

GARETH OWENS

WAS SE-TO-I-JA AT ARCHANES?*

From a study of the main Knossos Linear B archive, it is apparent that the ceremonial chariots listed on the Sd tablets are recorded at *pa-i-to*, *ku-do-ni-ja*, *se-to-i-ja* and by implication Knossos for those recorded on tablets where no toponym is mentioned. The only places outside Knossos to have warrior-graves/burials with bronzes in the LM II–III A1 period were Phaistos, Khania and Archanes. In the light of these two sources of evidence for military activity (i.e. warrior-graves and chariots), it is proposed here to ask whether the appearance of both of these features at *pa-i-to*/Phaistos and at *ku-do-ni-ja*/Khania may also indicate that *se-to-i-ja* is to be equated with Archanes.

Se-to-i-ja occurs 21 times in the Knossos archive; 4 times with personnel, 8 times with sheep, twice with textiles, once on a sealing referring to wool, once referring to goats and their products, on 3 fragments where the subject is unknown, once in connection with chariots and once with wheels¹. It is noticeable that *se-to-i-ja* is a place connected with many activities, not just with sheep, which constitute c. 60% of the Knossos archive. A study of the textual evidence of the late Minoan period will better explain what sort of activities were undertaken at *se-to-i-ja*. Likewise a study of the

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¹ See J. K. McArthur, A Tentative Lexicon of Mycenaean Place-Names, supplement to *Minos* 19 (1985), and J. T. Killen – J. P. Olivier, *The Knossos Tablets* (5th edition 1989) for the tablets relating to *se-to-i-ja*.

archaeological evidence will demonstrate the nature of Archanes in this period, from which date one warrior-grave and one burial with bronze. To determine whether *se-to-i-ja* can be identified with Archanes requires a combined use of both textual and archaeological material. Textually there are both Linear A and Linear B entries which refer to *se-to-i-ja*.

Recently, it was suggested by Bennet that it was incorrect to use “LM I B Linear A evidence to argue the administrative importance of an LM III place-name in the Linear B administration”². Bennet also claims that the recently discovered painted stirrup jars with Linear B inscriptions from Mallia support his belief that *se-to-i-ja* is to be identified with Mallia. These arguments require consideration. To counter Bennet’s claim that it is incorrect to use LM I B evidence in support of an LM III place-name, it is necessary to ask whether using Linear B evidence from Mallia is any more valid. Although some believe in an LM III B date for the Knossos archive, thus making the Linear B tablets contemporary with the Mallia ISJs³, the date suggested by Popham, i.e. at the beginning of LM III A2, is still the more likely. Therefore, as the Linear B archive dates from LM III A2 and the Room of the Chariot Tablets records from an earlier period (LM III A1), the textual evidence for *se-to-i-ja* extends from LM I B to LM III A1, as *se-to-i-ja* is recorded both in Linear A and in the RCT⁴. Textual evidence relating *se-to-i-ja* to Mallia ranges from LM

² See J. Bennet’s review of Aegaeum 5 “Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration Conference” (ed. T. G. Palaima, 1990) in AJA 96 (1992) pp. 176–179, where he refutes Weingarten’s suggestion that Archanes is a better candidate than Mallia as a “Second Order Centre”. J. Chadwick, “Relations between Knossos and the Rest of Crete at the Time of the Linear B Tablets”, Proceedings of the 3rd Cretological Congress 1971 (1973) pp. 39–45 stated, p. 40, “The far east [of Crete] is less certainly recorded. The equation of *se-to-i-ja* with Sitaia always presented problems, and now that we understand a little better the nature of Mycenaean spelling appears rather improbable”, and p. 44, “*se-to-i-ja*, no longer identified with Sitaia is not only a textile centre, but seems to be concerned with the manufacture of chariots and their wheels”.

³ See E. Hallager, The Mycenaean Palace at Knossos: Evidence for Final Destruction in the late Minoan III B period (1977); and I thank J. Bennet for sending a copy of his Ph. D. thesis (unpublished) to the Villa Ariadne at Knossos.

⁴ See J. Driessen, An Early Destruction in the Mycenaean Palace (1990) p. 114 for an LM II date and p. 117 for an LM II–III A1 date for the Linear B records of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The archaeological evidence on which his arguments are based are discussed in p. 61–66 of the same work and are indicative of an LM III A1 date. There is no evidence for Mycenaean control of Knossos in LM II,

III A2 (early) to LM III B. There is probably less time difference (and certainly no more) between Linear A of LM I B and Linear B of LM III A1 than between the Knossos archive and the Mallia ISJs⁵. Significantly, the Linear A evidence from Archanes and the nearby site of Prassas does refer to *se-to-i-ja*, whereas the Linear B from Mallia does not. There is also an inscribed stone libation table (box?) from the nearby villa of Prassas (PR Za1) which is relevant to this question.

The twenty-one Linear B references to *se-to-i-ja* cover a range of subjects (personnel, sheep, and textiles and chariots) and come from both the main archive and from the RCT. As has been mentioned, *se-to-i-ja* is one of only three places apart from Knossos listed in the Knossos archive with chariots (Sd 4407+4414) and wheels (So 4442+4472). The Mc 4464 record of goats and their products is likely to be connected with the entry on the Sd tablet of *ke-ra-ja-pi*, “fitted with horn”.

The sheep tablets are also instructive for the names which they record, and suggest that *se-to-i-ja* may be close to Knossos. Usually the names of shepherds are Minoan and those of “owners/collectors” are Greek.⁶ At *se-to-i-ja* the names of shepherds such as *ku-ke-to*, *ko-te-u*, *a-di-ri-jo* and *]ta* can be read, giving names ending in -τος, -τευς, -ιος and *]τας* as characteristic Greek endings for shepherds. Greek names are common for charioteers and “owners/collectors”, but not so common for shepherds. The higher incidence of Greek-sounding names indicates a location for *se-to-i-ja* which is closer to and linked with the centre of Mycenaean Greek influence on the island in the LM II-III A period, namely with Knossos. The product of the sheep recorded in the *se-to-i-ja* area (i.e. wool) is also dealt with, as are the textiles into which it is woven. On both the *se-to-i-ja* textile tablets (Lc 525, Le 654) the textiles are described as *wa-na-ka-te-ra* or its abbreviation *wa*. This term “royal” is only found with

while their presence is not disputed. Until further evidence comes to light, the LM II period remains a lacuna between the Linear A of LM I B and the Linear B of LM III A1.

⁵ See P. Warren and V. Hankey, *Aegean Absolute Chronology* (1989), according to whose dating the gap between LM I B and LM III A1 is c. 35 years, and the gap between LM III A2 (early) and LM III B (early) is 30–40 years.

⁶ See the various articles by L. Baumbach and the four papers in *Mykenaïka* (BCH Supplément XXV), *Actes du IX colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens*, Athènes 1990 (1992) by J. Bennet, P. Carlier, J. Driessen and L. Godart.

reference to textiles from *se-to-i-ja*. Whatever the precise meaning of *wa-na-ka-te-ra*, the importance accorded to *se-to-i-ja* and its probable close proximity to the Palace of Knossos are clear.

Regarding personnel, *se-to-i-ja* is also found on tablet As 1516 l. 20:

se-to-i-ja su-ke-re-o, qa-si-re-wi-ja VIR 1

This entry follows two lists and totals of 31 men (ll. 1–11) and 23 men (ll. 12–19). The tablet is incomplete after this *se-to-i-ja* entry, but all the entries of ll. 1–19 are individual entries of either a name or ethnic accompanied by the MAN ideogram.⁷ The exceptions to this form of entry are:

l. 2 *ko-no-si-ja, ra-wa-ke-<si>-ja, a-nu-wi-ko* VIR 1[

l. 12 *-ti-jo, a-nu-to [qa]-si-re-wi-ja* VIR 1

The entries in both l. 12 and l. 20 follow *to-so* X VIR. So although the entry on l. 12 is incomplete, it does look as if the entries on l. 2, l. 12 and l. 20 were all the first names in a list, accompanied respectively by the terms *ra-wa-ke-<si>-ja*, *[qa]-si-re-wi-ja* and *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, and the lists are completed by sub-totals. Whatever these terms are, they show a differentiation between Knossos on the one hand and *se-to-i-ja* and *-ti-jo* on the other. This incomplete word on l. 12 is probably to be restored as *ku-]ta-ti-jo*, according to the editors of KT5 (p. 28 and personal communications). This suggests that Knossos, *se-to-i-ja* and *ku-ta-to* were probably the locations of these named men, and implies that *se-to-i-ja* and *ku-ta-to* were of an equivalent status to, and subordinate to, Knossos.⁸ The man at *se-to-i-ja* connected with the *qa-si-re-wi-ja*, that is *su-ke-re*, also occurs on KN As 40 l. 6 on a tablet which again starts with a man of Knossos.

⁷ Regarding different discussions of As 1516 see J. Driessen, “Quelques remarques sur la ‘Grande Tablette’ (As 1516) de Knossos”, in: *Minos* 19 (1985) pp. 169–193 and J. T. Hooker, “The Great Tablet of Knossos, KN As 1516”, in: *Kadmos* 27 (1988) pp. 115–125.

⁸ The exact meaning of these terms cannot be established (a feminine noun *-i-ja* derived from titles), but the order of rank of *wa-na-ka*, *ra-wa-ke-ta* and *qa-si-re-u* in the Bronze Age can be established from the Linear B documents.

On the Linear A stone libation table (box) from the villa of Prassas (PR Za1 GORILA 4 p. 46, Platon 1958) is written:

TA-NA-SU-TE[]KE SE-TO-I-JA A-SA-SA-RA-MU.

Here are two terms that form part of the Minoan Libation Formula and the word SE-TO-I-JA on a vessel from a site less than one hour's walk from both Knossos and Archanes. This libation table from Prassas is dated to MM III B–LM I A. The other Linear A inscription to be considered is on a stone ladle from Troullos (TL Za1 GORILA 4 p. 58), just ten minutes' walk from the find place of the Archanes archive. On this ladle can be read five sign groups which form part of the Minoan Libation Formula, and one other word not found elsewhere, O-SU-QA-RE. Whether this word be a name or a title, it is necessary to compare it with the man at *se-to-i-ja* connected with the *qa-sire-wi-ja* on As 1516 l. 20, *su-ke-re*⁹.

These are the philological reasons for equating *se-to-i-ja* with Archanes. It is now necessary to see whether this can be borne out by textual and archaeological evidence. The Linear B entries describe chariots and wheels at *se-to-i-ja*, as at Phaistos and Khania, all places which were the seat of a charioteer in the LM III A2 period. These three locations are the only toponyms outside Knossos recorded as having chariots, just as Phaistos, Khania and Archanes are the only such places having LM III A warrior-graves/burials with bronzes. Further, both Phaistos (with Haghia Triada) and Khania were administrative centres using Linear A in the LM I B period. So it is suggested that *se-to-i-ja* be equated with a place that has warrior-graves/burials with bronzes, and was an important Linear A administrative site. The textual entries in the Linear B archive also suggest that *se-to-i-ja* was close to Knossos. The place which fits these criteria for the Late Minoan period is Archanes, approximately one hour's walk from Knossos.

A consideration of the Late Minoan archaeological evidence will confirm whether Archanes can be identified as *se-to-i-ja*, an important administrative site which was the seat of a charioteer.¹⁰ The Archanes

⁹ See Bennet (above n. 2) p. 199 where he regards Linear A SE-TO-I-JA (PR Za1) as a doubtful place-name.

¹⁰ A discussion of the LM archaeological evidence from the Archanes area is found in A. Kanta, *The LM III Period on Crete* (1980) pp. 30–35, E. Sapouna-Sakellari "Archanes à l'époque mycénienne", in: *BCH* 114 (1990) pp. 67–162, and I. and E. Sakellarakis, *Archanes* (1991). See also J.-P. Olivier in *Mykenaiika* (above n. 6)

area has been intensively explored. The central site of Tourkogeitonía is well known, as is its Linear A archive dating from LM I B. Archanes was an important administrative centre, located as it is at the head of the fertile *Pediadha* some 10 kms. from Knossos. The Mycenaean finds also point to the importance of Archanes and its area, and its pottery dates from LM II–III C. According to the excavators, the ‘Palatial’ character of the settlement is demonstrated by its architecture and masons’ marks, the archive, altars and vessels, terracotta and ivory figurines, inlays of precious materials, metal vessels and utensils, the quality of the pottery, jewellery, seal stones and local royal burials. The question of a ‘Palatial’ settlement so close to Knossos has been addressed and an analogy drawn with Mycenae/Tiryns, and Phaistos/Haghia Triada. Archanes appears to have been closely connected to Knossos (as can be seen from its lack of scribal variety in contrast to sites further from Knossos), and served both to control the hinterland and to oversee the religious activity on Mount Iuktas, the peak-sanctuary of the Palace of Knossos.

The LM II–III A period is well attested at Archanes, particularly in the cemetery of Fourni, notably in the Fourni tholos tomb A with its bronze vessels, sarcophagus, figure-of-eight shield decorations and an ivory plaque showing a warrior with a boar’s tusk helmet¹¹. Within a grave dated to LM III A2 were found various objects including ivory pyxides and a Ci type sword and a one-piece spearhead decorated with spiral tracing, similar to examples found in contemporary Knossos both in warrior-graves and in the Minoan Unexplored Mansion. These finds indicate that someone was buried in a Mycenaean military manner at Archanes/Fourni. The Mycenaean character of Fourni in the LM III A1–2 period is further demonstrated by the side-chamber of Tholos A, a feature only otherwise found on the Mainland in the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae and in the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos in Boeotia. Other important features are the quarry at Fourni, the source of the stone for the twenty-six buildings (tombs and associated structures) which constitute the necropolis, and the Mycenaean Grave Enclosure dating to LM III A (which only has parallels in the earlier Grave Circles A and B of Mycenae). At the time when records were being kept in Linear B at

p. 456 for the sensible observation that Linear B from Mycenaean Archanes would not be surprising.

¹¹ See E. Sapouna-Sakellari (above n. 10) pp. 77–83, especially figs. 18–21.

Knossos, warriors were evidently being buried in a Mycenaean manner at Archanes/Fourni.

For these reasons it is suggested that *se-to-i-ja* be equated with Minoan and Mycenaean Archanes.¹²

¹² The name Ἀρχάρες is first attested, in its original form Ἀχάρινα, in a 5th century B.C. inscription from Argos in the Peloponnese referring to a treaty between Knossos and Tylissos (Inscr. Creticae I, Cnosos 4* l. b16). It is referred to as the temenos at Acharna, so Archanes has long been associated with religious activity (see I. and E. Sakellarakis, Archanes [1991] p. 18). One might perhaps consider to connect the element *ach-* with the Indo-European root denoting water, which is represented by Latin *aqua*, Gothic *ahwa* and Hittite *aku-leku-* (cp. C. D. Buck, A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principle Indo-European Languages [1949] p. 34–35). Archanes was and is abundant in water, having supplied water to both Knossos and Heraklion.