

AEGAEUM 29

Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP

DAIS

THE AEGEAN FEAST

Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference /

12^e Rencontre égéenne internationale

University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25-29 March 2008

Edited by Louise A. HITCHCOCK, Robert LAFFINEUR and Janice CROWLEY

Université de Liège
Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique
University of Texas at Austin
Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory
2008

Illustration on cover pages: Melbourne, The Ian Potter Museum of Art,
east facade with sculptures by Christine O'Loughlin
(Photograph R. Laffineur)

D/2008/0480/30

Printed in Belgium
by KLIEMO SA B-4700 Eupen

Publié avec l'aide financière du Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique - FNRS

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form
without written permission of the editors:

R. LAFFINEUR,
Université de Liège,
Service d'Histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de la Grèce antique,
Quai Roosevelt 1b, B-4000 LIÈGE (Belgique)
Th.G. PALAIMA,
Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, The University of Texas at Austin,
Department of Classics, WAG 123, AUSTIN, Tx 78712-1181 (U.S.A)

BULLS AND BELONGING: ANOTHER LOOK AT PY Cn 3*

Introduction

Linear B Tablet Cn 3 from the mainland Mycenaean site of Pylos records the sending of five bulls, very likely destined for a sacrificial feast, to an official of the Palace. This text raises a number of important questions about identity and power relations within the Mycenaean polity of Pylos. The present paper examines how the information recorded on this tablet may impact our understanding of the cultural make-up and internal socio-political dynamics of Mycenaean society.

The bull is known throughout the Mediterranean as a symbol of strength and virility. The etymology of the ancient Greek word for 'bull', *tauros*, is telling: derived from the Indo-European verbal root **steh₂-* "to stand,"¹ reflected in Greek as *(s)ta-*, it emphasises the animal's sturdy and steadfast qualities. These characteristics, along with the cost and effort involved in rearing cattle to adulthood in the largely mountainous terrain of Greece, help to explain the elevated position of bulls in Mycenaean society.

Links between bulls and the Mycenaean elite

Textual and *iconographic* remains indicate that the bull was a prime status symbol for the Mycenaean Greeks of the Late Bronze Age. At Pylos, several Linear B tablets record food and drink collected for banquets; they often include a bull or cow supplied by a prominent member of the community. For example, on PY Un 718, the high-ranking individual named *e-ke-ra₂-wo*, argued by some scholars to be the king, alone provides a bull alongside the contributions of food and drink made by a total of four parties in honour of the god Poseidon.² Similarly, the wall painting adorning the Vestibule (Room 5) of the Palace of Pylos depicts a procession of men and women and a single huge bull probably destined for sacrificial slaughter.³ The deposit of burnt animal bones, representing at least ten cattle, from the floor of Room 7 of the Archives Complex of the Palace⁴ may offer *archaeological* support for the conspicuous sacrifice and consumption often associated with feasting among elites.⁵

* I am deeply grateful to Dr. José Luis García Ramón and Dr. John Killen for their invaluable feedback on relevant linguistic and textual matters. Any shortcomings in this paper are my own.

1 C. WATKINS, *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (2000) 84.

2 T.G. PALAIMA, "The Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions," in P. REHAK (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992*, *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 132-133. For Killen's view that the religious offerings listed on PY Un 718 may not have been consumed at a large, state-sponsored banquet such as that envisaged for the banquet 'menu' records of PY Un 2 and Un 138, see: J.T. KILLEN, "Wheat, Barley, Flour, Olives and Figs on Linear B Tablets," in *Food, Cuisine and Society*, 158-159.

3 L. McCALLUM, *Decorative Program in the Mycenaean Palace of Pylos: The Megaron Frescoes* (1987).

4 P. HALSTEAD and V. ISAAKIDOU, "Faunal Evidence for Feasting: Burnt Offerings from the Palace of Nestor at Pylos," in *Food, Cuisine and Society*, 136-154; S.R. STOCKER and J.L. DAVIS, "Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, 59-75.

5 Sealstones and other representations from both Minoan and Mycenaean sites also attest to the ideological and ceremonial significance of bulls in these societies. For example, see J.G. YOUNGER, "Bronze Age Representations of Aegean Bull-Leaping," *AJA* 80 (1976) 125-137.

The context of feasting

Feasting is defined by Wright as “the formal ceremony of eating and drinking to celebrate significant occasions.”⁶ The ancient Greek word for ‘feast’, *dais*, is based on the Indo-European verbal root **deh₂-* “to divide, distribute.”⁷ This highlights the notion central to the feast: the distribution and sharing of valued produce among the participants.

Numerous studies on the social implications of feasting have demonstrated that the celebration accompanying the distribution of food and drink among the participants of a feast could serve, in part, to enhance community spirit and strengthen community bonds.⁸ At the same time, the animal or other sacrifice regularly associated with a feast and offered to one or more deities provided the leaders of a community with an opportunity to demonstrate their generosity towards their followers and earn their continued support by making the most substantial contribution to the event (especially true in the case of a bull). In this way, the feast also cleverly articulated status divisions and reinforced the existing social and political hierarchy of a given community.⁹ Furthermore, Hamilakis convincingly argues that feasting ceremonies constitute “powerful means of power and social negotiation because they deploy the bodily senses and can generate social memories (of the scale of the event, the participants, the benefactor) that can operate as an important symbolic resource.”¹⁰

The text of PY Cn 3

A state-wide sacrificial feast may have been the ultimate destination of the animals recorded on tablet Cn 3 from Pylos. The text states that five bulls¹¹ are being sent by five groups of men¹² to an individual of high standing connected to the Palace. This man, named *di-wi-je-u*, appears elsewhere in the textual corpus in religious contexts. He is described here as an inspector (**e-re-u-te*).¹³ PY Cn 3 begins with a third singular or plural verbal form: (*jo*)-*i-je-si*.¹⁴ Leaving aside momentarily the word *me-za-na*, lines 1-2 may read as follows: “Thus they send ... bulls (*go-o* ‘bulls’ - an accusative plural form) to the inspector *di-wi-je-u* (in the dative).” The contributors are then listed in lines 3-7. Most entries begin with a toponym in the locative case followed by the nominative of a group of contributors: for instance, in line 3, the *o-ka-ra*₃-men at a place called *a₂-ra-tu-a* send a bull to *di-wi-je-u*.¹⁵ Each group sends a single bull.

- 6 J.C. WRIGHT, “A Survey of Evidence for Feasting in Mycenaean Society,” in *The Mycenaean Feast*, 13.
7 WATKINS (*supra* n. 1) 14.
8 E.g., J.T. KILLEN, “Thebes Sealings, Knossos Tablets and Mycenaean State Banquets,” *BICS* 39 (1994) 70; WRIGHT (*supra* n. 6) 14.
9 E.g., WRIGHT (*supra* n. 6) 14; HALSTEAD and ISAAKIDOU (*supra* n. 4) 149.
10 Y. HAMILAKIS, “Too many chiefs? Factional Competition in Neopalatial Crete,” in J. DRIESSEN, I. SCHOEP and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *Monuments of Minos: Rethinking the Minoan Palaces, Proceedings of the International Workshop ‘Crete of the hundred Palaces?’, Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve, 14-15 December 2001*, *Aegaeum* 23 (2002) 197.
11 Young or adult male bovines are implied by the BOS ideogram on this tablet.
12 Given the correspondence between the toponymic adjectives on PY Cn 3 and those of the men listed in the *o-ka* tablets (discussed below), it is generally assumed that the groups on Cn 3 represent (those) men.
13 In the Classical period, the term ἐπειρητής is used to refer to “collectors of state debts” F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario Micénico I* (1985) s.v. With respect to PY Cn 3, we can only say for certain that *di-wi-je-u*’s role as “inspector” is related to overseeing the delivery of cattle.
14 The Linear B script allows for both possibilities: sing. (ὄς) ἵησι or pl. ἱέσι of ἵημι “I send.” M. LEJEUNE, *Mémoires de Philologie Mycénienne. Deuxième Série - 1958-1963* (1971) 117; *DMic* s.v.
15 This pattern seems to be broken slightly in line 7 where a toponymic adjective is used (*a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo*) instead of the toponym itself. Nevertheless, the overall idea remains secure. If this interpretation is correct, this last line also exhibits a scribal error by way of a repeated final syllabic sign in *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*{*jo*}. See F. AURA JORRO, *DMic* II (1993) s.v.

PY Cn 3	(S608 H1)
.1	jo-i-je-si , me-za-na ,
.2	e-re-u-te-re , di-wi-je-we , qo-o ,
.3	a ₂ -ra-tu-a , o-ka-ra ₃ , BOS 1
.4	pi-ru-te , ku-re-we BOS 1
.5	e-na-po-ro , i-wa-si-jo-ta , BOS 1
.6	o-ru-ma-to , u-ru-pi-ja-jo , BOS 1
.7	a ₂ -ka-a ₂ -ki-ri-ja-jo , u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo , BOS 1

The kingdom of Pylos was divided into two provinces, the Hither Province in the west and the Further Province in the east. Based on the geographical order in which places are listed in several Linear B texts (e.g., PY Cn 608, Jn 829, Vn 20) and on cross-referencing between texts, a number of sites can be located fairly satisfactorily on a regional map.¹⁶ The first four sites on PY Cn 3 (lines 3-7) seem to be located in the coastal areas along the west/southwest of the Hither Province, while the fifth (line 7), which is mentioned *after ti-mi-to-a-ke-i* (identified as Nichoria) on PY An 661, belongs to the southeast part of the Further Province. These two general areas have been identified as prime cattle-grazing lowlands.¹⁷ Support for the sites' correct identification is provided, then, by their association with bulls on Cn 3.¹⁸

The terms in the nominative case denoting the groups of contributors are difficult to analyse etymologically. They are generally taken as either (1) words describing a particular type of soldier or (2) toponymic adjectives. For example, some see in the term *o-ka-ra₃* (l. 3) the adjective *ὄκός* "swift", and in *ku-re-we* (l. 4) an allusion to *σκῦλον* "booty of war," whereas *i-wa-si-jo-ta* (l. 5) could be related to the site of Iasos, in Messenia or elsewhere, and *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* (l. 6) might likewise reflect a toponymic adjective.¹⁹

As noted above, *di-wi-je-u* (l. 2) appears to be the official charged with receiving this delivery of bulls and ensuring for the Palace that everything is in order. The ultimate destination of the bulls is not clearly indicated on the text but it is reasonable to conclude that they were being collected for an event with which the Palace was associated, whether or not this event was to be hosted by the Palace or to take place on palace grounds.²⁰ The Palace's involvement and interest are, nevertheless, clear from the fact that the information was recorded and stored in its Archives (in Room 8).

In Uchitel's view, the bulls recorded on PY Cn 3 were work-animals, used for ploughing and not for food or sacrifice.²¹ There are three main reasons, however, why Cn 3 may be argued to belong to the religious sphere: (1) As already noted, the individual named *di-wi-je-u* has religious associations elsewhere in the corpus. In the Es series from Pylos, he is one of four parties – among which is the god Poseidon himself – who receive contributions of grain from other men; (2) The number of animals on Cn 3 is small (a single animal is sent by each group) which is often indicative of a special or religious occasion;²² (3) A related text, PY Cn 608, of similar layout and compiled by the same tablet-writer, Hand 1, seems to have a religious purpose. Cn 608 records the "fattening up of pigs" at each of the nine district centres (lines 3-11) of the Hither Province.²³

16 J. CHADWICK, *The Mycenaean World* (1976) 41-48.

17 See T.G. PALAIMA, "Perspectives on the Pylos Oxen Tablets: Textual (and Archaeological) Evidence for the Use and Management of Oxen in Late Bronze Age Messenia (and Crete)," in T.G. PALAIMA, C.W. SHELMEARDINE and P. Hr. ILIEVSKI (eds), *Studia Mycenaea* (1989) 113-114.

18 Cf. PALAIMA (*supra* n. 17) 113-115.

19 See AURA JORRO, *DMic s. o-ka-ra₃, ku-re-we, i-wa-si-jo-ta, u-ru-pi-ja-jo*.

20 Note, for instance, the possibility that wine recorded on PY Vn 20 may have formed part of banqueting supplies sent by the Palace to district centres (especially as wine was not an item of standard rations). L.M. BENDALL, "Fit for a King?" in *Food, Cuisine and Society*, 110.

21 A. UCHITEL, "On the 'military' character of the *o-ka* tablets," *Kadmos* 23 (1984) 156-157.

22 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 17) 117-118.

23 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 17) 118 believes that these animals were to be sent to the Palace for sacrifice. BENDALL (*supra* n. 20) 109 wonders whether they were intended for banqueting at the regional centres.

PY Cn 608		(S608 H1)
.1	jo-a-se-so-si , si-a ₂ -ro	
.2	o-pi-da-mi-jo	
.3	pi-*82	SUS+SI 3
.4	me-ta-pa	SUS+SI 3
.5	pe-to-no	SUS+SI 6
.6	pa-ki-ja-si	SUS+SI 2
.7	a-pu ₂ -we	SUS+SI 2
.8	a-ke-re-wa	SUS+SI 2
.9	e-ra-te-i	SUS+SI 3
.10	ka-ra-do-ro	SUS+SI 2
.11	ri-jo	SUS+SI 2

Note again the small numbers of animals involved as well as the abbreviation *SI* for *si-a-ro* (Greek *sialos*) describing the pigs as “fattened.” This abbreviation also appears in the Thebes nodules in which animals are variously described as “fattened” and “sacred.”²⁴ The combined evidence is very suggestive of animals intended to be eaten at a sacrificial feast. A case can therefore be made for the religious character of PY Cn 3.²⁵ The five bulls in question were probably destined for sacrifice and consumption at a feast.²⁶

Finally, the term *me-za-na* (l. 1) requires explanation. It may be plausibly interpreted as: (1) a divinity’s name²⁷ in which case the bulls were being sent for/in honour of the goddess *Metsana*, rendered in the dative (- this would reinforce the religious character of the text), or (2) a feminine singular toponym,²⁸ related to the later Classical Greek *Messenia* and a town *Messana*, and serving on Cn 3 as the collective designation of the five groups listed below it.²⁹ The verb *i-je-si* (l. 1) could then be taken as a third singular form and its subject would be the place-name *me-za-na*: “Thus *Metsana* sends....”³⁰ The name *Messenia* in later times refers to the region centred around Mt. Ithome, just west of Laconia, which constituted part of the Further Province of Bronze Age Pylos.³¹ It is tempting to view PY Cn 3, with *me-za-na* in its heading, as representing members of the Further Province (in contrast to PY Cn 608 which is clearly related to sites located in the Hither Province). But how would we account for the fact that all the groups on Cn 3 apart from the last one were physically located at sites situated in the *Hither* Province?

The answer may lie in the role that the five groups of contributors on Cn 3 play in another series of tablets from Pylos, known as the *o-ka* set, which seem to reflect a coastal defence operation or “early warning system to guard against an unobserved landing” on the coast.³² They record ten contingents (*o-ka*) of over 780 men in total, stationed along the Pylian

24 C. PITEROS, J.-P. OLIVIER and J.-L. MELENA, “Les inscriptions en linéaire B des nodules de Thèbes (1982); La fouille, les documents, les possibilités d’interprétation,” *BCH* 114 (1990)103-184.

25 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 17) 116; J.T. KILLEN, “The Language of Religious Texts: Some Fresh Thoughts on Old Problems” (paper presented at the 11th *Mycenological Colloquium Austin, 2000*, [forthcoming]). My sincere thanks to Dr. Killen for making this work available to me.

26 This scenario calls to mind the large-scale sacrifice and feasting on cattle meat referred to in Book Three of the *Odyssey*, in which the nine settlements of Nestor’s kingdom of Pylos each provided nine bulls to be sacrificed on the seashore in honour of Poseidon.

27 KILLEN (*supra* n. 25); J.L. MELENA, *Textos Griegos Micénicos Comentados* (2001) 33; J.L. GARCÍA RAMÓN (pers.comm.).

28 Cf. *a-ta-na* in *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (KN V 52.1); *DMic* s.v.

29 M. VENTRIS and J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1973²) 435-436.

30 It is somewhat tempting to consider also the option of a toponym in the dative: “thus they send for/on behalf of *Metsana* (the place),” but there are no convincing parallels to support this idea.

31 J. BENNET, “The Linear B Archives and the Kingdom of Nestor,” in J.L. DAVIS (ed), *Sandy Pylos. An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (1998) 132-133; See also VENTRIS and CHADWICK (*supra* n. 29) 435-436.

32 VENTRIS and CHADWICK (*supra* n. 29) 427. There is obviously no correspondence between the single contributions on Cn 3 and the number of men comprising the same groups on the *o-ka* (An) texts. The *o-ka* texts are: PY An 657, 654, 656, 519 and 661. For a comprehensive analysis of these tablets (and their ordering), see M. LANG, “The *o-ka* Tablets again,” *Kadmos* 29 (1990) 113-125.

coastline. They list the commander-in-charge, followed by 3-8 officers, the troops involved, and often an *e-qe-ta* accompanying one or more troops. The *e-qe-ta* were high-status individuals and may have served as liaisons between the field and the Palace.³³

The *o-ka* (PY An 519 & An 661) texts are linked to PY Cn 3 by the following troops:

o-ka-ra₃ , a ₂ -ra-tu-wa	110 men	(An 519.4)
u-ru-pi-ja-jo , o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo	30 men	(An 519.11-12)
pi-ru-te , ku-re-we	50 men	(An 519.14)
e-na-po-ro , i-wa-si-jo-ta	70 men	(An 661.3)
a ₂ -ka-a ₂ -ki-ri-jo , u-ru-pi-ja-jo	30 men	(An 661.12)

It could be that these five groups of men were temporarily or permanently stationed at these coastal towns for the purpose of this defence operation. Four of the towns were situated in the Hither Province, but the men may have originated from elsewhere – from the Further Province, further inland, or from part of it which was perhaps known as *me-za-na*.

The identity and status of the groups on PY Cn 3

It is appealing to see the men on PY Cn 3 either as original inhabitants of the hinterland region, known as the Further Province, which the Palace gradually incorporated into its kingdom by/early in the thirteenth century BCE³⁴ or even as inhabitants of far-off lands who were brought to it or who were attracted to it as a result of the flourishing palatial centre of Pylos. There is textual evidence from the Mycenaean and Hittite worlds for both forced and voluntary migration to the Greek world from surrounding regions during the late Bronze Age. The toponymic adjectives of the dependent or semi-dependent women textile workers in the A-series from Pylos indicate eastern Aegean origins, while the Hittite Tawagalawas Letter, now generally dated to the mid-thirteenth century BCE, mentions the transplantation of 7000 Hittite subjects to the Mycenaean world (Ahhiyawa), some being forced and others arriving there voluntarily.³⁵

It is also well known that the Mycenaean Palaces required the mobilisation of human resources for their survival. Their textile industries and livestock management depended on the recruitment of human labour. In Messenia, groups initially settled in the recently acquired territory of the Further Province could have been moved around the kingdom depending on the needs of the Palace. The Palace of Pylos granted plots of land to individuals in return for their services. Some of the rowers of PY An 610 are actually described as “settlers” (*ki-ti-ta*), “after-settlers” (*me-ta-ki-ti-ta*), and “immigrants” (*po-si-ke-te-re*).

We are afforded a glimpse of the workings of a similar system through the links that exist between the *o-ka* tablets and the Na taxation records. It seems that in addition to providing their services to the Palace for the defence of the coast, these groups were taxed by the Palace for the privilege of holding flax-growing land.³⁶

The status of these men is unclear. It could be argued that, from the Palace’s perspective, these groups constituted ‘outsiders.’ They were enlisted by the Palace to carry out certain coastguard duties but, as the *o-ka* records clearly reveal, they were at all times monitored by

33 VENTRIS and CHADWICK (*supra* n. 29) 429. The inspector *di-wi-je-u* (PY Cn 3) is designated an *e-qe-ta* on PY An 656.

34 J.L. DAVIS and J. BENNET, “Making Mycenaean: Warfare, Territorial Expansion and Representations of the Other in the Pylian Kingdom,” in R. LAFFINEUR (ed.), *POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Egée à l’âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998, Aegaeum* 19 (1999) 115.

35 See S. NIKOLOUDIS, “Multiculturalism in the Mycenaean World,” in B.J. COLLINS and M.R. BACHVAROVA (eds), *Anatolian Interfaces. Proceedings of an International Conference on ‘Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbors in Ancient Anatolia,’ Atlanta, USA, September 2004* (in press), with references.

36 E.D. FOSTER, “The Flax Impost at Pylos and Mycenaean Landholding,” *Minos* 17 (1981) 67-121. Interestingly, Killen (*supra* n. 25) points out that the rowers (*e-re-ta*) contributing a bull on KN C 902.11 may be comparable with the coastguard groups on PY Cn 3.

agents of the Palace such as commanders, officers and the high-status *e-qe-ta*. Furthermore, as far as we can tell, these groups of men were consistently thought of as collectives; they are never named individually. This stands in contrast to the high-status individuals at Pylos who are usually known to us either by personal name or title, or both. The men of Cn 3 may have been tied to the Palace by way of land grants, but they did not belong to the inner circle of Mycenaean elite. The evidence argues against an elite status.

Their contribution of a bull – a prime status symbol for the Mycenaeans – therefore raises interesting questions about their own place in the Mycenaean community. From the groups' point of view, their contribution of bulls may have represented a tangible, material symbol of their presence in, and contribution to, the state of Pylos. Their sending of bulls to *di-wi-je-u* served, in part, to secure a sense of belonging in the wider community, through the unifying power of the feast.

It appears that these five groups of men, whether long-term or short-term residents in the kingdom, were not palatial elite but possessed the means to supply a bull to *di-wi-je-u*.³⁷ These groups may have comprised individuals who had to pool their resources in order to send a bull. Still, the Palace would have been aware that if left unchecked, such latent wealth could one day threaten its own stability through future competition over resources, whether material or symbolic.³⁸ This may explain why such outsiders were allowed the privilege of contributing such a prized animal in the first place: the Palace administrators may have used the feast strategically, as a medium through which to harness the wealth and influence of such groups by wisely *including* them in a significant state-wide celebration.³⁹

The Palace administrators at Pylos were extremely adept at cultivating a peaceful, symbiotic relationship between themselves and the existing local, land-owning and administering *damos* communities, resulting in the coexistence of an array of palatial and local officials and institutions.⁴⁰ In addition, Davis and Bennet have discussed the Palace's skill at absorbing surrounding populations as its administrative grip expanded to the north and east.⁴¹ Whether the groups' decision to send a bull was their own or was imposed on them by the Palace, a similar, strategic process of social and political negotiation between Palace and 'others' may be reflected on Cn 3.

Conclusions

The information contained on PY Cn 3 points to the Mycenaeans' underlying cultural diversity: they were made up of diverse, regional social groups. It also alludes to their effective negotiating skills in socio-political formation and development. Furthermore, this tablet serves as a reminder that while the Linear B texts deal with activities in which the ruling authorities had a vested interest, if we look closely, they also provide glimpses into the lives of people who stood outside the inner circle of the Mycenaean palatial elite. Above all, the sending of bulls recorded on PY Cn 3 and the likely distribution of their meat in the context of a feast represent a symbolic gesture promoting the incorporation of the contributing groups into the wider Mycenaean community.

Stavroula NIKOLOUDIS

37 Bennet tentatively describes them as "semi-independent corporate groups either within or on the boundaries of the Pylian state," but does not elaborate on the motivation behind their contribution of bulls. BENNET (*supra* n. 31) 132. See also VENTRIS and CHADWICK (*supra* n. 29) 430. It is quite possible that these were moderate- or low-status individuals.

38 Cf. HAMILAKIS (*supra* n. 10) 197-198.

39 One may note here the obligation imposed on the city-state allies of Athens in the Classical period to send a cow and panoply to Athens during the (Great) Panathenaic festival, e.g., IG I² 45, IG I² 66. See C.W. FORNARA (ed), *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome I. Archaic times to the end of the Peloponnesian War* (1983²) Nos. 98, 100.

40 E.g., T.G. PALAIMA, "The Modalities of Economic Control at Pylos," *Ktema* 26 (2001) 151-159; C.W. SHELMEARDINE, "Mycenaean palatial administration," in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY and I. LEMOS (eds), *Ancient Greece. From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (2006) 73-86.

41 DAVIS and BENNET (*supra* n. 34).