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Discussions of labor in the Mycenaean world have tended to focus on direct methods of mobilization, in which the palatial authorities recruited groups of laborers, designated by toponyms or ethnics, apparently without any intermediaries between the palace and the affected communities.¹ This paper focuses on potential instances of indirect labor mobilization at Pylos, in which workers are retained for palatial projects, but through the agency of named individuals. I will attempt to show that in some cases the palaces supplemented directly-acquired labor with labor obtained through administrative intermediaries, high-level functionaries who were responsible for furnishing workers for palatial projects. In principle, there is no reason to doubt that the Mycenaean palaces made use of multiple systems to recruit labor, since such heterogeneity is a feature of Near Eastern labor mobilization as well.²

**Rowers in the Pylos texts**

The rower texts of the An series at Pylos are a good place to begin this discussion. There is certainly evidence in these documents for the direct mobilization of labor. John Killen has shown that PY An 1 is a taxation document in which rowers were recruited from villages, with the numbers of rowers “calculated on the basis of each village’s standard ‘rateable value’”.³ Killen shows that these rateable values also structured the labor recruitment on An 610, which records groups of rowers recruited, or available for recruitment, by the palatial authorities.⁴

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¹ I thank Heather Baker and Kostis Kourelis for help with bibliography, and Rodney Fitzsimons for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.


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PY An 610 (S I H 1)

1. me-za- [ ] ne , e- re- ta [ ] vacat [ ]
2. vestigi ( )], ki-ti-ta VIR 46 [ ]
3. me-ja-ki-ti-ta VIR 19 [ ]
4. jwa, ki-ti-ta VIR 36 [ ] vuc.
5. me-ka-ki-ti-ta [ ] VIR 3 [ ]
6. e-wi-ri-po VIR 9 po-si-ke-te-re [ ] VIR
7. a-ke-re-wa VIR 25 wo- qe- we [ ] VIR
8. ri-jo VIR 24 wi- nu-ri-jo [ ]
9. te-sa-ra-ne VIR 31 me-ta- [ ] ri-ta [ ] VIR
10. a- po- ne-we VIR 37 me-ta-k[i]-ki-ta [ ]; VIR qu
11. ma- na-ne- nu-we VIR 40 po-ti-ja-ke-e VIR 6 [ , ]
12. za-ki-si-jo VIR 7 za-e-to-ro VIR 3 [ , ]
13. da- ni-j o f] VIR 40 e- ka- re- wo no VIR 40 [ , ]
14. we-da-ne- wo VIR 20 ko-ni-jo 126 me-ta- ki- ti-ta VIR 26 [ , ]
15. po- ku-ta VIR 10 we-re- ka- ra , te-qu-te-qe VIR 20 [ , ]”
16. vacat [ ]
17. [ ] vacat [ ]
18. [ ] vacat [ ]
19. [ ] vacat [ ]

Chadwick showed that the obligation to provide service as a rower was linked to landholding. PY An 724, a document that records absent rowers and is closely related to An 610, includes two terms that specifically relate to land (ka-ma, e-to-ni-jo). Service appears to be linked to a status indicated by the term ki-ti-ta (and the closely related term me-ta-ki-ti-ta), as indicated by the phrase ki-ti-ta, o-pe-ro-ta, e-re-e, “a ki-ti-ta being obliged to row” (An 724-3-4). The term ki-ti-ta is probably the agent noun of a verb exclusively associated with landholding; attested forms are ki-ti-je-si (3rd person plural present indicative active) and ki-ti-me-na (the present middle-passive participle). Thus, whatever the specific meaning of ki-ti-ta, it is clearly related to land. A general connection between military service and landholding is also suggested by a number of correspondences between the o-ka tablets and the Na series, first noted by Mühlestein.10

Kil len and de Fidio have plausibly interpreted these as suggesting that landowners in the Na series were obligated to serve in military contexts.11

Evidence of alternative arrangements is also provided by An 610. Two groups of men are listed in adjacent entries against personal names in the genitive; e-ke-ra­-wo-no (13) and we-da-ne-wo (14). Chadwick suggested that the obligation to provide military service was tied to landholding and was “met either by appearing in person or by sending another on one’s behalf.” Chadwick tentatively pointed to the first of the two estates of e-ke-ra-wo listed in Er 880-3 as the possible basis for his obligation, in part because this estate is almost certainly designated as ki-Jri-me-no. Unfortunately it is not certain that the numbers match up. e-ke-ra-wo is responsible for supplying 40 or perhaps more men on An 610.13, and he apparently released five men who owed service as rowers on An 724-5-6.15 There are six possible sizes for the first landholding of e-ke-ra-wo on Er 880-3 — they are 30, 40, 42, 50 and 52 — none of which exactly matches the expected number of 45.16 The basis for e-ke-ra-wo’s contribution of rowers must therefore remain uncertain, but it seems likely that the rowers contributed by *we-da-ne-wo were associated with landholdings. The two plots of *we-da-ne-u in the Na series (Na 856, Na 1041) are each measured in 10 units of flax, whose sum equals the number of men he is supposed to provide on An 610, as de Fidio has noted.17

It therefore seems that Chadwick was correct to conclude that some high-ranking landholders were obligated to provide rowers. This phenomenon is attested in the Old Babylonian period and probably in Ur III Umma also, where the workers were usually hired men or household slaves.18 Regardless of whether the number of rowers to be provided by e-ke-ra-wo and *we-da-ne-wo were determined with respect to landholdings or not, it is apparently the case that these named individuals were personally responsible for furnishing rowers to the central authority. Although the underlying principle may have

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3 J. T. KILLEN, "PY An 1", cit. (n. 1), p. 73. J. CHADWICK, "Muster", cit. (n. 5), p. 75-76, showed that the scribe of An 610 began by writing a toponym followed by the number of ki-ti-ta men associated with that toponym, and in the following line the number of me-ta-ki-ti-ta associated with the same toponym, but then, beginning with line 6, stopped writing the term ki-ti-ta. The men listed after a new toponym are presumably to be understood as ki-ti-ta.
4 DMic s.v. ki-ti-je-si, ki-ti-me-na. The adjective a-ki-ti-to is also built from the same root.
6 H. MÜHLESTEIN, Die oka-Tafeln von Pylos. Ein mykenischer Schiffsstomatolog? Basel 1956, p. 15-18. That the Na series relates to taxes on landholding was shown by Dossé, p. 469-471; see too J. T. KILLEN.
9 It is possible that the 40 men listed against da-mi-ni-jo in An 610.13 relate to a man of that name, in which case we probably ought to restore da-mi-ni-jo[ ]. The personal name da-mi-ni-jo is abundantly attested at Knossos in the Da, De, Df, Dk, Dq and Dv series (DMic s.v. da-mi-ni-jo) and belongs to a "collector". The word da-mi-ni-jo, however, appears as a toponym at Pylos (An 96, Ad 697; DMic s.v. da-mi-ni-jo), so it is likely that da-mi-ni-jo is a plural toponymic (Danniom) modifying these men (DMic s.v. da-mi-ni-jo).
10 J. CHADWICK, "Muster", cit. (n. 5), p. 82.
13 M. DEL FREO, I censimenti di terreni nei testi in lineare B, Pisa 2005, p. 165-166, who shows that the first two possibilities are unlikely, but not to be excluded.
Recruitment systems in the o-ka texts

These two systems may also be in evidence in the o-ka set. As noted above, it seems likely that certain groups of fighting men were required to serve with respect to their landholdings in the Na series. For instance, 70 men are designated as e-na-po-ro i-wa-so on the o-ka text An 661.3, and landholdings of 70 units of flax are recorded at e-na-po-ro on Na 1027. Likewise, two groups on An 657.8-10 comprising 30 men designed with the terms ke-ki-de and kun-po-ri-si-jo seem paralleled by the landholding of 30 units of flax by ku-lpa-ri-so ke-ki-de on Na 514. Only a handful of the groups of men can be accounted for in this way, but it is possible to imagine that most troops in the o-ka texts owed service with respect to landholdings, the majority of which have left no trace in our partial and fragmentary documentation.

It is therefore clear that the standard, direct method of labor recruitment contributed substantially to the mobilization of the coast-guard in the o-ka set. It is also possible that individuals contributed troops as well. The only two groups of men described with the ethnic a-pu-ko-ne (An 656.13, An 657.13-14) are directly followed by the hek'etai named a-yo-ko-ta and diko-ko-na-ro. This is notable because these men are brothers: they share the patronymic a-da-ra-ti-jo. The fact that these two brothers are both associated with a-pu-ko-ne troops suggests that they were connected to these groups of men. Perhaps therefore some hek'etai were responsible for furnishing men, just as e-ke-ra-wo and *we-da-ne-u were responsible for furnishing rowers in An 610. Strangely, two individuals are also described by the term a-pu-ko-na but are otherwise unrelated to the a-pu-ko-ne men in question: a hek'etis named ka-e-su-me-ro (An 656.19) and a man named ma-ra-te-u (Aq 218.15) who must be the same man as the officer in *ne-da-wa-ta (An 657.7). In sum, the evidence is patchy and hardly allows us to be definitive, but it seems possible that named individuals provided

Corvée and other forms of conscription

The evidence for labor recruitment presented thus far suggests that the primary system for raising labor was a direct “tax” on communities in the form of corvée. The best evidence for this comes from connections between the Na series and military texts from the An series, where there is sometimes a one to one relationship between the number of units of flax by which a landholding is measured and the number of men who are recorded. Although this system is largely attested in military contexts, there is at least one piece of evidence that it operated outside of this area. There appears to be a connection between the 10 men designated as wa-ay-te-we po-ku-ta (An 207.9) and the landholding of 10 units of flax at wa-ay-te-pi (Na 1009). The text An 207 is a list largely composed of craftsmen – sawyers, potters, gold-workers, bow-makers, and sewing-men – so it seems unlikely that these po-ku-ta men were called up for military service.

It is worth noting that the possession of land in the Na series thus apparently relates not only to the direct mobilization of laborers in groups, but also to the individual *we-da-ne-u and his provision of rowers in An 610. Thus, although the manner in which the labor was recruited may have differed (direct or indirect), from an administrative perspective the underlying logic of these conscriptions was the same. From a social perspective, however, the process whereby the labor was provided must have been very different. How named individuals provisioned laborers for palatial projects is a complex question that cannot be definitively answered, but is still worth considering. It might be that the laborers involved were personal dependents on aristocratic individuals who were also high functionaries within the palatial administration. This possibility is suggested by the fact that the four individuals whom we have considered, e-ke-ra-wo, *we-da-ne-u, di-ko-na-ro and a-ko-ta, are all high-ranking individuals. The last two are hek'etai and *we-da-ne-u is one of the four Pylian “collectors,” and they therefore belong to the highest levels of the palatial elite. e-ke-ra-wo is the holder of an extremely large plot of land (PY Er 880) and appears in several important religious contexts (PY Qa 1292, Un 219, Un 718, Un 853). I do not intend to address here the proposed identification of e-ke-ra-wo with the Pylian wanax, but I simply note that the suggestions to identify him as such indicate that he is a person of considerable standing. In any case, it is clear that all four
of these individuals were extremely well-connected elites. Such individuals presumably had considerable numbers of personal dependents or slaves who could fulfill their services to the state. Another alternative, suggested by Old Babylonian parallels, would be that these laborers were hired by *e-ke-ra2-wo and the others to fulfill their obligations. This is essentially a variation of the first alternative, at least from the palace’s perspective, since the administration was concerned that a certain number of men were provided, but perhaps not with how these laborers were acquired. A substantially different possibility is that the workers were allocated by the palace to these individuals in the first place. That is, it is possible that *we-da-ne-u had already been given 20 men by the central authority, which then allocated them to perform various tasks. Certainly there are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29 For instance, some of these assignments are examples of laborers being assigned to individual supervisors in the Pylian texts, but these assignments seem to be context-specific rather than general. 29

27 As J. T. Killen, “Mycenaean Economy”, cit. (n. 5), p. 170, n. 31 points out, this does not imply that Mycenaean society was of a feudal type, since such arrangements can be paralleled in the Ancient Near East; indeed, the personal dependents of elites is consistent with Schloen’s argument for Weberian patrimonialism as a model for Ancient Near Eastern society (J. D. SCHOEN, The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2001). Feudalism in western Europe is characterized by “a military system in which an essential part of the armed forces is secured through private contracts.” J. R. STRAYER, Feudalism, Huntington, New York, 1979 [1965], p. 13; J. D. SCHOEN, cit., (n. 27), p. 188. Most of the Mycenaean troops are not acquired in this way.

28 Although corvée requirements in Ur III and Old Babylonian Mesopotamia were largely assessed on individuals and households, there is also evidence that corvée service of more than one individual was tied to particular landholdings, even small ones. One document, discussed by M. STOL, “Old Babylonian Corvée”, cit. (n. 2), p. 302, records that a herder held a field of 2 iku (0.72 hectares) in exchange for the corvée labor of two men.


30 There are two men allotted to mi-jo-po and a-ri-e-ra on An 1281, and the slaves of these women are allocated HORD V 3, or 2 each, perhaps enough to supply them for two days at a rate of 2 3 per day.

Although the text is fragmentary, enough is preserved to show that there are three levels of allocations. The wall-builders and sawyers are each allocated 2 3 of HORD per day, and there is more than one of each. More elevated is the all-builder, who receives nearly three times as much per day (V 2). This, and the fact that there is only one of him, suggests that he is a foreman or master builder rather than a handyman. The largest payments are given to two named individuals, qa-ra2 and pa-ka. These men receive large amounts of olives, and at least one of them (qa-ra2) receives a quantity of some other good, since there is a numeral preserved before the break in line 1. In the Fh tablets, whenever olives are allocated to individuals, they are always accompanied by some quantity of HORD, so it is attractive to suppose that both qa-ra2 and pa-ka were allocated large quantities of grain and olives, perhaps even equal quantities of each, as has been
suggested by Killen.\textsuperscript{34} Hypothetically, then, qa-ra; was allocated T 2 of HORD and OLIV per day (Fn 7.1) while pa-ka was assigned half as much of each commodity (Fn 7.2).

The tight semantic range of the occupational terms in this tablet leaves no doubt that this record deals with architectural labor.\textsuperscript{35} The sawyers presumably cut beams and other wooden elements (such as clamps, dowels, wooden door jambs, and so on).\textsuperscript{36} The wall-builders were presumably masons who actually arranged the construction of the walls and other architectural elements. This was in most cases not as simple as stacking stones in a rubble wall of stone and mud: at the Palace of Nestor in LH IIIB, most walls were built in a pier construction in which workers poured a mix of mortar composed of rubble, mud and lime into a heavy timber framework, which was usually removed after the mortar had set.\textsuperscript{37} The complexity of this system means that any large-scale job would have required a supervisor to organize the activities of the laborers; this role may have been filled by the pantektōn. Perhaps Fn 7 implies five teams of laborers, each with four masons and one sawyer.

It is much less clear what the role of the named individuals qa-ra; and pa-ka was. Melena suggests that the named men were “well known specialists” in architecture and that the large quantities of grain and olives “did not represent daily rations, but some sort of wages received by those responsible for the whole team of workers and his deputy (who received a half), and this is possibly why both of them were recorded by name, and not by an occupational noun”.\textsuperscript{38} Pa-ka does not appear elsewhere in the Pylian archives, but the name qa-ra; appears on An 39 and An 192. It is not certain that the same person is meant in all three cases, but it may be possible to identify the individuals recorded on An 39 and Fn 7 with each other, since most of the occupational titles and almost half of the personal names on An 39 recur in the Fn series.\textsuperscript{39} Individuals listed in An 192 tend to be high-ranking functionaries, such as du-ni-jo the du-ma, au-ke-wa the da-mo-ko-ra, a-e-ri-ga-ta the hok’etēs, and so on. Prosopographically it is closely Tablets related.

42 Py An 35 was written by the same scribal hand that composed Fn 7, Hand 3.
numbers of unskilled laborers involved in building projects in Ur III texts from the Garšana archives, where the daily variations among hired laborers can be observed. 44 Building documents from the Garšana archives also shed light more generally on the organization of numbers of unskilled laborers involved in building projects in Ur III texts from the 278 DIMITRI NAKASSIS

specialists, often from mountain villages. The foreman (npcoTOf.tcicnopa<;) supervised and allocation of barley to named overseers in order to hire gangs of laborers; as in labor of the regular, full-time crews; they were involved in a variety of tasks, including construction, moving dirt, and carrying bricks. Several texts simply record the bulk allocation of barley to named overseers in order to hire gangs of laborers; as in Fn 7, the scribe does not indicate how the overseer used the staples given to him. This was apparently not the concern of the central authority, so long as the labor was made available and the task was completed. I suggest that Fn 7 can be interpreted such that it lines up well with the evidence from Ur III Garšana, where approximately 20 full-time laborers (on average) are supervised by a foreman, with supplemental laborers provided by overseers. 45 Ugaritic documents also suggest that hired (probably unskilled) workers supplemented skilled masons. 46

Historical parallels can also shed light on the organization of architectural labor at Mycenaean Pylus. Masons in Ottoman and early modern Greece were itinerant by overseers. 45 Ugaritic documents also suggest that hired (probably unskilled) workers supplemented skilled masons. 46


In text RS 20.425 from Ugarit, master house-builders are allocated jars of wine and oil alongside day W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt (ed.), Leiden Bethesda 2009 (Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology, 5), p. 51. On "off duty [workers] .. . acting as free agents, being paid wages", see J. N. POSTGATE, Early Mesopotamia, cit. (n. 2), p. 237. An An 435 fragmentary, although the general structure of the tablet is clear: it consists of a header, below which is a list of named men. The header in the first line (o-da-so-to , a-ko-so-ta), "thus a-ko-so-ta distributed", indicates that a-ko-so-ta, one of the four Pylian "collectors", is the agent responsible for the distribution of male workers. 45 It tends to be the case with headers beginning with or or An - that the verb is followed by the subject, if it and was always lower in value. 49 The traditional Greek parallel suggests that Mycenaean specialists (the wall-builders and sawyers) must have required unskilled labor and probably also animal power to haul and prepare materials, and that this team of laborers must have been organized and coordinated by a supervisor (the pantektōn).

Kessandrá

The hypothesis that qa-ra-za and pa-ka provided labor may also be supported by analogous allocations in the Pylus texts. It is tempting to connect the allocations of grain and figs to ke-sa-da-ra (Kessandrá) in the Fig tablets to An 435, which has recently been joined with other fragments by José Melena. 50

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An 435 is fragmentary, although the general structure of the tablet is clear: it consists of a header, below which is a list of named men. The header in the first line (o-da-so-ta , a-ko-so-ta), "thus a-ko-so-ta distributed", indicates that a-ko-so-ta, one of the four Pylian "collectors", is the agent responsible for the distribution of male workers. 45 It tends to be the case with headers beginning with or or - that the verb is followed by the subject, if it

is expressed.\textsuperscript{52} a-ko-so-ta appears fairly often as the subject of various verbs in the headers of Pylian texts, always immediately following the verb.

The best parallel for the header of An 435 is the label Wa 917:

\textbf{PY Wa 917} (S1067 H 1)

1. \[jo-da-sa-\theta, a-ko-so-ta\]
2. \[je-qa-ta, e-re-u-te-re\]

The interpretation of this text is debated, but it seems likely that a-ko-so-ta is the subject of the verb -da-sa-to, for the reasons just discussed.\textsuperscript{53} This leaves us with the second line to interpret. If we accept that a-ko-so-ta is the subject, then e-re-u-te-re should probably be dative singular (ereüter).\textsuperscript{54} The title of e-qa-ta could be in apposition to either, but we have no other indication that a-ko-so-ta is a hek'etās, whereas the only ereüter whose name we know, Diwien, is certainly also a hek'etās. Indeed, the two texts that name Diwieu as ereüter and as an hek'etās, CN 3 and An 656 respectively, are clearly related to one another.\textsuperscript{55} It therefore seems best to render Wa 917 "Thus a-ko-so-ta distributed to the hek'etās/ereüter." The use of two titles to identify a palatial agent is rare, but not without parallel: there is the case of the priest/shepherd on Knossos Am 821, and there is also an individual identified as priest/da-i-ja-ke-re-u on Pyllos AQ 218.3.

This interpretation of Wa 917 conflicts with the argument of Ruth Palmer that the verb -da-sa-to does not have to do with distributions here, on the assumption that Wa 917 is a label of the Na series.\textsuperscript{56} Bennett, who assigned Wa 917 to styleus 106 of Hand 1, presumably connected the label with the Na series because of the apparent lexical similarity between e-re-u-te-re[ in the former and forms of e-re-u-te-re in the Na series.\textsuperscript{57} This is a reasonable supposition, but e-re-u-te-re[ in Wa 917 can only be the dative of the title e-re-u-te, since the final re of e-re-u-te-re[ is inconsistent with the relevant terms in the Na series (e-re-u-te-ra, e-re-u-te-ro, and e-re-u-te-ro-se).\textsuperscript{58} Palaima notes that "The association of these labels [i.e., Wa 917 and 948] with the Na group is, therefore, very tentative.\textsuperscript{59} The findspot of Wa 917 is highly unusual; it does not appear in grid 52 of Room 7 with the rest of the label discards, but in a grid square (71) in Room 7 with a number of fragments from other tablets (An 615, Cc 665, Cn 702, Sa 796, Fn 867). The fragments in grid 71 are isolated from the other fragments belonging to these tablets. These other fragments have no clear distribution pattern; findspot is therefore of little help in this case. Kevin Pluta has argued that the Na series was stored in a basket sealed with a sealing; if so, then Wa 917 would be unlikely to be attached to a transport basket for the Na series.\textsuperscript{60}

Returning to An 435, the woman’s name in line 2, ke-sa-do-ra, could be in any case, but it is probably part of the header. Certainly she cannot herself be an individual allocated, since there is no ideogram following her name. As a woman she is also unlike the other entries on the tablet followed by ideograms, which are men’s names. The name could be in the genitive modifying the man’s name e-re-u-te, but none of the other entries seem to preserve this pattern. Instead it seems likely that ke-sa-do-ra is the dative recipient of the men who are allocated by a-ko-so-ta, as the parallel of Wa 917 suggests. The fragmentary text An 435, then, probably allocates named workers to a woman named Kessandrā. It is probably not coincidental that this woman is provided with large quantities of staples in two Fg texts:

\textbf{PY Fg 368} (S186 H 21)
ke-sa-da-ra GRA 5 NI 5

\textbf{PY Fg 828} (S240 H 1)
ke-sa-da-ra GRA 5

Nine VIR ideograms are preserved on An 435, but we can reconstruct a minimum of 19 entries. If hypothetically 20 men were allocated to Kessandrā, GRA 5 would divide evenly into allocations of GRA T 2 V 3, an amount allocated for example to e-ti-me-de on Fn 324.1. This quantity is also equivalent to z 60, or 20 days’ worth of the standard male ration of z 3 per day. It is therefore possible that Fg 828 provides grain for Kessandrā to support her 20 subordinates for 20 days.

It is difficult to know what the relationship between Fg 368 and Fg 828 is. The former is written by Hand 21, the latter by Hand 1. Palaima has shown that Hand 1 intervenes in the work of Hand 21 on several occasions in the Cn series and perhaps wrote a total for Hand 21’s Ab tablets, so it is possible that Fg 368 was a preliminary document that was corrected by Hand 1 and replaced by Fg 828, although this is not supported by the findspots of these documents.\textsuperscript{61} Alternatively they could record two separate transactions. Killen has suggested that the pigs allocated in ration texts at Pyllos might not have been part of the standard ration but rather a supplemental issue provided in an

\textsuperscript{52} J. D. Hill, Observations on Clause Structure in the Linear B Pylas Corpus, M.A. thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, 2002, p. 42-43, shows that subjects typically occur immediately after the verb with an o-jo- construction. Examples include o-wi-de a-ko-so-ta (Eq 213), jo-do-so-i ke-re-te-re etc. (Jn 829), o-do-ke a-ko-so-ta (Un 267), o-di-do-si di-re-to-mo (Vn 10), o-de-ka-so-to a-ko-so-ta (Pn 30), o-wi-de pa-ni-ke-ri-ti (Ta 711), and o-ze-to ke-sa-do-ro (Vn 130). Two exceptions are jo-a-ae-so-so si-ja-ro o-pa-di-mo-mo (Cn 608) and o-a-a-ro o-pi-a-ya-e e-pi-ko-no (Am 657), where we have verb-object-subject rather than the more usual verb-subject-object; according to Hill the verbs postpone in order to amplify the head term.


\textsuperscript{54} The title e-re-u-te is most plausibly rendered *ερεύτηρ (cf. Cretan ερεύτρης) and derived from the verb ἐπιό (DELG s.v. ἐπιό).


\textsuperscript{56} R. Palmer, Wine, cit. (n. 14), p. 79.

\textsuperscript{57} PTT II, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{58} The title e-re-u-te (from ἐπιό) has no etymological connection to the terms in the Na series, which are related to ἠλός ἐπίος.


\textsuperscript{60} R. Palmer, Wine, cit. (n. 14), p. 79.

\textsuperscript{61} PTT II, p. 11.

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exceptional month, perhaps for religious reasons. In this case, the two Fg texts would relate to two different time periods: in Fg 828 the standard grain ration is issued, while in Fg 368 the grain is supplemented by figs.

This rather long discussion about An 435 was originally embarked upon to provide a possible analogy to Fn 7. That is, the allocation of staples to qa-ra₂ and pa-ka on Fn 7 might reflect labor management, as the Fg tablets allocating grain to Kessandra apparently do. It is hardly certain that Fg 368 and 828 relate to An 435, but it seems probable, especially as it is difficult to imagine why Kessandra should be allocated such large quantities of grain otherwise. In this instance, we have one text recording allocations of laborers, and two other texts providing foodstuffs for these men. It seems unlikely that the same should be the case for Fn 7, because of the way this document is composed to document carefully not only the number of individuals present, but also the foodstuffs allocated to them, with quite specific calculations made to determine the monthly allocations to each individual or group. I think that it is more likely that qa-ra₂ and pa-ka were administrative intermediaries who provided laborers to the palace, and who received large bulk payments of foodstuffs from the palace in order to do so.

Conclusions

It seems likely that labor was supplied to the palace through multiple recruitment systems, and that these were not limited to one or two sectors of the economy. Certainly it is worth taking a closer look at documents like Un 1322, where large amounts of foodstuffs are allocated to individuals as payment, presumably for goods and services rendered to the palace. Significant quantities of grain and figs are allocated to a net-maker (or net-makers) and a weaver (or weavers) in lines 2-3:

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PY Un 1322

    supra mutila
    0    */i 8
    1    dē-kū-tu-wa-(k)-o sa kō   8a   gra 6
    2    i-t(ē)   8k   gra 2
    3    we-ār-um   re-pa-tu   8f   gra 4
    4    we-[a₃r]   re-pa-tu   gra 5
    5    we-[a₃r]   sa-tu   gra 6
    6    we-[a₃r]   sa-tu   gra 7

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Perhaps these reflect the hiring of labor for particular jobs on behalf of the palace, a bulk payment of staples to be used as the supervisor saw fit. This possibility is also suggested by the fact that the same phenomenon occurs in the Ur III documents from Garšana: hired laborers were not only employed by building supervisors, but also by supervisors of leather workers, fullers and mat weavers. We might imagine a situation for Pylos similar to that in the Ur III state, in which individuals had an obligation to provide labor for a fixed amount of time, but could also be hired and paid in staples when not actively engaged in fulfilling their corvée requirement.

Individual supervisors, often identified by personal name, seem to have played an important role in the recruitment of labor. It is probably a good working hypothesis that the laborers provided by e-ke-ra₂ and *we-da-ne-u on An 610 were supplied on the basis of landholdings. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that this is true in the case of Fn 7, where it seems probable that workers were simply hired by the named individuals qa-ra₂ and pa-ka. Thus it is likely that these supervisors played important roles in all recruitment systems. These individuals were apparently administrative intermediaries, agents who had the rank and resources to ensure that the requisite number of laborers would be supplied. So there is some good evidence to suggest that although most labor at Mycenaean Pylos was directly recruited from communities and other groups on the basis of landholding, this direct method of recruitment was supplemented by another system (or systems), in which named intermediaries provided laborers for palatial jobs. Indirect recruitment may or may not have operated on the same underlying principle as the direct method. The role of named individuals in raising labor is important in two respects: it shows the flexibility and heterogeneity of palatial systems of administration, which harnessed the resources of local communities as well as those of prominent individuals residing within them, and it also demonstrates the importance of high-ranking individuals to the effective implementation of palatial projects.

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63 No light is shed by the two other occurrences of Kessandra at Pylos (Mb 1380 and Mn 1368), where she is listed against preserved quantities of the textile *146, probably as a recipient; C. W. SHELMERDINE, “The Southwestern Department at Pylos”, in Studies Killen, p. 317-318.