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ZOIA

ANIMAL-HUMAN INTERACTIONS IN THE AEGEAN MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE

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Edited by Robert LAFFINEUR and Thomas G. PALAIMA

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Gold lion's head rhyton from Mycenae, Shaft Grave IV, and gold-plated sword hilt from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, tomb Delta, Athens, National Archaeological Museum (photos R. Laffineur).

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CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Keynote Address	
Diamantis PANAGIOTOPOULOS, <i>When Species Meet in the Aegean Bronze Age. Human-Animal Encounters in Seal Imagery and Beyond</i>	3
A. Identification of the animal environment	
Malcolm H. WIENER, <i>The Contribution of Archaeological Science to the Study of Animals in Aegean Prehistory</i>	29
Marie-Louise NOSCH, Agata ULANOWSKA, Katarzyna ŻEBROWSKA, Kinga BIGORAJ and Anna GREZAK, <i>Sheep – ‘A Factory Without Waste’. Comparative, Interdisciplinary and Diachronic Views on Sheep in the Aegean Bronze Age</i>	35
Valasia ISAAKIDOU and Paul HALSTEAD, <i>The ‘Wild’ Goats of Ancient Crete: Ethnographic Perspectives on Iconographic, Textual and Zooarchaeological Sources</i>	51
Nancy R. THOMAS, <i>Panthera Leo in Ancient Egypt and Greece: Where are the Bones?</i>	63
Karen Polinger FOSTER, <i>Flights of Fancy: Birds in Aegean Island Art and Thought</i>	83
Katerina PAPAYIANNI, <i>Of Mice and Men in Minoan Crete: The Microfauna from Malia Area Pi in its Chrono-Spatial Context</i>	101
B. Human uses of domesticated and wild animals, material economy, diet and society	
Dimitra MYLONA, <i>Processed Fish, Marine Dyes and the Fishing Domain of the Bronze Age Aegean</i>	113
Anne P. CHAPIN and Maria Nicole PAREJA, <i>Between and beyond the Boundaries: An Ecosocial Model of Animal-Human Relations in Minoan and Cycladic Animal Art</i>	125
Michele MITROVICH, <i>Bulls vs. Rams: Iconographic Reevaluation of the Inlaid Silver Cups from Enkomi, Cyprus and Midea, Dendra</i>	135
Emily S.K. ANDERSON, <i>Intuitive Things: Boar’s Tusk Helmets, Oxhide Shields, Ikria and the Uniqueness of Aegean Composites</i>	149
Alessandro SANAVIA, <i>Animals in Context: An Iconographical Perspective on MM II Phaistos</i>	161
Alizée LEGENDART, <i>Land Creatures and their Products. Minoan Taxonomy: Art Orders Fauna</i>	183

C. Hybrid and fantastic creatures

- Maria ANASTASIADOU,
Conjoined Animals on Aegean Seals 191
- Janice L. CROWLEY,
The Fabulous Five: Monkey, Lion, Griffin, Dragon, Genius 199
- Nanno MARINATOS,
The Minoan Genii, the Palm Tree and Solar Cult (With some Egyptian and Near Eastern Perspectives) 215
- Fritz BLAKOLMER,
Messages from Another World? A Comparative Analysis of the Hybrid Creatures in Aegean Bronze Age Iconography 223
- Olga KRZYSZKOWSKA,
Hybrids in the Aegean Bronze Age: Diverse Origins, Divergent Trajectories 233

D. Animals in beliefs and religion

- Andreas G. VLACHOPOULOS,
Divine Acolytes: The Animals and their Symbolism in the Xeste 3 Wall-Paintings 249
- Laetitia PHIALON and Vassilis L. ARAVANTINOS,
Terracotta Birds and Hybrid Winged Creatures from Tanagra: Rethinking Relations between Funerary Practices, Beliefs and Religious Symbols in the Late Bronze Age Aegean 281
- Helène WHITTAKER,
Animals are Good to Think with. Some Thoughts on the Religious Meanings Associated with Animals in the Neopalatial Period 301
- Andrew SHAPLAND,
Sacrificial Relics or Trophies? Animal Heads in Bronze Age Crete 307
- Katerina KOPAKA,
Shark Teeth from Bronze Age Gavdos. Healing Heirlooms and the liokourna (Sun or Snake Horns) Medical Tradition 317

E. Animals in texts

- Yves DUHOUX,
The Mycenaean Bestiary: Linear B Data 327
- Jörg WEILHARTNER,
Interactions between Humans and Animals in the Aegean Late Bronze Age: The Textual Evidence 335
- Vassilis PETRAKIS,
*Slaughter, Blood and Sacrifice: Mycenaean *sphag- in Context* 343
- John G. YOUNGER,
Goumia's Recent Contributions to Animal Studies 373
- Thomas G. PALAIMA,
Caring for and Nourishing Animals and Humans in Linear B and Homer: Ideological Considerations 379

I put at the end here figure 52 from Michael Nelson, *The Architecture of Epáno Englianos, Greece*. Ph.D. University of Toronto 2001. It shows the fresco band of the resting hunting dogs from SW Building Room 64 at Pylos in scale. This gives you an idea of how these images would have affected those who entered the room.

CARING FOR AND NOURISHING ANIMALS AND HUMANS IN LINEAR B AND HOMER: IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS*

ὁ κύων ὁ ζῶν αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸς ὑπὲρ τὸν λέοντα τὸν νεκρὸν
A living dog itself is good beyond [i.e. better than] a dead lion
Ecclesiastes 9.4

It is clear from the primarily iconographical and textual contributions of Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, Yves Duhoux and Jörg Weilharter¹ to this volume that intensive and large-scale human-animal interactions in the Middle and Late Bronze Age Aegean were vital to maintaining the existing sociopolitical and economic structures in the many territories, larger and smaller, that made up what we might call polities² that were parts of the evolving and eventually collapsing palatial systems. Animals, as we define them, were essential to maintaining human lives and human livelihoods, individual and collective, to living well and to furthering good relationships among human beings (via communal feasting and socially justifiable proportional apportionment of food resources) and between human beings and the gods (via ritual sacrifices of animals and offerings of agricultural products). Domesticated animals (like sheep, goats, bovines, pigs, donkeys, mules and horses), therefore, required vigilant human protection, care and attention. Human beings had to beware in looking to their safekeeping. Wild animals (deer, wild horses, wild boar, wild goats [*agrimi*] and predators like wolves and mountain lions) had to be protected against and carefully hunted. Human beings had to be wary of them in order to exploit them and be safe against them.

The physical world in the Aegean in the second millennium BCE, for human beings and animals, was hard and forbidding. Life outside the civilized society defined by the *kosmos* that the palatial centers created and maintained³ would have been more solitary and poorer, nastier, more brutish and shorter than

* One of the benefits of being co-editor of a volume of papers even for a conference that never took place in real time and physical space is that in the process of writing your own paper, you can signpost the papers of other contributors. My heartfelt thanks to the scholars who generously helped me with references and especially by discussing technical details both inside and outside my expertise and intellectually challenging problems, several of which are left open for further thought and discussion: Nicholas Blackwell, Erin Brantmayer, Fritz Blakolmer, Janice Crowley, Yves Duhoux, Robert Koehl, Olga Krzyszkowska, Al Martinich, José L. Melena, Gregory Nagy, Jared Petroll, Ian Rutherford, Roger Woodard, and Brent Vine.

¹ See D. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, “When Species Meet in the Aegean Bronze Age. Human-Animal Encounters in Seal Imagery and Beyond”; Y. DUHOUX, “The Mycenaean Bestiary: Linear B Data”; J. WEILHARTNER, “Interactions between Humans and Animals in the Aegean Late Bronze Age: The Textual Evidence,” in this volume.

² Basic notions of population groups and their sense of identifying with community entities larger than and hierarchically above the *genos* and *dāmos* level are hard to trace in our Linear B textual documentation. Yet inhabitants of a specific Mycenaean palatial territory must have had some keen sense of belonging to it, drawing benefits from it and owing obligations to it. One indicator, of course, is the thought, time and energy that the elites around the palatial centers put into presentation of their power and construction of an overall identity that could endure through time.

³ T. PALAIMA “*Kosmos* in the Mycenaean Tablets: The Response of Mycenaean ‘Scribes’ to the Mycenaean Culture of *Kosmos*,” in M.-L. NOSCH and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *KOSMOS. Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 13th International Aegean Conference/13^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Copenhagen, Danish National Research Foundation’s Centre for Textile Research, 21-26 April 2010* (2012) 697-703; ID., “IE *h₂er- Greek *ar- and Order,” *MASt@chs Fall 2020 Seminar* (2020) §§18-26, <https://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/mast-chs-friday-november-6-2020-summaries-of-presentations-and-discussion/> (last accessed March 28, 2021); ID., “Mycenaean *a-mo-te-u, Greek ἀπόζω, and the Ideology of Joining,” *MASt@chs Winter 2021 Seminar* (2021) §§1-13, <https://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/mastchs-winter-2021-seminar/> (last accessed March 28, 2021).

within it.⁴ Robert Arnott draws the medically informed conclusion that, with regard to factors like life expectancies, decaying of teeth, bone growth interruptions brought on by periods of malnutrition, susceptibility to contagious diseases, contamination or unavailability of water supplies, all linked to general health and well-being, the elites of the palatial centers proper had distinct advantages over the populations of the nearby urban centers, lower towns or more distant rural settlements, but the margin of advantage when it came to longevity was not all that big:⁵

“In the Middle Helladic period it has been estimated that the average person had 6.5 diseased teeth and, by the Late Bronze Age, 6.6. In contrast, those elites buried in the Grave Circle B had only on average 1.3 diseased teeth. This immunity to dental disease, although it may have had a genetic component, is more likely part of a picture of general good health. The lack of lines of enamel growth arrest, and the rarity of porotic hyperostosis, suggests they enjoyed much better health than the common people, despite the same postural and muscular adaptation to rough terrain, and instances of arthritis... There is evidence that the children of these elites escaped partial starvation and illness, and that their growth was prompted by a relatively good diet, as reflected in the state of their teeth.”

Arnott also points out states of dietary deficiency leading to “clinical malnutrition [that] impairs healing and the body’s resistance to disease.” This chain reaction is caused by a greater dependency on foods that can be stored. We should note these are the kinds of foods (barley and figs) we see in Linear B ration records for work crews and women and child work groups.⁶ Such foodstuffs are “high in carbohydrates and, with the exception of beans and lentils, they are deficient in iron, vitamin C and calcium.” Protein deprivation, *i.e.*, mainly a lack of regular consumption of meat, would have contributed to a “lowered resistance to disease and infection.”⁷ Hence the preoccupation of elites, no doubt subliminally understood and motivated, with animal sacrifice and meat consumption at various forms of feasting ceremonies. Access to ‘holding’ farmable or garden-able parcels of land, however small, in return for labor and services was of great importance in improving the diets and therefore the lives of families and clans of individuals who did the work and performed the functions within the overall sociopolitical hierarchy that the elites determined needed doing.⁸

General measurements of male life expectancy in the Shaft Grave period and later Mycenaean palatial period (roughly 1630-1170 BCE) are hard to come by, but somewhere in the range of 35-40 years for both elites and non-elites seems about right. Health risks among the non-elites in towns or rural areas included (1) overcrowding, (2) poor sanitation, (3) contaminated drinking water and (4) poorer nutrition

⁴ A.R. WALLER (ed.), T. HOBBS, *Leviathan, Or the Matter, Forme, & Power, of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill* (1904) Part 1, Chapter 13, p. 84. In his introduction, Hobbes stresses that the *Business* of the State or Common-Wealth is the “*Salus Populi* (the *peoples safety*)” (*ibidem*, xviii).

⁵ R. ARNOTT, “Disease and the Prehistory of the Aegean,” in H. KING (ed.), *Health in Antiquity* (2005) 12-31, esp. here pp. 29-30. See pp. 27-30 for a general encapsulation of the Mycenaean.

⁶ R. PALMER, “Wheat and Barley in Mycenaean Society,” in J.-P. OLIVIER (ed.), *Mykenaiika. Actes du IX^e Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens organisé par le Centre de l’Antiquité Grecque et Romaine de la Fondation Hellénique des Recherches Scientifiques et l’École française d’Athènes, Athènes, 2-6 octobre 1990* (1992) 479: “By the Late Bronze Age, the combination of emmer wheat and barley, along with tree crops and various types of beans, represented an agricultural tradition unchanged for over 1,000 years. Deposits of grain found in Late Bronze Age centers reinforce this impression. In nearly all Bronze Age sites where seed material has been excavated and identified, both emmer wheat and barley are present as staple foods.” Palmer also cites ‘a unique record of crop yields’ for Attica 329/8 BCE. It shows that the Athenian farmers produced nine times as much barley as they did wheat. For short-term stored goods attested in the Linear B texts, all plant products except for cheese, animal fat or suet, and meat, see R. PALMER, “Perishable Goods in Mycenaean Texts,” in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, S. HILLER, O. PANAGL (eds), *Floreat Studia Mycenaea* (1999) 463-485, esp. 469-480 for plant products with discussion of orchards and irrigation.

⁷ ARNOTT (*supra* n. 5) 24-25, 27-28. See also for many more up-to-date particulars on this general subject, R. ARNOTT, “Healers and Medicines in the Mycenaean Greek Texts,” in D. MICHAELIDIS (ed.), *Medicine and Healing in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2014) 44-53.

⁸ T. PALAIMA, “The Mobilization of Labor in Mycenaean Palatial Territories,” in P. STEINKELLER and M. HUDSON (eds), *Labor in the Ancient World* (2015) 617-648, esp. 622-629.

causing weakened resistance to diseases such as dysentery, hookworm and tetanus. The elites, however, suffered the deleterious effects of “the stresses of leadership and physical activities.” Life-threatening physical activities for the elites included hunting and military service according to an aristocratic warrior *ethos*.⁹

Over the last three decades, I have been thinking about and taking up different aspects of what we might call the ideology or *Weltanschauung* of the Mycenaean palatial systems, that is:

(1) the thought processes about life and the outlook on the world in which the Mycenaeans competed (the Greek concept of *eris*) that inspired and sustained the elites who devised, developed and maintained the palatial systems; and

(2) the ideas and beliefs that were promulgated through verbal (oral song poems) and visual messages (wall paintings, seal images, vase decoration, architectural display)¹⁰ in order to keep the populations of the palatial territories united, cohesive, dutiful to their socioeconomic roles and tasks, cooperative within and among their social groups and networks, hardworking at – and satisfactorily rewarded for – their performance of skilled or unskilled labor, reasonably content to be living out their lives in the here and now, and grateful for the relative stability and security that the palatial system provided to the overall society as they conceived of it and their places within it.¹¹

⁹ ARNOTT (*supra* n. 5) 29. R. ARNOTT, “Healing and Medicine in the Aegean Bronze Age,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 89 (1996) 265. Arnott also reports that the estimated average life expectancy in Crete between the early and late Bronze Ages fell from 35 years to 31 years as a result of population nucleation. The role of the elites in the prevailing war *ethos* of the Mycenaean palatial period and the effects of military service on their general health and well-being and longevity should not be underestimated. For the virtual omnipresence of war in almost every facet of life, see T. PALAIMA, “Mycenaean Militarism from a Textual Perspective. Onomastics in Context: *lāwos, dāmos, klewos*,” in R. LAFFINEUR (ed.), *POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l’Âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998* (1999) 367-378; and S. HILLER, “Scenes of Warfare and Combat in the Arts of Aegean Late Bronze Age. Reflections on Typology and Development,” in LAFFINEUR ed. (*ibidem*) 319-330, plates LXIX-LXXIII. Overall see S. O’BRIEN, “The Development of Warfare and Society in ‘Mycenaean’ Greece,” in S. O’BRIEN and D. BOATRIGHT (eds), *Warfare and Society in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean* (2013) 25-42.

¹⁰ On such power ideology in the Mycenaean palatial period and its survival or restoration after the destructions at the end of LH IIIB and beginning of LH IIIC, see J. MARAN, “Coming to Terms with the Past: Ideology and Power in Late Helladic IIIC,” in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY and I.S. LEMOS (eds), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (2006) 123-150. On its intentional creation with a view to lasting in memory, see J. MARAN, “Between Remembering and Forgetting: Monuments of the Past and the ‘Invention of Tradition’,” in E. BORGNA, I. CALOI, F. CARINCI and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *MNHMH/MNEME. Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 17th International Aegean Conference. University of Udine, Department of Humanities and Cultural Heritage, Ca’Foscari University of Venice, Department of Humanities, 17-21 April 2018* (2019) 591-599. The classic treatment of how palatial centers inculcate into inhabitants of their territory a sense of communal identity is, of course, J.L. DAVIS and J. BENNET, “Making Mycenaeans: Warfare, Territorial Expansion, and Representations of the Other in the Pylian Kingdom,” in LAFFINEUR ed. (*supra* n. 9) 105-120 and Pls XIII-XIV.

¹¹ T. PALAIMA, “The Nature of the Mycenaean *Wanax*: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions,” in P. REHAK (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean* (1995) 119-139; ID., “*Wanaks* and Related Power Terms in Mycenaean and Later Greek,” in DEGER-JALKOTZY and LEMOS eds (*supra* n. 10) 53-71; ID., “Mycenaean Society and Kingship: *Cui Bono?* A Counter- Speculative View,” in S.P. MORRIS and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *EPOS. Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11th International Aegean Conference, Los Angeles, UCLA – The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20-23 April 2006* (2007) 129-140; ID., “The Significance of Mycenaean Words Relating to Meals, Meal Rituals, and Food,” in L.A. HITCHCOCK, R. LAFFINEUR and J. CROWLEY (eds), *DAIS. The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference/12^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25-29 March 2008* (2008) 383-389; PALAIMA 2012 (*supra* n. 3); ID., “Security and Insecurity as Tools of Power in Mycenaean Palatial Kingdoms,” in P. CARLIER, C. DE LAMBERTERIE, M. EGETMEYER, N. GUILLEUX, F. ROUGEMONT, and J. ZURBACH (eds), “*Études mycéniennes 2010* (2012) 345-356; ID., “The Ideology of the Ruler in Mycenaean Prehistory: Twenty Years After the Missing Ruler,” in R. KOEHL (ed.),

There may even have been some generally shared sense among elites and non-elites of a sustainable improvement in the overall quality of life. Such an attitude would have been highly unusual, as can be seen by contrasting it with whatever reflections of Bronze Age outlooks might still be detected in the four masterful Greek epic song poems attributed to Hesiod and Homer within the longstanding tradition of oral folk songs (ἔπη πεπερόντα) extending back at least to the fifteenth century BCE.¹²

The idea is clear in these four great epics that without the divinely sanctioned leadership of a religiously pious, ethically honorable, psychologically well-balanced and politically shrewd ποιμὴν λαῶν, life would resemble what Thomas Hobbes described as the conditions of human beings living without peace and relying on no other security than their own strength. Consequently without such a leader and a well-functioning support system below him in the power hierarchy, there would be no place for economic initiative, no effective agriculture, no trade by sea, no developed architecture, no vehicles or other instruments that make possible large-scale projects like wall building, harbor installations, aqueducts, bridges and roadways, in Hobbes' words: "no Arts, no Letters, no Society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death."¹³

Unless, as war-writer Tim O'Brien puts it, we feel these realities 'with our stomachs', we will not come close to understanding the day-to-day mindset of the inhabitants of Mycenaean palatial territories and what motivated them. Here, within the realistic context I have just described as an antidote to the illusion of general secure prosperity that the material remains in the centers of Mycenaean palatial culture create, I will take up the ideology constructed and maintained by the Mycenaean elites as it relates to ζῶια / ζῶια and explore how the prevailing ideology is reflected both in the Linear B texts and in the Homeric epics in relationship to human care for animals. I include here in a concluding section a few significant observations on how man's best and closest friend in the animal kingdom, the domesticated dog, *canis lupus familiaris*, is used in the Homeric texts to signal that the prevailing leadership ideology documented in both the Linear B texts and in Homer is not being put into practice successfully. The end result is that the λαῶς and even their leaders are suffering.

First, we should admit to using something of a misnomer, or at least to using a semantic specialization that was not followed *stricto sensu* by ancient Greek speakers. As Pierre Chantraine explains, ζῶιον and ζῶον means " 'animal' par opposition à ce qui n'est pas animé; dit des plantes, mais aussi de l'homme (Hdt., ion.-att., etc.), avec comme emploi particulier 'image' (de la vie?), 'représentation, peinture', etc., mais il ne s'agit pas nécessairement d'un animal, cf. plus loin ζωγράφος etc. (ion.-att.)."¹⁴ The term ζῶια therefore was applied to things that were not *inanimate*. ζῶια was used for objects in the material world that possessed the vital inner force defined as an *anima*.

The Indo-European verbal root to which both historical Greek ζῶιον and βίος are related *g^wéh₃- means 'to live', and its derivative in historical Greek ζῶιον / ζῶον also includes vegetation or plants. The fundamental care given by human beings to what we call plants and animals was keeping them alive in two basic ways: (1) through protection against destructive natural and manmade forces and repair of injury or damage caused thereby; and (2) by nourishing them with proper nutrients and water. The fientive verbal

Studies in Aegean Art and Culture: A New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium in Memory of Ellen N. Davis (2016) 133-158; ID., "Basileus and Anax in Homer and Mycenaean Greek Texts," in C. PACHE, C. DUÉ, R. LAMBERTON and S. LUPACK (eds), *Cambridge Guide to Homer* (2020) 300-303.

¹² C.J. RUIGH, "The Source and Structure of Homer's Epic Poetry," *European Review* 12:4 (2004) 527-542, esp. 527, 530-531. ID., "D'Homère aux origines proto-mycéniennes de la tradition épique. Analyse dialectologique du langage homérique, avec un excursus sur la création de l'alphabet grec," in J.P. CRIELAARD, *Homeric Questions* (1995) 85-88. See J. BENNETT, "Representations of Power in Mycenaean Pylos: Script, Orality, Iconography," in F. LANG, C. REINHOLDT and J. WEILHARTNER (eds), *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΑΠΙΣΤΕΙΟΣ. Festschrift für Stefan Hiller zum 65. Geburtstag* (2007) 14-15, on the secure grounds for oral poetic performance in the Mycenaean palatial world and performances taking place 'within the framing iconography' of fresco representations and calling upon 'bodily memory of tastes, smells, sights and sounds'.

¹³ WALLER (*supra* n. 4) 84. PALAIMA 2021 (*supra* n. 3) §1; 8.1.-2; PALAIMA 2016 (*supra* n. 11) 138-144.

¹⁴ P. CHANTRAINED, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (2009) 385.

form in historical Greek βιώναι means ‘überleben’ ‘survive’ or ‘gerettet werden’ ‘be saved... and continue living’.¹⁵ The roles played by plants and animals in Minoan and Mycenaean ritual iconography speak to the recognition by human beings of the 2nd millennium BCE that the same precious life force that animates human beings keeps plants and animals alive. And on a practical level the regular and necessary acts of ‘feeding’ and ‘eating’ and the regular ritual act of ‘feasting’ together link plants, animals and humans literally symbiotically.¹⁶ In a perpetually ironic cycle, human beings care for and nurture the lives of plants and animals until they have to bring death to them in order to sustain human lives. Of course, human beings eventually have to confront death, too, sometimes brought on by animals.

There is a natural tension and mutual wariness between human beings and animals in Aegean prehistory. This is because, within thoughts upon the world embedded in folk song poems within the Greek tradition, there is nothing that is equivalent to a collectively accepted divine mandate that places human beings in an authoritative position of rulership over animals in the natural world. Mycenaean Greek ideas as communicated in images and in surviving oral song poems have nothing that resembles the encapsulation of human arrogance captured in Bob Dylan’s “License to Kill”: “Man thinks ‘cause he rules the earth he can do with it as he please.”¹⁷ The complexities of thought here are vast; and we are driving home a simplified, but still valid, point. If we want to try to understand how human beings who lived during the broad period of Mycenaean palatial culture thought and felt about their relationship to fellow animals in the natural world, we have to consider what kinds of internal anxieties or notions of confidence they had about their own place, individually and collectively, in the natural order.

We may contrast the outcome of Hebraic thought as it is embodied in the Septuagint (*ca.* 300 BCE) Greek version of *Genesis* 1.26-28:

26 και εἶπεν ὁ θεός ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν και καθ' ὁμοίωσιν και ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης και τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ και τῶν κτηνῶν και πάσης τῆς γῆς και πάντων τῶν ἔρπετων τῶν ἔρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
 27 και ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν ἄρσεν και θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς
 28 και ἠλόγησεν αὐτούς ὁ θεός λέγων ἀζάνεσθε και πληθύνεσθε και πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν και κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς και ἄρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης και τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ και πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν και πάσης τῆς γῆς και πάντων τῶν ἔρπετων τῶν ἔρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

26 And the god said, “Let us make the ‘human being’ according to our image and according to similitude and let them rule the fishes of the sea and the winged creatures of the sky and the domesticated animals (τῶν κτηνῶν ‘cattle’, *i.e.*, ‘animals that one rules, acquires, possesses’, directly from κτάομαι; cf. κτίματα ‘goods’ ‘landed property’, also ‘domestic animals’ from Indo-European **keh₂*-¹⁸) and all the earth and all the crawling creatures, those crawling upon the earth.

27 And the god made the human being, according to the image of the god he made him, male and female he made them

28 and the god praised them saying [to them], “Grow and multiply and fill the earth and be complete master over¹⁹ it and rule the fishes of the sea and the winged creatures of the sky and all the domesticated animals and all the earth and all the crawling creatures, those crawling on the earth. (literal translation mine)

¹⁵ H. RIX, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (2001) 215-216.

¹⁶ PALAIMA 2008 (*supra* n. 11); ID., “Sacrificial Feasting in the Linear B Tablets,” in J. C. WRIGHT (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast* (2004) 217-246; and ID., “Harnessing *phusis*: The Ideology of Control and Exploitation of the Natural World As Reflected in Terminology in the Linear B Texts Derived From Indo-European **b^hueh₂*- ‘Grow, Arise, Be’ and **h₂eg-ro-* ‘The Uncultivated Wild Field’ and Other Roots Related to the Natural Environs,” in G. TOUCHAIS, R. LAFFINEUR, and F. ROUGEMONT (eds), *PHYSIS. L’environnement naturel et la relation homme-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique. Actes de la 1⁴ Rencontre égéenne internationale, Paris, Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, 11-14 décembre 2012* (2014) 93-99.

¹⁷ <https://www.bobdylan.com/songs/license-kill/> (last accessed March 24, 2021).

¹⁸ R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (2010) vol. 1, 788-789 s. κτάομαι. J. LUST, E. EYNIKEL, K. HAUSPIE, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (revised ed. 2003) 736 s. κτήνος, -ους.

¹⁹ LUST, EYNIKEL, HAUSPIE (*supra* n. 18) 663 s. κατακυριεύω.

The key here is that in the Hebraic tradition a divine presence that is responsible for all of creation makes a decision. After creating all the other animals that live in the world, the divine being creates human beings and then mandates an anthropocentric view of the world in which human beings are given authority by a direct imperative command from the divine being to rule (ἄρχετε) over ‘fishes of the sea’, ‘winged creatures of the sky’, ‘all the domesticated animals’ (τὰ κτήνη) and ‘all the earth’ and ‘all the animals that crawl, or go on all fours’ (τὰ ἔρπετα), the ones now going upon the earth (τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). That this is originally a thoroughly un-Greek world-view is seen clearly in serious discussions of later philosophical and theological views of the world that do take something like the dominion of human beings over all other animals in the world as a given.²⁰ When the idea appears in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* in the 4th century BCE that everything in the natural world has been arranged ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκα ‘for the sake of human beings’, the very idea is declared by scholars to be “alien, un-Hellenic”.²¹

In the 5th century BCE, we can trace a clear vision of a long history of hard-won progress by human beings within a forbidding and difficult world extending back into what we call the Mycenaean palatial period. That human beings, living in a perpetually hostile natural environment, by tireless persistence domesticated once wild animals and devised protections against those animals that remain wild and ferocious is a key feature of this long historical development.²² This is seen in the famous “Ode to Man” in Sophocles’ *Antigone* (ca. 441 BCE), where, to speak simply, there is nothing, *i.e.*, no other animals in the physical world, that is δεινότερον than human beings. The adjective δεινός *deinos* comes from the same Indo-European root **duēi-* as the verb δειδω²³ ‘to fear’ and means fundamentally ‘terrifying’ or ‘terrible’, but eventually acquires a related and somewhat positive meaning: ‘awesome’.²⁴

πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κούδέν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει.
 335 τοῦτο καὶ πολιοῦ πέραν πόντου χειμερῶ νότῳ
 χωρεῖ, περιβρυχίοισιν
 περῶν ὑπ’ οἴδμασιν.
 θεῶν τε τὰν ὑπερτάταν, Γᾶν
 ἄφθιτον, ἀκαμάταν, ἀποτρύεται
 ἰλλομένων ἀρότρων ἔτος εἰς ἔτος
 340 ἵπτεῖω γένει πολεύων.
 κουφονόων τε φῶλον ὀρνίθων ἀμφιβαλῶν ἄγει
 345 καὶ θηρῶν ἀγρίων ἔθνη πόντου τ’ εἰναλίαν φύσιν
 σπεύρασι δικτυοκλώστοις,
 περιφραδῆς ἀνήρ:
 κρατεῖ δὲ μηχαναῖς ἀγραύλου
 350 θηρὸς ὄρεσσιβάτα, λασιαύχενά θ’
 ἵππον ὀχμάζεται ἀμφὶ λόφον ζυγῶν
 οὔρειόν τ’ ἀκμήτα ταῦρον. (Sophocles, *Antigone* 332-353)

Many are the things of wonder and terror and nothing more
 terrifyingly wonderful moves than a human being.
 335 This creature goes forward beyond the dull gray sea
 using the wintry south wind
 pressing onward beneath the swelling engulfing waves
 and the most high of the gods, Earth,

²⁰ D. JOBLING, “‘And Have Dominion...’: The Interpretation of *Genesis* 1.28 in Philo Judaeus,” *Journal of the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 8 (1977) 50-82.

²¹ JOBLING (*supra* n. 20) 53 and notes 9-10.

²² G.A. STALEY, “The Literary Ancestry of Sophocles’ ‘Ode to Man,’” *Classical World* 78 (1985) 562, traces clear interconnections among Sophocles’ *Antigone* 334-352, Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi* 585-601 and Homer’s *Odyssey* 18.130-137. We will only discuss the “Ode to Man” here.

²³ BEEKES (*supra* n. 18) 308 and 310. CHANTRAINE (*supra* n. 14) 245-246.

²⁴ STALEY (*supra* n. 22) 563 n. 5, traces how critical attitudes change concerning how to translate forms of the word δεινός in Sophocles’ “Ode to Man” in correlation with the optimism or pessimism engendered in thinking human beings in various periods of the twentieth century.

imperishable and un-weary-able, he wears her down,
 plough blades moving back and forth as year moves to year
 340 turning up the soil using the whole family of horses.
 The tribe of light-minded birds he fetches
 and crowds of savage beasts and the creature-world in the sea
 casting about them cords woven into meshes,
 ever keenly alert the male human is:
 he forcibly masters with his devices the wilds-dwelling
 350 mountain-going beast of prey, and the shaggy-necked
 horse he takes hold of for his own use, placing the withers yoke
 on it and on the untiring mountaineer bull. (translation mine)

Human beings by their own cleverness and unceasingly wearying efforts bring creatures of the wild under their control. But some of those creatures remain wild and every generation of human beings must pass down the methods and instruments they use to accomplish these truly stunning and hard-won feats. The Linear B texts reflect most of what is described by Sophocles here. It is this perpetual state of regaining and maintaining dominance over animals that marks Mycenaean palatial culture. Encapsulated by Sir Richard Jebb, the process looks like this: “in this ode, the scale of achievement ever ascends: man (1) conquers inanimate nature: (2) makes animals his captives: (3) trains them to be his servants.”²⁵

We need to go no further than historical naming patterns to understand how important the related concepts of life, survival, and nourishment through feeding and eating were to human beings living in a world where necessary supplies of daily foodstuffs from plant and animal sources were not guaranteed in sufficient quantities and varieties to keep human beings healthy.²⁶ Historical names like Ζώ-βιος and Ζω-βίτᾱς hyper-emphasize the importance of animal vitality by having the two members of the compound name derive from the same root.²⁷ Moreover, a historical name like Ζω-φ[ῶ]τίδης might dichotomize the ‘life’ force in what we call animals with the natural ‘growth or even regrowth into being’ that prevails in the plant world (cf. Mycenaean *pu-ta* φυτόά ‘young trees, plants’²⁸ and the historical neuter noun form φυτόν, which Chantraine²⁹ explains as ‘dit surtout de végétaux, par opposition à ζῶον’).

The Mycenaean palatial elites did make a guarantee to provide the fundamental *Lebensmittel* that, given prevailing conditions, would be a daily preoccupation of families and clans and communities that made up their politics (I use the German word for ‘food’ because it clearly gets across that food is the *Mittel* ‘means’ or ‘method’ of preserving *Leben* ‘life’). In Bronze Age Messenia, the elites made this guarantee metaphorically in the symbolic vocabulary of palatially appointed officials who presided over and interacted with the two main provinces and the nine and seven second-order centers each within their own surrounding counties. The title of the head figure of each province, *da-mo-ko-ro*, means “que hace crecer, que alimenta el *dāmos*’. The root here has the fundamental meaning of ‘feed’, ‘nourish’, ‘sate’ (*i.e.*, ‘stuff with food’), ‘cause to grow’, and is found in such important food-related vocabulary as the name of the Latin goddess of grains Ceres and the historical Greek verb κορέννυμι; while the palatial office-holders (*ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*) who interacted with second-order centers and their counties were literally ‘agents of feeding and nourishment’.³⁰

In keeping with grains and plant and tree products being the basic staple food items for most human beings in this time period, the term *ko-ro* = *koros* appears in Linear B tablets of the Ft series at Thebes as a

²⁵ R.C. JEBB (ed.), *Sophocles: The Antigone* (1900) notes on lines 343-353.

²⁶ CHANTRAINE (*supra* n. 14) 385 col. 2: “L’importance de ζῶον et certains de ses développements particuliers constituent un trait marquant pour cette famille de mots. Composés avec ζωο- et ζω- : un premier terme Ζωο- parfois contracté en Ζω- joue un grand rôle dans l’onomastique.”

²⁷ F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (1917) 186-187.

²⁸ F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario micénico II* (1993) 174 s. *pu-ta*

²⁹ CHANTRAINE (*supra* n. 14) 1189 col. 1, s. φύομαι.

³⁰ Quoted material and general sense from PALAIMA 2008 (*supra* n. 8) 385. For an exploration of an alternative interpretation of *ko-re-te*, see PALAIMA, “*Koiranos and *Koirētēr? = *Korrētēr? Among Power Titles in Linear B and Homer*,” in S. ALLEN, M. LEE, R. SCHON and A. SMITH (eds), *Power and Place in the Prehistoric Aegean and Beyond. Studies to Honor James C. Wright* (forthcoming).

designation of the ‘fodder’ fed to animals.³¹ So there would seem to be no strict dichotomy of spheres (animals vs. plants) between *ko-re-te* and the Mycenaean terms for those who ‘plant’ and no doubt tend to trees: *pu-te* φυτήρ and *pu₂-te-re* φυτήρες (adjectival form *pu-te-ri-ja* and a related term *pu-ta-ri-ja* seemingly related to the classical term for orchard, vineyard, arbor). Viewed as we have suggested and as we might feel the term more deeply if life were not so easy for us, the term *ko-re-te* directly addressed what must have been the major latent anxious questions of daily life in Mycenaean palatial territories: Will today’s and tomorrow’s food and water supplies be sufficient and will the elites get the meat protein they needed in order to fulfil their obligations?

We have mentioned the term ποιμήν (*poimēn*) that apparently is semantically specialized as ‘herdsman’ and most likely mainly as ‘shepherd’ (= ‘herder of sheep’ proper) already in the Linear B tablets and in the Homeric epics. Weilhartner proposes that in the Linear B texts:³²

“The term *po-me* / *poimēn*/ ποιμήν (from πῶν, flock [of sheep]) seems to be used in the Linear B texts for the shepherd *stricto sensu*. In those two cases where this word is found in a directly occupational context it appears once (on PY Ae 134) along with *qe-te-ro-po-pi* / *k^{vet}ropophhi* – which means quadrupeds and which seems to refer, as in the Classical period πρόβατον, to both sheep and goats – and once (on KN Dd 1376) along with the logogram for sheep/OVIS respectively, albeit in the latter case the occupational designation *po-me* is used instead of a personal name and seems to serve as such.”

The semantically specialized terms for those who tend and care for the essential livestock are *su-go-ta* (historical Gk. συβώτης) for pigs, *go-go-ta* (Mycenaean *γ^{wo}(v)-γ^{wo}τας) for bovines, and *a₃-ki-pa-ta* (*αἰγί-παστας) for goats. The first member in each term defines the species of animal (pig, bovine, goat). The second member has the frequent (in Mycenaean) agent noun suffix *-tās* and a verbal root. Both verbal roots have to do with nourishing and feeding. *su-go-ta* and *go-go-ta* are related to the historical verb βόσκω ‘feed’ or ‘tend’ from the Indo-European root with the same two meanings *g^{wo}eh₃-. In historical Greek we find both συ-βώ-της and ἴππο-βό-τής.³³ We also find the related form (in Homer, Theocritus and Plutarch) συ-φορβός that uses another key verbal root (see more on this below). The second member of the compound noun for goatherd *-παστās* is related to the later Greek deponent verb πατέομαι with aorist ἐπασάμην meaning ‘se repaître de, manger et boire’. In historical Greek πατέομαι is used of both humans and animals, often with an accompanying noun that specifies what is consumed. From the same Indo-European root comes English *food* (and cf. Latin *pāscō* and *pabulum*). The important element to stress here is that the ‘care’ provided to goats, pigs and bovines is specified as ‘feeding’ *per se*. The root of historical Greek φέρβω, seen here above in o-grade historical Gk. συ-φορβός, is attested in the Mycenaean Greek lexicon of those who tend to, but again specifically ‘feed/nourish’, horses: *i-go-po-go-i* (dative plural). This is no small matter. When we are tracking ideological notions, the name is the thing.

The element *-φορβος* is possibly attested in Mycenaean personal naming practice in two significant usages. The first is on Knossos tablet KN As <4493>, which is unfortunately fragmentary and preserved only in a photograph by Sir Arthur Evans. On this tablet, the term *ra-wo-po-go* occurs in a veritable catalog of important Mycenaean Greek sociopolitical power terminology:³⁴

³¹ PALAIMA 2021 (*supra* n. 3) §1. CHANTRAINE (*supra* n. 14) 544 s. κορε- cites Lithuanian *šer-ti* ‘nourrir des bêtes’, and suggests that the Ionian tribal name Ἄγικορεῖς might mean ‘ceux qui nourrissent des chèvres’.

³² J. WEILHARTNER, this volume, p. 338. J.L. Melena (personal communications March 23) posits that *po-me* ποιμήν was original and generic and would have been the universal word for ‘livestock-boy’ and that the particular terms for herders of different species came into being when the original practice of mixed flocks was replaced by specialized flocks for pigs and goats. This strikes me as reductionist and does not explain why a specialized term was not devised at that moment for ‘sheep’ as well. There still would have been a need for a non-confusing ‘generic’ term applicable to all animals. There would have been no problem in writing **o-wi-pa-ta* or **o-wi-go-ta* or **o-wi-go-ro*. Melena sensibly argues, “I see no problem in creating a Myc[enaean] compound with *o-wi-^o* (cf. *o-wi-de-ta-i*), but there was no need for it since the unmarked *po-me* already covered all the nuances.”

³³ BEEKES (*supra* n. 18) 227-228 s. βόσκω.

³⁴ J.L. MELENA and R. FIRTH, *The Knossos Tablets Sixth Edition* (2019) 27 and frontispiece for photograph.

- .1]e-pi-ko-wo , e-qe-ṭa , e-re-u-ṭe[
 .2]da-mo , / e-ro-pa-ke-u , VIR 1 ko-ki[
 .3]-jo / ra-wo-po-qo , ze-ro[

In the first line, for what seems restorable as *e-pi-ko-wo*, Roger Woodard has recently convincingly argued: “Mycenaean Greek preserves *e-pi-ko-wo*, matching Homeric ἐπί-κουρος; [it] can be reasonably understood as derived from a form **kor-wo-* and denoting ‘warrior ally’.”³⁵ *e-qe-ta hekvetās* is traditionally interpreted as ‘follower’, but I have marshalled arguments that it should be interpreted as ‘an agent who causes others to follow’, *i.e.*, a kind of mobilizer of human resources in military and large *corvée* labor projects, naturally in the service of the leaders of the Mycenaean state.³⁶ The *e-re-u-te ereutēr* is an ‘inspector’ or ‘examiner’ who is also associated with larger-scale projects involving specialized labor personnel, as on Pylos tablet An 18.³⁷ *e-ro-pa-ke-u* is now generally agreed to be a textile specialist designation corresponding to a correlated feminine occupational term *e-ro-pa-ke-ja*.³⁸

This then brings us to *ra-wo-po-qo*. In this context, it has generally been considered a masculine personal name rather than a title, but the possibility of a title cannot be ruled out, especially given the contextual parallelism on lines .2 and .3, unfortunately fragmentary at the start of both lines. The oblique line in transcription indicates here that the word-unit following the oblique line is marked by the tablet-writer by being written in what we might call a smaller font size. It is, therefore, reasonable to see in both lines the recording of a personal name followed by a smaller-sized designation of their role in the context of the particular tablet record. In line .2 the first word-unit]-*da-mo* can reasonably be restored as a man’s name with the frequent second member *-da-mo* seen in many other attested compound names in the Linear B tablets like *e-ke-da-mo* Ἐχέδαμος,³⁹ *a-ko-da-mo*, *a-ko-ro-da-mo* Ἀκρόδαμος,⁴⁰ *e-u-ru-da-mo* Ἐδρύδαμος, *e-u-da-mo* Ἐδδαμος. In line .3 the first word unit is even less well preserved. However, as might be expected, many personal names end in *-jo*.

Taken as a personal name *ra-wo-po-qo* is, as Aura Jorro explains, “sin duda compuesto de *λαῖός (λαῖός); quizá *Λαῖο-φοργῶς ([= historical] Λεῶφορβος (*sic*), cf. Λεωφορβίδης, compuesto de φέρβω); and he prefers taking the second member from φέρβω and not from φόβος.⁴¹ Yet given (1) the emphasis on ‘nourishing’ and ‘fully feeding’ contained in *ko-re-te*, *po-ro-ko-re-te*, and *da-mo-ko-ro*, and (2) the importance of the λαῖός element in the high-ranking title *ra-wa-ke-ta* *λαῖφαγέτας and the collective body that is connected with his office *ra-wa-ke-<si->ja* *λαῖφαγε<σί>α, a case can be made that *Λαῖοφοργῶς ‘nourisher of the people’ is more fitting as an ideologically effective title than as a rather presumptuous, unless aristocratic, personal *Wunschname* given to a child who is to be known as ‘Nourisher of his *laῖwos*’. Either way, however, the ideological importance of **b^hergw-* φερβ- is remarkable.

The root **b^hergw-* φερβ- in o-grade yields in Mycenaean Greek the important action noun *po-qa*, historical Gk. φορβή (Pylos Un 138.2; Thebes Ug 17) and a possible professional term *po-qa-te-u*

³⁵ R.D. WOODARD, “Coriolanus and Fortuna Muliebris,” *Japanese Studies in Classical Antiquity* 4 (2020) 24 and n. 80. See comprehensively and persuasively K. MAHONEY, “Mycenaean *e-pi-ko-wo* and alphabetic Greek ἐπίκουρος revisited,” *Kadmos* 56 (2017) 39-88, especially 39-41, where attention is called to the fragmentary line .1 in KN As <4493>.

³⁶ PALAIMA (*supra* n. 8) 624 and n. 16, 636-643.

³⁷ PALAIMA (*supra* n. 8) 636-637, with text of PY An 18 on p. 637. See also now F. AURA JORRO, A. BERNABÉ, E.R. LUJÁN, J. PIQUERO, C. VARIAS GARCÍA, *Suplemento al diccionario micénico* (2020) 111 s. *e-re-u-te-re*: “Probablemente título que designa cierto tipo de funcionario: *ἐρευτήρ (cf. cret. ἐρευτᾶς, IC 1 IX.1 D132: οἱ ἐρευταὶ οἱ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων), ‘inspector’, mejor que antr. masc. o teónimo.”

³⁸ See B. MONTECCHI, “*E-qe-ta* and *e-mi-to* on Linear B tablet KN Am(2) 821: military officials and soldiers?” *Pasiphae* 8 (2014) 84.

³⁹ F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario micénico I* (1985) 208 s. *e-ke-da-mo*.

⁴⁰ AURA JORRO *et al.* (*supra* n. 37) 41-42 s. *a-ko-ro-da-mo*.

⁴¹ AURA JORRO (*supra* n. 28) 234-235 s. *ra-wo-po-qo*. J.L. MELENA, “Mycenaean Writing,” in Y. DUHOUX and A. MORPURGO DAVIES (eds), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World* (2014) 36, agrees that the second member is more likely to be derived from **b^hergw-* (historical Greek φερβ-).

/p^horg^{uv}ātēus/ (Pylos Qa 1295). There are also feedsacks or halters *po-qe-wi-ja* φορβειά (An1282.2) and, as we noted above, horse-feeders or horse-nourishers: *i-qa-po-qa* (Thebes Fq[1] 198.3) and dative plural *i-qa-po-qa-i* (Thebes Fq[2] 214.6) and the related form *i-po-po-qa-i* (Pylos Fn 79).⁴² We should also note that the Homeric epics have two personal names derived from *b^herg^{uv}- φορβ-: two characters in the *Iliad* are named Φόρβας. One is described in *Il.* 14.490 with an appropriate epithet for ‘Mr. Nourisher’ πολύμηλος ‘rich in μῆλα = sheep or goats’. The other in *Il.* 9.665 is taken to be the king of Lesbos, whose daughter Achilles had taken as a spear captive. The second personal name is Εὔφορβος (*Il.* 16.808 and 850; 17.12 and 34).⁴³

One final compound term with a second member that may be derived from *b^herg^{uv}- φορβ- is identifiable in an alternative reading by the late and revered Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. on a complicated double-sided Pylos tablet An 39. The *recto* of An 39 lists, with one exception, men in groups, ranging from 3 to 23 in number, designated by their occupational skills that seem to be related to food preparation and banqueting: fire-kindlers (*pu-ka-wo*); honey-masters (*me-ri-du-ma-te*); mixers (*mi-ka-ta*); overseers of paraphernalia (*o-pi-te-u-ke-e-wo*);⁴⁴ bread-bakers (*a-to-po-qa*). These banqueting-related professional designations are recorded in two sections, each with the same basic list. These two sections are separated by a single line (.6) on which one man (*ka-sa-to Ksanthos*) is entered by name and the accompanying ideogram VIR. On the main seven-line section of the *verso*, however, nine individual men are listed singly by what seem to be their personal names, each, like *ka-sa-to* on the *recto*, accompanied by the ideogram VIR. On *verso* line .9, E.L. Bennett reads:⁴⁵ *te-o-po-qa*[], which is interpreted as probably *Θεόφοργ^{uv}ος with comparison drawn to the historical personal name Θεόφορβος ‘he who is nourished by the god’.⁴⁶ This is a profoundly pious personal name. However, it could be – or originally have been – a Mycenaean cultic title θεοφορβός: ‘he who nourishes the god’, *i.e.*, who gives the god due offerings in a symbolic act of caring for the god by providing food.⁴⁷

⁴² MELENA (*supra* n. 41) 36. For *po-qe-wi-ja* φορβειά as feed sacks or halters for feeding, see T. PALAIMA and N.G. BLACKWELL, “Pylos Ta 716 and Mycenaean Ritual Paraphernalia: A Reconsideration,” *SMEA* NS 6 (2020) 71 and fig. 2.

⁴³ For Φόρβας and Εὔφορβος, see H. VON KAMPTZ, *Homerische Personenamen: Sprachwissenschaftliche und historische Klassifikation* (1982) 168, 226.

⁴⁴ The meaning of this professional term is not entirely clear either from its ambiguous main member (*te-u-ke-teu-xe-s*) or from its contexts. See PALAIMA 2004 (*supra* n. 16) 242 n. 125. See also J. WEILHARTNER, *Mykenische Opfergaben nach Aussage der Linear B-Texte* (2005) 160: “Die konkrete Bedeutung dieses ‘Aufsehers über die τεύχεα’ ist unklar, doch wird es sich am ehesten um ein Mitglied der palatialen Administration gehandelt haben, das für die Zuteilung von Nahrungsmitteln bei Festen verantwortlich war. Dies legen neben Tafel Un 2 die zweite Texte An 39 und Fn 50 nahe, auf denen er im Zusammenhang mit Berufsbezeichnungen genannt wird, die allem Anschein nach eine Rolle bei der Herstellung und Vorbereitung von Mahlzeiten gespielt haben (*a-to-po-qa*/Bäcker, *me-ri-du-ma-te*/Verwalter der Honig, *mi-ka-ta*/Mischer, *pu-ka-wo*/Feueranzünder).”

⁴⁵ E.L. BENNETT, JR., “A Selection of Pylos Tablet Texts,” in OLIVIER ed. (*supra* n. 6) 106. But *τεύχεα* can also mean armor and personal weaponry. Cf. *Iliad* 16.155-156 where Achilles is armoring the Myrmidones πάντας ἀνά κλισίας σὸν τεύχεσιν.

⁴⁶ AURA JORRO *et al.* (*supra* n. 37) 354 s. *te-o-po-qa*].

⁴⁷ José L. Melena (personal communication March 24, 2021) objects that “nourishing a god would be impious” and no mortal would bear such a name. Yet we should recall in historical times the satire in Aristophanes’ *Birds*. The birds build blockade walls that cut off the burning fat and bone fumes that feed the gods and thereby conduct a successful siege by starvation. The satire is only good if the underlying notion is that human beings are indeed feeding the gods regularly and piously and cutting them off is therefore effective as a weapon. This is a very complicated issue even in historical Greek. Roger Woodard (personal communication March 25, 2021) adduces *Rig Veda* Hymn 10.79.5 where of the god Agni, it is said “This man who quickly gives him (Agni) food, who offers his gifts of oil and butter and supports him, Him with his thousand eyes he closely looks on: thou showest him thy face from all sides, Agni.” On the whole issue of what food sacrifice means in terms of the relationship between the divine and human spheres, see S. HITCH, *King of Sacrifice: Ritual and Royal Authority in the Iliad* (2009) esp. 1-59, 93-96. Much depends on to what degree Mycenaean Greek ritual aligns with earlier Indo-European concepts or with historical Greek concepts. In Mesopotamian practice, “[t]he act of killing an animal is almost hidden behind the construct of *feeding the god*, a construct which emerges out of the earlier offering and storage [of foodstuffs] and the

We now can make one very important observation about the relationship between humans and animals and associated ideological notions promoted during the Mycenaean palatial period. For all other herd animals other than sheep (pig, goat, bovine, horse) there is a term in the Linear B (and/or historical Greek) lexicon that speaks directly to ‘feeding’ and ‘nourishing’ those animals. This is in line with the ideology behind the key titles in Linear B relating to the provincial and county structure of the palatial territory of Messenia. We have raised the possibility that the word-unit *ra-wo-po-go* may be a similar ideological title emphasizing ‘feeding and nourishing the collective people λαός’. Minimally *ra-wo-po-go* and *te-o-po-go*, both expressing ‘feeding and nourishing’, are significant elite names stressing the responsibility and the ability of the name-bearer to provide nourishment for the entire people of his community and also to bring it about in the same way, *i.e.*, by proper animal sacrifice or animal-product offering, that the gods themselves are well-disposed.

This brings us to the term used for a shepherd of sheep whose herds occasionally also include much smaller numbers of goats which may travel along with sheep: ποιμήν. The term ποιμήν (Linear B *po-me*) derives from the Indo-European root **péh₂-(i-)* ‘protect’; cf. Vedic *pāti* ‘schützt’ ‘protect’; Hittite *pahhasmi* ‘ich bewahre, schütze’ ‘beware, protect’. Applied in the Homeric metaphor ποιμήν λαῶν to the ἄναξ (Mycenaean *wa-na-ka*), it conveys different fundamental notions than Mycenaean *ra-wo-po-go* (*Λᾶφοφοργῶς) historical Λεώφορβος. The metaphorical term ποιμήν certainly does not emphasize ‘feeding’.

Sheep, of the animal types we are dealing with, are by far the most docile species and practically defenseless. Goats, pigs, bovines and horses in the wild are aggressive and have formidable defenses. Sheep, however, need protection; and they also are the animals which are maintained within the Mycenaean regional economies recorded at Knossos and Pylos in by far the largest numbers and whose herds are the largest in size. The tablets at these two palatial centers record *ca.* 90,000-100,00 sheep, 5,300 goats, 1,070 pigs, 510 bovines and 140 horses.⁴⁸ The vast numbers of sheep, mainly registered in flocks that are multiples of 50, stand parallel to the herds of λαοί catalogued in *Iliad* Book 2. In contrast, we might note the ease with which the smaller-sized and less densely packed herds of goats are identified and how this is used metaphorically of the ease with which their field commanders recognize and assemble their separate contingents of troops in the preface to the great Homeric catalogue of ships:

τοὺς δ' ὥς τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι ἄνδρες
 ῥεῖτα διακρίνωσιν ἐπεὶ κε νομῶ μιγέωσιν,
 ὥς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες διεκόσμεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
 ὕσμίνην δ' ἰέναι

Just as men who are goatherds (αἰπόλοι ἄνδρες) easily and thoroughly distinguish the broad herds of goats (αἰπόλια) when they mix together in a pasture, so were their leaders thoroughly setting them in order (διεκόσμεον) here and there in order to go into combat. (Homer, *Iliad* 2.474-477 translation mine)

The use of *po-me* ποιμήν for those who herd sheep would seem to be a conscious selection reflecting Mycenaean palatial realities that sheep, like the large populations of palatial territories, require greater care and care that would take the particular form of protecting.⁴⁹ This makes the standard formulaic epithet ποιμένα λαῶν (*Il.* 2.243) ποιμένι λαῶν (*Il.* 2.254; 2.772; 4.413) as applied to Agamemnon in the *Iliad* intensify the irony that the supreme commander of the allied Achaean forces at Troy is failing to protect or be wary

later image of feeding a divine king in his palace.” T. ABUSCH, “Sacrifice in Mesopotamia,” in A.I. BAUMGARTNER (ed.), *Sacrifice in Religious Experience* (2002) 39-48 at 43, italics mine.

⁴⁸ Y. DUHOUX, this volume, pp. 331-332, with notes 27-29.

⁴⁹ We might also add here that the Mycenaean term *ra-wa-ke-ta* can be reconstructed as *λαῖαγέτας ‘he who is the agent of leading the λαῖός’ and, in recognition of what we discuss here about the scale and relative non-singularity of the regional population, as *λαῖαγέρατας ‘he who gathers together or collects the λαῖός’ as a shepherd would. See S. NIKOLOUDIS, “The Role of the *ra-wa-ke-ta*. Insights from PY Un 718,” in A. SACCONI, M. DEL FREO, L. GODART and M. NEGRI (eds), *Colloquium Romanum* (2008) 592 n. 26 for discussion of the second member of *ra-wa-ke-ta* being either from ἄγω or from ἀγείρω, as originally suggested by W. WYATT, “Homeric and Mycenaean ΛΑΟΣ,” *Minos* 29-30 (1994-1995) 159-170.

of dangers that might harm his λαός. The formula must have carried even more force and weight in epic song poems in the Mycenaean palatial period when the ideology of nourishing and nurturing by high-ranking palatially appointed officials and the vocabulary for the human herding of animals would have thrown the unique emphasis on ‘protection’ in the term ποιμήν and in the phrase ποιμήν λαών into high relief.

What we have been examining so far has to do with how the Mycenaean palatial elites ideologically promoted positive attitudes towards themselves and about the societies that they directed and dominated, not to say controlled. I have concentrated on how this is done metaphorically in the vocabulary for power figures. The particular emphasis on nurturing and nourishing in the realm of herding with the exception of the single term *po-me* ποιμήν makes Agamemnon’s failures to live up to the promise of this term to be a protector all the more conspicuous. In concluding, I would like to point out in another power hierarchy relationship between man and animals how a miserable state of human affairs can be signaled by aberrant animal behavior.

Dogs do not figure prominently either in Aegean iconography or in the Linear B texts. But they are represented enough in iconography and mentioned enough in the tablets for us to have a sense that the familiar adage that a dog is man’s best friend, animal or human, may have held true at least in elite circles. There are 279 possible images of ‘dogs’ on seals and sealing images in the *CMS*; 262 in the *IconAegean* Database. But a singular problem that remains, especially for a non-specialist trying to make sense of this material, is identifying dogs. In the *Arachne* search engine for the *CMS*, important scenes for human-animal interaction, e.g., *CMS* I, 512; *CMS* II 8, 239; *CMS* V, 253; *CMS* X, 161, all say that the animal is ‘Hund oder Löwe’. Even solo animals, e.g. *CMS* II 2, 222c; *CMS* III, 506, give the same either/or identification.⁵⁰

Setting aside this problem and assuming that some of the representations thus ambiguously described *are* dogs, a large number show what are clearly ‘dogs’ in isolation in various postures (including interestingly scratching themselves) or setting upon or running after animals of prey like boars, agrimi, wild bulls and

⁵⁰ It is not my place nor is it germane to my discussion here to do more than point out the problem. In personal communications, Olga KRZYSZKOWSKA (March 23, 2021) and Janice CROWLEY (March 24, 2021) both kindly confirmed that in many cases it is difficult to distinguish what kind of animal (lion, hound, even wolf) is represented for a variety of reasons carefully pinpointed by Krzyszkowska: the actual representation of the animal may be ambiguous; the iconography may be ambiguous; the quality of the representation may be poor. These and other factors could prevent ‘a categorical identification as to species’. Of the four examples I first cite as important for human-animal interactions, Krzyszkowska states: “(1) I 512 (LB II-III A1) leashed but representation ambiguous, although to my eye the animal looks more like a lion; (2-3) II.8 239 and V 253 both are LM I seals/impressions BUT the representations are rather ambiguous, i.e. neither animal looks very much like a lion (hence Hund-Löwe). However, in terms of iconography only lions make sense here; and (4) X 161 [the] quality of the representation is rather poor (LM I soft stone) and does not allow categorical identification as to species, hence Hund-Löwe. Either would be possible on basis of iconography.” Crowley confirms the problem: “As far as the seals are concerned we are in difficulties immediately because there is no consistent nomenclature across the *CMS* volumes (many different authors) or across the *Arachne* entries (though the descriptions in the later books authored by the Marburg team are better especially for the sealing images).” In J.L. CROWLEY, *The Iconography of Aegean Seals* (2013) 238 and 243, she identifies lion as E217 and hound (= dog) as E227. In her *IconAegean* Database on the *CMS* website, she identifies 869 lions and 262 hounds. But many of the hound identifications retrieved by a search are designated as ‘quadruped’ with hound question-marked because of ambiguities caused by style or representation and overall iconographical theme. The poster child here is the detailed discussion in O. KRZYSZKOWSKA, “Seals from the Petras Cemetery: A Preliminary Overview,” in M. TSIPOPOLOU (ed.), *Petras, Siteia 25 Years of Excavation* (2012) 146-147, explaining the identification of *CMS* II, 5 300 (Phaistos) along with six other seal images and Cretan Hieroglyphic sign *CHIC* no. 018 as a wolf’s head characterized by its long curling tongue (as opposed to *CHIC* no. 017 a dog’s head). J.L. CROWLEY *IconAegean* 02489 identifies this image as ‘hound head with lolling tongue’. J.G. YOUNGER, *Bronze Age Aegean Seals in Their Middle Phase (ca. 1700-1500 B.C.)* (1993) identifies it as a dog’s head. The wolf identification would be supported by the Homeric simile of wolves who, having brought down and ripped apart the flesh of a stag, then lap water from a black-water spring with their long slender tongues (*Iliad* 16.160-161).

stags. There are also master and mistress of the hounds scenes, with male and female figures flanked heraldically by dogs. Whether dogs are depicted alone or appear with human-shaped figures, Panagiotopoulos points out that within this repertory “only dogs and horses appear as servants of humans, not on their own terms but embedded in scenes where they could not have been absent.”⁵¹ On *CMS II*, 8 236 (from the East Temple Repository at Knossos MM III/LM IA) a dog in the foreground strides alongside a man who wears a helmet, carries a spear and has what looks like a short shield on his upper arm. Panagiotopoulos takes this as a hunter and his hunting dog. Karetsou and Koehl take it as a ‘soldier procession’. Krzyszkowska takes it decidedly as a hunting scene.⁵² It certainly is an elite scene and reflects the references within the Linear B texts to *ku-na-ke-ta-i kunāgetāhi* (cf. historical Greek κωνηγέτης). The term literally means the ‘dog-leaders’. We imagine these individuals serve as masters of the hounds for hunting purposes. They are to be contrasted with the **qe-ra-ta* who are the actual ‘hunters’ who are attested in the noun form underlying the adjective *qe-ra-si-ja* (cf. Homeric θηρητήρ).⁵³

Bernhard Schlag provides a condensed thematic overview of dog images that underscores the interconnections of large, well-groomed and well-bred hounds with human beings in the prelude to hunts, during the pursuit and killing of prey and, we must imagine afterwards, at the celebratory feasting in palatial frescoes from Tiryns and Pylos.⁵⁴ Sara Immerwahr lays all this out more fully so that we can see that the elites were accustomed to interacting with dogs during these kinds of activities.⁵⁵ In the Tiryns Boar Hunt Fresco, a fleeing boar is attacked by at least three pursuing dogs and a parallel image in a fresco fragment from Orchomenos shows a fleeing boar and one hunting dog in flying gallop and another biting the boar’s underbelly.⁵⁶ At Pylos, dogs are interspersed with men carrying tripods in which meat from the hunt would be boiled.⁵⁷ The dogs are supersized and fill the same space as the tripod-carriers, in fact more or less dwarfing the human beings who are carrying tripods and, it would seem, their own human handlers. This might be a comment on the importance of the dogs to the success of the hunt and subsequent feasting ceremony. We may compare the supra-scale bull in the procession of small offering-bearers in the fresco from megaron complex Room (or Vestibule) 5.⁵⁸

Finally, in Pylos Hall 64 hunting dogs are depicted life-size and alertly resting in a small pack in a frieze that runs around the large room that forms the entrance room into Hall 65, arguably the hall of the *ra-wa-ke-ta* *λαῖαγέτας.⁵⁹ Immerwahr captures the effect perfectly. The dogs “recline in couchant, overlapping positions like the lions and griffins. They varied in color (red, white, and spotted in red or black) and apparently also in sex. This variety, combined with apparent differences in alertness of their pricked ears and open mouths, must have conveyed something of the impression of a real pack of hunting dogs. The

⁵¹ D. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, this volume, p. 16.

⁵² A. KARETSOU and R.B. KOEHL, “The Minoan Mastiffs of Juktas,” in TOUCHAIS *et al.* eds (*supra* n. 16) 340, Pl. CIVc. O. KRZYSZKOWSKA, “Cutting to the Chase: Hunting in Minoan Crete,” in *ibidem* Pl. CVIa for *CMS II*, 8 236 and one other seal image with a hunter and spear and dog. In favor of Krzyszkowska’s and Panagiotopoulos’s identification is that the one clear piece of armor, the shield, is also used in hunting, as seen with elaborate tower shields and figure-of-eight shields on the famous Lion Hunt inlaid dagger from Shaft Grave IV from Mycenae, for which, see N.R. THOMAS, “The Early Mycenaean Lion Up to Date,” in A.P. CHAPIN (ed.), *ΧΑΡΙΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr* (2004) 195, no. 11.

⁵³ J. WEILHARTNER, this volume, pp. 339-340 and n. 25; and AURA JORRO (*supra* n. 28) 195-196, *s. qe-ra-si-ja*.

⁵⁴ B. SCHLAG, “Thematische Bindungen der Hundedarstellungen im bronzenzeitlichen Griechenland,” in F. BLAKOLMER (ed.), *Österreichische Forschungen zur Ägäischen Bronzezeit 1998* (2000) 137-143.

⁵⁵ S. IMMERWAHR, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (1990).

⁵⁶ S. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 55) 129-130 and 132 and Pl. 70.

⁵⁷ S. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 55) Pl. 74 and p. 197, suggests that these images are from the floor above Hall 46 and depicted the return from the hunt with tripods for the feast.

⁵⁸ S. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 55) 118, 135, 197, 198; frescoes Py No. 8 and Py No. 15.

⁵⁹ DAVIS and BENNET (*supra* n. 10) 105-119 and Pls XIII and XIV for the dog fresco and the combat fresco together in Hall 64.

effect was more purely representational than emblematic.”⁶⁰ That they are found together with the famous combat scene may add a bit more strength to what I consider the less likely interpretation that seal *CMS II*, 8 236 shows a soldier procession.

The seal images and the frescoes give us man’s best friend as elite palatial culture, not too unlike the aristocratic cultures of Great Britain and Germany between 1880 and 1920, incorporated them into pursuits like hunting and feasting that prepared the elites for their roles in organizing society, providing sustenance and protecting it in times of war. These show human beings and dogs together when *kosmos* prevails.

In Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, one such scene would seem to be *Odyssey* 17.290-310, where Odysseus, *wanaks* of Ithaca, has returned alone, having lost all his ships and all his men. In the appearance of an itinerant beggar, he has one ally, his faithful *συβώτης* ‘swineherd’ Eumaeus. He finds his palatial kingdom leaderless and in disarray; and he adds the evils he there sees to the many he has suffered over twenty years in Troy and long heading homeward. Odysseus and Eumaeus are talking to one another.

290 ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον:
 ἂν δὲ κύων κεφαλὴν τε καὶ οὖατα κείμενος ἔσχεν,
 Ἄργος, Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος, ὃν ῥά ποτ’ αὐτὸς
 θρέψε μὲν, οὐδ’ ἀπόνητο, πάρος δ’ εἰς Ἴλιον ἱρὴν
 ὤχετο. τὸν δὲ πάροιθεν ἀγίνεσκον νέοι ἄνδρες
 295 αἶγας ἐπ’ ἀγροτέρας ἠδὲ πρόκας ἠδὲ λαγωούς:
 δὴ τότε κεῖτ’ ἀπόθεστος ἀποιοχόμενοι ἄνακτος,
 ἐν πολλῇ κόπρῳ, ἣ οἱ προπάροιθε θυράων
 ἡμιόνων τε βοῶν τε ἄλις κέχυτ’, ὄφρ’ ἂν ἄγοιεν
 δμῶες Ὀδυσσῆος τέμενος μέγα κοπρήσοντες:
 300 ἔνθα κύων κεῖτ’ Ἄργος, ἐνίπλειος κυνοραιστέων.
 δὴ τότε γ’, ὡς ἐνόησεν Ὀδυσσέα ἐγγὺς ἔοντα,
 οὐρῆ μὲν ῥ’ ὅ γ’ ἔσηνε καὶ οὖατα κάββαλεν ἄμφω,
 ἄσσον δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἔπειτα δυνήσατο οἷο ἄνακτος
 ἐλθέμεν: αὐτὰρ ὁ νόσφιν ἰδὼν ἀπομόρζατο δάκρυ,
 305 ῥεῖα λαθῶν Εὐμαιῶν, ἄφαρ δ’ ἐρεεῖνετο μύθῳ:

‘Εὔμαι’, ἣ μάλα θαῦμα, κύων ὅδε κεῖτ’ ἐνὶ κόπρῳ.
 καλὸς μὲν δέμας ἐστίν, ἀτὰρ τόδε γ’ οὐ σάφα οἶδα,
 εἰ δὴ καὶ ταχὺς ἔσκε θεεῖν ἐπὶ εἶδεῖ τῷδε,
 ἣ αὐτῶς οἰοί τε τραπεζῆς κόνες ἀνδρῶν
 310 γίγνοντ’: ἀγλαΐης δ’ ἔνεκεν κομέουσιν ἄνακτες.’

290 And so they were talking about such things together
 and a hound lying there held up his head and perked up his ears
 Argos, dog of Odysseus, a man of hard resolve, whom Odysseus himself way back when
 had raised, but had no time to do things with, before he had to go off to sacred Troy.
 Years back time and time again the young men were leading the dog out to hunt
 295 wild goats and roe deer and hares:
 but right then – take a look! – the dog was lying, cast aside, his master long gone away,
 in a small mountain of manure from mules and cattle
 which was heaped up outside the doors waiting for the servants
 of Odysseus to haul it off and spread it as fertilizer all over his large *temenos*.
 300 There the dog Argos lay, his fur full of canine ticks.
 Look! Then the dog sensed that Odysseus was nearby,
 and he started wagging his tail and he lowered both his ears.
 And yet he no longer had the strength to walk over to his master.
 But his master, having sized things up from a distance, wiped away a tear
 305 easily keeping it secret from Eumaeus; and right then he asked him,

⁶⁰ IMMERSWAHR (*supra* n. 55) 137 and Pl. 80. See conveniently on-line <https://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0998/08agais08.htm> (last accessed April 21, 2021).

“Eumaeus, what a strange thing to see, this hound lying there in all that shit.
He has a purebred look about him, but there’s this one thing I just can’t figure out,
if he still can run swiftly as his fine form suggests,
Or is he as table dogs of some men come to be,
dogs that their masters take care of just for how they look?” (translation mine)

Argos’s enduring inbred love for his master represents the loyalty that should await an *anaks* returning home from the war. The dog and the swineherd alone maintain rightful gratitude for and allegiance to their king. The royal dog did his duty taken on hunts by the young Ithacan elites again and again until he became an exhausted resource. The normal two-way system of benefits and obligations is nowhere practiced in the kingdom. Otherwise Argos would be well taken care of in his old age for all the former service rendered on the hunts. He deserves to be cared for in his retirement as a *τραπεζεὺς κύων* together with other old noble hunting dogs as in the fresco running along the walls in Hall 64 at Pylos. He should not be neglected, tick-ridden, lying in a manure pile heaped up outside the doors to his long-awaited master’s halls. The contract between man and animal here is broken because the Mycenaean and Homeric ideal of the divinely sanctioned, ritually pious, ethically sound (insofar as his dealings with his subjects), psychologically stable and politically shrewd *ποιμὴν λαῶν* has long gone out of practice. And it is the man-dog relationship that drives home the point.

In Book 22.66-76 of Homer’s *Iliad* there is a second instance where the ideal state of the man-animal relationship attested in palatial-period iconography and in palatial nomenclature as attested in the Linear B tablets has disappeared, or in this case, to be precise, is anticipated as about to disappear. Again an aberration of the righteous state of human masters and duly rewarded faithful dogs is used to mark out the ruin of the ideal state. It is one of the grimmest images among the many violent scenes in Homer. It is a nightmare.

Here the well treated noble *τραπεζῆες κύνες* ‘table dogs’ who reside in Priam’s royal household are envisioned by Priam himself to be transformed into *κύνες ὠμησταί* ‘dogs who devour raw human flesh’. This description caps off Priam’s heartfelt and deeply human appeal to his son Hector not to face the berserker Achilles at this point. Priam describes what will ensue once Achilles kills Hector, whose name identifies him as the literal ‘holder’ of the fortunes of Troy and its people.

αὐτὸν δ’ ἂν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτῃσι θύρῃσιν
ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσι, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ὄξει χαλκῷ
τύφας ἢ βάλων ῥεθέων ἐκ θυμὸν ἔληται,
οὓς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι τραπεζῆας θυραωρούς,
70 οἳ κ’ ἐμὸν αἶμα πίνοντες ἀλύσσοντες περὶ θυμῷ
κείσονται ἐν προθύροισι. νέω δέ τε πάντ’ ἐπέοικεν
ἄρῃι κταμένω δεδαιγμένω ὄξει χαλκῷ
κεῖσθαι: πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ’ ὅτι φανήη:
ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ πολίον τε κάρηι πολίον τε γένειον
75 αἰδῶ τ’ αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένοιο γέροντος,
τοῦτο δὴ οἴκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

Me myself last of all at the outermost doors my dogs,
with a taste now for raw flesh, will drag off when someone with sharp bronze
having struck me or having hurled it into me takes my life out of my limbs,
dogs whom I raised in my great halls as table dogs and door guards,
70 dogs who having drunk my blood and acting restless in their spirits
will lie down at the front gates. It is entirely befitting for a young man
killed in war cut apart by sharp bronze
to lie dead: everything is fine and good once he is dead whatever we see:
but when dogs befoul the gray head and the gray beard
75 and the genitals of an old man slain
this clearly is the most pitiable thing for miserable mortals. (translation mine)

Finally, the *Iliad* makes clear in its first ten lines that the extraordinarily long large-scale joint military campaign at Troy became in its final stages a horrendous disaster marked by conspicuous moral failures in decision-taking and in highest command leadership and by gross public acts of impiety by its commander-in-chief. Here again, the aberrant behavior of man's best friend is used to drive home the grotesque consequences of having the supreme and divinely sanctioned *anaks* behave impiously, with callous disregard for his ethical responsibilities to all the troops under his command, while acting psychologically unstable and politically maladroit. The key lines (*Iliad* 1.1-5) describe an aberration of the proper relationship between human beings and dogs. Here dogs, who would ordinarily dine on scraps from the tables of elite warriors and help them in hunting other wild animals, behave like vultures (γῦπες, cf. *Iliad* 4.237; 11.162; and 16.836 regarding the corpse of Patroclus) feasting upon the flesh of the corpses of Achaean warriors who have died on the plains of Troy.

μητιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
 οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,
 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαφεν
 ἥρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν
 ὃ οἰωνοῖσι τε πάσι,

Be singing, goddess, the wrath of the son of Peleus, Achilles
 destructive and self-destructive, too, which caused the Achaeans countless miseries,
 and hurled forth into hell many superbly trained and enduring souls
 of heroes, and it wrought them into carrion for dogs
 and scavenger birds of all kinds [to devour]. (translation mine)

This disaster in leadership, communicated by means of a vivid aberration of civilized elite behavior, has stood as a realistic monument to the regular failure of elites to live up to the *ethos* and the propaganda we observe already in Mycenaean palatial iconography and textual documentation. In three key passages in the Homeric poems, the state of society as a whole and the ruinous behavior of the leaders and the elites are made clear by focusing on how the mutually beneficial behavior between humans and hounds has gone grotesquely awry. We can understand the messages in these Homeric passages better now that we have gained deeper insight into the ideology of caring for and nurturing and protecting animals (and humans) that palatial elites developed and practiced, and then promoted in their palatial power terminology, in images on upper-class seals and in palatial wall paintings. These three methods of communicating the Mycenaean palatial world view (official nomenclature, seal images and wall paintings) served as constant reminders of the vigilance necessary to keep civilization intact and the violent forces of nature under control. Bronze Age oral poetic songsters surely had many similar paradigmatic tales to sing forth at public sacrifices and palatial feasts.

Thomas G. PALAIMA

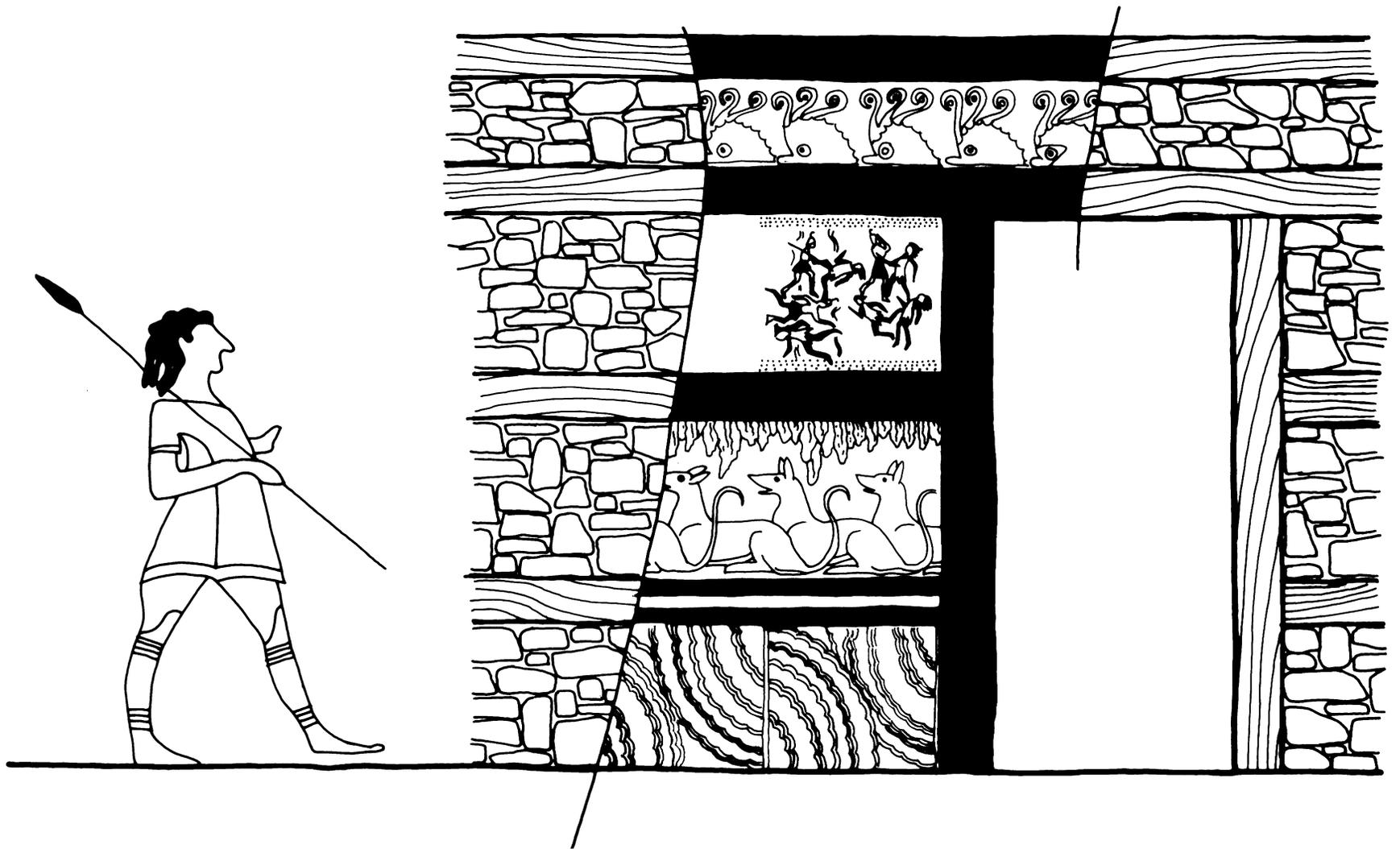


Figure 52 : Fresco Reconstruction, Room 64, northeast wall [adapted from PN II, fragments 1D64, 39-38C64, 22H64 and 1F2]. (M.C. Nelson)