

Re-visiting the scribes of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 1967, Jean-Pierre Olivier published the seminal work on the scribes of Knossos.¹ This has remained a key reference in Linear B studies for almost 40 years and it was the basis for the attribution of scribal hands in *KT4*, *KT5* and in *CoMIK*. In *KT5* (p. XIII) it was stated that, “In the light of the J. M. Driessen’s thesis *The Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos*, Leuven 1989, some prefixes of the tablets in hand ‘124’ have been changed (especially from Xd to Vc). Unfortunately, however, we have not had time to make full use of Driessen’s work”. The contents of Jan Driessen’s thesis have now become more widely available, particularly in the recent *Supplement to Minos (RCTK)*. *RCTK* is a wide-ranging study of scribal activities in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT), including a very detailed study of the scribal hands. The aim of the present paper is to use *RCTK* as a basis for re-drafting of the relevant section of *Scribes* (i.e. pp. 66-76).

Since *Scribes* has been widely accepted for so many years, it is important to provide some explanation of the changes which are being introduced and these are given in extensive footnotes (which are largely based on *RCTK*). It has been considered to be appropriate to include a measure of judgement, rather than accept the contents of *RCTK* at face value, particularly where the attribution of scribal hand is less than certain. The aim has been to try to achieve a reasonable level of consistency between the gradations of uncertainty used for the scribal hands of the RCT and the remainder of the Knossos Linear B tablets. It should be stressed that the authors have not had access to the tablets to try to verify the contents of *RCTK*. Where there was a need to resolve “loose ends” in *RCTK*, the authors have included additional material and it should be clear to the reader where this new material

¹ *Les Scribes de Cnossos*, which will be referred to as *Scribes* in the remainder of this paper.

is being included. New observations are primarily based on the photographs and drawings in *CoMIK*. Some of the additional material has been collected together into Appendices. These include three discussions: on the classification of Sc ideograms; on *RCTK*'s additional groupings of tablets; and on the Uf(1)-series.

It is worthwhile establishing a few points of detail. In the case of quasi-joins, the separate tablets are not given here explicitly if the quasi-joins are certain and they are labelled as {yyy} xxx (e.g. {151}60) in the concordance of *CoMIK* IV. If the quasi-joins are less certain, then both components of the quasi-join are listed and there is a note describing the status of the quasi-join based on the text used in *CoMIK* (or *RCTK*). All dimensions of tablets are based on measurements quoted in *RCTK*. The format that will be used is based closely on that used in *Scribes*. Unless stated otherwise, all attributions of scribal hands given in this paper are based on *RCTK*.

2. PROPOSED CHANGES TO THE CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM USED IN *KT5* & *CoMIK*

It is convenient, to form new subsets in the Sc, Vc and Xd series, corresponding to the major scribes, 124-F, G, I, M, R and S, as listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1

124-F	Sc(1)	Vc(1)	
124-G	Sc(2)	Vc(2)	Xd(2)
124-I	Sc(3)	Vc(3)	Xd(3)
124-M	Sc(4)		
124-S	Sc(5)	Vc(5)	Xd(5)
124-R		Vc(6)	Xd(6)
124-V		Vc(7)	

In order to remove the conflict between the above and the Vc(2)-series written by scribe 115, as given in *CoMIK* & *KT5*, it is proposed to re-name the latter set Ve.

As a consequence of this, the Vc-series becomes devoted entirely to RCT scribes. Any RCT Vc tablet which is not attributed to one of scribe 124-F, G, I, M, R or S should be moved from its current classification of Vc(1) to Vc.

3. INTRODUCTION TO *HAND 124*

It is important to stress that *Hand 124* is not in reality just the scribal hand of one person. *Hand 124* represents the scribal hands that are used on almost all of the tablets

from the Room of Chariot Tablets, which present common material and palaeographic characteristics.²

It seems likely that more than ten scribes collaborated in the writing of this group of documents, which touch upon a wide range of subjects. However, it is clear that:

- their tablets are very clearly distinguished from all of the other tablets found at Knossos by their outward appearance (form, thickness, texture of the clay, colour and firing).
- their “graphic style” presents a group of particularities of which none, taken on its own, seems to belong strictly to them in its own right, but whose regular coexistence is only met within this group of tablets. (Amongst these particularities, one will note the *jo* with three small vertical lines under the horizontal bar, the *ka* with a “cross” that is composed of two curves which can be quite elaborate, *je* with a circle surrounding the junction of the crossing of the two diagonal lines, the *pe* with the upright divided into two parts, the *do* and the *nu* with a central point).

The attribution of scribal hands presented in *RCTK* is significantly different from that given in *Scribes*. Since the results presented in *Scribes* have been regarded as definitive for the past 40 years, it does not seem appropriate to simply pass over them and move straight onto the new results given in *RCTK*. Therefore, we will begin by considering the approach adopted in *Scribes* and then consider, in broad terms, why the results given in *RCTK* are so different.

In *Scribes* (p. 67), there are three paragraphs where Olivier outlines his attribution of the RCT tablets to separate “124” scribal hands.

Cette homogénéité dans la façon, ce “style graphique commun”, joints à l’extrême brièveté des textes (rares sont les documents d’une certaine étendue et nombreux les fragments ne livrant que deux ou trois signes) constituent de sérieux obstacles à la distinction de “mains”; il ne fait guère de doute que des analyses plus poussées (se basant notamment sur le relevé des empreintes digitales, heureusement fort nombreuses et bien marquées sur la plupart de ces tablettes) permettront d’arriver à de meilleurs résultats que ceux que l’on verra ici.

² There are a small number of tablets which are exceptions to this statement and which are not attributed to Hand 124. According to the Evans’ *Handlist* Fp 48, V52 and U 96 were found in the RCT. Fp(1) 48 has been attributed to hand 138 and it was almost certainly found in the Clay Chest, which was excavated on the same day (Firth 2000, p. 96). V 52 has not been attributed to a specific hand, however, its content is more closely related to the tablets of the Clay Chest than to the RCT, thus it is likely that the find-place of V 52 was mis-recorded, although its actual find-place is unknown (Firth 2000, p. 96).

Mais, pour le moment, j'ai dû me contenter de dégager une main 124 "type", à laquelle je n'ai volontairement attribué que sept tablettes, où sont cependant présents la plupart des signes possédant les caractéristiques graphiques dont il a été question plus haut: ce choix prudent ne signifie nullement que ce scribe n'en ait pas rédigé d'autres.

À côté de cette main 124, j'ai baptisé "124" (avec guillemets) toutes les pièces provenant de C (à l'exception donc de Fp 48, V 52 et U 96) ou dont je pense qu'elles doivent provenir, distinguant au moyen d'un indice littéral dix-neuf groupes dont j'estime que chacun des dix-sept premiers (de "124" a à "124" q) est du a un seul scribe (mais ce dernier n'est pas nécessairement différent d'un ou de plusieurs des seize autres, voire de 124 "type"; cependant, il y a de fortes chances pour que "124" f, g, h, i, j, k, l et m [où sont regroupées uniquement des tablettes Sc] soient l'œuvre de huit scribes distincts l'un de l'autre, mais pas nécessairement de "124" a-e ou de 124: ainsi "124" i pourrait être le même que 124); quant aux deux derniers groupes ("124" r et s), ils comprennent la plupart des tablettes de la série Vc et un certain nombre de X qui doivent être des fragments de Vc, selon des critères fondés sur le *format* et non sur les "mains" (ceci en vue de faciliter l'interprétation de cette série; de toute façon, il semble bien que la majorité de "124" r soit due à un scribe et la majorité de "124" s à un autre: mais pour le moment il n'est pas possible d'arriver à plus de précision, vu que ces tablettes comportent en moyenne trois signes).

In other words, from the outset, Olivier regarded his analysis of the RCT scribal hands as preliminary. He expressed hope that an analysis of the finger prints would throw some light on this difficult area, although, in practice, the work of Sjöquist & Åström (1991) did not provide a major advance and raised its own questions (see Olivier's notes which are included as an Appendix by Sjöquist & Åström).

Olivier proceeded by isolating a group of seven tablets which he used as a basis for defining hand 124. He then separated out a further nineteen groups of tablets, such that all the tablets in each group were written by the same scribe ("124" a to "124" s), thus giving a total of 20 different groups of tablets. Initially, it might have been unclear whether these 20 groups of tablets represented 20 different scribes. However, Olivier decided that there was a strong possibility that "124" f, g, h, i, j, k, l and m (which are scribes of Sc-tablets) are the work of eight distinct scribes. It would seem reasonable to assume that this deduction was based on the form of the ideograms shown on the Sc-tablets. These ideograms are relatively complex and provide much scope for stylistic variations from scribe to scribe. Indeed, the stylistic variations of these ideograms were discussed at some length by Vandenamee & Olivier (1979). Olivier emphasises that some of these 8 scribes of the Sc-series could be identical with "124" a, b, c, d, e or 124. In particular, he floats the suggestion that 124 could be the same scribe as "124" i. Olivier gives no further specific discussion

on whether the remaining hands (124, “124” a-e, “124” o-s) are likely to be work of distinct scribes.

The approach used in *RCTK* is substantially different. Whereas *Scribes* identified 20 different groupings of tablets and then suggested that an unspecified number of these might belong to the same scribal hands, the approach adopted in *RCTK* is more structured. *RCTK* (pp. 71, 93-94) identifies four classes of groupings of tablets:

- Groupings written by major scribes: 124-A, 124-B, 124-D, 124-E, 124-F, 124-G, 124-I, 124-R, 124-S.
- Groupings written by minor scribes: 124-C, 124-M, 124-V, 124-X.
- Stylus groups: identified as 124-1 to 124-10 (where each of these groups is possibly attributable to one of the major scribes).
- Additional groupings which may possibly have been written by the same hand: identified here as 124-β to 124-μ.

Although this approach appears radically different it is possible to find a broad correspondence between the 20 different groupings of *Scribes* and the new group structure defined in *RCTK*. It is useful to set out, in Table 2, an overview of the relationship between the “124”-series of scribal hands of *Scribes* and the hands given in *RCTK*. For completeness, this table also includes the intermediate stage of Driessen’s study, which was reported in *Studies Bennett* (1988, pp. 158-159).

TABLE 2

<i>J-PO: Scribes (1967)</i>	<i>JMD: Studies Bennett (1988)</i>	<i>JMD: RCTK (2000)</i>
124	124-Bertrand	124-B
“124” a	124-Alex	124-A
“124” b	124-Bertrand	124-B
“124” c	124-Cedric	124-C
“124” d	124-David	124-D
“124” e	124-Eric	124-E
“124” f	124-Fred	124-F
“124” g	124-Gerald (see note i)	124-G
“124” h		stylus group 124-6
“124” i	124-Ivan	124-I
“124” j	124-Ivan	124-I
“124” k	124-Simon	124-S
“124” l		stylus group 124-9
“124” m	(see note ii)	124-M

<i>J-PO: Scribes (1967)</i>	<i>JMD: Studies Bennett (1988)</i>	<i>JMD: RCTK (2000)</i>
“124”n		grouping 124-α (note iii)
“124”o		stylus group 124-8
“124”p	“other set” (1)	stylus group 124-1
“124”q	124-Simon	124-S
“124”r	124-Roger	124-R
“124”s	124-Simon	124-S
	124-Massimo (see note ii)	stylus group 124-7
	124-Victor	124-V
	124-Xavier	124-X
	“other set” (2)	stylus group 124-2

- Notes: (i): 124-Gerald also includes the group of tablets which have now been listed separately as stylus group 124-4. [It is worth noting that in *RCTK* (p. 89) it is stated that 124-4 may have been written by 124-D.]
- (ii): The general pattern is for the initials of the names given to the scribes by Driessen (1988) to correspond to the original letters used in *Scribes*. However, this pattern is broken by 124-Massimo, which does not correspond in any way to “124”m.
- (iii): *RCTK* does not include this grouping. It has been included below for the sake of continuity with the original study in *Scribes*. However, attention is drawn to the following, quoted from *RCTK* (p. 210), “Uf 121, 7490, 7494, 8141, 8486 were classified as ‘124’n by *Scribes* pp. 72-73, but I fail to see the same hand in these tablets”.

We will now consider Driessen’s proposals for groupings on the basis of the statements made by Olivier in *Scribes*.

- Olivier judged that there was a strong possibility that “124”f, g, h, i, j, k, l and m are the work of eight distinct scribes. However, Driessen judges that the groupings represented by “124”i and “124”j are by the same hand (which he denotes as 124-I; see *RCTK* pp. 80-81). Furthermore, Driessen has effectively re-named “124”h and “124”l as stylus groups 124-6 and 129-9 and then suggests that both these could possibly have been written by the same hand (i.e. 124-R). In both these cases, Driessen’s judgement differs from that set down in *Scribes*.
- Driessen rejects the suggestion that the tablets, listed in *Scribes* as “124”n, were actually written by the same hand.
- Olivier tentatively implied that “124”i could be the same as 124. However, Driessen does not equate these two hands.

We have now completed the comparison between the scribal groups proposed in *Scribes* and *RCTK*. It is suggested that the scribal groups given by *RCTK* are more coherent and robust and these will be adopted throughout the remainder of this paper. Therefore, in future we will refer, for example, to 124-A rather than to “124”a,

etc. (except where we are quoting information from *Scribes*, *KT4* or *KT5*). Another important change is that, within the new set of definitions, all tablets from the RCT (except Fp 48, V 52 and U 96) are in scribal hand 124 (or 124?), in other words, scribal hand 124 is no longer restricted to 7 tablets as it was in *Scribes*.

4. HAND 124

Provenance

All tablets attributed to this scribal hand were excavated from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (C).

124-A³

Tablets

Ag 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, <321>?, 1654, 7000, 7023, 7029?
Xd 204??, 7757??

N.B.: Xd <322>, <324> could have been written by 124-A.

³ Under the heading “124”a, *Scribes* included 87-91, 1654, 7000, 7023?, 7029? and this listing remained unchanged in *CoMIK IV*, p. 236.

- *RCTK* (p. 72) adds 204 and states that “the identification of Xd 204 as being by 124-A is now confirmed by the identity of the papillary lines” belonging to the flattener, *ALPHA THUMB* which also appears on 87, 88 & 91 and who “only worked for 124-A and left many papillary lines”. However, this argument is circular. The identification of *ALPHA THUMB* can be taken as proof that the tablets 87, 88, 89 and 204 were made by the same flattener. However, that does not prove that they were all written by the same scribe. Furthermore, it does not prove that *ALPHA THUMB* only worked for 124-A. Xd 204 cannot be confirmed as 124-A by either of its complete signs, *du*, *ni*, since these do not appear on the other 124-A tablets.
- *RCTK* (p. 72) adds 7757 and 9114 as possibly by scribal hand 124-A. 9114 is classified as Sc in *KT5* and *CoMIK* on the grounds that one of the signs is read as *JṬUN*. However, that reading is described as doubtful and *Jwō* or *JMUL* are also conceivable. *RCTK* (p. 71) changes the classification from Sc to Xd, effectively suggesting that a reading of *Jwō* or *JMUL* is preferred. However, the drawing in *CoMIK IV* p. 114 shows traces of a horizontal line at the base of this sign, which is not compatible with hand 124-A. On that basis, 9114 is excluded in the listing given above.
- *RCTK* (p. 72) states that Ai <321> may be attributed to 124-A. This suggestion is based on the drawing of this missing tablet which appears in *Scripta Minoa II* and was reproduced in *CoMIK I*, p. 126. This drawing is Evans’ copy of the drawing that he originally made in his *Handlist*. The original drawing has been published by Firth 2002, p. 299. In *CoMIK I*, p. 126 it is noted that, “The *Scripta Minoa* drawing of first sign is more like *wō* than *MUL*, but analogies make *MUL* the preferable reading”. However, in the original drawing, this sign is more ambiguous and could equally be interpreted as *wō* or *MUL*. Furthermore, <321> includes the *wo*-sign that is characteristic of hand 124-A (*RCTK* p. 63). On this basis, it is more likely that <321> was written by 124-A and, therefore, it is proposed that <321> should be included as “probably written by scribe 124-A”.

Physical description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* $9.7 \times 1.8 \times 0.5$ cm; not lined; ends rounded (except for 89 and 90 which are cut at right).

87, 88, 91 and 204 have the imprint of *ALHA THUMB*. This flattener left many papillary lines on the *verso*.

124-B⁴

Tablets

Ai(1) 63, 115, 190, 194, 213?

Ce 50, 61, 139, 144, 163, 7061??

V(2) 60, 147

N.B.: - It is possible that the small characters on lines I of the *recto* and *verso* of Ce 50 were written by the another hand although there are no graphically aberrant features and a similar feature also occurs on V(2) 60.

Physical description

Ai 63 : $4.9 \times 2.55 \times 0.7$ cm; not lined; irregularly shaped, left extremity is fairly “straight”, right extremity is not fully preserved. Possibly a label.

Ai 115, 190, 194: *ca.* $(5.4) \times 1.6 \times 0.7$ cm; not lined; ends rounded (except 115 probably cut at right).

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- The distinctive *wo*-sign of hand 124-A also appears on <322> and <324> (Firth 2002, p. 299). Even in Evans’ *Original Handlist*, it was Evans’ practice to list together similar tablets and so it would be in keeping with this pattern if <321>, <322> and <324> were by the same hand. This discussion is more speculative than that on <321> because there is no evidence that <322> and <324> were Ag or Ai tablets, therefore, it is suggested that <322> and <324> “could be by 124-A”. Note that the *ni* on <322> differs from that on Xd 204.
 - Following the proposal in *RCTK* (p. 72) Ai(1) 7023 & 7029 have been re-classified as Ag, 321 has similarly been re-classified. The query has been removed from 7023 on the basis that it includes the *wo*-sign that is characteristic of 124-A.
- ⁴ *RCTK* has combined the hands, identified in *Scribes* as 124 and “124”b, as 124-B. Under the heading “124”b, *Scribes* included 63, 115, 190 & 194 and under the heading, 124, *Scribes* listed 50, 60 [+], 151, 61, 118, 144, 147. These lists remained unchanged in *CoMIK IV*, p. 236.
- *RCTK* (pp. 72-73) has added 139, 163 & 213. *RCTK* (p. 73) states that the attributions to this hand are secure for all tablets except 213 and 7061. 213 is assigned because of its stylus and other external characteristics. *RCTK* has removed 118 but instead listed it as 124-4 (which is possibly 124-D).
 - *RCTK* (p. 73) suggests that B 213 is part of the same set as Ai 115, 190 & 194, because of its shape and dimensions, therefore, the classification has been changed to Ai 213.
 - The physical description of Ai 63 has been modified following the text given in *RCTK* (p. 73).

- [Ai 213] : $3.5 \times 1.3 \times 0.6$ cm; not lined; cut at right.
Ce 50 : $11.8 \times 3.5 \times 1.6$ cm; 2 lines (on both *recto* and *verso*) of about equal height; ends slightly rounded.
Ce 61, 144, [7061] : $(5) \times (5.5) \times 1$ cm; (5) lines of *ca.* 1 cm; square corners.
Ce 139, 163 : *ca.* $8.5 \times 4 \times 0.8$ cm; 3 or 4 lines of *ca.* 1 cm; square corners on the left
V 60 : $<12?> \times 6 \times 0.9$ cm; 6 lines of *ca.* 1 cm; ends slightly thinned and rounded.
V 147 : $5.4 \times (6.2) \times 1.2$ cm; (5) lines of *ca.* 1.1 cm; very little thinning of side, superior edge rounded. Shape and dimensions not unlike Ce 61 & 144

verso : Ce 50 ↓

lat. sup. : Ce 50

Ai 213 has the palm print of *L GAMMA* (which also appears on Xd 214 attributed to 124-X).

124-C⁵

Tablet

C 59

Physical description

C 59 : $14 \times 4.5 \times 0.9$ cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1.4 cm; ends thinned and rounded.

124-D⁶

Tablets

F(1) 51, 148, 157, 160 [+] 8032, 5079, 7707

Xd 7547?, 8012?, 8553?

⁵ This entry remains unchanged from that given in *Scribes* for “124”c except for small adjustments to the dimensions of the tablet quoted. Ce 59 is the only tablet listed for “124”c in *CoMIKIV* p. 236.

⁶ Under the heading “124”d, *Scribes* included 51, 157, 160 and 5079, and this listing remained unchanged in *CoMIKIV* p. 236.

· *RCTK* (p. 75) has added 148 and 7707 and states that these attributions are secure (however, *RCTK* notes the caution expressed by Olivier in Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 231 about the provenance of 7707). *RCTK* (p. 75) suggests that the badly preserved fragments, 7547, 8012 and 8553 are “perhaps by the same hand”.

· According to *RCTK* (p. 75), it is open to question whether Ce 76 and Xd 7607 (parts of the same tablet?) are by scribe 124-D. In addition, tablet F 51 resembles B 101 and V 114 in certain physical and graphic aspects, but there are not enough reasons to attribute 101 & 114 to scribe 124-D, since a different stylus was used and no signs can be compared (*RCTK* p. 75). There is insufficient reason to include these tablets under 124-D.

N.B.: Stylus groups 1, 3, 4, 5 and 7 are possibly the work of the same scribe. 148 and 7707 may be part of the same tablet.⁷

Physical description.

F 51 : 8.5 × 3 × 1 cm; *recto* not lined (but trace of a division in 2 lines before rubbing out); *verso*: 2 lines of about equal height; ends a little thinned and rounded.

F 148, 157, 7707: <14?> × 5 × 1 cm; 157 has 4 lines of *ca.* 1.3 cm on *recto*, *verso* has 1 line only; 148, 7707 have 3 lines of *ca.* 1.6 cm on *recto*.

F 5079 : (1.9) × 5.3 × 1 cm; *recto*: 4 lines of *ca.* 1.1-1.6 cm; *verso*: 5 lines of *ca.* 1 cm.

Uc 160 [+]⁸ 8032: (5.5) × (6) × 1.2 cm; *recto*: (5) lines of *ca.* 1.4 cm; *verso*: (4) lines of *ca.* 1.5 cm.

versos: F 51 → F 157 → F 5079 → Uc 160 →

124-E⁸

Tablets

Np(1) 49, 85, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 286, 5013, 7422, 7423, 7424, 7441, 7508, 7649?, 7923, 7967, 8059, 8062, 8123, 8458, 8459, 8462, 9112, 9124

Xd 80?, 294?, 7665?!, 7701?!, 7978?!

· In *KT5*, 7707 is classified as Fp. *RCTK* (pp. 75-76) states that “F 157 [+]⁸ 7356, Xd 148 and F 7707 obviously formed a set” because they “are three very similar ‘card-shaped’ tablets”. [Note that *RCTK* has already tacitly re-classified 7707 from Fp to F.] On this basis, all these tablets have been classified together here as F(1). Similarly, 160 has been re-classified from Uc to F(1) because it is comparable with 5079.

· Driessen (1988) also attributes 165 and 7364? to 124-David. In *RCTK* (p. 90), 7364 is attributed to Stylus Group 124-5 (“which may also be a production of 124-D”). However, 165 is not attributed to a specific 124 hand or stylus in *RCTK*.

· *RCTK* (p. 209) states that “it is quasi-certain that this nodule [Wm 8493] was inscribed by a RCT hand” and in a footnote, “it is not impossible that 124-D was responsible for the inscription”. However, for present purposes, this does not provide sufficient justification for including it above.

⁷ Driessen 1988, p. 134.

⁸ Under the heading “124”e, *Scribes* included 85, 267-274, 276-278, 286, 2138?, 5013, 7422-7424, 7441, 7445, 7508, 7923?, 7967?, 8123, 8458-8459, 8462. In *CoMIKIV* (p. 236) this listing remained largely unchanged, however: 8059, 8062, 9112 were included; 2138 was omitted; 7923 appeared without the query; and 7445 does not appear explicitly because of the quasi-join with 7423.

· *RCTK* (pp. 76-77) has amended the *CoMIKIV* list by: adding 49 as a secure attribution; adding 80, 294 as probable. *RCTK* also adds 303, 7649, 7665 7701, 7978 as less secure attributions. *RCTK* has also effectively removed the query from 7967. 303 is not included above because both 294 and 303 carry the name *ti-ri-jo-qa* but the hand appears different for the *ri*, *jo* on the two tablets.

- N. B.: Np 286 and 7649 are probably parts of the same tablet;
Np 8059 and 8458 are probably parts of the same tablet.⁹
Np 271 and 9124 are possibly parts of the same tablet.¹⁰
Np 5013 and 7923 are probably parts of the same tablet.¹¹
Np 7422 and 7508 could be pieces of the same tablet;
Np 7424 and 7441 could be pieces of the same tablet.¹²

Physical description

Homogeneous group: ca. 11 × 2.3 × 0.8 cm; not lined; ends rounded.

[Xd 7665, 7701, 7978] possibly come here

uncategorised: [Xd 80, 294]

verso: Np 7423 ↓

The child, *R ETA*, made the tablets 267, 271 & 272.

124-F¹³

Tablets

Sc(1) 218, 225, 230, 243, 245, 247, 250, 261, 263, 5060, 5070, 5144, 5148, 5150,
5154, 5157, 5161, 7460, 7473, 8124, 8467, 8468, 8470, 8474?, 8476, 9117?

· In the above listing it has been noted that 286 and 7649 are probably parts of the same tablet (*CoMIK* III p. 271) and, on that basis, 7649 has been included as 124-E? (rather than 124-E??) and re-classified as Np.

· In *CoMIK*, 49 was classified as U(1), *RCTK* (p. 77) attributes it to the Np set on the basis of its lay-out and physical characteristics (weight, dimensions, colour, stylus). It states explicitly that Xd 80 and 294 are not part of the Np-set (*RCTK* p. 77, noting typographical error on 294). *RCTK* suggests that 7665, 7701 and 7978 are perhaps part of the Np-set; however, since he states that the attribution to 124-E is less than probable, there does not appear to be sufficient basis to re-classify these fragments, at this stage.

⁹ *CoMIK* III p. 271 and IV pp. 13, 58. However, note that Melena has recently expressed some doubt about 8059 [+ 8458 (*priv. comm.*).

¹⁰ Firth & Melena 2006, p. 113. 9124 has been re-classified from Xd to Np on the possible of this quasi-join.

¹¹ *RCTK* p. 77, Firth & Melena 2006, p. 116.

¹² José Melena, *private communication*.

¹³ Under the heading “124”f, *Scribes* included 218, 225?, 230, 243, 245?, 247, 250, 261, 263, 5060, 5065, 5070, 5144, 5148, 5150?, 5154, 5157, 5161, 7473, 8124. This list remained unchanged in *CoMIK* IV (p. 236).

· *RCTK* (p. 78) increases the status of the attribution of 225, 245 & 5150 to secure. *RCTK* adds: 145, 7460 (which was “124”g in *Scribes* but was presumably changed on the basis of the drawing of the chariot yoke, which is more characteristic of 124-F), 8467, 8468, 8470, 8476; also 297 is added as probable; and 7568, 7640, 7974, 8474, 8478, 9116, 9117 are included as possible. *RCTK* attributes 5065 to 124-G (although it was listed as “124”f in *Scribes*). The evidence for

330

Vc(1) 297?, 7568??, 7640??, 7974??

V(2) 145

N.B.: It is impossible to say if the *verso* of 225 should be assigned to this hand or to another one. However, the ideogram, *166, that appears there, is by the same hand as that on Sc 5141v. (see 124-G).

Physical description

V 145 : 7.2 × (9.2) × 1.3 cm; 6 lines; square edges thicker than tablet itself.

The other tablets form an homogeneous group: *ca.* 14 × 2.5 × 0.9 cm; not lined; ends rounded and sometimes slightly thinned (except 245, 7460 cut at right). [Vc(1) 297, 7568, 7640, 7974 belong to this group (7974 is cut at right).]

verso: [Sc 225] ↓

124-G¹⁴

Tablets

Sc(2) 130, 232, 235, 5057, 5059, 5065, 5136, 5138, 5141, 5146, 5158, 5159, 5160, 7459, 7469, 7474?, 7483, 8481

attributing 8478 & 9116 appears to be substantially less than that for 9117 (which as yoke type b1α, see Appendix B) and, therefore, 8478 & 9116 have been excluded from the above listing. (Note that 8478 is not attributed to an RCT scribe in *CoMIK IV*, p. 61.) *RCTK* suggests that 1804 and 5170 are perhaps by 124-F but the identification is less secure than “possible”. These latter two tablets are not listed here but 5170 is included below under grouping 124-ζ. For 1804 (=58bis), see the discussion under stylus group 124-5.

· *RCTK* suggests that 297, 7568, 7640 are name tablets “that are exactly like the Sc-tablets without showing the logograms”. Following the suggestion in *RCTK* (p. 202), these tablets have been reclassified from Xd to the Vc(1)-series.

¹⁴ Under the heading “124”g, *Scribes* included 231, 232, 235, 5057, 5136, 5138, 5141, 5146, 5158, 5159, 5160?, 7459, 7460, 7462? In *CoMIK IV* (p. 237), this list remained the same except that 130 was added, following a join to 231.

· *RCTK* (pp. 79-80) has added 143, 293, 5059, 5065 (which was attributed to “124”f in *Scribes*), 7469, 7474 (given here as 7474? because of the paucity of inscription), 7483, 7558, 7595, 7610, 7658, 7761, 8481. *RCTK* notes that there are some residual doubts about the attribution of the Xd tablets. *RCTK* upgrades 5160? to 5160. *RCTK* removes 7460 (which is attributed to 124-F) and 7462? (which is unattributed). On p. 286, *RCTK* attributes 9156 to 124-G?, although this was not considered within the discussion in the main text of *RCTK* and therefore it has been excluded here.

· Driessen (1988, p. 158) also included 105, 118, 120, 150, 282, 7049 as hand 124-Gerald, however, these are now listed below as Stylus Group 4 (which may be hand 124-D, *RCTK* p. 89).

· Following *RCTK* (pp. 80, 202), which suggests that 143, 7558, 7595, 7610, 7761 are name tablets (that are exactly like the Sc-tablets without showing the logograms), these have been reclassified as Vc(2).

Vc(2) 143?, 293, 7558?, 7595?, 7610?, 7761?
Xd(2) 7658?

N.B.: the *versos* of 5141 and 5146 would not be assigned, but the ideogram, *166, on 5141v. is by the same hand as the one on Sc 225v. (see 124-F).

Physical description

Homogeneous group: ca. <14> × 2.4 × 0.9 cm; not lined; 235 is rounded at left end, 130, 5057, 5138, 5158, 5159, 5160, 7483 are cut at right.

Vc 293 : 5.5 × 2.4 × 1.0 cm; not lined; cut at right.

versos: Sc 5141 ↓ Sc 5146 ↓ Sc 7469 ↓

124-I¹⁵

Tablets

Sc(3) 103, 220, 221, 226, 244, 248, 252, 254, 255, 256, 258, 1651, 5061, 5066, 5068, 5083, 5086, 5087, 5164, 5166, 5169, 7457, 7464, 7467, 8475, 8482, 8483

Vc(3) 7555?, 7588?, 7596?

V(2) 337

Xd(3) 8030??

N.B.: The *verso* of the Sc tablets should possibly be assigned to the same scribe as the *recto*, however, there is nothing that allows us to confirm this and it could be the same hand that made the *verso* of the tablets of 124-V.

The *verso* of V 337 could be by another hand.

¹⁵ Under 124-I, *RCTK* (pp. 80-81) has combined “124”i and “124”j (see also Driessen 1988, p. 149). Under the heading “124”i, *Scribes* included 103, 221, 226?, 254, 5061, 5066, 5083, 5086, 5162, 5164, 5169, 7452, 7467. In *CoMIK IV* (p. 237), this list remained the same except 7452 was excluded because it had been joined to 5164. Under “124”j, *Scribes* included, 252?, 255, 256, 5163?, 8469? In *CoMIK IV* (p. 237), this list reduced to only two entries, 255 & 8469? (see J-PO’s note on p. 64 of Driessen *et al.* 1988, “107 raccords...”, following the quasi-join of 256 to 5163).

- *RCTK* includes all of the tablets listed under “124”i of *CoMIK IV* except 5162 (which is attributed to 124-S) and 226? is upgraded to 226. *RCTK* includes all of the tablets listed under “124”j of *Scribes*, except 8469 (which he attributes to 124-S) and 252? is upgraded to 252. *RCTK* has added 220, 244, 248, 258, 337, 1651, 5068, 5087, 5166, 7457, 7464, 8475, 8482, 8483 as definite. *RCTK* regards 7555, 7588, 7596 as probable and 289 as possible (since it is excluded from the listing on *RCTK* p. 80, it has been excluded here). *RCTK* adds 8030 to the list but does not discuss its attribution; in view of its content it is listed here as possible.
- Driessen suggests that 7555, 7588, 7596 are name tablets “that are exactly like the Sc-tablets without showing the logograms”. Following the suggestion in *RCTK* (p. 202), these tablets have been re-classified from Xd to the Vc(3)-series.

Physical description

Group not homogeneous: formats and styluses different, but attributed to the same hand.

- a) Sc 103, 5061, 5066, 5068, 5083, 7467, 8483: *ca.* $9.6 \times 1.6 \times 0.6$ cm; not lined; ends almost “squared off”.
- b) Sc 221, 244, 248, 254, 5086, 5164, 5169: *ca.* $<12> \times 2 \times 0.8$ cm; not lined; ends almost “squared off”.

Sc 226 would be located between (a) and (b): $11 \times 1.8 \times 0.9$ cm; 2 lines (A and B) on the last 15 mm; ends “squared off”.

Sc 252 : $(7) \times 2.2 \times 0.9$; not lined; rounded left-end.

Sc 258 : $(3) \times 2.5 \times 0.6$; not lined but text written in two rows.

Sc 103 is cut at left and right; Sc 226, 248, 256, 5061, 5086, 5169, 7467, 8483 are cut at right.

V 337 : $4.1 \times (5.1) \times 1.25$ cm; (4) lines; corners rounded.

versos: Sc 252 ↓ Sc 255 ↓ Sc 256 ↓ Sc 258 ↓ Sc 7457 ↓
Sc 8483 ↓ V 337 →

124-M¹⁶

Tablets

Sc(4) 207?, 224, 227, 229, 266, 7479, 8125, 8271

Physical description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* $9.1 \times 1.7 \times 0.7$ cm; not lined; ends rounded (227, 266, and possibly 7479, cut at right).

¹⁶ Under the heading “124”m, *Scribes* included 224, 227, 229, 266, 7479, 8125. This list remained unchanged in *CoMIK IV* (p. 237).

· *RCTK* (p. 81-82) adds 207 and 8271. It is also noted that Driessen would not exclude the possibility that the *raf* on 207 is actually *TUN+QE*. *RCTK* states that it is very probable that all these records formed part of the same set by the same hand. Thus, Driessen’s logic for attributing 207 to 124-M is coupled with a suggestion of a new reading for this tablet. Therefore, it seems appropriate to include it as 207? and to propose a re-classification of 207 from Xd to Sc(4). It should also be noted that prior to *RCTK*, 8271 had not been listed attributed to an RCT scribe.

124-R¹⁷

Tablets

Uf(1) 111

Vc(6) 64, 65, 67, 74, 81, 99, 129, 170, 171, 195, 199, 200, 205, 206, 211, 215,
5969, 7531, 7540, 7811, 7943, 8129, 8643, 9127, 9128

Xd(6) 70, 78, 82, 112, 141, 142, 189, 197, 7634, 7648, 7662, 7667, 7680, 7913,
7956, 7961, 7975

N.B. : Stylus groups 2, 6, 8, 9 and 10 could be by the same hand.

Physical description

Group relatively homogeneous: *ca.* 2.5-5 × 1-1.4 × 0.4 cm; not lined; each “tablet” is actually a third or a half of a tablet, cut by the scribe according to the length of the name that he had to write down (tablets without gaps had to measure *ca.* 10 cm long);

left parts: Vc 65, 67, 74, 171, 205, 206, 215, 7540, 7943, 8643
Xd 70, 82, 141, 142, 189, 197, 7662

right parts: Vc 99, 170, 195, 199, 211, 7531, 9128

middles: Vc 64, 81, 200

except when they are mutilated, “the left parts” of tablets, are cut at right, the “right parts” are cut at left and the “middles” are cut at both ends; “whole” ends of the tablet are rounded and very tapered (this explains the variations of height: between 1 cm and 1.4 cm)

simili-records: Vc 7540 ⊕ 64 ⊕ 170; 81 ⊕ 199

verso: Xd 7648 ↓

Vc 74 has the palm-print of the child, *R GAMMA* (which also appears on Vc(5) 66, 124-S). Uf 111 has the palm-print of *L BETA* (which also appears on Vc 208, 124-S, and on Sc 223, stylus group 124-8, possibly 124-R). Xd 112 has a palm print with rough papillary lines.

¹⁷ Under the heading “124”r, *Scribes* included 64, 65, 67, 70, 74, 81, 82, 99, 141, 142, 170, 171, 189, 195, 197, 199, 200, 205, 206, 211, 215, 7531, 7540, 7662. This list remained unchanged in *CoMIK IV* (p. 237). *RCTK* adds extensively to this list. *RCTK* notes that 83 may possibly be by 124-R but it is too uncertain to include here.

· Driessen (1988, p. 158) also attributes 290? to 124-Roger but *RCTK* attributes it to 124-S (possibly because it is claimed it has a similarity to the Vd-series of tablets).

· 99, 5969, 7811, 8129, 9127 have been re-classified from Xd to Vc in-line with the recommendation of *RCTK* (p. 202).

Tablets

Sc(5) 219, 236, 237, 251, 253, 5062, 5072, 5137, 5151, 5155, 5162, 5168, 7454,
7468, 7470, 7807, 7841, 8081, 8469?, 8479?, 9118, 9122?, 9123?

Uf(1) 79

Vc(5) 53?, 55, 66, 68, 72, 73, 102, 106, 108, 123, 125, 126, 127, 174, 175, 176,
177, 179, 181, 183, 184, 185, 191, 203, 208, 212, 216, 287, 290, 291, 312,
7529, 7532, 7534, 7612, 7614, 7615, 7616, 7646, 7656, 7837, 7838, 7840,
7842, 7933, 7982, 7983, 8127, 9133, 9135?

Vd 62, 136, 138, 7545

Xd(5) 92, 133, 186, 209, 298, 5097, 7570, 7954, 7968, 8037, 8054, 8128, 8277, 8640

N.B.: It is not possible to say if the *verso* of 237 has been written by the same scribe as the *recto*.

Physical description

- a) Sc-series, homogeneous group: *ca.* <11> × 2.3 × 0.9 cm; not lined; ends rounded (except Sc 236, 5062, 5137, 5155, 8081, [9123] cut at right).
verso: Sc 237 ↓ Sc 7807 ↓? Sc 7841 ↓

¹⁸ Under the heading “124”s, *Scribes* included 66, 72, 102, 106, 108, 123, 125-127, 133, 174-177, 179, 181, 183-185, 191, 203, 208, 209, 212, 216, 285, 287, 291, 312, 7529, 7532, 7534, 7612, 7615, 7616, 7646, 7807, 7837, 7838, 7840, 7842, 8037, 8054. However, Driessen (1988, p. 126) has combined “124”k and “124”q with “124”s. Under the heading “124”k, *Scribes* included 219, 236, 237, 253, 5072?, 5137, 5155, 7454? Under the heading “124”q, *Scribes* included 62, 138. All of the lists from *Scribes* remained unchanged in *CoMIK IV* (p. 237), except 7646 was excluded. (*RCTK* re-instated 7646.)

- *RCTK* has attributed all the Vd tablets to 124-S, except 137. *RCTK* also suggests adding Vc 290 to the same category, presumably because there is a vertical stroke on the right hand side, however, 290 has a significantly different height and width from the Vd tablets. It is also noted that Driessen (1988, p. 158) attributed 290? to 124-Roger (not 124-Simon). For these reasons, it is not proposed to change the classification of Vc 290 here.
- *RCTK* has added many tablets including 5162 (previously “124”i) and 8469? (previously “124”j?). *RCTK* includes 186, 8277 on pp. 273, 283 (although they were omitted on p. 84). *RCTK* states that the attributions are less secure for 53, 8479, 9122, 9123 and 9135 (p. 85) and 8469 (p. 284).
- *RCTK* has attributed 285 to 124-V (previously “124”s).
- Driessen (1988, p. 158) also included 8453 (i.e. Nc 8453 scribe 133? from the Arsenal) which he re-classified as Xd but 8453 was excluded from *RCTK*. In addition, Driessen (1988) re-classified Xd 8128 as Uf, but this suggestion is not repeated in *RCTK*. Finally, he attributed 133 to 124-Xavier (Driessen 1988, p. 158); i.e. not 124-S, as above.
- 7614, 7656, 9135 have been re-classified from Xd to Vc in-line with the recommendation of *RCTK* (p. 202). *RCTK* (p. 85) has re-classified 8640 as Sc, this is not repeated on p. 285 and it is assumed to be a typographical error. *RCTK* (p. 84-85) re-classifies 7807, 7841 from Xd to Sc.

b) Vc-series, group relatively homogeneous: *ca.* 3.5-5.5 × 1.5-2 × 0.5 cm (the complete tablets [c.f. 124-R] were *ca.* 12 cm);

left parts: Vc 66, 68, 72, 106, 126, 176, 177, 179, 183, 212, 291, 7532, 7534,
7612, 7616

Xd 209, 8054

right parts: Vc 125, 127, 174, 184, 185, 191, 208, 216, 285, 7529, 7615, 7646,
7837, 7842

Xd 8037

middles: Vc 102, 108, 123, 175, 181, 203, 287, 312, 7838, 7840

Xd 133

same remarks as for 124-R

simili-records: Vc 123 ⊕ 108 ⊕ 184; 312 ⊕ 125; 7838 ⊕ 181; 191 ⊕ 179; 216
⊕ 287; 7933 ⊕ 9133

versos: Vc 177 ↓

c) Vd 62, 136, 138, 7545: *ca.* (15) × 3 × 1 cm; not lined horizontally, but with vertical divisions; 7545 cut at right.

Eight flatteners have been identified.

- *R GAMMA* (child) on Vc 66, who also made Vc 74 (124-R);
- *ANON. II* on Uf 79 (rough papillary lines);
- *R EPSILON* on Vc 174, 175 & 177;
- 186 was made by *ANON. IV* (*rough papillary hands*). *It was made by pressing clay between two hands.*
- *L BETA* on Vc 208 (who also worked for 124-R and stylus group, 124-8);
- *R PHI* on Vc 7534 and Xd 8037;
- *R PSI* (rough papillary lines) on Vc 7614 (who also worked as flattener on 7585 & 7597, where the latter tablet is in stylus group, 124-5);
- *L KAPPA* on Vc 7933 (who has also been identified as the flattener of X 7930 but see Olivier's remarks in Sjöquist & Åström, p. 125).

The tablets of 124-S were manufactured using a clay apparently from a different source to the other tablets from the RCT. This difference was used as a basis for the attribution of the some of the smaller fragments to 124-S.¹⁹

¹⁹ *RCTK* pp. 37, 97.

124-V²⁰

Tablets

Vc(7) 94, 173, 201, 210, 285, 7813

N.B.: The stylus used for the *verso* was thinner than the one used for the *recto*²¹. The *versos* of these records may have been inscribed by another hand.²²

Physical description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* <10> × 1.9 × 0.7 cm; not lined; ends rounded and square sides; 7813 (and possibly 94) cut at right.

Many papillary lines on the *verso*. All tablets appear to have only one sign on the *verso*.²³

verso: Vc 94 ↓ Vc 173 ↓ Vc 201 ↓ Vc 210 ↓ Vc 285 ↓? Vc 7813 ↓

124-X²⁴

Tablets

L 104, 178, 192

U(1) 95

Xd 122, 214

Physical description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* 10 × 1.8 × 0.55 cm *except* U 95; not lined; ends rounded and square sides; U 95 cut at left.

²⁰ In *Scribes* and *CoMIKIV*, 285 was attributed to “124”s but the other tablets were not attributed to specific 124 hands. *RCTK* (p. 87) states that “the attribution of these tablets to the same hand and set is secure”. On this basis: 94 and 7813 have been re-classified from Xd to Vc; 210 has been re-classified from V to Vc.

· *RCTK* (p. 87) notes that it is possible that Xd 119 also belongs to the same set, though this is much less certain. Therefore, 119 has been excluded from the listing for 124-V, but is included below in the grouping 124-λ.

²¹ *RCTK* p. 87.

²² Driessen 1988, p. 159.

²³ For completeness, it is noted that Vc 177 has a single sign on the *verso*, with many papillary lines. Furthermore, this tablet has dimensions which are comparable with the 124-V tablets. However, in the case of 177, the sign on the *verso* has been partially erased. Vc 177 is attributed to 124-S.

²⁴ These tablets were not attributed to specific 124 hands in *Scribes* or *CoMIKIV*. The list given above is based on *RCTK* p. 87.

· Driessen (1988, p. 158) also includes Xd 133, which is listed in *RCTK* as being by 124-S.

· *RCTK* (pp. 87, 209) treats these tablets as a set and suggests that it is not impossible that that all these tablets dealt with textiles.

The palm print of *L GAMMA* appears on Xd 214. (This palm print also appears on 213, written by scribe 124-B.)

STYLUS GROUPS

STYLUS GROUP 124-1²⁵

Tablets

U(1) 109, 124, 7507
Xd 202?, 8138?, 8583?

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-D.

Physical description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* <9.5> × 2 × 0.65 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

STYLUS GROUP 124-2²⁶

Tablets

F(1) 7362, 8139
Xd 7914?, 8605?, 9126?, 9131?, 9138

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-R.

Physical description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* 2.5 × 1.3 × 0.5 cm; not lined; ends rounded, but 8605 probably cut at left and 7362 probably cut at right.

verso: F 7362 ↓ F 8139 ↓

The palm print on 7362 has rough papillary lines.

²⁵ The above list is based on *RCTK* (p. 88). *Scribes* and *CoMIK IV* (p. 237) attributed 109, 124 and 7507 to hand “124”p.

· Driessen (1988, p. 159) listed the above tablets together as a set, with question marks against 202, 8138 and 8583. *RCTK* (p. 88) describes the attribution of these tablets as “possible”.

²⁶ *RCTK* (p. 88) states that the attribution of these tablets to this stylus group is secure for 7362, 8139 and 9138 and possible for the other four tablets, in view of the small size of these records. However, it is noted that the physical characteristics of the tablets in this group is not dissimilar from those in Stylus Group 124-9 (which may also possibly be attributed to 124-R).

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STYLUS GROUP 124-3²⁷

Tablets

Vc 54, 110

N.B.: *It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-D.*

Physical description

Homogeneous group: ca. 5 × 1.7 × 0.6 cm; not lined; ends rounded and oval section.

Unusually large number of papillary lines on both sides of tablets.

STYLUS GROUP 124-4²⁸

Tablets

Uf(1) 120

V(1) 118, 150, 282, 7049

Xd 105

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-D

Physical description

Homogeneous group: ca. 8.5 × 1.85 × 0.7 cm; not lined; ends rounded or squared off, and with flattened sides, but V 150, 7049 (and possibly also Xd 105) are cut at right.

The flattener for Xd 105 is *R LAMBDA*.²⁹ For Uf 120 and V 150, the flattener is the child, *R DELTA*.

²⁷ *RCTK* (p. 89) states that these two tablets are by the same hand, which may be 124-D. It is noted that both tablets contain only a single syllabic entry (personal name). Following the suggestion on *RCTK* (p. 202), 110 is re-classified from Xd to Vc.

²⁸ Driessen (1988, p. 158) attributed all of these tablets to 124-Gerald (with no question marks) but *RCTK* (p. 89) now lists them as stylus group 124-4 and concludes that these tablets may be attributed to 124-D.

· *RCTK* (p. 89) has included here 118, which was attributed to 124 in *Scribes*. This is significant because all of the other tablets listed as 124 in *Scribes* are listed by *RCTK* as 124-B. Furthermore, it is also significant because it is suggested that 124-4 could be hand D.

· *RCTK* (p. 89) notes that the attribution of these records to the same stylus is probable and is based both on stylus and on external characteristics. He notes that 282 and 7049 both show two syllabic entries with signs of similar size, the second entry being the same in each case (*wo-do*). On this basis, 282 is re-classified from Xd to V(1) so that it is in the same set as 7049.

²⁹ According to Sjöquist & Åström, there is “reason” to suggest that this palm print may also appear on L 473 which was found in find-place F3 but see Olivier (pp. 124-125 of Sjöquist & Åström).

STYLUS GROUP 124-5³⁰

Tablets

F(1) 71, 193, 7359, 7360, 7364

Og(1) 7432

Xd 58?, 7586?, 7597

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-D.

71 and 7360 are possibly parts of the same tablet.³¹

In his Handlist, Evans drew 58 and 58bis (=1804) as a quasi-join and wrote, “Certainly parts of the same; but the actual point of junction broken away”.

Physical description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* <9.5> × 1.8/2.1 × 0.6 cm; not lined; ends rounded.

The flattener for F 7359 and 7360 was *L IOTA*. The flattener for Xd 7597 was *R PSI* (rough papillary lines; *R PSI* also produced 7585 and 7614, written by 124-S).

STYLUS GROUP 124-6³²

Tablets

Sc 238, 257

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-R.

Physical description

Sc 238 : (10) × 2.2 × 0.85 cm; not lined; left end rounded.

Sc 257 : (6.5) × 3.2 × 0.8 cm; 3 lines of *ca.* 1 cm.; left end almost “squared off”.

³⁰ These tablets were not attributed to specific 124 hands in *Scribes* or *CoMIK IV*. According to *RCTK* (p. 90), “the attribution of these records [exc. 58, 7586] to the same scribe is safe, but in view of some obvious differences in content it is possible that not all of them belonged to the same set (Og 7432?)”. Nevertheless, it seems sensible to remove the present spread between E and F series tablets and to re-classify E(1) 71, 7364 as F(1) 71, 7364 (particularly noting the suggestion that 71 & 7360 may be parts of the same tablet). Xd 7586 is not included in Driessen’s discussion on p. 90, but it is included as 124-5? on p. 280. Driessen (1988 p. 158) attributed 7364? to 124-David. In addition, Driessen (1988 p. 158) attributed E 165 to 124-David but it has not been attributed to any specific scribal hand in *RCTK*.

³¹ 71 is “possibly” same tablet as F 7360 according to *CoMIK I* p. 39; but “probably” according to *CoMIK III* p. 215.

³² See *RCTK* (p. 91), *Scribes* (p. 71) and *CoMIK IV* attributed both these tablets to “124”h.

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STYLUS GROUP 124-7³³

Tablets

Ai 1805
E 132
Xd 140

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-D.

STYLUS GROUP 124-8³⁴

Tablets

Sc 223
Uf(1) 198, 7489, 8486

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-R.

Physical description

Set of relatively similar miniature tablets: *ca.* 5 × 1.6 × 0.5 cm; not lined; ends slightly rounded (but 198 and 7489 cut at right).

The flattener for Sc 223 is *L BETA* (who was also the flattener of Uf 111, scribe 124-R and Vc 208, scribe 124-S).

STYLUS GROUP 124-9³⁵

Tablets

Sc 7480, 7481
Uf(1) 7493
U(1) 172
Xd 167, 169

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-R.

³³ See *RCTK* (p. 91). Driessen (1988, p. 159) attributes 71?, 132, 140, 1805 to 124-Massimo (which is equivalent in *RCTK* to 124-7). *RCTK* now attributes 71 to stylus group, 124-5, but both 124-5 and 124-7 could be 124-D.

³⁴ See *RCTK* (p. 92). *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 198 & 7489 to hand “124”o. They both attributed 8486 to hand “124”n.

³⁵ See *RCTK* (p. 92). *Scribes* (p. 72) and *CoMIK IV* (p. 237) attributed 7480 & 7481 to “124”l.

Physical description

Although the tablets have a range of classifications, they all have a similar appearance: ca. $<3> \times 1.3 \times 0.5$ cm; not lined; 7481, 7493 cut at right, 167 probably cut at right; 172 has a “square” left end.

STYLUS GROUP 124-10³⁶

Tablets

Ce 8279, 8346

N.B.: perhaps these tablets are by hand 124-R.

ADDITIONAL TABLET GROUPINGS³⁷

GROUPING 124- α ³⁸

Tablets

Uf(1) 121, 7490, 7494, 8141

N.B.: It is questionable whether these are the work of a single scribe.

Physical description

Homogeneous group: ca. $(6.5) \times 1.8 \times 0.4$ cm; not lined; right ends very thinned out and rounded.

The tablet maker of 7494 was a child.

GROUPING 124- β

Sc 135, 240, 249, 260, 5046, 5058, 5073, 5085, 7782, 8471, 8472

N.B.: It is possible that these tablets are by hand 124-I.

verso: Sc 7782 ↓ Sc 8471 ↓

³⁶ See *RCTK* p. 93.

³⁷ The notes associated with the additional groupings are based on the discussion given in Appendix B. In view of the questionable status of these groupings most of the listings do not include physical descriptions of the tablets.

³⁸ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 121, 7490, 7494, 8141 & 8486 to hand “124”n. *RCTK* gives no specific attribution for 121, 7490, 7494, 8141, but attributed 8486 to stylus 124-8. In order not to lose the original grouping of 121, 7490, 7494, 8141 found in *Scribes* these are included here as grouping 124- α . However, attention is drawn to the following, quoted from *RCTK* (p. 210), “Uf 121, 7490, 7494, 8141, 8486 were classified as ‘124’n by *Scribes* pp. 72-73, but I fail to see the same hand in these tablets”.

342

GROUPING 124-γ

Sc 217, 264, 5084, 5153, 7476, 7772, 8253

N.B.: It is not excluded that these tablets are by hand 124-I.

verso: Sc 217 ↓ Sc 7476 ↓ Sc 7772 ↓ Sc 8253 ↓?

GROUPING 124-δ

Sc 234, 241, 5071, 7456, 7478

N.B.: It is questionable whether these are the work of a single scribe.

GROUPING 124-ε

Sc 222, 259, 7444, 7475

N.B.: It is questionable whether these are the work of a single scribe.

GROUPING 124-ζ

Tablets

Sc 242, 262, 5139, 5170, 7889

N.B.: It is questionable whether these are the work of a single scribe.

verso: Sc 242 →

GROUPING 124-η

L 5599

Xd 8034

N.B.: There are too few signs on these tablets to identify a scribal hand.

GROUPING 124-θ

F(1) 153, 7748

Xd 149

N.B.: F 153 and Xd 7748 are parts of the same tablet but the relative positions cannot be established.

verso: F 153 → Xd 149 →

GROUPING 124-λ

Xd 97, 119

N.B.: There are too few common signs to be confident that these are the work of a single scribe. It is possible that 119 was written by hand 124-V.

GROUPING 124-μ

Og(1) 180

V(1) 77

N.B.: There are too few common signs to be confident that these are the work of a single scribe.

verso: Og 180 ↓

124 TABLETS WHICH HAVE NOT ATTRIBUTED TO SPECIFIC SCRIBAL HANDS OR GROUPINGS

Ap 5077??

B(4) 101, 164

Ce 76, 113, 152, 156, 162, 283 [+] 7250, 7516, 8345, 9109

C 5669?

E 165, 288, 8122, 8435?

F(1) 7259, 8437, 9110

K 93, 7363

Og(1) 1804, 5095, 8038

Sc 233, 239, 1644, 5142, 5156, 5165, 7453, 7461, 7462, 7463, 7466, 7471, 7506, 7756, 7798, 7821, 7849, 7882, 7948, 7996, 8478, 8480, 8759, 8796?, 8806, 9113, 9114, 9115, 9116, 9119, 9120, 9121, 9142, 9154, 9155, 9156, 9157, 9163

Uc 161

Uf(1) 7488, 7491, 7492, 7495

Vc 83, 188, 289, 303, 7575, 7609, 7906, 7941, 8635, 8734

Vd 137

V(1) 56, 57, 114, 8487

V(2) 117, 159, 280, 7523, 7527?

Wm 8493

Ws 8496?, 8500?, 8712?

Xd 75, 84, 86, 98, 100, 107, 116, 131, 146, 154, 166, 168, 182, 204, 5838, 7510, 7585?, 7586, 7590, 7598?, 7604, 7606, 7607, 7651, 7654, 7663, 7664,

7674, 7675, 7676, 7702, 7726, 7730, 7733, 7766, 7780, 7783, 7790, 7802, 7808, 7809, 7819, 7945?, 7949, 7970, 7981?, 7986, 8021, 8056, 8060?, 8061?, 8082, 8130, 8132, 8134?, 8135?, 8137, 8501, 8505, 8508, 8510, 8511, 8525, 8566, 8596, 8597, 8638?, 8653, 8748?, 8751, 8760, 8761, 8813, 8820?, 8821?, 8828, 8829?, 8837, 9009?, 9010?, 9037?, 9061?, 9125, 9129?, 9130, 9132, 9136, 9137, 9139, 9140?., 9141, 9143, 9144?, 9145, 9146?, 9147, 9148, 9149?, 9150, 9151, 9152, 9153, 9158, 9159, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9164, 9165, 9166, 9167, 9168?, 9169, 9170, 9171, 9172?, 9237?, 10001?

Notes:

- The above list excludes the missing tablets which are considered separately below.
- Uf 7488 and <Xd 292> are probably parts of the same tablet.³⁹
- Uf 7492 and 9145 are perhaps part of the same tablet (*KT5* p. 320)
- 7609, 7906, 8635, 8734 have been re-classified from Xd to Vc in-line with the recommendation of *RCTK* (p. 202). 7607 has not been re-classified since it is suggested by *RCTK* (p. 75) that it might be part of the same tablet as Ce 76.
- 1804 is perhaps by 124-F. In his Handlist, Evans drew 58 and 58bis (=1804) as a quasi-join and wrote, “Certainly parts of the same; but the actual point of junction broken away”. 58 is included in stylus group 124-5 (possibly 124-D).
- 114 appears to show a different scribal hand on *recto* and part of its verso (*RCTK* p. 75).

Physical description

We will not include a piece by piece description of these tablets because of the fragmentary state of most of them. However, with few exceptions, they fall into categories already described above for the identified 124 scribes.

<i>versos:</i>	Ce 152 ↗	Ce 162 ↓	Ce 283 →	Ce 7250 →	F 153 →
	Og 180 ↓	Og 8038 ↓	Sc 217 ↓	Sc 242 →	Sc 7462 ↓
	Sc 7471 ↓	Sc 7476 ↓	Sc 7756 ↓	Sc 7772 ↓	Sc 7782 ↓
	Sc 8253 ↓?	Sc 8471 ↓	Vc 303 ↓	Vc 7756 ↓	V 114 →
	V 159 ?	Xd 149 →	Xd 154 →	Xd 7802 ↓	Xd 7970 ↓
	Xd 8056 ↓	Xd 8751 ↓	Xd 9165 ↓	Xd 9166 ↓	Xd 9171 →

MISSING TABLETS

Ag <321>
 Sc <246>, <5167>
 Uf(1) <311>

³⁹ Firth 2002, p. 304.

Vc <295>, <316>, <317>

Xd <292>, <296>, <299>, <300>, <301>, <302>, <304>, <305>, <306>, <307>, <308>, <309>, <310>, <313>, <314>, <318>, <319>, <320>, <322>, <323>, <324>, <325>, <326>, <327>, <328>, <329>, <330>, <331>, <332>, <333>, <334>, <335>, <336>

All the missing tablets numbered between 292 and 336 (38 pieces) were presumably written by one of the 124 family of scribal hands and they are conventionally attributed to “124”, which in the terms of this paper becomes 124?

Notes:

- <Xd 292> and Uf 7488 are probably parts of the same tablet.⁴⁰
- <311> might be in the same hand as Ce 152 (based on the idiosyncratic *na*; *RCTK* p. 19).
- for <321>, <322>, <324> see the discussion under 124-A.

5. TABLETS WHICH HAVE DOUBTFUL PROVENANCE

It is possible to identify most of the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets by their clay type. However, there are a small number of tablets which have sometimes been included and other times excluded. For completeness, these tablets are listed here. If these tablets are included then they are probably attributable to scribe “124”.

5074: *KT4* and *RCTK* classify this as Xd (scribe “124”) but *KT5* and *CoMIKIII* classify it as X (with no identified scribe). During a recent visit to Iraklion, Melena (*priv. comm.*) did not recognise the clay type, therefore it is excluded here.

5669: classified as C; not included in *RCTK*; but Melena proposes RCT? (Firth & Melena 2002, p. 348).

7527: not included in *RCTK* but included as “124”? in *CoMIK III* and “124” in *CoMIK IV* (p. 238).

7568: *Scribes* & *KT4* attribute this to “124”? but it was not attributed to any scribal hand in *KT5* and *CoMIK*. *RCTK* (p. 20) specifically suggests that it is an RCT tablet, therefore it is included in this paper.

7585: *R PSI* (rough papillary lines) (Cf. Xd 7597, 7614); moved from X to Xd: following Olivier (see Sjöquist & Åström, p. 125); excluded by *RCTK* and *CoMIK*.

7996: not attributed to a scribal hand in *KT4* or *RCTK* but given as 124 in *RCTK* (p. 283).

⁴⁰ Firth 2002, p. 304.

- 8271: not attributed to a RCT scribe prior to *RCTK*.
- 8478: *KT4* and *RCTK* identify this as written by an RCT scribe (“124”? in *KT4*, possibly 124-F in *RCTK*) but *KT5* and *CoMIK* III do not identify this as a RCT tablet.
- 8496, 8500, 8712: no scribal hand given in *KT5* or *CoMIK* IV but listed as 124? in *RCTK* (pp. 284-285).
- 8653: This tablet has been consistently attributed to scribe “124” in *Scribes* & *CoMIK*. However, *RCTK* p. 20 notes that this tablet is made from a different clay-type to the other RCT tablets and shows graphical peculiarities which are not aligned with the usual style of RCT (particularly the awkward *j*o).
- 8723: *KT4* classified this as Sc (scribe “124”) with reading of TUN, now reading is qa, and it has been re-classified as X. Not included in *RCTK* and excluded from this paper.
- 8732: *RCTK* p. 20 notes that this tablet is made from a different clay-type to the other RCT tablets. This was listed as “124”? in *Scribes* & *KT4* but not attributed to any scribal hand in *KT5* and *CoMIK*. It has been excluded from this paper.
- 8796: no scribal hand given in *KT5* or *CoMIK* IV but listed as 124? in *RCTK* (p. 285).
- 9037, 9061: no hand given in *KT5* and not included in *RCTK*, but given in *CoMIK* IV as “124”?
- 9237: not attributed to a RCT scribe prior to *RCTK*.

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APPENDIX A: USE OF THE *IDA*-CLASSIFICATION OF IDEOGRAMS

Vandenabeele and Olivier (*IDA*, 1979) demonstrate how the ideograms that appear on the Sc-tablets can be classified according to objective characteristics. Driessen (1988) includes a preliminary discussion of the use of the *IDA* classifications, with tabulations and some discussion. The tabulation is extended to a wider group of tablets in *RCTK*, however, the amount of discussion is reduced. In view of shortened discussion and the numerous errors in the *RCTK* tables (pp. 64-66), one is led to presume that this method was not used extensively as a basis for attributing scribal hands in *RCTK*. However, it is worthwhile noting explicitly those aspects of the Sc ideograms which are characteristic of specific scribal hands.

TUN (type 1B) – with two sometimes pointed excrescences on top of the body

Under this heading, *IDA* (p. 27) includes 230, 234, 243, [[245]]?, [[247]], 250, [[252]], 261, 263, 5060, 5070, 8124, 8467. These are all attributed to 124-F by *RCTK*, except 234 (124-δ) and [[252]] (124-I).

TUN (type 2) – with a continuous stroke on top of the body

This *TUN*-type can be further sub-divided according to whether there is a *QE* written on the ideogram (type 2B).

The Sc-tablets with *TUN (type 2) + QE* are all attributed to 124-M.

IDA (p. 27) lists the following as *TUN (type 2)* without *QE*, 222, 226, 7444, 7475.⁴¹ *RCTK* (p. 64) changes the classification of the ideogram of 226, 7444, 7475 from *TUN (type 2)* to *TUN (type 1A)*. This is of interest because these few tablets include three of the four tablets listed as 124-ε.⁴² The apparent disagreement between *IDA* and *RCTK* arises because the “continuous stroke” at the top of the *TUN* is, in some cases, formed by two lines joining in the middle (259, 7444). Thus, 124-ε is characterised by *TUN (type 2)* or a version of *TUN (type 1A)* where the two excrescences touch in the centre forming an almost continuous line.

⁴¹ *IDA* also included 252. However, following subsequent joins, it is evident that it is actually *TUN (type 1A)*, see *CoMIKI* p. 107.

⁴² The other tablet is 226 (124-I), where the *TUN* in question is drawn over [[*TUN*]] and is positioned on a join, so that it is difficult to reconstruct the detail of the upper line. It is drawn as *TUN (type 2)* in *IDA* (plate XIII) and *TUN (type 1A)* in *CoMIKI* p. 99.

Chariots with Yoke (type a) - simple stroke

IDA defines four different types of yoke (type a), which are numbered (1)-(4).

Yoke (type a1) appears on 232, 5057, 5065, 5138, 5141, which are all attributed to 124-G.⁴³

Yoke (type a2) appears on 103, 221, 5058, 5083, 5142, 7457. These are all attributed to 124-I, except 5058, which is attributed to 124-β and 5142 which is unattributed.

Yoke (type a3) appears on 226, 5061, 5086, 5164, 7467, which are all attributed to 124-I.⁴⁴

Yoke (type a4) only appears on 5068 (124-I).

Thus, yoke (type a) appears to be a reliable indicator for scribal hand.

Chariots with Yoke (type b) – a simple stroke doubled behind by a stroke on either side of the harness

IDA defines three different types of yoke (type b), which are identified as (1α), (1β), (b2). We will concentrate our attention here on yoke (type b1α). This appears on 225, 230, 245, 5060, 5144, 5148, 5161, 7460, 7473, 8476, 9117 which are all attributed to 124-F.⁴⁵

Chariot wheels

The wheels of the chariots of 124-F, G and S are almost always simple circles containing a cross to represent the axles. The exception is 5144 (124-F) which has a central hub.

The wheels of 124-I are usually more complex, and often show a representation of the central hub. The wheels of 124-β also have a central hub.

Of the other attributed Sc-series tablets, 223 (124-8) shows a double circle for the wheel, c.f. 5169 (124-I; *IDA* plates XLIV, LVI).

APPENDIX B: DISCUSSION ON THE “ADDITIONAL TABLET GROUPINGS”

RCTK (pp. 93-94) gives a list of “additional tablet groupings ...which may possibly be by the same hand for a variety of reasons; the grouping is based on either palaeographic or external characteristics, but also implies that usually a consistency

⁴³ *IDA* (p. 123) also includes Sc 103 and 5142 as type a1, however, it is clear from the drawings given in *IDA* (Fig. 83, p. 124) that these should be yoke-type a2.

⁴⁴ *IDA* p. 123 includes 7452, which is now joined to 5164.

⁴⁵ *IDA* listed 5161 as (type b1β) although it is clearly (type b1α) (*IDA* plate LVI). 9117 has been added here to the list given in *IDA*.

in one category contrasts with a variation in the other category”. However, *RCTK* does not give any further information other than the list of groupings themselves. The aim of this appendix is to consider the significance of these groupings in a paper on scribal hands and whether or not the tablets in these groupings can be tentatively attributed to a specific scribes (as was done by *RCTK* for the stylus groups). This discussion builds on the work described in the previous section, since five of these groupings consist of Sc-series tablets.

The additional tablet groupings have been labelled here 124-β to 124-μ (as set out in Table A). 124-α has been used to label tablets identified as “124”n in *Scribes* but which were not considered to be a coherent group in *RCTK*. However, we have included this grouping to give continuity with *Scribes*, respecting the original judgement of Olivier.

TABLE A

ADDITIONAL GROUPING	TABLETS
124-α	Uf 121, 7490, 7494, 8141
124-β	Sc 135, 240, 249, 260, 5046, 5058, 5073, 5085, 7782, 8471, 8472
124-γ	Sc 217, 264, 5084, 5153, 7476, 7772, 8253
124-δ	Sc 234, 241, 5071, 7456 and 7478
124-ε	Sc 222, 259, 7444, 7475
124-ζ	Sc 242, 262, 5139, 5170, 7889
124-η	L 5599, Xd 8034
124-θ	Xd 149, F 153 [+] 7748
124-λ	Xd 97, 119
124-μ	V 77, Og 180

Grouping 124-β: It is possible that the tablets of this grouping could have been written by 124-I, on the basis of the representation of a hub on the wheels of 135, 240, 5046, 5085 and the yoke-type a2 on 5058.

Grouping 124-γ: These tablets have similar height and thickness (except for 8253). It is not excluded that the tablets of this grouping could have been written by 124-I. In this case the suggestion is less secure (than for 124-β). It is based on the detailing in the area of the pole of the chariot on 217, which occurs frequently on tablets by 124-I and also on the yoke type on 217, 264 and 8253 (cf. 5166, 5169 by 124-I).

Grouping 124-δ: These tablets have similar height and thickness (except for 7478). At first sight, it seems possible that the tablets of this grouping were written by 124-F, because the TUN (type 1B), which is characteristic of 124-F, appears on

234 (*IDA* pp. 26-27). The large *ZE* on 7478 is also characteristic of 124-F (c.f. 218, 5154). However, 124-F drew *EQU* with three tufts on the mane but none of the *EQU* on the tablets of 124-δ conform to this style (241, 5071). Furthermore, the *TUN* on 7456 is not type 1B. Thus, we could either accept the *RCTK* grouping and dismiss any association with 124-F, or break up the grouping. In view of the large differences of style of *TUN* between 234 and 7456, it seems appropriate to question whether the grouping 124-δ was actually written by a single scribe.

Grouping 124-ε: It has already been noted that this grouping is characterised by the *TUN*-type and in terms of the identified scribes, this approximates most closely to the work of 124-M. However, there are differences in size of these tablets and those of 124-M and the form of the *ZE* is different. In addition, there are differences in the position of the *ZE* between 222 and 259. The mane of *EQU* in 222 is quite like that on 5071 (124-δ). There does not appear to be sufficient evidence to align this grouping to a particular scribe and it is open to question whether these tablets are in fact the work of a single scribe.

Grouping 124-ζ: *RCTK* (p. 93) suggests that there is a possibility that the *recto* of 242 is by 124-G and the *verso* by 124-F. In addition, *RCTK* (p. 78) suggests that 5170 is perhaps 124-F and (p. 80) that 5139 could be considered under 124-G. However, the yoke of 242 and 5170 are of the type that is characteristic of the *Scribes* hand “124”k (c.f. 236, 5137, 5155, 7454). In *RCTK*, the tablets of “124”k have been attributed to 124-S. Thus it is open to question whether these tablets are the work of a single scribe.

Grouping 124-η consists of L 5599 and Xd 8034 only. There are too few signs here to identify a scribal hand.

Grouping 124-θ consists of F 153 [+] 7748, Xd 149 only. These tablets have a total of 28 different syllabic signs and so, although there are only two tablets, they should be noted.

Grouping 124-λ consists of Xd 97 and 119 only. *RCTK* (p. 87) notes that it is possible that Xd 119 belongs to the set of tablets written by 124-V. There are too few common signs to be confident that these are the work of a single scribe.

Grouping 124-μ consists of V 77 and Og 180, only. There are too few common signs to be confident that these are the work of a single scribe.

APPENDIX C: CONSIDERING THE Uf(1)-SERIES

Driessen (1992, *RCTK* pp. 78-79, 202) suggests that Vc and Sc tablets are part of the same scribal activity. He suggests that the Sc-series listed people receiving items to complete their equipment and the Vc-series were people who did not require additional equipment. We can take this one step further.

Stylus groups 124-8 and 124-9 both include a mixture of tablets from the Sc and Uf(1)-series. In the case of 124-8, it is suggested (*RCTK* p. 92) that “the attribution of these tablets to the same hand is quite safe, even if a difference in contents is obvious”. The Uf(1)-series is characterised by the ideogram, *DA*. *RCTK* (p. 210) suggests of the Uf(1) tablets that “all these may deal with land-holdings because of the *DA* entry and the toponyms but there is no other evidence to back this up”. However, the ideogram, *DA*, also appears on Sc 223 & 257, furthermore, the former tablet is attributed to 124-8. Thus, whatever, the interpretation of the sign, we might consider whether it has the same meaning when it appears on the Sc-series as when it appears on some of the tablets of the Uf(1)-series.

Let us consider the assumption that, in addition to the distribution of chariots, horses and corselets, the scribes of the RCT also distributed *DA*, which may be land given in return for the military service. On this basis, we would expect to see *DA* appearing on some of the Sc-tablets, although it should not appear too regularly since the land would not require replacement in the same way as military equipment. Thus we could interpret Sc 223 as the allocation of a unit of land and a chariot. Similarly, we could interpret Uf(1) 198 written by the same scribal hand (124-8) as the allocation of a unit of land to *pa-to-ro*.

On this basis, we might suggest that the Uf(1) tablets form two separate series. Tablets, such as Uf(1) 79, 198, 7489, that are simply a personal name followed by *DA* and a number, would be tablets concerning a requirement to allocate land. However, the Uf(1) tablets, such as 111, 120, 121, 7488, 7494, that include toponyms are more likely to have a different purpose and may be records of the actual allocations of land.

