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MARIE-LOUISE B. NOSCH

ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES IN MYCENAEAN PALACE ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMY

The principles of Mycenaean palace administrations have been analysed in the studies of scribal hands at Knossos by J.-P. Olivier¹ and at Pylos by T. G. Palaima.²

In this paper I wish to discuss some common Mycenaean administrative practices of palace control. These administrative practices reflect ways of organising information on the tablets, which seemed logical to the scribe. In particular, I discuss how data is grouped and in what order.

The study of Mycenaean administrative practices raises the question about to what extent such practices reflect economic features. What practices reflect scribal traditions, and what practices show the functionality of the Mycenaean economy? My first approach to this question is to submit it to the criteria used to identify Mycenaean geography: in the studies of Mycenaean geography, the difficulty lies in the relationship between administrative grouping of place names and geographical reality.³ Thus, in Linear B, we could speak of relative geography. In these studies, criteria such as recurrence of place names on the same line / tablet / set / series and the connection between recurrence of place name groupings and scribal hands are used to identify when there may be a reflection of geographical proximity.

In the present study, similar criteria will be used in the investigation of common Mycenaean administrative practices and the possibility of them reflecting economic mechanisms.

Four administrative practices are investigated in this study: the separation of geographical areas; the separation of collector and non-collector records; the separation of Potnia and non-Potnia records; and, finally, the rule of order in which data is recorded on the tablets.

The criteria for defining such Mycenaean administrative practices are that they are attested:

- 1) on more than one palace sites, and
- 2) more than once by one scribe at one site, and / or
- 3) by several scribes at one site, and / or
- 4) on tablets stored in different places in a given palace,⁴
- 5) in several series, recording several topics.

1. *Scribes Knossos*.

2. *Scribes Pylos*.

3. The two major studies on Cretan geography analysed from the Linear B tablets are A. L. WILSON, "The Place-Names in the Linear B Tablets from Knossos: Some Preliminary Considerations", *Minos* 16 (1977), p. 67-125; J. K. MCARTHUR, *Place-Names in the Knossos Tablets: Identification and Location*, Salamanca 1989 (*Minos* Supl. 9); see further J. BENNET, "The Structure of the Linear B Administration at Knossos", *AJA* 89 (1985), p. 231-249; M.-L. B. NOSCH, "The Geography of the *ta-ra-si-ja* Obligation", *Aegean Archaeology* 4 (1997-2000), p. 27-44.

4. This criterion can mainly be applied to the Knossos data, since at Pylos most tablets come from the central archives.

These criteria help defining the local or common Mycenaean character of the administrative practices.

My hypothesis is that if these administrative practices are found in several palace administrations, they testify to more than internal agreements between the scribes in one palace. They may reflect a common Mycenaean administrative framework, and perhaps even a common understanding of Mycenaean economy.

The Mycenaean administrative practice of separating geographical areas

Mycenaean scribes clearly distinguish their palace centre from the periphery.⁵ However, another geographical parameter is just as influential in Mycenaean administration and defines how data is recorded: data is grouped according to the major divisions of the kingdoms. This administrative practice is common for both Pylos and Knossos. At Knossos, scribes clearly distinguished between three areas: Knossos and Central Crete; the area of Phaistos and *da-wo*; Western Crete. This administrative practice of geographical grouping and thus differentiation is attested in documents by several scribes: Scribe 103 records textile workers in Knossos and Central Crete;⁶ Scribe 102 records textile workers in the area of Phaistos and *da-wo*;⁷ a third scribe records textile workers in Western Crete.⁸ There is a particular differentiation in the record-keeping of Central versus Western Crete: Scribe 103 records production targets for textile production in Central Crete, while Scribes 113 and 115 records those for Western Crete. Scribe 117 records sheep in Central Crete, while West Cretan sheep are recorded by Scribe 107.⁹ Scribe 117, however, totals sheep at Phaistos and *da-wo* together (**Dn 1094**), but separately from totals of sheep at other Central Cretan towns.

The division of administrative responsibilities among the Knossian scribes is as follows:

Central Crete:

Scribe 103 (textile workers)

5. This concept is most clear at Pylos, where the palace and its surroundings are repeatedly recorded as *pu-ro*. At Knossos, it is *ko-no-so*. Knossos and its harbour Amnisos are in more practical matters such as records of mobility of workers considered together as shown in J. T. KILLEN, "Two Notes on Linear B", *ZAnt* 50 (2000), p. 141-144. The central place names are not attested at Mycenae or Thebes, but Thebes appears on a tablet from Mycenae in the form *te-qa-de* 'to Thebes'. See M.-L. B. NOSCH, "Centre and Periphery in the Linear B Archives", in *The Periphery of the Mycenaean World, 2nd international interdisciplinary Colloquium, 26-20 September, Lamia 1999. Proceedings*, N. Kyparissi-Apostolika, M. Papakonstantinou (ed.), Athens 2003, p. 63-70.

6. J. T. KILLEN, "The Knossos Lc (Cloth) Tablets (Summary)", *BICS* 13 (1966), p. 105-111; ID., "A Problem in the Knossos Lc(l) (Cloth) Tablets", *Hermathena* 118 (1974), p. 82-90.

7. J. T. KILLEN, "Two Notes on the Knossos Ak Tablets", in *Acta Mycenaea*, p. 425-433.

8. J. T. KILLEN, "Epigraphy and Interpretation in Knossos WOMAN and CLOTH Records", in *Studies Bennett*, p. 167-183.

9. J. T. KILLEN, "The Knossos Texts and the Geography of Mycenaean Crete" in *Mycenaean Geography. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium, September 1976*, British Association for Mycenaean Studies, J. Bintliff (ed.), Cambridge 1977, p. 41.

Scribe 103 (production targets)
Scribe 117 (sheep)

Phaistos / da-wo:

Scribe 102 (textile workers at Phaistos and *da-wo*)
Scribe 103 (production targets)
Scribe 117 (sheep)

Western Crete:

Scribe X (textile workers)
Scribes 113 and 115 (production targets)
Scribe 107 (sheep)

The geographical division is also reflected in the storage places of the tablets. Records of Central Cretan textile workers and of production targets are stored in the West Wing (F14 and F10); records of textile workers at Phaistos and *da-wo* are stored in the northern part of the palace (I2). Records of Central Cretan sheep are stored in the eastern part of the palace (J1). Records of West Cretan sheep are stored in the northern part of the palace (I3), while West Cretan production targets are also stored in the West Wing (but separately from the Central Cretan ones).¹⁰ Thus, the spatial distribution of information is as follows:

Central Crete:

F14 (textile workers)
F10 (production targets)
J1 (sheep)

Phaistos / da-wo:

I2 (textile workers)
F10 (production targets)
J1 (sheep)

Western Crete:

? (textile workers)
F6-F7 (production targets)
I3 (sheep)

This Knossian survey responds to the criteria number 2, 3, 4 and 5. The administrative practice of differentiation between the three areas is attested:

- (2) by one Scribe, 117, who separated the *Phaistos / da-wo* from the other totals of flocks,
- (3) by several scribes,

10. *Scribes Knossos.*

- (4) on tablets stored in different places,
- (5) in several series concerning different topics (sheep and workers).

At Pylos, there is an equally clear differentiation between activities in the two provinces on ‘this side of the Aigaleon’, *pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja*, and on the ‘other side of the Aigaleon’, *de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja*.¹¹ Hand 1 records separate totals for women workers on ‘this side of the Aigaleon’ and for women workers on the ‘other side of the Aigaleon’.¹² He also records separate totals for flax on ‘this side of the Aigaleon’ and flax on the ‘other side of the Aigaleon’.¹³

PY Ng 319 (S106-H1)

- .1 *de-we-ro-a₂-ko-ra-i-ja SA 1239*
- .2 *to-sa-de , o-u-di-do-to SA 457*

PY Ng 332 (S106-H1)

- .1 *pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja , SA 200[*
- .2 *to-sa-de , o-u-di-do-to SA [qs*

Some activities on each side of the Aigaleon Range are treated by separate scribes: for example, women textile workers ‘on this side of the Aigaleon’, that is, the Hither Province, are recorded on individual tablets by Hand 1, and women textile workers ‘on the other side of the Aigaleon’, that is, in the Further Province, are recorded on individual tablets by Hand 4. This practice can also be seen in documents concerning other topics at Pylos.¹⁴

This Pylian survey responds to the criteria number 2, 3 and 5.

There is a differentiation in the administrative practice between especially Hither Province and the Further Province, which is attested:

- (2) by one scribe: Hand 1 separates the totalling records (**Wa 114, 948; Ng 319, 332**),
- (3) by several scribes: Hand 1 and Hand 4 divide the task of individual records of women workers,
- (5) in several series, recording several topics (women, flax, etc.).

The Mycenaean administrative practice of separating collector and non-collector records

Now, more than 50 years after the decipherment of Linear B, and after several comprehensive studies, we still do not grasp the full meaning of what collectors were. However, our knowledge on collectors has increased considerably since the 1973 edition of *Documents*,¹⁵ as can be seen in the collector survey in *Mykenaiika*,¹⁶

11. See the analysis of Messenian geography by J. BENNET, “Space Through Time: Diachronic Perspectives on the Spatial Organization of the Pylian State”, in *Politeia*, p. 587-602.

12. See analysis and all relevant documents in J. BENNET, “Space Through Time”, cit., p. 587-602.

13. J. BENNET, “The Mycenaean Conceptualization of Space or Pylian Geography (...Yet Again!)”, in *Florent*, p. 131-157.

14. See, for example, **Pa 398, On 300, Vn 493**. J. BENNET, “Space Through Time”, cit., p. 587-602.

15. *Docs*².

16. J. BENNET, “‘Collectors’ or ‘Owners’? An examination of their possible Functions within the palatial economy of LMIII Crete”, in *Mykenaiika*, p. 65-101; P. CARLIER, “Les collecteurs sont-ils des

in J. Killen's comparisons of Greek-looking, common collector names on several sites,¹⁷ and his identification of collectors in the **Jn** series,¹⁸ in J.-P. Olivier's concordance and combination of collector data on all sites¹⁹ and in F. Rougemont's observation that collectors' flocks seem to have larger deficits than other flocks.²⁰

It should be emphasized that the phenomenon of collectors seems to be a typical Mycenaean administrative and economic feature. About 30% of *ta-ra-si-ja* textile production and of Cretan sheep is recorded under the collectors.²¹

It is in this context worth noticing that scribes, on all sites, find it necessary to record whether an activity is to be associated with collectors or not. And the recordings of collector activities seem to follow a specific pattern which can be found on some palace sites with sufficient documentation.

At Knossos, Scribe 117 records separate totals for the collectors' flocks (see **Dn 2016**) and for the non-collector flocks (recorded as place names, see, for example, **Dn 1093**).

Totals of activities concerning collectors are often recorded on separate tablets as can be seen on **Lc(1) 535**, **Ld(1) 587**,²² and in the **Dn** series. Collectors' *ta-ra-si-ja* textile workers are recorded on separate tablets (the **Ak[2]** set), by a specific scribe (Scribe 108),²³ and his tablets are stored separately in F7, whereas the other records of textile workers have been found in F14, I2 or I3. The collectors thus influenced various parts of the Mycenaean economy – sheep, textiles, workers – and the impact of collectors is reflected in the bureaucracy. It has also been suggested to identify collectors in the records of oil and smiths: according to J.-P. Olivier, **Fh 372** is a separate totalling tablet for oil of the collector *ku-pi-ri-jo* (representing app. 30 % of the total).²⁴ J. Killen sees possible collectors in the Pylian **Jn** lists of smiths.²⁵

This Knossian survey responds to the criteria number 2, 3, 4 and 5:

- (2) Scribe 117 differentiates collector flocks from non-collector flocks in the totalling **Dn** tablets,
- (3) scribes such as 108, 113, and 115 are specially assigned to recording activities under collectors,
- (4) collectors' activities are recorded on tablets stored separately,

fermiers?", *ibid.*, p. 159-166; J. DRIESSEN, "Collector's Items. Observations sur l'Élite mycénienne de Cnossos", *ibid.*, p. 197-214; L. GODART, "Les collecteurs dans le monde égéen", *ibid.*, p. 257-283.

17. J. T. KILLEN, "Mycenaean Possessive Adjectives in *-e-jo*", *TPhS* 113 (1983), p. 66-99.

18. J. T. KILLEN, "Some Further Thoughts on 'Collectors'", in *Politeia*, p. 213-226.

19. J.-P. OLIVIER, "Les 'collecteurs': Leur distribution spatiale et temporelle", in *Economy and Politics*, p. 139-160.

20. F. ROUGEMONT, "Quelques remarques sur les entrées *o-pe-ro* et les 'collecteurs' dans les enregistrements de moutons, de laine et de tissus à Cnossos", in *Austin Colloquium* (forthcoming); EAD., *Contrôle économique et administration à l'époque des palais mycéniens (fin du IIème millénaire av. J.-C.)*, BEFAR (forthcoming).

21. J.-P. OLIVIER, "La série Dn de Cnossos", *SMEA* 2 (1967), p. 71-93.

22. J. T. KILLEN, "The Knossos Ld(1) Tablets", in *Colloquium Mycenaeanum*, p. 151-182.

23. J. T. KILLEN, "Two Notes on the Knossos Ak Tablets", in *Acta Mycenaea*, p. 425-433.

24. J.-P. OLIVIER, "El comercio micénico desde la documentación epigráfica", *Minos* 31-32 (1997), p. 275-292.

25. J. T. KILLEN, "Some Further Thoughts on 'Collectors'", *cit.*, p. 213-226.

(5) collectors are involved in various types of activities (sheep, textiles and workers, perhaps metallurgy and oil production).

Thus, Knossian administration strongly singles out the collectors' activities and assigns the recording of their activities to specific scribes.

The Mycenaean administrative practice of separating Potnia and non-Potnia records

Various parts of the Mycenaean economy are defined as 'of the Potnia': smiths, pigs, artisans, wool, textile workers, and sheep. However, while the majority of Cretan flocks contain wethers, that is, castrated rams, there are also breeding flocks, and among these breeding flocks – and only here – are flocks 'of the Potnia'.

At Pylos, Hand 2 differentiates the smiths of the Potnia by recording them in a separate paragraph in the **Jn** series. However, Potnian smiths, pigs, artisans, wool, textile workers, and sheep are generally recorded by the same scribes as are the non-Potnian smiths, pigs, artisans, wool, textile workers, and sheep, and the tablets are not stored separately.

This Pylian survey thus responds only to the criteria 2 and 5:

- (2) one scribe, Hand 2, differentiates Potnian and non-Potnian activities (**Jn** series),
- (5) Potnia is attested in several series, recording several topics (smiths, pigs, artisans, wool, textile workers, sheep).

An ordering principle in the administration

On the Linear B tablets, there is a *strong tendency to organise data in a specific order*. This has already been observed for the so-called canonical lists of place names in the Pylian archives, and the *liste de desservants de sanctuaries*.²⁶ In the new tablets from Thebes similar types of canonical lists of personnel appear, in particular in the **Fq** and **Gp** series.²⁷ These canonical lists, however, seem to be the result of scribal practices at one single site: the Messenian place names are naturally found in the Pylian archives, and the *liste de desservants de sanctuaries* is also a Pylian phenomenon. However, the principle of dressing list of cult personnel and place names in a specific order may in fact be a more common practice, although, for the moment, we do not have evidence for this at other sites.

Here I would like to show other practices of "rules of order", which are not only a local scribal and administrative practice but attested at several sites.

Collectors last

When collector and non-collector activities do not have separate records but are recorded on one single tablet, then non-collector matters tend to be recorded first and collector matters are recorded last. This tendency was already noted by

26. *Desservants*.

27. *AGS 2001*, p. 157, 321-322.

J. Killen.²⁸ It can be observed especially at Knossos in the Scribe 103 (collector names and their derivatives are highlighted in bold).

KN Ap 618 + 623 + 633 + 5533 + 5922 (103)

- .1 a-pe-a-sa / i-ta-mo , 'do-ti-ja' , MUL 1 ki-nu-qa '*56-ko-we' MUL 1 [
 .2 ti-wa-ti-ja / a-*79 '**a-no-qo-ta**' MUL 3[] **ko-ma-we-to** MUL 2 **we-ra-te-ja** MUL 2 [

KN Le 5629 + 5867 + 8446 + 8522 + 8559 + *frr.* [+] 851 (103)

- .1 e-ki[-si]-ja TELA¹+TE [
 .2 *vest.*[]ja / a-pu-do-si TELA¹+TE [
 .3 pa-i-to / **ko-ma-we-to** TELA¹+TE [

KN L 520 (–)

- .1 do-ti-ja , LANA 18 pe-re-ke *164 3
 .2 ka-ma LANA 12 *164 2
 .3 **sa-mu-ta-jo** LANA 24 *164 4
 Cut at right.

KN Le 642 + 5950 (103)

- .1]ra-wo , de-ko-to 'ta-ra-si-ja' ne[
 .2]ja TELA¹+TE 2 ri-jo-ni-ja TELA¹+TE[
 .3]**ri-jo** TELA¹+TE 6 **da-mo-ko**[
 .4] *vacat* [

KN Le 654 (103)

- .1 *sup.mut.*
 .2]si-ja [
 .3 a-mi-ni-si-ja [
 .4 se-to-i-ja 'wa' 2[
 .5 tu-ni-ja 2[
 .6 **we-we-si-jo** ![

At Pylos perhaps the same tendency can be observed although it is definitely less strong. In the Pylian **Cn** series, Hand 1 tends to start with non-collectors' animals before proceeding to collectors' animals.²⁹

Potnia last

J. Killen showed already in 1987 that, generally speaking, royal matters were recorded before Potnia's matters.³⁰ This is not only the case for the areas defined as royal: when cultic activities are recorded on the same tablet as non-cultic activities, then the cultic activities are invariably recorded last. The best example is the

28. J. T. KILLEN, "Possessive Adjectives", cit., p. 72.

29. See, in particular, **Cn 40** (collectors on l. 3-4, 6-7, 9-14); **Cn 643** (collectors on l. 3-6); **Cn 655** (collectors on l. 5-6, 11-20); On the **Cn** series, see L. GODART, "The grouping of place-names in the Cn tablets", *BICS* 17 (1970), p. 159-161, and J. T. KILLEN, "Records of Sheep and Goats at Mycenaean Knossos and Pylos", *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 7 (1993), p. 212-216.

30. J. T. KILLEN, "Bronzeworking at Knossos and Pylos", *Hermathena* 143 (1987), p. 61-71; see also M.-L. B. NOSCH, "The Textile Industry at Thebes in the Light of the Textile Industries at Pylos and Knossos", in *Festschrift Bartoněk*, p. 184.

Jn series from Pylos: on two **Jn** tablets (**310**, **431**) Hand 2 records smiths at a specific place: first smiths without further indication, and then, in a separate paragraphs, the smiths *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* ‘of the goddess Potnia’. In addition, as Killen has shown, in one of these records (**Jn 431**) there seems to be a differentiation between matters of *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* smiths and *qa-si-re-wi-ja / qa-si-re-we* (smiths / craftsmen) because the *qa-si-re-u a-pi-qo-ta* is recorded before the *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* smiths.³¹

The practice of recording Potnia and cult last is also found on tablets from Knossos and Thebes. Data pertinent to cult is highlighted in bold:³²

KN K(1) 875

(102/I3)

- .1] , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to []
 .2 pe-ri-ta , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to , []
 .3 wi-na-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to []
 .4 i-da-i-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa a-no-wo-to []
 .5 sa-me-ti-jo , qa-si-re-wi-ja , di-pa , a-no-wo-to []
 .6 i-je-re-wi-jo , qa-si-re[-wi]-ja , a-no-wo-to *202^{VAS} 10 **po-ti-**[]
 .6 10 over [5]. *po-ti-ni*[possible.

KN G 820 + fr.

ASHM (1910.215)/HM

(-)

- .1] , [-]na , e-ko-si , a-pi , ku-do-ni-ja / pa-sa ‘ki-ri-ta’ LUNA 1
 .2 ja-]pu₂-wi-ja-qe , *56-ko-we-i-ja-qe LUNA 4
 .3 da-]*22-ti-ja , ku-ta-ti-ja-e , **po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja** , a-pu , ke-u-po-de-ja
 .4] LUNA 4

KN F(1) 51

("124"d/RCT)

HORD T 7 V 5 Z 3[

⇒

Verso

- .1 wa HORD T 1 V 3 po-ro-de-qo-no V 2 Z 2
 .2 **di-we** HORD T 1 HORD T 4 Z 1 **ma-qe** HORD V 6
 .2 Traces of deletion and rewriting. *ma-ka* not excluded. v 6 over [T].

TH Of 36

(303/Epam. Str)

- .1 no-ri-wo-ki-de *ku* LANA 1 a-ke-ti-ra₂ , wa-na-ka[]
 .2 **po-ti-ni-ja** , wo-ko-de , a-ke-ti-ra₂ *ku* LANA 1

TH Fq 200

(306?/Odos Pel.)

sup.mut.

- .1]-ro-wi v[]
 .2 ku-na-ki-si , **i-je-ro** v 3 u-[]
 .3 *vacat* []
 .4 *vacat* []
 .5 *vacat* []

inf.mut.

31. J. T. KILLEN, “Bronzeworking”, cit., p. 67-68.

32. Perhaps a similar pattern appears on **TH Fq 200** where on the last written line can perhaps be read *i-je-ro* ‘temple’, according to *AGS 2001*, p. 78, 206-207.

Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I have defined five criteria for determining general Mycenaean administrative practices. Working along these criteria has shown that geography plays a major role in the organising and recording of data. The Mycenaean scribes, both at Pylos and at Knossos, differentiate between activities in the palace centres and outside, and they divide the activities in the kingdom according to the location in the territories. This conceptualisation of the production landscape is reflected in the division of work and consequent specialisation of scribes. The scribes also chose to store their respective tablets separately.

The division of Mycenaean territories may reflect a progressive conquest of the territory. This was suggested for Messenia by J. Bennet³³ and for Crete by J. Driessen.³⁴

The second result concerns two areas which from a formal point of view seem quite similar: the Potnian part of the administration / economy and the collector part of the administration / economy. These two parts of the economy are often treated in a similar way in the administration, but they do not overlap. The use of the criteria has shown that in the Mycenaean administration, the collector activities have their own set of administrative practices (own scribes, separate storage), while the Potnian part seems much more embedded into the general administration. It is attractive to interpret this as a reflection of the development of Mycenaean economy and society. Perhaps cult activities are an in-house activity which has followed the development of palace systems since the origin. Perhaps collectors could be a later phenomenon which developed in the period when Mycenaean administration expanded and became more complex, and thus individual scribes were assigned to this “upcoming” section.

The investigation of rules of order has shown a pattern in which collectors’ activities and Potnian activities tend to be recorded last. This, however, does not necessarily mean that this data was of secondary importance to the palace scribes.

J. Killen wrote in 1999: « *We should not lose sight of the astonishing similarities among the centres, as revealed by the tablets* ». ³⁵

The similarities are found in the types of administration, types of records (tablets, sealings, and labels), palaeography, system of numbers, measures, weights, in the administration of obligatory work such as *ta-ra-si-ja*, terminology in the administration of personnel, and of typology of landholdings. Also E. Hallager speaks of fundamental similarities and uniformity in the use of administrative seals and sealing practice during the LH / LM III period.³⁶

33. J. BENNET, “Pylos: The Expansion of a Mycenaean Centre”, in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, p. 9-18.

34. J. DRIESSEN, “Centre and Periphery: Some Observations on the Administration of the Kingdom of Knossos”, in *Economy and Politics*, p. 96-112.

35. J. T. KILLEN, “Critique”, in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, p. 87.

36. E. HALLAGER, “The Uniformity in Seal Use and Sealing Practice during the LH/LM III Period”, in *Ariadne’s Threads: Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC)*, A. L. D’Agata, J. Moody, E. Williams (ed.), Athens 2005, p. 243-265.

The study of Mycenaean administrative practices raises the question about the extent to which these practices reflect economic features. Although the idea of comprehending the Mycenaean palaces as an entity is attractive, I still find it less likely that these common administrative practices were developed together and simultaneously between the palaces, over time and over distance. Rather, I believe that these particular common administrative practices reflect an original common understanding of Mycenaean economy. Furthermore, they may also testify to a common development of Mycenaean palace economies.