

COLLOQUIUM ROMANUM

ATTI DEL XII COLLOQUIO
INTERNAZIONALE DI MICENOLOGIA

ROMA · 20-25 FEBBRAIO 2006

SOTTO L'ALTO PATRONATO DEL PRESIDENTE DELLA REPUBBLICA

A CURA DI

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

II.



«PASIPHAE» · II.

PISA · ROMA

FABRIZIO SERRA · EDITORE

MMVIII

PASIPHAE

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA
E ANTICITÀ EGEE

DIRETTORI:

LOUIS GODART · ANNA SACCONI

SEGRETARIO DI REDAZIONE:

MAURIZIO DEL FREO

II.

(2008)



PISA · ROMA

FABRIZIO SERRA · EDITORE

MMVIII

PREMESSA

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

La collana Biblioteca di "Pasiphae" si è arricchita rapidamente di vari volumi: ne sono già apparsi sette e vari altri sono in preparazione.

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

Roma, dicembre 2007.

Louis GODART

Anna SACCONI

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DIMITRI NAKASSIS

NAMED INDIVIDUALS AND THE MYCENAEAN
STATE AT PYLOS*

J. Bennet has noted recently that « as long as study of the Mycenaean administration remains impersonal, it is difficult to integrate it with activity within and beyond the Mycenaean palaces ».¹

One solution to this problem is to focus on the activities of individuals. I argue that an approach centered on individuals provides a better description of how the Mycenaean state worked than do static models of official titles, since we know that individuals can hold multiple offices at the same time, and since important agents of the state do not necessarily hold an office.

For example, the “collectors”, who have been plausibly interpreted by Killen as « members of the ruling élite...who have been assigned part of the productive capacity of the kingdoms », apparently held no official title corresponding to their role and their functions are not well defined.²

Individuals provide the critical link in understanding the network of associations between the “palatial” and “non-palatial” spheres, since exchanges between the two are actualized by individuals.³ Indeed, the number of recent studies of the “collectors” reflects the increasing recognition of the importance of individual agents to the study of Mycenaean administration and economy.⁴

In this paper I show that an approach that focuses on all named individuals at Pylos yields important insights into the operation of the Mycenaean state.

I begin with a concrete example. In the *o-ka* texts at Pylos, there is an individual named *ko-ma-we* (*Komāwens*).

* This paper summarizes some aspects of my doctoral dissertation (D. NAKASSIS, *The Individual and the Mycenaean State: Agency and Prosopography in the Linear B Texts from Pylos*, Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin 2006). I thank J. Bennet, J. L. García-Ramón, S. James, J. T. Killen, E. Kyriakidis, A. Michailidou, T. G. Palaima, and K. Pluta for their suggestions; I also thank F. Rougemont, M. Lane and R. Thompson for making their published research available to me. Naturally all errors remain my own.

1. J. BENNET, “Agency and Bureaucracy: Thoughts on the Nature and Extent of Administration in Bronze Age Pylos”, in *Economy and Politics*, p. 26.

2. J. T. KILLEN, “Some Further Thoughts on ‘Collectors’”, in *Politeia*, p. 213. See too F. ROUGEMONT, “Some Thoughts on the Identification of the ‘Collectors’ in the Linear B Tablets”, in *Economy and Politics*, p. 129-138. Of course, M. LEJEUNE showed long ago (“Le récapitulatif du cadastre Ep du Pylos”, in *Cambridge Colloquium*, p. 260-264) that the “collector” named *a-pi-me-de* also held the office of *e-qe-ta*.

3. For a discussion of the palatial and non-palatial spheres, see P. HALSTEAD, “The Mycenaean Palatial Economy: Making the Most of the Gaps in the Evidence”, *PCPhS* 38 (1992), p. 57-86.

4. See most recently J.-P. OLIVIER, “Les ‘collecteurs’: leur distribution spatiale et temporelle”, in *Economy and Politics*, p. 139-160; F. ROUGEMONT, “Some Thoughts”, cit. Several papers in this volume address the role of individual agents, particularly those by S. DEGER-JALKOTZY (p. 179-197), E. KYRIAKIDIS (p. 449-459) and G. NIGHTINGALE (p. 569-586).

PY An 519

(S657 H 1)

- .1 to-ro-o , o-ka , ro-o-wa ,
- .2 ka-da-si-jo , mo-ro-qa , zo-wo ,
- .3 ki-ri-ja-i-jo , wa-tu-wa-o-ko , mu-to-na
- .4 o-ka-ra₃ , a₂-ra-tu-wa , VIR 110
- .5 *vacat*
- .6 ke-wo-no-jo , o-ka , ka-ke[
- .7 tu-si-je-u , po-te-u e-ṭa-wo-ne-ṭ[
- .8 a-pi-te-wa , i-wa-so VIR 60[
- .9 *vacat*
- .10 a₂-te-po , de-wi-jo , ko-ma-we ,
- .11 o-*34-ta-qe , u-ru-pi-ja-jo ,
- .12 o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo VIR 30
- .13 *vacat*
- .14 pi-ru-te , ku-re-we VIR 50
- .15 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , ro-u-ko
- .16 ku-sa-me-ni-jo , [

It is likely that *ko-ma-we* on **An 519.10** is further modified by the word *de-wi-jo*, which seems to be a patronymic of the familiar *-ios* type.⁵ This interpretation is strongly suggested by its appearance on **Aq 218**, a text replete with patronymics and other indications of kinship.

PY Aq 218

(S64 H 21)

- .1 o-da-a₂ , a-na-ke-e , o-pe-ro-te[
- .2 ri-so-wa , i-je-re-u[]VIR 1
- .3 ne-wo-ki-to , i-je[-re-]u , da-i-ja-ke-re-u VIR 1
- .4 ro-]u-ko , ku-sa-me-ni-jo , me-ta-pa VIR 1
- .5 a-e-ri-qo-ṭa[]jo o-wi-to-no VIR 1
- .6 a₃-ko-ta , a-da-ra-ti-jo VIR 1
- .7 *vacat*
- .8 *vacat*
- .9 o-da-a₂ , e-ke-jo-to , a-ko-to-no
- .10 pa-ku-ro₂ , de-wi-jo ZE 1
- .11]ka-re-u , e-ko-me-na-ta-o , *34-te ZE 1
- .12] , ke-ki-jo ZE 1
- .13]me-ta , po-ru-da-si-jo ZE 1
- .14]me-nu-a₂ ZE 1
- .15]ma-ra-te-u , a-pu-ka ZE 1
- .16 qo-te-wo , i-*65 ZE 1

The word *de-wi-jo* appears on line 10 of **Aq 218** in the entry *pa-ku-ro₂ de-wi-jo* (*Pak^hullos de-wi-jo*). Here it must certainly be a patronymic, given the overall structure of the text. Not including *de-wi-jo*, there are four patronymics on this text, three of which recur in the *o-ka* texts.⁶ Moreover, at least five of the personal names

5. *DMic. s.v. de-wi-jo.*

6. These patronymics are *ke-ki-jo* (**Aq 218.12**, **An 657.11**), *a-da-ra-ti-jo* (**Aq 218.6**, **An 656.14**), *ku-sa-me-ni-jo* (**Aq 218.4**, **An 519.16**) and *po-ru-da-si-jo* (**Aq 218.13**). Note too the certain indication of kinship in the entry *qo-te-wo i-*65* ‘the son of *qo-te-u’ and the possible indication of kinship in the entry *e-ko-me-na-ta-o *34-te*, ‘the *34-te of *e-ko-me-na-ta*’ (for which, see *People*, II, p. 162-163, whose interpretation is now inconsistent with current interpretations of the value of sign *34/35:

on **Aq 218** recur in the *o-ka* set.⁷ Thus, the extensive onomastic overlap between **Aq 218** and the *o-ka* texts strongly suggests that we read *de-wi-jo* on **An 519** as a patronymic, where it could modify either *ko-ma-we*, which it precedes, or *a₂-te-po*, which it follows. Either scenario is possible, since patronymics in Linear B usually appear after the personal name they modify, but in at least two instances, the patronymic appears first.⁸ The interpretation of *a₂-te-po* is problematical; it might be a place name, a personal name, or something else.⁹ The difficulty in its interpretation is compounded by two factors: first, the syntax of this section of text, which would seem to exclude the possibility that *a₂-te-po* is a personal name,¹⁰ and second, the fact that elsewhere in the *o-ka* set blank lines always introduce new sections of text that record a new *o-ka* unit or groups of 10 to 110 men (represented by the VIR ideogram) accompanied by an *e-qe-ta*. Since it is difficult to construe *a₂-te-po* as a personal name, it is preferable to associate *de-wi-jo* with *ko-ma-we*. Consequently, it is likely that *ko-ma-we* and *pa-ku-ro₂* are brothers, both sons of a man named **de-wo*.¹¹

This interpretation is further supported by the fact that the names *pa-ku-ro₂* and *ko-ma-we* appear not only on the same text in the **Jn** series, but even on adjacent lines (**Jn 750.8-9**).

PY Jn 750

(S310 H 2)

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| .1 | a-si-ja-ti-ja , | ka-ke-we , | ta-ra-si-ja , | e-ko-te |
| .2 | pa-ra-ke-te-e-we , | | | |
| .3 | po-so-ro | AES M 1 N 2 | ro-wo | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .4 | a-ti-pa-mo | AES M 1 N 2 | e-u-ka-ro | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .5 | ma-ra-ta | AES M 1 N 2 | a-no-ta | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .6 | na-e-si-jo | AES M 1 N 2 | si-ra-ta | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .7 | ka-ra-u-ro | AES M 1 N 2 | ra-wo-qo-ta | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .8 | pa-ku-ro ₂ | AES M 1 N 2 | ka-ke-u | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .9 | ko-ma-we | AES M 1 N 2 | e-u-we-to | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .10 | e-ke-i-ja-ta | AES M 1 N 2 | mo-re-u [| AES M |

J. CHADWICK, “Pylos Va 15”, in *Mykenaiika*, p. 169-172). On the extensive overlap between the **Aq** diptych and the *o-ka* set, see *Interpretation*, p. 142-144; *People*, II, p. 190-193; *Docs*, p. 175; *Docs²*, p. 422-424.

7. The personal names in question are *ro-u-ko* (**Aq 218.4**), who is an *e-qe-ta* on **An 519**; *a-e-ri-jo-ta* (**Aq 218.5**) and *a₃-ko-ta* (**Aq 218.6**), who are *e-qe-ta* on **An 657**; *e-ko-me-na-ta-o* (**Aq 218.11**), who is an *o-ka* commander on **An 661**; and *ma-ra-te-u* (**Aq 218.15**), who is an “officer” on **An 657**. Other possibilities are *di-wi-je-u*, who is an *e-qe-ta* on **An 656** and may appear on **Aq 218.2** (for which, see *DMic*. s.v. *di-wi-je-u*).

8. The application of the patronymic is optional. There are two instances where the patronymic is written first are **An 656.6** (*pe-re-qo-ni-jo a-re-i-jo*) and **An 657.11-12** (*ke-ki-jo a-e-ri-jo-ta*).

9. *DMic*. s.v. *a₂-te-po*. V. H. MÜHLESTEIN, “PY An 519, 10-11”, *Nestor 7* (1980), p. 1424, writes « l’aspiration initiale suggère un relatif écrit en proclise avec le verbe, comme dans *o-do-ke*, etc. » and suggests *hā/hāi/hān steibon*, from gr. *στειβω* ‘to walk’.

10. Specifically, the enclitic *-qe* in **An 519.11** appears to link *ko-ma-we* to the 30 men described as *o-*34-ta u-ru-pi-ja-jo o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*. Since *-qe* always links only two items, *a₂-te-po* cannot be the first in a list of three parallel items; it would therefore seem to be a toponym or some other word(s). Cf. *Études*, p. 289-336; V. H. MÜHLESTEIN, “PY An 519”, cit., p. 1424.

11. The interpretation of *Études*, p. 159 and n. 324 that this name is a formation from *der(w)ē*, ‘neck’, like *Kep^halos* from *kep^halē*, should be rejected, since the initial consonant in *der(w)ē* is probably a labiovelar (*DELG* s.v. *δέρη*).

- .11 wo-wa-ro AES M 1 N 2 []
 .12 to-so-de , a-ta-ra-si-jo , du-wo-jo 1 di-ra-wo-no[1
 .13 e-u-we-to-ro , do-e-ro 1 e[

J. Smith has definitively shown that the order of names in the **Jn** series is significant, since scribes erase names in order to insert other names in a notional “correct order”.¹² On **Jn 750**, the names *ko-ma-we* and *pa-ku-ro*₂ are separated by a single entry, *ka-ke-u* (*K^halkeus*), who is probably the same individual as an officer on **An 519** attached to the same military unit as *ko-ma-we*.¹³ The connections between these names consecutively written by the scribe of **Jn 750** (Hand 2) are unlikely to be the result of coincidence. It is highly likely that these names were placed together in the text because they were considered to be connected to each other in some way, and it is therefore almost certain that *ko-ma-we* and his brother *pa-ku-ro*₂ are both bronzesmiths.¹⁴

We may also note in passing that *ko-ma-we* appears on **Cn 925** as a swineherd. Of the other two names on this text, one is a *hapax graphomenon* (dative *e-te-we*), but the other, *e-do-mo-ne-u*, appears as a *te-o-jo do-e-ro* in the **En/Eo** landholding series and as a bronzesmith on **Jn 389** and **Jn 605**.

PY Cn 925

(S925 H 1)

- .1 da-we-u-pi , pa-ro , ko-ma-we-te SUS^m 16
 .2 da-we-u-pi , pa-ro , e-te-we SUS^f 16
 .3 da-we-u-pi , pa-ro , e-do-mo-ne-we SUS^f 28

It is possible that *ko-ma-we* the swineherd should be identified with the military officer and bronzesmith, since as we will see below, it seems unlikely that it is coincidental that another name from the **Jn** series appears together with *ko-ma-we* on **Cn 925**.¹⁵

Generally speaking, there has been reluctance among Mycenologists to make identifications between military officers and bronzesmiths, or between bronzesmiths and shepherds. Ventris and Chadwick wrote in the first edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*: « There is no guarantee that the Pylos doublets refer to the same individuals, quite apart from the different place-names with which they are associated ». ¹⁶ This opinion was echoed in M. Lejeune’s study of Pylian bronzesmiths and M. Lindgren’s *People of Pylos*.¹⁷ Studies in the late 1980s by M. Lang and P. de Fidio suggested that the extent of homonymy, and the patterns

12. J. SMITH, “The Pylos Jn Series”, *Minos* 27-28 (1992-1993 [1995]), p. 189, 194.

13. *People*, I, p. 60. On **An 519.6**, the name is only partially preserved as *ka-ke[*.

14. This conclusion was reached independently by R. J. E. THOMPSON, “Mycenaean *mo-ro-qa*”, in *Fiscality*, p. 225-240.

15. There may be a possibility that *ko-ma-we* is an *e-qe-ta*: he is given a patronymic on **An 519**, and only the *e-qe-ta* are given patronymics in the *o-ka* tablets. He also appears in a new paragraph, and separate paragraphs always introduce a new *o-ka* unit or groups of men along with one or more *e-qe-ta* attached to them. Of course, all *e-qe-ta* in the *o-ka* set are explicitly labeled as such with a fixed formula, so we must view this identification as highly hypothetical, at least until the problematical term *a₂-te-po* is better understood.

16. *Docs*, p. 352.

17. M. LEJEUNE, “Les forgerons de Pylos”, *Historia* 10 (1961), p. 426-427; *People*, I, p. 14.

formed by the homonyms, were too striking to be the result of mere coincidence.¹⁸ Both authors suggested that the contextual associations of personal names could provide a method for determining whether the same name in different contexts referred to the same individual.

My own prosopographical research on the Pylos tablets has shown that in many cases the evidence allows us to state with great probability that multiple occurrences of the same name represent the same individual.¹⁹ My chief method has been to examine sets of names that cluster together in more than one text.²⁰ Beginning with certain prosopographical identifications, other possible matches in similar contexts become increasingly likely. Thus, while individually some of these matches may be questionable, when examined as groups, they form consistent patterns. We can use this procedure because all the texts at Pylos were found in the palace proper and relate directly to palatial administration. All individuals in the Pylos tablets were residents of Messenia whose activities were monitored by the administration. Furthermore, with a few exceptions, the tablets date to a single chronological horizon of less than a single year.²¹ Unlike most prosopographical data, the Pylian texts are highly concentrated in time, space and function, and all individuals in the corpus automatically satisfy two of the main criteria used to eliminate identifications in other prosopographies, namely chronology and geography.²² Naturally, it is possible for individuals within the same community to bear the same personal name, and Ventris and Chadwick account for the large number of Pylian homonyms (there are 231, nearly one third of all complete names) in this way.²³ However, this explanation is inadequate for a number of reasons, among which is the fact that the 707 complete and certain names from Pylos represent a maximum of 865 individuals, although a number closer to 800 is more likely. Thus, there is actually a very large number of names relative to the total population of named individuals, making it unlikely that the popularity of particular names has a significant effect on identification.²⁴

The example of *ko-ma-we* and *pa-ku-ro*₂ shows how the information from the tablets allows us to propose prosopographical identifications with a high degree of certainty. In other cases, broader patterns can be discerned which suggest that the instances of the same name recurring on different tablets probably refer to the same individual. For example, the overlap between bronzesmiths and men conventionally referred to as “shepherds” is almost twice as great as would be expected if names

18. M. LANG, “Pylian Place-Names”, in *Studies Bennett*, p. 185-212; P. DE FIDIO, “L’artigianato del bronzo nei testi micenei di Pylos”, *Klio* 71 (1989), p. 7-27. See too A. ZAGATTI, *Persone e nomi di persona a Pilo*, Roma 1999.

19. D. NAKASSIS, *Individual*, cit., p. 151-266.

20. A method advocated in *Interpretation*, p. 139.

21. T. G. PALAIMA, “The Last Days of the Pylos Polity”, in *Politeia*, p. 119-139.

22. D. E. THORNTON, “Identifying Celts in the Past”, *Historical Methods* 35 (2002), p. 84-91, for example, requires all proposed prosopographical matches (in the context of early medieval Ireland) to be roughly contemporary and to belong to the same kingdom.

23. *Docs*, p. 352.

24. At the most, there are 1.22 individuals per name at Pylos. According to my estimates, about 1.1 individuals per name is more likely. The most popular name at Pylos appears to be *du-ni-jo*, which represents at most seven men and accounts for less than 1% of all named individuals.

were distributed randomly. While 30 names recur in both the **Cn** and **Jn** series, we would expect a much lower rate of overlap (see Tab. I), as shown below:

61 (recurring Cn names) × 0.3211 (proportion of Jn names) = 19.59 matches or
 83 (recurring Jn names) × 0.2206 (proportion of Cn names) = 18.31 matches or
 198 (all recurring names at Pylos) × 0.2206 (proportion of Cn names) × 0.3211
 (proportion of Jn names) = 14.02 matches.

Thus, depending on which calculation one prefers, the rate of overlap (30 names) is 1.53 to 2.14 times greater than what we might expect. To put this another way, although names from the **Jn** series comprise less than one third of all Pylian names, nearly half of recurring **Cn** names appear in the **Jn** series (Tab. I).

Complete and certain names at Pylos	Number	Percentage
Total	707	
Jn names	227	32.11% of the total
# of which only appear in the Jn series	144	63.4%
# of which appear in other series	83	36.6%
Cn names	156	22.06% of the total
# of which only appear in the Cn series	95	60.9%
# of which appear in other series	61	39.1%

Tab. I. Names in the Jn and Cn series

The overlap is not systematic: that is to say, there is no obvious way to explain why some names appear as shepherds and smiths while others do not. However, the distribution is not random, since when smiths appear in the **Cn** series, they sometimes appear in groups. For example, smiths from one particular text, **Jn 431**, tend to appear in groups of two or more on multiple **Cn** texts. The pattern is striking: all but one of the smiths' names from **Jn 431** who appear in the **Cn** series appear there with another name from **Jn 431** (see Tab. II).²⁵

Cn Texts	Possible identifications with bronzesmiths	Names which also appear on Jn 431
Cn 45	5 (of 13 entries)	<i>a-ko-to-wo, qe-ta-ko, wi-ja-te-we</i> (?) ²⁶
Cn 131	6 (of 27 entries)	<i>a-ka-ma-wo</i>
Cn 436	3 (of 8 entries)	<i>a-ta-tu-ro, ko-tu-ro</i> ₂
Cn 570	1 (of 2 entries)	<i>qe-ta-ko</i>
Cn 600	7 (of 15 entries)	<i>ke-we-no, qe-ta-ko, wi-ja-te-we</i> (?), *82-de
Cn 1287	3 (of 10 entries)	<i>da-u-da-ro</i> (?), ²⁷ <i>qe-ta-ko</i>

Tab. II. Potential smiths from Jn 431 in the Cn series by tablet

25. The only name from **Jn 431** that does not appear with other names from the same text in the **Cn** series is *a-ka-ma-wo* (**Cn 131**).

26. On **Cn 45** and **600**, the name *wi-ja-te-we* appears in the dative case; we would expect the nominative of this name to be **wi-ja-te-u*. The name *wi-ja-te-wo* appears on **Jn 431** in the nominative (the dative of which should be **wi-ja-te-wo-ne*). It would therefore seem impossible for these two to represent the same name (see *DMic.* s.v. *wi-ja-te-we, wi-ja-te-wo*). However, scribes sometimes write the same name in different ways (see, e.g., *ma-ka-ta* / *ma-ka-wo, wa-tu-ta* / *wa-ka-ta*, and *o-ru-we-ro* / *po-ru-e-ro* on **Jn 658** and **Jn 725**). There is, moreover, a strong argument to make for identification from the contexts where these names appear; namely, in both **Cn 45** and **600**, more than one name from **Jn 431** appears with **wi-ja-te-u*. It may be, for example, that the sounds which are represented by *wo* and *u* are close enough that the scribe of **Jn 431** (Hand 2) substituted *wo* for *u*; or, like the variation between *ma-ka-ta* and *ma-ka-wo* mentioned above, the scribe has applied different endings on the same root.

27. The man named *da-u-da-ro* on **Cn 1287** may be the same as the smith *da-u-ta-ro* on **Jn 431**; *People*, II, p. 40; *DMic.* s.v. *da-u-da-ro, da-u-ta-ro*.

In other cases, smiths from different texts appear to cluster together in **Cn** texts, as for example on **Cn 600** where four of the first five entries are bronzesmiths. Of the fifteen entries on this tablet, there are potentially seven smiths (Tab. III). The last two entries, *qe-ta-ko* and *82-*de*, which are the only two swineherds on this text, both have names that appear on **Jn 431**. As I noted above (Tab. II), three or perhaps four of the names on **Cn 600** appear on **Jn 431** alone.

Line	Place name	Herder's name	Flock	Jn text where h.'s name appears
.1	<i>o-re-e-wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>ke-wo-no</i>	OVIS ^m 50	Jn 431
.2	<i>o-re-e-wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>de-ko-to</i>	OVIS ^m 100	Jn 410
.3	<i>o-re-e-wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>ke-ro-u-te-u</i>	OVIS ^m 90	
.4	<i>o-re-e-wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>e-te-re-ro</i>	OVIS ^m 90	Jn 415
.5	<i>o[-re-e-]wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>mi-ka-ri-jo</i>	OVIS ^m 92	Jn 605
.6	<i>re-qa-se-wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>wa-ra-wo-<u>no</u></i>	OVIS ^m 70	
.7	<i>ti-mi-to</i> , <i>a-ke-e</i>	<i>te-[]</i>	OVIS ^f 80	
.8	<i>ti-mi-to</i> , <i>a-ke-e</i>	<i>a-[]-u</i>	OVIS ^f 60	
.9	<i>re-qa-se-wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>ka-wi-ta</i>	OVIS ^f 70	
.10	<i>re-qa-se-wo</i> , <i>wo-wo</i>	<i>wi-ja-te-we</i>	OVIS ^f 80	Jn 431 (?)
.11	<i>ti-mi-to</i> , <i>a-ke-e</i>	<i>o-pe-se-to</i>	OVIS ^f 60	
.12	<i>ti-mi-to</i> , <i>a-ke-e</i>	<i>e-te-wa-jo</i>	CAP ^f 30	
.13	<i>ti-mi-to</i> , <i>a-ke-e</i>	<i>a-no-ze-we</i>	CAP ^f 36	
.14	<i>ti-mi-to</i> , <i>a-ke-e</i>	<i>qe-ta-ko</i>	SUS ^m 30	Jn 431
.15	<i>ti-mi-to</i> , <i>a-ke-e</i>	*82- <i>de</i> []	SUS ^f 12	Jn 431

Tab. III. Bronzesmiths on PY Cn 600

Similar “clusters” of bronzesmiths can be identified on **Cn 40**, where all three herders with female goats appear in the **Jn** series, **Cn 131**, where names of smiths are “paired” in lines 3 and 5, and **Cn 285**, where three of the first four entries are smiths.²⁸

There are also compelling identifications to be made between bronzesmiths and landholders.²⁹ On **PY Ep 301**, there is a cluster of three names that appear in the **Jn** series (see Tab. IV). The first two names, *wa-na-ta-jo* and *a-da-ma-o*, appear on the same **Jn** text (**Jn 832**). The third name is *a-tu-ko*, who is on **Ep 301** simply called *e-te-do-mo* but is elsewhere (including the corresponding **Eb** text, **Eb 903**) the *wa-na-ka-te-ro e-te-do-mo*. The title *e-te-do-mo* is most plausibly rendered **entes-domos*, meaning ‘equipment-builder’ or ‘armorer’.³⁰ Accordingly, it is hardly surprising to find the armorer of the *wanax* receiving bronze from palatial stores in the **Jn** series.

Line	Name	Jn texts
.2	<i>a₃-ti-jo-<u>qo</u></i>	
.3	<i>wa-na-ta-jo</i>	Jn 832.7
.4	<i>a-da-ma-o</i>	Jn 832.15
.5	<i>a-tu-ko</i>	Jn 658.10, Jn 725.7, Jn 927.11
.6	<i>ta-ta-ro</i>	

28. D. NAKASSIS, *Individual*, cit., p. 175-184.

29. D. NAKASSIS, *Individual*, cit., p. 198-202.

30. T. G. PALAIMA, “Potter and Fuller: The Royal Craftsmen”, in *Techne*, p. 407 and n. 2 (with references).

Line	Name	Jn texts
.7	<i>vacat</i>	
.8	<i>pi-ke-re-u</i>	
.9	<i>ra-ku-ro</i>	
.10	<i>ku-so</i>	
.11	<i>ke-ra-u-jo</i>	
.12	<i>pa-ra-ko</i>	
.13	<i>ko-tu[-ro₂]</i>	Jn 431.2
.14	<i>a-i-qe-u</i>	

Tab. IV. Bronzesmiths on PY Ep 301

Yet another link is provided by the fact that *a-tu-ko*'s landholding on **Eo 211.2** is *pa-ro wa-na-ta-jo*. Indeed, the connections between *wa-na-ta-jo* and *a-tu-ko* are striking: they both appear in only these two contexts (landholding and smithing); they appear on **Ep 301** in a cluster of smiths' names, and they are even directly linked on **Eo 211**.

Another set of recurring names appears in the *o-ka* set. Many names and patronymics from the *o-ka* set appear in the **Aq** diptych (**Aq 64** and **218**), so that we can be quite certain that the same individuals are meant. Moreover, a number of these individuals also appear on **An 192**, **On 300**, and **Jo 438** (see Tab. V).³¹ Although no single individual appears in all five categories of text, the extensive overlap among this group of eighteen names suggests that we may confidently identify each instance of these names with a single individual.

Name	An 192	<i>o-ka</i> set	Aq	Jo 438	On 300
<i>a-e-ri-qo-ta</i>	x	x	x		
<i>a-pi-a₂-ro</i>	x				x
<i>a₃-ko-ta</i>		x	x		
<i>au-ke-wa</i>	x			x	x
<i>du-ni-jo</i>	x				x
<i>e-ke-me-de</i>		x		x	
<i>e-ko-me-na-ta</i>		x	x		
<i>e-ta-wo-ne-u</i>		x	x		
<i>ku-ru-me-no</i>		x	x	x	
<i>ma-ra-te-u</i>		x	x		
<i>ne-da-wa-ta</i>		x		x	
<i>pe-ri-me-de</i>		x	x		
<i>pe-ri-mo</i>			x	x	x
<i>po-ki-ro-qo</i>		x	x	x	
<i>po-si-ri-jo</i>			x	x	
<i>ro-u-ko</i>		x	x		
<i>ru-ro</i>			x	x	
<i>te-po-se-u</i>				x	x

Tab. V. Names appearing more than once in An 192, the *o-ka* set, the Aq diptych, Jo 438 and On 300

31. *People*, p. 190-193. This pattern has been discussed most recently R. J. E. THOMPSON, "Mycenaean *mo-ro-qa*", cit.

In examining each and every possible prosopographical match at Pylos along these lines, I have evaluated each potential match to one of four categories of certainty: certain, probable, possible, and tenuous. Of the 190 securely identified names that appear in more than one series, nearly half of the time we can demonstrate with near certainty identification with at least one other attestation of that name (47%, n= 88). If we include matches classed as “probable”, then the rate of identification increases to almost three quarters (74%, n= 140). These should be considered minimum figures, since the fragmentary nature of the textual record tends to impede identification. That is, the more information we possess about a set of names, the greater our confidence can be in establishing prosopographical matches.³² Importantly, this analysis does not depend on any single identification, but on the cumulative effect of extensive patterns of possible identifications. The overall pattern clearly indicates that a large number of individuals (about 100 or more) appear in more than one administrative text at Pylos.³³

These contextual associations provide convincing evidence that many if not most names appearing more than once actually represent individuals who are involved in multiple activities within palatial purview. Thus, not only are many smiths also herders, but they are responsible for other activities as well: they are military officers in the *o-ka* tablets, landholders and *te-re-ta*, and laborers and supervisors of work groups (**An 261**, **An 340**).³⁴ Individuals usually identified as “shepherds” appear as military officers, landholders, taxation officials, and individuals responsible for work on chariot wheels in the **Sa** series.³⁵

The people whose names recur in multiple texts are involved in several economic and administrative activities, very often in parts of the kingdom that are distant from each other. In many cases, it is clear that it is physically impossible for a single man to perform all the tasks assigned to him. One example is *po-ro-u-te-u* (*Plouteus*), who is a bronzesmith in the southern Hither Province at *a-ke-re-wa* (**Jn 310.5**), a shepherd in the northern Hither Province at *pi-*82* (**Cn 131.5**), and a messenger (*a-ke-ro*) who collects goats in the northern Further Province at *e-ra-te-re-wa* (**Vn 493.4**).³⁶ We must consequently assume that such men were not necessarily responsible for carrying out each of these tasks personally; rather they were simply accountable for ensuring that they were carried out. Arguably, therefore, the individuals commonly referred to as “shepherds” are not actually shepherds, but are

32. For example, we can make more persuasive arguments for identification when dealing with the 30 names that appear in the **Cn** and **Jn** series: if we include matches of high probability, the rate of identification is over 90% (n= 28). Secure identifications also incrementally increase the likelihood of other possible identifications that follow the same pattern.

33. For a different approach to Pylian onomastics, see M. F. LANE, *Names and Numbers: An Inquiry into Scribal Practice at Late Bronze Age Pylos in the South-Western Peloponnese*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield 2003.

34. D. NAKASSIS, *Individual*, cit., p. 168-201. On the role of metals in the Mycenaean economy, see A. MICHAILIDOU, “Late Bronze Age Economy: Copper / Bronze in Linear B Script and Material Evidence”, this volume (p. 521-540).

35. D. NAKASSIS, *Individual*, cit., p. 202-216.

36. On the header of **PY Vn 493**, see A. LEUKART, “Pylos Vn 493.1: *a-<ko>-ro e-po a-ke-ra₂-te*”, in *Secondo Congresso*, p. 311-314.

rather shepherding supervisors. This situation has parallels in Old Babylonian Ur, where the actual herders in the field are absent from our documentation; instead, the palace records by name the individual supervisors responsible for the maintenance of palatial flocks.³⁷ It is furthermore likely that individuals whose names recur are elites, since only elites would be capable of managing multiple administrative tasks at the same time in more than one district within the kingdom.³⁸ The Mycenaean texts provide a good analogue to this arrangement, namely the “collectors”, and it is therefore plausible that other individuals, certainly less prominent than the “collectors” yet important people in their own right, might also assume multiple responsibilities for the palace.

The idea that shepherds and bronzesmiths are elites is contrary to the *communis opinio* that they are low-status laborers.³⁹ Conversely, the prosopographical data strongly suggest that they are important individuals to whom the palace allocates economic and managerial tasks. Bronzesmiths occasionally hold high offices: two are *te-re-ta* and three are heads of the *ke-ro-si-ja* on **An 261** and **Un 616**.⁴⁰ Both individuals who exchange an imported commodity (alum or a similar astringent substance) with the palace for foodstuffs, named *ku-pi-ri-jo* and *a₃-ta-ro*, are probably also bronzesmiths, and this suggests that smiths were among the “entrepreneurial elite” of the Pylian state.⁴¹ Some bronzesmiths appear to be involved in “collector”-like behavior, in the sense that they are important individuals in the kingdom to whom certain managerial activities are allocated and are active in multiple economic spheres and localities.

Two bronzesmiths are in charge of groups of men on **Jn 431**: five men are ‘of *to-sa-no*’ and 31 are ‘of *a-mu-ta-wo*’. Two more smiths own more than one slave on **Jn 605** (*pe-re-qo-no* and **a₃-ki-e-u*). De Fidio and Killen point out that these allocations of men to bronzesmiths compare well to references of workers attributed to “collectors” at Pylos and Knossos.⁴² One of the owners of multiple slaves on **Jn 605** is *pe-re-qo-no*, who, in addition to being listed as a smith on **Jn 725** and described as a ‘cattle-grazer’ (*qo-qo-ta*) on **Ea 270**, may also be the father of the *e-qe-ta* identified with the personal name *a-re-i-jo* and the patronymic

37. M. VAN DE MIEROOP, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur*, Berlin 1992, p. 86-87; J. N. POSTGATE, “System and Style in Three Near Eastern Bureaucracies”, in *Economy and Politics*, p. 188-190. On the economic system of the Old Babylonian palaces, see J. RENGGER, “Das Palastgeschäft in der altbabylonischen Zeit”, in *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs*, A. C. V. M. Bongenaar (ed.), Istanbul 2000, p. 153-183; M. STOL, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in albabylonischer Zeit”, in *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, D. Charpin, D. O. Edzart, M. Stol (ed.), Göttingen 2004, p. 919-944.

38. E. KYRIAKIDIS, this volume (p. 449-459) suggests on the basis of ethnohistorical analogies that these personal names represent kin-groups.

39. J. T. KILLEN, “Some Thoughts on *ta-ra-si-ja*”, in *Economy and Politics*, p. 173 (« not persons of particularly elevated status »).

40. The *te-re-ta* are *a-da-ma-o* and *wa-na-ta-jo*; the heads of the *gerousiai* are *o-two-we*, *a-pi-jo* and *a-pi-qo-ta*.

41. On Mycenaean *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*, see *DMic*. s.v. (with references).

42. P. DE FIDIO, “L’artigianato”, cit., p. 23; J. T. KILLEN, “Some Further Thoughts”, cit., p. 215.

pe-re-qa-ni-jo.⁴³ Thus, while not themselves “collectors” in the strict sense,⁴⁴ some bronzesmiths (such as *a-ta-o* on **An 340**) are in charge of large numbers of men while others are involved in multiple economic activities.

Moreover, we can also observe that bronzesmiths participate in the naming practices of Mycenaean elites.⁴⁵ Killen observed that the personal names of “collectors” or adjectives based on their name appear at more than one Mycenaean site. This pattern has been more recently discussed systematically by Olivier.⁴⁶ *Ko-ma-we*, for example, is a collector’s name at Knossos,⁴⁷ and the word *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is probably an adjective formed from this name that refers to a group of textile workers on **TH Of 35** and religious officials on **PY Tn 316**.⁴⁸ In like manner, *pe-ri-qa-ta* is the name of a Pylian bronzesmith, and an adjective formed from this name is used in the slot for “collectors” in the **Da-Dg** series at Knossos, indicating that there was a collector at Knossos named *pe-ri-qa-ta*.⁴⁹ The same is true of *we-we-si-jo*, who is a bronzesmith at Pylos and a collector at Knossos; moreover, there is an adjective derived from his name that is used to modify groups of female textile workers at Pylos. Finally, there is *ku-pi-ri-jo*, which at Pylos is the name of a bronzesmith, shepherd, and apparently a supplier of alum to the palace; at Knossos, there is a “collector” with the same name in the perfumed oil industry.⁵⁰

43. The identification is possible, given that *a-pi-a₂-ro* holds a plot of land “of *pe-re-qa-no*” on **Ea 270**; *a-pi-a₂-ro* also appears on **An 192** and **On 300**, texts that are closely connected with the *e-qa-ta* and the *o-ka* texts generally (see above).

44. F. ROUGEMONT, “Some Thoughts”, cit., p. 130, warns against the attempt to find “collectors” outside of the textile industry.

45. At least twelve smiths at Pylos also have compound names that refer to the activity of smithing. D. NAKASSIS, *Individual*, cit., p. 312-315; P. ATTINGER, “Les noms parlants des forgerons mentionnés dans les tablettes Jn de Pylos”, *ZAnt* 27 (1977), p. 55-75.

46. J. T. KILLEN, “The Knossos Ld(1) Tablets”, in *Colloquium Mycenaeanum*, p. 151-181; J.-P. OLIVIER, “Les ‘collecteurs’”, cit. For adjectives ending in *-e-jo* from personal names, see J. T. KILLEN, “Mycenaean Possessive Adjectives in *-e-jo*”, *TPhS* (1983), p. 66-99, and more recently, C. J. RUIJGH, “The Social Status of Persons Indicated by Possessive Adjectives in *-e-jo*, with Some Linguistic Observations”, in *Studies Killen*, p. 251-272.

47. J. T. KILLEN, “Knossos Ld(1)”, cit., p. 176-177; J. BENNET, “‘Collectors’ or ‘Owners’? An Examination of their Possible Functions within the Palatial Economy of LM III Crete”, in *Mykenaiika*, p. 81; P. CARLIER, “Les collecteurs sont-ils fermiers?”, *ibid.*, p. 163; J. DRIESSEN, “‘Collector’s items’. Observations sur l’élite mycénienne de Cnossos”, *ibid.*, p. 208; L. GODART, “Les collecteurs dans le monde égéen”, *ibid.*, p. 271.

48. J. T. KILLEN, “Mycenaean Possessive Adjectives”, cit., p. 76-77 and C. J. RUIJGH, “Social Status”, cit., p. 266, interpret *ko-ma-we-te-ja* as a possessive adjective. It is also possible that *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is the name of a female divinity; for a recent discussion, see M. DEL FREO, “Osservazioni su miceneo *ko-ma-we-te-ja*”, *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997[1998]), p. 145-158; T. G. PALAIMA, “Sacrificial Feasting in the Linear B Documents”, in *Mycenaean Feast*, p. 121 n. 122, renders *ko-ma-we-te-ja* ‘The Lady of the Tresses’. This issue is complicated by the fact that this word appears in an unusual entry in **Tn 316** v.3. At any rate, the interpretation of *ko-ma-we-te-ja* as a theonym cannot affect the interpretation of *ko-ma-we* in other contexts, where it is clearly the personal name of a man (see J. T. KILLEN, “Knossos Ld(1)”, cit., p. 177). Note that *ko-ma-we* is formally an adjective meaning “hairy” (cf. gr. κομήεις), hence its applicability as a personal name and as a divine epithet.

49. *Interpretation*, p. 444; C. J. RUIJGH, “Social Status”, cit., p. 252-253.

50. J. T. KILLEN, “Some Further Thoughts”, cit., p. 215-221, following a suggestion made in a lecture by Olivier (later published as J.-P. OLIVIER, “El comercio micénico desde la documentación

This study of individuals suggests that instead of thinking of the Mycenaean state as a rigid hierarchy of offices, we should regard it as a network reproduced by the actions of individual agents.⁵¹ These individuals are largely elites whose substantial holdings allow them to manage multiple administrative tasks in a variety of locations in the Pylian polity. So far as we can tell, there were substantial benefits to the elites who managed these portions of the palatial economy (for example, tax exemptions given to bronzesmiths and others, allocations of landholdings, and so on). In turn, they and their private holdings were a real human resource for the state, since it was administratively much simpler for the state to allocate economic tasks to individuals. For example, P. Halstead has shown that when sheep from palatial flocks died accidentally, individual shepherds had to replace them with animals from their own private flocks.⁵² This represents a significantly simpler arrangement for the administration than the alternative, which would require the authentication of each accidental death to prevent fraudulent reports. If we assume, hypothetically, that every named individual in the tablets at Pylos is a member of the elite, we would have evidence for at least 800 elites in Messenia, or less than 2% of the estimated total population of the kingdom, a reasonable number of elites in the Pylos given Mediterranean comparanda.⁵³

Individuals identified by personal name constituted an important part of the Mycenaean economy. They allowed the palace to manage extensive but decentralized economic activities in an administratively simple arrangement. Key to these relationships was personal responsibility; that is, from the palace's perspective, it was important to know who these individuals were, so that the administration could monitor their expected contributions.⁵⁴ The conditions under which these responsibilities were undertaken may have allowed individuals to profit from these tasks.⁵⁵ Thus, rather than simply thinking of local elites as acting outside

epigráfica", *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997[1998]), p. 275-292). The Knossian *ku-pi-ri-jo*, Killen notes, plays a role analogous to *a-ko-so-ta* at Pylos (J. T. KILLEN, "Some Further Thoughts", cit., p. 216).

51. This model is influenced by Anthony Giddens' structuration theory and an article by Edward Sapir: A. GIDDENS, *Central Problems in Social Theory*, Berkeley 1979; A. GIDDENS, *The Constitution of Society*, Berkeley 1984; E. SAPIR, "Communication", *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* 4 (1931), p. 78-81. See too R. E. BLANTON, "Beyond Centralization: Steps Toward a Theory of Egalitarian Behavior in Archaic States", in *Archaic States*, G. M. Feinman, J. Marcus (ed.), Santa Fe 1998, p. 135-172.

52. P. HALSTEAD, "Mycenaean Wheat, Flax and Sheep: Palatial Intervention in Farming and its Implications for Rural Society", in *Economy and Politics*, p. 42-43.

53. On the estimated population (50,000 people) of Mycenaean Messenia, see most recently T. WHITELAW, "Reading between the tablets: Assessing Mycenaean Palatial Involvement in Ceramic Production and Consumption", in *Economy and Politics*, p. 64. The moderate oligarchy of the 5,000 in Athens at the end of the 5th century BC probably represented about 2% of the Athenian population. For the demography of Classical Athens, see A. GOMME, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford 1933, p. 26; M. HANSEN, *Demography and Democracy*, Herning 1986; P. GARNSEY, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World*, Cambridge 1988, p. 90.

54. Cf. F. ROUGEMONT, "La hiérarchie des responsabilités dans les économies palatiales mycéniennes: l'exemple de la gestion des troupeaux d'ovins et de l'industrie textile", in *Responsabilité et antiquité. Colloque du CEIR, organisé sous le patronage de la Bibliotheca Alexandrina et du Consulat général de France à Alexandrie, 20-21 février 2003*, Paris 2003 (*Méditerranées* 34-35), p. 37-59.

55. For example, Halstead has shown that herders at Knossos freely moved animals from their private flocks into palatial flocks and *vice versa*, allowing them to benefit from this arrangement.

of the palatial sector, or even in opposition to it, we should also realize that they were heavily invested in, and part of, the state apparatus. The palatial economy was therefore both the medium and the outcome of the economic activity of named individuals. The state provided them with access to enormous and stable resources, and they in turn managed these resources, thereby maintaining the state economy. This arrangement may be the historical product of a rapidly expanding polity interacting with, and incorporating into its fabric, elite families living in territories absorbed by Pylos.⁵⁶

P. HALSTEAD, "Missing Sheep: On the Meaning and Wider Significance of *o* in Knossos SHEEP records", *ABSA* 94 (1999), p. 145-166; P. HALSTEAD, "Mycenaean Wheat", cit., p. 43.

56. On the expansion of Pylos, see J. BENNET, "Space Through Time: Diachronic Perspectives on the Spatial Organization of the Pylian State", in *Politeia*, p. 587-602; J. BENNET, "The Mycenaean Conceptualization of Space or Pylian Geography (... Yet Again!)", in *Florent*, p. 131-157; J. BENNET, "*re-u-ko-to-ro za-we-te*: Leuktron as a Secondary Capital in the Pylos Kingdom?", in *Studies Killen*, p. 11-30; C. W. SHELMERDINE, "The Evolution of Administration at Pylos", in *Economy and Politics*, p. 113-128.