

## SPACE THROUGH TIME: DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVES ON THE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PYLIAN STATE \*

How did Bronze Age Pylos—the *pu-ro* of the Linear B tablets; the site centered on the palace at Ano Englianos (Pl. LXIXa: 1)—become the only palatial center for a 2000-km<sup>2</sup> area of the southwestern Peloponnese by the late LH IIIB period? I would like to suggest that the most effective way of addressing this question is, first, to reconstruct the political geography of the polity in LH IIIB—the period immediately preceding the palace's destruction, ca. 1200 BC<sup>1</sup>—on the basis of the Linear B documents; and, second, to trace the origins and development of the system attested in LH IIIB using the *diachronic* perspective afforded by regional archaeological data from late-MH to LH IIIB. My assumption is a positive one: that there is relationship between the two bodies of data. What I present here is "thought in

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The following abbreviations are used in this contribution:

DMG = M.G.F. VENTRIS and J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edition (1973).

Gazetteer = R. HOPE SIMPSON and O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age*, Vol. I: *The Mainland and Islands* (SIMA 52, 1979).

Kingdom = J.J. CAROTHERS, *The Pylian Kingdom: A Case Study of an Early State* (Ph.D. diss., UCLA 1992).

MycGeog = J.L. BINTLIFF ed., *Mycenaean Geography. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium, September 1976* (1977).

PCA = C.W. SHELMEKDINE and T.G. PALAIMA eds., *Pylos Comes Alive. Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace* (1984).

Studies Bennett = J.-P. OLIVIER and T.G. PALAIMA eds., *Texts, Tablets and Scribes. Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy Offered to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.* (Minos Supplement 10, 1988).

UMME = W.A. MCDONALD and G.R. RAPP, Jr., eds., *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition. Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment* (1972).

1 I maintain the conventional dating of the palace's destruction in preference to the earlier dating proposed by M.R. POPHAM, "Pylos: Reflections on the Date of its Destruction and on its Iron Age Reoccupation", *OJA* 10 (1991), 315–324, and am grateful to Cynthia Shelmerdine for discussion on this point.

progress"—based partly on earlier work in the region<sup>2</sup> and partly on data generated in PRAP's first two fieldwork seasons—regarding settlement changes within the region and how they reflect changes in the spatial organization of power.

### Political Geography in the LH IIIB Period

Given the nature of the Linear B documents, the political geography of the polity is essentially embedded in the geographical information contained in the texts, since place-names of high status tend to occur more frequently, and in more standardized ways, than those of lesser status<sup>3</sup>. In contrast to the other major Linear B archive at Knossos, Pylos offers a series of documents which provide important data that are directly relevant to the geography of the polity. First, there is an explicitly geographical distinction in the minds of the Pylos administrators between two sectors in the polity, labeled "This-side-of-Aigaleon" (*de-we-ro-a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*) and "Beyond-Aigaleon" (*pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*), which we now regularly refer to as the "Hither" and "Further" provinces<sup>4</sup>. The rationale—essentially the same as the Latin *Gallia Cis-* and *Trans-alpina*—seems to me to imply a "plan" view of the polity, separated into two zones, as distinct from the "itinerary" form of organization of place-name data in lists, a type familiar from other contexts in the later ancient world, and used elsewhere in the Pylos documents<sup>5</sup>. The feature that the *δεῦρο* and *πέρα* refer to is almost certainly the mountain(-range) mentioned by Strabo—*Αἰγαλέον*:

ἔστι δ' ἡ Μεσσήνη μετὰ Τριφυλίαν· κοινὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν ἄκρα, μεθ' ἣν τὸ Κορυφάσιον· ὑπέρεκειται δ' ὄρος ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις τὸ Αἰγαλέον τούτου τε καὶ τῆς θαλάττης.  
'Η μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ Πύλος ἡ Μεσσηνιακὴ ὑπὸ τῷ Αἰγαλέῳ πόλις ἦν, κατεσπασμένης δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τῷ Κορυφασίῳ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὤκησαν·

Strabo 8.4.1-2

The following texts show the HP/FP distinction in operation<sup>6</sup>:

- 2 Chiefly contained in *Gazetteer*, 126-180 and *UMME*.
- 3 For the potential of the Linear B documents to yield geographic information and information on political structure, see, e.g., J.F. CHERRY, "Investigating the Political Geography of an Early State by Multidimensional Scaling of Linear B Tablet Data", *MycGeog*, 76-83 (Pylos) and J. BENNET, "The Structure of the Linear B Administration at Knossos", *AJA* 85 (1989), 231-249, both with references to earlier work.
- 4 See, e.g., W.A. MCDONALD, "Deuro-and Peran-Ankalaia", *Minos* 6 (1960), 149-155; J. CHADWICK, "The Two Provinces of Pylos", *Minos* 7 (1963), 125-141; *DMG*, 144, 416-417. For convenience, I use the abbreviations HP = Hither Province and FP = Further Province in the body of the text.
- 5 For a discussion of ancient itineraries, see, e.g., O.A.W. DILKE, *Greek and Roman Maps* (1985), 112-129. The notion of lists of place-names on Linear B tablets reflecting "scribal routes", by which he meant routes followed in writing the documents, not actual geographical routes followed by the scribes, was made explicit by L.R. PALMER, "Mycenaean Inscribed Vases II. The Mainland Finds", *Kadmos* 11 (1972), 33. The value of such lists in reconstructing geographical structure is considered by CHERRY (*supra* n. 3) and, more generally, by D.G. KENDALL, "Computer Techniques and the Archival Map Reconstruction of Mycenaean Messenia", *MycGeog*, 83-88. J.K. MCARTHUR, *Place-Names in the Knossos Tablets. Identification and Location* (Minos Supplement 9, 1993) has applied a similar technique to the less tractable Knossos place-name data.
- 6 Citations of Pylos texts are based on E.L. BENNETT, Jr. and J.-P. OLIVIER, *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed* (1973), with corrections and new readings where appropriate from E.L. BENNETT, Jr., "A Selection of Pylos Tablet Texts", *Mykenaiika. Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens* (Athènes, 2-6 octobre 1990), *BCH* Suppl. XXV (1992), 103-127. Although the distinctions are

Ng 319 .1 de-we-ro-a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja SA 1239  
 .2 to-sa-de , o-u-di-do-to SA 457

Ng 332 .1 pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja , SA 200[  
 .2 to-sa-de , o-u-di-do-to SA[

Wa 948 ]dē-we-ro-a<sub>3</sub>-kō-ra[

Wa 114 .1 me-ni-jo , MUL  
 .2 pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja , kō[

Pa 398 .a { pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja  
 {a-pi-ka-ra-do-jo, qa-si-re-wi[-ja \*169

These documents demonstrate the existence of the fundamental distinction between the two provinces. Another document—**On 300**—rather fragmentary—again shows us the term *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* (line .8, marked in bold) apparently separating two sections of a list of names (marked with single underline):

### On 300

		<i>supra mutila</i>	
.1		]vest.[	
.2		] *154 10 a-pi-a <sub>2</sub> -rō	*154 6
.3a	{	ko-re-te-ri	
.3	{	ko-re-te-]ri *154 5[ ] <u>pa-ki-ja-ni-ja</u> [ ] ,	*154 3
.4		] *154[ ]	*154 3
.5a	{	ko-re-te-ri	
.5	{	*154 ]! <u>e-ra-te-i-jo</u>	*154 3
.6		]ni-jo[ ]du-ma-ti	*154 3
.7		da-mo-ko-ro[ ]	<i>vacat</i>
.8		o-de-qa-a <sub>2</sub> <b>pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo</b> [	
.9		<u>ra-u-ra-ti-ja</u> ko-re-te *154 1[ ] <u>e-sa-re-wi-ja</u> kō[-re-te *154	
.10		e-[ ]-re-wa-o , ko-re-te *154 2[ ] <u>te-mi-ti-ja</u> ko-re-te *154 3	
.11		<u>sa-ma[-ra]</u> , ko-re-te *154 2 <u>a-si-ja-ti-ja</u> ko-re-te *154 3	
.12		]ma *154 2 te-po-se-u	*154 3
.13		] <i>vacat</i>	
.14-.17		<i>vacant</i>	

**Vn 493**, another fragmentary text, appears to show the same distinction as **On 300**—a list divided into two sections—without the explicit mention of the term *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*, and in reverse order, with a blank line (.7) separating the two “provinces”:

### Vn 493

.1	a-ke-ro , e-po , a-ke-ra <sub>2</sub> -te	
.2	pa-wa-wo , <u>ti-mi-ti-ja</u>	20
.3	o-to-ro-[ ] , <u>e-sa-re-wi-ja</u> , <u>za-ma-e-wi-ja-qe</u>	50
.4	po-ro-ū[-te-]u , <u>e-ra-te-re-wa-pi</u>	20
.5	]ja	20
.6	]re-wi-ja-qe	50
.7	] <i>vacat</i>	
.8	] <i>vacat</i>	40
.9	<u>me-lta-pa-qe</u>	20
.10	<u>pe-lto-no</u>	25
.11	]ja , <u>a-ke-re-wa-qe</u>	20

*reliqua pars sine regulis*

much discussed and the texts fairly well known, I present the texts in order to make the evidence for reconstructing the political geography absolutely clear.

A number of these sign-groups recur on four tablets organized on a “list” or “itinerary” principle, in a fixed order. **Jn 829** lists nine places in the HP, followed by seven places in the FP:

**Jn 829**

.1	jo-do-so-si , ko-re-te-re , du-ma-te-qe ,		
.2a	{		-e-we-qe
.2	{ po-ro-ko-re-te-re-qe , ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe , o-pi-su-ko-qe , o-pi-ka-pe-		
.3	ka-ko , na-wi-jo , pa-ta-jo-i-qe , e-ke-si-qe , a <sub>3</sub> -ka-sa-ma		
.4	pi-*82 , ko-re-te ,	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.5	me-ta-pa , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3[ ] <i>vacat</i>
.6	pe-to-no , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.7	pa-ki-ja-pi , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.8	a-pu <sub>2</sub> -we , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.9	a-ke-re-wa , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.10	ro-u-so , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.11	ka-ra-do-ro , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.12	ri-ljo , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.13	ti-mi-to-a-ke-e , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.14	ra-lwa-ra-ta <sub>2</sub> , ko-re-te	AES M 2 N 3 po-ro-ko-re-te	AES N 3
.15	sa-lma-ra , ko-re-te	AES M 3 N 3 po-ro-ko-re-te	N 3
.16	a-si-ja-ti-ja , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	N 3
.17	e-ra-te-re-wa-pi , ko-re-te	AES M 2 po-ro-ko-re-te	N 3
.18	za-ma-e-wi-ja ; ko-re-te	AES M 3 N 3 po-ro-ko-re-te	N 3
.19	e-re-i , ko-re-te	AES M 3 N 3 po-ro-ko-re-te	N 3
.20-.23			<i>vacat</i>

**Cn 608** and **Vn 20** repeat the first nine, with the exception that *ro-u-so* (**Jn 829.10**) is replaced by *e-ra-te-ile-ra-to-de* (**Cn 608.9**; **Vn 20.9**); the more fragmentary **Vn 19** gives us the first four sign-groups, again in sequence:

**Cn 608**

.1	jo-a-se-so-si , si-a <sub>2</sub> -ro	
.2	o-pi-da-mi-jo	
.3	pi-*82	SUS+SI 3
.4	me-ta-pa	SUS+SI 3
.5	e-to-no	SUS+SI 6
.6	pa-ki-ja-si	SUS+SI 2
.7	a-pu <sub>2</sub> -we	SUS+SI 2
.8	a-ke-re-wa	SUS+SI 2
.9	<u>e-ra-te-i</u>	SUS+SI 3
.10	ka-ra-do-ro	SUS+SI 2
.11	ri-jo	SUS+SI 2

**Vn 20**

.1	o-a <sub>2</sub> , e-pi-de-da-to	
.2	pa-ra-we-wo , wo-no	
.3	pi-*82-de	50
.4	me-ta-pa-de	50
.5	pe-to-no-de	100
.6	pa-ki-ja-na-de	35
.7	a-pu <sub>2</sub> -de	35
.8	a-ke-re-wa-de	30
.9	<u>e-ra-to-de</u>	50
.10	ka-ra-do-ro-de	40
.11	ri-jo-de	20
.12		<i>vacat</i>

**Vn 19**

.1	pi-*82 , sa-pi-de[	
.2	me-ta-pa , sa-pi-de[	
.3	pe-to-no , sa-pi-de	200[
.4	pa-ki-ja- <u>ne</u> , sa-pi-de	80[
.5		sa-pi-]de 60
.6		]sa-pi-de 40
.7		]ro , sa-pi[-de
.8		]sa[-pi-de
		<i>infra mutila</i>

Although lacking the ordering of a “list” or “itinerary”, the single-entry **Ma** documents contain tax assessments and (in some cases) payments (marked *a-pu-do-si*) for the nine HP place-names—*ro-u-so* is used here—and for eight others, six of which match place-names attested on **Jn 829**. The discrepancy is explained by assuming that one of the districts attested

on **Jn 829**—*e-re-i*—is split into two in the **Ma** series<sup>7</sup>. Four examples of **Ma** tablets are shown below:

**Ma 123**

- .1 *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* \*146 24 *RI* M 24 *KEM* 7 \*152 10 *OM* 5 *ME* 500
- .2 *a-pu-do-si* \*146 21 *o* 2 *RI* M *KEM* \* 152 *OM* *ME*
- .3 *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*, *ka-ke-we*, *o-u-di-do-si* \* 146 1 *RI* M 1 *ME* 10

**Ma 225**

- .1 *pi*-\*82 \*146 28 *RI* M 28[ ] *KEM* 8 \*152 22 *O*[ M 6 ] *ME* 600
- .2a { *re-u-ko-to-ro* *za-we-te*
- .2 { *pe-ru-si-nu-wa*, *o-pe-ro*, *RI* M 2 *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*, *ka-ke-we*, *o-u-di-do-si*, *o* \*146 1 *RI* M 1 *ME* 16

**Ma 346**

- .1 *ka-ra-do-ro* \*146 18 *RI* M 18 *KEM* 4 \*152[ 8 *OM* 4 ] *ME* 200[
- .2 *a-pu-do-si* \*146 14 *o* \*146 4 *RI* M 16 *o* 2 *KEM* 4 \*152 8 *OM* 4 *ME* 440[
- .3 *vacat* [

**Ma 365**

- .1 *ro-u-so* \*146 17 *RI* M 14[ ] *KEM* 5 \*152 8 *OM* 4 *ME*
- .2 *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*, *ka-ke-we*, *a<sub>2</sub>-te-ro*, *we-to*, *di-do-si* \*146 1 *RI* N 2 *ME* 10

These documents not only offer geographical structure, but imply that these place-names had some importance in the Pylian administration, since they had named officials (the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*: **Jn 829**; **On 300**) or contributed produce (**Ma**; **Cn 608**; **Jn 829**; **Vn 19**?) or were assigned wine (**Vn 20**).

Most scholars agree that the places of HP and FP lay respectively west and east of the modern Aigaleon range and its southward extension through the mountains now known as *Manglavas* and *Lykodimos*, as shown by the solid line drawn on this map of the region (Pl. LXIXa)<sup>8</sup>. One further series of texts—the “*o-ka*” tablets<sup>9</sup>, in particular the tablet below, **An 661**—has helped to suggest that the order for the canonical lists runs from north to south, from the area north of the modern Kyparissia valley, around the Akritas peninsula, to the shore of the Messenian gulf proper. Because these texts apparently deal with groups detailed to watch the coast<sup>10</sup>, the places they list ought to be on, or very near the coast. Not all of the nine HP place-names are listed, and only *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* of the FP occurs on the last tablet of the series, next to *ka-ra-do-ro* of the HP, suggesting that the two provinces had a contiguous coastline, and that the FP’s coastline was quite short.

7 *DMG*, 417, 464. On the **Ma** texts, see C.W. SHELMEERDINE, “The Pylos Ma Tablets Reconsidered”, *AJA* 77 (1973), 260-275 and J.T. KILLEN, “Last Year’s Debts on the Pylos Ma Tablets”, *SMEA* 25 (1984), 173-188. An 18th **Ma** text—**Ma 126**—of distinct layout refers to a place-name *si-re-wa*, which may have been a sub-district or subordinate town of one of the large, canonical entries: KILLEN (this note), 186.

8 See, e.g., CHADWICK (*supra* n. 4); *Kingdom*, 216-234. Against this reconstruction, see the discussion in *MycGeog*, 39-40, 51-54, where great emphasis is laid on the linear settlement patterns running west to east along the Kyparissia/Soulima valley in the north and from the Pylos/Koukounara region to the Messenian Gulf in the south.

9 Most recently, see M. LANG, “The *o-ka* Tablets Again”, *Kadmos* 29 (1990), 113-125.

10 See, e.g., *DMG*, 184-189, 427-430.



## An 661

- .1 e-ki-no-jo , o-ka , e-o-te-u ,  
 .2 a-ti-ro[ . ] , i-da-i-jo , e-se-re-a<sub>2</sub>  
 .3 e-na-po-ro , i-wa-so VIR 70  
 .4 a]-o-ri-jo , ko-ro-ku[-ra-]i-jo VIR 30  
 .5 ka-ra-do-ro , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo VIR 10  
 .6 za-e-to-ro , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo VIR 20  
 .7 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo  
 .8 ] ,  
 .9 e-ko-me-na-ta-o , o-ka ,  
 .10 ti-mi-to a-ke-i , ma-i-u , ro-qo-ta ,  
 .11 a-ke[ ]u , a-ke-wa-to ,  
 .12 a<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-jo , u-ru-pi-ja-jo ,  
 .13 ne-do-wo-ta-de VIR 30 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta ,

The spatial arrangement of the further province place-names is more problematic, but Cynthia Shelmerdine's careful analysis of the likely taxation groupings preserved in the **Ma** documents has allowed them to be grouped in sectors, with *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* at the southwest extreme and *a-te-re-wi-ja*—which has links with *me-ta-pa* of the HP—in the northwest<sup>11</sup>.

One final point needs to be made about the overall geography. The name *pu-ro* (Pylos) does not feature in the lists. It is not difficult to see why a center would not figure in lists of subordinate places (for the most part) making contributions, and the name does occur fairly frequently in the archive<sup>12</sup>. The **Aa** and **Ad** documents list 28 female work groups at Pylos (377 women preserved) and 6 (67 women preserved) at another place, *re-u-ko-to-ro* in Linear B, to be realized phonetically as Leuktron<sup>13</sup>. **Aa 60–98** are by scribal hand 4, include the workforce at Leuktron, and were found together with label **Wa 114** (*supra*, p. 589) demonstrating that they deal with the FP. **Aa 240–1182** deal with the HP, including the more substantial work force at Pylos. The presence of this work force at Leuktron, plus Leuktron's absence from further province lists, has led scholars to suppose that Leuktron in some way holds a parallel position in the FP to Pylos in the HP: *i.e.* that it is the capital of the FP<sup>14</sup>.

On the basis of the Linear B texts, we can offer the following reconstruction of the structure of the Pylian polity. There was one center for the whole polity at Pylos (Linear B *pu-ro*; archaeologically speaking, the palace site at Ano Englianos). The polity was divided geographically into two parts, distinguished as “this side of-” and “beyond-” Aigaleon. The FP appears to have had its own capital—presumably subordinate ultimately to Pylos itself—at a place called Leuktron (Linear B *re-u-ko-to-ro*)<sup>15</sup>. Within the HP, nine places functioned

11 SHELMEARDINE (*supra* n. 7).

12 A.P. SAINER, “An Index of the Place Names at Pylos”, *SMEA* 17 (1976), 51–52.

13 See J. CHADWICK, “The Women of Pylos”, *Studies Bennett*, 43–95 for the most comprehensive recent treatment of these documents, which also list women at other place-names, but in significantly smaller numbers.

14 See, *e.g.*, CHADWICK (*supra* n. 13), 76; L.R. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Texts* (1963), 66, 113. One of the most uncomfortable pieces of data relative to Leuktron's location is contained on **Ma 225** (*supra* p. 591), where it is coupled with *pi*-\*82, the first of the nine HP place-names. KILLEN (*supra* n. 7), 186 suggests that *re-u-ko-to-ro* is in fact a subdivision of the territory of *pi*-\*82, in the same way that *si-re-wa* might represent a subdivision of one of the major place-names on **Ma 126**. If Leuktron does function as the capital of the FP, then it is more likely that its appearance on **Ma 225** has another purpose, perhaps a different disposition of the assessment noted on the text for the year referred to in that document (indicated by *za-we-te*, line .2a, meaning “this year”).

15 Likely candidates for the actual location of Leuktron are the archaeological sites of Nichoria, now considered more likely to be Linear B *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*, or Aithaia: *Ellinika*, ancient Thouria, on the eastern

as sub-centers of some sort, while the FP had seven, or perhaps eight, if all the places with entries on the **Ma** tablets are counted.

Such a reconstruction, although it takes into account in a general sense the topography of Messenia, does not allow us to look specifically at any archaeologically-attested settlements. In order to be able to do so, we must be able to identify the specific locations of—at least some—of the Linear B place-names. The location and nature of the center is not a problem; it lies at the palace site on the Englianos ridge just to the southwest of the modern town of Hora. But how are we to equate other place-names with specific sites? Total success in such an enterprise is clearly impossible, since we would have to identify on the ground *all* the ancient settlement sites within the likely region of the Pylos polity, and archaeological sites are rarely preserved to these levels. However, if we view the area from a *regional*, rather than a *site-by-site* perspective, then patterns can emerge which may allow some general comparisons from the textual data to the archaeological. Regional settlement data of this sort are already available for the whole of modern Messenia from the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition (UMME) carried out in the 1960s<sup>16</sup>. Further data are emerging from PRAP's recent fieldwork<sup>17</sup>.

Joan Carothers in her recent Ph.D. dissertation has adopted one strategy for applying regional survey data to the question<sup>18</sup>. She has combined the general locational information derivable from the tablets on the major place-names within the Pylos polity with UMME's regional archaeological data—a logical step, since UMME's data, although extensively gathered, should be fairly consistent. Using the site-size estimates given by UMME for the 129 LH IIIB settlement sites, Carothers has suggested equations—shown in the table below—between all of the major place-names—the 9 of the hither province, plus Pylos; and the 8 in the further, plus Leuktron—and the 18 largest sites documented by UMME in the region, plus a 19th of smaller size, but whose location fits that of Linear B *ri-jo* best. By confining herself to the largest archaeological sites, Carothers has minimized the possibility that sites will have been completely lost from the archaeological record. However, she has omitted from her list sites largely known from tomb evidence. Thus, Myron: *Peristeria* and the Koukounara region, for example, are conspicuous by their absence<sup>19</sup>.

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side of the Pamisos valley: *Gazetteer*, 163, D 137; *AR* 37 (1990-1991), 32; 39 (1992-1993), 30. See further on this question *infra* p. 601.

16 *UMME*.

17 See the abstracts published in *AJA* 97 (1993), 330-331 and 98 (1994), 287-288—full electronic version available on the World Wide Web—and the brief report in *AR* 39 (1992-1993), 31-32.

18 *Kingdom*, 233-234.

19 *Gazetteer*, 167-168, D 200 and 139-140, D 35-36 respectively. For other suggested equivalencies between Linear B place-names and specific sites, see, e.g., CHADWICK, *UMME*, 101-114; E. STAVRIANOPOULOU, *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Reiches von Pylos. Die Stellung der Ortschaften im Lichte der Linear B-Texte* (1989), esp. 135-145. PRAP's work in 1992 in the Metaxada valley suggests that the identification proposed by CAROTHERS of *pa-ki-ja-ne* with UMME #22 is unlikely because the site appears to have no LH III material (see also *infra*, p. 600). Other scholars (e.g. CHADWICK, this note) prefer to locate *pa-ki-ja-ne* closer to the palace, perhaps even denoting the wider district in which the palace itself lay.

Table: TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATIONS BY CAROTHERS OF LINEAR B PLACE-NAMES WITH UMME-DEFINED ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN LH IIIB MESSENA (after *Kingdom*, 233-234).

UMME #	Village	Toponym	Type	Size (ha.) <sup>20</sup>	LB Place-Name	HP/FP	Ma <sup>21</sup>
216	Kato Melpeia	<i>Krempeni</i>	hab	9.0	a-te-re-wi-ja	FP	50
001	Hora	<i>Ano Englianos</i>	hab/cem	6.5	<b>pu-ro</b>	HP	0
137	Aithaia	<i>Ellinika</i>	hab/cem	6.0	<b>re-u-ko-to-ro</b>	FP	0
100	Rizomylo	<i>Nichoria</i>	hab/cem	5.0	ti-mi-to a-ke-e	FP	50
063	Filiatra	<i>Ag. Hristophoros</i>	hab/cem?	4.5	pe-to-no	HP	135
118	Chalvatsos	<i>Kastro</i>	hab	4.5	sa-ma-ra	FP	50
136	Pidima	<i>Agios Ioannis</i>	hab	4.0	ra-wa-ra-ta <sub>2</sub>	FP	150
004	Koryfasion	<i>Belerbeï</i>	hab	3.0	a-ke-re-wa	HP	50
022	Metaxada	<i>Kalopsana</i>	hab/cem?	3.0	pa-ki-ja-ne	HP	50
046	Iklaina	<i>Traganes</i>	hab	3.0	a-pu <sub>2</sub> -we	HP	50
223	Malthi	<i>Gouves</i>	hab	3.0	e-ra-te-re-we	FP	100
064	Filiatra	<i>Ag. Ioannis</i>	hab	2.7	me-ta-pa	HP	60
120	Manganiako	<i>Palaïampela</i>	hab	2.6	a-si-ja-ti-ja	FP	50
079	Foinikous	<i>Agianalipsi</i>	hab/cem?	2.5	ka-ra-do-ro	HP	40
041	Pyla	<i>Vigles</i>	hab/cem	2.5	ro-u-so/e-ra-to	HP	40
212	Polichni	<i>Ag. Taxiarchos</i>	hab	2.5	e-sa-re-wi-ja	FP	90
241	Siderokastro	<i>Sfakoulia</i>	hab	2.5	pi-*82	HP	60
210	Kalyvia	<i>Pano Chorio</i>	hab/cem	2.2	za-ma-e-wi-ja	FP	60
107	Longa	<i>Kafirio</i>	hab/cem?	1.8	ri-jo	HP	40

Carothers' proposed identifications are indicated—by their UMME numbers—on the map contained in Pl. LXIXa: circled stars mark the two provincial capitals *pu-ro* and *re-u-ko-to-ro*; solid stars the possible locations of HP place-names; stars with open circles at their center those in the FP. It is remarkable first of all that 18 sites—approximately the correct number for what we must assume to be the most significant sites within the polity—stand out in the UMME data. Further it is noteworthy that 10 of these archaeological sites lie in the likely territory of the HP—west of the Aigaleon range—; the other 9—the “correct” number, based on the prediction of the textual data—to the east, in the likely territory of the FP.

Another interesting question—which does not hinge on specific identifications—is the extent to which the center at Pylos records an interest in the smaller sites within its region. Estimates vary, but it seems that the total number of place-names recorded on the Pylos tablets is about 240<sup>22</sup>. Spread over a likely total area of ca. 2000 km<sup>2</sup>, this makes an average density of ca. 1 place-name per 8 km<sup>2</sup>. Carothers notes that of the 129 LH IIIB habitation sites documented by UMME for its entire region, 38% are smaller than 1.0 ha. and 78% smaller than 2.0 ha<sup>23</sup>. A glance at Carothers' diagram showing UMME's sites ranked by size

20 Estimate from *UMME*, Register A, 264-308.

21 This column gives the assessment, divided by 10, for each Linear B place-name in terms of the commodity *ME* on the *Ma* tablets. Since the commodities are in a fixed proportion, noting one commodity will give an idea of the relative assessment recorded for each place-name.

22 SAINER (*supra* n. 12), 17-63 has 254 lemmata, but these include the names of the two provinces and some probably non-local ethnic adjectives. For a recent consideration of numbers and of the nature of place-names recorded in the Pylos archive, see M. LANG, “Pylian Place-Names”, *Studies Bennett*, 185-212, noting previous estimates at 185, n. 1.

23 *Kingdom*, 78, Table 4-1.



indicates that a relatively small number are significantly smaller than 1.0 ha<sup>24</sup>. In fact, according to Carothers, only 26 sites (20%) are 0.5 ha. or smaller, when we might expect this to be the largest group, on the basis of regional data for the Mycenaean period from other areas<sup>25</sup>. If we limit the figures to the likely area of the polity (approximately from the River Neda in the northwest to the River Nedon in the southeast<sup>26</sup>), UMME defined *ca.* 102 archaeological sites containing material of probable LH IIIB date—considerably fewer than the number attested in the archive. Of these 102, *ca.* 60 are 1 ha. or larger in size, suggesting that the significant discrepancies between the archaeological and textual data lie at the *lower* end of the settlement size hierarchy.

Given the vagaries of archaeological preservation, we would not expect the figures of archaeologically-observed sites and Linear B place-names to match exactly; and, if they did, the absolute number of archaeologically-attested sites would be more likely to be an underestimate than that of place-names. Nevertheless, this is a large discrepancy<sup>27</sup>, although it can be put somewhat in perspective by PRAP's work. While our area is likely to have been one of the more densely inhabited areas within the polity—and one of the most frequently explored—our intensive work has already revealed 6 new Mycenaean sites since UMME within an area covered intensively of only 24 km<sup>2</sup>, suggesting that there may well be a number of small sites available for study by intensive pedestrian survey. Adding these 6 new sites to the 15 known, suggests that a correction factor of perhaps 1.5 should be applied to the whole area, implying a likely total of LH IIIB sites in the whole region of 150, still considerably fewer than the number of tablet place-names, but perhaps closer to the same order of magnitude.

By way of comparison, Linear B Knossos recorded only *ca.* 100 place-names<sup>28</sup>, over an area perhaps twice the size of the Pylos polity, an average density of 1 per 40 km<sup>2</sup>, five times fewer sites. Archaeological evidence for Crete suggests that there are likely to have been at least twice as many archaeological sites—not half—as Linear B place-names<sup>29</sup>. The conclusion seems inescapable that the center at Pylos recorded interests at a significantly higher percentage of the sites within its territory than did Knossos. One likely explanation for this is that Pylos may have recorded interests at very small sites. Some textual support for this hypothesis is offered by Mabel Lang's estimate that *ca.* 80 place-names (30%) occur with only one ideogram—presumably in only one sphere of the palatial economy—and of those, 38 occur only in the context of flax production<sup>30</sup>. Clearly an archaeological survey strategy, such as PRAP's, that can maximize the ability to detect such small Mycenaean sites will shed considerable light on this enigmatic situation.

A second plausible deduction from this examination is that the settlement hierarchy in the Pylos region was less deep than on Crete. There may have been a three-tier hierarchy: a

24 *Kingdom*, 77, Fig. 4-1.

25 *Kingdom*, 78, Table 4-1. See, *e.g.*, J.L. DAVIS, "If There's Room at the Top, What's at the Bottom: Settlement and Hierarchy in Early Mycenaean Greece", text of paper delivered to the London Mycenaean Seminar (17.xii.86); J.C. WRIGHT, J.F. CHERRY, J.L. DAVIS, and E. MANTZOURANI, "Early Mycenaean Settlement in the Nemea Region", in *The Prehistoric Aegean and Its Relations to Adjacent Areas, Proceedings of the Sixth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Athens 1987* (in press).

26 See, *e.g.*, CHADWICK (*supra* n. 19), 108-111.

27 Although it can hardly account for the whole of this discrepancy, it is worth mentioning the possibility, noted by LANG (*supra* n. 22), 186, that Linear B place-names may overlap to some degree, reflecting specific names for subdivisions of larger settlements or districts whose names also appear in the texts, for example. The effect of such overlap would be to raise the number of place-names relative to actual settlements to some degree.

28 BENNET (*supra* n. 3), 233, with references.

29 J. BENNET, *Studies Bennett*, 26-31.

30 LANG (*supra* n. 22), 185.

small number of large sites—the two “capitals” and the other 17 major sites, a middle tier of sites of 2 ha. or smaller—the “bottom end” of UMME’s site size hierarchy (perhaps including some of Lang’s 40 multiple function place-names [3+ ideograms]<sup>31</sup>), and a large number of small sites, many of them perhaps not detected by UMME. The relative simplicity of this hierarchy might be a function of the short time span over which the Pylos polity developed, perhaps only 200 years (LH IIIA–B) in contrast to the 600-year development and transformation on Crete. In the Pylos region, in other words, lower-level settlements would be less “remote” from the center than on Crete. It is rather premature to talk about the results from PRAP, but in at least two areas, it seems that larger settlements were indeed ringed by smaller settlements in their immediate vicinity: *e.g.* Koryfasion: *Belerbeī* (Pl. LXIXa: 4) or Gargalianoi: *Kanalos* (Pl. LXIXa: 15).

### Prior Stages of the Pylos Polity

If we now wish to examine the development of the system outlined already, how might we proceed? In the first instance, the Linear B evidence is unlikely to help us other than in a very general way. The picture the tablets present is essentially *synchronic*, apart from occasional references to “last year’s” commodities (*e.g.* *pe-ru-si-nu-wa*: Ma 225.1 above). Perhaps the clearest evidence is implicit in the place-name evidence already discussed. The existence of a fixed list of nine and seven (or eight) place-names suggests that these places, although subordinate to Pylos in late LH IIIB, may—at some prior period—have been independent centers. Similarly, the HP/FP division, although geographically defined by Pylos’ position west of (*i.e.* “this side” of) Aigaleon, at least suggests that there had not always been a FP and that expansion had proceeded from west to east at some earlier time. In short, the textual evidence implies the existence of settlements west of Aigaleon incorporated into the Pylos polity and expansion of Pylian interests to the east, over Aigaleon, at some point, perhaps after the HP had been created. Calibrating the time scale of such developments, however, depends on archaeological data, with their *diachronic* perspective<sup>32</sup>.

We can attempt to trace the spatial organization of power in the region from the MH period, when Messenia—unlike other areas of the Peloponnese—first shows considerable evidence of habitation<sup>33</sup>. At a number of locations, MH habitation is marked by the construction of burial mounds—or tumuli—which presumably represent the burial locations of local elites<sup>34</sup>. Late in the MH period and in the early LH I period, there is an intensification of such status display in the form of the construction of tholos tombs—an unusually early phenomenon in Messenia. The investment of labor in the construction of tholos tombs and the fact that they form visible markers on the landscape and can be repeatedly reused suggests that such structures mark the burials of elites<sup>35</sup>. In many cases these tombs can be seen as a logical extension and intensification of MH status marking in the region. This is perhaps most vividly demonstrated at Petrohori: *Voïdokoiliá* (Pl. LXIXb: 8),

31 LANG (*supra* n. 22), 185.

32 PRAP’s exploration in the heartland of the palace will undoubtedly shed more light on the expansion in its earliest phases. Indeed, it is likely that four of the nine HP place-names, plus *pu-ro* itself, lay within our larger survey area.

33 See, *e.g.*, O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, “Parallels and Contrasts in the Bronze Age of the Peloponnese”, *OJA* 1 (1982), 133–135, based chiefly on data from *Gazetteer* and *UMME*.

34 S. MÜLLER, “Les tumuli helladiques: Où? Quand? Comment?”, *BCH* 113 (1989), 1–42.

35 C.B. MEE and W.G. CAVANAGH, “Mycenaean Tombs as Evidence for Social and Political Organisation”, *OJA* 3 (1984), 45–64; J.C. WRIGHT, “Death and Power at Mycenae: Changing Symbols in Mortuary Practice”, *Thanatos*, 171–184.

where a tholos tomb was constructed within an existing MH tumulus <sup>36</sup>, perhaps implying a claim by the LH I elite to the territory marked by the 400-year old tumulus. Other tholos tombs are constructed in the area at (5 <sup>37</sup>) Koryfasion: *Haratsari*—probably the earliest in mainland Greece <sup>38</sup>; at (200) Myron: *Peristeria*; at (54) Myrsinohori: *Routsis*; at (11) Tragana: *Viglitsa*; while in the region of Koukounara (35), there are 9 tholos tombs, including two at *Gouvalari* <sup>39</sup>. We can presumably posit the existence of power centers—chiefdoms, perhaps <sup>40</sup>—within the LH I period centered on locations where tholos tombs existed. Other less clearly dateable tholos tombs exist at (222-3) Dorion: *Malthi*, where the tholos tombs are not earlier than LH III, at (201) Mouriatada: *Elliniko*, and at (137) Aithaia: *Ellinika* (with more recent information from rescue excavations of an extensive and rich chamber tomb cemetery) <sup>41</sup>.

In this context, the site of the later palace at Ano Englianos shows a similar development. Tholos IV, on which the entrance way through the early fortifications is aligned, was constructed in LH I and was in use into LH IIIB. Ca. 200 m. to the southeast of the palace there was an enigmatic structure—perhaps a very badly robbed tholos tomb, or, as originally thought, a Grave Circle—constructed in late MH and in use into LH IIIA1. Finally, ca. 1 km. south of the palace on the Kato Englianos ridge, there was a second true tholos tomb (Tholos III), constructed in LH IIA and in use into LH IIIB <sup>42</sup>. It might be worth noting that the nearby site at (20) Hora: *Volimidia* has not revealed tholos tombs, perhaps suggesting that it was already under the influence of the ruling elite at Ano Englianos.

The later palace site itself shows evidence of a substantial LH IIIA structure underneath the LH IIIB palace, although details of its plan are unclear <sup>43</sup>. Perhaps to be associated with this structure are a small number of Linear B tablet fragments discussed some years ago by Tom Palaima, which, he argued, may have belonged to LH IIIA contexts <sup>44</sup>. Around the acropolis there was a fortification wall, constructed by early LH I—perhaps in late MH—but apparently out of use by the period of the construction of the LH IIIB palace <sup>45</sup>. Its existence implies considerable status for the site already in the early Mycenaean period. Parallels exist for fortification walls at (201) Mouriatada: *Elliniko*, (63) Filiatra: *Ag. Hristoforos* <sup>46</sup>, (137) Aithaia: *Ellinika*, and—perhaps—(22) Gargalianoi: *Kanalos*.

36 See, e.g., G.S. KORRES, "Excavations in the Region of Pylos", *EYMOYΣIA. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou* (Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 1, 1990), 5-8.

37 The numbers in parentheses refer to site numbers on Pl. LXIX, in Register A, *UMME*, 264-309, and to the relevant entries, prefixed with a D-, in *Gazetteer*, 126-180, with reference to relevant publications.

38 Y.G. LOLOS, "The Tholos Tomb at Koryphasion: Evidence for the Transition from Middle to Late Helladic in Messenia", *Transition. Le monde égéen du Bronze moyen au Bronze récent. Actes de la deuxième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège (18-20 avril 1988)*, *Aegaeum* 3 (1989), 171-175.

39 Not included in *Gazetteer* is the recent excavation of a pair of early Mycenaean tholos tombs by G. Hatzis at Psari: *Metziki*, north of Dorion: *Malthi*; see KORRES (*supra* n. 36), 10 and AR 39 (1992-1993), 31.

40 See, e.g., J.C. WRIGHT, "From Chief to King in Mycenaean Society", *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean*, *Aegaeum* 11 (1994), 63-80.

41 AR 37 (1990-1991), 32; 39 (1992-1993), 30.

42 C.W. BLEGEN, M. RAWSON, Lord W. TAYLOUR and W.P. DONOVAN, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia. Vol. III: Acropolis and Lower Town, Tholoi and Grave Circle, Chamber Tombs, Discoveries Outside the Citadel* (1973).

43 See, e.g., K. KILIAN, "L'architecture des résidences mycéniennes: origine et extension d'une structure du pouvoir politique pendant l'âge du Bronze récent", *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 19-22 juin 1985* (1987), 209, fig. 5.

44 T.G. PALAIMA, "Evidence for the Influence of the Knossian Graphical Tradition at Pylos", *Concilium Eirene XVI* (1983), 80-84.

45 BLEGEN *et al.* (*supra* n. 42), 8-18.

46 AR 31 (1985-1986), 25. See *Gazetteer*, s.v., for other sites.



That the Englianios site was expanding its area of power in LH IIIA is strongly suggested by the fact that most of the tholos tombs at sites within its vicinity go out of use in LH IIIA, reflecting their effective "demotion" within the power hierarchy, at a period when the first Linear B documents might be attested. A parallel for such a "demotion" of sites within the overall settlement hierarchy may be the transformation of settlement organization on Crete with the creation of the Linear B administration at Knossos. During the Knossos Linear B administration, it seems that the palace centers of the previous Neo-Palatial period continued in use as second-order centers within the Knossos polity, but the characteristic palatial structures were not rebuilt, reflecting their change in status. It is even possible that centers were shifted, since it seems that the site of Agia Triada took over from Phaistos as the most significant site in the Mesara plain at the time of the Knossos documents <sup>47</sup>.

The expansion of power centered on the site of Ano Englianios seems to have culminated in the construction of the main palace complex early in LH IIIB. A number of scholars, including Jim Wright and Cynthia Shelmerdine <sup>48</sup>, have noted changes in the palace plan over the LH IIIB period and these data are being further refined by the Minnesota team which is restudying the palace structures under the direction of Fred Cooper <sup>49</sup>. Architectural modifications restricted access to the central building and created additional storage and workshop space. Cynthia Shelmerdine has seen in these modifications a process of centralization of production brought on as the mainland palatial economies came under increasing stress in the volatile conditions of the later 13th century BC. Textual evidence also confirms the concentration of perfume production in the vicinity of the palace and textile production at Pylos and Leuktron, the FP capital <sup>50</sup>.

Comparison of the data from LH IIIB Englianios with evidence from other sites within the polity presents problems. Messenia is well known for its tomb remains, but archaeological data for settlement sites are less readily available. I focus briefly on two excavated sites—Rizomylo: *Nichoria* (Pl. LXIXa: 100) and Mouriatada: *Elliniko* (Pl. LXIXa: 201)—and on survey data from PRAP. Cynthia Shelmerdine has convincingly identified Nichoria with the Linear B place-name *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* and has examined the evidence for the site's status in the LH III period <sup>51</sup>. The recent detailed publication of the Bronze Age occupation there allows more detail to be added to the picture <sup>52</sup>. The settlement at Nichoria reached its maximum size in the LH IIIA2-B1 phase, extending over perhaps 5 ha., the total extent of the ridge on which it is situated, clearly the largest site within its region <sup>53</sup>. A megaron (Unit IV-4A) was constructed there in LH IIIA1 but went out of use by LH IIIA2 <sup>54</sup>. If we assume that the megaron is correctly considered the typical central structure of a mainland palace and we note that such complexes are attested at all major Mycenaean centers, then its presence—and subsequent disappearance—takes on a certain significance. Within approximately the same

47 J. BENNET, "Knossos in Context: Comparative Perspectives on the Linear B Administration of LM II-III Crete", *AJA* 94 (1990), 209-210.

48 J.C. WRIGHT, "Changes in Form and Function of the Palace at Pylos", *PCA*, 19-29; C.W. SHELMEARDINE, "Architectural Change and Economic Decline at Pylos", *Minos* 20-22 (1987), 557-568.

49 See, most recently, *AR* 39 (1992-1993), 32-34.

50 C.W. SHELMEARDINE, *The Perfume Industry of Mycenaean Pylos* (1985); J.T. KILLEN, "The Textile Industries at Pylos and Knossos", *PCA*, 49-63.

51 C.W. SHELMEARDINE, "Nichoria in Context: A Major Town in the Pylos Kingdom", *AJA* 85 (1981), 319-325.

52 W.A. MCDONALD and N.C. WILKIE, eds., *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwestern Greece*. Vol. II. *The Bronze Age Occupation* (1992).

53 MCDONALD and WILKIE (*supra* n. 52), 758 For other sites in the immediate area of Nichoria, see G.R. RAPP, Jr. and S.E. ASCHENBRENNER eds., *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwestern Greece*. Vol. I. *Site, Environs and Techniques* (1978), 108-112 and Pocket Map 1.

54 MCDONALD and WILKIE (*supra* n. 52), 433-439.



time period, the tholos tomb at the western edge of the site came into use. The construction of a new tholos tomb is significant because there had been a tholos tomb—the so-called *Veves* tholos—at the site, a little further away, which was in use from LH I to LH IIIA2<sup>55</sup>.

Both these observations indicate a discontinuity at the site<sup>56</sup>. The fact that the focal point of the settlement—the megaron—went out of use and was not rebuilt might be argued to indicate the presence of a new authority at Nichoria not located within the site itself. The location of this authority might have been the Palace of Nestor, or—perhaps more likely at this stage—a closer regional center. One could also argue that the construction of a new monumental tomb structure represented the establishment of a new ruling elite at the site, perhaps under the sponsorship of an external power. Clearly more detailed information is needed at other sites likely to have come under Pylian control, but the evidence plausibly fits a pattern of “demotion” of sites, exemplified by the disappearance of structures with central functions.

One other piece of settlement evidence comes from the northern part of the polity, perhaps the northern boundary region of the HP. There is evidence for a new foundation at the site of Mouriatada: *Elliniko* (Pl. LXIXa: 201), where a fortified settlement stood, including a megaron and rooms with painted plaster decoration. The site appears to belong entirely within the LH IIIB phase, continuing perhaps into LH IIIC—roughly contemporary with the final phase of the palace at Ano Englianos. Ca. 200 m. away, there is a tholos tomb, unfortunately plundered, but plausibly the burial site for the settlement<sup>57</sup>.

The importance of Mouriatada's foundation is that one of the most spectacular sites in Messenia—Myron: *Peristeria*—lies a relatively short distance to the north (Pl. LXIXa: 200). *Peristeria* was the site of 3 early Mycenaean (LH I-II) tholos tombs and, for that reason, clearly a site of considerable importance in the region at that time. There is little evidence for continued use of the tombs in LH IIIB, although there is LH IIIA-B material on the site. This situation prompted Hope Simpson and Dickinson to suggest that—unlike Nichoria, where the site was incorporated within the Pylian polity—*Peristeria* may have been eliminated and superseded by Mouriatada within the LH IIIB period<sup>58</sup>. If we are interpreting this situation correctly, and the two sites are not in fact in use contemporaneously, then we seem to have an instance of considerable intervention by the palace in this region.

It is just possible that the Linear B textual data also offer some reflection of this situation. There is some confusion in the place-names of the FP in its northwest quadrant, where the name *a-te-re-wi-ja* and *e-sa-re-wi-ja* appear on the *Ma* tablets, but *e-re-i* on the list in *Jn* 829<sup>59</sup>. Links between *a-te-re-wi-ja* and the HP place-name *me-ta-pa* are implied by *Aa* 779, a tablet recording a work group at *me-ta-pa*, on whose lower side is written *a-te-re-wi-ja*. Clearly, any link between the HP and the FP at their northern extremes is likely to have been

55 MCDONALD and WILKIE (*supra* n. 52), 231-344; A. CHOREMIS, “Μυκηναϊκοί και πρωτογεωμετρικοί τάφοι εις Καρποφόραν Μεσσηνίας”, *AE* 1973, 49-60 (*Veves* tomb).

56 Cf. the discussion in MCDONALD and WILKIE (*supra* n. 52), 766-767 on the significance of this discontinuity in reference to Nichoria's incorporation within the Pylian polity. It is also worth pointing out that Nichoria lay very close to a Mycenaean road leading from the area south of the Palace of Nestor to the Messenian valley: W.A. MCDONALD, “Overland Communications in Greece During LH III, With Special Reference to Southwest Peloponnese”, in *Mycenaean Studies. Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium for Mycenaean Studies Held at “Wingspread”, 4-8 September 1961* (1964), 217-240.

57 *PraktArchEt* 1960, 210-206; *Gazetteer*, 168, D 201. The fact that Mouriatada apparently retained its megaron, unlike Nichoria, may indicate a superior status, or may reflect its greater remove from the center at Pylos.

58 *Gazetteer*, 167-168, D200, with references.

59 It is worth pointing out that *Jn* 829 and the *Ma* series are consistent in both using *ro-u-so*, as opposed to its alternative *e-ra-to* in *Vn* 20 and *Cn* 608.

through the Kyparissia valley, which implies that *a-te-re-wi-ja* may have lain in the western part of this valley. One then wonders if in fact the FP did not in fact extend to the western section of the valley, still "behind" the northern sections of the Aigaleon range which come closest to the coast at, and dominate, modern Kyparissia, whose medieval *kastro* lies on a spur jutting out from the mountains. (I have indicated this alternative possibility with a broken line on the map: Pl. LXIXa). Might the work group on **Aa 779** originally have been at *a-te-re-wi-ja* (= *Peristeria*), but have been moved to *me-ta-pa* to be under closer supervision within the recent recorded past? *e-re-i* might therefore represent the new site of Mouriatada with its *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*, and *a-te-re-wi-ja* have been used on the **Ma** tablets to refer to the district over which *e-re-i* now stood <sup>60</sup>.

PRAP has already produced some interesting data relevant to this question in its first two seasons of fieldwork (1992 and 1993). First, we have been able to demonstrate that the inhabited area around the palace was much larger than originally thought—perhaps 20–30 ha. (Pl. LXX) rather than the 6.5 ha. suggested, admittedly as a *minimum*, by McDonald and Rapp <sup>61</sup>. This implies that the center must have drawn a considerable population to it at its height, perhaps explaining its status in relation to contemporary sites in the region more effectively. A further piece of evidence in support of this suggestion from PRAP's fieldwork is the shift in the distribution of material between the MH–LH I period and the LH III period in those areas we have covered to date. Material was considerably more dense around the palace itself in LH III, while there was an almost total lack of LH III material in the Metaxada valley immediately east of Aigaleon, in which there *had* been an important MH–LH I site at a location called Metaxada: *Kalopsana* (Pl. LXIXa: 22) <sup>62</sup>. Given the fact that this area may have formed part of the HP–FP boundary, its apparent desertion in LH III is interesting. Is this merely a function of the magnetic attraction of the large center at Englianos, or is it a function of the creation of a boundary zone between the Pylos polity's two provinces? It may not be an isolated pattern, since the next-but-one valley to the east has a site of similar date to *Kalopsana*, also apparently out of use by LH III <sup>63</sup>. Further work is scheduled in this region to address this specific question.

### A Reconstruction of the Expansion of the Pylos Polity (LH I–IIIB)

In conclusion, let us tie the Linear B textual evidence for the structure of the Pylos polity at the time of the tablets and the archaeological evidence for this time period and earlier together and summarize developments in organization of power within the region (Pl. LXXI). The situation in LH I might be represented diagrammatically as follows—point T1. It seems clear that by the LH IIIA period, the political entity centered on the site of Ano Englianos was of considerable power, and may have controlled much of the area west of Aigaleon, perhaps all of the region later called the HP (T2a). The situation in the future FP is less clear at this stage, although Nichoria would clearly have been the location of an emergent LH I political entity, with its tumuli and the early *Veves* tholos. It is possible, however, as the diagram shows at T2b, that Leuktron—tentatively identified with Aithaia: *Ellinika*, ancient Thouria (Pl. LXIXa: 137)—already existed in a parallel position to Pylos by this stage. If the evidence

60 An alternative reading, given the fact that *e-re-i* is apparently "split" into two for the **Ma** texts (*supra* n. 7), is that *a-te-re-wi-ja* represents Mouriatada, the westernmost of two settlements newly favored at the expense of *Peristeria*, the other going by the name of *e-sa-re-wi-ja*.

61 *UMME*, 264, #1. By comparison, the walled citadel at Mycenae covered an area of 3.9 ha., while the settlement outside the walls may have extended over 25 ha.: *Gazetteer*, 29, 32, A 1.

62 *Gazetteer*, 135, D 22.

63 The site is at Margeli: *Koutsoveri*, *Gazetteer*, 157, D 116.

from Nichoria is interpreted correctly, then the palace at Pylos may have extended its power over the Aigaleon range (the large "A" on the diagram) within LH IIIA2, when the Nichoria megaron goes out of use and a new tholos tomb is constructed. Alternatively, this dislocation at Nichoria might represent its subordination first to Leuktron, followed subsequently by its incorporation within the Pylos polity around the time of the construction of the final palace structure at Ano Englianos at the beginning of LH IIIB. Such a scenario would imply that T2b is a more accurate reconstruction of the expansion, not T2a. On our diagram, stage T3 represents the final incorporation of the further province within the Pylos polity. Presumably, as part of this expansion, Leuktron was incorporated, although its status in the administrative chain is not totally clear. Did it, for example, maintain its own records for sites within its own territory, as has been suggested, and as it now seems that Chania did in western Crete? Or was it completely subordinate to Pylos, as the central documents from Pylos seem to imply? And, finally, was it perhaps sometimes called *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo*<sup>64</sup> both to distinguish it from, and reflect its parallel status to, the other *pu-ro*?

Clearly reconstructing the political history of a region in the Bronze Age is a complex task. However, the region of the LH III center at Ano Englianos—ancient Pylos—offers unparalleled opportunities for such work, since textual assistance is available from the Linear B documents and archaeological data are available for the entire region, admittedly with different emphases—burial or settlement—and at different levels—extensive and intensive. I hope to have demonstrated the validity of such a reconstruction and signposted some new aspects in our understanding of the political geography of Bronze Age Messenia that are now facilitated by a comprehensive review of existing textual and archaeological data in the light of the new research underway under PRAP's aegis.

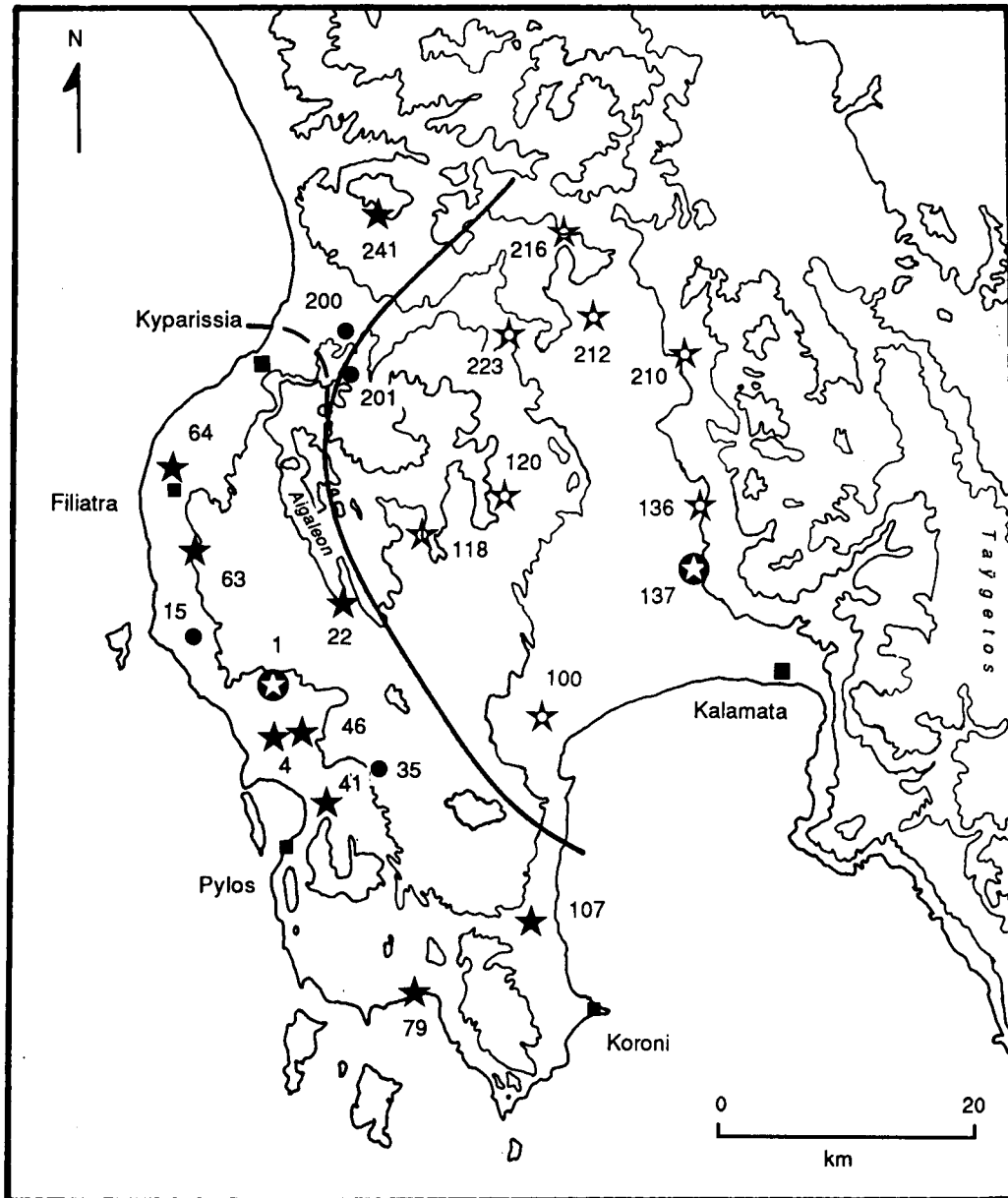
John BENNET

<sup>64</sup> See SAINER (*supra* n. 12), 52 for the distinction between the capital *pu-ro* and *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo* in the FP. See J. CHADWICK, "The Geography of the Further Province of Pylos", *AJA* 77 (1973), 278 for the location of the *ra-wa-ra-ta<sub>2</sub>* region in the southeastern part of the Messenia valley, where *Ellinika* lies.

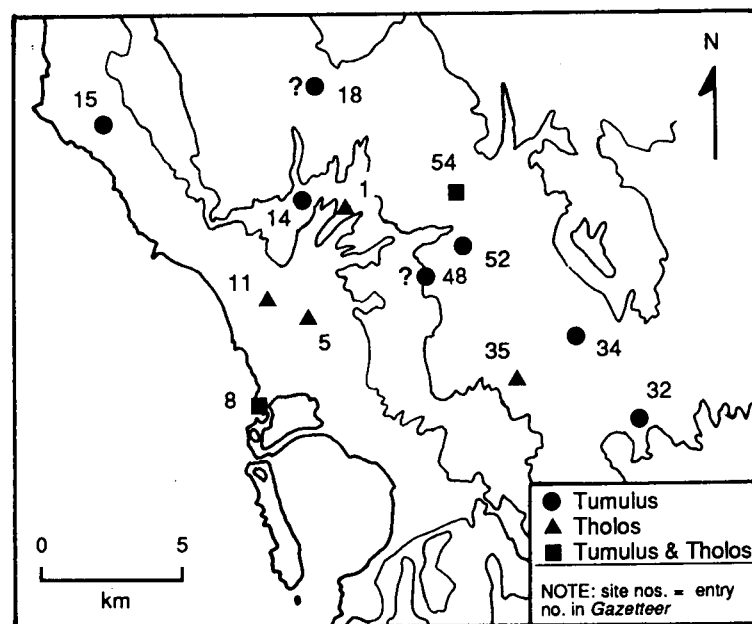
## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. LXIXa Map of Messenia, showing possible Hither–Further Province boundaries and archaeological sites associated with Linear B place-names by J. Carothers (numbers refer to *UMME*, Register A; redrawn from *Gazetteer*, Map D).
- Pl. LXIXb Map of the Palace of Nestor area, showing tumulus and tholos tomb sites mentioned in the text (numbers refer to *UMME*, Register A; redrawn from *Gazetteer*, Map D, Inset).
- Pl. LXX Plan of the immediate area of the Palace of Nestor, showing densities of surface pottery recorded by PRAP in Summer 1992 (Jack L. Davis and Sharon R. Stocker).
- Pl. LXXI Diagrammatic reconstruction of different phases in the expansion of Bronze Age Pylos (*puro*).

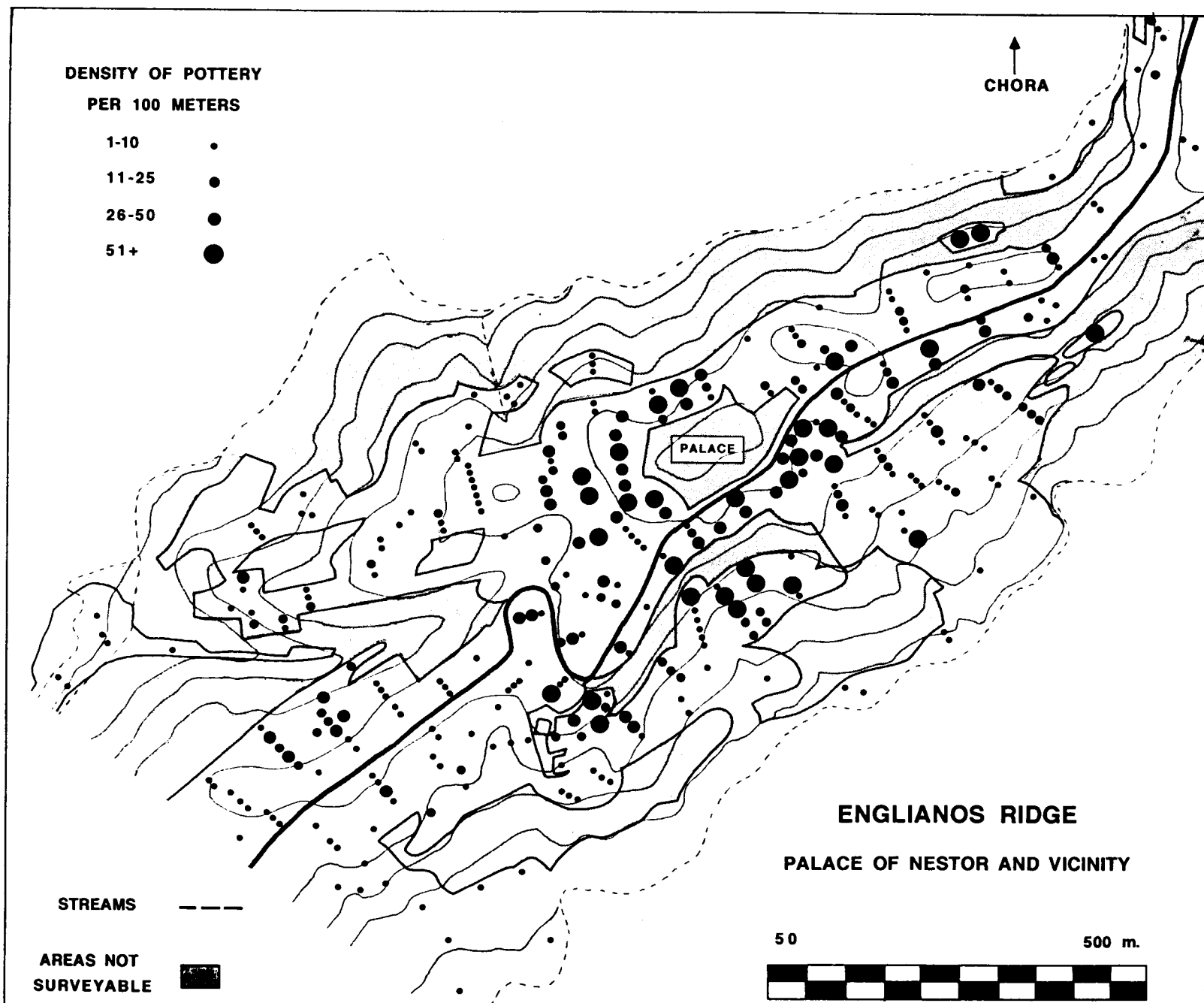


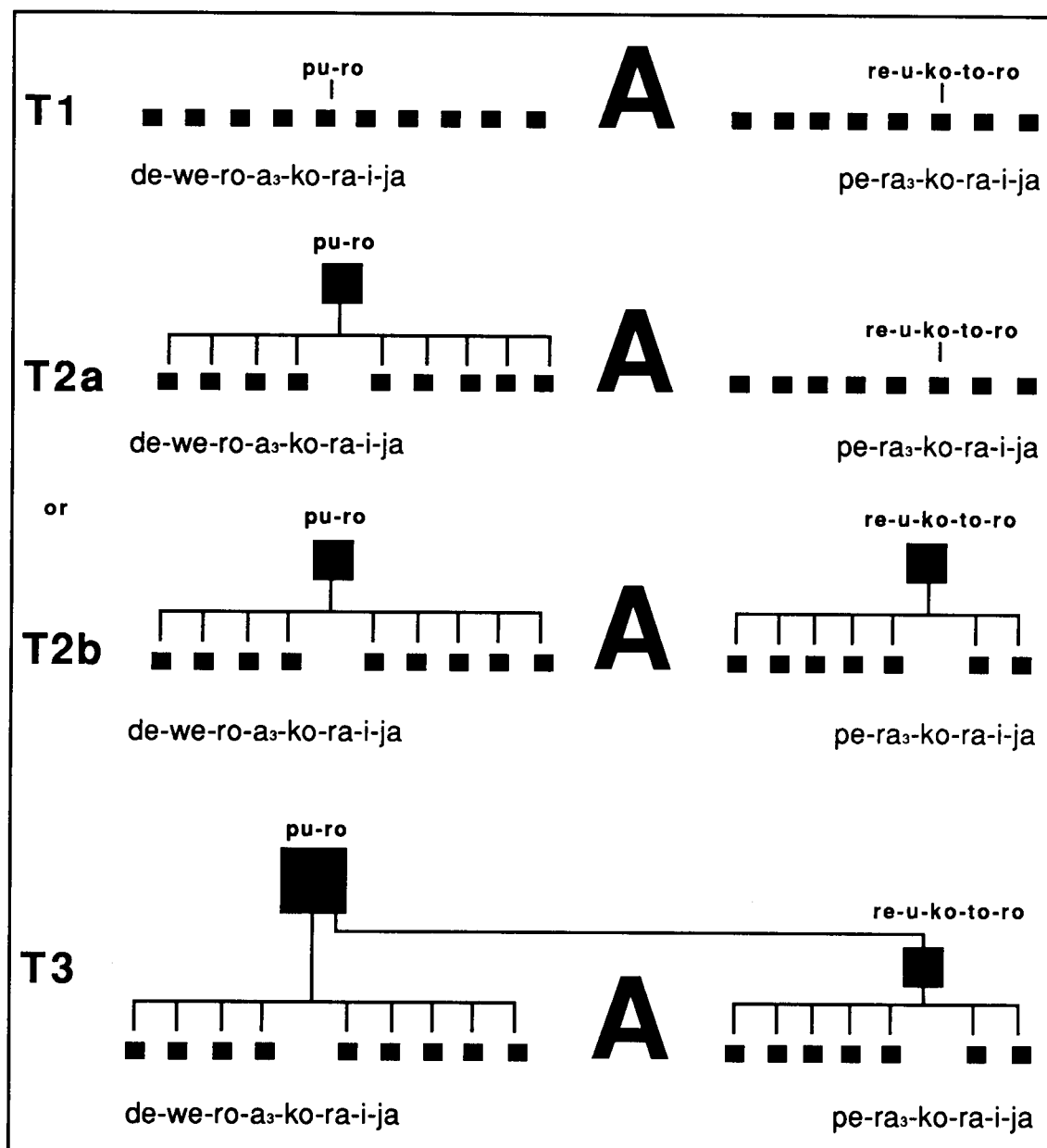


a



b





**A** = Aigaleon      **T** = T(ime period)

Models for the Expansion of the Pylian Polity