

The secondary scribes of Knossos¹

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INTRODUCTION

In his influential work, *Les Scribes de Cnossos (Scribes)*, Olivier identified 41 major scribes and 25 secondary scribes on the Linear B tablets. The aim of this paper is to re-consider the secondary scribes of Knossos.

It is hoped that the contents of this paper will form part of the basis for a new study of the Scribes of Knossos. However, it should be emphasised that this paper has been written at a time when it is not possible to gain access to examine the Knossos tablets. It follows that all the conclusions here should be regarded as preliminary and they will require confirmation when the tablets become available again. Nevertheless, this paper gathers together the discussions concerning the secondary scribes which are currently scattered throughout the published literature. It also takes this opportunity to set down some hitherto unpublished suggestions.²

ADDITION OF NEW SCRIBAL GROUPINGS

The original publication of *Scribes* contained a total of 25 secondary scribes. However, there are references in the literature to numerous other groupings of tablets and it has been decided to identify some of these as the work of newly named secondary scribes. This has the clear advantage that, if they are adopted, then the groupings become explicit in the publications of the texts, rather than only receiving

¹ It is convenient in this paper to refer to researchers using initials (as is done in the papers which report joins). JPO = Jean-Pierre Olivier; JTK = John Killen; JLM = José Melena; RJF = Richard Firth.

² There are occasional statements in the literature which tentatively suggest that the pieces numbered 10,000 and above could be associated with particular scribal hands based on the clay-type. Such statements are noted here in the footnotes of this paper, however, in view of the very fragmentary nature of these pieces, they are not included in the formal listings of tablets associated with scribal hands that are given in the main text.

a brief mention in one or two specific research papers. The new scribes are numbered 226-234:

- Hand 226 for the group of Fh-series tablets from the South Front.
- Hand 227 for the group of tablets from the area of the Room of the Bügelkannes which were identified as being by the same scribe by Killen (1988).
- Hand 228 for a group of Ak-series tablets which were identified as being by the same scribe by Killen (1988).
- Hand 229 for a group of Sg tablets from the North Entrance Passage.
- Hand 230 for the group of Dq(5) tablets from under the blocked doorway near the throne room.
- Hand 231 for a small group of So and Sp tablets from the Arsenal
- Hand 232 is used for the Wm nodules found in J2bis.
- Hand 233 for a small group of C-series tablets from the North Entrance Passage.
- Hand 234 is used for a small group of E & F tablets from the North Entrance Passage.

Scribes includes the measurements of the tablets that are attributed to particular scribal hands. In the case of these new hands, measurements were not given in *Scribes* and so for the purposes of this paper, the dimensions are based on the 1:1 photographs and drawings in *CoMIK* (and the thicknesses of the tablets are not given).

DISCUSSION OF CLASSIFICATION

It is judged appropriate to introduce some minor changes to the classification of the Knossos tablets. These changes are additional to those set out in *KT5* (p. XIII), which are based, in turn, on the recommendations of Chadwick (1972).

In *KT5*, the Ai(2)-set of tablets were written by scribes 102?, 205, 227 together with tablets with hands which remain unidentified. However, the Ai(2) tablets written by scribe 102? and 227 were found in the Room of the Bügelkannes and those written by 205 were very probably excavated from the West Wing. Therefore, it is suggested that the scribe 205 tablets should be re-classified as Ai(4) .

The Ai(3)-set is described by Chadwick (1972) as “I3, hand 204; Women and sub-divided children, probably slaves, often with *qi-ri-ja-to*”. However, on closer inspection this interpretation is rather misleading. The only children within Ai(3) are on 824 and this is not attributed to hand 204; furthermore, 966 appears to contain a male slave but no women or children. It is suggested that it would be better to re-define the Ai(3)-set as “I3 slaves, sometimes with *qi-ri-ja-to*”. With this definition, we can then include a number of other tablets as part of the

Ai(3)-set, which were found in the North Entrance Passage: 822, 988 (together with 5984 if it is from I3, see the discussion below). The basis for this suggestion extends beyond the fact that they are all concerned with slaves. The following table gives the Original Numbers (ON's) of the relevant tablets (i.e. within Evans' *Original Handlist*).

ORIGINAL NUMBER	TABLET	SCRIBE
671	Ai(3) 824	–
700	B 822	–
739	Ai(3) 1012	204
745	B(1) 988	–
775	Ai(3) 825	204
779	Ai(3) 1036	204
780	Ai(3) 1037	204
800	Ai(3) 966	204
810	Ai(3) 982	204

This shows that the Ai(3)-set with ON's 775-810 were originally listed close together, implying that they were probably found close together. All of the Ai(3)-set written by scribe 204 were found within the reasonably tight range of 739-810³. 822 and 988 were listed near to the tablets of scribe 204 in the *Original Handlist* and could therefore have been directly associated with them. However, Olivier (1987, p. 481) is clear that 988 was not written by the same hand that wrote either 822 or 824 or the tablets attributed to hand 204.⁴

Ak(4) are a small set of tablets that were originally identified by Killen (1988, pp. 171-172). He described the scribal hand as closely similar to that of hand 113. Nosch (2000, p. 64) refers to the grouping as Ak(4) and we have adopted that suggestion in this paper. The scribal hand of the Ak(4)-set has been given the number 228.

DI(2) tablets are defined to be those tablets written by scribe 215. These were probably all found in the south front region of the palace, in the area of the Clay Signet Room.

DI(3) tablets are defined to be those tablets written by scribe 218. These were probably found in the West Wing of the palace (on the basis of the clay-type).

³ There is some question about whether 824 was part of the same set, because this tablet was listed next to C(2) 915, and both tablets concern the possessions of *a-pi-qa-(i)-ta* (Firth 1998, p. 57), however, it is convenient to continue to classify it as Ai(3).

⁴ Nosch has suggested that our enlarged Ai(3)-set contains two types of tablet: tablets representing contracts of purchases, 822, 988, 1037, 5976, 7745?; accounts of slaves listed under the names of their owners, 824, 825, 966, 982, 1012, 1036, 7867 (Nosch 2000, pp. 164-165).

Dq(5) tablets are defined to be those tablets written by hand 230 and found under the blocked doorway of the room behind the throne (find-place H5).

Fh(2) tablets are defined to be those tablets written by hand 226 and found in the area of the Clay Signet Room, south area of the central courtyard of the palace. (Strictly, this should imply that the Fh tablets by hand 141 are classified as Fh(1) but, in view of the fact that the Fh tablets are closely associated with hand 141, it is judged that it is not necessary to propose this change here.)

Od(5) are the group of wool tablets identified by Killen (1988 pp. 172-174). The set has been designated as Od(5) following Nosch (2006). The hand has been given the number 227.

THE SECONDARY SCRIBES OF KNOSSOS

HAND 201⁵

Tablet

C 902

Find-place

I3 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

8.2 × (12.5) × 2.8 cm (this thickness was measured at the level of the upper edge; going towards the base, the thickness diminishes until it is finally no more than a few millimetres); (12) lines of *ca.* 1 cm; *verso* lined but not bearing (or no longer bearing) any trace of inscription.

verso: →

HAND 202⁶

Tablet

U 4478

⁵ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* only attributed this one tablet to this scribe.

⁶ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* only attributed this one tablet to this scribe. The find-place is based on Evans' notes for the Arsenal tablets. The number of lines on the tablet is based on the assessment by Melena 1998, p. 422.

Find-place

L

Description

10 × 20 × 2 cm. This tablet has (26) lines of *ca.* 0.8 cm. The sides are thinned and upper corners are very slightly rounded. The tablet is distorted because of the heat of the conflagration in which it was accidentally fired.

HAND 203⁷

Tablet

V(6) 831

Find-place

I3 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

(12) × 15.2 × 2.3 cm (this greater thickness is at the base of the tablet; at the upper edge the thickness measures only 1 cm); 9 lines of *ca.* 1.7 cm, cut at bottom; upper right corner (only surviving) slightly rounded.

HAND 204⁸

Tablets

Ai(3) 825, 966, 982, 1012, 1036, 1037, 5976, 7745?, 7867?, 9906??

B(1) 5984?

Find-place

I3 : Ai(3) 825, 966, 982, 1012, 1036, 1037 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

⁷ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* only attributed this one tablet to this scribe.

⁸ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 825, 966, 982, 1012, 1036, 1037, 5976, 7745?, 7867? to Hand 204.

- JLM attributed 9906 to hand 204??, re-classifying it from X to Ai(3) (*priv. comm.*).
- 5984 has been included because the writing of *do-e-ro* is very similar to that on Ai(3) 966. However, it is noted that the *go* does not have a horizontal line through the vertical stem which is found on other tablets by hand 204. It is also noted that the clay-type of 5984 is not characteristic of the majority of tablets from the North Entrance Passage. On this basis it has been attributed not hand 204? and its classification has not been changed.
- In addition to the above tablets, the Ai(3)-set also contains 824, which was found in the North Entrance passage but is not attributed to 204. (See the discussion on the Ai(3)-set in the introductory paragraphs.)

Description

Group quite homogeneous: *ca.* (12.5) × 2.8 × 1.3 cm; 2 lines of about equal height (except for 966, which is not lined); ends thinned and rounded; most of the tablets (excluding specifically 1012 and 5976) present a lengthways hole, left by the combustion of a straw (cf. hand 118).

HAND 205⁹

Tablets

Ai(4) 7017?, 7026, 7027, 7883?, 7890, 7952, 7962?, 9257, 9274, 9454, 9478?, 9479??, 9480, 9481, 9502, 9506, 9507, 9508, 9510, 9514, 9515, 9516, 9517, 9536

7883 and 9516 are possibly parts of the same tablet.

9478 and 9479 are possibly parts of the same tablet.

9510 and 9514 are possibly parts of the same tablet.¹⁰

⁹ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 7026, 7027, 7883?, 7890, 7952, 7962 to hand 205.

- JTK implied changing the hand of 7962 from 205 to 205? (Killen & Olivier 1968, p. 139) but this change was not adopted in *KT4*. 7962 includes 8 fragments from Box VI. The contents of Box VI are primarily associated with the North Entrance Passage, whereas the other 205 tablets were very probably found in the West Wing. This also raises a question mark against the identification of the scribal hand. On this basis the scribal hand of 7962 has been listed above as 205?
- JTK, CK & JPO note that 9478 is “Un des nombreux fragments de tablette de la série Ai figurant parmi les nouvelles pièces de 1984 qui ressemble, par sa forme et sa fabrication, aux tablettes du ‘set’ Ai(2) de la main 205” (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 240). However, 9478 was reclassified from Ai (in *KT5*) to Ak (in *CoMIK* IV); although this was subsequently reversed by JLM in (*priv. comm.*). On this basis, 9478 is included above as 205? Since 9479 is possibly part of the same tablet (*KT5* p. 441) it is also included as 205?? Both pieces have been re-classified as Ai.
- 7017 attributed to 205? by JLM (*priv. comm.*). 9257, 9274, 9454, 9480, 9481, 9502, 9506, 9507, 9508, 9510, 9514, 9515, 9516, 9517, 9536 attributed to 205 (and 9274, 9454, 9480, 9481, 9536 reclassified from X to Ai) by JLM (*priv. comm.*). However, 9257 & 9274 were found in Box II, whereas almost all of the other fragments from the 1984-series were found in Box IV. This is noted as being anomalous.
- It is noted that, according to JLM, the clay suggests that 10005 is an Ai tablet by hand 205 (Godart *et al.* 1992, p. 67).
- It is also noted that, according to JLM, 10106 has the clay of a tablet by hand 205 (Melena 1999, p. 375). However, 10106 is made up entirely of fragments from Box VII which would imply that 10106 was more probably found in the North Entrance Passage. Since the other 205 tablets were found in the West Wing, this might be considered to cast some doubt on the association of 10106 with hand 205.

¹⁰ The references for quasi-joins are: Melena 1999, p. 371; *KT5* p. 441; *KT5* p. 7, respectively.

Find-place

None of these tablets were contained in Evans' *Handlist*. However, a large number of fragments from this set were found in Box IV of the 9000-series alongside fragments from other sets found in F7. On this basis, it is very probable that most of the Ai(4) tablets were found in F7.

Description

Group appears to be homogeneous (but the fragments are in a very poor condition); *ca.* (14) × 3 × 1 cm; not lined.

HAND 206¹¹

Tablets

Sk 789, 5670, 8100, 8149, 8254

Find-places

I2 : Sk 789 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Immediate Vicinity of Arsenal : Sk 5670, 8100, 8149, 8254.¹²

Description

Homogeneous group, although 5670 8100 8149 and 8254 have a cracked appearance that is characteristic of a number of tablets found in (or near) the Arsenal, whilst the appearance of 789 leads one to guess that it had a more regular firing and it is not distinguished, for example by colour, from the tablets found in I2 and I3: *ca.* (9) × 3 × 1.5 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; left edge of 8100 (the only edge surviving) thinned and rounded.

HAND 207¹³

Tablets

Ai 739?

L(3) 455, 473, 869

¹¹ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 789, 5670, 8100, 8149, 8254 to hand 206.

· JLM (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 383) notes that that 7751 does not belong to hand 206 because of the *ro*₂. Therefore, it is not included here.

¹² *Scribes* (pp. 89, 113-4) associates 5670, 8100, 8254 with the find-place of 8149 (i.e. Immediate Vicinity of Arsenal) because they have the same external characteristics (cracked and greyish due to the heat of the conflagration).

¹³ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* both attribute the tablets listed above to hand 207. *Scribes* also included 1616, which is now listed as a quasi-join to 455.

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Find-places

F3 : L(3) 455, 473

[H7 : Ai 739]

I3 : L(3) 869

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

- a) [Ai 739]; L(3) 869: *ca.* 14 × 2.3 × 1 cm; 2 lines (739: 1 and 2; 869: A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.
- b) L(3) 455, 473: *ca.* 15 × 2.7 × 1.3 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; ends thinned and rounded.

L(3) 473 has palm-print R LAMBDA.¹⁴

HAND 208¹⁵

Tablets

L(4) 475, 480, 484, 489?, 501?, 515, 516, 7390?, 7406?, 7413, 7415?!, 7416?,
7578?

· In *Scribes* it is suggested that this hand could be the same hand as hand 116 (or one of the hands designated by that number). However, more recently, JPO (*priv. comm.*) has suggested that he would now regard that possibility as being rather weak.

¹⁴ The other example of palm-print R LAMBDA is on Xd 105 from the RCT. However, Olivier expresses strong reservations about the possibility of the same palm-print appearing on 473 and a tablet from the RCT (see Sjöquist & Åström 1991, pp. 124-125).

¹⁵ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 475, 480, 484, 489?, 515, 516, 7413, 7415?, 7416?, 7578? to hand 208.

· 7415 differs from the other 208 tablets because there are “feet” on the *pu* sign and at least three fringe lines on the *TELA*. On this basis it has been attributed here to 7415?!

· Halstead (1998, p. 188) has suggested that “hand 106 also wrote a probable cloth record, L(4) 489”. The suggestion arises from the word, *ka-to-ro* which is common to both 489 and some of the tablets written by hand 106. However, the level of agreement on the *ka* is not high and does not provide sufficient basis to justify a change from 208? to 106. [It is perhaps also worth noting that 489 is only classified as a cloth tablet because it has been attributed to hand 208. If it was not attributed to hand 208 then it would almost certainly be re-classified.]

· *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 501 to hand 209?, however, there seems to be little to associate it with hand 209. It would seem more appropriate to list 501 under hand 208, as the tablets for hand 208 were found in the same find-place and deal with *TELA+PU* and *TELA+KU* (see the footnotes for hand 209 below). On this basis 501 has been included above as hand 208? and re-classified as L(4).

Find-places

F6 : L(4) 480, 484, [489]

F7 : L(4) 475, [501], 515, 516

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* <14> × 2.5 × 1.2 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

Hand 209¹⁶

Tablets

L(5) 513, 5092, 7380, 7393, 8063?, 8441

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- In 1955, Chadwick was shown two trays of fragments, which were later numbered by Ventris and became part of the 7000-series (see Firth & Melena 2006a). Chadwick's listing of the fragments that he was shown included 2 fragments written by each of hands 208 and 209. It is therefore reasonable to consider whether the remaining L-series tablets listed by Chadwick were by either of these hands. These fragments include 7375 (=508bis found in F7), 7390, 7403, 7406, 7514 (=505 found in F7). 7390 contains a *TELA* sign with a "trailing fringe mark" that is very similar to that on 7578 (hand 208?) and although its contents are limited they are similar to those found on tablets by 208. Therefore 7390 is listed above as 208? The *pu* on 7406 is very similar to that on 7416 (hand 208?) and the position of the *TELA* and the numerals are similar to those on 515 (hand 208). It is noted that 7406 is wider than the other existing tablets written by hand 208. However, it is evident that the original tablet, represented by the piece 489, would have been of a similar width if we extrapolate from the piece that has been conserved. On this basis, 7406 is listed above as 208?
 - Nosch (2000 p. 85) suggests that 7405 should be re-classified as L(4), implying hand 208. However, it is noted here that the writing, particularly with the leftward ductus and the rising set of "horizontal" dashes in the numeral is reminiscent of L(6) 472 (hand 210). In view of this it has been listed here as 210?
- ¹⁶ *Scribes* attributed 501?, 513, 5092, 5757?, 7380, 7393?, 7834, 8441 to hand 209. *CoMIK* attributed 7393 to 209 (rather than 209?) and 7834 was joined to this tablet.
- 5757 was found in Batch G (Firth & Melena 2002) which would also tend to imply that its find-place was the NEP. JLM examined the tablet and suggested that the clay of 5757 was indeed characteristic of tablets found in the NEP. The contents of the tablet are dissimilar to the other tablets written by hand 209. On this basis it is excluded from the above list.
 - Once 5757 has been removed, all the tablets in the *CoMIK* list for hand 209 are for plain *TELA* except for 501? which is for *TELA+PU*. There seems to be little on L 501 to associate it with hand 209. It would seem more appropriate to list it under hand 208, whose tablets were found in the same find-place and deal with *TELA+PU* and *TELA+KU*.
 - JLM notes that the clay of 10105 resembles that of the tablets of this hand (Godart *et al.* 1992, p. 68).
 - *KT5* (p. 412) suggests that X 8063 is perhaps part of L(5)-set, implying that it could be attributable to scribe 209. Following an examination of the tablet by JLM, it has been attributed to 209? in the above listing.

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Find-place

F7 : L 513 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

Variable in dimensions: *ca.* (8.5) × 2.3 × 1.2 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

verso: L 513 ↓

HAND 210¹⁷

Tablets

L(6) 460?, 469, 470?, 472, 7405?, 7414?

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- It is suggested that 7399 is unlikely to have been written by hand 116 because there are no other tablets written by hand 116 in the 7000-series and there are no other tablets from F14 that have been identified in the 7000-series. It is tentatively suggested that it might have been written by hand 209.
 - JLM suggested that 7380 [+] 9429 (Rapport no. 19, 1993) although he subsequently rejected that suggestion. Nevertheless, this implies that 9429 has a clay which is very similar to that of 7380.
 - On the basis of the photographs and drawings in *CoMIK*, it is tentatively suggested that 9474 might part of the L(5)-set and, more tentatively, that it might be part of the same tablet as 513. This would require an examination of the pieces in order to confirm this suggestion.
- ¹⁷ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 460?, 469, 472 to hand 210.
- 470 is very similar in style and content to 469. Furthermore, *ta* in the upper part of the tablet could be compared to *me-[•]-ta* in the same position on 469. However, 469 was found in G2 rather than F3. On this basis, 470 is listed as 210?
 - Nosch (2000 p. 85) suggests that 7405 should be re-classified as L(4), implying hand 208. However, it is noted here that the writing, particularly with the leftward ductus and the rising set of “horizontal” dashes in the numeral is more reminiscent of L(6) 472 (hand 210). In view of this it has been listed here as 210?
 - 7414 has *TELA+PU* with a leftward ductus which is similar to that of 469 & 472 and so it has been included here as 210?
 - Killen (2001 footnote on p. 392) suggests that “it is not entirely impossible” that 5561 was written by the same scribal hand as L(6) 472, i.e. hand 210. 5561 is made up of two components, 5561+5656 and, if we consider find-places, these two fragments were found in Batches D and E. Batch D is largely composed of fragments from the East-West Corridor whereas Batch E is largely composed of fragments from F14 (Firth & Melena 2002). It has not been possible to identify the find-place of 5561 based on the clay-type (JLM *priv. comm.*). From this it seems most likely that the textile tablet 5561 was found in the second year of excavation, probably from F14 (and it seems quite unlikely that it was found in the first year of excavation in F3). It is judged that there is not sufficient evidence to have any confidence that 5561 was written by hand 210. See the discussion of 5561 in the footnotes for hand 211.

Find-place

F3 : L [460], 469, 472

G2 : [L 470]

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

ca. <15> × 2.8 × 1.5 cm; not lined; ends slightly thinned and rounded.

HAND 211¹⁸

Tablets

L(7) 471, 474, 592, 5569?, 5582?

Find-places

F14 : L 471, 474, 592 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

ca. 14 × 2.8 × 1.5 cm; not lined; ends very thinned and rounded.

N.B.: The physical characteristics of these tablets is the same as the tablets of hand 116, although it is judged that hand 211 is distinct from that of 116 because the latter shows a leftward ductus, whereas hand 211 shows a rightward ductus. However, it seems probable that the same person made the tablets for scribes 116 and 211.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* both attributed 471, 474, 592? to hand 211.

- The writing on 592 very closely resembles that on 471 and 474, the main point of difference is that 471 & 474 have *TELA+PU* whereas 592 has plain *TELA*. Therefore 592 is listed as 211 (rather than 211?).
- The *TELA+PU* signs on 5569 & 5582 are very similar to those on 471 & 474. The clay-type of 5569 & 5582 is not typical of the tablets found in F14 (where the other tablets written by hand 211 were found; observation on clay-types by JLM, *priv. comm.*). Therefore, 5569 and 5582 have been listed as 211?
- 5569 & 5582 were found together with 5561 in Batch D. The majority of fragments in this batch were found in J1. 5561 is joined to 5656, which was found in Batch E, and the majority of fragments in Batch E were found in F14. It has not been possible to associate any of these 3 fragments with a find-place based on clay-type. It has already been suggested that 5569 & 5582 should be listed as part of the L(7)-set written by hand 211? based on the characteristic representation of *TELA+PU*. It is very tentatively suggested that 5561 might be part of the L(7)-set. However, this suggestion is too speculative to be included in the main text.

¹⁹ This might be taken to imply that the tablets written by scribe 211 are "store" records which could reasonably be included along with hand 116 tablets under Killen's category (a) (see Killen 1979).

HAND 212²⁰

Tablets

L(8) 1647, 7404, 7411

Find-place

Unknown

Description

ca. (8) × 2.7 × 1.3; 2 lines (A and B ?) of about equal height; right end of 7411 thinned and rounded.

HAND 213²¹

Tablets

L(9) 761, 764, 7396?, 7400, 7401?, 8025?, 8035?, 8058??

Indeed, Killen repeatedly refers to L(7) 592 as a probable store record (Killen 1979, p. 169, Killen 1986, p. 281). If it were to be agreed that the L(7) tablets were store records (found in the same find-place as the Ld(1) tablets of hand 116 in F14) then there would be some advantage in re-categorising them as Ld(3).

²⁰ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 1647, 7404, 7411 to hand 212.

- It is noted that L 491 is very similar in dimensions and style to the L(8) tablets. Each of the tablets has a central line and, on both 491 and 1647, this “central line” consists of two lines which are almost coincident. Each of the tablets is almost blank in the lower portion of the tablet. Each of the tablets has *TELA* signs in the upper portion of the tablet which extend from the central line almost to the upper edge of the tablet. On this basis, it is suggested that 491 could have been written by hand 212 (although this is too speculative to include in the main text).
- It has not been possible to determine a find-place for 1647, 7404 or 7411. In particular, it was not possible to determine a find-place by considering the clay-type (JLM, *priv. comm.*). However, 491 was found at F16, i.e. in the Long Gallery near the entrance to Magazine VII.

²¹ *Scribes* attributed 761, 764 to hand 213. In addition, *CoMIK* IV (p. 240) attributed 7396?, 7400?, 7401?, 8025?, 8035? (following Bennett *et al.* 1989, pp. 227, 228, 234).

- *Scribes* attributed 8592 to 103?, however, it is now joined to 7401 (hand 213?).
- JTK attributes 7400 to scribe 213 (no question-mark) (1987, p. 329). In view of the completeness of this tablet and its similarity to 761, we will follow JTK’s suggestion and attribute 7400 to 213.
- JTK states that 7391 does not seem to be by the same hand as the L(9)-set (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 226). However, 7391 does contain four fragments from Box II, which could imply that it was found in the Room of the Bügelkannes. If that proves to be correct, it is suggested that it should be re-classified as L(9) 7391, even if it was not written by hand 213.
- *KT5* attributes L 9777 to hand 213? but *CoMIK* IV does not attribute 9777 to any scribe and re-classifies it from L to X. Fragment 9777 was found in Box VI and, therefore, it is more likely to be from the NEP rather than the Room of the Bügelkannes. For these reasons, it is not included in the listing given above.

Find-place

I1: L(9) 761, 764.

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

The other pieces contain a total 30 fragments from 1984-Box II which is consistent with them also being from the Room of the Bügelkannes.

Description

ca. (11) × 2.3 × 1 cm; not lined; ends slightly thinned and rounded.

HAND 214²²

Tablets

L(10) 735, 7409

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Find-place

H2 : L(10) 735

Description

ca. (5) × 2.7 × 1.3 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height.

lat. inf.: L 7409

HAND 215²³

Tablets

Dl(2) 1060, 2021, 5535, 8216, 8229?

Dp 2004?

-
- JLM attributed 8058 to hand 213?? and incorporated it into the L(9) set (*priv. comm.*).
 - 759 is from the Room of the Bügelkannes but lists *TELA+PU* rather than *to-mi-ka TELA*. Nevertheless, it is noted that 759 is very similar in shape and style to the tablets written by hand 213.
- ²² *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 735, 7409? to hand 214.
- In view of the similarity between 735 and 7409, it is suggested that 7409 should be attributed to hand 214 (rather than 214?).
 - It is suggested that 728 should be classified as L(10) 728, because it appears to be of the same form as L(10) 735. However, it should be emphasised that it was found in location G2 (not H2) and was not written by scribe 214 (Firth 2000, p. 236 and also Nosch 2000, p. 85).
- ²³ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* attributed 1060, 2004?, 2021, 8216, 8229? to hand 215.
- 5535 is attributed to hand 215 (based on a direct comparison of this tablet with the other tablets by hand 215; JLM & RJF).

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Find-place

K1 : DI 1060

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

Homogeneous group: ca. $(7) \times 2.5 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about the same height (except [2004], not lined).

verso: DI 2021 ↓ [Dp 2004] ↓

HAND 216²⁴

Tablets

Dg 1248v.?

Dq(2) 1234, 1377, 1603, 5595?, 7113?, 7177?, 7260?

N.B.: These tablets are from the same find-place as those of hand 117, have been baked in the same way and have exactly the same appearance: some of the small fragments currently attributed to hand 117 could have been the work of this scribe.

Find-place

J1: [Dg 1248], Dq(2) 1234, 1377, 1603 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

Dq 1234, 1603: $(11) \times 2.2 \times 1$ cm; 2 lines (A & B) of about equal height; for 1603 the measurement of height is for right end of tablet, the height increases towards left end.

Dq 1377: $14.5 \times 3.5 \times 1$ cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

²⁴ *Scribes* attributed 1234, 1377, 1603, 5638?, 7113?, 7177?, 7260? to hand 216. *CoMIK IV* (p. 241) added 1248?, 5595? (which had been joined to 5638?) and changed 7177? to 7177. *KT5* is more specific, stating that hand 117 wrote the *recto* of 1248 and hand 216? wrote the *verso*. The poorly preserved fragment, 8387, which is now joined to 7177, was given as hand 117? in *Scribes*.

· JLM suggests that 7177 should be hand 216? (rather than 216) (*priv. comm.*).

HAND 217²⁵

Tablets

Dq(3) 42, 45, 46, 442, 445?, 1026, 7119, 7126, 7137, 7852?, 8351?

Find-places

B4 : Dq(3) 42, 45, 46

F1 : Dq(3) 442, [445]

I3 : Dq(3) 1026

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

This group is relatively homogeneous: *ca.* <12> × 2.4 × 1 cm; not lined (except 46, two lines A & B).

HAND 218²⁶

Tablets

Dl(3) 7071, 7114

Find-place

West wing

(on the basis of the clay-type)

Description

ca. (12) × 3 × 1 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height, right end of 7071 thinned and rounded.

²⁵ *Scribes* attributed 42, 45, 46?;, 442, 445?, 1026, 7119, 7126, 7137, 7852?, 8351? to hand 217. *CoMIK* IV (p. 241) gives the same list of tablets, however, 46?? has been changed to 46?; however, the hand of Dq 46 is given as 217?? in *CoMIK* I (1986) p. 24 and 217 in *KT5* (1989 p. 126). JPO (in Driesen *et al.* 1988) re-considered whether 46 should be attributed to 217 and wrote “le doute vient de la forme du *e* qui est assez différente de celle qu'on peut voir en Dq 45 et du fait que la tablette est du type .A.B., alors que les autres de ce scribe sont toutes du type .a.b; en revanche, les *pe-ri-go-ta-o* de Dq 42 et 46 se ressemblent énormément”. More recently, JLM has suggested 217 (*priv. comm.*).

²⁶ *Scribes* and *CoMIK* IV both attributed 7071, 7114 to hand 218.

· It is interesting to note Chadwick joined together the fragments of 7071 before he transcribed the tablet in April 1955 (Firth & Melena 2006a).

HAND 219²⁷

Tablets

Ga 953, 7496

Find-place

I3 : Ga 953, 7496

(Find-place of 953 based on Evans' *Handlist*. Find-place of 7496 based on SMII plate LXII showing a collection of tablets from I3.)

Description

ca. <15> × 5 × 1.4 cm; 3 lines (the first and second lines are *ca.* 1.5 cm; the third line is 2 cm); ends thinned and rounded.

HAND 220²⁸

Tablets

Gg(4) <706>, 707, 708, 710?, 7232

Find-place

F6 : [Gg 710]

F7 : Gg <706>, 707, 708

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

Homogeneous group: *ca.* (9.5) × 2.5 × 1 cm; not lined; ends thinned and rounded.

versos: Gg 707 ↓, Gg 708 ↓

HAND 221²⁹

Tablets

Ga(5) 1385, 1530, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 5020??, 5021, 5774?, 5780

²⁷ *Scribes* and *CoMIK IV* attributed 953 [+], 955, 7496 to hand 219.

²⁸ *Scribes* attributed 706, 707, 708, 7232? to hand 220. *CoMIK IV* (p. 241) gives the same list but changes 7232? to 7232.

· 710 was found in the adjacent Magazine to 706, 707 & 708. It also lists "ME+RI"*209^{VAS}. It is noted that there is a leftward ductus on 706, 707 & 7232. However, this is not present on 708 (hand 220) or 710. Otherwise, the writing on 710 matches that of the other tablets attributed to hand 220. On this basis, Gg 710 is attributed to hand 220?

²⁹ *Scribes* and *CoMIK IV* attributed 1527?, 1530, 1532-1536, 5020, 5021, 5780, 5805? to hand 221.

It is not excluded that 1535 and 5774 are parts of the same tablet.³⁰

Find-place

J4 : Ga 1530, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536 (based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

- a) Ga 1530: $8 \times (12.5) \times 2$ cm; (8) lines of *ca.* 1.7 cm; lower edge thinned and tablets rounded. Ga 1532 is very probably of this type.
- b) Ga 1533: $(7) \times 2.5 \times 0.8$ cm and is not lined.
[Ga 5020 could be of this type, but its thickness is 1.2 cm.]
- c) Ga 1535, 5780: *ca.* $(4.5) \times 2 \times 1$ cm. These tablets are not lined and both tablets are cut at right. [5774 is of this type].

-
- 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. Melena (1997, p. 463) suggests that the attribution to scribe 221? was probably due to the earlier mis-reading of the logogram as *AROM* rather than *TELA*. It is suggested that the link between L 5805 and scribe 221 is incorrect.
 - Melena (1974) wrote about Og 1527: "Es precisamente esta atribución del documento al escriba 221 la que llevó a Palmer a postular la identificación de *mo-ri-wo-do* como una especie". The footnote reference is to *Interpretation* (=Palmer 1963) p. 289. However, *Interpretation* was published in 1963, some years before *Scribes*. Further, the section from *Interpretation* does not consider hand-writing. It seems possible that the logic was the other way around, i.e. Palmer made his suggestion and then Olivier left that option open by saying that Og 1527 could possibly have been written by hand 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 which 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 (Firth 2002, p. 252). On this basis, it is not attributed to 221 in this paper.
 - Palmer (1972, p. 37) suggested that 1538 should be grouped with the Ga set in hand 221. Melena (1974, p. 50) suggested that 1385, 1538 and 1539 should be classified as Ga because they were from the same find-place as the Ga(5) set and 1385 (and possibly 1538) includes the word *ki-ta-no*. Following a re-examination of the tablets, JLM (*priv. comm.*) suggests that: 1385 should be attributed to hand 221; 5774 to hand 221?; 5020 should not be attributed to 221. 1539 [+] 1539bis (=1813) (Firth & Melena 2006b). On this basis, it is proposed that the classification of 1385, 1538, 1539, 5774 should be changed to Ga(5). 5020 is attributed to 221?? on the basis of the doubts expressed by JLM.
 - JLM has suggested that 5673 has clay that is similar to that used in the records by hand 221 (Melena 1997, p. 463; see also Firth & Melena 2002, p. 348). However, on further inspection, JLM now suggests that this tablet is more likely to originate from J3 (*priv. comm.*).

³⁰ Firth & Melena 2006b.

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- d) Ga 1534, 1536: *ca.* (10) × 3.5 × 1.3 cm. 1534 is not lined but 1536 has 2 lines of about equal height. The ends of the tablets are thinned and rounded. Ga 5021 could be of this type.

HAND 222³¹

Tablets

Fp(2) 354?, 363, 5472?, 5504?

Find-place

E1: [354], 363

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

The clay of all these tablets shows peculiarities which are distinctive of the tablets found in E1.

Description

Fp 363 [Fp 5472]: (7) × 5.5 × 1 cm; 4 lines of *ca.* 1.4 cm; ends thinned and rounded.

[Fp 5504 : (8.5) × 1.7 × 0.8 cm; not lined; left end thinned and probably rounded, right end has been cut.]

[Fp 354 : (8.2) × 2.5 × 0.9 cm; 2 lines of about equal height; right end "squared off".]

Fp 5504 has the palm-print R RHO. (This palm-print also appears on Fh 5428, written by hand 141 and also found in E1.)

HAND 223³²

Tablets

Ga(3) 454?, 456?, 464, 465

³¹ *Scribes* and *CoMIK IV* attributed 354?, 363, 5472?, 5504? to hand 222.

· At one stage it was suggested that there was a probable quasi-join between 363 and 5472 (Olivier 1969) but this is no longer viable.

³² *Scribes* and *CoMIK IV* attributed 454?, 456?, 464, 465 to hand 223.

· Following Chadwick (1972, p. 40), 8005 is listed in *KT5* as Ga(3) but it is not attributed to a scribe. However, the fact that it is included 8005 in the Ga(3)-set suggests that it is perhaps by hand 223.

· All of the Ga(3) tablets listed under hand 223 were found in F3. It is noted that Ga 461 & 5088 were also found in F3, though neither have been attributed to a scribe. It is also possible that 468 is a Ga tablet since it contains the word, *ku-pi-ri-jo*, which otherwise only appears on Fh, Fp, Ga and Gg tablets at Knossos. Further, one might surmise that 409 could be a Ga tablet.

Find-place

F3 : Ga(3) [454], [456], 464, 465
(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

ca. 13.5 × 2.8 × 1 cm; 2 lines of about equal height (except Ga 454 which is not lined) ; left end of 464 thinned and rounded, right ends of 464 and 465 have been cut.

HAND 224³³

Tablets

K(2) 773, 774, 775, 776, 1810, 5526, 7599, 9242

Find-place

I1 & I4: 773, 774, 775, 776, 1810
(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

(N.B. one part of 773 was found in 1900 and, the other part, the following year).

Description

- a) 774, 775, 776, 1810, 5526, 7599, 9242: ca. 8 × 1.8 × 0.8 cm; not lined; ends slightly thinned and rounded.
- b) 773: (5.5) × 2 × 0.8 cm; 2 lines (A and B) of about equal height; right end slightly thinned and rounded.

-
- There are only a small number of tablets with *PYC+QA* (or *PYC+QA*) on the Knossos tablets: Ga 5088, 7358 & possibly 8005. 5088 was found in F3; 8005 was linked to F3 by Chadwick when he allocated it to the Ga(3)-set. On this basis, we might speculate that Ga 7358 could also be from F3.
 - Note also X 7776 which was found in the adjacent Magazine, F4. This fragment has the possible reading *ma-sa PYC* and might be part of the same Ga scribal activity.
 - It is not being suggested that all the Ga tablets from F3 were written by hand 223, however, the above notes suggest that there might have been a significant amount of scribal activity associated with the Ga-series represented in F3.

³³ *Scribes* attributed 773?, 774-776, 1810, 5526, 8440 to hand 224. In addition, *CoMIK IV* (p. 241) included 7599 (which is joined to 8440) and 9242.

- It is inconsistent that a tablet such as 773, with a total of 7 signs, should be attributed to 224? whereas the small fragment, 9242, with only a partial sign, should be attributed to 224 (with no question-mark). Furthermore, 773, 774 and 776 each have the palm-prints of the same tablet-maker (R TAU). Therefore, it is judged appropriate to attribute 773 to 224 (with no question-mark).

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773, 774 and 776 have the palm-print R TAU.³⁴

HAND 225³⁵

Tablets

V(6) 832

X 976

Find-place

I3 : V(6) 832; X 976

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

V (6) 832 : 7.6 × 9.5 × 1.4 cm; 8 lines of *ca.* 1.2 cm (lower part not lined); *lat. inf.* straight and probably cut.

X 976 : (9.5) × 3.7 × 1.5 cm; 2 lines of about equal height; left end very thinned and rounded.

HAND 226³⁶

Tablets

Fh(2) 1056, 1057, 1059, 7571

³⁴ In addition to these K(2) tablets, palm-print R TAU also appears on V 756 (hand 125) and L 758. JPO states "à la limite, la 'main' pourrait être la même (il n'y a pas de contre-indication, mais les éléments de comparaison manquent sérieusement); on notera cependant que les formats sont très différents: V 756 est longue et épaisse, L 758 est moyenne et plate tandis que K 773, K 774 et K 776 sont petites et minces" (Sjoquist & Astrom 1991, p. 126).

³⁵ *Scribes* attributed 961 and 976 to hand 225. *Scribes* attributed V(6) 832 to scribe 102 but V 961 was attributed to scribe 225. When these two pieces were joined, JPO decided to attribute the joined tablet to scribe 225: "Certaines formes qu'on trouve en V 961 (notamment le *si*, mais surtout le *ka*) étant assez différentes de ce qu'on connaît de 102 et rien de ci qui figure en V 832 n'étant incompatible avec ce que l'on sait de 225 (à vrai dire, seuls la *ja* et le *ro* sont communs...) il nous a paru plus sage de garder le nouveau ensemble sous 225 (main qui s'enrichit donc des signes *jo*, *ru*, *sa*, *ta* et *u*; par contre perd son seul exemple de *ru*)" (Bennett *et al.* 1989, p. 206). Thus, *CoMIK IV* (p. 241) attributes 832 and 976 to hand 225.

· It is worth noting that the formats of tablets V 832 and <1631> are very similar and the tablets were both found in the NEP. However, <1631> is only known from its *SM II* photograph and it was poorly preserved and so it is difficult to comment on the scribal hand. As the tablet is in such poor condition, it is unlikely that it would have been stolen and more likely that it has crumbled beyond recognition.

³⁶ This is a new scribal hand. In *Scribes* 1056, 1057, 1059 & 7571 were attributed to 141? This attribution was maintained in *CoMIK I* for 1056, 1057 and 1059. However, it was not included in *KT5* or *CoMIK IV* (pp. 239-240). 7571 was not attributed to 141 in *KT5* or *CoMIK*. Although *Scribes* attributed 1056, 1057, 1059 & 7571 to hand 141? it was noted (p. 87) that they were perhaps the work of a different hand. Since they are no longer attributed to 141 these tablets have been brought together as new hand 226. 7571 has been re-classified from X to Fh.

Find-place

K1 : Fh 1056, 1057, 1059
(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

Fh 1056: 8 x 2 x 0.8 cm; not lined; left end thinned and rounded, right end cut.
Fh 1057, 1059, X 7571: *ca.* 6 × 1.6 × 0.7 cm; not lined; left end thinned and rounded, right ends of 1057 and 1059 cut.

HAND 227³⁷

Tablets

Ai(2) 762
Od(5) 765, 7312, 7326, 7779, 8628
X 7631??

Find-place

I1 : Ai(2) 762, Od 765
(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

Description

Homogeneous group; (10) × 2.4 × ?? cm; not lined.

HAND 228³⁸

Tablets

Ak(4) 7827, 7830, 8330

³⁷ This is a new scribal hand. Killen (1988, pp. 172-4) attributed Od 765, 7312, 7326, 7779 and 8628 to a new scribal hand. This hand is named as 227 by JLM, who also attributed 762 to hand 227 (*priv. comm.*).

- JTK & JPO suggest that 7631 is perhaps by the same hand as 765 (Godart *et al.* 1986, p. 32).
- JTK (1988 p. 173) notes that this hand bears some similarity to hand 115, although it is probably not to be identified with any of the hands which were listed in *Scribes*.

³⁸ This is a new scribal hand. These tablets were originally grouped together by Killen (1988, pp. 171-172). The hand was labelled 228 by JLM (*priv. comm.*).

- Killen suggests that 8330 might possibly be part of an Ak tablet because it has a similar appearance to 7827. On that basis, 8339 has been re-classified from X to Ak.
- *CoMIK IV* (p. 162) includes the note for Ak 9499, c.f. 7827. It seems possible that this implies that 9499 could be part of the Ak(4)-set, however, this is too tentative to include here prior to a re-examination of the tablets themselves.

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Find-place

Melena has identified the find-place as the West Wing based on the clay type (*priv. comm.*). 7827 & 7830 both include fragments from Box II. It is known that Box II includes fragments that were wrapped in a newspaper which was labelled “8 W Gallery”, i.e. find-place F7 (Firth & Melena 2006a).

Description

Homogeneous group: $(6.5) \times 3 \times ??$ cm; not lined.

N.B. Killen suggested that the “highly distinctive” *jo* of this hand is closely similar to that of hand 113. If these tablets were indeed found in F7, then this increases the likelihood that they were written by hand 113.

HAND 229³⁹

Tablets

Sg 884, 886?, 7939, 7991, 8484?

Find-place

I3: 884, [886]

(based on Evans’ *Handlist*)

Description

Sg 884, [886]: $(7) \times 3 \times ??$; not lined; [886 cut at right].

Sg 7939, 7991, [8484]: $(4.5) \times 2.2 \times ??$; not lined.

HAND 230⁴⁰

Tablets

Dq(5) 747, 5519, 5520

Find-place

H5: 747

(based on Evans’ *Handlist*)

³⁹ This is a new scribal hand. JLM suggests that 884, 886 & 7939 were written by the same scribe (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 383) and 7991 was perhaps also written by that scribe (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 384). Following a re-examination of the tablets, JLM revised this: 884, 7939, 7991 & 8484? written by the same hand, but 886 doubted. On this basis 886 is included as 229?

⁴⁰ This is a new scribal hand and it is based on a re-examination of the tablets.

Description

Homogeneous group: $(7) \times 3 \times ??$; not lined; 5519 cut at right.

HAND 231⁴¹

Tablets

So 4435, 4487?

Sp 4451, 4452

Xf 5102??

Find-place

Arsenal

(based on Evans' notes for the Arsenal tablets.)

Description

Homogeneous group: $17 \times 3 \times ??$; not lined. The tablets are distorted because of the heat of the conflagration in which they were accidentally fired.

HAND 232⁴²

Tablets

Wm 1714, 1816, 1817, 5822, 5824, 5860, 8207, 8490

Find-place

J2bis

(based on Evans' *Handlist*, clay-type and physical characteristics)

Description

Clay nodules.

⁴¹ This is a new scribal hand.

- Sp 4451 and 4452 are clearly by the same scribe.
- 4435 and 4451 both have the palm-print of R OMIKRON and on re-examination they were judged (by JLM) to have been written by the same scribe. (Note that 4435 had previously been attributed to 128?)
- It is suggested that 5102 could be a Sp-tablet, with the reading *pa-ra-ku]-we-jo* cf. Sp 4451. It has been attributed here to hand 231??
- 4487 is related to So series (Killen 1966, p. 33; Melena 1972, p. 47 FN 50). It has been re-classified here from Xf to So and attributed to hand 231?

⁴² This is included as a new scribal hand. See Killen (2006) and Firth (2006).

HAND 233⁴³

Tablets

C 1044, 5734

Find-place

I3: 1044, 5734

(1044 based on Evans' *Handlist*; 5734 based on an examination of the clay-type.)

Description

C 1044, 5734: (9) × 2.8 × ??; not lined; 5734 cut at right.

5734 has the palm-print of R YPSILON. [This palm-print also appears on Dv 7219 by hand 117?].

HAND 234⁴⁴

Tablets

E 7338? (excluding the doubtful quasi-join to 7979)

F(2) 852, 5001

Find-place

I3 : F(2) 852

(based on Evans' *Handlist*)

All three tablets contain fragments that were found in Box VI which strongly implies that they were all found in I3.

Description

Heterogeneous grouping: see *CoMIK* photographs.

⁴³ 1044 and 5734 are identified by JPO as being by the same hand (Killen & Olivier 1966, p. 64).

⁴⁴ This is included as a new scribal hand.

· JLM (1999, p. 371) suggested that 7338 could have been written by the same hand as 852. [Note that JLM doubts the validity of the quasi-join between 7338 and 7979 (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 381; Melena 1999, p. 371.)]

· 5001 is listed because of the striking similarity of the *OLIV+A* sign on 852 & 5001. [Note that in *KT5* (p. 199) it was tentatively suggested that 9919 was part of the same tablet as 5001. However, it was later shown by JLM that it is actually a part of 852 (Godart *et al.* 1990, p. 375). This emphasises the similarity between the clay-types of 852 and 5001.]

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