

A REVIEW OF THE FIND-PLACES OF THE LINEAR B TABLETS FROM THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS*

The bulk of the original documentation of the contents of the Linear B inscriptions from the palace of Knossos is contained in Evans' *Handlist*. In the *Original Handlist*, each of the pieces of tablet, which Evans judged to be significant, was drawn and numbered under a catch-heading, describing, in a few words, its find-place. By the time the contents of the *Handlist* were published in *Scripta Minoa II*, some 50 years after the excavation of the tablets, the numbering of the tablets had been extensively changed and the find-place labelling was frequently incorrect. In an earlier paper (Firth 1998), the author analysed the contents of the present *Handlist* in order to deduce the ordering and find-places of the tablets as they would have appeared in the *Original Handlist*, immediately following the excavations.

There are also frequent references to the Linear B tablets in the daily excavation reports in the notebooks of Duncan Mackenzie and personal notes of Arthur Evans. These do not usually help to link specific tablets with specific find-places. However, they do give a more general perspective to the archaeological context in which the tablets were found.

Once the basic find-places have been established, using the *Handlist* and the excavation records, it is possible to use supplementary information to provide a more complete picture. For example, the Heraklion Museum inventory numbering can be used to give information about which tablets were grouped together on trays when the tablets were given to the museum. The scribal hands, clay characteristics and palm-prints can be used to group together tablets from the same find-places. In this way, it is possible to reconstruct the find-place information for much of the Knossos archive.

The first attempt to review the find-places of the Linear B inscription tablets based on the excavation notebooks and *Handlist* was by Palmer and Boardman in *On the Knossos Tablets (OKT, 1963)*. Although *OKT* was a good attempt to understand the *Handlist* and to draw information on the tablets from the notebooks, much has happened in the intervening years. The work on the handwriting (Olivier 1967) and the palm-prints (Sjöquist & Åström 1991) has already

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been noted. There has also been a great deal of effort expended on joining fragments of tablets, and cataloguing & documenting them, culminating in the *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos (CoMIK)*. There has been a large amount of work on the interpretation of the contents of the tablets, with too many papers to list here. Gill (1965, 1966; see also Popham & Gill 1995) has studied the seal impressions that were found with the tablets. In addition, there have been detailed studies of the archaeology of the palace (Hallager 1977), including the publication of annotated excavation reports for the North sector of the palace and the Western Magazines by Raison (1988, 1993). We should note also Driessen's important suggestion (1990), that the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT) pre-date the bulk of the archive by at least a generation, with the extended hypothesis (1994) that the various deposits of tablets could have resulted from numerous destructions of buildings at Knossos over many years. Thus, it can be seen that there is scope to add significantly to Palmer and Boardman's work in *OKT*.

The aim of this review is to draw on the excavation records of Mackenzie and Evans, together with the supplementary sources, and to pull together as full a picture as possible of the find-places of the Linear B tablets. The paper will attempt to 'integrate' the studies of the interpretation of the tablets and their archaeological context. It is clear that the scribal activities prior to the destruction of the palace were a series of coherent and logical processes and we should reasonably expect to find signs of those processes both within individual deposits and between the separate deposits of tablets.

For convenience, this review is divided into three broad Parts. PART I is a survey of the documentary evidence relating to the find-places of the tablets. PART II is a study of the archaeological records for each of the find-places in turn. Finally, PART III discusses the larger generic questions, i.e. whether the tablets are from the same time period and the dating of the tablets.

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PART I: THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The objective of PART I is to set out the documentary evidence relating to the find-places of the Knossos Linear B tablets. In order to capture all the information available we will be using the term 'documentary evidence' in its widest sense. This will include not only the *Handlist* and excavation notebooks but also take account of the photographs of the tablets in *SM II* and the Heraklion Museum Inventory records. Finally, PART I includes a brief description of the tablets as they were found in the Heraklion Museum in 1950 by Emmett L. Bennett when he went to gather information for publication in *SM II*.

At first sight, it might seem strange that a review of the find-places of the tablets should be concerned with the accounts of the tablets subsequent to their being excavated. However, there is an underlying finding which pervades all this

type of work on the Knossos tablets. If the tablets were all of equal size and importance, they would no doubt have been given equal levels of documentation. However, in practice, the tablets vary in size and completeness from the 'Great Tablet', As 1516, to the smallest fragment of *agrapha*. Each time the tablets are recorded, a decision is taken as to which inscriptions should be included and which should be neglected. There are many examples of this, as will become apparent. By considering different listings of the tablets, it is possible to associate some of the smaller fragments with find-places, with some confidence, even though they were not actually included in the *Handlist*.

In order to establish the overall archaeological context, the first section of PART I gives a preliminary discussion of the chronology of the excavation of the Linear B tablets.

1. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EXCAVATION OF THE TABLETS

The first Linear B tablet find at Knossos is described by Evans in *SM I* (p. 17):

«In 1895 I was shown a part of a burnt clay slip then in the possession of a Candiote, Kyrios Zachyrachis, said to have been found on the site of Kephala, presenting some incised linear signs which seemed to belong to an advanced system of writing. It had apparently been a surface find, and there was nothing to determine its age. The clay slip itself perished at the time of the destruction of the Christian Quarter, but I took a careful copy of it at the time.»

The tablet was photographed and given the classification Ga 34. It is probable that this tablet was brought to the surface during the early trial excavations of Minos Kalokairinos at the Knossos site in 1878.¹

The palace of Knossos was excavated by Evans and Mackenzie over a period of many years, starting in 1900. In practice, virtually all the tablets found in the palace itself were excavated in the 1900, 1901 and 1902 seasons. The Arsenal tablets were excavated in 1904 and 1905 and the Little Palace tablets were excavated in 1905 (although in both those cases additional tablets were found in later excavations; see Firth & Melena 2000a). Mackenzie wrote, in pencil, a daily account of the excavations. These are referred to as the *Day Books* (abbreviated here as *DM/DB*). For the 1900 excavation, in addition to the *Day Book* written in pencil, he also wrote a fair copy of his notes in ink. The pencilled and inked versions of the *Day Book* for 1900 are largely the same but differ in detail and therefore a distinction will be drawn between them.²

¹ Driessen (1990) and Kopaka (1992) discuss the documents describing the outcome of the early excavations.

² It is not made explicit when the inked version of the 1900 *Day Book* was written. Boardman suggested that Mackenzie probably wrote the inked version during the excavation (*OKTii*, p. 1). However, there are consistent differences between the pencilled and inked versions of the notes which would imply that the inked version was written sometime after the close of the 1900 season. These differences include the

Evans' personal *Notebooks* (abbreviated here as *AE/NB*) are essentially observations on items which attracted his interest. They were not intended to be a complete record of the excavation. However, they are very useful in providing complementary information about the tablets.

As already noted, the *Original Handlist* contained a drawing of each inscription tablet, which Evans thought was worth including. Each tablet was numbered and the tablets were grouped under catch-headings describing, in a few words, their find-places. These find-places were in terms of rooms or areas; they were not specific locations or depths. Mackenzie refers indirectly to the *Handlist* in his *Day Book* entry for 25 April 1900 (inked), «All these signs [i.e. the inscription tablets] are being collected by Mr Evans and are only occasionally referred to here». In a limited number of cases, the *Handlist* includes some text that extends beyond a simple statement of the find-place.

The site excavations at Knossos were managed by Mackenzie, and were achieved with the aid of a large body of local workers, which on occasions numbered as many as 300 people (Brown 1994, p. 22). It is worth emphasising that Mackenzie was not only managing this large workforce but that he was also the only archaeologist employed to be on the site. The excavations started early each morning and continued late into the evening. Excavations continued every day, except for Sundays, occasional formal holidays and when the weather was too wet or windy for work to continue. During the early years of the excavation (which are primarily our point of interest in this paper), Mackenzie disciplined himself to write an entry into his *Day Book* before the close of each day of excavation. He noted that,

«The method of occasional entries which some excavations have recourse to I consider to be fatal because it allows an open door for the results to get entirely out of hand. The daily record on the spot obviates this danger since it closes when the day's work is over and does not risk the temptation which some excavators feel after a weary day to put off the record till the week-end. Apart from the obvious drawback of no longer being on the spot the inevitable result of attempting a record at headquarters, especially at night after the fatigues of a day's work at high pressure, is the occasional entry.»³

fact that the pencilled version of the notes do not use the plan grid references, whereas these are used very frequently in the inked version. In addition, the pencilled version uses a different numbering of the Western Magazines from the inked version. Driessen (1990, p. 54, Illust. 6) reproduces Fyfe's provisional plan with a grid dated 5th [?] May 1900, which can be taken as *terminus post quem* of the inked notes. However, in his letter of 5 Feb 1901 to Evans, before the start of the second season, Mackenzie specifically asks Evans to bring the 1900 *Day Book*, implying that, at that stage, there was not a second copy. The other point worth noting is that the pencilled *Day Books* for 1900 to 1910 are all bound in soft brownish cloth, whereas the inked 1900 notebook has a hard red cloth binding, cf. the notebooks for 1923 to 1925 (Momigliano 1999, p. 42). The general indication seems to be that the inked version was written as an aid to writing *PofM*, sometime after Mackenzie returned to work for Evans in 1915.

³ Mackenzie's letter to Dickie of 15 May 1911, as quoted by Momigliano 1999, pp. 44-45.

It is apparent from the excavation reports that Mackenzie was present on the site during all the excavations. However, the Evans' notes are intermittent, suggesting that he was not always present. Evans also took it upon himself to record the finds which interested him, particularly the tablets and the sealings. Unfortunately, Evans did not work in a meticulously systematic way and, as a consequence, we have to apply a significant amount of interpretation to his writings. One small example of this is that, on a number of occasions, the excavation dates which Evans gives differ from those given by Mackenzie. Since Mackenzie wrote his *Day Books* on each day of excavation, we can be confident that his dates are correct.

We can suppose that, each day, the tablets from each find-place were put in an excavation tray associated with a specific area. These tablets were then taken to the excavation Headquarters, which was a Turkish House in the valley below Knossos, near the Kairatos stream (see Pendlebury 1954, Plan 4). It is clear from the excavation notes that, during the first season, each days' excavation usually resulted in tablets from at least one find-place and in some cases tablets were found from 2, 3 or 4 find-places on the same day. It seems likely that it would have been Mackenzie's responsibility, at the end of each day, to label the groups of tablets according to their find-place and take them to the Headquarters.⁴

We know from the relative ordering of the excavation of the tablets and their position in the *Handlist* that Evans did not draw the tablets in the order in which they were found. It has been estimated that some tablets were not entered into the *Handlist* until up to 2 or 3 weeks after they were found (Firth 1998; see also SECTION 2 below). It does not seem likely that Evans drew up his *Handlist* starting from a proliferation of daily excavation trays, with each find-place in a separate tray. It is more likely that the individual daily finds of tablets were transferred onto trays, with find-places indicated by labels.⁵ So that when Evans was drawing up his *Handlist*, he was dealing with batches of tablets on trays, which had been collected over a number of days and from a number of find-places.

⁴ It would seem likely that Mackenzie had this responsibility because it would simply have been part of the routine of the site excavation work. In addition, we know that Mackenzie had an overview of the tablets found on each day because of the entries in his *Day Book*. Finally, we can infer from Evans' *Notebooks* when he was directly involved in the excavation of tablets because he wrote about them at greater length (e.g. the groups of tablets which were removed en bloc in the Room of the Chariot Tablets and from the S. E. corner of Magazine VIII).

⁵ Olivier (priv. comm.) notes that there was a large number of small scraps of newspaper found in at least one of the trays of Linear B fragments found in 1984. One of the larger scraps included writing, noting that fragments were found in Magazine VIII. Bennett (priv. comm.) confirmed that there were a lot of scraps of newspaper in the containers of fragments which he examined in 1950. One might presume that originally small finds from different areas were wrapped separately in newspaper. However, these newspaper wrappings were found to be unsatisfactory. For example, in the Stratigraphical Museum, wooden labels had to be used because *psarakia* insects ate the newspaper labels (Evans' introduction to Pendlebury 1931).

In retrospect, we can see that there were a number of potential problems with this process from excavation to recording in the *Handlist*.

1. The find-places are described by the names of rooms and corridors. It would be expected that, occasionally, the name of an area would change as the excavation progressed and the plan of the building became clearer. An example of this is the tablets which were found according to the *Handlist* in the 'Corridor of House Tablets'. However, it is evident from Mackenzie's excavation notes that they were actually found in the area which we now know as the West Pillar room.
2. A potential problem arises because of ambiguity in the names of areas. For example, stone lamps were found in a number of rooms so that 'Room of Stone Lamp' is not a unique identification.
3. It is clear that in the first year Evans and Mackenzie were using a different numbering system for the magazines. When Mackenzie wrote out the inked copy of his notes he changed his numbering to conform to that favoured by Evans. However, during the first season there was certainly scope for tablets being attributed to the wrong magazine.
4. There is a potential problem of tablets becoming separated from their correct find-place labels before they were entered in the *Handlist*. One can readily imagine that the early finds of tablets were picked up and examined a number of times before they were recorded in the *Handlist*. The clearest example of this is Fp(1) 48 which is most likely to have been found in the Clay Chest but is ascribed to the RCT deposit, which started to be excavated on the same day. Towards the end of the first season there would appear to have been some confusion between tablets found in the Area of Bull Relief and those from the Long Gallery, which could have arisen from inadequate labelling of the sheer numbers of tablets which were being processed. (Note that Evans was suffering from malaria at this stage, cf. MacGillivray 2000, p. 189.)
5. Finally, there are cases where the find-place labels used in the *Handlist* appear to us to be imprecise or ambiguous, although both Evans and Mackenzie could probably have identified which find-places were implied (e.g. S. W. Corner, S. E. Front). It is particularly in these cases that Mackenzie's *Day Books* have been helpful in clarifying these labels.

Evans adopted a system of numbering the significant tablets and the inked number on the tablet corresponded to the numbering of the drawing in the *Original Handlist* (see Firth 1998). In many cases, the original drawings of the tablets were sufficiently good that they were simply copied and used directly in *SM II*. In other cases, the original entry into the *Handlist* was a transcription of the Linear B signs, with some brief indication of whether it was the left, centre or right part of the tablet. In these cases, Evans may have re-examined the tablets and re-drawn them for *SM II*; however, it has been shown that, in a number of cases, he did not refer again to the tablets but instead 'constructed' drawings of tablets based on his notes (Firth 2000). A selection of tablets were also photographed for *SM II* prior to them being given to the Heraklion Museum.⁶

⁶ We know that they were photographed prior to being given to the museum because the *SM II* photographs do not include museum inventory numbers. (These can be contrasted with the photographs published in 1915 by Maraghiannis (*Antiquités Crétoises*, Candie, IIIe série) which included the inventory numbers).

The subsequent development of the *Handlist* has already been described by the author (Firth 1998).

It is interesting to track the fate of the tablets themselves. It is not clear where the tablets were stored following the first season. However, in Mackenzie's letter to Evans (17 Nov. 1901) he describes how, after the second season, «the inscriptions [were] all packed up by myself and deposited thus packed in a press made purposely for them». The press was then stored in Heraklion Museum but, although the ephor, Hatzidakis, was given a key, it was on the condition that nothing should be unpacked. There is a similar reference to tablets being stored in the museum after the 1902 season, except in this case Mackenzie states that the boxes were visibly sealed.⁷ Most of the tablets which were excavated in the 1900, 1901 and 1902 seasons were probably eventually given to the Heraklion Museum and entered in the Inventory in 1904 (see SECTION 4.1 below). The fate of the Arsenal and Little Palace tablets is more complex and has already been described (Firth & Melena 2000a).

The results of the earlier analysis of the *Handlist* are summarised briefly in SECTION 2. SECTION 3 describes the contents of the photographs in *SM II*. These are arranged according to find-places and provide us with some additional information.

Each of the significant tablets from Knossos in the Heraklion Museum bears a Museum Inventory number (M. Inv.). These numbers, together with an outline description of the tablets, are listed in the Museum Inventory book for inscriptions. It is evident that the tablets were given to the Heraklion Museum on trays and the groups of tablets on each tray can be inferred from the Museum Inventory numbers. Some of the better tablets were selected and entered towards the beginning of the inventory list; but most of the tablets were simply catalogued in the Inventory, according to the tray on which they were found. The M. Inv. numbers were inked onto the tablets.

In July-August 1950, prior then to the publication of *SM II* in 1952, Bennett examined the tablets, drew up a list of smaller tablets, which Evans had not included in his *Handlist*, and drew up a *Concordance* of M. Inv. numbers *versus* *SM II* numbers. It is possible to use Bennett's *Concordance* of museum inventory numbers to derive information on the trays of tablets which were delivered to the Heraklion Museum and this provides us with some supplementary information on find-places. The detailed description of the analysis of Museum inventory numbers is described in SECTION 4. SECTION 5 describes the state of the tablets

⁷ Mackenzie to Evans 13 August 1902. Both letters quoted in full by Momigliano (1999, APPENDIX 2). It is evident that there were additional precautions taken in the security of storage of the tablets following the 1901 and 1902 seasons. If we count the number of tablets that were drawn by Evans but are now missing, 61 were excavated in 1900, but only one in 1901 and three in 1902. The tablets from 1904 and 1905 were stored for many years at Knossos (Firth & Melena 2000a). There are two missing tablets out of the 85 excavated in 1904. However, five tablets are now missing out of the 24 tablets recorded in 1905.

found by Bennett in 1950. SECTION 6 brings together a summary of changes to find-places of the tablets proposed in this paper (compared to those listed previously by the author, Firth 1998). Finally, in PART 1, SECTION 7 is a set of excavation notes relating to the Linear B tablets from Knossos.⁸ In some cases it is possible to identify the tablets which are referred to by Mackenzie and Evans in their notes and, where this is possible, these have been included as footnotes in SECTION 7.

SECTIONS 2 to 7 can also be seen as an attempt to reconstruct an audit trail that ideally would allow us to track tablets from the point of their excavation, to their being photographed, to their being given to the museum and entered in the Inventory and finally to Bennett examining them, prior to the publication of *SM II*. If each stage of this process had been well-documented, then the audit trail would not be very interesting. However, in the present case, we are piecing together partial information and it is possible to glean a surprising amount of detail, particularly about find-places, through the association of tablets from the same find-place.⁹

2. A SUMMARY OF FIND-PLACES ACCORDING TO THE *Handlist*

The purpose of this section is to summarise briefly the allocation of tablets to find-places according to the recent analysis of the *Handlist* (Firth 1998).¹⁰ In the

⁸ Discussions of the descriptions of the excavation of tablets in the *BSA Reports* and *PofM* are included in PART II.

⁹ It is also interesting to note the relatively large amount of information that can be reconstructed in this audit trail for the Linear B tablets compared with the substantially more limited audit trails that could be reconstructed for the clay sealings and the pottery sherds in the Stratigraphical Museum.

¹⁰ Subsequent to the publication of Firth 1998, the author has found (in the Ashmolean Museum) a file of photographs of the tablets excavated in 1900, which Evans numbered using *Original Handlist* numbering (ON's). These photographs were later published as Collotype plates in *SM II*, but with the tablets re-numbered. The ON's on these photographs largely confirm those given by Firth 1998, except for the following specific cases:

1. The majority of exceptions were simply instances of Evans making an error. In these cases, the number on the photograph bore no relation to any of the numbers associated with the tablet in the *Handlist* (which is taken to represent the prime source) and these are usually simple numerical errors (i.e. interchanging numbers on adjacent tablets, using the same ON for two tablets on the same photo). For *SM 885* and *889*, which are similar looking tablets, Evans confused the photographs of the two tablets, when he wrote ON's on the photographs.

2. It is now clear that *SM 137* had originally been ON 125 + ON 137. When these two were joined, the number 125 became free and it was re-used for *SM 125*, which had previously been ON 113b.

3. It is now clear that ON 591 = *SM 678*. In Firth 1998, there was not an *SM* tablet identified as corresponding to ON 591. *SM 678* had been included in the list of tablets which were not allocated to find-places (in APPENDIX C of Firth 1998). So, at first sight, this would appear to represent new information. However, ON 591 was listed under the Room of the Bügelkannes in the *Original Handlist* and Ga(1) 678

course, of this work there are some instances where Evans' original notes are queried and suggestions made to modify the find-places for a limited number of tablets. These proposed modifications are summarised in SECTION 6. In order that this paper should be consistent, the changes proposed in SECTION 6 have been incorporated into the following summary of find-places, given in TABLE I.1.

The following listing is also used to define the find-place labels, which were originally suggested by Olivier (1967) and modified following the re-analysis of the *Handlist*. The tablet numbers are those used in *SM II* and *KT5*. However, the listing is given in the order in which the find-places first appeared in the *Original Handlist* (i.e. corresponding to the Original Numbering). This ordering of find-places provides an important way of demonstrating quickly that the photographs in *SM II* and the Museum Inventory numbers both correspond to the Original Numbering of the tablets.

TABLE I.1: *Find-places of the tablets according to Evans' Original Handlist*

Find-place	KT5 numbers
A Clay Chest	1-33,48
B2 S.W. Pillar Room	36bis, 37bis, 40-41
F15 Corridor of Stone Jambs	41bis, 671-673
F2 West Magazine III	47, 47bis, 410, 446-451, 5802
C Room of Chariot Tablets (RCT)	49-51, 53-337, 5097
D Nr. Room of Clay Chest	338
E1 Room of Column Bases (RCB)	339-393, 5501
E1bis Nr. N. entrance to RCB	394, 733(#)
E5 'Corridor of House Tablets'	395-398, 415-421, 423-431
E2 E. Pillar Room	432
E3 Room of Temple Repositories	711
E4 Passage on E. side of RCT	433
E6 Room of Niche	434-437, 5089-5090
F1 West Magazine II	439-445
F3 West Magazine IV	409, 452-469, 472-473, 578, 1615-1616
F4 West Magazine V	476-477
F5 West Magazine VI	478, 7116, 7894
F6 West Magazine VII	479-481, 483-490, 710, 5019

(scribe 135) would have actually have been found in the Long Gallery with the other Ga(1) tablets. Therefore, Evans' original allocation of *SM 678* to the Room of the Bügelkannes was an error, which he himself corrected by moving the tablet alongside other Ga(1) tablets.

4. The only other points worth noting are that on the photographs: *SM 482* was numbered 521b; *SM 436* was numbered 481; *SM 736* was numbered 570; *SM 735* was numbered 569. These are not ON's but are subsequent numbers in the re-numbering sequence. Since all the photographs containing ON's were for tablets excavated in 1900, it seems reasonable to suppose that these photographs were actually taken in 1900 and that the numbers were applied before the second season of excavation. The fact that some of the numbers on the photographs were not ON's shows that, even at that early stage, the long process of re-numbering the tablets in the *Handlist* had already begun.

	Find-place	KT5 numbers
F16	Near door of West Mag. VII	491-492
F7a	West Mag, VIII: S.E. Corner	493-500
F7	West Magazine VIII	475, 482, 501-510, 512-516, 581, 586, 613, 615-616, 621-622, 627, 631, 635- 636, 706-708, 712, 5033
F17	Near door of West Mag. VIII	674, 677, 678?, 701
H2	Throne Room	734-735, 736(#), 737-738
H7	Room of Stone Lamp(*)	739-740
H1	Paved court E. of throne room	730-732
H3	Gallery of Stone Basin	741, 742?
I1	Area of Bügelkannes room (1900)	749-755, 757-768, 774-776bis b
H4	Space south of Bath Corridor	743-745, 878
I2	North Entrance Passage	777-786, 788-797, 887, 1054, 1581
I3	Area of Bull Relief	408, 411-414, 511, 756, 798-877, 879- 886, 888-925, 927-955, 958-992, 996- 1053bis, 1576, 1582-1583
F18	North end of Long Corridor	675-676, 679-688, 690-692, 713, 993- 995, 7370-7371
B4	Area beyond W. Wall (i.e. Western Court)	42-46
B5	Area: Near S.W. Entrance (i.e. Western Court)	700
I3bis	S. of Bull relief Area	787
F8	West Magazine IX	517-519, 521-523, 570, 617
F9	West Magazine X	524
F10	West Magazine XI	525-560, 582, 689
F11	West Magazine XII	561-563
F12	West Magazine XIII	564-565, 697
F13	West Magazine XIV	566-569, 597
F14	West Magazine XV	471, 474, 571-577, 579-580, 583-585, 587-589, 591-594, 596, 598-612, 614, 618-620, 623-626, 628-630, 632- 634, 637-657, 660-670, 1568
F19	N. W. Passage	595, 693-696, 698
H5	Under blocked doorway of room behind throne	746-748
G1	Gallery of Jewel Fresco	702-705, 709, 714-726, 734bis
G2	Small room to E. of Gallery of Jewel Fresco	422, 470, 590, 727-729
I6	E. of chamber of Hieroglyph inscr.	699
B1	S. of S.W. Pillar Room	35-39
K	S.E. Front	1062-1063
K1	Area of Clay Signet Room	1055-1061

It will be suggested below that 733 and 736 were fired together because of their similarity of appearance. If that were correct, it would follow that one of their find-places was recorded incorrectly.

* It is noted in PART II SECTION 10 that the information available on the tablets from the Room of the Stone Lamp is relatively unsatisfactory.

	Find-place	KT5 numbers
I4	Area of Bügelkannes room (1901)	769-773
J1	East-West corridor	1064-1384, 1386-1515, 1584-1593, 1600-1604, 1606-1607, 1609-1613, 1621, 5012, 5023, 5042, 5048, 5193
J2	Hall of Colonnades	1516, 1519
J3	Corridor of Sword Tablets	1517-1518, 1520-1527, 1529, 1540- 1560
J4	E. Bath Room (Queen's megaron)	1385, 1530-1539bis

The *Handlist* does not contain any details of tablets found in the Arsenal and Little Palace. The significant tablets from these find-places were listed separately in a document which is now part of the John L. Myres' *Scripta Minoa* archive and labelled *File 13*. In its current state, this file is now incomplete. However, it is evident from Myres' notes that it once contained drawings of all the tablets, from the Arsenal and Little Palace found in 1904/1905, which Evans considered to be significant. The documents relating to the Arsenal and Little Palace have been studied separately (Firth & Melena 2000a) and the findings of that work are summarised as in TABLE I.2. TABLE I.2 also contains the tablets found in excavations by Hood in the area immediately to the west of the Arsenal in 1957-1961. Some of the tablets found by Hood are clearly part of the Arsenal series but Hood notes that other tablets are part of an in-fill following quarrying and therefore the tablets which are not identified as being from the Arsenal series are listed separately.

TABLE I.2: *Tablets from Arsenal and Little Palace areas*

	Find-place	KT5 numbers
J2bis	S. Doorway of Hall of Colonnades	1574
L1	Arsenal	1704-1705, 1811, 1815, 4401-4492, 8144-8146
L2	West of Arsenal	8147-8150, 8170-8171, 8210-8215
M	Little Palace	1641-1642, 1901-1902, 4493, 4495, 8101, 8197- 8198, 8204-8205

It is also worthwhile including the following table which gives the relationship between the date on which the 1900 season tablets were excavated and the order in which they were included in the *Original Handlist*. This gives us some insight into the process which Evans used in recording the large mass of over 900 tablets which were excavated in that year (and which were considered to be sufficiently significant to note).

TABLE I.3: *Order in Handlist versus date of excavation (1900 season)*

	Find-place	Excavation dates	Earliest completion of entry	Days before entry of first tablet
A	Clay Chest	6 April	6 April	-
B2	S.W. Pillar Room	6 - 11 April	11 April	-
F2	West Magazine III	4 - 6 April	11 April	7
C	Room of Chariot Tablets	6 - 14 April	14 April	5
D	Nr. Room of Clay Chest	31 March	14 April	15
E1	Room of Column Bases	2 May	2 May	-
E5	'Corridor of House Tablets'	18 - 28 April	2 May	14
E2	E. Pillar Room	28 April	2 May	4
E6	Room of Niche	8 May	8 May	-
F1-F6	West Magazine II-VII	30 April - 8 May	8 May	8
F7	West Magazine VIII	19 April - 2 May	8 May	19
H2	Bath Room	11 - 25 April	8 May	27
H7	Room of Stone Lamp see note (*) under TABLE 1.1		8 May	
H1	Paved court E. of throne room	28 April	8 May	10
H3	Gallery of Stone Basin	26 April	8 May	12
I1	Area of Bügelkannes room	4 - 8 May	8 May	4
H4	Space south of Bath Corridor	8 May	8 May	-
I2	North Entrance Passage	11 May	11 May	-
I3	Area of Bull Relief	5 - 18 May	18 May	6
F18	North end of Long Corridor	9 - 25 May	25 May	9

Given the ordering of find-places in the *Handlist*, Column 4 is the earliest date which Evans could have completed the entry of tablets from each find-place. Column 5 is the minimum number of days before the first tablet from a find-place was excavated and its entry into the *Handlist*. Thus, TABLE 1.3 demonstrates that, even if Evans chose to insert the tablets in the *Handlist* at the earliest possible date, some of them would have been excavated up to 2 to 4 weeks before they were included in the *Handlist*.

3. ARRANGEMENT OF TABLETS IN *SM* II PHOTOGRAPHS

At first sight, the ordering of the tablets in the *SM* II photographs appears to be fairly random. However, it can be shown that the photographs of the tablets correspond to their find-places. Furthermore, in the cases where tablets from more than one find-place appear together on a photograph, this is consistent with the ordering of find-places shown in the *Original Handlist* (see TABLE I.1). Finally, from a detailed examination of the Original Numbers it can be concluded that the grouping of tablets on individual photographs is broadly consistent with the tablets having similar Original Numbers in the *Handlist*.¹¹

¹¹ However, in order to avoid lengthy lists of numbers, this latter demonstration is not shown explicitly in this paper other than for the 1901 tablets from the East-West Corridor, the remainder are left as an exercise for the reader!

TABLE I.4 is a listing of the contents of each of the plates in *SM II*. It is noted that, for tablets which were photographed on both *recto* and *verso*, these photographs are usually on adjacent plates.

TABLE I.4: *Contents of the SM II photographs*

Plate	Find-place	KT5
XIX	A	1-4, 6-8
XX	A	5, 8v, 10-11, 13-15
XXI	A	16-25, 27
XXII	A	48 (but C according to <i>Handlist</i>)
	B2	40-41
	F15	673
	C	50, 51v, 60
XXIII	C	49, 50v, 51, 53-58, 58bis, 59, 61
XXIV	C	63, 80, 87-91, 93, 95, 100-101, 103-105, 108-113, 114v, 116-117
XXV	C	120-121, 128-129, 134, 137, 137bis, 140, 145, 147, 152v, 157
XXVI	C	151-152, 154, 159-161, 165
XXVII	C	160v, 162, 166, 168, 217-227, 229
XXVIII	C	230-236, 238-240, 242, 244-245, 252
XXIX	C	243, 246-249, 251, 252v, 255-262
XXX	C	264, 266-270, 273-274, 280-281, 337
XXXI	D	338
	E1	339-341, 344-348
XXXII	E1	342-343, 349-353, 357, 360-361, 364-365, 369-370
XXXIII	E1	354, 356, 358-359, 362-363, 367, 373
	E1bis	394v, 733
	E5	418
XXXIV	E1bis	394
	E5	415-417, 419-421, 423-424, 429, 431
	E4	433
XXXV	E5	425-427
	E2	432
	E6	434, 436-437
	F1	439-440, 442
	F3	452, 454
XXXVI	F3	409, 461-467, 469
XXXVII	F6	479-481, 483, 710
	F7	482, 502, 622, 706, 708, 712
XXXVIII	F7a	493-499
XXXIX	F6	479v
	F7	475, 501, 513-516, 586, 613
	F17	701
LI	F7	503, 615
	F17	677
	H1	730-732
	H2	734-736
	H7	739-740
	I1	757
LII	F3	468

Plate	Find-place	KT5
LII	F7	616, 627
	F17	678?
	H3	741
	H4	744
	I1	749, 755, 758, 767
	I2	789
LIII	I2	777-778, 780-781, 784-786, 794, 797, 1054
LIV	I3	798, 852
LV	I3	799-803, 805-806
LVI	I3	799v, 854, 912v
LVII	I3	804, 833, 843, 865, 954, 961-962, 5000
LVIII	I3	820, 824, 943-944
LIX	I3	821-822, 826, 850, 898, 945
LXI	I3	832, 870, 872-873, 876, 894
LXII	I3	841, 912, 1631-1632, 7496
LXIII	I3	842, 867, 902, 953
LXIV	I3	815, 825, 835, 855-861, 1036-1037, 7035
LXV	I3	862, 875, 890-891, 918, 947
LXVI	I3	879-886, 888-889, 874, 895, 975
LXVII	I3	836, 839, 863, 871, 896, 914, 932
LXVIII	I3	903, 906-907
LXIX	I3	899, 904, 909-910, 915, 933, 935, 946
LXX	I3	911
LXXI	I3	814, 893, 900, 913, 921, 963, 972-973, 977, 983, 1031
	H4	878 (but I3 according to <i>Handlist</i>)
XCV	I3	831
XCVI	I3	808, 869
	F18	681, 683, 686-688
LX	I3	817, 930, 955, 1006
	F18	675-676, 684-685
XLIX	F18	675-676, 684-685, 690
XL	F8	517-519, 570, 617
	F10	525-527, 542
XLI	F10	530-532, 540, 544, 689
	F11	561-563
XLII	F14	571-574, 579, 583-585
XLIII	F14	603-604, 607, 609, 639
XLIV	F14	588, 606, 611-612, 637, 641
XLV	F14	575-577, 591, 594, 596, 598-600, 623, 633, 638
XLVIII	F14	474, 587, 629, 664, 668-670
XCIV	F14	471, 580, 592, 601-602, 614, 632, 640, 660-661, 1639
		('Athens tablets')
XLVI	F12	697 (but F19 according to <i>Handlist</i>)
	F14	624, 642, 647, 657
	F19	595, 693-694, 696, 698
XLVII	F14	584, 666
	K1	1056-1059
L	F17	701
	G1	702-705, 709, 714, 716, 719, 734bis
	H5	746
XCIII	G1	715, 722, 726

Plate	Find-place	KT5
	G2	470, 590, 727, 729
	I4	769
	K1	1061

For convenience, TABLE I.4 does not include details of the photographs of the Arsenal tablets (which provide no additional information for present purposes) or the tablets from the Eastern part of the Palace. However, it is worthwhile giving some consideration to the tablets which were found in the East-West corridor in 1901 since these can be used to illustrate simply that the tablets are grouped broadly according to their order in the *Original Handlist*. [In particular, they are not grouped according to their Revised numbers or *SM II* numbers.] For these tablets, the order in the *Original Handlist* was described by the author (Firth 1998, TABLE J.i) as the Deduced Order (see TABLE I.5).

TABLE I.5: *SM II Photographs of 1901 tablets from the East-West Corridor*

Plate	Deduced Order	Revised numbers	<i>SM II</i> numbers
LXXIII	1-2, 4-5, 7-8, 27	1056, 1058-1059, 1061-1063, 1174	1064-1065, 1068, 1070- 1071, 1077, 1183
LXXVI	9, 17, 24, 26, 33, 46, 48, 55, 58-59, 62, 65	1080, 1088-1090, 1094, 1101, 1103, 1166-1167, 1398- 1399, 1455	1088, 1095-1097, 1101, 1108, 1110, 1174, 1176, 1419, 1444, 1494
LXXII	13, 15, 23, 38, 41, 44, 69, 73, 80, 82, 86-87	1069, 1087, 1102, 1104, 1106, 1203, 1295, 1298, 1390, 1394, 1403-1404	1083, 1094, 1109, 1111, 1113, 1212, 1316, 1320, 1442, 1460-1461, 1487
LXXXI	73-77, 93	1105, 1188, 1192, 1230, 1232, 1298	1112, 1197, 1201, 1240, 1242, 1316
LXXXV	80-88, 90-91, 94	1071, 1087, 1099, 1106, 1182, 1197, 1216, 1402-1405, 1407	1079, 1094, 1105, 1113, 1191, 1207, 1221, 1422, 1455, 1461, 1486, 1502
LXXXIV	17, 94, 107- 108, 140, 143- 145, 148-149	1080, 1085-1086, 1099, 1202, 1244, 1256, 1387, 1417	1088, 1092-1093, 1105, 1211, 1255, 1317, 1400, 1429, 1432

It is evident from TABLES I.4 and I.5 that the tablets in the *SM II* photographs are arranged according to find-place. It is also evident that the tablets tend to be grouped sequentially according to their ordering in the *Original Handlist* (although this principle was not applied rigorously). It will be shown later that the tablets on the trays were also grouped on this basis. This is an interesting finding because it gives us some insight into Evans' method of working. However, we are primarily interested here in determining whether it provides any additional information on find-places.

In 1905/6, the Clarendon Press had produced the collotype printing plates which were eventually used to print the plates in *SM II* (with the possible

exception of the Arsenal tablets, which were produced in a different batch). In an earlier paper (Firth & Melena 2000a), it was noted that *SM* 1628-1640 were the numbers given by Myres to the tablets on those printing plates which he could not initially identify from the *Handlist*. Some of these tablets are not correctly identified in *KT5*, therefore TABLE I.6 serves both to correct typographical errors in *SM II* (p. 108) and to identify *SM* 1628-1640 in terms of their current *KT5* numbers.

TABLE I.6: *Tablets on SM II photographs not identified within Handlist*

<i>SM II</i> number	<i>KT5</i> number	Plate
1628	221	XXVII
1629	734bis	L
1630	5000	LVII
1631	<1631>	LXII
1632	<1632>	LXII
1633	7496	LXII
1634	7035	LXIV
1635	932	LXVII
1636	1708, sealing	LXXXVIII
1637	Linear A	
1638	1061	XCIII
1639	1639	XCIV
1640	Linear A	

It is evident that a number of the tablets which had not initially been identified from the *Handlist* were subsequently recognised. If we now concentrate on the remaining tablets which were not in the *Handlist*, we can suggest their probable find-places by considering the tablets with which they were grouped on the photographs. Thus, tablets E 5000, V 1631, C 1632, Ga 7496, B 7035 were most probably all from the Area of the Bull Relief (I3) because all the other tablets on the photographs containing these tablets were all from this find-place. There is additional supporting evidence; in the case of 1632, this joins with C 954, which was found in find-place I3; Ga 7496 was written by scribe 219, which is only associated with find-place I3; B(3) 7035 was written by scribe 106 and all the B(3) tablets were found at I3. (A brief discussion of B(3) 808 is included in SECTION 6.)

Ws 1708 was a sealing which was countersigned with the 'VIR' logogram. This was recorded by Evans as being found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets along with 'larger tablets bearing lists of men analogous to Great Inscription' (AE/NB, 1902, p. 34). It is interesting to note that in *SM II* it is photographed alongside As 1517, V 1521, Uf 1522 and X 1525.

SM 1639 is now joined to As 602 & 650. These tablets were excavated from Magazine XV.

It is also possible to draw a conclusion about the find-place of Mc 1508. This tablet was included in the *Handlist* twice. Firstly, as 1508, from the East-West Corridor. Secondly, as 1528, apparently from the Corridor of the Sword Tablets.

In *SM II*, Mc 1508 is included on Plate LXXXVI with 16 other tablets, which are all from the East-West Corridor. Similarly, Mc 5187 is recorded as being found in the East-West Corridor (see next paragraph). On this basis, it is concluded that Mc 1508 was found in the East-West Corridor.

Finally, it is worthwhile noting a photograph of tablets which was published in *SM I* (Fig. 18, p. 41) as, 'Clay tablets from East-West corridor showing effects of fire'. The four tablets shown in this figure are Da 1194, Dk 8353, Mc 5187 (upside down) and Dk 5597 (now joined with 1613).

4. ANALYSIS OF THE HERAKLION MUSEUM INVENTORY NUMBERS FOR THE LINEAR B TABLETS

Taken at face value, the contents of the Heraklion Museum Inventory is simply a list of the various tablets stored in the museum with an inventory number and a brief description. However, in practice, there is a great deal of information 'locked' within this Inventory. The purpose of this section is to analyse the information which can be deduced about the Knossos Linear B tablets.

There are three main questions which will be considered:

- i) when were the tablets entered into the Museum Inventory?
- ii) can anything be deduced about the groups of tablets on each of the trays which were given to the museum? Given a positive answer to this question,
- iii) can anything be deduced from the grouping of tablets on the trays?

4.1. *When were the tablets given to the Heraklion Museum?*

This sub-section contains an outline description of the contents of the inventory but it is convenient to begin with a summary.

The first Linear B tablet to be catalogued was As 1516 (M. Inv. 87), which was excavated on 17 May 1901, towards the end of the second season. However, it is suggested that the earliest date for tablets to be given to the museum was actually 1904. The first unambiguous date recorded in the Inventory is 24 June 1915. By that stage, the bulk of the tablets excavated in 1900-1902, and included in the *Handlist*, had been catalogued¹². A small number of tablets excavated in 1904 had also been catalogued, although it is evident that they were not included in the Inventory until 1905, at the earliest. The next group of Linear B tablets to be catalogued was in 1939 and these were the bulk of the remaining Arsenal tablets excavated in 1904.

It is worthwhile summarising the probable dates for entering the Knossos Linear B tablets, based on a piecing together of the information given below:

¹² In particular, this includes the Sc-series tablets, which Evans had put in a tin box (see *OKTi*, p. 54 and Firth & Melena 2000a, SECTION 4). This demonstrates that Palmer was mistaken in equating the Sc-series of tablets in a tin box with those described by Hutchinson over 30 years later.

M. Inv. 87-1266 were included in the Inventory in 1904

M. Inv. 1338-1357 were included in the Inventory in 1905

M. Inv. 1406-1485 were included in the Inventory in 1939

*Outline Description of the contents of the Inventory*¹³

The Inventory is a large book¹⁴ bearing a label with the title Πινακίδες ἐνεπίγραφοι, with καὶ Δισκάρια added later.

There are not accurate dates against each of the entries, but there are dates corresponding to the sending of copies of the inventory to the Ministry of Education. These provide us with a *terminus ante quem*.

Entries are arranged in columns: (1) Number¹⁵ (2) Description (Περιγραφή) (3) Site and year of finding (4) Mode of finding (5) Publication (6) Museum case (7) Observations.

[Entries 1-86 are Linear A inscriptions, many of which were excavated from Haghia Triada in 1902. M. Inv. 75-82 are clay sealings from Haghia Triada and the Inventory entry refers to their publication date of 1903. (These sealings are described by Brice 1961, p. 10). M. Inv. 83 is a clay roundel found by H. Boyd Hawes at Gournia in 1903, according to the Inventory (Brice 1961, p. 19). Thus, 1903 is the earliest inventory date for including the Knossos tablets. However, since the Knossos tablets are listed in the inventory as being found in the excavations of 1900-1904 they are most unlikely to have been included before 1904.]

87-1266. The first entry of Linear B tablets is number 87, from the Knossos 1900-1904, excavations of A. Evans. The tablets were put in show-case 46, but this number is cancelled; there is also a pencilled 29.¹⁶ There is no variation in the excavation dates throughout the whole batch of entries (except for the page listing M. Inv. Numbers 212-239, which gives excavation dates of 1900-1902). The entries are in the hand of Stephanos Xanthoudidis.

¹³ The following description of the contents of the Heraklion Museum Inventory is largely based on notes provided by José L. Melena.

¹⁴ The book has a cloth binding; page size 395 x 270 mm, with lined paper and printed page numbers on the upper external corner of every page.

¹⁵ Associated with the number there are check marks, o before the number and _ under the number itself, none of them being made by Bennett in his checking.

¹⁶ The *Guide of the Museum of Heraklion*, by St. Xanthoudidis (in Greek, Heraklion 1927, p. 24) states that, in the Great Minoan Hall, First Section (North of the Hall): «Case 29 contains the numerous clay tablets of the Palace of Knossos with inscriptions in the Cretan Linear System». A *Guide to the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion*, by Platon (Heraklion 1955, Athens 1964) states that the construction of the new Museum began in 1937 and a great part of it was ready when the Second World War broke out. During the war, the contents of the Museum were stored in the basement. The Museum was re-opened in 1951. Linear B tablets were deposited in Middle-Case 46 (the number which was added in the Inventory and later cancelled when the tablets were not on display).

[M. Inv. 705 and 708 include the two Linear A tablets, KN 2 and 28, found in the Corridor of Loom Weights (Brice 1961, p. 20) and included in *SM II* as 1637 and 1640 (see TABLE I.6 above).]

[M. Inv. 1247-1257 are casts. M. Inv. 1259 is the 'Gem Engraver's Sketch' (see the photograph on the dust jacket of *CoMIK II*).]

[M. Inv. 1267-1337 are not Linear B tablets. M. Inv. 1267 is KN 1 from the Temple Repository at Knossos (*GORILA*, p. xxviii). M. Inv. 1306-1335 are the Haghia Triada 1904 finds. M. Inv. 1336 & 1337 are dated 1905; M. Inv. 1336 was found by a peasant at Papoura in 1905 and was published by Xanthoudidis in 1906 (Brice 1961, p. 21); M. Inv. 1337 was found at Erganos in 1905.]

1338-1345. The second batch of entries concerning Linear B tablets from Knossos is also in Xanthoudidis' hand, and was made, therefore, during (or after) 1905, although no date is recorded.

[1346-1348 were excavated from Haghia Triada in 1904.]

1349-1357. The third batch of entries are in a second hand (possibly that of I. Hatzidakis). The date and description given is the 1902-1905, Knossos excavations of Evans. This suggests that the tablets were entered into the inventory in 1905. All the tablets concerned come from the Arsenal, except M. Inv. 1356 which corresponds to Dd 1286 (from the E-W Corridor).¹⁷

[M. Inv. 1358 is the Phaistos disk, which was found in July 1908, and M. Inv. 1359 is the tablet which was found with it (Brice, p. 21; *GORILA*, p. xxx). M. Inv. 1360-1372 were found at Haghia Triada in 1912. M. Inv. 1373-1375 were found at Tylisos in 1909, according to *GORILA*, p. xxxi (although the inventory gives a date of 1911, corrected from 1912). M. Inv. 1375 is followed by a note, of the sending of a copy of the contents of the Inventory to the Ministry, dated 24 June 1915, and the signature of the Director I. Hatzidakis. This date is consistent with the fact that the tablets photographed in Plates xxxviii-xxxix of G. Maraghiannis, *Antiquités Crétoises*, IIIe série, Candie 1915, have the Inventory numbers: 87, 89, 96, 97, 101, 102, 107, 108, 110, 120, 126, 127, 128, 129, 139, 140, 142, 176, 228, and 1338 (which is the first of second batch). We know that these photographs differ from those used in *SM II* because the *SM II* photographs do not have M. Inv. nos.]

1406-1485. The fourth batch of entries comes after another note recording the sending of a copy of the contents to the Ministry, dated 16 February 1934, with the signature of the Director, S. Marinatos. Thus, 1934 is the *terminus post quem* for this batch. These entries were written by Petrou (who collected the tablets from Knossos, according to Hutchinson; see *OKTi*, p. 54 and the discussion in Firth & Melena, 2000a, where it is suggested that most of the Arsenal tablets

¹⁷ There is a problem with the identification of M. Inv. 1355, which is described as follows: «Tablet with one end missing. It has one sequence of letters among which there are two four-spoked wheels. At the break it seems to have two entries: length 0,122, width 0,025.» This is almost certainly So 4434, which has no M. Inv. The wheels are the signs, *-ka*, and its measurements fit well with those given.

were taken to the museum in 1939, prior to the outbreak of war). Only the origin (Knossos, excavations of A. Evans) is recorded, and their publication in *PofM* IV:2, written in the same hand and ink (which would imply that they were entered with the copy of *PofM* IV:2 to hand, thus, moving the terminus post quem to 1936). They are also deposited in case 29 (which implies that the reference is to the old Museum). Most of these tablets come from the Arsenal, and the last entry number, 1485, concerns 'Other hundred and ten (110) smaller and bigger fragments of similar inscribed tablets and a good number of other small similar with no signs on'. Therefore, at this stage, nearly all the fragments from the 1904 Arsenal excavations, including fragments and *agrapha*, were now deposited in the Museum.

[A note of the sending of a copy of the contents to the Ministry, dated 7 October 1940, and the signature of the Director, follows.]

[M. Inv. 1486 was excavated at Phaistos in 1953. Neither the M-series tablets, nor the 5192-6046 series tablets copied by E. L. Bennett in 1950, nor the 7000-series tablets salvaged by J. Chadwick and M. Ventris in 1955 were entered in this Inventory.]

1492-1506. The fifth batch of entries are the Linear B tablets from the Giamalakis Collection, which were given in 1957. This includes some of the tablets which had gone missing between their excavation and delivery to the Museum (see the MISSING BATCH of tablets listed below).

1538-1608. The sixth batch of entries appears after a note indicating the sending of a copy of the contents of the Inventory to the Ministry, without a date or the signature of the Director, N. Platon. However, previous entries bear a date of 1958, which is therefore a *terminus post quem*. M. Inv. 1538-1556 are tablets from the excavations of Evans at Knossos, and had been sent from the National Museum, Athens. [These were the 'Athens tablets' which were stolen by a workman in 1901, see *SM* I, p. 46, Chadwick 1962 and Mackenzie's correspondence of 23, 27 June & 11 July 1901 in Momigliano 1999.] M. Inv. 1557-1608 are inscriptions from the Evans' excavations which were found in the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos by Raison in October 1960 (Chadwick 1962).

1610-1611. 1609-1611 are entered in another hand. 1609 is a Linear A tablet from Haghia Triada. M. Inv. 1610 and 1611 were found by M. S. A. Cameron in a tray amongst fresco fragments from the N. Threshing Floor Area 22 Z VIII. A description is given of M. Inv. 1610, 'Small tablet fragment of system B meas. 2,8 x 2,4 cm. with the signs]*ne-ja* (drawn)'. This is Lc(1) 8572, and the actual tablet piece has the number 1610 on. [It seems more likely that it was originally excavated from the Western Magazines than the threshing floor area.] 1611 is perhaps not Linear B. It is described as a 'Small tablet fragment 1.7 x 1.7 cm. with one sign' (probably *ja* - drawn) and on the back a blurred 'cross with points on the extremes' (drawn). There is a note, 'sealing', added later in pencil which probably refers to 1611.

4.2. *What were the contents of the trays of tablets which were delivered to the Heraklion Museum?*

Description of the trays in the museum

It is evident that most of the tablets were delivered to the Heraklion Museum on trays and, in practice, the groups of tablets on each tray can be inferred from the Museum Inventory numbers. Some of the better tablets were taken out of the trays for display purposes but most of the tablets were probably simply catalogued in the Inventory, with their M. Inv. number inked onto the tablet, and then returned to their trays.

There is a photograph of the old museum showing the Great Minoan Hall in the years before WWII. The photograph includes display case 29. This would have had tablets laid out on an elongated pyramid of sloping display boards at the top of the case. Underneath this display area there were three large shelves with rows of wooden trays of tablets in storage.

In July/August 1950 Emmett Bennett visited Heraklion Museum to examine the Linear B tablets before the publication of *Scripta Minoa II*. He constructed a concordance, which included the Museum Inventory numbers, the *SM II* numbers and the Evans inked numbers (if they were legible). Part of that concordance was published in *SM II*. In addition, a typed version of Bennett's full concordance has been circulated and that (together with the corrections given by Mavriyannaki 1970) forms the basis of the analysis that follows.

Deducing the contents of the trays

We will begin this discussion with a brief survey of the listing of the Knossos tablets in the Museum Inventory.

The arrangement of the Linear B batches of tablets in the inventory begins with the 'Great Tablet', As 1516, followed by a series of pieces from page-shaped tablets (M. Inv. 87-100). Then there are pieces from other larger tablets (M. Inv. 101-106), followed by selected examples of leaf-shaped tablets which are (generally) in good condition, M. Inv. 107-195. M. Inv. 196-199 are pieces containing a few interesting logograms. M. Inv. 200-300 are again better tablets, although there now appears to be some sequential arrangement, with Clay Chest, RCT, RCB, NEP tablets following each other more or less in order.

The bulk of the rest of the Linear B inventory follows a different pattern, with a batch of numbers (e.g. 1217-1245), where each inventory number represents a tablet, followed by a single number which represents the smaller pieces on the tray (e.g. 1246). Thus, in this case, 1217-1246 can be identified as a tray of tablets; and each of these trays of tablets is specific to a part of the *Handlist* or a period of excavation. Towards the end of the Inventory listing of the Knossos tablets, 1259-1266 and 1338-1345 are groups of miscellaneous tablets which had undoubtedly 'strayed' from their correct trays and been gathered together to take to the museum.

The trays were probably delivered to the museum in the condition which Evans had left them when he had drawn the tablets for his *Handlist* and had photographs taken. Neither of these actions explain why the better tablets should be grouped together towards the beginning of the inventory. The most likely explanation is that, when the museum archivist received the tablets, he began by picking out tablets according to appearance (i.e. tablets which might go into the display case) and then having exhausted that approach he set about systematically entering the contents of each tray of tablets into the inventory.

The batches of tablets on the trays appear to have been organised essentially according to the ordering in the *Original Handlist*. Thus, for example, Batch 1 is roughly ON 1-72, Batch 2 & 3 together are roughly ON 73-199, Batch 4 is roughly 200-287. The equivalence between the ordering in the *Handlist* and the batches of tablets on the trays is not exact for a number of reasons: after the initial drawing up of the *Handlist*, some of the tablets may have been taken out again for re-drawing (but see Firth 2000); some of the tablets were taken out for photographing; others would have been taken out as examples to show the many visitors to the site at Knossos; finally, the better tablets were taken off the '*Handlist*' trays and set to one side, for showing in the display case, as noted above. Nevertheless, sufficient of the original arrangement of the trays remains for us to be confident that Evans' initial intention was that the batches of tablets in the trays corresponded to the ordering in the *Original Handlist*.

In the following description of the contents of the batches, the tablets have been arranged according to their find-places, based on the *Original Handlist*. In cases where these find-places are not included in the *Handlist* (or where the *Handlist* find-place is being questioned), the basis for the allocation of find-place is set-down in footnotes.¹⁸

BATCH 1: <i>M. Inv.</i> 884-922 ¹⁹ (60 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
A	7-10, 12, 14, 17-18, 20-21, 24-28, 30, 33
B2	41, 1801 (=36bis+37bis), 5093
F15	671-673, 1802
F2	410, 447-450, 1803
C	56, 58, 61-62, 64-68, 70-72, 82-84, 86, 89, 92, 98, 102, 1804-1805, 5087, 5095, 5097
F-P??	V 52, D 5094

¹⁸ The numbers of tablets quoted are based on the numbers of inventory numbers allocated.

¹⁹ These tablets were excavated in April 1900. The find-place for 5093 is indicated by its join to As 40. 5097 is in the *Handlist*. The find-places for 5087 & 5095 are based on the «124»-series scribal hand. The information for D 5094 is not sufficiently strong to give an unambiguous find-place indication. The tablet has a red-inked number of 55, implying that it could have been found in the RCT, however, it was not written by a «124»-series scribe. The contents of the tablet would suggest it could be associated with the sheep tablets from F2/F15.

BATCH 2: <i>M. Inv. 709-777</i> ²⁰ (77 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
C	74-81, 85, 94, 96, 100, 103-107, 111-112, 116-120, 128, 130, 132-135, 139, 141-144, 227, 233, 237, 241, 248, 250-251, 255, 262, 5073, 5136-5154, 5156-5169
BATCH 3: <i>M. Inv. 778-842</i> ²¹ (75 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
C	73, 87-88, 90-91, 97, 99, 101, 108-110, 121-127, 129, 131, 136, 138, 140, 146, 148-150, 152-153, 155-158, 160, 163-165, 167, 169-199, 201, 5083-5086
BATCH 4: <i>M. Inv. 1197-1246</i> ²² (77 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
C	168, 200, 202-216, 220-221, 224, 228-229, 234, 239-240, 242, 244-245, 252-254, 258-261, 263-265, 271-274, 276-277, 281-287, 5013, 5046-5047, 5057-5062, 5064-5071, 5079, 5155, 5170, fr (139)
E1	364, 368, 372
F-P??	X 5074, Ap 5077
MISSING BATCH ²³ (78 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
C	288-336
E1	374-393, 399-407

²⁰ These tablets were excavated in April 1900. All the 5000-series tablets in this batch are allocated to the RCT because they were written by «124»-series scribes. These 5000-series tablets correspond largely to part of the group of tablets that had original (inked) numbers in the range 269-309, which Evans referred to in the *Handlist*, 'Minor fragments of tablets as above Cuirass, chariot, horse: Nos. 269-309 and do. 310-326 (in tin box)'. 5166 & 5167 have been included in this batch, based on Emmett L. Bennett's (ELB's) notes on blue sheets (see Firth & Melena 2000b).

²¹ The previous footnote (excluding the last sentence) applies equally to this batch.

²² The RCT tablets were excavated during April 1900 and the E1 tablets were found on 2 May 1900. All the 5000-series tablets in this batch (except X 5074 and Ap 5077) are allocated to the RCT because they were written by «124»-series scribes. These tablets correspond largely to the group of tablets that had original (inked) numbers 310-326 (see the previous footnotes). Ap 5077 is written by scribe «124»? and has inked no. 220; X 5074 has inked number 217 but the scribe is not identified. The inked numbers would suggest that both tablets were from the RCT. However, in both cases, the scribal hand had been identified as «124» in *KT4* but revised in *KT5*. Thus, the find-place of these tablets is open to doubt.

²³ The RCT tablets were excavated during April 1900 and the E1 tablets were found on 2 May 1900. This batch of tablets had gone missing and were not delivered to the Heraklion Museum with the other 1900 tablets (see Firth 2000). A number of the tablets were later identified amongst the Giamalakakis collection. The signs from most of the tablets were included (as transcriptions rather than drawings) in the *Original Handlist*, however, 399-407 had the statement in ink «Minor fragments» and then in red pencil «no drawings». It seems probable that 399-407 were part of the same batch, alternatively, they might be amongst the unnumbered fragments found by Bennett in 1950.

BATCH 5: *M. Inv. 396-427*²⁴ (39 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
C	266-268, 337
D	338
E1	349-351, 353-359, 361-363, 365-367, 369-371, 373
E1 bis	394, 733
E2	432
E4	433
E5	417, 419-421, 423, 428-431
F3	465

BATCH 6: *M. Inv. 1048-1083*²⁵ (52 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
E3	711
E5	425-427
E6	436-437, 5089-5090
F1	439-444
F2	451
F3	452-456, 458-462, 466-467, 1616, 5088
F7	475, 501-502, 504, 512-516, 586, 615, 621-622, 5091-5092
H1	731-732
H2	735, 737-738
I1	759, 764
F-P??	Dq 438

BATCH 7: *M. Inv. 1015-1047*²⁶ (55 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
F3	409, 468, 578, 1615
F6	480-481, 483-489, 710, 5019, 5037
F16	491-492
F17	677, 678?
F7	636, 708, 5022, 5033
H3	741, 742?
I1	750-753, 761-762, 765, 5040
I3	511, 801, 806, 874, 876, 888-891, 989, 1001, 5025-5029
FP ??	5043 (I3?)

- ²⁴ This batch contains Ai 338, which was the first tablet to be excavated by Mackenzie (on 31 March 1900). The other tablets were excavated during April/May 1900. It is clear from the spread of excavation dates that Evans was trying to arrange the tablets in the trays according to their original numbering in the *Handlist*, rather than filling trays sequentially. However, it is also about at this stage that this system broke down, because the rate of excavation of tablets overwhelmed the procedure which Evans had adopted to catalogue them.
- ²⁵ Excavated from late April to early May 1900. 5091 does not have an inventory number but it is apparent from ELB's notes on blue sheets that it was from this batch. 5088-5090 are all allocated find-places in the *Handlist*. 5091 is joined to Ak 615. L(5) 5092 (scribe 209) is allocated to F7 on the basis of the set and scribe.
- ²⁶ Excavated from late April to early May 1900. 5019, 5033, 5040 are given find-places in the *Handlist*. 5025-5026, 5028-5029 are all part of B(5)-series, written by scribe 104 and therefore allocated to I3. Similarly, 5027 joins onto C 912 from I3 and F(2) 5043 is part of a set associated with I3. Similarly, 5022 joins onto Gg 707 from F7. 511 is allocated to I3; see discussion in SECTION 6.

BATCH 8: *M. Inv. 261-300*²⁷ (46 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
B5	700
C	247 (stray)
F7	482, 503, 581, 627
F7a	493-499
H2	736
H7	739-740
I1	749, 758
I2	785, 790, 797, 887
I3	800-801, 803, 806, 832, 863, 865, 870-871, 873, 879-882, 884-885, 895, 897, 899, 910, 918, 947, 1004

BATCH 9: *M. Inv. 1084-1111*²⁸ (34 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
F7a	500
H4	878
I3	825, 835, 837, 844, 847-848, 855, 858-859, 861, 866, 893, 898, 915, 932-933, 941, 952, 963, 965, 972, 988, 999, 1002, 1005, 1016, 1025-1026, 1030, 1040, 1043-1044

BATCH 10: *M. Inv. 659-694*²⁹ (41 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
I3	413, 804-805, 813, 827, 843, 867-868, 900, 913, 920-922, 924, 939, 962, 969, 976-980, 985-987, 1012-1014, 1022-1023, 1031, 1034-1035, 1041-1042, 1051-1053, 1582-1583, 1812

BATCH 11: *M. Inv. 519-543*³⁰ (37 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
F7	613
I3	408, 807, 809-810, 815-818, 834, 845, 857, 877, 929, 937, 942, 949-950, 966, 991-992, 1006-1007, 1018, 1021, 1029, 1032, 1036-1037, 1039, 1045-1046, 1048-1050, 5172
F-P??	X 5173 (I3?)

BATCH 12: *M. Inv. 495-518*³¹ (35 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
F7	616 (stray)
H4	743-745
I1	754-755, 757, 760, 768
I2	779, 781, 783-784, 786, 788-789, 791-796, 1054, 1581
I3	756, 802, 828-830, 869, 905, 953, 984, 1028, 5016

²⁷ Excavated in April/May 1900.

²⁸ Excavated in May 1900.

²⁹ Excavated in May 1900.

³⁰ Excavated in May 1900. B(5) 5172 (scribe 104) is allocated to I3 on the basis of its set and scribe. X 5173 is probably from I3, because the overwhelming bulk of the tablets in this batch are from I3 but there is no confirmatory evidence in this case.

³¹ Excavated in May 1900. 5016 joins to C 954, that was found in I3.

BATCH 13: <i>M. Inv. 1170-1196</i> ³² (45 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
I2	780, 782
I3	414, 811-812, 823, 838, 849, 851, 892, 917, 919, 927-928, 931, 934, 940, 951, 958, 961, 967-968, 970-971, 981-982, 990, 996-997, 1008-1009, 1015, 1017, 1020, 1038, 1047, 1576, 5132-5135, 5171, fr (800)
F-P??	5131 (I3?)

BATCH 14: <i>M. Inv. 843-883</i> ³³ (44 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
F18	679-680, 682, 686-687, 691-692, 713, 993-995
F10	526, 540 (strays from 1901)
F14	5009 (stray from 1901)
B4	42-46
I1	774-776, 1809
I3 bis	787
I3	411, 808, 814, 846, 864, 909, 959-960, 998, 5000-5002, 5004-5005, 5008, 5010
F-P??	5003, 5006-5007

BATCH 15: <i>M. Inv. 1112-1145</i> ³⁴ (51 tablets)	
Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
F8	518-519, 521-523, 570, 617
F9	524
F10	527-539, 541-544, 546-555, 557-560, 5053, 5055
F12	565
F13	566-567, 569
F14	584, 589, 599, 618, 633, 649

³² Excavated in May 1900. 5132-5134 are all part of the B(5)-set, written by scribe 104, and have therefore been allocated to I3. 5171 joins to So 1053 and has therefore been allocated to I3. Since all the tablets from this batch are from the North Entrance Passage, it is probable that Wb 5131 is also from this area.

³³ This is the 'end of season' batch from May 1900, plus a few stray tablets from 1901. 5004-5005 join to Np 1000 and F(2) 845 found in I3. F(2) 5001, Np(2) 5002, Np(2) 5008 (scribe 134) and Do 5010 (scribe 106) are part of sets found in the North Entrance Passage. E 5000 has been attributed to I3 in the discussion above on the *SM* II photographs. Ak(1) 5009 (scribe 103) is part of a set found in F14 and excavated in 1901. B(3) 808 (scribe 106) has been allocated to I3; see discussion in SECTION 6.

³⁴ Excavated during March 1901. 5053 and 5055 are both part of the Lc(1)-series written by scribe 103 and predominantly found in F10. In the case of 5055, it joins to 541, which was found in F10. On this basis, 5053 and 5055 are allocated to F10.

BATCH 16: *M. Inv. 466-494*³⁵ (31 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
B1	35-36
F12	564
F13	568, 597
F14	574-577, 579, 583, 585, 587, 591, 594, 598, 600, 610-611, 638
G1	717, 722-725
G2	470, 728-729
I4	770
I6	699
K1	1061

BATCH 17: *M. Inv. 923-950*³⁶ (37 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
F12	697
F14	619-620, 624-626, 628, 630, 642-648, 650-657, 663, 665
F19	595, 693-696, 698
G1	714, 716, 1808
H2	734
H5	747
K1	1055

BATCH 18: *M. Inv. 1146-1169*³⁷ (35 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
B1	37-39
F14	593, 596, 603-609, 623, 634, 637, 662, 664, 667, 669-670
G1	715, 718, 720-721, 726
G2	422, 590, 727
I4	769, 772
J1	5191
K, K1	1060, 1062-1063

BATCH S1: *M. Inv. 301-347*³⁸ (47 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
J1	1072-1074, 1076, 1081, 1084-1085, 1098-1099, 1116, 1119, 1121-1122, 1132, 1150-1155, 1159, 1169, 1173, 1202, 1221, 1233, 1235, 1246-1247, 1260-1262, 1266, 1270, 1272, 1278-1279, 1284, 1289-1291, 1293, 1295, 1425, 1463, 1466, 1473

³⁵ Excavated March/April 1901.

³⁶ Excavated March/April 1901 (except Oa 734). There is a complication with Oa 734, because it was included in the *Handlist* in 1900 and obviously forms part of a set with Oa 730-732, as they have the same subject, similar find-places and the same palm-prints. However, Oa 734 had an illegible blue inked number (which has subsequently worn off), suggesting it was either re-numbered in 1901 or confused with Oa 734bis.

³⁷ Excavated in 1901. 5191 is from J1.

³⁸ These tablets were all excavated in 1902, with the exception of Da 1221.

BATCH S2: *M. Inv. 350-395*³⁹ (70 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
J1	658, 1089-1090, 1093, 1105, 1114, 1120, 1127, 1129, 1137-1138, 1158, 1162, 1166, 1177, 1182, 1193, 1206, 1208, 1211, 1214-1215, 1218, 1220, 1225, 1232, 1241, 1249, 1269, 1271, 1275, 1283, 1287-1288, 1292, 1297, 1317, 1339, 1350, 1356-1358, 1374, 1380, 1432, 1471, 1475, 1504, 1514, 5078

BATCH S3: *M. Inv. 428-465*⁴⁰ (51 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
J1	1079, 1082, 1094, 1104, 1111, 1113, 1117-1118, 1156, 1174-1176, 1178, 1186, 1189-1191, 1204-1205, 1207, 1213, 1219, 1223, 1248, 1281-1282, 1285, 1299-1300, 1302, 1304-1305, 1309, 1314-1316, 1320, 1419, 1422, 1442, 1461, 1468, 1502, 5190

BATCH S4: *M. Inv. 544-574*⁴¹ (36 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
H1	730 (stray)
J1	1067, 1075, 1078, 1080, 1123, 1134, 1149, 1157, 1180, 1216, 1236-1237, 1239, 1253-1254, 1264, 1280, 1294, 1303, 1403, 1408, 1426, 1451, 1507, 1564
J3	1527, 1541-1542, 1548, 1550-1551
J4	1531, 1533

BATCH S5: *M. Inv. 575-609*⁴² (52 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
J1	1092, 1107, 1115, 1130, 1133, 1135, 1148, 1160, 1172, 1198-1200, 1222, 1227, 1243, 1245, 1252, 1255, 1263, 1273-1274, 1276, 1296, 1306-1307, 1311-1312, 1324, 1331, 1375, 1390, 1397, 1400, 1402, 1410, 1413, 1423, 1429, 1437, 1445, 1490, 1492, 1592-1593, 1603, 5177-5182
J2bis	1574

- ³⁹ These tablets were found in both 1901 and 1902 seasons. 5078 clearly was found in J1 because it joins with Dc 1419, which was found in J1. X 658 was one of the tablets that strayed during Evans' Revised Numbering (see discussion in APPENDIX B.2 of Firth 1998). It is now evident that X 658 was found in J1 along with all the other tablets in this batch.
- ⁴⁰ These tablets were found in the 1901 and 1902 seasons. The tablets from the different seasons are largely separated into two groups with the 1901 season tablets having larger *M. Inv.* numbers. 5190 is clearly from J1 along with all the other tablets in this batch.
- ⁴¹ These tablets were found during the 1902 season (with the exception of Da 1134 and Oa 730). 1564 is allocated to J1 on the basis that it joins with 1508 which was allocated to J1 in SECTION 3 (as it was photographed alongside other tablets from J1 in *SM* II).
- ⁴² These tablets were excavated during the 1901 and 1902 seasons. 5174, 5177 and 5180-5182 are clearly from the main sheep archive found in the East-West Corridor, both because of their scribe (117) and by association with all the other tablets in this batch. X 5178 is probably from the East-West Corridor or the South doorway of the

BATCH S6: *M. Inv. 610-619*⁴³ (19 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
J1	1170, 1210, 1228, 1234, 1332, 1389, 1393, 1399, 1401, 1415, 1420, 1430, 1459, 1470, 1618, 5174 -5176, 5189

BATCH S7: *M. Inv. 620-658*⁴⁴ (74 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
J1	1142-1144, 1161, 1163, 1167-1168, 1181, 1184, 1209, 1226, 1229, 1238, 1265, 1310, 1328-1329, 1337-1338, 1341-1344, 1351, 1355, 1365, 1369, 1370-1373, 1376, 1379, 1381-1382, 1386, 1391, 1394, 1396, 1405, 1411, 1434, 1439, 1447, 1469, 1476, 1478, 1482, 1485, 1488, 1497-1500, 1503, 1505-1506, 1515, 1579, 1585, 1588-1590, 1606, 1610, 1613, 1617, 5018, 5023, 5030, 5032, 5038-5039, 5041-5042
J4	1385

BATCH S8: *M. Inv. 695-708*⁴⁵ (26 tablets)

Find-place	<i>SM</i> nos.
J1	1508
J2bis	1519+fr
J3	1518, 1520-1526, 1529
J4	1530, 1532, 1535-1539, 1813, 5020-5021
F-P??	5034, 5044

Hall of Colonnades, by association with the other tablets in this batch. 5179 has also been included in this table, although it does not have an inventory number, because it is apparent from ELB's notes on blue sheets that it was from this batch.

⁴³ These tablets were excavated during the 1902 season. 5174, 5175, 5176 and 5189 are clearly from the main sheep archive found in the East-West Corridor, both because of their scribes (117, 119) and by association with all the other tablets in this batch.

⁴⁴ These tablets were excavated in 1902. 5038 and 5042 do not have inventory numbers but it is apparent from ELB's notes on blue sheets that they were from this batch. Although Evans listed 1385 as being from the East-West Corridor, it has been included under J4 because it joins with 1537, which was found in J4, and contains the word *ki-ta-no* as on the Ga(5)-series tablets from J4. It is clear that all the other tablets are from the main sheep archive that was excavated from the East-West Corridor.

⁴⁵ 5020-5021 have been included in J4 because they are both from the Ga(5)-series, written by scribe 221. There are no indications about the find-places of X 5034 and X 5044, except they are probably both from the eastern part of the palace and were found in 1902. In *SM* II, the tablet 1474 is given as having *M. Inv. 708* but tablet 1539 is recorded as missing. According to the *Handlist*, they both contained the word, *pa-i-to*, and, as Bennett did not have drawings when he constructed his Concordance of inventory numbers, he would not have been able to distinguish them. In practice, it is most likely that he saw tablet 1539 and assumed that it was 1474 (see Firth 2000). Linear A tablets *SM* 1637 and 1640 (i.e. KN 2 and 28), which were found in the Corridor of Loom Weights, were also part of this batch.

BATCH S9: *M. Inv. 951-974*⁴⁶ (44 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
I4	771, 773
J1	1066, 1069-1070, 1077, 1086-1088, 1095, 1103, 1109, 1136, 1145-1146, 1183, 1188, 1192, 1196, 1212, 1217, 1321-1323, 1325, 1330, 1333-1335, 1388, 1427, 1449, 1457, 1460, 1465, 1489, 1491, 1494, 5014 -5015, 6054, 6060, fr (1109)

BATCH S10: *M. Inv. 975-1014*⁴⁷ (72 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
J1	1124 -1126, 1128, 1139-1141, 1164 -1165, 1179, 1187, 1203, 1230, 1244, 1267-1268, 1277, 1308, 1313, 1318, 1327, 1352-1353, 1359-1364, 1366-1368, 1377-1378, 1383-1384, 1387, 1392, 1398, 1406, 1412, 1414, 1417, 1421, 1435-1436, 1440-1441, 1448, 1450, 1452, 1454, 1456, 1464, 1467, 1477, 1479-1480, 1484, 1509-1510, 1513, 1584, 1621, 5012, 5048-5049, 5052, 5054, 5075-5076, 5080, 6032, 8289

MISCELLANEOUS BATCH 1: *M. Inv. 1259-1266*⁴⁸ (8 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
F14	666
G1	719
J1	1102, 1185, 1195, 1197, 1231

MISCELLANEOUS BATCH 2: *M. Inv. 1338-1345*⁴⁹ (23 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
C	95, 113-114, 147
I3	5183
G1	5185
J1	1194, 1395, 1418, 1443, 1453, 1567, 5187
K1	1056-1059
FP ??	520 (F8 ?), 5184 (F18?), 5186

⁴⁶ These tablets were all found in 1901. 5014, 5015 and 6060 were written by scribe 117 and were excavated from the East-West Corridor.

⁴⁷ These tablets were excavated in 1902. 5048, 5049, 5050, 5052, 5075 and 5080 were written by scribe 117 and are clearly all from the main sheep archive in the East-West Corridor. Note 5050 is tablet Dh 1406 not Dh 1646 (which is in the Ashmolean; see *KT5 Color*); there is an error in the Concordances of *KT5* and *CoMIK IV*. X 5051 is almost certainly from the East-West Corridor by association with the remainder of the batch. 5054 and 5076 have been included in this batch on the basis of ELB's notes on blue sheets.

⁴⁸ *M. Inv. 1259* is the 'Gem Engraver's Sketch'. In 1950, Bennett gave this tablet the number 5011. (The Concordances in *KT5* and *CoMIK IV* incorrectly state that this number was not issued.)

⁴⁹ Gg(3) 5185 was written by scribe 140 and was probably found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco. Dk(2) 1567 (scribe 119) has been included with the tablets from the East-West Corridor, although the *Handlist* suggests that it is from the Long Gallery (see Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.1). 5183 and 5184 have also been included in this table, although they do not have inventory numbers, because it is apparent from ELB's notes on blue sheets that they were from this batch.

ARSENAL BATCH 1: *M. Inv. 1349-1357*⁵⁰ (12 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
J1	1286
Arsenal	4402, 4421, 4428, 4430, 4439, 4447, 4453

ARSENAL BATCH 2: *M. Inv. 1406-1484*⁵¹ (80 tablets)

Find-place	SM nos.
F14	5108
J1	5101, 5105, 5116
Arsenal	1811, 1815, 4401, 4404-4409, 4411-4420, 4423-4427, 4429, 4431-4432, 4432bis, 4433, 4435-4438, 4440-4446, 4448-4449, 4451-4452, 4456, 4458-4466, 4468-4469, 4471, 4473-4474, 4476-4482, 4484, 5091, 5098-5100, 5102-5104, 5106-5107, 5109-5112, 5114-5115, 5117-5130, 5772, fr (4402), fr (4408), fr (4409), fr (4441), frr (4478), fr (6066)
FP ??	5113

5. THE STATE OF THE TABLETS IN 1950

Before the publication of *Scripta Minoa* II, John L. Myres considered it important that someone should examine the tablets in the Heraklion Museum and make a concordance of museum inventory numbers and the tablets numbers. The tablets had been in storage during the war and, afterwards, it was some time before damage to the museum was fully repaired. It was not until 17 May 1950 that Myres was informed that the tablets were available for study.⁵² It had been planned that Alice Kober would visit Heraklion. However, after her death on 16 May, Emmett L. Bennett volunteered to take her place.

As a consequence, in July 1950, Emmett L. Bennett went to Heraklion Museum to examine the Linear B tablets. It is worthwhile including here the following extracts from the reports sent by Bennett to Myres.⁵³

«I have seen all the tablets which Alexiou and Platon could find in the Museum and looked for them in the indices and in the copies, my own and Miss Kober's, I've also looked at the Museum's inventory to see, what they claim to have, to see whether I found all, or whether some were missing. I have also seen the few tablets in the Giamalakis collection and checked them against the list. ... There were also many fragments of tablets, which have no

⁵⁰ These Arsenal tablets were all excavated in 1904.

⁵¹ The Arsenal tablets were all excavated in 1904, with the exception of 4484, which was excavated in 1905. 5101 joins to 1321 and was clearly found in J1. 5091, 5098-5100, 5102-5104, 5107 were all written by scribes working from the Arsenal and 5098 and 5099 join with tablets excavated from the Arsenal. 5108 was written by scribe 103 and was probably excavated from Magazine XV. A number of additional fragments have also been included in this table although they do not have inventory numbers, because it is apparent from ELB's notes on blue sheets that they were from this batch.

⁵² Correspondence from Myres to Kober (Ashmolean Museum).

⁵³ Original copies of this correspondence is in the John Myres archive in the Ashmolean Museum. A fuller series of extracts from correspondence is included in Firth & Melena 2000b.

numbers assigned to them, all of which I have checked over. Of the tablets transcribed in Miss Kober's copies, I have not found all. Putting aside those in Oxford, and in the Giamalakis collection, and the two I know to be in the British Museum, there were perhaps 150 which I did not find in Heraklion. ... I have good hopes of finding some of them, however, for I carefully copied and tried to photograph a large number of pieces, again mostly very small bits, for which I could find no transcription. ... I am sure, however, that there will remain a good many tablets that I have seen, which have never before been transcribed. Some of them still bore the dirt and encrustation of the excavation on them and had to be carefully cleaned before they could be read. And further there are many bits, all of which I have looked at, which bear but a fragment of a character, or some numbers which I had not the time or energy to copy.... I have also been fortunate in finding several joins of pieces of tablets which have made larger and more intelligible wholes. Some of these are joins of pieces known as for example K14, K27, & K28 which are now one complete tablet, some are joins of one transcribed with a wholly new piece, and some are of two or more of those entirely new. I have also found some new inscribed edges or reverses of tablets known. K1520 for example has two lines of writing in each of which a complete word is preserved. ... Most of the pieces were in good condition, but some, especially some of the three-line man or woman tablets are crumbling.»⁵⁴

«For my own purposes I have given the new tablets arbitrary numbers starting at 5000 to distinguish them from all other series of numbers - I do not know if these should be retained when they are published.» (12 Feb. 1951). «I think that I would much prefer that you retain for the new bits the arbitrary numbering of 5000 up. There are gaps in it, of course, and with such a selection there will be even greater gaps - but the numbers possibly retain some significance in telling me in which groups or boxes I found them which I suspect are the groups of Evans, or perhaps the groups in which they were found in the Palace. Until I can study them and classify them with the appropriate tablets of the SM series I should like to preserve these numbers.» (10 March 1951).

Bennett made rough sketches of the new fragments on sheets of thin blue paper. If we look back at the batches of tablets listed in SECTION 4, it can be shown that all of the fragments which Bennett catalogued which have M. Inv. numbers were in the range 5000-5191. However, because of subsequent misidentifications some of these later acquired numbers outside this range (Firth & Melena 2000b). Similarly, all of the fragments which Bennett catalogued in the range, 5192-6046, do not have M. Inv. numbers (again noting later misidentifications). It is evident that the fragments without M. Inv. numbers were in different containers to the tablets listed in the Inventory.

In a recent paper, Firth & Melena (2000b) have used Bennett's notes and photographs to reconstruct the contents of the trays of the uninventoried fragments, 5192-6046. The resulting trays of tablets each roughly correspond to the fragments found during specific periods of the excavation and, therefore, to

⁵⁴ Bennett to Myres 12 August 1950 sent from Athens after he had completed his examination of the Knossos tablets.

specific groups of find-places. The main conclusions of that paper are summarised in the TABLE I.7 (although it should be noted that there are complexities [which are considered briefly in the APPENDIX to Firth & Melena 2000b and described in full detail by Firth & Melena 2000c] and therefore, TABLE I.7 should be regarded as approximate indications of find-places only).

TABLE I.7: *Approximate indication of the Find-places of tablets from the 5192-6068 series*

BATCH	KT nos.	Commentary
A	5192-5427 5830-5850	Fragments from the East-West Corridor (with limited exceptions)
B	5428-5506	Mainly fragments from the Room of Column Bases but also from West Magazines II to IV which were also excavated around 2 May 1900.
C	5507-5558	Mainly, fragments from Magazine XV, South Front, Under blocked door near Throne Room and Room of the Bügelkannes excavated in 1901.
D	5559-5597	The majority of these fragments were excavated from the East-West Corridor.
E	5598-5662	The majority of these fragments were excavated from Magazine XV in 1901, with a number of fragments from the East-West Corridor.
F	5663-5716	The majority of these fragments were from the East-West Corridor.
G	5717-5770	The majority of these fragments were excavated from the North Entrance passage, plus a small group of strays from Magazine XV and 5762 from Mag. II.
H	5771-5862 (excluding 5830-5850)	The majority of these fragments were excavated either from the East-West Corridor or the Arsenal. However, there are also fragments excavated in 1902 from the Queen's Megaron and the area beyond the south doorway of the Hall of Colonnades.
J	5863-6046 6047-6048	A large number of fragments from Magazine XV, although there are also fragments from the North Entrance Passage and East-West Corridor, etc. Additional fragments added to the list, labelled 'crumbs numbered'
Ashmolean	6049-6052	ELB transcribed these fragments in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
ELB joins	6053-6068	These are additional numbers given by ELB to joined fragments.

The story of the fragments following 1950 onwards has already been described by Melena (1999) and Firth & Melena (2000b). In 1955, Chadwick and Ventris were shown new trays of fragments. However, Ventris chose to catalogue them as the 7000-series according to logograms and so all of the find-place information, based on the grouping of these tablets in trays, was lost. However,

Melena notes that there was a significant amount of residual find-place information in the way that the 1984 material was found to be stored. He also concludes that the new material found in 1984 was not the results of Evans' sieving but the remains of the salvaging task undertaken by Ventris in 1955.

SECTION 6: SUMMARY OF PROPOSED CHANGES TO *Handlist* FIND-PLACES

In the course of this paper, there are a number of instances where it is suggested that Evans mis-recorded find-places in the *Handlist*. The purpose of this section is to bring together all of these proposed changes into one place. This serves two purposes. Firstly, it forms a 'bridge' between this paper and the earlier study of the *Handlist* (Firth 1998). Secondly, it demonstrates that the number of proposed changes to the *Handlist* find-places is small, relative to the total number of ~1600 tablets recorded.

In questioning Evans' recording in the *Handlist*, there is clearly a risk that we are trying to impose an incorrect rationalisation of the available data. The aim is to minimise that risk by being explicit about what is being changed and why, so that it is very clear to the reader and all changes are 'reversible'. The underlying objective of proposing these changes is that our interpretation of the find-place data will not be impaired by imprecision in the recording of that data.

Fp(1) 48 (scribe 138): This tablet was recorded in the *Handlist* as being found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets. However, it was not written by the «124»-series of scribes and it was not made from the same clay as the bulk of the tablets from the RCT. On the other hand, it was written by scribe 138 and it was (probably) found on the same day as the tablets from the Clay Bath, which contained the remainder of the Fp(1)-series of tablets (written by scribe 138). On this basis, it is suggested that the find-place of Fp(1) 48 should be recorded as the Clay Chest.

V 52: V 52 was also recorded in the *Handlist* as being found in the RCT. However, it was not written on the same type of clay as the other RCT tablets and it was not written by one of the «124»-series of scribes. It contains a series of names of divinities and it could be more closely linked with the Clay Chest tablets, which were being excavated at the same time. However, it was not written by scribe 138 or 139. Therefore, the find-place of V 52 is uncertain.

D 411 + 511: The *Handlist* suggests that *SM* 411 was found in the North Entrance Passage and *SM* 511 was found in Magazine VIII. This is an unusual example of two pieces of joined tablet which were recorded as being found a large distance apart. Therefore, there is a high probability that one of the find-places is incorrect. The most likely explanation is that *SM* 511 was actually found in the NEP but incorrectly allocated to Magazine VIII (within BATCH 7). *SM* 411 was included amongst the 'end of season' tablets in BATCH 14, which did not include any tablets from the Magazine VIII.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ It has been noted (Firth 1998, SECTION 9.2.3) that there are three anomalous joins associated with Magazine VIII and suggested that there could be a common mode problem. It is possible that the allocation of tablets to Magazine VIII was prone to error, however, D 411 + 511 is the primary example which would have significance.

Lc(1) 582: This tablet was written by scribe 103 and according to the *Handlist* it was found in Magazine XV. However, that find-place is too separated from the bulk of the Lc(1)-set to have fallen there by chance. It follows that either SM 582 is not part of the Lc(1)-set or its find-place was not in Magazine XV. In view of the fact that Magazines XI and XV were being excavated at the same time, the most likely explanation is that its find-place was not correctly recorded in the *Handlist*.

F19: N.W. Passage: It is concluded in the discussion of this area that the tablets which were allocated to this area were found in the open area (described by Mackenzie as a passage) at the west end of Magazines XIV to XVI. [Since X 697 had Magazine XIII written alongside, it should be allocated specifically to that magazine.]

V(5) 756: It is suggested (J. L. Melena, priv. comm.) that this tablet was found in the NEP along with the other tablets of this series because it has the same firing as those tablets. It is also noted that it is broken in a similar way to those tablets.

B(3) 808 (scribe 106): This tablet is part of the 'end of season' BATCH 14. It was almost certainly found in I3 (rather than F18) with all the other B(3)-series tablets written by scribe 106 (and, in particular, B(3) 814 which was stored on the same tray). In addition, B(3) 808 has the same firing as the other B(3)-series tablets.

Oa 878: According to the *Handlist*, the tablets found at H4 were X 743, X 744 and Oa 745. However, it is probable that Oa 878 was also found at this location (and not in the Area of the Bull Relief, which was being excavated at the same time). There are three indications that Oa 878 should be from H4. Firstly, it contains the sign combination *166 + WE which is otherwise only known on tablets Oa 745 (from H4) and Oa 734bis (from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco, adjacent to H4).⁵⁶ Secondly, it has similarly firing characteristics, as each of these tablets is well fired and compact. Thirdly, it contains the word, *e-to-ro-qa-ta*, which is otherwise only known on tablet U 736 which is recorded as being found in the Throne Room (although the firing characteristics of this tablet differs from the others).

Dc 926 (scribe 117): This tablet is part of the '15' group of tablets already discussed by the author (Firth 1998, APPENDIX A.1) and attributed, as a group, to find-place I3, Area of Bull Relief. It was suggested that this group of tablets was drawn on loose pages of the *Handlist* but then misplaced. Dc 926 was originally drawn at the bottom of a page of the *Handlist*. If this find-place were correct, it would be the only tablet written by scribe 117 found in the North Entrance Passage. It seems more likely that this tablet was drawn in a spare space at the bottom of a loose page of the *Handlist* (probably at the end of the third season, when the *Handlist* was less well maintained). If this were the case, then Dc 926 should not be attributed to the Area of the Bull Relief.

⁵⁶ However, it should be noted that the form of the signs is different in each case and it is not suggested that they were written by the same scribe.

X 1385: The Ga(5) series of tablets deal with substantial quantities of the aromatic, *ki-ta-no*. Since *SM* 1537 (nominally found in J4) joins with X 1385 (nominally found in J1), these fragments were almost certainly found in the same place. It has been suggested (Firth 1998, SECTION 13.4) that the joined tablet should be re-classified as Ga 1385, because of the similarity of its wording to that on Ga 1530 (i.e. *ti-ri-ti-ja / ki-ta-no*[]). In which case, the find-place of the two parts of the tablet was most probably the Queen's Megaron.

As 1519: In the *Handlist*, this tablet is listed with the tablets from the Corridor of Sword Tablets (CoST). However, it is suggested here that it was probably found in the vicinity of As 1516, in the South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades. Mackenzie notes, on 28 March 1902, that fragments were found, including one large fragment, which had some similarity to the fragments found in this find-place the previous year (i.e. As 1516). Again, on the following day, he notes the excavation of the greater part of a large inscription with 'the same kind of context' as As 1516. Evans states that one of the tablets contains a list of men. It seems highly likely that these pieces of large tablets would have been included in the *Handlist*, because of their significant size. It is equally likely that they have been inadvertently included with the 'men' tablets found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets. One might reasonably suggest that As 1519 was probably found in the Hall of Colonnades (rather than CoST). Like As 1516, it was written by scribe 101 and contains obvious 'men' logograms, which would have been readily identifiable by both Mackenzie and Evans. As 1516 and 1519 also contain two common names, *o-pi-si-jo* and *ne-o-to(-ta)*.

Mc 1508: This tablet was included in the *Handlist* (as 1508) as being from the East-West Corridor and (as 1528) as being from the Corridor of the Sword Tablets. In the *SM* II plates, Mc 1508 is included on Plate LXXXVI with 16 other tablets, which are all from the East-West Corridor. In addition, Mc 5187 is recorded in *SM* I (Fig. 18, p. 41) as being from the East-West Corridor. On this basis, it is concluded that Mc 1508 was found in the East-West Corridor.

7. THE EXCAVATION NOTES RELATING TO LINEAR B TABLETS

This SECTION contains quotations from the excavation records of Mackenzie's *Day Books* (DM/DB) and Evans' *Note Books* (AE/NB) dealing primarily with the excavation of the tablets themselves. It should be stated at the outset that most of the extracts from excavation notes that follow have already been published, either in *OKTi* or by others in their detailed studies of particular parts of Knossos. There are, however, a number of reasons for including them here.

The notes for the 1900-series are given from both the pencilled and inked versions of Mackenzie's *Day Books*. Although there is a substantial level of duplication, there are a number of important instances where additional information was present in the original pencilled draft that was not transferred into the inked fair copy. The extracts have been checked against the original notes to ensure as far as possible that they are a correct transcription.

The quotations are listed chronologically. This has the advantage that it is easy to determine which find-places were being excavated on the same day. It also allows a study of the progression of the excavation and the style of notes, from the detailed notes of the first finds, through to the more sketchy notes on later finds and finally to the lengthy (but nevertheless incomplete) notes from the 1904 and 1905 excavations of the Arsenal and Little Palace.

The notes for each day have been separated into paragraphs for the different find-places. This has been done on the basis of a careful reading of the records and should help to correct instances where notes have ascribed to the wrong find-place.

The opportunity has been taken to include the excavation notes of both the 1957-1961 tablets found in the area west of the Arsenal and the fragments found in the Unexplored Mansion.

In the course of these excavation notes, footnotes have been used to try to identify the tablets under discussion, wherever this is possible.⁵⁷

It is the aim of this paper to maintain notation and labelling conventions that are already in use. However, there is an unfortunate clash of notation between,

- a) the find-place labels used by Olivier (1967), where, for example, F2 represents Western Magazine III,
- b) the sealing labels used by Gill (1965), where, for example, F2 is a sealing found in the S.W. Pillar Room,
- c) the map references used by Mackenzie, where, for example, F2, is an area in the Western Court.

In general, in this paper, use of this notation with sealings and map references will be indicated explicitly. However, it will be convenient to use Olivier's find-place notation without indicating on each occasion that it represents a find-place.

*Thursday 29 March 1900*⁵⁸

«After a few centimetres had been excavated the circumferences of two very large pithoi came into view, the one with the rim broken off, through its nearness to the surface [i.e. pithos 1] the other with part of the rim still attached. The appearance of these pithoi afforded two important data. 1) The probable absence of all construction and deposit on the site of later than Mycenaean date. 2) A Mycenaean floor-level at a depth corresponding to that of the bases of the pithoi» (DM/DB ink).

Saturday 31 March 1900 (AE/NB date of 30.3.1900 assumed to be in error.)

D : Near Room of Clay Chest: «In the same neighbourhood N of where the pithos 2 occurs [see entry for 29 March] was found an object like a chisel, or a knife sharpener of terracotta with some sort of incised signs on the one side in

⁵⁷ This is essentially an extension of the work begun by José L. Melena (1999, APPENDIX II).

⁵⁸ This extract has been included because it describes the pithoi which were subsequently used as a key reference point before the grid map had been drawn.

two rows divided at one point by a dividing line. One part was fragmented» (DM/DB pencil). «A little N of where pithos 2 occurs was found what proved to be nothing less than a Mycenaean inscription incised on a terracotta object like a knife sharpener. The signs were inscribed on the one side in one row and then in two rows divided by an incised dividing line. Part of the beginning of the inscription, left, is missing» (DM/DB ink). «Today two remarkable objects turned up in the superficial stratum ... The other important find was a kind of baked clay bar, rather like a stone chisel in shape though broken at one end, with a script on it & what appear to be numerals. (0.12 long 0.03 wide 0.012 thick.) [Drawing of *SM* 338.] It at once recalled a clay tablet of unknown age that I had copied at Candia also found at Knossos. Also broken [drawing of *SM* 34]. There is something like cursive writing about these. They also recall under a different form the cuneiform tablets» (AE/NB).

Wednesday 4 April 1900 (AE/NB date of 3.4.1900 assumed to be in error.)

F2 : Mag. III: «Much more important than the finds in pottery was the discovery of several fragments of Mycenaean inscription signs incised on terracotta objects shaped like a chisel similar to the larger fragment found some days ago. These finds were made in a burnt wood deposit of dark sooty colour which occurred at a depth of 0.30-.50 from the surface at the NW corner of the area at present being excavated immediately N of a wall [wall south of Mag. III] which runs E.W. of this part. The finds were made in deposit which was partly deposit partly supersoil quite near the wall running E.-W» (DM/DB pencil). «A find of capital importance was in the shape of several fragments of inscription tablets, with incised signs, similar to the one found the last Saturday [31 March]. These finds were made in a burnt wood deposit which occurred at a depth of .30-.50 from the surface next the N face of a wall running E-W considerably to the N. of the area indicated on 10) [plan of the South Propylaeum excavation] but which on the general plan is embraced in the space F3 [map ref. for Mag. III]. This find makes it now probable that these terracotta inscription tablets will turn out to be typical on the site. Some fragments probably belonging to the same deposit were found in the neighbourhood of the same wall some metres further W.» (DM/DB ink). «The chief discoveries of today however were in a plot near to N.W. corner ... In addition to these however were found in all 7 pieces of inscribed tablets» [drawings of *SM* 447 (in two pieces), *SM* 448, 449, 1803 (i.e. 47bis), 450 and 5802] (AE/NB).

Friday 6 April 1900 (AE/NB date of 5.4.1900 assumed to be in error.)

A : The Clay Chest: «Some very important finds were made at the NE part of the region being excavated ... In the next space to the E at 2 we in the evening came upon black soil with much carbon-ash and gradually the outline, fragmented at the rim all round, of an oval bath came into view. The deposit was found to contain a large number of Mycenaean inscription tablets like those

previously referred to but this time several were found whole or in fragments which could be fitted together. This deposit of carbon-ashes began at about .30 and went down to .70 - the level of the flooring of the terracotta 'bath'. The N. side of the bath that which lacked the support of the wall had fallen out with the result that some fragments of the inscriptions were found outside where the edge of the bath should come. The receptacle in which the inscription tablets were found may not have been a bath at all but a kind of chest for holding these tablets. The chest could be reckoned as .60 wide and 1.15 long. There was no trace of any painted ornament» (DM/DB pencil). «We came upon a deposit largely mixed with charred wood and gradually the outline, fragmented at the rim all round, of an oval terracotta bath came into view. The black wood deposit in it was found to contain a large hoard of Mycenaean inscription tablets like those previously discovered, but this time several were found whole or complete in fragments. They were found packed together in rows in the deposit of the bath so that the latter may have been used for holding them. The deposit of wood-ashes began at .30 and went down to .70 the level of the flooring of the terracotta bath. The N. side of the bath, which had its greatest length EW, lacking the support of the wall which the S. side had, was found fallen out with the result apparently that some fragments of the inscriptions were found a little outside where the edge of the bath should come. The receptacle in which the inscriptions were found may not have been used as a bath at all but may have been a kind of chest for holding these tablets. The chest which was quite plain could be reckoned as about 1.15 long and .60 wide» (DM/DB ink). «In a chamber near the pithoi on the E. side of the Megaron a bath-like receptacle - resembling the ossuaries - was found with quite a hoard of inscribed clay tablets» (AE/NB).⁵⁹

B2 : S. W. Pillar Room: «A few fragments [of tablets] turned up also in ordinary light coloured deposit [as oppose to carbon-ash] a little SW of the fresco 8)6» (DM/DB pencil). «S of 10)8 [i.e. north doorway of S. W. Pillar Room] in ordinary light coloured deposit some isolated fragments of inscriptions were also discovered» (DM/DB ink). «some more [tablets] near the mouth of the corridor where the fresco lay» [assumed to be Cup Bearer fresco] (AE/NB).⁶⁰

C : The Room of the Chariot Tablets: «In a carbon ash deposit of the NE region itself a good many fragments of a somewhat different class of tablet inscriptions turned up, the dominant sign being chariot with horses and growing plant or tree [i.e. CROC]. Very few of these tablet fragments fitted [cf. tablets from Clay Chest]» (DM/DB pencil). «Considerably to the N. of this region [i.e. the Clay Chest] in an area marked on the plan as F6 began to appear in isolated fragments in a dark deposit of wood ashes what seemed to be a new deposit of

⁵⁹ According to the *Handlist*, the tablets found in the Clay Chest were *SM* 1-33. It also seems highly probable that *Fp* (1) 48 was found in the Clay Chest and was incorrectly categorised as an RCT tablet in the *Handlist* (see SECTION 6).

⁶⁰ We can deduce from the *Handlist* that the fragments of tablets found on this day in the S.W. Pillar room would have been *SM* 36bis, 37bis and 41.

inscriptions. That these inscriptions formed a set or belonged to one deposit seemed to follow from the fact that many of them ended almost identically right with the figure of a chariot r. and the symbol of a horses head r. in front of it» (DM/DB ink). «Others [i.e. tablets] chiefly fragmentary were found in a chamber to the N. of this [i.e. N. of the clay chest] ... Parts of a large marble vase occurred in chamber at N.E. corner where further fragments of inscribed tablets turned up» (AE/NB).⁶¹

F2 : Mag. III: «Some further fragments turned up in the carbon-ash deposit at the N.W. corner» (DM/DB pencil). «The old deposit in F3 [map ref. for Mag. III] further to the W. still continued to yield some isolated fragments of inscriptions» (DM/DB ink). «At the N.W. corner in the chamber where the tablets had appeared occurred a piece [of fresco] with graceful olive sprays» (AE/NB).⁶²

Saturday 7 April 1900 Feast day (Panaghia holiday)

Monday 9 April 1900

C : The Room of the Chariot Tablets: «The N part of the region on the acropolis summit is being carefully tried at the NE and NW corners [i.e. RCT and Mag. III] for fragments of inscriptions a riddle being now in operation for sifting the soil. Fragments continue to turn up all the fore-noon» (DM/DB pencil). «Since it has become clear that the inscription tablets exist in regular deposits riddles have been put into operation for sifting the soil. Fragments continue to turn up at F6 [map ref. for RCT] throughout the fore-noon and it is evident that the deposit though a very abundant one is not so concentrated as that in E6 [map ref. for Clay Chest]» (DM/DB ink). «In chamber to N.E. a great many more fragments of tablets found. Some specially interesting as showing Myc. Chariots» [draws 5 chariots] (AE/NB).

F2 : Mag. III: «The supply at the N.W. corner seems to have come to an end» (DM/DB pencil). «The yield in the deposit F3 [map ref. for Mag. III] seems now to have come entirely to an end» (DM/DB ink). [It was also recorded that there was no yield from this find-place on 10, 11, 12 and 13 April in DM/DB.]

⁶¹ It is not possible to determine which tablets were found on each day of the excavation of the RCT because Evans re-ordered the tablets before drawing up the *Handlist*. However, it is evident that Sc and Np series tablets were found on the first day.

⁶² It is suggested that the tablets being described are SM 671-673 and 41bis. Although they are attributed in the *Handlist* to the Corridor of the Stone Jambs, Mackenzie's entry for 3 May 1900 states that up to that date no tablets had been found in the gallery of the jambs. At the beginning of April the form of the magazines and the long passage had not been determined and therefore the description of the area that we now know as Magazine III could have reasonably been described as a corridor.

Tuesday 10 April 1900

C, F2 : «The N. part of the region being excavated on the acropolis plateau is still being tried down to floor-level for inscriptions. Today a sieve is in operation for sifting the soil and a good many small fragments are thus removed» (DM/DB pencil). «The regions F3, F6 [map refs. for Mag. III and RCT] being still excavated with inscriptions specially in view do not now yield the same quantity as previously and the yield at F3 has now come entirely to an end. A riddle moved on a frame-work is to-day in operation and all the small fragments are thus rescued» (DM/DB ink).

C : The Room of the Chariot Tablets: «Interesting discoveries in the N.E. chamber early this morning. The earth here is now passed through a sieve so that every bit goes through a double & even a triple examination & every scrap is noticed & set apart. One result was the discovery of what I had always hoped to find - the clay impression of a Mycenaean signet. It bore a bold but somewhat imperfectly executed design of a lion in a contracted position - with a starlike object on the foreshoulder. It was however in the good Mycn-style. The clay impression had been pinched by the thumb & finger at the side & below a part of the back had broken off showing a hollow where the string had passed through - some small strands of which spirally wound were visible [drawing of sealing N1]. Near were found four small bronze hinges - which evidently had belonged to the box which it had sealed. There was also found a piece of charred wood with carving probably a portion of the coffer itself [drawings of hinge and wood]. There were a great many of small fragments of inscribed tablets near & it seems that in this case they had been contained in a wooden coffer instead of a clay one. This having been consumed by fire the tablets were in a more disintegrated condition. They bore great traces of burning. Afternoon. Some more clay seals appeared in the chamber. One with three bulls [drawing of sealing N2] another with uncertain device - bit of palm tree [drawing of sealing N3]. Another also uncertain (? eagle) [drawing of sealing N4]. Underside shows several string holes & remains of string or thread. Another very crumbly apparently woman and shrine [drawing of sealing N5]. ... The fragments of tablets continued to occur in great abundance in the N.E. chamber. After the chariot in many cases follows a horse's head, sometimes with apparently 'Assyrian' tassels on neck [drawings of 3 Sc tablets]. Several times before chariot occurs [draws 2 corslets]. Three more bronze hinges also found here. Evidently several caskets had been stored here. The depth of the excavation in this chamber now about 2 metres. A good many tablets here with a kind of long stemmed flower [drawings of Np 267 and 273]» (AE/NB).

B2 : S. W. Pillar Room area: «Another [sealing] was found near to fresco at S. end - bull & two palms» [drawing of sealing F1] (AE/NB).

Wednesday 11 April 1900

B2 : S. W. Pillar Room: «The SW corner, however, just S of the doorway at [?]) yielded an important fragment, top missing and bottom complete, of a large

inscription of several lines the last 5 lines were preserved. About .80-.90 from the surface» (DM/DB pencil). «The SW corner, however just S. of the door-way 9)8-9 [i.e. north doorway of S.W. Pillar Room] yielded in light coloured sandy deposit at .80-.90 from the surface a large fragment, top missing, of an inscription of several lines the last 5 of which were preserved» (DB/NB ink). «Near to S.W. door was found another seal with the hindquarters of a lion & inscriptions on two sides of the reverse [drawing of sealing F2, i.e. Ws 8754]. Here was also found 3/4 of a large tablet which must originally have had about a dozen of lines - lines ruled on back as well but no writing there» (AE/NB).⁶³

C : Room of the Chariot Tablets: «The NE corner still continues to yield a large number of Mycenaean inscription fragments. A great many of these had the clay in such a soft condition that it was found impossible to preserve all of them from crumbling away. One set of 3 or 4 inscriptions in this crumbling condition was taken out in the cake of clay in which the inscriptions were embedded. These were found 1.50 down just at the S side of a long slab running EW» (DM/DB pencil). «The deposit in F6 [map ref. for RCT] again to-day is yielding a large number of inscription tablets. A great many had the clay of which they were made in such a soft condition that they crumbled away when it was attempted to take them out. In the cases where inscriptions lay with their faces down it was sometimes found possible to apply plaster behind and so fix them for removal. The greatest number to-day were found 1.50 down just at the S. side of a long gypsum seat-like slab 15)1 running E-W» (DM/DB ink). «A large number more of inscribed tablets & fragments came to light in N.E. chamber - near floor about 2m. down. Some apparently originally of sun-baked clay were in a soft friable condition impossible to extract without crumbling to pieces. In a corner here a small group of ~~three or four~~ four such lay together - having apparently been simply placed on the ground here. With some difficulty I succeeded in cutting out the piece of half incinerated earth on which they lay & carried the whole back like fossils in a rock! A seal with another bull on it occurred [drawing of sealing N6]» (AE/NB).⁶⁴

F2 : Mag. III: «The NW corner yielded no inscriptions» (DM/DB pencil). «F3 [map ref. for Mag. III] yielded no inscriptions» (DM/DB inked). «In N.W. chamber a small piece of a tablet with T on it & small sprinkling of gold globules on either side» (AE/NB).

⁶³ This is clearly describing tablet As 40.

⁶⁴ In *SM I* (p. 43) Evans notes that the four tablets that «were carefully cut out by me in one piece with their earthy matrix, and transferred on a wooden tray to the old Turkish house in the glen below Kephala, which served as head quarters. But a torrential storm coming on during the night, the rain-water poured in at several places owing to the bad state of the roof, and unfortunately inundated the tray containing the group of tablets. When the mischief was discovered it was too late, and they had been already reduced to a pulpy mess».

H2 : Bath Room: «A complete inscription tablet in fragments turned up in the deposit S of the seat-like arrangement» (DM/DB pencil). «In the deposit itself the only thing that turned up was a complete inscription tablet in fragments found about 1 metre down.» (DM/DB ink) «A little gold wire in chamber nr. bath. A tablet also occurred here (AE/NB).⁶⁵

Thursday 12 April 1900

C, F2 : «Excavation and sifting of the soil continues at F3 and F6» [map refs. for Mag. III and RCT] (DM/DB ink).

C : Room of the Chariot Tablets: «The NE corner yielded about 300 fragments of inscription tablets a few being complete» (DM/DB pencil). «The F6 [map ref. for RCT] deposit has up till to-day yielded about 300 fragments of inscription tablets a certain proportion of which could be seen to belong to inscriptions more or less complete. Several gem-impressions in clay some also with signs in addition have turned up in the F6 deposit, some having been found by hand others having been rescued by means of the riddles» (DM/DB ink). «The N.E. chamber of the 'chariot' tablets continues prolific. Over ~~200~~ about 230 fragments & 3 perfect inscriptions got out. Among new formulae one with three kinds of vases [drawing of SM 93]. Then more seals occurred - one very interesting - has above impression of an agrimi suckling its kid in a fine style above which for additional purpose of identification the owner has engraved a sign or letter as if cancelling the stamp [drawing of sealing N7, i.e. Ws 8500]. Another has an animal with its head turned back & part of another» [drawing of sealing N8] (AE/NB).

F2 : Mag. III: «The NW corner gave no further yield» (DM/DB pencil). «The F3 deposit gave no further yield» (DM/DB ink).

Friday 13 April 1900

C : Room of the Chariot Tablets: «The NE corner still up till mid-day continued to give the average yield - about 150 [inscription tablets]. In the afternoon the yield was less because an EW wall obstructed progress N-wards and it was in this direction that the greatest number of fragments had turned up yesterday» (DM/DB pencil). «The F6 [map ref. for RCT] deposit still up till mid-day continued to give the average daily yield of about 150. In the afternoon the yield became less through the appearance at 1-1 of an E-W wall hindering progress N-wards and it was immediately S. of this wall that the greatest number of fragments had been turning up yesterday» (DM/DB ink). «Today perhaps 150 fragmentary tablets from 'Chariot' pit (N.E.) chamber. Curious calendar-like characters on one [drawing of SM 162]. A pig's head on another» (AE/NB).

⁶⁵ If we consider the tablets attributed to the Bath Room in the Throne Room complex in the *Handlist*, it seems likely that the tablet being described here is U 736, which is in fragments and might have appeared, to Mackenzie, to have been a reasonably complete inscription.

F2 : Mag. III: «The NW corner has for the time been exhausted» (DM/DB pencil). «It is now clear that the deposit of inscription tablets at F3 [map reference for Mag. III] is now exhausted» (DM/DB ink).

Saturday 14 April 1900

C : Room of the Chariot Tablets: «On the summit of the acropolis work has been uneventful and the yield of inscription fragments has practically come to an end» (DM/DB pencil). «On the summit of the acropolis at F6 [i.e. map ref. for RCT] the yield of inscription tablets has practically come to an end» (DM/DB ink).

F2 : Mag. III: «Late in the evening the fragment of an inscription was found in the NW corner» (DM/DB pencil).

Monday 16 April 1900 (AE/NB date of 15.4.1900 assumed to be in error.)

C : Room of the Chariot Tablets: «The NE corner continues to yield important fragments of stone vases but no finds in the way of inscriptions now turn up and this can be taken as a sign that the deposit in which the inscriptions at this point occurred has been exhausted» (DM/DB pencil). «In the area of the 'chariot inscriptions' no fragments now turn up and this fact can be taken as a sign that the deposit in which the inscriptions in this region occurred is exhausted. As limit the floor appears everywhere while to the N. a wall E-W has come into view.

The best stone vases were found at a depth of from 1.90 to 2.40, at 2.40 being a well-marked floor-level. The inscription deposit and the stone-vase deposit though contiguous are quite separate, though they go down to one floor-level.

Over the whole of the area extending from the great E-W wall in C [i.e. the southern wall of the palace] to nearly the middle of F5-6 [map ref. for RCT and Room of Stone Vases] we have been able to verify at different positions one floor-level which, with the exception of the somewhat later floor-level indicated by the pithoi in D 4-5 [region of S. Propylaeum], represents the latest floor-level, so far as we yet know on the site.

This floor-level was particularly evident at the S. part of this region as marked by the E threshold of the portico, by the column bases 1 - 2 [in region of S. Propylaeum] and by the cement flooring which in turn is some 30 centimetres deeper than the floor-level which seems marked by the position of the bases of the pithoi. These different indications of a floor level at a depth of 1 - 1.50 all belong to one general period. To the same floor-level belongs the bath-like receptacle in E6 [i.e. Clay Chest] which contained the first great deposit of inscription tablets found on the site.

On going now from this region to the N. part of F5-6 in which was found the second great deposit of inscription tablets those in which a chariot figured and in which were discovered the fragments of many stone vases we notice that this latter region has a well-defined floor-level a good deal deeper than that

immediately adjoining to the S., but as the excavation in the intermediate region is not yet complete down to the latest floor-level it has not yet actually been made out that the deeper lying floor-level to which the stone-vases and the chariot-inscriptions belong has no systematic connection with the floor-level indicated at the area of the terracotta bath and at the S. portico» (DM/DB ink). «Noticed a seal-impression from the 'Chariot' room with two letters incised on the type - a bull. None on back» [drawing of sealing N10, i.e. Ws 8712] (AE/NB).

Tuesday 17 April 1900 (AE/NB date of 16.4.1900 assumed to be in error.)

C : Room of the Chariot Tablets: «In the NE corner the room spaces where deposit had yielded the large number of inscription fragments with the characteristic sign of a chariot and the adjacent room W have been cleared down to their floor-level which was at a depth for the chariot inscription room of 2 M for the adjacent room W which has yielded the large number of fragments of stone vases at a depth of 2.30-40» (DM/DB pencil). «In FG 5-6 the room spaces 24)1,2 [i.e. map refs. for RCT and Room of Stone Vases, respectively] whose deposit had yielded the large number of inscription tablets, many of them with the characteristic sign of a chariot, and the many fragments of stone vases have been excavated down to their floor-level which was at a depth of 2 metres for the chariot inscription room and 2.30-40 for the stone-vase room, the surface here rising W.» (DM/DB ink). «Two seals from Chariot room to be noted. One triple 'eye', back broken off [drawing of sealing N11]. The other has part of one face broken off ? an impression here formerly - & traces of lines of 'countersigning'. On the other side a whole inscription [drawings of sealing N12, i.e. Wm 8493]» (AE/NB).

Room of Steatite Vase: «Another [sealing] found S. of the «Stone Vase Room» bull standing with countermark» [drawing of sealing N13, i.e. Ws 8496].

Wednesday 18 April 1900

E5 : Corridor of House Tablets and near Entrance to E. Pillar Room: «Here however late in the evening we came upon a deposit containing inscription tablets whole and in fragments. They began to turn up about .30-.50 down in the main NS corridor of the old dig about 5-6.50 N of 1st E doorway of corridor» (DM/DB pencil). «Late in the evening while the limits of this region were being defined towards the W in the SE part of G4 [map ref.] we came upon a deposit containing inscription tablets whole and in fragments. The tablets began to turn up about .30-.50 down in a corridor running NS which had been previously excavated partially in the course of an excavation by M. Kalokairinos already referred to. A characteristic sign in the case of these tablets was the figure of a house» (DM/DB ink). «We are just entering Minos' excavations & in the first of his corridors running N. bits of tablets begin to occur - which shows how careless the dig was» (AE/NB).

Thursday 19 April 1900

E5 : Corridor of House Tablets and near Entrance to E. Pillar Room: «In the NS corridor of Kalokairinos dig fragments of inscriptions continue to turn up till mid-day» (DM/DB pencil). «Up till mid-day occasional fragments of tablets still continued to turn up» (DM/DB ink). «The corridor towards the N. proved to have a little find of tablets. Some with a new 'house' sign upon them [draws *123]. Will call this 'Corridor of "house" tablets'» (AE/NB).

F7 : Mag. VIII: «In the W. corridor of Kalokairinos's dig in the space S. of the 2nd pithos reckoning from E a fragment of a M. inscription was found just as work closed» (DM/DB pencil). «In the space S. of the 2nd pithos reckoning from ~~W~~ E a fragment of an inscription tablet has been found» (DM/DB ink). Position of find shown on DM/DB (ink) plan 29 as being ~3 metres from west wall of Mag.VIII and ~1.4 metres from north wall. «At x 18th April [error for 19th] fragment Inscription 1.50 down» (DM/DB pencil).

*Friday 20 - Tuesday 24 April Easter**Wednesday 25 April 1900*

«All these signs [i.e. signs on inscription tablets] are being collected by Mr Evans and are only occasionally referred to here» (DM/DB ink).

E5 : Corridor of House Tablets and near Entrance to E. Pillar Room: «The excavation of the NS corridor of K's dig is still being excavated N-wards and further fragments of inscriptions were found one was complete in two fragments another was fragmentary at one end» (DM/DB pencil). «The excavation of the NS corridor in the SE part of G4 [map ref.] is still being continued N-wards and further fragments of inscriptions were found. One inscription was found complete in two fragments another was fragmentary at one end» (DM/DB ink).⁶⁶

F7 : Mag. VIII: «At xx 1.50 down were found two fragments of inscriptions» (DM/DB pencil). «At xx 1.50 were found 2 fragments of inscriptions» (DM/DB ink). Position of find shown on DM/DB (ink) plan 29 as being ~1 metre from north and west walls of Mag.VIII. «At xx 24th April [error for 25th] 2 fragments Inscription 1.50 down» (DM/DB pencil).

H2 : Bath Room: «The small 'loculus' in the bath chamber wall was cleared out. It proved to contain a few fragments of tablets, porcelain bits & brilliant lapis lazuli & turquoise paste for inlaying, ivory box fragments, lots of crystal & a small bit of gold» (AE/NB).⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Most of the E5 tablets are in BATCH 5, however, there are three tablets, separated from these, in BATCH 6. It is possible that these three tablets are those described above, i.e. SM 425, 426 and 427. SM 427 is complete but in two pieces.

⁶⁷ Based on the tablets attributed to this Bath Room in the *Handlist*, it would follow that the tablets found in this 'loculus' may have included SM 735, 737, 738 and possibly SM 734.

Thursday 26 April 1900

F7 : Mag. VIII: «In the pithos gallery excavation down to the floor level has been extended E a distance of 11 M from its W end. In the E 1/2 of this space 4 fragments of inscriptions were found in the course of the day as well as a seal impression in clay with a design on the front and signs on the two facets behind» (DM/DB pencil). «In the gallery with the pithoi 29) [plan ref.] excavation down to the floor-level has been extended E to a distance of 11 M from its W end. In the E half of this space 4 fragments of inscription tablets were found in the course of the day as well as a seal impression in clay with the impression on one side and signs on the two facets behind» (DM/DB ink). «Some pieces of tablets continue to occur in the Gallery of Pithoi, but the most remarkable discovery there was a clay seal of a man & bull countermarked & countersigned» [drawing of sealing G6, i.e. Ws 1703] (AE/NB). «In the pithos corridor at xxx fragment of an inscription [near south wall, ~8 metres from west wall of Mag.VIII] at xxxx two fragments [near north wall, ~9 metres from west wall] at x one fragment of an inscription a few centimetres above the pavement [near south wall, ~6 metres from west wall]» (DM/DB pencil, summary statement; measurements from additional find-positions on plan of 25 April).

H3 : Corridor of Stone Basin: «N of bath system and W of open paved space a sort of corridor running EW is being opened out. It showed a doorway looking N. ... In the doorway was found a fragment of M. inscription and further W. a large fragment of a very large inscription of several lines as well as several small fragments presumably of the same inscription» (DM/DB pencil). «N. of the bath-room system and W. of the N. part of the open paved space 30)1 [i.e. central court] a sort of corridor running E-W is being opened out. It shows a doorway, 2, opening N [i.e. doorway at south end of corridor, west of Room of Knobbed Pithos] ... In the doorway was found a fragment of an inscription tablet and further W. a large fragment of what must have been a very large inscription-tablet as well as several small fragments presumably of the same inscription» (DM/DB ink). «In E-W corridor N. of bath-room fragments of two different inscriptions one fragment of a smaller inscription the large fragment of a large inscription of several lines and several very small fragments on the point of crumbling away» (DM/DB pencil, summary statement). «... runs a gallery in which several interesting objects occurred - a seal of clay - apparently lion & bull» [drawing of sealing O1] (AE/NB).⁶⁸

Friday 27 April 1900

F7 : Mag. VIII: «Excavation in the pithos gallery is still being carried E-wards. At 11-12 metres from the W end 7 fragments of inscriptions were found

⁶⁸ The large fragment of large inscription is almost certainly SM 741, with SM 8242 being one of the surviving smaller fragments. By elimination from the tablets included in the *Handlist*, the fragment in the doorway was probably SM 742.

in the course of the fore-noon. In the afternoon 3.30 the men were taken out and put on at the surface at a point about 12-13 M from the W end where a heap from Kalokairinos's dig encumbers the corridor. In this heap two fragments of inscription have already been found» (DM/DB pencil). «Excavation in the gallery with the pithoi is still being carried E-wards. At a point 11-12 M. from the W end some seven fragments of inscription tablets were found in the course of the fore-noon. In the after-noon (3.30) the men were taken out and put on at the surface at a point about 12-13 M from the W end where a deposit heap from a previous excavation encumbers the entrance to the gallery. In this heap two fragments of inscription-tablets have already been found» (DM/DB ink).⁶⁹

Saturday 28 April 1900

E2 : E. Pillar Room: «The E pillar room - 1 - has now been excavated down to the flooring and this also is being completely cleared. ... The flooring of this room also was of a depth of 2.30. ... at the NW corner near floor large fragment of inscription» (DM/DB pencil). «The E pillar room 31)1 has now been excavated down to the flooring and this also is being completely cleared of deposit. ... The flooring of this room was also at a depth of 2.30. ... At the NW corner near the floor was found a large fragment of an inscription tablet» (DM/DB ink). «E pillar room large fragment of large inscription» (DM/DB pencil, summary statement).⁷⁰

F7 : Mag. VIII: «In the pithos gallery 12 M E several 8-10 fragments of inscriptions were found in the course of the day» (DM/DB pencil). «In the gallery of the pithoi 29) 12 M E several 8-10 fragments of inscription tablets were found in the course of the day» (DM/DB ink). «Pithos gallery morning 2 fragments inscriptions» (DM/DB pencil, summary statement).

E5 : Entrance to Corridor of House Tablets: «N End E recess of jamb-gallery 1 fragment inscription» (DM/DB pencil). «In the S-N gallery 26) the 4th doorjamb was brought completely into view after the late wall built across the corridor at this part had been partially removed. A 5th doorjamb has been partially visible as a result of the excavation by Kalokairinos» (DM/DB ink).

H1 : Central Court E. of Throne Room complex: «E. of the bath-room system is an open paved space and of this part of the N wall had been found ... At the NE part of this region two fragments of an inscription were found this morning almost at the surface» (DM/DB pencil). «In the open paved area E of the bath-room system excavation is extended further E and S with a view to the discovery of the boundaries in these directions. At the NE part of the region almost at the surface two fragments of inscription tablets were discovered.» (DM/DB ink) «A few fragments of Inscriptions found on W. side of paved area

⁶⁹ It is suggested in PART II that these 7 tablets were Ak(2) 615, 616, 627, 636, Lc(2) 512, V(3) 503 and X 5033.

⁷⁰ This is tablet Uf 432.

one with a balance & ingot» [drawing of ideograms of balance and ingot from Oa 730]» (AE/NB 27-28.04.1900). «In open paved space E of bath-room system NE corner fragment of inscription» (DM/DB pencil, summary statement).⁷¹

Monday 30 April 1900

F1 : Mag. II: «3rd Gallery [= II] W. gallery with the jambs several fragments of inscriptions» (DM/DB pencil).

F7a : Mag. VIII: S. E. Corner: «The 'pithos gallery' now excavated shows at E. end round ends of burnt fallen beams in clay matrix. At this end was found a nest of tablets. The mass was removed en bloc & as they were ready to crumble up if detached & lay embedded on their faces I got Iannis [Papadakis] to coat over the back of the whole group (first carefully cleaned) with plaster & then worked away the earth in which their faces were bedded. The whole set was thus got out as they lay» (AE/NB, 30 April-1 May). «8th W. Gallery. (First called Pithoi Gallery or 9th.) Near the S.E. corner a hoard of tablets were found embedded in clay & decayed gypsum in a much perished condition. Some lying on their back were got out by embedding them in plaster. Nos. 529- . The other tablets found in the gallery were fragmentary» (AE/HL). «Near the S.E. corner of this Magazine on the floor level was found a deposit of inscribed tablets embedded in clay and decayed gypsum, which apparently represented the remains of a small coffer of that material. Many of these were much perished, but it was possible by means of plaster backing to get out a series lying on their backs in a regular file as they had been originally deposited in the gypsum box. From the pictorial figures added to the linear inscriptions on these, they seem to have referred to bronze single-edged axes, and it is possible that hoards of these may have been at one time contained in some of the cists beneath the pavement» (AE, BSA VI, p. 25). «In the South-East corner of the eighth West Magazine there also occurred on the floor level a small hoard of very imperfectly baked tablets. These were embedded in a clay mass which no doubt owed its formation to the dissolvent effects of moisture on what had originally been a much larger deposit» (AE, SM I, pp. 43-44). [Photograph on Plate XXXVIII of SM II and also p. 23 of Chadwick 1976].⁷²

Tuesday 1 May 1900

F1, F2, F3, F4 : «~~The 3rd~~ [= II] the 4th [= III] the 5th [= IV] ~~and~~ the 6th [= V] are all being excavated and in each of them fragments of inscriptions have turned

⁷¹ The tablets found in the Central Courtyard would have been SM 730-732. The antechamber to the throne room and the paved area to the east of it had already been excavated on 25 April and is shown on DM/DB, plan 28, with the find-spot of the Egyptian statuette (Evans 1900, p. 27). Thus, Evans description of the find-place of the tablets as being to the west of the paved area is clearly incorrect.

⁷² These were the tablets SM 493-500. Mackenzie records the burnt circular ends of wooden roof beams at the entrance to the magazine on this day but does not note the find of tablets.

up in the course of the day» (DM/DB pencil). «The 3rd the 4th the 5th and the 6th and the 7th [last 3 words were added above] of these galleries are being at present excavated and in each of them occasional fragments of inscription tablets have turned up in the course of the day» (DM/DB ink). [Note the confusion about which galleries were being excavated.]

Wednesday 2 May 1900

E1 : Room of the Column Bases: N.E. Corner: «The room with the column bases is being cleared all over its floor. Against the N. wall is a stone seat similar to the ones in the bath-room and at its E end stood a pithos the upper part of which was broken. E of this pithos just above the floor-level a bit of gypsum slab was removed and underneath it in a deposit of burnt wood a nest of inscriptions came into view most probably belonging to one set. They were in a very brittle condition and only a few were brought out fairly whole. The burnt wood deposit possibly belonged to a chest in which the inscriptions may have been kept» (DM/DB pencil). «The room with the column-bases is being cleared all over its floor. Against the N wall is a stone seat already mentioned and at the E end of this stood a pithos ... E of this pithos just above the floor a fragment of gypsum slab was raised and underneath it in a deposit of burnt wood a nest of inscription tablets began to come into view most probably belonging to one set. The tablets were in a very brittle condition apparently through the action of gypsum sediment and only a few were brought out fairly whole. The burnt wood, as Mr. Evans suggests, probably belonged to a chest in which the tablets were kept» (DM/DB ink). «This morning a find of tablets occurred in the N.E. corner of the room of the column bases. There were evident remains of a kind of cist of gypsum in which they had been contained» (AE/NB). «Originally contained in gypsum chest. Part of two clay seals with impression of seal representing four bulls found with them» (AE/HL). «In S.E. corner of room with column bases a hoard of inscriptions in a deposit of burnt wood» (DM/DB pencil, summary statement). Position of find shown in DM/DB (ink) plan 39, «At x deposit of inscription tablets».⁷³

F1, F4, F7 : «Isolated fragments of inscriptions have been turning up in all the W galleries being excavated, i.e. in 3 [= II], 6 [= V] and 9 (the gallery of the pithoi) [= VIII]. Accordingly the sieve is being used to sift all the soil as long as the inscriptions continue to turn up» (DM/DB pencil). «Occasional fragments of inscription tablets have been turning up in all of the galleries being excavated i.e. in 2, 5 and 8 (the gallery with the pithoi). Accordingly the riddle is being used to sift all the soil as long as the inscriptions continue to turn up» (DM/DB ink).

Northern Compartment of Spiral Cornice Room: «At a point xxx [SW corner of Compartment], however, just above the flooring in a deposit of wood ashes

⁷³ These are clearly *SM* 339-393, together with the other tablets which can be identified as being from the same sets either because they were written by scribe 141 or 222, and they are made from the characteristic clay.

were found large numbers of fragments, mostly small, of inscriptions. Depth .50 from the surface. At x [cf. *AE/NB*, p. 67, Plate XV of *OKTi*] just above the floor was a large piece of stucco with plant decoration in the deposit under which some fragments of inscriptions could be discerned. It was not found possible to remove the fresco till next morning» (*DM/DB* pencil). «At a point xx [SW corner of Compartment] just above the flooring large numbers of fragments of inscriptions, in a crumbling condition, began to appear. Later at x .50 down and just above the floor was found a large piece of fresco with plant (olive branch?) decoration. Beneath appeared further fragments of the inscriptions. It was not found possible to remove the fresco until next morning» (*DM/DB* ink).

Thursday 3 May 1900

F15 : Corridor of Stone Jambs: «The gallery of the jambs is being continued N as far as the entrance of the 7th [= VI] W gallery. It was noticeable that while finds in the way of inscriptions were a feature of the W galleries, the gallery of the jambs itself had none» (*DM/DB* pencil). «In the long SN corridor excavation has now been carried N as far as the entrance of the 6th [= VI] gallery. It was noticeable that while finds in the way of inscriptions were a feature of the galleries, the corridor itself might be said to have had none» (*DM/DB* ink).

Northern Compartment of Spiral Cornice Room: «The fresco with plant decoration brought into view yesterday was removed by means of plaster to-day and the fragments of inscriptions in the same deposit removed» (*DM/DB* pencil). «The fresco with olive branch decoration brought into view late yesterday evening was removed to-day by means of gypsum plaster set on to the back of it. The fragments of inscription underneath and about the fresco were there also removed» (*DM/DB* ink). See also *AE/NB* plan of 8 May, given as *OKTi*, Plate XV, «a few tablets». «Spiral Cornice Room. In the l. hand corner of this room were found some much perished fragments» (*AE/HL*).

Friday 4 May 1900

I1 : Room of the Bügelkannes: «In the same region and extending along the W wall-boundary of the space many fragments of inscriptions were found but hardly any were well preserved and they all showed a tendency to crumble away» (*DM/DB* pencil). «In the same region and extending along the foot of what seems the W. wall of the space many fragments of inscription tablets in a very crumbling condition were found on the clay floor» (*DM/DB* ink).

Saturday 5 May 1900

I1 : Room of the Bügelkannes: «The yield of badly preserved inscriptions in the central region of the threshing-floor continues to-day» (*DM/DB* pencil). «The yield of badly preserved inscription tablets in the central region of the threshing-floor continues to-day» (*DM/DB* ink).

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «Just at the close of work some very well preserved fragments of inscriptions were found 2.50 E from the W wall of the space and 2 M down. At the same point a double vase of pale yellow clay quite undecorated was brought out of a type which is represented by another complete example from the site» (DM/DB pencil). «Just at the close of the day some very well-preserved fragments of inscription tablets were found ... at about 2.50 E of the W wall of the area and 2 M down. In the same deposit a plain couple-amphora in pale yellow clay was brought out of a type which is represented by another complete example previously found at 10)» (DM/DB ink).

Monday 7 May 1900

F5, F6 : « The 7th [= VI] and 8th [= VII] galleries were being excavated up till mid-day from their entrances and from above, but with the exception of a stray inscription fragment, nothing remarkable was brought to light» (DM/DB pencil). «The 6th and 7th galleries were being excavated up till mid-day both by way of their entrances and from above. With the exception of a few stray inscription-fragments work was eventless in this quarter» (DM/DB ink).

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «In the threshing floor area in the space where were found the important fragments of a relief-fresco of a bull at the point where some well-preserved fragments of inscription were found a large quantity more were recovered this morning and continued to turn up later» (DM/DB pencil). «In the threshing floor area near where were found the important fragments of a relief-fresco of a bull at the point where yesterday evening some well-preserved fragments of inscription-tablets were found, a large quantity more were recovered this morning and continued to turn up during the fore-noon.» (DM/DB ink).

Tuesday 8 May 1900

E6 : Room of the Niche: «In the course of the day the S. part of this space was found to be separated from the N. part by a cross-wall forming a small closet opening off the W-end of the E-pillar-room. The closet was remarkable only from its very small size and from the fact that several small objects were found in its deposit among these being three gem impressions of considerable importance» (DM/DB pencil). «N. of the E pillar room and W. of room 42)1 excavation since yesterday has brought into view a narrow room running SN. In the course of the day the S. part of this space was found to be separated off from the N. part by a cross wall with a narrow doorway at its E end ... The deposit in this small room-space was found to contain a variety of small objects and the riddle was put into operation. Three gem-impressions were among the finds» (DM/DB ink). «In room S. of Vat room small cist niche in wall with remains of four seals & bits of tablets. One seal a running bull remarkably like Tirynthian [drawing of sealing O4, i.e. Ws 1701]. Another with lower part of lion [drawing of O6 given on p. 69 of AE/NB, see Gill 1965, p. 73] & another two bulls back to

back [drawing of sealing O5, i.e. Ws 8494]» (AE/NB). «Room of Niche. In a stone niche of a small room N. of E. Pillar Room were found remains of four seals and fragments of tablets. One seal running bull had bull countermarked and on back graffito countersignature. Another two goats back to back marked on back» (AE/HL).⁷⁴

F3, F5, F6 : «In the W galleries work is concentrated on the 5th [= IV], 7th [= VI] and 8th [= VII] which have not yet been completely cleared. The soil is being removed by way of the entrances and also from above. The sieve is being used for all three galleries and fragments of inscriptions have been turning up in all of them. In gallery 8 [= VII] was found an important fragment of a large inscription and it has been made a rule to use the sieve whenever one fragment is found in any deposit» (DM/DB pencil). «In the galleries work is concentrated on the 4th, the 6th and the 7th. The soil is being removed by way of the entrances and also from above. The riddle is in operation for all three galleries, for in all of them fragments of inscriptions have been turning up from time to time. In gallery 7 was found an important fragment of a large inscription» (DM/DB ink).

H4 : South of the Bath-Room: «S of the bath the space immediately adjoining the bath corridor to the S. is being excavated ... several fragments of inscriptions were found at about .60 down» (DM/DB pencil). «S of the bath-room the space immediately adjoining the bath-room corridor to the S. is being excavated ... Several fragments of inscription-tablets were found at about .60 down» (DM/DB ink). Find position shown on plan 44 DM/DB (ink).⁷⁵

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «In the room of the bull-relief a good many further fragments were found in the previous deposit two metres down. At the same point a couple-vase plain in pale yellow clay was taken out. More extensive layers are now being removed at this area and accordingly next the surface with the exception of a fragment of inscription no finds were made» (DM/DB pencil). «In the area of the 'bull-relief' a good many further fragments of inscription tablets were found about 2 M down. There was brought out another couple-amphora. It was now seen that the inscriptions formed part of an extensive deposit and it was found desirable to widen the area being excavated. Thus as long as work was carried on above the stratum where the previous inscriptions were found no further find was made except one solitary fragment of inscription. This fact made it all the more clear that the inscriptions which were found at 2 M down belonged to one set and the presence of the couple-amphorae indicated that the deposit must be near a floor-level» (DM/DB ink). «In the bull-room part of a considerable hoard of tablets came to light» (AE/NB). See also AE/NB plan, given as OKTi, Plate XV.

⁷⁴ The tablets found in the Room of the Niche were SM 434-437, 5089-5090 together with sealings Ws 1701 and 8494. It seems unlikely that SM 438 was found here, although the *Handlist* is ambiguous on this point (Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.2).

⁷⁵ According to the *Handlist*, these tablets were SM 743-745. However, it is suggested above, in SECTION 6, that Oa 878 was also found in this location.

I1 : Room of the Bügelkannes: «In the central area of the threshing-floor - Room 3 - large quantities of badly preserved inscriptions in a very crumbling condition continue to appear on the floor near the W wall. ... The tough clay has had a great deal to do with the bad preservation of the many inscription fragments which continue to turn up all day» (DM/DB pencil). «In the centre of the threshing-floor area 46)1, large quantities of inscription tablets in a very soft and crumbling condition appear all over the floor near the W. wall of the room. Near the NW corner of the same room was found on the floor a large false-necked amphora with bands in brown-black varnish on an ochre ground. In the S. part of the room as many as five vases whole or in fragments of the amphora type but almost entirely plain were found lying on the floor which is covered with a tough deposit of clay above the real floor which seems to be of cement. The tough damp clay must have had a good deal to do with the bad preservation of the inscriptions many fragments of which continue to appear all day» (DM/DB ink). Find position shown on plan 46 DM/DB (ink); see also AE/NB plan, given as *OKTi*, Plate XV, «Many tablets: much perished».

Room of Flower Gatherer: «AE/NB plan, given as *OKTi*, Plate XV, «Some tablets».

Wednesday 9 May 1900

F18 : Long Gallery: «The S jamb of the 10th gallery [i.e. Mag. IX] was brought into view. Against it was placed a large pithos the side of which has been visible for some days. At the N side of the pithos on a level with the rim were found two complete inscriptions - 1.40 from the surface» (DM/DB pencil). «The S jamb of the 9th gallery has been brought into view. Against it stood a large pithos the side of which has been visible for some days. Just N. of the pithos, 1.40 down, two complete inscriptions were found» (DM/DB ink).⁷⁶

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «In the room of the bull-relief-fresco inscription-fragments continued to turn up in the same deposit as previously» (DM/DB pencil). «In the area of the bull-relief-fresco the yield of inscription-fragments still continues» (DM/DB ink).

Thursday 10 May 1900

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «In the area of the bull-relief-fresco excavation having been widened out since the first discovery of the deposit of inscriptions has now reached the level of this deposit and the inscription-fragments since the starting of work at mid-day have turned up in great numbers. A curious feature

⁷⁶ It is not possible to identify unambiguously these two whole tablets, however, they should have been included in the *Handlist* under the catch-heading, «North end of Long Corridor (From 9th Gallery onwards to 12th)», i.e. F18. Given the find-place location near Mag. IX, it is most likely that they were two of the four whole tablets Ga 675, 676, 685 or V 684.

was that in the same deposit as the inscriptions as many as 6 large plain couple-amphoras were brought out in a pale yellow clay. Some of these were whole or complete though fragmented» (DM/DB pencil). «In the area of the ‘bull-relief’ the space being excavated having been much extended N and E since the first discovery of the important deposit of inscriptions, work has now reached the level of this deposit and the fragments of inscription tablets are now again turning up in the same large quantities as previously. In the same deposit as the inscriptions the couple-amphorae are again turning up as many as 6 having been brought out in the course of the afternoon. The concurrence of these amphorae with the inscriptions makes excavation in this extensive deposit a matter of excessive difficulty and slow-ness. The riddles are in constant operation so that no fragment is allowed to escape notice. The deposit of inscriptions is perhaps the most extensive yet discovered on the site. ... Just before closing for the day an exceptionally large inscription tablet came into view in the deposit of the ‘bull relief’ area and was partially uncovered. Then it appeared that it lay face down and as it also seemed in a very brittle condition its removal was post-poned till next morning when gypsum-plaster could be applied above» (DM/DB ink).

Room of Lotus Lamp: «In room 4 next the N. wall of the paved space, E of the bath system. The floor-level of this room is about 1.50 from the original surface. Nothing remarkable turned up since the uncovering of the 1/2 of the stone basin with the exception of a fragment or two of inscriptions» (DM/DB pencil). «In room 47)1 in which the half of the stone basin was found, the other half was discovered shifted out of its position. Lying near it was discovered a very handsome lamp in purple stone broken off at the middle of the stalk, the lower half being missing. It was richly carved with lotus-decoration in relief» (DM/DB ink).⁷⁷

Friday 11 May 1900

I2 : The Deposit of ‘Great Seal’: «From the surface down occasional inscription fragments turn up but these (now as deep as .90) are at a much higher level than the deposit in room 6 (bull-relief-room) which is 2.50 - .60 down. Among the inscription fragments from this surface deposit was found the lower half of a very large seal-impression with oxen in profile left. The soil from both deposits is being sifted» (DM/DB pencil). «Occasional inscriptions turn up some of which at least seem to belong to the main deposit, which, however, lies much deeper ~~2.90~~ 2.50 whereas the new fragments appear at only .90 down. Along with the inscription-fragments from this surface deposit was found the lower half of a very large seal-impression with horses in profile left. The soil from both

⁷⁷ It is possible that the tablets found here are the ones that were attributed to the Room of the Stone Lamp in the *Handlist*, i.e. Ai 739 and K(1) 740. Clearly a stone lamp was found in the Room of the Lotus Lamp, however, no tablets were recorded by Mackenzie as being found in the Room of the Stone Lamp west of the Throne Room (see PART II, SECTION 10).

deposits is being sifted» (DM/DB ink). «On the upper level in the Spiral Cornice room near the borders of the 'bull' area was found a small deposit of tablets together with a part of an impression of a very large seal. Larger than any known intaglio of this period. It must have been as nearly as possible 0.40 mm. [sic] in diameter - a real great seal. Below is a curious design - cap of column & perhaps two bulls heads. No incised letters visible. [Drawing of sealing J2]. Near this deposit, partly over tablets, slabs of gypsum cist (perhaps thrown from room above)» (AE/NB, 9-12 May). «On the N.E. side however, above the 'Bull Area' was found a better deposit (b) together with the lower 2/3 of a very large seal impression representing two bulls» (AE/HL).⁷⁸

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «The centre of interest for the day is the threshing floor area and immediately to the E of it. In area 6 where the large quantities of inscriptions and couple amphoras have been turning up an exceptionally large inscription tablet lying front down and much fractured came into view last evening and was partially uncovered. This morning by means of gypsum plaster applied to the upper uninscribed surface the inscription was successfully removed and found to have 13 lines of signs. Some other inscriptions removed were complete, others again were in an extremely crumbling condition. The deposit as a whole is the largest as yet found on the site. A curious fact was the coincidence of inscriptions with the large quantity of couple-amphoras - as many as between 20 and 25 of the latter having been removed up till 4:30» (DM/DB pencil). «The large inscription found last evening was completely uncovered the plaster was applied on the upper exposed and uninscribed side and the whole was then removed. The inscription, the largest yet found, had 13 lines of signs. The couple-amphorae again to-day appeared in vast quantities as many as 20-25 having been got out, some whole, some fragmented up till 4:30» (DM/DB ink). «In the area where the bull relief was discovered Under E. side of this long deposit of tablets & also of double vases of more than one type [drawings of double vases]. The tablets here were larger than any yet discovered. One must have been ~~0.25~~ cm x 0.12 & is 0.03 thick. 13 lines of inscription, then a blank line - possibly whole of missing half blank [additional note: ?Not much missing]. Wheel-less chariots and horses heads occur in this deposit.» (AE/NB, 9-12 May) «A fine example of this class from the deposit by the Northern Step-Way measures 18.8 cm by 9.7 cm and has 13 lines of inscription.» (BSA VI, pp. 56-57).⁷⁹

Saturday 12 May 1900

F3 : Mag. IV: «In the 4th Gallery (5th formerly) bulls head seal perh. part of larger galloping bull [drawing of sealing G3] & fragment showing forelegs of

⁷⁸ According to the *Handlist*, these were tablets SM 777-786, 788-797, 887, 1054, 1581. However, it seems more likely that some of these tablets were actually found further north in the Area of the Bull Relief.

⁷⁹ This is describing tablet C 911.

bull & horn & pt. [?] of a man in front» [drawing of sealing G5] (AE/NB, p. 70, dated May 9-12). «4th W. Gallery. Two impressions found here: one with bull's head (pt. of galloping bull?), another with legs of a man and bull?. With these a small deposit of tablets & fragments with a good deal of cement. [Then, on a new line, as a heading for what followed,] Minor fragments of inscriptions found» (AE/HL).⁸⁰

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «Excavation E of the threshing-floor area at 6 is still concentrated on the deposit of vases and inscriptions. Three further couple-amphorae were removed this morning and the plentiful yield of inscription fragments still continues. A boundary to the space has yet been found on the W side [= Bastion C, Raison 1988] so that it is not yet clear how far the deposit of inscriptions exists in other directions. The inscription deposit is at present at a depth of 2.50-3 metres and the greatest quantity is alongside of the W. wall of the area. ... The yield in pottery has now for the moment come to an end but at the boundary line [i.e. against Bastion C] the inscriptions still turn up abundantly. Two large fragments of very large inscriptions have been taken out this afternoon, one of the fragments belonging to an inscription larger than any yet found. Immediately S. of this area but at a level of only 1-1.20 from the surface several fragments of inscriptions have turned up but otherwise there is no feature of interest and no walls have appeared. This area is the continuation E of the room-space in the SW corner of which the miniature fresco and spiral cornice ornament were found. The E & N walls of this same room have not yet been found. The W end of the N wall was found some days ago» (DM/DB pencil). «Excavation E of the threshing-floor area is still concentrated on the deposit of inscriptions and couple-amphorae. Three further of these vases were brought out this morning and the plentiful yield of inscription fragments still continues. A limit to the space has as yet been found only on the W. side [= Bastion C] and this of course forms a limit to the deposit in this direction as well, but how far this deposit extends in other directions is uncertain. The inscription deposit is at present at a depth of 2.50-3 M. and the greatest quantity is along the foot of the W. wall above-mentioned ... The couple-amphorae are for the moment not in evidence but the yield of inscriptions is still as abundant as ever. Two large fragments of large inscriptions have been taken out this afternoon one of the fragments belonging

⁸⁰ The tablets that were definitely listed under this heading were SM 456-460, with copies of the signs only. The next tablets in the list were full drawings of the tablets, suggesting that they may have been included separately from the previous tablets. Furthermore, SM 463, 464 and 469 are (almost) whole tablets and cannot be described as minor fragments. If this were a correct interpretation, then the list of tablets found with the seal would be a small deposit of 5 minor fragments (plus others that were too small to include in the *Handlist*). Gill (1965) interpreted the AE/NB as possibly describing three sealings, i.e. G3, G4 and G5. It is clear from a re-reading of the notebook and a reading of the *Handlist* that there were only two sealings being described (i.e. G3 and G5). The words attributed to G4, when corrected, actually refer to G3. Thus, G3 and G4 are the same clay sealing.

apparently to a larger inscription than any yet found. Immediately S. of this area but at a level of only 1-1.20 from the surface several fragments of inscriptions have turned up but no walls have as yet appeared. This latter area is the continuation E of the miniature-fresco room. The E. wall of this room has not yet appeared. The W. end of the N. wall has been visible for some days»(DM/DB ink).⁸¹

Monday 14 May 1900

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «Excavation was carried on at ... the NE boundary of the threshing-floor, where was found the extensive deposit of inscriptions and couple-amphorae ... For the greater part of the day work was expended in removing the deposit-less supersoil and nothing in the way of finds was expected until we should get down near to the level at which the inscriptions had been previously found.» (DM/DB pencil). «Immediately N of where the greater number of inscription-tablets were found excavation was begun from the surface. For the greater part of the day work in this region was expended in removing the deposit-less supersoil and not much in the way of finds was expected until we should get down near to the level at which the inscriptions had been previously found.» (DM/DB ink). «Tablets continue along the wall. With them occurred two seals. One a good representation of a Myc. Ship. The other is interesting as presenting a new type. No impression but graffito on each of the three sides [drawing of sealing J4, i.e. Wm 1707]. Another seal hind part of bull - no letters [sealing J5]» (AE/NB).

Tuesday 15 May 1900

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «This area is now further being opened up but very slowly on account of the large number of inscription fragments in the deposit ... The inscription fragments were as plentiful as previously» (DM/DB pencil). «Work here proceeds very slowly on account of the large number of inscriptions in the deposit ... the inscription-tablets were as plentiful as ever» (DM/DB ink). Plan 52 of DM/DB (ink) given as *OKTi*, Plate XVIII.

Wednesday 16 May 1900

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «In the bull-relief-area the yield of inscription fragments still continues. ... the large fragments of the bull-relief, which were found at different levels considerably above the floor-level on which were found the large numbers of couple-amphorae and the deposit of inscription fragments» (DM/DB pencil). «In the area of the bull relief, 52) the yield of inscription fragments still continues» (DM/DB ink).

Thursday 17 May 1900

I3, I3bis: Area of Bull Relief: «The bull-relief area still continues to yield inscription-fragments and now for the moment in smaller quantities than

⁸¹ The large tablet described above is probably V 831.

previously. ... Stray fragments of inscriptions evidently belonging to the same set as those in the bull-relief area turn up from time to time» (DM/DB pencil). «The bull-relief area still continues to yield inscription-tablets but now in decreasing quantities. In the area S. of the bull-relief-area the E face of wall 3 in line with wall 2 has appeared [i.e. E wall of Room of Spiral Cornice]. ... Stray fragments of inscriptions turns up in this locality evidently belonging to the main deposit further N.» (DM/DB ink).

Friday 18 May 1900

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «The flooring on which the couple-amphorae and inscription deposit of the bull-relief area occurred is at a much lower level than that on which the fragments of miniature fresco were discovered. ... In the area of the bull-relief no new features present themselves but the yield of inscriptions decreases in quantity as excavation is carried N-wards» (DM/DB pencil). «In the area of the bull-relief no new features present themselves and the yield of inscriptions decreases as excavation progresses N-wards» (DM/DB ink).

Monday 21 May 1900

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «With the progress of the excavation N-wards it is clear that we have got beyond the range of the great inscription deposit of the bull-relief area» (DM/DB ink).

Tuesday 22 May 1900

I3 : Area of Bull Relief: «but to-day on the floor-level near the E wall of the road-way no inscriptions have turned up to-day at all so that this deposit is probably now exhausted» (DM/DB pencil). «In the area of the bull-relief the floor-level is everywhere being reached on which were found the vast quantities of inscriptions but to-day it was noticeable that in the vicinity of E wall of this 'roadway' no inscriptions at all have turned up so that the deposit is now probably exhausted» (DM/DB ink).

Wednesday 23 May 1900

West Court: «At the W paved hall there are no further developments and the soil as usual with the exception of one small fragm. of inscr. is quite deposit-less» (DM/DB pencil). «Excavation in the paved area N of the corridor of the procession progresses N-wards without any incident. To the E is the great gypsum wall to N and W. there is no discernible boundary. With the exception of one small fragment of inscription the deposit yielded no find of any kind» (DM/DB ink).⁸²

⁸² The West Court was progressively excavated northwards once the S.W. Entrance had been cleared on 19 May. The plan in DM/DB (inked) for that date shows the West Wall cleared up to (and including) the area in front of Magazine II. There was further excavation of the Court on 21 May to a position «some 15 metres N from the N. end of the procession corridor». On 22 May the excavation progressed to «something like

Friday 25 May 1900

F18 : Long Gallery: «In the long corridor just opposite the entrance of this new gallery [= XII] several fragments of inscriptions came out among them one complete and another nearly so» (DM/DB pencil). «In the long corridor just opposite the entrance of this new gallery [= XII] several fragments of inscriptions came out among them there was only one complete tablet while another was nearly so. These inscriptions did not belong to the deposit of pictographic inscriptions in 59)6 but came into the same class as those previously discovered» (DM/DB ink).

* * *

Monday 4 March 1901

F8 : Mag. IX: «Work was continued on the 9th gallery and immediately after starting work in the morning a fine Mycenaean gem with bull hunt (bull profile l. man in front profile r. dog above l.) was discovered quite near the surface just above the W. wall of the magazine. ... The soil has been removed at the W end of the Magazine to a depth of 1.20 and the pithoi are half-exposed. Several unimportant fragments of inscription tablets were discovered. Late in the day however, an almost complete one was discovered at 1.20 - .30 down» (DM/DB). «Also a chalcedony lentoid - the best Myc. Gem yet found in the Palace - a man grappling a bull which a dog with bristling mane springs at its neck. An almost perfect tablet with [drawing of AROM + PYC from Ga 517] = cereal combined with barn & a parallel fragment from W. Court just over the wall» [A second note is then included on the same page.] «In Mag.9. a small deposit of inscriptions interesting as affording a granary sign - with cereal above it [repeat of drawing of AROM + PYC]. Another tablet just over wall of W. Court - belonging to same set gives a variant of this» [drawing of AROM + PYC from Ga 518] (AE/NB, p.1, 2).⁸³

25 metres from the doorways at the S. end». There was excavation on the 23 May, during which the tablet was found. On 24 May it had extended «as far N as to behind the 7th Gallery» (i.e. 26 metres from the doorways at the north end of the procession corridor). On 25 May, it had extended 35 metres north of the doorways, revealing the protrusion westwards of the first of the series of longer magazines (Mag. XI). If we try to rationalise this data, it would appear that Mackenzie's estimate of «something like 25 metres» progress on 22 May was overstated. It would seem to follow that the small fragment of inscription found on 23 May was roughly in front of Magazine V or VI. The tablet, K 700, was recorded in the *Handlist* as being found in «W. area. Nr. S.W. Entrance», however, this is unlikely to have been the tablet found on 23 May because it is not a small fragment (by comparison with the size of other Linear B tablets) and the find-place of the small fragment was 20-25 metres from the S.W. entrance. There is no likely candidate for this small fragment of inscription from this sort of position in the *Handlist*.

⁸³ Evans is describing Ga(1) 517-519. The almost complete tablet noted by Mackenzie is Ga 517.

Tuesday 5 March 1901

F8 : Mag. IX: «In the 9th mag. the greater part of the deposit has been removed from the W end ... At mid-day the flooring was reached at a depth of M 1.60- .70. Several stray fragments of inscr. tablets were found. One rather important fragment 3 lines was found in the 2nd pithos - N wall» (DM/DB).⁸⁴

Trial pit: «In one of the more distant SW pits the fragment of an inscr. tablet has been found 1.80 down the first time that an inscr. tablet has been discovered so far away from the palace» (DM/DB).

Thursday 7 March 1901

F8 : Mag. IX: «Of finds made in the gallery the most important were the gem found near the surface at the W. end and a complete inscription found 1 M down in the deposit. The fragments of inscription did not form part of any deposit but turned up in isolation» (DM/DB).⁸⁵

Friday 8 March 1901

K : S.E. front: «In the E part of the S. front of the palace there is an obscure area which requires clearing up. In the course of this work a deposit was come upon containing some fragments of inscriptions. The deposit seems partly to have been thrown out from a previous excavation» (DM/DB).⁸⁶

Saturday 9 March 1901

K : S.E. front: «In endeavouring to trace the subconstructions of the S. Portico E wards the piece of work began yesterday at this part is still being carried on the soil being sifted for further fragments of inscriptions. In soil thrown out by our men not yet sifted an exceptionally fine fragment of very large gem impression was found with birds in profile right in a flowery landscape resembling those of the throne-room [?]. The impression was in a very soft friable condition. The soil is being carefully sifted for further fragments but the high wind makes the sifting a very disagreeable business» (DM/DB).

Monday 11 March 1901

F9 : Mag. X: «With the exception of the right half of a seal-impression with figure having face en face & one or two unimportant tablet fragments no finds were made in this gallery and the deposit was accordingly only sifted at the beginning of operations on this gallery i.e. up to this morning and at the W. end where the seal-impression was found a little above the floor-level» (DM/DB).

⁸⁴ The tablet found in the pithos was Ak(2) 617 (see Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.3).

⁸⁵ This is a summary statement referring to the finds of 4 March 1901.

⁸⁶ These fragments were Od 1062-1063.

«The most interesting find a half seal impression with facing head» [drawing of sealing G8] (AE/NB, p. 6).⁸⁷

Thursday 14 March 1901

F10 : Mag. XI: «In the E 1/2 of the gallery about .80 down were found several fragments of inscription, one whole» (DM/DB).

K : S.E. front: «In the SE front-area of the clay impressions - there is today no excavation but work is being carried on with the riddle all day. As many as 20 fragments of seal impressions were got by this means» (DM/DB).

Friday 15 March 1901

F10 : Mag. XI: «A good many finds of inscriptions are being made especially at a point about 1/4 from E end and from .80 down ... In the riddle a very large gem-impression (about 1/2) was found from the same deposit. About 2.50 further W was found about 0.80 down the clay impression in fragments of a large seal. The floor of the magazine has been found at a point near to W. end and found to be 1.50 down» (DM/DB). ~~«Towards the W end~~ In the E half of the 11th Mag. about .80 down occurred a small deposit of tablets. ~~Some refer app. To granary with a cereal sign rising on this from the summit.~~ Some inside 6th Pithos from entrance. Wood ashes of chest. About 2.50 W. of deposit large seal ?lion & bull [drawing of sealing G9/G10]» (AE/NB, p. 6a).

F14 : Mag. XV: «In the magazine 15 with the doorway near the W end of its N wall has been found late in the afternoon a deposit of inscriptions, several of them whole and some consisting of several lines. The soil from the deposit is being sifted according to the invariable rule. The inscription tablets began to turn up almost from the surface & seem to go down to .50» (DM/DB).

F19 : N.W. Passage: «Considerable progress is being made in the NW region of the palace. Here the floor-level has been reached at several points and interesting wall-construction is coming into view. At the same time isolated finds in inscriptions are being made here and there. The wall constructions as so far in view is to be seen in the opposite sketch. The double gallery [Magazines XVI-XVII] has N & S of it respectively a gallery closed at the E end. This fact leads one to suppose that these galleries must have had door-ways at some other part. No such doorway had been discovered up till this evening. Now, however, such a doorway has been brought partially into view at the W end of the N. wall of the S. closed gallery [i.e. Magazine XV], a threshold being visible and the doorposts of wood being identifiable through the existence of large fragments of the wood

⁸⁷ This was a summary statement, when the magazine had been almost cleared of deposit, but before it was swept out on the following day. The 'unimportant fragment' found here was Xe 524.

at each side in a vertical position which showed that they were in situ. The wood was only partially burnt» (DM/DB).⁸⁸

Saturday 16 March 1901

F10 : Mag. XI: «The supply of inscription fragments has practically come to an end since early this morning. The deposit was grouped near a pithos on its side mouth E (the 6th). A gypsum slab stood vertically EW parallel to the S wall with an interval between and the juxtaposition of the inscription fragments made one of the workmen think the slab might have been some sort of cup-board. The greater number of fragments were found 1 M down, and they apparently belonged to one deposit. The W 2/3 of the magazine contained no inscriptions» (DM/DB). «A gypsum slab near which made the workmen say that the deposit had been in a *dulápi*. ... The tablets of the 11th Mag. present for the first time the barred hand sign [*52]» (AE/NB, pp. 6a ff).⁸⁹

F14 : Mag. XV: «In gallery 15, the deposit of tablets is still productive during the whole day» (DM/NB).

F21 : Mag. XVIII: «In gallery 18 closed at E end occurred a three sided lozenge shaped seal with inscribed linear signs. Two fragments of (the same) inscription had been found the previous evening at the W. end of same gallery. The riddles are in operation» (DM/DB). «Mag. 18. 3 sided seal» [drawing of sealing, i.e. Wm 8499] (AE/NB).

K : S.E. front: «In the SE 'chamber of the Clay seals' the remainder (E-1/2 of the chamber) is now being excavated for further seal-impressions. ... The room-space is remarkable for the large numbers of clay seals that have turned up in the deposit most of them fragmentary. The chamber is below the floor-level of the S Portico and belongs possibly to the lower system of the S front» (DM/DB). «~~R. of Seal Impressions~~ Lapidary's Workshop. Pit Room to S.E. of Terrace contained a great number of Seal impressions - all broken & nodules of clay as if for making such. Some quite small pieces of impressions as if trial pieces of a gem engraver. ... place where correspondence or sealed chests were opened & others sealed (small hinge of bronze as Chariot Room)» [annotated drawings of sealings Q1-Q18] (AE/NB, pp. 16ff.).

⁸⁸ The plan for this day shows Magazines XIV-XVIII. The area just inside the great west wall, to the west of Magazines XIV and XV is labelled 'Passage Way'. Similarly, the area at the west end of Magazine XVI is labelled 'Passage way?'. It is suggested that this is the region described by the *Handlist* catch-headings 'N.W. passage' and 'N.W. corner'. The tablets found here were SM 595, 693-697.

⁸⁹ Mackenzie suggests that the greater number of fragments apparently belonged to one deposit. This almost certainly refers to the Lc(1) set of tablets, which forms the bulk of tablets found in this Magazine.

Monday 18 March 1901

F11 : Mag. XII: «In the morning the 12th gallery was commenced at the E end and at the W. ... in the evening two ? inscription tablets turned up at 1.70 from the surface and about .80 from the entrance» (DM/DB).⁹⁰

F14 : Mag. XV: «In the 15th gallery (E. end closed) the deposit of inscriptions is still productive but less and less so as the day advances. Among the inscr. fragments was one large one of an inscription in several lines apparently an account (Evans) [i.e. Ap 639]. Part of another large inscription tablet was brought out in two fragments. The riddles got us two or three fragments of gem impressions. The clay seal was almost complete and was countersigned front & back» (DM/DB). «With the deposit was found a large impression with two bulls [drawing of sealing G13]. Another ?lions' gate scheme [drawing of sealing G14]. Another with bull? attacked by dogs countermarked and countersigned [drawing of sealing G15, i.e. Ws 8152]. Another with part of a similar design [i.e. sealing G16]» (AE/NB, p. 6a). «Here from a little below the surface to 50 down a large deposit of tablets. Remains of a much larger since bits of many were wanting from having been too near the surface earth. This contained one inscr. of 14 lines & a new sign [*158] appears, also [*66]» (AE/NB, p. 9).

Tuesday 19 March 1901

F13 : Mag. XIV: «... in the deposit were found 1.20 down & about the middle of the gallery... some few frags of inscription tablets» (DM/DB).⁹¹

Wednesday 20 March 1901

F11 : Mag. XII: «In the E end at about .80 W from the entrance and 1.40 down were found three complete inscription tablets on Monday evening a 4th was found complete in two fragments this morning by means of the riddle» (DM/DB).⁹²

F14 : Mag. XV: «The 15th gallery has now been fairly cleared to its W. end. The deposit of tablets has apparently come to an end and only a few unimportant fragments were found in the course of the day ... The soil of this [gallery] as of the 14th gallery is being sifted for small finds and fragments of inscription» (DM/DB).

⁹⁰ There are three tablets allocated to this find-place in the *Handlist*, Lc(1) 561, Od(1) 562-563. The greater part of the Lc(1) archive was found at a point 1/4 way along the length of Magazine XI. It would tend to follow that the two whole tablets found near the entry to Magazine XII were probably Od(1) 562 and Od(1) 563.

⁹¹ The tablets found were 566-569 and 597. The hand-writing analysis tends to confirm that the tablets were strays from the main deposit found in F14.

⁹² According to the entry for Monday 18 March, only two inscriptions were found in Mag. XII on that day. It is suggested in the footnote for 18 March that these two tablets were Od(1) 562 and Od(1) 563. If this were the case, then the tablet found here, 'complete in two fragments', is Lc(1) 561.

F21 : Mag. XVIII: «The 18th gallery which is almost finished has yielded no important find save the discovery of the three-sided inscribed lozenge-shaped clay seal» (DM/DB).⁹³

Thursday 21 March 1901

F14 : Mag. XV: «The 15th gallery is now completely excavated with the exception of the deposit in the doorway towards the W-end of the N. wall. Only a few fragments of inscription were found» (DM/DB).⁹⁴

Tuesday 26 March 1901

F12 : Mag. XIII: «A fragment or two of inscription tablets turned up but not such as to give hopes of a deposit» (DM/DB).⁹⁵

H5 : Under blocked doorway - Throne Room complex: «The supposed ‘Cupboard’ at end of corridor behind Antechamber turns out to be a blocked doorway with wooden posts. Under the later wall here some tablets in a much decomposed state small fragments legible, showing that the wall is of later date than the Mycenaean period in which they were first made» (AE/NB, p. 19).⁹⁶

Tuesday 2 April 1901

G1 : Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «In the part H4 [map ref.] 2 fragments of inscription were found and the deposit was reserved for sifting» (DM/DB).

Wednesday 3 April 1901

G1 : Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «Excavation has been started to-day in the region H4, 5, 6 [map ref.] left over for convenience last year. In the after-noon the greater part of an inscription (broken off end) was found» (DM/DB).

Thursday 4 April 1901

E3 : Temple Repositories room: «A little further E the room adjoining to the E the room of the stone vats ... H 5-6 [map ref.] is now also being excavated since Tuesday morning. Nothing has turned up in the deposit with the exception of 2 fragments of inscr. tablets. At 1.30 down a deposit much impregnated with burnt wood begins» (DM/DB).⁹⁷

⁹³ The three-sided lozenge shaped seal was Wm 8499.

⁹⁴ Some tablets from this find-place were stolen by a workman and taken to Athens. The tablets were obtained by the National Museum. The stolen tablets were SM 471, 580, 592, 601-602, 614, 632, 640, 660-661, 8154-8169. See SM I, p. 46, Chadwick 1962 and Mackenzie's correspondence of 23, 27 June and 11 July 1901 in Momigliano 1999, APPENDIX 2.

⁹⁵ Tablet fragments L 564-565 were found in Magazine XIII.

⁹⁶ These tablet fragments were 746-748. These fragments were not noted by Mackenzie. The date for Evans' notes is uncertain. This entry has been included here because there is a plan of the rooms behind the Throne Room on the same page and a similar plan was drawn by Mackenzie on this date.

⁹⁷ One of these tablets was Gg 711. See the discussion in PART II, SECTION 11.

G1 : Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «The excavation of the region H4-6 [map ref.] is still going on. At a point 7.70 E of the E wall of the long corridor inscription tablets began to turn up in numbers sufficient to suggest a deposit of them. They were found 1 M down and over an area 1.30 in length in the S wall of the chamber, at a part which had no face of plaster so that they may have been kept in some recess of the wall. The whole space is filled with white deposit like lime. Here and there above the floor-level at 2 M down occasional fragments turned up. Several clay seals were found in the line of the wall just outside the recess where the inscriptions occurred» (DM/DB). [AE/NB, p. 17, gives annotated drawings of sealings from this room.]

Friday 5 April 1901

G1 : Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «The excavation of the long room H4 [map ref.] is still being proceeded with today. The floor-level will now be speedily reached. A little to the W of the recess where the inscriptions were found in the S. wall and at 2 M down were found fragments of inscription tablets one of a rather large inscription right end with vase-signs twice. The deposit may thus be conveniently be called that of the vase-inscriptions. At about 1.90 down there is a stratum of deposit with much burnt wood» (DM/DB).⁹⁸

Saturday 6 April 1901

E3 : Temple Repositories room: «In H6 [map ref.] with the two cists in the floor some deposit on the floor has still to be removed. The only find was in the shape of two fragments (fitting) of an inscription, so far, however, there is not, as was expected, any deposit» (DM/DB).⁹⁹

G1 : Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «In H4, 5, 6 [map ref.] the long room of the 'vase tablets' is being excavated all day the ill-defined floor-level having now been reached at the W-end at a depth of about 2.50. The yield of tablet fragments seems to have come to an end» (DM/DB). «Here near E. end about 1/2 m down was the remains of a kind of loculus in the wall which from its abundance of decayed gypsum seems to have contained a small chest. In this 'loculus' were found numerous fragments of inscriptions & some perfect examples. A series of these related to Vases - probably all of metal in one case certainly - with coiled handles [drawing of amphora from Gg 709]. Some were somewhat scattered.

⁹⁸ The large inscription with two vase signs is presumably Gg(3) 705, which has two prominent vase signs.

⁹⁹ There is a problem here because the *Handlist* only includes Gg 711, which is a single fragment, not in two pieces. The Temple Repositories room is adjacent to the Gallery of Jewel Fresco. By this stage Evans was speculating that the vase tablets found nearby in the Western Magazines were from the same set as those found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco. It is possible that Evans simply listed some of the tablets from the Temple Repositories room under the catch-heading of Gallery of Jewel Fresco.

One piece had fallen & was 1 metre below this level. As this deposit was at a somewhat high level its scattering may account for the finds of isolated 'Vase tablets' in the neighbouring Magazine & L Gallery (opp. 8th Mag. & in 8th Mag.) of same form & distinguishing mark [draws logogram *209^{VAS} + A] as most of these (only one with elaborate curved handle) 537, 538, 539, 565 (550 now 1064)» (AE/NB, pp. 27ff).¹⁰⁰ [AE/NB, p. 29, includes annotated drawings of sealings K5-K10.]

G2 : East of Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «In the space being cleared N.E. of the E wall of the room referred to (H6) [i.e. Temple Repositories room, see above] were found 1.50-2 out from the middle of this E wall some very important clay seals one having l. a shrine r. a lady. The seals were found in a deposit of black ashes on a floor-level .70 down» (DM/DB).

I4 : Area Bügelkannes under N. Wall: «In excavating for some days S. of the N. door-jambs and the room of the Bügelkanne occasional fragments of inscription and of clay seals have been turning up. At the foot of the N face of the N wall of this room & beneath the level of the floor were found yesterday several fragments of inscription suggesting a deposit two being whole. A clay seal with a stag r. (?) looking back was countersigned across the impression & there were some signs on the back. The mud N. wall [note on opposite page, «.80 to floor»] had collapsed and this accident facilitated the search for inscriptions» (DM/DB). «Deposit of tablets under floor of Bügelkannes R. and clay seal stag looking back countersigned» (AE/NB).¹⁰¹

Monday 8 April 1901

G2: East of Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «The small area to E of this room where were found the clay seals with ritualistic scenes is still being excavated but the deposit of seals seems to have come to an end» (DM/DB).

I4 : Area Bügelkannes under N. Wall: «In the N. threshing floor area where excavation has been going on for some days and where Friday several fragments of inscriptions & two whole tablets were found work is still proceeding. ... Part of this new floor was cement part consisted of a large slab. Above this floor were found some fragments of inscription tablets in a very soft condition. The conclusion is that the earlier floor as well as the later is Mycenaean» (DM/DB). «The mud-built North Wall of 'the Room of the Stirrup Vases' ('Bügelkannen') excavated last year having collapsed, a good opportunity offered of exploring the layers underneath. A few centimetres below the floor

¹⁰⁰ These are Original Numbers from the *Handlist* and correspond to Gg 706, 707, 708, 701 and 712, respectively. According to Evans' *Concordance*, it was ON 565 that was re-numbered to 1064 and not ON 550, see Firth 1998.

¹⁰¹ The sealing is either Ws 8497 or Ws 8153. The tablets found here were 769-773. It follows that the 'two whole tablets' must have been Ap 769 and X 770, which are almost complete tablets.

level with which this wall was connected another Mycenaean pavement came to light and some inscribed tablets resting upon it» (*BSA VII*, p. 13).

Tuesday 9 April 1901

G2 : East of Gallery of Jewel Fresco: «In H5 [map ref.], the small room E of the long gallery like room H4 [map ref.] is still being excavated ... The only finds in the room to-day were a small fragment of fresco ... and three fragments of clay seal» (*DM/DB*).

Thursday 18 April 1901

B1 : South-West Area: «A little further W C 3-4 [map ref.] is a part outside the wall left up till now as a passage way for barrows removing earth from the galleries. This is now being removed. Here on a floor level in 1 & 2 see 11) a number of Mycenaean vases began to appear, the first being a middle sized Bügelkanne with octopus ornament in 1 where altogether 8 vases were brought. In 2 some 1.50 out from the wall stray fragments of inscription began to turn up. On working a little deeper and towards the wall the tops of several vases appeared. Prominent were two middle-sized jars ... and several Bügelkannes some fractured many however, complete. Altogether as many as 16 could be counted» (*DM/DB*). «Near to inner wall on the W. side of the Gallery were found a number of Mycenaean Vases on the floor level. At (a) 16 In the upper earth here some tablet fragments perhaps fallen from above» (*AE/NB*, p. 32).¹⁰²

Saturday 20 April 1901

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «In the area E of the room of the clay seals in the morning a fragment of a clay seal turned up but there was no further development. In the space N. of the region where were found the carbonized beans several fragments of large inscriptions were found at a depth of .40 from the surface giving hopes of a deposit here» (*DM/DB*).

Monday 22 April 1901

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «The room of the clay seals had been previously excavated. ... By means of the sieve several interesting seal impressions were taken out of the deposit of 4 & 5. The floor-level is still about .70-1 M deeper and there is still hope of some inscriptions turning up. One fragment came out in 4 this fore-noon» (*DM/DB*).¹⁰³

Wednesday 24 April 1901

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «All the rooms are basement from the point of view of the main floor of the palace. In no part E of the Room of the clay

¹⁰² The tablet fragments found here were *SM 35-39*.

¹⁰³ This tablet was *SM 1061*.

seals has the floor been yet reached. Room 2 is also still being excavated. An occasional fragment of inscription occurs in 1 [Beans Room] and 2 [Room of Clay Signet] from time to time. Several fragments of clay seals have been recovered by means of the sieves» (DM/DB). [AE/NB includes annotated drawings of seals.]

Thursday 25 April 1901

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «The SE front is much as yesterday. The finds in clay seals are not so interesting as two days back but one impression complete with two women not in relief but in intaglio was unique. It had finger marks behind but not the usual through-hole marking where the thread runs through in the case of the clay seals» (DM/DB). «In r. E. of gem impression r. contained parts of a large inscribed tablet in its upper earth. Lower down Chamber is found a curious clay seal an impression from an impression - appeared to be used as a matrix ? an early attempt at forgery. The original was evidently a gold signet ring.» [Drawing of clay signet, Q22, with the additional note, «Part of actual impression of the same signet was found in Corr. E of 'landing' of seal impressions.» This was found on 11 May 1901.] (AE/NB, p. 34.)

Saturday 4 May 1901

J1 : East-West Corridor: «At about 2.5 W of the door jamb 8 [at SW corner of Room 81 on the map of Hood and Taylor] several complete inscriptions and some fragments came out in a stratum of dark earth impregnated with charred wood at a depth of about .80 from the surface. The earth is being sifted» (DM/DB).¹⁰⁴

Monday 6 May 1901

J1 : East-West Corridor: «Inscription fragments continue to turn up ... but not so many as Saturday. One or two small fragments were recovered by means of the sieve. Among the sieve finds was a whole clay seal» (DM/DB).

Tuesday 7 May 1901

J1 : East-West Corridor: «The area 6)5 where some inscription tablets have been turning up is being excavated W-wards [i.e. along N. wall of Hall of Colonnades]. Several metres of the N. wall have been brought into view but no other wall in any direction. E of the doorway 5x the wall forming the E jamb continuation E has a wall parallel to it S at a distance of 2.30. The interval between the walls forms a sort of passage way running E W & traced E for about 9M» (DM/DB).

¹⁰⁴ The whole tablets being referred to probably included the Dk(2)-series tablets, 1064-1066, 1068, 1070-1071, which were listed at the beginning of the list of tablets from the E-W Corridor in the *Original Handlist*.

Thursday 9 May 1901

J1 : East-West Corridor: «Excavation further S. in the area 6)5 and proceeding W. to opposite room 9)4 has wall 5 to the N. but no other wall W or S [i.e. into Hall of Colonnades]. There are no more inscriptions from this region» (DM/DB).

Saturday 11 May 1901

J1 : East-West Corridor & Grand Staircase: «Further E along the S face of wall 13 [north wall of E-W corridor] inscription tablets some complete in fragments have been turning up for some days past. The deposit is being passed through sieves and in this way several interesting clay seals have been recovered. Among these is an impression of a seal to which has also to be referred the curious clay signet found previously near the room of clay seals at the S. part of the site. The excavation along the S face of wall 13 is being carried W. and this afternoon coalesced with that in, and in front of, recess 4 [west end of E-W corridor]. Here just above the floor were found several complete clay seals and fragments of broken seals. The soil is now being reserved for sifting and this was started late in the day in recess 3 on this having been completely cleared» (DM/DB). «Gallery of Bays: ~~In fourth Bay~~ Stair landing - a number of seal impressions & an inscription & pieces. No countermarks or endorsements on sealings» [followed by annotated drawings of many sealings] (AE/NB, p. 46). [Drawing of clay signet, Q22, on AE/NB, p. 34, has the additional note, «Part of actual impression of the same signet was found in Corr. E of 'landing' of seal impressions.»]¹⁰⁵

Monday 13 May 1901

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «A room space E of where the fresco [i.e. prince fresco] occurs has yielded some fragments of inscription-tablets and the soil is being sifted» (DM/DB).

Tuesday 14 May 1901

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «Room 2 ... has been excavated down to about 1 M. A few fragments of inscription tablets were found scattered» (DM/DB).

Thursday 16 May 1901

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «In the room E of 14)1 some fragments of inscription tablets were found and the sifting of the deposit from the room was resumed today at mid-day on the earth having become sufficiently dry after the heavy rain» (DM/DB).

¹⁰⁵ This excavation is basically beginning to reveal the extent of the E-W corridor, recognising that it extends at least from a position W of the steps at its east end into the Hall of Colonnades.

Friday 17 May 1901

J2 : Hall of Colonnades: «Here at 10x [southern part of Hall of Colonnades, 1.30 metres from south wall] to the W side of wall 10, one course visible, was brought out in fragments the largest inscription tablet as yet found on the site. It was found about 2.50 down in deposit with pale red earth and a great many tumbled stones» (DM/DB). «Inside the basin about 2 m down was found the largest of all inscribed tablets - 24 lines & some fragments of smaller» (AE/NB, 1902, p. 1).¹⁰⁶

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «14)1 [Room] 2 is excavated E for several metres down to a depth of nearly a metre but all that has turned up has been an occasional inscription fragment recovered by means of the sieve» (DM/DB).

Monday 20 May 1901

J2 : Hall of Colonnades: «At 10x [southern part of Hall of Colonnades] was found a further small fragment of the large inscription tablet. A further tiny fragment came out in the sieve» (DM/DB).

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «Today the area of the clay signet has yielded no result of interest with the exception of a good many fragments of inscription at 14)1 & 2 all in extremely pudding [?] condition on the account of the nearness of the deposit to the surface .50-.60. Better preserved fragments belonging to the same deposit may occur deeper down» (DM/DB).

Thursday 23 May 1901

J1 : East-West Corridor: «... the passage-way running E, N of the balustrade is also being excavated inscriptions whole and in fragments and much injured by fire turn up from time to time and the soil is being sifted» (DM/DB).¹⁰⁷

K1 : Area of Clay Signet Room: «There are no more inscription fragments» (DM/DB).

Monday 27 May 1901

J2bis : Wooden Staircase south of Hall of Colonnades: «In the next space to the E, 6 at x, 4M down came out large numbers of clay seals» (DM/DB). [Annotated drawings of sealings from the «Gallery of Daemon Seals» are listed in AE/NB, 1902, pp. 5-6 before the start of the excavation notes for the 1902 season itself.] «... also two impressions of the signet with cup & orb» (AE/NB, p. 4).

¹⁰⁶ This describes As 1516.

¹⁰⁷ The balustrade being described is part of the Hall of Colonnades. The «tablets much damaged by fire» are probably tablets which have a pumice-like appearance, for example, 1388, 1449, 1334, 1102, 1465, 1103, 1323 & 1196. See also *SM I*, Fig. 18, p. 41, «Clay tablets from East-West corridor showing effects of fire». The four tablets shown in this figure are Da 1194, Dv 8353, Mc 5187 (upside down) and Dk 5597 (now joined with 1613).

Monday 3 June 1901

J1 : Hall of Colonnades: «The deposit is being rapidly removed and heaped together at a convenient part near the south shoot for sifting, a good many inscription tablets turning up.» [Footnote: «The sieves were put into operation early in the fore-noon»] (DM/DB).

Thursday 6 June 1901

J1 : East-West Corridor: «At the N end of the E wall is the doorway 8 at present discernible in section [doorway east from Hall of Colonnades into E-W corridor] At the foot of the N door-post of this door-way were found large quantities of seal-impressions and a number of inscription tablets. ... The stair-way down E to N of this system [i.e. stairway at the east end of E-W corridor] has not as yet been further cleared. On the steps near the top several clay seals had been brought out and the earth is to be sifted. Work will be resumed on this stair when the excavated earth with which it is encumbered has been removed to a convenient place for sifting» (DM/DB). [Annotated drawings of sealings from the «E-W Corridor» are listed in AE/NB, 1902, p. 4 (before the start of the excavation notes from the 1902 season itself.)] «... also two impressions of the signet with cup & orb» (AE/NB, 1902, p. 4).¹⁰⁸

* * *

Thursday 13 February 1902

«Two ~~small~~ fragmentary inscriptions in Kasselles of [blank space] Mag also burnt beam showing that they were open or at most covered with wooden lids at time of conflagration» (AE/NB).

Saturday 22 February 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «‘Bridge’ removed - Opening out of Megaron communications continued. N. doorway opened - there several bits of tablets belonging to upper deposit found [draws signs for *ku-ta-to* & *pa-i-to*] formulas» (AE/NB, p. 21).¹⁰⁹

Wednesday 26 February 1902

J3 : Corridor of Sword Tablets: «Further S. adjoining the S. bath system to the W. are apparently a series of similar passages in all of which at points marked xx isolated fragments of inscriptions have been brought out» (DM/DB).

¹⁰⁸ The E-W corridor tablets found in 1901 are probably those represented by DO 1-151 (see Firth 1998, TABLE J.i)

¹⁰⁹ It is particularly significant that Evans notes finding these groups of *ku-ta-to* and *pa-i-to* tablets together, as it reinforces the suggestion that tablets with the same toponym had originally been ‘filed’ together. See footnote for 5 March 1902 for a brief discussion on the identity of these *ku-ta-to/pa-i-to* tablets.

Thursday 27 February 1902

J3 : Corridor of Sword Tablets: «In the locality 4 where yesterday was found in fragments a large inscription tablet, a large number of differently shaped loom-weight objects in terracotta continue to come out. Further S at xxxxx fragments of inscriptions continue to turn up occasionally» (DM/DB).

Saturday 1 March 1902

J3 : Corridor of Sword Tablets: «Here the corridor of the loom-weights turns S. Several fragments of inscription 2 notably of large tablets have brought out. In the prolongation of the corridor further S further fragments of inscription tablets large & small have been found» (DM/DB). «W. of S. Bath & Shrine a corridor begins to reveal itself containing a somewhat scattered but interesting deposit of tablets. On these appears for the first time the sword or dagger pictograph [3 drawings of swords]. Several large tablets refer to men. A seal impression apparently an animal countermarked with 'man sign' [drawing of sealing S1, i.e. Ws 1708]. Here the countermark being pictorial shows that it referred to subject of one class of tablets. Also impression kneeling bull ... With the sword tablets was partly mixed another deposit of larger tablets with lists of men analogous to the Great Inscription. The 'man' seal belongs to this lot» (AE/NB, p. 34). «In Corridor or Mag. W, of shrine etc. - a fair amount of late Mycenaean ['bird vase' written above the line] glazed ware - belonging to later floor level & contemporary with vessels of shrine» (AE/NB, p. 36).

Monday 3 March 1902

J3 : Corridor of Sword Tablets: «The passage NS 3 is being still further excavated but no inscription fragments have turned up to-day» (DM/DB).

Tuesday 4 March 1902

J3 : Corridor of Sword Tablets: «Near sword tablet corridor gold Plate with minute gold nails. Crystal handle? [drawing]¹¹⁰ fragment of dagger 'Cruciform' type 'not horned'» (AE/NB, p. 37).

Wednesday 5 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the lower EW corridor the deposit is being slowly removed. Last year adjacent E to the door S into the Hall of Double-axes the floor had been reached at one point further E however deposit next to the floor still remained. In this deposit a considerable number, some whole, of inscription tablets are being discovered. The deposit will be sifted. The corridor

¹¹⁰ This was clearly the basis for the considerably more elaborated drawing given in *PofM* iv, Fig. 837.

is now almost cleared as far W as the doorway S into the Hall of the Double-axes» (DM/DB).¹¹¹

J3 : Corridor of Sword Tablets: «A fragment of a large inscription tablet was found across a wall beyond the S end of the corridor of the ‘sword-tablets’» (DM/DB).

Thursday 6 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the lower EW corridor as far W as the doorway S into the Hall of Double-axes the deposit has been almost entirely removed. A good many inscriptions have been turning up all day and the soil is being sifted. In this manner several further fragments were recovered as well as several seal-impressions» (DM/DB). «Clearing of lower E.W. Corridor - a large number of tablets of former hoard (pigs head on one)» (AE/NB, 4-6 March).¹¹²

Monday 10 March 1902

J4 : Queen’s Megaron: «The E wall of the room is greatly ruined & appears much fallen away. Apparently underlying the wall the N end of which remains and is possibly later construction inscription fragments began to appear & it was soon apparent that here was a new deposit of inscription tablets. One large tablet in two fragments was brought out & several whole-seal impressions were recovered» (DM/DB) «Embedded in later rubble wall about top of balustrade slab remains of a much corroded hoard of tablets with house or barn sign. With these several seals» [annotated drawings of R102-104]. Against the drawing of R104, «Three My. Shields part of counter-signature [drawing of L*26, i.e. sign for ‘ru’]» (AE/NB, 10-11 March).¹¹³

¹¹¹ The whole tablets found at the beginning of the 1902 season would have been DO 152-158 (see Firth 1998, TABLE J.i), i.e. 1298, 1084, 1150, 1246, 1278, 1233, 1116. These are all in BATCH S1 (except Dc 1298, which was given to the Ashmolean Museum). It seems probable that BATCH S1 represents, at least to some extent, the first tablets excavated from this area in 1902 and that the tablets with the toponyms, *ku-ta-to* & *pa-i-to*, which were noted by Evans on 22 February 1902, were also from this batch, i.e. 1072-1074, 1116, 1119, 1121-1122 with *ku-ta-to* and 1084-1085, 1159, 1173 with *pa-i-to*. It is interesting to note that although Evans states that these tablets were found together, he did not list them consecutively in his original *Handlist*.

¹¹² The tablet with the ‘pig’s head’ is almost certainly Da 1116 (*au-ri-jo*). The other possible tablets from the E-W Corridor which Evans’ would have recognised as having an animal’s head are; Dv 1103 (*au-ri-jo*), which was found in 1901; and Db 1166 (*au-ta₂*), which is listed much later in the series of tablets from the 1902 season than Da 1116.

¹¹³ Myres numbered sealing R104 as 1713 (see also Gill 1966). This sealing has been omitted from *KT* and should be included in future editions. The large tablet in two pieces is almost certainly Ga(5) 1530.

Tuesday 11 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the EW corridor excavation in section W-wards has now been carried well past the doorway S into the Hall of the Double-axes ... The excavation has got down to the level of the inscription deposit, accordingly fragments of inscription-tablets have now begun to turn up again. Some further fragments were recovered through sifting as well as some seal-impressions» (DM/DB).

J4 : Queen's Megaron: «From the sketch it is now clear that we have in this chamber a light well arrangement like that of the Throne-room. 24)1 is a balustrade like that of the Throne-room light-well only this time it is not stepped down. At the end of it in relief on the gypsum slab of the balustrade is the square base for a pillar. 2 is an E balustrade similar to the Throne-room seat-balustrade. The gypsum slab facing is in position also a top-slab with part of curve marking position of wooden column. The N. part of balustrade 2 is surmounted by construction which seems later wall. Underneath this later construction and on a level with the top of balustrade 2 came into the fragments of inscription-tablets brought out last evening. The existence of the inscriptions underneath the wall proves the lateness of the same» (DM/DB).

Thursday 13 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the EW corridor the usual yield of inscription fragments turned up. Owing to the confined space only one man excavated in this corridor & thus here work proceeded at its usual pace. The sieves however owing to the dampness of the deposit after the rain did not work» (DM/DB).

Friday 14 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the EW corridor the usual yield of inscriptions continued all the forenoon. The excavated earth now being sufficiently dry the sifting of the earth was resumed» (DM/DB).

Saturday 15 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the EW corridor some further inscription tablets & fragments turned up. The sifting of the deposit also went on» (DM/DB).

J4 : Queen's Megaron: «In bathroom was found part of very fine seal impression with school of three dolphins perh. originally 6, and rocks - they give the same type as the fresco ... Part of seal impr. with griffin & pillar ? one of fish also found here. (These inscriptions in connexion with 'barn' tablets see above)» [drawings of sealings R105-106] (AE/NB, 15-21 March).

Monday 17 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the EW corridor the usual yield of inscription tablets & fragments continues to-day and at the same time the deposit is being

sifted. From mid-day onwards 2 sieves are being used. Among the finds was an impression of a gold signet-ring woman r. seated profile l. woman l. standing profile r.» (DM/DB).¹¹⁴

Tuesday 18 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the EW corridor the W end, just at the doorway into the Hall of Colonnades, has been reached and it is not possible to do more work here until the doorway itself has been secured against collapse. The usual yield of inscription tablets & fragments was brought out. Sifting also went on all day» (DM/DB).

Monday 24 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «This fore-noon the door-way at the W end of the lower EW corridor & from it into the Hall of the Colonnades had work started on it with a view to having communication opened up between the corridor and the Hall. ... Some fragments of inscription tablets were brought out» (DM/DB).

Tuesday 25 March 1902

J1 : East-West Corridor: «In the lower EW corridor work on the door-way W-wards into the Hall of the Colonnades was practically completed and it is now possible to go to or from the Hall directly by way of the corridor. Several further fragments of inscription tablets were found. This deposit of inscription tablets may now be regarded as exhausted» (DM/DB).

Friday 28 March 1902

J2bis: South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades: «In the Hall of the Colonnades ... the doorway from the lower EW corridor into the Hall having been successfully opened we this morning proceeded to the excavation of the doorway at the E. end of the S. wall. ... Some seal impressions & fragments of inscription-tablets, one large, came out in the deposit of the doorway. Here similar fragments came out last year» (DM/DB). «In S. door of Hall of Colonnades & entrances of passages beyond more pieces of inscr. & seals. A new kind of round tablet - perhaps a kind of label [drawing, possibly of Wm 1714]. Parts of one or two examples with similar letters & number [signs for 30]. The insides show the impression of a cord with prominent twisted strands. It had secured a package. Pieces of led dog seals as last years and several royal signet impressions with the goddess & cup [annotated drawings of R53, 55-57] ... Tablets from this passage list of men & [drawing of signs from E 1574]. The round tablets with the same numbers & inscr. & impression of exactly similar cord seems to show that they secured the same bale or package» (AE/NB, p. 48).

¹¹⁴ This is presumably referring to the «goddess and rhyton» sealing, R51.

Saturday 29 March 1902

J2bis: South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades: «In the Hall of the Colonnades the S. door having been sufficiently propped is now completely excavated. Some fragments of inscription tablets were recovered in the deposit of the doorway including the greater part of a large inscription tablet evidently with the same kind of context as the large inscription found last year in the Hall of the Colonnades» (DM/DB).

Friday 4 April 1902

J2bis: South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades: «In the Hall of Colonnades ... excavation beyond the door to the S has now been resumed. This is the space already referred to as having been excavated down to within a metre of the floor last year ... Previously in the work of building some deposit had to be removed and here some fragments of inscription & one whole tablet were recovered belonging to the large deposit previously found in this corridor» (DM/DB).

Saturday 5 April 1902

J2bis: South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades: «In the area S. of the S. door of the Colonnades ... further excavation now goes on. Fragments of inscription tablets and a good many clay seals have been turning up all day» (DM/DB).

Wednesday 16 April 1902

J2bis: South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades: «Some further excavation is now possible in the passage S. of the Hall of Colonnades now that the crumbling walls have been supported by means of 2 strong brick arches. Seal-impressions continued to come out all day» (DM/DB).

Friday 18 April 1902

J2bis: South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades: «In the area S. of the Hall of the Colonnades ... A great many seal-impressions turned up in the deposit especially at the S end. ... Area 5 is a store-room-like space probably open at the W. end. The deposit in the space is full of seal impressions several hundreds probably being brought out till now» (DM/DB).

Saturday 19 April 1902

J2bis: South Doorway of Hall of Colonnades: «The only thing to record is the continuance of finds in seal-impressions in the area S. of the S. door of the Hall of Colonnades. The sieves (2 this morning) also brought out a good many seal impressions. In the afternoon ... the only point at which work is carried on is in the area S of the S door of the Hall of Colonnades where seal-impressions continue to turn up. 2 sieves are working and a good many seal impressions are by this means recovered from the deposit» (DM/DB).

1904

L : Arsenal: «On the floor corresponding to the wall or at any rate in the floor deposit belonging to the building we had come upon what turned out to be an important hoard of inscription tablets and seal-impressions. The inscriptions, though much cracked at parts through over-burning [side note: Not through over-firing. The burning of the inscriptions, which as in the case of all the Knossian inscriptions of the same period led to their preservation, was due to the burning of the building in which they were found.] were in good preservation and the first indications were that they would prove to be of extraordinary interest. The discovery of this deposit of inscriptions opened up a new vista in the history of the site for notwithstanding the amount of excavation that has been already made outside the precincts of the palace proper this was the first time that we had come upon a deposit of inscriptions that could not be assigned to some room of the palace itself.» (DM/DB, p. 84).

«It was now evident that the area was so important that the whole of that which contained the inscription-deposit would have to be opened up... When as many inscription fragments as possible were got out within the confined limits of the first test pit this was abandoned and the new work started. Even within the very narrow limits of the original test-pit the results were so important that the expansion of operations became imperative. The inscriptions and seals were found to extend in a NE direction from the foot of the wall where the first fragments were found but they did not occur at the same level and this circumstance made it appear as if some of them at least must belong to an upper floor. Within the two metre limit of the pit the wall ended W-wards in an anta or the side of a door. About the threshold of this door-way, if door-way it was, and N. of it a new deposit of exceptional interest was brought into view. This consisted of a hoard of thin bronze arrow-heads exactly like the votive sort found in the chamber tombs of Mycenae. Along with the arrow-heads were found several bronze loop-handles in a medium of black wood ashes suggesting the box to which the handles belonged and in which the arrow-heads were probably enclosed. The boxes were apparently sealed as well as closed for quite near were found some of the clay seals and one of them which was inscribed was found to have the arrow sign [drawing of arrow sign, JAC] as one of its characters [side note: Mr. Evans has found that the arrow sign occurs on inscriptions from the same deposit.] The bronze arrow-heads extended N from the 'doorway' as well as into it and they were found to continue into the N as well as into the S section of the pit» (DM/DB, p. 86).

«The area when finally cleared to the extent possible this season appeared as opposite [see OKTi, Plate XXV]. ... Regarding the walls of the magazines it is to be remarked that from S to N they alternate thinner and thicker ... there is an analogy for it in the case of the series of longest magazines in the palace where likewise the walls alternate thick & thin in a similar manner. This alternation as in the palace so here was made with a view to the support of the floor of a large room above. The evidence itself for an upper storey here was very apparent.

After the area of the inscriptions was opened up and they began to be partly taken out in section it was found that these by no means all lay on one floor level. Some were found considerably higher than the others. Then, however, in the section a good many fragments of cement flooring were observable some surface up some surface down and sometimes above these sometimes among or below them appeared the fragments of inscriptions. It thus could be made out that the inscriptions themselves had been preserved in the room above the magazine in whose deposit they were found and that they fell into the magazine with the collapse of the cement floor. The inscriptions with the exception of a few stragglers were found all together in magazine 1 and it is clear that they all belong to one deposit. The arrow-heads and bronze handles of chests were found in two similar deposits in the vicinity of the N & S doors of the corridor 4 in the positions indicated on the sketch. The extreme thinness of the bronze made it appear as if they must have been manufactured for votive or burial use, and this opinion about them is strengthened by the fact that one of the arrows exactly like the others was of ivory. The floor on and above which all these objects were found was at a depth of .40-.50 from the tops of the adjacent walls and 5.45 from the present surface» (DM/DB, p. 88).

* * *

Tuesday 21 March 1905

L : Arsenal: «The first site to be attacked was the E. [east wall 2] ... This made it clear at once that there was to be no continuation in this direction of the deposit in which the described tablets had been found... [Next excavation was on the west side] Thus it was quite clear that the system to which belong the magazines of the inscribed tablets did not extend W beyond wall 1» [see OKTi, Plate XXV] (DM/DB).

Thursday 23 March 1905

L : Arsenal: «... all that remained of deposit in the magazines from last year was carefully excavated and sifted with a view to the discovery of further inscribed tablets and clay seals. It will be remembered that the area which had yielded the greatest number of inscribed tablets last year was that covered by Magazine 2. Accordingly effort was especially concentrated here with the hope of coming once more upon the stratum in which the tablets had been closely massed together ... The observation had been made last year that the tablets did not occur on the floor of the magazine but irregularly at different levels from the floor to a height above it of some .50-.60. Thus the tablets were not found in the position in which they had been kept but in one into which they had fallen from above. A natural thing to think of was a coffer on a shelf from which the tablets may have dropped gradually with the disintegration of woodwork only partially destroyed by fire. Last year, however, in the same stratum in which occurred the

tablets, broken masses of clay flooring ... formed a regular concomitant phenomenon wherever the tablets occurred and the fragments of flooring have the same tumbled appearance in the loose deposit in which the tablets occurred, as the tablets themselves. The tablets occurred sometimes above, sometimes below, the fragments of flooring and the only conclusion could be that the fragments of cement belonged to a room above the magazines, that the inscribed tablets had fallen down from above with the collapse of the floor, and that accordingly these tablets had originally belonged to and been preserved in the room above the magazine to which the flooring belonged» (DM/DB).

24 March - 1 April 1905

L : Arsenal: «Occasional tablets or fragments of such did occur more especially on the NE and E edge of the area in which the tablets were most frequent the previous year but the intermittent character of their occurrence taken in conjunction with the circumstances under which they were found out of connection with the occurrence of upper floor fragments in their original fallen position made it quite apparent that we had got beyond the genuine area of the deposit. The occasional tablets were in these circumstances to be accounted for by the levelling operations of later builders previous to their laying of new foundations. The confused condition of the deposit in the area in which the tablets appeared intermittently was what was to have been expected as a result of such levelling process. That the disturbance had been considerable was apparent from the fact that though the occurrence of the tablets was only occasional the sum total of fragments found was in the circumstances considerable. The new fragments found belonged intrinsically to the same deposit as that of last year for they were of the same character and apparently had relation to the same objects» (DM/DB).

22 April 1905

M : Little Palace: «In the course of the day ... some rubble wall construction could be distinguished and out of this at the point xxx [near S.W. wall of the Hall of the Peristyle] the fragment (end) of an inscribed tablet was excavated. As the wall was in a crumbling condition it was not clear whether the tablet fragment came out of the wall or had fallen ... from an upper storey. This was the second time that the existence of inscribed tablets had been verified outside the area of the Palace, the other instance being the tablets found last year in the basement magazines of an important building bounding the royal roadway on the N. [i.e. Arsenal]. In this case also the tablets had fallen from an upper storey into the basement where they were found. The new tablet fragment pointed to an important house site and later in the day all conjecture was converted into fact on the discovery of column bases 1, 2, 3 in the south part of the trench in sketch 1» [OKTi, Plate XXVI: tablet occurred immediately south-west of column 1] (DM/DB).

25 April 1905

M : Little Palace: «With the exception of a fragment or two no further inscribed tablets occurred but on the other hand broken clay seals turned up in considerable numbers especially in the area in which the fragment of an inscribed tablet was first discovered» (DM/DB).

2 May 1905

M : Little Palace: «In the room in question and in this loose tawny deposit appeared in section as the workmen proceeded inwards from the doorway the first considerable deposit of clay seals. The confused distribution in this deposit at a considerable altitude above the floor made it evident that the clay seals did not originally belong to this room but that they had fallen into this room with the floor of the corresponding room above. Almost simultaneously clay seals of a similar character began to emerge under similar conditions in adjacent rooms as indicated on the sketch [Plate XXVI of *OKTi*], so that provisionally it may be held probable that most if not all the clay seals originally belonged to rooms situated above the lower storey of the building. That there was such an upper storey is made abundantly clear through the existence of the stair up S and then up N in the S part of the system. Each flight of this stair has twelve steps including the landing step in either case and the construction and proportions were analogous to those familiar from the Palace» (DM/DB).

* * *

1922

L : Arsenal: «The area North of wall 2 was gradually defined as a large rectangular area bounded on the S by this and on either side, E and W, by walls 3 and 4. It looked like a court in the middle or at the N end of the buildings. In the SE area of this many fragments of 'tarazza' and arrow-heads got scarcer and then ceased at a floor-level corresponding to that of the floor-level of the magazine between walls 1 and 2. As the 'tarazza' and arrow-heads began to 'tail off' fragments of inscribed tablets emerged in a way to suggest that they were more intimately connected with the floor-level than the arrow-heads and the 'tarazza'. This belonged originally to a roof while the arrows may have fallen from an upper floor when the roof fell. But all the deposits suffered much disturbance from those in search of building materials» (DM/DB, p. 77).

* * *

1957

West of Arsenal: «On the north side of the [Royal] road a sounding 6 by 3 m. was opened immediately west of the Armoury (now filled with dump from 1926 excavations), where in 1904 Evans found the interesting series of 'Armoury

tablets' ... In the new sounding last year two further scraps of Linear B tablets and one or two bronze arrow-heads were recovered from the top of Minoan levels at a depth of 4 m. below the modern surface. Above the Minoan levels was a well-marked deposit about a metre thick of the Geometric period, with later (Classical) pits cut into it, all sealed by a stone pavement belonging to a large house built in Hellenistic or early Roman times» (*Archaeology Reports*, p. 21).¹¹⁵

1958

West of Arsenal: «The trench opened in 1957 has been enlarged to 9 x 6 m. The upper part of the Minoan levels from which the two scraps of Linear B tablets were recovered during the previous year, was reached over most of this area. On more large fragment of a tablet with three signs on it came to light» (*Archaeology Reports*, p. 20).¹¹⁶

1959

West of Arsenal: «A bulldozer was employed to clear away the dumps from the excavations of 1957-1958, together with the upper metre of sterile top-soil. The soundings of 1957-1958 were then extended ... to cover an area of some 180 sq. m., bordering the Armoury excavations of Evans on the west. ... The Late Minoan levels ... were cleared over about two-thirds of the area of excavation. There had evidently been some large building here in the period of the Last Palace (fifteenth century B.C.) but it had been wrecked ... From the rubbish that had been piled over the ruins of the building after its destruction four scraps of Linear B tablets were recovered. One of these is interesting, because it appears to be a duplicate of the helmet tablet from Knossos recently published [Huxley and Chadwick 1957]. On the new tablet the word *KO-RU* is missing, but the picture of the 'helmet' is more clear. No tablets were recovered from the floor of the building» (*Archaeology Reports*, pp. 23-24).¹¹⁷

1960

West of Arsenal: «A few more scraps of Linear B tablets were found; but it was realised that all the scraps of tablets so far recovered from here come from a deposit of rubbish filling great pits left by quarrying for stones from earlier buildings. The date of the quarrying cannot be fixed with precision until the

¹¹⁵ The tablets referred to here are probably Nc 8144 and Nc 8145 both were probably written by scribe 133 and are part of the Arsenal series of tablets (Chadwick 1962, p. 51).

¹¹⁶ The tablet being referred to is Nc 8146, with the signs *ko-ri-jo*. It was written by scribe 133 and is part of the Arsenal series (Chadwick 1962, p. 52).

¹¹⁷ The four tablets noted here are probably X 8147, X 8148, Sk 8149 and Og 8150. Tablet Sk 8149 has the *GALEa (ko-ru)* logogram and was written by scribe 206 (Chadwick 1962, pp. 52-53).

pottery from this fill of rubbish has been examined in detail...» (*Archaeology Reports*, p. 26).¹¹⁸

1961

West of Arsenal: «Six new fragments of inscribed Linear B tablets were recovered last year. They were in a deposit of mixed rubbish, with fragments of pottery ranging from Neolithic and Early Minoan to Late Minoan IIIB, above the ruins of the Late Minoan IB building on the west edge of the excavated area (see Section, Fig. 33). These tablets may belong to a different series from those found by Evans in the 'Armoury' to the east. One of them has an ideogram in the form of a 'Horns of Consecration' (*Archaeology Reports*, p. 27).¹¹⁹

1968-1973

Unexplored Mansion : «The pottery among the debris was almost entirely plain, but belonged to types which the author believes were current on LMIIIB. Moreover, in the case of one room (2), a terminus post quem for its final occupation was supplied by a pit filled with LMIIIA2 sherds, over which ran the latest earth floor. On this floor had fallen a statuette of a well-known type, the goddess with uplifted arms. It was in the adjacent and communicating room (1) that the inscribed jar was discovered. Broken into many pieces, it lay some 50 centimetres above the floor in a deposit of fragmentary pottery which had apparently fallen from an upper storey.

The stirrup jar stands 40.3 centimetres high. It is of a hard gritty fabric covered with a pale fawn slip, while the decoration is in a slightly lustrous brown-black paint. Apart from two sets of bands around the shoulder and near the base, a double wavy line decorates the body of the vase; handles and spout are outlined by a single encircling line. The inscription is on the shoulder opposite the spout, and an isolated cross has been painted on the shoulder to the left of the spout.

The inscription apparently reads *wi-na-jo*, which has been interpreted as a male name; if so, it was of some popularity, to judge from its several occurrences on Linear B tablets from Knossos. It is not recorded on tablets from elsewhere.» (Popham 1969).¹²⁰

«The discovery of a fragment of a 'palm-leaf' tablet in the Mansion gives is the example furthest afield yet from the various Palace archives. Those physically nearest to it are ... from the adjacent Little Palace - and it is not at all impossible that the Mansion fragment might belong with these...

Regrettably, the Mansion tablet is not from any usefully restricted archaeological context: one piece (72/1) comes from the central area of the

¹¹⁸ The tablets found in 1960 were M 8170 and X 8171 (Chadwick 1962, p. 58).

¹¹⁹ The six tablets found in 1961 were U 8210, X 8211, X 8212, X 8213, X 8214 and X 8215 (Chadwick and Killen 1963, pp. 68-70).

¹²⁰ Examples of stirrup jars bearing also the man's name *wi-na-jo* were also found at Armenoi on Crete and Midea in the Argolid.

Mansion, the other from over the NE corner - both in mixed contexts, dating up to sub-Minoan, and later, Since this is the position, it is definitely stretching the evidence too far to try and tie the tablet fragment firmly to any activity known or suspected to have been carried out here in the life of the building.» (Popham *et al.* 1985, pp. 252-253 and Plate 223[b]).¹²¹

* * *

PART II: DISCUSSION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE FIND-PLACES

There are many detailed questions to be considered during the course of this paper, but there would appear to be four major questions related to the archaeology of the Knossos Linear B tablets:

- 1) which tablets were found in each of the find-places?
- 2) where were the tablets immediately prior to the destruction of the parts of the palace in which they were found?
- 3) were the tablets originally part of the same archive and, if not, what are the relative chronologies of the different deposits of tablets?
- 4) what is the absolute chronology of the tablets?

The purpose of the next section is to open up each of these questions before embarking on the detailed study of the individual find-places. This will have the advantage of giving some focus to the more detailed discussion which follows. It also gives an opportunity to note points which arise from the detailed discussion but which are generally applicable to a number of find-places. The present discussion in this section should be regarded as preliminary. The first two questions will be addressed in detail in the discussion which follows of each of the find-places in turn. The latter two questions are considered in PART III.

1. PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF THE MAJOR ISSUES

1.1. *Which tablets were found in each find-place?*

This first question has already been answered to a large extent in PART I. It was recognised that in such a large document as the *Handlist*, there are inevitably a few instances where tablets have been allocated to the wrong find-place. There are also examples where the catch-headings given are ambiguous and the excavation notebooks can be used to give clarification. An attempt was also made to use additional sources of information, such as the *SM II* photographs and the Museum Inventory to give additional information on find-places.

In principle, it should also be straightforward to allocate a substantial number of these fragments to find-places by analogy with the others (i.e. because they are from the same sets, with the same scribes as other tablets). However, until recently there was sufficient uncertainty about the basic find-place information

¹²¹ This is tablet 8833 and, strictly, it is two fragments not one fragment.

that it seemed imprudent to make judgements for tablets which were not included in the *Handlist*. At this stage, much of that uncertainty has now been removed. As a consequence, it is now feasible to allocate some additional tablets to find-places. This will be done in cases where the tablets form a clearly defined set, with a single scribe (or scribes in the case of the Lc(2) tablets), and where the set of tablets were found in a well-defined area. These tablets will be said to have been allocated find-places by inference (and, in this paper, they will be included in the tables in italics). In practice, this procedure has been used before; for example, Driessen (1988) allocated all tablets written by the «124»-series of scribes to the Room of the Chariot Tablets. However, *CoMIK* and *KT Color* do not currently allocate find-places on this basis.

1.2. *Where were the tablets immediately prior to the destruction of the parts of the palace in which they were found?*

At first sight this might seem a simplistic question, as the tablets were surely in a container on the floor or on a shelf and then fell during the fire which destroyed the palace. However, it is commonly stated that the Linear B tablets found at Knossos had fallen from upper floors (see, for example, Driessen 1990 p. 61; Popham 1987). Therefore, it is appropriate for us to consider the evidence for this. The evidence for the individual find-places is given in the sections which follow. The discussion here is on the general issue of whether or not there were upper floors in certain areas.

1.2.1. *The evidence for an upper floor above the Western Magazines*

One of the clearest examples, both of the existence of an upper floor and for tablets having fallen from that upper floor, is in the area of the Western Magazines. The archaeological evidence for the upper floor is:

a) in Mackenzie's discussion of Magazines I, II & III (DM/DB 18 April 1900) which describes examples of walls from the upper floor which were immediately above the lower gallery walls, separated by an interval of 0.30 metres (representing the gap for the intervening floor/ceiling).

b) in Mackenzie's description of the Long Gallery, near the entrance to Magazine VIII (DM/DB 30 April 1900), where he noted that the «burnt circular ends of wooden roof-beams» appeared in a row about 0.40 - 0.50 metres from the paved floor-level.

c) in Mackenzie's and Evans' description of Magazines IX & X (DM/DB 7 & 8 March 1901, AE/NB, p. 37) of layers of clay and plaster which formed the flooring, presumably supported by the floor beams. (See the discussion by Hallager 1977, pp. 69-70.)

d) in Mackenzie's description of Magazine XIV (DM/DB 21 March 1901), which describes «the large quantity of burnt wood (from beams) going along the deposit at a depth varying from 1.20 at the E end to 1 metre & at the W end .60-.50 from the surface».

e) in Mackenzie's description of Magazine XV (DM/DB 14 March 1901), describing «at 1 M down here there is a tough stratum of red earth which could be taken for flooring but as the adjoining pavement is 1.50 down it is probable the flooring ... [will] be at the same level».

f) there are steps leading to the upper floor above the Western Magazines from within the Long Gallery and also from the Central Court, over the Gallery of Jewel Fresco.

In addition, there are architectural details discussed by Graham (1969) indicating the positions of upper walls, windows and pillars. Using these, Evans, and later Graham, reconstructed their view of how the upper rooms would have been constructed. Although there is some divergence in these reconstructions, there is no doubt that there was an upper floor above the Western Magazines.

Furthermore, there is clear evidence that many of the tablets found in the area of the Western Magazines had actually fallen from these upper floor rooms because their find-places were significantly above the paved floor-level. (Some examples are the tablets from; Magazine III, 4 April 1900; Magazine IX, 7 March 1901; Magazine XI & XV, 15 March 1901.) In addition, tablets from the same set were found in adjacent magazines.

Thus, for the Western Magazines, we can take it as fact that there were upper floor rooms and that some of the tablets were in those rooms immediately prior to the conflagration.

In *PofM* iv, Evans went further and provided a plan for an upper floor for the whole of the western half of the palace. This has subsequently been published in tourist literature and is widely available. It has also become the basis for conjectural drawings of the palace and for the detailed model on display in the Fresco Room in the Heraklion Museum (Hall XIV, first floor). However, there are a number of places where Evans himself describes his plan of the upper floor as conjectural. In practice, a more rigorous analysis of the archaeological evidence would seriously question the basis for much of Evans' upper floor plan.¹²²

In his book on the architecture of the palaces of Crete, Graham (1969) describes discussion about upper floors as «building castles in the air». He restricts his consideration of the upper floor rooms in the palace at Knossos to the area above the Western magazines, where the evidence is relatively straightforward. He also includes some discussion on the construction of the upper floors themselves. It is worthwhile including a discussion on this subject here because it serves to emphasise that we cannot simply postulate an upper floor without providing the evidence to show that it could have been a practical proposition. It will also demonstrate that it is possible to use the general evidence

¹²² The model was a careful construction, made by a furniture maker, Z. Kanakis, based on Evans' plans. It is ironic that tourists in the Heraklion Museum are not allowed to take holiday photographs of the wooden model of the palace because it is not published, however, the model is directly based on Evans' plans, which are published.

about the construction of upper floors to assess the likelihood of the existence of upper floors above specific rooms.

1.2.2. *The construction of the floors of upper rooms*

The evidence concerning the construction of the floors of upper rooms is clearly much less than that for the floors of basement rooms. Nevertheless, it is possible to assemble a consistent set of information.

Within the palace at Knossos, the best reported evidence for the construction of upper floors is above the Western Magazines IX and X, as already noted. This is discussed in detail by Hallager (1977, pp. 69-70), who uses the excavation notes to reconstruct a section through the ceiling/floor. The floor is supported by a row of circular beams, above which there is a layer of 10 cm of red clay and above that a 20 cm brownish layer and, finally, above that a pebble floor. For the floor above Magazine IX, there was a further 15 cm layer of earth (?) covered with red cement/clay.¹²³ The «circular beams» would, of course, have been lengths of tree trunks or thick branches. The description probably represents an original floor, represented by the pebble floor (about 30 cm above the top of the beams), and newer floor level 15 cm above the pebble floor (about 45 cm above the top of the beams). For present purposes, the point to note is thickness of the packed earth and clay within the floor construction.

The excavations at Akrotiri show a similar arrangement but, in that case, the preservation of the remains allows a more detailed study. Shaw (1977) describes 5 separate examples; 3 of these are upper floors, one is a roof and one could be either from an upper floor or a roof. In two cases it was possible to estimate the size of the main ceiling beams which were 20-25 cm diameter. Shaw describes these as regular (unsquared) tree trunks with the bark removed. There were cross beams of 4-10 cm diameter with estimated spacing intervals of 15 cm. On top of these were layers of vegetable matter of a long flat plant laid perpendicular to the cross-beams (Doulas 1980 later described these as reeds¹²⁴). On top of this vegetation was thick layers of earth and clay like materials. Three out of these five cases were sufficiently well preserved to allow an estimation of the total thickness of these earth and clay layers and these varied from 32-37 cm. The other two cases had thicknesses greater than 20 cm and 30 cm. In the better rooms, this in turn was overlaid with stone slabs.¹²⁵

¹²³ In practice, we would have expected the same upper floor level above both magazines because they would have been part of the same upper room. As the upper layers of these floors were close to the surface, it is reasonable to suppose that this was the case, but some of the details have been lost.

¹²⁴ This vegetation was most probably Giant Reeds (*Arundo donax* L.), which would have been readily available. These reeds would have had the great advantage of being reasonably straight and rigid, so that they could be laid out, side by side, to fill a continuous area and form a fairly flat surface that covered the cross-beams.

¹²⁵ Humphrey *et al.* (1998, p. 247) quote an extract from Pliny (*Natural History* 36.184-189) describing an analogous but, of course, later Greek method of constructing

In practical terms, the weight of a 25-30 cm thick layer of packed earth together with the supporting beams is large and can be estimated to be, say, 0.6-0.8 tonnes per square metre. In the case of the Western Magazines, the floor weight would readily have been supported by the regular pattern of magazines which resulted in unsupported beam lengths of ~2 metres. However, as the unsupported beam span increases, the diameter of the circular beams has to increase approximately in proportion. Graham (1969, p. 159 and Fig. 97) describes the beam arrangement above the Pillar Crypt of the Royal Villa at Knossos, which is approximately 4 metres square. In this case, the main ceiling beam was a huge tree trunk, sawn in two, still retaining its original taper from a width of 71 cm to 56 cm. This was supported in the middle by a large square gypsum pillar. Resting on this would have been three smaller cross-beams. This beam arrangement would have been more than adequate to carry the load of the self-weight of the floor, however, it does indicate clearly the heavy building materials which were used.¹²⁶

According to Graham (1969, p. 161), the construction of roofs would have been similar to that of upper floors but they would have been less heavy.¹²⁷

upper floors which were made using packed earth and other materials in thicknesses exceeding 30 cm. Vitruvius (*On Architecture* 7.1.1-7) similarly describes analogous methods for making floors. He states that a layer of vegetation is also used to prevent injury to the wood caused by the lime from a lime/rubble layer. The total thickness of layers in this case is 38 cm, excluding the paving slabs.

¹²⁶ For a large room such as the Hall of Double Axes, it was architecturally necessary to divide the room with a pier-and-door partition in order to reduce the unsupported span of the beams to 5.5 metres (compared to the actual width of the room of 8 metres, Graham, p. 158). In his *BSA Report* for 1901 (p. 117), Evans describes circular beams running east-west with diameters of 40 centimetres. Palyvou (1990, p. 48) gives an analogous example of a pier-and-door partition for Room Delta 1 at Akrotiri. For the use of beams in construction, it is worthwhile also noting the model house found at Archanes (J. & E. Sakellarakis, p. 61).

¹²⁷ See Bozineki-Didonis 1985, pp. 59-61, for a description of the construction of Cretan flat roofs in recent centuries. These had an initial depth of 15-25 cm. This would increase if extra waterproofing layers were added later. The extra layers would make the roof heavier, often causing the main beam to bend and it then required an extra vertical wooden post to support it. There is a reconstruction of the flat roof of a Cretan farm building, showing a cross-section through the roof, in the Heraklion Museum of Natural History. In that case the depth of solid material is considerably less than 15 cm.

It should also be noted that at least one of the examples quoted by Shaw (1977) was a roof and this included a 35 cm total thickness of earth and clay layers. Even if allowance is made for the probability that 5 cm of this thickness represented later renovation of the waterproofing of the roof, that still represents a 30 cm thickness of earth and clay. This roof section belongs to Room 3 in the West House at Akrotiri and there some evidence that there might have been a third floor in the eastern section of this building, thus the roof section above the remaining second floor could have been a utilised floor area and, therefore, built with the same strength as an upper floor. The other interesting point to note is that the roof of Room 3 was sufficiently heavy that it required the support of «a large column, standing firmly on the strong party wall of the ground floor» (Doumas 1992, p. 45), although this column does not generally appear in the published plans of that room.

Therefore, in cases where the lower room construction would not appear capable of supporting a large heavy upper floor, it would seem reasonable to assume that such lower rooms simply had roofs. A good example of this line of argument is for the North West Hall, which Graham (p. 119) suggested was constructed above Magazines XI to XVI. If Graham's suggestion is correct, this hall would have been 17.5 m by 15.5 m and its ceiling would have been supported (across a centre line) by two columns only. If there was an upper room with heavy flooring above the North West Hall, its self-weight would have been over 160 tonnes! On this basis, we can assume that there would not have been a room above the North West Hall.

In a similar way, we can consider whether there would have been an upper room above the Large Rectangular Construction in the Clay Area. Driessen (1990, p. 96) estimates that the original building would have measured 20 m by 9 m. In this case, there is no evidence of central walls, pillars, columns or other arrangements for supporting the roof/ceiling of this building towards its centre. If it had an upper floor then, by analogy with the Hall of Double Axes, we would have expected that some architectural arrangement to have been in place to support that upper floor (see footnote 126). The absence of evidence for any such arrangement would lead to the conclusion that, if the Large Rectangular Construction was of the size suggested by Driessen, then it would not have had an upper floor.

The above discussion can be summarised neatly by a sentence from Palyvou (1990, p. 54), in his discussion of the architecture of Akrotiri, «Long before starting to build, they must have anticipated what the loads of the upper structures would be and how these would be transferred to the ground». In particular, because of the heavy building materials being used, it is highly unlikely that Bronze Age builders could have decided at a late stage to add an upper floor.

1.2.3. Was there an upper floor above the Room of the Chariot tablets or the rooms of the North West Insula?

It has been demonstrated that it is not sufficient to simply suggest that tablets fell from an upper floor. It is necessary to describe, firstly, the evidence that there was an upper floor in that area of the palace and, secondly, the evidence that the tablets fell from that upper floor. The discussion here briefly considers two examples where there is some difficulty with the proof of the existence of an upper floor.

Room of Chariot Tablets

Evans (1901, pp. 21-25) put forward a suggestion for the plan of the upper floor above the area of the Room of Chariot Tablets (RCT) and Room of Column Bases (RCB). His evidence for an upper room above the RCT and RCB were the jambs of a double doorway from an upper room which, he suggests, were found

in position above the door jambs on the south side of the RCB. However, Evans had not noted these jambs of an upper doorway in the previous year when they would have been excavated (Evans 1900). Further, the excavation notes by Evans and Mackenzie for the period of the excavation of the RCT and RCB during April/May 1900 do not have any reference to them. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. xxii-xxiii) first drew attention to this difficulty with Evans' reporting of these door jambs. He observed that the depth of the floor of the RCT was 2 metres below the surface, which would not have allowed the door jambs of the upper floor to be in position because they would have been above the surface of the field. It is possible that in his haste to write the lengthy 1901 *BSA* report, Evans mistook his own notes (*AE/NB*, 18 April 1900, p. 47) and «transferred» the upper floor door jambs found above the entrances to Magazines 1, 2 and 3 to the RCT/RCB location (see also *DM/DB*, 18 April 1900).

Driessen (1990, p. 59) proposed that the tablets from the Room of Chariot Tablets fell from an upper floor. In addition, he proposed a series of five architectural stages for the development of this area (pp. 102ff.). Unfortunately, the discussion of these architectural phases concentrated on the ground floor rooms, rather than the problems associated with upper floors. In practice, these architectural phases would not appear to be consistent with upper floor rooms above the RCT and RCB.¹²⁸

It could be argued that, although the basement walls do not seem as though they were planned to support an upper floor, there appear to be sufficient walls in the immediate area of the RCT to support an upper floor. However, this would run counter to the findings elsewhere at Knossos and Akrotiri, where lower floor

¹²⁸ In the first architectural phase (Driessen 1990, Fig. 9), the large room covering the RCT area was almost 10 metres square. It is unlikely that there would have been an upper floor above such a large room. (The column, represented by the single column base, would probably have been supporting a roof.) The second phase (Driessen, Fig. 10) is marked by the re-orientation of the storage areas, west of the RCT. This clearly would not have been done with any upper structure in place. In other words, if there had been any upper structure at that stage, it would have been removed before the re-building. As already noted, the uniform arrangement of walls in storage areas makes the construction of upper floors straightforward and so it is likely that there would have been an upper floor above the new storage rooms and the East and West Pillar Rooms. However, in the RCT area itself, there is not an ordered ground plan (Driessen, Figs. 10 and 11) and the absence of re-modelling would tend to indicate the absence of an intent to build an upper floor over the RCT. Similarly, in the first two architectural phases, the RCB is shown as being a large room (5 metres in width) without an east wall, with pier-and-door arrangements for its north and south walls and without supporting columns or pillars near its centre (Driessen, Figs. 9, 10). The absence of an east wall, would indicate that there was not upper floor above the RCB in these phases. Since this area was not re-modelled in later phases, it is unlikely that it would have acquired an upper floor at a later stage. The Room of Column Bases was named after two column bases that were found out of position, above floor level. Evans (1900, p. 28) suggests that these had fallen from an adjacent upper floor room immediately to the north of the Room of Column Bases.

rooms (which have upper floors) are specifically designed with the intent of supporting that upper floor.

This brief discussion indicates that there is at least some doubt about whether there was an upper floor above the RCT and RCB.¹²⁹

North West Insula

We will now consider the North West Insula, which incorporates the rooms over the Prisons (the Rooms of the Knobbed Pithos, Lotus Lamp, Spiral Cornice, including its north compartment, the Rooms of the Flower Gatherer and the Bügelkannes). There are a number of points to note relating to the possibility of an upper floor in this area.

- In architectural terms, these rooms are upper floor rooms because they are built above the prisons, i.e. the walls which we identify with these rooms are several metres above the foundations of the building.

- Woodard (1972) gives a very clear description of the architecture of these rooms following a site visit in 1967. For present purposes, the main point he notes is that the Rooms of the Knobbed Pithos, Lotus Lamp and Spiral Cornice were originally a single large room.¹³⁰ Woodard also notes that there is a large gypsum block near the centre of this room which would have been the base of a pillar. Thus, the original architectural intent was for a large open room in this area, which would have been 5 m by 13 m. The ceiling beams of this room would have been a continuous row of beams laid north-south across the 5 m span (because, in practical terms, the central pillar would not have provided sufficient support to have an arrangement of cross-beams).

- The north wall of the Room of the Bügelkannes was a mud wall (DM/DB, 6 April 1901). It was the remains of this wall which collapsed following the 1900 season, leading to the excavation of the tablets found in this area in 1901.

- It is worth noting that there is no evidence of steps ascending to upper rooms in this area. The only steps are those leading downwards from the Central Court into the Room of Lotus Lamp.

- All the recorded finds in these rooms, including tablets, were on or near floor level.¹³¹ [In practice, the floor level was sufficiently close to the surface

¹²⁹ However, it is clear that there were rooms above the East and West Pillar Rooms (where the 'House Tablets' were found above floor level). There were very probably also upper rooms to the north and south of the rooms above the pillar rooms.

¹³⁰ The present dividing walls are later than the original building and do not bond into the main walls of the room. In addition, the wall separating the Rooms of Lotus Lamp and Spiral Cornice overlaps the steps descending into the room from the Central Court and was reduced in thickness in order not to block those steps (Woodard 1972).

¹³¹ Some bull relief fragments were found well above the floor level of the North Entrance Passage, clearly indicating that they had fallen from a higher level. These demonstrate that there was some kind of display arrangement for the bull relief fresco, perhaps analogous to the reconstruction built by Evans. However, these fresco fragments do not prove that there were upper rooms above the North West Insula.

of the threshing floor that there would have been little scope for finds from an upper room, if there had been one.]

Thus, there is no direct evidence of an upper floor above the rooms of the North West Insula. The fact that the southern rooms were originally one large room and that north wall was a mud wall both suggest that it was unlikely that the original design included rooms above the North West Insula. In practice, the southern room was originally designed as a large hall (the descending steps from the Central Court would have been introduced when the level of the Central Court was raised). Therefore, it is suggested that it is unlikely that there were upper rooms above the Rooms of the North West Insula.

1.3. *Were the tablets originally part of the same archive and, if not, what are the relative chronologies of the different deposits of tablets?*

The conventional view has been that the tablets were originally all part of the same archive; «the unity of the archive» (*OKTi*, pp. 170 ff). However, Jan Driessen (1990, 1994) has recently opened up the question of whether the different deposits of tablets all date from the same period. He suggested that there could have been a series of destructive fires at Knossos and that tablets could have been preserved because of each of these fires. In particular, he suggested that the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets could pre-date the bulk of the remainder of the archive by many years.

One of the major problems in writing about the Knossos find-places is that they are so numerous and that tablets on the same subject appear at different locations, with a very large number of different scribes, giving the impression of confusion and congestion (Popham 1987). However, we know that many tablets can be allocated to reasonably well-defined sets and that, in most cases, tablets from the same set were found in the same find-place. Thus, at the level of the individual sets of tablets, there is a clear appearance of orderliness. By contrast, if we consider the whole archive, there is difficulty in grasping the overlying structure of scribal activities.

One of the significant arguments in favour of Driessen's suggestion, on the relative chronology of the RCT tablets, is that it starts to give some rationality to the confusion of the Knossos archives. In particular, it gives an explanation about why topics covered by the RCT archive are also covered, for example, on the tablets from the North Entrance Passage (NEP) (see Firth 1998, SECTION 12.5.4). If we could reasonably suggest that the two Linear B archives represent analogous scribal activity for two different time periods, then we are also explaining why the RCT tablets seem so de-coupled from the NEP archive, in terms of personal names, scribal hand-writing and so on. There would be a further advantage that, if we could convince ourselves that they indeed did represent different times then we have the fascinating prospect of two 'snapshots' of scribal activity at Knossos instead of just one.

There is an additional reason for seeking to relax our views on the unity of the archive. The major debate on the chronology of the tablets conducted has

tended to hinge largely around the assumption of the unity of the archive. Initially Evans dated the tablets from the Corridor of Sword Tablets (CoST) and Little Palace to the so-called Re-occupation period (i.e. LMIIIB; see, for example, *SM* I, p. 55). In *PofM*, he modified his view and moved the date of these tablets back into the Neopalatial period consistent with the other tablets. By contrast, Palmer seized on each occurrence of LMIIIB pottery near the find-place of a tablet and moved the whole archive to the date of the latest pottery. From the point of view of constructing a rational argument in this difficult area, there is an advantage in approaching the chronological debate by not insisting that all the archive dates from the same period.

In practice, it is not possible to give an absolute «mathematical» proof of the unity of the archive because the links between the different deposits from the palace are frequently relatively tenuous. The unity of archive is essentially a hypothesis supported by probabilistic arguments. Because of its importance within the overall discussion, we begin by considering each deposit of tablets separately and look to see what the evidence is that links the different deposits. The discussion for each find-place is given later in PART II and is brought together in a wider discussion in PART III.

1.4. *What is the absolute chronology of the tablets?*

As already noted, there has been long and, occasionally, acrimonious debate on the dating of the Linear B tablets which has been going on for nearly 50 years. This has had the positive effect that the excavation records from Knossos have been preserved and studied in detail. However, it has thrown up a large number of closely argued papers in the academic literature and the debate has still not been resolved. In this introductory section, it is worthwhile stepping back and considering the structure of the debate that has been going on.

We will start by listing the areas where there is broad agreement,

- the tablets date from a period about 3300 ± 100 years before the present. In other words, there is agreement that the age of the tablets can be estimated with an uncertainty of 3% or less. (For most outside observers this would seem to be a significant achievement in itself.)
- the last habitation on the Knossos palace site during the Bronze Age was in late LMIIIB (Popham 1964). The largest number of complete (or near complete) vases date from LMIIIB (Hallager 1977).

However, the finer examples of Late Minoan palace ceramics are earlier than LMIIIB and, if they were used to date the end of royal occupation, would lead to a date for a destruction of the royal palace in early LMIIIA2 (Popham 1970).

After the first season, Mackenzie had already formed the view that there were three chronological stages at Knossos,

1. A «Kamarais Palace» (i.e. Old Palace phase)
2. A «Mycenaean Palace» (i.e. Neopalatial phase)
3. A period of «decline» («Reoccupation» phase)

and that the Linear A & B inscriptions were contemporary with the «Mycenaean Palace».¹³² In 1903, he wrote that «in no deposit which was recognised as belonging to this period of partial habitation at Cnossos [i.e. reoccupation phase] was a single inscribed seal or tablet, broken or unbroken, ever found during the whole course of the excavations there». However, in 1909, in *SM I* (pp. 54-55), Evans was clearly setting out the view that there was evidence that Linear B continued in use during the reoccupation phase. It was only with *PofM iv* that Evans finally agreed with Mackenzie's statement and (as noted by Momigliano 1999, p. 57) this was on the basis of an entrenchment in the idea of Minoan supremacy, rather than any new evidence or new understanding of existing evidence. In this way, Mackenzie's view, as stated in February 1901, became the conventional view. However, this was challenged by Blegen & Wace and then later by Palmer.

The experts divide basically into two camps. In the first camp are the ones who take the conventional view of Cretan archaeology (Boardman in *OKTi*, Popham 1988, 1991a). They see a wave of destruction across numerous sites at the end of LMIB. They see the finer pottery of Knossos of LMII-LMIIIA1 followed by coarser pottery and coarser building works in the subsequent periods. Therefore, they date the destruction of the royal palace to early LMIIIA2. In the following periods they take the view that the remnants of palace buildings were reoccupied by squatters. Therefore, they date the Linear B tablets to early LMIIIA2 (i.e. ~1375 BC).

In the second camp, the experts start from the excavation records of the palace itself. They note the numerous examples of LMIIIB pottery found around the palace and note also the various associations between this pottery and the Linear B tablets (Palmer in *OKTi*, Hallager 1977, Niemeier 1982). They also note the difficulties with the 'illiterate squatters' since there seems to be much continuation of the previous periods (see also, Hood 1965). Therefore, these experts would date the Linear B tablets to the final destruction of the palace at some stage during LMIIIB.

There is also support for a middle way, suggesting that the tablets date from a period transitional between LMIIIA and LMIIIB (Raison 1978). The basis for this suggestion is the observation is, firstly, that LMIIIA2 pottery is found beneath the levels of the palace and, secondly, that the LMIIIB pottery is neither abundant nor very evolved in style.

This stratification of views is not as straightforward as it might at first seem. Popham has consistently favoured a destruction in early LMIIIA2, when the Palace of Knossos was near its peak, but notes a problem of understanding why there are, «scribes and archives spread over large areas of the Palace and in unexpected places. It is somewhat reminiscent of, say, the Ministry of Supply, evacuated from London during the last war and accommodated in one of the stately country houses» (Popham 1987).

¹³² See, in particular, the letter from Mackenzie to Evans, dated 5 Feb. 1901, quoted by Momigliano, Appendix 2.

This colourful description would appear to be consistent with what Mackenzie called «a period of decline». However, the decline was supposed to occur in the reoccupation phase. By contrast, Hallager has consistently favoured an LMIIIB date, when the Palace was no longer at its peak (to the extent that its excavators thought it had been occupied by squatters). However, he suggests (Hallager 1977, p. 10) that the «tablets demonstrate that Knossos was indisputably the economic centre of Crete. The Mycenaeans at the time of the tablets occupied Knossos from where they administered most of the island. The date of the Linear B tablets will consequently also give us a date for the latest use of Knossos as the administrative centre of the island — i.e. as a palace.» As a third example, in his 1990 paper, Driessen suggested that the area including the Room of Chariot Tablets was destroyed by fire in LMII-LMIIIA1 and remained choked with destruction debris for at least a generation during LMIIIA1-LMIIIA2. Again, if Driessen's interpretation of the RCT is correct, the fact that the area was not rebuilt would be more consistent with a «period of decline» than the Neopalatial period.¹³³

In other words, on the one hand, one can suggest that, at the time of the Linear B tablets, the palace was at its peak but was dominated by the usage of scribes and their archives or, on the other hand, one can accept that the palace was becoming run-down but was nevertheless the economic centre of the island. Basically, the tablets of Knossos represent a complex puzzle and, one suspects that, even if the excavation of the tablets had been done using modern archaeological techniques, there would still be many outstanding questions. We should note particularly the warning flagged by Popham (1987) in his description of Evans' problem, of having too little recorded information and then giving himself the freedom to manage that information to «harmonise with his reconstructions».

The aim of this paper is not to follow the views of either of the camps of experts but to review each piece of relevant evidence and judge it on its merits. This will of course have the disadvantage of displeasing both camps! However, it is hoped that it will be possible to arrive at an interpretation of the findings which is a more robust representation of the archaeological evidence.

2. CLAY TABLETS AS ARTIFACTS

The previous section introduced a series of controversial questions on the Knossos tablets. This section has the more straightforward tasks of bringing together a brief general discussion on the clay tablets as artifacts and giving a description of some of the larger tablets which might be helpful in the discussion of find-places which follows.

¹³³ Driessen (2000) has subsequently modified his view on the date of the bulk of the archive on the basis of the LMIIIB Khania tablets.

2.1. *Discussion on Clay Tablets*

Although Hodges (1989) does not discuss clay tablets as such, he includes a useful discussion on ceramics which we can adapt to our interest. Clay is a deposit of the smallest particles from the weathering of certain rocks. The chief constituent of most clays is kaolinite, which exists as very small Plate-like crystals. When the clay is damp, these crystals are separated from each other by a thin layer of water, which effectively acts as a lubricant and gives damp clay its plasticity. If clay is dried in the sun then the water of plasticity evaporates but the chemical composition remains unchanged, so that sun-baked clay can be made more plastic by soaking in water.¹³⁴ There is a distinction between this water of plasticity and the water of chemical combination. Water of chemical combination is an integral part of the kaolinite molecules. This can only be removed by firing the clay at high temperatures and once removed cannot be restored simply by soaking in water. When clay is fired, sinter point is defined to be the temperature at which only the outer surfaces of the clay particles become molten. These molten outer surfaces would fuse together if the clay was cooled forming a ceramic material. If clay is fired below sinter point then it produces a fabric which is permeable and porous. As examples, material which we describe as terracotta and earthenware are fired below sinter point temperature (fired at temperatures of well below 1000 deg.C or in the range 1000-1200 deg.C, respectively).

In the normal course of events, the Linear B tablets would have been written and then dried by laying them out in a room.¹³⁵ Evans records an example of tablets found spread out for drying in the RCT (AE/NB, 11 April 1900). We know that tablets were not fired, as a matter of course, simply because these would then be more resistant to destruction, in the same way as pottery sherds, and archaeologists would have found many more tablets in the environs of Knossos than were actually found. In addition, the tablets which have been found would have been better preserved if they had been deliberately fired.¹³⁶

Thus, the Linear B tablets which we have today are only available to us because they were fired during a destruction of the palace. Furthermore, the temperatures required for firing clays are relatively high, so that it is not sufficient for the tablets to have been in the general vicinity of a fire. As an example, this means that tablets that were found under a blocked door [throne room complex] were actually fired before they were built into the blocking wall.

¹³⁴ However, in practice, Sjöquist & Åström 1991, found that it was easier to start with fresh (modelling) clay than to try to re-work tablets that had been allowed to harden.

¹³⁵ We know that the tablets were not dried in direct sunlight because they do not have the characteristic cracks associated with sun-dried tablets (J. L. Melena, priv. comm.).

¹³⁶ Evans had suggested that K 872 was deliberately fired (*PofM* iv, p. 729, and *SM* II p. 3) but that is now doubted (Olivier 1967, p. 119).

In this way, it is clear from the outset that there was more than one conflagration which resulted in Linear B tablets being fired.¹³⁷

There are several examples in the excavation notes where tablets were found in a crumbling or friable condition. This reflects the fact that they had not reached a sufficiently high temperature during the fire to preserve them (for example, the tablets from the Room of the Bügelkannes, the north compartment of the Room of Spiral Cornice and some of the tablets from RCT¹³⁸). In *SM I* (pp. 40-44), Evans started to develop a correlation between imperfectly fired tablets, which had originally been stored in basement rooms, compared to well-fired tablets which had originated from upper floor rooms. He cites the examples of imperfectly fired tablets from the RCT and the Pp-series from Magazine VIII. He contrasted these particularly with the fiercely fired tablets which had fallen from an upper storey and were found in the East-West Corridor.

This finding is broadly in agreement with expectation. In an unventilated ground floor room, the heat from the fire would rise causing a temperature gradient, with lower temperatures near the ground. By contrast, if there was a fire in an area with good ventilation, then the fire would burn more fiercely, because of the flow of oxygen, and the temperature stratification would be reduced by the air movement. In addition, upper floor rooms are likely to have been constructed using a greater proportion of combustible materials. The surviving basement areas have stone walls, whereas upper rooms may have had 'half timbered' walls supporting adobe brick (Graham 1969, pp. 150-151).¹³⁹ During a fierce fire the upper walls and roof would tend to fall away, opening up the upper rooms to external air movements making the blaze more intense.

An exception to this general rule would occur if highly combustible materials were stored on the ground floor. The most obvious example of this would have been large pithoi filled with olive oil stored on the ground floor. The pithoi room at Pylos gives clear evidence of the level of the intensity of fire which would result in such circumstances (Rooms 23, 24; Blegen & Rawson 1966). There are many storage jars found in basement rooms at Knossos. However, the excavators

¹³⁷ Strictly speaking, one could argue that these few tablets that had been built into the fabric of the palace could have been atypically fired in kilns rather than in a accidental fire. However, this would seem to be unlikely.

¹³⁸ It is worth noting that whilst some of the tablets found in the RCT were poorly fired, in general, they were well fired.

¹³⁹ Cadogan (1990, p. 94) suggests that the finding of ashlar buildings at Akrotiri should lead to us re-consider this view. However, it is worth noting that Mackenzie associated Minoan remains with 'tawny' earth, «The deposit ... had the same red terracotta tawny colour and loose crumbling character This rich tawny-red earth was characteristic of the Minoan stratum in all parts of the area ... in complete contrast [to the upper surface earth which] was of a poor earthy grey-black colour. The tawny colour was produced by the action of the fire on the earthy constituents of rubble walls and the plaster and brick materials from room partitions. These bricks were probably sun-dried, but some which were found ... had all the appearance of terracotta bricks so ardent had been the conflagration» (DM/DB, Little Palace, 2 May 1905).

only note a single localised example of an oil fire (in *Western Magazine* IV; Evans 1901, p. 48; see the find-place discussion for this magazine).

In this context, it is worthwhile briefly considering the situation in the archive rooms at Pylos where the tablets were well preserved although the rooms were at ground floor level. The important distinction between Knossos and Pylos is that the ground floor rooms at Knossos were largely built with stone and rubble walls, whereas Pylos was built using a substantial wooden framework, in-filled with rubble and then exterior walls were faced by stone (Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 34-38). Thus, the building materials used in ground floor rooms at Pylos were intrinsically more combustible than those at Knossos.

Hodges (p. 197) notes that even the toughest pottery can become friable if it has been buried in unfavourable conditions. «This is especially true where the ground-water contains a high percentage of soluble salts, and where the conditions of burial have allowed the pottery to become alternatively damp and dry; for the repeated solution and re-crystallisation of the soluble salts within the pottery has the physical effect of making it disintegrate.» In practice, the writing tablets do not appear to have been subjected to such unfavourable conditions that would cause them to disintegrate in this way. For example, the Pylos tablets found in 1939 were thoroughly wet by the spring rains so, in that case, we can presume that regular wetting did not cause damage to the accidentally fired tablets. A more extreme example is provided by the Linear A tablets excavated from the water-logged site at Zakro, where again the tablets were preserved despite the poor conditions.

Mackenzie suggests that the crumbling state of the tablets in the Room of the Bügelkannes could be due to the clay floor on which they were found (DM/DB 8 May 1900). It has also been suggested that the proximity of the surface of the Threshing Floor could have had some effect. If we observe that the tablets were in contact with the clay floor and were probably, therefore, not from an upper room, then we could potentially have a combination of poor firing in a basement room and poor preservation because of the unfavourable conditions in which they were buried. However, José L. Melena (priv. comm.) notes that the clay of these tablets still has the original greenish colouring, which is lost when clay is fired. Therefore, it seems more likely that the poor firing contributed most to the poor preservation of those tablets.

If clay is fired at a temperature greater than that required for the onset of vitrification, a large irreversible expansion occurs, which is referred to as 'bloating'. This is caused by the expansion of gases, created by the decomposition of organic matter, which have become trapped by the vitrification (Tite 1969). This phenomenon can be seen for a number of the tablets from the East-West Corridor, which were fired at particularly high temperatures, resulting in a pumice-like appearance.

Finally, it is worth repeating the finding of Evans (1900, p. 56) on the practicalities of excavating the clay tablets. «Owing to the perishableness of the material—sun-baked clay—only a comparatively small proportion of the tablets

were preserved in their entirety, and in all cases the greatest care was necessary in removing the inscribed pieces. In the case of some larger tablets it was necessary to back them with a coating of plaster to prevent their crumbling into a hundred fragments ... Not only were the clay slips extremely friable but the slightest touch of moisture was liable to reduce them to a pulp and a few specimens on a tray which had been wetted during a nocturnal storm, owing to a leakage in the roof of the Turkish house which served as our headquarters, became a shapeless mass of clay. The marvel of this is that any of these clay tablets should have resisted the natural damp of the soil, and in many cases their survival was due to the extra baking they received through the conflagration of the building.»

2.2. Physical Description of some of the tablets

In discussions on the archaeology of the Linear B tablets of Knossos, the tablets themselves have usually been treated separately from the other artifacts which were found. However, for Pylos, where the quality of information is much better, the tablets themselves can be examined, as artifacts, to determine something of the history of the destruction of the palace. The purpose of this section is to describe briefly the state of some of the large tablets found at Knossos with the aim of using this information to provide some additional insight in the discussion of the different find-places.¹⁴⁰

Before describing the tablets, it is useful to set down a few basic rules which will be used to interpret the physical state of the tablets.

1. It is assumed that the excavation was thorough and collected all the fragments of tablets which were preserved.

2. If a tablet has broken into a number of pieces and all the pieces are the same colour, then it is evident that there were all fired in the same way. This would imply either that the tablet was fired before it broke or that the pieces were not widely dispersed after it had broken.

3. If a tablet is blacker then it implies it was fired in a reducing atmosphere (and had a restricted supply of oxygen) and if it is redder then it was fired in an oxidising atmosphere (and did not have a restricted oxygen supply). Thus, for example, if a tablet was blacker on one side and redder on the other, it would imply it was fired whilst it was resting on the blacker side.

4. It is significant if all the pieces of a large tablet have been preserved because, if any fragments were not preserved, then it implies that they were projected away from the main tablet and suffered a different fate after the tablet had broken up.

5. It is significant if Evans joined together fragments of a tablet since this would imply the fragments were found close together (as Evans does not appear otherwise to have made significant efforts to find joins between fragments).

¹⁴⁰ José L. Melena suggested including this section and the notes describing the tablets are based largely on a private communication from him.

6. If a tablet appears to have been damaged by two separate strikes then it is reasonable to assume that the initial strike caused the greater damage, because that would have probably been the one which broke the fall of the tablet. (However, it is also possible that a tablet could have fallen a short distance onto the floor level and been broken by other debris falling on top of it.)

7. It follows from (4) & (6) that if one large piece is missing, it is more likely to have broken off as a result of the first strike. This is because the first strike is expected to do more damage and it is more likely to separate the fragments more widely.

8. A distinction is drawn between tablets which appear to have fallen from an upper floor, tablets which have fallen from a lesser height, as if from a high shelf, and tablets which appear to have fallen a short distance, as if from a low shelf. This is not intended to imply that the tablets necessarily literally fell from shelves, as that would require more proof. It is also not intended to be definitive for each individual tablet, since it is always possible that a single tablet could have fallen in such a way that the present interpretation is incorrect. However, if most of the tablets from a set show similar types of damage, then that becomes more significant.

The interpretation of the tablets in this way has not been done to date and the following are a relatively small number of examples which can be used in the discussion that follows on the find-places. In some cases, the interpretation of the damage to different tablets from the same find-place appears contradictory, however, if sufficient information was collated, then it should be possible to arrive at an overall picture. Ideally, it would be desirable, after the publication of this paper, if an examination of the physical state of the tablets from each find-place could be done to confirm that find-place allocations are correct and to interpret the damage suffered by the tablets during the destruction of the palace.

Find-place A: Clay Chest

Fp 1: From the state of this clay tablet, it is unlikely to have fallen. Another smaller tablet was on top of it when it was fired, protecting part of the surface from a more severe firing (possibly Fp 13). The fragment from the lower left corner is darker grey than the remainder and Evans did not join the two pieces.

Find-place B2: S. W. Pillar Room

As 40: This tablet fell landing on the top of the tablet, with a second strike at the bottom. It is a well-fired tablet. From the firing of the tablet, it is evident that it fell face down (i.e. the lower surface is blackened more than the upper face because of the reduced supply of oxygen).

Find-place C: Room of Chariot Tablets

V 280: This is a compact, well-fired tablet. It does not appear to have fallen from a great height. It is worth comparing V(2) 280 with V(2) 145 and 147, which are similar in shape and content, although in the latter cases a substantial part of the tablets have been lost.

Find-place F14: Magazine XV

Le 641: This tablet had evidently fallen from above. The first strike was on its right side and the projected fragments have not been preserved. It had a second strike in the middle of the remaining section as it finally landed. Evans joined the fragments, suggesting that they were found together. It is quite well fired.

Ln 1568: This tablet is almost uniformly black and so it all the pieces were fired together under the same conditions (possibly before it was broken). The shape of the breaks suggests that the tablet fell upon its face. The main strike was at a position near the middle of line 5. Evans joined the fragments, suggesting that they were found together. It is unlikely that this tablet fell from an upper floor because that would have led to wider dispersion, unless the tablet fell within a sealed container.

Find-place I3: North Entrance Passage

B 798: This tablet is not so well fired and the surface has become more damaged since the original *SM II* photographs were taken. The state of the tablet is inconsistent with one which has fallen from an upper floor. It is more likely to have fallen from a height equivalent to a low shelf, striking the floor with the top of the tablet.

B(5) 799-806: This set of tablets were probably stored together. This is consistent with the level of damage, which shows that all the tablets are fragmentary, with much loss.

V 831: This is an unusually wide tablet and, therefore, unusually heavy. It appears not to have fallen from an upper storey because, if it had it would be more fragmented. Its condition would be consistent with a tablet which had fallen from a shelf near to the ground. It landed on the ground on its left side, with a second strike on its right side. It is a compact, well-fired tablet (however, the left side and lower right side are missing).

Og 833: This tablet clearly fell striking its upper section. The top right fragment is missing. The top left fragment was preserved but it is a different colour compared to the lower section of tablet (i.e. greyish brick red, compared to dark grey) showing that it had become separated before the firing of the tablet was completed. Furthermore, Evans did not join the pieces.

F 841: This tablet does not appear to have fallen from an upper storey but possibly from something equivalent to a high shelf. It had a first strike on its right side and the right side of the tablet was not preserved. It had a second strike on its left side. Two large pieces were not joined by Evans, suggesting that they were probably not found together.

K 875: This tablet fell striking both its left and right sides. The right side is missing. The left side is preserved but it is a different colour to the central piece (i.e. dark grey, compared to greyish brick red) showing that it had become separated before the firing was completed. However, in this case, Evans joined the pieces of tablet.

C 902: The state of this tablet is similar to that of B 798. It appears to have fallen from the equivalent of a lower shelf (and definitely not from an upper floor). It is not so well fired.

C 911: This tablet also appears to have fallen from the equivalent of a shelf near to the ground. All the fragments were found in place, together, lying face down. The tablet was recovered by coating the back with plaster. It is not very well fired and some of the tablet has been lost since the original photograph, shown in *SM II*.

C 912: This tablet fell from a shelf (or some equivalent) onto its lower part. It was not well-fired and was probably originally with C 917 which suffered a great deal of damage. Evans joined the fragments indicating that they were found together. Note that the level of damage to C(4) 914 and 917 is substantially greater than that to C(4) 911.

Find-place J2: Hall of Colonnades

As 1516: This tablet is greyish brick red, except for the central fragment at the bottom of the tablet, which is grey. The fragment from the lower left corner has not been preserved. This would suggest that the first strike was on the lower left corner, with a second strike on the upper edge. Evans joined the pieces.

As 1519: This tablet appears to have fallen from a shelf landing on its leading lines (which have not been preserved). It was well-fired and does not appear to have spilled far. The bottom part of the tablet was fragmented by a second strike, although all the surviving fragments are uniformly grey and Evans joined the pieces, suggesting that they were not widely dispersed.

Find-place J4: Corridor of Sword Tablets

As 1517: This tablet is quite fragmented. However, all the fragments are uniformly dark grey and Evans joined the fragments. Both these points suggest that the fragments were not widely scattered. It probably fell on its back (noting the shape of the missing fragment in line 4). It was well fired. It is unlikely that it fell from an upper floor unless it was within a sealed container.

As 1520: This tablet is well-fired. It appears to have fallen from above with much spilling, so that only four fragments were recovered. (Note that V 1526 is not judged to be part of this tablet). Only the central part of 1520 survived.

Uf 1522: Although Evans joined the pieces of this tablet together, they had obviously become separated and the lower left corner is more blackened than the remainder of the tablet. The tablet is not well-fired. It is unlikely that it fell from an upper floor, because it only suffered a limited amount of damage.

V 1523: This tablet is very fragmented (part of the tablet is missing compared to that shown in the *SM II* photograph). Only the central part of the tablet has survived. The tablet is well-fired. It has probably fallen from an upper floor.

3. MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

This section covers two miscellaneous issues, which need to be considered before embarking on the detailed discussion of find-places, i.e. clay sealings and, secondly, Mackenzie's measurement of depths below ground-level.

3.1. *Discussion on clay sealings*

There were many clay sealings found during the excavations at Knossos and these were recorded by Evans in his *Notebooks*. In some instances, he gave a brief written description and a drawing, however, for the later large deposits of sealings he usually just included drawings. Gill has analysed these notes and lists the sealings from each find-place (see Popham and Gill 1995, which incorporates Gill 1965).

In a substantial number of cases, sealings were found amongst the deposits of inscriptions and, in some cases, the sealings are counter-marked with Linear B words or signs. It is clear that in order to understand the bureaucratic methods of Knossos one has to have some understanding of both the inscriptions and the use of the sealings (see Olivier 1991).

Weingarten (1997) has noted that Knossos had a 'non-intensive' pattern of seal-use; «no one dominated the system, but rather the reverse: over 60% of all sealings were stamped by seal owners who left one, two or three sealings each. This is a non-intensive pattern of seal use which is interpreted as reflecting non-resident seal-owners who each sent a few sealed containers to Knossos». For present purposes, these do not contribute to our understanding of the scribal systems. However, examples of seal impressions which were duplicated many times are more likely to have originated locally within palace buildings.

In this paper, we are interested in the sealings countermarked with Linear B signs (see Gill 1966) which are considered along with the tablets from each find-place. We are also interested in seal impressions which are duplicated and occur in different locations (see the discussions for individual find-places and also PART III).

It is interesting to note, in passing, that the study of scribal hands of the tablets at Knossos also indicates a pattern which is fairly non-intensive. Olivier (1967) identified almost 70 different scribal hands and, in addition, there are many tablets (with a reasonable number of signs) for which scribal hands have not been identified. There are clearly areas where a number of the identified scribes played a very important role in their work at the palace. However, there are also a large number of cases where individual scribes appear to have written only a small number of tablets.

3.2. *On the Interpretation of Depths below Ground Level*

As a general rule, all Mackenzie's measurements of depths are quoted to the nearest 10 centimetres. In real terms, this is a reasonable level of accuracy for a man measuring the depth of a hole in a field 100 years ago. Even when Mackenzie gave the dimensions of the clay chest in which the early deposit of

tablets was found, the measurements were only to the nearest 5 centimetres. We should bear this in mind when we are interpreting the excavation reports. As an example, Mackenzie states that the burnt deposit associated with the clay bath tablets started 30 centimetres below the surface. Palmer (1965, p. 268) interprets this as 11.75 inches. However, if the measurements are only to the nearest 10 centimetres, then a recorded measurement of 30 centimetres should be interpreted as representing an actual measurement somewhere in the range 25 - 35 centimetres, i.e. 10 - 14 inches.

3.3. *General notes on the discussion of find-places*

The discussion of find-places in the remainder of PART II follows approximately the chronological order of their excavation. However, it is convenient to include in the same section neighbouring find-places, in cases where the tablets might be considered to have fallen from the same place in an upper room.

The basic structure of each of these sections is to consider the basic factual archaeological information and then to develop the discussion from that basis. Given the nature of the evidence available, it is inevitable that some of that discussion will stray into areas of speculation. However, the intention is that it should be clear to the reader whether the statements being made are 'factual' or 'interpretations' of the evidence. It is noted in particular that the Concluding Remarks given at the end of some sections are the impressions of the author, rather than a strict summary of the preceding discussion.

Each section includes a list of tablets from that find-place. The tablets which are inferred to be from the find-place but are not included in the *Handlist* are given in italics.

4. FIND-PLACE D: *Near Room of Clay Chest*

The first tablet to be found by Evans and Mackenzie, Ai 338, was excavated on Saturday 31 March 1900.¹⁴¹ The find was noted explicitly by Mackenzie and also by Evans, who included a drawing of the tablet. Evans immediately observed its likeness to Ga 34 which had been found at Knossos following the Kalokairinos excavation.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ The dates in Evans' *Notebook* consistently disagree with those of Mackenzie's *Day Book* for each day up to and including Friday 6 April 1900. Mackenzie was writing the formal *Day Book* of the excavation and his dates show a consistent pattern, with excavations on each weekday (including Saturdays) and no excavation on Sundays. It is assumed that Mackenzie's dates are correct.

¹⁴² The earlier excavation by Minos Kalokairinos is discussed at length by Driessen (1990) and Kopaka (1992). The finding the Ga 34 is recorded by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the minutes of a meeting of l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (11 January 1901), «En 1895, j'avais remarqué entre les mains d'un habitant de Candie, M. Tsakirakis, un fragment de tablette de terre cuite sur lequel étaient gravées deux lignes de caractères semblant bien appartenir à ce même système d'écriture. Le

At this early stage in the present excavation, there was not a map grid being used. In practice, the fixed points of reference were two walls and the tops of pithoi which started to appear after only a few centimetres of soil had been removed from the surface of the field.¹⁴³ Thus, the tablet was described as being found «N. of where the pithos 2 occurs» and pithos 2 is shown in a sketch in the *Day Book* for 2 April. The position of pithos 2 is correctly recorded by Palmer in Plan 1 of *OKTi* (see also Fig. 39 of Palmer 1965). However, the actual position of the find-place of Ai 338, shown as (6) on Palmer's plan, is illustrating «a point a little to the north of pithos 2», rather than defining a precise position set down in the excavation records. The position of pithos 2 is included in FIG. 2 of this paper (p. 176).

Mackenzie's pencilled *Day Book* includes a plan but does not mark the position of the find-place of Ai 338. Evans' notes of 2 April¹⁴⁴ includes a rough sketch map¹⁴⁵. This map indicates the find position of the tablet is somewhat to the east of a line drawn due north of where pithos 2 was found (although pithos 2 is not shown on Evans' map). However, although there are some measurements shown on the sketch, it is not drawn to scale and should be regarded as illustrative rather than accurate.

The «catch-heading» for Ai 338, given in the *Handlist*, is «~~Surface, near Room of Clay Chest~~ Court of Altar». Hood and Taylor (1981) note that the «Court of Altar» was a misinterpretation of a surviving rectangle of pavement. In view of this and in view of the uncertainty of the exact find-place of Ai 338, it seems preferable to revert to Evans' earlier description «Near Room of Clay Chest».¹⁴⁶ The *Handlist* also gives us the information that Ai 338 was a surface find.¹⁴⁷

fragment avait été trouvé sur le site de Knossos, au lieu dit Makri Tikhos. L'argile était dure, noirâtre; le revers de la tablette, brut; toute la partie gauche manquait. Le caractères avaient été finement incisés avant la cuisson. Devant les exigences du détenteur, j'avais dû, à mon grand regret, renoncer à acquérir cette tablette; j'ai dû me borner à en prendre un estampage, que j'ai l'honneur de mettre sous les yeux de l'Académie.» A photograph of this 'estampage' is shown in the minutes for 1 March 1901 and it is this photograph which was reproduced by Evans in *SM II* and included in *CoMIK I*. (Therefore, the attribution of the photograph to Evans, in *CoMIK I* and *KT5*, is incorrect.) I thank José L. Melena for drawing my attention to these minutes.

¹⁴³ *OKTi*, Plate IIIa is a photograph of pithoi 1, 3, 4 & 5 in position after excavation (with an additional pithos tied around with rope, presumably so that it could be carried into the position shown in the photograph). This photograph is of interest because it shows the relative position of the tops of the pithoi and the field surface. It also shows the level of excavation activity in the background, with a dozen men working within a relatively small area. There were actually 79 men employed on 2 April 1900 according to Mackenzie. (100 men according to Evans, though this 'round figure' is probably a rough estimate.) See also the photograph reproduced by Niemeier 1982, Plate Vb.

¹⁴⁴ Actually given as 1 April in the notebook but assumed here to have been in error. See footnote above.

¹⁴⁵ Evans sketch map is reproduced in *OKTi* as Plate XXXIb and also in Palmer 1965, as Plate 20.

¹⁴⁶ Note the Clay Chest was not found until nearly a week later on 6 April.

¹⁴⁷ Evans' *Notebook* confirms that the tablet was found in the superficial stratum.

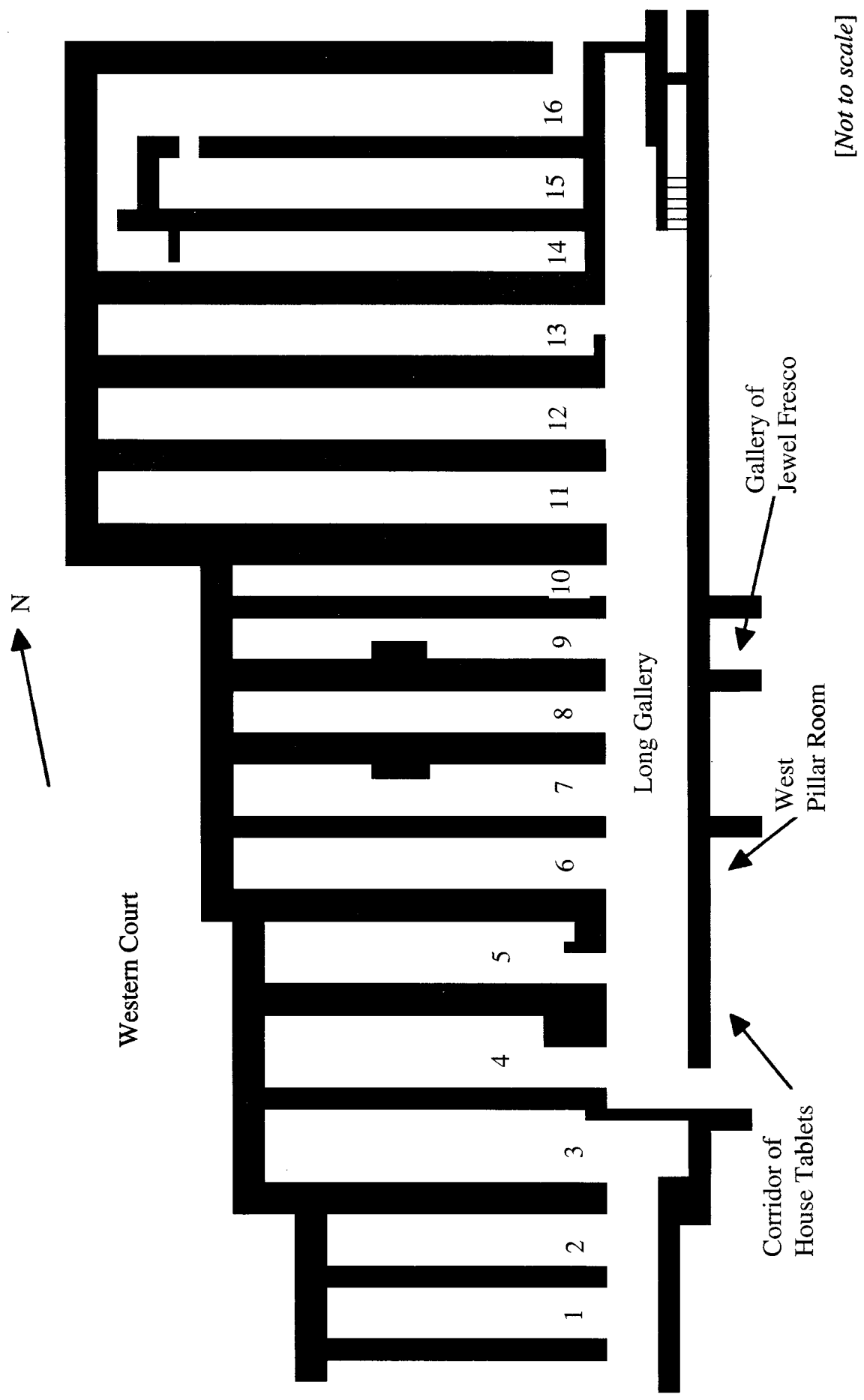


Figure 1: *Western Magazines and Long Gallery*

As this tablet was an isolated surface find, without an identified scribe, there is little that can be added to the above discussion, except to note that it was unlikely to have been found in the position it had been fired during the destruction of the palace.

5. FIND-PLACE F2: *Western Magazine III and related deposits*

The next group of tablets started to be excavated on 4 April 1900, in the area now known as Western Magazine III (see FIG. 1¹⁴⁸). However, at that stage the find-place was described by Mackenzie as the «NW corner of the area at present being excavated immediately N of a wall which runs E-W of this part» (i.e. immediately north of the south wall of Magazine III). This wall would have been uncovered when Magazine III was partially excavated by Minos Kalokairinos.¹⁴⁹ That earlier excavation also, «embraced the part of the Long Gallery opposite the entrance to this Magazine and a small portion of an adjoining passage», i.e. Corridor of House Tablets (Evans 1900, p. 21).

Mackenzie's plan for 17 April (DM/DB ink) shows the general find-positions of two groups of tablets. A «deposit of inscription tablets» was found a few metres from the entrance to the magazine. Some «fragments probably belonging to the same deposit ... found ... some metres further W.», described on the plan as «inscr. tablets», were found roughly 4 metres east of the western wall of the magazine.

Mackenzie specifically noted that the deposit of tablets, found nearer to the entrance, were found in a burnt wood carbon-ash deposit (DM/DB, 4 & 6 April). This may imply that the tablets had been contained in a wooden box (or boxes).

On 4 April, the depth of the deposit of tablets was recorded as being 0.30-0.50 m from the surface (cf. the floor-level which was about 2.5 m below the surface, Raison 1993, p. 23). The remains of the upper floor were found at a depth of roughly 1 m from the surface (see discussion in SECTION 1.2). The implication is that the tablets were well-above the lower floor-level and had been on the upper floor before the destruction of the palace.

Evans drew the group of tablets found on 4 April in his *Notebook* [Dq 447, 448, 449, 1803, X 450 and 5802]. However, when further fragments were found on 6 April, the tablets from the Clay Chest and the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT) had just started to appear and so less attention was given to the fragments of tablets from Magazine III. The *Day Book* then gives repeated reports that no finds of inscription tablets were found in NW corner, concluding on 13 April,

¹⁴⁸ Note that FIG. 1 includes all the later features, which are conventionally omitted from plans of the Western Magazines. This is because these later features would have been present at the time of the destruction of the palace in which the tablets were fired and deposited in their find-positions. FIG. 1 is based on Fyfe's 1903 plan, with the addition of the two later walls blocking the long gallery.

¹⁴⁹ Kalokairinos is reported to have removed 12 pithoi from Magazine III (Evans 1900, p. 21), but note DM/DB 1923, I, p. 18 and OKTii, p. 40, where it is suggested that the pithoi were actually removed from Magazine V.

that the deposit of inscription tablets was exhausted. However, Evans notes that a small piece of tablet with T on it was found on 11 April. A further fragment was found in this area on 14 April.¹⁵⁰

On 28 April, it was recorded that a fragment was found at the «N end E recess of jamb-gallery» (DM/DB pencil). In addition, it was noted that the excavation that day had been from the 4th doorjamb (N. jamb of Magazine III) to the 5th jamb (N. jamb of Magazine IV). This would imply that the E recess being referred to is the entrance to the Corridor of House Tablets. It seems probable that this tablet would have been listed by Evans as being from the Corridor of House Tablets, which was being excavated at this stage.

Finally, it is recorded (in DM/DB pencil) that fragments were found in Magazine III on 1 May.¹⁵¹

In the original *Handlist* the tablets from the Corridor of Stone Jambs (F15) are listed immediately before the tablets from Magazine III, with the RCT tablets immediately after. The numbering of the original *Handlist* was confused for these find-places, probably because the tablets were listed before the excavation in the area of Magazine III had been completed. Thus, the first tablets found would have been listed followed by the large numbers of tablets from the RCT and then the additional tablets from the Magazine III area would have been «shoe-horned» into the list. The original *Handlist* allocated numbers ON 38 to 41 for tablets from the «Corridor of Stone Jambs» (i.e. 4 tablets) and numbers ON 42 to 47 for tablets from Magazine III (i.e. 6 tablets). However, we have already seen that six tablets had been found in Magazine III on 4 April and Evans had drawn these clearly in his *Notebook*. Therefore, we know that the tablets from Magazine III in the *Handlist* correspond to those tablets excavated on 4 April. It is suggested that the tablets from «Corridor of Stone Jambs» in the *Handlist* correspond to those tablets indicated by Mackenzie as being found in Magazine III on 6 April. The tablets, D1 47, Lc 446, X 410, which were shoe-horned into the *Handlist* under the catch-heading Magazine III, would then have been the tablets recorded as being found in this area after 6 April.

This interpretation of the *Handlist* would imply that the tablets which were given under the catch-heading, Corridor of Stone Jambs, were actually found in Magazine III. This would be consistent with Mackenzie's entry for 3 May 1900 (pencil), «It was noticeable that while finds in the way of inscriptions were a feature of the W. galleries, the gallery of the jambs itself had none».

There are two other groups of tablets which have been linked to the Magazine III tablets (Firth 1998), namely, those from Magazine II and from the Western Courtyard.

¹⁵⁰ This fragment was noted in DM/DB pencil, but not in the inked version.

¹⁵¹ There is confusion between the pencil and ink versions of this record because of the re-numbering of the Western Magazines. Clearly, the original (i.e. pencil) version is more likely to be correct than the inked 'fair copy', which was probably written some considerable time later.

In the case of Magazine II, the notebooks simply refer to fragments of inscriptions without giving details about the exact position of the finds or whether the tablets were found in a carbon-ash deposit. We may deduce that the tablets were found between the lower floor-level and a height of ~0.5 m above that level. This is because the magazine had been excavated to a depth of ~2 m by 17 April and the fragments of tablets were not noted as being found until excavation re-started on 30 April. However, a number of those tablets were from the same set, Dq(1), as tablets from Magazine III, which would imply that they were also from the upper floor.

Only one fragment was noted by Mackenzie as being found in the area of the West Court. This was a small fragment of inscription which was found on 23 May 1900, probably from the area in front of Magazines V or VI (see the footnote in PART I SECTION 7). This isolated small fragment does not appear to have been included in the *Handlist*. However, the *Handlist* does include a number of tablets from the Western Court: K 700 from the «W. area: Nr S.W. Entrance» and the sheep/wool tablets SM 42-46 from the «Area beyond W. Wall». From their position in the *Handlist*, it would appear that they were found during the excavation of the West Court, towards the end of the 1900 season, although they were not noted by Mackenzie. These tablets may have fallen outwards from the building during its destruction. Alternatively, they may have been inadvertently moved to the West Court area as soil was removed during earlier excavations. Fragments from this find-place included tablets from the set Dq(3). Tablets from this set were also found in Magazines II and III.

Re-numbering of the magazines during 1900

It is important to note that the numbering of the Magazines which were excavated during the first season was changed. In Mackenzie's pencilled *Day Books*, he refers to Magazine III as «N.W. corner». Similarly, Magazine VIII was referred to as «Pithos Gallery» (or some equivalent phrase). This is because these were the first of the magazines to be excavated and, at the early stage of the excavation, the floor plan of the building was not clear. When these areas were later drawn as part of the series of magazines (DM/DB pencilled, 2 May 1900), Mackenzie numbered them 4 and 9, respectively. These numbers were subsequently overwritten as 3 and 8. However, we know that Mackenzie's re-numbering of the magazines was done after the end of their excavation in the first season because, as he wrote up his inked version, he systematically changed the numbers of magazines from the pencilled to inked version.

In the *Handlist*, there are also signs of Evans re-numbering the magazines. For example, there are catch-headings, «3rd N.W. Gallery (4th old arrangement)», «2nd W. Gallery (first called 3rd)», «4th W. Gallery (formerly 5th)», «8th W. Gallery (First called Pithoi Gallery or 9th ...)». The order in which tablets were found in the excavations of these magazines is that they were first found in Magazine III, VIII, II, IV and then V and VI. We might draw the conclusion that Evans changed his numbering system before he recorded the

tablets found in Magazines V and VI from 1st May. Thus, there is a possibility that Mackenzie might have labelled tablets found in the Magazines during May according to the old convention but Evans interpreted the labels according to his new convention. In practice, this does not present problems for us since there were only minor fragments found in Magazines V and VI and if their find-places were incorrectly recorded it would be of little concern.

Summary of tablets found in Magazine III and related areas

It was suggested (Firth 1998) that the tablets from Magazines II & III, together with the B4 tablets, from the Western Courtyard were initially part of a single archive relating to sheep and sheep's wool (see TABLE II.1). This suggestion was developed by Killen (1998), who gave additional interpretation of these tablets. He suggested that X 44 could be a wool tablet (Od-series). Melena (private communication) also suggested that X 444 and X 450 could be tablets dealing with wool clippings (Dp-series). TABLE II.1 also contains the tablet K 700 from location B5, as discussed above.

TABLE II.1: *Tablets from Magazine III and related deposits*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Dq	(1)	121	439-441, 447-449, 672, 1803, 8208
	(3)	217	42, 45, 46, 442, 445
Other sheep or wool tablets:			Dk (1) 671 (scribe 120); Dp 43; D1 47 X 44, X 444, X 450
Miscellaneous:			Ga(2) 673 (scribe 136), K 700 <u>Lc(2) 446</u> (scribe 113?) X 410, 443, 451, 1802

Ga(2) 673 would appear to have strayed from the «Corridor of House Tablets», where the bulk of the Ga(2) set was found. It could have fallen west of that corridor when the palace was destroyed or, more likely, it could have been inadvertently moved during the earlier excavation of the palace by Kalokairinos.

Lc(2) 446 is classified as such because of the tentative identification of the scribal hand (113?). If it is indeed part of the Lc(2) set, then the tablet has 'strayed' from the area of Magazine VII or VIII; in this case, the 'straying' would most likely be due to incorrect allocation in the *Handlist*. It is more likely that SM 446 is not part of the Lc(2) set and should be re-classified as X 446.¹⁵²

There is some discussion of the links between these tablets and the other deposits given elsewhere by the author (Firth 1998, SECTION 9.2.1). In particular, Dq(1) 447 contains the shepherd/collector names, *ka?]-ta-wo / da-mi-ni-jo*, which are also found on Dk(2) 5201 (scribe 119), which was almost certainly found in the East-West Corridor. In addition, the other tablets in the Dk(1)-series, with known find-places, were found in the North Entrance Passage.

¹⁵² José L. Melena (priv. comm.) judges that SM 446 is not part of the Lc(2) set because the Lc(2) tablets have writing by scribe 115 on the *verso* whereas there is no hint of writing on the *verso* of SM 446.

Magazines IV & V

It has been shown that the tablets found in Magazine III had fallen from the upper floor. Graham (1969, Fig. 85) agrees with Evans that there would have been a single large Hall over Magazines III to V, which has been named the South West Hall. Since, tablets were also found in Magazines IV & V, it might appear, at first sight, that these also fell from the upper floor room.

There are few details about the tablets from Magazine IV in Mackenzie's excavation notes, other than that tablets were found on 1 & 8 May 1900. In his notes for 9-12 May, Evans records the finding of two seal impressions. These are also referred to in the catch-heading in the *Handlist*, «4th W. Gallery. Two impressions found here: one with bull's head (pt. of galloping bull?), another with legs of a man and bull?. With these a small deposit of tablets & fragments with a good deal of cement.» Then, on a new line, as a heading for what followed, «Minor fragments of inscriptions found». It is not unambiguously clear precisely which fragments of tablets were found with the sealings, although it is most probable that they were *SM* 456-460. (See the discussion in the footnote for 12 May 1900 in PART I SECTION 7.) It is worthwhile briefly pursuing this further, since an impression from the man and bull seal was also found in Magazine VIII (sealing G6, i.e. Ws 1703).¹⁵³ *SM* 456-460 include fragments which were written by scribes 210? and 223? (the other fragments do not have identified sets or scribes). All the tablets written by scribes 210 and 223 were found in Magazine IV. Thus, it seems possible that these sets should be associated, in some way, with the man and bull sealing.

In addition, the *Handlist* records that *SM* 473 was found «In pithos against S. wall of 4th Magazine». It was inserted into the *Handlist*, along with *SM* 472, in 1901. It has already been noted (Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.2) that, although these two tablets were inserted in the list at the same time, *SM* 472 is red brick with adherences and *SM* 473 is honey and black without adherences.¹⁵⁴ Thus, it should not be assumed that they were fired in the same location. These tablets were written by scribes 207 and 210. If we assume that these tablets had fallen from an upper room into the pithoi, and note that scribe 210 was also associated with the man and bull seal, it follows (by a tenuous stretch of logic) that the Ga(3), L(3) and L(6) tablets attributed to Magazine IV fell from the upper floor.

There are a number of additional points which are worth noting about Magazine IV. On 2 May both Evans and Mackenzie record the finding of a sealing and a label with pictographic symbols. (The plan for 2 May in *DM/DB* [inked] shows that at that stage only the area close to the entrance had been excavated.) There was no evidence of earlier excavation (1900 *BSA* Report, p.

¹⁵³ Younger (1988, p. 167) describes the impression on these sealings as Men and Animals type 3E, Animal Games, Bull-Wrestling, man below bull; bull in animal pose PT 14A, L; man semi-prone L below, puts his right arm around the bull's neck & holds onto the bull's left? horn with his left hand.

¹⁵⁴ José L. Melena, private communication.

21). The excavation revealed «a row of six open cists, with part of the covering slab of one of them, while within them were visible pieces of lead sheeting with which they had been originally lined» (1900 *BSA Report*, p. 21). The inner walls of the cists, «together with the bordering slabs of the pavement and parts of the adjoining walls of the Magazine, are much blackened, evidently from the burning of some specially inflammable substance which had been contained in these receptacles. It is reasonable to suppose this was oil» (*BSA Report 1901*, p. 48, also p. 83). Raison (1993) Plate XXXIV shows evidence of this blackening around only one of the cists shown.¹⁵⁵ In principle, the combustion of oil would create sufficient heat to fire tablets. However, the blackening shown in Raison's photograph is very localised and would only correspond to the firing of tablets if they were found in that precise vicinity.¹⁵⁶

The fact that the cists were found open but that most of their covers were missing (together with the observation that there was no evidence of earlier excavation) tends to suggest that this magazine was not in use immediately before the destruction. The sealing and label with pictographic symbols presumably pre-date the destruction of the magazines by many years and it would be consistent if they were found in an unused magazine.¹⁵⁷ It would follow that either the oil which blackened the cist(s) was a residual amount left in the store or that the oil fire pre-dated the main fire.

The fact that the tablets from Magazine IV were a miscellaneous group of inscriptions, and do not appear to be part of a larger coherent archive, leads one to suggest that they are the remains of archives from previous years. On that basis, they could have been fired during an earlier combustion and left forgotten in the magazine itself. However, the fact that two tablets were found in a pithos (pithoi) suggests that some tablets had fallen from the upper room.

There were only a few fragments found in Magazine V. Mackenzie records that these were found on 1 & 2 May 1900. The magazine itself appears to have had six open lead-lined cists (similar to Magazine IV; 1900 *BSA Report*, p. 22) although it is interesting to note that in this case these cists were not noted by Fyfe on his plans for 1900. Any discussion for this magazine would be analogous to that given above, but based on even less evidence.

¹⁵⁵ This photograph was included in *PofM* i, p. 459, but the caption erroneously states that it is Mag. VI.

¹⁵⁶ It is also worth noting that this is the only occasion on which Evans draws attention to evidence for an oil fire in the Western Magazines. The amount of blackening shown on the photograph is localised to one cist and is rather limited. This strongly suggests that the amount of oil stored in any of the Western Magazines at the time of their destruction appears to have been relatively small compared to the large amounts of oil listed on the Fh-series of tablets in the RCB.

¹⁵⁷ However, Hallager and Popham both date the extensive refurbishment of the Western Magazines to early LMIIIA2 (Hallager 1977, pp. 50-51; Popham 1970, p. 53). It is possible that these pictographic items had been previously fired and included as building materials in the upper floor.

Thus, it is not clear whether all the tablets from Magazines IV and V had fallen from an upper floor. However, it is worth noting that there are no obvious links between the tablets in TABLE II.1 and those from Magazines IV & V, other than a few stray sheep tablets. The tablets from Magazines IV & V are listed in TABLE II.2.

TABLE II.2: *Tablets from Magazines IV and V*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Ga	(3)	223	454, 456, 464, 465
	(-)		461, 5088
L	(3)	207	455, 473
	(6)	210	460, 469, 472
	(-)		578
Miscellaneous:			DI(1) 463 (scribe 118?), Fh 462 (scribe 141?), V(3) 466 (scribe 115), X 453 (scribe 138?) D 1615, F 452, M 467 X 409, 458, 459, 468, 7559, 7633, 7776

It is interesting to note that, although there are no significant links between the tablets in TABLES II.1 & II.2, there are a number of apparent links between the tablets in TABLE II.2 and those from other find-places.

If DI(1) 463 was written by scribe 118, then it has a clear link to the bulk of the DI(1) tablets found in the North Entrance Passage.¹⁵⁸ If X 453 was written by scribe 138, then it is linked to the rest of the tablets written by that scribe which were found in the Clay Chest. If Fh 462 was written by 141, then it links to the large Fh-series of tablets found in the Room of Column Bases. The only other tablet from the L(3)-series written by scribe 207, other than those listed above, is L(3) 869, which was found in the North Entrance Passage. In addition, Ai 739 (written by scribe 207?) was found in the Room of the Stone Lamp. There are numerous tablets by scribe 115, which were found in the Western Magazines and ‘Corridor of House Tablets’. Finally, impressions of the same ‘man and bull’ seal were found in both Magazine IV (sealing G5) and Magazine VIII (sealing G6).

Concluding remarks

There are a number of apparent links between the tablets found in Magazines II to V (and related areas) and other deposits. However, the overall impression is that they are a miscellany of individual tablets and parts of sets, rather than part of a coherent deposit (such as the sheep tablets in the East-West Corridor and the textile tablets found in Magazines XI to XV). Furthermore, the tablets probably do not represent ‘work in progress’ because the scribes are different from those

¹⁵⁸ José L. Melena (priv. comm.) judges that SM 463 was written by scribe 118 because of the characteristic *mi* sign.

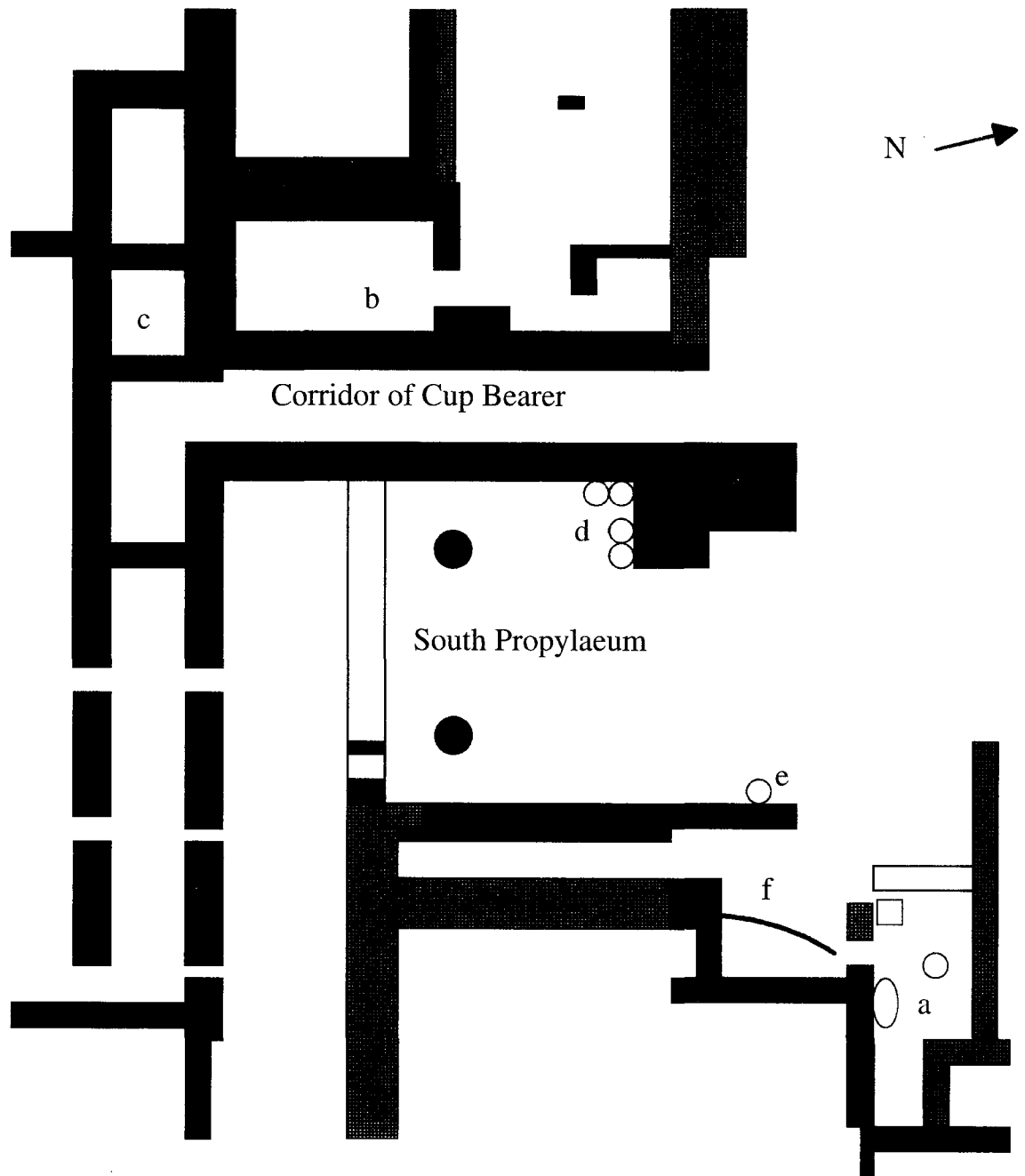


Figure 2: *Area of South Propylaeum*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a Clay Chest | b South West Pillar Room |
| c Find-place B1 (18 April 1901) | d Pithos no. 1 |
| e Pithos no. 2 | f drain |
| ■ Foundations | |

[Not to scale]

found in the main archives. Therefore, these tablets would appear to be the miscellaneous remains of previous years archives rather part of a stored archive or part of work which was in progress at the time of the destruction.

6. FIND-PLACE A: *Clay Chest*

Excavation notes and initial attempts at interpretation

The tablets in the Clay Chest were found on 6 April 1900. The Clay Chest itself gradually emerged during excavation in an area of black soil with much carbon-ash. These tablets were found packed together in rows in a carbon-ash deposit which was largely contained in a terracotta chest. The north side of the chest had fallen out, because it was not supported by a wall, and here the tablets had spilled a little outside of the chest. The find-place location of the Clay Chest is shown in FIG. 2 (which is based on Fyfe's 1903 plan, reproduced by Palmer 1969). FIG. 2a is a copy of the plan drawn by Mackenzie in his inked notes for 6 April 1900. (It is a re-drawing of the plan because of the difficulty of reproducing the original for this paper.)

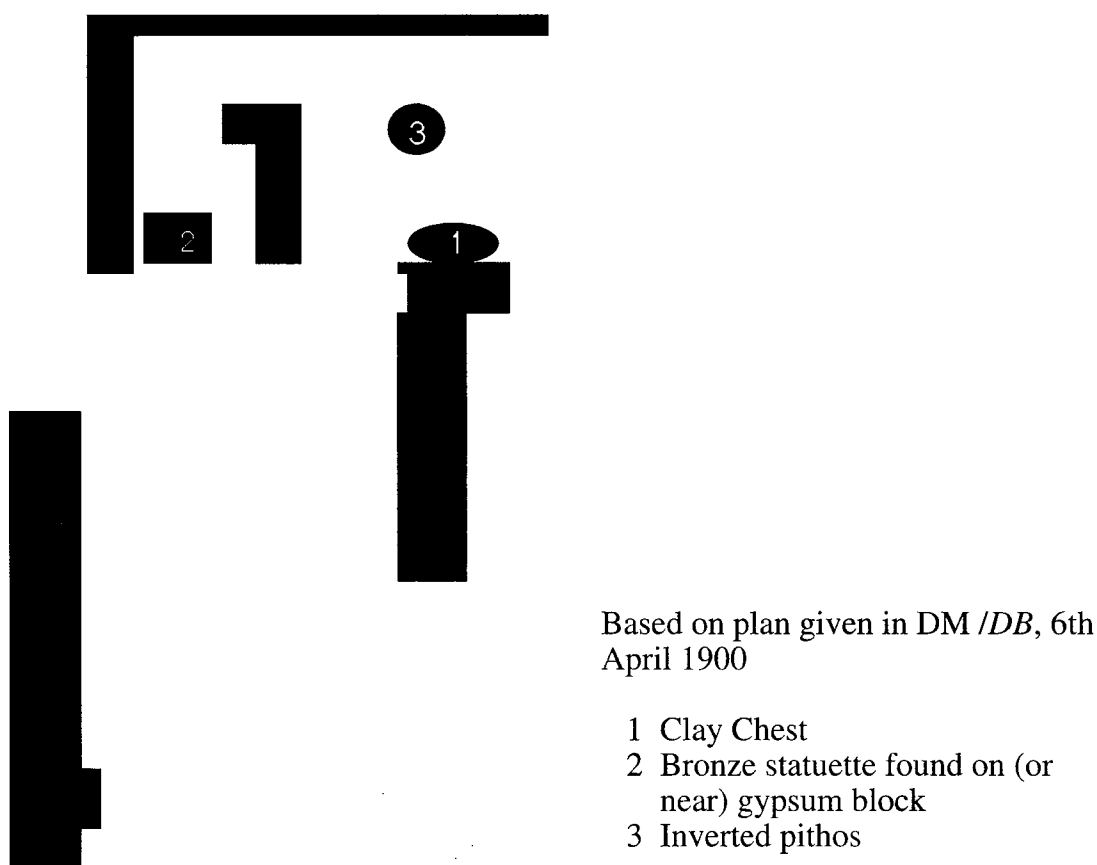


Figure 2a: *Room of Clay Chest*

It is stated that the carbon-ash deposit started 0.3 metres below the surface and went down to 0.7 metres, which was the level of the flooring of the clay chest. However, it is not clear whether the 0.3 metres is referring to the depth of the deposit containing the tablets or the blackened soil overlying the clay chest. Similarly, it is not clear whether the depth of 0.7 metres is the depth of the floor of the room or of the clay chest itself. The clay chest was found resting on the floor. It was 1.15 metres long and 0.6 metres wide. If we assumed that 0.3 metres

was the depth of the rim of the clay chest and 0.7 metres was the depth of the floor of the room then the height of the chest would have been ~0.4 metres, which would seem to be in proportion with its other dimensions.

Mackenzie initially describes the chest as a terracotta bath but then goes on to suggest that it may not have been used as a bath but may have been some kind of chest for holding these tablets. In his *BSA Report* (1900, pp. 18-19), Evans notes that there were no drain holes in the clay chest, as might be found in an ossuary or a bath.

Palmer (1965, 1980) suggested that the clay chest had been a bath tub. He linked this with a water jar found next to the bath, a terracotta drain found in the next room, the adjacent 'megaron' (noting the similarity of this arrangement with Pylos) and the 'tea set' found close by. However, Driessen (1990) suggests that there was no relationship between the Room of the Clay Chest and the drain (although he also refers to the chest as a 'bath' or 'tub').

Palmer (1965, 1980) and Driessen (1990) argue that the Room of the Clay Chest was a small annex to the Large Rectangular Construction (which has variously been dubbed the Pelasgian Megaron or the Hellenic temple or the Temple of Rhea). The basis of Driessen's argument is that the south walls of both the rectangular construction and the Room of the Clay Chest not only run parallel and have the same width (~0.97 m) but also use a few gypsum blocks each in their construction.¹⁵⁹

The underlying difficulty with interpreting this area is that there are a number of important finds in a region where the architecture is very unclear. It is perhaps most helpful if we begin by returning to the basic information which is provided. In addition, to the clay chest and tablets, the *BSA Report* (1900, pp. 17-18) for the Room of the Clay Chest describes a «bronze statuette of a man with a Mycenaean girdle and loin-cloth, raising his right hand as if in the act of adoration» (see also the sketch in *AE/NB* 1900, p. 20). This statuette was found 0.4 metres below ground level (i.e. roughly 0.3 metres above floor level) on or near a large gypsum block (*DM/DB*, 6 April 1900; *BSA Report*). There was at least one pithos in the room (shown in Mackenzie's plan, *FIG. 2a*), which was uncovered a few days earlier than the clay chest and gypsum block. Evans' notes state that there were two pithoi and that these were found upside down. The 1901 photograph, given by Driessen 1990 as *Illustration 32* (and less well-reproduced by Raison 1993 as *Plate XIX*), shows the walls near the Clay Chest, in the upper left side of the photograph. These walls are isolated above the level of the central clay area. The photograph also shows «paving stones» along a line westwards from the walls of the Clay Chest area. These are explicitly described as paving on Fyfe's 1901 plan, given in the *BSA Report*. However, following later excavation, it was apparent that this paving was part of foundation walls for a Large Rectangular Construction, to the north of the Clay Chest.

¹⁵⁹ Driessen's discussion is made more complex by his assumption that the building must have had an upper floor. That assumption is in turn tied to his view that the tablets fell down into the Clay Chest.

Of the walls shown in FIG. 2a, Fyfe's 1901 note (see Driessen 1990, Illustration 11) labels the north and west walls as 'late'. This is made more explicit on his plan of 1903 (see Palmer 1969) where these walls, and also the other north-south wall adjacent to the gypsum block, are shown as «Walls of period of re-occupation (Late Mycenaean)». Hallager (1987, Fig. 1D) also suggests that these walls are all «Late constructions», although no discussion or suggested date is given. Driessen (1990, pp. 113-114) suggests that the north and west walls are LMIIIB or Early Greek, noting the finding of Greek coins and sherds. [The other north-south wall is not well-represented on his diagram but appears to be already present in his LMIIIA1 diagram.] Popham (1970, p. 57 footnote) notes Hellenistic pottery and fragments of roof tiles from the region of the central clay area in box G I 11 of the Stratigraphical Museum.

Large Rectangular Construction and Room of Clay Chest

Let us briefly consider the Large Rectangular Construction. In this case, the evidence is even sparser and the range of suggestions is broader. The archaeological evidence is represented solely by the foundation stones of a large rectangular building. There is some question about the size of the building but Driessen (1990, p. 96) suggests that it could have measured 20 m by 9 m. There is no evidence of internal rooms or pillars and columns. If it was indeed a single open room, then the weight of a roof would have been large and require support from substantial beams; the weight of an upper floor would have been too great to consider as a practical proposition (see discussion in SECTION 1.2).

We know that the north and west walls surrounding the gypsum block, shown on FIG. 2a, are built across the foundation walls of the Large Rectangular Construction. We also know that when test pits were made in the area of the walls of the Large Rectangular Construction west of the Room of the Clay Chest in 1903, that the samples contained pieces of an LMIIIA conical crater which joined with pieces found in Magazine VIII and elsewhere (Popham 1970, p. 47, Plate 8a; Raison 1977, pp. 51-52; Palmer 1980, pp. 278-279; see also the discussion in PART III). Popham (1970) regards the sherds found in Magazine VIII as dating the destruction of the Western Magazines and suggests that the sherds found in the clay area were «shot [out] with the falling debris» during the destruction of the Western Magazines in early LMIIIA2. Since the 1903 test pits were below the surface of the Central Clay area (shown on the 1901 photograph referenced above), there should be general agreement that the levelling of the clay area and the building of walls which cut across the foundations of the Large Rectangular Construction occurred later than (early) LMIIIA2.

However, there is a clearly a practical problem in suggesting that the walls surrounding the gypsum block (shown in FIG. 2a) are later than LMIIIB because the tops of the gypsum block & the clay chest, the pithos and a bronze statuette of a man wearing a Mycenaean girdle and loin-cloth were all within about 30 or 40 centimetres of the surface and very close to these walls. In practice, our evidence for dating these walls is limited and there is a tendency to allow the

suggested dates to vary according to hypothesis being propounded. Nevertheless, it is suggested here that, in practical terms, it would not have been possible to build these later walls, whilst retaining the LMIII finds in position, during a later Greek period (unless one were to suggest that it had been done as part of an archaeological conservation scheme!). This then leads to the suggestion that the walls around the gypsum block, the gypsum block and the bronze statuette were LMIIIB. It is only a step further to note the close proximity of the pithos and the clay chest to these walls and suggest that these too must date from the same period. Such an argument is not entirely satisfactory because it is built up from too little hard evidence, however, it would appear to be better than the alternatives.¹⁶⁰

Location of tablets before the fire

In his 1900 *BSA* report, Evans reaches «the conclusion that their [i.e. the tablets] immediate receptacle was a wooden box placed within the bath». In *SM I* (p. 41) he re-iterated this view that the coffer containing the tablets was kept in a basement chamber. By *PofM* iv, p. 668, this view had changed and he suggested that the box of tablets «had probably fallen into the clay receptacle from above»; however, no reasons are apparent for this change of view.

Palmer (1965, 1980) assumed that the tablets had originally been stored on an upper floor and, when the palace was destroyed, the wooden box containing the tablets fell through the floor into the chest on the lower floor. Driessen (1990, p. 96) puts forward a variation on this hypothesis. He suggests that the entire deposit found in the Room of the Clay Chest (excluding the clay chest itself) had fallen from an upper floor or from a shelf. He puts forward a number of supporting reasons for this hypothesis, however, on closer inspection these are not convincing.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ This interpretation is of course not intended to preclude later activity on the site, indicated by the coins, Hellenic pottery and roof tiles.

¹⁶¹ Driessen's arguments in this respect are not convincing because:

- he incorrectly attributes Mackenzie's *Day Book* discussion of the find of tablets in Magazine III, on 4 April 1900, to the Room of the Clay Chest. As a consequence, he mistakenly suggests that the tablets were found only 0.3-0.5 metres below ground level and that some tablets were found at a distance from the clay chest.
- he tries to draw a distinction between the floor-level on which the clay chest is standing (given by Mackenzie as 0.70 metres below the surface of the field) and a later assessment by Fyfe, of 0.78 metres. The discussion given in SECTION 3.2 above has already warned about the dangers of reading too much accuracy into Mackenzie's measurements of depth below ground-level. Mackenzie's 0.70 metres is anything in the range 0.65 - 0.75 metres (because all his depths were quoted to the nearest 0.10 metres). Fyfe's estimate of depth below the surface was made some time later when the original surface above the Room of the Clay Chest had been completely removed. Thus, the agreement between Mackenzie's 0.70 m and Fyfe's 0.78 m is actually surprisingly good. In addition, Mackenzie only writes about a single floor level in the Room of the Clay Chest in his notes of 1900 (see also *DM/DB* entry for 16 April 1900).

There are three basic points on the question of whether the tablets fell from an upper floor into the clay chest:

1. The tablets were well-fired and this is generally correlated with storage in an upper room.
2. If the tablets had been stored in an upper room and if the flooring consisted of a 50-60 cm thickness of wooden beams and packed earth (see SECTION 1.2), then one would expect that there would be evidence of this. However, there is no evidence in the excavation notes of any floor/ceiling material between the tablets and the Clay Chest.
3. In practice, the Large Rectangular Construction is almost a 'virtual construction'. As discussed above, on the evidence available there could not have been an upper room above a building which was so large without internal supporting walls, columns or pillars.¹⁶² The remaining walls, shown in FIG. 2a, would not be compatible with a structure with an upper floor.

There are no indications of an upper floor here in terms of remains of stairs or floor/ceiling debris. Furthermore, even if one assumed that there was an upper floor, it is judged to be very unlikely that a box of tablets would fall literally through a floor of thickness 50-60 cm from an upper storey and land precisely into the middle of a clay chest and that it would do this without any sign of the extensive debris from the floor/ceiling coming between the box of tablets and the clay chest.

It is more likely that the tablets were in a wooden box on a shelf and fell from the shelf into the clay chest. This raised position would have aided the firing of the tablets. However, if the chest was designed to hold water, then it would not have been sensible to store sun-baked clay tablets on a shelf where they could so readily fall off and be 'dissolved' in a tub of water.

The most straightforward interpretation would appear to be that the tablets were originally in a wooden box (or boxes) which in turn were located in the Clay Chest, which was on the floor on which it was found. However, this would not readily explain why the heat was sufficiently intense that the tablets, contained in a box in the clay chest, were fired.

As already noted, the area contained a «bronze statuette of a man with a Mycenaean girdle and loin-cloth, raising his right hand as if in the act of adoration» found on or near a gypsum block. The tablets contain details of

- the bronze statuette was found 0.4 metres below the surface (i.e. roughly 0.3 metres above floor level. It is shown on Mackenzie's plan (DM/DB ink, plan 11, redrawn here as FIG. 2a) as having been found above a square solid structure (also included on FIG. 2). Evans (1900, p. 17) describes this structure as a large gypsum block. In view of this, the fact that the statuette was found roughly 0.3 m above the floor-level is consistent with it originally being located on the gypsum block.
- the final piece of evidence cited is that Evans noted that the two pithoi in the room were found upside down. Taken by itself, this is not clear evidence that they had fallen from a shelf or from an upper floor.

¹⁶² In view of the limited evidence for the Large Rectangular Construction, it seems worthwhile considering whether it was simply a set of foundations which were never advanced above that level.

religious offerings of oil and there was at least one pithos in the room (although Evans notes that it was upside down). If we were allowed to construct the simplest picture from this evidence, it would be one of a ground-floor room with religious significance. If we were to suppose that oil was stored in the room, then it would explain the intensity of the fire. Alternatively, we might suppose that the room was largely constructed of combustible material which would have burnt, firing the tablets in situ. This would be compatible with the black earth containing carbon-ash above the level of the clay chest, which was noted by Mackenzie.

It is worthwhile now extending the discussion to include the central clay area immediately to the north of the Room of the Clay Chest. As already noted, the Large Rectangular Construction, which has been suggested for this area, did not exist above the level of foundations, which were taken to be a pavement, when Evans and Mackenzie excavated in 1900. At a later stage, Mackenzie (*DM/DB*, 15 May 1907) suggested that the Large Rectangular Construction was built in the Late Minoan III period, during what he describes as the reoccupation period (i.e. LMIIIB). [This would be consistent the discussion of the joining of pottery sherds given above.] However, the north and west walls of the Room of the Clay Chest were built over the foundations of this Large Rectangular Construction.

This leads us back to the question of the nature of this area at the time of the tablets in the Clay Chest. In his *BSA Report* of 1901 (pp. 21-23), Evans interprets this area as the «Court of the Altar from what appears to be an altar-base visible in its eastern bay». He also notes «On the eastern margin of the area there are visible in position slabs of good paving, which seem to indicate that the whole of the area immediately bordering on the Propylaeum had originally been paved». He suggests that these paving slabs, like those in the Central Court, had in later years been removed for building purposes. The 1900 excavation also found darker soil, full of «wood ashes and bones, possibly of a sacrificial nature» on the south side of this area (*BSA Report* 1900, p. 17).

If we associate Evans' evidence for the Court of the Altar, with the Room of the Clay Chest containing details of offerings to divinities and a bronze statuette of an adorant on a gypsum block, then we would appear to have set of clues which are all consistent with an area of religious significance.

Tablets from Clay Chest

The tablets found in the Clay Chest were the Fp(1) and Fs series of tablets, written by scribes 138 and 139 respectively. All tablets from the Fs-series were written by scribe 139 and were found in this find-place.

TABLE II.3: *Tablets from the Clay Chest*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Fp	(1)	138	1, 5-7, 13-16, 18, 30, 48
Fs		139	2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 19-26, 29, 32
		(-)	3
Miscellaneous:			Gg 10 (scribe 138) C 33

The Fp(1) series of tablets includes Fp(1) 48, written by scribe 138. This tablet is recorded in the *Handlist* as having been found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT). The first tablets from the RCT were found on the same day as the tablets from the Clay Chest. It has been suggested by Driessen (1994) that Fp(1) 48 was actually found in (or near) the Clay Chest and that it became confused with the RCT tablets, causing its find-place to be wrongly recorded by Evans.

Driessen (1988) has written extensively about the RCT tablets noting, in particular, that they are written by characteristic scribal hands («124») on characteristic clay. However, Driessen’s particular interest in Fp(1) 48 is that it would confound his hypothesis (1990) that the RCT tablets might pre-date the bulk of the remaining tablets by at least one generation.

Irrespective of Driessen’s RCT hypothesis, it does seem highly likely that the find-places of tablets had become confused on the 6 April, when the excavation suddenly started to reveal an abundance of tablets. At that stage, the RCT and the Clay Chest were represented by excavations in a field separated by only 14 metres. Even if the RCT and Clay Chest tablets remained separated at that stage, all these tablets would have been taken to the excavation headquarters (the House of the Turkish Bey) and would probably have been placed on the same tray, labelled by pieces of paper. If we allow a balance of probabilities, it seems much more likely that Fp(1) 48 was originally contained in the wooden box with the remainder of the Fp(1) tablets found in the Clay Chest than in a separate location which, just coincidentally, was excavated on the same day. On this basis, Fp(1) 48 has been included in TABLE II.3.

In a similar way, it seems possible that V 52 was found in the Clay Chest, than the RCT. V52 was not written on the same type of clay as the other RCT tablets and it was not written by one of the «124»-series of scribes. On the other hand it contains a series of names of divinities and is, therefore, more closely linked with the Clay Chest tablets (noting again that the Clay Chest was excavated on the same day that tablets started to be found in the RCT). However, it was not written by scribe 138 or 139, therefore, its find-place should be regarded as uncertain.

Before concluding this discussion, it is worth noting that the Fp-series of tablets of offerings listed in TABLE II.3 contains the names of months (*Documents*, p. 304). There are 10 such tablets, listing 6 different months. It is noted here, for further reference, that the month *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* is listed most

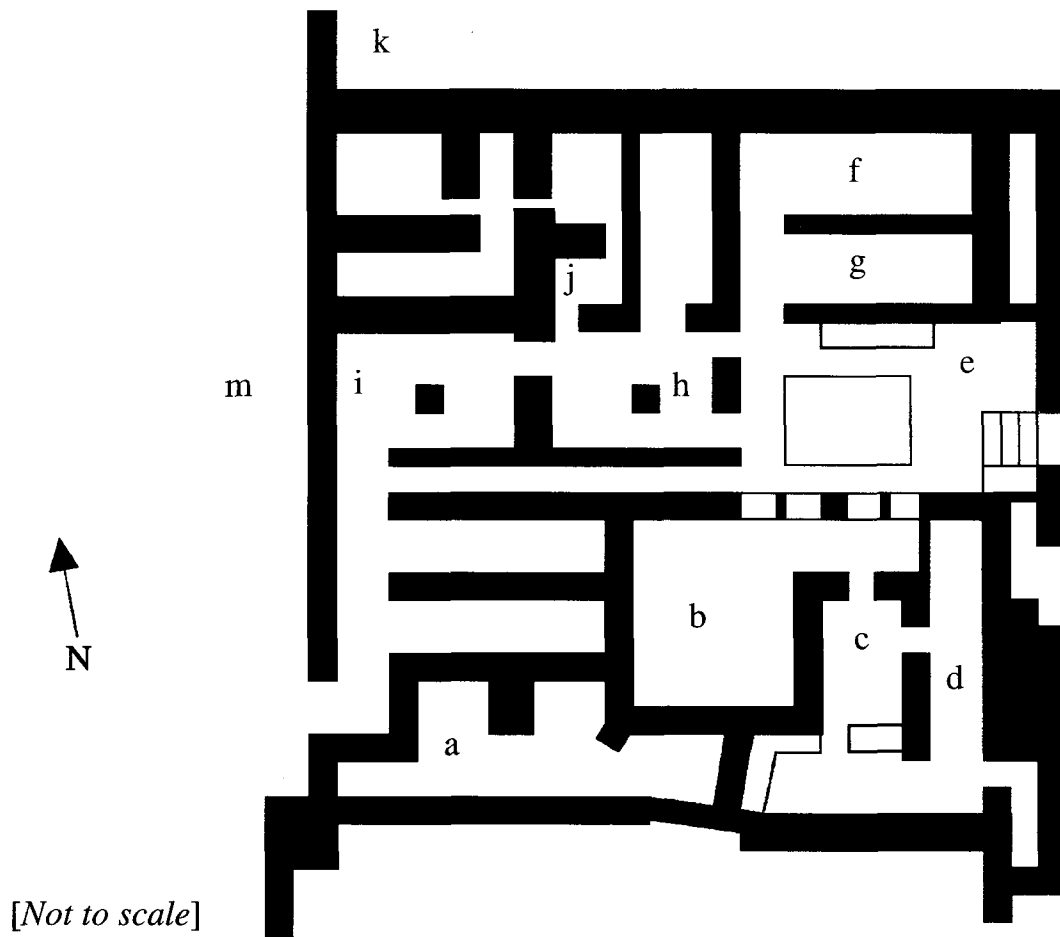


Figure 3: *Complex of rooms around Room of Column Bases*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a Room of Steatite Vase | g Room of Tall Pithos |
| b Room of Stone Vases | h East Pillar Room |
| c Room of Chariot Tablets | i 'Corridor of House Tablets' |
| d Gallery east of RCT | j Room of Niche |
| e Room of Column Bases | k Gallery of Jewel Fresco |
| f Room of Temple Repositories | m Long Gallery |

frequently, being found on four separate tablets (see the discussion below on the Gallery of Jewel Fresco).

Concluding remarks

The tablets in the Clay Chest appear to have been stored in a small ground-floor room which was separated from the main structure of the palace. The tablets contain lists of offerings to divinities. This is consistent with the bronze statuette of an adorant, found on (or near) a gypsum block in the same room. Evans described the adjacent central clay area as «Court of the Altar», because of an altar base which was found just north of the Room of Clay Chest and because of the remains of paving slabs in the central clay area (implying, in his view, that it was all paved at one time). The excavation also uncovered darker soil, full of «wood ashes and bones, possibly of a sacrificial nature» on the south side of this area. The general consistent impression is that this was an area of some religious significance.

7. FIND-PLACE C: *Room of the Chariot Tablets*7.1. *Excavation notes*

The tablets from the Room of Chariot Tablets (RCT; see FIG. 3) were excavated from Friday 6 April to Saturday 14 April 1900, with tablets being removed each working day of the excavation.

There is a reasonable amount of detail about these finds of tablets, although it falls short of allowing a full and unambiguous reconstruction. Nevertheless, the following would seem to be the most likely interpretation.

The tablets were found in two separate groups. The first group of tablets were found in a carbon-ash deposit and included Sc and Np-series tablets. This deposit included the seals, bronze hinges and charred wood (AE/NB, 10 April). It also included the «small group of tablets in a friable condition» described on 11 April. The bulk of this group of tablets were found to the south of a rectangular stone slab at a depth of 1.50 metres below ground level.¹⁶³

The second group of tablets was found as the excavation progressed northwards on 12/13 April. They were found just south of the north wall of the RCT. We are not told whether these were found in carbon-ash deposit or at what depth they were found. We do know that they included SM 93, SM 162 and a tablet with a 'pig's head'. We also know that Mackenzie's plan 18 labelled both deposits as chariot tablets, which would suggest that Sc-series tablets were found in both deposits.

The excavation of the RCT proceeded for two more days until the floor-level appeared everywhere. There were practically no fragments of inscription found on the first of these days and none recorded on the second day. The floor level was 2 metres below ground level, according to Mackenzie.¹⁶⁴

As already noted, the first deposit of tablets contained Sc and Np(1) tablets (among others) and the logograms for these tablets were described by Mackenzie as early as the 6 April («chariot with horses and growing plant or tree»). Mackenzie states that sieves were in operation for sifting the soil for the first time

¹⁶³ Evans assessed the depth to be about 2 metres on the same day. However, it would seem reasonable to suppose that there is no discrepancy between Evans rough estimate of 2 metres and Mackenzie's measurement of 1.50 metres.

¹⁶⁴ There are a number of differences between the above description and Driessen's «Conjectural Reconstruction» in his Fig. 8 (1990, p. 58). (i) The excavation records do not imply that the carbon-ash deposit was found throughout the RCT. Evans clearly associates the carbon-ash as being the remains of the wooden boxes in which the tablets had been stored, implying that it was local to the tablets. (ii) The excavation records do not specifically record the position and depth of the find of sealings and hinges, however, they were found on 10 April (immediately before the slab appeared on 11 April), whereas the north wall tablets were not found until 12/13 April. This implies that the sealings and hinges were found near the seat. (iii) The excavation records do not specify the depth of the second group of tablets, except to note that the final floor-level was found after two further days of excavation.

on 9 April. Many of the tablets were found in a crumbling condition and it is noted that it was not possible to preserve them all. It was a few of the tablets from this area that were reduced to a pulpy mass when they were inadvertently wetted during a nocturnal storm (Evans, 1900 *BSA Report*, p. 29 and 56).

The first deposit of tablets were found in a carbon-ash deposit and there were 7 small bronze hinges and a piece of charred wood with a carving noted by Evans. He concludes that the tablets seemed to have been held in wooden coffers.

The excavation records note that ~230 tablets were found on Thursday 12 April and ~150 on the following day. In all there were nearly 600 tablets excavated from the RCT.

It was Evans' view that the tablets had originally been kept within the ground floor Room of the Chariot tablets (*SM I*, p. 41). He goes on to suggest that the RCT, «had all the appearance of an office or bureau. The bulk of these [tablets] lay within a rectangular space, shut off, except for a small opening, from the rest of the chamber by a stone bench, which may have stood before a wooden counter and have been the seat of an official» (*SM I*, pp. 41-42). «They [the tablets] lay on or near the floor level, and the conclusion most compatible with the circumstances of the find was that they had been stored in rows of small cases set on shelves along the back wall of this small area. Most of the pieces, like the remains of the wooden chests that accompanied them, showed traces of burning. Owing, however, to the comparatively low level at which they had been originally placed, some had escaped the effects of fire and were much in their original condition» (*SM I*, p. 43).

7.2. Floor levels

We will now consider floor-levels in more detail. The tablets were evidently found substantially above the floor-level uncovered on the 16 April. In particular, the first group of tablets were found 0.4-0.6 metres above this floor level¹⁶⁵. Evans describes the level of the tablets as being «near floor», with some tablets «simply placed on the ground».

Driessen (1990) suggests that the tablets were found at the level of an upper floor which had collapsed into the RCT. However, there are a number of practical reasons why this is unlikely,

a) the discussion given in SECTION 1.2 lists a number of reasons to doubt the existence of an upper floor, primarily because the original design of the area (as discussed by Driessen) does not appear to have been consistent with the existence of an upper floor.

b) the excavation records for this room do not include any reference to the charred remains of floor beams, as were found, for example, in the Western Magazine area.

c) Evans (1900, p.30) describes these rooms as having insubstantial interior walls. This is not consistent with the substantial ceiling/flooring and

¹⁶⁵ This takes account of the uncertainties in Mackenzie's quoted depths. So that 0.4-0.6 is the difference between 1.95-2.05 and 1.45-1.55 metres.

superstructure that would be required if there had been an upper floor over the RCT.

d) there were no steps to an upper floor found in the vicinity of the RCT.¹⁶⁶

e) in the original plan the E-W slab is shown as being perpendicular to the east wall of the RCT (see FIG. 3). It is most unlikely that it fell from an upper floor and ended up perpendicular in this way.¹⁶⁷ However, if the slab had been on the lower floor it would have broken the fall of the upper floor beams (unless the beams were strictly parallel to the slab) and so the tablets on top of that upper flooring would have been ~0.5 metres above the level of the slab, rather than at a similar level, as found on 11 April.

On this basis, it is suggested that there was not an upper room above the RCT and that the archive of tablets was stored in the RCT itself, as suggested by Evans in *SM I*. This is also consistent with Evans' observation that many of the tablets were not well-fired.

It is interesting to note the similarities between the RCT and the inner archive room at Pylos (room 8). Both rooms had benches around the walls and evidence of tablets being stored in wooden boxes with bronze hinges (Blegen 1955; Blegen & Rawson 1966). Whilst these features of scribal activity may not seem surprising, the association of deposits of tablets with benches was not noted elsewhere at Knossos. Furthermore, only one other bronze hinge was noted during the excavation.¹⁶⁸

It is suggested that the first group of tablets in the RCT, that were found ~0.4-0.6 metres above the floor-level, may have originally been on a working surface. In the above quote from *SM I* (pp. 41-42), Evans suggests that there may have been a wooden counter. Such a surface would have had the practical purpose for the scribes to use for writing, storing their tablets or setting them out to dry.

7.3. Chronology of RCT tablets

We now move to the debate about the relative chronology of the RCT tablets. Driessen (1990) developed the hypothesis that the RCT tablets were around two generations earlier than the bulk of the remainder of the archive. His argument can be summarised as follows:

¹⁶⁶ In *PofM*, Evans suggests that there have been a wooden stairway in the gallery to the east of the RCT. However, there is no archaeological basis for this suggestion given in the excavation notes. The 1900 excavation report does refer to this gallery but suggests that it was a 'safe' or 'strong room', with no reference to a wooden stairway. The Akrotiri evidence is that stairways were always readily identifiable. In other words such a stairway in the gallery to the east of the RCT is purely conjectural.

¹⁶⁷ In Mackenzie's sketch of 7 May 1907, he adjusts the angle of the seat to be parallel to the 'slanting wall' of the Room of the Steatite Vase and perpendicular to the east wall of that room. Even if this were the case, it still represents a precise angle and not the random positioning of a slab that has dropped through 2 or 3 metres as the upper floor collapsed under it.

¹⁶⁸ This was noted by Evans in the SE Front area.

1) in an early phase, the Room of the Steatite Vase would have been a corridor leading into the RCT area. «Slanting walls» were then built across the east and south ends of this corridor to form the Room of the Steatite Vase (see FIG. 3). These slanting walls can be dated to the latter half of MMIIIB by the remains found under the RCT benches that were associated with the walls.¹⁶⁹

2) Driessen then assumes that there was a fire and the area of the RCT and its gallery, the Room of the Steatite Vase and the Room of the Stone Vases were destroyed, blocked off and left as a ruin.

3) Subsequently, Driessen argues, the Large Rectangular Construction was built, with its north wall cutting across the slanting wall of the Room of the Steatite Vase and the south wall of the RCT. As already noted above, Driessen suggests that the Room of the Clay Chest was an annex to the Large Rectangular Construction. It would then follow that the tablets in the Room of the Clay Chest post-date those from the RCT.

In terms of the tablets, there are four potential problems with Driessen's hypothesis,

i) tablet Fp(1) 48 (scribe 138) was recorded in the *Handlist* as being found in the RCT but it clearly belongs to the set of tablets found in the Clay Chest.

ii) V 52 and U 96 are not part of the series of tablets written by the «124»-scribes or using the same clay as the other tablets.

iii) Sjöquist & Åström (1991) noted that there was reason to believe that the palm-print found on Xd 105 was the same as that found on L 473 from Magazine IV, i.e. palm-print R LAMBDA.

iv) the hypothesis suggests that the passage (or gallery) to the east of the RCT was abandoned at the same time as the RCT (Driessen 1990, p. 111, Fig. 12), however, tablet L 433 was found in that passage. Again, L 433 is not part of the series of tablets written by the «124»-scribes.

In the case of (i), it has already been suggested in the previous section that there was probably an error of recording the find-place of Fp(1) 48 in the *Handlist*. On point (ii), the *Handlist* clearly lists V 52 and U 96 under the catch-heading for the RCT. However, in this case, there is no scribal evidence to connect these tablets with any other find-place so it is possible to sustain Driessen's hypothesis whilst not questioning their find-places in the *Handlist*. In the case of (iii), although Sjöquist & Åström found 'reason', they did not find 'strong reason', thus there would seem to be sufficient scope for doubt, if there was stronger evidence to the contrary.

¹⁶⁹ On his plan of May 1922, Mackenzie describes these slanting walls as 'late'. However, he appears to have forgotten the dating of the walls by the finds from the under the benches. He also implies that there was a continuation of the slanting south wall of the Room of the Steatite Vase, eastwards over the line of the north wall of the Large Rectangular Construction. However, the extended slanting wall was not shown in the excavation records and, if present, would have led to the conclusion the Large Rectangular Construction was earlier than the slanting walls. For these reasons, it would appear the plan of May 1922 is not fully reliable.

In respect of point (iv), there is some difficulty with the discussion given by Driessen.¹⁷⁰ However, although Driessen's hypothesis assumes that the passage to the east of the RCT was abandoned at the same time as the RCT, in practice, it would seem that this part of the argument could be relaxed whilst still retaining the main thrust of the hypothesis. Alternatively, L 433 could simply be regarded as a stray tablet, implying that little significance should be attached to it.

In this way, these potential problems for Driessen's hypothesis arising from the tablets themselves can be set to one side. Thus, the hypothesis is not inconsistent with the evidence of the tablets themselves.

Driessen's argument that there is a separation of chronology between the RCT tablets and those from the Clay Chest would appear to be very strong. Put simply, the Large Rectangular Construction would appear to post-date the RCT but pre-date the Room of the Clay Chest (see the discussion on this building given in the previous SECTION).

The other strong argument for accepting the hypothesis that the RCT tablets pre-date the remainder of the archive is that this helps to explain why similar, but apparently unrelated, archives were found in different parts of the palace. For example, the deposit from the North Entrance Passage contained sets of tablets covering similar items to those included in the RCT but with no evidence of the two sets of archives being linked in any way.

Driessen (1990, p. 108) suggests that the RCT tablets date from LMII-LMIIIA1. A *terminus post quem* is given by the MMIIIB remains that were found under the RCT benches. The other finds are consistent with a date of LMII-LMIIIA1 (Driessen, p. 108). In particular, the sealings were each dated by Pini and Younger and the latest dates agreed by these experts is LMIIIA1 (for sealings N2 and N7) and the latest date suggested for any sealing was LMIIIA (proposed by Pini for sealing N1).¹⁷¹ The *terminus ante quem* is given by the LMIIIA pottery found in the central clay area which post-dates the RCT.¹⁷² Therefore, if we accept these dates, it suggests that the RCT tablets date from LMIIIA1.

¹⁷⁰ In his discussion, Driessen (1990, p. 73) confused the Original Number for the *SM* number for L 433 (original number ON 477) and implied there was some doubt about the identity of the tablet. The *Handlist* records that a single tablet was found in the «Passage East of the Chariot Room». This tablet was L 433 and both Palmer (*OKTi*) and Olivier (1967) correctly interpreted the *Handlist* in respect of this tablet. Note also that Driessen incorrectly ascribes a quotation by Evans on 15 April to this gallery. In practice, the Evans quote should have been dated 16 April (because there was no excavation on Sundays). He was recording the find of the lid of the Steatite Vase. His difficult writing caused a «W» to appear like an «N». Mackenzie's plan 24 of 17 April shows that neither the gallery to the E. of the RCT nor the corridor to the N. of the RCT had been excavated at that stage.

¹⁷¹ The dating of these sealings is recorded in detail by Popham and Gill (1995, p. 58).

¹⁷² This pottery is represented in Stratigraphical Museum test sample G II 783-784, obtained in 1903, «Area of Walls Central Clay Area». The contents are described by Popham (1970, p. 57). It post-dates the RCT because these walls are those of the Large Rectangular Construction which cover the south wall of the RCT.

7.4. RCT tablets

The RCT tablets appear to represent a coherent archive, written by the «124»-series of scribes. It is evident from the quotations from the notebooks and from the *Handlist* that the tablets were not included in the *Handlist* in the order in which they were excavated.¹⁷³ Evans clearly grouped together the tablets from the Sc-series and also the Np(1)-series. Nevertheless, there is some evidence, based primarily on the palm-prints, that the tablets were found in a semi-ordered state and not in a completely randomised heap (see the discussion by Firth 1998, SECTION 6). As already noted, the «124»-series of scribes do not appear outside the RCT and there is little evidence of any links between the RCT archive and the other archives at Knossos. It is therefore straightforward to draw together a complete list of the tablets that were probably found in the RCT (see TABLE II.4).¹⁷⁴

TABLE II.4: *Tablets from the Room of Chariot Tablets*

Class	Set	Tablets
Ag		87-91, 1654, 7000
Ai	(1)	63, 115, 190, 194, <u>321</u> , 1805, <u>7023</u> , <u>7029</u>
B	(4)	101, 164, 213
Ce		50, 59, 61, 76, 113, 139, 144, 152, 156, 162, 163, 283, 7061, 7516, 8279, 8345, 8346, 9109
E	(1)	71, 132, 165, 288, 7364, 8122, <u>8435</u>
Fp	(-)	7707
F	(1)	51, 153, 157, 193, 5079, 7359, 7360, 7362, 7748, 8139, 8437, 9110
K		93, 7363
L		104, 178, 192, 5599
Np	(1)	85, 267-274, 276-278, 286, 5013, 7422-7424, 7441, 7508, 7923, <u>7967</u> , 8059, 8062, 8123, 8458, 8459, 8462, 9112
Og	(1)	180, 1804, 5095, 7432, 8038
Sc		103, 130, 135, 217-227, 229, 230, 232-245, <u>246</u> , 247-264, 266, 1644, 1651, 5046, 5057-5062, 5065, 5066, 5068, 5070-5073, 5083-5087, 5136-5139, 5141, 5142, 5144, 5146, 5148, 5150, 5151, 5153-5162, 5164-5166, <u>5167</u> , 5168-5170, 7444, 7453, 7454, 7456, 7457, 7459-7464, 7466-7471, 7473-7476, 7478-7481, 7483, 7506, 7772, 7782, 7798, 7821, 7849, 7882, 7889, 7996, 8081, 8124, 8125, 8253, 8467-8472, 8474-8476, 8479-8483, 8759, 8806, 9113-9123, 9142, 9154-9157, 9163
Uc		160, 161, 8032
Uf	(1)	79, 111, 120, 121, 198, <u>311</u> , 7488-7495, 8141, 8486
U	(1)	49, 95, <u>96</u> , 109, 124, 172, <u>7501</u> , 7507

¹⁷³ The analysis of the museum inventory numbers (in PART I) simply shows that the tablets themselves were arranged on trays in a manner consistent with the *Handlist*.

¹⁷⁴ Fp(1) 48 and V52 have been excluded from this table but included with the tablets from the Clay Chest (see discussion in SECTION 6).

Class	Set	Tablets
Vc	(1)	53-55, 64-68, 72-74, 81, 83, 102, 106, 108, 123, 125-127, 129, 170, 171, 173-177, 179, 181, 183-185, 188, 191, 195, 199-201, 203, 205, 206, 208, 211, 212, 215, 216, 285, 287, 289-291, 293, <u>295</u> , 303, 312, <u>316</u> , <u>317</u> , 7529, 7531-7534, 7540, 7575, 7612, 7615, 7616, 7646, 7837, 7838, 7840, 7842, 7933, 7941, 7943, 7974, 7982, 7983, 8127, 8643, 9128, 9133
Vd		62, 136-138, 7545
V	(1)	56, 57, 77, 114, 118, 150, 210, 7049
	(2)	60, 117, 145, 147, 159, 280, 337, 7523, 7527
Xd		58, 70, 75, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 92, 94, 97-100, 105, 107, 110, 112, 116, 119, 122, 131, 133, 140-143, 146, 148, 149, 154, 166-169, 182, 186, 189, 197, 202, 204, 207, 209, 214, 282, <u>292</u> , 294, <u>296</u> , 297, 298, <u>299-302</u> , <u>304-310</u> , <u>313</u> , <u>314</u> , <u>318-320</u> , <u>322-336</u> , 5097, 5838, 5969, 7259, 7510, <u>7547</u> , 7555, 7558, <u>7570</u> , 7586, 7588, 7590, 7595, 7596-7597, <u>7598</u> , 7604, 7606, 7607, 7609, 7610, <u>7614</u> , 7634, 7640, 7648, 7649, 7651, 7654, 7656, 7658, 7662-7667, 7674-7676, 7680, 7701, 7702, 7726, 7730, 7733, 7756, 7757, 7761, 7766, 7780, 7783, 7790, 7802, 7807-7809, 7811, 7813, 7819, 7841, 7906, 7913, 7914, <u>7945</u> , 7948, 7949, 7954, 7956, 7961, 7968, 7970, 7975, <u>7978</u> , <u>7981</u> , 7986, <u>8012</u> , 8021, 8030, 8034, 8037, 8054, 8056, <u>8060</u> , <u>8061</u> , 8082, 8128, 8129, 8130, 8132, <u>8134</u> , <u>8135</u> , 8137, 8138, 8277, 8501, 8505, 8508, 8510, 8511, 8525, 8553, 8566, 8583, 8596, 8597, 8605, 8635, <u>8638</u> , 8640, 8653, 8686, 8734, <u>8748</u> , 8751, 8760, 8761, 8813, <u>8820-8821</u> , 8828, <u>8829</u> , 8837, <u>9009-9010</u> , 9037, 9061, 9124-9127, <u>9129</u> , 9130-9132, 9134-9139, <u>9140</u> , 9141, 9143, <u>9144</u> , 9145, <u>9146</u> , 9147-9151, 9152, 9153, 9158-9162, 9164-9167, <u>9168</u> , 9169-9171, <u>9172</u> , <u>10001</u>
Wm		<u>8493</u>
Ws		8500, 8712

Only one of these tablets contains the name of a month. Tablet V(2) 280 is headed, *wo-de-wi-jo*, which is known also from Fp 16 & 48 (from the Clay Chest) and also Ga 953 (from the North Entrance Passage).

Ws 8496 is usually ascribed to this find-place. However, the excavation notes imply that it was actually found in the Room of Steatite Vase on 17 April 1900.

Concluding Remarks

The RCT tablets would appear to have been stored in a ground floor room and there are interesting similarities between the RCT and scribal room 8 at Pylos.

It is concluded that there are good reasons to accept Driessen's hypothesis that the RCT archive dates from LMIIIA1 and pre-dates the remainder of the Knossos Linear B tablets.

8. FIND-PLACE B1 & B2: SW Pillar Room area

There were only a few tablets found in find-place B2, SW Pillar Room, and the descriptions given in the notebooks are relatively brief. Tablet fragments

were first found on Friday 6 April 1900, in an ordinary light coloured sandy deposit (as oppose to the carbon-ash deposit typical of the other tablets being excavated on that day from the Clay Chest, RCT and Magazine III). There would appear to be some disagreement between Mackenzie and Evans on the precise find-spot of these tablets. Mackenzie places it in the SW Pillar Room, whereas Evans places it at the south end of the Corridor of the Cup Bearer.¹⁷⁵ In such cases of conflict, Mackenzie's description is assumed to be more accurate. Mackenzie also informs us that all these finds were made in the deposit which «in no case went down below the Mycenaean flooring as reckoned by means of thresholds, column bases, pithoi bases and the preserved cement flooring in the portico with the column bases» [i.e. South Propylaeum].¹⁷⁶ The find-place is included in FIG. 2.

The other entry for B2 was some days later on Wednesday 11 April 1900.¹⁷⁷ We can positively identify the tablet found on this day as As 40. It was found 0.80 - 0.90 metres from the surface, just south of the doorway in the north wall of the SW Pillar Room. This tablet was found with the sealing Ws 8754, which was described by Evans in his notebook. Again the finds were made in a light coloured sandy deposit.

Find-place B1 is described in the *Handlist* as SW Corner. However, it is clear from the excavation notes that the tablets were found on 18 April 1901 in the area immediately south of the SW Pillar Room.¹⁷⁸ This was a basement area which contained a large number of LMIIB Bügelkannes (Popham 1964). The tablets appear to have fallen into the basement, presumably from the 'ground floor' room. If this were the case, then these tablets would have been found on the same level as those in the SW Pillar Room.

TABLE II.5 lists the tablets from find-places B1 & B2.

TABLE II.5: *Tablets from the area of the SW Pillar Room*

Class	Scribe	Tablets
As	101	40
B		41
E		36
Ws		8754
Miscellaneous:		X 35, 37-39, 1801

¹⁷⁵ Evans states that the tablets were found close to the mouth of the Corridor of the Cup Bearer and in the *Handlist* he gives them the catch-heading «By S.W. door (above terrace).»

¹⁷⁶ DM/DB ink, 6 April 1900.

¹⁷⁷ It is worth noting that there was no excavation on the Saturday and Sunday and work was curtailed late morning on the Monday because of a high wind. This explains the apparently long gap between the two sets of finds of tablets within a relatively small area.

¹⁷⁸ See FIG. 2. This area was not excavated during the first year as it was being used as a passageway for the barrows removing the earth.

As 40 was written by scribe 101 and contains the man's name *su-ke-re* from *se-to-i-ja*. The sealing Ws 8754 includes the man's name, *a-nu-wi-ko*. Both these men's names also appear on tablet As 1516, which was also written by scribe 101, but was found in the Hall of Colonnades, in the eastern part of the palace. Furthermore, pieces of another imprint of the same sealing as Ws 8754 were found near the doorway south of the Hall of Colonnades (sealing R53). Thus, the scribal activities in the SW Pillar Room were clearly linked to those in the area of the Hall of Colonnades.

The impression on this sealing is conventionally described as a 'collared bitch' or 'standing bitch'.¹⁷⁹ Impressions from the same seal were also found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (sealings K4 & K7), the room east of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (sealing K12), '3 1/2 examples' from Room of the Egyptian Beans (sealings Q21) as well as the pieces near the doorway south of the Hall of Colonnades (sealing R53), already noted (Gill 1965; Popham & Gill 1995).

Weingarten (1997) suggests that *a-nu-wi-ko* was the name of the owner of the 'collared bitch' seal (giving the translation of the script written on Ws 8754 as «this *ku-wa-ta* is from the workshop of *a-nu-wi-ko*»). She accepts the suggestion (from Olivier 1968) that *a-nu-wi-ko* was either an important functionary at Knossos, the *ra-wa-ke-ta*, or one of his chief servants, since his name follows immediately after the functionaries title on As 1516. However, she goes further and suggests that Ws 8754 was probably written by scribe 101, who could therefore be identified as *a-nu-wi-ko*. There is some difficulty in accepting this because the seal impression itself conveys the identity of the owner of the seal and, therefore, it is not necessary to include both the impression of the seal and the name of the seal owner. This is consistent with the fact that only a small number of the clay sealings with seal impressions have any writing.

The joined fragments, *SM 36bis* + *SM 37bis* = X 1801, contain the name *ra-ni*, which also appears on As 40.

The tablets from find-place B1 are fragmentary, however, X 38 does have the impression of palm-print L ALPHA. This palm-print was also found on Da 1299, from the East-West Corridor, in the eastern part of the palace, and Mc 5124, from the Arsenal. There is no apparent link between the B1 and B2 tablets, other than the proximity of their find-places.

Although there was a significant amount of LMIIIB pottery found in the basement area south of the SW Pillar Room, there is none recorded as being found in the room itself. However, it is evident that the floor of the 'ground floor' area must have been in place during the LMIIIB period, as otherwise the basement would not have had ceiling. In order to separate chronologically the tablets from the LMIIIB pottery it would be necessary to hypothesise that, although the basement areas were in use during the LMIIIB, the 'ground floor'

¹⁷⁹ This sealing is described by Younger (1988, p.24) as being of a 'collared bitch' with ground-line below: animal pose type PT 2,R. Gill (1965) labels Ws 8754 as sealing F2.

area was not in use during that period and held debris from a previous conflagration. If this were not the case, then the date of the tablets would be indicated by the LMIIIB pottery.

9. FIND-PLACE E5: 'Corridor of House Tablets'

The deposit of inscription tablets from the 'Corridor of House Tablets' was excavated on 18 April 1900, with occasional fragments found in the next two working days (19 and 25 April) as the excavation continued northwards down the corridor.

The initial deposit of tablets were found 5 - 6.5 metres north of the first East doorway of the corridor and the further fragments were found as the excavation proceeded northwards. The sketch in the pencilled *Day Book* for Wednesday 18 April shows that this measurement of 5 - 6.5 metres was from the north jamb of this first East doorway. Thus, it follows that the tablets were actually found in the West Pillar Room rather than in the corridor itself (see FIG. 3).¹⁸⁰

The excavation notes of 27 April include an early plan of this region. It was only on this day that the N. wall and the pillar of the W. Pillar Room started to appear. At this stage, there was no sign of the wall blocking the Corridor of House Tablets from the W. Pillar Room. In other words, when Evans named the Corridor of the House Tablets on 19 April, he had done so before the extent of the corridor had been determined. Rather than change the name of the find-place, it seems appropriate to keep the description, 'Corridor of House Tablets' but accept that this includes the extension of the corridor into the West Pillar Room.

The tablets were found at a depth of 0.30 - 0.50 metres below the surface. The floor level was ~2.30 metres below the surface (DM/DB, 27 April). This would imply that these tablets had fallen from an upper floor. There is no record of anything to indicate the container in which the tablets were held prior to the destruction of the palace.

The Corridor of the House Tablets had previously been partially excavated by Kalokairinos (DM/DB, 18 April 1900). Evans notes that the earlier dig must have been careless because it failed to observe the tablets that they were now finding.

TABLE II.6 gives a list of tablets from this find-place. It is clear that the tablets are largely from the set Ga (2), written by scribe 136. It would follow that tablet Ga(2) 34, by scribe 136?, which was found following the earlier excavation, was probably from this deposit.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ It is worth noting that, in the *Handlist*, Evans used the catch-heading «Corridor of House tablets and near Entrance to E. Pillar room», where the entrance to the East Pillar Room is the doorway that connects the West Pillar Room to the East Pillar room.

¹⁸¹ Palmer (*OKTi*, pp. 53-54) assumed that Ga(2) 34 was from Magazine III, which had also been partially excavated by Kalokairinos. However, in view of the fact that it is now identified as a Ga(2) tablet by scribe 136? It is more likely to be from the «Corridor of House Tablets».

TABLE II.6: *Tablets from the 'Corridor of House Tablets'*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Ga	(2)	136	415-421, 423-427, <u>428</u> , 7425-7426, 7431, 34, <u>7286</u> , <u>7367</u> , 7429, 7446, <u>8439</u>
V	(3)	115	429, 431
Miscellaneous:			X 430, 7900

The other tablet from the Ga(2) set by scribe 136 which was found in this vicinity is Ga(2) 673, which was recorded as having been found in the Corridor of Stone Jambs in the *Handlist*. It seems highly likely that Ga(2) 673 was originally with the bulk of the Ga(2) tablets prior to the destruction and that they became separated either as a result of falling on the other side of the west wall of the Corridor of House Tablets (into the Long Gallery) or as a result of careless excavation by Kalokairinos.

Ga(2) 422 was found during the second year of excavation in the small room to the east of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (G2), which is separated from the area of the 'Corridor of House Tablets'. Ga(2) 1335 was found during the second year of excavation in the East-West Corridor in the eastern wing of the palace. Both of these tablets were written by scribe 136 and were clearly not found in the immediate vicinity of the 'Corridor of House Tablets'. It seems very unlikely that both of them had been with the remainder of the Ga(2) set before the destruction and strayed due to careless excavation. It is also unlikely that these two tablets were found together and the find-places mis-recorded since the tablets from the area of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco were found in early April and the first tablets from East-West Corridor were found in early May. Thus, the separation of these two tablets from each other and from the other Ga(2) tablets by scribe 136 is providing us some information about the usage of these tablets around the palace.

It is suggested in SECTION 12, that the V(3) tablets found in this area should be associated with those found in Magazines VII & VIII and the Long Gallery in front of these magazines.

10. FIND-PLACES H1-H7, I6: *The Throne Room complex*

In the excavation notes, the Throne Room is repeatedly referred to as the Bath Room, because the lustral basin was the first feature in that room to be uncovered. The finds that were made in the area of the Throne Room were isolated groups of a few fragments of tablets rather than significant deposits. Therefore, it is convenient to discuss each of these finds separately.

H2: *Throne Room*

On 11 April 1900, Mackenzie records that a single complete tablet was found in the Bath Room (i.e. the Throne Room). The tablet appeared to be complete, although it was in fragments. The inked *Day Book* adds the detail that the tablet

was found about 1 metre below the surface (although that is probably just a rough estimate since there is no equivalent record in the original notes in pencil).

There is some difficulty in identifying this tablet. This is probably because there was a delay of over 25 days between this tablet being found and entered into the Original *Handlist* (see TABLE 1.3). The tablet listed as being found in the Bath Room that is closest to fitting Mackenzie's description is U 736. However, this tablet is not whole and, although the surface is crazed, it is not in fragments. Therefore, this identification seems unsatisfactory. If we considered the other tablets recorded as being found in this vicinity, then the tablet which does fit Mackenzie's description is Ai 739. However, this tablet is clearly recorded in the *Handlist* as being found «In Room of the Stone Lamp adjoining Bath Room». This is also problematic because Mackenzie does not note any tablets being found in that room.

Oa 734 is recorded in the *Handlist* as being found in the Throne Room. In practice, Oa 734 is dealing with the same subject as Oa 730-732 and they all have the palm-print of L EPSILON (Sjöquist and Åström 1991). Therefore, they are clearly part of the same set. However, the *Handlist* records that Oa 734 was found in the Throne Room, whereas Oa 730-732 were found in the Central Court. In the section on find-place H1 below, it is suggested that these tablets were in the same location when they were fired but Oa 730-732 were subsequently displaced. Furthermore, it seems very likely that Oa 730-732 (H1), 734 (H2), Oa 734bis (G1), Oa 745 (H4) and Oa 878 (see the discussion on H4 below) were all originally in similar locations. This would be consistent with the appearance of these tablets, which are all well-fired and compact. It would also be consistent with X 743 and X 744, which were also from find-place H4.¹⁸² If this was the case, then Oa 734 cannot have been in the loculus of the Throne Room and, further, all the tablets would have originated on the upper floor above the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and adjacent rooms.

It is worthwhile also considering Oa 733. This tablet was recorded in the *Handlist* as being found «Near N. entrance to Column base Room». However, the appearance of the tablet shows that it was subject to a fierce fire and it has smoke marks. These characteristics are very similar to those of U 736 (which was recorded as being found in the Throne Room). This similarity of appearance suggests that these two tablets were fired in the same place.¹⁸³ If this is correct, it would imply that the find-place of one of the tablets was incorrectly recorded in the *Handlist*.

On 25 April 1900, Evans recorded in his notebook that fragments of tablets were found in the small loculus in the Bath Room. This loculus is in the north wall, in the north-east corner of the Throne Room.¹⁸⁴ Based on the tablets

¹⁸² The observations on the appearance of the clay were provided by José L. Melena (priv. comm.).

¹⁸³ José L. Melena, priv. comm.

¹⁸⁴ See Plate 22a of Brown (1994) and *PofM* iv, p. 934 (although this does not include discussion of the tablets).

attributed to the Bath Room in the *Handlist*, it would follow that the tablets found in this locus may have included L(10) 735 (scribe 214), X 737, Ga 738. It seems probable that L(10) 7409 was also found here, if it was written by scribe 214. It is worth noting that one might have expected that tablets taken from the locus would be complete because they were found in their original position, although, in practice, this is clearly not the case.

H3: *Corridor of Stone Basin*

On 26 April 1900, Mackenzie records the finding of a fragment plus «a large fragment of what must have been a very large inscription tablet as well as several small fragments presumably of the same inscription» in the Corridor of Stone Basin. The *Handlist* records two tablets from the «Bath Gallery or Gallery of Stone Basin». These galleries are two separate locations, demonstrating a lack of clarity. However, taken together with Mackenzie's *Day Book*, it is clear that the tablets were found in the Corridor of the Stone Basin. The isolated fragment would have been X 742 and the large tablet with associated fragments would be F(3) 741 plus F(3) 8242.¹⁸⁵

The isolated fragment was found in the doorway, which is almost immediately north of the curved NE corner of the Throne Room complex [i.e. the doorway of the corridor just west of the Room of the Knobbed Pithos]. The fragments of the larger tablet were found further west of this doorway. As the excavation proceeded westwards from the doorway, near the find-place of the large stone basin, was found «a pilgrim's wine bottle of flat shape with loop-handles all round meant for holding the suspending cord in position». This bottle is shown in Plate 4f-g by Popham (1964) and dated to the LMIIIB period.¹⁸⁶ Subsequently, Hood dated the flask to LMIIIA2, although Kanta (1980) retained the LMIIIB date (see discussion by Raison 1988, p. 13. Taken at face value, the pilgrim's flask provides a date for the tablets found in this corridor.

It is perhaps worth drawing attention to the number of movable items that were found in this corridor. Apart from the tablets and pilgrim's flask discussed above, they include the stone basin itself, which was «a very large basin of purple stone 0.28 high and .83- .92 in diameter» (DM/DB, 26 April 1900) and was found sitting on the floor. We can also add the horizontal pithos found lying in the middle of the adjacent corridor leading to the NW portico. The excavation notes are not explicit in each case but it would appear that these objects were

¹⁸⁵ It is suggested that *KT5* should have given a more positive indication of the join between F(3) 741 and F(3) 8242, rather than just stating that they are «probably the same tablet». Mackenzie is indicating that there were fragments found alongside F(3) 741, «presumably of the same inscription». We now know that F(3) 741 and 8242 are from the same set, dealing with precisely the same subject, giving a positive basis for suggesting a quasi-join.

¹⁸⁶ Popham (1964) Plate 1a, has inadvertently interchanged the find-places of the pilgrim's flask (21) and the stirrup vase (20) on his map. The identification of the flask from its description was made by Palmer, *OKTi*, Plate XIII.

probably found on (or near) floor-level. Thus, it is evident that, at the time of the destruction, that the Corridor of the Stone Basin was not being used as a thoroughfare.¹⁸⁷

It is questionable whether the conflagration in this corridor would have been sufficiently intensive to the fire the tablets in the position in which they were found.

H1: Central Court, East of Throne Room complex

On 28 April 1900, Mackenzie and Evans both recorded the finding of fragments of inscriptions corresponding to the Oa-series. Prior to 28 April, the antechamber to the throne room and the paved area in front it had already been uncovered. Mackenzie records that the aim on 28 April was to extend the excavation in the Central Courtyard to the east and south. The tablets were found near the surface in the Central Court, east of the Throne Room Complex and towards the north wall of the courtyard.¹⁸⁸ Mackenzie only notes two fragments of tablets but his recording of fragments was intermittent by this stage and it seems likely that Oa 730-732 were all found at this location.

The *Handlist* records the find-place of Oa 730-732 as being, «Antechamber to Throne R. and adjacent strip E. Ct. Paved Court E. of Bath». It is evident from Mackenzie's excavation notes that the find-place was actually in the courtyard rather than in the Antechamber to the Throne Room.

If the tablets had been resting on the surface of the open courtyard at the time of the destruction of the palace, it is most unlikely that they would have been fired sufficiently to be preserved. Evans notes on a number of occasions that tablets near to the ground are less well fired than those on upper floors (see, for example, *SM I*, pp. 40-44). This point would become even more significant for tablets in an open courtyard which were not immediately surrounded by combustible materials. Thus, it is likely that the tablets were originally fired within the building and then were subsequently displaced into the courtyard. If we accept this hypothesis, there are two possibilities; either the tablets were displaced shortly after the destruction and dropped onto the courtyard; alternatively, the tablets were inadvertently moved at a later date.

During the 1900 season it was found that most of the courtyard that was excavated was not paved. The limited paved area in front of the throne room complex had already been uncovered prior to the finding of the tablets. Both Mackenzie (*DM/DB*, 25 April) and Evans (1900, p. 27; 1901, p. 21) suggested

¹⁸⁷ See also the discussion relating to the pictographic tablet found at floor level in the adjoining Room of Ladies Seat (sub-section H5).

¹⁸⁸ Mackenzie's statement on the depth of the find is slightly ambiguous. It is assumed that he implied 'almost at the surface' of the field, rather than 'almost at the surface' of the courtyard. Evans note (*AE/NB*, 27-28 April), that the tablets were found on the west side of the paved area, is clearly incorrect. It is also inconsistent with his entry in the *Handlist*.

that the paving stones of the courtyard had been removed after the destruction for use as building materials. Therefore, if the fired tablets had originally been on the surface of a paving stone in the Central Courtyard their position would have changed when the paving stone was removed. This would be one explanation of why the tablets were found 'almost at the surface'. The alternative explanation would be that the tablets were moved as a result of quarrying in more recent times.

It has already been noted above that Oa 734 deals with the same subject as Oa 730-732 and they all have the palm-print of L EPSILON. However, the *Handlist* records that Oa 734 was found in the Throne Room. It was also suggested that Oa 734, Oa 734bis, Oa 745 and Oa 878 were all originally in similar locations on an upper floor above the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (and adjacent rooms). If this were correct, it would suggest that Oa 730-732 were originally in that location. One possibility is that these tablets were removed from the upper room immediately prior to the destruction and dropped in the Central Court. However, as we have already noted, in this case it is unlikely that the tablets would have been fired sufficiently to preserve them. It would seem to be most likely that the tablets were inadvertently moved into the area of the courtyard after the destruction. It could be speculated that, if the tablets are recording bronze ingots, and if these ingots were stored near the tablets, then the tablets could have been moved when these valuable ingots were recovered after the destruction of the Palace.¹⁸⁹

It is recognised that the above represents a rather speculative discussion on the basis of a few brief entries in excavation notebooks. It is important that we do not try to draw firm conclusions that cannot be substantiated. However, it seems highly likely that Oa 730-732 were not fired in the positions in which they were found. Furthermore, it is reasonably likely that they were displaced twice, once from the position they were fired onto the paved courtyard and a second time when the paving stones of the courtyard were removed.

H4: *Space South of Bath Corridor*

On 8 May 1900, Mackenzie records several fragments of tablets being found 0.60 metres below the surface in the space to the south of the Bath Corridor (which is to the west of the Bath Room). These are clearly well above the floor level and it is reasonable to suppose that they fell from an upper floor.

According to the *Handlist*, the tablets found at H4 were X 743, X 744 and Oa 745. However, it is possible that Oa 878 was also found at this location (and not

¹⁸⁹ It is worth noting that part of a Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian figure was also found in this general area of the courtyard on a small remaining piece of pavement. Evans (1900, p. 27) argues that that the figure had originally been in the clay layer below the pavement and was disturbed when the pavement was removed. Alternatively, it is possible that it might have been an heirloom that was amongst the items recovered from the destroyed building but then dropped or discarded.

in the Area of the Bull Relief, which was being excavated at the same time). There are three indications that Oa 878 should be from H4. Firstly, it contains the sign combination *166 + WE which is otherwise only known on tablets Oa 745 (from H4) and Oa 734bis (from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco, adjacent to H4).¹⁹⁰ Secondly, it has similarly firing characteristics, as each of these tablets is well fired and compact. Thirdly, it contains the word, *e-to-ro-qa-ta*, which is otherwise only known on tablet U 736 which is recorded as being found in the Throne Room (although the firing characteristics of this tablet differs from the others, as noted above). (See also the discussion on the Gallery of Jewel Fresco.)

H5: *Under blocked doorway behind Throne Room*

There is some confusion about the find-place of the tablets SM 746-748. It is clear from Evans' records that they were found in 1901 in area which had been thought to be a cupboard in 1900 but which, in 1901, was decided to have been a blocked doorway. Mackenzie does not record the finding of these tablets in his *Day Book*. However, there were two apparently «blocked doorways» found in the in the Throne Room complex in 1900. The first one was found on 26 April 1900, in the west wall of the Room of the Ladies Seat. The second one was found on the following day at the west end of the Corridor of Stone Basin (see Evans 1900, p. 43).

In following year, in his notebook Evans records that, «The supposed 'Cupboard' at end of corridor behind Antechamber turns out to be a blocked doorway with wooden posts. Under the later wall here some tablets in a much decomposed state small fragments legible, showing that the wall is of later date than the Mycenaean period in which they were first made» (AE/NB, 1901, p. 19).

In the *Handlist* Evans noted that SM 746 was found «Under blocked doorway of Room N. of Throne» and that SM 747-748 were found «Under blocked doorway of room behind throne with other decayed tablets».

Finally, in the *BSA* report (Evans 1901, p. 31), it was stated that, «The first of the small suite of chambers [around the throne room complex] is the room already opened in 1900, approached by a doorway leading from the Corridor of the Stone Basin and to which the name of 'Room of the Cupboard' [re-named Room of Ladies Seat] was given from what appeared to be a small closet in its western wall. This cupboard, however, turned out on closer examination to be a blocked doorway leading to the rooms beyond. ... The charred woodwork of the blocked doorway between this and the room immediately to the west was well preserved and had contributed to give its shallow recess the aspect of a cupboard. Under the rubble partition with which it was blocked were found some fragmentary remains of linear tablets which showed that the blocking had taken place at some period after the time when the clay documents had come into use.»

¹⁹⁰ However, it should be noted that the form of the signs is different in each case and it is not suggested that they were written by the same scribe.

The 1901 *BSA* report does not mention the supposed cupboard at the west end of the Corridor of Stone Basin. On the basis of Mackenzie's *Day Book*, Raison (1988, p. 8) suggests that the blocked doorway in that corridor was simply a doorway blocked with deposit.

There is some ambiguity in Evans' writings because in his *Notebook* he refers to a «supposed cupboard at the end of a corridor» [i.e. a corridor not a room], whereas in the *Handlist* and in his 1901 *BSA* report he refers to the room behind the throne [i.e. a room not a corridor]. Nevertheless, all the other accounts consistently suggest that the tablets were found under a later wall that was blocking the doorway in the west side of the Room of the Ladies Seat. It will be assumed that this is the correct interpretation (cf. Raison 1988, p. 8).

There are a number of further observations of the find-place that can be made. Firstly, it is clear that, since these tablets were found under a wall, they must have been fired before the wall was built. Secondly, these tablets must pre-date the bulk of the remaining tablets in the Knossos archive. Thirdly, the wall under which they were found sealed the access to the series of rooms at the back of the Throne Room Complex. Finally, there was a tablet with pictographic signs found at floor level in the Room of the Ladies Seat and a second pictographic tablet found in the deposit from one of rooms sealed on the other side of the blocked doorway.¹⁹¹ This could suggest either that the Room of the Ladies Seat was not used much after the doorway had been sealed or that the pictographic tablets fell from above, either from an upper floor or from within the materials used to construct the flooring. The latter would appear to be most likely as this would allow the pictographic tablets to pre-date the Linear B tablets buried under a later wall.

Olivier (1967) and Sjöquist & Åström (1991) separate the find-place of *SM* 746 from that of *SM* 747-748. This is based on Palmer's mis-reading of Evans' handwriting in the *Handlist* (see Firth 1998, SECTION 11.5). In practice, all these tablets were listed together in the original *Handlist* and the most straightforward interpretation of the available evidence is that *SM* 746-748 were found together.

SM 746-748 were not written by an identified scribe. The word, *a-di-je-wo*, which appears on D 747, is a collector's name (*Interpretation*, p. 178). This name also appears as a collector's name on tablet D 5520+8255.¹⁹² In the absence of other information, it seems reasonable to presume that these fragments were also found under the blocked doorway.

In *SM* II, Myres states that *SM* 746-748 were the tablets stolen by a workman, referencing *SM* I, p. 46. In this case, Myres is incorrect, because the tablets that were stolen in 1901 were from Magazine XV. They were recovered by the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and are recorded by Chadwick (1962).

¹⁹¹ The room being referred to is immediately west of Room of Stone Drum (Hood and Taylor, 1981). Mackenzie described the finds of the pictographic tablets in *DM/DB*, 26 April 1900 and 20 March 1901.

¹⁹² In addition, the clay of these tablets has a similar appearance (José L. Melena, priv. comm.).

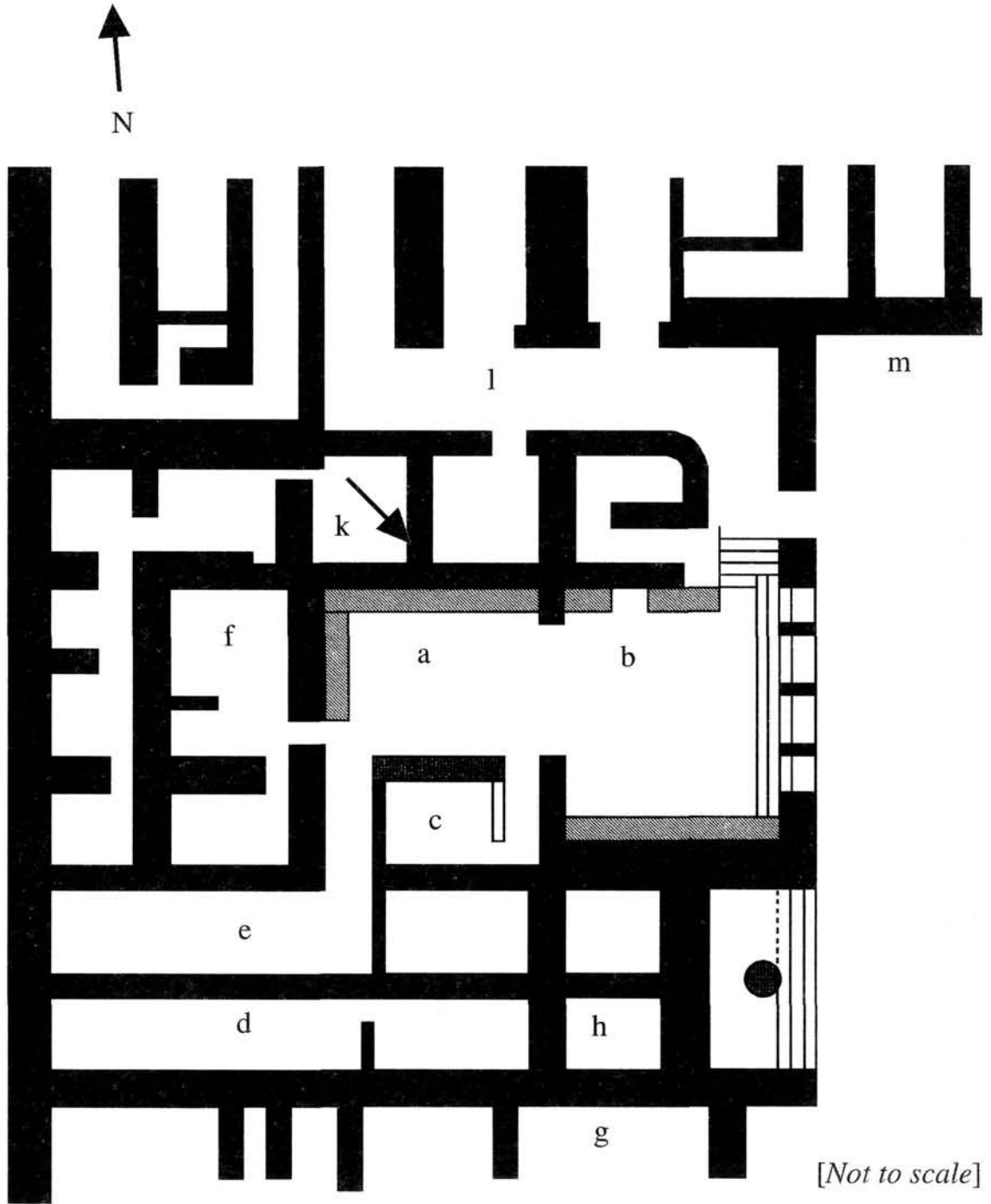


Figure 4: *Throne Room Complex*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| a Throne Room | g Room of Temple Repositories |
| b Antechamber to Throne Room | h Small Room to East of GJF |
| c Bath Room (Lustral Basin) | k Room of Stone Bench |
| d Gallery of Jewel Fresco (GJF) | l Corridor of Stone Basin |
| e Space South of Bath Corridor | m Paved Court East of Throne Room Complex |
| f Room of Stone Lamp | |

H7: Room of Stone Lamp

The *Handlist* records two tablets from the Room of the Stone Lamp (i.e. Ai 739 and K(1) 740). There is no record of tablets from the Room of Stone Lamp (which was excavated on 17 April 1900) in the excavation notebooks. However,

Mackenzie does note «a fragment or two of inscriptions» from the Room of the Lotus Lamp. The tablets were not entered into the *Handlist* until after those from the Room of Niche, which were found on 8 May (see TABLE 1.3). Therefore, it is possible that Ai 739 and K(1) 740 are the tablets that were found in the Room of the Lotus Lamp on 10 May 1900. However, it has also been noted above that Ai 739 could be the tablet found in the Throne Room on 11 April 1900. It is difficult to resolve this confusion, therefore, for present purposes, the tablets, Ai 739 and K(1) 740 will continue to be listed as having been found in the Room of the Stone Lamp, west of the Throne Room, as stated in the *Handlist*.

I6: East of Chamber of Hieroglyph Inscription

According to the *Handlist*, Dp 699, was found «E. of Chamber of Hieroglyph Ins.». This refers to the deposit of Hieroglyph inscriptions which were found at the end of the 1900 season north of the stone steps in the Long Gallery. The area east of this deposit is a system of 'corridors' branching off the Corridor of Stone Basin (see Raison 1988, chapter II), which was mostly excavated in 1901. The only reference to the finding of the tablet Dp 699 appears in the *Handlist*.¹⁹³

The tablet includes a totalling of sheep's wool. There are no distinctive words or hand-writing that would link it to other deposits. This tablet has been included in this section because it does not appear to be linked to the other I-series tablets from the NW Insula or North Entrance Passage.

11. FIND-PLACES E1, E1bis, E2, E3 and E6: Room of Column Bases complex

FIG. 3 shows the general plan of rooms around the Room of Column Bases. It is convenient to discuss the find-places in this area separately.

Find-place E1: Room of Column Bases

The bulk of the tablets from this area were found on 2 May 1900 in the NE corner of the Room of Column Bases (RCB). They were found near the floor-level in a deposit of burnt wood, under a «bit of gypsum slab». Mackenzie and Evans both suggested that the tablets had probably been kept in a wooden chest. Evans also suggests that the bit of gypsum might have been part of a cist in which they were contained.¹⁹⁴ The tablets were in a very brittle condition. This was attributed by Mackenzie to the action of the gypsum sediment. However, the condition of the tablets points rather to them being struck after firing by something falling on them (i.e. the gypsum slab). The tablets are fragmented but can be reconstructed because most of the bits survive.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Note that Melena (1999, p. 385) states that this tablet was a surface find but I have found no evidence to confirm that statement.

¹⁹⁴ Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 70) questions whether gypsum chests were used to store tablets. He notes that there are only records of gypsum slabs, with no mention of lids, corners or dove-tailing associated with these finds. The gypsum slabs might have been parts of shelves, or used as covering for the walls or something similar.

¹⁹⁵ The observation on the current state of the tablets was provided by José L. Melena (priv. comm.).

In the 1900 *BSA* report, Evans records that, «In the N.E. corner was found an interesting deposit of inscribed clay tablets, with the remains of the gypsum chest in which it had originally been contained, and two of the clay seals with which the chest itself had been secured.» The *Handlist* informs us that the two clay seals had an impression representing four bulls.¹⁹⁶

Driessen (1990, pp. 69-70) suggests that the Fh and Fp(2)-series tablets, which were found in the RCB, were actually beneath the level of the latest floor. He notes that the description of a «false-necked amphora with black-brown horizontal bands on the usual ochre slip» (DM/DB 27 April), which was found on the floor of the Room of the Tall Pithos, would agree with a LMIIIB date. He then makes an estimate of the difference in depth between the floors of the RCB and the Room of Tall Pithos¹⁹⁷ and suggests that the levels are sufficiently different that there could have been an undetected floor-level in the RCB and that the tablets were found below that floor-level.

In practice, according to Fyfe (1900, 1904), the floor-level in the RCB is only 4 cm lower than those in the Room of Tall Pithos and E. Pillar Room. Differences in floor-level are normally set around 20-25 cm (Niemeier 1994) and a difference of 4 cm would not be sufficient to conceal a nest of tablets covered by a new floor surface. Furthermore, in the pencilled notes, Mackenzie only states that the tablets were covered by 'a bit of gypsum slab'; this description would not seem to indicate a new floor surface. Therefore, it is suggested that the RCB tablets were found on the latest floor-level.

As already noted, the specific vase which Mackenzie described has not been located. Popham (1970, p. 45) does not offer a date for the vase. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 79), not surprisingly, favours a later date. However, Hallager (1977, p. 81) states that it may «according to the description, belong to any period from LMII till the end of LMIII».

In the discussion in SECTION 1.2.3, it was concluded that there was some doubt about the existence of an upper floor above the Room of Column Bases. However, the poor preservation of the tablets and the location of the tablets near

¹⁹⁶ Gill (1965) implies that Evans was incorrect in his *BSA* report to refer to two sealings in the RCB; she assumed that he had misinterpreted page 60 of his own *Notebook*. However, it is clear that Evans had based his description of the sealings on his entry in the *Handlist*.

¹⁹⁷ We know from Fyfe's plans (1900, 1904) that the difference in depth between the RCB and Room of Tall Pithos floor-levels is 4 cm. Driessen's assessment of this difference is indirect. He notes the differences below ground-level of the floors of the Room of Tall Pithos (2.30 m) and RCT (2 m). He uses the RCT value to assess a depth for the RCB = $(2 + 0.41) = 2.41$ m (where 0.41 m is the relative depth of the RCB, with respect to the RCT, according to Fyfe). Subtracting 2.30 from 2.41 m gives an apparent difference of 11 cm between the floor-levels in the RCB and the Room of Tall Pithos. This would appear to be at variance with the 4 cm measured by Fyfe. However, the variance is simply due to the variation of ground level and the uncertainty in Mackenzie's estimates of depth, which Driessen was not able to take into account, therefore, the estimate of 11 cm is incorrect.

floor level are both consistent with the tablets being stored in a ground floor room. In addition, the tablets were found concentrated together and not dispersed as they would have been if they had fallen from above.

The tablets from this find-place are the Fh-series, written by scribe 141, and the Fp(2)-series, written by scribe 222, as listed in TABLE II.7.

TABLE II.7: *Tablets from the Room of Column Bases.*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Fh		141	339-353, 355-361, <u>362</u> , 364-393, <u>5501</u> , 2013, 2014, 5246, 5428-5432, 5434-5437, 5442-5444, 5446, 5447, <u>5450</u> , 5451, 5453, 5455-5459, 5463, 5465, 5467, <u>5471</u> , 5475, 5477, <u>5479</u> , 5481, 5483, 5486, <u>5487</u> , 5490, 5493, <u>5494</u> , 5497, 5498, 5502-5503, 5505, 5506, <u>6001</u> , 8299, 8436, 8740, <u>8802</u> , <u>9008</u> , <u>9017</u> , <u>9021</u> , <u>9030</u> , 9043, <u>9058</u> , 9062-9068, 9070-9074, 9076-9081, 9084, 9085, 9087-9091, 9093, 9094, 9097-9104, 9107, 9108
Fp	(2)	222	<u>354</u> , 363, <u>5472</u> , <u>5504</u>

Two of these tablets contain the names of months. Fp(2) 354 includes *ka-ra-e-i-jo*, which is clearly a variant of the month *ka-ra-e-ri-jo*. The name of this month is prominent both amongst the Clay Chest tablets (see SECTION 6) and the tablets of the Jewel Fresco (see below). Fh 5502 includes the word, *de-u-ki-jo*, which could be the name of a month, which otherwise only appears once, on tablet Fp(1) 1, from the Clay Chest.

Three of the men's names which appear on these tablets also appear on As 1516 & 1519 (written by scribe 101) that were found in the Hall of Colonnades (i.e. *du-ru-po*, *qa-to-no-ro* and *qa-ti-ja*). It was concluded by the author (Firth 1998, SECTION 15.1) that this should be regarded as significant.

The palm-print, L DELTA, appears on three of the RCB tablets written by scribe and also on Ch 7065, which was probably found in the North Entrance passage with the other tablets from the Ch-series.¹⁹⁸

Find-place E1bis: *Near north entrance to Room of Column Bases*

The *Handlist* notes that Oa 733 and C 394 were found «Near N. Entrance to Column base Room» (i.e. find-place E1bis). The north entrance to the room leads into the Room of the Tall Pithos. These tablets are clearly not part of the series of tablets found in the NE corner. It was noted above, in SECTION 10, that the fierce firing and smoke marks on Oa 733 give it a very similar appearance to U 736, suggesting that it had the same provenance and that the find-place of one of these tablets might have been recorded incorrectly.

¹⁹⁸ On the basis of the information included in this section, it would appear to be difficult to sustain the suggestion that the RCB deposit pre-dates the bulk of the remaining archive by a generation (cf. Driessen 1994).

C 394 contains the 'divine' names, *pa-de* and *pa-ja-o-ne*. The former is also found on Fp 1, 48 & Fs 8 from the Clay Chest, on Ga 456 from Magazine IV and Ga 953 from the North Entrance Passage. The 'divine' name *pa-ja-wo-ne* appears on V 52, which may possibly be the same as *pa-ja-o-ne*. V52 is recorded in the *Handlist* as being from the RCT but this is open to doubt because its scribal hand, clay and firing differs from the other RCT tablets. (See discussion in SECTION 6.)

Find-place E2: *East Pillar Room*

The first tablet to be found in the general area of the RCB was on 28 April 1900 in the NW corner of the E. Pillar Room. This tablet was found near floor-level (which was 2.30 metres below the surface). This would tend to imply that it had not fallen from an upper floor. It was described by Mackenzie as being a large fragment. This description fits Uf 432, which is the only tablet recorded in the *Handlist* for this find-place. This tablet has no immediate links, in terms of scribal hand or personal names, with the other tablets in the archive. However, Uf 9183 could be a similar tablet.¹⁹⁹

Find-place E3: *Temple Repositories Room*

Gg 711 is a vase tablet that is recorded in the *Handlist* as being found N. of Room of Column Bases. There were no tablets recorded in the excavation notes as being found in the Room of Tall Pithos, immediately north of the Room of Column Bases. However, the excavation notes of 4-6 April 1901 show that fragments of tablets were found in the Temple Repositories Room. Therefore, it is assumed that Gg 711 was found in the Temple Repositories Room.

This assumption is reinforced by noting that the Temple Repositories Room is adjacent to the Gallery of Jewel Fresco, where several vase tablets were found. The tablets in the Temple Repositories Room were found above floor level and above a layer of burnt wood which probably represents the remains of the floor beams of an upper room. It seems probable that Gg 711 fell from the upper floor and was originally associated with the other vase tablets, therefore, it will be considered in the later section on the Gallery of Jewel Fresco.²⁰⁰

This discussion would imply that the Gg 711 was excavated in 1901 and that Evans inserted the drawing of the tablet into the *Handlist* on a page amongst the series of tablets from the area around the Room of Column Bases, which had been excavated in 1900. Gg 711 was certainly inserted late into the *Handlist* and was drawn on the same page as Uf 432 from the E. Pillar Room and L 433 from

¹⁹⁹ José L. Melena, priv. comm.

²⁰⁰ Olivier (1967) and Sjöquist & Åström (1991) currently identify The Room of Tall Pithos as being the room N. of RCB being referred to in the *Handlist*. In view of the above discussion, and that given below in the section on the Gallery of Jewel Fresco, the find-place of Gg 711 should be moved to the Temple Repositories Room, which is immediately north of the Room of Tall Pithos.

the Gallery on the E. side of RCT. At some stage, this drawing was cut out from its original page and stuck onto a page containing tablets from the 'Corridor of House Tablets'.

There is a problem in that the excavation notes suggest two fragments of tablets were found on 4 April and a further two fragments, that fitted together, were noted on 6 April. Taken in isolation, it is not clear from these notes whether the same two fragments were being referred to twice. However, the fact that Evans drew Gg 711 in the *Handlist*, which is a single fragment, would lead to the suggestions (a) that this was one of the fragments found on 4 April, (b) that he regarded the other fragment found on that day as being too minor to include in the *Handlist* and (c) that the two fitting fragments found on 6 April were not recorded as being from this find-place. This could imply that they were too minor to record or they could have been included, for example, with the tablets from the adjacent Gallery of Jewel Fresco.

Find-place E6: *Room of Niche*

The Room of Niche was a very small room through the left-hand doorway on the north wall of the E. Pillar Room.²⁰¹ There was a cross-wall²⁰² partially blocking, what would otherwise have been a gallery parallel to the Room of the Stone Vats. The resulting small room was L-shaped, with a niche at its NE corner formed by the partial cross-wall. According to the *Handlist* the tablets and seals were actually found in the niche itself. These finds were made on 8 May 1900.

The tablets found here were K 434, X 435, U 436, U 437, C 5089, L 5090.²⁰³ The sealings found here were Ws 1701, 8753, 8494. Wn 8713+8752 was probably found here during 1901 (see Gill 1965, p. 73).

There is no apparent inter-relationship between these different tablets and sealings. Furthermore, there is no apparent link between these tablets and sealings and the remainder of the archive. The ground-floor 'rooms' to the north and west of the Room of Niche appear to have had no access except via the narrow niche. It seems likely that the cross-wall was built to add support to the floor of an upper room and that this part of the ground-floor area was not used subsequent to its construction. If this were the case, the tablets and sealings could have remained undisturbed in the niche for many years prior to the destruction of the palace.

12. FIND-PLACES F5, F6, F7, F7a, F8, F9, F16, F17, F18:

Western Magazines below the Central Hall and the adjoining corridor

Most of the tablets found in the Magazines VI to X had fallen from an upper floor. Therefore, it is convenient to recognise that the upper floor room would

²⁰¹ The Room of the Niche is incorrectly positioned on the maps of Olivier (1967) and Sjöquist and Åström (1991).

²⁰² The cross-wall was subsequently removed but is shown on DM/DB plan 48 and on Fyfe's plan, which was published as Plate 1 of Evans 1900 *BSA Report*.

²⁰³ For a discussion on the find-place of Dq(4) 438, see Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.2).

have corresponded to the 'Central Hall' (Graham 1969, Fig. 85), built over Magazines VI to X. The basis for determining the size of this Central Hall is derived in a straightforward manner from the architectural features of the ground floor. This is discussed by Graham (1969, pp. 118-119) and is in agreement with Evans' restoration (*PofM* iv, plan C).²⁰⁴

Magazines VI, VII and VIII were excavated in April and May 1900. Magazines IX and X were excavated in March 1901. The Long Gallery was largely excavated during the 1900 season, including the length of gallery adjacent to galleries VI to X. The excavation notes give no specific details about the positions of the finds in Magazines VI, VII or X.

Find-places F16, F17, F18:

Long Gallery, near the doors of Magazines VII, VIII, IX and X

There are no references at all to the tablets found in the Long Corridor in front of Magazines VII (F16) and Magazine VIII (F17), except in the *Handlist*. However, these find-places are fairly localised, so that the tablets themselves provide us with some useful information.

We know from the *Handlist* that L 491 and V(3) 492 were found near the door of Magazine VII. The first of these tablets does not belong to a set or have an identified scribe. In practice, V(3) tablets were found in a number of diverse locations; Magazine IV, VI, VII, XV, 'Corridor of House Tablets' as well as this area in front of Magazine VII. It is not reasonable to suggest that this degree of diversity can be explained by the mis-recording of find-places. It is suggested that the V(3)-set should be sub-divided into:

- i) V(3a) - tablets found in find-places F6, F7, F16 and E5, since these could reasonably have originated from a single source on the upper floor. [Note that, although E5 is nominally identified with the 'Corridor of House Tablets', the tablets were actually found in the West Pillar Room.]
- ii) V(3b) 655 found in Magazine XV
- iii) V(3c) 466 found in Magazine IV

According to the *Handlist*, Gg 701, Ga(1) 674 & 677 were found near the door of Magazine VIII. Evans' note on the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (*AE/NB*, 6 April 1901) links a series of 'vase tablets', including Gg 701. He associates the vase tablets found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco with those found in Magazine VIII and in the Long Corridor in front of it. He assumes that they were part of the same series and had become scattered as they had fallen. This explanation is unlikely, at least for the tablets with identified scribes, since tablets found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco were written by scribes 103 and 140, whereas those found in Magazine VIII were written by 220; thus, indicating that they probably

²⁰⁴ There is some suggestion in *PofM* Plan C that the Upper Long Corridor may have been an unroofed area. However, it is clear, from the number of tablets that fell into the Long Corridor and the entrances to the Magazines, that these had been stored in a rain-proof area (otherwise the sun-baked clay tablets would have 'dissolved' into a pulp).

were not originally stored together. However, it does imply that Evans considered that the tablets Gg 706, 707, 708, 712 were found sufficiently close to the entrance to Magazine VIII that they, «Belong prob. to Deposit of Jewel Fresco Room» (which is the note in the *Handlist* above Gg 706, 707 & 708).

The excavation notes for find-place F18 (North end of Long Corridor, from 9th Gallery onwards to 12th) states that two tablets were excavated on 9 May 1900 outside Magazine IX, 1.40 metres below ground level, on the same level as the rim of a pithos. Given the find-place location near Magazine IX, it is most likely that they were two of the four whole tablets Ga 675, 676, 685 & V 684, which are given in the *Handlist* for this location.

Thus, Ga(1) 674, 675, 676, 677, 679, 680 & 685 probably originated from an upper floor and were scattered along the Long Gallery during the fire. These are evidently from a different set to Ga(1) 517, 518 & 519, which were found at the west end of Magazine IX (see below) and it is misleading to regard both groups as being from the same Ga(1)-set tablets, although they are both written by scribe 135. It is suggested that the former group of tablets is referred to as Ga(1a) and the latter as Ga(1b). In practical terms, the Ga(1a) set dealt with *ku-pa-ro* and the Ga(1b) with *ko-ri-ja-do-no*.

It seems reasonable to assume that the Gg(2)-series of tablets from F18, which were also written by scribe 135, originated from this part of the Long Gallery. It seems also seems reasonable to assume that V 684 (scribe 140) should be associated with the tablets from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco, with the other tablets by scribe 140. The remaining tablets from find-place F18 are assumed to be from a position further north along the corridor and are discussed in SECTION 15 below.

Find-place F8: *Magazine IX*

Magazine IX was excavated near the beginning of the 1901 season. In his *BSA* report, Evans (1901, p. 39) wrote, «A small deposit of clay tablets were found above the floor-level at the west end of this Magazine [footnote: One of them had fallen into the second pithos from that end], interesting as exhibiting a pictorial sign representing a granary.» However, because this is so brief, it is a little confusing.

The excavation notes draw particular attention to Ga(1) 517 & Ga(1) 518. Ga(1) 517 was found at the west end of the magazine at a depth of 1.20-1.30 metres (cf. the floor-level at a depth of 1.60-1.70 metres). Evans' notes indicate that Ga(1) 518 was found just outside the west wall of the magazine. These tablets had clearly fallen from the upper floor, probably originating from a position above Magazine IX, near the west wall. Ga(1) 519 was also found in this magazine and can be assumed to be part of the same set. It is suggested above that this set should be designated Ga(1b) to distinguish it from the set of Ga(1) tablets, which were found near the around the Long Gallery.

The tablet that had fallen into the 2nd pithos was Ak(2) 617 (Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.3). The other tablets from the Ak(2)-set were found in Magazine

VIII. If the Ak(2) tablets were originally part of the same set, they must have fallen from the upper floor room. However, there is some difficulty with this because of the relative positions of the 2nd pithos and the find-places of the Ak(2) tablets from Magazine VIII. This is discussed below.

It is also interesting to note that *SM* 521, found in Magazine IX joins to *SM* 712, which was found the previous year in Magazine VIII. These are part of a Gg-series of tablets that were predominantly found in Magazine VIII. It is possible that X 522 and L 523, which were recorded as being found in Magazine IX, were also parts of sets from Magazine VIII. The final tablet given for Magazine IX in the original *Handlist* was Od(1) 570 and, if this tablet is actually a part of the Od(1)-set, it must have been found near the entrance to the magazine. (See the discussion of Od(1) tablets below, under the heading F10 & F11, in SECTION 15. The single tablet recorded in the *Handlist* as being from Magazine X is also discussed under that heading.)

Find-place F7: *Magazine VIII*

The excavation notes for Magazine VIII are more helpful. This magazine had previously been partially excavated by Kalokairinos and it is evident that some of the earth removed during the earlier excavation was piled up on the surface at the east end of the area above this magazine.²⁰⁵ Mackenzie notes that two tablets were found in this earth, although these cannot be identified. The fact that there had been previous excavation should make us wary about drawing conclusions from the positions of finds given in the 1900 notes. However, there are basically two conclusions that can be drawn. The first is that the Pp-tablets were found in the position which they were in immediately after the destruction of the palace. These tablets were sufficiently fragile that, if they had been disturbed by the previous excavation, they would have been destroyed. The second conclusion is that the bulk of the tablets were found in the east half of the magazine. Whilst it is possible that the previous excavation systematically moved tablets from the west end of the magazine to the east half, this is judged to be unlikely. Thus, although there was previous excavation in this magazine, it is possible to draw some reasonably firm conclusions.

Evans describes in some detail the finding of the Pp-series of tablets which were excavated at floor-level from the east end of the magazine (find-place F7a). It is convenient to consider these separately below. Mackenzie's notes, summarised below, describe the other finds on successive days of excavation as follows. However, his notes exclude the finding of the Pp-series on 30 April 1900.

²⁰⁵ It is worth drawing attention to the *DM/DB* entries for 19 and 27 April 1900 (pencil), which refer to Kalokairinos' excavation of Magazine VIII, but which were omitted in the survey of earlier excavations by Driessen (1990, p. 35-37).

Find date (April 1900)	No. of fragments	Distance from west wall (m)
19	1	3
25	2	1
26	1	6
	1	8
	2	9
27	7	11-12
	2	waste heap
28	8-10	12

The first three fragments of tablets were found, about 1.50 metres below ground level, on 19 and 25 April 1900.²⁰⁶ Most of the remaining tablets were found towards the east end of the magazine. At least one of the remaining tablets was recorded as being found a few centimetres above the pavement. The above table records a total of 24-26 tablets, although the *Handlist* lists 37 tablets from this magazine (excluding F7a).

It is not possible to identify each of these tablets in turn. However, it seems likely that the last group of tablets contained the Gg-series tablets, which Evans thought might have originated with the vase tablets from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (see discussion above).

In the *Handlist*, a group of eight tablets are listed separately from the others under the heading «8th W. Gallery (tablets omitted above)». These include four Ak(2)-series tablets, i.e. they are unlikely to be a collection of the widely scattered fragments included in the above list. Therefore, it is feasible that these represent the group of 7-9 tablets found on 27 April, which had been overlooked when the other tablets were entered into the *Handlist*.

The major difficulty with the above line of reasoning is that an Ak(2) tablet was found in the 2nd pithos of Magazine IX, which Evans states was located near the west wall of that magazine. [The 2nd pithos from the west wall was about a metre from that wall (based on Evans 1901, Plate 1)]. There are four possible ways out of this dilemma.

1. Suggest that the tablet found in the pithos was not Ak(2) 617. However, the tablet was labelled as «In pithos No. 2» in the *Handlist* and has «9-pithos» written in pencil on its side (Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.3). Thus, it is clearly from the 2nd pithos in Magazine IX.

2. Suggest that Ak(2) 617 was originally separated from the other Ak(2) tablets which were stored at a position above the east end of Magazine VIII. However, this seems an unsatisfactory explanation in what otherwise appears to be a well organised archive.

3. Suggest that the excavation of Kalokairinos moved all the Ak(2) tablets from the west end of Magazine VIII to the east end during his earlier excavations. This would also seem to be an unsatisfactory explanation

²⁰⁶ The paved floor of this magazine was 1.9-2.0 metres below the surface. 19 and 25 April were successive days of excavation separated by Easter.

because there are a total of 10 Ak(2) tablets in Magazine VIII and only two tablets were found close to the west wall.

4. Suggest that pithos no.2 was not actually located near the west wall. There are two reasons for favouring this suggestion:

a) the statement that pithos no.2 was near the west wall did not appear in the excavation notes but was first made by Evans in his 1901 *BSA* report. This probably implies that Evans deduced the position of the pithos from Mackenzie's notes and allows us to make our own deduction from those notes.

b) on 5 March, when Ak(2) 617 was found, Mackenzie states that, «the greater part of the deposit had been removed from the W. end and up till mid-day as many as 11 pithoi were in view. At mid-day the flooring was reached at a depth of M 1.60 - 70, several stray fragments of inscr. tablets were found.» He also refers to a position «a little E of the buttress», i.e. east of a central position on the south wall. On the following day he wrote, «In the 9th gallery the W 1/2 is gradually being cleared of its deposit down to the gypsum paved floor. This at the W. end is at a depth of 1.50. Further E the pavement is at a greater depth 1.60, 1.70 etc. because the surface ascends E.» The implication is that the pithos was cleared from the deposit at a position along the gallery where the pavement was 1.60-1.70 below the surface, i.e. at a position towards the centre of the magazine.

There is insufficient information to be very confident, however, it seems more likely that pithos no.2 was near the centre of the north wall of Magazine IX and the 7-9 tablets found in Magazine VIII were indeed the tablets listed separately in the *Handlist* under the heading «8th W. Gallery (tablets omitted above)». These tablets were Ak(2) 615, 616, 627, 636, Lc(2) 512, V(3) 503 and X 5033.²⁰⁷

On the basis of the above discussion, it would appear likely that many of the tablets that were found in the Magazines under the Central Hall originated from a position above the east end of Magazine VIII (which is the central magazine under this hall). It is possible that some of the tablets were originally on shelves over the east end of Magazine VIII and then during the destruction these fell westwards scattering over the floor above Magazines VII, VIII and IX, eventually falling into these magazines. The Ga(1a) and Gg tablets that fell into the Long Corridor would probably have been stored separately. However, although it is possible to consider the precise location of the tablets before the

²⁰⁷ The *Handlist* suggests that *SM* 411 was found in the North Entrance Passage and *SM* 511 was found in Magazine VIII. This is an unusual example of two pieces of joined tablet which were recorded as being found a large distance apart. Therefore, there is a high probability that one of the find-places is incorrect. The most likely explanation is that *SM* 511 was actually found in the NEP but incorrectly allocated to Magazine VIII (within BATCH 7). *SM* 411 was included amongst the 'end of season' tablets in BATCH 14, which did not include any tablets from Magazine VIII. It has been noted (Firth, 1998, SECTION 9.2.3) that there are three anomalous joins associated with Magazine VIII and suggested that there could be a common mode problem. It is possible that the allocation of tablets to Magazine VIII was prone to error, however, D 411 + 511 is the primary example which would have significance.

destruction, it is simply speculation. The most important point to note is that, although it initially appeared that the tablets were well scattered over the area below the Central Hall, in practice, it seems likely that many of the tablets were stored in a similar location above the east end of Magazine VIII.

Find-place F7a: *The Pp-series of tablets from the SE corner of Magazine VIII*

The Pp-series of tablets were found close together in the SE corner of Magazine VIII. In his *BSA* report for 1900, Evans states that they were found at floor-level. This suggests that the Pp tablets had not fallen from an upper floor.

It is useful to repeat Evans entry in his *Notebook*. «At this end was found a nest of tablets. The mass was removed en bloc & as they were ready to crumble up if detached & lay embedded on their faces I got Iannis to coat over the back of the whole group (first carefully cleaned) with plaster & then worked away the earth in which their faces were bedded. The whole set was thus got out as they lay».²⁰⁸ Plate XXXVIII of *SM II* is a photograph of this nest of tablets still within the plaster (also reproduced as *SM I*, p. 45, and Chadwick 1976, p. 23).

There are four clear points from this photograph;

1. the tablets were found lying on their faces since the writing is not covered by the plaster.
2. the tablets were lying on a reasonably flat surface.
3. the tablets were lying in a way such that they did not overlap but their edges were touching.
4. there is a systematic crack shown in the photograph that extends through the centres of tablets 495, 494, 496, 497 and 498 (though not through 499).

Although this presents us with a clear picture, there is some difficulty in interpreting why the tablets were actually in that state. If one was to consider only the contents of these tablets, it could be suggested that the tablets might have been stacked, by the scribe, sequentially in a box, like cards in a card file, with the face of the totalling tablet (Pp 499) uncovered. (We could represent this diagrammatically as [\ \ \ \ \ \].) However, the tablets were found lying such that they were not overlapping but their edges were touching. (We can represent this diagrammatically as [_ _ _ _ _ _].) The first of these descriptions might seem plausible from the point of view of scribal practicalities. However, it is not possible to understand how tablets that were stacked neatly as [\ \ \ \ \ \] before a fire could be found laid, equally neatly as [_ _ _ _ _ _] after the fire. Therefore, we should assume that the tablets were laid flat by the scribe, edge to edge.

The systematic crack through the tablets (described above) strongly implies that it was caused by a single event. Furthermore, it is reasonable to suppose that the scribe would have placed the tablets in the container with the writing face-up

²⁰⁸ Evans (1900, p. 25) incorrectly states that the tablets were 'lying on their backs'. If this were the case then the plaster used to extract the tablets would have covered the inscriptions.

(whereas the tablets were found with the writing face-down).²⁰⁹ The most straightforward suggestion is that the tablets were originally laid flat in a closed container, the container fell off its 'shelf' during the fire and the closed container landed top-face down on the floor of the magazine in a manner that caused the systematic crack through the tablets.

Evans noted that the tablets were embedded in clay and decayed gypsum and suggested that the clay represented the unpreserved remains of the larger number of tablets that had originally been contained in a gypsum coffer (*SM I*, p. 44). However, there are no salt remains from gypsum on the surface of the tablets (José L. Melena, priv. comm.).

Driessen (1994) has suggested that the Pp-series tablets by scribe 119, which were found on the floor of the magazines, may not have been contemporary with the tablets that had fallen from the upper floor. However, in practice, it has been shown (Firth 1998, SECTION 15) that there is sufficient linkage between the tablets written by scribes 103 and 115 from the floor above the Western Magazines and those from the main sheep archive (written by scribes 117, 119 and 216) to demonstrate that they are roughly contemporary. Nevertheless, it does seem likely that the bulk of the tablets found in this magazine had fallen from an upper floor whereas the Pp-series had been stored in the magazine itself.

Summary of tablets found in this area

It is convenient to list together in TABLE II.8 all the tablets found in Magazines VI to IX and the adjacent corridor (although, as noted, they probably were not originally from the same floor-level). [This table excludes the single tablet found in Magazine X which will be listed with those from Magazines XI to XV.]

TABLE II.8: *Tablets found in Magazines VI to X and adjacent Long Gallery*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Ak	(2)	108	613, 615-617, 621, 622, 627, <u>631</u> , 636, <u>1807</u> , <u>2126</u> , 7022, 5879, 7002, 7009, 7010, <u>7012</u> , <u>7013</u> , 7020, <u>7021</u> , <u>7028</u> , 7030, 9001, 9173, 9407
Ga	(1a)	135	674-677, 678, 679-680, 685, <u>7365</u> , 7594
	(1b)	135	517, 518, <u>519</u>
Gg	(2)	135	713, 995, <u>7371</u> , <u>5184</u> , <u>7372</u>
	(4)	220	706-708, 7232
		(-)	521, 701, 710
Lc	(2)	113,115	481, 483, 504, 512, 581, 7377, 7319, <u>7433</u> , 7438

²⁰⁹ Hart (1965) noted that most of the toponyms listed on the Pp tablets recurred on E 749 and Og 833. She went further and suggested that there could be some significance in the order that the toponyms occur on the set of tablets, as they appear in the *SM I* photograph (p. 45). However, in order for this to be plausible the Pp tablets must have been laid out face-up in their container so that the toponyms could be read.

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
L	(4)	208	475, 480, 484, <u>489</u> , 515, 516, <u>7413</u> , <u>7415</u> , <u>7416</u> , <u>7578</u>
	(5)	209	513, <u>5092</u> , 7380, 7393, 8441
	(-)	209	<u>501</u> , <u>5757</u>
	(-)	103?	586
	(-)	(-)	491, 514, 523, <u>7514</u> , 7375
Od	(1)	103	570
		115	485-487
		(-)	502
Pp		119	493-499, 1818, 1819
V	(3a)	115	479, 482, 488, 492, 503, 7513, 7620
Miscellaneous:			D1 7116, Og 5019, Ws 1703 X 506, 522, 5033, 5037, 7546, 7632, 7894

Impressions of the ‘man and bull’ seal were found in both Magazine VIII (sealing G6, also known as Ws 1703) and Magazine IV (sealing G5).²¹⁰

In practice, there is limited evidence to connect the textile archives with the actual manufacture and storage of textiles within the Palace. Therefore, it is particularly interesting to note that, in *KT5*, Od 502 has the description, «The tablet appears to have been a label of some kind, and there are marks showing that a piece of string originally ran through it». The tablet lists 11 units of wool, i.e. around 33 kg (assuming that 1 unit of wool was 3 kg, see *Documents*, p. 203). This label was attached to wool transferred from Phaistos to Knossos, clearly implying that the label could have been written at Phaistos. It is possible that the label had already been detached from the wool and had been taken to the scribe to record the transaction on a true tablet.

Finally, on a more general point, it is noted that much of the discussion leading to the dating of the destruction of the palace to early LMIIIA2 centres around the pottery samples from the Western Magazines (Popham 1970, 1991a). This discussion will be considered in some detail in PART III.

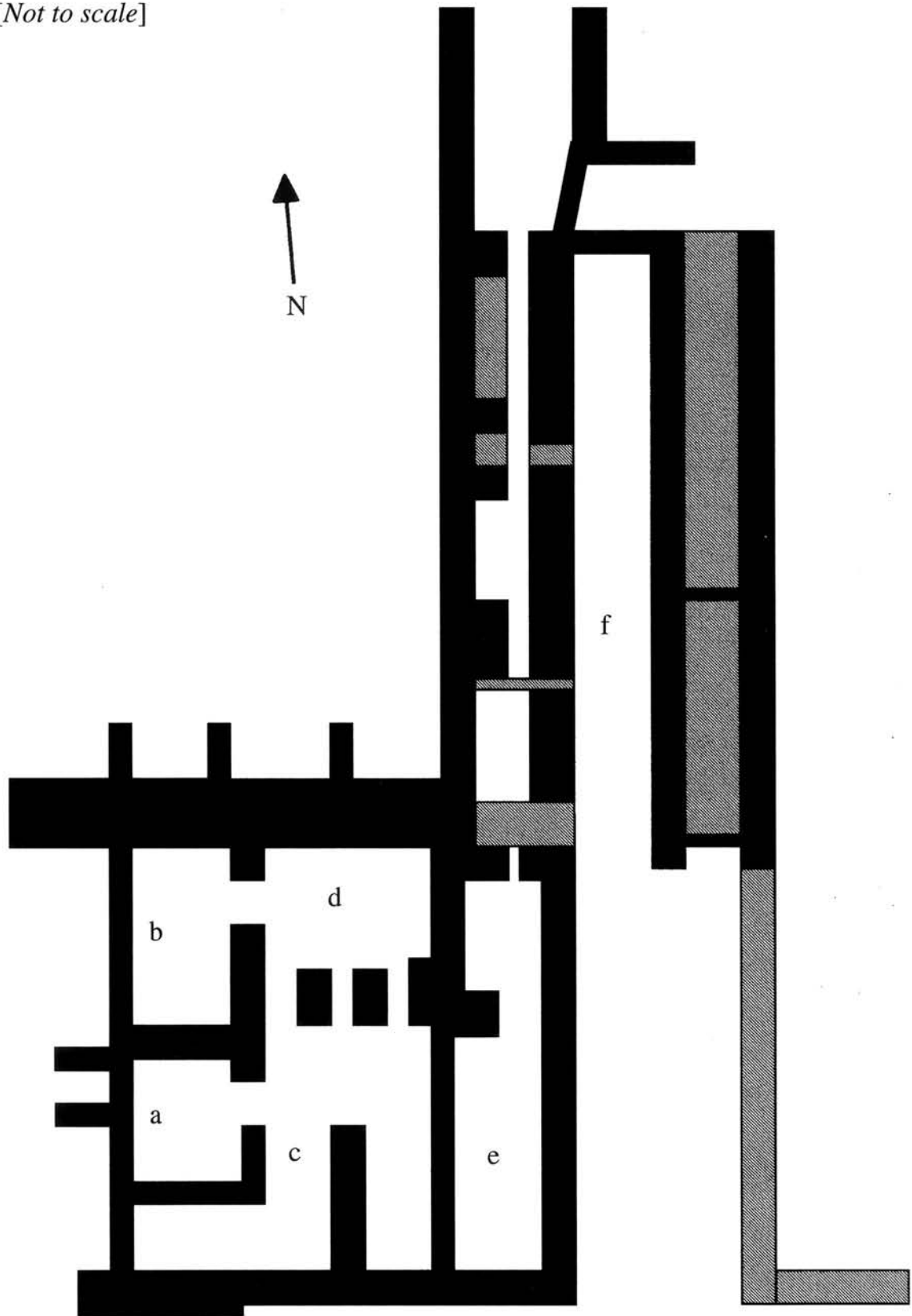
13. FIND-PLACES I1, I4 AND I5 : *Rooms of the North West Insula*

The North West Insula is the collective name for the area over the prisons, west of the North Entrance Passage (see FIG. 5 on next page). The discussion of this area became complicated because Evans’ later description of the stratification was not consistent with the archaeological findings. For present purposes, we will accept the critique of Evans’ later account set out by Palmer and Raison (1975) and, therefore, we can return to the descriptions in the excavation notebooks (cf. Raison 1988).

SECTION 1.2 contains a discussion on upper floor rooms. It is concluded that it is most unlikely that there would have been an upper floor above the rooms of the NW Insula.

²¹⁰ Note that the photograph of the face of Ws 1703, which bears the seal impression overwritten by the P sign, has been reversed in *CoMIK II*.

[Not to scale]

Figure 5: *NW Insula and NEP*

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| a Room of Knobbed Pithos | d Room of Flower Gatherer |
| b Room of Bügelkannes | e Room of Spiral Cornice |
| c Room of Lotus Lamp | f North Entrance Passage |

Rooms of the Bügelkannes and the Flower Gatherer

We will begin by considering the Room of the Bügelkannes and Room of the Flower Gatherer (or Saffron Gatherer). Tablets from this area first started to appear on Friday 4 May 1900. At this early stage of the excavation, Mackenzie labelled this part of his plan as 'Area of the Flower Gatherer', named after the piece of fresco that had been found on the previous day. The area was not defined as being made up of two separate rooms until Tuesday 8 May. Each time the tablets from this area are mentioned by Mackenzie in his excavation *Day Book* he describes them as badly preserved.

In his *Notebook* for 8 May, Evans (*AE/NB*, p. 67, reproduced as Plate XV of *OKTi*) drew a plan of the rooms of the NW Insula, including a number of useful details. He dates the excavation of the Room of the Flower Gatherer as 4 May and includes the find-places of the black steatite vase, a broken lamp and a perfect stone lamp. The find-dates of the two lamps are confirmed as being 4 May by Mackenzie's notes. Evans' notes for 3-4 May record the find of the steatite vase. In his plan, for the Room of the Bügelkannes, Evans includes the find-places of two large Bügelkannes, a strainer and 4 pale amphorae. Mackenzie records the Bügelkannes and amphorae as having been found on 8 May. Thus, there would seem to be a clear development of the excavation from the Room of the Flower Gatherer starting on the 3-4 May and then into the Room of the Bügelkannes on 8 May.²¹¹

On Evans' plan, he notes, «Some tablets» in the Room of the Flower Gatherer and «Many tablets: much perished» along the west wall of the Room of the Bügelkannes. However, in the *Handlist*, the tablets from this area in 1900 are either attributed to the «Room of the Flower Gatherer, Central threshing floor (tablets in this deposit much perished)» [*SM* 749-768] or «N. Region of Threshing Floor» [K(2) series of tablets, *SM* 774-776bis b]. The latter group of tablets were probably listed separately because they contained the 'vase' logograms which interested Evans. Thus, the tablets from the Room of the Bügelkannes are not recorded separately and have been combined with those from the Room of the Flower Gatherer. Evans (1900, p. 44) reports that the bulk of the tablets from this area were found in the Room of the Bügelkannes.

The tablets were found on a clay floor in a very badly preserved condition. Mackenzie suggests that the proximity to the clay caused the poor preservation of the tablets. (See also Evans 1900, p. 45.) It has also been suggested that the proximity of the Threshing Floor could have had some effect. In *SM* I, Evans draws a correlation between tablets that were stored at ground level, which were found to be not well-fired, and tablets which had fallen from upper levels, which were more likely to have been well-fired. In this case, there is no suggestion, in the excavation notebooks, that these tablets had fallen from an upper floor,

²¹¹ Note that there was no excavation in the area on 6 May, because it was a Sunday, nor on 7 May, because of visit by Dörpfeld's party of 52 visitors to the site.

indeed there are no indications that there was an upper floor above the rooms of the North West Insula (see SECTION 1.2). Furthermore, if these poorly preserved tablets had indeed fallen from above they would have disintegrated into dust. It is also worth noting that the clay of tablets still has a greenish colour, which is lost when clay is fired. Therefore, it seems more probable that the poor preservation of these tablets is due to the poor firing rather than the proximity to the clay floor or the threshing floor.²¹²

During the following year, there was excavation in the same area, immediately north of the Room of the Bügelkannes. It is recorded that this further excavation was facilitated by the collapse of the mud N. wall of the Room of the Bügelkannes.²¹³ The tablets recorded in 1901 came from this area, however, as Raison (1988, p. 66) notes, they were not from a sealed stratum. The fact that tablet K(2) 773, that was found in 1901, joins with 776bis a, that was found in this area in 1900, coupled with the fact that this joined tablet has the same palm-print as a number of others found in 1900 (i.e. R TAU) shows that at least one of the tablets the 1901 tablets is actually part of the same deposit of tablets as those excavated in 1900.

The Bügelkannes or stirrup jars, after which the room is named, are dated to LMIIIB (Popham 1964, p. 7, 15-16 & 18, Plates IVd and IIIg). The double amphorae, found in the same room, were of the same type as found in the North Entrance Passage (Evans 1900, p. 51) and are listed as LMIIIB by Popham (1964, p. 7, Plates 9c-e). The LMIIIB vases and the tablets were found on the same day and at the same level. Taken at face value, this would seem to suggest that these tablets are LMIIIB (see Raison 1988, p. 109).

The sealing described by Mackenzie and Evans on 6 April 1901 has been identified by Gill, with «little doubt» as Ws 8497. However, she also notes that Ws 8153 is an impression from the same seal and suggests that they could have been found in the same area. It is not clear why Gill is so positive that the sealing described on 6 April is Ws 8497 rather than Ws 8153.²¹⁴ The tablets found in this area are listed in TABLE II.9.

²¹² See the discussion in SECTION 2. The observations on the physical state of these tablets was provided by José L. Melena (priv. comm.).

²¹³ This N. wall can be seen in profile on Fyfe's architectural section A-A through the West Wing drawn in 1900 (Driessen 1990, includes this as his Illustration 8). The N. wall was 0.80 metres higher than the ground to the north of it. (This height is given by Mackenzie and can be measured, approximately, from Fyfe's plan).

²¹⁴ Younger (1988, p.14) describes this sealing as animal pose type PT1A,R bull with palm and figure-of-8 shield above and below. From Gill's diagrams (1966, Figs. 2 and 3) it would appear that Younger should have categorised the animal pose as type PT2,R ('animal standing regardant'), and should have included Ox 1938.1152 (i.e. Ws 8153) as well as Her. s 129 (i.e. Ws 8497) and Ox 1938.1016.

TABLE II.9: *Tablets from the area of the Room of the Bügelkannes*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Ai	(2)	102?	750-752, 754
	(2)	227	762
Ap		(-)	769
B	(1)		755, 772
K	(2)	224	<u>773</u> , 774-776, 1810, 5526, 7599, 9242
L	(9)	213	761, 764, <u>7396</u> , <u>7400-7401</u> , 8025, 8035
	(-)	(-)	758, 759, 771
Od	(-)	227	765, 7312, 7326, 7779, 8628
Ws			8497, 8153
Misc.			E 749 (scribe 136), C 767, G 760, M 757 X 766, 768, 770, 5040

V(5) 756 has been excluded from the above table for the reasons set out in PART I SECTION 6.

It is worth noting the items of pottery listed on the K(2)-series of tablets. It is tempting to suggest that the original set of tablets may have referred to the ceramics found within the Room of the Bügelkannes.

The author (Firth 1998, SECTION 12) has already drawn attention to links between the tablets listed in TABLE II.9 and those found in the North Entrance Passage. It is worthwhile also noting the link between X 766, Ra(2) 984, 1028 and Nc 4473, via the word, *zo-wa*, and the link between X 768 and Sf 4418 via the word *e-ka-te-jo*. In themselves, these would not appear to be significant, however, the fact that both links are to sword or Arsenal tablets seems worth noting. (See also the note on K(1) 740 in the following paragraphs.)

Room of Lotus Lamp

Mackenzie's *Day Book* (DM/DB, 10 May 1900, pencilled version only) notes a fragment or two of inscription tablets found in the Room of Lotus Lamp.

In the discussion on the Room of Stone Lamp above (see SECTION 10) it has been suggested that these might possibly be tablets Ai 739 and K(1) 740 because of a confusion in the recording of find-places. However, in practice, the evidence available is not sufficiently strong to sustain this suggestion. In that case, we should assume that the fragments found in the Room of Lotus Lamp were regarded as too small for Evans to record in his *Handlist*.

North Compartment of Room of Spiral Cornice

It is appropriate to mention here the large number of small fragments of inscriptions in a crumbling condition that were found 0.50 metres down, in a deposit of wood ashes in the North Compartment of the Room of Spiral Cornice. These were found on 2 & 3 May 1900. It is clear from the *Handlist* that the tablets listed there under the general heading of Room of Spiral Cornice referred

to those from the Deposit of the Great Seal, found nearby in the North Entrance passage, rather than the crumbling fragments from the Northern Compartment of the Room of Spiral Cornice itself (see discussion by Firth 1988; also Raison 1988 and Gill 1965). It is reasonable to assume that the crumbling tablets were too small for Evans to consider worthwhile including them in his *Handlist*. The crumbling condition of the tablets would be consistent with tablets that were originally stored in ground floor rooms.²¹⁵

All the tablets found in the NW Insula were on the uppermost floor-level of the rooms. It would therefore seem reasonable to associate them all with the last period of usage of this area, i.e. LMIIIB.

14. FIND-PLACES I2, I3 AND I3a: *North Entrance Passage area*

There have been numerous discussions of this find-place (see, for example, *OKTi*, *OKTii*, Woodard 1972, Evely 1976, Raison 1988, Driessen 1999). This might give the impression that the notes arising from the excavation are particularly complex. However, in practice, the information provided is relatively straightforward. The difficulty arises in the interpretation of that information.

Tablets first started to be excavated from the Area on the Bull Relief on Saturday 5 May 1900. They were found 2.50 metres east of the East wall of the Room of the Flower Gatherer (DM/DB, Plan 46), at a depth of 2 metres. The tablets were well-preserved and found at the same point as a couple-vase of pale yellow clay.²¹⁶ More tablets were reported on each of the following days of excavation. On Tuesday 8 May, Mackenzie makes it clear that the tablets were in a well-defined stratum, 2 metres down, along with the couple-vases.²¹⁷ On Thursday 10 May, it was recorded that the excavation was extended to the north and east and on the following Saturday it was noted that the tablets were found at a depth of 2.5 - 3 metres, as the excavation progressed northwards. At this position, the tablets appeared without the couple-vases. The greatest quantity of inscriptions were alongside (at the foot of) the West wall of the passage. Finally, it was recorded on 22 May that the deposit of tablets had been exhausted.

There are five points on stratification that are worth stressing (Raison 1988):

1. the couple-vases are dated to LMIIIB (Popham 1964, pp. 6-7, 15, Plates 9c-e).
2. the surface on which the couple vases and tablets were found is an LMIIIB surface. (Test sample J II 5 in the Stratigraphical Museum was taken in 1913 from the 'balk' that had been left at the side of the NEP under the

²¹⁵ It is a little surprising that the combustion implied by the wood ash was not sufficient to fire the tablets to an extent that would have preserved them better. This may imply that tablets were not adjacent to the wood during that combustion (i.e. they were not in a wooden container).

²¹⁶ The couple-vases were alternatively described as double amphorae (see photographs in *OKTii*, Plate XIII and Popham 1964, Plates 9c-e).

²¹⁷ Mackenzie records one solitary fragment of tablet above this stratum. That tablet was found near the surface.

surface of the tablets and couple-vases (Evely 1976). This sample contains LMIIIB material; Popham 1970, p. 44; Raison 1988, pp. 182-184.)

3. the tablets covered a relatively large area and were in a well-defined stratum. This stratum varied in depth, following the gradient of the floor of the passage.

4. for much of that stratum, couple-vases were found interspersed with the tablets.

5. the fragments of bull relief fresco were found significantly above this stratum of tablets and couple-vases.

Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 49) notes that, «The vases are most of them intact and all are unburnt. ... Most of the tablets are broken, all of them burnt (hence their survival), some very badly.»

Excavation was also in progress around the same time at the south end of the North Entrance Passage. On Friday 11 May, inscription fragments were found 0.90 metres down, along with part of a very large sealing (the Deposit of the Great Seal). Several fragments were also found at a depth of 1 - 1.20 metres on Saturday 12 May. Evans notes that these tablets were partially covered by a slab of gypsum, which he took to be part of a gypsum cist.²¹⁸ These tablets were found adjacent to the Room of Spiral Cornice and have frequently been mistakenly attributed to the room itself.

The excavations showed that, in the final phase of use, there were a number of walls which appear to have blocked the entrance to the North Entrance Passage. Raison (1988, p. 171) includes the alternative suggestion that these might possibly have served as buttresses to support the walls at either side of the passage. These were described as 'later walls' by Evans and Mackenzie and were removed. The presence of these walls demonstrates that, at the end of life, the NEP no longer served in its former role as a main Entrance Passage into the palace.

It has been demonstrated (Firth 1998, SECTION 12) that the tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief were not listed in the *Original Handlist* in an arbitrary order. It was also shown that the ordering was unlikely to have been one that was imposed by Evans sorting the tablets before he drew them into the *Original Handlist*. It was concluded that the tablets in this deposit had a degree of internal ordering and that this reflected to some extent the ordering in the deposit as they were found.

14.1. *The location of the tablets immediately before the destruction*

The above discussion summarises the facts as they were reported and it is at this point that the speculation arising from the interpretation of these facts begins.

²¹⁸ It is worth noting again that Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 70) expresses doubt whether the gypsum slab found with the tablets was part of a stone chest.

When Evans first published a description of the find of these tablets he stated that, «It is fairly obvious that these clay documents and the chest or chests that contained them had not been originally placed in the position by the side of the roadway in which they were found. It is possible that they were in course of removal from a neighbouring room at the time when this part of the Palace was overwhelmed ...» (*BSA Report 1900*, p. 50). In *SM I* (p. 40), this explanation was changed markedly, «Two large hoards, again found above the roadway of the North Entrance, had obviously fallen, together with their containing chests of gypsum, from a room or gallery overlooking it on the West side.»

The first explanation ignores the fact that the 'roadway' on which the tablets were found was blocked by walls built across its northern end. However, it contains the implicit assumption that the container(s) of tablets were on the floor of passage at the time of the destruction. The second explanation states that the tablets had «obviously fallen» from an upper floor. This second explanation ignores the absence of upper floor materials between the tablets and the surface on which they were found. It is also inconsistent with the reconstruction of the Bull Relief at Knossos.

The reason for this change and for much of the discussion on this find-place is that the many couple-vases found with the tablets are dated as LMIIIB. Unless a reason can be given to separate the couple-vases from the tablets, they give a clear case for dating the large deposit of tablets found in the Area of Bull Relief to LMIIIB. This presented difficulties for Evans and for the others that followed him who favoured an early date for the tablets. In order for them to sustain their argument, they have come up with a series of ingenious explanations for how the tablets might have accidentally found their way onto an LMIIIB surface. A number of these explanations can now be discounted following the finding that the NEP tablets preserved a significant element of internal ordering. Thus, we can state that the tablets were not a random deposit of tablets, as they would have been if they had been shovelled on to the surface (as suggested by Boardman in *OKTii*, p. 49) or washed there by rain water (Woodard 1972). Apart from the argument of the internal ordering, it would be difficult to accept that the NEP tablets could have survived in their present condition if they had been so roughly treated.

Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 49) makes a number of points relating to the theory that the tablets had fallen from an upper floor which are worth quoting in full. «The argument that the tablets from an upper floor were burnt and then fell on to the lower floor which had suffered no fire is inadmissible on several grounds. First, there had been a fire in the passage, since the marks of blazing beams lying across the level of the late floor are still visible. Secondly, the intact vases are undamaged by anything falling on them, let alone from anything burning. Thirdly, if the tablets had fallen from above (from where?) in a collapse after a fire we should expect to find most of them separated from the vases by the debris of walls and floors, while in fact they are beside and below them.» We should also note here discussion in SECTION 1.2 which questions whether there was an

upper floor over the rooms of the NW Insula (cf. Boardman's query, «from where?»). All these points would lead to the suggestion that the tablets that were found in the NEP had not fallen from an upper floor.

From the discussion on internal ordering, the most likely explanation was that the archive of tablets had been placed in the Passage and their ordering had been partially preserved when the palace was destroyed.

The discussion in SECTION 2.2 on the physical state of some of the tablets from the North Entrance Passage shows that this information is consistent with tablets falling from 'shelves'. In other words the tablets were in a ground floor area but they were not literally on the ground at the time when the fire started. However, we need to include some discussion about what is meant by 'shelves' in this context. At Akrotiri, shelves are formed by a row of dowels sunk into the wall with reeds fastened on these to form the shelf itself (Marinatos 1971, p. 21). At Knossos, there is no evidence for dowel holes in the west wall of the NEP. Thus, in this case we are using the word 'shelves' loosely to mean some storage arrangement which is broadly equivalent to 'free-standing shelves', adjacent to (and possibly leaning against) the west wall.

In summary, the archaeological information is consistent with the suggestion that, immediately before the conflagration, the tablets were in an ordered state, arranged on 'shelves' in the Passage. The only contrary information is the fact that some of the tablets were blackened and the couple-vases were not. However, since fragments from the same tablet could have varying colours depending on the different firing they each received (e.g. Og 833, K 875; see SECTION 2), it is possible that the couple vases were in the Passage along with the tablets even though they were not blackened to the same extent.

14.2. *Was the passage blocked before the fire?*

It is often assumed that when the tablets were fired, the NEP was actually an entrance passage and that the blocking walls were built at a later stage. If we were to accept this assumption then one might imagine that at some point following the fire the blocking walls were built, the 'passage' was converted into a storage area and the LMIIIB vases were put into this area on or near the fired tablets.

It is frequently suggested that we should expect scribal activity to be close to the entrance of the palace (as at Pylos, for example). This then becomes tied to the presence of tablets in the North Entrance Passage, with the conclusion that the passage could not have been blocked at the time the archive was in use. However, the fact that the tablets were found in an 'entrance passage' should not be taken as proof that it was still an entrance passage at the time of the fire. Much of the information being recorded by scribes concerned activities that were taking place in other parts of the island. Thus, in terms of distance, there is little advantage whether the scribal activity was near the entrance to the palace or some metres from the entrance across the courtyard. In principle, it is reasonable to suppose that the palace elite would prefer that mundane activities were

conducted at the margins of the building, so that messengers were not continually crossing the courtyard with details of the wool yield of a few hundred sheep, for example. However, in practice, this would simply have been a matter of choice on the part of the occupants of the palace. It is evident from the widespread distribution of the tablets around the palace of Knossos that little attempt was made to constrain them to a few locations (cf. Pylos). On this basis, it is suggested that little or no weight should be given to the dating of tablets by considering whether or not an entrance passage was blocked.

Woodard (1972, p. 118) notes that the burnt gypsum blocks on the outer wall of the East Bastion show fire damage at a low level (0.7 m above the present flag-stone paving). He suggests that level was probably below the level of the LMIIIB surface. In principle, this would appear to be a more pertinent basis for dating the fire in the NEP. However, there is some difficulty with it because the LMIIIB surface is no longer well-defined (see Raison 1988, Coupe C).

Raison (1988, p. 171) notes, from a practical point of view, that it is unlikely that the blocking walls were built after the destruction because of the amount of hard work that would have been required would have been out of proportion to the benefit.

This leaves the possibility that the 'passage' could have been blocked before the fire, converting it into a storage area, and the tablets were stored in the 'passage'. However, if the tablets were being stored in the 'passage' for any length of time then they must have been stored in rain-proof conditions because otherwise the sun-baked tablets would have 'dissolved' into a pulpy mass. It is most likely that the passage would have originally been designed as an open entrance passage. It is possible that the 'shelves' containing the tablets could have been sheltered under a roofed area, built when the passage was blocked. However, there are no records of physical remains of such a construction and, therefore, this should be regarded as speculation. Thus, at the end of this discussion, we appear to have to rely on plausible speculation, rather than an explanation which is based more firmly on archaeological evidence.

14.3. *Summary of the tablets found in the North Passage Area*

The tablets of the North Entrance Passage are given in the *Handlist* under three separate headings, Area of Bull Relief, Deposit of Great Seal and South of Bull Relief Area. In practice, although the deposit of the Bull Relief Area and the deposit of the Great Seal were listed separately, there were probably fragments of tablets scattered more generally. For the purposes of this paper, all the tablets of the North Entrance Passage are listed together in TABLE II.10.

TABLE II.10: *Tablets from the North Entrance Passage*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Ai	(3)	(-)	<u>824</u>
	(3)	204	825, 966, 982, 1012, 1036, 1037, 5976, <u>7745</u> , <u>7867</u>
Ak	(3)	102	780-784, 828, 830, <u>7001</u> , <u>7003</u> , <u>7005</u> , <u>7007</u> , <u>9002</u>
Am	(2)	(-)	819, 821, 826, 827
Bg	(-)	137	<u>810</u> , <u>813</u> , 817, 818, 834, 992, 1020-1021, 1040, 5584, <u>5736</u> , <u>7682</u> , 8438, 9297-9299, 9680
B	(1)	107?	<u>809</u>
	(1)	(-)	811, 812, 988, 1025
	(3)	106	808, 814-816, 985, 5749, 5752, 7035, 7042, 7043, 8006
	(5)	104	799-806, 5025, 5026, 5028, 5029, 5134, 5172, 5799, 7895, 8206, 8755, 9288, 9665, 9695, 9839
		102?	807
		107	798
		(-)	779, 822, 823
Ca	(-)	(-)	895
Ch	(-)	110	896-900, <u>972</u> , 1015, 1029, 1034, 5724, 5728, 5754, 5938, <u>7047</u> , <u>7065</u> , <u>7066</u> , <u>7100</u> , <u>7937</u> , <u>8222</u>
Co	(-)	107	903, 904, 906, 907, 909, 910, 7056, 8347
C	(1)	107	901, 989, 5544, 5753, 9666
	(2)	112	908, <u>913</u> , 914, 915, 922, 941, 5765, <u>7064</u> , 8225, 8578
	(3)	109	905, <u>967</u> , 979, 1030, 1039, 7057, 7058, 7793, 9666
	(4)	111	911, 912, <u>917</u>
	(-)	201	902
	(-)	(-)	954, 973, 1044, 1582
Dl	(1)	118	412-414, 790-792, 794, 916, 928, 930, 932-935, 938-940, 943, 944, 946-950, 952, 1046, 7072, 7076, 7085, 7086, 7092, 7132, 7138, 7141, 7147, 7238, 7249, 7283, 7287, 7288, 7503, 7721, <u>7771</u> , <u>7865</u> , 7905, 8103, 8217, <u>8577</u> , <u>9177</u> , 9716, 9750, 9764, 9841, 9862
Dk	(1)	120	920, 925, 931, 936, 945, 951, <u>964</u> , <u>969</u> , 1049, <u>2129</u> , 5183, 5464, 5731, 5733, 5768, 7117, <u>7144</u> , 7295, 7297, 7299, <u>7300</u> , 7301, 7303, 7304, 7306, 7308, 7311, 7313-7316, 7322, 7323, 7325, 7328, 7329, 7781, <u>7899</u> , <u>7902</u> , <u>8018</u> , <u>8463</u> , 8464
Do	(-)	106	919, 923, 924, 927, 929, 996, <u>1054</u> , 5010, 5720, 5740, 5770, 7079, 7087, 7093, 7120, 7239, <u>7613</u> , <u>7740</u> , <u>9358</u> , 9668, <u>9726</u> , 9761, <u>9793</u>
Dp	(-)	118	997
	(-)	(-)	937
Dq	(3)	217	1026
D	(-)	(-)	411, 1024
E		102	843, <u>848</u>
		136	<u>849</u>
		(-)	777, 842, 846, 847, 850, 971, 1035
F	(2)	(-)	841, 844, 845, 851-854, 866, 5001, 5043, 7050, 7343, 7345, 7346, 7357
Ga		219	953, 7496
Gm			840
Gv			862-864
G			820

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
K	(1)	102	829, 872, <u>873</u> , 875
	(1)	(-)	877
	(-)	(-)	778
Ld	(2)	114	785-788, 8192
L	(3)	207	869
	(-)	114?	870, 871, 5284
	(-)	(-)	868
Np	(2)	134	855-861, 1000, 5002, 5008, 5721, 5725, 5980, 5982, 7417, 7418, 7420, 7421, 7439, 7442, 7447, 8003, 8249, 8457, 8649, 9306, <u>9362</u> , 9676, 9678
Ra	(2)	127	984, 1028, 7498, 7732, 9682, <u>9708</u>
Se		127	879-883, 890-893, 965, 1007, <u>1048</u> , 5729, 7449, 7920, <u>9307</u>
Sg		(-)	884-889
Sk		206	789
So		(-)	894, 1053
Uf	(2)	122	836, 837, <u>838</u> , 839, 990, <u>1023</u> , <u>5973</u> , <u>7486</u> , <u>7487</u>
	(3)	123	<u>835</u> , 970, 981, 983, 987, 991, 1011, 1022, 1031, <u>1038</u>
U	(-)	(-)	797, 876, 1812
V	(5)	125	756, 1002-1005, 1043, 1583, 7577, <u>7670</u> , <u>7797</u> , 7964, 9006, 9318, 9320, 9355, <u>9715</u>
	(6)	101?	<u>958</u>
	(6)	203	831
	(6)	225	832
	(6)	(-)	865, 960
	Miscellaneous:		

V(5) 756 and B(3) 808 have been included in the above table and Dc 926 has been excluded for the reasons set out in PART I SECTION 6.

It is noted, in passing, that only one of these tablets contains the name of a month, i.e. Ga 953 which includes the word, *wo-de-wi-jo*. This month is also known from Fp 16 & 48 (from the Clay Chest) and also V(2) 280 (from the RCT).

15. FIND-PLACE F10-F14, F18-F19:

Magazines below North West Hall and the adjacent Long Corridor

Graham (1969) proposed that there would have been a single great hall above Magazines XI to XVI, the North West Hall. This proposal is discussed further below, however, it is convenient to group together all these magazines and the corresponding section of the Long Gallery in considering the finds of tablets in this section.

The Long Gallery was excavated progressively during the 1900 season, with the section covered by find-place F18 excavated towards the end of that season. The tablets from Magazines XI to XV were excavated from 14 to 26 March

1901. There were no tablets found in Magazine XVI and the excavation notes give no further detail of the find-places of the two tablets found in Magazine XIII (i.e. L 564 & 565). The discussion will be divided into the tablets from Magazines XI & XII (plus the adjacent stretch of Long Corridor), the area designated F19 and the tablets from Magazines XIV & XV.

Find-place F10 & F11: *Magazine XI and XII*

In his 1901 *BSA* report (p. 40), Evans wrote, «A small deposit of inscribed tablets, most of them in a somewhat fragmentary condition, was found in the Eleventh Magazine from about .80 centimetres [*sic*] to a metre from the surface of the ground near the sixth pithos from the entrance, into which some of the pieces had fallen. Near these were the charred remains of a wooden box, and in a vertical position near the south wall, a gypsum slab, perhaps belonging to a cist of the material, in which the box had been enclosed. ... From the height - about a metre - at which this deposit occurred above the floor-level and from the discovery in the adjoining Twelfth Magazine of one or two isolated tablets which from their character seem to belong to the same series, it is probable that the chest containing the tablets had originally rested on the floor above.»²¹⁹

It is evident from Mackenzie's excavation notes that the tablets from F10 tended to be concentrated at a position about 6 metres from the eastern end of the magazine [i.e. the position of 6th pithos according to Evans *BSA* report, Plate 1]. They were found near the sixth pithos, which was lying on its side, with its mouth facing east. All the pithoi in this magazine were against the north wall [DM/DB plan for 16 March 1901; *BSA* report, Plate 1; Raison 1993, Plate LXXXIII]. Evans states that some tablets were actually found inside the sixth pithos. The tablets were at a depth of about 0.8 metres from the surface, i.e. approximately 0.7 metres above floor-level. Evans notes on the container of the tablets are summarised above.

There were relatively few tablets found in Magazine XII and, as already seen, Evans identified them as being from the same series as those found in Magazine XI. In his *BSA* report he states that, «The tablets, two perfect, one in two pieces, lay about 80 centimetres west of its entrance and 1.40 to 1.70 metres below the surface of the ground.»

However, there is an apparent problem. The two whole tablets found in Magazine XII were only 0.8 metres from the entrance, whereas the ones found in Magazine XI were found ~6 metres from the entrance. Thus, it is difficult to regard them as originating from the same position on the upper floor.

The suggested solution to this problem is to suppose that the two tablets found near the entry to Magazine XII were Od(1) 562 and Od(1) 563, whereas the tablet found two days later, «complete in two fragments» was Lc(1) 561. In

²¹⁹ Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 70) expresses doubt whether the gypsum slab found with the tablets was part of a stone chest.

this way, it is suggested that the Lc(1) tablets were all found ~6 metres from the entrance to the magazines, but the Od(1) tablets were a distinct set, found ~0.8 metres from the entrance. The suggestion that Od(1) tablets were found near to the entrance is supported by the fact that Od(1) 681, 682, 687, 688, 690 were all from find-place F18 in the Long Gallery.

If it is accepted that the Lc(1)-series tablets were originally in an upper room above a position ~6 metres west of the entry to Magazine XI and the Od(1)-series tablets were originally in a position on the upper floor above the entry to Magazine XII, then this allows a very tidy representation of the archaeological findings. However, the fact that it is so tidy has direct implications for the interpretation of the tablets,

a) according to *KT5*, Lc(1) 582 was written by scribe 103 and according to the *Handlist* it was found in Magazine XV. This find-place is too separated from the bulk of the Lc(1)-set to have fallen there by chance. It follows that either *SM* 582 is not part of the Lc(1)-set or its find-place was not in Magazine XV. In view of the fact that Magazines XI and XV were being excavated at the same time, the most likely explanation is that its find-place was not correctly recorded in the *Handlist*.

b) the tablet, Od(1) 696 was recorded as being from find-place F19, «N.W. Passage» excavated in 1901. The discussion of F19 below suggests that this area was not part of the Long Gallery (which was excavated in 1900). It follows that either *SM* 696 is not from the Od(1)-set or its find-place was incorrectly recorded. In this case it is noted that *SM* 696 has a three line inscription and does not look like the other members of the Od(1) series. Further, according to *KT5*, *SM* 696 is «possibly same tablet as L 698», in which case it would be an L-series tablet, rather than Od-series tablet. Therefore, it is suggested that *SM* 696 does not belong to the Od(1)-set.

c) the tablet Od(1) 570 was recorded as being found in Magazine IX. As already noted in SECTION 12, this was the first area to be excavated in the 1901 season and, according to Evans, all the tablets for this magazine appear to have been found towards the west end of the magazine, whereas the present suggestion would place Od(1) 570 near the entrance.

d) a number of the Od(1) tablets are distinguished by carrying the word *o-pi*, i.e. Od(1) 539, 562, 570, 689, 690. The nearest group of tablets from a separate find-place bearing this word are from F13/F14. There are a number of tablets from F9, F10 and F18 which were written by scribe 103 and carry the word *o-pi* but are currently categorised as Xe (i.e. *SM* 524, 537, 691, 692). It is suggested that these tablets were probably originally part of the same set as the Od(1) tablets and consideration should be given to re-classifying them (see Killen 1968).

e) if it is accepted that Xe 691, 692 were originally part of the Od(1)-set, then all the tablets from F18 written by scribe 103 were from the Od(1)-set, except for M 683. This tablet includes two words which appear on other tablets in the Od-series (i.e. *o-nu-ke* on Od(1) 682; *ti-mu-nu-we* on Od(1) 539). On this basis, it is suggested that M 683 was originally stored with the tablets from the Od(1)-set. See also Killen 1988, p. 177.²²⁰

²²⁰ José L. Melena suggests that the word *ti-mi-nu-we* on 683 was most probably preceded by *o-pi* and that the tablet should be re-classified as Od(1) 683 (priv. comm.).

The discussion in SECTION 12 allocated the Ga(1) and Gg(2) tablets from F18 written by scribe 135 to the area around the entrances to Magazine IX and X. The above discussion has allocated the tablets written by scribe 103 from F18 to the Long Gallery in front of Magazines XI and XII. The tablets from F18 that have not been accounted for are Dq(4) 686 (scribe 106?), B(3) 808 (scribe 106) and X 993. It is not possible to place X 993. However, it is possible to suggest that B(3) 808 was probably found in the North Entrance Passage as it had the same firing as the other B(3) tablets that were found there. Its find-place would have become confused during the clear-up of the tablets at the end of the 1900 season. In the case of Dq(4) 686, the case is less straightforward because the other Dq(4)-series tablet also has an uncertain find-place (see the discussion in Firth 1998, SECTION 9.1.2). Furthermore, their firing is not characteristic of tablets from the NEP.

The tablets from Magazine XI, XII (including those that spilled into the Long Gallery and the single tablet from Magazine X) are listed in TABLE II.11a.

TABLE II.11a: *Tablets from Magazines XI and XII*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Lc	(1)	103	525-536, 540, 541, 543, 546-553, 555, 557, 558, 560, 561, 582, 1580, 5053, 5746, 7285, 7289, 7318, 7321, 7376, 7392, 7549, 7901, 8572
M	(1)	103	559
	(-)	103	683
Od	(1)	103	539, 562, 563, 681, 682, 687-690, 5511, 5966, 7309, 7310, 7324, 8563
Miscellaneous:			Xe 524, 537, 544, 691, 692

Find-place F19: *NW Passage*

In 1900, the Long Gallery was excavated along almost its full length from the region in front of Magazine I to beyond the entry to Magazine XVII (although only Magazines I to VIII had been excavated at that stage). However, the tablets from find-place F19, which were found in 1901, have conventionally been attributed to the «N. W. Passage (Long Corridor flanking Magazine XIII)» (Olivier 1967, p. 23; Firth 1998). Thus, there is a problem. In the *Handlist*, the catch-heading is actually given as «N.W. Passage» for SM 595, 693-698. SM 698 was drawn on the same page as SM 697 but has «Magazine XIII» written alongside.

SM 693, 695, 696 and 698 were all written by scribe 103 and SM 595 was by scribe 116?, therefore, they probably all originated from the upper room above the Magazines XI to XVI, with most of the other tablets written by these two scribes.

The probable explanation comes from noting that Magazines XIV, XV and XVI are not simple open magazines in the same manner as the other magazines. They are each closed at their east end and would have been entered via Magazine

XVII. In Mackenzie's plan for 15 March 1901, he labels the open area at the west end of Magazines XIV, XV and XVI (but east of the Great West Wall) as 'Passage Way'. This label was repeated (but with a query) in the area of Magazine XVI, west of the entry into Magazine XV. Since we strongly suspect that *SM* 693, 695, 696, 698 and 595 originate from the floor above these Magazines, the most likely explanation is that they were found in this open area at the west end these magazines. *SM* 694 was grouped along with these tablets and should be taken to have the same find-place. Mackenzie notes that the tablets were found in this area on 15 March, i.e. the day when the plan was drawn.

Since X 697 had Magazine XIII written alongside, it should be allocated to that magazine. The excavation of Magazine XIII was not begun until the 21 March and one might guess that X 697 was a find from near the surface of Magazine XIII, uncovered during the excavation of the NW region.

The tablets from F19 are relatively distant from the large deposit of tablets found towards the middle of Magazines XIV and XV (see below). Therefore, it seems likely that they are not part of the same files. However, they are clearly closely linked because they include tablets written by scribes 103 and 116?. There are two tablets which have been identified as being part of recognised sets. The Od(1)-set has been discussed above and is predominantly located ~6metres west of the entrance to Magazine XI and XII. It is suggested that *SM* 595 does not belong to that set because it is not sufficiently similar to the other tablets in the set and it was found over 10 metres distant from the other tablets in the set. In the case of Ld(1), the set was found within a few metres from the NW passage and so it is just possible that *SM* 595 is part of the main Ld(1)-set. However, it is noted that *KT5* classifies the tablet as Ld(1) 595 (scribe 116?), i.e. the classification itself is subject to doubt. The general conclusion for the F19 tablets is that they appear to be isolated inscriptions rather than part of the main archive from F14.

The tablets from find-place F19 are summarised in TABLE II.11b

TABLE II.11b: *Tablets from find-place F19*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
L		103	693, 695, 698
Miscellaneous:			Od 696 (scribe 103), <u>Ld(1)</u> 595 (scribe 116?) Ap 694 X 697 (Mag. XIII)

Find-place F13, F14: *Magazines XIV and XV*

The contents of the excavation notes for Magazines XIV and XV were summarised by Evans in a series of statements included within his 1901 *BSA* report (pp. 41-43),

Magazine XIV: «Some fragmentary tablets found here were merely stray pieces from an important deposit found in Magazine No. 15.»

Magazine XV: «The fifteenth Magazine was also noteworthy for a very important deposit of inscribed clay tablets of the linear class. These were found from about .50 centimetres [sic] beneath the surface a little to the left of the entrance. Parts of many were wanting owing to the mass of the deposit lying too near the surface earth, but it nevertheless contained some of the longest inscriptions yet discovered. Among these is one of fourteen lines in which the woman-sign is constantly repeated [i.e. Ap 639] ... It is possible that this deposit had been originally placed in a room of the upper storey and had fallen through into the Magazine.»

Given the evidence of tablets being found at positions above the floor-level, it is surprising to note that, in the *BSA* report, Evans was only suggesting that it was ‘possible’ that the Magazine XV tablets had fallen from an upper floor. However, in *SM* I (p. 40), he quotes Magazine XV as being an important example of tablets being stored on an upper floor. «They [the tablets] often, for example the considerable hoard contained in Magazines XIV and XV, were found at different levels above the floor and on two sides of a dividing wall, showing that they must have fallen through from the chamber above, on the giving way of the upper pavement.»

The tablets from F13 were reported as being found «1.20 down & about the middle of the gallery», i.e. say, 7-10 metres from the east wall of the magazine. This gives us sufficient information to start to locate the sets represented by the F13 tablets, i.e. Am(1), As(1), L(1) & Vc(2). The majority of tablets from the Am(1), As(1) and L(1) sets were found in F14.

The excavation notes contain some details about the find-place of tablets from Magazine XV. They were found at a position 7-11 metres from the east wall of the gallery.²²¹ The tablets were found close to the surface down to a depth of 0.5 metres, i.e. well above floor-level, which was at a depth of ~1.5 metres. This is consistent with the location of the tablets in Magazine XIV and fully supports Evans’ view that the tablets from Magazine XIV were stray pieces from the main archive found in Magazine XV.

The tablets from this archive are listed in TABLE II.11c.

TABLE II.11c: *Tablets from Magazines XIV and XV*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Ak	(1)	103	610-612, 614, 619-620, 624, 626, 630, 634, 638, 643, 5009, 5553, <u>5604</u> , 5611, 5648, 5655, 5741, 5884, 5893, <u>5907</u> , <u>5918</u> , <u>5926</u> , 5940, 5948, 8218, <u>8334</u> , <u>8338</u> , 8341, 8444, <u>8795</u>
	(-)	(-)	640
Am	(1)	103	568, 597, 600-601, <u>2009</u> , 5882
Ap		103	618, 628-629, 637, 639, 5748, 5864, 5868, 5876

²²¹ This estimate is based on Mackenzie’s plans for 16 and 20 March 1901 but note that the plans are not to scale.

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
As	(1)	103	566, 602-605, 607-609, 645, 8161, <u>5542</u> , <u>5549</u> , <u>5557</u> , <u>5605</u> , <u>5609</u> , <u>5719</u> , <u>5880</u> , <u>5888</u> , <u>5908</u> , <u>5932</u> , <u>5941</u> , <u>5944</u> , <u>5956</u> , <u>5981</u> , <u>6038</u> , <u>8342</u>
Ai	(-)	(-)	632
E	(2)	103	668-670
Lc	(-)	103	646
Ld	(1)	116	<u>571-577</u> , <u>579</u> , <u>583-585</u> , <u>587</u> , <u>591</u> , <u>598</u> , <u>599</u> , <u>649</u> , <u>656</u> , <u>5601</u> , <u>5607</u> , <u>5615</u> , <u>5845</u> , <u>5894</u> , <u>5916</u> , <u>5955</u> , <u>8245</u>
Le		103	641, 642, 654, <u>5629</u> , <u>5646</u> , <u>5903</u> , <u>5930</u> , <u>6014</u>
Ln		103	1568
L	(1)	103	567, 594, 648, 8159, <u>5927</u> , <u>5949</u>
	(2)	103	593, 647, <u>5108</u> , <u>5909-5910</u> , <u>5924</u> , <u>5961</u> , <u>5998</u>
	(-)	103	651, 8160, 8163
	(-)	(-)	588
	(7)	211	471, 474, <u>592</u>
Od		115	666
		(-)	667
Vc	(2)	115	569, <u>5510</u> , <u>5523</u> , <u>7517-7518</u> , <u>7520</u> , <u>7533</u> , <u>7537</u>
V	(3)	115	655
	(4)	103	652-653, <u>5536</u> , <u>5872</u> , <u>5913</u> , <u>5946</u>
Miscellaneous:			Ap 8154, Ws 8152 (scribe 103)
		103?	Xe <u>664</u> , <u>657</u>
			X 660, 8164, 8167

It is worth drawing attention to the sealings G15 (i.e. Ws 8152) and G16, which were made by the same seal and both found in Magazine XV. Ws 8152 was written by scribe 103, therefore, it would reasonably follow that these sealings bear the impression of the seal of scribe 103. The impression is of two lions attacking a bull.²²²

Summary and Brief discussion of the upper room

There appear to have been two substantial archives in the area above Magazines XI to XVI. The first was at a position ~6 metres west of the entrance to Magazine XI. The second was 7-11 metres west of the east wall of Magazine XV. In addition, there were some tablets found scattered around the north west corner of the area, though there is no clear indication that these tablets fell from an upper room. It is noteworthy that it is possible to provide such a concise summary for what initially appeared to be scattered deposits of inscriptions.

Graham (1969) and Evans (*PofM*, Plan C) both speculate on the layout of room above these magazines and both agree that there would have been a dividing wall above the south wall of Magazine XI to separate this area off from the Central Hall to the south. Thus, we could speculate that the archive that was found above Magazine XI was stored on shelves against this dividing wall.

²²² Younger, p. 114, catalogues the impression as animal pose type 51A, R, 2 lions en face versus bull.

The picture for the remainder of the upper area is less clear. Evans subdivides the area, with a 'Sanctuary Hall' above Magazines X to XIII, a passage above Magazine XIV and ascending stairs above Magazines XV and XVI to a room above the 'Sanctuary Hall'. If this were correct then the tablets that were found in F14 would have been stored under the stairs above Magazine XV. However, from the type of discussion given in SECTION 1.2, it is judged to be unlikely that there was a second floor above the 'Sanctuary Hall'. Furthermore, Graham (1969) argues persuasively that the architectural remains favour the suggestion that there was a single large square hall.

Graham does not consider the find-places of the tablets, however, given the presence of the archive from above Magazine XV, it would follow from his proposal that the F14 archive would have been at a position in the open hall, about a metre from the nearest wall.

Magazine XVIII

Finally, for completeness, it is noted that an isolated 'sealing' was found on 16 March 1901 in Magazine XVIII. This was Wm 8499, it had no seal impression but was written by scribe 103.²²³

16. FIND-PLACE G1 AND G2: *Gallery of Jewel Fresco*

The ground above the Gallery of Jewel Fresco had been used as an unexcavated walk-way during the first season. Therefore, the Gallery of Jewel Fresco was not excavated until 2 April 1901. Fragments of tablets were found on the first day towards the west end of the gallery. On 4 April, a deposit of tablets was found 7.70 metres east of the west wall of the gallery, at a depth of one metre. They were spread over an area of length 1.30 metres along the south wall of the gallery. Mackenzie suggested that the tablets might have been kept in an unplastered 'recess' in the wall. Sealings were found just beyond this 'recess' but at a similar position to the tablets. Occasional fragments of tablets were also found above floor level, which was 2 metres below the surface. On the following day, west of this 'recess', at 2 metres depth (i.e. on or near floor level), were found fragments of vase tablets. The tablets recorded in the *Handlist* for the room east of Gallery of Jewel Fresco are not mentioned in the excavation notebooks.

According to the Fyfe's 1901 plan (given as Plate 1 of Evans *BSA* report), the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and the room immediately to the east appear as sealed units, with no external doorways. This remains the case in Fyfe's 1903 plan (published by Mosso, see Palmer 1980). The most probable explanation is that these rooms were sealed when the stairway was built from the central courtyard to the first floor. The way from the top of those stairs to the rooms above the

²²³ In fact, it is strictly not a sealing because it was not attached to a string. It might be more accurate to regard it as a mini-tablet which possibly served as an *aide-mémoire* (José L. Melena, priv. comm.).

Western Magazines would have passed over the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and the similar, adjacent corridor immediately to the north.

It is clear that if the tablets had been stored in a recess in a sealed basement room, they would not have been well-fired during the destruction. The contents of the tablets themselves are also not consistent with an archive which had been entombed during earlier building works. They include tablets written by scribes 103 and 140 who were active scribes in the rooms above the Western Magazines. Thus, the initial theory that the tablets were stored in a recess in the wall of a basement room is not consistent with the evidence from the tablets themselves.

Many of the tablets found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco were found well above the basement floor level. Mackenzie notes a stratum of deposit with much burnt wood, 1.90 metres down in the Gallery itself (DM/DB, 5 April 1901). In the room to the east Mackenzie notes that the clay sealings were found «at 0.60 metres down. The deposit for about 1.50 from this floor contained large quantities of charred wood just like H4» [i.e. Gallery of Jewel Fresco] (DM/DB, 9 April 1901). It is also noted that the tablets found in the neighbouring «Space of Bath Corridor» (find-place H4) were found at a depth of 0.60 metres. Further, the adjacent Room of Temple Repositories (find-place E3) had a «deposit much impregnated with burnt wood» 1.30 metres down, along with a few fragments of inscription (although the only fragment recorded in the *Handlist* was a vase tablet, Gg 711). It is suggested that the large quantities of burnt wood noted above the lower floor level were the remains of the upper floor which had fallen when the palace was destroyed and that the tablets found in this area had fallen from this upper floor.²²⁴ In particular, it is suggested that the tablets from find-places G1, G2, E3 and H4 should be listed together rather than separated into four different find areas.

In his 1901 BSA report (p. 50), Evans named this find-place «Magazine of the Vase Tablets» after the numerous Gg-series inscriptions that were found. His discussion is somewhat contradictory because he is both asserting that the tablets had originated in a *loculus* in the wall of the basement room and that they had fallen over the wall into the Long Gallery and into the mouth of Magazine VIII. However, this contradiction is removed if we accept that the tablets had fallen from the upper floor. «From its comparatively high position the contents of this deposit had shown a tendency to drift, and one or two pieces of tablets unquestionably belonging to the same hoard had made their way over the wall or through the entrance into the Long Gallery and even to the mouth of the Eighth Magazine opposite». It is very doubtful whether all the Gg-series tablets found around this general area originated from literally the same spot because the tablets were found together in batches written by the same scribe. However, these different batches of Gg tablets could have been stored within the same locality. The tablets under discussion are Gg 521, 701, 706-708, 710, 712-713, 995 and

²²⁴ It seems possible that the 'recess in the plaster' was caused by the floor beams scraping off the plaster as they collapsed.

7371, from west of the Long Gallery wall, Gg 702-705, 709, 717 from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and Gg 711 from the Temple Repositories.

The sealings found in this area are of particular importance because they establish links between different areas of the palace. Impressions of two seals (sealings K2 & K11 and sealings K4, K7 and K12) were found in both the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and the room to the east of that Gallery, showing a strong link between these adjacent deposits. The sealings of a 'collared bitch' (K4, K7 and K12) have already been mentioned above in connection with the SW Pillar Room (see SECTION 8). Impressions from the same seal were also found in the Room of Egyptian Beans (sealings Q21), beyond the doorway south of Hall of Colonnades (sealing R53) as well as the SW Pillar Room (sealing F2). An impression of 'cow couchant'²²⁵ (sealing, K6) was also found in the lower E-W corridor (sealing, R46). Thus, there is a clear link via these sealings between the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and the SW Pillar Room, Hall of Colonnades & East-West Corridor and the Room of Egyptian Bean area (which will itself be shown to be strongly linked to the E-W Corridor area).

This is further supported by tablet, Ga(2) 1335 (scribe 136), which was found in the East-West Corridor, and Ga(2) 422 (scribe 136) found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco. We should consider the possibility of an error in the recording of these tablets in the *Handlist*. However, the Gallery of Jewel Fresco was excavated about a month before tablets started to be removed from the East-West Corridor. Therefore, there is unlikely to have been confusion and they are probably accurate records. Similarly, Dk 727 (scribe 117?), which was found in the room east of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco appears to show a link between this area and the main sheep archive found in the East-West Corridor.

In addition, the scribal activity in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco is very strongly linked to that in the Western magazines via scribes 103 and 140 and also, by Ga(2) 422 written by scribe 136, to the 'Corridor of the House tablets'.

Thus, it would appear that the area above the Gallery of Jewel Fresco played a pivotal role in the scribal activity of the palace, linking the activities in a number of different areas. In particular, it links the sheep archive tablets (in the E-W Corridor and area around the Room of Egyptian Beans) and the textile tablets (in the Western Magazines). It is easy to explain the reason for this pivotal role because of its central location at the top of the staircase which led from the scribal activity in the rooms above the Western Magazines to the Central Court and, from there, to the other parts of the palace.

The tablets from the area of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco are listed in TABLE II.12.

²²⁵ Younger, p.70, animal pose type 17B, L.

TABLE II.12: *Tablets from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco area*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Gg	(1)	103	702, 704, 5552, 7369, 8053
	(3)	140	705, 717, 5185
	(-)	(-)	703, 709, 711
L	(10)	214	735, 7409
	(-)	103	590
	(-)	(-)	470
M	(1)	103	720, 1645
	(-)	140	719
	(-)	(-)	724, 729
Oa			730-732, 734, 745, 878, 1808
Od	(2)	103	714-716, 718
Miscellaneous:			Dk 727 (scribe 117?), Ga(2) 422 (scribe 136), Ga 738, F 726, U 736 X 721-723, 728, 737, 743, 744

It is evident that scribes 103 and 140 were collaborating on the archives in the area of the Jewel Fresco. The tributes to *e-re-u-ti-ja* and *pa-si-te-o-i* are each written by both 103 and 140. Similarly, if we assume that M 719, Gg 717, Gg 704, Gg 705 and Gg 5185 were all tributes to *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*, then again, these tablets were written by both scribes.²²⁶ It is worth noting that the divinities *e-re-u-ti-ja* and *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* do not appear anywhere else in the Knossos archives.

Three of these tablets contain the name of the month, *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* (i.e. M 1645, Gg 7369 and Oa 745; for the latter, this reading is based on the drawing in *CoMIK I*²²⁷). It has already been noted that this particular month also figured most prominently in the tablets from the Clay Chest (see SECTION 6). It would seem to follow that this was the month in which this part of the palace was destroyed.²²⁸

It is noted that X 728 contains the signs, *a-ro*₂[on the upper line and *me*[on the lower line. This is reminiscent of L(10) 735, which has the words *a-ro*₂-*e* and *me-sa-ta* on the upper and lower lines (cf. also L(10) 7409). It is suggested that X 728 should be re-classified as L(10) 728, although it was not written by scribe 214.²²⁹

²²⁶ Strictly, Gg 704, 705 & 5185 each have the signs]*o-ne*, which could be either *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* or *po-se-da-o-ne*. However, in view of M 719 and Gg 717 both favouring *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*, this seems the most likely reading for Gg 704, 705 & 5185 also.

²²⁷ José L. Melena (priv. comm.) has suggested that, in view of the likely reading of *ka-ra-e-ri-jo-jo* on Oa 745, the use of this formula (rather than *ka-ra-e-ri-jo*) points to it having been written by scribe 103. If this is accepted, then both tablets that refer to *da-pu*₂-*ri-to po-ti-ni-ja* (Gg 702 and Oa 745) were not only found together in the area of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco but were also written by scribe 103.

²²⁸ Melena (1974a) suggested that *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* was shearing time (i.e. May or possibly April) because Gg 7369 contains an offering of wool to a divinity. Olivier (1967, Chapter II, p. 84) notes that Hand 139, from the Clay Chest, strongly resembles Hand 140, from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco.

²²⁹ It is suggested that 728 is a totalling tablet (*to-]sa*) of the contributions (*a-pu-do-si*) of 'better' and 'medium' garments, *TELA + PU* (José L. Melena, priv. comm.).

In SECTION 10, it was suggested that the Oa-series tablets were initially stored in this area and that they might have become scattered during an early 'excavation' amongst the ruins of the palace, probably for the metal ingots denoted in this series.²³⁰ On this basis, the Oa-series of tablets have been included in TABLE II.12.

Concluding Remarks

It is clear that there are deposits of tablets throughout the palace. However, if we were to guess where the focal point was that information was received into the palace then we might suggest that it was near one of the entrances. The entrances linked with the Gallery of Jewel Fresco deposits appear to be in the southern part of the palace (i.e. the SW Pillar Room and the area around the Room of Egyptian Beans). If we went further and guessed where new archives were created, then the position at the top of the stairs leading up from the Central Court would be a good position because it would be the natural point of access to the archives in the rooms above the Western Magazines and it would have easy access, via the courtyard to the other parts of the palace.

The argument against this suggestion is that this position at the top of the stairway from the Central Court is too prominent to be used merely for scribal activities. However, we can see, from the spread of the deposits of tablets throughout the building, that scribal activities were very important in the work of the palace at the time of its destruction.

17. FIND-PLACE K: *South-East Front (Area of Clay Signet Room)*

This area was excavated intermittently from 8 March 1901. The floor levels were about 3.50 metres below the main floor-level of the palace, therefore, these were taken to be basement rooms. However, the finds appear largely to have been well above the basement floor-level, indicating that the tablets and seals had fallen from a room above basement level during the destruction of the palace (i.e. from a room on a similar level to the South Propylaeum). This would also help to explain the amount of scattering of tablets which is apparent in this area.

The level of detail for these finds is not sufficient to give a clearer picture of the finds. Evans notes that a bronze hinge, similar to the ones found in the Room of Chariot Tablets was found here. There is also some indication that the number of tablets was originally much greater than is apparent from the *Handlist*. Mackenzie notes, «a good many fragments of inscription all in extremely powdery condition on account of the nearness of the deposit to the surface». The tablets recorded for this find-place are listed in TABLE II.13

²³⁰ It is perhaps worth noting that there were two pieces of bronze found in this area; part of a bronze knife and a «curious implement the outline of which forms a *vesica piscis*» (Evans 1901, p. 50).

TABLE II.13: *Tablets from the Area of the Clay Signet Room*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
DI		215	1060, 2021, 8216, <u>8229</u>
Dp		215?	2004
		117?	1061, 5508
Fh			1056-1057, 1059
Od	(3)		1062-1063
Misc.		B 1055 (scribe 102?), Ga 1058 (scribe 135?)	

Gill notes that two different impressions found in this area were also associated with finds at other locations in the palace. As already noted, there were «3 1/2 examples» of impressions of the 'collared bitch' found in this area in the Room of Egyptian Beans (i.e. sealings Q21). There were also examples of this impression found in the SW Pillar Room, the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (and the room to the east of that gallery) and near the south doorway of the Hall of Colonnades (see SECTION 8).

The second impression to be discussed here is the matrix, Q22 (Her.s. 283). Evans suggests that this might have been a clay forgery of an original gold signet. Evans describes the matrix variously as 'signet with cup & orb', 'royal signet with goddess & cup', 'seated Goddess offered a cup by her attendant', Gill (1965) describes it as 'seated goddess and two attendants', whereas Weingarten (1994) describes it as 'goddess with rhyton'.²³¹ An impression from this seal was also found in the upper E-W Corridor (sealing R1). Two impressions were found in the lower E-W Corridor (sealings R51) according to Gill (1965) based on Evans' notes; however, in his *BSA* report, Evans himself states that there were «several impressions». In addition, there were several impressions found beyond the doorway S. of Hall of Colonnades (sealings R54). Weingarten (1994) notes the prevalence of impressions from this sealing within the palace, implying that it must have been used by a particularly active resident official.

Popham has noted a substantial number of LMIIIB vases from this area (the Plates referred to in the following list are those in Popham 1964):

- spouted tankard from the 'Area of Clay Signet' (Plate 7e).
- tankard with slightly convex sides from 'Area N. of Room of Clay Signet' (Plate 7c).

²³¹ The matrix is more formally described by Younger (1988, p.146) as «people at a shrine (woman sits on shrine); 2 women face seated woman; L-R: woman L offers goblet to woman seated L on a 2-tiered shrine, feet on a footstool, ground line below». The LMIB date given to this sealing by Younger would appear to be questionable. Since it was found at several points in the palace, then this sealing would most probably date from a destruction of LMIIIA2 or LMIIIB (according to the usual Knossos debate about the dating of the tablets). See also the discussion by Weingarten (1994), showing that a very similar but different seal was in use at Kato Zakro «three generations earlier» than at Knossos (see especially Plate 24b).

- small stirrup jar (Plates 6e, f); slightly depressed globular stirrup jar (Plates 5c, d); globular stirrup jar with low ring base (Plate 5a, b) from 'Area of Wheat'.
- crater with two horizontal handles (Plate 8a) from 'Space N. of Area of Beans'.
- tall Bügelkanne (Plate 3h, i); squat stirrup jar (Plate 6a, b); squat stirrup jar with ring base (Plate 6c, d); slightly depressed globular stirrup jar (Plate 5e, f) from 'Area of Chessmen'.

Thus, it is very clear that this part of the palace was certainly in use during the LMIIIB period. In order to separate the vases from the tablets and give the latter a LMIIIA2 date, one would have to claim that the tablets were preserved on an upper floor for many tens of years before they fell into the basement rooms containing the vases during the final destruction of the palace.

18. FIND-PLACE J1: *East-West Corridor*

The excavation of tablets from the East-West Corridor began on 4 May 1901 and was finally completed on 25 March 1902. The first tablets were excavated from the central region of this long corridor (at a position 2.5 metres west of the NW doorway of the Hall of Double Axes, though at a higher level than that doorway, see FIG. 6 on next page).²³² These tablets were found at a depth of 0.8 metres. They would probably have been the Dk-series of tablets which were found in good condition and were listed first in the *Original Handlist*. The 1901 excavation also included the area of the Hall of Colonnades and many sheep tablets were found in that area, which is an extension of the East-West Corridor. These included the heavily burnt pumice-like tablets (see PART I SECTION 7, footnote for 23 May 1901). In 1901, the excavation of the East-West Corridor extended eastwards, uncovering the stairs leading downwards from the east end of the Upper East-West Corridor. However, much of the lower corridor was not uncovered until the 1902 season.

The notes of the initial finding, on 4 May 1901, records that the tablets «came out in a stratum of dark earth impregnated with charred wood». The fact that the tablets were found in the stratum (rather than above it) probably suggests that the charred wood is directly associated with the tablets, representing the remains of boxes or shelves.

It is particularly useful for this find-place, which was excavated over an unusually long period, to consider the summaries given in Evans' published reports. In the *BSA* report for 1901 (pp. 100-101), Evans states that, «The whole upper course of the East-West Corridor, from the top of the steps onwards, was

²³² This position is specified clearly in the DM/DB plan for 6 May 1901 (marked as point 5), «Inscription fragments continue to turn up at 5 but not so many as Saturday» (i.e. 4 May). The position of this first find is incorrectly indicated as being at the east end of East West Corridor by both Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 137 and Plan III) and Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 53).

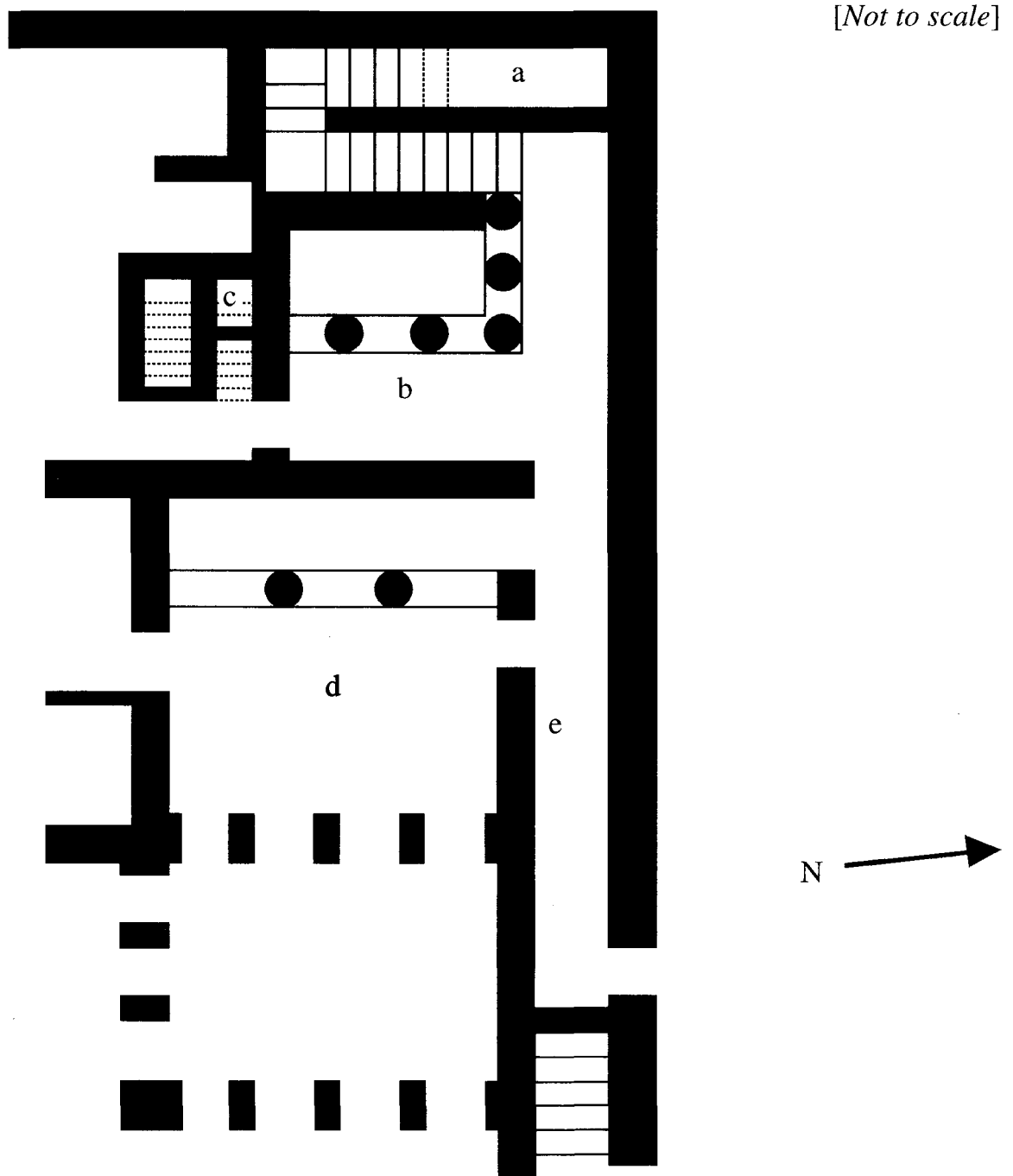


Figure 6: *East-West Corridor and Hall of Colonnades*

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| a Grand Staircase | d Hall of Double Axes |
| b Hall of Colonnades | e East-West Corridor |
| c Wooden Staircase (Area of Daemon Seals) | |

the scene of repeated finds of inscribed clay tablets and seal impressions. Others, again, were found within the doorway of the area of the High Reliefs and the Spiral Fresco, and others, again, had found their way over the edge of the neighbouring Hall of the Colonnades, into the corridor below, and even to the lower recesses of the adjoining staircase. It was obvious, however, from the character of the inscriptions and recurring formulae, as well as from the continuous though extended area of their diffusion, that they belonged to the

same deposit, or, more probably, series of deposits. The scattering that had occurred seemed in this, as in some other cases, to be due to their having reached the position in which they were found from an upper floor. The tablets had suffered in an exceptional degree from the effects of fire, and in some cases had been reduced to a condition resembling blackened pumice stone. The meaning of this became clear when it was found that they originally lay in what seems to have been a third storey, contiguous to the great Palace Halls, where the final conflagration has left other signs of having been more violent than elsewhere.»

In the 1902 *BSA* report, it is stated that, «Extensive remains of deposits of inscribed tablets and seal impressions were found, partly above the pavement level, along the line of this Upper Corridor from the head of its Eastern Staircase to the point where it enters the Gallery of the Hall of Colonnades. It seems probable that there had originally existed above it some kind of elongated chamber, flanking, and on the same level with, the Great Megaron above the Olive Press area, and that this had been used for the storage of these clay archives. With the falling in of the floor of the upper East-West Corridor large masses of tablets and seals belonging to the same series as those found in 1901, above its floor level, had been precipitated into the Corridor below. During the clearing out of the Lower Corridor, great numbers of inscriptions were found, raising the total number from this deposit to over 450, more than a hundred of which are practically perfect. ... From the fact that the bulk of the deposit extended along a line of about ten metres, it is probable that the tablets were contained in a series of chests. Among the seals found with them were several examples of what we are led to regard as having been a royal signet, exhibiting a seated Goddess offered a cup by her attendant, of which a counterfeit matrix in clay was found in 1901 in a room above the South Terrace.»²³³

The same finds are expressed slightly differently in *SM I* (p. 41), this «most numerous of all the hoards of inscribed tablets ... were found in the Domestic Quarter of the Palace, partly strewn along a stratum overlying the pavement of the Upper East-West Corridor, partly brought down with it into the Lower Corridor, and lying in positions which showed that they had fallen from a higher level. The gallery in which these tablets, or rather the series of coffers that contained them, were originally deposited had had here been on the third storey, apparently immediately under the roof. One result of this lofty position was that they had been more affected by the conflagration of the building than those belonging to other hoards, some specimens indeed having been charred to such an extent as to obliterate the inscriptions.» A photograph of four of these tablets that was published in *SM I* (Fig. 18, p. 41) as, «Clay tablets from East-West corridor showing effects of fire». The four tablets shown in this photograph are Da 1194, Dk 8353, Mc 5187 (upside down) and Dk 5597 (now joined with 1613).

²³³ This seal was described more fully in the previous SECTION.

However, in *PofM* iv (p. 669), Evans suggests that some of the tablets found in the East-West Corridor may have been «derived from a roof terrace where they had been placed for sun-baking». There is no explanation given as to why Evans is making this suggestion or why he felt that he could distinguish between tablets fallen from a third story and those fallen from a terrace having been placed there to dry. The evidence of the wood ash stratum in which the tablets were found suggests that they were in boxes or on shelves. The fact that they were found relatively concentrated also suggests that they were not spread out to dry. In practice, we should probably regard Evans' later conjecture as unhelpful.

It is clear that the tablets originated from a position higher than the Lower East-West Corridor. The first tablets that were excavated were found at a depth of only 0.8 metres. The excavation notes describe them in relation to the north wall of the corridor (as at that stage the depth of the excavation had not revealed a south wall). In practice, the first find-place almost coincides with Section 10 on Hood and Taylor's plans. It is clear that there is only a limited amount of the north wall of the upper floor remaining. It follows that the tablets found near this wall originated from the same storey as the Upper East-West Corridor.

The suggested plan for this upper floor is given by Evans in his 1902 *BSA* report as Fig. 30. It is evident that, although there are only limited remains of the upper floor, in practice, there is little scope for varying the floor plan proposed by Evans, given the constraints of the locations of the various light wells and of supporting walls. Therefore, it follows that the bulk of the tablets were being stored in the Upper East West Corridor near to the light well that extends down into the west end of the Hall of Double Axes.

At first sight, this would appear to be doubly odd place to keep clay tablets. Firstly, it is usually inconvenient to store things in a corridor. Secondly, the clay tablets would turn to a pulpy mass if they were exposed to rain entering through the light well. Therefore, one is led to assume either that the tablets were present in the Upper East-West Corridor as a temporary arrangement, or that they were in rain-proof containers, or that they were on high shelves, tucked well under the roofing of the corridor, where they could not be wetted by driving rain.

Evans supposed that there was a Room of Archives on this floor, to the south of the Upper Hall of Colonnades, because of the large number of sealings that had fallen from that area. We might suppose that the Upper Hall of Colonnades would have been a good area for scribal activity because of the light from one, and possibly two, light wells. If this area was given over to scribal activities, then the north wall of the Upper East-West Corridor might have been temporarily used to line up the boxes of tablets containing the sheep flock records for each of the different locations. In practice, the preparation of the archive of flocks, including the gathering in of the data and the totalling according to location and so on, would have been a lengthy process and one can imagine it would have been helpful to set out the files of tablets in a manner which would facilitate that process. If this were the case, it could imply that some of the files

were being created at the time of the destruction of that part of the palace. However, this should be regarded as very speculative.

In the quotations given above, Evans states that the bulk of the tablets were found in a deposit along a 10 metre stretch of the East-West Corridor. However, it is also stated that tablets were found, «within the doorway of the area of the High Reliefs and the Spiral Fresco, and others, again, had found their way over the edge of the neighbouring Hall of the Colonnades, into the corridor below, and even to the lower recesses of the adjoining staircase». It is not surprising that some of the tablets were found in the doorways leading north from the East-West Corridor. However, it is evident from the excavation notes for the 11 May 1901 that the staircase being referred to is the Grand Staircase. It is difficult to understand how the sheep tablets could have found their way not only over the edge of the Hall of Colonnades but also into the lower recesses of the Grand Staircase unless the containers of tablets were distributed around the upper floor prior to the destruction of the building.

This would support the suggestion in the previous paragraph that the archive was not being stored at the time of the destruction but was still the subject of scribal activity.²³⁴ Since the scribe 117 files have been shown by Olivier (1988) to be relatively complete, one might speculate that it was the Dk-series files by scribe 119 that were in process of being written. These record wool and, if this speculation is correct, it would imply that the destruction occurred during shearing season.²³⁵

The tablets were predominantly the main sheep archive written by scribe 117, with some additional tablets relating to sheep by scribes 119 and 216. They are listed in TABLE II.14.

Table II.14: *Tablets found in the East-West Corridor*²³⁶

Class	Scribe	Tablets
Da-Dh, Dm, Dn, Dv	117	659, 1078-1130, 1132-1223, 1225-1233, 1235-1250, 1253-1255, 1260-1310, 1312-1319, 1321-1325, 1327-1334, 1337-1344, 1350-1353, 1355, 1359-1374, 1376, 1378-1384, 1386, 1388-1390, 1392, 1394, 1396, 1398, 1401-1403, 1406, 1409-1412, 1415-1420, 1422-1427, 1429-1430, 1434-1436, 1438-1439, 1442, 1445, 1447, 1449-

²³⁴ It is worth noting that, if Evans was correct in *PofM* and the tablets were being baked in the sun at the time of the destruction of this part of the palace, that would also imply that there was still scribal activity at the time of that destruction.

²³⁵ It is worthwhile re-stating the above footnote: Melena (1974a) suggested that the destruction was during the month *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* that was shearing time (i.e. May or possibly April) because Gg 7369 contains an offering of wool to a divinity.

²³⁶ This table does not contain the full list of tablets written by scribe 117, although it is highly likely that all Da-Dg and Dv-series tablets, with numbers higher than those listed, were all excavated from the East-West Corridor. A full list can be obtained using the index in *CoMIK IV*.

Class	Scribe	Tablets
		1451, 1457, 1459-1462, 1464, 1466, 1468-1472, 1479, 1485, 1487, 1490, 1492-1493, 1495-1496, 1500-1507, 1509-1511, 1515, 1579, 1585, 1588-1589, 1591-1592, 1601-1602, 1607, 1618, 1621, 1646, 1648, 2005, 2010, 2016, 2019-2020, 2027, 5012, 5014, 5018, 5030, 5032, 5038, 5041, 5049, 5054, 5075, 5174, 5179, 5181-5182, 5190, 5192-5193, 5195, 5198, 5200, 5203-5205, 5209, 5211-5214, 5217-5220, 5223-5226, 5228, 5231-5232, 5234-5237, etc. etc.
Dk(2)	119	1064-1077, 1320, 1399, 1491, 1565, 1567, 1613, 5201, 5233, 5566, 7204, 8209, 8353, <u>8403</u>
Dq(2)	216	1234, 1377, 1603, <u>5595</u> , <u>7113</u> , 7177, <u>7260</u>
Mc	132?	1508, 5187
Miscellaneous		Ga 1335 (scribe 136) X 1385, 1432, 1463, 1474, 1478, 6032

Although this was a very large archive of tablets, it was sufficiently complete that it has been possible to reconstitute much of it (Olivier 1988; see also the discussion in Firth 1998).

Amongst the many sealings found in this corridor, there are a small number which are important for present purposes as showing the cross-working within the palace organisation. An impression of 'cow couchant' (sealing R46) was also found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (sealing K6). The impression of a 'cow & calf' appears both in this area (sealing R10) and in the area of the Wooden Staircase, beyond the south doorway of the Hall of Colonnades (sealings R68). The sealing R1, found in the upper E-W Corridor and at least two sealings, R51, were all made from the clay matrix ('Goddess and two Attendants') found in the Clay Signet Room. Several impressions from this matrix were also found in the area beyond the S doorway of the Hall of Colonnades (sealings R54; see also the discussion in SECTION 17 above).

19. FIND-PLACE J2, J2bis: *Area of the Hall of Colonnades*

The *Handlist* does not include the Hall of Colonnades as a find-place and As 1516 is simply labelled 'Great Inscr.' and included at the end of the tablets from the main sheep archive. Nevertheless, it is clear from Mackenzie's notes of 17 May 1901 that As 1516 was found in the light well of the Hall of Colonnades (see FIG. 6). More specifically it was found 2.5 metres below ground level at a position 1.3 metres from the south wall and west of the east wall of the light well. Fragments of the same tablet were also found on 20 May. In the following days, Mackenzie also refers to other tablets being found in this general area, although these are most probably referring to sheep tablets associated with the archive found in the adjacent E-W Corridor (see previous SECTION).

From 28 March 1902, excavation continued in the south doorway of the Hall of Colonnades and in the area beyond this doorway. Here were found many

sealings but also at least two large tablets and numerous fragments of tablets. None of these tablets were listed under this find-place in the *Handlist*. However, it is possible to identify two of these inscriptions from Evans' drawings in his *Notebook* as E 1574 and Wm 1714.

Evans also states that there were «one or two examples with similar letters and numbers» to those on Wm 1714. We can infer that these would have been Wm 1816, 1817, 5822, 5824, 5860, 8490, which each have parts of the signs, *me-sa-to* *146 30. He suggests that these «round tablets with the same numbers and inscriptions and impression of exactly similar cord seems to show that they secured the same bale or package». These seals have been discussed in a short paper by John Killen («The Wm Nodules from Knossos», [forthcoming]). In that paper, it is suggested that these had served as seals on bales each of 30 textile garments, *146, of medium quality (*me-sa-to*). José L. Melena (priv. comm.) has noted that the seals were unlikely to have been attached to bales at the time of the fire since there are not matching pieces which would allow reconstruction of a complete seal.

Evans states that one of the tablets contains a list of men. Mackenzie notes inscriptions on 28 March 1902, including one large fragment, which had some similarity to the fragments found in this find-place the previous year (i.e. As 1516). Again, on the following day, he notes the excavation of the greater part of a large inscription with «the same kind of context» as As 1516. It seems highly likely that the pieces of large tablets are included in the *Handlist*, because of their significant size. It is equally likely that they have been inadvertently included with the 'men' tablets found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets. It is suggested that As 1519 was probably found in this location (rather than the Corridor of Sword Tablets). Like As 1516, As 1519 was written by scribe 101 and contains obvious 'men' logograms, which would have been readily identifiable by both Mackenzie and Evans. In addition, As 1516 and 1519 both contain the names, *o-pi-si-jo* and *ne-o-to(-ta)*.

The fact that As 1516 was found in the light well, but not at the bottom of that light well, indicates that either it had fallen from an upper floor during the destruction of the palace or, alternatively, it was dropped there during the process of recovering valuables from the palace after its destruction. Conventionally, As 1516 has been listed separately from the main sheep archive. However, we have seen that the sheep archive was found distributed over a wide area, including the Hall of Colonnades. In practice, it would seem to be more correct to associate all the tablets and sealings from this area as being part of the same general scribal activity.

The tablets from this find-place are given in TABLE II.15

TABLE II.15: *Tablets from the Area of the Hall of Colonnades*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
As	(2)	101	1516, 1519
Wm			1714, 1816, 1817, 5822, 5824, 5860, 8490
Misc.			E 1574

There were many sealings found in the Hall of Colonnades and in the area beyond the doorway south (including the Wooden Staircase). These are itemised and discussed by Gill (1965). There are a limited number of these sealings which are of special interest to us here. Sealing R53 ('collared bitch') has already been noted above as impressions from the same seal were found in the SW Pillar Room, the Gallery of Jewel Fresco (and the room east of that gallery) and the Room of Egyptian Beans. Several impressions of the 'goddess and rhyton' (sealings R54) were excavated from this find-place. Impressions were also found in both the upper and lower E-W Corridor (sealings R1 and R51) and the matrix itself, which made the impressions, was found in the Room of the Clay Signet (see SECTION 17 above). The impression of a 'cow & calf' appears both in this area (sealings R68) and in the lower E-W Corridor (sealing R10).

In this paper, we have tended to use the description of the find-place J2bis as beyond the south doorway of the Hall of Colonnades. However, there are a number of names for that area. Evans named the area the Corridor of the Sealed Bale, which is evidently the passage leading S. from the SE corner of the Hall of Colonnades (Hood & Taylor 1981). Taken literally, this is a corridor at the head of the Service Stairs or Wooden Staircase. The northern section of these stairs is also referred to as the Area of the Daemon Seals. It seems most likely that the large collection of sealings found in this area fell down onto the staircase area during the destruction of the palace.

20. FIND-PLACE J3: *Corridor of Sword Tablets*

The inscriptions from the Corridor of Sword Tablets were excavated from 26 February to 1 March 1902, with a final tablet being found just south of this corridor on 5 March. The excavation notebooks contain relatively little information. The only possible evidence to suggest that there were containers for the tablets are that sealings that were found with them (although the presence of sealings does not automatically imply the existence of containers).²³⁷ There is no indication given in Mackenzie's notes whether these tablets were found at the floor-level of the corridor. However, it is evident from Evans' *BSA* report that the tablets were found above floor level and, therefore, he judged that they had fallen from an upper floor. This would be consistent with the fact that, although the tablets form a coherent set, they were scattered. Evans' *Notebook* also records the remains a dagger found near this corridor, although he later modified this description to fragments of a sword.

In the *BSA* report, Evans (1902, p. 94) wrote, «In the back passage to the West - also above floor level - were found a series of inscribed clay tablets, some of them well preserved, including two almost complete documents containing

²³⁷ Many years later, in *PofM* iv, p. 853, Evans notes that there were charred remains of wooden chests. Although this detail may indeed be correct, it is open to question, since it did not appear in his notes or in the reports written near the time of the excavation.

lists of men. Clay seals were also found with them, one, which had evidently secured the chest containing these personal records, countermarked with the 'Man'-sign. Altogether new was a class of tablets - two with complete and others with fragmentary inscriptions - referring to swords.»²³⁸

It seems likely that the 'two almost complete documents containing lists of men' were As 1517 and As 1519, as the other possible As-series tablets could not be described as 'almost complete'. However, Section 19 has already discussed the probable confusion of the tablets from the Hall of Colonnades and the Corridor of Sword Tablets. It was suggested there that As 1519 was probably found near to As 1516 and that Evans was misled by the ambiguities of the *Handlist* for these later tablets.

The *BSA* report went on to note, «These tablets were probably derived from deposits originally existing in rooms of the upper terrace level, South of the Central Court along the borders of which runs the passage in the upper strata of which they were found. ... The passage off which this small chamber lay was paved with limestone slabs and opened, by a doorway with two gypsum jambs, into the 'Corridor of the Sword Tablets'. In both these passages the floor had risen by 25-30 centimetres, so as partly to obscure the jambs of the doorway, and the same rise in the floor level was visible in the adjoining chamber. As pottery of good Palace Period lay on the original level, it seems probable that the higher floor level here represents that of the latest period during which this part of the Palace was occupied. This conclusion was fully borne out by the character of the ceramic types found in the adjoining room.»

Popham (1964) notes LMIIIB pottery found in the vicinity of the Corridor of Sword Tablets. In particular, there was a one-handled cup found in the corridor itself (Popham, Plate 8b); a goblet and a mug found near the Shrine of the Double Axes (Plate 9b); a kylix, a cup and a goblet found in the Room South of Shrine (Plate 9a).

In *SM I* (pp. 54-55), Evans states that the art of writing was preserved into LMIII and, in terms of inscribed tablets, gave two examples, the Corridor of Sword Tablets and the Little Palace. (This latter will be discussed below.) «In a passage near the late shrine of the Double Axes, were found the remains of a hoard of tablets presenting a rather decadent type of Class B of the linear script, here associated with representations of swords which, from their somewhat leaf-shaped forms, anticipating that of the early Iron Age [drawing of Ra(1) 1548], seem to belong to a somewhat late phase of the Minoan civilization. It is possible that some other inscriptions found on the Palace site may also be set down to this Reoccupation Period.»

Strictly speaking, if the tablets had fallen from an upper floor, then the lower floor above which they were found does not date the tablets. However, in order to

²³⁸ It is evident that Evans did not recognise the tablets from the Ra(2)-series, found in the NEP, as having sword logograms. In practice, the logograms on the Ra(1) and Ra(2)-series are quite different.

separate the tablets from the floor above which they were found, it would be necessary to hypothesise that the tablets had been stored for many decades in an upper room and then fell onto the lower floor during the destruction of the palace. In *SM I*, Evans is going further and suggesting that the shape of the swords drawn on some of the tablets is evidence of a later LMIII date.

Thus, in *SM I*, Evans is clearly suggesting that these tablets date from the 'reoccupation period', i.e. LMIIIB. However, in *PofM*, he changed this view due to similarity of the tablets and sealings from this find-place and the others. In particular (*PofM* ii, p. 331 footnote), «From the leaf-shaped form of some of the blades, I was led (*Scripta Minoa* i p. 55, Fig. 30) to make the suggestion that these tablets might have belonged to a distinctly later time than the close of the Palace Period. In view of the parallelism of the script on these and the clay sealings I do not think that this suggestion can be maintained. Again, in a footnote on *PofM* iv, p. 854, «The form of the 'man' sign on this sealing recalls that given ... above as characteristic of a special class of tablets.²³⁹ It supplied valuable evidence of contemporaneity.» Thirdly, in a further footnote on *PofM* iv, p. 857, «In *Scripta Minoa* i, p. 55, I had been inclined chiefly on the ground of the leaf-shaped form of some of the swords on these tablets, 'anticipating that of the Early Iron Age', to assign them to a 'somewhat late phase of the Minoan Civilization'. Some of the tablets found in the 'Little Palace' were inscribed in a decadent or careless style, but there seems to be no sufficient reason as suggested, loc. cit., to refer to the Re-occupation period.»

The present view would be to support the conclusion that the tablets found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets are chronologically similar to those from most of the remainder of the Knossos archive, i.e. they are not inscribed in a 'decadent style'.

Nevertheless, in *PofM* iv, Evans is retaining his view that the tablets had fallen from an upper floor room (pp. 853-854); that they were found «above the later plaster floor» (p. 853). He also notes that, «below the later plaster floor, on which these remains were found, and immediately above the original limestone paving of the Corridor, painted pottery came to light of the mature L.M.Ia class ... On the other hand, the relative date of the 'sword tablets' was still further fixed by the occurrence in the overlying stratum - separated from them by an earth deposit of 25 centimetres thick - of sherds belonging to the same mature L.M.IIIa [*sic*] class as the pottery within the neighbouring 'Shrine of the Double Axes', belonging to the period of Re-occupation» (p. 854).²⁴⁰

We now readily accept that the signs on the tablets mean that they are contemporary with the other tablets written by scribe 101. We would also be wary about using the logograms to date the tablets. However, unless we accept an LMIIIB date for the tablets, there is still the difficulty here, as for other find-places, of having to assume that the tablets were stored for many years in an

²³⁹ It is assumed that, here, Evans is referring to the logogram, VIR, of hand 104.

²⁴⁰ *OKTi* (pp. 136-137) draws attention to Evans' change of opinion.

upper room, waiting to fall onto the LMIIIB surface when the palace was finally destroyed.

Evans' notes record the finding of the remains of a dagger near the Corridor of 'Sword Tablets'. This is not referred to in the 1902 *BSA* report but is recorded in *PofM* iv, pp. 854-855: «That stores of the bronze swords themselves were preserved in the vicinity of tablets referring to them - as was the case with bronze arrows [i.e. in the Arsenal] - may be gathered from some fragmentary remains found at about the same level on the borders of the Corridor where they lay. These, indeed, seem to have belonged to special weapons of State, for they included - besides pieces gold Plate with minute nails, such as are otherwise associated with wooden handles of swords and daggers - a part of a magnificent crystal hilt-Plate (Fig. 837). Enough of this was preserved - including the double raised loop at the base of the handle and over half of the oval opening in the centre - to show that this had formed part of the attachment to a sword of the 'cruciform' type. As in the case of the faïence example from the Mycenae tomb (Fig. 836), there was a sunken circle, which had doubtless been filled by a small disk of gold Plate, imitative of a nail head.»²⁴¹

It is worth noting that Ra(1) 1540 indicates a total of at least 50 'swords' (i.e. 50-59). However, the excavation notes only record fragments of a single dagger that was found nearby. As the tablets fell from an upper floor and were relatively scattered, it is reasonable for Evans to associate the fragments of dagger with the tablets. However, on the basis of the evidence available there were not 50 weapons found with the tablets. It seems probable that these valuable items were recovered after the destruction. If this assumption is correct, it would have resulted in substantial disturbance to the remains of the destruction in this area.

The tablets from this find-place are listed in TABLE II.16.

TABLE II.16: *Tablets from the Corridor of 'Sword Tablets'*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
As	(2)	105	1518, 1520
	(2)	102?	<u>1517</u>
V	(7)	101	1523
	(7)	105	1521, 1524, 1526
Ra	(1)	126	1540-1557, 1559, 1814
Misc.			Og 1527 (scribe 221?); Uf 1522; Ws 1708; X 1525

The recording of the find-places of tablets in the *Handlist* seems to have been less rigorous towards the end of their excavation. As already noted, it is probable that some of the As-series tablets, allocated to the Corridor of Sword Tablets in the *Handlist*, may actually have been found in the area of the Hall of Colonnades near As 1516. However, it is also clear from Evans' notes that some of the tablets

²⁴¹ It has been suggested that these swords were luxury items for export (Ruipérez & Melena 1990, p. 207).

found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets contained the ‘man’ logogram. It is evident from Mackenzie’s notes that pieces of at least three large tablets were excavated here. In the previous section it was suggested that As 1519 was probably found in the Hall of Colonnades rather than in the Corridor of Sword Tablets and it is been omitted from the above table. Similarly, if Og 1527 was actually written by scribe 221, then it is more likely that it would have been found with the other tablets written by that scribe, in the Queen’s Megaron (although, it appears unlikely that it was written by that scribe; see the discussion in the following section). Even if these were accepted, there would still be pieces from several large tablets found in this corridor.

The sealing S1 described by Evans is Ws 1708.²⁴² Evans (*PofM* iv, p. 617) states that this impression of a ‘contorted lion’, which was on this sealing, was made by the same lentoid, Vc, as was used for some of the sealings found in the Arsenal.²⁴³ However, it is not possible to confirm this on the basis of Evans’ drawing in his *Notebook* (AE/NB, 1902, p. 34), the drawings of the Vc sealings given by Gill (1966, nos. 7, 9 and 17; Ws 8495, 1704 and 1705, respectively) and the photographs of each of these sealings given in *CoMIK* II (Ws 1704, 1705 and 1708). If we accept Evans’ identification, there would appear to be a strong link between the tablets in this corridor and those from the Arsenal.

We can go further and note, from Evans, that the ‘man’ sealing was associated with the ‘men’ tablets in the As(2) and V(7) series listed in TABLE II.16.²⁴⁴ The same lentoid seal impression was used in the Arsenal with a logogram of an arrow. Thus, there is a similarity in the style of usage, with the combination of both seal and logogram. In addition, the men’s names, *da-wa-no* and *pa-na-re-jo*, appear both on As(2) 1517, found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets and on tablets found in the Arsenal. Finally, it seems reasonable to note the link between the weaponry described on the sword tablets with that found in the Arsenal.²⁴⁵

21. FIND-PLACE J4: *Queen’s Megaron*

The tablets and sealings from the Queen’s Megaron were found on 10 & 11 March 1902. They were reported as being found embedded in a later rubble low wall and on a level with the top of the balustrade that extends southwards from the north wall, on the low wall separating the bathroom from the megaron.

²⁴² Gill (1966) identifies sealing S1 with the missing sealing, Ws <1708>. Evans’ drawing of this sealing shows the Linear B sign of the man with his back on the left (see *OKTi*, Plate XXIII). Therefore, the photograph in *CoMIK* II has been (incorrectly) reversed.

²⁴³ Younger categorises the lentoid sealing impression as ‘Animal pose type 13A,R; Animal Stands, Head under Belly; Head on Right; Lion Head in profile’

²⁴⁴ The sealing itself is missing but, from the photograph, there is no evidence of a string-hole or the characteristic pear-shaped appearance of sealings on string. If this is correct, 1708 was not acting as an actual sealing for the batch of ‘men’ tablets; furthermore, it would be more correctly classified in the Wn-series (José L. Melena, priv. comm.).

²⁴⁵ See Hiller 1992.

Hood (1965) has questioned whether these tablets were actually found under a later wall. He notes that there was no evidence of a later wall amongst much of the length of the low wall. He suggests that the 'later wall' was probably merely collapsed debris. Furthermore, the suggestion by Mackenzie and Evans, that the tablets had been fired in a previous conflagration and built into a later wall, is unlikely since the tablets form a coherent set.

It is also worthwhile considering whether the tablets could have fallen from an upper room. Clearly if they were embedded in a later wall then they had not fallen. If they were found under rubble, as Hood suggests, then it is also unlikely that they had fallen from an upper room because they were found in a relatively concentrated location on a level with the balustrade. In other words, if they had fallen, they would not all have landed at the same level, they would have been more scattered and there would have been a thickness of, say 20-30 centimetres of the remains of the floor/ceiling between them and the balustrade.

At the time of the destruction, the bathroom area was used as a store for lime, used for building repairs. Therefore, it seems most unlikely that the Queen's Megaron was also being used as a permanent store place for writing tablets. The remaining possibility is that a container of tablets had simply been temporarily put down on the balustrade prior to the conflagration.

In his 1902 *BSA* Report (pp. 46ff.), Evans records that «In clearing away in successive horizontal sections the deposit above the Queen's Megaron, which towards its Western limit, attained a depth of over 6 metres, a series of large stirrup vases and amphoras were found, partly piled one over another, above the remains of pavement belonging to an upper floor level. It seemed indeed as if a large part of the original upper floor had been used as a magazine for these vessels, which with their coarse decoration of octopuses, or often simple bands, in dull colours, must be regarded as a characteristic product of the Mycenaean period proper. Over the body of the hall the remains of the upper floor level had fallen in at an early period, and the vases were found for the most part in a broken condition at a lower level. Above the little bath chamber however, thanks to a later supporting wall built above the balustrade, the store had been less displaced, and many vases in perfect condition were ranged against the walls of the upper storey room.» Popham (1970, Plate 12) notes some of the LMIIIB pottery from the Queen's Megaron.

We then face the familiar discussion about whether the vases from the upper floor can be used to date the tablets that were found on the floor below. In the present case, the excavators record that the tablets were built into a later wall. If that were correct, it would be reasonable to suppose that the tablets from the Queen's Megaron pre-date the pottery that fell from the upper floor. However, arguments have been given to suggest that the tablets were not built into the wall but covered by debris. In that case, there is more difficulty in trying to separate chronologically the Linear B tablets from the LMIIIB pottery.

The tablets from this find-place are listed in TABLE II.17.

TABLE II.17: *Tablets from the Queen's Megaron*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Ga	(5)	221	1530, 1532-1536, 5020, 5021, 5780
Misc.			U 1813, X 1538, 1539, 1385

The Ga(5) series of tablets deal with substantial quantities of the aromatic, *ki-ta-no*. Since *SM* 1537 (nominally found in J4) joins with X 1385 (nominally found in J1), these fragments were almost certainly found in the same place. It has been suggested (Firth 1998) that the joined tablet should be re-classified as Ga 1385, because of the similarity of its wording to that on Ga 1530 (i.e. *ti-ri-ti-ja / ki-ta-no*[]). In which case, the find-place of the two parts of the tablet was most probably the Queen's Megaron and it has been included in the above table on that basis. It seems reasonable to suggest that X 1538 and 1539 might also be Ga tablets.²⁴⁶

The only other tablets which may have been written by scribe 221 are Og 1527 and L 5805 (both recorded in *KT5* as written by 221?).

Og 1527 is included in the *Handlist* as being from the Corridor of Sword Tablets. The tablet lists quantities of lead and does not appear to be directly related to any other tablets in the archive. If it was actually written by scribe 221, it is more likely that it was found in the Queen's Megaron and mis-recorded in the *Handlist*. However, there is not a link between aromatics and lead. Furthermore, there are no indications of the same hand-writing from the very limited number of signs that are common to Og 1527 and the tablets of the Ga(5)-series. Therefore, it is suggested that Og 1527 was probably not written by scribe 221.

The attribution of L 5805 to scribe 221? is puzzling since it only contains two signs (*we* & TELA) neither of which appear on any of the other tablets thought to have been written by scribe 221. It is suggested that the link between L 5805 and scribe 221 is incorrect.²⁴⁷

Weingarten (1997) includes a discussion on the small collection of sealings and tablets from the Queen's Megaron. She notes particularly the seal impression of dolphins (sealing R105) and links that to the dolphin fresco found in the same room.²⁴⁸ However, in practice, at the time of the destruction, this room was being used as a store for building materials. Therefore, the appearance of dolphins on the sealing and the fresco is probably fortuitous.

²⁴⁶ This suggestion, that 1385, 1538 and 1539 are actually Ga(5) records, had already been put forward prior to the publication of *KT5* (Melena 1974b, p. 50).

²⁴⁷ José L. Melena (priv. comm.) notes that the attribution to scribe 221? was probably due to the earlier mis-reading of the logogram as AROM rather than TELA.

²⁴⁸ In her paper, Weingarten suggests that the fresco, seals and tablets had all fallen from an upper room. In practice, the seals and tablets were found on a level with the balustrade and so could not have fallen into the room during the destruction of the palace (see the above discussion).

It is noted for completeness, that D 8151 is recorded as being found in the corner of the Queen's Megaron in the summer of 1911 (Chadwick 1962). This tablet joins with Dd 1374, which was found in the East-West Corridor. Thus, it is most likely that D 8151 was originally excavated with the other tablets from the East-West Corridor and then was dropped, at some later stage, in the Queen's Megaron.

22. FIND-PLACE L: *The Arsenal*

The Arsenal was excavated in the latter part of the 1904 season, with later work between 20 March and 1 April 1905 and again in 1922. Subsequently, Sinclair Hood reported a series of excavations in an area to the west of the Arsenal.

In the *BSA* report for 1904, Evans noted, «From the position of these [tablets] at somewhat variant levels, in some cases above fallen cement flooring, it was clear that they had originally been stored on the floor above the basement The ultimate preservation of the clay archives was undoubtedly due to the destruction of the building itself by fire. In the present case - like those, fallen from an upper storey, found in the East-West Corridor of the Palace - the tablets were exceptionally charred, and some of them had been reduced to a cindery state, indicative of a very intense conflagration. Eighty inscribed tablets, including important fragments, were found in the area excavated. These tablets, with the exception of a few stragglers, lay within the opening of what seems to have been a basement Magazine, into which wooden chests containing them had sunk when the floor collapsed.»

In *SM I* (p. 40) Evans writes that, «The evidence of this [i.e. tablets being kept on an upper floor] is particularly clear with regard to the tablets found in the Magazine of the Royal Arsenal, West of the Palace, which lay within the basement area, indeed, but at various levels, and many of them above fragments of cement flooring fallen from the room above.»

It is clear, both from these reports and from Mackenzie's excavation *Day Book*, that the tablets had fallen from the upper floor into a basement area. Evans states that the tablets had originally been kept in wooden coffers, although Mackenzie does not make any reference to the containers of the tablets.

In 1904, two deposits of arrows, together with the remains of wooden boxes, which had contained them, were found close to the tablets. The 1904 accounts do not indicate whether these had also fallen from an upper floor. However, it is apparent from the 1922 account that the arrowheads found in that year had fallen from the upper floor. Furthermore, since, both deposits of arrows found in 1904 were in the main access corridor of the basement, from a practical viewpoint, it is more likely that they had also fallen into that corridor rather than been stored in a way that would have blocked access. The inscribed sealings, Ws 1704, 1705 & 8495, were found with the arrows.

Mackenzie's sketch of the Arsenal excavation is reproduced as Plate XXV of *OKTi* and also as Fig. 2 of Driessen (1996). This shows that most of the tablets

excavated in 1904 were found together in a single deposit. However, it is indicated that some tablets had become separated from this deposit, probably as a consequence of building works at a much later stage in the history of the site. *OKTii*, Fig. 14 is based on a sketch made by Mackenzie in 1922, showing a larger excavated area, with additional deposits of tablets and arrowheads.

TABLE II.18a lists the tablets from the Arsenal.

TABLE II.18a: *Tablets excavated from the Arsenal*²⁴⁹

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Mc		132	4453-4457, 4459-4464, 5107, 5118, 5124, 5818, 8448, 8705, 8708, 9940-9942
Nc		133	4470, 4473-4474, 4475, 4479-4480, 4484-4485, 4489-4490, 8144, 8145, 8146, 5100, 5103, 5110, 5112, 5117, 5120-5122, 5126, 5128-5130, 5772, 5787, 8106, 8172-8173, 8175-8176, 8181, 8183, 8186, 8187, 8276, 8286, 8300, 8309, 8313, 8315, 8317, 8453, 8454, 8455, 8456, 8542, 8555, 8586, 8630, 8728, 8758, 8803-8805
Og			4467
R			1815, 4482
Sd		128	4401-4408, 4409, 4412-4413, 4415-4416, 4422, 4450, 4468, 5091, 8519, 8544, 9933-9934, 9936, 9937, 9939
Sf	(1)	128	4421, 4423, 4427, 4428
	(2)	129	4418-4420, 4424, 4425, 4426, 4465, 4491, 5106
So	(1)	130	4429-4430, 4432, 4436-4437, 4440-4441, 4448-4449
	(2)	131	4431, 4433-4434, 4438-4439, 4442, 4443, 4445-4446
	(-)	128?	4435
	(-)	129?	4447
Sp			4451-4452
Ws			1704, 1705, 8495
Misc.			E 4466, Sg 1811, U 4478 (scribe 202) D 8174, Dl(1) 8177 (scribe 118?) Xf 4472 (scribe 131?), 4486 (scribe 133?), 4487, 4492, 5102, 5104, 5115, 5125, 5573, 6004, 8107, 8298, 8322, 8719, 8731, 8764, 8827, 8835, 9944-9947 X 8190

Driessen (1996) includes a description of the contents of the tablets from the Arsenal.

²⁴⁹ See Firth & Melena 2000. The tablets 4401-4492 are attributed to the Arsenal by *OKTi* (p. 59). This is stated as being on the basis of Evans' *Handlist*, however, the *Handlist* does not include any of the tablets excavated after 1903. Palmer should have more correctly referred to one of the other documents from the Evans archive. Tablets 8144-8150 and 8170-8171 were excavated between 1957-1960 from the west side of

The inscribed sealings associated with the arrows all bear the impression, Vc, of a 'contorted lion'. An impression of this sealing was also found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets with an inscribed logogram of a man (Ws 1708; see SECTION 20).²⁵⁰ In addition, SECTION 20 includes further reasons for suggesting a link between the Corridor of Sword Tablets and the Arsenal.

There is a link between the SW front, the East-West Corridor and the Arsenal via palm-print L ALPHA (found on tablets X 38, Da 1299 and Mc 5124).²⁵¹

Sinclair Hood's excavations west of the Arsenal

Three of the fragments listed by Sinclair Hood are clearly part of the Evans' Arsenal series and have been listed above. However, the majority of the inscriptions are listed separately because they appear to have had a different provenance.

In his summary of his Arsenal excavations (Chadwick 1962), Hood reported, «Some of the tablets discovered in the new excavations [1957-1960] may belong to the Armoury series found by Evans. But in the area of these new excavations west of the Armoury, the latest Minoan structure of which any substantial remains survived had been destroyed during the Late Minoan IB period ... All traces of any later Minoan building (if such had ever existed) had been destroyed by quarrying for stone during Late Minoan III times, as had parts of the Late Minoan IB and earlier Minoan buildings in the area. The pottery from the excavations has not yet been studied; but some of the tablets certainly, and perhaps all of them, came from a fill of rubbish which had found its way into the holes left by this quarrying for stone, late in the Bronze Age but before its end. In the fill with the tablets were scraps of pottery from every period from Neolithic and Early Minoan to Late Minoan IIIB. Some fragments had decoration in the 'Palace Style' of late Minoan II, and there were several bronze arrowheads like those which Evans found, together with the remains of the boxes which had contained them, in Late Minoan II deposits in his Armoury excavations».

TABLE II.18b lists the tablets found by Hood in the excavations immediately to the west of the Arsenal. (It excludes fragments which are evidently from the

the Arsenal area by Hood (Chadwick 1962). All Xf tablets are included in the above table on the basis of the note in *KT5* (p. xiii) stating that they are «fragments which, to judge from their hand and/or clay, very probably come from the Arsenal». Tablets X 8147-8148, X 8171 have been reassigned to become Xf tablets in *KTT Color*, as they clearly come from the Arsenal area.

²⁵⁰ The Ws sealings from the Arsenal are different from other sealings, being smaller and with a very blurred impression of the seal, as though it was worn or set upon clay that was too wet (José L. Melena, priv. comm.). The nodule from the Corridor of Sword Tablets (1708) has been described above.

²⁵¹ Mc 1508 and 5187 are given in *KT5* and *CoMIK* as being written by scribe 132? on the basis of the logogram. If they were written by scribe 132, this would also represent a link between the East-West Corridor and the Arsenal. However, it is judged that neither of these tablets was actually written by scribe 132 (José L. Melena, priv. comm.).

Arsenal itself but includes Sk 8100, which was found immediately prior to Hood's excavation; see Firth & Melena 2000a.)

TABLE II.18b: *Tablets excavated from the area West of the Arsenal*

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Misc.			M 8170, Og 8150, Sk 8100, 8149 (scribe 206), U 8210 X 8147-8148, 8171, 8211-8215

There is a link between Sk 8149 (scribe 206) found by Hood in the area west of the Arsenal and Sk 789 (scribe 206) found in the North Entrance Passage. Chadwick (1962) suggests that Sk 8149 probably originated from the area of the North Entrance Passage area and was later dumped in a rubbish pit near the Arsenal.

23. FIND-PLACE M: *The Little Palace*

Tablets from the Little Palace were found when it was first excavated in 1905. In addition, some fragments of tablets were found in a box labelled 'P I 17' in the Stratigraphical Museum, which is identified in Pendlebury's *Guide* as containing material from the area of the Little Palace «Outside SE angle, 1931». However, these included two tablets excavated in 1905 and it has not been possible to trace archaeological notes to confirm the finding of fragments in 1931.²⁵²

The excavation of tablets in 1905 is not very well-documented. However, there is some description of the find-place of the tablets in Mackenzie's notes and a rough sketch by Evans (AE/NB, p. 5, reproduced as Plate XXVII in *OKTi*). These indicate that a few tablets were scattered near the SW wall of the Hall of the Peristyle. Clay sealings were also found in considerable numbers near this wall. Mackenzie suggests that the first tablet found had either fallen from an upper room or had been part of the rubble wall (i.e. the SW wall of the Hall of the Peristyle).

The Hall of the Peristyle was an open courtyard and so clay tablets could not have been stored there²⁵³ and there clearly would not have been a room immediately above. However, there is an ascending staircase adjacent to the Hall, demonstrating that there were upper rooms in the part of the building adjacent to the Hall. There is further supporting evidence for this in a note by Evans on his sketch map (AE/NB, p. 5), which briefly describes a deposit of Egyptian beans

²⁵² It was considered most likely that such notes, if they had existed, would have been written by Pendlebury. However, enquiries made at the British School at Athens, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the Egypt Exploration Society in London, each drew a blank with respect to excavation near the Little Palace around 1931.

²⁵³ In principle, tablets could have been stored in an open area if they were in sealed containers. However, the tablets were dispersed and not part of the same sets and there is no record of any containers.

from about 1.5m above the floor. Thus, it is evident that there was an upper floor from which the first tablet could have fallen. The fact that there were a few tablets, together with a large number of clay sealings found near the wall suggests that the first tablet had been part of that group and not been part of the wall. Mackenzie's notes make it clear that he increasingly favoured the suggestion, that the sealings had fallen from an upper floor, as the excavation progressed.

It is also clear that most (or possibly all) of the clay sealings had also fallen from the upper floor. Some of these were found near the tablets in the Hall of Peristyle. Others were found in the general region west of this, on the stairs and, considerably above the surface of the floor, in several of the rooms (DM/DB, 2 May 1905; Gill 1965, p. 85).

It is not clear that all the tablets that were found in 1905 were from the area near the SW wall of the Peristyle Hall. Evans indicates that one tablet was found some distance from that wall. However, there is a mismatch between the small number referred to in the excavation notes and the number of tablets found (2 were drawn in Evans' note book and 6 more were drawn in File 13, see Firth & Melena 2000a).

The position of the 1931 finds is given by Pendlebury in his Guide to the Stratigraphical Museum as being just to the SE of the Little Palace building. In 1960, Raison searched the Stratigraphical Museum for Linear B tablets. He found the fragments that he numbered MSK 48-51, 63-64 amongst the objects from the Little Palace in box P I 17, labelled 'Outside SE Angle. 1931'. This includes the two inscriptions that were actually excavated from the Little Palace in 1905, namely Xf 4495 and X 8204. The remaining fragments are X 8197, X 8198 and X 8205. It is not clear whether these three fragments were excavated in 1905 or 1931, however, it is reasonable to suggest that they were probably found in the area of the Little Palace.

In his 1905 *BSA* report, Evans wrote about, «the heaps of more or less fragmentary clay sealings, found on the later floors, attesting the survival of similar usages as regards securing documents and possessions, and presenting in a somewhat degraded style the same artistic types as those of the preceding age. But what is still more interesting is the evidence, now for the first time supplied by some fragmentary clay tablets found in connexion with these sealings, that the fully developed linear script of Minoan Crete continued to be at least partially in use during the later period. It thus appears that the fall of the Palace did not bring with it the absolute extinction of letters, and the true dark ages of Crete were not yet.»

In *SM I* (pp. 54-55), Evans states that the art of writing was preserved into LMIII and, in terms of inscribed tablets, gave two examples. The first example was the Corridor of Sword Tablets, discussed above. The second example was the Little Palace or House of Fetishes. «This important building ... reproduces on a somewhat reduced scale many of the salient features of the Palace itself, with which it was brought into direct connexion by a Minoan paved way. Moreover, it curiously repeats its history. Here, too, at the same epoch, a sudden revolution

took place in the existing conditions, and the once seigniorial halls were parcelled out among humbler denizens. But on the later floors there were found heaps of more or less fragmentary seal-impressions, attesting the survival of similar usages as regards securing documents and possessions, and presenting under a decadent aspect the same artistic types as those of the preceding age. It was therefore important to discover, in juxtaposition with these, remains of tablets showing inscriptions belonging to Class B, but executed in a somewhat inferior manner.»

This view was changed in *PofM* ii (p. 543) where Evans states in a footnote, «In *Scripta Minoa* i, I had suggested the possibility of some of these [Linear B tablets] having belonged to the period of Reoccupation. That the use of the Linear Script B survived the overthrow of the Palace is probable, but the squatters who, at a later date, introduced their crude fetish worship into the 'Little Palace' were surely analfabeti.» Thus, the basis of the change of view is not based on the immediate archaeological evidence from the Little Palace but rather on Evans' attempt to rationalise the perceived conflict between «squatters ... who introduced their crude fetish worship» and the Linear B records.²⁵⁴

We now know that the tablet, As 4493, includes the words *e-qe-ta* and *e-re-ute[-re?*, which both indicate official titles. This demonstrates that the society had a mature Mycenaean structure at the time that the tablets were written. In other words they were not written by 'squatters'. However, it is clearly not legitimate to follow Evans and allow simplifying assumptions on the form of LMIII society to take precedence over the archaeological evidence.

Popham (1970, pp. 62-62) has examined the pottery from the Little Palace stored in the Stratigraphical Museum but each of the boxes contained a thorough mixture of LMIIIA and LMIIIB samples. The only conclusions that he could reach were that there was at least one destruction in LMIIIA and there was reoccupation following that destruction. In a later paper (Popham 1991a), he suggests that Evans was, «misled by his pottery expert and by his own interpretation of architectural modifications made to the original structure, which subsequent evidence from the Unexplored Mansion has shown could even be as early as LMII. There are now good reasons for believing that the Little Palace too was destroyed by fire at the same time as the Palace itself» [i.e. very early in LMIIIA2]. In other words, Popham would date the Little Palace tablets and sealings to the same early LMIIA2 date as he proposes for the bulk of the Linear B records. However, it is not clear how this view is consistent with his earlier finding that there were LMIIIB sherds amongst the Little Palace samples. Furthermore, once it is acknowledged that the building was occupied during LMIIIB and that the tablets fell from an upper floor then it would require 'arguments of special pleading' to dissociate the tablets from the final habitation (e.g. the tablets could have been stored in a disused room for many tens of years) but it is difficult for such arguments to be considered persuasive.

²⁵⁴ See the discussion by Palmer, *OKTi*, pp. 163-164.

The Little Palace tablets were not included in the *Handlist* itself and their documentation was rather unsatisfactory. Firth & Melena (2000a) have attempted to draw together the available information to give an assessment of which tablets were found in the Little Palace and these are listed in TABLE II.19.

TABLE II.19: *Tablets excavated from the area of the Little Palace*²⁵⁵

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Misc.			As <4493>, C <1902> Xf 4495, 8101, X <1641>, <1642>, <1901>, 8197, 8198, 8204, 8205

The tablets excavated from this building appear to be ‘individuals’, rather than parts of the known sets. It is evident from the listing that a relatively large proportion of these tablets are now missing. In practice, these tablets cannot be firmly linked to the archives from the Palace itself, i.e. they are not written by identified scribes and they are not parts of sets found in the Palace.

The sealings that were found with the tablets are described in by Gill (1965, pp. 85-91) in as much detail as there is available. Gill notes particularly that a large number of these sealings, that were described in Evans’ *Notebook*, are missing (cf. the missing tablets). She also notes that there are no firm instances of the same seal producing sealings found in both the Little Palace and the main Palace. Although, there are a small number of possible examples, the documentation is insufficient to be confident.

Thus, the Little Palace tablets and sealings should be regarded as part of an isolated set of finds which cannot be used to provide direct information on the remainder of the Linear B archive.

24. THE UNEXPLORED MANSION

The Unexplored Mansion was excavated between 1967 to 1972, supervised by L. H. Sackett, and M. R. Popham directed the digging of the Minoan levels and the clearance of the Mansion. There were two finds with Linear B writing: tablet X 8833 and an inscribed stirrup jar (ISJ).

Tablet X 8833 is made up of two perfectly fitting fragments, which were found in separated locations during the excavation. One piece was found in the central area of the Mansion and was associated with a Late and SubMinoan context. The other piece was found above Room D in the NE corner and was associated with SubMinoan and ?Classical black glaze sherds (Evely *et al.* 1994). Both of these contexts were unsatisfactory from the point of view of dating the

²⁵⁵ Wb 8711 is excluded from the table because it was a surface find from the general area of the Little Palace (Olivier 1967c) and could have been brought to its find-place in earth from the excavation spoil heaps, which was used for agricultural top-soil.

fragments. The fact that the fragments fit together so well implies that the tablet was broken after the conflagration in which it was fired. There may be some significance in the finding of one of the fragments in the same corner as the inscribed stirrup jar, albeit at a higher level and in a mixed deposit. Since this was the only tablet and since the fragments were found separated in mixed contexts it has been suggested that they are stray fragments that did not originate in the Unexplored Mansion. Popham *et al.* (1985, p. 252) suggest that the fragments could have originated from the scribal activity in the neighbouring Little Palace building. However, it would seem to be more likely that the tablet originated from the Unexplored Mansion and was fragmented at some stage in antiquity, after the destruction of the building, with both of the fragments being displaced from their original context, and with one of them being, fortuitously, raised onto the surface.

The inscribed stirrup jar was found in an LMIIIB context. It had fallen from an upper floor room into the North East room of the Mansion. The painted inscription is the man's name, *wi-na-jo*. Examples of stirrup jars by the same potter/painter were also found at Armenoi on Crete and Midea near Mycenae (Demakopoulou & Divari-Valakou 1994).²⁵⁶

Popham (1973) describes the history of the Mansion as being a slow decline from its completion in LMII to its final desertion in LMIIIB. However, the fact that the LMIIIB building contained an ISJ of the type that was used for exporting goods to the mainland is significant. In their study of the origins of the ISJ's, Catling *et al.* (1980) suggest that the ISJ from the Unexplored Mansion was probably locally produced.

* * *

PART III: GENERAL DISCUSSION

In this final section we return to the two remaining major questions which were posed at the beginning of PART II,

- what are the relative chronologies of the different deposits of tablets?
- what is the absolute chronology of the tablets?

1. *What are the relative chronologies of the different deposits of tablets?*

In *OKTi*, Palmer included a brief discussion on the 'unity of the archive'. At that stage, the 'unity of the archive' seemed to be a natural conclusion and his

²⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that the name on the LMIIIB ISJ found in the Unexplored Mansion is *wi-na-jo*. This man's name appears as a member of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* (on K[1] 875 from the North Entrance Passage), a recipient of oil from *e-ra* (on Fh 1059 from the area of the Clay Signet) and as a 'shepherd' (on tablets from the East-West Corridor) in the palace Linear B archive, although it should not be presumed that these all represent the same person. In a similar way, the man's name *a-nu-to*, which appears on Cretan ISJ's found at Thebes and Tiryns, also appears as a member of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* on As 1516.

argument was primarily based on a small number of men's names which recurred in different find-places. However, Palmer used this argument to date all the tablets to the date of the latest deposit, whereas other writers (e.g. *OKTii*) tried to find reasons why the tablets, which were apparently from late deposits, were not as late as they seemed to be. This became the basis of the lengthy, and frequently acrimonious debate on the dating of the tablets.

Driessen (1990, 1994) has recently opened up the question of whether the different deposits of tablets all date from the same period. He suggested that there could have been a series of destructive fires at Knossos and that tablets could have been preserved in each of these fires. In particular, he suggested that the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets could pre-date the bulk of the remainder of the archive by many years. This suggestion was prompted by the fact that RCT tablets are of a very different type to those from other deposits (showing differences in size, format and palaeography).

One of the major problems in writing about the Knossos find-places is that they are so numerous and that tablets on the same subject appear at different locations, with a very large number of different scribes, giving the impression of confusion (Popham 1987). However, we know that many tablets can be allocated to reasonably well-defined sets and that in most cases tablets from these sets were found in the same find-place. Thus, at the level of the individual sets of tablets, there is an appearance of orderliness, although there is some difficulty in determining the overlying structure of scribal activities.

One of the significant arguments in favour of Driessen's suggestion on the relative chronology of the RCT tablets is that it starts to give some rationality to the apparent confusion of the Knossos archives. In particular, it gives an explanation about why topics covered by the RCT archive are covered again, for example, on the tablets from the North Entrance Passage (NEP). If we could reasonably suggest that these two archives represent analogous scribal activity from two different time periods, then we are also explaining why the RCT tablets seem so de-coupled from the remainder of the tablets, in terms of personal names, scribal hand-writing and so on. There would be a further advantage that, if we could convince ourselves that they indeed did represent different times, then we have two 'snapshots' of the scribal activity at Knossos instead of just one.

Therefore, although it is possible to question detailed aspects of the case argued by Driessen, the overall hypothesis, that the RCT archive is chronologically separated from the remainder of the Knossos tablets, is very attractive.

There is another group of tablets which could also be separated off from the bulk of the archive. The tablets found under a blocked doorway in the Throne Room Complex were clearly fired (presumably accidentally) before they were built into the wall blocking the doorway. Therefore, they are not contemporary with the destruction of the palace. However, because this group of tablets is small, it is not possible to draw much significance from it.

There are other small groups of tablets which are isolated from the larger deposits of tablets and have no apparent connection with them. However, it is not possible to state whether they chronologically separated,

- the tablets and sealings from the Room of Niche.
- the tablets from the loculus in the Bath Room of the Throne Room Complex
- the tablets and sealings from the Little Palace & Unexplored Mansion.

In the case of the tablets found in the Room of Niche and the loculus, the tablets were found in sufficiently obscure places that they could have remained there forgotten (and unfired) for some time before the destruction of the palace. However, these deposits are not particularly significant and it is not worthwhile discussing them further here. The tablets from the Little Palace and Unexplored Mansion are not linked to the remainder of the archive and could be chronologically separated from them.

For completeness, we should also mention isolated tablets which were almost certainly not found in the position in which they were fired. These include the tablets found in the Central and Western courtyard and, probably, the first tablet found by Evans and Mackenzie, in the Central Clay area. However, we cannot draw any conclusions from these isolated tablets.

However, this still leaves the bulk of the tablets, which were found in large coherent groupings (i.e. the tablets from the Western Magazines, the East-West corridor, the Arsenal, the North Entrance Passage and so on). The question remains whether these tablets were contemporary. If we were looking at paperwork from a modern office, we would simply look for reference numbers and dates and so on. However, the Knossos tablets do not contain reference numbers and dates (except for months noted on a relatively few tablets). Thus, we are led to inferring whether there is a connection between two different deposits by assembling lists of apparent links. Then, if we judge that the number of links between two deposits is sufficiently large, it would follow that those two deposits were contemporary. The following subsections consider the different attributes of the tablets which might give some indication of whether the deposits were linked and, therefore, contemporary. For convenience, the first subsection considers the clay sealings found with the tablets.

1.1. *The Clay Sealings*

We will begin by clarifying the term clay sealing, which encompasses a number of different things. A 'sealing' is strictly a seal impression, whereas a 'nodule' refers to its way of being manufactured, which can be subdivided further by noting the presence or absence of string. (In practice, inscribed clay nodules are heavier than uninscribed ones.) For such documents, the seal impression would be recognised as identifying the seal holder. For the purposes of the present section, we shall be concentrating on clay sealings with seal impressions.

Clay sealings were frequently found together with deposits of tablets and it is natural for us to assume that they were part of the same scribal process. Thus, if we find the same impression on clay sealings from different parts of the palace this gives an indication that they might be contemporary. It should be noted that the difficulty with this line of argument is that seals were used for many years and, therefore, the use of the same seal to make two different impressions does not necessarily imply that those two impressions were made at the same time. Thus, we should not put undue weight on the evidence from impressions from a single seal alone.

The definitive study of the clay sealings was written by Gill (1965; see also Popham and Gill 1995). That paper is analogous to *OKTi* and the present study, in that Gill read through the excavation notebooks and tried to locate the find-places of the many different sealings which were found and also tried to link the notes about sealings to the examples stored in museums. Although there were many sealings found, the number of sealings with the same impressions which were found in different find-places is surprisingly small. Many of these identifications were made by Evans, who took a great interest in the seals and sealings (although his notes on these are not as good as the *Handlist* for tablets). Gill summarises the inter-relationships between sealings from different parts of the palace in her Appendix B, which is the basis of the tables that follow.

There are only six certain cases of the use of the same impression on sealings from different deposits and these are listed in TABLES III.1 to 6.

TABLE III.1: *Sealing of Collared Bitch*

Sealing(s)	Find-place
F2 (Ws 8754)	SW Pillar Room
K4, K7	Gallery of Jewel Fresco
K12	Room East of Gallery of Jewel fresco
Q21	Area of Clay Signet Room (Room of Egyptian Beans)
R53	Doorway South from Hall of Colonnades and beyond

TABLE III.2: *Sealing of Man standing before Seated Goddess*

Sealing(s)	Find-place
K2	Gallery of Jewel Fresco
K11	Room East of Gallery of Jewel fresco

TABLE III.3: *Sealing of Seated Goddess and two Attendants*

Sealing(s)	Find-place
Q22	Clay Signet Room
R1, R51	East-West Corridor
R54	Doorway South from Hall of Colonnades and beyond

TABLE III.4: *Sealing of Kneeling Bull (or Cow Couchant)*

Sealing(s)	Find-place
K6	Gallery of Jewel Fresco
R46	East-West Corridor

TABLE III.5: *Sealing of Man and Bull*

Sealing(s)	Find-place
G5	Magazine IV
G6 (Ws 1703)	Magazine VIII

TABLE III.6: *Sealing of Contorted Lion*

Sealing(s)	Find-place
S1 (Ws 1708)	Corridor of Sword Tablets
Vc (Ws 1704, 1705, 8495)	Arsenal

TABLES III.1 and 2 demonstrate, not surprisingly, that there are clear links between the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and the small area immediately to the east. Similarly, TABLE III.3 shows there is a link between the adjacent areas of the East-West Corridor and the area of the 'Doorway South from Hall of Colonnades and beyond'.

More significantly, TABLES III.1 and 4 both show links between the Gallery of Jewel Fresco and the East-West Corridor/Hall of Colonnades area. In addition, TABLES III.1 and 3 both show links between the area of the Clay Signet Room and the area of the 'Doorway South from Hall of Colonnades and beyond'. In addition, sealing F2 was found with tablet As 40 (written by scribe 101) in the SW Pillar Room. Tablet As 1516 (written by scribe 101) was found in the Hall of Colonnades and both sealing F2 and As 1516 include the man's name, *a-nu-wi-ko*. This together with TABLE III.1, shows a clear link between the SW Pillar room and the Hall of Colonnades area. It is noted that these links are each represented by two or more sealings (or other factors) and, therefore, they are unlikely to be spurious links due to the continued use a seal over an extended period. Thus, it is suggested that the archives found in the SW Pillar Room, the area of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco, the area of the East-West Corridor and Hall of Colonnades (including the 'Doorway South from Hall of Colonnades and beyond') and the area of the Clay Signet Room area linked by the sealings.

The link between Magazines IV and VIII shown in TABLE III.5 is not surprising. There is also a link between the Corridor of Sword Tablets and the Arsenal, shown in TABLE III.6.

1.2. *Palm-prints on the tablets*

Sjöquist & Åström (1991) present a study of the palm-prints on the tablets. In general, these show the expected pattern, that the palm-prints can be identified

with tablets from particular sets or sets from a specific deposit. However, there are some cases where the same palm-print appears to have been found in different areas. Sjöquist & Åström (p. 9) score the evidence of palm-prints on different tablets as showing,

- definite identity of palm-prints
- very strong reasons for identity
- reasons for identity

These are defined from a police forensic viewpoint. From the description given, definite identity would appear to give sufficient evidence to support modern judicial standards. Very strong reasons would also appear to be sufficient evidence to regard as being identical in view of the restricted number of people in contact with the tablets in a Bronze Age palace. In principle, ‘reasons for identity’ should be regarded as being a strong indicator.

In practice, doubts have been expressed about the evidence of the palm-prints in the cases where they appear to be in conflict with expectation. Thus, in cases where a palm-print is only noted on tablets from the same find-place, then there is no conflict. However, where the same palm-print appears on tablets which could be from different find-places, then doubts are noted in *KTTC Color*. (In particular, such doubts are specifically recorded for each of the examples listed below in TABLE III.7.) The underlying problem is that there has not been any work to confirm the Sjöquist & Åström study of palm-prints.²⁵⁷

For the purpose of this paper, we will record, in TABLE III.7, the examples where the same palm-print was found in separated areas, whilst noting the doubts recorded in *KTTC Color*. (In this table, adjacent deposits, such as the Western Magazines and Long Gallery are counted as all one area.)

TABLE III.7: *Palm-prints found in separated areas*

Palm-print	Find-place 1	Find-place 2	Find-place 3	Level of confidence
L ALPHA	E-W Corr.	S.W. Corner	Arsenal	Reason/Strong reason
L DELTA	RCB	NEP?		Strong reason
R LAMBDA RCT		Mag. IV		Reason

In the case of L ALPHA, this palm-print is essentially supporting the general types of links indicated by the clay sealings, between the area of the S.W. Pillar Room (X 38), the East-West Corridor (Da 1299) and the Arsenal (the inferred find-place of Mc 5124, written by scribe 132).

²⁵⁷ Professor Åström kindly sent me the photographs reproduced in his publication and, based on the photographs in *CoMIK I* and *II* (which were the volumes of *CoMIK* which had been published at that stage), I was able to confirm the correctness of identification of a large number of the tablets in the photographs. In particular, I verified the correctness of the identification of the tablet numbers corresponding to palm-print R ALPHA, which is recorded as being doubted by Olivier in *KTTC Color*. Unfortunately, the unpublished photographs could not be checked because they were stolen during a robbery of Sjöquist’s storage room.

In the case of L DELTA, this palm-print gives an interesting link between tablets from the Fh-series found in the RCB and tablet Ch 7065 (scribe 110) which was most probably found in the NEP, with the other tablets from that series.

Palm-print R LAMBDA has already been discussed in SECTION 7 of PART II. It was judged that the evidence of this palm-print alone is not sufficient to invalidate Driessen's hypothesis that the RCT tablets represent a significantly earlier archive than the remainder of the tablets.

1.3. *Scribal hands of the tablets*

In principle, the identification of scribal hands is less objective than the identification of palm-prints. However, in practice, the identification of scribal hands has been continuously studied and updated since Olivier's publication in 1967. Nevertheless, it seems appropriate here to concentrate on those cases where the identification of the scribal hand is definite (i.e. quoted without a question mark). TABLE III.8 lists the scribal hands which are found in separated areas (with adjacent deposits, such as the Western Magazines and Long Gallery, being counted as one area).

TABLE III.8: *Scribal Hands found in different find-places*

Scribe	Find-place 1	Find-place 2	Find-place 3	Find-place 4
101	S.W. Pillar Room	Hall of Colonnades	Corridor of Sword Tablets	
103, 140	W. Magazines	Gallery of Jewel Fresco		
115	W. Magazines	Corridor of House Tablets		
119	W. Magazines	E-W Corridor		
106, 120, 207, 217	NEP	W. Magazines		
136	Corridor of House Tablets & W. Mags.	Room E. of Gallery of Jewel Fresco	E-W Corridor	NW Insula
206	NEP	W. of Arsenal		

The links shown by scribe 101 confirm further the association of the tablets in the SW Pillar Room, Hall of Colonnades and Corridor of Sword Tablets, noted above in the discussion of the clay sealings. The clay sealings linked these find-places with the East-West Corridor and Gallery of Jewel Fresco. Scribes 103 and 140 link the Gallery of Jewel Fresco with the Western Magazines. Scribe 119 confirms this association by linking the Western Magazines with the East-West Corridor.

This group of linkages is extended further by scribes 115 and 136 which confirm the expected link between the Western Magazines and the Corridor of

House Tablets. Scribe 136 then consolidates this by linking the Corridor of House Tablets, Western Magazines and Gallery of Jewel Fresco with the East-West Corridor.

In this way it can be shown that there are linkages between most of the deposits of tablets in the eastern, western (excluding RCT) and southern parts of the palace.

We will now turn our attention to the NEP. Initially, the link between the NEP archive and the NW Insula appeared to be via V(5) 756 written by scribe 125, which was recorded in the *Handlist* as being found in the Room of the Bügelkannes. However, it is now considered that this tablet was actually found in the NEP along with the other tablets from this series (see PART I, SECTION 6). Therefore, the link between these two areas is now between tablets with the palm-print, R TAU, which appears on V(5) 756 and on four tablets from the Room of the Bügelkannes.

The link shown by scribe 206 (Sk-series), between the NEP and the area West of the Arsenal, excavated by Sinclair Hood, is an important one. Again this link is only demonstrated by a single firm example but the find-places of Sk 789 and 8149 and the identity of the scribe, who wrote the Sk-series of tablets, are unambiguous.

Finally, there are a number of links between the NEP/NW Insula deposits and the remainder of the archive. In this case, there appear to be a concentration of links between the NEP/NW Insula and the area approximating to the South-West Hall, which was above Magazines III to V. This association is strengthened if we note the Dq(3)-series, which are predominantly from the Western Magazine area, have links via men's names to NEP tablets (i.e. *pe-ri-qo-ta-o* on Dq(3) 42, 46 and *pe-ri-qo-ta* on Uf(3) 1022; *a-no-qo-ta-o* on both Dq(3) 45 and E 847; *ke-u-po-da-o* on both Dq(3) 442 and C 1044; *]ko-we-jo* on both Dq(3) 445 and Dk(1) 925; note also *?o-]ta-re-wo* on Dp 43 and *o-ta-re-wo* on E 1035).

1.4. Men's names on the tablets

The author has already considered the links between different find-places based on groups of men's names (Firth 1998, SECTION 15). It is not necessary to repeat that discussion here in detail, however, the main points were as follows,²⁵⁸

- there was found to be no clear commonality between the groups of names from the RCT and other groups of names (other than those written by scribe 141, however, these were relatively common names and so the commonality is not of significance).
- there were clear links between the men's names written by scribes 103 and 115.

²⁵⁸ It should be emphasised that the criteria being used in drawing these conclusions is not the strict 95% confidence limit which is conventionally used in scientific analysis. The data that are available are not sufficiently good to allow the use of such strict confidence limits. See also Enegren 1995, 1999.

- there were also links between the men's names written by scribes 103 and 117 (although the commonality between the names written by 115 and 117 was less well defined).
- there were clear links between the men's names written by 115 and those on the J2/J3 tablets (though in this case the link between scribe 103 and the J2/J3 names was much less significant).
- there appeared to be some evidence of a significant link between the J2/J3 names and those written by scribe 141, although the number of names on which this was based was small and so one should be careful about overstating this link.
- there were not clear links between the NEP men's names and those written by scribes 103, 115, 117, «124», 141 or the J2/J3 names. However, if the men's names on the C, D and E-series tablets from the NEP were isolated and compared to those written by scribe 103 (or 103 and 115) then there appeared to be some significance in that case.

There are some additional points which can be made following the foregoing discussion on the South West Hall. Although the Dq(3)-series appears to have strong links with the NEP archive (via scribe 217), some of the other tablets have stronger links with the main sheep archive (for example, the 'collectors', *te-ra-po-si-jo*, *we-we-si-jo* and *da-mi-ni-jo* appear in the main sheep archive but not on the NEP/NW Insula tablets; Dq(1) 447 contains the names of shepherd/'collector', *?ka]-ta-wo / da-mi-ni-jo*, which also appear together on Dk(2) 5201; X 44 contains the name/toponym, *ku-ja-ro/qa-ra*, which also appear on De 1254).

Thus, it would appear that some of the South West Hall tablets contain strong links with the NEP archive and others have equally strong links with the main sheep archive. Unfortunately, the tablets from this area are generally scrappy (particularly those from Magazine IV) which creates some difficulty in interpreting them.

1.5. Summary Table

The conclusion that can be drawn from the above discussion is that there are numerous links between many of the separate deposits (excluding the RCT). Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that they are contemporary.

However, the number of links between the northern archive (NEP and NW Insula) and the remaining deposits are relatively few considering the numbers of tablets being considered. Therefore, it is possible to divide the Knossos tablets into three broad groups: the RCT tablets; GROUP A and GROUP B, where the latter two are listed in TABLE III.9.

TABLE III.9: *Defining Groups A and B*

GROUP A	GROUP B
Western Magazines	North Entrance Passage
Gallery of Jewel Fresco	W. Insula
S.W. Pillar Room	West of Arsenal

GROUP A	GROUP B
Area of Clay Signet Room	
East-West Corridor	
Hall of Colonnades	
Corridor of Sword Tablets	
'Corridor of House Tablets'	
Arsenal	

One could readily try to make an argument that GROUP A and GROUP B are contemporary using the sort of links described above. However, for the purposes of the present discussion, it is convenient to withhold judgement on their contemporaneity but to recognise that the links between GROUPS A and B are, in general, weaker than the links within the groups, considering the numbers of tablets.

TABLE III.9 omitted the tablets from the Room of Column Bases and the Clay Chest. In the former case, there appear to be associations between the men's names and those from both the RCT and the J2/J3 tablets. However, in both cases, these are based on a small number of names. On the basis of the handwriting styles, Driessen would suggest an earlier date. The strongest link is via the palm-print of L DELTA, which links the RCB tablets with the tablets of the NEP (via scribe 110). In the case of the Clay Chest tablets, there is a weak link to Magazine IV via X 453 (written by scribe 138?). There is also a weak link to the Gallery of Jewel Fresco tablets because both sets of tablets prominently feature the month, *ka-ra-e-ri-jo*.²⁵⁹

2. What is the absolute chronology of the tablets?

The basic difficulty with determining the date of the Linear B tablets is that the perceived facts do not fit into a simple pattern. It was long held that the majority of tablets are contemporary (the 'unity of archive'). Once that was accepted as a fact, then it was only necessary to assess a single date for the conflagration in which the palace was destroyed and the tablets were fired. However, it was at that stage that the argument began in earnest, because, for example, it seemed to be possible to date the Western Magazine tablets conclusively to early LMIIIA2 (Popham 1970), whereas the North Entrance Passage tablets appeared to have been found on a LMIIIB surface (*OKTi*). The dating of the tablets from each of these areas has been vigorously questioned although no consensus has been achieved.

As already noted, Driessen (1994) suggested that we should consider the possibility of multiple destructions, so that the tablets are not necessarily

²⁵⁹ Olivier (1967, Chapter II, p. 84) notes that Hand 139, from the Clay Chest, strongly resembles Hand 140, from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco. In addition, he notes that there are affinities between Hand 141, from the RCB, and the writing on Fs 3 from the Clay Chest.

contemporary. He made a start on this approach by splitting off the archive Room of Chariot Tablets and showing, firstly, that they could be de-coupled from the remainder of the archive and, secondly, that the archaeology was broadly consistent with such an interpretation. The discussion on the dating of the RCT tablets was included in PART II, SECTION 7, where it was concluded that they were consistent with a date of LMIIIA1.

In the previous section, it was shown that it is possible to separate the bulk of the remainder of the archive into two main groups, GROUPS A and B. These groups are partially linked, i.e. it is possible to make a reasonable case to suggest that they are contemporary. However, the debate on chronology is at sufficient state of impasse that it seems worthwhile 'relaxing' the requirement that GROUP A and GROUP B are part of the same archive and examining the consequences.

2.1. *Considering GROUP B*

It has already been shown in PART II that the GROUP B tablets from the northern sector are most readily dated to LMIIIB.²⁶⁰ This is consistent with the analysis of the pottery set out by Popham (1964, 1970) and with the detailed re-examination of the archaeology described by Raison (1988). Raison (1978) favours a date transitional between LMIIIA and LMIIIB. Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 47, footnote 3) suggests that the octopus decorations «are not of the earliest LMIIIB style». Whereas Popham (1964) suggests the second half of the 13th century. Hallager (1977, p. 93) notes that the wide spread of dates reflects an uncertainty of dating LMIIIB ceramics. However, if we were allowed to consider GROUP B tablets in isolation, there is general agreement that they would be dated to LMIIIB period.

In other words, although, there may possibly be some continuing discussion about Palmer and Raison's (1975) interpretation of the NW Insula and there may be some discussion about whether the tablets in the NEP arrived at their find-place at the same time as the couple-vases, if the GROUP B tablets were taken in isolation from the remainder of the archive, there should be general agreement that they were dated to LMIIIB.

2.2. *Considering the Western Magazines*

The situation is less straightforward for the GROUP A tablets, which have been the focus of much of the debate on the dating of the tablets. There are two key areas in dating these tablets; the Western Magazines and the Area of the Daemon Seals. These will be considered in this section and the following one, respectively.

There are two opposing views for the dating of the destruction of the Western Magazines. These are represented by Popham (1970), favouring early LMIIIA2, and Hallager (1977), favouring LMIIIB.

²⁶⁰ Hood (1965) did suggest a date in the range LMIIIA2 to LMIIIB1, though he subsequently moved away from the LMIIIA2 suggestion (see Niemeier 1982, p. 223 footnote 19).

Popham (1970) describes a number of 'complete' vases which were found in the Western Magazines and uses these to support his dating to early LMIIIA2. Hallager (1977, pp. 51-53) rejects this argument. He lists the 'complete' vases and notes that, «with three exceptions (nos. 2, 12 and 15) these 'complete' vases are so fragmentary or have been found so much scattered that one can hardly defend the term complete. This is quite obvious with the Palace Style Jars (with one or two exceptions) which have been reconstructed from far less than 1/10 of the original sherds».²⁶¹ Hallager suggests that these were not complete vases but sherds incorporated as packing material during building works. Popham (1988) answers this point by suggesting that the vases had stood on an upper floor, which was «well supported by the narrow compartments of the magazines below» and, therefore, he judged that it was to be expected that most of the fragments of vases would have remained at the higher floor level and been lost to us by subsequent erosion or cultivation.

From our point of view, this is a particularly interesting argument because the Linear B tablets were on the upper floor and were only preserved (a) because they were fired, during the conflagration, and (b) because they fell into the magazines. In this case, some of the tablets would have been lost because they were not fired sufficiently and others would have been lost because they were fired but did not fall sufficiently far into the magazine to be protected from erosion and cultivation. On this basis, we should expect that the fraction of 'complete' vases which were preserved from the area of the Western Magazines should be higher than the fraction of Linear B archive preserved (because the latter had been fired before the conflagration).

It is usually difficult to estimate how much of a Linear B archive has been preserved, unless totalling tablets have been found. There are undoubtedly examples where a significant set of tablets has been lost to us (with the possible exception of one or two fragments) because the tablets were not well-fired, or too near the surface (or found at some point in history but not recorded). However, for the Western Magazine archives, a substantial number of significant sets of tablets have been recovered. In these cases, the sets probably represent substantially more than 10% of the original. Therefore, intuitively, it would be difficult to accept an argument which suggested that the Palace Style Jars were substantially incomplete because the sherds did not fall into the magazines, whereas a significant proportion of the Linear B tablets from the same upper floor were preserved.²⁶²

²⁶¹ The three vases which Hallager lists as being more complete are, respectively, two Palace Style Jars from the Western Magazines shown by Popham (1970) in Plates 4d and 4b and a strainer or lid from the Magazine of the Jewel Fresco Popham (1970) Plate 7c.

²⁶² Popham (1970, pp. 71-73) dates the Palace Style Jars to a period significantly earlier than his early LMIIIA2 date for the destruction of the Western Magazines. In other words, within Popham's framework these Jars are heirlooms. It would be possible to retain Hallager's LMIIB date but suggest that the more complete Jars, with sherds that were not dispersed over a wide area, could also be heirlooms. However, this does not seem to be a satisfactory basis for discussion from either point of view.

Having discounted the 'complete' Palace Style Jars, Hallager (1977, pp. 81ff.) suggests that the pottery excavated by Kalokairinos was LMIIIB pottery from the Western Magazines. Niemeier (1982) supports Hallager and quotes an extract from the writings of Fabricius. However, it is evident from the study of Kalokairinos' excavation, described by Driessen (1990), that the South Front Basement area was also uncovered during that earlier work. Furthermore, it would be surprising if Kalokairinos had dug a dozen test pits and succeeded in extracting all of the whole LMIIIB pottery from the Western Magazine area. It is much more likely that any LMIIIB pottery excavated by Kalokairinos was from the South Front Basements, where extensive finds of such pottery were made by Evans and Mackenzie (Popham 1991a).

If we set aside both of these arguments, then the dating of the Western Magazines is not due to 'complete' vases but becomes based on the contents of boxes of pottery sherds in the Stratigraphical Museum.

The problem with the material in the Stratigraphical Museum is analogous to the problems which we have encountered with the Linear B tablets, only at a more severe level. Pottery was only saved from a fraction of the site (Hallager 1977, Fig. 47, though it is evident from Popham 1970, that even this plan exaggerates the areas sampled). Even when pottery was saved from an area, there was selection and less than 1% of the sherds found were retained (Hallager 1977).²⁶³ The samples of pottery were stored in labelled boxes and some of the samples were described in detail by Mackenzie in his pottery notebooks (1901 to 1904). The cataloguing of the boxes of sherds was not begun until 1922 and was eventually completed by Pendlebury, following his employment as curator of Knossos in 1930. However, at that stage, more than 25 years after the original excavation, some of the original wooden labels had become illegible because of the ravages of insects. This work was aided by the memory and personal plans of the foreman, Akoumianakis. As might be expected, there is much scope for discussion about the alignment of the boxes of sherds with the pottery notebooks, about the precise source of the sherds and about whether the samples had become corrupted because of stray sherds. Furthermore, the samples, for the most part, are not taken from stratified layers, so in some cases they simply represent a cross-section of pottery from Neolithic to Hellenic. Thus, the problems associated with the quality control of the basic information on the pottery samples is much greater than that encountered with the Linear B tablets.

In the case of the Western Magazines, Hallager includes discussion of a total of 15 samples. However, most of these are taken from below the paved surface of the magazines. In respect of these, Hallager and Popham are in agreement that there were building modifications in this area in early LMIIIA2, which would

²⁶³ We should also note that during the excavation 'later walls' were generally removed because they did not belong to the palatial period of particular interest to Evans and Mackenzie. It is possible that pottery was selected using a similar criteria of 'saving better items'.

explain the dating of the samples sealed below the floors.²⁶⁴ The discussion of samples above floor level are restricted to a total of 7 boxes of samples from Magazines VIII, X (7th *kasella*), XVI, XVII and XVIII. Furthermore, there appears to be agreement on the dating of these samples of sherds between Popham (1970), Hallager (1977) and Raison (1993).

Thus, the dispute on dating is not due to a disagreement of the dating of the sherds. Instead, it arises because Popham suggests that the destruction of the Western Magazines occurred shortly after the building modifications and that the samples of pottery retained are representative of all the pottery excavated. By contrast, Hallager suggests that the samples of pottery retained were not representative.

From our point of view, the most interesting part of the discussion relates to the joining of sherds from test samples obtained from different parts of the palace. This is analogous to joining tablets which were ascribed to different find-places. In practice, the data provided by the Linear B tablets suggests that they fell from their original positions to their find positions in a straightforward manner, consistent with the destruction of a building by a fierce fire. There is an exception to this, which is considered below, but this can readily be attributed to defective recording of find-places. By contrast, Popham and Hallager describe numerous cases of joins between sherds which were found in markedly different find-places. For example, Popham constructed an amphroid crater (Popham 1970, Plate 8a) using most of the sherds from the surface deposit in Magazine VIII, together with sherds from box G II 8 781 (S. Propylaeum from a LMIIIB buttress wall), G II 782 (S. Propylaeum) and G II 783-784 (Area of the walls in Central Clay Area). These samples were excavated in 1900?, 1902, 1923-25, 1903, respectively, thus, it would not be reasonable to suggest that the sherds had accidentally been put in the wrong excavation tray.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Strictly, there were 3 or 4 sherds that are LMIIIA2 to LMIIIB but these are agreed, by Popham and Hallager, to represent contamination of the samples because these are too few to represent a later date for the repairs.

²⁶⁵ This is not, by any means, an isolated example. Sherds from D XXII 1 562 from Area N. of 18th Magazine join with two sherds, one from G II 8 781 (S. Propylaeum from a LMIIIB buttress wall) and the other from North Foundations (Popham 1970, p. 48; Hallager 1977, p. 53). Sherds «almost certainly from the same vase» were found both in Magazine 13 and in the North Entrance Passage area (Popham, 1970, p. 44). A sherd from Box 1850 marked 18th Magazine fits with a sherd from E I 1 (593), «N Foundation» (Hallager 1977, p. 79). Sherds from C IV 1 473 «S. Front» fit together with a sherd from E I 2 596 «N. Front of Palace N. of N. Foundation (large construction)» (Hallager 1977, p. 79). Sherds from E I 12 630 «Area N. W. of N. Tank» fit with sherds from box 1850 marked «S.W. Fo[undation]» (Hallager 1977, p. 80). Sherds from the Passage of the Daemon seals (N I 8 1254) join with sherds from «Room of the W. Seat, the Court of the Distaffs» (N I 1 1243), «Treasury Lair» (N I 9 1255), S. E House (O I 11) and the «Pit N. of N.W. Kamares Area (N.W. House)» (A II 1) (Popham 1970, p. 24; Hallager 1977, p. 79).

Popham (1970, p. 57) suggests that this spread of sherds «demonstrates the magnitude of the calamity which befell the Palace. With the collapse of the upper storey, vases stored there were scattered: parts fell through into the Magazines below; other fragments were shot with the falling debris into the S. Propylaeum, the main walls of which seem to have survived the disaster.» In other words, Popham is suggesting that there were a series of explosions during the destruction of the Palace.

There are a number of basic problems with this explosion hypothesis and it would require a great deal of work to demonstrate that it was physically plausible. Firstly, one would have to say what materials the Bronze Age Cretans could have stored in their palace which would have caused explosions of the required force.²⁶⁶ The most likely contender for causing a fierce fire would be stored pithoi filled with olive oil. The Magazines behind the Throne Room at Pylos, where olive oil was stored, demonstrate the fierceness of the fire which can occur (Rooms 23, 24; Blegen & Rawson 1966). However, Evans only notes the possibility of an oil fire in one of the Western Magazines (Magazine IV; 1901 BSA report, pp. 48 & 83) and the degree of blackening (shown in Raison 1993, Plate XXXIV) would suggest that the amount of oil ignited was limited. In Magazine VIII, for example, the fire was not fierce enough to bake all the (Pp-series) tablets on the floor in the SE corner of the magazine. Furthermore even if the fire was fierce that would not necessarily lead to explosions. In addition, there are numerous examples of sherds being scattered, so a series of special circumstances which could lead to an isolated explosion would not be sufficient to support Popham's hypothesis. Secondly, one would have to extend the explosion hypothesis to explain how sherds of pottery were thrown outside the containment of a room across the length of the palace. If the room was still intact at the time of the explosion then any sherds of pottery would probably hit the walls or ceiling of the room as they were collapsing. One might speculate that the room had already been opened up by the fire and the walls and/or ceiling had fallen away, not covering the pottery which was about to be scattered by the explosion. However, this sequence would have to be repeated for each of the explosions. Thirdly, one would have to show why such forceful explosions did not simply shatter the sherds into dust. Fourthly, and pertinent to the present discussion, one would have to consider the case of the Linear B tablets.

If the explosion hypothesis were correct, such explosions would have scattered the files of Linear B tablets archives in the upper rooms over a wide area. However, this hypothesis is not supported by the find-place evidence from the Linear B tablets. There is only one example where joined fragments of the same tablet appear to come from widely separated find-places and that is

²⁶⁶ In principle, it is possible that explosions could be caused by the build up of gases from fermenting vegetation, stored within unventilated rooms. However, it seems most unlikely that a palace with well-kept records, would have contained rooms filled with rotting vegetation.

fragments *SM* 411 and *SM* 511, which according to the *Handlist* were found in the Area of the Bull Relief and Magazine VIII, respectively. However, these areas were being excavated around the same time and it is much more likely that one of the find-places was recorded incorrectly.

Hallager also questioned the validity of the explosion hypothesis and argued that there must have been human intervention to separate the sherds by such large distances (see also Niemeier 1983, p. 220). In other words, the sherds were separated because they were from pottery which had broken prior to the destruction. He suggests that these sherds were used as filler during building work. Hallager also argues that when the pottery samples were selected for retention there had been a bias, with the later samples being rejected because they were regarded as less interesting than earlier samples. If this were the case, the samples retained are simply dating the last repair of the building rather than its destruction. A further possibility is simply that there may have been little or no contemporary pottery in the Western Magazine area when the palace was destroyed because it was not being used for domestic purposes.

The conclusion of the above discussion is that there is general agreement that the pottery sherds in the Stratigraphical Museum demonstrate that the *terminus post quem* for the Linear B tablets found in the Western Magazine is early LMIIIA2. However, it does not follow that this is the destruction date for this part of the palace. Hallager's suggestion that the pottery sherds were part of filler used during building activities is more physically plausible than Popham's hypothesis that there were a series of explosions during the destruction of the palace which scattered pottery sherds over a very wide area.

2.3. Deposit of sherds from the Area of the Daemon Seals

As already noted, Popham (1991a) highlights two areas which he uses to date the destruction of the palace to LMIIIA. The Western Magazines were discussed in the previous section. The second area is the deposit which was found in the area of the Daemon Seals, south of the Hall of Colonnades (see also PART II, SECTION 19). This deposit was sealed in layer about 70 centimetres thick, between the original floor level and the later floor level, «upon which were found several later Mycenaean amphorae and a stirrup vase with octopus decoration» (1902 *BSA* Report, p. 70). The sealed deposit appeared to Evans to have been in a closet under the wooden stairs and became sealed when the floor level was raised «during the reoccupation». Popham (1970, p. 25) considers a range of possibilities.

1. the LMIIIA sherds were a filling material used below the stairs,
2. the LMIIIA sherds were a dump made in the compartment after the stairs had been burnt (or been robbed or had rotted away),
3. the LMIIIA sherds had fallen during an LMIIIA destruction from an upper floor level, above the stairs and the surrounding rooms.

Popham quickly rules out the first two possibilities because fitting sherds were found in adjoining rooms and he concludes that the sherds had fallen from an upper floor during an LMIIIA destruction. Hallager (1977, pp. 78-79) notes that, although fitting sherds were indeed found in the «Room of the W. Seat, Court of Distaffs» box in the Stratigraphical Museum (N I 1 1243) and also the «Treasury Lair» box (N I 9), they were also found in the S. E. House (box O I 11) and «Pit N of N.W. Kamares Area (N .W. House)» in box A II 1 (see also Popham, p. 24).²⁶⁷ Both of these houses are some distance away from the area of the Daemon Seals. Hallager concludes that the deposit from the area of the Daemon Seals cannot simply be a destruction fall from an upper level and there must have been some human intervention. Therefore, the most likely explanation is that the sherds of the deposit were part of filling material used during the building activities.

Niemeier (1982) gives a full discussion of the dating of the Daemon Seal area. He accepts Hallager's revision of Popham's conclusion. He suggests that the «stirrup vase with octopus decoration», described by Evans as being on the later floor above the sealed deposit, points to a LMIIIB date for that later floor. He also notes that the daemon seals (and, by extension, the other signs of scribal activity) were not part of the LMIIIA deposit (which was found under the stairs) but were found at a higher level above the level of the first landing of the stairs (BSA report 1902, p. 75).

The conclusion is that the LMIIIA destruction, which is represented by the deposit from the area of the Daemon Seals, described by Popham, gives a *terminus post quem* for the scribal activity. However, the scribal activity would seem to have been taking place at the time of the destruction of the upper floor level in the general area of the Hall of Colonnades (which would have included the East-West Corridor) and would appear to be more accurately dated by the «several later Mycenaean amphorae and a stirrup vase with octopus decoration» which were on the later floor than by the sherds which were sealed under the floor.

Before concluding the discussion of GROUP A tablets, we should also note the tablets from the Corridor of Sword Tablets, the SW Pillar Room and the Queen's Megaron were all found in close proximity to LMIIIB pottery and, whilst it is possible to plead that the tablets and the pottery should not be linked, such arguments are difficult to sustain convincingly.

Thus, the standard method of dating artefacts, using pottery sherds, leads to the conclusion that a *terminus post quem* for the GROUP A tablets is early LMIIIA2. However, there is a clear implication that the tablets themselves probably have a later date. As the dating evidence using pottery sherds leads to some uncertainty, we are led towards considering other possible approaches to indicating a date.

²⁶⁷ This example of sherds from the same vase being found in diverse test samples within the Stratigraphical Museum has already been included in the list given in a previous footnote.

2.4. *Considering the clay sealings*

Popham (1991a) suggests that the stylistic evidence of the sealings do not support a date later than LMIIIA1.²⁶⁸ In practice, there appears to be little controversy about the stylistic dating of the sealings. Niemeier (1983) strongly favours an LMIIIB date for the destruction of the palace but agrees that the seals which impressed the sealings were not made later than LMII/LMIIIA. However, he also notes that the sealings found at Pylos were impressed by seals of LHII/LHIIIA1, although the destruction of the Pylos was in late LHIIIB/early LHIIIC.²⁶⁹ This demonstrates that seals remained in use long after they were manufactured and therefore cannot contribute towards our present discussion (see also Pini 1988).

2.5. *Considering Linear B inscriptions found at other sites*

A further approach to dating the Knossos Linear B tablets has been to consider the dating of the other sources of Linear B texts. Driessen (1990) summarised the dating of the mainland tablets as follows,

Pylos	LHIIIC (early)
Thebes (tablets)	LHIIIB2
Thebes (sealings)	LHIIIB1
Tiryns	LHIIIB2 (end)
Mycenae	LHIIIB1 (end)

It should be noted that Popham (1991b) has tentatively suggested an earlier date for the destruction of Pylos (i.e. early LHIIIB). In addition, Symeonoglou (1985) has suggested a LHIIIB1 date for the Thebes tablets.

The dating of the inscribed stirrup jars (ISJ's) is discussed in detail by Catling *et al.* (1980), with the conclusion that they are LHIIIB (or late LHIIIA2 at the earliest). Catling *et al.* are clearly of the view that the circulation of the Cretan ISJ's had not started before the date of the LMIIIA2 destruction of Knossos. They draw particular attention to ISJ-73, which was the locally produced ISJ found in the Unexplored Mansion and was dated to LMIIIB (see PART II, SECTION 24). They suggest that this demonstrated that there was Linear B literacy at Knossos in the 13th century. Catling *et al.* summarise by suggesting that their investigation weakened the case for associating the Linear B archive exclusively with the destruction in early LMIIIA2.

This point was later reinforced by the Linear B tablets which were excavated from Khania and were dated to the end of LMIIIB1 (Hallager *et al.* 1992).

²⁶⁸ It should be noted that there were only five sealings noted by Gill (1965) as being found in the North Entrance Passage and NW Insula. One of those was not illustrated by Evans and a second has an inscription but no seal impression (Wm 1707). Thus, it could reasonably be argued that the dating of sealings should not be considered for GROUP B tablets because of the scarcity of sealings in these areas.

²⁶⁹ Popham (1991b) has suggested that Pylos was destroyed in early LHIIIB, however, even if this were the case, Niemeier's argument would still remain valid, since that destruction would still post-date the seals by many years.

However, there has also been discussion about whether a Knossos scribe wrote tablets found at Khania. It was noted from the outset that there were similarities between the scribal hand of the Khania tablets, Ar 4 and Gq 5, and that of Knossos scribe 115. The similarity was sufficiently strong that at one stage Olivier (1994) stated with certainty that Knossos scribe 115 was present at Khania, implying that this supported a LMIIIB date for the Knossos archives. However, after some discussion in the literature (Olivier 1993; Palaima 1993), Olivier (1996) agreed that there was not enough basis for stating categorically that Knossos scribe 115 had definitely written the two Khanian tablets. Nevertheless, the palaeographical similarity is sufficient to persuade Driessen (2000) that the find-date of the Khanian tablets fixes the date of the Knossos scribe 115 tablets within «at the most a generation, but more likely at the most the length of the active life of the official 115».

For present purposes, we should note that scribe 115 makes an important contribution to the GROUP A tablets at Knossos. If we accepted Driessen's view, and set the length of an active scribal life at, say, 40 years, then we would date the Knossos tablets to within 40 years of the end of LMIIIB1.

2.6. Summary

In SECTION 1, it was noted that the links between GROUP A and GROUP B tablets were relatively weak. It was suggested that it was feasible that GROUP A and GROUP B tablets could date from different chronological periods. In this section, we have considered the evidence for dating these two groups of tablets. It has been concluded that,

1. GROUP B tablets can be dated to LMIIIB by the whole vases with which they were found.
2. GROUP A tablets have a *terminus post quem* of early LMIIIA2, although they are probably later than this date.
3. the sealings found with the tablets tend to imply an early date, but they are not useful for dating because seals remained in use for long periods.
4. there was certainly scribal activity on the mainland and at Khania during LMIIIB and the locally produced ISJ found in the Unexplored Mansion tends to imply that there was literacy at Knossos during LMIIIB.
5. the similarity of hand writing between the GROUP A scribe 115 at Knossos and the scribe of the Khania tablets, Ar 4 and Gq 5 (dated to the end of LMIIIB1), suggests (at least to Driessen) that the GROUP A tablets should have a date around LMIIIB1 (plus or minus, say, 40 years). However, dating evidence based on handwriting styles should only be regarded as tentative.

We have shown that the links between the contents of the GROUP A and GROUP B records are relatively weak. However, on the basis of the above discussion, these two groups of tablets could still be contemporary (i.e. within LMIIIB), even though we have not forced this as an assumption. Intuitively, it is more likely that they are contemporary and that there was one huge conflagration which destroyed the whole palace. However, it remains a possibility that the

destruction of the northern sector of the palace could have been chronologically separated from the fire which destroyed the remainder of the palace.

2.7. *Considering the Absolute Chronology*

Up until this point, all the discussion of chronologies has been in terms of Late Minoan periods based on pottery styles. At this stage, it is appropriate to relate these to absolute dates.

The dates given in TABLE III.10 are from two sources. Warren and Hankey (1989) use the conventional approach, primarily dating Minoan pottery based on Egyptian historical synchronisms. Manning (1995, 1999) uses scientific dating techniques and, in particular, this results in a higher date for the eruption of Thera.²⁷⁰

TABLE III.10: *Absolute chronologies (all dates are BC)*

	Warren & Hankey	Manning
LMIA	1600-1580 to 1480±	1675± to 1600-1580
LMIB	1480± to -1425	1600-1580 to 1500-1490
LMII	1425 to 1390	1500-1490 to 1440-1425
LMIIIA1	1390 to 1370-1360	1440-1425 to 1390-1370
LMIIIA2	1370-1360 to 1340-1330	1390-1370 to 1360-1325
LMIIIB	1340-1330 to 1190±	1360-1325 to 1200-1190

The point which should be noted is that, although there is significant disagreement in these two approaches for the date of the beginning of LMIA, the agreement is much greater for the periods of interest in this paper, i.e. early LMIIIA2 to LMIIIB.

It can be seen that the duration of LMIIIA2 is roughly 30 years. Thus, the actual difference between Popham’s proposed destruction date for Knossos of early LMIIIA2 and Raison’s suggested date of early LMIIIB is, in practice, only 30 years.

Warren and Hankey and Manning do not give dates for dividing LMIIIB into LMIIIB1 and LMIIIB2. Indeed, from the recent paper by Kanta (1997), and the discussion which followed, there is some debate whether the two periods are properly distinct or whether LMIIIB2 for Khania should be regarded as the same as Warren’s early LMIIIC. However, for the purposes of this discussion, it is clear that there is at least 100 years between Popham’s date for the destruction of Knossos and Hallager’s date for the Khania tablets.

2.8. *Considering the wider picture*

Popham (1988) has argued the importance of fitting the destruction of the Linear B archive at Knossos in with our knowledge of the rest of the island. In particular, he suggests that our understanding of the archive would fit better with a date of around 1400 than one of 1200 BC.

²⁷⁰ The dates for LMIA to LMIIIA1 are taken from Manning 1999, p. 340. The remaining dates are from Manning 1995, p. 217.

The outline of Cretan history described by Popham is generally agreed and it can be summarised, as follows,

1. Prior to *ca.* 1450 BC the Crete was at the height of its prosperity.
2. Around 1450 BC this picture changed radically with the wave of LMIB destructions during the Mycenaean take-over of the island. In the period immediately following this there was a new emphasis on militarism, particularly noted by the warrior burials.
3. Following the destruction at Knossos in early LMIIIA2 there were no longer warrior graves, there was an absence of innovation, there is no evidence of a building programme, overseas contacts became more limited.
4. Around 1200 BC, there is some evidence for a reasonably populated countryside (from burials including vases). At the main centres the evidence seems to be largely one of partial occupation with the main exception of Khania, which appears to have taken over a dominant position on the island.

Popham argues that the 1200 BC date is not consistent with the militaristic elements found on the tablets and the centralised control which they reveal of large areas of Crete. However, the difficulty arises largely because he has implicitly assumed that all the Knossos Linear B archives were written around the same date ('the unity of the archive'). If we accept Driessen's suggestion and allow an earlier date of LMIIIA1 for the RCT tablets, then much of the overtly militaristic material, which is represented by the RCT archive, is located around a date which is consistent with the warrior graves.

The other significant problem that Popham notes arises from the state of the palace at the time of its destruction. It is worth repeating the contrasting descriptions of Knossos which were quoted in PART II, SECTION 1. The following passage by Hallager (1977) neatly summarises the conventional view of the Knossos at the time of the Linear B archives. «The tablets were at most one year old at the destruction of the Palace by fire and these tablets demonstrate that Knossos was indisputably the economic centre of Crete. The Mycenaeans at the time of the tablets occupied Knossos from where they administered most of the island. The date of the Linear B tablets will consequently also give us a date for the latest use of Knossos as the administrative centre of the island - i.e. as a palace.» This describes the importance of Knossos as a major economic centre. From this description, it is natural to assume that such an important economic centre must be a splendid place.

However, Popham (1987) paints a different picture of Knossos, «scribes and archives spread over large areas of the Palace and in unexpected places. It is somewhat reminiscent of, say, the Ministry of Supply, evacuated from London during the last war and accommodated in one of the stately country houses of Britain, with clerks sitting in the ballroom (with its tapestries still hanging on the walls) and in alcoves along the corridors filing cabinets and all, amid the ancestral possessions of the owners». This is still describing Knossos as an important centre for organising economic activities. However, the description is of an economic centre in a building which is no longer a splendid palace.

Evans and Mackenzie instinctively assumed that the archives must date from the period when the palace was at its peak. However, whilst it is undoubtedly true that there were palace archives during that period, it does not follow that scribal activities stopped during the period when the palace was in decline. Thus, the archives which have been preserved do not necessarily date to the palace when it was at its peak.

Our difficulty with trying to reconcile the view of palace at the time of the Linear B records with that of the rest of Crete could be largely due to the implicit assumptions which we are making about the former. If we assumed that all the tablets date from the same point in time and that coincided with the palace at its most magnificent, then there is a problem. However, if we separate the Linear B records into different chronological periods and if we accept that scribal activity continued during the declining years of the palace, then the number of apparent inconsistencies decreases.

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