

THE STATUS OF 'OUTSIDERS'
WITHIN MYCENAEAN PYLOS:
ISSUES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY, INCORPORATION AND
MARGINALITY*

The aim of this paper is to discuss the status of 'outsiders', namely people of different ethnic origin, who are found living within the Pylian polity and are mentioned in the Linear B tablets of the *Palace of Nestor*, in comparison to the status held by local people (i.e., whether the 'outsiders' status was lower than that of locals, whether they were differentiated and/or marginalized from the rest of the population, or assimilated into the local population).

Scholars have long established the fact that during the Aegean Bronze Age, and especially during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, extensive communication, exchanges and movement of people and ideas were taking place between different geographical areas, different communities within the Aegean, and within the wider Mediterranean area.¹ These studies have focussed on describing the character of communications, the geographical extent and the intensity by which the movement and exchange of products and ideas affected the lives of the communities involved (whether they were Mycenaean, Minoan, Egyptian, or other people). However, there have been no extensive studies exploring the status of the people themselves who moved around and, in particular, ended up in the Mycenaean polity of Pylos.

For the needs of this paper I have reversed the study focus from the outside to the interior of the Mycenaean polities, and, more specifically, to the interior of the polity of Pylos and onto the actual 'outsiders' and the status they held and/or achieved when they came into Pylos to live and work. In what follows, I estimate the size of the population related to the palace and, thus, mentioned in the archive; I examine the individuals and groups of 'outsiders', and, finally, I discuss in detail the evidence that reflects or affected their social and economic status as compared to the status that the local population held.

Identity, ethnicity and geography

A discourse about 'locals' and 'outsiders' assumes that at least one group, the 'locals', has consciousness of a collective identity, of belonging to a group of

* I am grateful to Professors S. Andreou and M. Tiverios for discussing 'outsiders' with me. Professors Andreou, J.L. Davis and J.L. Melena read drafts of this paper and made valuable comments, for which I am deeply indebted.

¹ For example see Cline 1994; Cline and Harris-Cline 1998; Laffineur and Basch 1991, Papadopoulos 1997.

people who are bound together by common origin, background, and collective interests resulting from a series of socially embedded dispositions.² This collective identity constitutes the ethnic identity of a group, experienced through physical indicia, on one hand, such as haircut, body color, body markers (i.e., a Thracian woman in Classical Greece was recognized by the tattoos on her body³), as well as exterior indicial such as dress (for example, in Archaic and Classical Athens the Skythian archers wore a distinctive outfit that was never appropriated by Athenians, but rather constituted a main marker that distinguished them from Athenians⁴), language, behavior and symbolic expressions (i.e., religion); and often, though not necessarily, through geographical or 'political' boundaries. Anyone who does not share the above indicia as well as the accepted social criteria is an ethnic 'outsider', because identities, by definition, create dichotomies (i.e., in Classical Greece the most common dichotomy was Greeks vs. barbarians).⁵

Did such notions of collective identity and clear geographical and political boundaries exist in Mycenaean times? In the Pylian Linear B archive there are indications of the mental conceptualization of geographical boundaries and of ethnic-related dichotomies. Tablets On 300 and Vn 493 refer to the two geographical and political provinces that comprised the Pylian polity: *de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja* (Hither Province) and *pe-ra-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja* (Further Province). Based on the etymology of these two terms, each province lies on either side of a distinct *geographical boundary*, most probably Mt. Aegaleon. The limits of the polity are nowhere described or defined, but there is general agreement among scholars that the polity extended over the area of modern Messenia. Its eastern frontier is assumed to be along the Taygetos mountain range and the eastern end of the Gulf of Kalamata, while the Northern frontier is typically reconstructed along the line of river Neda.⁶ Anyone who resided beyond these boundaries

² Barth 1969, p. 13; Bentley 1991, p. 173; Bourdieu 1977, p. 72; Jones 1987, pp. 88-92; van der Vliet 2003, p. 258.

³ Zimmerman 1980, pp. 163-196; Zimmerman and Zimmerman 1981, pp. 324-330; Tsifaki 1998, pp. 37-40. There are different versions/beliefs concerning the use of tattoos by Thracian women, but their presence on the body of a woman inside the Classical Athenian society meant two things: the women were Thracian and they were slaves.

⁴ Our knowledge about Skythian archers is based mainly on Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.64), as well as on their depictions on Attic vase paintings (6th and 5th centuries B.C.). They were usually portrayed as archers and their outfit comprised a hat with long cheek laps, the *anaxyrides* (an attire that covered the entire body with long trousers), and the customary arms, the bow and arrow with the *gorytos* (the quiver) worn by the hip. Although other ethnic groups in Athens, such as the Thracians, wore similarly distinctive outfits, the Skythian attire was never worn by Athenians (the Thracian attire is often found worn by Athenian cavalrymen). In the few cases that Athenians in symposium or *kommos* scenes are portrayed in Skythian dress, their choice of outfit carries a specific overtone: that of a man who drinks his wine without water (*Hdt., Hist.* 6.84.1); Lissarrague 1990, pp. 148-149, 235ff; Barringer 2004, p. 14.

⁵ Plato, *Plt.* 262d; Hall 1997, pp. 17-25; Jones 1997, p. 84, 94.

⁶ Chadwick 1977, p. 38; Chadwick 1973, p. 416; Ruipérez and Melena 1996, pp. 115-116; Bennet 1999, p. 145.

would have been geographically and ethnically an 'outsider'. This point is not directly proven; we have found no positive references in Linear B texts to the building-stones of the Pylian ethnic identity itself (i.e., the people of Pylos have the *x* and *y* characteristics, but not *z*). Instead we find Pylos and the ethnic identity of its people mirrored in the emphatic distinction of all 'outsiders' within its territory that insists on their ethnic identity as their primary designation (i.e., Milesian women, Kytheran women, a Trojan woman).

Thus, for the needs of this paper, an 'outsider' is a person who works within the Pylian polity, but has originally come from areas beyond the limits of the polity as these have been reconstructed so far. A person's 'outsider' status is established by the fact that in the Linear B texts (s)he is recorded with an 'ethnic' (adjectives which derive from place-names and indicate provenance from or close affiliation to a locality) as his or her personal name, in the case of individuals, or as primary social designation, in the case of groups of people.⁷

Personal names as indicia of ethnic identity and historical evidence

Identity is a difficult concept to deal with, because it may refer to individuals, groups of people, or entire societies or culture groups and because it constitutes the means by which physical entities perceive of themselves and differentiate themselves from others.⁸ Identity may cover more than one different aspect or activity in one's life and, thus, people can associate themselves with more than one identity at the same time, according to social context. For example, the same person at the same time may be identified as young or old, rich or poor, of higher or lower social status, as 'one of ours' or an 'outsider' (socially, economically, ethnically etc.). It appears, thus, that identity is a *construction* built upon a combination of criteria (actions, beliefs and/or perceptions). It is also a construction originating from two sources: each agent (or group of agents) constructs and demonstrates a specific type of identity for his or her self, while, simultaneously, all people interacting with the agent/group receive certain stimuli from them, which lead people to construct themselves an identity for the agent/group.⁹

The markers manifesting a person's identity, as stated already above, are varied: language, dress, haircut, ornaments, objects or even association with other people. Personal names comprise also a marker for identification. As such, names uniquely identify and distinguish one person from another. As lexemes, at the same time, personal names are often adjectives that denote meaning, and, consequently, function as subtle means for dividing and classifying people, for example, according to gender, age, family status, social status, ethnicity, occupation etc.¹⁰ I

⁷ Of course, the term 'outsider' can be associated with population groups that do not necessarily come from outside the geographical boundaries of a community. It can also refer to individuals or groups of people within a community who are thought to be of marginalized status, such as slaves or people with mental illness.

⁸ De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1995, p. 350.

⁹ Jones 1997.

¹⁰ Smith-Bannister 1997, p. 15; Morpurgo Davies 2000, pp. 20-21.

would argue, thus, that personal names convey specific ideas and beliefs of the people who assign them (i.e., the parents or other members of the community) for those who receive them.

Personal names in the Pylian Linear B archive

In the Pylian Linear B tablets personal names comprise nearly two thirds of the entire set of lexical items used.¹¹ At first glance the information recorded in the Pylos archive shows that individuals and groups of people were identified and recorded either by name or by a general designation, usually occupational. Semantically, personal names and designations are found to be associated with: professional occupations (for example, we find in tablet PY Un 267 a man who is called *tu-we-ta*, Θυέστᾱς, the 'perfume-maker'); with kin relations (a more characteristic example of this is found in the Theban archive with the names: *a-ra-o*, TH Gp 197, 227, and 231, and *a-ra-o-ju*, the son of *a-ra-o*, TH Fq 214 and 254+255); with geographical loci¹² (a name that appears several times in the tablets, such as in PY Jn 310, is the name *ti-qa-jo*, the Thisban); while at the same time a large number of names may be characterized as *nicknames*, referring to physical, mental, or behavioral characteristics of a person and to other associations with which a person may be tied to (i.e., the name *e-u-ru-wo-ta*, Εὐρωτᾱς, the wide-eared,¹³ found in tablet PY Eb 156+157).¹⁴

Just as individuals employed such designations as personal names, an analogous situation is found in the designation of larger groups of people, who needed to be referred to as a group, based on one common and descriptive characteristic. In the Linear B tablets we find groups designated either by an occupational or by an ethnic designation. For example, we find groups of women known as *ri-ne-ja*, interpreted as λινεΐαι (women who work with flax, PY Ab 745), while another group of seven women is known as *ra-mi-ni-ja*, Λᾱμνΐαι (women from the island of Lemnos, PY Ab 186).

¹¹ Ilievski 1983, p. 202.

¹² Ruijgh 1967, p. 143; Landau 1958, p. 214. The ethnics on the Linear B tablets do not always refer to a specific place name (e.g., the name of a town or a village). There are several instances of ethnics that refer to wider geographical areas (i.e., Asia) or to abstract geographical features (i.e., the mountains, the coast etc.). Furthermore, several ethnics have been formed from pre-Hellenic toponyms (i.e., the ethnic *i-ni-ja* from the toponym *i-na-ne*), which are impossible to associate with later Greek toponyms and to pinpoint their position on the map.

¹³ Landau 1958, p. 188. It should be noted that, while this personal name appears to be a compound name, the first element of which is εἰρύ-, the second element remains obscure. This fact has led other scholars to propose alternate etymologies, such as Εἰώτας by Chadwick (1973, p. 547).

¹⁴ Oikonomidou 1962; Varvouni 1995, pp. 35-39. In most modern languages as well we find similar practices: in the case of Modern Greek, we commonly find last names related to the occupations of the named ones, such as Μπακιρτζής, the copper-worker, Κηπουρός, the gardener, Παπουτσής, the shoe-maker; to kin relationships, such as the name Νικολάου, son of Νικόλαος; to geographical localities of origin, such as the names Μυκονιάτης and Αλβανού; and nicknames, such as the name Σπανός, the beardless man, or Μακρής, the tall man.

The ethnic personal name, in particular, is the manifestation of the affiliation of a person or a group of people with a locality different from the one in which they reside. The use of this ethnic personal name does not necessarily indicate that the person himself moved from one place to the other, since it is possible that an ancestor was the one who initially changed residence and the memory of this migration and place of origin may have made the necessary impact for his descendants to determine their own ethnic identity.¹⁵

It should also be mentioned that names and, consequently, ethnic designations may be adopted by people either at their own initiative or may be assigned to them by others (parents, kin, other members of the community). The practice of namegiving is essentially an attempt to uniquely identify and differentiate people amongst them; and in the case of ethnic names, it aims to differentiate 'outsiders' from locals or from the dominant ethnic group in an area, though it need not mean that the 'others' are also conceived as 'bad' or as 'of lower status.' It is the purpose of this article to explore whether the differentiation of 'outsiders' in the Mycenaean period was also associated with a belief that 'outsiders' were or should have been of lower status, marginalized, or if 'outsiders' had been integrated as equals into the local population and its social, economic, and political structure.

But who and how many were the ones who used ethnics as personal names or as primary designations in the archive of Mycenaean Pylos and how did they live compared to the locals?

The population recorded in the Linear B archive of the Palace of Nestor

The census of the people mentioned in the tablets and the detailed records of any qualitative information (names, occupations, economic status, goods offered and/or received, family relations, place of origin and place of work) regarding them is a key issue for the successful reconstruction of the population as well as for determining the social status of locals and 'outsiders' working for the palace.

The Pylian records themselves are administrative lists of goods that were being stored, received from the palace or distributed to craftsmen, lists of taxes and various sorts of payments, lists of offerings to gods, as well as lists of groups of men moving from one place to another. Indirectly, however, the tablets offer a variety of qualitative information concerning the people who were working for or had some connection to the palace. These individuals in part comprised administrative and cultic functionaries, but mainly they were what I would call 'lower status dependent personnel': craftsmen, shepherds, workmen, and servants, and military personnel. All of these people (except for

¹⁵ Fraser 2000, pp. 149-157. A case can be made also for the use of an ethnic primary designation by individuals and/or groups of people who have physical or other exterior characteristics (occupational, behavioral) stereotypically connected to certain places, but this is difficult to recognize and argue for, at least for this period and based on the specific set of data that I use.

the military personnel) were involved in a small number of industrial activities of great interest to the palace: in the production of prestige items (bronze-working, textile and leather production etc.) or in activities related to the above industries (i.e., stock-breeding). Consequently, their work and production was controlled, to a greater or lesser extent, by the palace. The means of control extended from keeping these people, such as the textile working women, absolutely dependent on the palace as far as their work and subsistence were concerned, while others, such as the bronze-smiths, were closely monitored by the palace only with regards to raw materials that the palace dispensed to them, while they maintained some independence from it so far as the means of their subsistence were concerned (they were land-holders). This was the task force of the Palace of Pylos, but they constitute only part of the entire Pylian population. The greater part of the Pylian population (restored to a figure of approximately 50,000 people¹⁶) remains hidden in the texts, since it comprised people working outside the interests of the palace and on, what one could call, a different economic track from that of the palace.¹⁷

The number of the people involved in the palatial activities, and amongst them the 'outsiders', can be fairly accurately reconstructed at ca. 5400 persons. The results of the census are demonstrated in the following table:

SOCIAL GROUP	GENERAL CENSUS	LOCALS	'OUTSIDERS'
individual craftsmen and other workers	771	732	39
groups of craftsmen and other workers	2899	2431	468*
individual military personnel	0	0	0
groups of military personnel	1419	1419	0
individual <i>do-e-ro(-a)</i>	48	48	0
groups of <i>do-e-ro(-a)</i>	20	20	0
individual <i>te-o-jo do-e-ro(-a)</i>	76	74	2
groups of <i>te-o-jo do-e-ro(-a)</i>	0	0	0
administrative and cultic officials**	150 (+)	148 (+)	2?
Total	5383(+)	4872 (+)	511?

* The composition of this group of 'outsiders' is the following:

ADULTS		CHILDREN		TOTAL
women (mainly Aa series)	men (Ad series)	Aa series (mainly)	Ad series	
253	59	211	14	537

The Aa, Ab and Ad series are inter-connected. The Aa/Ab series record groups of women with their children, while the tablets of the Ad series record the sons of the women, who are separated from their mothers once they reach a certain age. Even

¹⁶ Chadwick 1972, pp. 111-113; McDonald and Hope-Simpson 1972, p. 128, 141, 254-256; Carothers and McDonald 1979, p. 450; Whitelaw 2001, pp. 62-64.

¹⁷ Halstead 1999; 2001. This main part of the population becomes visible from archaeological investigations, where they are found working as farmers and stock-breeders, as potters and other types of craftsmen, involved in activities centered on their own everyday needs, rather than the needs of the palace (Galaty 1999; Parkinson 1999).

between them we find a further division of the sons of the women into older and younger boys.

** The census presented in this table involves only the lower-status dependent personnel, and not administrative or cultic officials, because it is based on the material I recorded for my MA thesis on *Slaves and dependent personnel in the Linear B archives of Mainland Greece*. The administrative and cultic officials (*dip-te-ra-po-ro*, *i-je-re-u*, *i-je-re-ja*, *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, *o-pi-tu-ra-jo*, *wana-ka*, *ra-wa-ke-ta*, *da-mo-ko-ro*, *ko-re-te-re*, *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*, *qa-si-re-we*, *e-qe-ta*, *du-ma*, *po-ro-du-ma*, *me-ri-du-ma-te*, *o-pi-su-ko*, *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we*, *mo-ro-qa*, *te-re-ta*) have been examined for the needs of this paper only as far as their names are concerned, while the number of the people involved is proximal. All the data are taken from M. Lindgren's (1979) prosopographical list of the people of Pylos with a few corrections by myself.

TABLE 1: *The census of the population recorded in the archive of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos*

According to TABLE 1, the 'outsiders' are found almost exclusively among the craftsmen and other workers, be individually or collectively recorded. They only two are also found among the *te-o-jo do-e-ro(-a)*, a social group whose designation, although it directly associates it with religious activities, has rather skewed modern interpretations of the social status its members actually held. Equally few are the 'outsiders' among the officials recorded by name in the archive, but, as we will later see, their names are problematic.

The total number of 'outsiders' is ca. 510 persons, which means that they constitute ca. 10% of the lower-status dependent personnel at Pylos. This percentage is significantly high and attests to the increased contacts between the Mycenaean polities and with other regions. It also demonstrates, however, the fact that the Mycenaeans were able to successfully incorporate, at least economically, people who did not belong to the core Mycenaean population, whether the arrival of these 'outsiders' took place peacefully or violently. The social interaction of locals and 'outsiders' remains to be examined in further detail below.

The te-o-jo do-e-ro(-a)

A very limited presence of 'outsiders' is found within the group of the *te-o-jo do-e-ro(-a)*, a problematic group of people in the Pylian archive. I have argued elsewhere¹⁸ that these individuals were personnel of significant status who were associated with temple and 'god', but not exclusively working in that context. They were land-owners, which is an indication that they were independent from the temple so far as their subsistence is concerned, while the type of land that they owned, the *o-na-to* lands, shows that they could also offer their services independently to other members of the community or the deme (*da-mo*) in exchange for plots of land. There are seventy-six *te-o-jo do-e-ro(-a)* in the

¹⁸ Efkleidou 2005, pp. 214-215.

tablets, of whom thirteen use ethnics as personal names (see TABLE 2). Unfortunately, a very small number of these ethnics can be associated with specific loci, while the remainder are either pre-hellenic, abstract adjectives referring to general geographical areas (the mountains etc.) or ethnics that cannot be associated with historical place names.¹⁹ Of the ethnics that I could securely associate with Classical Greek locations there is a woman named Trojan (*to-ro-ja*, PY Ep 705) and another one named Theban (*te-qa-ja*, PY Ep 539).²⁰ The rest are women associated with the general area of Messenia; three women

TABLET	NAME	SEX	DESIGNATION	ORIGIN
En74/Eo160	a ₃ -wa-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	a ₃ -wa-ja
Ep539	i-na	M	te-o-jo do-e-ro	i-na
En609/ Eo211	i-ni-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	i-ni-ja
Eb347/ Ep212	ko-ri-si-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	ko-ri-si-ja
En74/ Eo160	ko-ri-si-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	ko-ri-si-ja
En74/ Eo247	ko-ri-si-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	ko-ri-si-ja
Ep539	te-qa-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	te-qa-ja
Ep705	to-ro-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	to-ro-ja
En659	tu-ri-ja-ti	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	tu-ri-ja-ti
Eo444	tu-ri-ja-ti	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	tu-ri-ja-ti
Eb416	u-wa-mi-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	u-wa-mi-ja
Ep704	u-wa-mi-ja	F	te-o-jo do-e-ra	u-wa-mi-ja

TABLE 2: *Ethnic personal names of te-o-jo do-e-ro(-a)*

named *ko-ri-si-ja*, who came from *ko-ri-to*;²¹ two women named *tu-ri-ja-ti*;²² and two further women named *u-wa-mi-ja*.²³ There is one further individual associated with an abstract geographical feature: a woman called *a₃-wa-ja*²⁴, and

¹⁹ The problem of the association of Linear B ethnics with Mycenaean toponyms and these toponyms, in turn, with historical places is a painstaking task. Chadwick (1977, p. 37) explained it: 'place names in the course of history move from one site to another, either by relocation within the same district, or because people abandon their homes and move to another area.'

²⁰ The case of Thebes is especially interesting, if we take into account the fact that the archive of Thebes documented affairs closely related to a cultic center, dominant in the area of Thebes.

²¹ According to *DMic* (I, p. 383), and Chadwick (1973, p. 556) *ko-ri-to* corresponds phonetically to Κόρινθος, but cannot be associated with the Classical Corinth on the Isthmus, but rather to a place in the Further Province of Pylos. Sainer (1976, p. 43) admits that based on the textual context of Ad 921, whereby *ko-ri-to* is the location of 11 sons of the *te-pe-ja* women, *ko-ri-to* is a toponym within the Pylian polity, but it is impossible to pinpoint its location in either one of the two provinces of Pylos.

²² Chadwick 1973, p. 588; Ruijgh 1967, p. 197, 220; Lejeune *MM* I, p. 274. Generally interpreted as a variant spelling of Θυρεάτις and associated with the toponym Θυρεαί, but this interpretation is far from certain.

²³ Ruijgh 1967, 142, 163, 169. Chadwick 1973, p. 589. Generally accepted as 'Υαμία, associated with the toponym "Υαμος (cf. 'Υλάμεια in Messenia).

²⁴ Ruijgh 1967, p. 18. Ruijgh interprets 'Αίαία as an ethnic (from the Earth).

two are associated with pre-Hellenic toponyms: two women, *i-na* and *i-ni-ja*, both associated with the same toponym, *i-na-ne*.²⁵

Consequently, only two women, the Theban and Trojan, appear to have a clear 'outsider' status. It is very interesting, however, that while these two women are found within a small group of people dominated by locals, they live and work under exactly the same conditions as, and share a similar status as the locals in the group, since they have a lease (*o-na-to*) of land, of the type '*ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*',²⁶ which they both acquired in exchange for services that they rendered to the deme (*da-mo*) (PY Ep 539 and Ep 705 respectively).

Individual 'outsiders' among craftsmen and other workers

Individuals using ethnics as their personal names are few in number. Only thirty-six personal names, out of the 615 in this group of people, proved to be ethnic adjectives used as personal names of individuals. These names belong to forty-six individuals, almost all of whom are associated with a different place. Only 6 toponyms are associated with more than one individual and there exists a ratio of 2 or 3 individuals per toponym.

Members of this group are all men (with the exception of one woman who appears on a broken tablet that has not preserved any information as to the activities once recorded on it, PY Vn 1191). Their ethnics reveal that they come from a wide variety of places: in particular, a few use ethnics associated with places inside the Pylian polity (e.g., **ti-nwa-to*²⁷ and *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*²⁸ in the Further and Hither Province respectively), or with abstract geographical localities rather than with specific settlements (e.g., the man *a-ka-ta-jo-jo*, 'ΑΚΤΑΙΟΣ,²⁹ who is associated with the *shoreline*, PY En 659/Eo 269). The remaining twenty-three men can definitively be recognized as 'outsiders', sixteen of whose names are associated with toponyms that cannot be connected to known historical settlements, but were most probably located outside the Pylian polity. These 'outsiders' came from Mainland Greece, Asia Minor, the Eastern (Lemnos) and

²⁵ Ruijgh 1967, p. 143, 169.

²⁶ Duhoux 1976. The *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na* lands are generally interpreted as public land, while the term *o-na-to* is considered to constitute the profit from a plot of land that is transferred to another person in return for services received by that person.

²⁷ Chadwick 1988, p. 83. The exact geographical position of the place *ti-nwa-to* is problematic. Although it is reported in PY Jo 438 as having a *ko-re-te* who offers gold (indicating that it was one of the districts of the Further Province), *ti-nwa-to* is not reported in PY Jn 829 which contains the longest list of major towns in the Pylian state. This could be an indication that *ti-nwa-to* was not closely 'attached to' or 'absorbed into' the Pylian state.

²⁸ Bennet 1999, p. 136. The toponym appears on tablet Mn 456, where it is found as a settlement within the district of *ro-u-so*, one of the major towns of the Hither Province, contributing to the taxes that *ro-u-so* has to pay.

²⁹ Landau 1958, p. 17, 175. It has also been proposed for this the name 'Αγαθαῖος as a patronymic from *Αγαθαῖς or a hypocoristic of 'Αγαθάνωρ, Ruijgh 1967, p. 223.

Southern (Crete, Kythera) Aegean, as well as Cyprus (see FIGURE 1). As a result, it seems that the majority of the individual ‘outsiders’ came from the wider region of Asia Minor and Eastern Aegean (13 persons) (see also TABLE 3, p. 279).

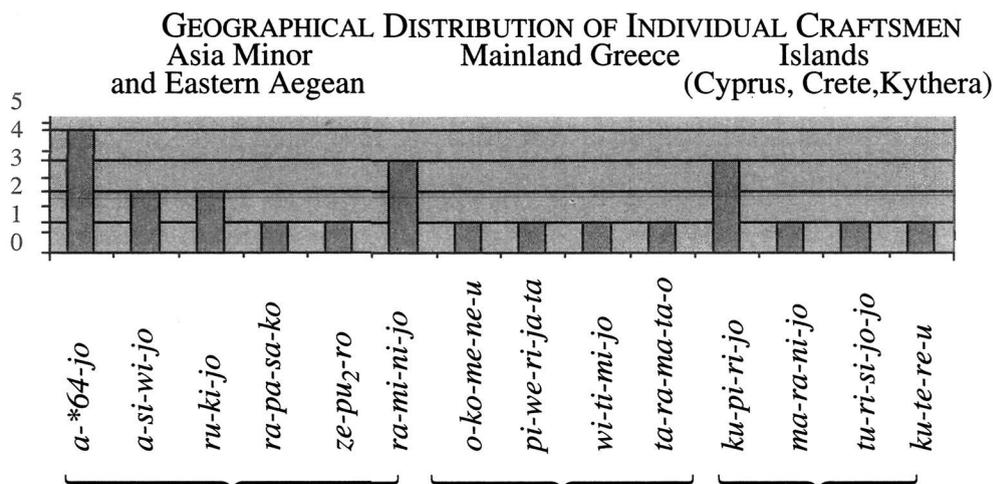


FIGURE 1: Areas from which individual ‘outsiders’ arrive at Pylos

These ‘outsiders’ occupations are in the same areas of activity as those of the locals, most prominently in the metal industry (bronze-smiths) and in cattle herding (ox-herders, shepherds) (56% of the ‘outsiders’). Very few individuals work in other crafts, such as the textiles industry (as tailors or fullers). It is very interesting to find also that one individual from the island of Kythera was a member of a closed group of craftsmen, the *ke-ro-si-ja* (PY An 261).³⁰ If we accept Lindgren’s³¹ interpretation of the *ke-ro-si-ja* (a combination of the interpretations of Ventriss and Chadwick³² and Palmer³³) as a corporation of highly specialized and highly experienced craftsmen, then we are in a position to argue that ‘outsiders’ were able to practice the same crafts, to assume respect and recognition through their skills, work and experience, in the same manner as locals and to be incorporated/accepted into corporations such as the *ke-ro-si-ja*.

In an attempt to detect whether certain places were known and preferred by the palace for their specialized craftsmen or services, I isolated those place names that appear as the place of origin for more than one individual and then associated them with the occupations recorded in the tablets.

³⁰ Another individual whose place of origin has not been yet identified (*tu-ru-we-u*) is also a member of another *ke-ro-si-ja*.

³¹ Lindgren 1973, II, pp. 124-125.

³² Ventriss and Chadwick (1959, p. 172, 421) proposed that the *ke-ro-si-ja* were associations of elders (γερονσία).

³³ Palmer (1963, pp. 227-229) suggested that they were organized corporations of craftsmen.

NATIONALITY	OCCUPATION	NAME	TABLET
a-*64-ja		a-*64-ja	Vn 1191
a-*64-jo		a-*64-jo	Fn 324
a-*64-jo	a-ke-ro	a-*64-jo	Cn 1287
a-*64-jo	ka-ke-u	a-*64-jo	Jn 832
a ₃ -ki-a ₂ -ri-jo		a ₃ -ki-a ₂ -ri-jo	Fn 50/79
a-ka-ta-jo	ka-na-pe-u	a-ka-ta-jo-jo	En 659/Eo 269
a-si-wi-jo		a-si-wi-jo	Cn 285
a-si-wi-jo	i-qo-na-to-mo	a-si-wi-jo	Eq 146
a-ta-ma-ne-u	po-me	a-ta-ma-ne-u	Cn 655
do-ri-je-we		do-ri-je-we	Fn 867
e-ta-je-u	te-ko-to-a-pe	e-ta-je-u	An 5
i-wa-so	po-me	i-wa-so	Cn 655
ka-pa-ra ₂	ka-ke-u	ka-pa-ra ₂	Jn 706
ka-ra-do-wa-ta		ka-ra-do-wa-ta	Ea 57
ko-ro-ja-ta	tu-ra-te-u, su-ra-te	ko-ro-ja-ta	Ae 72
ko-ro-tu-no	ka-ke-u	ko-ro-tu-no	Jn 478
ku-pi-ri-jo	ka-ke-u	ku-pi-ri-jo	Jn 320
ku-pi-ri-jo	po-me	ku-pi-ri-jo	Cn 131/719
ku-pi-ri-jo		ku-pi-ri-jo	Un 443+998
ku-te-re-u	ke-ro-si-ja	ku-te-re-u	An 261
ma-ra-ni-jo	po-me	ma-ra-ni-jo	Cn 643/719
o-ka-ri-jo?	po-me?	o-ka-ri-jo	Cn 655
o-ko-me-ne-u		o-ko-me-ne-u	Ea 780
o-ku-ka	po-me	o-ku-ka	Cn 131/719
pa-pa-ra-ko	ka-ke-u	pa-pa-ra-ko	Jn 845
pi-we-ri-ja-ta	ka-ke-u	pi-we-ri-ja-ta	Jn 389
po-ke-we		po-ke-we	Cn 131
ra-mi-ni-jo		ra-mi-ni-jo	Cn 328
ra-mi-ni-jo	po-me	ra-mi-ni-jo	Cn 719
ra-mi-ni-jo	ta-te-re	ra-mi-ni-jo	An 209
ra-pa-sa-ko	po-me	ra-pa-sa-ko	Cn 131/655
re-pi-ri-jo		re-pi-ri-jo	Eq 146
re-u-ka-so		re-u-ka-so	Pa 53
ru-ki-jo		ru-ki-jo	Gn 720
ru-ki-jo	ka-ke-u	ru-ki-jo	Jn 415
ru-ko-u-ro		ru-ko-u-ro	Es 729/644
ta-ra-ma-ta-o	po-me	ta-ra-ma-ta-o	Ea 821
ti-nwa-si-jo		ti-nwa-si-jo	Ea 810
ti-qa-jo	ka-ke-u	ti-qa-jo	Jn 310
ti-qa-jo	po-me	ti-qa-jo	En 467/Eo 278
tu-ri-jo	ka-ke-u	tu-ri-jo	Jn 693
tu-ri-si-jo-jo		tu-ri-si-jo-jo	Sa 758
tu-ru-we-u	ke-ro-si-ja	tu-ru-we-u	An 261
wi-ti-mi-jo	ka-ke-u	wi-ti-mi-jo	Jn 605
wo-wi-ja-ta	ka-ke-u	wo-wi-ja-ta	Jn 658/725
ze-pu ₂ -ro	ra-pte	ze-pu ₂ -ro	Ea 56

TABLE 3: *Ethnic personal names of individual craftsmen and other workers*

These ethnics are shown in TABLE 4.

ETHNIC ADJECTIVE / NAME	OCCUPATION	TABLET
a-*64-jo	ka-ke-u	Jn 832
	a-ke-ro	Cn 1287
	?	Fn 324
ku-pi-ri-jo	?	Un 443+998
	ka-ke-u	Jn 320
ra-mi-ni-jo	po-me	Cn 131/719
	ta-te-re	An 209
	po-me	Cn 719
	?	Cn 328
ru-ki-jo	ka-ke-u	Jn 415
	?	Gn 720
ti-qa-jo	po-me	En 467/ Eo 278
	ka-ke-u	Jn 310
a-si-wi-jo	?	Cn285
	i-qo-na-to-mo	Eq146

TABLE 4: *Ethnic personal names associated with the occupations of the individuals.*

The table above demonstrates clearly that there is no reason to suppose that certain localities were preferred for a specific type of craftsmen or specialized service. On the contrary, a variety of occupations is found associated with each place of origin. It is worth noting, furthermore, that the different occupations can in no way be associated or connected as belonging to the same industry or type of service in the form of specialties. For example, occupations such as a *ka-ke-u* (bronze-smith) or *po-me* (shepherd) represent totally independent activities and yet they are carried out by persons from the same place.

With regards to their economic status and subsistence mode, these 'outsiders' were treated exactly as local individuals in the same occupations were. The bronze-smiths are recorded as receiving (and in some cases, as not receiving) the expected amount of bronze (*ta-ra-si-ja*) and, like local bronze-smiths, they are dispersed in the large centers of the polity; they held land and, consequently, they were expected to pay taxes in kind (evidence for which is provided by the Ma and Na tablets where they are indicated as having been exempted); accordingly, most of the rest of the 'outsiders' (apart from the cattle-herders for whom we lack any relevant information) were land-holders. This is demonstrated by the fact that they held either *o-na-to* lands or *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* or *ke-ke-me-na* lands, as well as by the fact that some of these men offered to other individuals or to the gods amounts of grain that could possibly come from lands which they held and which they cultivated. All of these activities and practices in terms of mode and quantities do not differ greatly from those of the locals (see TABLE 5).

TABLET	NAME	NATIONALITY	OCCUPATION	LAND TYPE
Eo 269	a-ka-ta-jo-jo	a-ka-ta-jo	ka-na-pe-u	k. kitimena
Ea 821	ta-ra-ma-ta-o	ta-ra-ma-ta	po-me	[onato] k. kitimena
Eo 278	ti-qa-jo	ti-qa-jo	po-me	2 kotono
Ea 56	ze-pu ₂ -ro	ze-pu ₂ -ro	ra-pte	[onato]
Eq 146	a-si-wi-jo	a-si-wi-jo	i-qo-na-to-mo	onato
En 659	a-ka-ta-jo-jo	a-ka-ta-jo		k. kitimena
Ea 57	ka-ra-do-wa-ta	ka-ra-do-wa-ta		onato
Ea 780	o-ko-me-ne-u	o-ko-me-ne-u		onato?
Ea 336	ta-ra-ma-ta	ta-ra-ma-ta		kotona
Ea 778	ta-ra-ma-ta	ta-ra-ma-ta		onato
Ea 825	ta-ra-ma-ta	ta-ra-ma-ta		onato
En 467	ti-qa-jo-jo	ti-qa-jo		k. kitimena

TABLE 5: *Land-holdings of individual 'outsiders' at Pylos**Groups of 'outsiders' involved in craft production*

Already in the first table of this paper it became evident that the greatest number of 'outsiders' is recorded in groups on the tablets of the Aa/Ab and Ad series. The Aa/Ab series of tablets list women with their children, boys and girls of a young age who receive daily rations from the palace for their subsistence. Associated with these women are older men and boys who are recorded in the tablets of the Ad series and are primarily indicated as 'sons' of women in the Aa/Ab series.

The groups of 'outsider' women and children in these series were described by ethnic origin, locals by occupation; it then seems that it was more important to the scribes to distinguish 'outsiders' from locals, rather than mention their roles.³⁴ It could be argued that a distinction on an occupational level among 'outsider' women was not necessary, because they were all involved in the same activity or because the mere knowledge of their origin was indicative of the occupation they held. Yet the Ad tablets indirectly show that each of the groups of 'outsider' women held a different role within the textile industry and that some also held the same posts as local women.

Thirteen out of the forty-nine[+] groups of women are defined with ethnics (see TABLE 6). Still it is possible *only* for nine of those ethnic adjectives to propose an equivalent in Classical Greek and to associate them with specific geographical localities on a map (see FIGURE 2, p. 283).

These nine groups include two from places that have been recognized as belonging to the wider territory of Pylos. One group of sixteen women (PY Aa 60) is described as *e-wi-ri-pi-ja*, an ethnic formed from the toponym *e-wi-ri-po*, a place in the Hither Province. Nine women (PY Aa 699/Ab 190), on the other hand, originate from the town of **ti-nwa-to* (the *ti-nwa-si-ja* women), which

³⁴ The designation of one group as *ra-wi-ja-ja* (captives) indicates that this was not the way the other groups of women came into Pylos.

appears to belong to the Further Province. Seven of the rest of the ethnics that are securely interpreted describe areas outside the territory of Pylos. The closest place

PLACE OF WORK	NAME OF WORKGROUP	PLACE OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF WOMEN	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	OCCUPATION	TABLET
	a-*64-ja	a-*64-ja	35	25		Aa 701
pu-ro	a-*64-ja	a-*64-ja	35	23		Ab 515
	e-wi-ri-pi-ja	e-wi-ri-po	16	18		Aa 60
	ka-pa-ra ₂ -de	ka-pa-ra ₂ -de	24	20		Aa 788
	ki-ma-ra	ki-ma-ra	3	9		Aa 63
	ki-ni-di-ja	ki-ni-di-ja	21	22		Aa 792
pu-ro	ki-ni-di-ja	ki-ni-di-ja	20	20		Ab 189
pu-ro	ki-si-wi-ja	ki-si-wi-ja	7	9	o-nu-ke-ja	Ab 194
	ki-si-wi-ja	ki-si-wi-ja	6	10	o-nu-ke-ja	Aa 770
	ko-ro-ki-ja	ko-ro-ki-ja	8	5		Aa 354
pu-ro	ko-ro-ki-ja	ko-ro-ki-ja	9	2		Ab 372
	ku-te-ra ₃	ku-te-ra ₃	28	0		Aa 506
pu-ro	ku-te-ra ₃	ku-te-ra ₃	0	0		Ab 562
pu-ro	mi-ra-ti-ja	mi-ra-ti-ja	0	0	a-ra-ka-te-ja	Aa 1180
pu-ro	mi-ra-ti-ja	mi-ra-ti-ja	16	10	a-ra-ka-te-ja	Ab 573
ro-u-so	mi-ra-ti-ja	mi-ra-ti-ja	54	57		Aa 798
ro-u-so	mi-ra-ti-ra	mi-ra-ti-ra	54	51		Ab 382
pu-ro	ra-mi-ni-ja	ra-mi-ni-ja	7	3		Ab 186
pu-ro	ti-nwa-si-ja	ti-nwa-si-ja	9	3		Ab 190
	ti-nwa-si-ja	*ti-nwa-to	9	7	i-te-ja	Aa 699
pu-ro	ze-pu ₂ -ra ₃	ze-pu ₂ -ra ₃	26	25	ri-ne-ja	Aa 61
TOTAL			387	319		

TABLE 6: 'Outsider' groups of women in the Aa/Ab series of tablets

to Pylos appears to be the island of Kythera in the south of the Peloponnesos (*ku-te-ra₃*, twenty-eight women, PY Aa 506/Ab 562). Two groups of women came from the Eastern Aegean, one from Lemnos (*ra-mi-ni-ja*, seven women, PY Ab 186) and one possibly from Chios (*ki-si-wi-ja*, six or seven women, PY Aa 770/Ab 194). Finally, three groups originate in the area of Western Asia Minor. One group is generally designated as 'Asian' (*a-*64-ja*, thirty-five women), one group is securely designated as coming from the town of Knidos (*ki-ni-di-ja*, twenty or twenty-one women, PY Aa 792/Ab 189), and one group is called as *ze-pu₂-ra₃* (twenty-six women, PY Aa 61), which is connected to ancient Halikarnassos.³⁵ The final ethnic designation, *mi-ra-ti-ja*³⁶ (two groups of seventy women in all, PY Aa 798 and Aa 1180), is securely interpreted as deriving from the toponym Milatos. It is not certain, however, whether it refers to

³⁵ Chadwick (1988, p. 84) based on Strabo, *Geog.*, 14.16, and Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethn.*; *DMic*, II, pp. 456-457.

³⁶ The ethnic designation *mi-ra-ti-ra* is found in PY Ab 382, but is rightly considered to be a scribal mistake for *mi-ra-ti-ja*, *DMic*, I, p. 454.

the actual town of Milatos/Miletos in Asia Minor or the homonymous place in Crete.³⁷

Most of the groups of women is also reflected in the tablets of the Ad series through the recording of their sons (elder and younger boys). We find seven groups of men and boys, who originally came from areas outside Pylos: the sons of the *mi-ra-ti-ja* (Milesian, PY Ad 689 and Ad380), *ku-te-ra-o* (Kytheran, PY Ad 390 and 679), *ki-ni-di-ja-o* (Knidian, PY Ad 683), *ki-si-wi-ja-o* (Chian, PY Ad 675), *ze-pu₂-ra-o* (Halikarnasian, PY Ad 664). These records do not offer any information other than the number of the men in each group and the place where they reside (either Pylos or Leuktron, the capitals of the two Provinces of the polity). The fact, however, that some groups of men involve sons of different groups of women (i.e., *ka-pa-ra₂-do ku-te-ra-o ko-wo*, the sons of the women from *Ka-pa-ra₂* and from Kythera, PY Ad 679) may be an indication that these sons were primarily grouped according to some criterion other than their origin, perhaps age or, more probably, occupation (see TABLE 7, p. 284).

The predominance of Eastern Aegean toponyms among adjectives employed to describe groups attests to a clear connection of Pylos with that part of the Aegean,

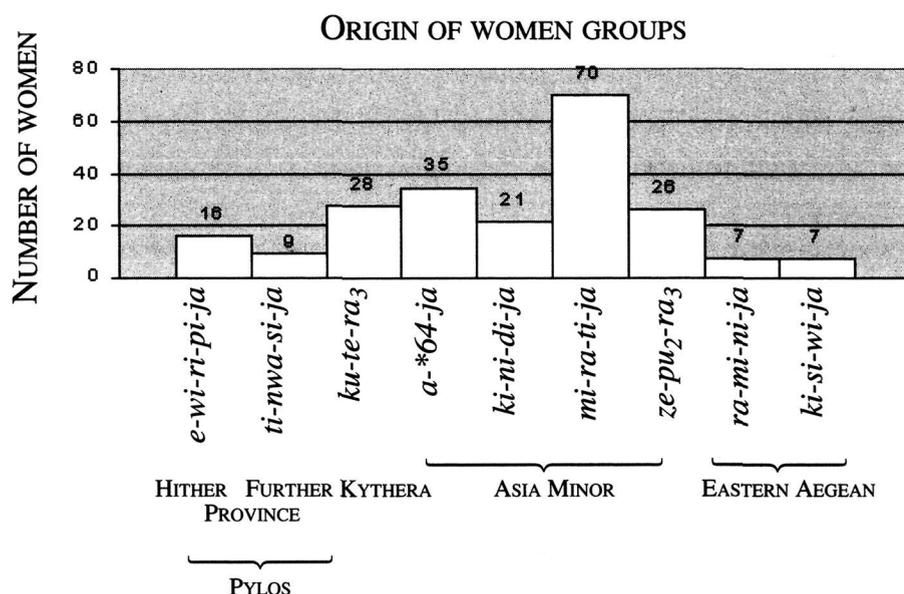


Figure 2: *Origin of the outsider groups of women in the Aa/Ab series*

although it is not possible to define more precisely the nature of these relations (see FIGURE 2). The same geographical areas are also dominant in adjectives applied to individually recorded 'outsiders' at Pylos, though there are discrepancies so far as the specific settlements of origin are concerned. Thus, in the case of the island of Lemnos, of Asia as a general region, of the town of Halikarnassos, and of the island of Kythera, we find both individuals and groups

³⁷ Chadwick 1988, p. 81; *DMic*, I, pp. 453-454.

moving to Pylos, but there were differences in the way they are accepted/assimilated into the Pylian community.

PLACE OF WORK	DESIGNATION ('the sons of...')	ORIGIN	ELDER BOYS	YOUNGER BOYS	TABLET
pu-ro	a-so-qi-je-ja mi-ra-ti-ja-o ko-wo	*mi-ra-to	2		Ad689
a-pu-ne-we, pu-ro	e-re-ta-o ko-wo, ti-nwa-ti-ja-o i-te-ja-o ko-wo	*ti-nwa-to	5	2	Ad684
pu-ro	ka-pa-ra-do ku-te-ra-o ko-wo	ku-te-ra	6	0	Ad679
re-u-ko-to-ro	ki-ma-ra-o ko-wo	ki-ma-ra	4	0	Ad668
pu-ro	ki-ni-di-ja-o ko-wo	*ki-ni-do	5	4	Ad683
pu-ro	ki-si-wi-ja-o o-nu-ke-ja-o ko-wo	*ki-si-wo	3	5	Ad675
pu-ro	ko-ro-ki-ja-o ko-wo	ko-ro-ki-ja	5	0	Ad680
pu-ro	ku-te-ra-o ko-wo	ku-te-ra	22		Ad390
pu-ro	mi-ra-ti-ja-o a-ra-te-ja-o ko-wo	mi-ra-ti-ja	3	0	Ad380
pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo	ze-pu ₂ -ra-o ko-wo ri-ne-ja-o	ze-pu ₂ -ra	4	3	Ad664
TOTAL			59	14	

TABLE 7: 'Outsider' groups of men in the Ad series of tablets

Specifically, the groups of women and their children are situated in their majority at Pylos and in large centers of the Hither Province (*ro-u-so, me-ta-pa*). A few lived in smaller settlements in the Further Province, and only two or three groups lived at the capital of the Further Province, at *re-u-ko-to-ro*. All the women, local and 'outsider', were occupied in two general areas of activity: the textiles industry and as different types of menial work. The specialties cover the majority of the different stages of the production of wool and its conversion into textiles. It is possible to argue that there was a high level of task division and, thus, considerable specialization in their work. Their specialties, however, are never found associated with people individually recorded. This fact may indicate that in some crucial stages of production a smaller number of local individuals took over the production to assure quality of the end-product.

All the women worked in groups under the monitoring of the palace. They were separated from men and lived together with their younger children on rations that the palace provided on a daily basis covering only their own nutritional needs. These two characteristics of the women's life, namely the rations and the separation of the women from their men and their elder children, constitute the best evidence for their lower status and for their absolute dependence on the palace; such a state is unparalleled when compared to the subsistence mode and level of dependence of the rest of the personnel recorded on the tablets.³⁸

³⁸ In my master's thesis (Efkleidou 2005) I argued that the slave status is characterized by the fact that *that a slave is considered to be piece of property, he is an outsider as far as his origin is concerned, he was kept to his status by force, he had no personal identity or independence, and, thus, no marital or family relations officially recognised,*

According to the above evidence, there appears to have been no difference in status between the two types of groups, local and 'outsider', but, to the contrary, there are pronounced differences between those 'outsiders' who were recorded individually and those who were recorded in large groups at Pylos. When Chadwick³⁹ discussed the groups of women, in general, he argued that they were bought at their place of origin as local 'products', captives, either from wars or from slaving raids and then had been brought to Pylos as slaves. Chadwick's theory was strengthened by the presence of the term *ra-wi-ja-ja* (captives, PY Aa 807/Ab 586) as the designation of one group of women. Tritsch⁴⁰ interpreted their presence at Pylos and social status within the context of invasion and state-of-emergency theories for the end of the Mycenaean period. He concluded that the women were fugitives from various settlements 'flocking into the capital by the hundred' and then were gradually distributed to other centers and employed there for the benefit of the palace.

The present evidence supports neither of the above theories. Chadwick's idea that the women were captives sold into slavery is intriguing, but the very fact that only one group of women was differentiated and described as 'captives' argues for the opposite of Chadwick's idea. If all the women were 'captives', there would be no reason for a single group alone to be defined as such. It is rather the fact that this group was different from the others that compelled the scribes to diverge from their usual practice of recording the groups of women by their occupation or ethnic. Tritsch's argument, on the other hand, presupposes that attacks on an extremely wide front forced women to move from their villages and seek refuge to Pylos. Subsequently, the Palace, as an institution, found the opportunity to expand its activities in the textile industry by putting most of these women to work in the production of wool and textiles. The men, on the other hand, for whom it would be reasonable to assume that they would also flee their villages if they were attacked, are nowhere to be found. This observation contradicts the argument of populations fleeing, unless all men were killed during the invasions.

So how can we explain the presence of these groups of 'outsider' women in Pylos? We still lack sufficient enough information regarding the social, economic, and political conditions that developed during this time at the places

and, finally, by the fact that within the community that 'uses' him he remains an 'outsider' or marginalized from those of higher status. The women in the Aa/Ab series could have been slaves, because their treatment evinces most of the above characteristics: no personal identity as far as the palace is concerned, no marital or family relations recognized and respected, and a marginalization and dependence on the palace in an absolute manner that constitutes them unable to dispose of themselves in any way they might have wanted.

³⁹ Chadwick 1988.

⁴⁰ Tritsch 1958, pp. 431-443. Tritsch's theory is not convincing, since it does not explain satisfactorily the presence of descriptive terms among the groups of women such as 'captives' or the presence of groups with ethnics that derive from toponyms outside the mainland of Greece.

from which the women came, but in one instance new evidence has recently come to light. In a recent article Broodbank *et al.* (in press) argue that around the time of the LB IIIA/IIIB transition (end of 14th century B.C.) the island of Kythera ceased to serve as a 'stepping stone' between Crete and Mainland Greece, followed by the abandonment of the major settlement at the island, Kastri, and possibly, by a gradual decline of the population. It is possible that some part of the population moved, hastily or gradually, to other areas, such as Crete or the Mainland, and some more specifically to neighboring Pylos. A century later, at the time of the Linear B archives, the memory of people moving from Kythera (in the case that it was their descendents who retained the ethnic) or the people themselves who moved are found recorded in the archive as working for the palace with the same status as some groups of local women.

If this explanation is correct, then one possible reason for the groups of women in the Aa/Ab series of tablets to have this very low status and to depend on the palace is not the fact that some were 'outsiders', since the majority of these groups of women were local. Economic, administrative or even social factors (e.g., financial debts or loss of kin relations and support) might have led, willingly or by force, a large number of women with their children to enter into a dependent relationship with the palace and to assume a social status similar to that of a slave.

The functionaries and officials of the Palace of Nestor

Even though I have not calculated the exact number of functionaries at Pylos, there exists a list of 84 personal names, which belong to officials recorded in the tablets by name.⁴¹ The number of ethnic adjectives used as personal names is impressively low: I was able to securely identify only 2 names as ethnics and as associated with a toponym. These names are the following:

TABLET	NAME	POSITION	PLACE OF WORK
An 656	<i>pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo</i>	<i>e-qe-ta</i>	<i>a-ke-re-wa</i>
Jo 438/On 300	<i>te-po-se-u</i>	<i>ko-re-te</i>	<i>*ti-nwa-to</i>

TABLE 8: *The possibly ethnic personal names of the functionaries at Pylos*

The name *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo* is associated with the place name Πλευρόν, found also as one of the two destinations to which 30 rowers are sent (*pe-re-u-ro-na-de*, An 1). Chadwick⁴² argued that this destination is the one referred to in *Iliad* (2.369) as located in Aetolia. Based on these references he argued that there existed strategic connections (an 'alliance') between Pylos and Aetolia. Palmer⁴³, on the other hand, suggested that Pleuron should be located in western Messenia, an idea that appears to make more sense and must have affected Chadwick in his

⁴¹ Lindgren 1973, I.

⁴² Chadwick 1973, p. 184.

later paper⁴⁴ who admitted that there is no positive evidence that Pleuron lies in Aetolia.

The name *te-po-se-u* has been generally connected to the place-name Τελφούσα, which was located, according to Pausanias (8.24.4) in Arcadia.⁴⁵ There is no general agreement, however, that the Mycenaean toponym is the same as the classical one.

In conclusion, it is questionable whether 'outsiders' held administrative or cultic offices and unlikely that they had 'penetrated' the local elite. On the contrary, officials at least in some instances appear to have acquired their higher status through descent, where, by association with a significant line of ancestors, the members of the elite held *a priori* a higher social and economic status (this becomes evident where certain functionaries are recorded by their personal name immediately followed by their patronymic⁴⁶).

Conclusions

Evidence regarding the personal names of all individuals and the primary designations of all groups of people in the Linear B records indicates that, during the time the archive of Pylos was written, a clear distinction existed between those individuals who lived in Messenia and comprised part of the local population and those who came from outside the territory of Pylos. This distinction is evident in the intentional use of ethnics as personal names for individuals and as designations for entire groups of people who moved to Pylos. These ethnic personal names and designations demonstrate the close connections of Pylos with the Eastern Aegean and Asia Minor, as well as with Crete, Cyprus, Kythera, and areas of mainland Greece, such as Thebes. Beyond this distinction in name, the main issue we dealt with was the social or economic status of 'outsiders' compared to locals'.

The population of 'outsiders' in the archive is not small compared to that of locals. In fact, they constituted 9,5 % of the entire population recorded in the tablets and, therefore, worked or was otherwise associated with the palace. This percentage is quite substantial considering that the tablets record only those individuals who had entered into the work force that supported the palatial economy and power. Unfortunately, we cannot add to this figure the percentage of 'outsiders' within the rest of the Pylian population, since they remain invisible to us, unrecorded in the Linear B archive of the Palace.

The 'outsiders', however, were not scattered throughout the different groups of dependent personnel. They belonged mainly to the people who worked in palatial industrial activities. Most individuals appear to have been involved in the

⁴³ Palmer 1969, p. 130, 486.

⁴⁴ Chadwick 1977.

⁴⁵ Perpillou 1973, p. 220; Landau 1958, p. 135, 223; Lejeune 1958, p. 190, n. 15.

⁴⁶ For example, the *e-qe-ta A-re-i-jo* is recorded with the patronymic *pe-re-qa-ni-jo* (PY An 656).

metal industry (as bronze-smiths) and the cattle-herding (as herders). In contrast, the groups of 'outsiders', comprising mostly women in the Aa/Ab series, were probably working in textile production, while their sons in the Ad series are found dispersed in several places in the Pylian polity, but their occupations are not specified.

It is especially interesting, however, that 'outsiders' worked in the same crafts and industries as locals as well as under the same conditions. Specifically, the groups of women and their sons, 'outsiders' and locals, shared a similar very low social and economic status and absolute dependence on the palace (since their only means of subsistence were the rations they received from the palace). 'Outsiders' appear to have been denied 'entrance' into the ranks of functionaries and the elite, since a very limited number of ethnic personal names are found in the records of functionaries. Yet, they were clearly incorporated into the Pylian society and treated as equals within the ranks of the lower status work force of the Palace.

Differences and inequalities can be observed among 'outsiders', e.g., between those individually and those collectively recorded, but these too follow on the same lines the inequalities among locals. There is no basis for concluding that 'outsiders' held a lower status than locals when they held the same occupational or subsistence status. The differences in status observed among 'outsiders' should not, therefore, be explained in terms of their different origin ('outsider' vs local). The explanation should be sought in systems of values specific to the Pylian society, which must have employed alternate criteria, such as age, gender, economic status, marital status or descent (among many possible criteria), for the division of the population. It is difficult to conclude right now as to the exact nature of these value systems; further research is needed to lighten the organization of the Pylian society and the social divisions in it.

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