

## P O T N I A

The divine names encountered on the Mycenaean tablets open up a whole new field for investigation. The final conclusions must be left to the experts on Greek religion, and the object of this study is only to examine the occurrences of one of these divine names and offer some preliminary suggestions about its owner.

### I. *Potnia at Knossos.*

The words *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja Athānā potnia* occur in V 52.1, with no divider, and followed by the numeral I and a lacuna. The collocation is never repeated, and the name *Athānā* never certainly recurs. This is a shaky foundation upon which to build, and we must reject the temptation to equate Potnia with Athena, at least until we know what else can be said about Potnia.<sup>1</sup> It is not a frequent word at Knossos, only recurring certainly on three tablets; but in each case it seems to be a name in its own right, not simply an attribute to another name. The fragment M 729 tells us nothing; Oa7374 is one of the dated tablets, thus recalling the religious offerings of the *Fp*-series, but its ideogram is an INGOT with surcharged WE. There remains only Gg702, where the analogy of both the first line (*pa-si-te-o-i*) and of the other tablets of the series confirms that Potnia is a goddess. Here however she is called *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*. Palmer<sup>2</sup> has equated this word with *Λαβυρίνδοιο*, interchange of *d/l* being known in 'Aegeanic' words, though not yet certainly confirmed on the tablets. The identification is extremely attractive. But there is no reason to associate Athena with the Labyrinth, and we must therefore conclude that there were at least two places where Potnia was worshipped. We shall see a parallel to this at Pylos.

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<sup>1</sup> Palmer has suggested (at the London Seminar) that *a-ta-na* is here to be understood as a place-name, like *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo*. Interesting as it is, the suggestion cannot be verified; and, of course, *Athānās* is not *Athānāōn* ('Αθηναίων).

<sup>2</sup> *BICS* II (1955), p. 40.

Knossos also yields three fragments where the end of the word is missing (X 444, X 997, X 7851). These are perhaps to be restored as the derivative adjective, on which see below.

2. *Potnia at Pylos.*

The name Potnia occurs five times at Pylos in published texts and five times more in the unpublished 1955 tablets. On this showing alone it is among the most frequently recurring divine names at Pylos. The examples are:

Cc665 *ne-wo-pe-o po-ti-ni-ja* RAM 100 PIG 190.

The word *ne-wo-pe-o* recurs in the lists of slave-women (Aa786, Ab554) and might be a place-name; but in view of Ad688 *ne-wo-pe-o ko-wo* it is perhaps more likely a descriptive term for the women; presumably a two-termination compound adjective in *-os*, since its genitive plural is identical with its nominative plural, and therefore not an ethnic. No conclusions as regards Potnia seem possible here.

Fn187.8. An allocation of 48 litres of BARLEY and FIGS to *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja*. It may be significant that the other recipients on this tablet include two names derived from Poseidon (*po-si-da-i-jo-de*, *po-si-da-i-je-u-si*) and four lines above the place-name *pa-ki-ja-na-de*. *u-po-jo* Potnia recurs on two of the 1955 tablets: 1225 where she receives 12 litres of oil for the anointing of robes; 1236 where she is located at *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro*. The suggestions for *u-po-jo* (Georgiev *huphoio* from a masc. corresponding to neut. ὕφος; Lurya *hupōion* 'the underworld')<sup>1</sup> are without confirmation.

Tn316.3. If, as I believe, Bennett is right in reversing the order of the sides, Potnia is the first deity mentioned on this tablet, and she is specifically located at *pa-ki-ja-si*: a surprising entry since PYLOS is written large at the beginning of the paragraph. It would seem that *pa-ki-ja-si* occupies the same place in the formula as *po-si-da-i-jo* and the other derivatives of divine names on the reverse. Unless these 'datives' have the force of ablatives, it is hard to resist the conclusion that they are geographically identified with Pylos; i. e. they are areas or buildings within the region known as Pylos. We

<sup>1</sup> V. Georgiev, *Lexique*, s. v

shall have to return to the name Pakijana later.<sup>1</sup> Potnia receives the same offerings as other goddesses (*pe-re-ja*<sub>2</sub>, *di-u-ja* and Hera): a gold vessel and a woman.

Vn48.3. This is a badly preserved tablet, the readings of which are uncertain. It is a distribution list (there are two datives in *-si* and one instance of the allative suffix *-de*) of an unknown commodity, no ideograms being used. I venture to hazard a restoration of line 3:

*pa-[ki]-ja-[na? i]-e-re-wi-jo po-ti-ni-ja I*

The first word might have other endings; but *hierēwion* is a likely guess. For the spelling cf. *i-e-re-u* En74.16; *i-je-re-wi-jo* KN K 875.6, the sense of which is obscure. Here the meaning 'sacrificial victim' may be appropriate; but the more generalized sense of 'offering' would perhaps fit both contexts.

Un219.7. Another enigmatic list, but apparently containing deities as well as mortals: *a-ti-mi-te* is possibly dative of Artemis (but genitive *a-te-mi-to* Es650.5), *e-ma-a*<sub>2</sub> = *Hermāāi*, and in line 8 I believe the correct reading to be *e-[ra] u I* (= *Hērāi*).<sup>2</sup> The commodities are abbreviated by the use of single phonetic signs and cannot be interpreted. The divinity of Potnia need not be questioned, nor her association with Olympian deities.

Three new tablets, 1206, 1231 and 1235, also refer to Potnia. In one case the name is followed by *a-si-wi-ja* (see below); in the other cases the name is associated with what may be indications of date or locality.

### 3. *Po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*

It will be convenient to treat together the examples from Knossos and Pylos of a word which, for all its uncouth form, is plainly a derivative of Potnia. It occurs in the form *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (*-ja*), once at Knossos (X 7742) spelt *po-ti-ni-ja-we-i-jo*. This is probably only a *scriptio plena*, not a different form. It occurs (or can be restored) at Knossos in two fragments devoid of significant context (F 760,

<sup>1</sup> The close association of Pakijana with Pylos is perhaps confirmed by Ae303, which refers to a priestess at Pylos as if this were sufficient identification; we might have expected Pylos to have more than one priestess. But may not the priestess *par excellence* be she of Pakijana? If so, the female slave attributed to the latter in Eo224.6 may be one of the 14+ specified in Ae303.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Mühlestein, «Panzeus in Pylos», *Minos* IV (1956), p. 79 and 88-89.

X 7742); in a series of SHEEP tablets (mostly *Dl-*); and in G 820, apparently an account of rations issued to women of various Cretan towns. The complete entry here is:

??*pa-i-*] *ti-ja ku-ta-ti-ja-ge po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja*  
*a-pu ke-u-po-de-ja* [?] MONTH 4

The other place-names in this tablet are *ku-do-ni-ja* and the ethnic *pa<sub>3</sub>-ko-we-i-ja*. The loss of the left hand edge of the tablet makes the interpretation a little uncertain; but it is unlikely that more than 2-4 signs are lost in each line. If so, there is no room for a descriptive noun, and this must be sought either in the ethnic or in *po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja*; in either case one of the adjectives must be used as a substantive, and which it is hardly affects the sense. The *Dl*-group (Dl930, Dl933+968, Dl943, Dl946, Dl950, with which probably belong D 7147, D 7503, X 7771) are characterized by the record of SHEEP both supplied and owing and a similar entry for WOOL, the totals being in proportion of 10:1.<sup>1</sup> *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (the omission of the last sign on Dl943 is a scribe's error) forms the upper line entry; hence the fragment X 7742 where it occupies the bottom line probably belongs to another group. This position is normally occupied by the 'collector',<sup>2</sup> and it might be regarded as a man's name in these cases. Its use as a feminine adjective in G 820, and as a masculine adjective at Pylos, tells against this. The lower line regularly shows a place-name. In five cases this is, or can be restored as, *si-ja-du-we*; Dl 943 has instead *pa<sub>2</sub>-nwa-so* and X 7771 (if it belongs here) *ra-ja*; the entry is missing on D7147. *si-ja-du-we* only occurs elsewhere on Dx969, with the word *a-ko-ra* 'collection.' *pa<sub>2</sub>-nwa-so* does not occur elsewhere (*pa<sub>2</sub>-nu-wa-so* AsI516.17 is a man's name); *ra-ja* is a common place-name on the *D-* tablets, also found on Ch979. No significant conclusion can be drawn, except that there is a strong link between the word and the place *si-ja-du-we*.

*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* occurs at Pylos in contexts which clearly show that it is an adjective. Twice we have lists of *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* smiths:

<sup>1</sup> Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, p. 204. I am unable to accept Sundwall's arguments in *Zur Buchführung im Palast von Knossos*, Soc. Scientiarum Fennica, Comm. Hum. Litt. 22.3, p. 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> See *Documents*, p. 200-1.

at *A-ke-re-wa* Jn310.14 and at *A-pe-ke-e* Jn431.16. In the latter case the list is separate from that of the other smiths at the same place, the tablet having been deliberately cut. A man in Ep617.14 is called *we-ra-[. po]-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*; the first word is probably a man's name, but a common noun cannot be excluded. In Eq213.5 we have *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo o-te-pe-o-jo o-ro-jo*, apparently as a topographical indication, since in lines 2-4 *o-ro-jo* is preceded by a place-name in the genitive. The amount of WHEAT (6 units) is the smallest of the five entries on this tablet. In Un249.1 a man called Philaios is described as *po-ti-[ni]-ja-we-jo a-re-pa-zo-[o*, an unguent-boiler; probably not the same as the goat-herd of Ae264.

I am unable to offer any satisfactory explanation of the form of the adjective. It seems to represent *Potniaweios*, i. e. a suffix *-weios*, where we should expect *-ios* (*Potniaios*). The classical adjectives are feminine Ποτνιαός, and a derivative Ποτνιαεύς from the place-name Ποτνιαί. It is possible that the *w* conceals an unwritten consonant, and the suffix may really be a compound. Extension of *-weios* from the ordinary suffix of material *-eios*, by misdivision in words like *dorweios*, is possible but unlikely.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *Pakijana*

At Pylos *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* is clearly located at the place Pakijana<sup>2</sup> by Tn 316 and 1236, and the same location is suggested by Fn187.8 and possibly Vn48.3. Since no other genitives precede Potnia, it may be that Potnia alone means the same as *u-po-jo* Potnia, but the mention of *Potnia Aswia* precludes any certainty. However the association with Pakijana is important, as we know a good deal about this place. Bennett<sup>3</sup> has shown that it is the home of a curious religious community; but we may proceed a stage further and assert that there is nothing in the main group of *E*-tablets (excluding *Eq- Er-* and *Es-*) which demands a location other than Pakijana; and the fact that names of the composite lists (*En-*, *Eo-*, *Ep-*) show overlapping is a clear indication that all the land is

<sup>1</sup> Of apparent parallels *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* is a derivative in *-ios* of *Etewoklewēs*; *sa-pi-ti-ne-we-jo* is obscure.

<sup>2</sup> This conventional spelling may be usefully adopted in the discussion; its true form is uncertain, cf. *Documents* p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *Amer. Journal of Archaeology* LX (1956), p. 132-3.

in the same area. Now there is another curious feature peculiar to the series *Ea-Ep*, the presence of *theoio doeloi* and *doelai*. We must therefore conclude that 'the deity' was immediately recognisable to the writers as the patron of Pakijana. Similarly 'the priestess of Pakijana' implies a particular deity whom she serves; whereas the two priests are always given their names.<sup>1</sup> The priestess is also the leader of the religious community and speaks for the deity if current interpretations of Eb297, Ep704.5,6 are correct (the priestess is in dispute with the *damos*). This seems to prove that the deity was female, and *θεός* is of course regularly of common gender in early Greek.<sup>2</sup> We have already a female deity, Potnia, associated with Pakijana. The inference that they are one and the same is highly probable, though it hardly amounts to a rigorous proof.<sup>3</sup>

5. *Identification of Potnia.*

So far we have shown that Potnia was the name or title used to designate an important goddess, who had a large community devoted to her service at a place not far from Pylos, and may even have been the chief deity of the region. If we now turn to historical times, we find a curious diversity of usage. On the one hand Homer uses *πότνια* only as an epithet applied to any goddess, queen or princess. The appellative use continues in classical poetry. It is simply an honorific title and cannot help our investigation.

But *Πότνιαι*, used alone in the plural, is well known as a divine title. It is applied as a rule to Demeter and Kore, a use well illustrated by Pausanias' account of the place *Ποτνιαί*.<sup>4</sup> Potnia in the singular means Kore according to the scholiast's interpretation of the oath *καὶ τὰν Πότνιαν* Theocr. 15.14. Alternatively a number of

<sup>1</sup> *we-te-re-u*, *pi-ke-re-u*. Bennett's attempted demonstration (*art. cit.* p. 130-1) that *we-te-re-u* is a title rather than a name is inconclusive. A list may include a named individual alongside a number of titles. The identification of *a-pi-me-de* as a priest is pure conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> And in Arcadian: *ταῖ θεοῖ* Schwyzer, *Dial.* 654.23.

<sup>3</sup> So already, but on less certain grounds, A. Furumark, *Eranos* LII (1954), p. 38. The special use of *ὁ θεός*, *ἡ θεά* at Eleusis (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, p. 135-8) is probably no more than a coincidence.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 9.8.1; cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1050; Ar. *Thesm.* 1149, 1156. τὸ Ποτνιαίων ἱρόν at Mycale (Hdt. 9.97) probably belongs here too; see K. Schering in *RE* XXII.1 col. 1188.

passages are quoted from Attic poetry to show that Πότνιαι can mean the Eumenides.<sup>1</sup>

Since the title is an inherited Greek word meaning 'wife' or 'lady' as in Vedic *pátnī* (cf. Avest. *paθnī*, Lith. *vieš-patnī*), it is likely that it would be applied, perhaps first as a translation equivalent (Lehnübersetzung) of a native name, to a deity originally worshipped by non-Greeks. So too at Rome the foreign *Magna Mater* is one of the few to have a significant name. That the worship of Demeter and Kore was of pre-Greek origin is also highly probable, and there is thus no reason to suppose that the clue provided by classical usage is misleading. We must not of course equate the Mycenaean Potnia with Demeter or Kore as we know them from later sources. It is hardly likely that Greek religious belief remained static for the next five centuries; but the essential elements of a chthonic fertility cult can probably be attributed to Demeter's Mycenaean forerunner. The fact that the Mycenaean Potnia is apparently always singular is a further indication that the classical parallel must not be pressed too far. It is possible that the context or defining epithets served to distinguish mother and daughter; or that the two aspects of the goddess of fertility had not yet been rationalized into two distinct deities. However, the hypothesis that Potnia was the Mycenaean name for a mother-goddess of non-Greek origin is *prima facie* plausible, and can be supported by other evidence.

The only other important series of WHEAT (i. e. land) tablets, if we exclude the two classified as *Er-*, is that grouped as *Es-*. These are exclusively concerned with offerings to Poseidon together with small amounts for certain other divine or human titles. This might be without significance since *Es-* is presumably not located at Pakijana, but for the fact that the reverse of Tn316, which cannot be separated from the obverse with the Potnia entry, has two derivatives of Poseidon: *po-si-da-i-jo* and *po-si-da-e-ja*. Moreover it mentions Iphimedeia (*i-pe-me-de-ja*) who is the consort of Poseidon in *Odyssey* II.306. There is evidence that Poseidon and Demeter are associated in later cults,<sup>2</sup> even if we do not place much faith in

<sup>1</sup> *RE*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, p. 6.

Kretschmer's etymology of Ποσειδάων as containing πόσις, masculine to πότνια, and \*δα, as in Δα-μάτηρ.<sup>1</sup>

In Pylos En609.1 we have the entry:

*pa-ki-ja-ni-ja to-sa da-ma-te* DA 40

I am not finally convinced that *da-ma-te* is Damater, nor that DA is a measure of land, though this does seem to correspond with the amount recorded in the other tablets of this series.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps curious that Demeter should appear only on the tablets as a substitute for cornland.

If Potnia is a title rather than a real name, we may be justified in looking for other names by which she may be known in special capacities. Iphimedeia, as hinted above, may be a local name for her (or her daughter?); the Mycenaean spelling proves that it is not the simple Greek compound it seems since the absence of initial digamma and the vocalism *i-pe-* both refute any connexion with Ἰφι. In her aspect as the goddess of child-birth she is known to the Knossos tablets as *e-re-u-ti-ja Eleuthia*; a goddess whose cult in Crete is well established in classical times and on sites continuously in use from Minoan times. But even more striking is one of the 1955 tablets, which name Potnia five times:<sup>3</sup>

*pa-ko-we*

1202 *me-tu-wo-ne-wo*

*ma-te-re te-i-ja* OIL+PA 5 5 I 4

It is, like the others, an allocation of oil, in this case probably *sphakowen* 'scented with sage-apple'.<sup>4</sup> The first word is obscure; to judge by the analogy of the other tablets it may be a date. But the recipient is clear: she is *mat(e)rei theiāi*. Do we translate 'Divine Mother' or 'Mother Theia'? The latter is suggested by Hesiod's Theia, daughter of Gaia and Uranus.<sup>5</sup> But I suspect that *te-i-ja* is in

<sup>1</sup> *Glotta* I (1901), p. 27 f.

<sup>2</sup> I remain unconvinced by Bennett's suggestion (*art. cit.* p. 119) that DA = 'households'.

<sup>3</sup> Photograph in *Amer. Journal. of Arch.* LX (1956), plate 46 fig. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Other epithets of OIL in this series are *ku-pa-ro-we* = *kupairowen* 'with cyperus' and *wo-do-we* = *wowdown* = ῥόδον, cf. *Iliad* 23.186.

<sup>5</sup> *Theog.* 135, cf. Pind. *Isth.* 5.1 Μᾶτερ Ἄλιου πολυώνυμε Θεία. I am obliged to Professor H. J. Rose for this reference and many other useful comments on this article when in draft.

the tablets no more than the adjective of *te-o*, and we might fairly translate 'Mother of the Gods'. If so, the classical Theia is probably no more than a reminiscence of the old title, now regarded as a proper name. Though the doubt remains, she is a mother goddess, and quite conceivably Potnia under another name.

Thirdly we may look at Pylos Un2. It is a list of agricultural produce: BARLEY, CYPERUS (?), FLOUR, OLIVES, FIGS, OXEN, SHEEP, PIGS and WINE to read off simply the identified ideograms. The abbreviation *O* followed by  $\mathfrak{d}$  5 in line 3 may perhaps refer to a commodity, not a sum owing; cf. the *Ma*-tablets, where however it is weighed not measured, and Un219. The list in other respects resembles those on other *Un*-tablets, one of which, Un718, is a *dosmos* for Poseidon. Un138 is *qe-te-a<sub>2</sub>*, an enigmatic word which recurs in connexion with Potnia on 1206; Un 47 is headed *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-[ro]*, an address repeated on a new OIL tablet, 1220. Thus it is not unlikely that Un2 is also a list of offerings. For the first line Ventris and I<sup>1</sup> have proposed the reading: *Pakiansi mu(i)omenoi epi wanaktei* 'on the occasion of the king's initiation at Pakijana.' This involves supposing that the Mycenaean used  $\mu\acute{\omega}$  in the sense of  $\mu\acute{\omega}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ .<sup>2</sup> If this is correct, initiation, whatever this may mean in this context, suggests that Pakijana was the home of a special cult, perhaps even of mysteries; and it is worth recalling that mysteries survived in Messenia down to classical times, notably at Andania.

#### 6. *a-si-wi-ja*

It is tempting to conjecture an explanation of this epithet, applied to Potnia in 1206. It is apparently the feminine of the man's name *a-si-wi-jo*,<sup>3</sup> and is likely to represent *aswios*, *aswiā*. On the analogy of  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  this would appear in Ionic as  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (not  $\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ), in Attic as  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\alpha}$ ). This leads at once to Homer's  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$  ἐν λειμῶνι (*Iliad* 2.461), where the  $\acute{\alpha}$  needs some such explanation. A metrical lengthening is unthinkable in a word of this type, with expedients

<sup>1</sup> *Documents*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Other examples where a derivative in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  has displaced the simple verb are collected by Schwyzler, *Gramm.*, I. p. 721. Arcadian  $\mu\acute{\omega}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  'to be initiated' (Schwyzler, *Dial.* 675.21) is explained as from athematic  $\ast\mu\acute{\omega}\eta\mu\iota$  (like  $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ ); but this explanation may perhaps be unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Knossos Dx1469; Pylos Cn285.12, Eq146.11.

such as εἰν Ἴσῳ λειμῶνι ready to hand. It is less certain if Ἰσῖος is further to be connected with Ἰσῖα (Ionic Ἰσῖη, not in Homer but later always with short A-;<sup>1</sup> the feminine adjective Ἰσῖς in Attic tragedy has Ἰ.) The matter would be clinched if we could accept Forrer's equation of Ἰσῖα with the Hittite *Assuwa*. This has been criticised on the grounds that *Assuwa* has a much more restricted meaning; but Mazzarini<sup>2</sup> revives it with the suggestion that the usual sense of Ἰσῖα is a later extension, and it was originally restricted to Lydia where the Ἰσῖος λειμῶν was located. Matriarchal Lydia would of course be an obvious home for a mother goddess.

Lastly we may refer to the archaeological evidence for Mycenaean religion. This subject is now hard to approach owing to the absence of any clear distinction between Mycenaean (Greek) and Minoan (Cretan) religion. I hope someone will now attempt a separation of these elements; so far it has been the fashion to regard Mycenaean religion as an extension of Minoan. And in one respect at least I believe this confusion is justified. The cult of the Mother-Goddess, in her many forms, which has been inferred for Minoan Crete, seems equally to be established on the mainland. But for the tablets we might never have suspected a cult of the Olympians at all, so prominent are the remains suggesting Mycenaean worship of a maternal deity. Moreover the mysteries at Eleusis are dated, by tradition at least, to Mycenaean times;<sup>3</sup> and a similar antiquity is likely for the numerous other sites in Greece where mysteries were celebrated. In the course of time Potnia in some of her aspects was probably syncretised with Olympian goddesses, and the details of the process cannot now be recovered. It seems however reasonable to accept the identification proposed for Potnia as a working hypothesis until further evidence becomes available.

EXCURSUS: *The meaning of te-re-ta*

In view of the suggestion of mysteries in the Pylian kingdom we

<sup>1</sup> Professor D. L. Page has kindly drawn my attention to Archilochus fr. 23 Diehl, where the reading of schol. Eur. *Med.* 708 and *Anecd. Par.* Cramer ὁ δ' Ἰσῖς (υ — υ —) τε καρτερὸς μηλοτρόφου is in his opinion more likely to be correct than the usually accepted ὁ δ' Ἰσῖς (υυυ —) καρτ. κτλ. Mimnermus fr. 12.2 Diehl confirms short the scansion with brief A.

<sup>2</sup> *Fra Oriente e Occidente*, Firenze 1947, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> According to F. Noack, *Eleusis*, I, p. 14, the presence of the cult at this period cannot be confirmed archaeologically.

must re-examine the meaning of the word *te-re-ta*. The Olympian inscription<sup>1</sup> tells us nothing but that the *τελεστά* is distinct from the *ρέτας* (private citizen?) and the *δᾶμος*. In ordinary usage the terms *τελεστής*, *τελετής* or *τελεστήρ* are connected with mysteries and are either initiating priests or sometimes the initiated themselves. Is there any clear reason for rejecting this line of approach to the meaning of the Mycenaean term? We must for the moment ignore comparative theories and concentrate on the internal evidence.

The examples of the word at Pylos all belong to the *E*-series. Another probable example, the fragment Xc113, *pa-ki-ja-ne te-re-[ta*, only serves to reinforce the connexion with Pakijana seen in En609.2, where we are told that there are 14 of them. Only one is named (*wa-na-ta-jo*), but it is possible that they are all to be identified with the holders of *ktoinai ktimenai*. They are mentioned (probably in the plural) in the broken heading to Eq146, which otherwise lists the holdings of individuals. Ec411 seems to be a total of all land held by *te-re-ta* (at Pakijana?):

*ku-su-to-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> pa-to* [ e. g. *o-e-ko-si*] *te-re-ta* WHEAT 44

'total of all that the *te-re-ta* hold'? This entry is followed by another large figure for the *ka-ma-e-we*, and the edge has a broken entry for the *te-o-jo do-e-ra*. Eb149 merits attention because it probably forms part of the same tablet as Eb940, though it does not join. The composite text runs:

*te-re-ta su-ko-* [ (cf. *o-pi-su-ko?*) *o*]-*pe-ro-qe te-re-ja-e o-u-qe te-re-ja du-wo-u-pi-de* [ *wo-ze?* ]

Here *te-re-ta* is singular if agreeing with *ophelōn-q<sup>ue</sup>*, and the join seems to prove that *te-re-ja-e* is the infinitive of the verb describing the function of the *te-re-ta*. This is apparently similar in meaning to *wo-ze*, which it replaces in like formulas.<sup>2</sup> We have been inclined to regard these as feudal terms, indicating the service to be rendered in return for the holding of land. It is however equally possible to regard them as religious functions to be performed by the holders;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schwyzer, *Dial.* 409.

<sup>2</sup> Bennett, *art. cit.* p. 126-8.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot pretend that this is a common practice in classical times. Mr. M. I. Finley has kindly drawn my attention to M. Launey, *BCH* LXI p. 394 on a Thasian inscription *IG* XII Suppl. 353. Launey suggests a restoration

and this will not only allow *wo-ze* to be equated in sense as well as etymology with ῥέζει<sup>1</sup> but will also explain the instrumentals *e-me*, *du-wo-u-pi* 'with one, with two'. The noun to be supplied will be 'victims'.

Finally there remains the text upon which the feudal theory is principally based, Er312. After recording the *temenea* of the *wanax* and the *lāwāgetās*, there are two further entries. The first of these records 30 units of WHEAT as belonging to the *te-re-ta*, who are said in the next line to number three. There is nothing to indicate the location of this land, though royal holdings might be expected to be in the vicinity of the Palace. As we have already seen that Pakijana is in the vicinity of Pylos, it is a possible site for these holdings too. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the order of social precedence will be preserved down to the end of the tablet, unless at least one of the other entries belongs to the same class of titles. *te-re-ta* must not be invoked as it is still not identified. The last entry is *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo* WHEAT 6, which is certainly not a social title. It was explained by Palmer as 'devoted to cult purposes'. We can be more precise: *worgioneios* is the Mycenaean equivalent of ὀργεωνικός 'belonging to the ὀργεῶνες,' a religious association. Thus the second two entries may both be religious. The fact that Un718 appears to repeat the same groups, with *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* substituted for the *wanax* and *dāmos* for *te-re-ta*, hardly helps the feudal theory, which presupposes a dichotomy between *da-mo* and *te-re-ta*.

We must however try to check this conclusion against the evidence from Knossos. There are five tablets probably bearing the word which can be grouped together: Uf839, Uf970, Uf980 (restore *te-[re-ta]*), Uf990 and X 1018. In each case a personal name is followed by a place-name and *te-re-ta*: where complete other words not satisfactorily explained appear. It is however clear that the *Uf*-series relate to land in view of the word *ke-ke-me-na* on Uf835,

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which would imply that the lessee of a certain piece of land had to provide an ox for sacrifice; he compares Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos* 369, lines 10-12: θυόντω δὲ καὶ τοὶ μεμισθωμένοι τὸς ἱερῶς κά]πος καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔριφ[ον ἀ]πὸ δραχμῶν δεκαπέντε.

<sup>1</sup> The same conclusion for *wo-ze* is reached by Ruipérez by a totally different line of argument: *Minos* IV (1956), p. 157.

Uf983, supported by the probable interpretation of DA as also connected with land. The fragment B 7036 adds no information. There is only Am826, which lists men of Aptara: 45 *te-re-ta* and 5 carpenters. If *te-re-ta* are the 'barons' that Palmer suggests, 45 is a large number for an obscure Cretan town. If however we can see in the classical temple of Artemis there<sup>1</sup> the successor of the Minoan *πότνια θηρῶν*, the presence of a religious association would receive faint confirmation. Although there is thus no proof, there is equally nothing in the Knossos tablets to contradict a religious meaning for *te-re-ta*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. Cret.* II. iii. 2.55. Another inscription from Aptara was a dedication to 'Ελεύθυια *BCH* III (1879) p. 436.