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*E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* ≠ *wa-na-ka*:  
THE IMPLICATIONS OF A PROBABLE NON-IDENTIFICATION  
FOR PYLIAN FEASTING AND POLITICS\*

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An individual named *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* (a personal name now understood as \*Enkhellawōn, deriving from Greek ἔγχος ‘spear’ and \*λαύω, ‘find pleasure in’ and interpreted as ‘he who is pleased by the spear’)<sup>1</sup> appears in quite prominent positions in Linear B documents from the palatial site at Ano Englianos (Pl. LXXIVb).<sup>2</sup> Ever since the mid-’50s, questions related to his role and function within the structure of the Pylian ‘state’ have predominantly centered around the issue of his identification as the personal name of the Pylian ruler, identified in the texts as *wanaka*. The aim of this paper is to show that this identification is not necessary and to propose an alternative interpretation of the apparently high status of this individual in his textual occurrences.

It will also become apparent that acceptance or scepticism of the identification may serve by implication to place feasting practice (in relation to which *both* Enkhellawōn and the *wanaks* are independently mentioned, albeit in differential positions, as I will argue below) in LH III B Messenia against a different background in each case.

\* I wish to thank Dr C. Boulotis (Academy of Athens, Research Centre of Antiquity) and Professors L. Platon and N. Sgouritsa (University of Athens, Department of Archaeology) for their unfailing support. I feel obliged to the kindness of Dr Dora Constantinidis, who read this paper at Melbourne, when unforeseen circumstances did not enable me to attend. I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr Dimitri Nakassis and Dr Stephie Nikoloudis, who provided me with important works prior to publication as well as permission to cite them and to Dr Nikos Kaltsas, Dr Lena Papazoglou, Kostas Paschalidis and Dr Eleni Konstantinidi for facilitating my autopsy of Pylian tablets at the National Archaeological Museum (Athens). Last but not least, it is my pleasure to thank Professor José L. Melena for generously sharing a draft of the forthcoming edition of the Pylian texts (*PofN* IV). I owe the initial inspiration of what follows to Professor Palaima’s fluent and crystal-clear thought exposition that enables virtually anyone to follow his reasonings step-by-step in every case. As always, pleas to *l’esprit de Gif* in which all this is written are self-evident. Naturally, none of the aforementioned should be held responsible for any mistakes in fact or interpretation that may be included herein. The following special abbreviation has been used:

*PofN* IV = E.L. BENNETT JR, J.L. MELENA, J.-P. OLIVIER, Th.G. PALAIMA & C.W. SHELMEARDINE (with the collaboration of J. BENNETT, R. J. FIRTH, R. PALMER & K. PLUTA), *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia IV: The Inscribed Documents*, Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati (preliminary draft of the 5<sup>th</sup> version dated January 2003). Manuscript consulted courtesy of Prof. J.L. MELENA.

1 J.L. MELENA, *Textos Griegos Micénicos Comentados* (2001) 73 (anticipated in M.S. RUIPÉREZ & J.L. MELENA, *Los Griegos Micénicos* (1990) 139, citation after the Greek 1996 translation by M. Panagiotidou). This etymology should be preferred to the main alternative that derives *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* from ἔχω ‘have, hold’ and \*λαφός ‘people (fighting force?)’ (as Ekhelāwōn, ‘he who holds the people [fighting force?]’) see, for instance, Th.G. PALAIMA, “Mycenaean Militarism from a Textual Perspective. Onomastics in Context: lāwos, dāmos, klewos,” in R. LAFFINEUR (ed.), *POLEMONS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l’Âge du Bronze, Actes de la 7<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998, Aegaeum* 19 (1999) 367-379, at pp. 373, n. 32 and 377, fig. 2: §15. The latter certainly does not explain why /ra<sub>2</sub>/ had been used instead of the expected /ra/ syllabic sign. See A. LEUKART, “Les signes \*76 (ra<sub>2</sub> «rja») et \*68 (ra<sub>2</sub> «rjo») et le nom du grand prêtre de Poséidon (sinon du roi) à Pylos,” in J.-P. OLIVIER (ed.), *Mykenaiika* (1992) 387-405 and Th.G. PALAIMA, “*wanaks* and related power terms in Mycenaean and later Greek,” in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY & I.S. LEMOS (eds), *Ancient Greece from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (2006) 53-71 (at p.63), for full discussion of the relevant evidence. The suggestion by K.T. WITCZAK (“The Linear B sign \*76: A proposal for new value (ri<sub>2</sub>),” *Pomoerium* 1 [1994] 7-14) is not followed here.

2 At the outset, I must stress that, although the problem of homonymy is truly vast, I accept here that all references to Enkhellawōn in all their variant spellings refer to the same person. See Th.G. PALAIMA, “Special vs. Normal Mycenaean: Hand 24 and writing in the service of the king?,” in J. BENNETT & J.M. DRIESSEN (eds), *A-na-qo-ta. Studies Presented to J.T. Killen* (1998-1999) 205-221, concluding at p.221 for an intriguing reassessment of the variant spellings of this personal name.

I. Notice of Enkhellawōn's high status and his identification with the Pylian ruler was made as early as the publication of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1956) and most explicitly stated by John Chadwick in an appropriately-titled paper in 1975.<sup>3</sup> Since then, this proposition has gained some prominent supporters, most notably Tom Palaima, but also equally prominent critics, most notably Leonard Palmer, Pierre Carlier,<sup>4</sup> Pia de Fidio and Michel Lejeune and also the rather sceptical John Killen.<sup>5</sup> Here I will reiterate some of the most powerful arguments pro the *Ekerawo* – *wanaka* identification and I will then attempt to counter them.

Despite the utter technicality of some of the pertinent arguments, I must stress that the big assumption which smoulders remains the same as in *Documents*, namely that as Enkhellawōn appears to be such a high-status figure, he could be no other than the ruler himself. Therefore his identification as the Pylian *wanaks* depends on assertion about the degree of his prominence (which may be highly subjective) and it is his textually documented properties that make him a 'must-be-royal' persona. I hope that what will emerge from my counter-argument is that most of the arguments recently developed pro this identification are actually points of confirmation of something that is implicitly already accepted, and not points that are independently sufficient as arguments leading to the identification.

I accept here *a priori* the common-sensical observation that high status is not necessarily royal status, unless no other options are available. This entails certain risks of circular argumentation, since the very social structure is ultimately to be derived by making or rejecting such assumptions, rather than *vice versa*.

One cold fact is that Enkhellawōn is never mentioned alongside any title he may have had, whereas this is the case of certain officials. One would easily object that the main difference here is the singularity of the *wanaka*, while *tereta* and *qasirewe* are plural. Yet, the possible co-existence of the two terms on Un 219 (lines .1 and .7), despite the strange spellings attested on this document from Hand 15 (*e-ke-ra-ne* and *a-na-ka-te*, both intriguingly 'digamma-less' writings, though possibly accidental scribal errors), had already been used by the often explicitly anti-Chadwickean Palmer as the prime argument against the identification, followed in this regard by Pierre Carlier.<sup>6</sup>

Another cold fact, quite meaningful in my view, is that *wanaka* nowhere appears as a contributor. This contrasts him with Enkhellawōn severely. Whenever the ruler appears in a document related to feasting or another ceremony in a position other than that of the recipient (e.g. Un 219, Fr 1220, 1215, 1227, 1235 and probably Un 1426), he seems to define the occasion of the event, most notably in Un 2 and Ta 711, in the latter case quite actively (*wa-na-ka te-ke*: Ta 711.1).

The facts that Enkhellawōn and *wanaks* are never mentioned in absolutely interchangeable positions and *may* even get separate entries on Un 219 were initially downplayed by Chadwick, but recently received intriguing interpretations by Palaima and Dimitri Nakassis as evidence for the separation of the personal activities of the *wanaks* (mentioned by his personal name) and his official activities (mentioned by title).<sup>7</sup> This has been a highly intelligent solution but it too is guilty of its over-intelligence, for it provides the same answer to diverse objections: All similarities between Enkhellawōn and *wanaka* could be seen as evidence for the identification,

3 M. VENTRIS & J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1956) 120, 265; also p. 454 of the 1973 Second Edition [revised by J. CHADWICK] that rings a note of caution; J. CHADWICK, "Who was *E-ke-ra-wo*?", in J. BINGEN, G. CAMBIER & G. NACHTERGAEL (eds), *Le monde grec : pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (1975) 450-453.

4 L.R. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963) 216; P. CARLIER, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (1984) 62 and more recently ID., "*wa-na-ka* derechef : Nouvelles réflexions sur les royautés mycéniennes," *BCH* 122 (1998) 411-415.

5 M. LEJEUNE, "Le dossier *sa-ra-pe-da* du scribe 24 de Pylos," *Minos* 14 (1973) 60-76; P. de FIDIO, *I Dosmoi Pili a Poseidon: Una Terra Sacra di Età Micenea* (1977) 77-188 (esp. 131-135 for Enkhellawōn); see also J.T. KILLEN, "New readings and interpretations in the Pylos tablets," in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, S. HILLER & O. PANAGL (eds), *Floreat Studia Mycenaea: Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995* (1999) 343-353 (at 352-353).

6 See *supra* n. 4.

7 D. NAKASSIS, *The Individual and the Mycenaean State: Agency and Prosopography in the Linear B Texts from Pylos* (PhD Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2006) 115-125.

while all differences would be attributable to this prosopographical separation of the two personae of the ruler. A problem with such a *modus explanandi* is that it leaves no room for potential falsifiability in the Popper-ian sense of the word.

In an earlier seminal paper on Mycenaean kingship, Palaima offered fresh and intriguing observations for this identification by noting the close *physical* association (confirmed by the findspots recorded in the excavation notebooks) of Un 718 (where Enkhellawōn appears as the main commodity-provider for what seems to be an impressively large feasting occasion) and the Ta documents recording an inventory of artifacts assembled upon the occasion of what appears to be our sole explicit glimpse of *wanaka* 'at work' as an administrative official: the appointment of *Aukewa* as a new *damokoro* (PY Ta 711.1 by Hand 2). Palaima suggests strongly that this *physical* association is also one in subject matter: The reason why Un 718 and Ta documents were found *together* in Grid 83 (in the left upon entering Room 7 from Portico 1), was *because* they both dealt with the affairs of the *wanaks*,<sup>8</sup> thus *confirming*, but hardly independently supporting the identification.

It is possible to make a special case that the physical association of Un 718 and the Ta documents as brilliantly shown by Palaima *may* be reversed as an argument *against* the Enkhellawōn – *wanaks* identification. My reasoning is as follows: First, I make the *a priori* assumption that vocabulary selection in the extant Linear B corpus reflects the need for *emic*<sup>9</sup> administrative clarity and precision in recording information of any sort. Thus, the only way that seems to make administrative sense in differentiating between the personal name and the official title of any person, is the apparent need to have *different* records for his activities in each case, *so that the two realms are not confused*.

If this line of argumentation is accepted, *grouping together* an administrative record of Enkhellawōn with a record of the same person as the bearer of the title *wanaka* is not expected, as it would undermine the meaningfulness of the differentiation altogether. In other words, why bother differentiating between the two personae, if eventually the *economic* records are going to be grouped or piled together anyway and not handled differently? Close physical association may not be always a neat index of thematic association, as indicated by the great thematic diversity observed in the so-called Archives Complex (Rooms 7-8): the function of the room must also be taken into consideration. Just to make things worse, acceptance of the meaningfulness of close physical associations in absolute terms would severely damage the other main argument of the supporters of the Enkhellawōn – *wanaks* identification: the close parallelism between Er 312 and Un 718, whose components were found even in *different rooms* of the Complex (8 and 7 respectively).

Whether one chooses to pursue the association between Un 718 and the Ta tablets any further or not, I would suggest that the matter does not bear on the Enkhellawōn problem. Even if the physical association of the Ta series and Un 718 is accepted as meaningful (*i.e.* not just reflecting the destruction horizon's taphonomy or a post-depositional disturbance), one need not follow the Enkhellawōn – *wanaks* identification to explain it. It should be borne in mind the close association of Un 718 and Ta series in Grid 83 is *not* exclusive to these documents. Recorded findspots<sup>10</sup> show that other tablets which show great thematic diversity (and no clear hint of being affairs of the *wanaka* in particular) were found in Grid 83 and even precisely the same findspot as Un 718 (Cn 719, component j). Except the Ta series, among those documents (or *components* of documents) in close physical association with Un 718 were also records of copper (Jn 658, 927), animals (Cn 643, 655, 719 Cc 660), wine (Gn 720), personnel records (Aa

8 Th.G. PALAIMA, "The nature of the Mycenaean *wanax*: Non-Indoeuropean origins and priestly functions," in P. REHAK (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean, Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992, Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 119-139, in 134-135; ID., "Sacrificial feasting in the Linear B documents," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, 217-246, at 232-233.

9 *I.e.* from the LBA Aegean 'literate' official standpoint as opposed to the *etic* 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Mycenologist standpoint.

10 Sources: Findspot inventories in Th.G. PALAIMA, *The Scribes of Pylos* (1988) 191-222 (Concordance A) and *PofN* IV.

717, Ab 946, Ad 675, An 435 and the *o-ka* tablet An 654) and two records of *do-so-mo* (Es 644, 652)<sup>11</sup> (Pl. LXXIIIa).

Enkhellawōn appears in a variety of contexts (including three important feasting documents), a diversity which is however not entirely unattested in other individuals in the Pylian texts (see for instance *Dunijo*, plausibly \**Dunios*). However, the important difference, as Dimitri Nakassis is the latest scholar to underscore,<sup>12</sup> is that, wherever his status is detectable, this status seems to be exceptionally high (Un 718, Er 880) or at least quite significant (An 610, 724). It has frequently been observed that Enkhellawōn offers nearly half of the edible commodities recorded on Un 718 and that his landholdings on Er 880 appear truly spectacular. On two An tablets, Enkhellawōn appears connected with rowers that may appear to ‘belong’ to him in An 610.3 (*E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-no* appears clearly in a Genitive that may syntactically function as Possessive).

However, the most compelling indication of extraordinary status of this individual is actually *localized*: Both his contribution on Un 718 and his landholdings on Er 880 mention the term *Sarapeda* which I here accept as a place-name and not as a type of landholding.<sup>13</sup> While extrapolating from specific texts in order to understand the structure of the Pylian society *in toto* is in principle quite audacious (involving projection of information from a specific text upon the interpretation of others), the particular place-name reference makes such a generalization even less appropriate.

The much debated controversy over the analogy between Er 312 and Un 718 has received occasionally extravagant solutions (that dance around the identification) by Lejeune and de Fidio, mostly concerned however on the processing of the quantity numerals. Instead of ‘juggling the numbers’, as Nakassis observed of Michel Lejeune’s method,<sup>14</sup> I will approach the issue focusing on the internal structure and syntax of the two tablets, in the hope of demonstrating how contestable and fragile this parallelism may be.

The attribution of both documents to the same scribe (Hand 24) is hardly a necessary precondition of their interrelation. Especially if one accepts Palaima’s theory of a ‘royal scribe,’<sup>15</sup> the argument may be countered by observing that those scribes that can be considered as ‘superior’ (e.g. Hands 1 and 2), are precisely those whose Styli recorded the most diverse subject matters.<sup>16</sup>

Initially it must be stressed that what we seek here is *identification, not just correspondence*. Therefore, it cannot be downplayed that, of the four individuals and/ or collective entities mentioned in each of the two tablets, **only rawaketa** is safely attested in both. In spite of Chadwick’s optimistic four-to-four match,<sup>17</sup> (i) we may still follow L. Palmer and Lejeune in observing that the equation of the *damos* (the Sarapedan *damos* perhaps?) with three *tereta* is controversial (as these appear in non-interchangeable and often *contrastive* positions in the land-tenure tablets)<sup>18</sup>

11 For the reassessment of the grid, I have followed K.M. PLUTA, “A reconstruction of the Archives Complex at Pylos: A preliminary report,” *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997 [1998]) 231-250 (esp. 239, fig.7, which is utilized here).

12 NAKASSIS (*supra* n. 7) 3, 108, 114.

13 I here follow the defense of the term’s place-name significance advanced compellingly by R. PALMER, *The Wine in the Mycenaean Palace Economy, Aegaeum* 10 (1994) 66-72 [discussion of Er 880], also put forward (albeit rather tentatively) in PALAIMA (*supra* n. 2) 219-220.

14 NAKASSIS (*supra* n. 7) 109, Table 3.4.

15 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 2).

16 The assumption that *Sarapeda* is implied in Er 312 as well is not compelling, as there is also no reason at all to conclude that one scribe is concerned with one region only on the basis of the fact that 2 out of the 4 surviving documents attributable to this tablet-writer happen to mention this place-name (Er 880, Un 718). The overall number of occurrences of *sarapeda* in the Pylian texts (2) and the small number of overall documents attributable to Hand 24 (4) do not allow for such a link to be actually meaningful. In any case, even accepting that the *wanakteron temenos* of Er 312 is at *Sarapeda* would not sufficiently ‘prove’ the association of this special landholding with Enkhellawōn. Here I will not refer to the possibility that Er 312 and 880 may be part of a single ‘record’ (see de FIDIO [*supra* n. 5]; KILLEN [*supra* n. 5] 352-353), whose implications I intend to discuss further elsewhere.

17 VENTRIS & CHADWICK (*supra* n. 3) 265; CHADWICK (*supra* n. 3) 452-453.

18 PALMER (*supra* n. 4) 216; LEJEUNE (*supra* n. 5) 64-65.

and (ii) it would be odd to give priority to the (possessive?) adjectival designation *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* rather than the different nouns (*e-re-mo* and *ka-ma*) in order to identify the latter to each other; the last point would be methodologically valid, even if it is accepted that the adjective derives from the personal name of a high-status Pylian (a “Collector”?) \**Worokijo(n)*.

Concerning the assumption that the order of reference may reflect a hierarchical structure,<sup>19</sup> it may be sufficient to state that the internal ordering is *different* (the supposed *tereta/damo* and *rawaketa* appear reversed) in each document (Pl. LXXIIIb). This would immediately either question the meaningfulness of inferring status from internal ordering or question the parallelism of the two documents altogether: these are not monumental or public inscriptions, but administrative notes. Making such an assumption would lead to unexpected interpretations: in the case of An 610, it would make 7 Zakynthian men and 40 men related to *Damnios* (.9-10) appear superior to Enkhellawōn, whereas in Un 219 the same individual would appear as supposedly superior to plausible or certain theonyms, such as *a-ti-mi-te* (.5) “to Artemis”, *po-ti-ni-ja* (.7) “to Potnia”, *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* (.9) “to Hermes.” The argument that order is *occasionally* hierarchically meaningful undermines its validity altogether.

Syntax of Er 312 and Un 718 also point to a different grouping of the four entries in each document that may be hard to reconcile along the lines of a close analogy between the two. These serve to highlight the different associations of Enkhellawōn and *wanaka* (Pl. LXXIVa).

As both Thomas Palaima and Stephie Nikoloudis<sup>20</sup> have observed, the syntactic link of Enkhellawōn in Un 718 is with *damo*, to which is connected with the term *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* in line .7 (generally interpreted as “thus so”<sup>21</sup>) on Un 718. The next two entries, those of *rawaketa* and *worokijonejo kama* also form such a pair brought together with the same term *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* (line .11) and which is further ‘contrasted’ from the Enkhellawōn-*damo* ‘pair’ with the term *to-so-de* (line .9). On Er 312, *wanaka* and *rawaketa* as the implied titles beside the relevant adjectives, are linked together by the common occurrence of the special landholding type of *temeno* (nowhere else attested in the extant Linear B corpus), further separated by the entries of the three *tereta* and *worokijonejo eremo* by an empty ‘dividing’(?) line (.4)<sup>22</sup> and, once more, the occurrence of *to-so-de* (.6).<sup>23</sup>

These different groupings underline the difficulties of the analogical comparison between Un 718 and Er 312 as an argument for further prosopographical identifications.

II. This brief discussion was a necessary diversion before returning to the main question of this paper: If Enkhellawōn is not the Pylian ruler, how can we explain his prominent position that initiated the discussion on his identification in the first place?

A hint at what may be a proper explanation may be directly sought at the texts themselves, where the most prominent records of this remarkable individual (Un 718 and Er 880) are

- 19 Already in VENTRIS & CHADWICK (*supra* n. 3) 265. PALAIMA (*supra* n. 8, “Sacrificial feasting”) 232 makes the seminal correction that *hierarchy is expected to be reflected in the proportions, not word order*.
- 20 Th.G. PALAIMA “Syntax and context as tools for interpreting Mycenaean texts and scribal processes: Un 718, Ta 709 and K(1) 740”, in T. KRISCH, T. LINDER & U. MÜLLER (eds), *Analecta Homini Universali Dicata. Arbeiten zur Indogermanistik, Linguistik, Philologie, Politik, Musik und Dichtung. Festschrift für Oswald Panagl zum 65. Geburtstag* (2004) 268-278, at p. 271; S. NIKOLOUDIS, “The role of the *ra-wa-ke-ta*. Insights from PY Un 718,” in A. SACCONI, M. DEL FREO, L. GODART & M. NEGRI (eds), *Colloquium Romanum: Atti del XII Colloquio Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 20–25 Febbraio 2006 Sotto l’Alto Patronato del Presidente della Repubblica*, Vol. II (2008) 587-594 (at 589).
- 21 As NIKOLOUDIS ([*supra* n. 20] 589, n. 9) notes, the same use of *odaa<sub>2</sub>* is almost certainly attested in PY En 609.3-8. I would also add En 74 as a good example and probably the fragmentary Eq 36 (all three by S74 of ‘master’ Hand 1). It is probable that the explanation of the form involves its interpretation as evidence for elision that would result in undivided sequences to appear as single ‘words’ (*o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* as *hō δ’ hā*). See most recently on this issue: C.J. RUIJGH, “The three temporal clauses (TH Fq 126; 130; 254),” in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY & O. PANAGL (eds), *Die neuen Linear B-Texte aus Theben. Ihr Aufschlusswert für die mykenische Sprache und Kultur* (2006) 159-169, at p. 164.
- 22 PALMER ([*supra* n. 4] 84) had already noticed this feature of the Er 312 format and given it considerable attention. See also LEJEUNE (*supra* n. 5) 71-72.
- 23 This antithetical function of *to-so-de* is also apparent in other Pylian documents, such as Eq 36 and numerous bronze tablets, especially when following empty lines: e.g. PY Jn 310, 389, 410, 431, 601, 692, 706, 845 and 927.

explicitly *localized* at *Sa-ra-pe-da*, a place-name that we have no reasons to consider as a proper, “canonical” Pylian district (*i.e.* not included in records that list district ‘capitals’, like Vn 19, Vn 20, Cn 608, Jn 829 or the fiscal Ma documents), as Palaima has been the latest to observe.<sup>24</sup> What then is *Sarapeda*? We may have no real clues as to the location of this site, but it may be legitimate to explicitly ask about its function and rightly wonder about the palatial interest in things taking place there.

It can hardly be coincidental that both occasions where Enkhellawōn appears to be especially prominent specifically mention *Sarapeda* as the location (Er 880, Un 718) and that *Sarapeda* appears in no other Pylian document, except in these two instances. First and foremost, it is difficult to resist the temptation to link Enkhellawōn’s ‘irregularly’ spectacular holdings and contributions *there* with this place’s non-‘canonicity’ in Pylian administrative geography. This suspicion is augmented by two arguments, one positive, the other *ex silentio*:

i) The clear syntactic link between Enkhellawōn and *damo* in Un 718 must by definition be considered as meaningful. Although not entirely clear, it is highly likely that it is the *Sarapedan damos* that is being referred to. As this is the most specific link of Enkhellawōn with any other person or group in what may justifiably be called as this man’s record of prominence *par excellence*, we may be led to the conclusion that his associations are mainly with the non-palatial sphere.

ii) The fact that no *title* is whatsoever mentioned ever for Enkhellawōn may lead us to suspect that his social position (although certainly *not* humble!) was not describable in the *palatial* titulary, either because he held it informally or for the likeliest reason that his realm of power laid outside the proper confines of LBA III palatial society. It is important to consider that Enkhellawōn may represent a power structure based on status achieved by him personally, rather than ascribed on his ‘title’. That the references mention his personal name alone is compatible with such a suggestion.

This dimension of the Enkhellawōn problem may be illuminated by Stephie Nikoloudis’ recent most intriguing re-assessment of the role of the *rawaketa* specifically through an examination of Un 718. The function of the *rawaketa* as an official responsible for the successful integration of *external* communities to the Pylian ‘state’ as suggested in her recently completed dissertation and a recent paper,<sup>25</sup> may be the key at understanding his co-existence in the same feasting provision record with a man of such high (but *local*) standing, such as Enkhellawōn. That Enkhellawōn is a high-ranking figure *at Sarapeda*, probably a prominent member of the local elite or even a paramount chief there, is as far as textual evidence would *positively* suggest. Focusing on the local character of Enkhellawōn’s prominence gives a new perspective on other ‘un-localised’ occurrences of this individual and, most notably, PY Un 718.

The mention of the *rawaketa* among the contributing entries (as well as the very existence of the document) reflects a clear palatial interest in partly sponsoring a religious occasion on what could be a site not properly Pylian, yet arguably in the process of forging *special* ties to the Englianos center. Besides the link between Enkhellawōn and the *damos* argued above, his strong ties to the Pylian palace-state receive equally good textual support and meet a consensus from supporters and critics of his identification with the king alike. Following Nikoloudis’ argument, this official’s participation in the *dosomo* recorded on Un 718 may reveal the character of the prospective offerings: the integration of an external (and possibly ‘Pylian-to-be’) power within the polity of Ano Englianos.

It would then seem intriguing to consider that Un 718 touches precisely on the interaction between the palatial and non-palatial spheres in the *last* months of the Pylian administration.<sup>26</sup>

24 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 8, “Sacrificial feasting”) 230.

25 NIKOLOUDIS (*supra* n. 20); anticipated in PALAIMA (*supra* n. 8, “Sacrificial feasting”) 230, n.78.

26 If the alternative interpretation of Enkhellawōn proposed here is accepted, it may be tempting to revisit the issue of the plene spellings of his name, so intriguingly interpreted by PALAIMA (*supra* n. 2) as evidence for Enkhellawōn’s newly accession to the throne. These may be re-interpreted as evidence that the Pylian interest in Sarapedan politics and the personal ties of its ruler to the Pylian administration were a relatively *recent* feature, and the scribes didn’t handle Enkhellawōn’s affairs long enough for a standardized spelling of his name (apparently requiring the doublet sign /ra<sub>2</sub>/) to develop.

It is significant that the Sarapedan elite and the Pylian palatial administration appear to truly *interact*: Enkhellawōn appears in a Pylian religious context *alongside* theonyms and possibly the ruler himself as a *recipient* (in Dative) of aromatic(?) substances (Un 219), contributes personnel (some of his vassals?) to the Pylian 'defense' (An 610, 724)<sup>27</sup> and will contribute heavily to a large feast along with a prominent Pylian official, the 'temenos-holder' *rawaketa* (Un 718). In the last case, the opportunity of the local ruler Enkhellawōn for ostentatious display, offering nearly half of the edible commodities recorded (including the prestigious singular bull), must have been apparent.

Technically, this interpretation of Enkhellawōn's position should be preferable as conforming to Okkham's razor: It attempts to explain most of the diverse problems involved while at the same time it assumes as less as possible.

III. To the extent that all 'archaic states' are, at varying degrees, supra-regional, *integrative* polities,<sup>28</sup> we may expect (no more and no less than that) that feasting, alongside other ceremonial expressions of hospitality, functioned largely as a means to maintain political ties and alliances through the creation or maintenance of reciprocity, and was a political necessity in times of trouble and prosperity *alike*. In any case, we should attempt to interpret the context of Enkhellawōn's occurrences as a record of a political move made predominantly at Pylian initiative and basically for Pylian benefit, no matter what beneficial side-effects this may have had for Enkhellawōn himself.

Whether this had been the Pylian 'normal' practice of integrating extra-polity communities into its realm of power we may never know. Actually, this question dances around the much-debated issue of whether Pylos was in decline and desperately seeking for extra allies in – quite literally– its "last days," a matter depending on (*rather* than leading to) which factor we are prepared to give more attention to as the cause of the collapse of the literate Aegean administrations.<sup>29</sup> At least as far as 'banqueting' records are concerned, we are certainly not forced to such a conclusion. Feasting provision is widely attested in the historical and ethnographic record as a means of forging bonds and an ideal opportunity for conspicuous consumption by important individuals.<sup>30</sup> Its attestation cannot be used *per se* to infer a 'crisis' situation.

In any case, both these fundamental social functions of feasting may be specifically attested in PY Un 718. The co-operation of the two 'syntactic pairs' (*rawaketa* and *worokijonejo kama* with Enkhellawōn and *damo*) may indicate an approach of the palatial administrative machine, here represented by at least one of its high-status and *temenos*-holding officials, towards an extra-palatial (or even extra-polity) elite, also represented by a paramount chief (Enkhellawōn) and a non-palatial institution (*damos*). On the other hand, Enkhellawōn's excessive contribution may have been due to the perception of a large feast as an ideal opportunity to 'show-off': not only the size, but also the choice of what Enkhellawōn *do-se*, a single bull (Un 718.3) definitely illustrates the high status of the offering act, although it is not legitimate to assume that the ruler would have been the *only* individual within the polity with the economic capacity that such an offering presupposes.

27 His contributions of rowers, either present at *Ro-o-wa* (An 610) or absent (*a-pe-e-ke*: An 724.5) are particularly impressive (40+ men), but are not really unparalleled: In An 610.13, a \**Damnios* also contributes 40 men that may be his (if a reconstruction of Genitive *Da-mi-ni-jo-[jo]* is plausible). Nevertheless, it is not usual that such numbers of men are linked to persons in the An series, where they mostly follow place-names (e.g. *maranenuwe*: An 610.11, *pirute*: An 519.14, *pi*\*82: An 830.12).

28 See, for instance, the definition provided by T. EARLE, "Political economies of chiefdoms and agrarian states," in his collection of essays *Bronze Age Economics. The Beginnings of Political Economies* (2002) 1-18 (at 16): "States are regional and supra-regional polities created through conquest and incorporation."

29 A most analytical approach to the pertinent textual and pinacological evidence (from a Pylian perspective) with due caution to interpretations of a 'Pylos-in-distress' is given by Th.G. PALAIMA, "The last days of the Pylos polity," in *POLITEIA*, 623-637.

30 See the excellent collection of essays in M. DIETLER & B. HAYDEN (eds), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power* (2001) and the favorable and thoughtful review of the work by T. EARLE, *American Anthropologist* 104:4 (2002) 1236-1237.



The link long ago suggested by McCallum and Palaima between the Processional fresco from Vestibule (Room 5) and Un 718<sup>31</sup> is both ingenious and compelling, but it may be legitimate to reconsider its significance in the light of the interpretation of Enkhellawōn advanced in this paper, without questioning its overall validity. The single bull depicted in the Vestibule procession<sup>32</sup> may ideally illustrate Un 718.3. However, the *inward* direction of the procession and its *depicted surroundings* strongly suggest that this is an *outdoor* act 'directed' towards the Englianos elite: arguing for a pictorial metaphor of the single oversized bull heading towards the 'megaron' (Room 6), this could indicate the offering of a single bull to the palace. This direction, if accepted as meaningful, may suggest that it is made *not by a palatial official (even less so by the ruler himself), but from a standpoint extraneous to the Pylian center*. In order to make the political message more explicit, the final 'destination' of the Vestibule procession is shown to be the banquet scene with the comparatively oversized lyre-player from the 'megaron.'<sup>33</sup> In an architectural setting that enhances their political significance both frescoes plausibly serve to propagate to the visitor/ prospective political ally at Pylos that such prestigious offerings would be both welcome and appropriately celebrated.

Ten years ago, Jack Davis and John Bennet emphasized the role of military might in the expansion and integrity maintenance of the Pylian polity, based among others on the iconography of Hall 64.<sup>34</sup> With the timely revival of the interest in LBA Aegean feasting both in its archaeological correlates and in its textual documentation, we may now begin to understand that the Pylian state elite used diverse yet supplementary strategies of maintaining and expanding its political power not only in its formative period but in its LH IIIB heyday until its very end at this period. The possibility that we may get a look at one such strategy actually at work by browsing the references to Enkhellawōn in the Linear B texts from Pylos may hopefully prove a stimulus for further research towards the political interaction of the Ano Englianos administrators with elites on the verge of their incorporation to the Pylian polity.

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31 L.R. McCALLUM, *Decorative Program in the Mycenaean Palace of Pylos: The Megaron Frescoes* (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987) 112-113, 117-118 (she also draws the famous Tn 316 into the discussion); PALAIMA (*supra* n. 8, "The nature of the Mycenaean *wanax*") 132-133. Palaima accepts the identification of a slightly oversized male figure of the Vestibule procession as the Pylian ruler, an observation made originally by K. KILIAN, "The emergence of the *wanax* ideology in the Mycenaean palace," *OJA* 7:3 (1988) 291-302, at 294 and 300, n.1. It may be legitimate to reconsider this identification as well: the oversized male *may* be Enkhellawōn or an important chiefly figure, as opposed to the ruler himself.

32 McCALLUM (*supra* n. 31) 109-123, pls.VIIIa (Vestibule fresco), VIIIb (detail of single bull).

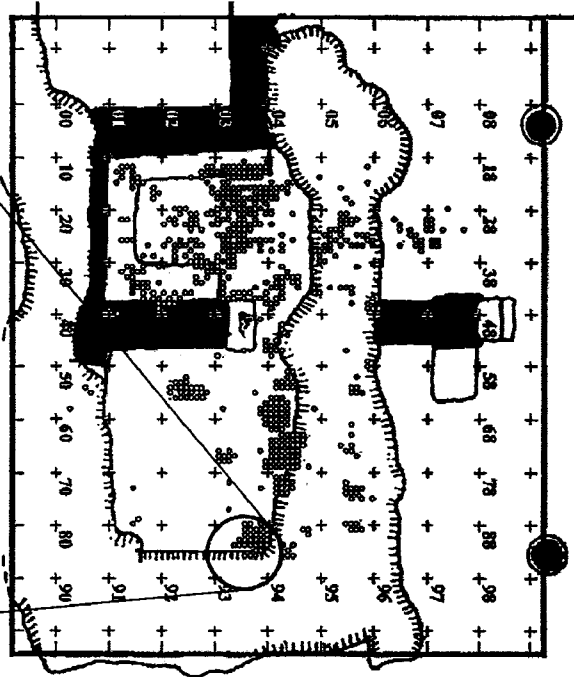
33 McCALLUM (*supra* n. 31) 123 (where the "strong iconographic continuity" with the Vestibule procession is stressed) pl.X.

34 J.L. DAVIS & J.F. BENNET, "Making Mycenaean: Warfare, territorial expansion and representations of the other in the Pylian kingdom", in *POLEMOS* (*supra* n. 1) 105-120. The issue of the representation of Pylian power through iconography in the absence of monumental inscriptions or written literature is revisited in J. BENNET, "Agency and bureaucracy: Thoughts on the nature and extent of administration in Bronze Age Pylos," in S. VOUTSAKI & J.T. KILLEN (eds), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States. Proceedings of a Conference held on 1-3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge* (2001) 25-37 (at 33-35) and ID., "Representations of power in Mycenaean Pylos: Script, orality, iconography," in F. LANG, C. REINHOLDT & J. WEILHARTNER (eds), *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟΣ. Archäologischen Forschungen zwischen Nil und Istros. Festschrift für Stefan Hiller zum 65. Geburtstag* (2007) 11-22.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. LXXIIIa Plan of the so-called Archives Complex (Rooms 7 and 8) from the administrative complex of Ano Englianos with superimposed revised Grid (after PLUTA [*supra* n. 9] 239, fig.7). Encircled area denotes square 83, with tablet numbers listed within enlarged circle. Single (\*) and double asterisks (\*\*) indicate that all or most fragments -respectively- of a document were found in this area. Processed and annotated by the author
- Pl. LXXIIIb Comparison of Pylos tablets Er 312 and Un 718 showing different order of 'correspondences' (as suggested by CHADWICK [*supra* n. 2]) between the two lists. Arrows indicate Chadwick's 'identifications', not accepted in this paper. Text after *PofN* IV. Drawn by the author.
- Pl. LXXIVa Comparison of Pylos tablets Er 312 and Un 718 showing the different syntactic structure of the relevant texts (after *PofN* IV). Drawn by the author.
- Pl. LXXIVb Textual occurrences of Enkhellawōn in the Pylian records displaying the variety of the thematic series and scribal hands that have dealt with his affairs. Case identifications reflect a relative consensus (cf. F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario Micénico* (bajo la dirección de F. R. ADRADOS), Vol. I [= *Diccionario Griego - Español: Anejo I*] (1985) 210-211, 346-347); question-marks indicate that morphology and expected syntactic position do not conform.

\*\*Ta tablets (S641 H2)  
 \*Un 718 (S312 H24)  
 \*\*Cn 643, \*\*719 (S719 H1)  
 Cn 655 (S4 H21)  
 Es 644, 652 (S644 H1)  
 \*\*Aa 717 (S240 H1)  
 \*Ab 946 (S186 H21)  
 Ad 675 (H 23)  
 An 654 (S657 H1)  
 \*Gn 720 (Ci)  
 \*\*Cc 660 (S4 H21)  
 Jn 658 (S658 H21)  
 Jn 927 (S310 H2)



a

Er 312 (H 24)	Un 718 (S312 H 24)
.1 <u>wa-na-ka-te-ro</u> , te-me-no [	.1 sa-ra-pe-da, po-se-da-o-ni, do-so-mo
.2 to-so-jo [ [ ]pe-ma GRA 30	.2 o-wi-de-ta-i, do-so-mo, to-so, <u>e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo</u>
.3 <u>ra-wa-ke-si-jo</u> , te-me-no GRA 10	.3 do-se, GRA 4 VIN 3 BOS <sup>m</sup> 1
.4 vacat	.4 tu-ro <sub>2</sub> , <u>TURO<sub>2</sub></u> , 10 ko-wo, *153 1
.5 te-re-ta-o-l t o-so pe-ma GRA 30	.5 me-ri-to, V 3
.6 to-so-de, <u>te-re-ta</u> VIR 3	.6 vacat
.7 <u>wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo</u> , <u>e-re-mo</u>	.7 o-da-a <sub>2</sub> , <u>da-mo</u> , GRA 2 VIN 2
.8 to-so-jo, pe-ma GRA 7[	.8 OVIS <sup>m</sup> 2 <u>TURO<sub>2</sub></u> , 5 a-re-ro, <u>AREPA</u> V 2 *153 1
.9 vacat	.9 to-so-de, <u>ra-wa-ke-ta</u> , do-se,
	.10 OVIS <sup>m</sup> 2 me-re-u-ro, FAR T 6
	.a <span style="float: right;">-ma</span>
	.11 VIN S 2 o-da-a <sub>2</sub> , <u>wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo</u> , ka-
	.12 GRA T 6 VIN S 1 <u>TURO<sub>2</sub></u> , 5 me-ri[
	.13 vacat [ me-]ri-to V 1

b

Er 312 (H 24)	Un 718 (S312 H 24)
.1 <u>wa-na-ka-te-ro</u> te-me-no [	.1 sa-ra-pe-da , po-se-da-o-ni , do-so-mo
.2 to-so-jo [ [ ] ] pe-ma GRA 30	.2 <u>o-wi-de-ta-i</u> , do-so-mo , to-so ; <u>e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo</u>
.3 <u>ra-wa-ke-si-jo</u> te-me-no GRA 10	.3 do-se , GRA 4 VIN 3 BOS <sup>m</sup> 1
.4 vacat	.4 tu-ro <sub>2</sub> , TURO <sub>2</sub> 10 ko-wo , *153 1
.5 te-re-ta-o- <u>l</u> t o-so pe-ma GRA 30	.5 me-ri-to , V 3
.6 to-so-de <u>te-re-ta</u> VIR 3	.6 vacat
.7 <u>wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo</u> , e-re-mo	.7 <u>o-da-a<sub>2</sub></u> <u>da-mo</u> , GRA 2 VIN 2
.8 to-so-jo , pe-ma GRA 7[	.8 OVIS <sup>m</sup> 2 TURO <sub>2</sub> 5 a-re-ro , AREPA V 2 *153 1
.9 vacat	.9 to-so-de <u>ra-wa-ke-ta</u> , do-se ,
	.10 OVIS <sup>m</sup> 2 ↑ me-re-u-ro , FAR T 6
	.a ↓ <u>o-da-a<sub>2</sub></u> <u>wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo</u> , ka- -ma
	.11 VIN S 2 <u>o-da-a<sub>2</sub></u> <u>wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo</u> , ka-
	.12 GRA T 6 VIN S 1 TURO <sub>2</sub> 5 me-ri[
	.13 vacat [ me-]ri-to V 1

**Key:****Terms interlinked**

Syntactic link

**Terms indicating specific syntactic link****Terms with antithetical syntactic function or separating format features**

Spelling (Case)	Associated Place-Name	Document (Hand)
<i>E-ke-ra-ne</i> (Dat.)		Un 219.1 (H 15)
<i>E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-no</i> (Gen.)		An 610.13 (H 1)
<i>E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo</i> (Nom.)	<i>sa-ra-pe-da</i>	Un 718.2 (H 24)
<i>E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-ne</i> (Dat.?)	<i>ro-o-wa</i>	An 724.5 (H 1)
<i>E-]ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-u-na</i> (Dat.?)		Un 853 <i>recto</i> .1 (H 6)
<i>E-]ke-ra<sub>2</sub>[-wo</i> (Nom.?)	<i>sa-ra-pe-do</i> [	Er 880.1 (H 24)
<i>]E-ke-ri-ja-wo</i> (Nom.)		Qa 1292 (H 15)