austin, October 1999.

103. It should also be mentioned that the scribe who wrote the majority of the **Qa** series, Hand 15 (his tablets are **Qa 1259**, **1290-1299**, **1301-1304**, **1306**, **1308-1312**; another four **Qa** tablets, **1289**, **1300**, **1305** and **1307**, were written by Hand 33), also wrote **Un 219**, a tablet which records the allocation of a variety of goods to several divine recipients, such as Artemis, Hermes, Potnia, *pa-de-we*, perhaps Hera (*e[-]*) and other personages, such as the *di-pte-ra-po-ro* (‘skin-bearers’, who also appear on **Fn 50.6**) and the *da-ko-ro-i* (literally ‘sweepers’), who could be interpreted as religious personnel (*Desservants*, p. 101, 122-125).

104. S. LUPACK, *Role of the Religious Sector*, cit. (forthcoming). Also see J. BENNET, “Space through Time: Diachronic Perspectives on the Spatial Organization of the Pylian State”, in *Politeia*, p. 587-601, who discusses the diachronic development of the power that Pylos came to acquire over the Messenian region. My view on the diachronic development of the relationship between *pa-ki-ja-ne* and the palace, and indeed on the relationship between the religious and palatial authorities, clearly owe much to Bennet’s way of thinking, although of course no one should be held to account for my theories but myself.

when the NEB was built. Whether the original workshop had always produced goods such as chariots and weapons for the palatial elite, or if it was put in the position of doing so by the palace is impossible to say. But it does seem that despite the very active role the palace took in overseeing the industrial production of the NEB, some managerial responsibility within the workshop was retained by religious personnel working in Potnia's name.

As I mentioned, the NEB clearly had other functions besides managing the construction of chariots and other military items. But it is in this type of production work that I think the religious personnel had some significant role to play. The presence of the religious managers might indicate that it would have been impolitic for the palace to entirely eliminate the religious management, i.e. they had a certain amount of power, which the palace had to respect. Or, perhaps the palace was happy to keep the religious association with Potnia, thinking that Potnia's presence carried with it a beneficence that would positively affect the workings of the shops or the bearers of the arms it produced. Perhaps both reasons were in play. In any case, the fact that religious personnel were acting as managers indicates that they were actively involved in the economic aspect of the palatial economy, and I think the NEB constitutes the physical manifestation of that involvement.