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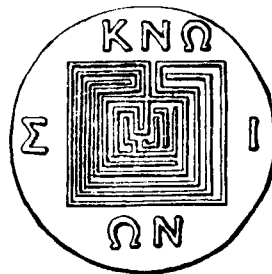
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connection of this term with religion and interpret it as the name of a cult festival or ritual act³.

This is mainly due to the suffix of the term, which could indicate the name of a religious occasion⁴, as well as the context in which the term appears, since Fr 1222 —along with all the Fr tablets— records quantities of oil, probably to be transported. This religious connection of the term will not be argued against; the fact that the oil recorded on Fr 1222 is perfumed⁵ (i.e. of physically non-consumable nature) would support its probable ritual use especially since divine names occur frequently as recipients of such oil in many other Fr documents. The ligatured ideogram accompanying the text of Fr 1222 is OLE + PA, which indicates ‘sage-scented’ oil, *e-ra₃-wo pa-ko-we*⁶.

The present paper aims to examine the term anew and to suggest an alternative meaning for it. Furthermore, connections with Aegean Bronze Age iconography will be proposed on the basis of the suggested interpretation. Philological, pinacological and iconographical evidence will be considered in relevant sections of the text.

³ See Probonas, pp. 32-35 for a brief review of past interpretations. Most of the 1972-1991 bibliography is referred in *DMic* II, p. 362. It may be noted that one of the few scholars who has suggested that *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* is not the name of a festival, but that of a shrine, is J. Chadwick (M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edition, Cambridge 1973, p. 482). Past interpretations need not be repeated here, but it can be added that Cynthia W. Shelmerdine also accepts the interpretation of the term as a religious festival, although she does not expand on a more specific interpretation of the term (*The Perfume Industry of Mycenaean Pylos*, SIMA Pocket Book no. 34, Göteborg 1985, p. 75, 78). Martín S. Ruipérez and J. L. Melena adopt Probonas’ interpretation (*Los Griegos Micénicos*, Madrid 1990, p. 193 after the 1996 Greek revised translation). A recent paper by Lisa M. Bendall («A time for offerings: Dedications of perfumed oil at the Pylian festivals», in Bennet, J. and Driessen, J. (eds.) *A-na-go-ta. Studies Presented to John T. Killen*, (= *Minos* 33-34, [1998-1999], pp. 1-9), adopts Bennett’s original interpretation as “pulling the throne”. However, as the author admits, the interpretation of the term does not seriously affect her conclusions. Reference must be given also to L. M. Bendall, «The economics of Potnia in the Linear B documents: Palatial support for Mycenaean religion», in Laffineur, R. and Hägg, R. (eds.) *Potnia. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Aegaeum 22, Liège and Austin, pp. 445-452. Bendall refers to *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* in p. 447, n.17, where she accepts it as festival name.

⁴ This suffix appears in a number of well-known later Greek festivals, such as the Attic Ἀιθεστήρια and Πλυτήρια. This parallelism was first noted by Bennett (*supra* n. 1, p. 53). Probonas pp. 63-73 thoroughly examines the issue of the suffix of this term and records many religious festival names even from outside Attica, such as the Spartan Θωστήρια, the Argive Ἰσπήρια, the Λαμπτήρια in Achaean Pellene, the Sicilian Ἀνακαλυπτήρια and the Στεπτήριον at Delphi. The wide distribution of this suffix as an indicator of a religious festival name argues strongly in favour of the identification of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* as a similar religious occasion.

⁵ As Shemerline (*supra* n. 3, p. 25) has argued, the Fr tablets record the finished product of the Pylian perfume oil industry.

⁶ Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 3), p. 35. The identification of OLE+ PA with *e-ra₃-wo pa-ko-we* seems to be fairly established. Shelmerdine remarks that in eight out of eleven cases the adjective *pa-ko-we* is accompanied by this specific ideogrammatic formula (OLE + PA).

II. PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Any attempt to interpret this term should begin with an etymological analysis. It is evident that the etymology of the word will provide us with significant information regarding the nature of the ritual, as is the case with later Greek festival names. The term is apparently a compound and the words *to-no* and *e-ke-te-ri-jo* can be easily distinguished, as they were by the vast majority of the scholars who have dealt with its interpretation. Therefore, these two words and their possible meanings should be examined in more detail.

The term *to-no* is almost unanimously identified as θορνο-⁷, with the exception of Palmer⁸ and Milani⁹. Accepting this identification as correct, most researchers connected the name of the festival with the Greek word θρόνος, throne, which appears in exactly the same form (*to-no*) in other Linear B documents from Pylos¹⁰. However, the way Linear B conforms to the phonetics of the Greek language, as well as the position of *to-no-* in this term do not allow us to decide conclusively whether we are dealing with the masculine noun θρόνος or with the totally different in meaning neutre *θρόνον, the latter having been suggested by Probonas.

The most widely accepted interpretation of the term had been that proposed by Bennett, which refers to a ritual ‘dragging’¹¹ of an *actual throne* on the

- ⁷ *to-no* is *θόρνος and not θρόνος. However, the *metathesis* of ρ is not uncommon in Greek (see Probonas, p. 61 with further bibliographical notes). Ruijgh has recorded the Cypriot form θόρναξ meaning ὑποπόδιον in Hesychius (s.v.) (C. J. Ruijgh, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien*, Amsterdam: Hakkert 1967, p. 113, §92). Therefore, equating *to-no-* (θόρνο-) with θρόνο- is absolutely safe. That such a metathesis also occurred in *to-no* from the Pylos Ta set (generally interpreted as ‘throne’) is also generally accepted (see Ruijgh *supra*) although this may not have happened with the Knossian ‘seat-maker’ *to-ro-no-wo-ko* (KN As 1517.11).
- ⁸ L. R. Palmer has read Σπονοεγερτηρίων, a Plural Genitive («New religious texts from Pylos 1955», *TPHS* 1958, p. 13; *The Interpretation of the Mycenaean Greek Texts*, Oxford 1963, p. 252, 459). He bases his interpretation in the poetic form στόνον ἐγείρειν, which literally means ‘raise a mourn’, probably meaning ‘the beginning of mourning’. Although this is linguistically valid, Probonas, p. 39 rightly wonders why the name of a mourning festival should derive from such an elaborate poetic expression and not directly from a synonymous verb, such as θρηνώ or στενάζω.
- ⁹ Celestina Milani, «Le tavolette di Pilo trovate nel 1955», *Rendiconti dell’ Istituto Lombardo* 92, 1958, pp. 614-634 (see p. 630 for *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*) identifies *to-no* with θοινο-, ritual feast or sacrifice. This is possible, but there is so far no interpretation of *e-ke-te-ri-jo* that would make sense with this. Milani suggests the verb ἔχω, but, as Probonas has noted, there is no recorded meaning of this verb compatible with her general interpretation of the term as ‘offering ritual feast’. For a treatment of this view and some reservations against it, see M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes (Incunabula Graeca*, vol. XXIX), Rome 1968, p. 225, as well as Probonas, p. 39 (with further references).
- ¹⁰ For *to-no* see *DMic.* II, p. 361. The term appears in texts dealing with furniture (PY Ta set), so there is little doubt that it refers to an actual seat (PY Ta 707.1 and 2; 708.1 and 2; 714.1).
- ¹¹ See Bennett *supra* n. 1. The suggestion of ‘dragging’ derives from one of the possible identifications of *-e-ke-te-ri-jo* from the Greek verb ἔλκω, which means ‘pull’, ‘drag’.

ground. Probonas rejects it remarking that there is no evidence for any such festival in the later Greek world¹². However, this argument is also weak¹³, since Probonas accepts *a priori* the survival of Mycenaean religious festivals well into the historical period, whereas this is one of the major desiderata in the field of Mycenaean studies.

It may be argued that the concept of a religious festival involving the physical transport of a luxurious seat that we may call a throne is problematic not so much because we have no later references to such a ritual, but because it is not supported by our other major source for Aegean Bronze Age ‘religious’ practices: iconography. There is also one more clue that Bennett’s suggestion should be reconsidered: other references to *to-no* in the Pylian documents (all in the Ta set) mention a significant number of such objects, a fact that moves away from the concept of a *singular* ‘throne’ as the luxurious seat of the ruler. On that basis, it can even be argued that Pylian administration (if not Late Bronze Age Greek speakers) did not use *to-no* to refer particularly to the kind of seat our modern western minds characterise as ‘throne’.

These are admittedly inconclusive arguments. However, they point out the difficulties encountered in following a connection of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* with an actual throne seat and point to the need for alternative interpretations. It must be admitted that if *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* can be interpreted in a way more compatible with our knowledge of Aegean iconographic material, then this interpretation should be favoured.

Probonas’ suggestion on this point should be thoroughly examined, since his approach moves away from the association of the term with any actual throne. This scholar has put forward the interesting suggestion that this *to-no*¹⁴ should be interpreted as the neutre *θρόνον, meaning ‘embroidered garment’¹⁵. Although this interpretation appears as an attractive option, the meaning suggested by Probonas for *θρόνον is not exclusive. He relies on an impressive amount of later Greek philological evidence, which, however, deserves a more critical examination.

In Homer, the source most close chronologically and linguistically to the Mycenaean documents (although not necessarily close enough), the word

This identification of *e-ke-te-ri-jo* will be reviewed in due course. It should be emphasised that the interpretation of the term relies heavily on what *to-no* means.

¹² Probonas, p. 35.

¹³ However, Probonas’ —mainly philological— reservations concerning other interpretations of this term are generally accepted here (Probonas, pp. 35-40). The only reservation expressed here regards his unfair treatment of the identification of *e-ke-te-ri-jo* as deriving from ἔχω (Probonas, p. 35). See *infra* for more extensive reference on this matter.

¹⁴ Probonas’ interpretation refers only to this particular *to-no* as the first component of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*. Other Linear B references to *to-no*, such as those in the Pylian Ta set, are unanimously —and correctly— interpreted as θρόνοι, ‘elaborate seats’.

¹⁵ Probonas, pp. 32-61, especially 60-61.

*θρόνον appears once in the plural¹⁶ (θρόνα) in a passage describing Andromache weaving (*Iliad* xxii, 441):

“... ἴστον ὕφαινε ... δίπλακα πορφυρέη, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ’ ἔπασσε”

It is evident that in this case the plural θρόνα do not indicate the garment itself, which is indicated by the terms ἴστός (meaning ‘loom’ but also its product) and δίπλαξ, but its (probably embroidered) decoration¹⁷, although the kind of this decoration remains unspecified. The term appears again in Theocritus’ *Idylls* (II, 59) (3rd century BC), and in Lykophron’s work (1st century AD), where it clearly means some *medical herbs*¹⁸. In Nikander’s *Θηριακά* (2nd - 1st century BC), the term θρόνα also indicates medical herbs but it also means *flowers*. In an ancient commentary on Nikander’s work (verse 438), the etymology of the place name Πελεθρόιον is explained:

Πελεθρόιον δὲ τόπος ἐπὶ τοῦ Πηλίου ἀνωδῆς ... θρόνα γὰρ τὰ ἄνθη λέγεται¹⁹

The lexicographer Hesychius (4th century AD) refers also to the word θρόνα as meaning “ἄνθη. καὶ τὰ ἐκ χρωμάτων ποικίλματα”, while the phonetically akin word τρόνα is interpreted as “ἀγάλματα ἢ ῥάμματα ἄνθηνα”.

The most remarkable interpretation of the word θρόνα is that provided by Kleitarchus of Aegina (2nd — 1st century BC). An anonymous commentator on Theocritus *Idylls* (II, 59) refers to Kleitarchus’ interpretation of θρόνα. This is a most valuable testimony, since it emphasises the different meanings of the term in various regions of the Greek world:

Θρόνα Θεσσαλοὶ μὲν τὰ πεποικιλμένα ζῶα. Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ ἄνθηνα ἱμάτια. Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ τὰ φάρμακα, ὡς φησι Κλείταρχος.

These interpretations seem to form a diverse assortment. However, a closer examination reveals that this is not the case. If these later sources are utilized, Homeric θρόνα may be identified as some floral motifs which decorated Andromache’s δίπλακα. “Medical herbs”, “herbs as pigments” or “floral embroidery”, although seemingly conceptually diverse, yet have one element in common: the ‘flower/ herb’ concept itself.

¹⁶ All later Greek sources record only the plural types of this word (see *infra*).

¹⁷ This is absolutely clear when comparing this verse with those describing Helene weaving: “...μέγαν ἴστον ὕφαινε δίπλακα πορφυρέη, πολέας δ’ ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους Τρώων θ’ ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων...” (*Iliad* iii, 125-127, italics emphasise the common formula of the two passages). It is almost self evident that we have the application of the same stereotype epic formula where θρόνα ποικίλα and πολέας ἀέθλους may be regarded as contextually interchangeable. This is accepted by Probonas, p. 43.

¹⁸ Probonas, pp. 40-41, 43. In Lykophron (verse 1138) the term probably indicates the use of θρόνα as pigments, though it is very probable that it is the medical herb that is used in such a way (Probonas, p. 43, n. 3). The same scholar also refers to additional sources where θρόνα have a similar meaning: a 2nd century BC papyrus fragment and the work *Διονυσιακά* (XXXVII, 418) by Nonnus, a 5th century AD epic poet.

¹⁹ The author’s italics; this fragment is also quoted by Probonas, p. 42.

It is most probable that the original meaning of *θρόνον* was indeed “flower” or “herb”²⁰ and indeed this is the most commonly mentioned interpretation of this Greek word. Its precise etymology is not clear, though Carnoy suggests a connection with the Latin *frons* (= vegetation)²¹. Other meanings were probably derived from this initial concept, as Probonas rightly accepts²². Identification with a specific plant species cannot be established, although the Modern Greek word *θρούνα* (which is, however, fem. sing.) indicates the bellardia (*Bellardia trixago* Linnaeus)²³. However, since ancient sources do not ascribe any specialised meaning to *θρόνα*, this argument cannot be stressed any further and could even be rejected as coincidental.

However, Probonas’ point is that this original meaning does not appear in Homer, where the meaning of the word *θρόνα* is “embroidered garment”, an interpretation which finds its closest parallel in that of the 2nd century BC Cyprus, provided by Kleitarchus: “*ἄθλινα ἱμάτια*”. His argument is based (a) on the analysis of the compound Homeric epithets ending in *-θρόνος*, which he considers referring to *θρόνα* (as garments) and not to any *θρόνος*, and (b) on the assumption that the interpretation of this word in Homer is the same as its meaning in the Mycenaean documents.

However, there is a point to be made in Probonas’ analysis of the epithets *εὖθρονος* and *χρυσόθρονος*. His many sound observations and remarks clearly show that these terms more likely refer to “beautiful” or “golden *θρόνα*” and not to an actual throne seat²⁴. However, they do nothing to show that the meaning of these *θρόνα* included as the second component in these two epithets refers to the garment and not only to the ornaments *on* a garment. The ornaments themselves, far more convincingly than any piece of garment, can be described as “golden”

²⁰ The same view is held by W. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*, Archäologische Untersuchungen, Leipzig 1884, p. 150, and Probonas, p. 49. However, Probonas does not accept that this ‘original’ meaning is that of the Mycenaean term (see *infra*). P. Chantraine, in his *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, Paris 1968, volume I, p. 442 also refers to the possible original meaning of *θρόνα* as “fleurs”, but he prefers “aux couleurs varies” as more probable. It is here suggested that, if *θρόνα* is occasionally used as “variously coloured”, this has derived from its meaning as ‘flowers’ and not vice versa, as is the case with Modern Greek colour names which derive from flower names (e.g. *μενεξεδί* < *μενεξέες*, *βιολετί* < *βιολέτα*).

²¹ Carnoy, A., *Dictionnaire Étymologique des Noms Grecs des Plantes*, Bibliothèque du Muséeon, Louvain 1959, p. 265: *throna*. “herbes magiques”. Carnoy suggests a derivation from the root *dérnu*’.

²² Probonas, pp. 49-50.

²³ See Heldreich, Th. - Meliarakis, Sp., *Λεξικόν τῶν Δημωδῶν Ὀνομάτων τῶν Φυτῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens 1909 (reprinted 1980), p. 149 for *θρούνα*.

²⁴ The view that the second component of these epithets was *θρόνα* and not *θρόνος* was first suggested by Wilamowitz and then adopted by Buschor, Lawler, Bolling and Putnam (see Probonas, p. 53, n. 2, 54, n. 1-5 for these references). The most impressive observation is that these two epithets always refer to *goddesses* and never to male gods. This is a further indication that *θρόνα* are connected with females (either women or goddesses). Additional reference is made in section V of this study.

(χρυσό-θρονος), and the meaning of εὖθρονος is probably “well-ornamented” rather than “with a beautiful garment”. Moreover, if we accept that in these epithets -θρονος means the embroidered garment as a whole and not the actual elements of its (floral?) decoration, this is in direct disagreement with the meaning of θρόνα in its single occurrence in the epic (*Iliad* xxii, 441), where, as we have already noted, it clearly refers exclusively to the ornaments and *not* to the garment.

A case can be made against Probonas’ view that Mycenaean θρόνα are closer to the Cypriote interpretation of the word as ἄνθινα ἱμάτια, mentioned in the comment on Theocritus’ *Idylls* (see *supra*). First, this seems to be a somewhat isolated case not occurring outside Cyprus and, even worse, not recorded before late Hellenistic times. Probonas’ emphasis on linguistic similarities between Mycenaean and historical Cypriote²⁵ is not enough to bridge this wide gap in both space and time. Moreover, there is no apparent reason why all other interpretations of θρόνα mentioned by classical authors should not be considered. The other problem is that the anonymous commentator used the epithet ἄνθινα to describe the kind of garment θρόνα were. The meanings of this epithet range from ‘refreshing’²⁶ to ‘variously coloured’, deriving from various natural properties of the ‘flower’ (ἄνθος), such as colour, texture or scent. However, in late Classical and Hellenistic times (the very time the Cypriote interpretation is dated in), ἄνθινος seems to have acquired a special negative meaning when referring to ‘gay coloured’ garments. Phylarchus (fr. 45) describes the dresses worn by Athenian ἑταῖραι as ἄνθινα; more significantly, two religious inscriptions, one from Delos and one from 2nd century BC Lycosura in Arcadia, mention ἄνθινα dresses as exactly the kind of clothing one is *forbidden* to wear on religious occasions²⁷. It is thus highly likely that when the commentator wrote ἄνθινα ἱμάτια at some point during the 2nd century BC, he probably did not have in mind anything like the kind of garment that could be offered to a deity during a religious festival, but rather he meant ‘indecent/ provocative dress’. Thus, it becomes extremely difficult to accept Probonas’ argument that θρόνα as ἄνθινα ἱμάτια can be connected with contemporary dedications of elaborate garments to deities during religious festivals²⁸ (none of these garments was ever recorded as *θρόνον), not to speak about the projection of such a connection back to the Late Bronze Age.

At this point, it is also appropriate to consider the possibility of a metonymic use of *θρόνον as the garment named after the ornaments arranged on it²⁹. Since

²⁵ Probonas, p. 60.

²⁶ Its earlier occurrence seems to be in Homer (*Odyssey* ix, 84) where the lotus is described as ἄνθινον εἶδος.

²⁷ *IG* 11 (*Inscriptiones Delii*).1300 (Delos) and *IG* 5 (*Inscriptiones Arcadiae*, edited by F. Hiller von Gärtringen, 1913), vol. ii, 514.6 (Lycosura). See *LSJ* (9th edition, 1940), p. 140.

²⁸ See Probonas, pp. 75-98, where various testimonies of such offerings are mentioned, such as to Athena (Panathenaeon *peplos* and possibly at Argos), Hera at Olympia, Aotis (a persona of Artemis) at Sparta and Kore in Arcadian Mantinea.

²⁹ I wish to thank Dr Christos Boulotis for pointing this possibility to me during a discussion on θρόνα.

the metonymic use of a word by definition postdates its actual meaning, it is of much importance to note that the only possible case for a compound epithet ending in *-θρόνος* and referring to a garment is recorded by the lyrics, who postdate the linguistic tradition reflected in Homer's epic; the epithets *ποικιλόθρονος* (Sappho 1.1) and *ἀγλαόθρονος* (Bakchylides XVII, 124, Pindar *O* XIII, 96 and *N* X, 1) have the epithets *ποικίλος* and *ἀγλαός* as their first components. Both these epithets are admittedly used to describe elaborate clothing in Homer³⁰. However, even this argument, used by Probonas³¹, is inconclusive, since these epithets refer to a significant range of nouns³². Probonas uses this evidence to support his identification of Homeric *θρόνα* also with garments, not considering that the sole clear reference of the word in Homer (*Iliad* xxii, 441) leaves no room for this identification. The evidence indicates that the only probable metonymic use of *θρόνα*, if accepted, could have occurred between the formation of *Iliad* xxii, 441 and the standardisation of the lyric epithets. However, this would imply that the Homeric epithets *εὐθρονος* and *χρυσόθρονος*, also preserved by the lyrics³³, were *differently* interpreted and used by them. Thus, on the basis of the available evidence, no metonymic use of **θρόνον* as a kind of garment can be accepted before late Hellenistic times, when its interpretation as *ἄθλινα ἱμάτια* is recorded.

In conclusion, it is almost certain that Homeric *θρόνα* must be interpreted as 'flower-like or herb-like ornaments or decorative motifs', a meaning closer to the probable original meaning of **θρόνον* as "flower/ herb".

At this point, we should ask whether the above discussion has been of any help in the interpretation of the Mycenaean term. Probonas apparently believes that a Mycenaean **θρόνον* should be identical in meaning with the Homeric word. However, this need not be the case. The chronological and contextual difference between the Homeric epic poetry and the Mycenaean palatial

³⁰ *Ποικίλος* for garments: *Iliad* v 735, vi 289, ix 386, xiv 214, *Odyssey* xviii 292. *ἀγλαός* for garments: *Odyssey* ii 109, xxiv 145. See Probonas, pp. 58-59.

³¹ Probonas, *ibidem*.

³² In 52 out of its 71 occurrences in Homer (both epics), *ἀγλαός* (= 'shining', 'brilliant', 'polished') refers either to *δῶρα* ('gifts') or *υἱός* ('son')/ *τέκνα* ('children', 'sons'). Of the remaining instances, this epithet refers to *ἄποινα* (another term for 'gifts', 3 times), *ἔργα* ('works', 4 times, all in the *Odyssey*), *ὔδωρ* ('water', also 4 times), *ἄεθλα* ('prizes won in games', once), *ἄλσος* (small grove of trees, usually in a sacred place/ enclosure, twice), *ἔγχος* ('spear', once), *γυῖα* ('limb', once) and *κέρατα* ('horn(s)' or '(artefact) made of horn', once). This epithet refers only twice (see *supra*) to *ἵστος* ('cloth', but also 'loom' and 'mast'). *Ποικίλος* ('colourful', 'variegated' or simply 'elaborately executed') is equally diverse in its use and refers to many diverse artefact types, such as *ἱμάς* ('belt', 'strap'), *τεύχεα* ('pieces of armoury'), *κεστός* ('piece of embroidery'), *θώρηξ* ('corslet'), *δίφρος* ('seat', 'bench'), *κλισμός* (kind of low seat), *έλλον* ('young deer'), or even technique, such as *δεσμός* ('binding'). Given the diverse use of both these epithets, it can hardly be argued that their presence favours the identification of **θρόνον* as any kind of garment.

³³ *Εὐθρονος*: Pindar *O* II, 22, *P* IX, 60, *N* III, 83, *I* II, 5. *Χρυσόθρονος*: Pindar *P* IV, 260, *N* I 37, Bakchylides 14B, 1). See Probonas p. 59.

administrative documents is not to be underestimated and certainly not to be bridged by emphasising grammatical and lexicographical similarities, which are more expected than striking. Any Mycenaean meaning for *θρόνον may not be literarily 'provable', but it can be suggested that its close proximity to the original meaning of "flower/ herb" is to be expected.

If we accept that *to-no* in *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* means "flower/ herb", what impact this may have in our interpretation of the term?

The second word of the Mycenaean compound, *-e-ke-te-ri-jo*, has been connected with the Greek verb ἔλκω meaning "drag" or "draw"³⁴. Probonas accepts this connection, but prefers another meaning for ἔλκω as "pull/ drag upwards" or "unfurl", which appears in Homer in relation with a ship's sail³⁵. In view of the context in which this specific use of Homeric ἔλκω appears, this would have been a somewhat peculiarly inelegant action to make in a ritual. Although Probonas is correctly stressing that ἔλκω is not necessarily a verb of violent actions, the range of movements necessary for 'unfurling' a ship's sail cannot be convincingly paralleled with 'unfurling' an embroidered garment as a ritual offering in a religious festival. One would expect a verb meaning 'offer' or 'dedicate' to be used for naming a festival involving a piece of garment. In addition, there is no recorded or presumed meaning of ἔλκω, which can be plausibly compromised with our interpretation of θρόνα as 'herbs/ flowers'. In sum, although the identification of *-e-ke-te-ri-jo* as deriving from ἔλκω seems philologically and orthographically valid, the meanings for this verb supported by Bennett and Probonas (or indeed any recorded meaning of this verb in ancient Greek literature) do not fit well neither with their, nor with our interpretation of the first component. Is this an argument against our proposed interpretation for θρόνα, or are there any other alternative identifications for *-e-ke-te-ri-jo*?

We may suggest that the identification and interpretation of *-e-ke-te-ri-jo* as suggested by Probonas needs some reconsideration. The other most widely accepted candidate for *-e-ke-te-ri-jo* is the verb ἔχω. That the verb ἔχω could well have been the second component of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* was first argued by Gallavotti, subsequently by Adrados and Ruijgh, all attributing different nuances to the specific action concerned, but all interpreting *to-no* as an actual throne seat, the same as the *to-no* in the Ta documents³⁶. Chadwick and Bartoněk are not

³⁴ The connection with ἔλκω was first proposed by Bennett (*supra* n. 1) and subsequently taken up by A. Heubeck, *Aus der Welt der frühriechischen Lineartafeln. Eine kurze Einführung in Grundlagen (Aufgaben und Ergebnisse der Mykenologie)*, Göttingen 1966, p. 105. See also Probonas, pp. 32-40, 61-62.

³⁵ Probonas, pp. 61-62.

³⁶ C. Gallavotti, «I documenti unguentari e gli dei di Pilo», *PP* 14, 1959, p. 98 (a festival for the one who *possesses* the throne); F. R. Adrados, «Sobre el aceite perfumado: Esquilo, *Agamemnon* 96, las tabillias Fr y la ambrosía», *Kadmos* 3, 1964, p. 118 (a festival including a processional *transportation* of the throne); Ruijgh (*supra* n. 7), p. 113, §92 (a festival of those *holding* the throne). Ruijgh (*supra* n. 7, p. 113, §92, n. 70) notes that -ελκτήρια "nous paraît moins probable".

strongly conclusive on this specific issue, but they both present the verb ἔχω as the first possible option for the identification of *-e-ke-te-ri-jo*³⁷. One of the principal meanings of this verb has always been ‘hold’ or ‘bear’ and in Homer it is *passim* found referring to objects *held in hand*, just as would be the case with a flower/ herb³⁸.

As far as the number and case of the term as recorded on Fr 1222, Probonas has favoured a Dative Plural. However, although his parallelisms with Greek historical inscriptions (where festival names are used in Dative Plural indicating time, ‘on the occasion of’) seem sound, his argument stumbles upon a difficulty with Linear B spelling: a Dative Plural would have been written as **e-ke-te-ri-jo-i* /*h*ektērioihi³⁹. Recently, Catherine Trümpy opted for a Genitive Plural for the term, arguing that the function of the word as a time designation is better fulfilled in this case, paralleled in such phrases as *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* (PY Fr 1224) or *po-ro-wi-to-jo (me-no)* (PY Tn 316 *recto*.1)⁴⁰. Although a preference for Genitive over Dative is not really qualified on syntactical grounds (as *te*h Dative is equally suitable as a time designation, hence Probonas’ parallelism with historical inscriptions), her preposition fits the Linear B spelling on Fr 1222 far better.

Applying the above considerations to the interpretation of Mycenaean *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*, it is here suggested that it could be read Θορνοῦ ἑκτῆριων, ‘‘on the occasion of (ritual) holding/ bearing of flowers/ herbs’’. Is it possible that we may be dealing with a Late Bronze Age festival whose participants held or bore floral items? If unsupported by Late Bronze Age Aegean evidence, this suggestion should remain a mere speculation. For this reason, both pinacological Linear B and iconographic evidence will be explored.

III. PINACOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The relation of PY Fr 1222 to the other tablets has not been systematically explored by Probonas or by anyone who previously attempted to interpret *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*. The term *wa-na-so-i* has been interpreted by Probonas as being in dual and referring ‘‘to the two goddesses’’⁴¹. We think that *wanasoi* should be

³⁷ See Ventris and Chadwick (*supra* n. 3), p. 482 and Bartoněk, A., *Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch*, C. Winter, Heidelberg 2003, p. 208, 379.

³⁸ For uses and etymology of ἔχω, see Chantraine, P., *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, Paris 1968-1980, II, pp. 392-394, with relevant literature cited. Many Homeric quotations can be found either there, or in *LSJ* (9th edition, 1940), pp. 749-750 (ἔχω), 1983-1984 (χεῖρ). See also the verbal adjectives σκηπτουχος (Homer) or the Attic βαβδουχος, with the verbal adjective ὄχος (vocalism *o*/ IE form **sogh*) as the second component, meaning ‘holding in hand’ (sceptre/ stick etc.).

³⁹ Probonas, pp. 106-107. Nevertheless the confluence of Dative and Instrumental/Locative endings is not accomplished in Mycenaean yet.

⁴⁰ C. Trümpy, «Nochmals zu den mykenischen Fr – Täfelchen. Die Zeitangaben innerhalb der Pyllischen Ölrationenserie», *SMEA* 27, 1989, pp. 192-234 (see pp. 216-217 for *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*). Unfortunately, she does not counter Probonas’ treatment in her study. A Plural Genitive had been already recognized by L. R. Palmer (see *supra* n. 8), although with a different interpretation of the festival name..

⁴¹ Probonas, pp. 101-105.

interpreted as Dative indicating place⁴². Probonas' argument relies on the presence of the term *e-re-de* in tablet PY Fr 1228⁴³, which in his opinion fulfils its role as a place indicator -although its interpretation is far from clear, leaving *wanasoi* as indicating the deity or deities to which the perfumed oil is addressed. However, this need not be the case, since each tablet should be treated as an independent unit and is therefore expected to bear all necessary information on it. Therefore, if *wanasoi* in Fr 1222 does not indicate an address, then this information may be altogether absent from this tablet. Of course, one would object that the recipient (in our case the "two goddesses") would provide a clear clue for the physical destination of the oil recorded or that the name of the festival indicates a specific location⁴⁴. However, if these "two goddesses" are so well known as to substitute for the place designation, as argued by Probonas, then why are they accompanied by *e-re-de*, which the same scholar regards as a clear indication of place⁴⁵, on tablet Fr 1228?

It is true that on the basis of analogy with Fr 1217, where a name of a religious festival (*re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, probably ΛΕΧΕ^hΕΣΤΡΩΤΗΡΙΩΝ) and a name of the destination (*pa-ki-ja-na-de*, 'to Sphagianes') occur, *wanasoi* could well indicate the place. Additionally, if one accepts the interpretation *wanasoi* = *to the two goddesses*, it becomes all the more difficult to interpret PY Fr 1235, where *wanasoi wa-na-ka-te* (Dat. sing., "to the *wanaks*") (.1) and, more importantly, *wanasoi po-ti-ni-ja* (to the Potnia) (.2) are recorded.

There are two main points, which enable us to refute the "two goddesses" hypothesis:

[1] If *wanasoi* refers to them as recipients of oil, then these two goddesses appear to get very impressive amounts of perfumed oil, especially when compared to the two other deities in the Fr tablets. Poseidon, Potnia and the Pylian ruler are not recorded separately from them as recipients of oil, but they often accompany these "two goddesses". However, Fr 1235, where *wanaks* and Potnia are both present, features separate records of oil for each one. It is not

⁴² This suggestion was first made by Ventris and Chadwick, who proposed "it is clearly simpler to regard *wanasoi* as the address, a locative plural indicating the name of the shrine or locality" (*supra* n. 3, p. 479). See also J. T. Hooker, «The *wanax* in the Linear B texts», *Kadmos* 18, 1979, pp. 108-109, 111) for arguments strongly against the interpretation adopted by Probonas (and originally proposed by L. R. Palmer *supra* n. 8, p. 91). For a full list of citations of other scholars who have variously interpreted *wanasoi*, see Probonas, pp. 100-101, Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 3, p. 74, n. 130) and *DMic.* II, pp. 403-404. Of more recent literature, R. A. Sucharski, «The Pylian word *wa-na-so-i* — Some observations», *Eos* 83, 1995, pp. 5-9, can be added.

⁴³ Probonas, p. 101.

⁴⁴ Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 3), p. 73, n. 132.

⁴⁵ Additionally, if we accept that *e-re-de* refers to a place, we can hardly identify *wa-na-so-i* as an additional locative on Fr 1228. However, it is most likely that *e-re-de* is most probably an indication of the exact recipient, to which the recorded oil is addressed, as Shelmerdine has argued (*supra* n. 3, p. 71, 73-75). Bendall (*supra* n. 3, p. 451) also regards *e-re-de* as indicating the recipient, not the address.

clear why the “two goddesses”, who accompany *wanaks* and Potnia in their separate records on tablet Fr 1235, should be such an exception to this.

[2] If *wanasoi* are equated with “two goddesses” then it is difficult to imagine why they should so often be found accompanying other deities. Four out of the six clear occurrences of this term in the Pylian archives (all in the Fr series) record these “two goddesses” along with other recipients (Fr 1219 with Poseidon, Fr 1227, 1235.1 with the *wanaks*, Fr 1235.2 with Potnia). Strangely, these all-important deities never seem to get any oil that is exclusively their own!

Both these important difficulties are overcome, if we accept Shelmerdine’s arguments and interpret *wanasoi* as an indication of place, even if it is not clear whether it literally means the place or the people living there (*wa-na-sians?*)⁴⁶. We cannot be confident that *wanasoi* has any etymological or other connection with the title of the ruler (*wa-na-ka*, *wanaks*), although Wundsam and Gérard Rousseau have interpreted it as “the place of the *wanaks*”, the Mycenaean palace of Ano Englianos itself⁴⁷. Whatever the precise meaning of *wanasoi*, the term, either as an indication of people or as a place name proper, probably indicates the physical locale for the performance of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*.

Unlike cases where the inclusion of a time designation had obviously been considered necessary by the scribe (Fr 1202, 1224), it becomes highly likely that, in the case of Fr 1222, *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* states the time of the year, as Shelmerdine has already observed⁴⁸. Such a syntactical function is also in agreement with the Genitive Plural case favoured here. This is a further clue confirming our suggested connection of this festival with the flora, since most plant species (especially flowers) in seasonal climates (such as the Mediterranean Greek climate) are found only during certain periods of the year, a fact that would have made a declaration of the time of the year self-evident, probably spring, and, thus, unnecessary. However, it must be admitted that the absence of a time designation is not exclusively indicating a connection with nature, since evidence for archaic and classical Greek festivals, shows that the nomenclature of the months directly derived from the names of certain festivals, whether connected with nature or not. Pylian *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, also generally identified as a festival name, is not accompanied by a month name either.

Important information comes from the certainly divine⁴⁹ names in the Fr set: *po-ti-ni-ja* (Fr 1231, 1235.2), a term generally identified as Potnia and interpreted

⁴⁶ Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 3), p. 77, 78.

⁴⁷ See Gérard Rousseau (*supra* n. 9, pp. 240-242) and Wundsam, K., *Die politische und soziale Struktur in den mykenischen Residenzen nach der Linear B Texten*, Wien 1968, p. 30. This identification does not necessarily affect the meaning of Fr 1227 (*wanakate wanasoi*). Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 3, p. 77) reasonably argues that *wanakate* is a further designation for the exact person *within the palace*, to which the oil is to be sent (“for *wanaks*, in the place of *wanaks*”).

⁴⁸ Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 3), p. 124.

⁴⁹ It is not plausible that the occurrence of the Dative *wa-na-ka-te* in this context indicates a divine rather than a human ruler. Although a discussion on the nature of the

as a female deity of major importance, *po-se-da-o-ne* (Fr 343, 1219, 1224a), also unanimously identified with Poseidon, and certain less clear deities, such as *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* (Fr 1206), *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (Fr 1225, 1236), *ma-te-re te-i-ja* (Fr 1202, 'mother-goddess?') and *te-o-i* (Fr 1226, 1235) ('gods'? (masculine plural)). *To-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* is not explicitly stated in connection with any plausibly divine name, a fact, which, if the interpretation of *wanasoi* as a theonym is not accepted, is at first puzzling.

However, this need not be the case. If *wanasoi* is, as accepted here, a place indication, either direct or indirect, then the performance of the festival *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* in this specific place provides connections with specific deities, since both Poseidon in Fr 1219 and Potnia in Fr 1235.2, are mentioned as receiving amounts of perfumed oil at this particular location. It is plausible that the cult of both deities was established at *wanasoi* and the performance of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* there enhances the possibility that the festival may be connected with either (or both?) divine persona(e).

At this point, we may tentatively suggest that the tablets Fr 1222, Fr 1228 and Fr 1235 (along perhaps with Fr 1227?) comprise a unit of documents more closely interlinked than others within the Fr set (a 'sub-set'). However, it should be noted that this is recorded only as a tentative hypothesis and that no strong argumentation is based on it. It is based upon the co-occurrence of the following similarities:

[1] These tablets -amongst others in the Fr set- were recorded by the same stylus and scribal hand, S 1202-H2, according to Palaima's definitive analysis⁵⁰.

[2] These tablets were found in the *same* room in the palatial complex (Room 23). It is significant that all these tablets were *not* found in the Archives Complex (Rooms 7 and 8).

Pylian *wanaks* is beyond the scope of this examination, we should point out that other Pylian documents referring to him make it certain that we are dealing with a human ruler, who possesses a special kind of landholding (*te-me-no*) alongside other (presumably human!) officials (PY Er 132) or has the right to appoint a high official, such as *da-mo-ko-ro* (PY Ta 711.1). His references as a recipient of perfumed oil alongside major deities, like Poseidon or Potnia, are better understood as part of his involvement in religious duties, rather than him being a deity himself. References to *wanakate* have been classified as 'probably religious' by Bendall (*supra* n. 3, p. 451, group I.2).

⁵⁰ See Palaima, T. G., *The Scribes of Pylos*, Incunabula Graeca LXXXVII, Rome 1988, pp. 141-145, 204. Shelmerdine (*supra* n. 3, p. 64, Table III) also summarizes Palaima's main identifications prior to their final publication. However, even tablets written by different scribes could have been closely interlinked. The physical distance between tablet fragments 7 + 49 (= Fr 1227) and fragments 18 (= Fr 1222), 20 + 46 (= Fr 1228) within Room 23 (see Palaima, *op. cit.*, p. 143, fig. 15b; the exact find-spot of Fr 1235 is not recorded) need not speak against the validity of the proposed 'sub-set'. This is strongly indicated from the wide dispersal of fragments 11, 26 and 56, which, however, all belong to Fr 1226. It is thus more likely that contextually and physically close documents were dispersed during the destruction of the area.

[3] These tablets are all of the palm-leaf type and thus do not represent the final stage of documentation. Therefore, it is absolutely possible that the data included in them are recorded in separate tablets, even if they were contextually homogeneous, before they were copied on a page-shaped document⁵¹.

[4] They record the *same* product (OLE + PA, 'sage-scented oil') (from this aspect, we have only speculatively included Fr 1227 in this group, since its ideogram is not preserved).

[5] They include the *same* place designation (*wanasoi*).

This hypothesis was presented in order to strengthen a connection between Potnia and *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*, since in the above tentatively argued 'sub-set' of documents Potnia is the only certainly divine name (Fr 1235.2).

What is clear is that such a connection should at least be borne in mind. As this study proceeds to the examination of iconographic evidence for religious scenes of humans holding flowers or herbs, the presence of images of female 'divine' figures is expected.

IV. ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Our endeavour in the Aegean Late Bronze Age iconography should begin with the evidence from the site, which also produced the textual evidence, the palatial centre at Ano Englianos. Since the very reference to a festival in the Linear B documents indicates some kind of palatial interest in it, we should expect to find evidence for gathering of flowers or herbs in the artistic medium most plausibly connected with those in control of the function of the palace, the frescoes⁵².

In the final publication of the Pylian frescoes, treated in a separate volume by Lang⁵³, fragments of a procession scene that included female figures holding

⁵¹ See Palaima, T. G. and Wright, J. C., «Ins and Outs of the Archives Rooms at Pylos», *AJA* 89, 1985, pp. 251-262, especially 259: "there is no indication that any of these sets (*i.e.* of tablets not found in the Archives Complex) were intended to be filed or stored for long areas in the areas where they were found. Perhaps, they would eventually have been transported to the AC (*i.e.* the Archives Complex) if the destruction of the palace had not intervened." For a recent brief description of the three-tiered process in the Linear B documentation and its difference from the administrative use of Linear A, see Schoep, I., «Sealed documents and data processing in Minoan administration: A review article», *Minos* 31-32, 1996-1997 [1998], p. 412: "the information was copied onto palm-leaf tablets and subsequently the information from several palm-leaf tablets was compiled on a page-shaped tablet".

⁵² Wall painting is —by definition— directly connected with the architectural environment where it is found. We have no clear evidence for Mycenaean monumental pictorial art outside the great palatial centres or in sites not connected with them. See Immerwahr, S. A., *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*, Pennsylvania State University Press 1990, p. 106.

⁵³ *PN* II.

flowers or herbs have been recorded. In the fragmentary scene 41 H SW ("Woman's Arm on Blue") Lang recognises that the "fingers are closed over what seems to be a bouquet of flowers; black stems appear to the left of the hand and a trace of pink (petals?) to the right"⁵⁴. A representation restored from fragments from the plaster dump on the northwestern slope of the Engianos hill, 51 H nws, is more impressive. Two successive female figures have been restored, which both appear to hold a kind of red and white flowers in their hand⁵⁵. In fragment *a* of this scene, there are "red and white flowers under the nose of the left figure"⁵⁶ and in fragment *i* there are "red and white flowers held by the right hand of the right figure"⁵⁷. Additional information is included in the representation 53 H nws, which most probably formed part of the same procession scene. Fragment *a* shows a "bouquet of red and white flowers"⁵⁸, absolutely similar to those of 51 H nws. Fragment *d* is more interesting, since it is ivy leaves that have replaced flowers in the hand of the female figure⁵⁹. The same red and white flowers held by these women are elsewhere depicted in their natural environment, as in fragments from Room 53 (7 N 53)⁶⁰, while depictions of other kinds of flowers⁶¹, whose connections with any religious procession is either non-existent or unknown, are also present.

The religious or cultic significance of these processions of life-size bare-breasted women with Minoan flounced skirts is generally accepted. In many cases it has been supposed that the —often unspecified— goal these women are heading to is a seated female divine figure. It is almost certain that the variety of goods (wooden or ivory boxes (pyxides), stone vessels, etc.) carried by women in similar processions from other palatial centres, such as Thebes, Tiryns and Mycenae, can be interpreted as offerings. However, as we will note below, Mainland procession imagery does not explicitly state the act of offering, but only the transportation of the items, including flowers and herbs.

Lang has suggested that the oversized "White Goddess" bust (49 H nws) from the same plaster dump as the processional women may belong to such a figure, even if its connection to the other figures is unclear due to the absence of joining fragments⁶². Lang has also recorded a fragment (50 H nws) showing

⁵⁴ *PN II*, p. 79. Plates 26, 127, Colour Plate C.

⁵⁵ For various fragments of this representation see *PN II*, Plates 34-38. For a full restoration see Colour Plate O.

⁵⁶ *PN II*, p. 86.

⁵⁷ *PN II*, p. 87.

⁵⁸ *PN II*, p. 90. The fragments are shown in Plates 38-40 and in Colour Plate E.

⁵⁹ "Beside the wrist and as if held in the hand, is an ivy leaf-shaped green object with a black-barred yellow centre. There are other *non-joining* pieces of similar objects, so that it may be a bouquet that it is being held in the way the other processional women hold their flowers (51, 53a H nws)" (*PN II*, p. 91, my italics).

⁶⁰ *PN II*, p. 128, Plate 71, Colour Plate H.

⁶¹ See fragments 8 N 32, 9 N 47 (white crocuses or tulips?), 10 F 32, 14 N sw ('Flowers on the Vine') and 15 N sw (red anemones?) (*PN II*, pp. 128-131, Plates 71, 73, 85, Colour Plate H).

⁶² *PN II*, pp. 84-85, Plates 31, 33, 116, 127-128, Colour Plates D and N. The objections to her suggestion are summarised by Immerwahr (*supra* n. 52, p. 118, 197[PY no. 9]).

white (female) feet on a footstool⁶³. Both these fragments belonged to figures with orientation *opposed* to that of the processional women. The connection of this “White Goddess” to this latter fragment probably has to be abandoned, since there are serious differences in scale between the two. However, we should essentially agree with Immerwahr⁶⁴ that, one way or another, these women are faced with a probably divine figure, either defined as such by her elaborate headdress and her great size (“White Goddess”) or by her posture (seated figure with feet on a footstool).

The presence of female processional figures holding or carrying bouquets in a cult context is in full agreement with our interpretation so far of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*. It is not plausible that the reference of the term in a Linear B text and these associated representations *from the same site* are unrelated. The fact that these women are life size⁶⁵ may be a further indication that they may have been deliberately aimed at representing an *actual* ritual act.

It is also particularly significant that the Pylian procession (along with other similar pictorial syntheses), involves a dominant female divine figure. This we have already suspected in the previous section. The deity could have probably been the Potnia mentioned in PY Fr 1235.2. This is a further confirmation of the iconographic evidence from Pylos fitting with our suggested interpretation of *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*.

The Pylian evidence is by no means isolated in the Bronze Age Aegean. Though never quantitatively predominant, similar representations of human figures (predominantly female) holding flowers or herbs do occur in Minoan and Mycenaean iconography. A Protopalatial (MM II) presentation of female ‘flower bearers’ in a procession-like scene is seen on a Kamares fruitstand from the Phaistos palace⁶⁶. One of the most frequently illustrated pieces, the massive gold signet ring from the Acropolis Treasure at Mycenae⁶⁷, depicts a procession of

⁶³ PN II.

⁶⁴ Immerwahr (*supra* n. 52), p. 118.

⁶⁵ PN II, p. 86.

⁶⁶ See the recent paper by W. Schiering, «Goddesses, dancing and flower-gathering maidens in Middle Minoan vase painting», in *Meletemata (Malcolm H. Wiener Festschrift)*, *Aegaeum* 20, Liège 2000, vol. III, pp. 747-749, pl. CLXV. For the Phaistos fruitstand see Levi, D., *Festós e la Civiltà Minoica* I, Roma 1976, plates LXV – LXVI, Marinatos, N., *Minoan Religious Ritual, Image and Symbol*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press 1993, p. 148, Nikolaidou, M., «Palaces with faces in Protopalatial Crete: Looking for the people in the first Minoan states», in Hamilakis, Y. (ed.) *Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking ‘Minoan’ Archaeology*, Oxbow Books 2002, pp. 87-88, fig. 5.5. This is actually a procession of three female adorants. The middle figure, depicted on a larger scale, holds one (lily ?) flower in each *raised* hand. Marinatos has identified her as a vegetation goddess. However, she is more likely to be the chief adorant, as she is not flanked by the other two figures and they all face in the same direction. We should rather see her a significant participant to the procession, rather than a divine figure. If *she* is a goddess, then one adorant turns her back to her!

⁶⁷ CMS I, nr. 17, pp. 30-31 (A. Sakellariou).

three female figures holding flowers (and offering them) to a female figure seated under a tree. Being the relatively oversized recipient of these offerings, she could be a divine figure. Sakellariou has identified the flowers as lilies⁶⁸. On two gold signet rings from chamber tomb 7 at Aidhonia (Corinthia), there are similar processional scenes with women holding flowers or herbs towards built structures (shrines?)⁶⁹. In a lentoid seal from tholos tomb 2 at Routsis (Messenia), a female figure appears as if “smelling”(?) two lily flowers that have grown out of an altar(?) —like structure stemmed with the so-called ‘horns of consecration’⁷⁰. A lentoid sealing from the ‘Queen’s Megaron’ at Knossos depicts a human hand holding a lily flower⁷¹.

In other palatial sites where frescoes with processional women have been recorded, flowers are also depicted as held. In Thebes, where Reusch has systematically studied and published the female procession frieze, flowers have been recorded in fragments 5, 10, 30 and 31⁷². At Tiryns Rodenwaldt had identified a fragmentary scene from the Mittelburg with a bunch of flowers and herbs that only makes sense if someone holds them as a bouquet⁷³. At Mycenae, Kritseli-Providi has published a female figure holding a light yellow lily flower with a yellow stem⁷⁴. A fresco fragment from the Mycenae megaron shows a male (brick-red coloured) torso, neck and folded right arm on a blue background,

⁶⁸ CMS I, nr. 17, p. 30.

⁶⁹ CMS V Supplementum 1B, nr. 113 and 114. On ring 113, two women hold lilies and move on a ground paved with ashlar. There are two pairs of ‘horns’ on the roof of the ‘shrine’. On ring 114 there are three women but the herb they hold cannot be identified (probably a bud; see the Mycenae fragment mentioned *infra*). For comments on the iconography of the Aidhonia rings and their (however, doubtful) interpretation as offerings accompanying the burial of a priestess, see Krystalli-Votsi, K., «Τα δαχτυλίδια από τα Αιθώνια Κορινθίας», in *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ (Festschrift for G. E. Mylonas)*, The Athens Archaeological Society, Athens 1989, volume III, pp. 35-43.

⁷⁰ CMS I, nr. 279 (A. Sakellariou).

⁷¹ CMS II.8.1, p. 431, nr. 285 (N. Platon, I. Pini, M. A. V. Gill and W. Müller). See also *PM IV*, 608, fig.597A:f and Gill, M. A. V., «The Knossos sealings: Provenance and Interpretation», *BSA* 60, 1965, p. 82 (sealing R 102).

⁷² Reusch, H., *Die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Frauenfrieses im böotischen Theben*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1956, p. 6, Abb.3, Taf.1 (fragment 5), 7, Abb.5, Taf.2 (frag. 10), 10-12, Abb.14, Taf.11 (frag. 30), 11, Abb.3 (frag. 31). For a complete reconstruction of the Theban Procession see folded Taf.14. Lang has already presented systematically the similarities between the Theban and the Pylian procession scenes (*PN II*, p. 54, Table in text).

⁷³ Rodenwaldt, G., *Tiryns II: Die Fresken des Palastes*, Athens 1912, pp. 157-158, nr. 227, Taf.XVI:6, Inv. no. 5888δ. These flowers, however, are not clearly shown as held by any human hand. The German scholar also observes some fragments from the Western Bastion, which seem to belong to depictions of flower bouquets (nr. 228 and possibly nr. 229 as well (Inv. nos. 5887δ-ε, see pp. 158-159 and text-figures).

⁷⁴ Kritseli Providi, I., *Οί Τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου των Μυκηνών*, Athens 1982, pp. 73-75, fig. 8, Colour Plate Ββ, Plate 24. The context of this fragment is unclear, since the plaster fragments were found included in the LH III C fill of the Hellenistic Casemate in the western Cyclopean wall.

holding what appears to be a flower bud⁷⁵. This is paralleled on one of the Aidhonia rings⁷⁶.

We should not read too much in the possible absence of a figure holding floral items in the Procession Fresco from Knossos. The highly fragmentary condition of this pictorial synthesis makes any *argumentum ex silentio* inappropriate⁷⁷. However, there is a possible depiction of a figure holding lotus flowers from the earlier (MM IIIB/ LM IA according to Cameron) Procession Scene from the Grand Staircase, which is, interestingly, a male⁷⁸.

The theme of a 'woman holding flower' also appears on Mycenaean pictorial pottery, although not in any apparent connection with processions; the famous LH IIIA1 'Window Crater' found at Kourion⁷⁹, as well as a LH IIIB jug from a chamber tomb at Alyke in Attica⁸⁰, are characteristic examples of this category of representations.

We may suggest that the posture of the right figure in the Pylos fragment 51 H nws may draw one more parallel to the 'flower/ herb holding' theme. On a

⁷⁵ *PM* II, part II, p. 750, fig. 484. An alternative interpretation of the object would be a kind of fruit (*PM* II, p. 750). According to Evans, this fragment is preserved in Bukarest Museum (*PM* II, p. 750, n. 2). Also see for the same fragment, Kontorli – Papadopoulou, L., *Aegean Frescoes of Religious Character*, *SIMA* CVII, Göteborg 1996, p. 64, no. 79, pl. 102. What is quite peculiar is the yellow outline of this figure. In his study of the Tiryns frescoes, Rodenwaldt (*supra* n. 73, pp. 93-94) had suggested that the sex of the individuals participating in the procession should indicate the sex of the divine person the procession is heading to. Although Lang (*PN* II, pp. 59-60) had suggested that the processional figures themselves were the deities, the publication of the Mycenae frescoes by Kritseli Providi (*supra* n. 74, pp. 78-80) supports strongly Rodenwaldt's original suggestion. Unfortunately, the female figure with the lily that concerns us here is not connected with the supposedly divine female figure (figure B-1, the famous 'Mycenaean lady') from the Mycenae Cult Center (Kritseli Providi, *supra* n. 74, Colour Plate C). However, we may suggest that this seemingly isolated figure originally formed part of a similar procession to a female figure, which is the most reasonable -though improvable- interpretation of this fragment.

⁷⁶ *CMS* V, Supplementum 1B, nr. 114 (see above).

⁷⁷ Evans (*PM* II, part II, p. 721) has admitted that Gillieron's reconstruction of the Procession fresco scenes were conjectural, based on Aegean (e.g. Ayia Triada sarcophagus, Palanquin fresco, LM glyptic) and Oriental prototypes. The Theban *Keftiu* tomb paintings must have surely been a significant source of inspiration both for Gillieron and his supervisor, Evans, although not unreasonably. See *PM* II, part II, p. 723, fig. 450.

⁷⁸ M. A. S. Cameron, «Theoretical interrelations among Thera, Minoan and Mainland frescoes», in Doumas, C. (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World. Proceedings of the 2nd International Scientific Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978*, London 1978, pp. 579-592. Cameron reconstructs the scene with the lotus flowers attributed to the lowest figure (p. 588, pl. 4). He notes in the caption "the objects carried here are conjecturally added, except for lotus flowers (perhaps carried upside down to preserve the heavy blooms during transport)". See also Kontorli – Papadopoulou (see *supra* n. 75), p. 48 with past references.

⁷⁹ Vermeule, E. T. and Karageorghis, V., *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, Harvard University Press 1982, p. 196, Cat. no. III.12.

⁸⁰ Vermeule and Karageorghis, V. (*supra* n.79), p. 212, Cat. no. IX.13.

golden signet ring from chamber tomb 55 at Mycenae⁸¹ three female figures, similar to the standard Minoanising appearance of those depicted on the procession frescoes, move in procession towards an altar, similar to that on the Routsis sealstone. They keep one hand down, and one before their face, as is a common position of the arms in the mentioned Pylian figure. The way their hands have been executed, with long and densely positioned lines radiating from their fist seems peculiar unless one suggests that they *hold* or *carry* something, an absolutely expected thing since this is certainly a procession scene. It is quite reasonable to conclude that these women carry bunches of flowers, or more probably —since no petals are shown, herbs, a scene directly comparable to those from Mycenae and Aidhonia.

Depictions of women *holding* impressive bunches of flowers are also present among the Akrotiri (Xeste 3) material. There is a recorded confusion as to where exactly these frescoes were found⁸², but their original excavator Spyridon Marinatos speaks of a 'Procession' of at least three women carrying flowers and suggestively "walking towards an altar"⁸³.

The 'Garland Fresco' from the North House at Knossos, which has been published by Warren⁸⁴, is a further confirmation of the deliberate arrangement of the gathered flowers or herbs. Warren has correctly emphasised the relation of these garlands to reality, since they are often depicted as being worn by important figures like the so-called 'Prince of the Lilies' or a young girl from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri⁸⁵. The eight so far restored garlands consist of many different species of flowers, among which rose, Cretan rockrose, pale blue crocus and wild crocus⁸⁶. The occurrence of the same flower (crocus) both in these garlands and in the Knossos and Akrotiri crocus-gathering representations is a strong indication that these scenes may be thematically interconnected.

In an attempt at a synthesis of the iconographical evidence, Warren reconstructed the actions taking place in a wide group of Minoan religious rituals, which he called "flower rituals"⁸⁷. He recognised four sequential stages in these: 1) gathering, 2) preparation (in bunches or garlands), 3) procession and 4)

⁸¹ CMS I, nr. 86 (A. Sakellariou).

⁸² Doumas, C., *The Wall Paintings of Thera*, Athens: P. Nomikos Thera Foundation 1992, p. 131. The frescoes are variously attributed to either the auxiliary staircase or Room 3β in the original reports.

⁸³ Marinatos, Sp., *Excavations at Thera VI: 1972 Season*, Athens 1974, p. 17, Plate 24c, *Excavations at Thera VII: 1973 Season*, Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens 1976, pp. 36-37, Plates 65-66. The mentioned comment of Marinatos on the supposed 'altar' appears in *Thera VII*, p. 36; it is, however, a pure speculation apparently inspired by the similar depictions on the gold signet rings.

⁸⁴ Warren, P., «The Fresco of the Garlands from Knossos», in Darque, P. and Poursat, J.-Cl. (eds.) *L'Iconographie Minoenne*, BCH Supplement XI, Paris 1985, pp. 187-208.

⁸⁵ Warren (*supra* n. 84), p. 197, fig. 6 (red-coloured lilies), Doumas (*supra* n. 82), Plate 101 (crocuses).

⁸⁶ Warren (*supra* n. 84), *passim*.

⁸⁷ P. Warren, *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action*, Göteborg 1986, pp. 24-27.

presentation or offering. He strengthens his view by referring to later Greek floral offerings to Cretan female deities: dittany to Artemis-Eileithyia, myrtle to Ariadne and Europa-Hellotis and pine or lentisk to Diktynna⁸⁸.

The act of gathering flowers or herbs is not attested in the Mainland palatial imagery. However, holding flowers implies that the gathering has already taken place. The direct connection between the gathering of a herb and its offering to a female deity is present in the 'Crocus-Gatherers' at Xeste 3 in Akrotiri on Thera, where both acts co-exist in the same representation, probably indicating a narrative sequence⁸⁹. The female recipient of the Theran representation is a female oversized figure with her feet on a footstool, like the probable reconstruction of the 'goddess' in the Pylian procession. However, it is significant to note, like Nanno Marinatos, that what is actually being offered to this goddess is not the flower itself (the crocus), but its product, the saffron⁹⁰. The 'Crocus-Gatherer' monkey from Knossos⁹¹ is a close parallel to the Theran theme, where a monkey is also acting not as a gatherer but as an intermediary between the gatherers and the goddess. It still seems plausible that the Theran and Knossian representations belong to the same general category of floral offerings to a female figure, but, seemingly, this special significance of the saffron never reached the much later Mainland palaces.

It may not be insignificant that Mycenaean procession frescoes from palatial sites do not so far depict Warren's final stage, the offering of the floral offering to the (divine) recipient.

Unlike Warren, Walberg is sceptical on whether these images can be boldly classified into true temporal 'stages', but she acknowledges the religious significance of some Minoan floral motifs such as the lilies, the crocus and the ivy⁹².

V. EVIDENCE FROM THE STUDY OF LATER RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

As has been noted, making inferences for Late Bronze Age religious practices on the basis of historical testimonies entails the risks of an anachronism and often constructs circular arguments. While the possibility of continuity in

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁸⁹ Marinatos, N., *Art and Religion at Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*, Athens 1984, p. 62, fig. 40, Marinatos, N., «An offering of saffron to the Minoan Goddess of Nature», in Linders, T. and Nordquist, G., *Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985 'Gifts to the Gods'*, Uppsala 1987, pp. 123-132, Immerwahr (*supra* n. 52), p. 60, fig. 20, Doumas (*supra* n. 82), pp. 152-166, Plates 116-130.

⁹⁰ Marinatos, N., «An offering of saffron to the Minoan Goddess of Nature», in Linders, T. and Nordquist, G., *Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985 'Gifts to the Gods'*, Uppsala 1987, p. 130.

⁹¹ For a quick reference see Immerwahr (*supra* n. 52), Plates 10-11.

⁹² Walberg, G., «Minoan floral iconography», in Laffineur, R. and Crowley, J. (eds.) *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Iconography: Shaping a Methodology* (Aegaeum 8), Liège 1992, pp. 241-246. See especially pp. 245-246.

practice or belief through the Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age border is possible, it cannot be used as a basis for argumentation. For this reason the data presented in this section will only be considered as clues that may provide additional support and verification for the conclusions drawn from the previous discussion.

Our interpretation of θρόνα as ‘flowers/ herbs’ makes an association with a female deity far more probable, given our knowledge of later Greek religious practices, which need not necessarily be projected onto Late Bronze Age Pylos. However, the evidence from historical Crete, as well as other regions, concerning herbal offerings to female deities is perhaps less easy to ignore: dittany was offered to Artemis-Eileithyia, myrtle to Ariadne and Europa-Hellotis and pine or lentisk to Diktyнна⁹³. R. Willets has collected testimonies for connections of various 1st millennium female deities (Cretan or not)⁹⁴. Of the non-Cretan deities, lily and myrtle were sacred to Aphrodite, as myrtle was also to Artemis Soteira at Boiai (Laconia). Garlands of withy decorated the statue of Artemis at Agra (Attica) and young Spartan girls offered wreaths of helichrysum and galingale to Hera⁹⁵.

However, even the (Olympian) epic tradition supports such connections. The use of the epithets ending in -θρονος, which are here accepted as indicating *θρόνον and not θρόνος, *exclusively* for goddesses and other female divine personae in Homer and later lyrics⁹⁶ is a further clue for the feminine connection of θρόνα⁹⁷, which could be reasonably projected onto the Late Bronze Age. However, it should be borne in mind that our interpretation does not explicitly imply the *offering* of floral items, but rather them being held by participants to the festival.

⁹³ Warren (*supra* n. 87), p. 26.

⁹⁴ R. F. Willets, *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1962, pp. 159-161, nn. 95-103.

⁹⁵ See Willets (*supra* n. 94), pp. 160-161 and footnotes 97-101 for references to Pausanias, Athenaeus and Pliny the Elder.

⁹⁶ See also *supra* n. 24. Only Eos, Hera and Artemis are recorded with such epithets in Homer (quotations provided by Probonas, p. 52). See also the recent index by J. H. Dee, *Epitheta deorum apud Homerum. The Epithetic Phrases for the Homeric Gods. A Repertory of the Descriptive Expression of the Divinities of the Iliad and the Odyssey*, Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann 2001, p. 33 (9B18) (Artemis), 67 (30B26) (Hera), 70 (32A1) and 72 (32B7) (Eos). Χρυσόθρονος refers twice to Artemis (*Iliad* ix 553, *Odyssey* v 123), 4 times to Hera (all in the *Iliad*: i 611, xiv 153, xv 5 and xviii 364f.) and 10 times to Eos (all in the *Odyssey*: x 541, xii 142, xiv 502, xv 56, xv 250, xix 319, xx 91, xxii 197f., xxiii 243f., xxiii 347). Εὔθρονος refers always to Eos (once in the *Iliad* (vii 565) and 5 times in the *Odyssey*: vi 148, xv 495, xvii 497, xviii 318 and xix 342). Among the lyrics, the epithet ποικιλόθρονος refers to Aphrodite (Sappho l.1) and ἀγλαόθρονος refers to the Nereids (Bakchylides XVII, 124) and the Muses and the Danaids in Pindar (*O XIII*, 96 and *N X*, 1 respectively). Thus, the feminine associations of such epithets is faithfully preserved by the lyrics.

⁹⁷ Probonas, pp. 52-60. See also *supra* n. 24. Even Zeus himself is *never* called χρυσόθρονος or εὐθρονος, although Homer in many passages records him seating on a throne. This observation is not dealt with by Ernst Risch in his article «θρόνος, θρόνα und die Komposita von typus χρυσόθρονος», *Studii Classice XIV*, 1972, pp. 17-25. See Probonas pp. 112-113, for a full exposition of the evidence and a critical examination of Risch's arguments.

In any case, what needs to be emphasised is the ‘female – flower/ herb’ connection, which was present in various regions of the Greek world during historical times. For this viewpoint, a further piece of information would be that “the epithet ἄνθεια was associated with Hera at Argos and Miletos. It is also used for the Horai. In Crete it was an epithet for Aphrodite at Knossos”⁹⁸.

Even more significant is the connection of these historical floral offerings with religious processions on festival occasions, which fits remarkably the iconographical evidence surveyed in section IV. During the festival of Ἐλλώτια held in Cretan Gortys a garland of myrtle was carried in procession⁹⁹. That this practice was not a strictly regional feature is demonstrated from the Argive examples for processions connected with garlands¹⁰⁰.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The evidence explored above has been used to support the suggestion that the Mycenaean term *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* refers to holding or bearing flowers or herbs (and probably their consequent offering to a female divine figure referred in the Linear B texts as Potnia) and directly associated with the Late Bronze Age palatial religious activities in the Pylian territory.

The observed diversity of the floral offerings, even in the same site, generally agrees with our suggestion that the term θρόνα does not refer to a specific flower, but bears the general meaning of ‘herb’ or ‘flower’.

It is highly likely that *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* is connected with the women carrying floral items as depicted in the Pylian procession fresco. It is particularly significant that sufficient iconographic evidence has been produced by the same site that produced the textual evidence (Pylos). The occurrence of religious acts both in textual references and in pictorial representations in the same site should not be surprising at all; in fact, it should be expected. The possibility of a mere coincidence is always present, albeit extremely unlikely.

If the gathering and offering of flowers and herbs to a female deity constitute an initially Minoan —or strongly Minoanising— form of ritual, as indicated by the earliest related iconographic evidence (the Protopalatial fruit stand from Phaistos and the Neopalatial evidence from Knossos and Akrotiri), we must try to account for its reference in a *Mainland* palatial document, as we have suggested. Hägg has valuably emphasised the distinction between what he called ‘official’ and ‘popular’ levels of Mycenaean cult¹⁰¹. His ‘official’ cult was

⁹⁸ Willets (*supra* n. 94), p. 285, nn. 10-12 (Pausanias II.22.21; Hesychius, s.v.).

⁹⁹ Willets (*supra* n. 94), p. 159, n. 88. The information is provided by Seleucus and quoted by Athenaeus xv.678b. See also Hesychius, Ἐλλώτια, Ἐλλωτίς, as well as *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Frederici Halhberr Collectae*. 4. *Tituli Gortynii*, curavit M. Guarducci, Roma 1950, p. 35. Willets regards this festival as originally connected with a Cretan deity Ἐλλωτίς, and only later on with Europa.

¹⁰⁰ Willets (*supra* n. 94), p. 159.

¹⁰¹ Hägg, R., «Official and popular cults in Mycenaean Greece», in Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. (eds.) *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 12-13 May 1980*, Stockholm 1981, pp. 35-40.

essentially a state cult, strongly supported by the palaces and featuring strong Minoan influence; the Swedish scholar also speculated that “some Minoan *beliefs* were actually adopted by the *upper classes* in Mycenaean Greece”¹⁰², in order to explain the wide distribution of Minoan iconographic themes on Mainland artefacts, such as gold signet rings. Hägg’s suggestion could provide an explanation for these representations being included in the pictorial program of a Mycenaean palatial centre, like Pylos, and for related religious acts being mentioned in its administrative archives. However, one major methodological problem remains: is iconography a suitable mean for making such inferences?

We would like to emphasise that distinction should be made between *external* or *morphological* similarities and *internal* ones or similarities *in belief*. The nature of the evidence that we have only allows the former. Linear B documents are definitely not interested in recording anything more than the economical or administrative aspect of religious acts and naturally do not include references to beliefs. As we remain ignorant on the latter, but desperately in search of evidence for them, we should avoid making assumptions on the relationship between Helladic and Minoan beliefs on the basis of broad similarities in iconographical themes alone.

Although Hägg rightly emphasises that what we term as Minoan influence in Mycenaean religion is largely restricted in élite contexts, he does not focus on the necessary distinction between religion as a system of beliefs and religion as a set of iconographical features. Even if actual influence by or adoption of Minoan religious practices cannot be excluded, it is difficult to determine to what degree these Mycenaean rituals were related with (or dependent on) Cretan or Cycladic ones as indicated by comparable iconographical themes. As far as this last issue is concerned, it would be more useful to focus on some differences in detail between various iconographic depictions, as these are more likely to provide further information¹⁰³.

These fragmentary and seemingly isolated scenes show that holding flowers or herbs in religious processions was widely practiced or, at least, depicted as if practiced, in the palatial sites of the Greek Mainland. However, further generalisations should be avoided. We do not have sufficient data to suggest that these scenes betray any further similarity than the external/morphological; the carrying of flowers or herbs could have diverse meanings over time and space, from MM II Phaistos and Neopalatial Akrotiri and Knossos, LH IIIA Thebes and then down to LH IIIB Pylos, Mycenae and perhaps Tiryns. Thus, our reference to imagery from sites other than Pylos aims to support the thesis that ritual acts *of the kind implied by our interpretation of the term* are not unusual. That these rituals were also **to-no-e-ke-te-ri-ja* must remain nothing more than a speculation.

¹⁰² Hägg (*supra* n. 101), p. 37 (my italics).

¹⁰³ A general examination of Aegean Bronze Age ‘floral rituals’ is currently under preparation by the author.

For the time being, it seems safer to conclude that the Pylian *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* belongs to a *group* of Aegean Bronze Age rituals, which share the common feature of being associated with holding (and perhaps offering) flowers, such as lilies, lotuses and crocuses, and other herbs, such as the ivy, during religious occasions. Differences across regions and through time are surely expected among these rituals, and can even be detected; the difference in sex between the ‘flower-bearers’ from Knossos and Mycenae and the Theban and Pylian figures can be interpreted in this way.

Although a commonplace, it would still be reasonable to suggest that these were essentially stylised celebrations of nature’s ability to recover after the winter decay. However, another possible interpretation should be borne in mind. Flower offerings may not have been connected with concepts of fertility, but with the special properties (medicinal, narcotic, aromatic or dye) of the plant species concerned. However, we have so far ‘failed’ to identify *θρόνα* with any specific plant species and the diversity of floral items that we encountered in our brief iconographical survey add evidence to the interpretation of *θρόνα* as a more general term meaning ‘flower’ and/ or ‘herb’. The frequent interpretation of *θρόνα* as plants with such properties in the later Greek texts may indeed give us a clue, perhaps strengthened by the presence of opium pops in the diadem of the ‘goddess’ in the Mycenae Treasure signet ring. Unfortunately, these are nothing more than indications, though strong, for the moment. Further work, encompassing archaeobotanical, textual and iconographical evidence, towards the safe identification of herb and flower species in Aegean Bronze Age iconography, is necessary before a strong argument can be presented¹⁰⁴. For the time being, the possibility must remain that *θρόνα* may have been a Late Bronze Age Greek collective name for flowers or herbs with special (though yet undetermined) properties, which were, for that reason, connected with religious festivals.

[See Postscript on page 372]

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¹⁰⁴ For the occurrence of non-edible plants in Linear B texts from an archaeobotanist’s perspective, see the recent overview of the subject by A. Sarpaki, «Condiments, perfume and dye plants in Linear B: A look at the textual and archaeobotanical evidence», in Michaelidou, A. (ed.) *Manufacture and Measurement. Counting, Measuring and Recording Craft Items in Early Aegean Societies*, MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 33, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens 2001, pp. 195-265.

angenehme Pflicht, das *ius suum cuique tribuendi* zu ehren und ausdrücklich zu betonen, dass die Originalität der Deutung von *o-ki-ro*, die Ausgangspunkt für meine Vorschläge (b)(c)(d) ist, Prof. Ilievski zukommt. Dies wird auch in der Note ‘ὄρχιλος’ in der nächsten Lieferung der *Chronique d’Étymologie Grecque* Nr. 10 der *Revue de Philologie* 78 (im Druck) ausdrücklich betont.

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POSTSCRIPT TO PAGE 316

After this paper had been submitted, new possible evidence for imagery of collection and offering of floral items (probably to a female figure) appeared with the publication of new fresco fragments from the LM IB phase of the North Building on the western slopes of the Knossian Neopalatial settlement (Stratigraphic Museum Extension excavation) by P. Warren¹. Apart from fragments showing crocuses and a kind of small blue flower (not explicitly identified by Warren), the material included fragments of elaborate textile work (almost certainly female dress), as well as parts of an elaborate structure (probably a seat, but also likely to be some kind of ‘altar’). Warren interpreted the synthesis as showing female crocus-collectors and a prominent seated figure (assumed to be female), thus directly paralleled to the familiar Xeste 3 (Akrotiri) synthesis. Despite its fragmentary state, if Warren’s reconstruction and interpretation is accepted, the synthesis constitutes a significant addition to Knossian imagery of floral offerings (apart from Cameron’s conjectural Grand Staircase procession with the male lotus-bearer) and provides a further direct link with Akrotiri (anticipated by the depiction of saffron-gathering monkeys on wall-paintings from both sites).

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¹ «Flowers for the Goddess? New Fragments of Wall-Paintings from Knossos», in L. Morgan (ed.), *Aegean Wall Painting. A Tribute to Mark Cameron*, BSA Studies 13, London 2005, pp. 131-148.

modo que los locales muestran distintos niveles de rango entre ellos, no deberían buscarse las razones de tal desigualdad en su origen étnico 'foráneo', sino más bien en las distintas estructuras de poder sociales, políticas o económicas del período.

VASSILIS P. PETRAKIS, «*to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* Reconsidered» (pp. 293-316): This study reconsiders the interpretation of the Mycenaean compound festival name *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (PY Fr 1222). While initially following Probonas' identification of the first component of the word with the neuter *θρόνον, evidence on later occurrences of θρόνα is discussed in order to support the hypothesis that Mycenaean *θρόνον could have been a name for flowers or herbs and that *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* could be a festival involving holding/carrying such floral items in hand (Θορνο^Hεκτηρια < θρόνον + ἔχω). A brief examination of other Fr tablets and later Greek 'floral' festivals aims to support a link between *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* and female deities. Aegean Bronze Age imagery of human figures carrying flowers or herbs in processional scenes (especially from Pylian palatial frescoes) is surveyed as it could relate to this and similar festivals.

Este estudio revisa la interpretación del nombre de un festival micénico, el compuesto *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (PY Fr 1222). Siguiendo en principio a Probonas en la identificación del primer miembro del compuesto con el neutro *θρόνον, se examinan los testimonios de θρόνα en textos alfabéticos para sustentar la hipótesis de que el micénico *θρόνον podría haber sido una designación de flores o yerbas, y que *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* podría ser un festival consistente en llevar en las manos unos adminículos florales (Θορνο^Hεκτηρια < θρόνον + ἔχω). Con un sucinto examen de otras tablillas Fr y festivales 'florales' griegos posteriores, se intenta fundamentar una asociación entre *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* y las divinidades femeninas. Las representaciones egeas de figuras humanas con flores o yerbas en escenas procesionales de la Edad del Bronce (en especial, en los frescos del Palacio de Pilo) son vistas en una posible relación con dicho festival y otros similares.

RUPERT J. E. THOMPSON, «*What the Butler Saw*. Some Thoughts on the Mycenaean *o-jo-* Particle» (pp. 317-336): This paper examines Mycenaean *o-jo-* introductory particle from the point of view of its morphology, semantics and syntax. While it seems to require demonstrative semantics (e.g. *thus*), the *jo-* spelling is most easily explained if it is built to the relative stem **yo-*. It is argued that the anomaly can be solved if the particle is interpreted as a relative adverbial (*how*) heading an indirect question clause embedded in a null matrix clause: the equivalent of English *What the Butler saw* or *How I spent my holidays*. It is further argued that the salient syntactic properties of the construction—that it heads sentences and triggers movement of the verb to second position—and its preference for 'headings' contexts, can be derived by standard syntactic mechanisms.

Este artículo examina la partícula introductora micénica *o-jo-* desde el punto de vista de su morfología, semántica y sintaxis. Si bien parece exigir una semántica demostrativa (por ej. *así*), la grafía *jo-* se explica con mayor facilidad si se construye sobre el tema del relativo **yo-*. Se sostiene que puede resolverse tal anomalía si se interpreta la partícula como un relativo adverbial (*como*) que encabeza una cláusula interrogativa indirecta incorporada en una cláusula matriz cero: el equivalente del inglés *What the Butler saw* o *How I spent my holidays*. Se sostiene además que las notables propiedades sintácticas de la construcción—que encabeza oraciones y provoca el desplazamiento del verbo a una segunda posición—y su preferencia por contextos de 'encabezamiento' pueden derivarse mediante mecanismos sintácticos convencionales.

RUPERT J. E. THOMPSON, «Special vs. Normal Mycenaean Revisited» (pp. 337-369): This paper answers criticisms (e.g. by Palaima 1998-1999) that Thompson 1996-1997 summarily dismissed two of the features by which *mycénien normal* and *mycénien spécial* are distinguished, and totally ignored a third. Evidence for the three features is examined