

Re-visiting the scribes of Knossos: The principal hands 101-123, 125-141

Richard J. FIRTH and José Luis MELENA
Bristol/Vitoria

The objective of this work is to publish an updated version of Chapter II of *Scribes*. For convenience of the authors, this will be done in a series of three papers in this volume which each tackle a group of scribes (the principal scribes 101-141 but excluding the 124 scribes; the 124 scribes; the secondary scribes). The aim of each of these papers is to draw together the useful information from existing publications together with a limited number of new suggestions.¹ Since this is the first paper in this series, it will begin by including a comprehensive introduction for the whole series of papers.

INTRODUCTION

It is now 40 years since Jean-Pierre Olivier published his seminal book, *Les Scribes de Cnossos* (1967a). This book was an important advance in at least two respects. Firstly, in Chapter I, it attempted to interpret the work of Palmer on find-places and convert it into a usable form. Secondly, and more importantly, in Chapter II, it identified 41 major scribal hands and 25 secondary scribal hands and described, in some detail, the tablets which could be associated with each hand. Olivier's work was used by Chadwick (1972) as a basis for refining the classification of the Knossos tablets into sets. The transcriptions of the tablets in sets and with attributions of scribal hands were first included in the 4th edition of *The Knossos Tablets* (KT4).

Since the publication of *Scribes*, hundreds of new fragments of Linear B tablets from Knossos have been found. There has also been a large programme of collaborative

¹ There are occasional statements in the literature which tentatively suggest that the pieces numbered 10,000 and above could be associated with particular scribal hands based on the clay-type. Such statements are noted here in the footnotes of this paper, however, in view of the very fragmentary nature of these pieces, they are not included in the formal listings of tablets associated with scribal hands that are given in the main text.

work done to consolidate the archive by joining the fragments. During this period there have been two new editions of *The Knossos Tablets* (KT4, KT5) and a full publication of the *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (CoMIK). In each of these publications, the scribal hands have been included and progressively updated as new fragments were published. More recently, there has been a major review of the find-places of the Knossos tablets (including Firth 1998, Firth & Melena 2000, Firth 2002). However, there has not been an attempt to re-visit Chapter II of Olivier's original work, which identifies the output of the different scribal hands. Therefore the aim of the present study is to publish an updated version of Chapter II from *Scribes*.

As already noted, scribal hands have been progressively updated since the publication of *Scribes*. The latest publication allocating scribal hands is CoMIK IV, which gives a complete listing of scribal hands (pp. 233-241). This will serve as the starting point for the present work for all scribes except for those from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. In the latter case, the starting point will be Driessen's study, *The Scribes of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos* (RCTK particularly pp. 270-287). The allocation of scribal hands given in the present study does not fully align with those given in CoMIK IV or in Driessen's study, but wherever it departs from those sources, this will be highlighted in a set of comprehensive footnotes. This work will also incorporate many of the recommendations of Nosch's study, *The Knossos Od series* (particularly pp. 53-59).

Experience has shown that publications such as this can often serve to re-vitalise interest in an area. It is hoped that this will be the case here and that the present study is a stepping stone towards a better understanding of the scribes of Knossos and their work.

It is necessary to stress one important development which has occurred in the identification of scribes. In *Scribes*, the identification of scribes was naturally done based on a detailed examination of the hand-writing. However, it subsequently became evident that there were strong correlations between scribal hands and the characteristics of clay used. Thus, it became possible to identify some scribal hands by the clay type. This requires a keen eye and much experience, but it was used extensively during the work on the so-called 1984-fragments, which were found in the store rooms of the Heraklion Museum and were in very poor condition.

However, the use of clay type to identify scribal hands has led to some anomalies in the attribution of scribal hands, particularly in the use of the question-mark. If a hand is undoubtedly hand 117, say, then that is straightforward. If there is some doubt then it is marked as 117?. Originally, the question-mark was used on the basis of the number of signs that could be matched as being written by hand 117 and the

number of signs where the match was doubtful. More recently, the attribution of scribal hands has been done based on clay type and so it is possible to find examples in *CoMIK* where small fragments of tablets with little trace of writing are given a scribal hand with no question-mark whereas larger fragments with significant number of signs are shown with a question-mark. One aim of the present work will be to try to remove such anomalies.

It is worth emphasising that there is not necessarily a strict correlation between clay type and scribal hand. Clearly, if two sets of tablets were written by the same scribe at different times then they could have used clay from different batches. Similarly, it is evident, from Sjöquist & Åström's study of palm-prints (1991; see also Firth 2011), that the people who made the basic clay tablets were not necessarily the same people who wrote the tablets. Therefore, tablets written by the same scribe at the same time could differ because they were made by different tablet makers. Thus, in principle, it is possible that tablets written by the same scribe could have a different appearance because they had been made from different batches of clay or by different tablet makers.

It is also worth noting that there is a significant level of uncertainty associated with identifications of scribal hand such that there are a small number of tablets, which were allocated to one scribe in *Scribes*, are now allocated to a completely different hand. Undoubtedly some of the allocations listed below will also be questioned at some point in the future. Nevertheless, this uncertainty should not prevent us from proceeding with this attempt to identify the scribal hands for the tablets from Knossos.

*JPO's Introduction*²

Emmett Bennett numbered the Pylos hands starting from number 1 and those from Mycenae from number 51. Therefore it naturally followed that the number 101 should be assigned to the first hand of Knossos.

The numerical order according to which the different hands followed on could not be entirely coherent, since a number of hands have drawn up tablets belonging to several series and tablets attributed to the same hand can sometimes be found in places some distance apart. Furthermore, since no "class" of handwriting had been defined in Knossos, the ordering could not draw inspiration from the one that Bennett had used for the hands of Pylos.

² This is essentially the introduction given by JPO for Chapter II of *Scribes* and has been included for completeness. It is convenient in this paper to refer to researchers using initials (as is done in the papers which report joins). JPO = Jean-Pierre Olivier; JTK = John Killen; JLM = José Melena; LG = Louis Godart; MLN = Marie-Louise Nosch; RJF = Richard Firth.

Finally, the classification adopted consisted of a compromise between grouping of hands by subject and grouping hands by find-places. In practice, this compromise was quite strongly conditioned by the genesis by the work itself and the progressive “discovery” of hands. Therefore, the reader should consider the ordering of hands as arbitrary and not to seek to find a basis for the ordering since one was not intended.

JPO distinguished between two sorts of hands. The one kind, from 101 to 141, could be called “principal hands” and the others, from 201 to 225, “secondary hands”. However, this bi-partite division should be regarded as indicative. In particular, it does not rest on strict criteria, such as “the minimum number of tablets” (since a tablet could be covered with more than one hundred syllabograms or with only one), “minimum number of syllabograms” (since this merely raises the questions of where to put the threshold; JPO only adopted this approach in the case of hands defined by a single tablet, see below).

Amongst the “principal hands”, JPO sought to group tablets in coherent collections, presenting either a large number of tablets or a large spread of different syllabograms (obviously these two characteristics are not mutually exclusive). The ideal would be that the hands were all completely different from each other. However, the nature of the syllabary, combined with the state and the nature of the documents, give the result that the identification of some of these hands are less certain than others. (For example, hand 139 could be identical with hand 140 and hands 109, 110, 112, 114, 122, 134 present too few different syllabograms for certainty to be absolute) .

The “secondary hands” are defined with less confidence than the “principal hands” and, in general, they are based on a small number of tablets presenting relatively few different syllabograms. One will find amongst them some hands that are a little better defined than others (e.g. 204, 206), which are situated at the upper limit of the group. The lower limit being reached by hands to which only two tablets have been attributed (e.g. 214, 218, 219, 225). The hands 201, 202 and 203 form a separate group: each one is only responsible for a single tablet, respectively Ce 902, U 4478 and V 831. (To avoid over-statement, JPO only took into consideration isolated tablets that carried more than thirty syllabograms.) Some of these secondary hands are definitely “singular”, without being able to say exactly which ones. Some others could actually be an aspect of the production of a scribe who had already been listed amongst the principal hands or amongst the secondary hands, perhaps even amongst both at the same time.

In this publication, the part devoted to each scribe is broken up into three sections entitled *tablets*, *find-places* and *description*.

The *tablets* are arranged in the order of their classifying prefixes, which are generally those of *CoMIK*. When there was a joining or a definite quasi-joining of

fragments the combined fragments are given the number that was the lowest number of the individual fragments; this fact is not mentioned in the text, but *CoMIK* lists the components of the join. Otherwise classifying prefixes have only been modified where it is explicitly noted in the footnotes.

The numbers between oblique brackets, < >, designate lost tablets, with the *proviso* that in the main text of this work we will only consider those lost tablets for which there is a photograph or drawing (however in other cases there may be discussion in the footnotes).

Finally, attention is drawn to the fact that, when the notes do not particularly draw attention to the *verso* or the inscribed side(s) of a tablet which possess one, this implies that there does not exist any particular reason to think that the *verso* or inscribed side(s) were written by a scribe other than the one that is responsible the *recto*.

The *find-places*: the various places where the tablets were found are indicated according to the conventional alphanumeric system defined below. References to tablets that are doubtfully attributed to the scribe are placed between square brackets ([]). Question marks appearing in this section concern only the find-place itself. All find-places quoted in this paper are based on the publications of the authors (Firth 1998, Firth & Melena 2000, Firth 2002) and, unless stated otherwise, find-places are based on Evans' *Handlist*.

The *description* may perhaps appear monotonous and of little use. In fact, it constituted the beginning of an *inventory* of tablets of Knossos and it allows, despite everything, the formation of an idea of certain aspects of the tablets (of certain of the aspects only, because the tablets are of irregular shape, whose dimensions, even accompanied by comments and illustrated by photography, would not give an exact description). In addition, the grouping of documents of similar format is of interest for the identification of scribes and for interpretation.

The following order has been adopted: width × height × thickness (save for contrary specification, the figures express maximum values; figures between parentheses indicate that the document is damaged in the dimension under consideration [this practice has been extended to figures giving the number of lines which have survived]; figures between oblique brackets indicate a reconstituted dimension, generally based on the comparison of several documents damaged in different places); possible ruling and height of the lines; the appearance of the left and/or right ends of the tablet; various particularities; and, at the end of the section, reference to *versos* and sides carrying an inscription, with an indication of the rotation of the tablet (↓ , → or ↗ cf. *Nestor*, 1 July 1962, p. 201).

Data concerning tablets doubtfully attributed to a scribe are placed between square brackets.

*Alpha-numeric listing of find-places*³

- A Clay Chest
- B1 S.W. Corner
- B2 S.W. Pillar Room (= B3)
- B4 Area beyond W. Wall (i.e. Western Court)
- B5 W. Area: Near S.W. Entrance (i.e. Western Court)
- C Room of Chariot Tablets (*RCT*)
- D Near Room of Clay Chest
- E1 Room of Column Bases (*RCB*)
- E1 bis Near N. Entrance to Room of Column Bases
- E2 E. Pillar Room
- E3 N. of Room of Column Bases
- E4 Passage on E. Side of Room of Chariot Tablets
- E5 Corridor of House Tablets and near Entrance to E. Pillar Room
- E6 Room of Niche
- F1 West Magazine II
- F2 West Magazine III
- F3 West Magazine IV
- F4 West Magazine V
- F5 West Magazine VI
- F6 West Magazine VII
- F7a West Magazine VIII: S.E. Corner
- F7 West Magazine VIII
- F8 West Magazine IX
- F9 West Magazine X
- F10 West Magazine XI
- F11 West Magazine XII
- F12 West Magazine XIII
- F13 West Magazine XIV
- F14 West Magazine XV
- F15 Corridor of Stone Jambs
- F16 Near Door of West Magazine VII
- F17 Near Door of West Magazine VIII
- F18 North End of Long Corridor (from West Magazine IX to West Magazine XII)
- F19 N.W. Passage (see discussion in Firth 2002, pp. 229-230)
- F20 N. Half Long Gallery near Stairs

³ This listing is based on Firth (1998) and has been updated to take account of Firth & Melena (2000) and Firth (2002).

- G1 Gallery of Jewel Fresco
- G2 Small Room to the East of Gallery of Jewel Fresco (= G3)
- H1 Antechamber to Throne Room
- H2 Bath Room (part of Throne Room complex)
- H3 Bath Gallery or Gallery of Stone Basin
- H4 Space South of Bath Corridor
- H5 Under blocked Doorway of Room behind Throne (= H6)
- H7 Room of Stone Lamp
- I1 Area of Bügelkannes: 1900 season (= I5)
- I2 Deposit of Great Seal (North Entrance Passage)
- I3 Area of Bull Relief (North Entrance Passage)
- I3 bis S. of Bull Relief Area (North Entrance Passage)
- I4 Area of Bügelkannes: 1901 season
- I6 East of Chamber of Hieroglyph Inscr.
- J1 East-West Corridor
- J2 Hall of Colonnades
- J3 Corridor of Sword Tablets
- J4 E. Bath Room (part of Queen's Megaron complex)
- K S.E. front
- K1 Area of Clay Signet Room (= K2, K3)
- L Arsenal
- L2 In the immediate vicinity of the Arsenal
- M Little Palace

A brief discussion on classification

The classification of the Knossos tablets is a natural extension of the study of scribal hands, therefore, it is convenient to include this discussion here. It uses as its starting point the brief discussion given in the introduction to *KT5* (p. XIII) and expands that to include a number of proposed developments.

The original classification of the Linear B tablets was devised by E. L. Bennett prior to the decipherment, relying almost entirely on the logograms, but with some attributions on the basis of common formulae. Some modifications were introduced into *KT3*, mainly as the result of work on the sheep tablets. However, the systematic classification of scribal hands entailed a drastic revision of the prefixes, which was undertaken for *KT4* by Chadwick (1972) in consultation with the other editors.

In *KT5*, a few new prefixes were created:

- **Bg** for tablets in hand 137 showing VIR and *po-ni-ki-jo*.
- **Wm** for nodules with no seal impression but with a hole for string.

- **Wn** for nodules with a seal impression but with no hole for string.
- **Xf** for fragments which, to judge from their hand and/or clay, very probably come from the Arsenal.

In the present work a number of additional prefixes have been created or re-defined:

- **Ai(4)** for tablets written by hand 205 [previously included as part of Ai(2)].
- **Ak(4)** for the tablets by hand 228 [following the suggestion of Nosch (2000, p. 64)].
- **As(2)** for tablets written by scribal hands 101 & 102b. The range of find-places has been extended to include the South-West Pillar Room (B2).
- **As(3)** for tablets written by scribal hand 105 [replacing As(2), which had been shared by hands 101, 102b & 105].
- **Bk** for tablets written by hand 104 [replacing B(5)].
- **Bo** for B-series tablets written by hand 106 [replacing B(3)].
- **Cf** for C-series tablets written by hand 112 [replacing C(2)].
- **Cg** for C-series tablets written by hand 109 [replacing C(3)].
- The **DI(1)** series has been divided into DI(1a) and DI(1b) on the basis of the appearance and content of the tablets.
- **DI(2)** for DI-series tablets written by hand 215 and found in the South Front area.
- **DI(3)** for DI-series tablets written by hand 218 and found in the West Wing.
- **Dq(5)** for Dq-series tablets by hand 230 from H5.
- **Fh(2)** for Fh-series tablets by hand 226.
- **Od(4)** for Od-series tablets written by hand 115 from F6.
- **Od(5)** for Od-series tablets written by hand 227 from the area of the Room of the Bügelkannes [following Nosch 2007, p. 56].
- **Ve** for Vc-series tablets written by hand 115 [replacing Vc(2)].
- **Vf** for V-series tablets written by hand 125 [replacing V(5)].
- **Vs(1)** for V-series tablets written by hand 103 [replacing V(4)].
- **Vs(2)** for V-series tablets written by hand 101 [replacing V(6) & V(7)].
- **V(4)** for tablets 831, 832, 865 & 960 that were classified as V(6).
- **Ws(1)** for sealings written by hand 103.
- **Xg** for X-series tablets from the Little Palace.

THE SCRIBES

HAND 101⁴

Tablets

As(2) 40, 1516, 1519

Vs(2) 1523

*Find-places*⁵

B2 : As 40

J2 : As(2) 1516, 1519

J3? : Vs(2) 1523

Description

As 40 : $7.8 \times (11.5) \times 1.5$ cm; (9) lines of 1.1-1.5 cm; *verso* lined but devoid of inscription: (8) lines of *ca.* 1.4 cm; lower part of the tablet is thinner and *lat. inf.* almost rectilinear, corners rounded.

As 1516 : $16 \times 27 \times 2.8$ cm (of a greater thickness compared with that at the edge); 24 lines of *ca.* 1 cm; middle of tablet bulges; *lat. sup.* and *inf.* almost rectilinear, corners rounded.

As 1519 : $7 \times (14) \times 1.5$ cm; (15) lines of *ca.* 1 cm; lower part of the tablet is thinner and *lat. inf.* almost rectilinear, corners rounded.

⁴ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 40, 958?, 1516, 1519, 1523 to hand 101.

- V 958 has been excluded from the list of tablets by hand 101 because it is judged to include too many sign variations compared to the other tablets by this scribe. For example, there are only two short vertical strokes on the *se*, there are small dots around the *do*, there is only a single horizontal mid-stroke on the *no*, and the opening of the semi-circle faces down on the *ra* (see Firth & Skelton 2013).
- Olivier (1968) notes, “*il se pourrait que Ws 8754 soit également dû au scribe 101: mais j’avoue que cette attribution me semble loin de s’imposer, bien qu’il n’y ait pas de contre-indication formelle et que le caractère hâtif du tracé des signes rende tout verdict aléatoire*”. Ws 8754 was found in location B2 (cf. As 40).
- Chadwick (1968, p. 17) notes that V 52 has affinities with hand 101 (see also Skelton 2008). However, it is noted that there are differences in respect of the *jo* and *ne* and *po*, so it is not being suggested here that V 52 was written by hand 101. V 52 is recorded by Evans as having been found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (= *RCT*), although since it is of a different clay type to all the other *RCT* tablets it is more likely to have been found in the excavations nearby that were taking place at the same time. It has been suggested that the content of V 52 might link it with the tablets written by hands 138 and 139 from the Clay Chest which were being excavated at the same time, however, V 52 was not written by either of these hands (Firth 2002, p. 96).

⁵ A question mark has been added to the find-place for Vs 1523 following the discussion by Firth & Skelton 2013, see also Firth 1998, p. 64.

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Vs 1523 : $9 \times (11) \times 1.8$ cm; (9) lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm.

verso: As 40 →

N.B. : As 40, 1519 and V 1523 probably had almost the same dimensions and As 1516 has double these dimensions.

HAND 102

Scribes listed a series of tablets written by hand 102 (and 102?) and then gives a list of doubts about the attribution of these tablets to this scribal hand. Towards the end of that list, *Scribes* (p. 43) suggested attributing a subset of the tablets to hand 102b. Rather than repeat the same discussion here, it would seem to be more prudent to split hand 102 into 3 subsets, i.e. 102a, 102b, 102c.⁶

HAND 102a⁷

Tablets

Ak(3) 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 828, 830, 7001, 7003?, 7005, 7007?, 9002
E 843, 848??, 9916

⁶ See also Melena 1975, p. 33. In principle this leaves open the question of whether these are the work of one scribe, two scribes or three separate scribes. However, see the discussion by Firth & Skelton (2013) which implies that 102a and 102b are different scribal hands. The key differences are as follows: for 102a both arms of the *ne* are S-shaped curves (780, 781, 872) whereas for 102b the left arm is C-shaped (1055.3); for 102a the “Y” of the *sa* is drawn with 3 strokes (848, 872, 875) whereas for 102b it is drawn with two strokes (1055.2, 1517.3); for 102a the upper “horizontal” line of the *go* is a continuous wavy line (843.3) whereas for 102b it is a continuous straight line (1517.1); for 102a the *ke* has a central vertical stroke (7000.1) whereas for 102b that stroke is omitted (1517.10); the form of the *ku* is very different between 102a (872.3a) and 102b (1517.6); the form of the *VIR* is very different between 102a (780) and 102b (1055r.) [as noted in *Scribes* (p. 97) there is a chance that *VIR* on 1055v. could be the work of a different scribe].

⁷ *Scribes* clearly uses tablets from the North Entrance Passage to define the hand 102 (i.e. the Ak(3)-set, E 843, F(2) 854 and K(1) 829, 872, 875) since these are all attributed to hand 102 (with no question mark). Thus, hand 102a appears to correspond most closely to Olivier’s original intent for hand 102.

· *Scribes* & *CoMIK* attributed the same Ak-series tablets as above to hand 102 except that *Scribes* excluded 9002 but included 8339 (which is now part of 781). *Scribes* & *CoMIK* attributed the same E & F-series tablets as above to hand 102 except that 848 was attributed to hand 102? and 9916 was excluded. *Scribes* & *CoMIK* attributed the same K-series tablets as above to hand 102 except that *Scribes* also included 877?

F(2) 854
K(1) 740?, 829, 872, 873?, 875

Find-places

[H7 : K(1) 740]
I2 : Ak(3) 780, 781, 782, 783, 784
I3 : Ak(3) 828, 830; E 843, [848]; F854; K(1) 829, 872, [873], 875

Description

Ak 780, 7001, 7005, [7007]: *ca.* 17 × 3.3 × 1.6 cm: 3 lines of *ca.* 1.1 cm; slightly flattened on the right edge, rounded edges.

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- *Scribes* also attributed V 832 to scribe 102 but V 961 was attributed to scribe 225. When these two pieces were joined (Bennett et al, 1989, p. 206), JPO decided to attribute the joined tablet to scribe 225: “Certaines formes qu’on trouve en V 961 (notamment le *si*, mais surtout le *ka*) étant assez différentes de ce qu’on connaît de 102 et rien de ci qui figure en V 832 n’étant incompatible avec ce que l’on sait de 225 (à vrai dire, seuls la *ja* et le *ro* sont communs...) il nous a paru plus sage de garder le nouvelle ensemble sous 225 (main qui s’enrichit donc des signes *jo*, *ru*, *sa*, *ta* et *u*; par contre perd son seul exemple de *ru*)”.
 - In *Scribes*, K(1) 877 was attributed to hand 102? However, following the quasi-join, 877 [+] 1052, JPO wrote, “L’attribution de cette tablette à la main 102 semble très incertaine” (Godart & Olivier 1972a, p. 36). It is worth noting that, on the basis of the *CoMIK* photograph, the quasi-join does not seem convincing (because the width of 1052 is only 2.4 cm whereas the width of 877 is 2.6 cm). Although, it is of course possible that the *CoMIK* photograph mis-represents this quasi join. Clearly, if the quasi-join were shown to be doubtful then 877 could once again be attributed to 102?
 - *Scribes* attributed E 848 to hand 102? This attribution was retained after the quasi-join 848[+]8040 although there was no discussion on this point. It is suggested that the quasi-join to 8040 increases the doubt of the attribution to hand 102? This is because: the *ma* on 8040 differs from that on F 854, noting also that the *ma* on 854 is written well above the line; the *sa* on 848 differs from those on 872 & 875; the *GRA* on 848 differs from those on E 843 and F 854. On this basis, E 848 has been attributed to hand 102?? (rather than 102?).
 - 9916 is included because it has a quasi-join with E 843 (*KT5*, pp. 170, 174).
 - In principle it seems anomalous to attribute 9002 (which has only two complete signs) to hand 102 but to include question marks on the attribution of tablets with many more signs. However, since we are suggesting that the original hand 102 was a composite, it does not seem prudent to remove question marks without a full re-examination of the tablets.
 - The fact that 740 was unearthed in a different find-place from the remaining K(1)-series tablets suggests that it should be classified as K 740 and not K(1) 740, although the latter is retained above.
 - It is possible that 9326 could have been written by hand 102. This is based on the following reasoning. The *KT5* (p. 433) notes on 9326 state, “Beginning of Ak?”. 9326 is from Box III, implying that it was found in the North Entrance Passage (=NEP; Firth & Melena 2006a). If it is Ak and it is from the NEP, then this tends to suggest that it is probably hand 102. Finally the signs are consistent with hand 102.

- Ak 781, 782, 783, 784, 828, 830, [7003]: *ca.* <15 ?> × 3.4 × 1.3 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1 cm (but possibly going as far as 1.5 cm); edges thinned and rounded.
- E 843 : (3.8) × (7) × 1.5 cm; (6) lines of *ca.* 1.1 cm (first line blank); the upper part of the tablet thinned and rounded; a hole in the upper region left by the burning of a straw.
- F 854 : (7.1) × (7.5) × 1.7 cm; (5) lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm (lower part not lined); lower part of the tablet thinned and rounded; a hole in the upper region left by the burning of a straw.
- [E 848 : (4) × 3 × 1.2 cm; 2 lines of 1.5 cm].
- [K 740 : 5 × (5.5) × 1.4 cm; (6) lines of *ca.* 1 cm].
- K 829 : (7) × 4.8 × 1.4 cm; 4 lines of 1.2 cm.
- K 872 : (5.5) × 4.5 × ? cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.5 cm.
- [K 873 : (6.5) × 4.1 × 1.2 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.3 cm].
- K 875 : (11) × 6.6 × 2.1 cm; 6 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm; edge very thinned and slightly rounded.

HAND 102b⁸

Tablets

- As 1517
B 807, 1055

Find-places

- I3 : B 807

⁸ It is noted in Scribes that, "l'idéogramme *103 (entier seulement en [B 1055]) est assez peu semblable à celui de Ak 780.1, ce que la différence de format pourrait expliquer; [As 1517 r. B 807 et B 1055] devraient peut-être provoquer la création d'un classement '102b'" as we have done here.

- It is also noted in Scribes that, "la conception et le tracé des signes sont étonnamment proches de ceux de la main 102 [i.e. hand 102a in this paper] (les légères différences sont peut-être à attribuer au format plus grand [cf. B 807 et B 1055]; les ll. 10-13 ont été effacées puis réécrites, sans doute par le même scribe, quoique cela ne soit pas absolument sûr; le tracé de l'idéogramme *103 (l. 10) ne correspond pas tout à fait à celui que l'on relève en [B 807 et B 1055]; le *verso* présente l'idéogramme VIR, ce qui fait douter qu'il soit de la même main que le *recto*, mais on n'a pas d'autre *za* ni d'autre *mi* chez ce scribe et le *jo* est mutilé".
- This grouping of As 1517, B 807 & 1055, written by hand 102b, has been supported by Melena (1975, p. 33). He draws attention to the fact that these three documents have similar shape and size "where B 807 is cut and must be more or less a third of the general format as represented by As 1517".
- The classification of 1517 has been changed from As(2) to As since there were no other As(2) tablets written by hand 102b (or 102a, 102c).

J3 : As 1517
K1 : B 1055

Description

As 1517 : $8.6 \times 17 \times 2$ cm; 13 lines of *ca.* 1.4 cm; *lat. sup.* rectilinear, lower part of the tablet thinned and very rounded; *verso*: 3 lines of *ca.* 1 cm.

B 807 : $8.7 \times (5.5) \times 2$ cm; (3) lines of 1.2 cm (lower part not lined); *lat. inf.* rectilinear and probably cut.

B 1055 : $8.7 \times <13.5> \times 2$ cm; $<9>$ lines of *ca.* 1.5 cm; *lat. sup.* almost rectilinear, lower part of the tablet thinned and very rounded.

verso: [As 1517] →

HAND 102c⁹

Tablets

Ai(2) 750, 751, 752

Find-place

I1 : Ai(2) 750-752

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* $(11) \times 2.3 \times 1$ cm; not lined; 751 cut at right.

⁹ *Scribes* noted that “ces trois tablettes [750, 751, 752] sont vraisemblablement dues à un même scribe, même si elles ne relèvent pas de cette main [i.e. hand 102] (mais Ai 754 est presque certainement d’un autre scribe)”. Thus, 754 was not attributed to hand 102 in *KT4*. However, it was attributed to hand 102? in *KT5* and *CoMIK* (which were each co-authored by JPO). In view of the differences between the *MUL*, *ko*, *wo* and ductus on 754 compared with those on 750 and 752, it is difficult to understand why 754 was attributed to 102? in these later publications. On this basis, 754 has been excluded here.

· 7014 could possibly be attributed to hand 102? because the *wo* is very similar to that on 750 and the *ko* is very similar to that on 752. Further, 9505 is reminiscent of the right-end of 751. However, 7014 and 9505 are both narrower than 750, 751 or 752. (On the basis of the *CoMIK* photographs it is worthwhile checking whether 7014 & 9505 could be parts of the same tablet.) There is a further problem that 9505 is from Box IV which would tend to suggest that it is more likely to be from F7 than I2. Because of this, 7014 and 9505 are not listed as hand 102c at this stage.

HAND 103

*Tablets*¹⁰

Ak(1) 610, 611, 612, 614, 619, 620, 624, 626 [+] 630, 634, 638, 643, 5009, 5553, 5604?, 5611, 5648, 5655, 5741, 5884, 5893, 5907, 5918?, 5926, 5940, 5948, 8218, 8334?, 8338?, 8341, 8444, 8622?, 8726?, 8795?¹¹

Am(1) 568, 597, 600, 601, 2009?, 5882¹²

¹⁰ In view of the large number of tablets and sets associated with hand 103, we will use a different format here and provide footnotes for each of the sets rather than for the hand as a whole. We will not compare the list tablets given in each set by *Scribes* and *CoMIK* since that is a question of setting rather than attribution of scribal hands. It is useful to begin by noting here all of the the tablets that were attributed to hand 103 in *Scribes*, which are attributed to different hands in *CoMIK* and *vice versa*.

- *Scribes* suggested that 8592? and 8666 should be attributed to hand 103, however, these fragments have now been joined to L(9) 7401 by hand 213? and V(6) 832 by hand 225, respectively. Similarly, Olivier (1967b, p. 317) attributed 8729 to hand 103? but this has now been joined to Ld(1) 8245 by hand 116.
 - 5647 was attributed to hand 116? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but in *KT5* and *CoMIK* it is attributed to hand 103?
 - It is also worth drawing attention to the following list of tablets that were attributed to hand 103? in *Scribes* & *KT4* but not attributed in *KT5* or *CoMIK*: 1649, 5612, 7394, 7866, 8260, 8526 & 8622. Similarly, 2009 was attributed to hand 103 in *Scribes* & *KT4* but hand 103? in *KT5* & *CoMIK*.
- ¹¹ The list above for Ak(1) matches that given in *CoMIK* IV (p. 233) except that 8622? has been added.
- 5907 was attributed to hand 103? in *Scribes* and *CoMIK* (note the typographical error in *CoMIK* III p. 145 and its corrigendum, *CoMIK* IV p. 295). In view of the number of signs on 5907, it seems appropriate to attribute it to hand 103 (without a question mark).
 - Ak 8622 is made up of 8622 + 8724 + *frr.* The fragment 8622 was attributed to hand 103? in *Scribes* & *KT4* and 8724 was attributed to hand 103? in *KT4*. LG & JPO attributed the joined tablet, Ak 8622 + 8724 + *frr.* to hand 103 (Godart & Olivier 1972a, p. 48). However, Ak 8622 is not attributed to any scribal hand in *KT5* or *CoMIK*. It is assumed that this is an oversight and, following LG & JPO & *KT4*, 8622 is included here as hand 103? and, by extension, it has been included within the Ak(1) set.
 - Ak 8726 is given as hand 103? in *CoMIK* and so it is included here within the Ak(1) set.
 - Ak 8334 and 8795 are probably parts of the same tablet (Godart & Olivier 1973, p. 12).
 - *KT4* (pp.17, 368) suggested that 8334 and 8724 were probably parts of the same tablet but this suggestion was rejected by LG & JPO (Godart & Olivier 1972a, pp. 48-49).
 - JLM (*priv. comm.*) states that Ak 626 and 630 are parts of the same tablet.
- ¹² The list of Am & Am(1) tablets is as given in *CoMIK* IV (p. 233) except that Am 5755 has been re-classified as As(1).
- It is noted that in *Scribes* & *KT4*, 2009 was given as 103, but this became 103? in *KT5* & *CoMIK*.
 - Am(1) 597 was reclassified as Am 597 by JLM (draft *KT6*) but this has not been included above. Am 5755 has been re-classified here as As(1) 5755 (cf. As(1) 5719, 5944).

Ap	618, 628, 629, 637, 639, 5547?, 5748, 5864, 5868, 5876 ¹³
As(1)	566, 602, 603, 604, 605, 607, 608, 609, 645, 5542, 5549, 5557, 5605, 5609, 5719, 5755, 5877, 5880, 5888, 5908, 5932, 5941, 5944, 5956, 5981, 6038, 8161, 8342 ¹⁴
E(2)	668, 669, 670
Gg(1)	702, 704, 5552, 7369, 8053 ¹⁵
Lc(1)	525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 540, 541, 543, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 555, 557, 558, 560, 561, 582, 1580, 5053, 5746, 7285, 7289, 7321, 7376, 7392, 7901, 8572
Lc	7549?? ¹⁶
Ld	5647? ¹⁷

· It is interesting to note that the 3 fragments from the 5000-series that are included within the Am-set [i.e. 5882+5902, 5890(=8307) joined to 600] were all found together in Batch J (Firth & Melena 2002).

- ¹³ The list of Ap tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* except for the addition of 5547?
· Ap 5547 is included as hand 103? following JLM (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 116).
· Ap 639 and 5864 are probably parts of the same tablet (*CoMIK I* p. 237, *CoMIK III* p. 138).
- ¹⁴ The list of As(1) tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* except for the addition of 5755 & 5877.
· 5755 has been reclassified from Am (cf. As(1) 5719, 5944). 5877 has been reclassified from Xe (JLM, draft *KT6*).
· As(1) 5932 and 8342 are almost certainly parts of the same tablet (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 117).
· JTK has suggested that L 8443 might be part of the As(1) series (Killen & Olivier 1968, p. 141).
- ¹⁵ The list of Gg(1) tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV*. However, it is noted that Gg(1) 5552 and 8053 could probably also be classified as M(1), cf. M(1) 1645.
- ¹⁶ The list of Lc(1) tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* except for the removal of 7318 and 7549. 7309 & 7318 are made from the same clay and so Lc 7318 has been reclassified as Od following a re-examination of the tablet. 7549 has been changed from hand 103 to 103?? and reclassified as Lc 7549 (Firth & Nosch 2006).
· Lc(1) 547 [+] 1580 not excluded (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 114, Firth & Nosch 2006).
· Following JLM's suggestion, Lc 646 has been reclassified as L 646 (see also Firth & Nosch 2006).
· Lc 5612 was given as hand 103? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but the hand is omitted in *KT5* and *CoMIK*.
· JPO proposed (1969, p. 253) and then later rejected (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 227) a quasi-join between 5612 and 7394.
· Note the discussion on 8572 given by Firth & Nosch (2006).
- ¹⁷ *Scribes* and *KT4* attributed Ld 5647 to hand 116?, but the hand for this fragment is now given as 103? When the hand was changed, the classification was changed from Ld to L. However, it has been listed above as Ld 5647 because the fragment includes the logogram *158. It should be emphasised that this fragment only contains one sign, *158, and this is the only *158 that we have, written by hand 103. Therefore, the identification of scribal hand is probably based solely on the clay-type.

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Le 641, 642, 654, 5629, 5646, 5903, 5930, 6014

Ln 1568

L(1) 567, 594, 648, 5745, 5927, 5949, 8159

L(2) 593, 647, 5108, 5909, 5910, 5924, 5961, 5998¹⁸

L 586?, 590, 646, 651, 693, 695, 696 [+], 698, 5653?, 5660, 5987?, 6002?,
7382, 8105, 8160, 8163, 8246, 8443, 8503, 8757?¹⁹

M(1) 559, 720, 1645²⁰

Od(1) 524, 537, 539, 544, 562, 563, 570, 681, 682, 683, 687, 688, 689, 690,
691, 692, 5511, 5540, 7324²¹

¹⁸ The lists of L(1) and L(2) tablets are the same as those given in *CoMIK* IV except for the addition of 5745. Following the join of 5745+5917 the tablet has been reclassified as L(1) (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 116).

¹⁹ The list of L tablets (that are not L(1) or L(2)) is the same as that given in *CoMIK* IV except 5647? and 5917 have been excluded and 646, 696 and 5653? have been added.

- 5647 has been reclassified as Ld (see previous footnote). 5917 was joined to 5745 and classified as L(1) (see previous footnote).

- Following the suggestions of JLM & MLN, Lc 646 has been reclassified as L 646 (Melena *priv. comm.*, draft *KT6*; Nosch 2000, p. 85).

- Following JLM's suggestion, the quasi-join 696 [+], 698 proposed by JPO (1969, p. 253) has been accepted as valid and the tablet has been classified as L (see also Firth & Nosch 2006).

- L 1649 was included as hand 103? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but unattributed in *KT5* and *CoMIK*. (N.B. the apparent attribution to hand 103?? in *CoMIK* II p. 184 and its corrigendum, *CoMIK* IV p. 295).

- Following JLM's suggestion, U 5653 has been reclassified as L 5653 on the assumption that "ki" is an abbreviation for *ki-to* (*priv. comm.*, draft *KT6*).

- JTK has suggested that L 8443 might be part of the As(1) series (Killen & Olivier 1968, p. 141).

²⁰ The M(1) set in *CoMIK* consists of 559, 683, 720 and 1645.

- 683 has been reclassified as Od(1) following Firth (2002, p. 228, see also Killen 1988, p. 177 and Firth & Nosch 2006).

- 7394 was attributed to hand 103? in *Scribes* & *KT4* and it was later reclassified to M 7394 following the join by JPO but he rejected the attribution to 103? for the present (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 227). Note that the *146 on M 7394 is reminiscent of that on M 724. JPO proposed (Olivier 1969, p. 253) and then rejected (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 227) a quasi-join between 5612 and 7394.

²¹ The list of Od(1) tablets in *CoMIK* is as follows, 539, 562, 563, 570, 681, 682, 687-690, 696, 5511, 5966, 7309?, 7310, 7324?, 8563?

- 524, 537, 683, 691, 692 are reclassified as Od(1) following Firth & Nosch (2006; see also Firth 2002, p. 228).

Od(2)	714, 715, 716, 718, 7310 ²²
Od	667, 5966, 7309, 7318, 8563?? ²³
Vs(1)	652, 653, 5536, 5872, 5913, 5946
Ws(1)	8152, 8499
Xe	657?, 664?, 5361, 5546?, 5600, 5630, 5887, 5891, 5899, 5900, 5905, 6011, 6020?, 6026?, 7437, 7711, 7805?, 7826?, 7850, 7857, 7988?, 8274, 8291, 8516?, 8537, 8546, 8593?, 8598, 8672, 8674?, 8696?, 8762 ²⁴
X	5716??, 8616?? ²⁵

-
- 544 has been reclassified as Od(1) 544 (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 114; Firth & Nosch 2006).
 - As already noted, the quasi-join 696 [+] 698 proposed by JPO (1969, p. 253) has been accepted as valid and so Od(1) 696 as been classified as L 696.
 - Od 7324 was changed from 103? to 103 by JLM following a re-examination of the tablet (Firth & Nosch 2006).
 - Od(1) 5966, 7309 & 8563 have been reclassified as Od following a re-examination of the tablets. In addition it has been noted that 5966 & 8563 were probably found in F14, some distance away from the remainder of the Od(1)-set (Firth & Nosch 2006).
 - Od(1) 7310 has been reclassified as Od(2) following a re-examination of the tablet (Firth & Nosch 2006).
 - Od(1) 544 and 5511 are possibly parts of the same tablet (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 114, Firth & Nosch 2006).

²² This is the same list as given in *CoMIK*, but with addition of 7310. As already noted, Od(1) 7310 has been reclassified as Od(2) following a re-examination of the tablet (Firth & Nosch 2006).

²³ *CoMIK* does not list any tablets as Od other than the Od(1) and Od(2) sets.

- Od 667 was attributed to hand 103 by *Scribes*, *KT4* & *CoMIK*I (p. 251), but no hand was given in Bennett *et al.* (1989, p. 204), *KT5* or *CoMIK* IV (p. 233). However, the attribution to hand 103 has been confirmed by JLM following a re-examination of the tablet.

- As already noted, Od(1) 5966, 7309 & 8563 have been reclassified as Od following a re-examination of the tablets and 7309 was changed from hand 103? to 103 following a re-examination of the tablet. 8563 has been changed from hand 103? to 103?? by JLM following a re-examination of the tablet (Firth & Nosch 2006).
- 7309 & 7318 are made from the same clay and so Lc 7318 has been reclassified as Od based on a re-examination of the tablet (Firth & Nosch 2006).

²⁴ 7866, 8260 & 8526 were attributed to hand 103? in *Scribes* & *KT4* but not attributed in *KT5* or *CoMIK*.

- JLM has suggested (*priv. comm.*) that 7826 might be hand 117.

²⁵ 5716 is included as hand 103?? following JLM (*priv. comm.*, draft *KT6*). Similarly, JLM suggested (*priv. comm.*) that 8616 might be hand 103.

*Find-places*²⁶

- [F7 : L 586]
- F8 : Od(1) 570
F9 : Od(1) 524
F10 : Lc(1) 525-536, 540, 541, 543, 546-553, 555, 557, 558, 560; M(1) 559;
Od(1) 537, 539, 544, 689
F11 : Lc(1) 561; Od(1) 562, 563
F18 : Od(1) 681-683, 687, 688, 690-692
- F13 : Am(1) 568, 597; As(1) 566; L(1) 567
F14 : Ak(1) 610-612, 614, 619, 620, 624, 626, 630, 634, 638, 643; Am(1)
600-601; Ap 618, 628, 629, 637, 639; As(1) 602-605, 607-609, 645,
8161; E(2) 668-670; Le 641, 642, 654; Ln 1568; L(1) 594, 648, 8159;
L(2) 593, 647; L 646, 651, 8160, 8163; Od 667; Vs(4) 652-653; Ws(1)
8152; [Xe 657, 664]
- F19 : L 693, 695, 696
- F21 : Ws(1) 8499
- G1 : Gg(1) 702, 704; M(1) 720; Od(2) 714-716, 718
G2 : L 590

Physical description

It is useful to group the tablets of hand 103 according to find-places.

I) *Find-places F8, F9, F10, F11 & F18*

Lc(1):

- a) Lc(1) 526-534, 540, 541, 543, 546-553, 555, 560, 582, 1580, 5053, 5746,
7285, 7289, 7321, 7376, 7392, 7901, 8572; ca. 15 × 2.3 × 1 cm; 2 lines
(A and B) of about equal height (but note that there is no evidence of a
line on the remaining fragments of tablets 546, 547, 548, 549, 7901); edges
somewhat thinned and rounded.

²⁶ Lc(1) 582 was included in Evans' *Handlist* as being found in F14. However, in view of the fact that it is clearly an Lc(1) tablet, this is assumed to be an error (*Scribes* p. 46, Firth 2002 p. 97).

- b) Lc(1) 525, 557, 558, 561; [Lc 7549]
- 558 and 561: *ca.* $12 \times 2.5\text{-}3 \times 1.1$ cm: not lined; ends thinned and rounded.
- 525 and 557: *ca.* $(13.5) \times 4 \times 1.3$ cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- [7549: $(4) \times 3 \times (.)$ cm. 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height.]
- c) Lc(1) 535, 536; *ca.* $\langle 14 \rangle \times 3 \times 1$ cm; 3 lines (A B and C) of *ca.* 1 cm; ends a little thinned and rounded.

N.B.: The palm-print R SIGMA appears on Lc(1) 528, 550 & 552. The palm-print R CHI appears on Lc(1) 548 & 555.

Uncategorised:

[L 586: $(5) \times (2.5) \times 1$ cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height.]

Od(1):

- a) Od(1) 682, 683, 690, 692; *ca.* $(14) \times 3.8 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- b) Od(1) 524, 537, 563, 691, 7324; *ca.* $9.5 \times 3 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- c) Od(1) 539, 544, 681, 687, 688, 689, 5511; *ca.* $11 \times 3 \times 1$ cm; not lined.

N.B.: Od(1) 688 has the palm-print R ZETA. This palm-print also appears on Am(1) 600 & 601.

Uncategorised:

M(1) 559 : $(3.5) \times 2.3 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height

Od(1) 562 : $13 \times 3.2 \times 1$ cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1 cm.; ends thinned and rounded (cf. above Lc (c)).

Od(1) 570 : $(5.5) \times 2.3 \times 1$ cm not lined; left ends thinned and rounded.

N.B.: The tablets of group (c) show particular traits in the way they are written (shape and thickness of the stroke) and in their appearance (particularly their colour), which sets them a little apart from the other tablets of this scribe, taken in general, but which brings them nearer to L(1) 648 and [Xe 657] in group II, of Od(2) 714, 715, 716, 718 in group III and of Od(1) 570 (*ca.*

(5.5) × 2.2 × 1 cm; not lined; left ends thinned and rounded) which belongs to group I. There does not exist sufficient evidence to attribute these tablets to a different scribe, but it seems to suggest that they constitute a separate group in the work of 103.

II) *Find-places F13 & F14*

All of the tablets Ak(1), Am(1), Ap & As(1) which are attributed to hand 103 and whose find-place is known come from this area.

Ak(1) and Ap:

- a) Ak(1) 634, 5553, 5741, [5918], 5948; Ap 618, 5868: *ca.* 13 × 3 × 1 cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- b) Ak(1) 610, 611, 612, 620, 626 [+] 630, 638, 643, 5009, 5884, 5926; Ap 628, 629, 637, 5876: *ca.* 14 × 3.5 × 1.2 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1 cm (either 1 2 and 3, or A B and C); ends thinned and rounded.
- c) Ak(1) 614, 619, 624: *ca.* <15 ?> × 4.5 × 1.5 cm; 3 or 4 lines of *ca.* 1.3 cm (614: A B and C; 624: 1 2 3 and 4; 619: 1 2 3 and 4 ?); edges very thinned and rounded.
- d) Ap 639 (of which Ap 5864 is probably fragment; however, 639 is in Oxford, 5864 in Heraklion and the plaster with which the top of 639 had been coated, in order to consolidate it, prevents determining whether a cast of 5864 coincides exactly): 11 × (11) × 2 cm.; (14) lines of *ca.* 0.8 cm; lower edge of the tablet is very thinned and rounded.
- e) Ap 5748: (10.5) × (4.5) × 1 cm.; (4) lines of *ca.* 1.1 cm.

N.B.: The fragments which remain probably belong to one of these categories, although it is not possible to determine which one it is.

Am(1):

- a) Am(1) 568, 600, 601; *ca.* 13 × 2.5 × 1 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

N.B.: Am(1) 597, [2009], 5882 are of the same kind, but a little less thick and of variable height (3.3, 2.4 and 2.6 cm, respectively.)

N.B.: 600 & 601 have palm-print R ZETA. This palm-print also appears on Od(1) 688 by hand 103.

As(1):

- a) As(1) 5719, 5755, 5944; *ca.* $(5.5) \times 3 \times 0.8$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- b) As(1) 566, 5549, 5888; *ca.* $(5.5) \times 3.5 \times 0.8$ cm; 3 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- c) As(1) 603, 5557; *ca.* $(7) \times 4 \times 0.8$ cm; 4 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- d) As(1) 602, 604, 605, 607, 608, 609, 645; *ca.* $(14.5) \times 4.5 \times 1$ cm; 4 or 5 lines of 1-1.5 cm; ends thinned and rounded.

N.B.: All the other fragments (except perhaps As(1) 5542) ought probably to be included here. This category is not entirely homogeneous (thus 602 and 608 show a somewhat distinctive clay texture, etc.); but a more pronounced differentiation is difficult and without great interest, at the this stage.

E(2): E(2) 668, 669, 670; *ca.* $13 \times 3 \times 0.9$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.

L: fragments are very numerous and not many of the tablets are complete; no classification seems possible at the moment; here are some examples:

Le 641 : $(12) \times 6 \times 1.5$ cm; 6 lines of *ca.* 1 cm; left edge somewhat rectilinear with rounded corners. (N. B.: Le 5930 seems to be of the same type.)

Le 642 : $(9) \times 5 \times 1.5$ cm; 4 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm (cf. Ak and Ap group (c)).

Ln 1568 : $18 \times 7 \times 1.3$ cm; 6 lines of *ca.* 1, 2 cm; ends thinned and rounded.

L(1) 594, 5927, 8159: *ca.* $(7.2) \times 2.3 \times 1$ cm; not lined; right end of 594 thinned and rounded.

L(1) 567: $(5.2) \times 3 \times 1.2$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; left end thinned and rounded.

L(1) 648: $(4) \times 1.8 \times 0.8$ cm; left end thinned and rounded.

L(2) 593, 647, 5910, 5961: *ca.* $(9) \times 2.2 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.

L 646 : $(10) \times 2.7 \times 1$ cm; 3 lines (A B and C) of *ca.* 0.9 cm; left end thinned and rounded.

L 651 : $(4.5) \times 3.1 \times 1.2$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height.

Vs(4):

Vs(4) 652 : $(5) \times 3.5 \times 1$ cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.1 cm.

Vs(4) 653 : $(3.3) \times 4.5 \times 1.2$ cm; 4 lines of *ca.* 1.1 cm; left end thinned and rounded.

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Ws(1):

Ws(1) 8152 : sealing with three faces; major axis, 2.5 cm; hole left by string emerging from the major large axis.

Xe:

[Xe 657 : (5.3) × 2.6 × 1 cm; 2 lines of 1.6 and 1 cm, respectively; left end thinned and rounded.]

[Xe 664 : (5) × 2.7 × 1 cm; not lined; left end thinned and rounded.]

IIBis) *Find-place F19*

L 693 : 11 × 2.7 × 1.2 cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.

L 695 : (5) × 5 × 1.3 cm; 4 lines of *ca.* 1.1 cm; right end thinned and rounded.

L 696[+]698 : (13) × 3.5 × 1.2 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm right end thinned and rounded.

IIter) *Find-place F21*

Ws(1) 8499 : sealing with three faces; major axis, 3.5 cm; hole left by string emerging from the major large axis.

III) *Find-place G1*

- a) Gg(1) 702: 8.5 × 2.1 × 1 cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned, left end almost straight and right end rounded.
- b) Gg(1) 704, M(1) 720 and, similarly, Gg(1) 5552, 7369, 8053, M(1) 1645: *ca.* (7.5) × 2.5 × 1 cm; 2 lines of about equal height, except M(1) 720 which is not lined; ends thinned and rounded.
- c) Od(2) 714, 715, 716, 718: (11.5) × 3 × 1.2 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

N.B.: on this group, see the N. B. at the end of (I) above.

versos : [L 586] ↓, L 646 →, Od 7309 ↓

lat. inf. : Ak(1) 634, Ap 5868, As(1) 608, 5549, 5932, 8342, Lc(1) 551, Ln 1568, L(2) 647, 5108, L 590, Xe 5630, 8598

HAND 104²⁷

Tablets

Bk 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 5025, 5026, 5028, 5029, 5134,
5172, 5799, 7859, 8206, 8755, 8801, 9288, 9665?, 9695
X 5964?

N.B.: 9695, 10023, 10024, 10025, 10036, 10037 are parts of the same tablet.²⁸

Find-place

I3 : Bk 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806

Physical description

Although these tablets constitute a homogeneous group, none of them has reached us in its entirety, nor even with more than two edges preserved, as a consequence, all description becomes futile. Perhaps there is a type that is higher than it is wide (Bk 800, 801, 806) and a type wider than it is high (Bk 799, 804, 805), but nothing is certain. In all cases, the *lat. sup.* seems to have been relatively rectilinear and the upper corners rounded, while the *lat. inf.* showed a quite noticeable curvature; finally, the middle of these tablets always appears to have a bulge on the back.

²⁷ The above list of tablets is largely the same as given in *CoMIK IV* (p. 234). However, 5964?, 8801 have been added.

- JLM has suggested that 5964 should be attributed to hand 104? following a re-examination of the tablet (*priv. comm.*).
- JLM has suggested that 8801 should be attributed to hand 104 (and not 117? as in *CoMIK IV*) and that it should be re-classified from Dv to Bk (*priv. comm.*).
- JLM has suggested that 9363? should be attributed to hand 104? but this proposal has been doubted by JPO and so it is not included above (*priv. comm.*).
- 10023, 10024, 10025, 10029, 10036 & 10037 were identified as Scribe 104 by JLM (Godart *et al.* 1990, pp. 402 & 404) on the basis of the clay. However, 10029 was subsequently joined to E 7340, which does not have an identified scribe (Melena 1999, p. 371). In view of their fragmentary nature, these pieces are not included in the listing in the main text.
- In *KT 5* & *CoMIK IV* (p. 180), 9665 is given as hand 104? but mistakenly given as hand 104 on *CoMIK IV* p. 234.
- In *Scribes* & *CoMIK*, B 806 is attributed to hand 104, however, the signs on the *verso* of appear to have been written by a different hand. For example, in the *ra* of hand 104 the line of the arc continues vertically down towards the horizontal line (see 799.2, 799.6, 779v.4, 802.1, 806.2, 5025, 5028, 8206) whereas this feature does not appear on the *verso* of 806. In addition, the *ne* of hand 104 has a baseline and no central embellishment (see 799.6, 799v.2) whereas the *ne* on the *verso* of 806 does not have a baseline but does have a central line (Firth & Skelton 2013). Therefore it is suggested that the signs on the *verso* of 804 would appear to be in another hand.

²⁸ JLM (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 398).

dimensions max. preserved:

- B 799 : $(10) \times (9.5) \times 1.5$ cm. This tablet shows 9 lines separated by *ca.* 1.2 cm.
The *verso* shows 7 lines separated by *ca.* 1.5 cm.
B 806 : $(7) \times (12) \times 1.7$ cm; This tablet shows 9 lines separated by *ca.* 1.3 cm.
The *verso* shows 2 lines, separated by *ca.* 1.5 cm.

The attribution of the different fragments to one of the two conjectured groups is practically impossible.

- versos* : B 799 →, 806 →, 5029 →, 8206 →
lat. dex. : B 799, 800, 806

HAND 105²⁹

Tablets

- As(3) 1518, 1520
V(7) 1521, 1524, 1526

N.B.: 1520 and 1526 are probably parts of the same tablet.³⁰

Find-place

- J3 : As(3) 1518, 1520; V(7) 1521, 1524, 1526

Physical description

- As(3) 1518 : $(17) \times 7 \times 2.1$ cm. This tablet has 5 lines separated by *ca.* 1.3 cm.
The *lat. sup.* is rectilinear and the lower part of the tablet was possibly cut. This tablet has the palm-print of a child on its *verso*.
As(3) 1520 : $8.5 \times (12.5) \times 2$ cm. This tablet shows 13 lines separated by *ca.* 1 cm. The *verso* shows 2 lines separated by *ca.* 1 cm.

²⁹ The tablets listed here for hand 105 are the same tablets listed by *Scribes* and *CoMIK IV*. Killen (1987, p. 65) includes some discussion of Uf 1522: “Even 1522, though classed as Uf, could have ‘industrial’ connections [cf. the As(3) and V(7) sets]; it consists of men’s names each followed by *DA I*, and might well be a list of male supervisors of ‘industrial’ workgroups, rather than holders of plots of land.” From a find-place viewpoint, this is a neat suggestion. If we look at 1522 in the context of the As(3) and V(7) tablets, then it could it have been written by Hand 105. The *ri*, *jo* and *so* resemble those of Hand 105 on As 1520. If this suggestion were correct then we should re-classify it as As(3). However, for the present we will simply note this possibility.

³⁰ As(3) 1520 and V(7) 1526 are probably pieces of the same tablet, with 1526 placed below and to the left of 1520 (*Scribes* p. 51).

- V(7) 1521 : $(5) \times (5.5) \times 1.8$ cm and shows 5 lines separated by 1-1.5 cm.
V(7) 1524 : $(4.5) \times (5.6) \times 1.8$ cm and shows 5 lines separated by *ca.* 1 cm.
V(7) 1526 : $(4) \times (3.5) \times 1.6$ cm shows 4 lines separated by *ca.* 1 cm. The *verso* is ruled with 3 lines, separated by *ca.* 1 cm, but it does not have any signs.

As(3) 1518; V(7) 1521, 1524 are quite damaged by the action of the flames but show a very similar aspect to one another.

verso : As 1520 → V 1526 → (?)

HAND 106³¹

Tablets

- Bo 808, 814, 815, 816, 985, 5749, 5752, 7035, 7042, 7043, 7642?, 8006
Do 919, 923, 924, 927, 929, 996, 1054?, 5010, 5720, 5740, 5770, 7079, 7087, 7093, 7120, 7239, 7613?, 7740?, 9293, 9358?, 9668, 9726?, 9761, 9793?, 9884?, 9885?
Dq(4) 438, 686?
X 5750?

N.B.: 9668, 9761 and 9793 are possibly parts of the same tablet.³²

Find-places

F18 : [Dq(4) 686]

³¹ All of these tablets are attributed to hand 106 in *CoMIK IV* except for Bo 7642?, Do 9293, 9884, 9885, X 5750?

- 7642? is included and re-classified as Bo following Melena (1987, p. 448). According to JLM (*priv. comm.*), 7642 and 7672 were written by the same hand. This would imply that we should also attribute 7672 to hand 106?, however, at this stage, this possibility is simply noted.
- 9293 & 9885? are included following the suggestions by JLM (Godart *et al.* 1990, pp. 390 & 400).
- 9884? is included following the suggestion by JLM (*priv. comm.*).
- D 9293, X 9884? and D 9885? are all re-classified as Do (JLM, *priv. comm.*).
- X 5750 is attributed to hand 106? following Firth & Melena (2002, p. 350).
- It is noted that 7592 and 7736 have clay which is similar to that used by hand 106 (Melena 1997, p. 464). (In *Scribes & KT4*, 7736 was given as hand 117? but no attribution was given for this tablet in *KT5 & CoMIK*.)
- The proposed quasi-join between 996 and 7042 (Olivier 1969, p. 253) has now been rejected. The proposed quasi-join between 9884 and 9885 (indicated in *KT5*) was rejected by JLM (Godart *et al.* 1990 p. 400).

³² *CoMIK IV* pp. 181, 194, 197.

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I2 : [Do 1054]

I3 : Bo 808, 814, 815, 816, 985; Do 919, 923, 924, 927, 929, 996.

Physical description

- a) The Bo set of tablets is very homogeneous; *ca.* 7-<10> × 2.2 × 1 cm. The tablets are not lined. The ends are thinned and rounded (but Bo 5752, 7035, 7042 are cut at right, whilst Bo 808, [7642] are cut on the left). This scribe has clearly cut some tablets into two and used both pieces, in particular, 808 ⊕ 7035 and probably 7042 ⊕ 7043.³³
Palm-prints: L THETA appears on Bo 5752 and 7035. L ETA is on Bo 5749.³⁴
- b) The Do and Dq(4)-sets are less homogeneous. In particular, [Do 1054, 7613, 7740; Dq(4) 686] are perhaps by another scribe: there is a difference in the tracing of *se* and in the general aspect of the sign; in any case, these four tablets form a distinct subgroup.
- b1) Do 919, 923, 924, 927, 929, 5010, 5720, 5740, 5770?, 7093, 7120, 7239, 9293: *ca.* 14 × 2.3 × 1 cm. These tablets have 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height. The ends are generally a little thinned (with the left end either rounded or slightly “squared off” and the right end rounded or cut at right (927, 929).
- b2) Do 996, [1054], 7079, 7087, [7613], [7740], [9358]; Dq(4) 438, [686]: *ca.* (14) × 2.3 × 1 cm. These tablets are not lined. The ends are a little thinned (the left end is rounded on [7613] and cut at left on [686] & [1054]); the tablet is cut at right on 7079, 7087 & [9358].

³³ 808 ⊕ 7035, *CoMIK* III p. 171. In addition, it has been suggested that there is probably a simili-join between Bo 7042 and 7043 (Melena 1987, p. 448).

³⁴ Palm-print L ETA also appears on 5758. Based on an examination of the tablet, JLM has attributed 5758 to hand 120? (*priv. comm.*).

HAND 107³⁵

Tablets

B(1) 809?
B 798
Co 903, 904, 906, 907, 909, 910, 7056, 8347
C(1) 901, 989, 5544, 5753

N.B.: Co 909 and 8347 are possibly two pieces of the same tablet; Co 910 and 7056 are probably two pieces of the same tablet (*KT4*, pp. 48-49).

Find-places

I3 : B 798, [809]
C(1) 901, 989
Co 903, 904, 906, 907, 909, 910

Physical description

- a) B 798: $8.5 \times (14.2) \times 1.7$ cm. This tablet shows 11 lines separated by *ca.* 1.3 cm. The lower part of the tablet is thinned and *lat. inf.* appears to be rectangular. The corners have very little rounding.
- b) Co 903, 904, 906, 907, 909, 910, 7056: *ca.* $18 \times 4 \times 1.6$ cm. These tablets have 2 lines of about equal height. The ends are slightly rounded (except for 906, where the left end is almost “squared off” and the right end has been cut).
- c) C(1) 901, 989, 5544, 5753: *ca.* $13 \times 2 \times 1$ cm. (N. B.: The 2 cm is measured from the left edge; after which the height gradually diminishes to about 1 cm). The tablets are not lined and the ends are rounded.

uncategorised: [B 809: $(6.2) \times 2.5 \times 0.8$ cm. This tablet is not lined. Its right end is thinned and rounded.]

³⁵ *CoMIKIV* (p. 234) attributes these tablets to hand 107, except for 9666, discussed below.

- *KT5 CoMIKI* (p. 315) classify 809 as B(1) by hand 107?, whereas *CoMIKIV* (p. 234) classifies it as B by hand 107. In this paper, we have assumed that *CoMIKI* is more correct than *CoMIKIV* in this respect.
- *Scribes* attributed 8347 to Hand 112. However, in *KT4* it was attributed to hand 107? and in *KT5* & *CoMIK* to hand 107 (without question mark).
- JLM (Godart *et al.* 1992, p. 64) attribute 9666 to hand 107 (see also *KT5* & *CoMIKIV*, p. 234). However, *CoMIKIV* (p. 181) changed that attribution from hand 107 to hand 109 and changed the classification from C(1) to C(3).
- *Scribes* had attributed 7981 to hand 107? but it is now classified as Xd 7981 by hand “124?” (*CoMIK III* p. 325).
- It is noted that C 5985 was identified as possibly 107 by JLM following a re-examination of the tablet.

HAND 108³⁶

Tablets

Ak(2) 613, 615, 616, 617, 621, 622, 627, <631?>, 636, <1807?>, 2126, 5037?,
5879, 7002, 7009, 7010, 7012?, 7013?, 7020, 7021?, 7022, 7028?, 7030,
8531?, 9001, 9173, 9407, 9477?, 9482, 9485

N.B.: 7028, 9482 and 10113 are probably parts of the same tablet.³⁷

³⁶ The following tablets were listed as hand 108 in *Scribes* 613, 615, 616, 617, 621, 622, 627, <631?>, 636, 2126?, 5879, 7002, 7009, 7010, 7012?, 7013?, 7020, 7021?, 7022, 7024?, 7028?, 7030? In *CoMIK* IV (p. 234) the same list was used except that: 9001, 9173, 9407 were added; 7024 was omitted because it had been quasi-joined with 7022; and 7030? was upgraded to 7030 following JPO (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 222).

- Although Ak(2) <631> is missing it has conventionally been attributed to hand 108? because it was found in F7 and the copy of the tablet in Evans' *Handlist* appears to be written in the style of hand 108. On a similar basis, Ak(2) <1807> can also be attributed to hand 108? (cf. for example 7009), although the listing of missing *ko-wa* does not appear on the other Ak(2) tablets. [A copy of the *Handlist* drawing of 1807 is given by Firth 1998, p. 99.] <6048> is possibly the same fragment as <631> but in a more advanced state of disintegration when it was seen in 1950 (Firth 2000a, p. 309).
- In *KT5* and *CoMIK* II, X 5037 is noted as being "probably Ak(2)"; the implication is that it was probably part of a tablet written by hand 108. *Scribes* (p. 23) and *CoMIK* II (p. 15) do not give a find-place for 5037. In fact, 5037 (=490) was found in F6 (cf. most of the tablets by hand 108 which were found in the adjacent magazine, F7). With this additional find-place information then it becomes more likely that it is an Ak(2) tablet, therefore, it has been reclassified here as Ak(2) 5037 by hand 108?
- It has been noted by Firth & Melena (2000, p. 127) that the clay type and scribe suggest that 2126 was probably excavated in F7 (i.e. not in the Little Palace, as suggested in *Scribes* & *CoMIK*). To date 2126 has been attributed to 108? However, any uncertainty on the scribal hand on 2126 is substantially less than that on <631> where we do not have a photograph of the tablet. In addition, the supposed uncertainty on 2126 seems anomalous when a poorly preserved fragment such as 9407 is attributed to 108, with no uncertainty. The format of 2126 differs from the other Ak(2) tablets, however, the writing style is analogous to that on, say, Ak(2) 621. On this basis, the attribution of 2126 has been upgraded to 108.
- 8531 is included as 108? (Firth & Melena 2002, p. 347) and it contains the signs *]jo-e* [possibly from *me-]u-jo-ε* [, therefore it has been re-classified as Ak(2).
- In the *KT5* notes for 8531 it is suggested "cf. Ak 8337 for clay". It might follow that Ak 8337 was written by hand 108, however, at this stage this is noted here but not included in the main text.
- 9477 attributed to hand 108? following JLM (Melena *et al.* 1990, p. 415).
- 9482 & 9485 are included following the suggestion by JLM (*priv. comm.*).

³⁷ For the probable quasi-join with 9482, see JLM's discussion of 9461 in Godart *et al.* (1990, p. 394). For the probable quasi-join with 10113, see JLM's discussion of this fragment in Godart *et al.* 1992 (p. 69).

9001 and 9173 are possibly fragments of the same tablet³⁸.
9407, 9485 and 10054 are possibly fragments of the same tablet³⁹.

Find-places

F6 : [Ak(2) 5037]
F7 : Ak(2) 613, 615, 616, 621, 622, 627, [631], 636, [1807], 7022 (=635)
F8 : Ak(2) 617

Physical description

This group is quite homogeneous: *ca.* 14 × 2-3 × 1.2 cm. There are 2-lined and 3-lined tablets. Some of the 2-lined tablets have less height than the 3-lined tablets.

The 2-lined tablets have two lines of about equal height:
613, 2126, 7009, 7010, [7021], 7030

The 3-lined tablets have three lines of about equal height:

1, 2 and 3: 617, 622, 627, 7022, 9173

A, B and C: 621, 636

one or the other: 615, 616, 7002, [7013], 7020, [7028], 9001, 9407, 9482, 9485

The ends are thinned and rounded.

lat. inf.: Ak 615, 621

lat. sup.: Ak 613

HAND 109⁴⁰

Tablets

Cg 905, 967?, 979, 1030, 1039, 7057, 7058, 7793, 9666?

³⁸ The possible quasi-join between 9001 and 9173 is noted in *KT5* (p. 19).

³⁹ These possible quasi-joins are noted by JLM (Godart *et al.* 1990, pp. 393, 405).

⁴⁰ In *Scribes*, 905, 967?, 979, 1030, 1039, 7057, 7058, 7793 are attributed to Hand 109. In *CoMIK*, 9666 is included also.

· In Godart *et al.* 1992, p. 64, JLM attributed 9666 to Hand 107 and this attribution was maintained in *KT5*. However, *CoMIK IV* (p. 181) changed that attribution from Hand 107 to Hand 109 and changed the classification from C(1) to C(3). In this paper, 9666 is attributed to Hand 109? (rather than 109) following a suggestion by JLM (*priv. comm.*).

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Find-place

I3 : Cg 905, [967], 979, 1030, 1039

Physical description

Cg 979 : $15.2 \times 2.3 \times 1.7$ cm. This tablet is not lined and its ends are very thinned and rounded.

Cg 905, [967], 1030, 1039, 7057, 7058, 7793, 9666: *ca.* $12 \times 2.3 \times 1$ cm but C 905 is of slightly larger dimensions (2.7 cm wide). These tablets are not lined. The left end of 1030 and right end of 905 are slightly rounded. The right end of 1030 is cut.

HAND 110⁴¹

Tablets

Ch 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 972, 1015, 1029, 1034, 5724, 5728, 5754, 5938, 7047, 7065, 7066, 7100, 7937?, 8222, 9765?

X 7668?

N.B.: 7100 and 7937 are probably parts of the same tablet.⁴²

Although C 973 certainly forms part of this group, it *seems* as though it ought to be attributed to another scribe with a very similar “graphical style”.

Find-place

I3 : Ch 896-900, 972, 1015, 1029, 1034

⁴¹ *Scribes* attributed the above list of tablets to hand 110 but including 7673, 8223 & 8344 and not including 9765. In addition, 972 was attributed to hand 110? Subsequently 8223 was joined to 7698, and 8344 was joined to 1015. *CoMIK* attributed the above list of tablets to hand 110 but excluding 9765 and also attributed 972 to hand 110?

- As already noted, in *Scribes* and *CoMIK*, 972 was attributed to hand 110?. However, the a_3 is distinctive and very similar to that on Ch 7100 and on that basis 972 is attributed to hand 110.
- 7673 was attributed to hand 110? in *Scribes* and *KT4*, however, it was not attributed in *KT5* and *CoMIK*. It was suggested by JLM that it should be re-attributed to hand 110? (*priv. comm.*).
- 9765 was classified as Ch in *KT5* & *CoMIKIV* but not attributed to hand 110; this has now been included as hand 110? following JLM (*priv. comm.*).
- *Scribes* attributed 8223 to hand 110 on the basis of the limited number of signs in the reading, *JBOS ZE 1/*. Following the joining of 7698 to 8223, Olivier attributed C 7698 to hand 110? (Godart *et al.* 1970, p. 165), however, this attribution was omitted in *KT4*, *KT5* and *CoMIK*.

⁴² Olivier 1969, p. 252.

Physical description

This is a homogeneous group: *ca.* 14 × 2.5 × 1.4 cm. The tablets are not lined and the ends are thinned and rounded.

N.B.: Ch 896 has dimensions that make it appear a little more “attenuated”: 15 × 2.2 × 1 cm. Its ends are very thinned and rounded. Ch 7100 probably comes near to being of this type (although it has slightly different contents). (Note also, *verso*: Ch 7100 →).

Palm-print L Delta appears on Ch 7065.⁴³

HAND 111⁴⁴

Tablets

C(4) 911, 912, 917???

N.B.: It is possible that 1.1 of C 911 and the *verso* of C 912 might be attributed to another scribe (*e.g.* to the scribe of F 841).

Find-place

I3 : C 911, 912, [917]

Description

C 911 : 10 × 19.5 × ? cm (the tablet was placed in a bed of plaster which kept the pieces together: it is thus impossible to measure the thickness which should be between 1 and 2 cm); 16 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm; upper edge straight and corners rounded, lower edge rounded.

C 912 : 9.6 × (13) × 1.7 cm; (12) lines of *ca.* 1 cm; ends thinned, upper edge rounded; *verso*: (10) lines of *ca.* 1.4 cm.

[C 917 : (6) × 5 × 1 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.6 cm; *verso*: 2 lines of *ca.* 1.4 cm]

versos: C 912 → [C 917] ↓

⁴³ There is “strong reason” to believe that the same palm-print appears on Fh 360 and by implication on Fh 372 & 5450 (Sjöquist & Åström 1991).

⁴⁴ For hand 111, *Scribes* lists 911, 912 & 918? *CoMIK* lists 911, 912 & 917? following the quasi-join, 917 [+] 918.

· JLM has suggested that 917 should not be listed under 111 at all (Godart *et al.* 1992, p. 56). It is listed here as 917??? following JLM (*priv. comm.*).

· In *KT5* & *CoMIK*, the minor apparatus for X 9912 suggests “cf. C 918”.

HAND 112⁴⁵

Tablets

Cf 908, 913, 914, 915, 922, 941, 5765, 7064?, 8225, 8578
X 8584?, 9330?, 9354?

Find-place

I3 : Cf 908, 913, 914, 915, 922, 941

Physical description

- a) Cf 914, 915, 941: *ca.* 15 × 2.5 × 1.2 cm. These tablets each have 2 lines of writing (A and B) of about equal height. The left end of the tablets have been “squared off” and the right end is thinned and rounded. Cf 941 has writing on the *verso* with 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height.
- b) Cf 908, 922, 5765, 8225, 8578: *ca.* <15> × 2.7 × 1.4 cm. These tablets are not lined.
- c) [Cf 7064]: *ca.* <12> × 2.5 × 1.4 cm. This tablet has two lines of writing of about equal height (1 and 2).

N.B.:

1. Cf 913 should probably be attached to group (a): (8) × 2.8 × 1 cm with 2 lines of about equal height. The left end is thinned and rounded.

⁴⁵ *Scribes* attributed 908, 913?, 914, 915, 922, 941, 5765, 7064?, 8225, 8347, 8578, 8584? to hand 112. *CoMIK* attributed the same tablets as *Scribes* but excluding 8347 & 8584?

- It is anomalous to attribute 913, which contains almost twenty signs, to hand 112? but to attribute the fragments 5765, 8225 and 8578, which each contain only one or two signs, to hand 112. In order to remove this anomaly 913 has been attributed here to hand 112.
- In *Scribes*, 8347 was attributed to hand 112. However, this tablet is now listed under hand 107 (see *KT4* and Godart 1972, p. 419).
- Initially Olivier attributed 8584 to hand 112? (Olivier 1967b, p. 301 and *Scribes*). However, this attribution was not repeated in either *KT4* or *KT5* but, instead, 8581 was attributed to 112? This latter attribution would appear to have been a typing error since 8581 has a trace of a sign, with no reading in *CoMIK*. Neither 8581 nor 8584 were attributed to 112 in *CoMIK*. 8584 has the single sign “*qa*” but this sign does not appear on the other hand 112 tablets. 8584 has been reinstated here as it appears have been deleted from hand 112? in error.
- 9330 and 9354 are included as hand 112? because they are tablets from I3 (Box III) beginning with *pa-ro* and the form of that word is similar to that on Cf 908.
- Killen (1994, 1996) interprets the Cf [C(2)] set of tablets as relating to animal sacrifices. He draws C 1561 and X 9191 into the discussion to support his hypothesis because they both probably include the word *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, which is interpreted as a description of animals intended for slaughter (cf. Cf 941). On this basis, it is suggested that it would be helpful to reclassify 1561 and 9191 within the Cf set, even though they were not written by Hand 112.

2. Group (b) shows a substantial homogeneity of its materials (characteristics of the clay, thickness, etc.) and it is not entirely out of the question that this group should be attributed to another scribe than that of group (a).

verso : C 941 ↓

HAND 113⁴⁶

Tablets

Lc(2) 481r., 483r., 504r., 512r., 581r., 7319r., 7377r., 7433?, 7438r.
X 446?

N.B.: The *versos* of the Lc-tablets are attributed to hand 115.
512 and 7438 are probably parts of the same tablet.⁴⁷

Find-places

[F2 : X 446]
F6 : Lc 481, 483
F7 : Lc 504, 512, 581, 7377 (=507)

Description

Very homogeneous group: *ca.* <14> × 2.6 × 1.3 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded; *versos*: not lined.

versos: see hand 115

HAND 114⁴⁸

Tablets

L 870?, 871?, 5284?
Ld(2) 785, 786, 787, 788, 8192

⁴⁶ These are the same tablets that were attributed to hand 113 in *Scribes & CoMIK*.

- Following a suggestion by JLM, Lc(2) 446 has been re-classified as X 446 because it was found at some distance from the Lc(2) tablets and there is no writing by hand 115 on the *verso* (Firth 2002, p. 172).
- J-PO wrote for L 433, “l’écriture présente des affinités avec celle de la main 113” (Godart & Olivier 1972b, p. 115).

⁴⁷ Firth & Melena 2006, p. 114.

⁴⁸ These are the same tablets that were attributed to hand 114 in both *Scribes & CoMIK*.

- MLN suggested changing the classification of 870 & 871 from L to Ld(2) (Nosch 2000, p. 85).

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Find-places

I2 : Ld(2) 785, 786, 788

I3 : [L 870, 871]

I3 bis : Ld(2) 787 (fragment 1009 found in I3)

Description

- a) Ld(2) 786, 787, 788, 8192: $(12.5) \times 2.4 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height (but the total height of the tablet increases towards the centre); the only edge preserved is on the left of 787 and it is “squared off”.
- b) Ld(2) 785: $(9.5) \times 3.5 \times 1.5$ cm; 2 lines of 1.5 and 2 cm respectively.
- c) [L 870, 871: $(12.5) \times 2.4 \times 1.2$ cm; not lined; cut at right]

N.B.: [L 5284: $(3) \times (1.7) \times 0.7$ cm; not lined perhaps to be attached to this group]

lat. inf.: [L 5284]

HAND 115

Tablets

Lc(2) 481*v.*, 483*v.*, 504*v.*, 512*v.*, 581*v.*, 7319*v.*, 7377*v.*, 7438*v.*⁴⁹

Od(4) 485, 486, 487, 7305?, 7440?, 7752?⁵⁰

Od 666

V(3) 429, 431, 466, 479, 482, 492, 503, 655, 7512, 7513, 7519, 7524, 7539, 7620, 7623?, 7845, 8514?, 9197?⁵¹

⁴⁹ The list of tablets given for Lc(2) is precisely the same as given in *CoMIKIV* (p. 234).

· Lc(2) 512 and 7438 are probably parts of the same tablet (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 114).

⁵⁰ The list of Od and Od(4) tablets are the same as given in *CoMIK* but with the addition of 7440? and 7752? The Od(4) set has been introduced here for Od-series tablets written by hand 115 from F6.

· 7440 is given as hand 115? In *KT5* & *CoMIK III* and 115 in *CoMIKIV* (p. 234). The latter is assumed to be a typographical error. Og 7440 has been reclassified as Od(4), assuming that its upper line can be read as *Ji-to <LANA> M* [.

· Following JLM's suggestion, X 7752 has been reclassified as Od(4) (*priv. comm.*, draft *KT6*).

⁵¹ The list of V(3) tablets are the same as given in *CoMIKIV* (p. 234) but with the removal of 488 & 5538 and the addition of 7623?, 7845, 8514?, 9197?.

· Following JLM, X 7623, 7845, 8514, 9197 have been reclassified as V(3); and V(3) 488 & 5538 have been reclassified as Ve 488 (*priv. comm.*, draft *KT6*).

· 9197 is given as hand 115?? in *KT5* and *CoMIKIV* p. 234 and hand 115? in *CoMIKIV* p. 125. The latter is assumed to be a typographical error.

Ve 488, 569, 5510?, 5523?, 5538, 7517, 7518, 7520, 7533?, 7537⁵²

N.B.: The *rectos* of the tablets Lc(2) are attributed to scribe 113.

Find-places

F3 : V(3) 466

E5 : V(3) 429, 431

F6 : Lc(2) 481, 483; Od(4) 485-487; Ve 488; V(3) 479*

F7 : Lc(2) 504, 512, 581, 7377(= 507); V(3) 482, 503, 7513(= 509), 7620(= 510)

F16 : V(3) 492

F13 : Ve 569

F14 : Od 666; V(3) 655

* note that two pieces of 479 were found in F7 (*SM II*, p. 38)

*Description*⁵³

- a) Lc(2) 481, 483, 504, 512, 581, 7377, 7438: *ca.* <14> × 2.6 × 1.3 cm; *rectos* divided into 2 lines (A and B), *versos* not lined; ends thinned and rounded.
- b) Od(4) 485, 486, 487, [7305]: *ca.* (4) × 2.4 × 1 cm; not lined.
- c) Od 666: *ca.* <12> × 2.5 × 1.2 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.
- d) Ve [5523], 7517, 7518, 7520, [7533], 7537: *ca.* 4 × 1.9 × 0.9 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded, but [5523] and 7517 cut at left, 7518, 7520, 7521 and 7537 cut at right.

⁵² The list of Ve tablets is the same as given in *CoMIK IV* (p. 234) but with the addition of 488 & 5538 and the change of classification from Vc(2).

- Following JLM, 488 has been reclassified as Ve because the stylus width strongly suggests it was written with the Ve records (*priv. comm.*, draft *KT6*). For 5538, the stylus width criterion is less clear, however, since Ve 5510 & 5523 were both found in Batch C, it is highly likely that 5538 should also be categorised as Ve since it is the only other tablet from that batch attributed to hand 115(?) (Firth & Melena 2002 pp. 345-346).
- There is a note in *CoMIK IV* (p. 155) stating that the *ku* on X 9442 is the “twin of X 5735 (and cf. Vc 5510)”. Since the latter tablet was written by hand 115?, there is an implication that 5735 and 9442 might have been written by 115 also.

⁵³ The V(3) tablets can be sub-divided into three groupings, based on find-place:

- i) V(3) 466 found in F3
 - ii) V(3) 655 found in F14
 - iii) V(3) 429, 431, 479, 482, 492, 503, 7513, 7620 found in the area of F6, F7, F16 and E5.
- However, these divisions do not readily correspond to the categories (g)-(j) noted above. In other words categorisation of the V(3) tablets by size and format does not provide information about their find-places.

- e) Ve 569, [5510]: *ca.* $5.2 \times 2.4 \times 1.3$ cm; not lined; left ends thinned and rounded, right ends cut.
 - f) Ve 488, 5538: *ca.* $(3.5) \times 1.8 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends slightly thinned and rounded.
 - g) V(3) 7524, 7539, 7845: *ca.* $\langle 12 \ ? \rangle \times 2.5 \times 1$ cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 0.8 cm; ends thinned and rounded.
 - h) V(3) 429, 431, 466, 492, 503, 7513, 7519, 7620: *ca.* $\langle 15 \rangle \times 3.5 \times 1$ cm; 4 lines of *ca.* 0.9 cm (but 7513 has only 3 lines of *ca.* 1 cm); ends slightly thinned and rounded.
 - i) V(3) 479, 482, 655: *ca.* $15 \times 5 \times 1.7$ cm; 4 (479) or 5 (482, 655) lines of *ca.* 1 cm.; 479 has a lined *verso* (4 lines of *ca.* 1 cm); ends thinned and rounded, but 479 cut at left.
- N.B.: [X 7623] could form part of a tablet of one of these three latter types, which differ only in their dimensions.
- j) V(3) 7512, [8514]: $(9) \times 3 \times 1.3$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; *verso* (has no inscription) divided with 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height.

versos: Lc(2) 481 ↓, 483 ↓, 504 ↓, 512 ↓, 581 ↓, 7319 ↓, 7377 ↓, 7438 ↓
Od 666 ↓ V(3) 479 ↓, 7512 ↓ (?)

lat. sup.: Od 666

HAND 116⁵⁴

Tablets

Ld(1) 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 579, 583, 584, 585, 587, 591, 598, 599?,
649, 656, 5601, 5607, 5615, 5845, 5894, 5914?, 5916, 5955, 8245

⁵⁴ The list of tablets by hand 116 given in *Scribes* is 571-577, 579, 583-585, 587, 591, 595?, 598, 599?, 649, 656?, 5601, 5647?, 5894, 5914? & 7399?. The list given in *CoMIK* is 571-577, 579, 583-585, 587, 591, 595?, 598, 599?, 649, 656?, 5601, 5607?, 5615?, 5845?, 5894, 5914?, 5916?, 5955?, 7399? & 8245?

- *Scribes* & *KT4* listed 5647 as hand 116?, but *KT5* & *CoMIK* now attribute this tablet to 103? Olivier (1967b, p. 317) attributed 8729 to hand 103? but this has now been joined to Ld(1) 8245 by hand 116.
- JTK states that it is virtually certain that 656, 5607, 5615, 5845, 5916, 5955, 8245 should be assigned to hand 116 (Killen 1979, p. 151). Since JTK considers that the level of doubt is so small, they have been assigned here to hand 116 (rather than 116?).
- Ld 595? has been reclassified as L 595? because it deals with linen clothes and not woollen clothes and it is from a different find-place (i.e. F19 and not F16).
- Following JLM, L 5914 has been reclassified as Ld(1) (*priv. comm.*, draft *KT6*).
- It is suggested that 7399 is unlikely to have been written by hand 116 because there are no other tablets written by hand 116 in the 7000-series and there are no other tablets from F14 that have been identified in the 7000-series. It is tentatively suggested that it might have been written by hand 209.

L 595?

N.B.: 5607 and 5894 are probably parts of the same tablet.⁵⁵

Find-places

F14 : Ld(1) 571-577, 579, 583-585, 587, 591, 598, [599], 649, 656

F19 : [L 595]

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* 14-16 × 2.5-3 × 1.5 cm; not lined, except for Ld 584, 587, 591, [595], 598, 656 which are divided into 2 lines of about equal height; ends very thinned out and rounded (5845 seems to have been cut at right, but starting from the *verso*).

lat. inf.: Ld(1) 584, 587, 598

On the basis of their contents, Killen (1979) divides these tablets into two main groups:

- (a) “store” records, on which the source of the cloth is not indicated; Ld(1) 571-577, 579, 583, 585, [599], 649, 5601. These are all unlined tablets.
- (b) “delivery” records, on which the source of the cloth is indicated, by reference to a weaving or other textile workgroup. These tablets all have two lines. They are divided into two sub-groups:
 - (i) a “major” set; Ld(1) 587, 598.
 - (ii) a “minor” set, distinguished from the “major” records in size and content; Ld(1) 584, 591, 656, 5607, 5615, 5845, 5894, 5916, 5955, 8245.

The physical characteristics of these tablets is the same as the tablets of hand 211, although it is judged that hand 211 is distinct from that of 116 because the latter shows a leftward ductus, whereas hand 211 shows a rightward ductus. However, it seems probable that the same person made the tablets for scribes 116 and 211.

The tablets attributed to hand 116 pose a complex palaeographical problem that has not yet been resolved in a satisfactory way; nevertheless, it is useful to describe the elements of the dossier.

All these pieces (excluding 595) are very homogeneous from the point of view of materials. They clearly come from the hands of the same “maker” and they were apparently fired in the same way. Therefore, “archivistically” speaking, they form a consistent group which the relationship of the subject treated comes to reinforce.

⁵⁵ Melena 1997, p. 463.

It is apparent that two, or even three, scribes have perhaps worked together on their writing. The abundance of corrections (involving numbers and whole words) indicates that on certain tablets it might be necessary to look for the trace of different scribes.

The ideograms (*TELA* and *158), by themselves, do not permit any discrimination into different scribal hands. (However, it should be noted that, in Ld(1) 571 and 572, the particular position of *158, above *TELA*, which shows dimensions which are more reduced than on the two tablets Ld(1) 573 and 575. It is possible that this could simply be due to the demands of arrangement. In any case, in Ld(1) 571, the “conical” form of *158 looks as if it might be mistaken for a *wi*, which is much less clear elsewhere.)

The syllabograms, for the most part, do not show significant differences. (For example, compare *pa-we-a* in 571 and 572, on the one hand, and in 573, 574, 575 and 579, on the other. It will be admitted that that it would not be easy to speculate on the difference in curvature in *we* or on the formation of *a*. The height of the signs, in relationship to that of the tablet, would perhaps give a better indication, but to what extent would it be deficient?) However, the signs *u* and *ka* provide a point of departure: in 116a the scribe has, at first, traced the vertical part of the “cross”, while on 116b, he as, at first, traced the horizontal line:

116a): Ld(1) 571, 572, 583, 585, 649

116b): Ld(1) 573, 574, 579, 584, 587, 591, 5894

However, this division into two parts will not resolve all of the problems; thus:

- in Ld(1) 598 one finds an *u* of type (a) and two *ka* of type (b).
- (a) would write both *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* and *ke-se-ne-wi-ja* (even if it is noted that in 585 *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* covers a text which has been effaced [and (b) writes *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*]; 649 has so many remaining traces that one cannot be positive about anything. In addition, if the two *ke* in (a) are strikingly similar [which would exclude the intervention of a second scribe], the two *ke* in (b) have quite different styles).
- the drawing and the arrangement of the ideograms would assign [L 595] to (b) (cf. 573), but one reads *pa-ra-ku-ja* there, even though Ld(1) 587 is written as *56-*ra-ku-ja* (certainly, the *ra* and especially the *ku* are not absolutely identical, but is that sufficient?).
- and it is still possible to expound at length on the tracing of *nu* and of *ko*, without arriving at any truly satisfying results.

Therefore, it has been decided to leave these tablets grouped beneath the single heading “116”, because of the impossibility of providing a discrimination that is

based on solid foundations. Although this solution does not present too many difficulties for the study of economics, regrettably it will not be sufficient, for a linguistic study, which would demand to know if the same scribe wrote *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* and *ke-se-ne-wi-ja*, *pa-ra-ku-ja* and *56-*ra-ku-ja*, or not.

It should be noted that the separation into 116a and 116b does not correspond to a division according to contents (along the lines proposed by Killen, described above).

N.B.: This hand (or one of these hands) could have been identical to hand 207.

HAND 117⁵⁶

Tablets

Da 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1087, 1091, 1098, 1108, 1114, 1116, 1123, 1127, 1132, 1134, 1135, 1137, 1239, 1143, 1147, 1156, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1170, 1172, 1173, 1189, 1191, 1194, 1195, 1197, 1202, 1221, 1238, 1253, 1268, 1273, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1288, 1289, 1293, 1299, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1317, 1321, 1323, 1333, 1338, 1339, 1341, 1343, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1355, 1363, 1365, 1378, 1379, 1382, 1384, 1390, 1392, 1394, 1396, 1401, 1415, 1420, 1435, 1445, 1451, 1461, 1485, 1495, 1588, 2005, 2027, 5038, 5179, 5192, 5193, 5195, 5204, 5205, 5213, 5214, 5217, 5218, 5220, 5223, 5225, 5234, 5244, 5245, 5251, 5252, 5270, 5295, 5308, 5317, 5356, 5427, 5576, 5709, 6061, 7080, 7081, 7090, 7109, 7165, 7185, 7186, 7213, 8201, 8228, 8355, 8385, 8434⁵⁷

Db 1097, 1099, 1105, 1110, 1115, 1126, 1140, 1155, 1159, 1160, 1165, 1166, 1168, 1185, 1186, 1192, 1196, 1198, 1199, 1204, 1208, 1211, 1212, 1225, 1227, 1232, 1236, 1241, 1242, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1250, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1265, 1267, 1274, 1279, 1282, 1295, 1297, 1302, 1304, 1305, 1324, 1327, 1329, 1340, 1344, 1367, 1368, 1372, 1373, 1389, 1423, 1426, 1449, 1460, 1464, 1507, 2020, 5041, 5212, 5231,

⁵⁶ For completeness, it is noted that that the following tablets were listed as possibly hand 117 in *Scribes* and/or *KT4* but they have not been included above: 1478, 5512, 5603, 5735, 5826, 5962, 7272, 7697, 7727, 7736 (see footnotes under hand 106), 8197 (now Little Palace), 8308, 8387 (now part of Dq(2) 7177, hand 216). JLM has suggested, in *KTT Color*, that Xe 7826 (currently hand 103?) might actually be hand 117.

· 7963 was attributed to hand 103? in *Scribes* but is now part of De 1381, hand 117. 8704 was attributed to hand 132? in *Scribes* but is now part of Dv 7190.

⁵⁷ This list of Da tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* p. 235 that 1191 & 1239 have been added (reclassified from Dv to Da).

5272, 5274, 5310, 5352, 5359, 5367, 5385, 5680, 5715, 7107, 7108, 7118, 7164, 7172, 7211, 8352, 8360⁵⁸

Dc 926, 1117, 1118, 1122, 1129, 1130, 1148, 1154, 1203, 1220, 1228, 1270, 1298, 1303, 1337, 1359, 1364, 1369, 1403, 1419, 1515, 5030, 5190, 5228, 5250, 5392, 5677, 5687, 5771, 5812, 7161, 8080, 8294, 8354⁵⁹

Dd 659, 1106, 1144, 1149, 1150, 1157, 1171, 1193, 1201, 1207, 1218, 1244, 1271, 1281, 1283, 1284, 1286, 1291, 1296, 1300, 1306, 1342, 1366, 1374, 1376, 1380, 1402, 1418, 1425, 1429, 1468, 1511, 1579, 1592, 2010, 5012, 5105, 5174, 5262, 5344, 5383, 5692, 7105, 7170, 8690⁶⁰

De 1084, 1085, 1109, 1112, 1136, 1138, 1141, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1167, 1169, 1231, 1254, 1255, 1260, 1264, 1269, 1287, 1294, 1301, 1307, 1322, 1361, 1362, 1371, 1381, 1383, 1398, 1409, 1424, 1472, 1510, 1585, 1618, 1648, 5018, 5032, 5336, 6060, 7096, 7203⁶¹

Df 1119, 1120, 1121, 1187, 1210, 1219, 1222, 1223, 1229, 1230, 1233, 1285, 1290, 1325, 1360, 1469, 1589, 1602, 5182, 5198, 5211, 5260, 5275, 5391, 5406, 7173, 7188⁶²

Dg 1101, 1102, 1107, 1158, 1226, 1235, 1248_r, 1278, 1280, 1316, 1318, 1438, 5280⁶³

Dh(1) 1240, 1243, 1406⁶⁴

Dk 727⁶⁵

⁵⁸ This list of Db tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIKIV* p. 235 except 1199 has been reclassified from Dv to Db and 1389 is attributed to 117 (not 117?) following JPO (Godart *et al.* 1970, p. 158) & *KT4*. It could be argued that 1100 should also be classified as Db. JLM suggested that 7785 [+]
8232 should be reclassified from Dv to Db but it could equally be Dd or De and so this change has not been included here.

⁵⁹ This list of Dc tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIKIV* p. 235 except that 1167 has been reclassified from Dc to De.

⁶⁰ This list of Dd tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIKIV* p. 235.

⁶¹ This list of De tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIKIV* p. 235 except that 1085 was been reclassified from Dv to De (c.f. 1084) and 1167 has been reclassified from Dc to De.

⁶² This list of Df tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIKIV* p. 235.

⁶³ This list of Dg tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIKIV* p. 235 except that it excludes 1248_v, which was written by hand 216? (*KT5* p. 132) and it corrects the typographical error by replacing 1216 with 1226.

⁶⁴ This list of Dh(1) tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIKIV* p. 235.

⁶⁵ According to *CoMIKIV* p. 235 the Dk tablets by hand 117 are 727? and 5403? 5403 has been excluded because JLM states that hand 117? is strongly doubted (*priv. comm.*). It is anomalous that 727 should be attributed to 117? as it is a large piece of tablet containing signs which are typical of hand 117, therefore it has been attributed to 117.

Dm 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 5181, 5226, 5237, 5323⁶⁶

Dn 1088, 1089, 1090, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1200, 1209, 1319, 2016, 5014, 5042?, 5286, 5318, 5559, 5668⁶⁷

Dp 1061?, 2011?, 5508?⁶⁸

Dv 1086, 1100, 1103, 1104, 1111, 1113, 1124, 1125, 1128, 1133, 1139, 1142, 1145, 1146, 1188, 1190, 1205, 1206, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1237, 1249, 1266, 1272, 1292, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1312, 1328, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1334, 1370, 1386, 1388, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1417, 1422, 1427, 1430, 1434, 1436, 1439, 1442, 1447, 1450, 1457, 1459, 1462, 1466, 1470, 1471, 1479, 1487?, 1490, 1492, 1493, 1496, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1509, 1601, 1607, 1621, 2019, 5049?, 5054, 5075, 5178?, 5200, 5203, 5209, 5219, 5224, 5232, 5235, 5236, 5241, 5253, 5256, 5258, 5259, 5271, 5278, 5285, 5287, 5291, 5296, 5297, 5301, 5302, 5312, 5315, 5322, 5328, 5334, 5335, 5341?, 5343?, 5346?, 5349, 5350, 5357, 5368, 5372, 5398, 5407, 5412, 5414, 5416, 5580?, 5593, 5640?, 5663, 5667, 5675, 5689, 5690, 5694, 5696, 5704, 5775, 5839, 5841, 5843, 5934, 5989, 6018, 6022, 6045, 6054, 6056, 6059, 7098, 7124, 7140, 7142, 7152, 7167, 7176, 7181, 7190, 7195, 7202, 7219?, 7223, 7240, 7245, 7246, 7262, 7617, 7678, 7690?, 7785, 7863, 7908, 7911?, 7972, 8193, 8203, 8232, 8239, 8241, 8278, 8280, 8287, 8288?, 8289, 8290, 8302, 8320?, 8340, 8356, 8357, 8361, 8363, 8366, 8367, 8368, 8370, 8381, 8383, 8384, 8390, 8391, 8392, 8394, 8395, 8396, 8398, 8404, 8406, 8413, 8420, 8421, 8422, 8423, 8429, 8432?, 8433?, 8535?, 8540?, 8562, 8585, 8634?, 8636, 8637, 8652, 8665?, 8680, 8688, 8692, 8694, 8715, 8716, 8742?, 8772, 8797, 8798, 8799, 8800, 8801?, 8816?, 8826, 8834, 8836, 9559, 9567, 9568?, 9569, 9570, 9571?, 9572, 9573, 9574, 9576, 9577, 9579?, 9580?, 9581?, 9585?, 9586?, 9587?, 9588?, 9590, 9591, 9593?, 9594, 9595, 9596, 9599?, 9600, 9601, 9602, 9603, 9604, 9605, 9614, 9615, 9616, 9617, 9618, 9619, 9620, 9621, 9622, 9623, 9624, 9625, 9626, 9627, 9628, 9629, 9630, 9632, 9633, 9634, 9635, 9638, 9639, 9640, 9641, 9642, 9643, 9644,

⁶⁶ This list of Dm tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* p. 235.

⁶⁷ This list of Dn tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* p. 235 except that 5042 has been attributed to hand 117? and reclassified from X to Dn. These changes have been made because the find-place of 5042 is J1 (Firth 1998, p. 120) and the large number of this tablet (i.e. 2000) strongly suggests that it is part of the Dn series.

⁶⁸ This list of Dp tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* p. 235 except for the following. 2011 has been reclassified from X to Dp and attributed to scribe 117? on the basis of clay type and the possible quasi-join between 2011 and 5508 (*KT4*, pp. 122, 377).

9645, 9646, 9647, 9648, 9649, 9650, 9651, 9652, 9653, 9655, 9657, 9659, 9661, 9663bis⁶⁹

Wb 5282?, 5283?, 5662?, 5664?, 5665?, 5697?, 5830?, 5831?, 5835?, 5836?, 5837?, 5857?, 5858?, 6058?, 8488?, 8491?, 8492?, 9607?, 9608?, 9609?, 9610?, 9611?, 9612?, 9613?⁷⁰

N.B.:

1. 1361 and 8289 are parts of the same tablet (JLM, *priv. comm.*).
2. The following pairs are probably part of the same tablet: Dg 5280 & Dv 5200 (KT4); Dv 2019 & Dv 5412 (KT4); Da 7090 & Dv 9570 (JLM, *priv. comm.*).

⁶⁹ This list of Dv tablets is precisely the same as that given in CoMIK IV p. 235, except for the following.

- 1416 has been excluded because it has now been identified as being the same tablet as 5049 (Firth 2002a).
- 1191 & 1239 has been reclassified as Da. 1199 has been reclassified as Db. 1085 has been reclassified as De.
- 5178 was identified as 117? in *Scribes* & *KT5* and classified as Dv in *KT4* but moved to X with no scribal hand in *KT5* & *CoMIK*. Firth (2002, pp. 90-91) notes that 5178 was found in Batch S5 along with 50 tablets from J1 and one tablet from J2bis. The additional fact that *Scribes* considered that 5178 was hand 117? supports the likelihood that 5178 was from J1. On this basis, this tablet has been reclassified as Dv 5157 and attributed to hand 117?
- Firth & Melena (2002, p. 340) assigned 5334 to hand 117, found in J1, therefore it is reclassified here as Dv.
- 5346 was identified as 117? in *Scribes* & classified as Dv in *KT4* but moved to X with no scribal hand in *KT5* & *CoMIK*. 5346 was part of Batch A which included almost 250 fragments and all of these were from J1 except for 9 fragments and following JLM the find-place of 5346 is given as J1? (Firth & Melena 2002, pp. 338-342). On this basis, this tablet has been reclassified as Dv 5346 and attributed to hand 117?
- In *KT5* & *CoMIK*, 8634 is attributed to hand 118? but according to Firth & Melena (2002, p. 347) it was written by hand 117? from J1. It is noted that the tablet is pumice-like (suggesting J1) and the legible signs *za-ra-ro* would align it with the shepherd from *ku-ta-to* which is listed on tablets Dd 1429 (hand 117) and Dk 1070 (hand 119) from J1. On this basis, it is included here as Dv 8634 and attributed to hand 117?
- JLM attributed 8540 to hand 117? (*priv. comm.*). It is included here as Dv 8540 hand 117?
- JLM has suggested that 8665 is probably from J1 (*priv. comm.*). It follows that it is probably written by hand 117. It is included here as Dv 8665 hand 117?
- Following JLM, 10012, 10016, 10017, 10091 & 10092 could be listed here but have excluded from the main text because of their fragmentary nature (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 242; Godart *et al.* 1990, pp. 401 & 410).

⁷⁰ The list of Wb tablets given in *CoMIK* IV (p. 235) is 8491?, 8492?, 9607?, 9608?, 9609?, 9610?, 9611?, 9612?, 9613? This list is anomalous because it includes many fragmentary inscriptions that were re-discovered in 1984 and were assigned scribal hands in *KT5* but excludes the Wb inscriptions that had been available for examination since 1950 and can be identified as being found in J1 (Firth & Melena 2002) but which were not assigned hands in *Scribes*. For this reason, the following inscriptions which were found in J1 have also been attributed to hand 117?: 5282, 5283, 5662, 5664, 5665, 5697, 5830, 5831, 5835, 5836, 5837, 5857, 5858, 6058, 8488.

3. [X 2011 & Dp 5508 are possibly parts of the same tablet (KT4).]
4. The proposed join between 5335 and 7972 (Godart & Olivier 1972a) has now been rejected (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 213).
5. The proposed quasi-joins, 1470 [+] 5075 and 1493 [+] 7149 (Godart & Olivier 1972b) have now been rejected (see Driessen *et al.* 1988, p. 74 for the rejection of the latter).
6. It has been shown that <1416> = 5049 and <1591> = 5078 (Firth 2002a).

*Find-places*⁷¹

J1 : All of the tablets listed above carrying a number between 1078 and 1515. In addition, 1584-1586, 1588-1593, 1600-1602, 1604, 1606, 1607, 1609, 1610, 1617-1619, 1621, 5012, 5023, 5030, 5032, 5038, 5041, 5042, 5048, 5049, 5180, 5189, 5193, 6054, 8289.

[K1 : Dp 1061]

Description

Very homogeneous group despite its extensiveness: *ca.* 10-14 × 2-2.5 × 1 cm; some tablets are not lined, the others have 2 lines (A and B), except those of the Dn-series (1 and 2); all of these lines are of about equal height; ends thinned (slightly) and rounded.

versos: Da 1091 → De 1169 ↓ Dm 1177 → Dg 1226 → Dg 1248 →
De 1294 → Dd 1296 ↓ Dv 1328 → Dd 1511 ↓ Dv 5209 ↓
Dv 5349 → (?) Dv 8290 ↓ Dv 8383 (?) Dv 8384 ↓

lat. inf.: Dk 727, Da 1098, Dd 1144, Da 1173

The tablets of the Dm-series can be divided into two groups:⁷²

- a) Tablets 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 5237, 5323, which contain both the terms *a₃-mi-re-we* and *e-ka-ra-e-we*.
- b) Tablets 1182, 1183, 1184, 5181 and 5226, which only have the term *e-ka-ra-e-we*.

⁷¹ These find-places are based on a combination of the *Handlist* and Myres' notes. Driessen (2000, p. 37) suggests that 727 was not found in G2 because its physical appearance has little in common with the other tablets found in this find-spot. He suggests that this was an error in Evans' *Handlist*. On this basis it is excluded from the above list. Firth (2002, p. 97) suggests that Dc 926 was not found in I3 and that it was an error in the *Handlist*.

⁷² Following the suggestion given in Godart *et al.* 1970, pp. 154ff.

Palm-prints: 1126, 1214, 1218, 1225, 1247 and 1268 have the palm-print of R PI. 8201 and 8392 have the palm-print of R OMEGA. 1299 has the palm-print of L ALPHA. [There is reason to suggest that 7219 has the palm-print of R YPSILON.]⁷³

HAND 118⁷⁴

Tablets

D 1650?, 8787?

DI 463?, 7771?, 8177?, 9667?, 9745?

DI(1a) 412, 413, 414, 794, 928, 930, 932, 933, 935, 938, 939, 940, 943, 944, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 952, 1046, 7085, 7132, 7138, 7141, 7147, 7238, 7249, 7283, 7287, 7288, 7503, 7721, 7865?, 7875, 7905, 8217, 8577?, 9177?, 9716, 9750, 9764, 9841

DI(1b) 790, 791, 792, 916, 934, 7072, 7076, 7086, 7092, 8103

⁷³ Sjöquist found “reason” to suggest that R PI was also on C 7698. J-PO suggested that 7698 was by hand 110? (Godart *et al.* 1970; although this was subsequently omitted in *KT4*, *KT5* and *CoMIK*) and also that it was probably found in the *NEP* (Olivier 1991). Sjöquist found “strong reason” to suggest that R YPSILON also appears on C 5734. According to J-PO (1991), 5734 was probably found in the *NEP*. L ALPHA also appears on X 38 from the S.W. Corner and on Mc 5124 from the Arsenal.

⁷⁴ The same tablets are listed in *CoMIKIV* (pp. 235-236) except that the above lists exclude 8634? but includes 7511?, 8787?, 9667?, 9745? In addition, 7875 replaces 9862 following the join (Melena 1998, p. 419).

- The DI(1) set has been divided into DI(1a) and DI(1b) on the basis of *Scribes* p. 63 (see N.B.: in main text).
- 463 & 8177 have been reclassified as DI (rather than DI(1)), since they were not found with the other DI(1) tablets in the *NEP*. 7771 has also been reclassified as DI 7771 because it is physically different from the other tablets in DI(1) (*Scribes* p. 63).
- 7511 has been included as hand 118? (Melena 1997, p. 464).
- 7891 was included as hand 118? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but not attributed to a hand in *KT5* and *CoMIK*.
- According to *KT5*, 8634 is hand 118? but according to Firth & Melena (2002, p. 347) it is 117? from J1. It is noted that the tablet is pumice-like (suggesting J1) and *za-ra-ro* which would align it with the shepherd from *ku-ta-to* which is listed in J1, therefore, it is excluded here.
- D 8787 has been included as hand 118? following Sakellarakis & Olivier (1972, p. 290).
- 9177 was attributed to hand 118 in *KT5* but hand 118? in *CoMIKIV*.
- X 9333 contains the word *ra-wo-ḡo-ḡo*; cf. D 1650.
- DI 9667 was attributed to 118? by JLM (Godart *et al.* 1992 p. 64).
- 9745 has been included as hand 118? and reclassified as DI following JLM (*priv. comm.*).
- Nosch (2007, pp. 38, 58) suggests that 8465 could be hand 118, but this is strongly doubted by JLM (*priv. comm.*).

Dp 997
X 7511?

*Find-places.*⁷⁵

F3 : [DI 463]
I2 : DI(1a) 794; DI(1b) 790-792
I3 : DI(1a) 412-414, 928, 930, 932, 933, 935, 938-940, 943, 944, 946-950, 952, 1046; DI(1b) 916, 934; Dp 997

Physical description

Homogeneous group comprising of all the tablets attributed to this scribe, except for [DI 463, 7771], Dp 997 and [D 1650] (cf. however the N.B. below); *ca.* 18 × 2.8 × 1 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded (the right hand side being generally very thinned out); frequently, the presence of a hole in the lengthwise direction, left by the burning of a straw (sometimes with evidence of a burnt residue). This practice of strengthening the tablet by means of a straw or a slender support was also used by hands 102, 204 etc. It was particularly justified in the case of long, thin tablets, as here. It had two advantages: it made the manufacture and manipulation (when the clay is not yet hardened) considerably easier; perhaps more importantly, if the tablet broke whilst it was being written, the straw would keep the two pieces together.

N.B.: DI(1b) 790, 791, 792, 916, 934, 7072, 7076, 7086, 7092?, 8103 and [DI 8177] do not seem to have dimensions which are notably different, however, their physical appearance differs from DI(1a) tablets. This is because DI(1b) tablets are light red in colour tending towards beige, the surface is slightly crazed, whereas the DI(1a) are obviously black and shiny. Furthermore, this difference in appearance corresponds to a difference in content, because the DI(1b) tablets account for flocks which from *e-ko-so* which do not have a “collector” and which are only destined for breeding and not (at the same time) for wool production, all situated in *e-ko-so*, and show the ideogram, *WE* (cf. Killen 1964, p. 11, n. 57).

Uncategorised:

Dp 997 : (8) × 2.5 × 1 cm; not lined.
[DI 463 : 16.5 × 2.6 × 1.4 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; left end rounded, cut at right.]

⁷⁵ See Firth & Melena 2000, p. 113 for a discussion on the find-place of 8177. See Firth & Melena (2006a) for a brief discussion on the find-place of 8103.

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[Dl 7771 : $(3.5) \times 2.3 \times 1$ cm; attracts a division into A and B; seems quite different, in respect of its material, from the other tablets attributed to this scribe.]

[D 1650 : $(6.4) \times 2.5 \times 1.2$ cm; not lined.]

HAND 119⁷⁶

Tablets

Dk(2) 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1320, 1399, 1491, 1565, 1567, 1613, 5201, 5233, 5566, 7204, 8209, 8353?, 8403?

Pp 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 1818, 1819

*Find-places*⁷⁷

F7a : Pp 493-499, 1818-1819

J1 : Dk(2) 1064-1077, 1320, 1399, 1491, 5597, [8353]

Description

Dk: Homogeneous group: *ca.* $14 \times 2.5 \times 1.5$ cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded, often attenuated (1067 cut at left).

Pp:

493, 494, 497 : *ca.* $14 \times 3 \times 1.5$ cm; not lined; ends slightly rounded and thinned.

495, 496, 499 : *ca.* $12 \times 2.5 \times 1$ cm; not lined; ends slightly thinned and rounded.

498 : $(9) \times 3 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; left end thinned and rounded.

⁷⁶ The list of tablets is the same as that given in *CoMIK IV* (p. 236) except that 8353 now has a question mark.

- According to *Scribes* (p. 64), “Dk(2) 8353 is completely burnt and one can only just make out the tracing of some signs. However, it is included here because its length (15 cm) would be more likely to be from hand 119 than from hand 117.” However, the *CoMIK IV* (p. 47) photo shows that the tablet length is 13.2 cm (not 15 cm). Therefore, the deduction that it is a scribe 119 is based on the inclusion of an almost illegible *M* sign, consequently the attribution has been changed to hand 119?
- MLN suggested that 5326 should be attributed to hand 119? and reclassified from X to Dk(2) (Nosch 2007, p. 58). However, the clay of this fragment is not characteristic of the tablets found in the East-West Corridor (JLM, *priv. comm.*).

⁷⁷ 1064-1077, 1320, 1399, 1491 are recorded in the *Handlist*. 5597 and 8353 are recorded in *Scripta Minoa I*, p. 41, fig. 18.

HAND 120⁷⁸

Tablets

Dh(2)	1646, 7128?, 7231
Dk	671
Dk(1)	920, 925, 931, 936, 945, 951, 964?;, 969?;, 1049, 2129?;, 5183, 5464, 5620?;, 5731, 5733, 5758?;, 5768, 7117, 7144?;, 7295, 7297, 7299, 7300?;, 7301, 7303, 7304, 7306, 7307?;, 7308, 7311, 7313, 7314, 7315, 7316, 7322, 7323, 7325, 7327?;, 7328, 7329, 7781, 7899?;, 7902?;, 7927?;, 8018?;, 8463?;, 8464, 9004?;, 9246?;, 9302?;, 9304?;, 9418?;, 9419?;, 9420?;, 9422?;, 9434?;, 9441?;, 9711?
Dp	7280
X	7677?

Find-places

F15 : Dk 671

I3 : Dk(1) 920, 925, 931, 936, 945, 951, [964, 969], 1049

⁷⁸ *Scribes* & *CoMIK* IV (p. 236) give the same list of tablets except that they exclude 5620?, 5758?, 7128?, 7307?, 7327?, 7927?, 9004?, 9246?, 9302?, 9304?, 9418?, 9419?, 9420?, 9422?, 9434?, 9441?, 9711?

- In *KT3*, 7128 & 7218 were both classified as Dh. *Scribes* attributed 7218 to hand 120? In *KT4* 7218 was still attributed to 120? but its classification was changed to X. 7218 was not attributed to any hand in *KT5* or *CoMIK*. By contrast, no hand was given for 7128 in *Scribes*, *KT4*, *KT5* or *CoMIK*. However, Chadwick (1972) classified it as Dh(2) 7128, with the set description “h 120 Lambs”, clearly indicating that Chadwick considered it to be attributable to hand 120. It is surprising that *Scribes* attributed 7218 to hand 120? on the basis of the single sign that is present on the fragment. It seems possible that there was some confusion between 7128 & 7218 and that the intention in *Scribes* was to list Dh 7128 as hand 120? (instead of Dh 7218). After re-consideration, 7128 has been included here as hand 120?
- 671 has been reclassified Dk 671 (not Dk(1)), because it was not found in the *NEP*.
- 5758, 7307, 7927, 9004, 9246, 9302, 9304, 9418, 9419, 9420, 9422, 9441 have been listed as hand 120? and reclassified as Dk(1) following Nosch (2007, p. 57). However, it is noted that JLM has doubts about the attribution of 9246 to hand 120?
- Dk 7327 has been attributed to hand 120? and reclassified as Dk(1) following Nosch (2007, p. 57).
- 5620 has been listed as 120? and moved from Od to Dk(1) following a re-examination of the tablet.
- 9434 & 9711 are very probably from I3 and include the word *ko-ma-we-to* in writing close to the style of hand 120 (cf. Dk(1) 930) and so they have been included as 120? and their classification has been changed from X to Dk(1).
- Nosch (p. 58) suggested that 7300 should be reclassified as Dk because “the tablet structure suggests that it does not belong to the Dk(1) set”.
- JLM has noted that 7557 has clay similar to tablets by hand 120 (Melena 1997, p. 464).

Physical description

These tablets probably do not form an homogeneous group, but it is quite difficult to classify them more precisely. They all have more or less the same format, but none have them have survived in their entirety: *ca.* (?) × 2.5 × 1 cm; not lined (except Dp 7280, [Dk(1) 964, 969, 7144]: 2 lines of about equal height, A and B); the left ends that have survived are cut (Dk(1) 936, Dh 1646, [Dk(1) 964]), or “squared off” ([X 7677]), as for the right ends, they are very thinned and rounded (Dk(1) 920, 7315, 7325), cut at right (Dk(1) 931, 945, 7297, 7299, [7307], [9422] and perhaps [2129]) or “squared off” ([Dk(1) 8018]).

N.B.: Despite the above notes, Dk(1) 920, 925, 931, 936, 945, 951, 1049, 5183, 5731, 7295, 7303, 7313, 7315, 7323, 7325, 7329 perhaps form a relatively coherent grouping, although it is not possible to define them very precisely or to say whether other fragments ought or ought not to be included within the grouping.

HAND 121⁷⁹

Tablets

Dq(1) 439, 440, 441, 447, 448, 449, 672, 1803, 8208

Find-places.

F1 : Dq(1) 439-441

F2 : Dq(1) 447-449, 1803

F15 : Dq(1) 672

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* 12 × 2.4 × 1 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.

HAND 122⁸⁰

Tablets

Uf(2) 836, 837, 838?, 839, 980, 990, 1023?, 5973?, 7487?

Find-places

I3 : Uf(2) 836, 837, [838], 839, 980, 990, [1023]

⁷⁹ The same list of tablets is given for this hand in *Scribes & CoMIK IV* (p. 236).

⁸⁰ This is the same list as given by *Scribes & CoMIK IV* (p. 236) except that 7486 has been excluded and *Scribes* originally included 5721? which is now attributed to hand 134.

Description

Group relatively homogeneous: *ca.* $16 \times 2.6 \times 1.4$ cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded (836, 990 cut at left) *except for* [Uf(2) 838: $(6.8) \times 2.6 \times 1$ cm; not lined; cut at right] and [Uf(2) 5973: $(3.1) \times 2.2 \times (. .)$; not lined].

Palm-print R NY on Uf(2) 837.

HAND 123⁸¹

Tablets

Uf(3) 835?, 970, 981, 983, 987, 991, 1011, 1022, 1031, 1038?, 7486?, 9684?
X 9324?

Find-place

I3 : Uf(3) [835], 970, 981, 983, 987, 991, 1011, 1022, 1031, [1038]

Description

Relatively homogeneous group: *ca.* $<10?> \times 2.1-2.5 \times 1.1$ cm (only one is complete, i.e. 1031: measuring 9 cm long but cut on the right); not lined; ends “squared off” or cut (981, 987, [1038] on left; [835], 1031, [9684] on right).

-
- In *Scribes & CoMIK*, Uf(2) 7486 is attributed to 122? However, the *me* and *na* signs are very similar to those in *ke-ke-me-na* on Uf(2) 983, which is attributed to hand 123. (Note also that *me* is dissimilar to the two *me* signs on 839 by hand 122, with only one line crossing on the right). Furthermore, it seems possible that *Jme-na* could be restored as *ke-ke-Jme-na* and this word already appears on two tablets by hand 123 (Uf 835, 983) but none of the other tablets that have been attributed to hand 122. On this basis, 7486 has been attributed to hand 123? in this paper. (See Firth & Skelton 2013).
 - The suggestion (*KT4* p. 301) that 837 and 990 could be the same tablet has now been rejected (Godart *et al.* 1992, p. 56).

⁸¹ This is the same as the list of tablets given in *Scribes & CoMIKIV* (p. 236) except that 7486?, 9324? & 9684? have been added.

- On 7486, see previous footnote.
- Following the suggestion by JLM, 9324? and 9684? have been included (*priv. comm.*).
- 9324 & 9351 could be parts of the same tablet (JLM, *Knossos Linéaire B: Rapport No. 18*, 1990).

HAND 125⁸²

Tablets

Vf 756, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1043, 1583, 7577, 7670?, 7797?, 7964, 9006, 9296?, 9317?, 9318, 9320, 9355, 9689?, 9693?, 9715?

N.B.: 7577 and 9355 are possibly parts of the same tablet.⁸³

*Find-places*⁸⁴

I3 : Vf 1002-1005, 1043, 1583

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* 15 × 3 × 1.3 cm; 2 lines (A and B), of *ca.* 2 and 1 cm, respectively (the second is always blank); ends thinned and rounded.

Palm-prints: Vf 756 has the palm-print R TAU. Vf 1002, 1004 have the palm-print R XI.

Olivier (1991) notes that the palm-print R TAU was also found on tablets by Scribe 224. He suggests that, in the limit, there is a possibility that Scribe 125 could be the same as Scribe 224 but there too few elements to form a reliable comparison.

HAND 126⁸⁵

Tablets

Ra(1) 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1559, 1814

⁸² For hand 125, *Scribes* lists 756, 1002-1005, 1043, 4583, 7577, 7670, 7797?, 7964. *CoMIKIV* (p. 238) gives the same list as above except that 9296?, 9317?, 9689? & 9693? are not included. Note that 7670 was listed as hand 125 in *Scribes & KT4* but hand 125? in *KT5 & CoMIK*.

· Following JLM, 9296, 9689 and 9693 are included as hand 125? (*priv. comm.*).

· Following JLM, 9317 is included as hand 125? (*priv. comm.*).

· The quasi-join between 9227 and 9355 (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 239) is now very difficult and doubted (Melena 1999, p. 373).

⁸³ 7577 [+] 9355 (Melena 1999, p. 373).

⁸⁴ Driessen (2000, p. 37 FN) states that the physical appearance of 756 has little in common with the other tablets found in I1 and so it is better to regard it as having been wrongly inventoried by Evans. Melena noted that 756 is fired and broken in a similar way to the other Vf tablets and so it is better to assume that the tablet was found in the *NEP* with the other Vf tablets (Firth 2002, p. 97).

⁸⁵ The list of tablets is the same as that given in *Scribes & CoMIK IV* (p. 238), except that *Scribes* included 1558 which is now joined to 1556.

· 7732 was incorrectly listed as 126 in *KT5* and *CoMIK III* (see Corrigendum, *CoMIK IV* p. 295), although it is given as 127 in *CoMIK IV* p. 238.

· Driessen (1996, FN 56) states that it is likely that Sf 7450 is from the Arsenal. JLM doubts this and suggests that it is more likely to be from the *NEP*, possibly hand 126 (because of the *na*).

N.B.: 1547 and 1814 (*ex* 1547 bis) are possibly parts of the same tablet⁸⁶.

Find-place

J3 :Ra(1) 1540-1557, 1559, 1814 (= 1547 bis)

Physical description

Group is quite homogeneous: *ca.* 14 × 2-2.5 × 1.2 cm; not lined; ends slightly thinned and rounded.

Ra(1) 1549, 1552 and 1555 have the palm-prints of L ZETA

JPO (*Scribes* pp. 76-77) notes that all of the tablets Ra(1) have been grouped here, but without great enthusiasm. On the basis of the trace of the signs, it does not seem possible to establish a firm discrimination (an exception is perhaps: *ka* in 1555 against *ka* elsewhere [*ka* in 1556 is not necessarily a significant variant]); the tablets themselves show quite a large degree of homogeneity in their materials; but the tracing of the ideograms varies noticeably, although it does not seem possible to relate these variations to descriptions furnished by the text: at the same time, it would be very remarkable if the syllabograms of 1543 and 1548 (to take just one example) were not written by the same scribe. Clearly the presence of the palm-print L ZETA on three of the tablets adds support to the grouping of these tablets.

HAND 127⁸⁷

Tablets

Ra(2) 984, 1028, 7498, 7732, 9682, 9708?

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- It is worth noting that this group of tablets does not have any joins to fragments with *KT* numbers higher than 2000. Furthermore, there is no indication in the excavation notebooks that the earth from J3, the Corridor of Sword Tablets, was sieved. This might be the underlying cause for the observation that there has only been a very limited number of joinings of fragments to tablets from this area after the publication of *Scripta Minoa* II.

⁸⁶ Olivier 1969, p. 253 (following Evans). The joins and quasi-joins proposed by Bandini (1997) were found not to be valid when judged against standard acceptance criteria.

⁸⁷ *Scribes* attributes 879-883, 890-893, 965, 984, 1007, 1028, 1048?;, 5729, 7449, 7920 to hand 127. *CoMIK* gives the same list as in the main text but excluding 9309?;, 9707? and attributing 1048 to hand 127??

- It seems anomalous to attribute 1048 to hand 127?? because the *po-ni-ki-ja* signs are quite similar to those on Se 965; therefore, 1048 has been attributed here to 127? (rather than 127??).
- 9309? and 9707? have been included following JLM (*priv. comm.*).
- 7732 was incorrectly listed as 126 in *KT5* and *CoMIK* III (see *Corrigendum, CoMIK* IV p. 295), although it is given as 127 in *CoMIK* IV p. 238.

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Se 879*, 880**, 881, 882, 883, 890, 891*, 892, 893, 965, 1007, 1048?, 5729, 7449, 7920, 9307?, 9309?

X 9707?

* There is not room to speculate (in an attempt to find the trace of two distinct scribes) on *e-te-re-ta* (879) and *e-ka-te-re-ta* (891): the *re* of the first word is written on [[*ta*]] the *ka* of the second on [[*te*]] (one perhaps notice again that the *zo* of *e-wi-su-zo-ko* (965) covers a sign that has been effaced, perhaps [[*šy*]] and that in 882 the *ki* of]*ni-ki-ja* is on the [[*ja*]])

** The ideogram *241 (*CUR*) has certainly been written by the scribe to whom all the other *241 of this group should be attributed; however, the text is perhaps by another hand.

Find-place

I3 :Ra(2) 984, 1028; Se 879-883, 890-893, 965, 1007, [1048]

Description

- a) Tablets Ra: *ca.* <13> × 2.5-3 × 1.3 cm; lines (2 lines A and B, of about equal height) 984 (or 1 and 2 ?), 1028, 7498; ends slightly rounded.
- b) Tablets Se: this group has relatively little homogeneity; however, the variations which can be observed in the dimensions of the tablets and the arrangement of the text probably do not justify the creation of subgroup: *ca.* <16> × 2.5-3 × 1.3 cm; not lined: Se 879, 882, 893, [1048], lined (2 lines A and B, of about equal height): Se 880, 891, 965, 1007 (or 1 and 2 ?); these tablets are generally higher at one end than the other, without there being a rule about which end should be higher than the other; Se 879, 892, 965, 7920: cut at left, Se 880, 883: cut at right, Se 881, 890, 891: ends slightly rounded.

THE TABLETS FROM THE ARSENAL: HANDS 128-133

The tablets of the Arsenal have a distinctive visual appearance because of the high temperatures at which they were fired. The surface of the tablets is often cracked and they can have a “metallic” appearance and, in some cases, the tablets are swollen.

The tablets found in the Arsenal itself are identified by Firth & Melena (2000) and have been attributed to seven identified scribes (128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133,

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- 9708 appears to be attributed to hand 127? and classified as Ra(2) because it includes parts of the signs]*ke-ra*], which is a word found on the Ra(2) set of tablets. However, it is noted that the writing of these signs is substantially larger than that on the other members of the Ra(2) set.
 - It may be appropriate to consider here X 7995 which is a small fragment with an initial sign *pte* and cut-at-left (c.f. Se 879, 892, 7920).
 - The proposed quasi-join 1028 [+] 7498 (Godart & Olivier 1972a, p. 37) has been rejected (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 376).

202). In this paper, it is suggested that none of these scribes wrote tablets that were found elsewhere. The tablet by hand 202 is included in a separate paper describing the work of the secondary scribes (Firth & Melena 2014).

HAND 128⁸⁸

Tablets

Sd 4401, 4402, 4403, 4404, 4405, 4406, 4407, 4408, 4409, 4412, 4413, 4415, 4416, 4422, <4450>+4483, 4468, 6066, 8519?, 8544?, 9933, 9934, 9936, 9937?, 9939?

Sf(1) 4421?, 4423?, 4427?, 4428, 7450?

N.B.:

- In 4409, the *-na* of *a-ja-me-na* is clearly in another hand, see footnote 88.
- In Sd 4422, the words, *o-u-qe pe-qa-to u-po* (over erased text) were written by a different scribe (notably the *u* is of a different style), possibly 131?
- In Sd 4404 *lat. sup.*, it is possible that the inscription *po-ni-ki-ja* *240 might be attributed to another scribe.
- If Sf(1) 4421, 4423 and 4427 were not written by this scribe, there is a chance that they might be the work of a single individual.
- 4412 and 4468 are possibly parts of the same tablet.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ *Scribes* gives the same list but including 4435? & 5091, and excluding 6066, 7450?, 8519?, 9933, 9934, 9936, 9937? & 9939? *CoMIKIV* (p. 238) gives the same list but including 4427bis, 4435? & 5091, excluding 6066, 7450? and attributing 4409 to hand 128? (rather than 128).

- 4409 was attributed to hand 128 in *Scribes* & *KT4*. This was changed to hand 128? in *CoMIKII* and then to 128?/? in *KT5*. The difficulty arises because the *-na* of *a-ja-me-na* is clearly in another hand. Following JLM (*priv. comm.*) 4409 is attributed here to 128?/, noting that the second hand could be 131, cf 4422.
- 4427 has been joined to 4427bis (Melena 1998, p. 417).
- 4435 was previously attributed to hand 128? but it has now been attributed to the new scribal hand 231 (Firth & Melena 2013).
- Sd 6066 is the tablet which was previously known as Sd 5091. The change of numbering arose because the fragment 5091 had been wrongly identified (see Firth & Melena 2002, p. 320).
- Driessen (1996, p. 496 FN 56) states that it is likely that Sf 7450 is from the Arsenal. 7450 is attributed here to hand 128? and re-classified as Sf(1).
- It seems anomalous to attribute 4421, 4423 & 4427 to hand 128?, whilst the small fragments 9933 & 9934 are attributed to hand 128.
- It is noted that based on the photograph and drawing, the reading of <4450> given in *CoMIKII* (p. 227) should begin with *i-]qi-ja* rather than *i-qi-ja*.

⁸⁹ JPO, Driessen *et al.* 1988, p. 79.

Find-place

L: all the above tablets. (For the 4000-series tablets the identification of find-place is based on Evans' notes; for the remainder, it is based on the physical characteristics of the clay. See Firth and Melena 2000.)

Physical description

This is a homogeneous group: *ca.* 18 × 3 × 1.7 cm. (The action of the fire was very marked on a great number of tablets found in the Arsenal and, in certain cases, it could have caused an increase in the height, to 4 cm, and the thickness, to 2.5 cm) The tablets are not lined (except Sd 4406 which has a line, 1.3 cm below the upper edge). The ends of the tablets are thinned and rounded.

lat. sup.: Sd 4404

HAND 129⁹⁰

Tablets

Sf(2) 4418?, 4419?, 4420?, 4424, 4425?, 4426, 4465?, 4491?, 5106?
So 4447?

N.B.:

- This hand is not particularly well-established; Sf(2) 4424 and 4426 are evidently by the same scribe, which is different from 128 and probably from 130 and

⁹⁰ This listing of tablets by hand 129 is the same as that given in *Scribes & CoMIK IV* (p. 238).

- 4419 appears to have been written by two different hands with the initial signs showing a heavier indentation than the following signs.
- Note that the two *na*'s on 4420 are different from each other and are both different from the *na*'s on the tablets, 4424 & 4426, which define hand 129. The *a-na-mo-to* on 4420 is very similar to the same word written on 4421, 4423 & 4427 attributed to hand 128? Similarly, the *na* on 4465 is different from the *na*'s on the tablets, 4424 & 4426, which define hand 129. The *a-na-mo-* on 4420 is very similar to the same signs written on 4421, 4423 & 4427 attributed to hand 128?
- Similarly, *me* on 5106 differs from that on the tablets, 4424 & 4426, which define hand 129.
- JLM suggests that the quasi-join 4425 [+] 8322 should be considered (*priv. comm.*).
- *Scribes* (p. 24) incorrectly gave find-place of 1811 (=890bis) as I3? therefore it acquired an Sg classification implying "Chariot-frames (as Sf, but from N. Entrance area)" (Chadwick 1972, p. 46). However, it was actually found in the Arsenal (Evans 1904, pp. 57-58, discusses tablets from the Arsenal noting that "one tablet concerns a total amount of 478 wheels"; *CoMIK II* p. 190; Firth & Melena 2000, p. 111). Therefore, it is suggested that 1811 should be reclassified as Sf, i.e. Chariot frames from the Arsenal. According to the categorisation of Vandenberg & Olivier (1979, p. 143), the *ROTA* is of type (e) and all the other Arsenal tablets with this type of *ROTA* were written by hand 129? (4447) or 130 (4436, 4440) and of these the *ROTA* on 1811 more closely resemble those on 4447.

131, but it could be that some of the tablets, which are tentatively included here, were actually written by 130 or 131.

- Sf(2) 4418 and So 4447 are almost certainly by the same scribe. Their particular format contrasts strikingly with that of the other tablets from the Arsenal.

Find-place

L: all the above tablets. (For the 4000-series tablets the identification of find-place is based on Evans' notes; for the remainder, it is based on the physical characteristics of the clay. See Firth and Melena, 2000.)

Physical description

The group is relatively homogeneous: *ca.* 18 × 3 × 2 cm. except for Sf(2) 4418 and So 4447. The tablets are not lined and their ends are thinned and rounded.

Sf(2) 4418, So 4447: 11 × 2 × 0.8 cm. The tablets are not lined and their ends are rounded.

The same comment about the action of the fire applies here, as for hand 128.

HAND 130⁹¹

Tablets

So(1) 4429, 4430, 4432, 4436, 4437, 4440, 4441, 4448, 4449

Find-place

L: all the above tablets (based on Evans' notes).

Physical description

With the exception of 4436 and 4448, this group is relatively homogeneous: *ca.* 19 × 3 × 1.7 cm (only So(1) 4430 was not distorted during the conflagration; it has a height of 4 cm and a thickness of 3 cm). The tablets are not lined and their ends are thinned and rounded.

⁹¹ This listing of tablets by hand 130 is the same as that given in *Scribes & CoMIK IV* (p. 238).

- LG & JPO attribute 4440 to hand 131 (Driessen *et al.* 1988, p. 79) although this is probably a typographical error since it in *Scribes*, *KT4*, *KT5* & *CoMIK* it is consistently given as hand 130.
- 8706 was attributed to hand 132? in *Scribes* but it is now joined to 4441 (hand 130).
- Driessen (1996, p. 497, FN 60) states that So 8561 may be from the Arsenal. If this is correct then it is quite likely that it was written by hand 130 since he is the only scribe that is known to use the spelling variant, *o-da-twe-ta*.

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So(1) 4436, 4448: *ca.* $17 \times 2.5 \times 1.5$ cm. So(1) 4436 has 2 lines of about equal height. So(1) 4448 is not lined. Its ends are thinned and rounded.

verso: So(1) 4441 → (?)

HAND 131⁹²

Tablets

So(2) 4431?, 4433, 4434, 4438, 4439, 4442, 4443?, 4445, 4446, 4472

N.B.: 4442 and 4472 are very probably parts of the same tablet.⁹³

Find-place

L: all of the above tablets (based on Evans' notes).

Physical description

With the exception of So(2) 4434 and 4438, this group is relatively homogeneous: *ca.* $19 \times 3 \times 1.7$ cm. (The same comment about the action of the fire applies here, as for the three preceding hands.) The tablets are not lined, except for So(2) 4446 (which has 2 lines of about equal height). The ends of the tablets are thinned and rounded.

So(2) 4434, 4438: *ca.* $<16?> \times 2.2 \times 1$ cm. So(2) 4438 is not lined. So(2) 4434 is broken on the right hand side and divided into A and B. The ends are thinned and rounded.

⁹² *Scribes* lists the same tablets but excluding 4472. *CoMIK IV* (p. 239) lists the same tablets but attributes 4472 to hand 131?

· Based on its physical characteristics, 5789 is from the Arsenal (Firth & Melena 2000, p. 351). According to the categorisation of Vandebeele & Olivier (1979, p. 143), the *ROTA* is of type (d) and all the other Arsenal tablets with this type of *ROTA* were written by hand 131.

· The *wa* and *ra* on So 4443 are unlike those on So 4445 and So 4442, respectively (Firth & Skelton 2013).

⁹³ JPO, Killen & Olivier 1968, p. 127. On this basis 4472 has been attributed to hand 131 and reclassified from Xf to So.

HAND 132⁹⁴

Tablets

Mc 4453, 4454, 4455, 4456, 4457, 4459, 4460, 4461, 4462, 4463, 4464, 5107, 5118, 5124, 5818, 8448, 8705, 8708, 9941?, 9942?

N.B.: 4464 and 8705 are perhaps part of the same tablet. 4461 and 5118 are probably parts of the same tablet.⁹⁵

Find-places

L: all of the above tablets. (For the 4000-series tablets the identification of find-place is based on Evans' notes; for the remainder, it is based on the physical characteristics of the clay. See Firth and Melena 2000.)

Physical description

Except for 5107, this group is relatively homogeneous: *ca.* 15 × 2.5 × 1.2 cm. (N.B.: Mc 4460 has dimensions which are a little smaller). The tablets have 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height. Their ends are rounded and slightly thinned.

verso: Mc 4461 ↓

Mc 5107: (12) × 2.4 × 0.9 cm. This tablet is not lined and its ends are thinned and rounded.

Mc 5124 has palm-print L ALPHA. (There is “strong reason” to suggest that this palm-print also appears on X 38 and “reason” to suggest that it appears on Da 1299.)

⁹⁴ The list of tablets given in *Scribes* for hand 132 is as follows: 1528?, 4453-4457, 4459-4464, 5107, 5118, 5187?, 5809, 5818, 5820?, 8308, 8447, 8448, 8452, 8703?, 8704?, 8705?, 8706?, 8708? This is markedly different from the above list: the two tablets from J1, 1508 (=1528*v.*) & 5187, are no longer attributed to this hand; (8704)7190 is now hand 117; (8706)4441 is now hand 130; 5809, 5820, 8305, 8447, 8452, 8703 are each now joined to other tablets by hand 132. *CoMIK* IV (p. 239) gives the same list as above for hand 132? except that it includes 1508?, 5187? & 9940?, and 8705 and 8708 were attributed to hand 132?

- Following JLM: 8705 & 8708 have been attributed to hand 132 (not hand 132); also, 9940? has been excluded (*priv. comm.*).
- Godart and Olivier (1973, p. 9) suggest that Xf 8764 should be attributed to hand 132?, however, that suggestion is doubted and was not included in *KT5* or *CoMIK*.
- Mc 1508 and Mc 5187 were found in the East-West Corridor (Firth 2002, p. 244). It is judged that neither of these tablets was written by scribe 132, on the basis of the logograms (Firth & Melena 2000, p. 114).

⁹⁵ 4464 [+], 8705?, JLM, Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 210. 4461 [+], 5118?, JLM (*priv. comm.*).

HAND 133⁹⁶

Tablets

Nc 4470, 4473, 4474, 4475?, 4479, 4480, 4484, 4485, 4486, 4489, 4490, 4492, 5100, 5103, 5110, 5112, 5117, 5120, 5121, 5122, 5126, 5128, 5129, 5130, 5772, 5787, 8106, 8144, 8145?, 8146, 8172, 8173, 8175, 8176, 8181, 8183, 8187, 8276, 8286, 8300, 8309, 8313?, 8315, 8317, 8453, 8454, 8455, 8456, 8542?, 8555?, 8586?, 8630?, 8728?, 8758, 8803, 8804, 8805

N.B.: 5100 and 8175 are probably two parts of the same tablet.⁹⁷

Find-place

L: all of the above tablets. (For the 4000-series tablets the identification of find-place is based on Evans' notes; for the remainder, it is based on the physical characteristics of the clay. See Firth and Melena 2000).

Physical description

This is a homogeneous group: *ca.* 15 × 3 × 1 cm. The tablets are not lined and the ends are thinned and rounded.

lat. inf.: Nc 5100, 8175

⁹⁶ For hand 133, *Scribes* gives the same list but excludes 4486, 8286, 8542?, 8555?, 8630?, 8758, 8803-8805, and includes 4488, 5109, 8188, 8318 (which are all now included as parts of other tablets in this series). *CoMIK* IV (p. 239) gives the same list as above for hand 133 except that it includes 8186?, and excludes 4492 and lists 4486, 5112, 8309, 8453, 8455 as hand 133?. These latter changes arise from a rationalisation of the use of question-marks for this hand.

- Following JLM, 4486, 5112, 8455 are listed as hand 133 (rather than hand 133?) and 4486 is reclassified from Xf to Nc (*priv. comm.*).
- 4492 is listed as hand 133 and reclassified from Xf to Nc.
- LG lists 8309 as hand 133 (Godart & Olivier, 1972a, p. 47) and JPO lists 8183 & 8453 as hand 133 (Godart & Olivier 1972b, pp. 127, 128) although these were all listed as 133? in *KT5* & *CoMIK*. Following inspection of the tablets, JLM has confirmed that these should all be listed as hand 133.
- Following JLM, 8186? is excluded because appears to have been made from a different clay to the rest of the series (*priv. comm.*).
- JLM suggests that 6004, 8298, 8835, 10123 and possibly 8719 could be reclassified as Nc tablets (*priv. comm.*).
- JTK notes that Og 5778 has a fabric similar to that of Nc 5100 and is written in a similar, though perhaps not identical hand (Killen 1985, p. 29).

⁹⁷ Olivier 1969, p. 252.

HAND 134⁹⁸

Tablets

Np(2) 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 1000, 5002, 5008, 5721, 5725, 5980,
5982, 7417, 7418, 7420, 7421, 7439, 7442, 7447, 8003, 8249, 8457, 8649,
9306, 9676, 9678

X 8648?

Find-place

I3 : Np(2) 855-861, 1000

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* <15 ?> × 2.5 × 1 cm; not lined; no left edges remaining, right edges: either thinned and rounded (Np 855), or cut (Np 856, 860, 861, 5002, 5725, 5982, 7418, 7439, 8003; [X 8648]).

The tablets appear to separate into two subgroups:⁹⁹

- a) those with *N I* and cut at right (Np 856, 861, 5002, 5725, 5982, 7418, 7439, 8003).
- b) those listing both *P* and *ϰ P* (Np 855, 859, 860, 5008), which can be either thinned and rounded at right (Np 855) or cut at right (Np 860).

HAND 135¹⁰⁰

Tablets

Ga 1058?

Ga(1) 517, 518?, 519?, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 685, 7365?, 7594

Gg(2) 713, 995, 5184?, 7371?, 7372?

⁹⁸ *Scribes* gives the same list but including 5945 and excluding 5721, 8648?, 8649, 9306, 9676, 9678. 5945 has now been joined to 5721 and the resulting tablet is attributed to hand 134. *CoMIK IV* (p. 239) gives the same list but including 9362?

· 860 has now been joined to 9343 (Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 114).

· 5721 has originally listed as hand 122? in *Scribes*.

· In *KT5* & *CoMIK*, 9362 was included as 134? it is now judged that this attribution is very doubtful and it has not been included above. It should also be re-classified as X 9362 (JLM, *priv. comm.*).

· According to JLM, 5737 could be part of the Np(2) set because of its clay type (JLM, *priv. comm.*).

⁹⁹ It is possible that the first subgroup are targets and the second subgroup are delivered amounts, which show a shortfall on the target. If the basic target is N1, then the deliveries will be generally of the form P (x) ϰ P (12-x), where 12P = 1N (see Np(2) 860, Firth & Melena 2006b, p. 114).

¹⁰⁰ *Scribes* gives the same list of tablets. *CoMIK IV* (p. 239) also gives the same list but including 8055?

Find-places

F8 :Ga(1) 517, [518, 519]
F17 :Ga(1) 674, 677, 678?
F18 :Ga(1) 675, 676, 679, 680, 685; Gg(2) 713, 995, [7371]
[K1 :Ga 1058]

Description

- a) Ga(1) 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 685, [7365], 7594: *ca.* 11.5 × 2.3 × 1 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.
b) [Ga 1058], Gg(2) 713, 995, [7371, 7372]: *ca.* 12.5 × 2.5 × 1 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

N.B.: Ga(1) 7594 (beginning of tablet only) should belong to one of these two groups.

Uncategorised: Ga(1) 517: 11.5 × 4.2 × 1.3 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

Ga(1) 680: (3.5) × 2.9 × 1.5 cm; 2 lines of 1.7 and 1.2 cm.

[Ga(1) 518: (5) × 3 × 1.2 cm; not lined.]

[Ga(1) 519: (5) × 4.1 × 1 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm.]

lat. inf.: Ga(1) 680

N.B.: Streaks from pine needles on *verso* corresponding to finger marks on *recto* of Gg(2) 995. Streaks from pine needles on *verso* of [Gg(2) 5184].

Palm-prints R MY on Ga(1) 674, 675.

HAND 136¹⁰¹

Tablets

E 749, 849?

-
- 1058 has been moved from Ga(1) to Ga since it was found in the South Front area and not with the other tablets in the Western Magazines.
 - 8055 was not given a specific hand until Olivier (1991, p. 126) attributed it to hand 136? and reclassified it as Ga 8055 because it had the palm-print R KAPPA and all the other tablets with this palm-print were Ga(2) tablets written by hand 136. However subsequently, in the publication of *CoMIK IV*, 8055 was attributed to hand 135? It is assumed that this was a typographical error and that it should be included as hand 136? following Olivier (1991).

¹⁰¹ *Scribes* gives the same list as above but excluding <34?>, 7367, 8055?, 9005?, 9013? *CoMIK IV* (p. 239) gives the same list but excluding 8055? & 9013?

- For 8055, see previous footnote.

Ga(2) <34?>, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428?, 673, 1335, 7286?, 7367, 7425, 7426, 7429, 7431, 7446, 8055?, 8439?, 9005? X 9013?

Find-places

E5 : Ga(2) 415-421, 423-427, [428], 7425 (=397), 7426 (=396), 7431 (=398)

F15 : Ga(2) 673

G2 : Ga(2) 422

I1 : E 749

[I3 : E 849]

J1 : Ga(2) 1335

Description

- a) E 749: 6.5 × 13.5 × 1.5 cm; 11 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm (upper line blank); top and bottom of the tablet thinned and rounded.
- b) Homogeneous group: Ga: *ca.* 11 × 2.4 × 0.8 cm; ends very thinned out and rounded; three groups according to the ruled lines on the tablets:
 - 1) 2 lines of about equal height: Ga(2) 419, 427, 673
 - 2) 2 lines A and B of about equal height: Ga(2) 417, 418, 420, 423, 425, 426
 - 3) not ruled: Ga(2) 415, 416, 421, 422, 424, 1335, 7426, 7431
[1 2 or 3: Ga(2) 8439]
[2 or 3: Ga(2) 428]
1 or 2: [7286], 7425, 7429, 7446
- c) Ga(2) 7367: (8.5) × 3.4 × (.) cm; 5 lines of *ca.* 0.7 cm.
- d) [E 849: (7) × 2.9 × 0.9 cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.]

Palm-prints: R KAPPA on Ga(2) 417, 418, 419, 421, 425, 426, 7425, 7426, [8055]; R THETA on Ga(2) 416, 427.

verso: Ga 423 ↓

lat. inf.: Ga 417

-
- 9005 is reclassified from Ga to Ga(2) (JLM, *priv. comm.*).
 - Following JLM, X 9013? has been included (*priv. comm.*).
 - Foster (1977, p. 47 FN) implies that consideration should be given to the possibility of including 1802 as part of the Ga(2) set.

HAND 137¹⁰²

Tablets

Bg 810, 813, 817, 818, 834, 992, 1020, 1021, 1040, 5584, 5736, 7682?, 8438, 9297, 9298, 9299, 9680

Find-place

I3 : Bg 810, 813, 817, 818, 834, 992, 1020, 1021, 1040

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* <15?> × 2.5 × 1 cm; not lined (except B 813); ends thinned and slightly rounded.

HAND 138¹⁰³

Tablets

Fp(1) 1, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 30, 48

Gg 10

X 453?

Find-places

A : Fp(1) 1, 5, 6, 7, 13-16, 18, 30, 48; Gg 10

[F3 : X 453]

¹⁰² *Scribes* gives the same list of tablets but excluding 9297, 9298, 9299, 9680. *CoMIKIV* (p. 239) gives the same list of tablets as above but attributes 810 & 813 to hand 137?

- In *Scribes, KT4 & CoMIKI* (pp. 315-316), 810 and 813 were attributed to hand 137, but in *KT5* and *CoMIKIV* (p. 239) this was changed to hand 137? (although there is not a corresponding entry in the *Corrigenda CoMIKIV* p. 295). However, it would seem to be anomalous to attribute 810 & 813 to hand 137? whilst at the same time attributing the minor fragments, 9298, 9299, 9680 to hand 137. Therefore, in this paper, 810 and 813 are given as 137 (JLM, *priv. comm.*).
- 10057 is attributed to hand 137 by JLM (*priv. comm.*) but this is not included above because of its fragmentary nature. JLM notes that it is possible that 9298 and 10057 are parts of the same tablet (*priv. comm.*).
- It is noted that the writing on X 9735 is reminiscent of Bg 1040 both in terms of style and content.

¹⁰³ *Scribes* & *CoMIKIV* (p. 239) give the same list of tablets as above.

- It was suggested by Alice Kober that the missing tablet, <32>, is part of the same tablet as Fp(1) 18 (see Firth 2002a, Bendall 2008, p. 107) and it is assumed here that this suggestion is very probably correct.
- The *da-da-re-jo-de* on X 723 is reminiscent of that on Fp 1.3.

Physical description

This is a coherent group, but tablets have varying dimensions:

- a) Fp 1: $6 \times 12.7 \times 1.4$ cm; 13 lines of *ca.* 1 cm. The top and bottom of the tablet are slightly thinned and rounded.
- b) Fp 5: $14.5 \times 3 \times 1$ cm. This tablet has 3 lines of height *ca.* 1 cm. (The *verso* is ruled but without inscription and has 2 lines of about equal height). The ends are thinned (the left end is cut and the right end is rounded). *verso*: Fp 5 ↓?
- c) Fp 6, 7, 15, 16, 18: *ca.* $10 \times 2.5 \times 0.8$ cm. These tablets have 2 lines of about equal height. The ends are slightly thinned and rounded.
- d) Fp 14: $14 \times 2.5 \times 1$ cm. This tablet has 2 lines of about equal height. Its ends are slightly thinned and rounded. Fp 30 is probably the beginning of a tablet of this type (although it is not lined and the *verso* is also inscribed). *verso*: Fp 30 ↓
- e) Fp 13, 48: *ca.* $16 \times 4 \times 1.4$ cm. These tablets have 3 lines with a height of *ca.* 1.3 cm. The ends are slightly thinned and rounded. Gg 10 is probably the end of a tablet of this type.

not classified: [X 453: $(6) \times 3 \times 0.9$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height.]

Fp(1) 5 and 14 have the palm-print of R ALPHA.

HAND 139¹⁰⁴

Tablets

Fs 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29

N.B.: Hand 139 strongly resembles hand 140, without the identity being absolutely certain (*Scribes* p. 84).

Although Fs 3 is a part of the same group, having the same subject and presenting the same layout of the text, it was written by another scribe.¹⁰⁵

Find-place

A : for all of the tablets listed above

¹⁰⁴ *Scribes & CoMIK IV* (p. 239) give the same list of tablets as above.

¹⁰⁵ At this point in *Scribes*, Olivier wrote in, parentheses, “qui possède peut-être certaines affinités avec la main 141”. Although it must have been tempting to try and involve hand 141 who wrote most of the oil tablets found in E1, in practice, the similarity between the writing on Fs 3 and hand 141 is primarily restricted to the first *na* (cf. Fh 353 for example) but other signs are different from those of hand 141 (for *ma* see Fh 347, 353, 360, 5432; for *ke* see 364, 386; for *ni* see Fh 359, 373, 5442, 5451, 5471; for *me* see Fh 360, 5502, 5505).

Physical description

This is a homogeneous group: *ca.* 11-12 × 2-2.5 × 1 cm. The ends of the tablets are rounded and very thinned out. The majority of tablets have (unlined) *versos*. There are two categories of tablets according to the type of ruling on the *recto*:

- 1) Fs 17?, 19, 21, 23, 26?: 2 lines of about equal height
 - 2) Fs 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 22, 24, 25, 29: 2 lines A and B of about equal height
- 1) or 2): Fs 12, 20

versos: Fs 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26 ↓

Fs 4, 21 and 25 have the palm-print of R BETA.

HAND 140¹⁰⁶

Tablets

Gg(3) 705, 717, 5185
M 719
Oa 745?
V 684

N.B.: Hand 140 shows a strong resemblance to hand 139, but it seems premature to suggest that they are the same (*Scribes* p. 85).

Find-places

F18 :V 684
G1 :Gg(3) 705, 717; M 719
[H4 :Oa 745]

Physical description

Gg(3) 705 : (8) × 4.5 × 1.6 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm; ends thinned and rounded.
Gg(3) 717 : (6.5) × 3 × 1 cm; 2 lines of about equal height.
Gg(3) 5185 : (3.5) × 2.8 × 1.4 cm; 2 lines of about equal height.

¹⁰⁶ *Scribes* gives the same list of hands but including 7374? and excluding 745? *CoMIK* gives the same list of tablets but excluding 745?

· 7374 has a quasi-join with 745. 7374 was included as hand 140? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but no hand was given following the quasi-join to 745, although there was no discussion of scribal hand (Godart & Olivier 1972b, p. 116). In practice, the majority of the signs are on 7374 and there are only four signs on 745, which are not particularly distinctive and would not seem to exclude hand 140. Therefore, on this basis, Oa 745 is listed here as hand 140?

M 719 : $9.5 \times 2.2 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.

V 684 : $13 \times 3 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.

[Oa 745 : $(11) \times 2.8 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines of about equal height].

HAND 141¹⁰⁷

Tablets

Fh 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346?, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362??, 364?, 365?, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370,

¹⁰⁷ The list for *Scribes* differs in numerous details and it is not productive to include a detailed examination of all of these changes, although some changes are discussed below. *CoMIK IV* (pp. 239-240) gives the same list but it includes 6001?, 7336?? & 9149? and excludes 362??, 387bis, 5468?, 8297?, 8646?

- Fh 362 was found in E1 (Firth 1998, p. 95) and Bendall (2008, p. 116) suggests that it was therefore probably written by hand 141.
- Firth (1998, p. 22; 2002a, p. 302) includes a sketch from a tablet (based on Evans' *Handlist*) which was not included in *Scripta Minoa II* or subsequent listings. This had an *Original Number* 447 and *Revised Number* 389 and, is listed between tablets Fh 387 and 388, therefore we shall refer to it as 387bis. It was amongst the Missing Batch of tablets from find-place E1 and so we have included it here as Fh <387bis> attributed to hand 141?.
- 1056, 1057, 1059 and 7571 from the South Front were attributed to hand 141? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but not attributed in *KT5* & *CoMIK*. In this work, they are attributed to the new hand 226.
- 5469 was attributed to hand 141? in *Scribes* but it is now joined to Dq(1) 439 by hand 121. Similarly, 5476 was attributed to hand 141 in *Scribes* but it is now joined to Fp 5472 by hand 222?.
- 5337, 5614, 5722, 5723 and 5970 were listed as being Fh-series tablets written by hand 141? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but in *KT5* & *CoMIK* they were listed in the X-series and were not attributed to a scribal hand. These tablets have been omitted from the above list. It is noted that on the basis of the clay-type, 5722 & 5723 were from the *NEP* but it was not possible to identify the find-places of 5337, 5614 & 5970.
- 5468, 8297 and 8646 were listed as being Fh-series tablets written by hand 141? in *Scribes* and *KT4* but in *KT5* & *CoMIK* they were listed in the X-series and were not attributed to a scribal hand. These tablets have been re-examined and are listed above as Fh-series by hand 141? (JLM, *priv. comm.* for identifying hand).
- Until recently, 6001 has been consistently attributed to hand 141? and was re-classified from X to Fh on that basis. However, on re-examination it was judged that it was not written by hand 141 and so it should be re-classified to X (JLM, *priv. comm.*).
- 7336 was listed as 141? in *Scribes* and *KT4* and 141?? in *KT5* and *CoMIK*. On re-examination, it has been excluded from the above list because it was made from a different clay to the other Fh-series tablets written by hand 141.
- JLM has noted that 8068 could be identified as the clay characteristic of Fh tablets (*priv. comm.*).
- JMD attributes 9149 to hand 124? (Driessen 2000, p. 286).
- JLM classifies 10013 as Fh by hand 141 (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 401) but is not listed above because of its fragmentary nature.

371, 372, 373, <374>??. 375, <376>??. 377, <378>??. <379>??. 380, <381>??. <382>??. <383>??. <384>??. <385>??. 386?. <387>??. <387bis>??. <388>??. <389>??. <390>??. <391>??. <392>??. 393, 462?. 2013, 2014, 5246, 5428, 5429?, 5430, 5431, 5432, 5434, 5435, 5436, 5437, 5442, 5443, 5444, 5446, 5447, 5450?, 5451, 5452, 5453, 5455, 5456?, 5457, 5458, 5459, 5463, 5465, 5467, 5468?, 5471?, 5475, 5477, 5479?, 5481, 5483, 5486, 5487?, 5490, 5493, 5494?, 5497, 5498, 5501?, 5502, 5503, 5505, 5506, 8297?, 8299, 8436, 8646?, 8740, 8802?, 9008?, 9017?, 9021?, 9030?, 9043, 9058?, 9062?, 9063?, 9064, 9065, 9066?, 9067, 9068, 9070, 9071, 9072, 9073, 9074, 9076, 9077, 9078, 9079, 9080, 9081, 9084, 9085, 9088, 9089, 9090, 9091, 9093bis, 9094, 9097, 9098, 9099, 9100, 9101, 9102?, 9103?, 9104, 9107, 9108

N.B.: 366 and 5503 are probably parts of the same tablet. 2013 and 5437 could be parts of the same tablet.¹⁰⁸

*Find-places*¹⁰⁹

E1 : 339-353, 355-[362], [364]-[387], [387bis], [388]-393

Physical description

The clay of the majority of tablets from the Room of the Column Bases shows peculiarities which are not found elsewhere. (N.B. this comment applies equally to the clay used by scribe 222).

This scribe has used tablets of very different formats. It is difficult to separate out the tablets into different categories (especially in the case of the smaller fragments) and the classification given below is only intended to be indicative.

- a) [Fh 346: (3.2) × 1 × 0.3 cm. This tablet is not lined.]
- b) Fh 345, 352: *ca.* 4.8 × 1.5 × 0.5 cm. These tablets are not lined. The ends are thinned and rounded.

¹⁰⁸ 366 [+] 5503 (*KT4*, pp. 171, 180). 2013 [+] 5437 (JLM, *priv. comm.*).

- It seems possible that <379> and <381> could be parts of the same tablet. Similarly, it is suggested that <388> and 5434 could be parts of the same tablet (Firth 2002a, pp. 305-306).
- The proposed join between 5447 and 5452 (*KT5* p. 182) has now been rejected (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 216).

¹⁰⁹ According to the *Handlist*, Fh 462 was found in F3, however, on the basis of the clay characteristics it was very probably found in E1 with the other Fh tablets written by hand 141 (JLM, *priv. comm.*).

- The tablets numbered 339-393 are included in the *Handlist*. Tablets 5428-5506 and 5246 are fragments from Batch B which are predominantly from E1. The 9000-series fragments are from box I/2 which are predominantly from E1.

- c) Fh 340, 344, 368, 372, 2013, 5428, 8299, 9084: *ca.* $8 \times 1.5 \times 0.7$ cm. These tablets are not lined. The ends are thinned and rounded. There is a tendency for one end (generally the left) to be higher and also thicker than the other.
- d) Fh 339, 342, 343, 349, 356, [365], 377, [462], 2014, [5429], 5430, 5432, 5436, 5437, 5444, 5465, 5467, 5497, 5498, [5501], 5502, 5503, 5505: *ca.* $11 \times 1.8 \times 0.8$ cm. These tablets are not lined ([except for Fh 462, which has 2 lines of about equal height, on the *recto* as well as on the *verso*]). The ends are slightly thinned and rounded (except for Fh 5465, which is cut at left, and Fh 5497, which is cut at both ends). There is a tendency for the left end to be higher than the other.
- e) Fh 350, 355, 357, 358, 359, 361, [364], 366, 367, 369, 371, 375, 380, [386], 393, 5434, 5435, 5446, 5447, [5450], 5451, 5452, 5453, 5455, 5458, 5459, [5471], [5479], 5506: *ca.* $12 \times 2 \times 0.8$ cm; not lined, except for Fh 357, 5446, [5471] (2 lines of about equal height); ends slightly thinned and rounded off (left extremity squared off in Fh 366, 367, 393, 5453; Fh 357 cut at left, Fh 350, 355, 358 cut at right).
- f) Fh 341, 347, 348, 351, 353, 360, 370, 373, 5457, 5463: *ca.* $13 \times 2.8 \times 1$ cm; not lined, except for Fh 347, 348 (2 lines of about equal height); ends thinned and rounded off (Fh 347, 348, 360, 373: left ends squared off; Fh 348, 351, 353, 5457: cut at right).

versos: [Fh 462] ↓ Fh 2014 ↓ Fh 5432 ↓ Fh 5443 ↓ Fh 9072 (?)

Fh 349 and 393 have the palm-print of R IOTA. Fh 5428 has the palm-print of R RHO. Fh 360, 372 and [5450] have the palm-print of L DELTA.

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