

THE FIND-PLACES OF THE TABLETS FROM THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS*

1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent review of the tablets from Knossos, Olivier (1994) summarised the current position and concluded by proposing that «each deposit of tablets will have to be carefully (re)studied as a deposit in itself: before we start comparing it with other deposits. For this we are going to need a new study of the *Handlist* of Evans' Linear B tablets and of all the 'Knossian' archive documents in the Ashmolean Museum, so as to arrive at a closer understanding of the locations where the Knossos tablets were in use.» The objective of this paper is to follow Olivier's suggestion and to look in detail at the tablets found in each of the find-places in the Palace of Knossos, based on a re-examination of Evans' *Handlist* and *Concordance*.

There will be six stages in the study of tablets from each find-place (wherever practicable):

i) to consider Evans' re-ordering of the tablets, from the original numbering, to the revised numbering and finally to the present numbers, as used in *Scripta Minoa* II. To determine from Evans' *Handlist* and *Concordance* which tablets Evans himself considered to be from each of the find-places.

ii) to review the correctness of Evans' find-places, particularly in respect of tablets where the allocation is open to question, either because of confused annotation in the *Handlist* or because tablets were inserted after the first list had been compiled.

iii) to consider the distribution of scribes and sets of tablets.

iv) to consider the find-places of the sets of tablets relative to their position immediately prior to the destruction of the palace.

v) to consider whether the original numbering within individual archives provides information on the orderliness of tablets immediately prior to the destruction of the palace. This will be considered for the largest archives, i.e. from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the North Entrance Passage and the East-West Corridor.

vi) to consider the relationship between the tablets from the different find-places at Knossos. In particular, to consider the extent to which the tablets from the different find-places could be regarded as being contemporary.

The next section describes the background to the *Handlist* and *Concordance*. SECTION 3 gives an overview of the find-places. SECTIONS 4 to 14 are detailed discussions on each of the find-place areas in turn. The final section considers the question of the «unity of the archive».

* I would like to acknowledge the help given to me by Julie Clements and Sue Sherratt of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, informing me of the whereabouts of the *Handlist* and allowing me to study it. I would particularly like to thank Professor José L. Melena for his generous help and encouragement.

2. BACKGROUND

During the excavation of Knossos, the precise find-place of each tablet was not recorded by Evans or Mackenzie. Both Evans and Mackenzie recorded outline details of when and where the tablets were found in their notebooks¹. However, the main information we have on the find-places begins with Evans' *Handlist*. This *Handlist* originally included a drawing of each piece of tablet, that he considered significant, together with a sequential number. The tablets in the *Handlist* were grouped under 'catch-headings' describing their find-place. However, the drawings from the original *Handlist* were subsequently cut-up and pasted onto new paper as Evans re-numbered the tablets. New drawings were made for publication and then were pasted on the same pages as the originals. In this way, the original records became the *Handlist* as it currently is found in the Ashmolean Museum: three thick volumes of untidy «scrapbooks».

In *OKTi*, Palmer did an excellent job in rationalising the Evans' Handlist and Concordance. He demonstrated that the find-places, published in *Scripta Minoa* II, were incorrect because the catch-headings had become separated from their original batches of tablets, during the cutting and pasting of the *Handlist*. He re-established the original ordering of the *Handlist* and gave corrected find-places. However, in trying to handle the successive re-numbering of 1000+ tablets, it was almost inevitable that errors would creep in. Therefore, the aim here is to examine separately smaller groups of tablets and to consider them in detail.²

The key to understanding the find-places is to understand Evans' numbering and re-numbering of the tablets. There are three basic numbering systems that were progressively developed by Evans.³

The Original Numbering (ON) was the initial order in which the tablets were listed. This represents the closest approximation we have to the order in which the tablets from each find-place were found. We know that the Original Numbering was influenced by the aim of establishing a topographic ordering of the find-places around the palace. We also know that Evans tended to move the smaller parts of tablets to the end of the listing for each batch of tablets. (Many fragments were not listed.)

The Revised Numbering (RN) was established in Evans' *Concordance*. It was primarily aimed at establishing the topographic ordering of the find-places around the palace (starting at the SW corner and progressing clockwise around the central court). However, Evans also moved some tablets according to their contents (e.g. the vase tablets).

Finally, the *Scripta Minoa* ordering, *SM* (which is the basis of the numbering system used today in *CoMIK* and *KT5*), still maintained the topographic principle to some extent but Evans undertook a large-scale re-arrangement of the tablets according to their contents and frequently this took precedence over the ordering according to find-place.

¹ These were quoted at length by Palmer and summarised by Boardman in «On the Knossos Tablets», *OKT*, 1963. See also Raison (1988, 1993) and Melena (1997).

² To avoid the proliferation of terminology, I have adopted that developed by Palmer in *OKTi*, wherever possible.

³ There are other localised re-numberings, intermediate between either ON & RN or RN & *SM*, as Evans developed gradually from one numbering system to another.

In order to establish Evans' understanding of the find-places of the tablets (taking no account of their contents), the best basis is that given in the revised numbering system, supported by the notes given in the *Handlist*.⁴

This approach differs in emphasis from that adopted by Palmer in *OKTi*. In that case, Palmer put the emphasis on the *Handlist* and used the *Concordance* to give confidence that his interpretation of the *Handlist* was broadly correct. The present approach has the advantage of demonstrating Evans' interpretation of the information in the cases where his recording of data in the *Handlist* is ambiguous.

At this stage, it is worthwhile noting that, unfortunately, there are sections in *OKTi* which contain detailed errors. The chapter entitled, «The Genesis of *Scripta Minoa* II», is particularly prone to error. When Olivier (1967) used *OKTi*, to set out the find-places of the tablets, these errors were propagated, and they remain uncorrected in *CoMIK*. Although it is possible, it is not the purpose of this paper to give a detailed textual analysis of *OKTi* and show how errors were propagated. Instead, we shall return to the basic data and start with a comparison of the three different numbering systems adopted by Evans.

The method adopted to recover the numbering systems has been to start with the Evans' *Concordance* (this links each Original Number to a Revised Number⁵) and then to refer to the *Handlist*. The drawings in the *Handlist* are in the order of the *Scripta Minoa* numbering. The *Scripta Minoa* numbers are given very clearly in red pencil against each drawing. In addition, in general, each tablet has a small series of early numbers which were each valid at some stage of the re-numbering and were then usually subsequently deleted (with a single line). Evans' figures are not always clearly written and the deletions add to the difficulty. Nevertheless, the fact that one is trying to find both an Original Number and a Revised Number for the same tablet substantially reduces the possibility of making errors.

When Evans cut up the original pages of the *Handlist* to make the currently existing paste-up version, he excluded a number of tablets at each stage (usually because he regarded them as not being sufficiently significant). In some cases, the excluded tablets were deleted but remain on the pages of the existing *Handlist*. In these cases, it is usually possible to identify the *KT5* numbers of the tablets. In other cases, the excluded tablets were simply omitted from the present *Handlist*. In these cases, we know that tablets were allocated ON's and RN's from the *Concordance* but we cannot associate these numbers with drawings in the *Handlist* and therefore we do not know the *KT5* numbers. Finally, there are cases where the original numbers were cut-off the drawings as the original *Handlist* was cut up by Evans to make the current paste-up version of the

⁴ The notes that Evans included in the *Concordance* are much less comprehensive than those in the *Handlist* but they are largely consistent.

⁵ In a limited number of cases the «original number» used in the *Concordance* is actually intermediate between the Original Number and the Revised Number. These will be discussed in APPENDIX B.1.

Handlist or, alternatively, the original drawings were lost. In these cases, it is not possible to link the *Scripta Minoa* Numbers to the ON's and RN's.

It is important at this stage to draw attention to an additional source of information on the Original Numbering.⁶ During the process of drawing and numbering the tablets in the original *Handlist*, Evans wrote this original number actually onto each tablet (using ink or, perhaps, coloured pencils). [During the 1900 campaign he used red ink and during the following year he used blue ink.] A *Concordance* of *Scripta Minoa* numbers, museum numbers and Evans inked numbers (IN's) was drawn up by Bennett and circulated in the 1950's. Some of these numbers have subsequently been checked and revised by J.-P. Olivier and J. L. Melena. In general, the IN's are very difficult to read and, as a consequence the numbers given by Bennett are not very reliable. Furthermore, when J. L. Melena recently tried to confirm some of the more important IN's, he found that, in many cases, numbers that were legible to Bennett have now worn off and are no longer legible. In cases where the IN's do not agree with the ON's, then, for the purposes of this paper, it will be assumed that the ON's have been read correctly and have precedence, since they are linked directly to the find-places in Evans' *Handlist* and *Concordance*. Nevertheless, the IN's can give some guidance in the cases where the ON's are not known. In these cases, it will specifically be noted in this paper that the identification of numbers is based on the IN (rather than the ON).⁷

Finally, in this section, it is worthwhile briefly speculating on the chronology of the development of the *Handlist*. (APPENDIX A contains a fuller discussion, giving the basis for the summary included here.)

During the 1900 season, Evans excavated 900+ tablets, which were drawn into the *Handlist*. It seems likely that each tablet was drawn and given an Original Number (and an Inked Number) within about 2 or 3 weeks of being found. At the end of the 1900 season, Evans re-arranged the tablets at the latter part of the list (see APPENDIX B.1), resulting in a final list of ON's from 1 to 923. The tablets found in the second season started their numbering at 924 and extended up to about 1270. At that stage, the ON numbering sequence was stopped. It is likely that the termination of this ON sequence coincided with the end of the 1901 season's tablets. However, at that point, Evans clearly determined that he was going to re-arrange the numbering of the tablets to the Revised Numbering and so, although he still drew tablets into the *Handlist*, he stopped giving the tablets ON's and IN's. Subsequent tablets were first given numbers within the Revised Numbering system.

⁶ I would like to thank Professor Melena for drawing the existence of Bennett's *Concordance* to my attention.

⁷ It is worth noting that Palmer almost certainly did not have access to Bennett's *Concordance*, otherwise he would have raised at least some of the comments using IN's that will be made later in this paper.

The re-arrangement given in Evans' Concordance, excluded the J-series.⁸ The Concordance was probably constructed between the 1901 and 1902 seasons. The tablets in the J-series were not given RN's until after their excavation had been completed in the 1902 season. The Revised Numbering was primarily intended to impose a topographically based arrangement, though some tablets were moved out of sequence because of their logograms (see SECTION 3). In addition, Evans re-arranged the main sheep archive according to (what we now know to be) either the toponyms or «collectors» names, wherever possible.

By the time that Evans created the numbering that was to be used in *Scripta Minoa*, he had obviously studied the drawings in the *Handlist* at length and had recognised the different logograms and brought together tablets with the same logograms (frequently disregarding their find-places). By this stage, the J-series tablets were arranged not only according to toponyms and «collectors» names but also according to the initial sign of the shepherds' names. The *Handlist* that Evans left was passed on to J. L. Myres, who took over responsibility for publication. It was possibly at this stage that, in an attempt to impose control, the pages of the *Handlist* were numbered in red pencil and the final tablet numbers, given by Evans, were also written next to the drawings, again in red pencil, and these became the *Scripta Minoa* numbers.

It is often convenient in this paper to use the *Scripta Minoa* numbering convention (including the 'bis' numbers). However, the scribal hands and classification of tablets are always based on *KT5*. The palm-prints are based on Sjöquist & Åström (1991).

3. OVERVIEW OF THE FIND-PLACES

Within the *Handlist* and the *Concordance* tablets are grouped together under catch-headings which, in a few words, describe the find-places of the group of tablets that followed. This paper was constructed by separately examining the tablets from each of the find-places in detail and then piecing the information together. The present section was written towards the end of this study but has been included at an early stage in the paper in order to give an initial overview.

For convenience, we shall use the shorthand labels for find-places, adopted by Olivier (1967). In order to avoid ambiguity, these labels have been adapted, to some extent, to reflect the discussion that will follow in this paper. Maps of the find-places of the tablets are included in *OKTi*, *OKTii*, Olivier (1967), Sjöquist & Åström (1991). However, most of the following locations can be found on the plan of the palace of Hood and Taylor (1981).

A	Clay Chest
B1	S. W. Corner (ie. area south of S. W. Pillar Room)
B2	S. W. Pillar Room (= B3)
B4	Area Beyond W. Wall (i.e. Western Court)
B5	W. Area: Near S. W. Entrance (i.e. Western Court)

⁸ The labelling of the find-places is described in SECTION 3. Evans Concordance only includes tablets with ON's between 220 and 1102.

- C* Room of Chariot Tablets
D Near Room of Clay Chest
E1 Room of Column Bases
E1bis Near N. Entrance to Room of Column Bases
E2 E. Pillar Room
E3 Temple Repositories Room
E4 Passage on E. Side of Room of Chariot Tablets
E5 "Corridor of House Tablets" and near Entrance to E. Pillar Room
E6 Room of Niche
F1 West Magazine II
F2 West Magazine III
F3 West Magazine IV
F4 West Magazine V
F5 West Magazine VI
F6 West Magazine VII
F7 West Magazine VIII
F7a West Magazine VIII: S. E. Corner
F8 West Magazine IX
F9 West Magazine X
F10 West Magazine XI
F11 West Magazine XII
F12 West Magazine XIII
F13 West Magazine XIV
F14 West Magazine XV
F15 Corridor of Stone Jambs
F16 Near Door of West Magazine VII
F17 Near Door of West Magazine VIII
F18 North End of Long Corridor (from West Magazine IX to West Magazine XII)
F19 N. W. Passage (long Corridor flanking West Magazine XIII)
F20 N. Half Long Gallery near Stairs
G1 Gallery of Jewel Fresco
G2 Small Room to the East of Gallery of Jewel Fresco (= *G3*)
H1 Court E. of Throne Room
H2 Bath Room (part of Throne Room complex)
H3 Corridor of Stone Basin
H4 Space South of Bath Corridor
H5 Under blocked Doorway of Room behind Throne (= *H6*)
H7 Room of Stone Lamp
I1 Area around Room of Bügelkannes: 1900 season (= *I5*)
I2 Deposit of Great Seal (North Entrance Passage)
I3 Area of Bull Relief (North Entrance Passage)
I3bis S. of Bull Relief Area (North Entrance Passage)
I4 Area around Room of Bügelkannes: 1901 season
I6 East of Chamber of Hieroglyph Inscr.
J1 East-West Corridor
J2 Hall of Colonnades
J3 Corridor of Sword Tablets
J4 E. Bath Room (part of Queen's Megaron complex)
K S. E. Front
K1 Area of Clay Signet Room (= *K2*, *K3*)
L Arsenal
M Little Palace

TABLE 3.1 gives an overview of the find-places of the tablets. The tablets with Revised Numbering and *Scripta Minoa* numbering are each shown in two separate columns to demonstrate the extent to which Evans preserved the blocks of tablets. TABLE 3.1 also shows the extent to which Evans moved tablets out of their blocks, either to collate tablets with the same logograms or to move minor fragments out of the main tranche of tablets. [APPENDIX C gives references to discussions in the paper for tablets which are omitted from TABLE 3.1.]

TABLE 3.1: *Overview of the find-places of the tablets*

	ON	RN		SM numbering	
A	1-33			1-33	
B2	34-37			36bis, 37bis, 40-41	
F15	38-41			41bis	671-673
F2	42-47			47, 47bis	410, 446-450, 5802
C	48-395	217-337		48-337	5097 + tin box tablets
D	396	338		338	
E	397-482	339-425		339-437 (exc. 399-414, 422)	711, 733, 5089, 5090, 5501
F	483-566b 576-587 880-901 924-1057 A-tablets	427-687 (662-667 not used)	692-698 702, 746	439-698 (exc. 446-450, 470, 520, 590, 633, 658-659, 671-673, 678)	409, 701, 706-708, 710 712-713, 808, 993-995, 1568, 1615-1616, 5019, 5033, 7116, 7370-7371, 7894, 8154-8169
G	1060-1086 (exc. 1064)	688-719 (exc. 692- 698, 702)	743	702-729 (exc. 706-708, 710-713)	422, 470, 590, 734bis
B4, B5	902-907	720-725			42-46, 700
B1, K	1088-1094	726-732			35-39, 1062-1063
H	567-575 (exc. 572), 588-589, 611-613, 1058-1059, 1087	733-750 (exc. 743, 746)		730-748 (exc. 733, 742)	
I	590-879 (exc. 611-613), 908-917, 1086, 1097-1101	751-1052	1531-1544	749-1054 (exc. 808, 956-957, 993-995)	408, 411-414, 699, 1576, 1581-1583
KI	1095-1096 1102	1053-1055		1055-1061	
J	1103 to ~1270	1056-1530 1545-1595		1064-1566 and above	

In very broad terms, the allocation to find-places, given in TABLE 3.1, is similar to that given in *Scripta Minoa* II, in *OKTi* and in *CoMIK*. However, there are numerous detailed differences and it is these which become important in any discussion of the «unity of the archive». For example, it is important to know whether a tablet was apparently found at a different find-place from the

remainder of its set because it was actually at that different find-place when the palace was destroyed or because there was an error subsequent to its excavation.

It is evident, from Evans' notes that, at a very early stage, he recognised the logograms which he described as «vases» (i.e. *209^{VAS}), «houses» (i.e. AROM, *123) and «cuirass, horse, chariot» (i.e. *162, *105, *240). In the case of the chariot tablets, these were probably moved together prior to the original numbering (see SECTION 6). In the case of the «vase» tablets, they were moved together to a limited extent during both the ON and RN numbering. In TABLE 3.1, RN 692-698, 702 were all moved out of sequence because they had «vase» logograms. RN 743 = SM 734bis and was moved to be with other Oa-series tablets. RN 746 seems simply to have strayed during the re-numbering process for no obvious reason. The group of tablets RN 1531-1542 have a more complex story and this is discussed in APPENDIX B.1.

This brief discussion demonstrates that we can understand the logic behind the few tablets that Evans moved out of sequence in the Concordance. In principle, one could step through the tablets from the *Scripta Minoa* numbering in a similar way. Although more tablets were moved, it is often possible to determine the logic that led to the new sequencing. However, as already noted, in that case, the logic was determined more by the grouping of tablets with the same logograms than by maintaining blocks of tablets from the same find-places.

Before starting the detailed description of the tablets from each find-place, there are a number of general points which are implicit in the discussion that follows.

1. Although all the find-places within the palace are discussed, they are not all equally important. In the section of his paper on the phenomenology of the tablets, Driessen (1994) describes four different types of deposits,

- i) isolated fragment(s).
- ii) a small group of fragments, treating different subjects and written by different scribes.
- iii) a dispersed deposit but with an underlying unity based on scribes and/or contents.
- iv) a concentrated deposit in terms of both writing and contents.

Whilst deposit types (i) and (ii) have some interest, the main interest is in types (iii) and (iv) and this is reflected in the length of discussion for the different find-places.

2. This paper aims to record the find-places of tablets as set down by Evans in the original version of his *Handlist*. It should be acknowledged that the quality control of the process of recording excavation finds in 1900 was not as rigorous as would be expected today. Therefore, it is possible that the find-places of a limited number of tablets were not correctly recorded. Whilst there is some discussion of this in the paper, there has not been any attempt here to change the find-place data recorded in the original *Handlist* in order to correct any perceived mis-recording at the time of the excavation.

3. The *Handlist* only records tablets that were found in the 1900-1902 seasons. In particular, it excludes tablets from the Arsenal and the Little Palace. It also excludes sealings and sealings with Linear B inscriptions, which are given in Evans' *Notebooks*. As this paper is restricted to a study of the *Handlist*, it excludes discussion of the sealings (see Gill, 1965, 1966) and tablets from the Arsenal and Little Palace.

4. This paper is predominantly a study of the *Handlist*, with references, where appropriate to the published contents of Mackenzie's and Evans' excavation notebooks. In practice, the excavation notebooks add relatively little to the information on the find-places of specific tablets, precisely because the original *Handlist* was the excavation record for that information. However, the excavation records are necessary for describing the archaeological context in which the deposits of tablets were found. Ideally, the present paper would be extended to include an analysis of the find-places using these notebooks, however, it is already relatively long and complex! Instead, I propose to write a further paper, developing from this work and including a study of the archaeological context in which the deposits of tablets were found.

The sections that follow consider each series of tablets (*A* to *K*) in turn, investigating the first five stages of the study, wherever practicable. The final section is a discussion on the «unity of the archive» (i.e. stage vi).

4. TABLETS FROM THE CLAY CHEST

The tablets from the clay chest were found on 6 April 1900⁹. This is conventionally denoted as find-place *A* and the tablets are listed in TABLE A, towards the end of the paper. These tablets were unaffected by Evans' re-numbering in the *Handlist*.

There are two coherent sets of tablets, Fp(1) written by scribe 138 and Fs written by scribe 139.

Fp(1). The only tablet from this series that is not associated with the clay bath is Fp(1) 48, which is allocated to the Room of the Chariot Tablets (*RCT*, i.e. find-place *C*). Evans specifically labelled Fp(1) 48 as being from the *RCT* in his *Handlist*. Driessen (1994) has suggested that this tablet was actually found in (or near) the clay bath and its find-place was recorded incorrectly. This is discussed further below, in SECTION 6.

Scribe 138. In addition to Fp(1) 48 described above, scribe 138? is associated with X 453, which was found in the 4th West Gallery (*F3*).

Fs. All the tablets from this set were found in find-place *A*. Similarly, all the tablets written by scribe 139 were Fs tablets.

⁹ Although these are the first tablets listed in both the Original and the *Scripta Minoa* numbering systems, the first tablet actually to be found was *SM* 338 on 31 March 1900.

5. THE B-SERIES OF TABLETS

The B-series is a miscellaneous group of tablets which have been brought together primarily by their relatively vague find-place labels, which allocate them to the west or south west of the palace. The B-series tablets are listed in TABLE B towards the end of the paper.

The find-place maps of Olivier and Sjöquist & Åström place all the B-series tablets together in the S.W. Pillar Room. Whilst this is correct for B2 (= B3), it will become clear that the other B-series tablets were not found in this room.

5.1. TABLETS ON 34-37

ON 34 = As 40 (scribe 101). This tablet was found on 11 April 1900 and its find was noted by both Mackenzie and Evans (*OKTi*, p.69). In the *Handlist*, its find-place is recorded as «Near S.W. door».

ON 35 = B 41 is labelled «By S.W. door (above terrace)» in the *Handlist*.

ON 36+ON 37 = X 36bis+37bis. These do not have a separate catch-heading in the *Handlist* and, therefore, can be assumed to be from the same find-place as ON 35.

The area in which all these tablets were found is now called the S.W. Pillar Room (*OKTii*, p.15) and, although this is not Evans' description in the *Handlist*, it would seem to be more helpful than the labels listed above.

It is interesting to note that B 41 and X 36bis both include the name *ra-ni*, which does not appear elsewhere in the archive.

Scribe 101. Apart from As 40, this scribe wrote As 1516, 1519 and V 1523, which were found in the Eastern Wing of the palace. In addition, the man's name/ place name combination, *su-ke-re(-o)/ se-to-i-ja*, appears on both As 40 and As 1516. Thus, there is a clear link between these two deposits of tablets. Scribe 101? is also associated with V(6) 958, which was found in the Area of the Bull Relief (*I3*).

5.2. TABLETS ON 902-906

ON 902-906 have the catch-heading «Area beyond W. Wall» in the *Handlist*.

In the original numbering, this group of tablets was sandwiched between the tablets from the north end of the long corridor and the tablet from the «W. area: Nr. S.W. Entrance». However, their position was towards the end of the list of tablets found during the first year, where the topographic ordering was not maintained (see APPENDIX B.1). In the Revised Numbering, this group of tablets was placed between tablets from the Small Room to the E. of Gallery of Jewel Fresco¹⁰ and the S.W. Entrance. In the *Scripta Minoa* numbering, Evans moved this group of tablets between tablets from «by the S.W. door (above terrace)» and those from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, i.e. definitely moving them towards the S.W. corner. In *Scripta Minoa* II (p. 39), the location is given as «Area

¹⁰ Strictly, RN 719 is labelled «N.W.<» (i.e. N.W. Corner) in the *Concordance*, although this label cannot be justified from the *Handlist* (see SECTION 10).

beyond West Wall; i.e. the Western Court outside the main block of Palace buildings: these tablets had been swept outwards as the upper story collapsed». The notes of Evans and Mackenzie do not give any guidance on the find-place of these tablets.

In this case, it would appear that Evans' topographical ordering is unhelpful. Instead, it is suggested that emphasis should be given to the interpretation given in *Scripta Minoa* II, i.e. that the tablets were found in the Western Court, beyond the West Wall of the palace. The reason for this find-place could either be that they were swept outwards as the upper story collapsed (as suggested in *Scripta Minoa* II) or that they were stray tablets from an earlier excavation (as suggested by Melena, private communication).

SM 47 does not have an ON (or RN) because the original drawing is no longer in the *Handlist*. Its newer drawing is on the same page as *SM* 46, under the catch-heading, «beyond W.Wall (contd)». There are difficulties in suggesting which ON and RN could have been used for *SM* 47, since there are no gaps in the sequences associated with the tablets from the West court area (see TABLE B). However, this tablet has a red inked tablet number (IN) which I read as 45 (though it could possibly be 47). On this basis, *DI* 47 has been included under find-place *F2* in TABLE F.i.

ON 902-906 are strongly linked to the tablets from the 2nd West Magazine (*F1*) because both groups contain tablets from the *Dq*(3) set. Since *F1* is adjacent to the Western Court, it would seem reasonable to assume that these two set of tablets were originally from the same cache, which became separated either during the destruction of the palace or during careless excavation. Therefore, the detailed discussion of these tablets is included in SECTION 9.2.1.

5.3. TABLET ON 907

ON 907 = K 700 has the catch-heading «W.Area: Nr. S.W. Entrance».

In the *Handlist* and *Concordance*, ON 902-906 and ON 907 are listed together. In *Scripta Minoa*, both are labelled as being from the Western Court, although, by that stage, K 700 had been moved with other tablets with similar logograms (i.e. *Gg* 701-713). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the find-place of ON 907 was in the Western Court, near to the S.W. Entrance, as described in *Scripta Minoa*.

This tablet is not from a set and does not have an identified scribe.

5.4. TABLETS ON 1088-1091 AND ON 1093

ON 1088 does not appear against a drawing in the *Handlist* and its *SM* number is not known (but see discussion below). ON 1089-1091 & 1093 are all labelled «S.W. corner» in the *Handlist*. These tablets are almost certainly those referred to by Mackenzie on 18 April 1901, as being from the area immediately south of the S.W. Pillar Room.

ON 1088-1094 were kept together as a block when Evans re-numbered the tablets to RN 726-732. In the *Concordance*, these tablets have the catch-heading,

«S.W. <», i.e. S.W. corner. However, the catch-headings on these tablets in the *Handlist* were varied and included ON 1092 and 1094 from the S.E. Front. It seems probable that Evans realised that he had not fully respected the find-places of these tablets in the *Concordance* because, in the *Scripta Minoa* numbering, SM 1062-1063 (ON 1092 and ON 1094) were separated from the rest of this block and moved back alongside tablets from the area around the Clay Signet Room. Thus, in this case, we will choose to accept the guidance given by the *Scripta Minoa* numbering, rather than that in the *Concordance*.

As already noted, ON 1088 does not appear explicitly in the *Handlist*. The tablet which is most likely to have had this ON is SM 39, though this tablet does not have an ON in *Handlist* because the original drawing is missing. SM 39 appears in the *Handlist* on the same paste-up page as SM 35-38. SM 39 is recorded by Bennett as having IN 1089 (i.e. the same as SM 35), however, IN 1088 is not excluded (J. L. Melena, private communication). On this basis, it seems reasonable to allocate it to the same find-place as SM 35-38.

None of these tablets are from sets or have identified scribes.

X 38 has the palm-print of L ALPHA, which also appears on Da 1299 (from the main sheep archive, *J1*) and Mc 5124 (from the Arsenal).

6. THE TABLETS FROM THE ROOM OF THE CHARIOT TABLETS (*RCT*)

The tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (*RCT*) were found between 6-14 April 1900 and are listed in TABLE C. The scribal hands given in TABLE C are those quoted in *KT5*. It is noted that Driessen (1988) puts forward a different allocation of scribal hands for these tablets (although, with the exception of Fp 48, it is generally agreed that all the *RCT* tablets, with identified scribal hands, were written by scribes from the «124» series).

Driessen has written extensively about the *RCT* tablets and it is not the purpose of this section to repeat his findings here. Therefore, the following notes are concerned only with the original numbering of the archive, the evidence for the internal ordering of the *RCT* tablets and the links between these tablets and the remainder of the Knossos archive. These notes begin with a number of detailed comments on the identification of the tablets in the *Handlist*.

i) The original drawing of ON 69, given in the *Handlist*, is actually Xd 5097¹¹. There was evidently some confusion at a later stage and the number 69 became associated with the tracing for SM 745, probably because both begin with the signs *a-ka*.

ii) There were no original drawings of the tablets for ON 85 and 86 but there is a note in the *Handlist*, «85, 86 [followed by drawing of sign 77, i.e. *ka*] at beginning of tablet. Other signs wanting.» SM 85 has the IN 85 to confirm its identification.

iii) There was some confusion over the tablets SM 278 and 279. The drawing of tablet ON 338 corresponds to SM 278 but the tablet has the IN 339 (implying that it is SM 279). There is a note in the *Handlist* «~~339~~ 279 part of similar to ~~337~~

¹¹ This identification was also indicated by the IN = 69 on Xd 5097.

277», although there is no drawing of ON 339 = *SM* 279. RN 278 and 279 appear as separate numbers in the *Concordance*, however, *SM* 278 is the same tablet as *SM* 279.

iv) The reverse side of *SM* 217 is incorrectly labelled «218 underside» in the *Handlist*. This error is perpetuated in the *Concordance*.

The ordering of the tablets was virtually unchanged by Evans as they were re-numbered in the *Concordance*. Any change is predominantly due to the omission of the blocks of tablets ON 217-219 and ON 269-326 from the original listing.

A note in the *Handlist* specifically refers to the tablets ON 269-326, «Minor fragments of tablets as above [i.e. of the type listed above] ‘Cuirass’, chariot, horse: Nos. 269-309 and do. 310-326 (in tin box)». If we take this note literally, there would have been 58 Sc-series tablets in the tin box. Using Bennett’s *Concordance* of IN’s, almost all the IN’s in the range 269-326, which can be read, are on 29 tablets from the Sc-series within the range *SM* 5046-5170.¹² In fact, there are 57 Sc-series tablets in the range *SM* 5046-5170 (cf. 58 tablets in the tin box) and 45 of these tablets have traces of red ink numbering (whereas the bulk of tablets in the *SM* 5000+ range do not have any such traces). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that, to a good approximation, the Sc-series tablets in the range *SM* 5046-5170 were the tablets which Evans found in the *RCT* and placed in the tin box.

There are a limited number of tablets in the *SM* 5000+ range which have traces of red ink numbering but are not from the Sc-series.¹³

- IN 217 = X 5074
- IN 220 = Ap 5077

At first sight, these two tablets would appear to relate to the missing numbers ON 217-219. In both cases, these were given as written by scribe «124» in *KT4*, presumably on the strength of their IN’s. However, on reflection, in *KT5*, the scribal hand either is not identified (moving *SM* 5074 from the Xd-series to the X-series) or is given as «124»??. Thus, the association of these tablets with the *RCT*, that is implied by the IN’s, has been seriously questioned in *KT5*.

- IN 55 = D 5094 (scribe not identified in either *KT4* or *KT5*)
- IN ?? = Og 5095 (scribe «124»)
- IN 69 = Xd 5097 (scribe «124», already discussed above)

Og 5095 may be a tablet that was originally numbered then removed from the *Handlist* by Evans because it was too small a fragment. Its IN could not be read by Bennett.

In the light of the above discussion, it does not seem appropriate to allocate any tablets to the *RCT* on the basis of IN’s alone. More generally, it seems likely that the allocation of IN’s preceded the allocation of ON’s as there are examples,

¹² The only exceptions are IN 314?, which is part of tablet Ce 139 and a few unreliable readings on tablets that were almost certainly not found in the *RCT*.

¹³ The following discussion on IN’s for *RCT* tablets has been included as an example. However, in general, detailed discussions on the interpretation of IN’s have not been included unless they result in clear conclusions.

such as the above, where the numbering appears to have changed for groups of tablets between IN and ON, as though Evans was organising these groups of tablets prior to including them in the *Handlist*.¹⁴

It should be noted that IN 201 = Sc 5157, IN 233 = Sc 5072, IN 330 = Sc 5057. There are already tablets representing ON 201, 233 and 330 in the *Handlist*, which differ from the above. It seems possible that these IN's were either mis-read or the IN's could be an indication of Evans re-numbering the tablets, during the initial numbering process, in order to group together the Sc-series of tablets.

There are clear signs of ordering within the *RCT* group of tablets:

In the case of the Sc-series, it is almost certain that Evans grouped together tablets with cuirass, chariot and horse logograms, that were readily recognisable. [There are a few Sc tablets outside the block *SM* 217-266, i.e. Sc 103, 130 and 135. It is significant that the actual fragments numbered ON 103, 130 and 135 did not contain identifiable logograms.]

The Np tablets are clustered in this deposit and also in the *I3* deposit and so it seems likely that Evans identified these as sets before including them in the original *Handlist*.

However, the Ag tablets are clustered together in the *RCT* deposit, although there is not evidence of Evans bringing together A-series tablets in other deposits in the original *Handlist*.

In addition, the palm-prints of R GAMMA, R EPSILON, L GAMMA, R ETA and the thumbprint ALPHA THUMB (with the exception of the minor fragment Xd 204) are each clustered within a small group of *SM* numbers.

Thus, it is suggested that there is evidence of ordering within the *RCT* group of tablets that was present in the deposit of tablets as they were found (i.e. not imposed by Evans). In other words, the *RCT* tablets that were excavated were not a randomised dump of tablets.

It is worth noting that there is a concentration of children's palm-prints on the *RCT* tablets. Of the 15 tablets, noted by Sjöquist & Åström to have children's palm-prints, 9 were found in the *RCT*, 3 in the Room of Column Bases and only three in the whole of the remainder of the archive. In addition, 8 of the 14 tablets noted to have palm-prints with rough papillar lines were found in the *RCT* (implying that those tablet-makers had been manual labourers). Sjöquist & Åström reasonably assumed that, in both these cases, the tablets had not been made by the scribes themselves.

There are relatively few links between the *RCT* tablets and the remainder of the archive. This fact has been used by Driessen to support his hypothesis that the *RCT* tablets pre-date the bulk of the archive by at least one generation. The links that have been noted are:

1. Sjöquist & Åström found reason to believe that the palm-print found on Xd 105 was the same as that found on L 473 from the 4th Western Magazine (*F3*), i.e. palm-print R LAMBDA.

¹⁴ See also *SM* 426-431.

2. Fp(1) 48, written by scribe 138, is part of the set of tablets found in the clay chest. Evans specifically labelled Fp(1) 48 as being from the *RCT* in his *Handlist*.

On point (1), Driessen suggests that the evidence is not sufficiently firm to allow it as a definitive contradiction to his hypothesis. On point (2), he suggests that Fp(1) 48 was actually found near the clay bath and its find-place was recorded incorrectly by Evans. There are a number of reasons for making this suggestion,

- the clay chest tablets were found at the same time as the first tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. Thus, there is the potential for mis-recording.
- Fp(1) 48 is clearly part of the Fp(1) set of tablets. It was written by scribal hand 138, which is not found elsewhere amongst the hundreds of tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (*RCT*).
- Driessen (1988) has noted that with very few exceptions all the tablets from the *RCT* were made from the the same clay and this clay was different to that used for all the other tablets. The exceptions are Fp 48, V 52 and U 96.
- Driessen (1990) has put forward a basis for suggesting that the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets pre-date the other Linear B tablets by at least one generation. Fp 48 would contradict that suggestion.

Although this latter point is open to question, it is acknowledged that there is reason to doubt the recording of the find-place of Fp 48 in the *Handlist*.

7. THE TABLET FROM THE FIND-PLACE *D*

Ai 338. Although this was the first tablet to be found (on 31 March 1900), its Original Number in the *Handlist* is ON 396, i.e. it follows the tablets from the *RCT*. It has the catch-heading «~~Surface, near Room of Clay Chest~~ Court of Altar». Thus, the original record of its find-place is with reference to the Clay Chest that was found a week later than the tablet itself. Hood & Taylor note that Evans' «Court of Altar» was, in fact, a mis-interpretation of a surviving rectangle of pavement. In view of this, we will revert to Evans' original description, «Near Room of Clay Chest».

8. THE E-SERIES OF TABLETS

The tablets from this series are listed in TABLE E. The tablets from *E5* were found between 18-25 April 1900; that from *E2* was found on 28 April; the *E1* tablets were found on 2 May and the *E6* tablets on 8 May 1900.

TABLE 8.1 summarises the find-places of the tablets from this area. This table gives the underlying detail, summarised for the E-series in one row of TABLE 3.1.

TABLE 8.1: *The find-places of the E-series of tablets*

	ON	RN	SM numbering	
<i>E1</i>	397-453	339-395	339-393	5501
<i>E1 bis</i>	454-455	396	413	394
<i>E5</i>	456-475	397-417 (exc.413)	395-398, 415-431 (exc.422)	733
<i>E2</i>	476	418	432	
<i>E3</i>	476b	419		711
<i>E4</i>	477	420	433	
<i>E6</i>	478-482	421-425	434-437	5089, 5090

8.1. THE TABLETS FROM *E1* (ROOM OF COLUMN BASES)

The *E1* tablets appear in the *Handlist* under the catch-heading, «Room of Column Bases. N.E. Corner. Originally contained in a gypsum chest. Part of two clay seals with impression of seal representing four bulls found with them.»

All the tablets are either in the Fh or Fp(2)-series written by scribes 141 and 222, respectively. All the tablets in these series, with known find-places, were found in *E1*, with the possible exception of Fh 462 (scribe 141?), which was found in *F3*. Similarly, Fh 462 is the only known example of the writing of either scribe 141 or 222 outside *E1*.

ON 447/ RN 389. There is a sketch of this tablet in the *Handlist* (copied below) but it was crossed out and not included in *Scripta Minoa* II. The following paragraph is based on notes written by J. L. Melena (private communication).



The text could be *po-ro]-ko-wo* but the traces at the left are suspect. The drawing looks more like *ko-wa]* 2 *ko-wo* 6 [but this would not be expected from find-place *E1*. It is probably not Ak 7016 because that tablet is made from a different clay to the tablets in *E1*, which is readily distinguishable. It is suspected that this tablet may have been lost along with other tablets from this find-place.

Palm-print R IOTA. This palm-print only appears in this find-place.

Palm-print L DELTA. This palm-print appears on Fh 360, Fh 372, Fh 5450 and Ch 7065. This latter tablet was written by scribe 110, which links it to the other Ch tablets found in the North Entrance Passage. Sjöquist & Åström (1991) consider that there is strong reason to identify the palm-print on Ch 7065 as being that of L DELTA.

Driessen (1990) has suggested that the tablets from *E1* pre-date most of the other tablets from Knossos by at least one generation. If this linkage of the Fh tablets to the remainder of the archive is accepted it would demonstrate that this suggestion was incorrect.

8.2. THE TABLETS FROM *E1bis*, *E2*, *E3* AND *E4*

The tablets from *E1bis* and *E2* are listed in TABLE E but they do not come from sets or have identified scribes. Their catch-headings in the *Handlist* are «Near N. entrance to Column base Room» and «E. Pillar Room», respectively.¹⁵

ON 476b (*SM* 711) is labelled «N. of Room of Column Bases» in the *Handlist* (i.e. *E3*). This tablet was drawn on a piece of the first season's *Notebook* which had been cut from the page containing ON 476-477 and stuck on the page containing ON 472-475. This tablet does not have an identified IN. Thus, this tablet was inserted after the other E-series tablets had been listed. Such inserted tablets are particularly prone to error in the specification of their find-places.

It seems likely that it was one of the two fragments of inscribed tablets that were found on 4 April 1901 in the Temple Repositories Room (Melena, 1997). If this were the case, then the find-place would be the room immediately north of that marked by Olivier (1967, p. 21). However, if the tablet was found during the 1900 season, then Olivier's indication of the find-place *E3* would be correct. The fact that it was drawn on the lined paper used in the first season would appear to support this (although the paper was cut out from a nearby page and could actually have been drawn a year later). In practice, the excavation notes do not record any tablets being found in the room N. of the Room of Column Bases in 1900. Therefore, on balance, it is assumed that *E3* is the Temple Repositories Room.

The tablet from *E4* has the catch-heading, «Passage on E. side of Room of 'Chariot Tablets'», in the *Handlist*. It does not come from a set or have an identified scribe.

8.3. THE TABLETS FROM *E5*

These tablets appear in the *Handlist* under the catch-heading, «Found in Corridor of 'House' tablets and near entrance to E. Pillar Room».

Ga (2), scribe 136. All the tablets from this set, with known find-places, were found in *E5* with the exception of Ga 673, Ga 422 and Ga 1335. (Scribe 136 also appears in *I1* and *I3*?)

Ga 673 was found in the Long Corridor of the Western Magazines (*F15*), adjacent to *E5*. Presumably the tablet became separated from the main set when the tablets fell from an upper floor as the palace was destroyed. Alternatively, it could have been displaced during earlier excavation.

Ga 422 was found in find-place *G2* during the second year of excavation (the latter point is confirmed by its blue inked number). *G2* is separated from find-place *E5* and, therefore, although Ga 422 is part of the same set it could not have been physically in the same place as the rest of the Ga(2) tablets immediately before the destruction of the palace. Thus, it represents a strong link between *E5* and *G2*.

¹⁵ Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 17) implies that the first of these catch-headings had been deleted by Evans. In practice, it is the tablet that has been deleted because it was moved from that page in the *Handlist* as it was re-numbered.

Ga 1335 was found in the East-West Corridor with the main sheep archive (*J1*). Again this tablet was found in the second year of excavation. This is an isolated tablet amongst a large number of sheep tablets, it could not be a stray from Ga tablets in the Queen's bathroom since that area was not excavated until the following year. Also, there was a full month separation between the excavation of *G2* and *J1* so it is unlikely that it was a stray from *G2*. Thus, Ga 1335 forms a strong link between *J1* and *E5*.

V(3), scribe 115. Tablets written by scribe 115 were found in a number of places in the area of the Western Magazines, i.e. *F3*, *F6*, *F7*, *F13*, *F14* and *F16* (see SECTION 9).

Palm-prints R THETA & R KAPPA. All examples of these palm-prints were found in *E5*.

8.4. THE TABLETS FROM *E6*

These tablets were recorded in the *Handlist* with the catch-heading, «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».

It is clear from Mackenzie's excavation notes that the Room of the Niche was a very small room through the left-hand doorway on the N. wall of the E. Pillar Room. *OKTi* Plan II shows this room, although Palmer has not labelled it correctly. (Olivier, 1967, and Sjöquist and Åström also do not give the correct position of this room.)

ON 479b was drawn on the same page as ON 478 and 479. It appears to have been re-numbered as 481 when the original tablet, ON 481, was deleted (presumably the latter was deleted because it was considered too minor to be included).

ON 481. This tablet is deleted in the *Handlist*. Palmer incorrectly identified it as ON 487. However, it is actually C 5089 (J. L. Melena, private communication).

ON 482b. This tablet was inserted into the *Handlist* adjacent to the sheep tablets from the 2nd Magazine. It was drawn sideways on the page above 2nd Magazine tablets and to the right of a group of Room of Niche tablets, which are now deleted. It seems most likely that Evans inserted this tablet into the *Handlist* next to the *FI* sheep tablets. However, this should not be taken to imply that it was actually found in *FI* (or *E6*). SECTION 9 contains a lengthy discussion on the problems associated with tablets that were inserted at a late stage into the original *Handlist* and that discussion includes this tablet.

None of the tablets ON 478-482 are from coherent sets or have identified scribal hands.

9. TABLETS FROM THE WESTERN MAGAZINES

TABLE 9.1 summarises the find-places of the tablets from the Western Magazines, based on Evans' *Handlist* and his construction of the *Concordance*.

This is a detailed breakdown of the F-series line shown in TABLE 3.1. TABLE 9.1 also shows the extent to which Evans moved tablets out of their blocks, either to collate tablets with the same logograms or to move minor fragments out of the main tranche of tablets. One of the prime aims of the Revised Numbering was to bring together the batches of tablets from the Western magazines which were excavated in the 1900 and 1901 seasons. This is the reason for the large shift between the ON and RN numbers, which can be seen in TABLE 9.1, for find-places from *F8* to *F14* (together with the corresponding tablets from the passage, *F19*).

TABLE 9.1: *The find-places of the F-series of tablets*

	ON	RN	SM numbering	
<i>F1</i>	483-489	427-433		439-445
<i>F2</i>	42*-47			446-451
	494	434		47, 47 bis, 410, 5802
<i>F3</i>	490-507 (exc.494)	435-453		452-473 (exc. 470, 471)
	524b	454		409, 578, 1615, 1616
	584-587	455-457	746	
<i>F4</i>	508-510	458-460		476-477
<i>F5</i>	511-513	461-463		478
<i>F6, F16</i>	514-528 (exc.524b)	464-480 (exc. 472)		479-492 (exc. 482)
				7116, 7894
				710, 5019
<i>F7, F7a, F17</i>	529-566b 576-583	481-523 (exc. 513, 515)	472, 692, 696-698, 702	493-516
				475, 482, 581, 586, 613, 615-616, 621, 622, 627, 631, 635- 636, 674, 677, 701, 706-708, 712, 5033
<i>F8</i>	924-931	524-531		570, 617
<i>F9</i>	931b	532		517-523
<i>F10</i>	932-967	533-569		524
<i>F11</i>	968-970	570-572		525-560
<i>F12</i>	971-971b	573-573*		561-563
<i>F13</i>	972-976	574-578		564-565
<i>F14</i>	977-1050 A-tablets	579-661		566-569
				571-577, 579-580, 582-585, 587-589, 591-594, 596, 598-612, 614, 618-620, 623-626, 628-630, 632, 634, 637-657, 660-670
				671-673
<i>F15</i>	38-41	—		675-676, 679-688, 690-698
<i>F18, F19</i>	880-901 1051-1057	668-687	513, 515, 693-695	471, 474, 1568, 8154-8169
				41bis
				595, 713, 808, 993- 995, 7370, 7371

It is worthwhile stepping through the Revised Numbering of the tablets, shown in TABLE 9.1, to consider why Evans moved the tablets that are out of sequence. RN 513 and 515 both contain the sign *I23 (AROM) and have been moved by Evans from *F18* to *F7/F17* to be with other tablets containing that

logogram. RN 746 has been moved from «4th W Gallery Supplement» into «Corridor of Stone Basin» (i.e. H3). In *Scripta Minoa* numbering it was moved amongst the tablets from F14, in other words, it became a stray tablet. RN 692-698, 702 were moved with the «Vases» tablets because of the sign *209^{VAS}.

Thus, we can reconstruct Evans' interpretation of his notes to give the find-places of the tablets from the Western Magazines. The next section gives the detailed discussion of the evidence, on which the above table was based, for cases where there is some ambiguity.

9.1. REVIEWING THE FIND-PLACES OF TABLETS WHERE THERE IS SOME AMBIGUITY

There are three broad groups of tablets from the Western Magazines where there is some ambiguity about the find-places:

- i) tablets with confused annotation in the *Handlist*.
- ii) tablets which have been inserted after the drawing up of the initial listing.
- iii) tablets with incomplete numbering for which Palmer made assumptions.

9.1.1. TABLETS WITH CONFUSED ANNOTATION IN THE *HANDLIST*

ON 38-41 labelled «~~Corridor of stone doorways, jambs~~». (*SM* 671-673, 41 bis, respectively.) It is clear from the *Scripta Minoa* numbering that, although this catch-heading was deleted in the *Handlist*, Evans believed that these tablets were from the south end of the Long Gallery. *SM* 671-673 are labelled «Long Gallery: South End = Long Corridor of Magazines» in *Scripta Minoa* II. The paper containing the earliest drawing of ON 41 was originally part of the same page as that containing the drawings of ON 38-40. Therefore, it follows that ON 38-41 were from F15.

ON 42*-47 labelled «3rd N. W. Gallery Mag.». This is essentially a tidying up of the catch-heading. It is again clear from the *Scripta Minoa* numbering that Evans believed these tablets to be from the 3rd Magazine and *SM* 446-450 are labelled as such in *Scripta Minoa* II. ON 42*-46 were also cross-referenced by Evans in the *Handlist* catch-heading for ON 490, although this was subsequently deleted (see below). Evans' *Notebook* (dated 3 April 1900) records the find of these tablets (*OKTi*, p. 91). At this early stage of the *Handlist*, the numbering of the tablets was somewhat experimental and the numbers in the range 42-47 were re-distributed amongst the tablets in a way that is difficult to disentangle using the *Handlist* alone; the numbers given in TABLE F.i are based on a combination of ON's and IN's.

ON 490-493 labelled «(3rd W. Gallery, see above Nos. 42* 46) formerly 4th. 4th W. Gallery» This is a correction by Evans to his initial catch-heading. Consideration of the scribal hands for these tablets shows that the corrected catch-heading is more likely to be valid.

ON 494 labelled «3rd W. Gallery» in between groups of tablets from the 4th W. Gallery (see previous entry). The *Handlist* is unambiguous in this labelling. Examination of the early drawings shows that the original page would have had the catch-heading «3rd W. Gallery» above ON 494, followed by the label «4th W. Gallery» above ON 495-497.

ON 524-526. Palmer implies that these tablets had the catch-heading «4th W. Gallery (continued) [deleted]» (*OKTi*, p. 19 footnote). In fact, this is due to a typographic error. The catch-heading «4th W. Gallery» should only be associated with the tablet, ON 524b. Furthermore, this catch-heading was not

deleted. ON 524b was not included in the first draft of the *Handlist* and was inserted at a later stage. (Its drawing was not on the same page as ON 523-527). ON 524, 525 and 526 were part of the original draft of the *Handlist* and fall under the catch-heading of the 7th W. Gallery.

ON 537-539 (*SM* 706-708) labelled «Separate lot. Belong prob. to Deposit of Jewel Fresco Room». However, these tablets are placed amidst tablets from the 8th Gallery. Gg 706-708 were written by scribe 220. Since this scribal hand does not appear in the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, the catch-heading can be regarded as speculation. These tablets carry the *209^{VAS} logogram and, in fact, Evans' speculation represents one of his earliest attempts to move together tablets with the same logograms.

There is an analogous problem in the labelling of tablets from *G1* (*Gallery of the Jewel Fresco*). The description in the *Handlist* suggests that some of the tablets from *G1* were «scattered and carried to M.8». M.8 is interpreted in *Scripta Minoa* II (p. 39) as Magazine VIII (this seems reasonable, since map location M8 was some distance away, on the northern side of the courtyard; *OKTi*, Plan II). *OKTi* (p. 107) includes the notes from Evans' notebook, giving the list of associated tablets from around Magazine VIII as being ON 537-539, 565 and 550. These correspond to Gg 706-708, written by scribe 220 (see above) and Gg 701 & 712, for which the scribe(s) are not identified. In practice, the scattering postulated by Evans is based on the usage of the logogram *209^{VAS} on these tablets. However, as already noted, we know that they were not written by the same scribe as the *G1* tablets and, therefore, should not be assumed to be from the same set. On this basis, the *G1* tablets should not be regarded as being more scattered than other deposits and the phrase «scattered and carried to M.8» can be disregarded.

ON 540-545 labelled «~~8th W. Gallery~~». It is not clear why this catch-heading was deleted. The (undeleted) heading is entirely consistent with the *Concordance* and the analysis of scribal hands.

ON 584-587. Palmer's footnote states that these tablets were labelled «4th W. Gallery Supplement [whole deleted]» (*OKTi*, p. 21 footnote). In practice, the deletion is a general striking through of the first draft of rough drawings, in a manner which is common in the *Handlist*. Evans placed three of these tablets in the 4th Gallery and, as already noted above, the other tablet became a stray, being placed initially in the Corridor of the Stone Basin and then in the 15th Gallery. The logic of the *Handlist* would suggest that all four tablets should be kept together in the 4th Gallery.

ON 1057. Palmer mistakenly suggests that this tablet had the label «N.W. Corner» in the *Handlist* (*OKTi*, p. 31 footnote). In fact, it falls with ON 1055-1057 under the heading of the «N.W. Passage».

Dk(2) 1567 appears as a rough pencil sketch (which, in itself, is very unusual) on plain paper pasted onto the last page of the *Handlist*. It is labelled «N. half of Long Gallery near Stairs», again in pencil. It has earlier numbers 1596 and a pencilled number, 908. Palmer was ambiguous about which was the Original Number (*OKTi*, p. 33, 52, 59), however, ON 908 is a number from the first season of excavation, when all the tablets were drawn on lined paper; therefore, 908 is not its ON. At a stage in the midst of the sheep archive, Evans stopped issuing ON's and simply continued the sequence of the Revised Numbering (see SECTION 13). Therefore, it would be most correct to equate Dk(2) 1567 with RN 1596. [Bennett does not record an inked number.]

Dk(2) 1567 was clearly part of a miscellaneous group of tablets added at the end of the overall *Handlist*. This latter part of the *Handlist* was completed

after the end of the 1902 season and post-dated the construction of the Evans' *Concordance*, therefore, it is not significant that the tablet was not part of that *Concordance*. More importantly, it also post-dates the excavation of the tablets from the Western Magazines, which were found during the 1900 and 1901 seasons.

Dk(2) 1567 = RN 1596 is pasted to the same page as Dk(2) 1565 = RN 1594. The fact that the tablets have near-sequential RN's shows that they always appeared together in the *Handlist* (although the pencilled 908 on the former tablet and the fact that it is a rough sketch on a separate piece of paper shows that it had some previous history which is not possible to disentangle). If taken literally, the catch-heading on Dk 1565 suggests that it was found with the «Sword Tablets». It seems more likely that both these tablets were actually found in *J1* with the remainder of the Dk(2) tablets and then strayed into this miscellaneous group of tablets at the end of the *Handlist*. Therefore, the find-places of Dk 1567 and Dk 1565 should not be regarded as safe. [This is important in view of Dk 1567 being identified as part of Dk(2), written by scribe 119. If its find-place had been definite then it would have represented a strong link between the Long Gallery and the main sheep archive.]

9.1.2. TABLETS WHICH HAVE BEEN INSERTED AFTER THE DRAWING UP OF THE INITIAL LISTING

The tablets that were added into the first version of the *Handlist*, after it had initially been drawn up appear to be particularly prone to error in the recording of their find-places. They have been added to the main sequence and are usually distinguished by having 'b' in their ON number. It can be shown that that Evans placed some tablets in the wrong find-place or that he moved them to different find-places, at a later stage, as if distrusting his original placing. These tablets are as follows:

ON 482b was inserted into the original *Handlist* by being drawn sideways in a space alongside ON 480-482 (labelled «Minor fragments Room of Niche», i.e. *E6*) and above ON 483, 484 (labelled «2nd W. Gallery»). ON 482b is the sheep tablet Dq(4) 438, which was written by scribe 106, who does not appear in either *F1* or *E6*. If the *Handlist* is taken literally, this tablet appears under the catch-heading, «Minor fragments Room of Niche». However, the tablet is too large to be described as a minor fragment; it seems unlikely that it would have been found in the niche at a later stage than the other tablets and have to be inserted into the *Handlist*. It would seem more likely that Evans moved this sheep tablet into a position in the *Handlist* adjacent to the sheep tablets from the 2nd W. Gallery. However, the evidence that the tablet was actually from *F1* is weak and it has been excluded from TABLE F.i.

ON 503b and 504b. These tablets were drawn on the paper used, for the *Handlist*, in the second year of the excavation, although the remainder of tablets from the 4th Magazine were found in the first year. They were headed «IV Mag» and under ON 504b was written «In pithos against S. wall of 4th Magazine». Melena (private communication) notes that *SM* 472 is red brick with adherences, like the other tablets by scribe 210, whereas *SM* 473 is honey and black without adherences. Thus, although these tablets were inserted into the *Handlist* with adjacent numbers, it should not be assumed that they were found together.

ON 521b and 554b. Palmer includes these separately in his *Concordance A*. ON 554b has the following sequence of numbers in the *Handlist*: 554b, 521, 408, 472, 461, 482 (*SM*), but with no known RN number. Whereas, the *Concordance* introduces ON 521b (RN 472), with no known *SM* number. It is noted that the latter two sets of digits appear in the former sequence and it is probable that these both represent the same tablet. *SM* 482 has IN 554, suggesting that this was the ON and implying that it was actually found in *F7*.

ON 524b. This tablet was omitted from Palmer's *Concordance A*. It corresponds to RN 454, *SM* 466 and, has the catch-heading «4th W. Gallery (continued)». This tablet was discussed in SECTION 9.1.1.

ON 566b. This tablet was labelled, «In Long Gallery: in Pithos by S. jamb of 8th Mag.» which would appear to be unambiguous, although it was drawn on the paper used in the second year of excavation, whereas the remainder of tablets from *F17* were found in the first year.

ON 931b. *SM* 524. This tablet was labelled as being from the 10th Magazine. *SM* 524 has IN 946, which implies that Evans came across it after he had started the numbering for the 11th Magazine and, therefore, inserted it earlier in the *Handlist*.

ON 935b. This tablet was omitted by Palmer from *Concordance A* and corresponds to RN 537, *SM* 529. This would imply that it was found in the 11th Magazine.

ON 967a. ON 946 has the sequence of numbers: 946, 967(a) (RN), 568 (RN), 547 (*SM*). Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 29) separately lists ON 967a with the limited sequence: 967a, 568 (RN), 547 (*SM*). It is noted that the digits in the latter sequence appear in the former sequence and, thus, both these represent the same tablet, from *F10*.

ON 971b is clearly from the 13th Magazine.

RN 617-620, 625, 658-661 are labelled A in Evans' *Concordance* and do not have Original Numbers. Thus, Evans placed these tablets in *F14* in the *Handlist* for the first time during the Revised Numbering. The A(thens) tablets are discussed in APPENDIX B.2.

9.1.3. TABLETS WITH INCOMPLETE NUMBERING

The third group of tablets that require discussion are those which have incomplete numbering in the *Handlist* or *Concordance*. In some of these cases, Palmer supplemented this incompleteness by use of judgement. By definition, (almost) all tablets listed in the *Concordance* have a Revised Number and an Original Number (although in the latter case, this can sometimes be a number intermediate between the ON and RN, if Evans re-ordered the tablets before starting the revised numbering). Similarly, all tablets in the *Handlist* have an *SM* number. The problem arises if the *Handlist* does not contain earlier numbers which correspond to the ON or RN of the *Concordance*. In some of these cases, Palmer suggested links between the sets of numbers and he denoted this use of judgement by using square brackets in his *Concordance A*.

SM 451. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 9) associates this with ON 47. The reconstructed sequence of numbers for *SM* 451 is 494 (ON), 438 (RN deleted), 434 (RN), 433 bis (final number in *Handlist*), 451 (*SM*). On the other hand, the number 47 is associated with *SM* 410, 446, 447 and 450, either as an original number or a revised number. On this basis, there seems no reason to accept Palmer's linkage between *SM* 451 and ON 47.

SM 520. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 46) suggests that this could be ON 927. However, we know from the inked numbers that IN 927 is *SM 617* (see below). The original drawing of *SM 520* is not included in the present *Handlist*. It was re-drawn onto the same page as *SM 521-523* and this new page has the catch-heading «9th Mag.». The new drawing has not got an ON or an RN (and there is not an unattached ON for this find-place), also the tablet does not have a recorded IN. In view of the fact that Evans moved a number of the Western Magazines tablets during the *Scripta Minoa* numbering, the find-place cannot be regarded as secure.

SM 569. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 29) asserts that this is ON 975 (although the reason for this is obscure). In this case, the *Handlist* contains only the numbers ~~568~~ 569 and we know that 568 is neither the ON nor RN because those numbers are linked to other tablets. However, *SM 569* has the inked number, IN 975, which confirms Palmer's assertion.

SM 582 appears in the *Handlist* on the same original page as *SM 583-585* but it has no other numbers. (The drawing is aligned with that of *SM 584* and it is possible that Evans assumed they were part of the same tablet.) It is clear that the tablet was listed as being from *F14* in the original *Handlist*. The other Lc(1) tablets were not found in *F14* and this might lead to questioning the classification of *SM 582* to this set.

SM 589. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 29) associates this tablet with ON 999. The *Handlist* for *SM 589* contains no other numbers, although that number is repeated (however, this cannot represent the RN since RN 589 = *SM 577*). In this case, *SM 589* joins with *SM 587* and 596, both from *F14*. The inked numbers associated with the joined tablets are IN 996, 999? and 1025 but Bennett does not specify which IN is associated with each piece of tablet. The ON's for *SM 587* and 596 are 1021 and 996, respectively. Thus, it seems possible that *SM 589* is ON 999. Nevertheless, it is clear that *SM 589* was found in *F14*.

SM 617. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 30) links this with ON 1018 = RN 624. He also labels it as an «A» tablet (see APPENDIX B.2). However, there is no basis for either of these assertions in the *Handlist* or the *Concordance*. *SM 617* is labelled «in pithos no.2» amongst the group of tablets from the 15th Magazine. However, Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 36) noted that there were no pithoi found in the 15th Magazine. He suggested it was probably the tablet found in *F8*, recorded by Mackenzie as «One rather important fragment 3 lines was found in the 2nd pithos - N wall» (5th March 1901; *OKTi*, p. 35, 96). *SM 617* has three lines and could be regarded as a relatively important tablet. It was written by scribe 108 and is within the Ak(2) set. Furthermore, it has the inked tablet number IN = 927, which would be consistent with the find-place, *F8*. Finally, *SM 617* has «9-pithos» written in pencil on its side (J. L. Melena, private communication), presumably referring to Magazine 9, i.e. *F8*. On this basis, it is proposed that this tablet should be allocated to *F8*. (*F8* is, of course, adjacent to *F7* where the bulk of the Ak(2) tablets were found.)

SM 633 is joined to *SM 618* and 623, which were both found in *F14*. Bennett gives three inked numbers for these pieces, 991, 997 and 1007. ON 991=*SM 623* and ON 1007=*SM 618*. However, ON 997 has already been allocated to *SM 588*, therefore, this could be a mis-reading. Nevertheless, it is clear that *SM 633* was found in *F14*.

SM 641, 642, 643 and 1568. The pages containing the *SM 641, 642* and 1568 original drawings are missing from the *Handlist*, however, the *Concordance* is annotated with the *SM* numbers alongside the ON and RN

numbers. If these annotations on the *Concordance* are accepted, the ON's are 1004, 1032 and 1003, whereas the IN's are 1004?, 1032 (top) & 1028 (bottom), and 1023, respectively. This tends to confirm *SM* 642 but leaves some doubt for the other two tablets. In the case, of *SM* 643, the drawing is present but the ON and RN are missing. The IN is 1045?. The *Concordance* is annotated with the *SM* next to ON 1045. These tablets are included in TABLE F.iv on the basis of the annotation on the *Concordance*¹⁶ and the IN's.¹⁷

SM 675, 676. Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 27) gives a complex series of numbers associated with each of these, however, in the *Handlist*, *SM* 675 has no other numbers, whilst *SM* 676 is linked to 889b (although this may be a cross-reference to *SM* 674). In addition, the *SM* numbers 675, 676, 677 are consecutive and so are the suggested RN numbers 515, 513, 514 (respectively). Furthermore, all three of these tablets are from the Ga(1) series. Therefore, in this case, it is suggested that the ON and RN numbering can be restored along the lines proposed by Palmer.

Following this discussion, it is now possible to propose the find-places for the tablets from the Western Magazines and these are given in APPENDICES F.i-F.iv.

9.2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF TABLETS IN THE WESTERN MAGAZINES

The next stage is to consider the scribes and sets of tablets.

TABLE 9.2: *The distribution of the scribes in the Western Magazine area*

Scribe	F1	F2	F15	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F16	F17	F8	F18	F9	F10	F11	F12	F19	F13	F14
121	3	4	1																
217	1																		
120			1																
136			1																
207				2															
210				2															
223				2															
208							2	3											
113							2	4											
115				1			7	8	1									1	2
119							7												
220							3												
108							8			1									
209							1												
103										1	8	1	32	3			4	4	47
135										2	1	7							
106												1							
140												1							
116																			15
211																			2

¹⁶ It is difficult to distinguish handwriting from numbers alone. However, the *SM* numbers overwritten on the *Concordance* appear to be in a different hand to those of the ON and RN numbering written by Evans. This discussion of *SM* 641-643, 1568 is the only place where the *SM* numbering on the *Concordance* has been used in this paper.

¹⁷ Inked tablet numbers from J. L. Melena, private communication.

TABLE 9.2 shows the distribution of scribal hands along the Western Magazines. For clarity, the table omits the relatively small number of cases where the scribal hand is queried, however, these do not affect the basic pattern shown above.

Each set will generally represent a group of tablets that were «filed» together in a container within the original archive. Thus, we would expect the sets to have been concentrated in the original archive and then to have been dispersed as they fell from upper floors during the destruction of the palace. Therefore, it should be regarded as noteworthy if tablets from a set are allocated to non-contiguous find-places.

The pattern shown in TABLE 9.2 arises because a significant number of scribal hands are associated with single sets (or small number of sets). Therefore, the distribution of scribal hands reflects the distribution of sets of tablets. It is clear from TABLE 9.2 that there are four separate batches of tablets and these will be considered separately below.

9.2.1. THE TABLETS FROM *F1*, *F2* AND *F15*

The *F2* tablets were excavated from 4 April 1900 and the *F1*, *F3* tablets from 30 April 1900. A full list of the tablets from this batch is given in TABLE F.i. The tablets from *F1*, *F2* and *F15* contain the coherent sets shown in TABLE 9.3.

TABLE 9.3

	Dk(1)	Dq(1)	Dq(3)	Ga(2)	Lc(2)
<i>F1</i>		3	1+1?		
<i>F2</i>		4			1?
<i>F15</i>	1	1		1	
Scribe	120	121	217	136	113?

Sjöquist & Åström do not identify any named palm-prints amongst this group of tablets.

Dk(1). All these tablets, for which find-places are known, were found in the North Entrance Passage (*I3*) with the exception of Dk 671 and *Dk(1)* 2129, which was found in the area of the Little Palace (*OKTi*, p. 60).

Dq(1). All these tablets, for which find-places are known, were found in *F1*, *F2* or *F15*.

Dq(3). These tablets were found in a number of places; *F1*, *I3* and the «Area beyond the W. Wall». The location of the «Area beyond the W. Wall» is discussed below.

Ga(2). The bulk of the tablets from this group were found in *E5*. This is adjacent to *F15* and probably implies that most of the Ga(2) tablets were originally above *E5* but Ga 673 fell into *F15*, as the palace was destroyed or strayed into *F15* as a result of earlier excavation work. Ga(2) 422 and Ga (2) 1335 were found in *G2* and *J1*, respectively, and are discussed in SECTION 8.3 above.

Lc(2). All the tablets from Lc(2), with known find-places, were from either *F6* or *F7*, with the exception of *SM 446* (ON 42*). ON 42* is classified as *Lc(2) 446*, written by scribe 113?, and was found in *F2*. The only signs it contains are the man's name, *te-ra-po-si-jo*. This name does not appear on any other tablets found in the Lc(2) series, which is the only series written by scribe 113. It is noted that the name *te-ra-po-si-jo* appears in the main sheep archive as a «collector». It seems possible that *SM 446* could be a sheep tablet, like the other tablets found in *F2*. As the classification of *SM 446* is open to question, it is proposed that it should be reclassified as X 446.

In summary, all the tablets found in *F1*, *F2* and *F15*, which have identifiable classification (and which are not strays from *E5*), are associated with sheep. The sum total of tablets found in these locations is less than 25. Thus, this cannot rival the main sheep archive which was found in the Eastern part of the palace. However, it does contain the names of «collectors» known from the main archive, i.e. *da-mi-ni-jo*, *a-no-qo-ta* and *te-ra-po-si-jo*.¹⁸ In addition, it seems reasonable to suggest that the shepherd]-*ta-wo* (given as possibly]*k † a † -ta-wo* or]*q † e † -ta-wo* in *KT5*) with «collector» *da-mi-ni-jo* on Dq(1) 447 could be the same person as *ka-ta-wo*, again listed with *da-mi-ni-jo*, on tablet Dk(2) 5201 (written by scribe 119 and presumably found in the main sheep archive with the other Dk(2) tablets). It is possible to speculate that the sheep tablets found in *F1*, *F2* and *F15* were residual tablets from the main sheep archives, perhaps from a previous year.

It was noted in SECTION 5.2 that, on the basis of the strong link between the tablets from *F1* and those from the «Area beyond the W. Wall», it would seem reasonable to assume that these tablets were originally from the same cache of tablets. The tablets from the Area beyond the W. Wall consist of Dp 43, Dq(3) 42, 45, 46 and X 44. These Dq(3) tablets contain the names of «collectors», known from the main sheep archive, *a-no-qo-ta-o* and *pe-ri-qo-ta-o* (cf. *pe-ri-qo-te-jo*). X 44 contains the name/toponym, *ku-ja-ro/qa-ra* already known on De 1254, from the main sheep archive. [It is suggested that X 44 should be reclassified as D 44.¹⁹] This tends to re-inforce the suggestion that the tablets from these two areas are associated with sheep and are roughly contemporary with the main sheep archive.

A case could be considered for going further and labelling all the tablets in TABLE F.i as sheep or wool tablets (excluding Ga(2) 673 and possibly X 410 & X 451). This would assume that X 450 (*to-sa pu-si-ja*) and X 444 (*to]-sa po-ti-ni-ja*) were totalling tablets associated with sheep or wool (cf. the Dn-series).²⁰

¹⁸ It is noted that the repeated use of a man's name does not necessarily imply that the texts are always referring to the same person. This issue is discussed at more length in SECTION 15.

¹⁹ Following the circulation of a draft of this paper, both John Killen and José Melena have suggested that X 44 should be a wool tablet, Od 44 (see Prof. Killen's note following this paper).

²⁰ José Melena has suggested that X 444 and X 450 could probably be re-classified as Dp 444 and Dp 450 tablets, dealing with wool clippings.

9.2.2. THE TABLETS FROM *F3*, *F4* AND *F5*

The *F3* tablets were excavated between 1 and 8 May 1900. As already noted, two tablets were subsequently found in a pithos from this Magazine. A full list of the tablets from this batch is given in TABLE F.ii. The tablets from *F3* were in a limited number of coherent sets, shown in TABLE 9.4.

TABLE 9.4

	DI(1)	Fh	Ga(3)	L(3)	L(6)	V(3)
<i>F3</i>	1?	1	2+2?	2	2+1?	1
Scribe	118?	141?	223	207	210	115

Sjöquist & Åström (1991) identified the named palm-print of R LAMBDA on L(3) 473. The other apparent occurrence of this palm-print is on tablet Xd 105, written by scribal hand «124» from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. Sjöquist & Åström judge that there is some reason to identify these two palm-prints.

DI(1). All of the many DI(1) tablets with known find-places were found in *I2* or *I3* with the exception of *DI(I)* 463, found in *F3* and DI(1) 8103 possibly found in the area of the Little Palace (*OKTi*, p. 60).

Fh. All of the many tablets in the Fh-series, written by scribe 141, with known find-places, were found in *E1* (*Room of Column Bases*), with the sole possible exception of Fh 462, found in *F3*. All Fh tablets found in *E1* have the OLE logogram, if they are complete on the right but Fh 462 does not have this sign. However, Fh 462 and some Fh tablets from *E1* contain the place name *47-*so-(de)*.

Ga(3). All these tablets, with known find-places, were found in *F3*.

L(3). There are 3 tablets with known find-places; two of these were found in *F3* and the third was found in *I3*. Therefore, these tablets represent a link between the tablets from the Western Magazines and those from the North Entrance Passage.

L(6). All these tablets were found in *F3*.

Scribe 115. Tablets written by scribe 115 were found in a number of find-places in the Western part of the palace, i.e. *E5*, *F3*, *F6*, *F7*, *F13*, *F14* and *F16*. Scribe 115 will clearly be important in any discussion of the «unity of the archive».

Scribe 138. All tablets written by scribe 138 were found in the area of the Clay Chest, except for Fp 48 from the *RCT* and X 453 (scribe 138?). X 453 also includes the name of the «collector», *we-we-si-jo*, whose name appears extensively within the main sheep archive.

At this point, we will briefly consider the tablets from *F4* and *F5*, which are included here for completeness. There are three identifiable tablets from both *F4* and *F5*. All of the tablets have an X classification except for DI 7116. None of the tablets has an identified scribal hand.

9.2.3. THE TABLETS FROM *F6*, *F7A*, *F7* AND *F16*

The tablets from *F7* were excavated between 19 April - 2 May 1900 and from *F6* between 7-8 May 1900. The tablets from *F7a* were found together on the

floor of the Magazine on 30 April 1900. A full list of the tablets from this batch is given in TABLE F.iii. The tablets from *F6*, *F7* and *F16* contain the coherent sets shown in TABLE 9.5.

TABLE 9.5

	Ak(2)	Gg(4)	Lc(2)	L(4)	L(5)	Od	Pp	V(3)
<i>F6</i>	1?		2	2+1?		3		2
<i>F7</i>	8+2?	3	4	3	1+1?			4
<i>F16</i>								1
<i>F7a</i>							7	
Scribe	108	220	113/115	208	209	115	119	115

Sjöquist & Åström do not identify any named palm-prints amongst this group of tablets.

There are relatively few joins amongst these tablets with known find-places, however, 3 of the 4 joins appear, at first sight, to be interesting because the parts were found in different locations. The parts of the broken tablet V(3) 479 (ON 514) were found in both *F6* and *F7* (*Scripta Minoa* II, p. 38). The joined tablets Gg 521+712 (ON 929+550) were found in *F8* and *F7*, respectively, and were excavated in different years. Another, more puzzling join is D 411+511 (ON 913+581) between tablets found in *I3* and *F7*. These two find-places are widely separated and, therefore, taken at face value, this join could be significant. However, it would seem to be more noteworthy that all three of these «interesting joins» are associated with the same Magazine, *F7*, suggesting a common mode cause. We could speculate that this common mode cause could be either due to a disturbance of the tablets some time after the destruction of the palace or due to poor recording of that particular group of tablets. However, we should caution against making hypotheses based on one of these «interesting joins» in isolation from the other two.

Ak(2). All the tablets from the Ak(2) series, with known find-places, were found in *F7* except for *SM* 617, *SM* 5037 and *SM* 2126.

SM 617 has already been discussed in SECTION 9.1.3, where it was allocated to *F8*.

X 5037 was found in *F6*. In *KT5*, this tablet is annotated, «Probably Ak(2)». On this basis, it has been included in the above table, although its inclusion (or exclusion) in Ak(2) is not significant for present purposes.

Ak(2) 2126 was possibly found in the area of the Little Palace (*OKTi*, p. 60).

Gg(4). All of these tablets, with known find-places, were found in *F7*.

Lc(2). All the tablets from Lc(2), with known find-places, were from either *F6* or *F7*, with the exception of *SM* 446 (ON 42*), which is discussed above, in SECTION 9.2.1.

L(4) and L(5). All the tablets in these sets, with known find-places, were found in *F6* or *F7*.

Pp. These tablets were found together in *F7a*. They were written by scribal hand 119, which is found on sheep tablets from the eastern part of the palace.

These tablets may have been most probably found in their original position (rather than having fallen from an upper floor). Their clay differs from the other tablets found in *F7*. Thus, these tablets should not be regarded as part of the same batch as the other tablets found in *F6*, *F7* and *F16*.

Od. These tablets, written by scribe 115, are not classified to a particular set. However, there are four such tablets with known find-places. Three were found in *F6* and the fourth was found in *F14*.

We-we-si-jo. This «collector» appears extensively in the main sheep archive (usually tied to the toponym *pa-i-to*) and was also noted above in *F3*. This name is found on both Ak 622 and Od 502, in the latter case, associated with *pa-i-to*. It is also worth noting that these two tablets have approximately adjacent Original Numbers, 541 and 544, and may have been «filed together» within the original archive.

A-no-qa-ta. This «collector» appears in the main sheep archive (as *a-no-qa[]*) and was also noted in the *F1*, *F2*, *F15* batch of tablets. Within the present batch, the name, *a-no-qa-ta*, was found on Ak 615.

Scribe 115. As already noted, tablets written by scribe 115 were found in a number of find-places in the Western part of the palace.

9.2.4. THE TABLETS FROM THE NORTHERLY WESTERN MAGAZINES

The last batch of tablets to be considered in this paper were found at the northern end of the Magazines, i.e. *F8* and north of *F8*. The tablets from *F18* were excavated between 9-25 May 1900; the remaining tablets were found the following year, between 4 March and 1 April 1901. A full list of the tablets from this batch is given in TABLE F.iv. The tablets have been classified into the main groupings shown in TABLE 9.6 (though, in this case, this table is not comprehensive.)

TABLE 9.6

	A*	B(3)	Dq(4)	E	G*	Lc(1)	Ld(1)	L*	M*	Od(1)	Xe
<i>F17</i>					2						
<i>F8</i>					1+2?					1	
<i>F18</i>		1	1?		7+1?				1	5	2
<i>F9</i>											1
<i>F10</i>						27			1	2	2
<i>F11</i>						1				2	
<i>F12</i>											
<i>F19</i>							1?	3		1	
<i>F13</i>	3							1			
<i>F14</i>	28			3		1	15+2?	13			2?
Scribe	103	106	106	103	135	103	116	103	103	103	103

For convenience, in TABLE 9.6 the following abbreviations have been used,

A* represents Ak(1), Am(1), Ap and As(1)

G* represents Ga(1) and Gg(2)

L* represents Le, Ln, L(1), L(2) and other tablets from the L series written by scribe 103

M* represents M(1) and M 683

Sjöquist & Åström identified the following named palm-prints within this group of tablets:

- R ZETA on tablets Am 600 (from *F14*) and Od 688 (from *F18*).
- R MY on tablets Ga 674 & Ga 675 (from *F17* and *F18*, respectively).
- R SIGMA on tablets Lc 528, Lc 550 and Lc 552 (all from *F10*).
- R CHI on tablets Lc 548 & Lc 555 (from *F10*) and L 565 (from *F12*).

Clearly, the bulk of the tablets shown in TABLE 9.6 were written by scribe 103 and we will consider these first.

The majority of tablets written by scribe 103 were found in the areas of the Western Magazine listed above. However, Gg 702-704, Od 714-716, 718 and M 720 were found in location *G1* (*Gallery of Jewel Fresco*). Evans suggested that the *G1* tablets might be more scattered than other groups of tablets. However, as already discussed in SECTION 9.1.1, this was speculation based on the usage of the logogram *209^{VAS}.

In looking at TABLE F.iv and TABLE 9.6, it is tempting to raise a series of related issues. It is evident that, in the Original Numbering, Xe 544 (ON 945) was surrounded by tablets from the Lc(1) set; is this a basis for re-classifying it as Lc(1) 544? *SM* 582 is separated from the other Lc(1) tablets and this might lead to questioning the classification of this as Lc(1) 582. In TABLE 9.6, it can be noted that the Od(1) tablets are distributed between *F8* and *F11*. This is too widely dispersed for them to be regarded as a single «filed» set. This could imply, either that the set was dispersed before the destruction of the palace or that Od(1) represents more than one set of tablets. Similarly, M(1) 559, 683 and 720 (from *F10*, *F18* and *G1*, respectively) are too widely dispersed to be regarded as a single «filed» set of tablets. [Strictly, the classification of *SM* 683 was changed from M(1) in *CoMIK* to M 683 in *KT5*.] It is noted that in three locations (i.e. *F10*, *F18* and *G1*) there are a relatively small number of Od tablets together with a single M(1) tablet, all written by scribe 103. It seems likely that, in the original archive, these Od and M tablets were «filed» together in each of these locations.

The only other tablets which may have been written by scribe 103 are L 586 (*F7*) and L 590 (*G2*) i.e. both were found adjacent to the area under discussion.

Scribe 106. The majority of tablets written by scribe 106 were found in the North Entrance Passage. These include both the B(3) set and sheep tablets, each represented by single tablets in TABLE 9.6. [The other «stray» tablet by scribe 106 is the sheep tablet, Dq 438, discussed in SECTION 9.1.2.] All these tablets would, at first sight, appear to be «strays». However, it would be difficult to explain why three tablets from the North Entrance Passage, written by the same scribe, all managed to become «strays». If any of these tablets were not «strays» they would represent a strong link between the tablets from the Western Magazines and those from the North Entrance Passage.

Ga(1), Gg(2), Ld(1), L(7). All the tablets, with known find-places, from these sets were found in this area.

Scribe 115. This scribal hand appears on Od 666 and V(3) 655 (both from *F14*). It forms a link between the tablets in this area and those in *E5*, *F3* and in the *F6*, *F7*, *F16* area.

We-we-si-jo and *a-no-qo-ta*. These names of «collectors» are found on Le 654 and Ap 618, respectively.

Ta-de-so and *au-ri-jo*. These names appear together on As 604. Olivier (1988) listed the names of 42 «shepherds» which are associated with two or more flocks of sheep in the main sheep archive. The name, *ta-de-so*, is linked to flocks at *e-ko-so* and *ru-ki-to* and the name, *au-ri-jo*, with flocks at *a-ka*, *ku-ta-to* and *su-ri-mo*. If these represent two people, with responsibilities for flocks of sheep at different locations on Crete, then they would be important individuals and it would be significant that their names appear together on As 604.

The deposits in *F6-F14*, and the adjacent corridor, are clearly linked, although they are from separate «files» in the archive. They form a clear example of a coherent working archive, rather than the sporadic groups of tablets found in the other Magazines. This group of tablets has been considered in detail by Killen (1966, 1979) and Teghey (1983).

9.3. DISCUSSION OF ROOMS

It is conventionally concluded that most of the tablets found in the Western Magazines fell into their find-places from the rooms above the Magazines. This is consistent with the spread of sets of tablets between adjacent Magazines and also the fact that some tablets were found in the pithoi into which they had fallen. As already noted, each set of tablets would probably originally have been «filed» together in a container. In principle, one might expect that the groups of tablets, shown in TABLE 9.2, would align with the rooms above the Magazines.

Graham (1962, Fig. 85) suggests, on the basis of architectural considerations, that there would have been three large halls above the Magazines, i.e. the South-West Hall above *F2-F4*, The Central Hall above *F5-F9* and the North-West Hall above *F10-F14*. These halls, as sketched, would not include the region above the long corridor, which would have been an upper corridor. In practice, the batches of tablets do not align neatly with these conjectured halls. However, it is possible that there could have been some lateral displacement as the tablets fell during the destruction of the palace. For example, it could reasonably be argued that most of the tablets written by scribe 103 could have come from the upper room named by Graham as the North-West Hall.

It is worthwhile briefly considering the underlying implication of tablets falling from halls above the Magazines. When Evans excavated the palace, he also conjectured a similar series of halls above the Magazines (*PofM* IV, plan C) and called the floor the Piano Nobile. It is out of keeping with the concept of a Piano Nobile that it should be used either as a scribal bureau or as a storage place for tablets.

It could be suggested that the archives were in rooms above the great halls, however, if one accepts Graham's reconstruction, this does not seem plausible for two reasons. Firstly, because the halls were constructed with two central pillars (to support a roof) which would seem insufficient to support an upper floor. Secondly, the proportions of the halls would suggest that they should be

higher than the standard size of a single storey. For example, the North-West Hall would have been 17.5 m x 15.5 m and it would seem out of proportion if its height was only ~4 m. Thus, the obvious suggestion is that these great halls each had a height equivalent to two standard stories and there were no attic rooms perched above for Linear B archivists.

The final use of the halls could have been substantially different from their original use. Thus, they may have been designed as grand halls but have been used in their latter years for the day-to-day management of the business of the palace.

Boardman (*OKTi*, p. 38, 40, also Fig. 4) notes that Magazines IV-XIII were made into a single enclave, closing off the north end of the Long Gallery (by the north wall of Magazine XVI) and the south end (by the south wall of Magazine IV). It was only in the Magazines within this enclave that pithoi were found. However, this arrangement in the lower Gallery does not provide us with new information on the arrangement of the upper floor, from which most of the tablets fell.

10. THE G-SERIES OF TABLETS

These tablets were found between 2 - 5 April 1901 and are listed in TABLE G.

The catch-heading for the *G1* tablets is «Gallery of Jewel Fresco about 1 metre down: loculus (gypsum) but some scattered and carried to M.8» (i.e. Magazine 8). This apparent association with 8th Western Magazine has already been discussed above in SECTION 9.1.1.

In the conventional labelling, *G2* is the «Room East of Gallery of Jewel Fresco» and *G3* is the «Small Room to the East of the Gallery of Jewel Fresco». In practice, these two find-places are identical and the small difference in wording simply reflects a slight variation in the *Handlist* which is not significant. It is suggested that *G3* should be replaced by *G2*.

TABLE 10.1 gives the underlying detail, that was summarised, for the G-series, in one row of TABLE 3.1.

TABLE 10.1: *The find-places of the G-series of tablets*

	ON	RN		SM numbering	
<i>G1</i>	1060-1079 (exc. 1064)	688-691, 699-701, 703-713	743	702-705, 709, 714-726	734bis
<i>G2</i>	1080-1086	714-719		727-729	422, 470, 590

10.1. REVIEWING THE FIND-PLACES OF TABLETS WHERE THERE IS SOME AMBIGUITY

This section contains the discussion of find-places, that are summarised in TABLE 10.1, for tablets where there is some ambiguity.

ON 1064 is the same tablet as ON 565 (Gg 701), which was found in the first year, «In Long Corridor near door of 8th W. Gallery». It was re-numbered and moved to the adjacent *G1* area, to be with other tablets, from the Gg-series

containing the «vase» logogram, *209^{VAS}. According to Bennett, this tablet has two inked numbers, a red IN 555 and blue IN 1060. Both of these could be mis-readings; however, the fact that a single tablet has both a red, first year number and a blue, second year number, is highly unusual. Since this tablet was found in *F17*, it has been omitted from TABLE 10.1.

Gg 709 has the IN 106_ but it does not have a readable ON or RN directly associated with the drawing in the *Handlist*. However, it is possible to join the original paper containing the drawing of Gg 709 with that containing *SM* 703-705 (ON 1061-1063) and this latter paper also contains the missing numbers for Gg 709, thus, confirming its allocation to *G1*.

Similarly, the identity of tablet ON 1068 = RN 743 can be identified as Oa 734bis by noting that the paper containing its original drawing fits precisely into the cut-out in the paper containing ON 1066-1071. Oa 734bis was moved out of sequence by Evans to be with the other Oa-series tablets, that were found in find-place *H1*.

In the *Handlist*, *SM* 422 has the catch-heading, «Room E of Gall. of Jewel Fresco», i.e. *G2*, although, it does not have an ON or RN. However, the tablet has the IN 1086, which could reasonably include it as an addition to the ON 1080-1085 series of tablets under the *G2* (= *G3*) catch-heading in the *Handlist*. There is a problem that there already is an ON 1086 = *SM* 699, however, it was not particularly unusual for Evans to allocate the same ON to more than one tablet.²¹

Evans' *Concordance* lumps most of the G-series tablets (plus others) together under the heading «Vases». However, there is a heading, «R. E. of Vase R.», i.e. Room East of Vase Room, *G2*, given against a deleted entry for ON 1084 (although this was not repeated when ON 1084 was re-entered at a later stage). Thus, the *Concordance* would place ON 1060-1083 in *G1* and only ON 1084 in *G2*. Evans did not appear to draw a strong distinction between the find-places *G1* and *G2*. This is supported by the catch-heading on ON 1080 in the *Handlist*, «In small room bordering Gall. of Jewel Fresco to E. —perhaps part of same deposit as last», i.e. the deposit from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco. Therefore, he would not have judged the movement of tablets from *G2* to *G1* as being significant.

In the *Concordance*, ON 1085 has the label «N.W.<», i.e. N.W. Corner. This change of catch-heading on ON 1085 is puzzling. It is just possible that Evans may have introduced this new label to associate ON 1085 = L 590 (scribe 103) with the other L-series tablets from the Western Magazines. However, in the light of the IN 1086 on *SM* 422, which was found in *G2*, it seems reasonable to assume that ON 1080-1085 were all found in *G2*.

Palmer ascribes only ON 1080-1082 to *G2*; stating that find-places of ON 1083-1085 are unknown (*OKTi*, p. 35). However, since there is no guidance to

²¹ The addition of marks such as *, b or bis to a repeated ON is frequently an afterthought, which appears in the *Concordance* but not in the *Handlist*.

support this in the *Handlist* and IN 1086 is also from *G2*, then it is reasonable to allocate ON 1080-1085, plus ON 1086 (*SM* 422), to *G2*.

10.2. TABLETS FROM *G1*

The tablets from *G1* contain part or all of the following coherent sets.

Gg(1), Gg(3), Od(2). All tablets from these sets, with known find-places, were found in *G1*.

M(1), scribe 103. There are three tablets in this set; M 559 was found in *F10*; M 720 was found in *G1*; the find-place of M 1645 is unknown.

Scribe 103. This scribe is extensively represented in the Western Magazines (*F8-F14*, *F18*, *F19*). The fact that he is also strongly represented in *G1*, which is adjacent to these Magazines suggests that the *G1* deposit should be regarded as an extension of the archive found in the Western Magazines.

Scribe 140. Apart from the 3 tablets from *G1*, this scribe also wrote V 684 from *F18*.

10.3. TABLETS FROM *G2* (= *G3*)

The tablets ON 1080-1086, shown in TABLE G, are a miscellaneous group of tablets.

Ga(2) 422 was written by scribe 136 and the bulk of the tablets from this set were found in the first year of excavation in *E5* (with a single tablet in *F15*). Ga 1335 was found in *J1*. These were discussed above in SECTION 8.3.

Dk 727 was written by 117?. If this identification is correct, it would represent a link to the main sheep archive.

L 590 was written by scribe 103, whose tablets were found extensively in the Western Magazines and also in *G1*.

11. THE H-SERIES OF TABLETS

Most of these tablets were found between 11 April and 8 May 1900. The tablets from *H5* and *H6* were found the following year. The tablets are listed in TABLE H. TABLE 11.1 gives the underlying detail, that was summarised for the H-series, in one row of TABLE 3.1.

TABLE 11.1: *The find-places of the H-series of tablets*

	ON	RN		<i>SM</i> numbering
<i>H7</i>	567-568	733-734		739-740
<i>H2</i>	567-571 (572 not used)	735-738	742	734-738
<i>H1</i>	573-575	739-741		730-732
<i>H3</i>	588-589	744-745		741
<i>H5</i>	1058-1059, 1087	747		746-748
<i>H4</i>	611-613	748-750		743-745

[Note the ON's 567 and 568 are repeated.]

There are a number of examples where the find-places of tablets appear to have been changed in the *Concordance*. RN 742 (Oa 734) has been moved from

H2 to *H1* to be alongside other tablets from the Oa series. RN 743 is ON 1068 = *SM* 734bis from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco which is also part of the Oa-series. RN 746 is L 578 from the 4th W. Magazine which «strayed» into *H3* during the revised numbering. ON 1058-1059 were omitted from the *Concordance* altogether.

11.1. TABLETS FROM *H1*

The catch-heading for the *H1* tablets in the *Handlist* is «Antechamber to Throne R. and adjacent strip E. Ct. Paved Court E. of Bath». This is a little confused but Palmer's interpretation (*OKTi*, p. 34) would seem to be a reasonable, i.e. «Antechamber to Throne Room and adjacent Paved Court E. of Bath». However, in the excavation notes, it is clear that the tablets were actually found some distance east of the antechamber, in the central court itself. The tablets under this heading are ON 573-575. The *Concordance* uses the abbreviation «Ante ch.» and includes the tablet ON 570, in addition to ON 573-575. Evans clearly moved ON 570 to be with the other tablets from the Oa-series, distinguished by the «balance and ingot» logograms (signs *118 and *167) referred to in his notebook entry of 27-28 April 1900.

The tablets Oa 730-732 (from *H1*) and Oa 734 (from *H2*) all have the palm-print of L EPSILON. This palm-print is only found on these tablets (Sjöquist & Åström, 1991). Thus, Evans was correct to associate these tablets together and they should be regarded as being part of the same set.

11.2. TABLETS FROM *H2*

In the *Handlist*, ON 567-571²² come under the catch-heading, «The Bath Room». In the *Concordance*, this find-place is given as «Thr.», an abbreviation for Throne Room (i.e. regarding the Bath Room as a part of the Throne Room complex). The tablets listed in the *Concordance* agree with the *Handlist*, with the exception of Oa 734, which had been moved in the *Concordance*, as discussed in SECTION 11.1.

Some of these tablets are described by Evans as having been found in a «small loculus in the bath chamber wall» (*OKTi*, p. 110), i.e. they must have been found in the position that they occupied immediately before the destruction of the palace. It is noted that the aromatic/spice tablet Ga 738 was found in this Bath Room and that Ga-series tablets were also found in the Queen's Bath Room, *J4*.

There are two tablets from identifiable sets. Oa 734 has been discussed above. L(10) 735 (scribe 214) is the only tablet from this set with an identified find-place. The other tablet is L(10) 7409 (scribe 214?).

²² There is some confusion in *OKTi* in the description of ON 571. This is clearly given in the *Concordance* as RN 738. The footnote in *OKTi*, page 20 should actually refer to ON 572 apparently not being used in *Handlist* and also being omitted from the *Concordance*.

11.3. TABLETS FROM *H3*

There are two tablets in the *Handlist* under the catch-heading «Bath Gallery or Gallery of Stone Basin», i.e. ON 588-589. In the *Concordance*, the catch-heading is «Stone Basin» and an additional tablet, ON 586, is included.

Olivier (1967) interpreted these catch-headings as *H3*: Corridor of Stone Basin. However, the Bath Gallery would appear to be a description of the area immediately to the west of Bath Room. If this is the case, then Evans would appear to have been unsure of the find-place of these tablets when writing the *Handlist*, giving two possible locations. Mackenzie's notes describe the find of «a very large inscription tablet» in the Corridor of the Stone Basin. Melena (1997) identifies this large tablet as ON 588 (*SM* 741). Thus, *H3* can be taken to be the Corridor of the Stone Basin.

In the *Handlist*, ON 586 is included under the catch-heading, «4th W. Gallery Supplement». The reallocation of this tablet to *H3* is discussed in SECTION 9.1.1, where it is judged that this tablet was actually found in *F3*.

ON 588 is tablet F(3) 741. It is the only tablet from this set with an identified find-place. The other tablet from this set is F(3) 8242.

ON 589 has RN 745 but its *SM* number is not definitely known. However, from the sequence of the RN's and *SM*'s it seems likely that it is X 742 (although there is neither an ON nor RN associated with that tablet in the *Handlist*).

11.4. TABLETS FROM *H4*

The *Handlist* includes three tablets under the catch-heading, «Space S. of Bath Corridor», i.e. ON 611-613. This is in agreement with the *Concordance*, although the latter uses the description, «S. of Gall. of St. Basin». Olivier (1967) defined *H4* as «South of Corridor of Stone Basin». This ambivalence between the terms Bath Corridor and Gallery of Stone Basin has already been seen in SECTION 11.3.

More recently, Melena (1997) redefined *H4* as «South of the Bath Room» to tie it in both with the description in the *Handlist* and with the entry in Evans' notebook recording finds of «several fragments of inscription tablets» on 8 April 1900. This would seem to be the best interpretation of the information available.

The tablets themselves are not from sets and do not have identified scribes.

11.5. TABLETS FROM *H5* (= *H6*)

In the *Handlist*, ON 1087 is listed under the heading, «Under blocked doorway of Room N. of Throne».²³ In the *Concordance*, the heading is abbreviated to «Blocked door».

In the *Handlist*, ON 1058-1059 are drawn under the catch-heading, «Under blocked door of room behind throne with other decayed tablets». These tablets do not appear in the *Concordance*.

²³ Palmer mis-read the «N.» as «W.», presumably because of a later deletion mark. With the new reading *H5* becomes the same location as *H6*.

In practice, these two catch-headings refer to the same location, since the direction north is behind the throne. The notebook entries (*OKTi*, pp. 111-112) confirm the location of the blocked door relative to the throne.

The tablets are not from sets and do not have identified scribes.

11.6. TABLETS FROM *H7*, ROOM OF STONE LAMP

Olivier (1967) does not include this find-place (probably because the footnote is misleading on ON 567 in *OKTi*, p. 20). However, in the *Handlist*, SM 739-740 are under the catch-heading, «In room of the stone lamp adjoining Bath Room». In the *Concordance*, this is abbreviated to «S. Lamp». The position of this room is given on the plan of Hood and Taylor.

Scribe 207. The tablets, with known find-places, written by this scribe were two tablets from the L(3) series found in *F3*, L 869 from *I3* and, possibly, Ai 739 from *H7*.

K(1), scribe 102. There are up to five tablets from the K(1) series found at *I3* and possibly one found in the Room of the Stone Lamp. Scribe 102 is found at *I2* and *I3* and possibly at *II*, *I3* and in the Room of the Clay Signet.

12. THE TABLETS FROM THE NORTH PASSAGE AREA AT KNOSSOS

The tablets from the *I*-series are listed in TABLES II-iii. TABLE 12.1 summarises the find-places of these tablets, giving the details behind the *I*-series row in TABLE 3.1.

TABLE 12.1: *The find-places of tablets from the I-series*

	ON	RN		SM numbering
<i>I6</i>	1086	751		699
<i>I11</i>	590-610	752-772		749-768
<i>I12</i>	614-636	773-795		777-797 (exc. 787)
<i>I13</i>	637-879 913-917	796-1042	1531-1544	798-1053 bis (exc. 808, 887, 956-957, 993-995)
<i>I13bis</i>	912	1043		887, 1054, 1581
<i>I14</i>	1097-1101	1044-1048		408, 411-414, 1576, 1582- 1583
<i>I15 (= II)</i>	908-911	1049-1052		787 769-773 774-776 bis b

12.1. DISCUSSION OF THE FIND-PLACES

In the case of the *I*-series tablets, some confusion in the *Handlist* arises from the loose description of the find-places and this will be discussed in this Section.

12.1.1. DISCUSSION OF THE FIND-PLACES *II*, *I4* AND *I5*

Melena (1997) notes that the bulk of the deposit of tablets attributed to the Room of the Flower Gatherer was actually found in the adjacent Room of the Bügelkannes (see also Raison, 1988, p. 54). In addition, he notes that the latter room is also denoted by the North Threshing Floor area. Thus, the find-places *II*,

I4 and *I5*, in Olivier's notation, are actually the same general area. However, the *I4* tablets were found in 1901. In order to preserve this distinction, *I1* and *I5* will be denoted by «Area around Room of Bügelkannes: 1900 season» and *I4* by «Area around Room of Bügelkannes: 1901 season».

12.1.2. DISCUSSION OF THE FIND-PLACE *I2*

A substantial amount of confusion has entered into the description of the find-place of the *I2* deposit of tablets. The catch-heading in the *Handlist* for this find-place is formatted as follows:

Spiral Cornice Room.
in the l. corner of this room were found some
much perished fragments. ~~About~~ 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.

Deposit of 'Great Seal'

Thus, in the *Handlist* itself, the words, "Deposit of 'Great Seal'" are actually the heading for the tablets that follow (rather than a note at the end of a paragraph, as might be implied by the reading of *OKTi*, p. 35). These words are written above tablet ON 614. They are then supported by a series of headings at the top of subsequent pages of the original *Handlist*, i.e. "Room of Spiral Cornice. Dep. b" above tablet ON 615 and "Room of Spiral Cornice. Deposit b" above tablet ON 617 and again above both ON 620 and 629. Thus, all the *I2* tablets are referred to the Deposit of the Great Seal, on the NE side of the Room of the Spiral Cornice, above the Bull Area.

The location of the find of the Great Seal is shown clearly on a sketch by Evans from his 1900 *Notebook* (reproduced as Plate XV in *OKTi* and also by Palmer, 1965, as Plate 19). This location is in the North Entrance Passage, adjacent to the Room of the Spiral Cornice and south of the Bull Relief Area. Mackenzie's records in his *Day Book* for 11 May 1900 (*OKTi*, p. 121) support this location (i.e. south of the Bull Relief deposit and East of the miniature fresco room, which is now referred to as the Room of the Spiral Cornice, see *OKTi* Plate XV).

However, Evans' written notes for 9-12 May 1900 (*OKTi*, p. 122) state that the Great Seal and tablets were found, «on the upper level in the Spiral Cornice Room near the borders of the 'bull' area». In addition, the Evans notes "Spiral Cornice" against these tablets in his *Concordance*.

Clearly, there is some confusion. However, Evans' notes in the *Handlist* are unambiguous and are in agreement with Mackenzie's records in his *Day Book*. The other notes by Evans can be regarded as being less precise but broadly in agreement. Therefore, on this basis, it is suggested that the find-place denoted by

Olivier as *I2* should be described as being in the North Entrance Passage, south of the area of the Bull Relief, adjacent to the Spiral Cornice Room.²⁴

At first sight, this distinction between the old and new descriptions of the find-places of the *I2* tablets may seem rather minor. However, there are strong links between the *I2* and *I3* tablets. If the *I2* tablets had actually been found in the Spiral Cornice Room it would have implications for the location of the *I3* tablets immediately prior to the destruction of the palace. Therefore, the fact that both sets of tablets were found in the North Entrance Passage is important.

The “tablets of the great seal” were excavated on 11 May 1900.

12.1.3. DISCUSSION OF FIND-PLACE *I3* AND *I3BIS*

The “great deposit of tablets” was excavated by Evans and Mackenzie between 5-18 May 1900. The extent of the *I3* deposit is shown in Mackenzie’s sketch of 15 May 1900 reproduced in *OKTi* as Plate XVIII. The sketch by Evans from his 1900 *Notebook* (reproduced as Plate XV in *OKTi* and also by Palmer, 1965, as Plate 19) contains the position of a tablet (or tablets) south of the Great Seal Tablets. This is presumably the find-place *I3bis*, «S. of Bull Relief Area».

The *Handlist* contains the following text, «Area of Bull Relief (to 879). A long scattered deposit —the greatest yet found, lying along wall together with a great number of double vases— Gypsum slab found with them seems to indicate that they had been originally contained in Cists of that material. Several seal impressions found: one with no intaglio but signs engraved (?) on three sides». Below this text are two numbers, which although not clearly written, can be seen to be 637 and 879; these are the lower and upper limits of the Original Numbering of the main block of tablets from *I3*.

The *Handlist* also contains a small block of tablets, ON 913-917 which have the catch-heading, «Minor fragments from Bull Area». The find-places of the main block of tablets and these minor fragments are consistent between the *Handlist* and Evans’ *Concordance*. These are discussed further in APPENDIX B.1.

Scripta Minoa II refers to a group of tablets, *SM* 1034-1054 as being from «West Palace Quarter: Miscellaneous». This catch-heading does appear in the *Handlist* on the page above tablet *SM* 1037. However, this catch-heading is not on the original paper on which the tablets were drawn in 1900 but on the later paper onto which the earlier drawings were pasted. In practice (as already noted by Palmer, *OKTi*, p. 59), all these tablets are actually from *I3* or, in the case of *SM* 1054, from *I2*. Thus, the catch-heading, «West Palace Quarter: Miscellaneous» is an error which crept in subsequent to the *Concordance*, in the process of drawing up the *Scripta Minoa* numbering.

²⁴ The same conclusion was reached by Raison (1988, p. 46). It is assumed that the “much perished fragments” from the Spiral Cornice Room itself (including the Compartment at its northern end) were too fragmentary to be included in the *Handlist*.

12.1.4. DISCUSSION OF FIND-PLACE *I6*

Find-place *I6* is described in the *Handlist* as «East of Chamber of Hieroglyph Inscr.». The deposit of the hieroglyph tablets is given by Evans in Fig. 621 of *PofM IV*. It was near to the wall between Magazines 16 and 17, just north of the stairs towards the north end of the Long Gallery. The description, «East of Chamber of Hieroglyph inscription», would seem to place *I6* several metres south of the position indicated on the maps of Olivier (1967, p. 21) and Sjöquist & Åström (1991, p. 8). Melena (1997) notes that this tablet was a surface find.

There was only one tablet known to have been excavated from find-place *I6*. It is not part of a coherent set and does not have an identified scribe. It will not be discussed further.

12.2. REVIEWING THE FIND-PLACES OF TABLETS WHERE THERE IS SOME AMBIGUITY

12.2.1. TABLETS WHICH HAVE BEEN INSERTED AFTER THE DRAWING UP OF THE INITIAL LISTING

In SECTION 9.1.2, it was found that the tablets that were inserted into the first version of the *Handlist* were particularly prone to error in the recording of their find-places. They have been added to the main sequence and are usually distinguished by having 'b' in their ON number. In the present case, there does not seem to be the same problem. It is probable that, in the present case, these tablets were not inserted but are simply errors in the original numbering.

ON 650bis (*SM* 408). Evans listed this tablet amongst the *I3* tablets in the *Handlist* and it remained amongst the *I3* tablets in the *Concordance*. In the *Scripta Minoa* numbering, it was moved between the tablets from the Room of the Column Bases and the Corridor of the House Tablets. In other words it became a stray.

ON 756bis, 806*, 829bis, 867bis. (*SM* 1045, 800, 996, respectively). Evans listed these tablets into the *Handlist* amongst *I3* tablets and they remained amongst *I3* tablets at each renumbering.

ON 829 is used twice, both as *SM* 838 and *SM* 800. Both these tablets have consistently remained amongst the *I3* tablets at each renumbering (although *SM* 838 was omitted from the *Concordance*, presumably because Evans did not notice the double use of ON 829 at that stage).

12.2.2. TABLETS WITH TWO ORIGINAL NUMBERS

There are two tablets in the *I3* series which each have two Original Numbers.

SM 798 appears in the *Handlist* in two separate drawings with ON 665 and 835. ON 665 does not appear in the *Concordance* and so presumably the double accounting had been noted by that stage.

SM 919 appears in the *Handlist* as ON 858 and 732. Further, each of these ON's has a corresponding RN, i.e. 1019 and 913, respectively. In this case, the double accounting was not noted until the re-ordering for *Scripta Minoa* numbering.

12.2.3. TABLETS WITH INCOMPLETE NUMBERING

The third group of tablets that require discussion are those which have incomplete numbering in the *Handlist* or *Concordance*.

Palmer suggests that *SM* 1006 could be ON 776 (*OKTi*, p. 51). In practice, this tablet has no ON or RN. However, the paper of the original drawing of *SM* 1006 joins with that of *SM* 825 (ON 775) and the latter piece of paper contains the missing ON and RN of *SM* 1006, as given in TABLE I.ii.

RN 1531-1542. This group of tablets are discussed in detail in APPENDIX B.1. These tablets were part of a complicated re-numbering of tablets towards the end of the *Handlist* as it existed after the 1900 season.

In conclusion to SECTIONS 12.1 and 12.2, it is noted that two of the tablet join anomalies listed by Olivier (1967) have been resolved. Olivier noted that *SM* 999 (from *I3*) was joined to *SM* 1001 (from *I2?* *I3?*). Following the above discussion, *SM* 1001 = ON 639 should be allocated to *I3*, thus removing the anomaly. In addition, following the discussion in SECTION 12.1.1, the anomaly of the join between *SM* 773 and *SM* 776 bis a is removed as they were both found in the area of the Room of the Bügelkannes, albeit in different seasons.

12.3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF TABLETS IN THE NORTH PASSAGE AREA

The next stage is to consider the scribes and sets of tablets. TABLE 12.2 shows the distribution of scribal hands in the Northern Passage area.

TABLE 12.2: *The distribution of scribes in the North Passage Area*

Scribe	<i>I2</i>	<i>I3</i>	<i>I3 bis</i>	<i>I4</i>	<i>II (= I5)</i>
102	5	7+3?			4?
125		6			1
136		1?			1
213					2
224				1?	4
106	1?	11			
114	3	2?	1		
118	4	23			
206	1				
101		1?			
104		8			
107		10+1?			
109		4+1?			
110		8+1?			
111		2+1?			
112		5+1?			
117		1			
120		7+2?			
122		4+2?			
123		8+2?			
127		13+1?			
134		8			
137		7+2?			
201		1			
203		1			
204		6			
207		1			
217		1			
219		1			
225		2			

TABLE 12.3 contains the distribution of palm-prints, based on the work of Sjöquist & Åström.

TABLE 12.3: *Palm-prints on I-series tablets*

Palm-print	<i>I2</i>	<i>I3</i>	<i>I4</i>	<i>II</i> (= <i>I5</i>)
R NY	1	1		
R XI		2		
R TAU			1	4

It is clear that the tablets from *I2* and *I3* are strongly linked via scribal hands and a palm-print. This can be demonstrated further by considering the coherent sets which are found in *I2* (shown in TABLE 12.4).

TABLE 12.4²⁵

Set	Scribe	No. of tablets from <i>I2</i> (#)	Tablets from other <i>I</i> locations	Tablets from elsewhere
Ak(3)	102	5	2 from <i>I3</i>	
DI(1)	118	4	22 from <i>I3</i>	1? from <i>F3</i> 1 from <i>M?</i>
Do	106	1?	rest from <i>I3</i>	
Ld(2)	114	3	1 from <i>I3/I3bis</i>	

TABLE 12.4 demonstrates that the *I2* and *I3* deposits are strongly interlinked and effectively part of the same bureaucratic archive. Since these two groups of tablets were both found at adjacent locations in the North Entrance Passage, it seems reasonable to regard tablets from *I2* and *I3* (and *I3bis*) as being a single population.

12.3.1. THE TABLETS FROM *I2*, *I3* AND *I3BIS*

TABLE 12.5 is a list of sets of tablets which are split between *I2*, *I3* and *I3bis* and the other find-places.

TABLE 12.5

Set	Scribe	No. of tablets from <i>I2</i> , <i>I3</i>	Tablets from other <i>I</i> locations	Tablets from elsewhere
B(1)		5	1 from <i>I4</i> 1 from <i>II</i>	
B(3)	106	4		1 from <i>F18</i>
DI(1)	118	26		1? from <i>F3</i> 1 from <i>M?</i>
Dk(1)	120	7+2?		1 from <i>F15</i> 1? from <i>M</i>
Dq(3)	217	1		1+1? from <i>F1</i> 3 from <i>B4</i>
K(1)	102	4+1?		1? from <i>H7</i>
L(3)	207	1		2 from <i>F3</i>
V(5)	125	6	1 from <i>II</i>	

[All the tablets, with known find-places, from the following sets were found at *I2* and *I3*: Ai(3), Am(2), Bg, B(5), Ch, Co, C(1), C(2), C(3), C(4), F(2), Gv, Np(2), Ra(2), Se, Uf(2), Uf(3), V(6).]

²⁵ For present purposes, identification of tablets from the Little Palace is based on Olivier (1967). There are no references to tablets from the Armoury or Little Palace

It is evident from TABLE 12.5 that the sets of tablets from *I2* and *I3* form an archive which is largely self-contained. Although there are a limited number of examples of tablets from *I2/I3* sets found elsewhere, this number is relatively small compared to the overall number of tablets found in the North Entrance Passage. In addition to the links between different find-places contained in TABLE 12.5, the following points should be noted.

Ka-to-ro / se-to-i-ja. This combination of «collector» and toponym appears on Do 1054 (from *I2*), *Dq(4)* 686 (from *F18*) and *Dq(4)* 438.

Ki-ta-ne-to / su-ri-mo. This combination of man's name and toponym appears on Am 821 from *I3* and on Da 1108 from the main sheep archive.

Scribe 101 is found in *B2*, *J2* and *J3* and possibly in *I3*.

Scribe 102 is found in *I2* and *I3* and possibly also in *I1*, *J3*, *K1* and *H7*.

Scribe 136. This scribal hand appears on E 749 from *I1*, possibly on E 849 from *I3*, and on the *Ga(2)* series of tablets from the area of the Corridor of House Tablets.

The links between the *I2/I3* tablets and those from the Room of the Bügelkannes are discussed below.

12.3.2. THE TABLETS FROM *I1* AND *I4*

The tablets from *I1* were excavated on 4-5 May 1900 and those from *I4* on 6 April 1901. These tablets are included in TABLE I.iii. The tablets from *I1* contain parts of the coherent sets shown in TABLE 12.6.

TABLE 12.6

Set	Scribe	No. of tablets from <i>I1</i>	Tablets from elsewhere
Ai(2)	102?	5	
B(1)		1	1 from <i>I4</i> 5 from <i>I3</i>
K(2)	224	4	1? from <i>I4</i>
L(9)	213	2	
V(5)	125	1	6 from <i>I3</i>

K(2), scribe 224. It is clear from TABLE 12.6 and particularly from the palm-prints of R TAU listed in TABLE I.iii, that *SM 773* is part of the K(2) set of tablets. There is some difficulty with this, since the *I4* tablets were reported to have been found below the surface of a cement floor, whereas the *I1* tablets were found above the surface of this floor. Furthermore, *SM 773* (from *I4*) is part of the same original tablet as *SM 776bis a* (from *I1*). It is apparent that, at least in the case of *SM 773*, we should question the statement that this tablet was found beneath the cement floor that had been cleared in 1900 (see Raison, 1988, pp. 65-66).

the *Handlist*. It is evident from the discussion by Palmer (*OKTi*) and Raison (in Chadwick, 1962) that the identification of tablets from the Little Palace should be treated with some caution.

V(5), scribe 125. V(5) 756 from *II* shows a clear link with the 4 tablets from this set found at the area of the bull relief. Furthermore, this tablet has the palm-print of R TAU which links it to the K(2) series of tablets found in the Room of Bügelkannes (i.e. it is not a simple case of mis-recording the find-place).

B(1). It is not clear why the B(1) tablets are regarded as a coherent set since they were not written by an identified scribal hand and were probably written by a number of different scribes.

It is evident that there are some links between the tablets from *II* and those from *I2/I3*. However, this is not a strong linkage since scribe 102 is not positively identified at *II* and scribe 136 is not positively identified at *I3*. Therefore, the main link is through the V(5) tablets, written by scribe 125.

It is noted that, with the exception of *SM 773*, the tablets from *I4* found in 1901 are not part of coherent sets and were not written by identified scribal hands.

12.4. BRIEF DISCUSSION ON THE USAGE OF NORTH ENTRANCE PASSAGE

The tablets from the North Entrance Passage play a key role in discussions of the dating of the Knossos archive. It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into that broader discussion. However, the remainder of this Section is concerned with providing information towards that discussion, based on the tablets themselves.

It has been shown above that the tablets from the north palace area fall into two distinct groups. There are the tablets which were found in the North Entrance Passage (i.e. *I2*, *I3* and *I3bis*) and the tablets from the area of the Room of the Bügelkannes (i.e. *II* and *I4*).

The main link between these two groups of tablets is via V(5) 756 found at *II* and the remaining 4 or 5 tablets of this series found at *I3*. There are weak links via possible identification of scribal hands 102 and 136 within the two groups. These links could be judged to be sufficient to demonstrate that the two groups of tablets are not totally independent. However, they are not sufficient to demonstrate that the two groups of tablets are strictly contemporary.

We should also note that there are numerous references, in the excavation notes, to tablets from this general area which were in poor condition. As these were not identified in the *Handlist*, it is assumed that their condition was sufficiently poor that they were excluded and are amongst the many tablets that do not have an identified find-place. For this reason, they cannot play any role in the present discussion. Thus, the evidence for regarding the north area of the palace as containing a single coherent contemporary archive is very limited. However, the *I2*, *I3* and *I3bis* tablets, which were all found in the North Entrance Passage, can be regarded as being from a single contemporary archive.

Up to this point, the paper has made use of the conventional terminology, «North Entrance Passage». However, the excavation found that there was a late wall, associated with the surface on which the tablets were found, which completely blocked the passage (*OKTii*, p. 46, 48). Thus, in its last phase, the

«North Entrance Passage» was not actually a passage but perhaps used as a storage area (*OKTii*, p. 48).

It is at this point that a wider discussion begins. It is readily understandable that there should be an archive room associated with the North Entrance, to make records of goods entering and leaving the palace. It is less straightforward to explain the presence of a large deposit of tablets in a passage that has been completely blocked off, particularly if one is trying to do that, at the same time, as considering the dating of the tablets. Numerous hypotheses have been put forward to explain how the tablets arrived at their find-place. However, until now, this has been done without considering whether there is any information implicit within the tablets themselves. The next section will consider whether there was any residual signs of ordering within the *I3* deposit of tablets, as might be expected in properly kept archive.

12.5. CONSIDERING THE EVIDENCE FOR INTERNAL ORDERING WITHIN THE *I3* DEPOSIT OF TABLETS

In this Section, we will consider whether there is any evidence that there was internal ordering within the large *I3* deposit of tablets before it was excavated. This discussion will be based on the listing of tablets according to their Original Numbers given in TABLE I.ii.

12.5.1. THE RENUMBERING OF THE TABLETS

The first step in this investigation is to examine the nature of the ordering imposed by Evans as he renumbered the series from ON to RN and finally to *SM*. This will give us some insight into how much ordering Evans might have imposed on the tablets before the ON numbering.

TABLE 12.7 lists the classification letters of the first 100 (approximately) tablets in the main block for each of the three numbering schemes. It can be seen that there is a clear progression from the relatively disordered ON sequence, to the tidier RN sequence and then through to the *SM* sequence which shows a large measure of ordering. This demonstrates that, in the *SM* sequence, on the basis of the logograms, Evans was fully able to catalogue this series of tablets in a way which is largely still used today.

However, within the original numbering (ON) system, there is only limited evidence that Evans may have moved together similar tablets (such as, for example, the Se-Sg sequence, ON 640-6, and the Np sequence, ON 763-9). There is no evidence that Evans imposed large scale organisation prior to the Original Numbering of the tablets.

This does not imply that the original numbering directly reflects the order in which the tablets were excavated. However, it does imply that any substantial level of internal ordering is more likely to have been present before the tablets were excavated, rather than imposed during the original numbering.

Thus, the question to be considered is whether or not there is a significant level of internal ordering within the ON 637-879 sequence of tablets. In order to

tackle this, we shall divide the tablets up into 6 approximately equal groups of (about) 40:

A: 637-675 B: 676-716 C: 717-757
D: 758-799 E: 800-840 F: 841-879

TABLE 12.7: *The re-arrangement of the Classification letters during the successive re-numbering of the I3 tablets*

Original Numbering (from ON 637)		Revised numbering (from RN 796)		Present numbering (from SM 798)	
C	Dl	C	B	B	E
B	Do	B	B	B	E
X	Ch	X	Ai	B	E
Se	V	Se	Ai	B	E
Se	Dl	Se	Ch	B	F
Se	Co	Se	Co	B	F
Sg	Dl	Sg	Co	B	F
Se	Dl	Se	Co	B	Np
Sg	Co	Sg	Co	B	Np
Se	Ch	Se	Ch	B	Np
Ca	Dl	Se	Ch	B	Np
K	Dl	Sg	Ch	B	Np
Sg	Dl	Ca	Ch	B	Np
X	Ch	Sg	Dl	B	Np
K	C	So	Dl	B	Gv
V	[]	K	Dl	B	Gv
So	Am	K	Dl	B	Gv
K	B	K	Dl	B	V
Sg	Am	K	Dl	B	F
Sg	Dk	[]	Dl	B	F
Dl	Ch	V	Dl	Am	L
U	Dl	Dl	Dl	Am	L
Se	X	Se	Dk	Am	L
Se	Oa	Se	Dl	B	L
K	X	U	Dl	B	K
Gv	E	Gv	Dp	Ai	K
Gv	Ch	Gv	Dk	Ai	K
L	B	L	C	Am	K
C	E	C	Dl	Am	U
B	X	Uf	F	Ak	K
Uf	C	Uf	Dl	K	Oa
Uf	Sg	Do	Dk	Ak	Se
Ch	C	C	Dl	V	Se
C	Dl	C	Dl	V	Se
C	Do	G	C	Og	Se
Ai	Uf	Am	Ch	Ga	Se
G	Dk	Am	L	Uf	Sg
Co	Uf	B	V	Uf	Sg
Co	V	Am	Co	Uf	Sg
Dl	C	B	Dl	Uf	Sg
Dl	Se	B	Co	Uf	Sg
Am	V	Bg	Dl	Gm	Se
L	C	Bg	C	F	Se
Dl	Uf	Bg	[]	E	Se
Dl	Uf	Bg	Dl	E	Se
Co	X	B	X	F	So
Co	K	B	Oa	E	Ca

If the ordering of the tablets is random, then we would expect a reasonably uniform spread of characteristics from group to group. TABLE 12.8 lists the numbers of tablets in each of the main classifications represented within the Groups.²⁶ It can be seen that there is clear evidence for certain categories of tablets being more prevalent than others in some Groups. It is particularly worth noting the uneven spread of the C, D, N and S tablets across the six groups.

TABLE 12.8: *Distribution of the classifications of the tablets*

Classification	Group	A	B	C	D	E	F
A		1	3	2	3	2	2
B		2	2	5	7	8	6
C		8	12	5	3	7	3
D		2	14	7	6	5	10
E		-	2	2	1	2	2
F		-	-	-	2	4	1
G		3	-	-	-	2	1
K		4	-	1	1	-	1
L		1	1	1	-	1	1
N		-	-	-	7	-	-
S		13	1	3	4	1	2
U		3	-	7	3	1	4
V		1	1	2	1	2	3

It is not possible to prove, on a case by case basis, that this does not occur as a result of Evans' cataloguing. Nevertheless, the overall impression is that at least some of this structure was already present in the deposit of tablets and was not imposed by Evans.

12.5.2. CONSIDERING *sa-qa-re-jo* FROM THE D-SERIES TABLETS

There are 11 examples of sheep tablets in the Knossos archive containing the name of the «collector», *sa-qa-re-jo*. Only 8 of these tablets can be identified with any find-place and 7 are traceable to the Area of the Bull Relief.

Of these 7 tablets, 6 are contained within Group B. This is, of course, highly significant. Intuitively, one would not expect Evans to have picked out the sequence of signs representing *sa-qa-re-jo* as being particularly important. TABLE 12.9 confirms this by showing that, as Evans progressively re-numbered the tablets, the range of their numbers increased, i.e. he was moving their numbers apart rather than consolidating the group.

²⁶ In the case of tablets with two ON's, the lower value is used for the purpose of the analysis that follows.

TABLE 12.9: *Evans' re-numbering of the sa-qa-re-jo tablets*

	ON	RN	SM
	676	857	944
	683	859	948
	690	881	932
	693	862	935
	694	863	952
	695	883	412
Range	19	26	536

If the *sa-qa-re-jo* tablets were randomly distributed, there is 1-in-8000 chance that 6 out of 7 examples would fall within Group B. In practice, these tablets were found within a limited range of 19 within Group B. The possibility of this occurring by random chance is, of course, even smaller.

There is a further fragment of tablet, DI 938 (ON 687), containing the signs]*re-jo*, which could possibly be *sa-qa-re-jo*. This tablet also appears in Group B.

The *sa-qa-re-jo* tablets represent the most convincing evidence that the I3 deposit had internal ordering. However, additional evidence can be found by examining other men's names.

12.5.3. CONSIDERING OTHER MEN'S NAMES

Another way of looking for internal ordering in a bureaucratic archive is to look at the examples of men's names being repeated. The previous subsection did this for the «collector» *sa-qa-re-jo*. The other «collectors' names», which are repeated in the D-series, are *e-se-re-e-jo* and *ko-ma-we-to*; in these cases there is no significant ordering.

If we now neglect those «collectors», then there are only 10 men's names which are repeated in the series. These are listed in TABLE 12.10.

TABLE 12.10: *Repeated mens' names*

Man's name	1st tablet	2nd tablet	3rd tablet
<i>a-no-qa-ta</i>	ON 728	ON 753	—
<i>a-pi-me-de</i>	ON 827	ON 830	—
<i>a-pi-qa-(i)-ta</i>	ON 670	ON 671	ON 751+802
<i>da-nu-wo</i>	ON 826	ON 827	—
<i>ke-sa-do-ro</i>	ON 665	ON 801	—
<i>ma-di-qa</i>	ON 770	ON 831	—
<i>pa-wi-no</i>	ON 828a	ON 842	—
<i>pu-ri</i>	ON 789	ON 828a	—
<i>ra-wo-qa-no</i>	ON 665	ON 854	—
<i>re-ko-no</i>	ON 664+850	ON 825	—

In two cases, these names appear on adjacent tablets in the original numbering, i.e. *a-pi-qa-(i)-ta* and *da-nu-wo*. For *a-pi-me-de*, the tablet numbers are nearly adjacent. The probability that this occurred by random chance can be estimated to be 1-in-600. Furthermore, it is similarly unlikely that Evans would have picked out these names, from the many signs on the tablets, and brought

them together. Thus, it is most likely that these examples of nearly adjacent names occurred because of internal ordering within the deposit of tablets.

The same conclusion can be drawn by considering the words for slaves, *do-e-ro/do-e-ra*. There are eight tablets containing either of these words within the *I3* deposit. In this case, there are two examples of adjacent or nearly adjacent pairs, i.e. ON 670 & 671 and ON 825 & 827.

12.5.4. CONSIDERING THE *I3* TABLETS AS A PARTIALLY ORDERED DEPOSIT

Up to this point, the discussion has tended to look at the *I3* deposit from a statistical point of view and shown that there is clear evidence for internal ordering. We will now consider the practical consequences of this in the interpretation of these tablets.

SECTION 12.5.1 showed that there was evidence for some sets of tablets to be distributed in a way that is not random. The present discussion begins by making a judgement on which tablets Evans himself might have brought together during the compilation of the original *Handlist*. In practice, this is straightforward because we can note Evans' practice up to this point. It has been noted above that the Sc and Np tablets were clustered in the listing of the *RCT* tablets but that the «vase» tablets from the Western Magazine area were not brought together until the Revised Numbering. In the *I3* deposit, we note almost exactly the same finding. The tablets which show the chariot logogram are clustered together as ON 640-646; the other Se tablets which do not show this ideogram are distributed widely through the deposit (see TABLE I.ii). It is also worth noting that the horse tablet, Ca 895, is ON 647 and was probably moved by Evans to be with the chariot tablets (cf. the Sc tablets which contain the chariots and horses on the same tablets). The Np(2) tablets are also tightly clustered as ON 763-769. However, the «vase» tablets K(1) are loosely clustered as ON 648, 650, 653 and 660 in the original listing but are listed consecutively, as RN 810-813, in the Revised Numbering. Thus, we can judge that Evans probably made the same limited moves to group the tablets in the *I3* deposit in the original listing as in the other deposits.

We should also recognise that Evans tended to bunch together the smaller tablets that were included in the *Handlist*. This is reflected in TABLE I.ii, where it is evident that the joined tablets tend to be bunched (e.g. ON 714-718, ON 843-851.) It is also possible that Evans listed together the pieces from the larger tablets (e.g. ON 823-844) because they were readily distinguishable from the remainder.

However, there are a number of significant groupings of tablets within the original numbering of the *I3* deposit which are unlikely to have been due to Evans. The main grouping has already been identified as Group B within the above discussion. If we concentrate on ON 668-697, this group of 30 tablets includes the cluster of *sa-qa-re-jo* tablets discussed in SECTION 12.5.2. It also includes the man's name *a-pi-qa-(i)-ta* on consecutive tablets and *do-e-ro/do-e-ra*

on the same consecutive tablets (ON 670, 671). In fact 25 out of the 30 tablets in the range ON 668-697 are listings of livestock. This is not so clear from TABLE I.ii because these tablets are in different series (Ch, Co, C(2), DI(1), Do) and are written by different scribes (106, 107, 110, 112, 118). Similarly, it would not have been evident to Evans that these were a coherent grouping of tablets. However, from a practical point of view of organising an archive, it would be perfectly sensible for an overseer at Knossos to bring together a large grouping of livestock tablets.

The consecutive tablets, ON 670, 671, state that sheep and goats at *a-pi-qa-(i)-ta*'s place are in the care of his slave and that *a-pi-qa-(i)-ta* has 56 slaves. Hence, these are a sub-file dealing with *a-pi-qa-(i)-ta*, amidst the larger file of livestock tablets. On the basis of this one example, it would seem premature to assume that the slaves were deliberately listed with the livestock!

It is possible that these 25 livestock tablets were part of an assemblage of all the livestock tablets that were kept in this area of the palace. It is also possible that most of them were part of a coherent subset of the livestock arranged according to the geographic region²⁷. However, it does not seem possible to prove this within this group of 25 tablets because many of the toponyms do not have known locations. However, there is some evidence for the tablets being grouped according to toponyms within the full *I3* deposit. For example, there are 3 tablets naming *si-ja-du-we* within the range ON 679-699 (i.e. 679, 699 and 689 joined to 656 and 851; ON 852 also names *si-ja-du-we*). There are 4 tablets listing *e-ko-so* (or *e-ki-si-jo*) in the range ON 699-720 (699, 710, 713, 720). Similarly, there are 4 tablets listing *ra-su-to* in the range ON 715-761 (715, 746, 760, 761).

The Uf(2) and Uf(3) sets, dealing primarily with *qa-ra* and *ti-ri-to*, show some evidence of clustering (ON 666, 667, 718, 727 & ON 720, 726, 743, 747, 777, 791, respectively), although it could be argued that this is a grouping based on the Uf(2) and Uf(3) sets, rather than on toponyms. Similarly, the two tablets containing the toponym *ma-ri* (ON 680, 683) could be nearly adjacent because they are the only two tablets containing that word or because they are both from the DI(1) set.

There are a few other points relating to clustering which will be mentioned briefly. It has already been noted that the K(1) tablets are loosely clustered together (ON 648, 650, 653, 660). The B(5) tablets are clustered (ON 828-831, 837, 839, 841, 842), although this could be due to them being listed together by Evans as large tablets. The Sg tablets fall within a limited range (ON 643, 645, 649, 654, 655); there has probably been some movement of these tablets by Evans, nevertheless, the fact that they are not consecutive shows that he has not moved all the tablets together and, therefore, that they were probably found together. The Bg tablets by scribe 137 are clustered (ON 749, 756, 773, 774, 783,

²⁷ If this were correct, then we would be led to assume that Do 923 was a stray if it listed sheep from *se-to-i-ja*.

785, 786, 788). It is worth also noting that ON 672, 677 both contain the sign LUNA, although they are classified as G 820 and Am 819, so the classification disguises their association in listing monthly rations to workers/slaves.

Finally, it is interesting to draw attention to the similarities between the deposit of tablets from the North Entrance Passage and those from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. Evans recognised that both deposits contain chariot tablets with horses and saffron tablets (Np-series, which are not found elsewhere). In addition, both series contain Uf-series tablets dealing with land tenure; tablets listing bulls and pigs; many hundreds of sheep listed on page tablets; tablets listing hundreds of men; similar Og tablets, i.e. Og 180 and 833. Both deposits were written by a multiplicity of scribes, rather than one major scribe supported by other scribes as in the Western Magazines and the main sheep archive. All these features are distinctive. If Driessen is correct in arguing that the *RCT* tablets pre-date the bulk of the remaining archive, then it seems reasonable to suggest that the tablets from the North Entrance Passage could have served a similar purpose to those from the *RCT*, but for a year that was some decades later.

12.5.5. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION ON INTERNAL ORDERING OF THE *I3* TABLETS

On the basis of the above investigation, it is concluded that there is clear evidence of a significant level of internal ordering within the *I3* deposit. In each example considered, it has been demonstrated that the distribution is unlikely to be random. In the cases of the *sa-qa-re-jo* tablets, the paired men's names and the slave tablets, it is very unlikely that the observed sequence occurred by chance. It is judged equally unlikely that these examples of ordering were a consequence of post-excavation arranging by Evans. Thus, it is concluded that the deposit of tablets, prior to excavation, had retained a significantly high level of internal ordering.²⁸

This finding on internal ordering has an impact on the validity of hypotheses about how the tablets came to be in their find-place. This deposit of tablets has been the subject of particular interest as it was found on an LMIIIB surface. Thus, it formed part of the great debate on the dating of the tablets (see, for example, the discussion by Niemeier, 1982). It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into that wider debate. However, it is noted that some methods of "transporting" the tablets into the form of the deposit found by Evans and Mackenzie are intrinsically more likely to destroy the original internal ordering that the archive would have had when it was being used. On the basis of the internal ordering alone (i.e. neglecting, for present purposes, other considerations), it is possible to rank the current hypotheses, as follows, giving the most likely at the top of the list and the least likely at the bottom,

²⁸ Note that it is not being suggested that the tablets were perfectly ordered when they were found. Equally, it is not being suggested that the original ordering of the tablets can be recovered.

- a) the ordered archive was destroyed *in situ* by a fire.
- b) the ordered archive fell vertically from a room immediately above the North Entrance Passage during a fire.
- c) the ordered archive fell laterally from an upper room adjacent to the North Entrance Passage during a fire.
- d) the ordered archive fell from a room above the Spiral Cornice Room to the base of the Bull Relief as reconstructed by Evans.
- e) the tablets were shovelled into their find position as part of the construction of the LMIIIB passage.
- f) the tablets were washed into their find position by a storm flood.

The hypotheses which involve the tablets falling from upper floors are more credible if the archive was stored in closed containers and if these could largely withstand the fire and damage until after the archive fell into the passage. These hypotheses are less credible if the archive was stored in baskets arranged on shelves, as illustrated for Pylos, by Henry Hankey (Chadwick, 1976). As Chadwick notes, a fire in such an archive would have made a good blaze, scattering tablets in fragments all over the floor. If such an archive room was on an upper floor, the tablets would have been scattered further as they fell through, onto the ground floor.

It is worth recalling that no tablets were found in the rooms immediately to the east of the passage. Therefore, within the spirit of Evans' reconstruction, the only upper room, that could be considered for an archive, would be one above the Spiral Cornice Room. However, that would be inconsistent with the distribution of the tablets all along the Entrance Passage.

On the basis of the current analysis, it is suggested that hypotheses (d), (e) and (f) are improbable.

The above discussion does not consider why some groups of tablets are more widely dispersed than others and, in particular, why some sets of tablets are split between *I2* and *I3*. In practice, there is insufficient evidence available to reconstruct fully the history of the tablets in the north entrance passage. Therefore, we are only able to balance the likelihood of different hypotheses which are put forward. The conclusion of this section is that any such judgement should take into account the extent of retention of internal ordering within the "great deposit of tablets" from the area of the bull relief.

13. THE *J*-SERIES OF TABLETS

These tablets were not included in the *Concordance*. Therefore, the evidence for their find-place location is restricted to the *Handlist* and the notebooks of Evans and Mackenzie.

APPENDIX A gives a description of the development of the *Scripta Minoa* numbering which is of particular relevance to the *J*-series of tablets. Only a fraction of the tablets from the *J*-series have an Original Number in the *Handlist* or an inked tablet number and these are the first ~150 tablets found from the main sheep archive (*J1*). Therefore, it is clear that, during the course of the excavation of the main sheep archive, Evans stopped giving tablets Original Numbers and

Inked Numbers. The best interpretation that can be made, on the basis of the evidence available, is that Evans stopped assigning ON's and IN's after the 1901 season. Then, at some later stage, probably between the 1901 and 1902 seasons, Evans revised the numbers in the manner described by the *Concordance*. The last RN in the *Concordance* is RN 1055. If Evans had continued his *Concordance*, it would show that,

RN 1056-1530, are from *J1*
 RN 1531-1542, are the group of tablets discussed in APPENDIX B.1
 RN 1543-1544 were not used
 RN 1545-1552, are (probably) from *J4*
 RN 1553 is the Great Tablet from *J2*
 RN 1554-1589, are (probably) from *J3*

However, in practice, Evans did not give every tablet from *J3* and *J4* an RN as the level of rigour decreased towards the end of the *Handlist*.²⁹

13.1. TABLETS FROM *J1*, THE EAST-WEST CORRIDOR

This is the main sheep archive. In the *Handlist* the find-place catch-heading is, «Area E. of Bay of Seal Impressions». However, elsewhere in the paperwork associated with the re-arrangement of the sheep tablets, the description used is «E-W Corridor». This was the correct description of the find-place, according to Mackenzie's *Daybook* (see *OKTi*, p. 137). These tablets were excavated between 4 May 1901 and 25 March 1902 (*OKTii*, pp. 53-54).

All the tablets found in *J1* were sheep tablets written by (or possibly written by) scribes 117, 119 and 216, with the exception of,

Ga(2) 1335, X 1385, X 1432, X 1463, X 1474, X 1478, X 1481, Mc 1508, X 5042?

Ga(2) 1335, scribe 136. The bulk of the tablets from this set were found in *E5* (with a single tablet found in the adjacent *F15*). Ga 422 was found in *G2*. These tablets were discussed in SECTION 8.3 above. Ga 1335 has an ON and traces of an IN, suggesting that it was found during the 1901 excavation season. Thus, it is very unlikely that it was a stray tablet from the Queen's bathroom, *J4*, which was not excavated until the following year. This tablet forms a strong link between the *J1* deposit and those from the western area of the palace.

SM 1432 has IN = 1262. This would suggest that it was found during the 1901 season of excavation and was actually found with the sheep tablets.

The other tablets do not have IN's according to Bennett's *Concordance*. By this stage of the excavation, the recording of information about the tablets became more sparse, both in the *Handlist* and in the *Notebooks*, and it is possible that some of these tablets may have been found elsewhere in the eastern part of the palace. For example, X 1385 joins with *SM* 1537, found in *J4*. It is likely that both parts were actually found together but were then recorded separately under different find-places. This joined tablet is discussed further in SECTION 13.4.

²⁹ Palmer incorrectly assumed that all the above numbers were ON's.

SM 1508. The drawing of *SM* 1508 in the *Handlist* is the reverse face only of the tablet. It is listed with the *J1* archive, however, the full drawing of the tablet, given as *SM* 1528, is included under the catch-heading, «Near the Sword Tablets», with *SM* 1517-1529. Therefore, it is not clear whether the find-place of this tablet was *J1* or *J3*.

SM 5042. The sketch of RN 1520 given in the uncut pages of Evans' *Handlist* shows two thousand signs with the annotation, «near end». J. L. Melena (private communication) notes that X 5042 is perhaps RN 1520 because it is a piece from near the right hand end of a tablet and its clay resembles that used for the records by scribe 117.

The following palm-prints are found on *J1* tablets (Sjöquist & Åström, 1991):

R PI appears on several tablets written by scribe 117 and also on C 7698 (scribe and find-place not known).

L ALPHA was found on Da 1299. However, it also appears on X 38, found in B1, and Mc 5124, which was presumably found in the Arsenal with the other Mc tablets written by scribe 132. Thus, this is an important palm-print in any discussion of the «unity of the archive» (Driessen, 1994).

13.1.1. ESTABLISHING THE ORIGINAL ORDERING OF THE *J1*-SERIES TABLETS

Palmer gave only scant attention to the *J1* tablets because their find-place was not disputed. However, there would be significant interest if the original ordering of these tablets could be re-established and that is the purpose of this section.

The *Handlist* only contains ON's for the *J1*-series tablets from 1103 to ~1270 and many of these are difficult to read because they were written in pencil and overwritten in ink with the RN's. There would probably have been an IN for each ON and these play a more important role here than hitherto because of the relative sparseness of the ON's (although these IN's are subject to mis-reading). The RN's in the *Handlist* are easier to read, although these are not complete (and there is the usual difficulties arising where Evans revised the ordering of some tablets more than once). However, the ON's, RN's and IN's are not sufficient in themselves to establish Evans' re-ordering of the tablets.

The main basis for the initial ordering is a list of shepherds' names that had been made by Evans as he was trying to understand the contents of the tablets, together with 13 pages of original uncut *Handlist* from the end of the *J1* series. In the list of shepherds' names, each name has an RN and one or more *SM*'s. Comparison between the order of the names for the first two pages of the list (labelled a & b) and ON's and IN's shows that they follow the original ordering. There are five additional numbered pages of the list. The last of these contains shepherds' names in the same ordering as the 13 pages of uncut *Handlist*.

For the first two pages of shepherds' names, it is evident that the tablets containing these names were interspersed in the original *Handlist* with tablets where the shepherds' names were missing. It is clear from the 13 pages of uncut *Handlist* that, for the latter pages of the list, the original ordering of the *Handlist* was organised so that pieces of tablet without shepherds' names were grouped at the end.

It is possible to reconstruct the original ordering using the list of shepherds' names and the 13 pages of uncut *Handlist* as the main basis and then interweaving tablets with ON's or (in the absence of ON's) IN's, for tablets where the shepherds' names are missing. The results are given in TABLE J.i. The first column of this table is the number of the tablets in the Deduced Order (DO), which has been included to make it easier to discuss the list in the following section. It is not claimed that the ordering in this table is precisely correct, because of the difficulties with the readings of ON's and IN's. Nevertheless, it is largely correct and provides a sufficient basis for further study.

It is clear that Evans stopped giving the tablets ON's and IN's after a tablet number ~1270. Subsequent to this, he continued to draw the tablets in the «original order» (except that he drew the pieces without shepherds' names at the end of the list). The revised numbering was not established until the complete *Jl* archive had been excavated. In this revised numbering, tablets with the same toponym or «collectors' names» were moved together. In the *Scripta Minoa* numbering the tablets without toponyms or «collectors names» were arranged according to the initial sign of the shepherds' names.³⁰

13.1.2. DISCUSSION ON THE INITIAL ORDERING OF THE *Jl* TABLETS

There is clear evidence of ordering in the tablets given in TABLE J.i, as Evans drew them into the original *Handlist*. This ordering was not imposed by Evans but arose because of the residual ordering of the tablets in the archive after the destruction of the palace and as the tablets were found and excavated.

There are a number of different examples of this ordering:

- in a number of cases, broken pieces of the same tablet appear at similar positions in the list. For example, DO 45 & 46; DO 54 & 67; DO 58 & 63; DO 122 & 131; DO 132 & 133; DO 339 & 350. (The latter part of the list has only a limited number of examples because Evans moved pieces without shepherds' names to the end of his original list.)
- there are examples of groups of tablets with the same toponym or «collector's name» appearing at similar positions in the list. For example, the Dk(2) tablets at the beginning of the list (DO 1-8 & DO 15); the *pe-ri-go-te-jo* tablets, DO 18, 19, 21, 22, 28, 31, 36; the *ru-ki-to* tablets, 214-219, 223, 225, 227-228, 230, 232-233, 235, 237, 246, 258; the *su-ri-mo* tablets, 25, 26, 30?, 32, 34-35.

APPENDIX E gives a fuller statistical analysis based on the DO's in TABLE J.i. It is concluded that the tablets were originally filed according to their toponyms, with some account being taken of «collectors' names». The Dm series of tablets appear to have been filed by toponym, rather than as a separate series. The Dn series were probably filed together.

³⁰ According to *Scripta Minoa* II, the sheep tablets are «classified by personal names» (*SM*, p. 40) and also the tablets broken to the left are given at the beginning of the list and those broken to the right given at the end (*SM*, p. 38). This can now be understood as a simplification of the actual process (presumably based on Myres understanding of Evans' notes).

This finding is not surprising since it represents the most logical way of filing this large group of tablets. It is consistent with the work of Olivier (1988) which showed the link between the flocks associated with toponyms (without «collectors' names») and the totals given in the Dn series. It is also consistent with the statement by Godart (in the discussion following Chadwick, 1972) that tablets associated with a number of toponyms each have the same physical characteristics, peculiar to that toponym (i.e. same clay, written using the same stylus), implying that they were written at the same time. It is also supportive of the suggestion by Olivier and Godart (again, in the discussion following Chadwick, 1972) that the Knossos tablets from the main sheep archive, written by scribe 117, could usefully be re-classified by toponym and «collector» to reflect more closely the original archive files.

13.2. TABLET FROM J2, HALL OF COLONNADES

This find-place label does not appear in the *Handlist* or in *Scripta Minoa*. It is based on Mackenzie's *Daybook* entry for 17 May 1901, when As 1516 was found. In the *Handlist*, this tablet is not labelled separately (except for the marginal note, «Great Inscr.») and would fall, by default, under the heading «Area E. of bay of Seal impressions». Similarly, in *Scripta Minoa II*, the find-place is given as the same as that for the main sheep archive (in practice, find-places J1 and J2 are adjacent).

13.3. TABLETS FROM J3, THE CORRIDOR OF SWORD TABLETS

SM 1517-1529 have the catch-heading, «Near Sword Tablets» in the *Handlist*. SM 1540-1560 are labelled «Sword tablets», which was modified to «Corridor near South-east Angle of the Palace [Sword Tablets]» in *Scripta Minoa II*. None of these tablets have IN's or ON's and not all tablets have RN's. The tablets with RN's are listed in TABLE J.ii.

SM 1561-1569. The last tablet from the main palace building listed in *Scripta Minoa II* is SM 1560. In the *Handlist*, there is not a new catch-heading for SM 1561-1566 and so, if taken literally, they would fall under the heading of «Sword tablets». However, with the exception of SM 1566, they are not part of the Ra(1) series (and the SM 1566 fragment by itself would not have appeared to be a sword tablet to Evans). In practice, SM 1561-1569 have the appearance of a miscellaneous group, which have been tacked on the end of the *Handlist*. SM 1564 joins with SM 1508, which was discussed in SECTION 13.1, and may have been found in J1 or J3. SM 1568 is the large tablet, Ln 1568, written by scribe 103 and found in F14 in 1901 (this drawing is missing from its place in the *Handlist*). SM 1567 has the catch-heading, «N. half of Long Gallery near Stairs», written in pencil, which appears to place the tablet in the Western Magazine area. This tablet has already been discussed in SECTION 9, where it is concluded that this allocation, is unsafe. It is noted that both SM 1565 & 1567 are both from the Dk(2) series and are probably both from the main sheep archive, J1.

The tablets from the Corridor of Sword Tablets were excavated between 26 February and 5 March 1902 (*OKTi*, pp. 140-142, *OKTii*, p. 59). At first sight, the separation of the As(2)-series tablets from As 1516 seems questionable, though, Evans clearly states (*OKTi*, p. 141) that «With the sword tablets was partly mixed another deposit of larger tablets with lists of men analogous to Great Inscription». However, Mackenzie also recorded on 29 March 1902, that another large inscription tablet was found in the area of the Hall of Colonnades, «evidently with the same kind of context as the large inscription found last year in the Hall of the Colonnades» (29 March 1902) (*OKTii*, p. 54). As already noted, the recording and numbering of tablets in the *Handlist* became less rigorous in the third season and the allocation of all the As(2) and V(7) tablets to *J3* (rather than *J2*) must be subject to some uncertainty. Therefore *SM* 1517-1529 are labelled «*J3* (or *J2*)» in TABLE J.ii.

Ra(2), scribe 126. All the tablets from this set, with known find-places, were found in *J3*. Three of the Ra(2) tablets have the palm-print L ZETA.

Scribe 101. This scribe wrote the tablets As 40 found in the S.W. Pillar Room, As 1516 found in the Hall of Colonnades (*J2*) plus As 1519 & V 1523 apparently found in the Corridor of the Sword Tablets (*J3*). The fact that the work of a single scribe was found spread over such a wide area almost certainly ties that scribe to the last organised habitation of these areas. (If there had been subsequent organised habitation in these areas all the tablets would have been thrown away, with the exception of isolated examples which were built into the palace structure or «hiding in a dark dusty corner».) Since the tablets of the scribes 101 and 105 were on the same subjects and found together in *J3*, these two are linked as being contemporary. This is consistent with the suggestion that the VIR logogram used by scribes 101, 103 and 105 is in a less conservative (i.e. later) style of handwriting (Driessen, 1994).

Scribe 102. If this scribe has been correctly identified on *SM* 1517, it would link this find-place with *I2*, *I3* and possibly *I1*, *H7* and *K1*.

13.4. TABLETS FROM *J4*, E. BATH ROOM

SM 1530-1539 are under the catch-heading, «E. Bath Room». In *Scripta Minoa* II, these tablets are lumped together with those from the main sheep archive. It is Palmer (*OKTi*, p.35) who replaced the label «E. Bath Room», with «Queen's Megaron». None of these tablets have IN's or ON's and not all tablets have RN's; those with RN's are listed in TABLE J.ii.

The tablets were found between 10-11 March 1902.

Almost all the tablets, which can be classified, are from the Ga(5) series, written by scribe 221. These tablets list aromatics/spices. It is interesting to note one of the few tablets found in the Bath Room next to the Throne Room was Ga 738. It would seem reasonable to link the aromatics/spices listed on these tablets with their use in these rooms.

SM 1537 has been joined with X 1385, which appears in the *Handlist* in the midst of the sheep archive tablets. The contents of this tablet are the two words,

ti-ri-ti-ja / ki-ta-no, which compare closely with the wording on Ga 1530. It is suggested that X 1385 should be re-classified as Ga 1385. It seems probable that the two parts of this tablet were both found in the same location (i.e. *J4*, with the other Ga tablets) and the listing of *SM* 1385 with the main sheep archive was an error.

14. THE K-SERIES OF TABLETS

This is a small group of tablets that was found during the second year of excavation. They are listed in TABLE K. SECTION 5.3 has already included some discussion of the confusion that entered because Evans lumped together tablets from the S.W. Corner and S.E. Front in the *Concordance*.

14.1. TABLETS ON 1092, 1094

ON 1092, 1094 (Od(3) 1062, 1063) have the catch-heading «S.E. front» in the *Handlist*. In his *Daybook*, Mackenzie (*OKTi*, p. 152, 153) refers to the S.E. front to encompass the general area around the Room of Clay Seals, Room of Clay Signet, Bean room, Room of the wheat and South-North Corridor (see Hood and Taylor, 1981).

14.2. CLAY SIGNET ROOM AREA, *K1*

ON 1095 = Dp 1061 has the catch-heading «Area South of Signet R.». It should be noted that, like Od 1062-1063, this tablet also lists large quantities of wool. [Od 1062 lists 200 units, Od 1063 lists 500 units and Dp 1061 lists 456 units.] Od 1062-1063 do not have an identified scribal hand, whereas the scribal hand for Dp 1061 is 117?. It seems possible that *SM* 1061-1063 are actually part of the same set. In addition, it is within the scope of the find-place descriptions that they were found in the same location.

ON 1096 = D1 1060 has the catch-heading «Area S. of Signet» in the *Handlist*. In the *Concordance*, this tablet is under the catch-heading «Room of clay signet» along with ON 1102, and it appears under this catch-heading in *Scripta Minoa*.³¹ This tablet was written by scribe 215 and lists ewes, lambs and wool (though only 7 units, cf. tablets *SM* 1061-1063, described above).

ON 1102 = B 1055 has the catch-heading «Room of Clay Signet». It was written by scribal hand 102?. If the scribe is indeed 102 then that would link it with the tablets from the area of the North Entrance Passage and *J3* & *H7*.

The excavation of these tablets was probably between 8 March and 20 May 1901.

It is difficult to link the few tablets given for this area with those described in the notebooks. However, B 1055 would seem to be tablet from this area best fitting the description by Evans as «parts of a large inscribed tablet» found in the upper earth in the area where Chamberis found the clay signet (*OKTi*, p. 154).

³¹ The label, «Bean Room», used by Palmer (*OKTi*, p. 32, 35) does not appear in the *Handlist* or *Concordance*.

Mackenzie describes «several fragments of large inscriptions», found at a depth of 0.4 m in the space north of the region of the carbonised beans (*OKTi*, p. 152, 18, 20 April 1901). If we assume that this is the find-place given by Palmer as Plan IV, 10, then this is indeed in the area described by Hood and Taylor (1981) as the Room of the Clay Signet. However, it differs from the position on the map given for *K1* by Olivier (1967, p. 21) and Sjöquist & Åström (1991, p. 8). Similarly, the location of the find-place, «Area South of Signet Room», given by Olivier, Sjöquist & Åström is incorrect.

SM 1056-1059 appear in the *Handlist* under Evans' catch-heading «Area of Clay Signet». These tablets do not have associated Original Numbers and do not appear in the *Concordance*. Nevertheless, as Palmer suggests, «there is no evidence which casts doubt on this location» (*OKTi*, p. 59) and, therefore, they will be assumed to have been correctly labelled.

If the identification of the scribe 135 were correct for Ga 1058, it would link it to the series of tablets found in the Western Magazines (*F8*, *F17*, *F18*).

Although the above tablets fall under differing catch-headings, in practice, these are all in the Area of the Clay Signet Room and the quality of the specification of find-places by Evans, at this stage of the excavation, does not seem to warrant attempting greater accuracy in these listings.

15. DISCUSSION ON THE «UNITY OF THE ARCHIVE»

One of the main objectives of this paper is to use the review of find-places, given above, as a starting point for a discussion on the «unity of the archive». ³² It was initially natural to assume that the bulk of the tablets formed part of a single unified archive. For example, Palmer (*OKTi*, pp. 170-172) raised the issue but presumed that it was answered in a discussion of less than three pages.

It has long been recognised that the archive from the 'Room of the Chariot Tablets' (*RCT*) is somewhat different from the remainder (Chadwick, 1976, p. 169) and in 1990, Driessen suggested that this was because the *RCT* tablets predated the bulk of the tablets. His book was based on a multidisciplinary approach which, according to Olivier (1994), «using an assemblage of arguments, none of which would carry conviction by itself but which put together do seem persuasive, has demonstrated that the tablets found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets are two or three generations earlier than those of the 'main bulk' of the archive». Driessen also suggested that the tablets from the Room of Column Bases were chronologically intermediate between the *RCT* tablets and the bulk of the remainder.

More recently, Driessen (1994) extended this discussion and challenged the view that the bulk of the remaining tablets were themselves contemporary. He tentatively separated the archive into the following groups, listed chronologically,

³² Note that the present discussion on the «unity of archives» is based on the tablets and their contents. This discussion does not include the archaeological context of the find-places of the tablets or the sealings found with the tablets.

- Room of the Chariot Tablets
- Room of the Column Bases
- North Entrance Passage (noting the conservative style of scribes 102, 104, 106, 107 and 137)
- Main sheep archive (scribes 117 and 119)
- Scribes 101, 103 and 105 (noting their advanced style of writing)

Driessen's paper did not aim to prove that these were all chronologically separated but raised sufficient doubts to demonstrate that we should not take the unity of the archive for granted for the 'bulk of the remaining tablets'.

Hitherto, one set of threads that seemed to hold the tablets together into one archive has been the sets of tablets and the scribal hands (Olivier, 1967) which appeared to have been excavated from different find-places. The present re-examination of find-places has tended to reduce the number of these links (effectively showing them to have been due to errors in the interpretation of the find-place data). The purpose of this section is primarily to set out the evidence for the unity of the archive based predominantly on find-places, scribal hands, palm-prints and men's names, as a contribution towards the wider discussion. In addition, as a contribution towards Driessen's multidisciplinary approach, a simple statistical analysis based on commonality of names between groups of men's names is given and that is the subject of the next subsection.

15.1. AN ANALYSIS BASED ON GROUPS OF MEN'S NAMES

It is very tempting to base a discussion of the «unity of the archive» on the repeated appearance of names at different find-places. Thus, for example, Palmer (*OKTi*, pp. 170-172) based his argument on names such as *a-no-qo-ta*, *ra-wo-qo-no*, *ko-ma-we*, *we-we-si-jo*, *ka-to-ro*, *pe-ri-qo-ta* and *da-mi-ni-jo*. The problem with this approach is that these may simply be common names or they may be inherited family names, that are passed from father to son. In either case, they would not necessarily imply, for example, that the *a-no-qo-ta* found in the Room of the Chariot tablets, the North Entrance Passage, the Western Magazines and the main sheep archive is actually the same person or four different people.

If the man's name is tied to a place name, then there is a greater probability that it is the same person but it still does not overcome the possibility that such names belong to men from different generations from a family that lived at that place.

The approach put forward in this Section is based on consideration of large groups of names, either written by the same scribe or found on tablets from the same find-place. If there is a significant commonality between names from two different groups then it can be argued that there is a strong likelihood that the two groups of men were contemporaries.

If A and B are two groups containing N_A and N_B names, respectively, then it is possible to estimate the size of the 'population of names' from which A and B were drawn by the formula,

$$(N_A \times N_B) / N_{A+B}$$

where N_{A+B} is the number of men's names that are contained in both group A and group B. If the size of this 'population of names' is of the same magnitude as the total number of men's names that are present in the overall population, then there is no significance in the common names shared between groups A and B. On the other hand there is significance, if the 'population of names', from which groups A and B are drawn, is substantially smaller than the total number of men's names in the overall population.

APPENDIX D estimates the total number of names that would have been found in the full archives at Knossos and Pylos. It is estimated that there were roughly 2,000 different 'Greek' names and roughly 4,000 different names altogether ('Greek' and non-Greek) in the archive at Knossos.

In the present discussion of the unity of the archive, the groups of men's names that will be considered are as follows,

- names on the *I3* tablets (192 names)
- names written by scribes «124» (*RCT*, 174 names)
- names written by scribe 103 (Western Magazines, 85 names)
- names written by scribe 117 from the main sheep archive (315 names)
- names written by scribe 141 (*RCB*, 25 names)
- names on the *J2/J3* tablets (103 names)
- names written by scribe 115 (45 names)

TABLE 15.1 gives the estimated size of the 'population of names' from which the each pair of the above groups were drawn (given to two significant figures).

TABLE 15.1

	103	115	117	<i>J2/J3</i>	141	<i>I3</i>	«124»
103	—	430	1,200	2,900	2,100	2,000	3,000
115	430	—	1,800	770	large	1,700	7,800
117	1,200	1,800	—	2,900	3,900	2,500	3,400
<i>J2/J3</i>	2,900	770	2,900	—	860	2,800	large
141	2,100	large	3,900	860	—	2,400	1,500
<i>I3</i>	2,000	1,700	2,500	2,800	2,400	—	5,600
«124»	3,000	7,800	3,400	large	1,500	5,600	—

Considering each column in turn. The 103 and 115 names demonstrate a significant level of commonality, as would be expected since both scribes worked in the Western Magazine area.

We can estimate that the total number of men's names in the main sheep archive would have been ~700. [This is based on a total flock size of 66,000 (Olivier, 1988), with ~100 sheep in each flock and making some allowance for «collectors' names».] Thus, the commonality between the 103 and 117 names should also be taken as significant. Again, this is not surprising since 103 and 117 represent the main scribes for the closely related textile and wool production industries.

The 115 names are less strongly linked to the 117 names (than those of 103), however, they are much more strongly linked to the *J2/J3* names. At first sight this seems surprising, however, it probably reflects a division in the rôles

between scribes 103 and 115. It would appear that the people represented by the *J2/J3* names were (largely) a different group to those represented on the main sheep archive. Thus, if these two groups of names were contemporary, as seems likely, they represent differing groups within society.

There appears to be a strong link between the 141 and *J2/J3* names. We should note that the 141 group only contains 25 men's names and the commonality is represented by only 3 names. Nevertheless, these are unusual names which are not found elsewhere within the Knossos archive (*du-ru-po*, *qa-ti-ja*, *qa-to-no-ro*). We should contrast this with the overlap between the 141 and «124» groups, which is also represented by 3 names; however, in this case two of the names are more common (*ka-pi-ri-jo* and *ku-ru-me-no*) and, therefore, the association between 141 and «124» should be regarded as less significant than that between 141 and *J2/J3*. If this were the only criterion, it would lead to the presumption that the 141 and *J2/J3* were more likely to be contemporary than the 141 and «124» names (if indeed the *J2/J3* names were not contemporary with the «124» names).

At first sight, the *I3* names do not appear to have any significant commonality with the other groups of names. However, we have seen that the 103 names had a much more significant link with the 117 names than the *J2/J3* names, for example. Thus, it seems possible that we may have hidden a link with the *I3* names by lumping them all together into one homogeneous grouping. If the names from the livestock and grain ration tablets from the North Entrance Passage (i.e. C, D and E series tablets with 78 names) are compared to the 103 names, then these show a much more significant commonality of names, with an estimated total 'population of names' of 830 (based on 8 common names). The implication is that 103 names are closely linked to the C, D and E series names from the *NEP* in the same way that they are linked to the 117 names, i.e. as part of the textile and wool production industries.³³ On this basis, it is suggested that the C, D and E series tablets from the North Entrance Passage are contemporary with the 103 and 115 tablets from the Western Magazines. Since the C, D and E series tablets are contemporary with the remainder of the tablets from the North Entrance Passage, it would follow that they are all contemporary with the tablets from the Western Magazines.

The «124» names have no clear commonality with the other groups of names (other than a weak commonality with the 141 names, as discussed above).

This concludes the analysis based on large groups of men's names. We are now ready to start the central discussion on the unity of the archive. In order to start this discussion, we will begin by considering the archive from the Western Magazines and then use this as a basis to judge whether or not the other archives are contemporary with it.

³³ If we had used the combined group of 103 and 115 names to compare with the C, D and E series names from the *NEP*, then there would have been 11 common names and an estimated 'total population of names' of 800, i.e. effectively the same as above.

15.2. TABLETS CONTEMPORARY WITH THE WESTERN MAGAZINE ARCHIVE

Before beginning this discussion it is necessary to set down two basic points. The first one is to define what we mean by two parts of the archive being contemporary. This does not mean that the tablets were written during the same week or even the same year but that they were written within, say, a few years of each other and certainly written within the same generation. Having made that point, in practice, one would expect that contemporary tablets would usually have been written during the same year, because of the annual updating of the archive.

The second point to note is that it has already become clear that the recording of the tablets was not sufficiently rigorous that one single example is enough to prove a hypothesis. Thus, for example, when Boardman (*OKTii*, p. 49) quotes *SM* 787 & 1009 as a basis for demonstrating that the tablets were moved and did not fall in their current position, he is neglecting the significant probability that one of these tablets was not recorded correctly in the *Handlist*. Therefore, in order to demonstrate that different groups of tablets are contemporary, a single link of a scribe or a split set is not sufficient. The purpose of this section is to bring together the examples of apparent links noted above, firstly, of internal links between the groups of tablets from the Western Magazines and, secondly, links with other find-places.

15.2.1. INTERNAL LINKS BETWEEN THE GROUPS OF TABLETS WITHIN THE WESTERN MAGAZINES

It was demonstrated, in TABLE 9.2, that the tablets from the Western Magazines fall into four more or less separate groups. Before considering the wider links between these tablets and those found in other areas, it is worthwhile considering the internal links between the groups within the Western Magazines.

It is natural to assume that the Magazines were all destroyed at the same time and this would by itself imply that the tablets were contemporary. This assumption is reinforced by tablets from sets being found in adjacent magazines. Nevertheless, it is possible, for example, that a group of tablets could have been lost in a dark corner of the Magazines themselves and then be excavated at the same time as later tablets which had fallen from upper floors. This is the sort of hypothesis which Driessen (1994) is implying when he suggests that the Pp tablets (by scribe 119) could be earlier than the other tablets from the 8th Magazine.

In terms of the contents of the tablets, there are two strands which link the different groups from the Magazines. The first strand is the repetition of the names of «collectors»; *we-we-si-jo* is found in *F3*, *F7* and *F14*; *a-no-qa-ta* is found in *F1*, *F7* and *F14*. The second strand is the scribe 115 who is found in *F3*, *F6*, *F7*, *F13*, *F14* and *F16*. We should also note the statistical analysis included in SECTION 15.1. It was shown there that there was a high probability that the 103 and 115 tablets were from the same archive, as would have been expected.

Thus, even though we have tried to break the Western Magazine tablets into separate groups according to their scribes, there is still a reasonable series of links between these different groups. This does not imply that they were all written in the same month or year. Indeed, it is tempting to suggest that the archives found in *F1*, *F2*, *F15* and *F3* are scrappy because they are the remnants of previous years' files.

15.2.2. LINKS BETWEEN THE WESTERN MAGAZINES AND ADJACENT AREAS

In the case of the Western Magazines, it seemed natural to assume that they were destroyed at the same time and the bulk of the tablets found in them were from the same archive. Similarly, the Corridor of House Tablets (*E5*) and the Gallery of Jewel Fresco areas (*G1*, *G2*) are immediately adjacent to the Western Magazines and the natural assumption is that they were destroyed at the same time and the archives are contemporary with each other. This is supported by the clear links between the tablets from the Western Magazines and those from *E5*, *G1* and *G2*. These are represented by a series of scribal links. Tablets written by scribe 115 were found in *E5*, *F3*, *F6*, *F7*, *F13*, *F14* and *F16*. Tablets written by scribe 136 were found in *E5*, *F15* and *G2*. Tablets written by 103 and 140 were found in *G1*, *G2* and *F14*. On this basis, the tablets from *E5*, *G1* and *G2* are considered as being contemporary with the bulk of tablets from the Western magazines.

[The small groups of tablets from *E1bis*, *E2*, *E3*, *E4*, *H1*, *H2*, *H3*, *H4* and *I6* are not linked to the rest of the archive and will not be considered further in this section. Dk 727 (from *G2*) was written by scribe 117? but this is not regarded as being a sufficiently strong link to consider further. Dq(4) 438 (scribe 106) will be discussed in the section on the North Entrance Passage. Ai 739 from *H7* was written by scribe 207? which is otherwise found at *F3* but again this link is too weak to be considered further. Similarly, the link between K(1) 740, from *H7*, and the other K(1) tablets from the North Entrance Passage is too weak to consider further. The tablets from *H5* were found in a blocked doorway and, therefore, may pre-date the bulk of the archive (but see Raison, 1988).]

15.2.3. LINKS BETWEEN THE WESTERN MAGAZINES AND THE MAIN ARCHIVE OF SHEEP TABLETS

There are three sources of links between these large archives.

The first is via scribal hand 119 found on the Pp tablets (*F7a*) and on the Dk(2) tablets found in *J1*. This would appear to be a very strong link. However, as already noted, it has been suggested by Driessen (1994) that the *F7a* tablets could date from a different period to the bulk of the tablets found in the Western Magazines. This is on the basis that they were found together on the floor of the 8th Magazine and may not have fallen from an upper room. Driessen's argument is that this physical separation, before the destruction of the palace, would be consistent with a temporal separation if the 8th Magazine had fallen out use during the last period of the palace. Whilst this is a possibility, it relies heavily on the assumption that the 8th Magazine had fallen out of use.

The second link is via individual men's names. In this case, examples of repeated names can be given which have shared context of sheep and textiles and, therefore, there is a reasonable probability that each name belongs to a single person (rather than to two men with the same name).

The shared names are those of «collectors», *we-we-si-jo*, *da-mi-ni-jo*, *a-no-qo-ta* (cf. *a-no-qo-*), *te-ra-po-si-jo* and *pe-ri-qo-ta-o* (cf. *pe-ri-qo-te-jo*). In addition, there are shepherds' names; *ka-ta-wo* (cf. *-ta-wo*) in conjunction with the «collector» *da-mi-ni-jo*; *ku-ja-ro* in conjunction with the toponym *qa-ra*. Finally, the linked names of possibly important «shepherds» who were responsible for two or more flocks, *ta-de-so* and *au-ri-jo*.

The discussion on individual men's names is open to the objection that the same name may not actually represent the same individual. Therefore, the third source of links is the analysis of groups of men's names, given in SECTION 15.1. This showed that there was a significant probability that the names written by scribes 103 and 117 were drawn from a limited 'population of names' of workers from the textile and wool production industries.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the palm-print of L ALPHA, which was found on Da 1299. It also appears on X 38, found in *B1*, and Mc 5124, which was presumably found in the Arsenal with the other Mc tablets written by scribe 132. Thus, it is an important palm-print in any discussion of the «unity of the archive» (Driessen, 1994).

In summary, the only hesitation in assuming that the Western Magazine and main sheep archives were contemporary arises from Driessen's attempt to chronologically separate scribes 103 and 119. The weight of evidence would seem to be in favour of regarding the main sheep archive as being contemporary with the bulk of the tablets from the Western Magazines.

15.2.4. LINKS BETWEEN THE WESTERN MAGAZINE TABLETS AND THOSE FROM *J2/J3*

In this case, Driessen assumed that the tablets, written by scribes 101 and 105, were contemporary with those written by scribe 103, because they all had a style which he regarded as advanced. From the point of view of this study, we have taken the *J2/J3* group of tablets together, which also includes As 1517, written by 102? and Uf 1522 (scribe unknown) because these tablets form a natural grouping. However, the choice of this grouping does not affect the conclusions that follow.

It has been shown in SECTION 15.1 that there is significant commonality between the men's names written by scribe 115 and those on tablets *J2/J3*. This would support Driessen's suggestion that the *J2/J3* tablets are contemporary with those written by scribe 103.

There is also a further point which is that tablets written by scribe 101 were found at three distinct locations; the Hall of the Colonnades; the Corridor of the Sword tablets; the S.W Pillar Room. It would seem unlikely (though not impossible) that tablets written by the same scribe would survive at three

separate locations unless they were contemporary with the destruction of the palace in those areas.

Thus, it is concluded that the *J2/J3* tablets were contemporary with the main sheep archive and the bulk of the tablets from the Western Magazines.

15.2.5. LINKS BETWEEN THE WESTERN MAGAZINES AND THE NORTH ENTRANCE PASSAGE

There are a number of cases where sets of tablets are split between the Western Magazines and the North Entrance Passage area or a scribal hand, known from the one area, is found at the other.

The scribes 106, 118 and 120 were all extensively associated with sheep tablets from the North Entrance Passage area. However, Dq(4) 686, DI(1) 463 and Dk(1) 671 were found in *F18*, *F3* and *F15*, respectively. Dq(4) 438 by scribe 106 was included rather ambiguously in the *Handlist* under *E6* or *F1*, as discussed in SECTION 9, but both are in the western part of the palace. Tablet B(3) 808 also by scribe 106 was found in *F18*, with the remainder of the set, with known find-places, found in the North Entrance Passage area. Scribe 217 is normally associated with sheep tablets in the western part of the palace but Dq(3) 1026 was found in *I3*. One part of the broken sheep tablet, D 411+511, was apparently found in location *F7* and the other part in *I3*. Finally, L(3) 869 by scribe 207 was found in *I3* whereas the other two L(3) tablets, with known find-places, were found in *F3*.

Thus, at first sight, there would seem to be strong links between the tablets from the Western Magazines and those from the North Entrance Passage area. However, a more considered look shows that all of these apparent links are associated with tablets that were excavated in the same season as the North Entrance Passage. In other words, there are no links listed with the north section of the Western Magazine area, which was excavated the following year. It is possible that a number of the tablets have been included incorrectly in the *Handlist*. If this suggestion were correct, the number of mis-labelled tablets would have been eight. In practice, this is a small percentage of the 900+ tablets found in the first season and it would not have been surprising in view of the quality of the recording process at the time of the excavation. However, the fact that most of the examples given are of sheep tablets begins to indicate that these are not a random group of tablets. Further, three of these tablets were by scribe 106. The likelihood of this happening because of chance mis-labelling would seem to be small.

The statistical study of groups of names in SECTION 15.1 shows that there is significant evidence of links between the Western Magazine tablets and the livestock and grain ration tablets found in the North Entrance Passage. In addition, Dc 926 (scribe 117) was found in the North Entrance Passage during the first year of excavation, providing a strong link to the main sheep archive. This would reinforce the view that the North Entrance Passage tablets are likely to have been contemporary with those from the Western magazines, the main sheep archive and the tablets from *J2/J3*.

15.2.6. LINKS BETWEEN THE *J2/J3* TABLETS AND THOSE FROM THE ROOM OF COLUMN BASES

There are three links between the tablets from the Room of Column Bases and the remainder of the archive.

- Tablet Fh 462 from *F3* was written by scribe 141?
- Palm-print L DELTA is found on tablets Fh 360, Fh 372, Fh 5450 but also on Ch 7065, which was presumably found in the North Entrance Passage, with the other tablets by scribe 110 from the Ch series.
- There is a significant commonality between the names found on the scribe 141 tablets and those found in *J2/J3* (SECTION 15.1).

It could be suggested that the scribe on Fh 462 is not actually 141 or that its find-place was mis-recorded. It could be argued that the palm-print evidence is not conclusive. It could be argued that the three common names between the *RCT* and *J2/J3* tablets are not sufficient to be decisive. Nevertheless, on the basis of this evidence, it would seem reasonable to assume that the *RCB* tablets are contemporary with the tablets from the Western Magazines, the North Entrance Passage and the *J2/J3* tablets.

15.2.7. LINKS TO THE TABLETS FROM THE ROOM OF CHARIOT TABLETS

Driessen (1990) has put forward the hypothesis that the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (find-place *C*) pre-date the remainder of the Linear B tablets by at least one generation. The suggestion is that this room was destroyed during LMII and the tablets recovered from these find-places date back to that destruction. There are two difficulties arising from that hypothesis.

- Tablet L 473 from *F3* has a reasonable probability of having the same palm-print as Xd 105 from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. If Sjöquist & Åström have correctly identified the tablets and palm-prints and the tablets are each from their recorded find-places then this would contradict the hypothesis.
- Fp(1) 48, written by scribe 138, is recorded in the *Handlist* as having been found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets but the remainder of the set were found in the clay chest (find-place *A*).

It has become clear, during the course of this paper, that we should not take all the labelling of tablets at face value. Thus, in each of the above cases, we should accept that there is a probability that the information recorded is incorrect. On this basis, one apparent contradiction of Driessen's hypothesis may not be sufficient to invalidate it; rather one should consider the balance of evidence.

Driessen (1994) has suggested that Fp(1) 48 was actually found near the clay bath and its find-place was recorded incorrectly. There are a number of reasons for making this suggestion which were discussed in SECTION 6, where it was acknowledged that there is reason to doubt the recording of the find-place of Fp(1) in the *Handlist*.

It is noted that there was no evidence from the statistical analysis in SECTION 15.1 to suggest that there were significant links between the names found in the *RCT* and the other groups of names from Knossos. Whilst this does not prove Driessen's hypothesis, it is certainly consistent with it.

16. CONCLUSIONS

1. The find-places of the overwhelming majority of tablets in the range *SM* 1-1560 have been established and are presented in TABLES A-K. It is proposed that this study of find-places should supersede that of *OKTi* and the find-place data given in *CoMIK*.

2. The original numbering of the tablets for the Room of the Chariot tablets, the North Entrance Passage and the main sheep archive reflects, to some extent, re-arrangements of the tablets as Evans catalogued them. However, it also reflects, to some extent, the ordering of the tablets in their original archive. In each of these three major deposits, the tablets were not found in a random distribution. Although it is not possible to reconstruct fully the original distribution of the archive, some information on that original distribution can be gleaned from the original numbering of the tablets. Hitherto, this information had effectively been lost because of Evans' re-numbering of the tablets.

3. The above finding is particularly significant for the tablets from the North Entrance Passage. There has been much discussion on the dating of these tablets and their position at the time of the destruction of the palace. It should now be noted in that discussion that the tablets were found with a significant level of internal ordering and were not randomly distributed (as they might have been if they were shovelled or washed by a flood into their find position).

4. On the basis of the information presented in the paper, including a probabilistic argument based on groups of men's names, it is judged that the bulk of the Knossos Linear B tablets are contemporary (i.e. written within the same generation). The major exception is the deposit of tablets from the Room of the Chariot tablets, which could pre-date the bulk of the archive in the manner proposed by Driessen (1990).

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APPENDIX A: A DISCUSSION ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE *HANDLIST*

The purpose of this Appendix is to extend and justify the brief discussion given in SECTION 2.

It is suggested that Evans did the drawings and the original numbering in the *Handlist* within ~2 or 3 weeks of the find of the tablets. This estimate is based on the limited evidence that (i) the tablet ON 396 was found on 31 March 1900 but included in the *Handlist* after the *RCT* tablets which were found between 6-14 April, (ii) the find-place of ON 396 was originally given with reference to the Clay Chest, which was not found until 6 April, (iii) the tablets from the 8th Magazine (and also the 4th) were not all listed together in the *Handlist*, implying that they were entered progressively, as they were found, and (iv) ON 34 was found on 11 April 1900 but listed before the *RCT* tablets, found on 6-14 April.

It has been suggested that Evans may have made the drawings from photographs sometime after the end of the excavation. There are a limited number of photographs tucked between the pages of the *Handlist* but these are consistent with the publication of better finds, rather than a systematic photographing of every tablet. Furthermore, I am confident that if Evans had made the drawings sometime after the excavation he would have imposed an ordering more akin to that in the *Concordance*, pulling together tablets from the same find-place.

There is some evidence that Evans applied the IN's to tablets before drawing them into the original *Handlist*. Section 6 notes examples where the numbering has changed between the IN and ON. This is perhaps as a consequence of Evans changing the ordering according to find-places, after the IN's had been applied.

It is clear that tablets ON 1 to 917 were found during the first season (i.e. during 1900). They were all drawn on lined paper and, where they have inked tablet numbers, these were in red ink. There was some re-arrangement of the tablets after the end of the first season, as described in APPENDIX B.1; this resulted in the tablets being numbered from 1 to 923.

The second season's tablets had numbers from 924 to about 1270. They were drawn in the *Handlist* on plain paper and, where they had inked numbers, those were in blue. After an ON of about 1270 the tablets ceased to be given ON's and IN's. It is not clear whether this break point coincided with the end of the second season, although this seems to be a reasonable hypothesis. It is evident that at this stage Evans decided that he could improve his *Handlist* by moving together tablets from the same (or adjacent) find-places and by sorting the sheep tablets on the basis of the repeated toponyms and «collectors» names (although Evans did not know the meaning of these repeated groups of signs). It seems likely that, after the end of the second season, he re-arranged all the tablets in the *Handlist* (with the exception of the J-series), giving them all RN's and constructing the *Concordance*. At that stage, Evans knew that the excavation of the tablets from the East-West Corridor had not been completed, so these were not re-arranged. [If the *Concordance* had been drawn up after the end of the third season we would reasonably expect it to have included the East-West Corridor tablets.]

Whilst Evans stopped giving ON's to the J-series tablets, he continued to draw them into the *Handlist* in an «original» order (i.e. as if he were going to give them ON's) but he simply omitted to issue the ON's. This clear from the 13 pages of original *Handlist*, from the end of the listing of the *J1* tablets, which are preserved uncut. The tablets on these pages were re-drawn into the *Handlist* and the original pages, containing rough drawings, are tucked into the folder containing the *Concordance*.

There are also 7 pages, labelled «E.W. Corridor» containing a full list of all the shepherds' names from the *J1* tablets within the same folder. These names were clearly drawn by Evans in the order of the tablets within the original *Handlist*. The 7 pages comprise of two pages labelled (a) and (b) and five pages labelled from 1 (implied) to 5. The pages labelled (a) and (b) contain just over 100 shepherds' names from the tablets given ON's (i.e. 1103 to ~1270). As far as can be ascertained, the names follow the ON's of the tablets and, thus, correspond to the names at the beginning of the list of *J1* tablets. The shepherds' names, on the page labelled 5, include all the names on the 13 uncut pages of *Handlist* and are in the same order and, thus, are names from the end of the list of *J1* tablets.

When Evans re-ordered the tablets from the J-series and gave them RN's, the numbering followed directly on from the last number in the *Concordance*. The principle used for the sheep tablets was to move together tablets with the same toponym to the front of the list. So that the later tablets were tablets where the toponym had been lost. This re-ordering was done after all the *J1* tablets had been found since, some tablets from towards the end of the original list were moved towards the front of the revised list. The other J-series tablets followed on behind the *J1* tablets. None of these later tablets have ON's and many do not have RN's.

The *Scripta Minoa* numbering was probably imposed at a much later stage, when Evans had thoroughly studied the contents of the tablets in so far as he could understand them. In the *Scripta Minoa* numbering, tablets with the same logograms were pulled together and this frequently led to the find-places of tablets being ignored. The *J1*-series tablets were still grouped together according to toponyms but the tablets without toponyms were arranged according to the initial sign of the shepherds' names. [It is interesting to note that Evans was using the lists of shepherds' names as a basis for a Glossary for Linear B words. For example, against RN 1284 he entered the following series of *SM* numbers of tablets each containing the name *e-u-ko-ro*; 482, 1149, 1299, 1389.] The *Handlist* that Evans left was passed on to J. L. Myres, who took over responsibility for publication. It was possibly at this stage that, in attempt to impose control, the pages of the *Handlist* were numbered in red pencil and the final tablet numbers, given by Evans, were also written next to the drawings, again in red pencil, and these became the *Scripta Minoa* numbers.

APPENDIX B: THE MORE DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS ON FIND-PLACES

There are two cases where the complexity of the *Handlist* and *Concordance* is sufficiently great that is necessary to include a fuller discussion,

- the re-numbering of tablets at the end of the first season (including the tablets numbered RN 1531-1542), discussed in APPENDIX B.1.
- the tablets labelled «A», discussed in APPENDIX B.2.

B.1. THE RE-NUMBERING OF TABLETS AT THE END OF THE FIRST SEASON

It is already been noted that Palmer did an excellent job of trying to unravel the mysteries of Evans re-numbering. However, he does not appear to have asked the question: if the last tablet found in the first season has the number ON 917, why was the first tablet found in the second season given the number ON 924? In addition, his explanation of the tablets which he lists as ON 1531-1532 (*OKTi*, p. 32) is difficult and unconvincing. The aim of this section is to try to explain the complexities of the repeated re-numbering of the tablets that were listed at the end of the original *Handlist* in 1900.

We will be concentrating on the successive re-numbering of 7 groups of tablets,

- the *F18* tablets, ON 880-901
- the *B4* tablets, ON 902-906
- the *B5* tablet, ON 907
- the *I5* tablets, ON 908-911
- the *I3bis* tablet, ON 912
- the *I3* tablets labelled, «minor fragments from Bull Area», ON 913-917 (for present purposes these will be labelled *I3b*)
- the «1531-1542» group of tablets to be described below (which will be labelled «15»)

Each of the tablets listed above is included in the *Concordance* under a different number (if it is included at all). The following explanation will involve the re-numbering of tablets, at the end of the first season, between the original number (ON) and the number used to describe the tablet in the *Concordance* (i.e. before the number was changed to the Revised Number by the *Concordance*).

It is important to establish a foundation from which to build, in this case, this will be the main block of tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief, ON 637-879 (for present purposes, these will be labelled *I3a*). The tablets following this block were successively re-numbered in the manner outlined in TABLE B.1. (The detailed intermediate numbers are listed by Palmer in his *Concordance A, OKTi*, p. 27, 28, 32. In the process of this re-numbering some of the tablets from *F18* were omitted from the listing.)

TABLE B.1

Original Numbers	1st re-numbering	2nd re-numbering	3rd re-numbering
<i>I3a</i> : 637-879	<i>I3a</i> : 637-879	<i>I3a</i> : 637-879	<i>I3a</i> : 637-879
<i>F18</i> : 880-901	<i>I3b</i> : 880-884	<i>I3b</i> : 880-884	<i>I3b</i> : 880-884
<i>B4</i> : 902-906	<i>I3bis</i> : 885	<i>I3bis</i> : 885	«15»: 885-896
<i>B5</i> : 907	<i>F18</i> : 886-907	<i>B4</i> : 886-890	<i>I3bis</i> : 897
<i>I5</i> : 908-911		<i>B5</i> : 891	<i>I5</i> : 898-901
<i>I3bis</i> : 912		<i>I5</i> : 892-895	<i>F18</i> : 902-923
<i>I3b</i> : 913-917		<i>F18</i> : 996-917	

It is evident from TABLE B.1 that Evans was primarily trying to group together tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief, i.e. *I3a*, *I3b* and *I3bis*. By implication, Evans considered the «15» group of tablets to be from this area, because in the 4th re-arrangement these tablets were sandwiched between the *I3b* tablets and the *I3bis* tablet.

The 2nd re-numbering appears incomplete, as though Evans decided part way through to change and move to the 3rd re-numbering. The 3rd re-numbering was then changed to move in the «15» group of tablets; however, in the process of doing this, he omitted the *B4* and *B5* tablets (presumably in error). At the end of the 3rd re-numbering, the last numbered tablet is no. 923. Thus, when the tablets were found in the 1901 season, their numbering began at ON 924.

It seems probable that these re-numberings would have simply been done by Evans moving around the loose pages in the original *Handlist*, with successive numbers written against the drawings of each tablet. However, it is apparent that the re-numbering was not done rigorously, because of the omission of the *B4* and *B5* tablets. We can conjecture that this may have been because he overlooked the page containing those tablets. Thus, when Evans began to re-number the tablets the next time, after the completion of the second season (as described by his *Concordance*), there would have been duplication of numbers between these *B4* and *B5* tablets and

some of the tablets in the «15» group. In drawing up the *Concordance*, Evans used the numbers from the last column in TABLE B.1, except for the «15» group (which he omitted) and for the *B4* and *B5* tablets (where he used the numbers from the 2nd re-numbering). Again, we can conjecture that in the process of constructing the *Concordance*, he found the page containing the *B4* and *B5* tablets but, as a consequence, overlooked the pages containing the «15» group until the end of the re-numbering, at which point he inserted them as RN 1531-1542.

Evans interspersed the «15» group of tablets amongst the *I3* tablets during the final re-numbering for *Scripta Minoa* II. Thus, on two separate occasions, Evans moved the «15» group of tablets amongst the tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief; firstly, during the 3rd re-numbering described above and, secondly, during the re-numbering for *Scripta Minoa*.

The above explanation contains a higher level of conjecture than has been allowed in the remainder of the paper. However, it has the merit of fitting the facts in terms of the re-numberings of the individual tablets and also of giving a reason for the tablets, from the second season, beginning with number 924. It also gives some insight into the level of «quality control» being exercised as the tablets were successively re-numbered. Most importantly, it demonstrates that Evans believed that the «15» group of tablets were found in the Area of the Bull Relief. These tablets are listed in TABLE B.2.

TABLE B.2

ON	IN	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Notes
880/885		1531	1011	Uf(3)	123	
886		1532	1019	X		
887		1533	1003	V(5)	125	
888		1534	964	<i>Dk(1)</i>	120??	
889		1535	901	C(1)	107	
885/890		1536	1010	X		
886/891		1537	926	Dc	117	
887	773	1538?	974	X		
888/893		1539	924	Do	106	
889/894		1540	925	Dk(1)	120	
895		1541	853	F(2)		
896		1542	1000	Np(2)	134	

The sets Uf(3), Dk(1), Do, F(2) and Np(2) are predominantly found in the North Passage deposit of tablets. Similarly, the scribes 106, 120, 123, 125 and 134 are all found in that deposit. IN 773 would also correspond to the *I3* deposit.

The only problem with identifying all these tablets with *I2/I3* is Dc 926 (scribe 117) which would, at first sight, appear to be a stray from the main sheep archive (*J1*). However, the drawing for this tablet is clearly on the lined paper used in the 1900 season, whereas the main sheep archive was excavated in 1901 and 1902 and was drawn on plain paper. Thus, it is most unlikely that Dc 926 was actually excavated from *J1*. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Evans was correct and that it was excavated from *I3* along with the remainder of the «15» group of tablets.

B.2. THE TABLETS LABELLED «A»

There are 9 tablets which have the letter, A, in lieu of an original number in the *Concordance*. These tablets have RN's 617-620, 625, 658-661. It is clear from the position of these tablets, both in the *Concordance* and in the final *Scripta Minoa* numbering, that Evans thought they were from find-place, *F14*. It is possible to

identify 7 tablets with the appropriate values of RN. The list of tablets is given in TABLE B.3.

TABLE B.3

RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Notes
617	614	Ak(1)	103	
619	602	As(1)	103	
620	601	Am(1)	103	
658	592	L(7)	211?	
659	580	Ld(1)	116	(580) 575
660	660	X		
661	661	Ld(1)	116	(661) 598

The tablets *SM* 602, 592, 580, 661 each join onto tablets found in *F14*. The sets Ak(1), Am(1), As(1), Ld(1) and L(7) are each represented in *F14*.

The tablets listed in TABLE B.3 were amongst a group of tablets stolen by a workman in 1901 and sold to the National Museum in Athens. Evans refers to the incident in *Scripta Minoa* I and the full details of the Athens tablets were published by Chadwick (1962)³⁴. In addition, to the above tablets, the Athens tablets included L 471, Ai 632, Ak 640 and *SM* 8154-8169. In the case of L 471, this is included in the the *Handlist* but the drawing has no earlier numbers. Ai 632 has an earlier number of 621 (cf. the RN numbers in TABLE B.3). The page that contained the drawing of Ak 640 is missing from the *Handlist*. Evans clearly regarded *SM* 8154-8169 as too fragmentary to include in the *Handlist*. However, *SM* 8157 and 8169 both join to tablets found in *F14*. Evans noted in *SM* I (p.46) that the workman who stole the tablets had been excavating in *F14* before he hastily departed for Athens. On this basis, all the above tablets will be included as being from *F14*.

[Chadwick (1962) suggests that Evans had drawn or photographed the tablets before the theft. As already noted, there are no signs of systematic photography of the tablets. If the tablets had been drawn before the theft they would have had ON's. It is more likely that the workman hid the tablets as they were excavated and that Evans made the drawings, included in the *Handlist*, after he had found them in Athens.]

At the end of the sequence of tablets from *F14* in the *Concordance*, RN 662-667 are unassigned with ON's. In practice, there are tablets in the *Handlist* with numbers apparently corresponding to RN 662 & 663 (i.e. X 658 and Dd 659). It is possible that Evans inserted these two tablets into the space which he had left in the revised numbering. Although, Evans allocated these tablets to *F14*, Dd 659 is clearly from the main sheep archive (*J1*) because it joins with *SM* 1252 (ON 1264) from *J1* and one of these two fragments has the inked tablet no. IN 1254 (although it is not clear from Bennett's *Concordance* which of the two fragments carries that number). Thus, *SM* 659 was found in *J1* and strayed into *F14* during its documentation. No reliable find-place can be assigned to *SM* 658.

APPENDIX C: TABLES NOT ALLOCATED FIND-PLACES IN TABLES A-K

This brief section is included for completeness and is simply a list of the tablets that appear in the *Handlist* which are not included in TABLES A-K, together with a cross-reference to the discussion.

³⁴ I am grateful to J. L. Melena for drawing my attention to this paper.

TABLE C.1

<i>SM</i> number	Evans suggested find-place	Cross-reference
438	<i>E6</i>	SECTIONS 8.4 and 9.1.2
520	<i>F8</i>	SECTION 9.1.3
658-659	<i>F14</i>	APPENDIX B.2
678	<i>F17</i>	Original drawing missing no other nos. in <i>Handlist</i>
742	<i>H3</i>	SECTION 11.3
844	<i>I3</i>	Original drawing missing no other nos. in <i>Handlist</i>

APPENDIX D: ASSESSING THE NUMBER OF MEN'S NAMES IN THE FULL LINEAR B ARCHIVES

The aim of this Appendix is to try to estimate the number of different men's names that would have appeared in the full Linear B archives at Knossos and Pylos. This problem is analogous to that of trying to estimate the size of an 'alphabet' based on a short sample of text. Mackay developed a formula for the latter extrapolation based on the total number of letters in the text, *L*, and the number of different letters in the text, *M*, such that, the estimated size of the 'alphabet' is

$$L M / (L - M)$$

(see, for example, Duhoux, 1982). As the text becomes longer, $L / (L - M)$ tends to unity and the number of different letters in the text tends towards the total number of letters in the 'alphabet'.

In estimating the number of names in the full archive, we will use a similar formula. However, in order to overcome the difficulty caused by some names occurring a disproportionately large number of times (such as those of «collectors»), we will not count any name more than twice. On this basis, we will let *L* be the total number of names and *M* be the number of different names in the existing archive (so that *L* - *M* is the number of names which occur twice). Then estimate of the total number of names in the full archive as,

$$M M / (L - M)$$

In this case, if more of the archive was uncovered, $M / (L - M)$ would tend towards unity (since we are not counting any name more than once) and the total number of different men's names, *M*, would tend towards the number of names in the full archive.

This implicitly assumes that each name is mentioned at least twice in a full archive. This is a reasonable assumption as it would allow the archive to be used for cross-referencing, for example, the number of sheep in a shepherd's flock with the amount of wool produced or for organising groups of workers or military forces.

It should be emphasised that this is an extrapolation and therefore there is a relatively high level of uncertainty, nevertheless, it is a reasonable approach and we should not reject it because it is not perfect! If we consider the men's names from the known archives of Knossos and Pylos we obtain TABLE D.1

TABLE D.1

Site	Number of names found, <i>M</i>	Fraction of names found more than once, $(L - M) / M$	Estimated no. of names in full archive
KNOSSOS	933	0.24	3,900
PYLOS	731	0.34	2,200

(All estimates using this extrapolation have been rounded to two significant figures.)

The implication is that there were roughly twice as many different men's names used in the full Knossos archive than in the full Pylos archive.

We can derive some confirmation of the assessment for Knossos by considering the number of shepherds. Using the factor derived above, we can assess the number of shepherds on the full Knossos archive to have been 1000. If we assume that each shepherd had 100 sheep, on average, then the total number of sheep would have been 100,000. Given the level of extrapolation, this can be seen to be in good agreement with the value of 93,000 sheep estimated by Olivier (1967b).

If we make the simple assumption that the percentage Greekness of the signs can be translated into the percentage Greekness of the names in the full archive, then we can deduce the estimates given in TABLE D.2 (using the statistical analysis developed by Firth, 1992).

TABLE D.2: *Number of men's names in the Linear B archives*

Site	Known archive		Full archive	
	All names	Greek names	All names	Greek names
KNOSSOS	933	532	3,900	2,200
PYLOS	731	643	2,200	1,900

[The above discussion of the Knossos names implicitly assumes that they were all contemporary. That assumption has been questioned by Driessen (1990) who suggests that the archives from the Room of the Chariot Tablets pre-date the remaining tablet by at least one generation. However, the above estimate of the total number of names is insensitive to the removal of the *RCT* tablets (i.e. the assessment still gives roughly 4,000 names, including roughly 2,000 Greek names).]

There are a surprisingly large number of names which appear at two or more different Linear B sites. We can use this finding as a basis for assessing the number of different Linear B Greek men's names that would have appeared on all these archives.

If we let the Pylos and Knossos men's names represent the main pool of names, Group A, and take the Mycenae & Thebes names as the secondary pool of names, Group B. Using the statistical technique described by Firth (1992), we can assess the number of Greek names, as shown in TABLE D.3.

TABLE D.3

	No. of Greek names
Group A (Knossos + Pylos)	1,037
Group B (Mycenae + Thebes)	76
Names in both Group A and Group B	36

Then, using the probabilistic formula described in SECTION 15.1 of the main text, we can assess the total number of different Greek men's names on all these archives to have been $(1037 \times 76 / 36) = 2,200$.

This number is remarkably similar to the estimated number of Greek names on the full archives at Pylos and Knossos, which were 1,900 and 2,200, respectively. All three of these numbers are effectively the same given the uncertainties inherent in the extrapolations. Therefore, the conclusion is that there would have been roughly 2,000 different Linear B Greek men's names used on the full Linear B archives.

[It would be over-ambitious to assume that we can extrapolate from the known Linear B archives from four sites and state with confidence that there were only about 2,000 different Greek men's names throughout Greece in the Late Bronze Age.]

At first sight, 2,000 names seems to be a relatively small number. However, on reflection, perhaps we should not be surprised that there were not an endless number of names. McDonald and Rapp (1972) estimated that the total population of the South West Peloponnese was upwards of 50,000 people. We can estimate that about 15,000 of these people were adult males. However, this number of men were distributed over an area of nearly 4,000 sq.km. Thus, 2000 men's names would be more than adequate for most purposes and the limiting requirement would be to distinguish between individuals in the main towns and on the Palace archives.

APPENDIX E: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TABLETS FROM THE MAIN SHEEP ARCHIVE

This Appendix contains a statistical analysis of the information in TABLE J.i. This analysis is based on an assessment of the mean and standard distribution of the DO's from TABLE J.i, grouped according to *KT5* classification (i.e. Da, Db etc.), toponym or «collector».

If the tablets, from each of the original archive files, had fallen without being mixed with tablets from other files, then the standard deviation of the corresponding group of DO's (representing the spread of tablets) would be small and the mean would be indicative of the original position of the file relative to the others. On the other hand, if the files of tablets had become thoroughly intermingled then the standard deviation of each group would be relatively large and the mean for each group would be approximately equal to the mean DO. In practice, the results of this analysis show that the tablets from the main sheep archive are intermediate between these two extremes. In other words, there is clear evidence of ordering of the tablets but that ordering is not sufficiently good that the original files can be reconstructed with confidence.

Initially this analysis was done for all DO's between 1 and 375, omitting only the middle and end pieces of tablet which Evans moved to the end of his list. However, on closer inspection of the joined tablets, it became clear that there were an unusually large number of joins with tablets with high DO's, possibly indicating that these were pieces recovered by sieving after the excavation of the bulk of the tablets had been completed. In order to avoid these randomised tablets, the analysis described here uses only DO 1 to 250. The results of the analysis are given in TABLES E.1 to E3.

TABLE E.1

Classification	mean	standard deviation
Da	129	64
Db	142	72
Dc	192*	48
Dd	148	61
De	137	65
Df	159	84
Dg	116	70
Dk(2)	71	85
Dm	104	87
Dn	97	48

TABLE E.2

Toponym	mean	standard deviation
<i>ra-su-to</i>	66	17
<i>ra-to</i>	68	32
<i>u-ta-no</i>	71	46
<i>su-ri-mo</i>	74*	46
<i>e-ra</i>	84	74
<i>*56-ko-we</i>	90***	16
<i>e-ko-so</i>	102**	27
<i>ri-jo-no</i>	102	37
<i>ra-ja</i>	110	103
<i>da-wo</i>	112	76
<i>a-ka</i>	120	79
<i>qa-mo</i>	120	55
<i>ku-ta-to #</i>	127	64
<i>qa-ra</i>	138**	39
<i>ti-ri-to ##</i>	145*	45
<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	175	32
<i>da-*22-to</i>	182	48
<i>pa-i-to</i>	189	36
<i>do-ti-ja</i>	200*	29
<i>ru-ki-to</i>	217	24

scribe 117 tablets only
scribe 117 and 216 tablets

TABLE E.3

Collector	mean	standard deviation
<i>a-ka-i-jo</i>	200	66
<i>a-ka-ta-jo</i>	92	114
<i>a-te-jo</i>	151	87
<i>da-mi-ni-jo ##</i>	145	82
<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>	32*	20
<i>u-ta-jo</i>	118	82
<i>we-we-si-jo</i>	200*	35
<i>ku-ta-to with da-mi-ni-jo #</i>	179	47
<i>ku-ta-to without da-mi-ni-jo #</i>	86	41
<i>pa-i-to with we-we-si-jo</i>	195	35
<i>pa-i-to without we-we-si-jo</i>	184	39

scribe 117 tablets only.
scribe 117 and 119 tablets.

[In some cases, a small number of tablets have been omitted, if that gives a marked reduction in the standard deviation. The number of asterisks shown in the above tables represents the number of tablets that have been omitted from each group.]

The *KT5* classification was originally introduced before Linear B had been deciphered. The tablets from the main sheep archive by scribe 117 were classified

according to the logograms, with no attempt to reflect the original distribution of the tablets in the archive. Therefore, it is not surprising that the standard deviations in TABLE E.1 are relatively large, demonstrating that the *KT5* classifications do not align with the original filing of the tablets. The Dc and Dn groupings have smaller standard deviations. In the case of the Dc tablets, this is probably due to the fact that the 'pe' sheep, listed in these tablets, are predominantly associated with a limited number of toponyms. The Dn group of tablets could represent an actual file from the original archive, comprising tablets listing the totals of sheep in the different categories.

In view of the cluster of Dk(2) tablets at the beginning of TABLE J.i, it is surprising, at first sight, that the standard deviation for this group is so high. In practice, it seems likely that the Dk(2) tablets were divided between two different files.

The Dm tablets appear each to have been filed with the other tablets from the named toponyms, rather than filed together, as they are given in *KT5*.

TABLE E.2 shows the analysis of tablets from the same toponym. In this case, there are several examples of smaller standard deviations, indicating that these tablets were actually filed together in the original archive. This is not surprising since filing by toponym is the most practical way to file the sheep tablets (certainly for tablets that do not contain the name of a «collector»).

The toponyms in TABLE E.2 have been listed according to the mean DO's given in the second column. It could be argued that there is a little evidence for tablets from the same region being near each other. However, there is not a close correspondence between the adjacent toponyms in TABLE E.2 and the pairs of toponyms in the Dn-series.

Finally, TABLE E.3 gives the analysis of grouping by «collector». This table gives a mixed message. There appears to be clear evidence that the tablets associated with *pe-ri-qa-te-jo* and *we-we-si-jo* are each clustered. However, the tablets of *u-ta-jo* show little evidence of being grouped together.

The *da-mi-ni-jo* tablets written by scribes 117 and 119 do not appear to have been filed together. Further, the *ku-ta-to* tablets written by scribe 117 appear to have been in two separate files depending on whether they were associated with *da-mi-ni-jo* or not. By contrast, it is not possible to distinguish statistically between the group of *we-we-si-jo* tablets and those naming *pa-i-to*. Nevertheless, it seems evident that the original filing of the tablets took some note of «collectors' names».

TABLE A

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
A	1		1	Fp(1)	138		
	2		2	Fs	139		
	3		3	Fs			
	4		4	Fs	139	R BETA	
	5		5	Fp(1)	138	R ALPHA	
	6		6	Fp(1)	138		
	7		7	Fp(1)	138		
	8		8	Fs	139		
	9		9	Fs	139		
	10		10	Gg	138		
	11		11	Fs	139		
	12		12	Fs	139		
	13		13	Fp(1)	138		
	14		14	Fp(1)	138	R ALPHA	
	15		15	Fp(1)	138		
	16		16	Fp(1)	138		
	17		17	Fs	139		
	18		18	Fp(1)	138		
	19		19	Fs	139		
	20		20	Fs	139		
	21		21	Fs	139	R BETA	
	22		22	Fs	139		
	23		23	Fs	139		
	24		24	Fs	139		
	25		25	Fs	139	R BETA	
	26		26	Fs	139		
	27		27				(27) 14
	28		28				(28) 14
	29		29	Fs	139		
	30		30	Fp(1)	138		
	31		31				(31) 1
	32		32	Fs			
	33		33	C			

Note: Fp(1) 13 was omitted from *K75*.

TABLE B

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>B2</i>	34		40	As	101		
	35		41	B			
	36		36bis	X			SM 1801
	37		37bis				(37bis) 1801
<i>B4</i>	902	886/720	42	Dq(3)	217		
	903	887/721	43	Dp			
	904	888/722	44	X			
	905	889/723	45	Dq(3)	217		
	906	890/724	46	Dq(3)	217		
<i>B5</i>	907	891/725	700	K			
<i>B1</i>	1088?	726?	39	X			**
	1089	728	35	X			
	1090	727	36	E			
	1091	729	37	X			
	1093	731	38	X		L ALPHA	

Notes:

The «Area beyond W. Wall» (*B4*) and the «W. area: Nr S.W. Entrance» (*B5*) are both in the Western Court of the palace.

** *SM* 39 does not have an ON or RN in the *Handlist*. The inked number on *SM* 39 appears to be 1089, but 1088 is not excluded (J. L. Melena, private communication).

TABLE C

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
C	48		48	Fp(1)	138		
	49		49	U(1)	«124»		
	50		50	Ce	124		
	51		51	F(1)	«124»d		
	52		52	V			
	53		53	Vc(1)	«124»		
	54		54	Vc(1)	«124»		
	55		55	Vc(1)	«124»		
	56		56	V(1)	«124»		
	57		57	V(1)	«124»		
	58		58	Xd	«124»		
	58		58bis	Og	«124»		[58bis] 1804
	59		59	Ce	124		
	60		60	V(2)	124		
	61		61	Ce	124		
	62		62	Vd	«124»q		
	63		63	Ai(1)	«124»b		
	64		64	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	65		65	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	66		66	Vc(1)	«124»s	R GAMMA	
	67		67	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	68		68	Vc(1)	«124»		
	69		5097	Xd	«124»		
	70		70	Xd	«124»r		
	71		71	E(1)	«124»		
	72		72	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	73		73	Vc(1)	«124»		
	74		74	Vc(1)	«124»r	R GAMMA	
	75		75	Xd	«124»		
	76		76	Ce	«124»		
	77		77	V(1)	«124»		
	78		78	Xd	«124»		
	79		79	Uf(1)	«124»		
	80		80	Xd	«124»		
	81		81	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	82		82	Xd	«124»r		
	83		83	Vc(1)	«124»		
	84		84	Xd	«124»		
	84		84bis	Ai	«124»		[84bis] 1805 **#
	85		85	Np(1)	«124»e		#
	86		86	Xd	«124»		
	87		87	Ag	«124»a	ALPHA THUMB	
	88		88	Ag	«124»a	ALPHA THUMB	
	89		89	Ag	«124»a		
	90		90	Ag	«124»a		
	91		91	Ag	«124»a	ALPHA THUMB	
	92		92	Xd	«124»		
	93		93	Xd	«124»		

TABLE C (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>C</i> (cont.)	94		94	Xd	«124»		
	95		95	U(1)	«124»		
	96		96	<i>U(I)</i>			
	97		97	Xd	«124»		
	98		98	Xd	«124»		
	99		99	Xd	«124» _r		
	100		100	Xd	«124»		
	101		101	B(4)	«124»		
	102		102	Vc(1)	«124» _s		
	103		103	Sc	«124» _i		
	104		104	L	«124»		
	105		105	Xd	«124»	R LAMBDA	
	106		106	Vc(1)	«124»		
	107		107	Xd	«124»		
	108		108	Vc(1)	«124» _s		
	109		109	U(1)	«124» _p		
	110		110	Xd	«124»		
	111		111	Uf(1)	«124»	L BETA	
	112		112	Xd	«124»		
	113		113	Ce	«124»		
	114		114	V(1)	«124»		
	115		115	Ai(1)	«124» _b		
	116		116	Xd	«124»		
	117		117	V(2)	124		
	118		118	V(1)	124		
	119		119	Xd	«124»		
	120		120	Uf(1)	«124»	R DELTA	
	121		121	Uf(1)	«124» _n		
	122		122	Xd	«124»		
	123		123	Vc (1)	«124» _s		
	124		124	U (1)	«124» _p		
	125		125	Vc (1)	«124» _s		
	126		126	Vc (1)	«124» _s		
	127		127	Vc (1)	«124» _s		
	128		128				(128) 105
	129		129	Vc(1)	«124»		
	130		130	Sc	«124» _g		
	131		131	Xd	«124»		
	132		132	E(1)	«124»		
	133		133	Xd	«124» _s		
	134		134				(134) 111
	135		135	Sc	«124»		
	136		136	Vd	«124»		
	137		137	Vd	«124»		
	137		137bis	Vd	«124»		(137bis) 7545
	138		138	Vd	«124» _q		
	139		139	Ce	«124»		
	140		140	Xd	«124»		
	141		141	Xd	«124» _r		
	142		142	Xd	«124» _r		

TABLE C (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>C</i> (cont.)	143		143	Xd	«124»		
	144		144	Ce	124		
	145		145	V(2)	«124»		
	146		146	Xd	«124»		
	147		147	V(2)	124		
	148		148	Xd	«124»		
	149		149	Xd	«124»		
	150		150	V (1)	«124»	R DELTA	
	151		151				{151} 60
	152		152	Ce	«124»		
	153		153	F(1)	«124»		
	154		154	Xd	«124»		
	155		155				(155) 146
	156		156	Ce	«124»		
	157		157	F(1)	«124»d		
	158		158				(158) 114
	159		159	V(2)	«124»		
	160		160	Uc	«124»d		
	161		161	Uc	«124»		
	162		162	Ce	«124»		
	163		163	Ce	«124»		
	164		164	B(4)	«124»		
	165		165	E(1)	«124»		
	166		166	Xd	«124»		
	167		167	Xd	«124»		
	168		168	Xd	«124»		
	169		169	Xd	«124»		
	170		170	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	171		171	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	172		172	U(1)	«124»		
	173		173	Vc(1)	«124»		
	174		174	Vc(1)	«124»s	R EPSILON	
	175		175	Vc(1)	«124»s	R EPSILON	
	176		176	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	177		177	Vc(1)	«124»s	R EPSILON	
	178		178	L	«124»		
	179		179	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	180		180	Og(1)	«124»		
	181		181	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	182		182	Xd	«124»		
	183		183	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	184		184	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	185		185	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	186		186	Xd	«124»		
	187		187				(187) 94
	188		188	Vc(1)	«124»		
	189		189	Xd	«124»r		
	190		190	Ai(1)	«124»b		
	191		191	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	192		192	L	«124»		

TABLE C (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>C</i> (cont.)	193		193	F(1)	«124»		
	194		194	Ai(1)	«124»b		
	195		195	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	196		196				(196) 98
	197		197	Xd	«124»r		
	198		198	Uf(1)	«124»o		
	199		199	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	200		200	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	201		201	Vc(1)	«124»		
	202		202	Xd	«124»		
	203		203	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	204		204	Xd	«124»	ALPHA THUMB	
	205		205	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	206		206	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	207		207	Xd	«124»		
	208		208	Vc(1)	«124»s	L BETA	
	209		209	Xd	«124»s		
	210		210	V(1)	«124»		
	211		211	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	212		212	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	213		213	B(4)	«124»	L GAMMA	
	214		214	Xd	«124»	L GAMMA	
	215		215	Vc(1)	«124»r		
	216		216	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	217						
	218						
	219						
	220	217	217	Sc	«124»		
	221	218	218	Sc	«124»f		
	222	219	219	Sc	«124»k		
	223	220	220	Sc	«124»		
	224	221	221	Sc	«124»i		
	225	222	222	Sc	«124»		
	226	223	223	Sc	«124»	L BETA	
	227	224	224	Sc	«124»m		
	228	225	225	Sc	«124»f?		
	229	226	226	Sc	«124»i?		
	230	227	227	Sc	«124»m		
	231	228	228				(228) 224
	232	229	229	Sc	«124»m		
	233	230	230	Sc	«124»f		
	234	231	231				(231) 130
	235	232	232	Sc	«124»g		
	236	233	233	Sc	«124»		
	237	234	234	Sc	«124»		
	238	235	235	Sc	«124»g		
	239	236	236	Sc	«124»k		
	240	237	237	Sc	«124»k		
	241*	241	241	Sc	«124»		
	241	238	238	Sc	«124»h		

TABLE C (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>C</i> (cont.)	242	239	239	Sc	«124»		
	243	240	240	Sc	«124»		
	244	242	242	Sc	«124»		
	245	243	243	Sc	«124»f		
	246	244	244	Sc	«124»		
	247	245	245	Sc	«124»f?		
	248	246	246	Sc	«124»		
	249	247	247	Sc	«124»f		
	250	248	248	Sc	«124»		
	251	249	249	Sc	«124»		
	252	250	250	Sc	«124»f		
	253	251	251	Sc	«124»		
	254	252	252	Sc	«124»		
	255	253	253	Sc	«124»k		
	256	254	254	Sc	«124»i		
	257	255	255	Sc	«124»j		
	258	256	256	Sc	«124»		
	259	257	257	Sc	«124»h		
	260	258	258	Sc	«124»		
	261	259	259	Sc	«124»		
	262	260	260	Sc	«124»		
	263	261	261	Sc	«124»f		
	264	262	262	Sc	«124»		
	265	263	263	Sc	«124»f		
	266	264	264	Sc	«124»		
	267	265	265				(265) 249
	268	266	266	Sc	«124»m		
	327	267	267	Np(1)	«124»e	R ETA	
	328	268	268	Np(1)	«124»e		
	329	269	269	Np(1)	«124»e		
	330	270	270	Np(1)	«124»e		
	331	271	271	Np(1)	«124»e	R ETA	
	332	272	272	Np(1)	«124»e	R ETA	
	333	273	273	Np(1)	«124»e		
	334	274	274	Np(1)	«124»e		
	335	275					
	336	276	276	Np(1)	«124»e		
	337	277	277	Np(1)	«124»e		
	338	278	278	Np(1)	«124»e		
	339	279	279				[279] 278
	340	280	280	V(2)	«124»		
	341	281	281				(281) 178
	342	282	282	Xd	«124»		
	343	283	283	Ce	«124»		
	344	284	284				(284) 97
	345	285	285	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	346	286	286	Np(1)	«124»e		
	347	287	287	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	348	288	288	E(1)	«124»		
	349	289	289	Vc(1)	«124»		

TABLE C (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>C</i> (cont.)	350	290	290	Vc(1)	«124»		
	351	291	291	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	352	292	292	Xd	«124»		
	353	293	293	Vc(1)	«124»		
	354	294	294	Xd	«124»		
	355	297	297	Xd	«124»		
	356	295	295	<i>Vc(1)</i>	«124»?		
	357	296	296	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	358	298	298	Xd	«124»		
	359	299	299	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	360	300	300	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	361	301	301	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	362	302	302	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	363	303	303	Vc(1)	«124»		
	364	304	304	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	365	305	305	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	366	306	306	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	367	307	307	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	368	308	308	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	369	309	309	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	370	310	310	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	371	311	311	<i>Uff(1)</i>	«124»?		
	372	312	312	Vc(1)	«124»s		
	373	313	313	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	374	314	314	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	375	315	315				[315] 7568
	376	316	316	<i>Vc(1)</i>	«124»?		
	377	317	317	<i>Vc(1)</i>	«124»?		
	378	318	318	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	379	319	319	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	380	320	320	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	381	321	321	<i>Ai(1)</i>	«124»?		
	381b	322	322	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	382	323	323	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	383	324	324	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	384	325	325	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	385	326	326	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	386	327	327	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	387	328	328	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	388	329	329	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	389	330	330	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	390	331	331	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	391	332	332	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	391b	333	333	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	392	334	334	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	393	335	335	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	394	336	336	<i>Xd</i>	«124»?		
	395	337	337	V(2)	«124»		

Notes:

SM 85, 86 have the note to the effect that they begin with sign 77 (i.e. *ka*) and that other signs are wanting, however, there are no drawings in the original *Handlist*.

** based on inked tablet numbers

TABLE D

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>D</i>	396	338	338	Ai			

TABLE E

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>EI</i>	397	339	339	Fh	141		
	398	340	340	Fh	141		
	399	341	341	Fh	141		
	400	342	342	Fh	141		
	401	343	343	Fh	141		
	402	344	344	Fh	141		
	403	345	345	Fh	141		
	404	346	346	Fh	141?		
	405	347	347	Fh	141		
	406	348	348	Fh	141		
	407	349	349	Fh	141	R IOTA	
	408	350	350	Fh	141		
	409	351	351	Fh	141		
	410	352	352	Fh	141		
	411	353	353	Fh	141		
	412	354	354	<i>Fp(2)</i>	222?		
	413	355	355	Fh	141		
	414	356	356	Fh	141		
	415	357	357	Fh	141		
	416	358	358	Fh	141		
	417	359	359	Fh	141		
	418	360	360	Fh	141	L DELTA	
	419	361	361	Fh	141		
	420	362	362	<i>Fh</i>			
	421	363	363	<i>Fp(2)</i>	222		
	422	364	364	Fh	141?		
	423	365	365	Fh	141?		
	424	366	366	Fh	141		
	425	367	367	Fh	141		
	426	368	368	Fh	141		
	427	369	369	Fh	141		
	428	370	370	Fh	141		
	429	371	371	Fh	141		
	430	372	372	Fh	141	L DELTA	
	431	373	373	Fh	141		
	432	374	374	Fh	141??		
	433	375	375	Fh	141		
	434	376	376	Fh	141??		
	435	377	377	Fh	141		
	436	378	5501	Fh	141?		
	437	379	378	Fh	141??		
	438	380	379	Fh	141??		
	439	381	380	Fh	141		
	440	382	381	Fh	141??		
	441	383	382	Fh	141??		
	442	384	383	Fh	141??		

TABLE E (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>E1</i> (cont.)	443	385	384	Fh	141??		
	444	386	385	Fh	141??		
	445	387	386	Fh	141?		
	446	388	387	Fh	141??		
	447	389					*
	448	390	388	Fh	141??		
	449	391	389	Fh	141??		
	450	392	390	Fh	141??		
	451	393	391	Fh	141??		
	452	394	392	Fh	141??		
<i>E1bis</i>	453	395	393	Fh	141	R IOTA	
	454	413	733	Oa			
<i>E5</i>	455	396	394	C			
	456	397	415	Ga(2)	136		
	457	398	416	Ga(2)	136	R THETA	
	458	399	417	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	
	459	400	418	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	
	460	401	419	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	
	461	402	420	Ga(2)	136		
	462	403	421	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	
	463	404	423	Ga(2)	136		
	464	405	424	Ga(2)	136		
	465	406	425	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	
	466	407	426	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	
	467	408	427	Ga(2)	136	R THETA	
	468	409	428	Ga(2)	136?		
	469	410	429	V(3)	115		
	470	411	430	X			
	471	412	431	V(3)	115		
	472	414	395	X			SM 7900
	473	415	396	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	SM 7426
	474	416	397	Ga(2)	136	R KAPPA	SM 7425
475	417	398	Ga(2)	136		SM 7431	
<i>E2</i>	476	418	432	Uf			
<i>E3</i>	476b	419	711	Gg			
<i>E4</i>	477	420	433	L			
<i>E6</i>	478	421	434	K			
	479	422	437	U			
	479b	481/423	436	U			
	480	424	435	X			
	481		5089	C			
	482	425	5090	L			

Note: SM 399-407 do not appear as drawings in the *Handlist*. There is simply the statement, in ink, «Minor fragments», followed by a later remark, in red pencil, «no drawings».

* see drawing in SECTION 8.1

TABLE F.i

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>F1</i>	483	427	439	Dq(1)	121		
	484	428	440	Dq(1)	121		
	485	429	441	Dq(1)	121		
	486	430	442	Dq(3)	217		
	487	431	443	X			
	488	432	444	X			
	489	433	445	<i>Dq(3)</i>	217?		
	<i>F2</i>	*42		446	<i>Lc(2)</i>	113?	
42			447	Dq(1)	121		
42bis			410	X			
43			449	Dq(1)	121		
45			448	Dq(1)	121		
45			47	DI			
46			5802				(5802) 450
47			450	X			
47			47bis	Dq(1)	121		SM 1803
494		434	451	X			
<i>F15</i>	38		671	Dk(1)	120		
	39		672	Dq(1)	121		
	40		673	Ga(2)	136		cf. E5
	41		41bis	X			SM 1802

Note: It is difficult to recover the Original Numbering of the F2 tablets from the *Handlist* alone. The above numbers are based on a combination of *Handlist* and Inked Numbers.

TABLE F.ii

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>F3</i>	490	438	452	F			
	491	435	453	X	138?		
	492	436	454	<i>Ga(3)</i>	223?		
	493	437	455	L(3)	207		
	495	439	456	<i>Ga(3)</i>	223?		
	496	440	457	Ga			SM 5088
	497	441	458	X			
	498	442	459	X			
	499	443	460	<i>L(6)</i>	210?		
	500	444	1616				{1616}455
	501	445	461	Ga			
	502	446	462	Fh	141?		
	503	447	469	L(6)	210		
	504	448	409	X			
	503b	449	472	L(6)	210		
	504b	450	473	L(3)	207		R LAMBDA
	505	451	463	<i>DI(1)</i>	118?		
	506	452	464	Ga(3)	223		
	507	453	465	Ga(3)	223		
	524b	454	466	V(3)	115		
584	455	467	M				
585	456	468	X				

TABLE F.ii (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>F3</i> (cont.)	586	746	578	L			
	587	457	1615	D			
<i>F4</i>	508	458	476	X			SM 7633
	509	459	476bis	X			SM 7776
	510	460	477	X			SM 7559
<i>F5</i>	511	461	7116	DI			
	512	462	478	X			SM 7632
	513	463	7894	X			

Note: In the *Concordance* of *KT5* *SM* 476 is simply listed as (476), whereas in *KT4* it was listed as <476> 7633, but tablet 7633 is not missing. The *Handlist* clearly shows that *SM* 476 has the signs, *tu-ni-ja*, as *SM* 7633.

TABLE F.iii

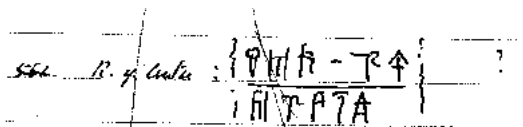
Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes	
<i>F6</i>	514	464	479	V(3)	115		parts found in <i>F7</i>	
	515	465	480	L(4)	208			
	516	466	710	Gg				
	517	467	481	Lc(2)	113, 115			
	518	468	483	Lc(2)	113, 115			
	519	469	485	Od	115			
	520	470	486	Od	115			
	521	471	487	Od	115			
	522	473	488	V(3)	115			
	523	474	484	L(4)	208			
	524	475	489	L(4)	208?			
	525	476	5019	Og				
	526	477/478	490	X			SM 5037	
	<i>F16</i>	527	479	491	L			
		528	480	492	V(3)	115		
<i>F7a</i>	529	481	493	Pp	119			
	530	482	495	Pp	119			
	531	483	494	Pp	119			
	532	484	496	Pp	119			
	533	485	497	Pp	119			
	534	486	498	Pp	119			
	535	487	499	Pp	119			
	536	488	500				(500) 493	
<i>F7</i>	537	696	706	Gg(4)	220			
	538	697	707	Gg(4)	220			
	539	698	708	Gg(4)	220			
	540	489	621	Ak(2)	108			
	541	490	622	Ak(2)	108			
	542	491	504	Lc(2)	113, 115			
	543	492	501	L	209?			
	544	493	502	Od				
	545	494	-					
	546	495	513	L(5)	209			
547	496	514	L					

TABLE F.iii (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>F7</i> (cont.)	548	497	515	L(4)	208		
	549	498	613	Ak(2)	108		
	550	702	712	Gg			(712) 521
	551	499	586	L	103?		
	552	500	631	Ak(2)	108?		
	553	501	581	Lc(2)	113, 115		
	554	502	516	L(4)	208		
554b	521b/472	482		V(3)	115		
	555	503	505	L			SM 7514
	556	504	506	X			
	557	505	507	Lc(2)	113, 115		SM 7377
	558	506	509	V(3)	115		SM 7513
	559	507	508	X			SM 7546
	560	508	508bis	L			SM 7375
	561	509	509bis	Ak(2)			SM 1807 **
	562	510	635	Ak(2)	108		SM 7022
	563	511	510	V(3)	115		SM 7620
	564	512	475	L(4)	208		***
	576	519	503	V(3)	115		
	577	516	615	Ak(2)	108		
	578	517	616	Ak(2)	108		
	579	518	627	Ak(2)	108		
	580	-	5033	X			
	581	520	511	D			(511) 411
	582	521	512	Lc(2)	113, 115		
	583	522	636	Ak(2)	108		

Note: There is disagreement between the *Handlist* and the *Concordance* on the Revised Numbers for ON 526. The numbers given are from the *Concordance*. The numbers given in the *Handlist* are 486, 487.

** The description of SM 509bis given in *CoMIK* vol.II is based on the Linear B font used in *Scripta Minoa* II. The drawing in the *Handlist* is copied below,



It is suggested that the present reading of this tablet should be modified and should now be

1.] ko-wa o 10 me-zo[
2. ko-]wa me-u-jo-e [

*** based on inked number.

TABLE F.iv

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes	
<i>F8</i>	924	524	517	Ga(1)	135			
	925	525	518	<i>Ga(1)</i>	135?			
	926	526	570	Od(1)	103			
	927	527	617	Ak(2)	108		cf. <i>F7</i> , **	
	928	528	519	<i>Ga(1)</i>	135?			
	929	529	521	Gg			cf. <i>SM</i> 712 from <i>F7</i>	
	930	530	522	X				
	931	531	523	L				
	<i>F9</i>	931b	532	524	Xe	103		
	<i>F10</i>	932	533	525	Lc(1)	103		
933		534	526	Lc(1)	103			
934		535	527	Lc(1)	103			
935		536	528	Lc(1)	103	R SIGMA		
935b		537	529	Lc(1)	103			
936		538	530	Lc(1)	103			
937		539	531	Lc(1)	103			
938		540	532	Lc(1)	103			
939		541	533	Lc(1)	103			
940		542	534	Lc(1)	103			
941		543	540	Lc(1)	103			
942		544	541	Lc(1)	103			
943		545	542				(542) 531	
944		546	543	Lc(1)	103			
945		547	544	Xe	103			
946		967a/568	547	Lc(1)	103			
947		548	550	Lc(1)	103	R SIGMA		
948		549	549	Lc(1)	103			
949		550	551	Lc(1)	103			
950		551	545				(545) 529	
951		552	548	Lc(1)	103	R CHI		
952		553	552	Lc(1)	103	R SIGMA		
953		554	553	Lc(1)	103			
954		555	554				(554) 532	
955		556	555	Lc(1)	103	R CHI		
956		557	556				<i>SM</i> 557	
957		558	557	Lc(1)	103			
958		559	689	Od(1)	103			
959		560	558	Lc(1)	103			
960		561	559	M(1)	103			
961		562	560	Lc(1)	103			
962		563	535	Lc(1)	103			
963	564	536	Lc(1)	103				
964	565	537	Xe	103				
965	566	538				(538) 535		
966	567	546	Lc(1)	103				
967	569	539	Od(1)	103				
<i>F11</i>	968	570	561	Lc(1)	103			
	969	571	562	Od(1)	103			
	970	572	563	Od(1)	103			

TABLE F.iv (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>F12</i>	971	573	564	L			
	971b	573*	565	L		R CHI	
<i>F13</i>	972	574	566	As(1)	103		
	973	575	567	L(1)	103		
	974	576	597	Am(1)	103		
	975	577	569	Vc(2)	115		**
	976	578	568	Am(1)	103		
<i>F14</i>	977	579	571	Ld(1)	116		
	978	580	572	Ld(1)	116		
	979	581	573	Ld(1)	116		
	980	582	574	Ld(1)	116		
	981	583	579	Ld(1)	116		
	982	584	583	Ld(1)	116		
	983	585	584	Ld(1)	116		
	983		582	Lc(1)	103		
	984	586	585	Ld(1)	116		
	985	587	575	Ld(1)	116		
	986	588	576	Ld(1)	116		
	987	589	577	Ld(1)	116		
	988	590					
	989	591	591	Ld(1)	116		
	990	592	649	Ld(1)	116		
	991	593	623				(623) 618
	992	594	594	L(1)	103		
	993	595	600	Am(1)	103	R ZETA	
	994	596	598	Ld(1)	116		
	995	597	638	Ak(1)	103		
	996	608	596				(596) 587
	997	598	588	L			
	998	599	599	<i>Ld(1)</i>	116?		
	999	600					
	1000	601	610	Ak(1)	103		
	1001	602	611	Ak(1)	103		
	1002	603	612	Ak(1)	103		
	1003	604	1568	Ln	103		
	1004	605	641	Le	103		
	1005	606	639	Ap	103		
	1006	607	637	Ap	103		
	1007	609	618	Ap	103		
	1008	610	608	As(1)	103		
	1009	611	607	As(1)	103		
1010	612	603	As(1)	103			
1011	613	604	As(1)	103			
1012	614	605	As(1)	103			
1013	615	606				(606) 604	
1014	616	609	As(1)	103			
1015	621	629	Ap	103			
1016	622	668	E(2)	103			
1017	623	669	E(2)	103			
1018	624	474	L(7)	211		**	

TABLE F.iv (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>F14</i> (cont.)	1019	626	670	E(2)	103		
	1020	627	593	L(2)	103		**
	1021	628	587	Ld(1)	116		
	1022	629	666	Od	115		
	1023	630	634	Ak(1)	103		
	1024	631	662				(662) 646
	1025	632	664	<i>Xe</i>	103?		
	1026	633	667	Od			
	1027	634	624	Ak(1)	103		
	1028	635	628	Ap	103		
	1029	636	654	Le	103		
	1030	637	625				{625} 608
	1031	638	653	V(4)	103		
	1032	639	642	Le	103		
	1033	640	656	<i>Ld(1)</i>	116?		
	1034	641	626	Ak(1)	103		
	1035	642	630	Ak(1)	103		
	1036	643	645	Ak(1)	103		
	1037	644	650				(650) 602
	1038	645	619	Ak(1)	103		
	1039	646	651	L	103		
	1040	647	620	Ak(1)	103		
	1041	648	652	V(4)	103		
	1042	649	655	V(3)	115		
	1043	650	663				(663) 592
	1044	651	665				(665) 600
	1045	652	643	Ak(1)	103		
	1046	653	644				(644) 588
	1047	654	646	Lc	103		
	1048	655	647	L(2)	103		
	1049	656	648	L(1)	103		
	1050	657	657	<i>Xe</i>	103?		
A	617	614	614	Ak(1)	103		
A	619	602	602	As(1)	103		
A	620	601	601	Am(1)	103		
A	658	592	592	L(7)	211?		
A	659	580	580				(580) 575
A	660	660	660	X			
A	661	661	661				(661) 598
A		471	471	L(7)	211		
A		632	632	Ai			
A		640	640	Ak			
A		8154	8154	X			
A		8155	8155				(8155) 8154
A		8156	8156				{8156} 8154
A		8157	8157				(8157) 603
A		8158	8158				(8158) 8154
A		8159	8159	L(1)	103		
A		8160	8160	L	103		
A		8161	8161	As(1)	103		

TABLE F.iv (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>F14</i> (cont.)	A		8162				(8162) 5547
	A		8163	L	103		
	A		8164	X			
	A		8165				(8165) 8159
	A		8166				{8166} 8154
	A		8167	X			
	A		8168				(8168) 8154
	A		8169				(8169) 649
			589			**	(589) 587
			633			**	(633) 618
<i>F17</i>	565	692	701	Gg			
	566	514	677	Ga(1)	135		
	566b	895/523	674	Ga(1)	135	R MY	
<i>F18</i>	880	902/675	681	Od(1)	103		
	881	903/676	682	Od(1)	103		
	882	904/677	686	<i>Dq(4)</i>	106?		
	883	905/678	687	Od(1)	103		
	884	906/679	688	Od(1)	103	R ZETA	
	885	907/515	675	Ga(1)	135	R MY	
	886	908/680	683	M	103		
	887	909/681	684	V	140		
	888	910/682	685	Ga(1)	135		
	889	911/513	676	Ga(1)	135		
	890	912/683	690	Od(1)	103		
	891	913/684	691	Xe	103		
	892	914/685	692	Xe	103		
	893	915/686	679	Ga(1)	135		
	894	916/687	680	Ga(1)	135		
	895	917/693	713	Gg(2)	135		
	896	918/694	7371	<i>Gg(2)</i>	135?		
	897	919/695	7370				(7370) 995
	898		993	X			
899		994				(994) 713	
900		995	Gg(2)	135			
901		808	B(3)	106			
<i>F19</i>	1051	668	693	L	103		
	1052	669	694	Ap			
	1053	670	695	L	103		
	1054	671	696	Od(1)	103		
	1055	672	697	X			
	1056	673	698	L	103		{698} 696?
	1057	674	595	<i>Ld(1)</i>	116?		

** based on inked numbers

TABLE G

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>G1</i>	1060	688	702	Gg(1)	103		
	1061	689	703	Gg			
	1062	690	704	Gg(1)	103		
	1063	691	705	Gg(3)	140		
	1065	699	709	Gg			
	1066	700	714	Od(2)	103		
	1067	701	715	Od(2)	103		
	1068	743	734bis	Oa			SM 1808
	1069	703	716	Od(2)	103		
	1070	704	717	Gg(3)	140		
	1071	705	718	Od(2)	103		
	1072	706	719	M	140		
	1073	707	720	M(1)	103		
	1074	708	721	X			
	1075	709	722	X			
	1076	710	723	X			
	1077	711	724	M			
	1078	712	725				(725) 722
1079	713	726	F				
<i>G2</i>	1080	714	727	Dk	117?		
	1081	715	728	X			
	1082	716	729	M			
	1083	717	470	L			
	1084	718					
	1085	719	590	L	103		
	1086		422	Ga(2)	136		**

Note: ON 1064 is the re-numbered ON 565.

** based on inked number

TABLE H

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>H1</i>	573	739	730	Oa		L EPSILON	
	574	740	731	Oa		L EPSILON	
	575	741	732	Oa		L EPSILON	
<i>H7</i>	567	733	739	Ai	207?		
	568	734	740	<i>K(1)</i>	102?		
<i>H2</i>	567	735	735	L(10)	214		
	568	736	736	U			
	569	737	737	X			
	570	742	734	Oa		L EPSILON	
	571	738	738	Ga			
<i>H3</i>	588	744	741	F(3)			
	589	745					see note
<i>H4</i>	611	748	743	X			
	612	749	744	X			
	613	750	745	Oa			
<i>H5</i>	1058		747	D			
	1059		748	X			
	1087	747	746	U			

Note: It seems likely that ON 589 is X 742 based on the sequencing of numbers in the above table; however, this cannot be confirmed from the *Handlist*.

TABLE I.i

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I2</i>	614	773	777	E			
	615	774	778	K			
	616	775	780	Ak(3)	102		
	617	776	785	Ld(2)	114		
	618	777	786	Ld(2)	114		
	619	778	790	Dl(1)	118		
	620	779	789	Sk	206		
	621	780	1054	Do	106?		
	622	781	784	Ak(3)	102		
	623	782	781	Ak(3)	102		
	624	783	795	X			
	625	784	796	X			
	626	785	788	Ld(2)	114		
	627	786	782	Ak(3)	102	R NY	
	628	787	783	Ak(3)	102		
	629	788	791	Dl(1)	118		
	630	789	793	X			
	631	790	792	Dl(1)	118		
	632	791	1581	X			**
	633	792	779	B			
	634	793	797	U			
	635	794	887	Sg			
	636	795	794	Dl(1)	118		

TABLE I.ii

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I3</i>	637	796	989	C(1)	107		
	638	797	807	B	102?		
	639	798	1001				(1001) 999
	640	799	879	Se	127		
	641	800	880	Se	127		
	642	801	882	Se	127		
	643	802	885	Sg			
	644	803	883	Se	127		
	645	804	884	Sg			
	646	805	881	Se	127		
	647	808	895	Ca			
	648	810	873	<i>K(I)</i>	102?		
	649	806	886	Sg			
	650	811	872	K(1)	102		
	650 bis	814	408	X			
	651	815	832	V(6)	225		
	652	809	894	So			
	653	812	874				(874) 829
	654	807	888	Sg			
	655		889	Sg			
	656	816	975				(975) 933
	657	819/948	876	U			
	658	817	891	Se	127		
	659	818	890	Se	127		

TABLE I.ii (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I3</i> (cont.)	660	813	875	K(1)	102		
	661	820	862	Gv			
	662	821	863	Gv			
	663	822	870	L	114?		
	664	823	918				{918} 917
	665		798	B	107		note(i)
	666	824	839	Uf(2)	122		
	667	825	836	Uf(2)	122		
	668	846	896	Ch	110		
	669	827	914	C(2)	112		
	670	828	915	C(2)	112		
	671	844	824	<i>Ai</i> (3)			
	672	829	820	G			
	673	847	906	Co	107		
	674	848	907	Co	107		
	675	855	943	Dl(1)	118		
	676	857	944	Dl(1)	118		
	677	830	819	Am(2)			
	678	878	871	L	114?		
	679	856	946	Dl(1)	118		
	680	858	947	Dl(1)	118		
	681	849	903	Co	107		
	682	850	904	Co	107		
	683	859	948	Dl(1)	118		
	684	826	923	Do	106		
	685	851	897	Ch	110		
	686	879	1004	V(5)	125	R XI	
	687	860	938	Dl(1)	118		
	688	880	909	Co	107		
	689	861	933	Dl(1)	118		
	690	881	932	Dl(1)	118		
	691	882	910	Co	107		
	692	854	899	Ch	110		
	693	862	935	Dl(1)	118		
	694	863	952	Dl(1)	118		
	695	883	412	Dl(1)	118		
	696	852	900	Ch	110		
	697	884	913	C(2)	112?		
	698	885	1582	C			**
	699	831	821	Am(2)			
	700	832	822	B			
	701	833	826	Am(2)			
	702	864	945	Dk(1)	120		
	703	877	972	Ch	110?		
	704	886	963				(963) 932
	705	887	999	X			
	706	888	878	Oa			
	707	889	976	X	225		
	708	890	850	E			
	709	853	898	Ch	110		

TABLE I.ii (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I3</i> (cont.)	710	891	985	B(3)	106		
	711	892	1035	E			
	712	893	986	X			
	713	894	1030	C(3)	109		
	714	895	978				(978) 888
	715	896	979	C(3)	109		
	716	897	977				(977) 948
	717	898	921				(921) 919
	718	899	980				{980} 837
	719	900	920	Dk(1)	120		
	720	901	983	Uf(3)	123		
	721	902	1043	V(5)	125		
	722	903	973	C			
	723	904	893	Se	127		
	724	905	1002	V(5)	125	R XI	
	725	906	1044	C			
	726	907	1022	Uf(3)	123		
	727	908	1023	<i>Uf</i> (2)	122?		
	728	909	1051	X			
	729	910	1052				{1052}877
	730	911	1053bis	U			SM 1812
	731	912	1053	So			
	732	913	919	Do	106		see note(i)
	733	914	844	F(2)			**
	734	915	827	Am(2)			
	735	865	413	Dl(1)	118		
	736	916	1583	V(5)	125		**
	737	866	939	Dl(1)	118		
	738	917	1041	X			
	739	918	1012	Ai(3)	204		
	740	919	1042				(1042) 891
	741	920	1013	X			
	742	921	1014	X			
	743	922	1031	Uf(3)	123		
	744	923	922	C(2)	112		
	745	924	988	B(1)			
	746	925	1033	X			
	747	926	987	Uf(3)	123		
	748	927	868	L			
	749	838	813	Bg	137?		
	750	928	1034	Ch	110		
	751	929	1016				(1016) 941
	752	930	1026	Dq(3)	217		
	753	931	847	E			
	754	932	848	E	102?		
	755	933	1025	B(1)			
	756	839	810	Bg	137?		
	756 bis	840	814	B(3)	106		
	757	867	937	Dp			
	758	934	1050	X			

TABLE I.ii (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I3</i> (cont.)	759	935	1048	Se	127??		
	760	936	1046	DI(1)	118		
	761	937	1049	Dk(1)	120		
	763	938	858	Np(2)	134		
	764	939	859	Np(2)	134		
	765	940	860	Np(2)	134		
	766	941	861	Np(2)	134		
	767	942	855	Np(2)	134		
	768	943	856	Np(2)	134		
	769	944	857	Np(2)	134		
	770	949	930	DI(1)	118		
	771	834	815	B(3)	106		
	772	835	816	B(3)	106		
	773	836	817	Bg	137		
	774	837	818	Bg	137		
	775	845	825	Ai(3)	204		
	776	950	1006				(1006) 891
	777	951	835	<i>Uf</i> (3)	123?		
	778	952	1018	X			
	779	953	1036	Ai(3)	204		
	780	954	1037	Ai(3)	204		
	781	868	936	Dk(1)	120		
	782	955	1007	Se	127		
	783	956	1021	Bg	137		
	784	869	1039	C(3)	109		
	785	957	834	Bg	137		
	786	958	1040	Bg	137		
	787	959	846	E			
	788	960	992	Bg	137		
	789	961	1029	Ch	110		
	790	962	845	F(2)			
	791	963	991	Uf(3)	123		
	792	964	877	K(1)			
	793	965	1032				(1032) 979
	794	870	949	DI(1)	118		
	795	966	1005	V(5)	125		
	796	871	866	F(2)			
	797	967	837	Uf(2)	122	R NY	
	798	968	942				(942) 935
	799	969	965	Se	127		
	800	970	966	Ai(3)	204		
	801	841	809	<i>B</i> (1)	107?		
	802	971	941	C(2)	112		
	803	872	950	DI(1)	118		
	804	972	929	Do	106		
	805	973	908	C(2)	112		
	806	974	869	L(3)	207		
	806*	975	1045	X			
	807	876	905	C(3)	109		
	808	976	1017				(1017) 880

TABLE I.ii (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I3</i> (cont.)	809	977	984	Ra(2)	127		
	810	978	982	Ai(3)	204		
	811	979	1047	X			
	812	980	1028	Ra(2)	127		
	813	981	1024	D			
	814	982	1027	X			
	815	983	934	Dl(1)	118		
	818	984	953	Ga	219		
	819	985	954	C			
	820	986	955				{955} 953
	821	987	916	Dl(1)	118		
	822	946	852	F(2)			
	823	988	842	E			
	824	945	854	F(2)	102		
	825	989	912	C(4)	111		
	826	990	902	C	201		
	827	991	911	C(4)	111		
	828	992	799	B(5)	104		
	829		838	<i>Uf</i> (2)	122?		
	829	993	800	B(5)	104		
	830	994	801	B(5)	104		
	831	994a	806	B(5)	104		
	832	995	865	V(6)			
	833	996	831	V(6)	203		
	834	997	867				(867) 841
	835	998	798	B	107		see note(i)
	836	1004	833	Og			
	837	999	803	B(5)	104		
	838	1003	841	F(2)			
	839	1000	804	B(5)	104		
	840	1005	843	E	102		
	841	1002	802	B(5)	104		
	842	1001	805	B(5)	104		
	843	1007	962				(962) 958
	844	1006	961				(961) 832
	845	1008	828	Ak(3)	102		
	846	1009	849	E	136?		
	847	1010	981	<i>Uf</i> (3)	123		
	848	1011	1008				(1008) 965
	849	1012	1009				(1009) 787
	850	1013	917	<i>C</i> (4)	111?		
	851	1014	968				(968) 933
	852	1015	969	<i>Dk</i> (1)	120??		
	853	1016	892	Se	127		
	854	1017	928	Dl(1)	118		
	855	947	851	F(2)			
	856	1018	830	Ak(3)	102		
	857	873	951	<i>Dk</i> (1)	120		
	858	1019	919	Do	106		see note(i)
	859	1020	1038	<i>Uf</i> (3)	123?		

TABLE I.ii (continued)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I3</i> (cont.)	860	1021	931	Dk(1)	120		
	861	1022	997	Dp	118		
	862	1023	971	E			
	863	1024	970	Uf(3)	123		
	864	1025	1576	Wb			**
	865	1026					
	866	1027	967	C(3)	109?		
	867bis	1029	840	Gm			
	867	1028	996	Do	106		
	868	1030					
	869	1031	927	Do	106		
	870	874	414	Dl(1)	118		
	871	1032	811	B(1)			
	872	875	940	Dl(1)	118		
	873	1033	958	V(6)	101?		
	874	1034	1015	Ch	110		
	875	842	812	B(1)			
	876	1035	1020	Bg	137		
	877	1036	829	K(1)	102		
	878	843	823	B			
	879	1037	990	Uf(2)	122		
	913	880/1038	411	D			
	914	881/1039	998	X			
	915	882/1040	864	Gv			
	916	883/1041	960	V(6)			
	917	884/1042	959				(959) 833
<i>I3bis</i>	912	897/1043	787	Ld(2)	114		

Notes:

(i): *SM* 798 appears in the *Handlist* as both as ON 665 and ON 835. Thus, it would appear to have been double accounted. Similarly, *SM* 919 appears in the *Handlist* and *Concordance* as both ON 732 = RN 913 and as ON 858 = RN 1019 and has thus been double accounted

(ii): *SM* 956-957 appear in the *Handlist* but at a late stage it was noted (in red pencil) that they were identical to *SM* 643 and 588, respectively.

** Based on J. L. Myres' *Notebook* 3 and File 6.

«15» group of tablets(see APPENDIX A.1)

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I3</i>	880/885	1531	1011	Uf(3)	123		
	886	1532	1019	X			
	887	1533	1003	V(5)	125		
	888	1534	964	<i>Dk(1)</i>	120??		
	889	1535	901	C(1)	107		
	885/890	1536	1010	X			
	886/891	1537	926	Dc	117		
	887	1538?	974	X			
	888/893	1539	924	Do	106		
	889/894	1540	925	Dk(1)	120		
	895	1541	853	F(2)			
	896	1542	1000	Np(2)	134		

TABLE I.iii

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>I1</i>	590	752	750	<i>Ai</i> (2)	102?		
	591	753					
	592	754	751	<i>Ai</i> (2)	102?		
	593	755	752	<i>Ai</i> (2)	102?		
	594	756	753				(753) 752
	595	757	761	L(9)	213		
	596	758	762	<i>Ai</i> (2)			
	597	759	763	X			SM 5040
	598	760	764	L(9)	213		
	599	761	765	Od			
	600	762	749	E	136		
	601	763	754	<i>Ai</i> (2)	102?		
	602	764	768	X			
	603	765	755	B(1)			
	604	766	759	L			
	605	767	760	G			
	606	768	756	V(5)	125	R TAU	
	607	769	766	X			
	608	770	767	C			
	609	771	758	L		R TAU	
	610	772	757	M			
908	898/1049	776	K(2)	224	R TAU		
909		776bis b	K(2)	224		SM 1810	
909	899/1050	774	K(2)	224	R TAU		
910	900/1052	776bis a				SM 1809, (1809) 773	
	911	901/1051	775	K(2)	224		
<i>I4</i>	1097	1044	769	Ap			
	1098	1045	770	X			
	1099	1046	772	B(1)			
	1100	1047	773	K(2)	224?	R TAU	
	1101	1048	771	L			
<i>I6</i>	1086	751	699	Dp			

Interpretation of ON 908-911 is generally problematical because of the large number of times that they were re-numbered in the *Handlist*.

TABLE J.i: TABLETS FROM FIND-PLACE *JJ*

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
1	1	1103	1103	1058	1064	Dk(2) 1064	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
2	2	1104	1104	1059	1065	Dk(2) 1065	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
3	3	1105	1105	1060	1066	Dk(2) 1066	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
4	4	1106	1106	1061	1071	Dk(2) 1071	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
5	5	1107	1107	1056	1068	Dk(2) 1068	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
6	6	1108	1108	1057	1069	Dk(2) 1069	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
7	7	1109	1109	1062	1070	Dk(2) 1070	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
8	8		1110	1063	1077	Dk(2) 1077		<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
9	9		1111	1101	1108	Da 1108	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
10	10		1112	1389	1457	Dv 1457		<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
11		1113?	1113??	1079	1086	Dv 1086	<i>da-*83-ja</i>	<i>a-ka-ta-jo</i>
12	11	1193	1193	1169	1178	Dm 1178		
13	12			1390	1487	Dv 1487		
14		1115	1115	1138	1146	Dv 1146	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
15			1116	1295	1320	Dk(2) 1320		<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
16	13		1120	1075	1087	Da 1087	<i>a-ka</i>	
17		1121?	1121	1080	1088	Dn 1088		
18		1123	1123	1357	1321	Da 1321	<i>ra-to</i>	<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
19		1124	1124	1358	1322	De 1322		<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
20		1125?	1125	1208	1217	Dv 1217	<i>u-ta-no</i>	
21	14		1126??	1388	1427	Dv 1427		<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
22		1146	1127??	1359	1333	Da 1333	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
23	15	1123	1128	1069	1083	Da 1083	<i>a-ka</i>	
24		1129	1129	1088	1095	Dn 1095	<i>ti-ri-to/qa-ra</i>	
25	17	1130	1130	1391	1489	Dd 1106	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
26	16		1131	1094	1101	Dg 1101	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
27		1132		1174	1183	Dm 1183	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
28	19		1133	1360	1388	Dv 1388	<i>ra-ja</i>	<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
29			1134	1361	1330	Dv 1330	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
30	21	1135		1393	1449	Db 1449	[•]-ri-[•]	
31			1135		1334	Dv 1334		<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
32	18		113...6?	1095	1102	Dg 1102	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
33		1135	1136	1089	1096	Dn 1096	<i>ra-ja/pu-na-so</i>	
34	20		1137	1392	1465	Dg 1107	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
35	22	11... 11...	1139??	1096	1103	Dv 1103	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
36			1140	1183	1192	Db 1192	<i>ra-to</i>	<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
37			1141	1137	1145	Dv 1145	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
38	23	1162	11...2	1394	1460	Db 1460	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
39			1143?	1128	1136	De 1136	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
40	24	1164?	1144	1363	1323	Da 1323	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>a-no-qa</i> [
41	27	1126?	1146	1203	1212	Db 1212	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
42	25	1147	1147?	1187	1196	Db 1196	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
43	26	1149	11..9	1179	1188	Dv 1188	<i>ra-to</i>	
44	28	1050	1150?	1102	1109	De 1109	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
45			1151	1364	1325	Df 1325	<i>su-ki-ri-ta</i>	
46	29			1455	1494	Df 1325	<i>su-ki-ri-ta</i>	
47			1153? 1155?	1365	1335	Ga 1335		
48	30	1154	1154	1090	1097	Db 1097	<i>u-ta-no</i>	
49		1155	1155	1091	1100	Dv 1100		
50	32	1156	1156?	1294	1309	Dv 1309	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
51	31	1157	1157	1204	1213	Dv 1213	<i>u-ta-no</i>	
52			1158	1195	1204	Db 1204	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
53		1150	1159	1196	1205	Dv 1205	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
54	33	1166	1160	1366	1458	Da 1315	<i>da-wo</i>	
55	34	1181	1161	1103	1110	Db 1110	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
56	35	1163	1162	1177	1185	Db 1185	<i>ra-to</i>	
57	36	1143?	1163	1186	1195	Da 1195	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
58	39	11....	11....	1398	1444	Dv 1190	<i>ra-to</i>	
59	38	1165	116..	1167	1176	Dm 1176	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
60			1166	1214	1223	Df 1223	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
61	40	1167	1167	1178	1186	Db 1186	<i>ra-to</i>	
62	37	1108		1166	1174	Dm 1174	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
63	41	1189	1169	1181	1190	Dv 1190	<i>ra-to</i>	
64	43	1170	1170	1180	1189	Da 1189	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
65	42	1171	1171	1399	1419	Dc 1419		
66	44	1173		1097	1104	Dv 1104	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
67		1173	1173	1297	1315	Da 1315	<i>da-wo</i>	
68	45	1170	1174	1400	1468	Dd 1468	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
69	46	1175	1175?	1104	1111	Dv 1111	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
70		1150	1176	1098	1106	Dd 1106	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
71	47	177	1177	1401	1442	Dv 1442		
72		1178? 1128?	1178	1168	1175	Dm 1175	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
73	48	1179	1179	1298	1316	Dg 1316	<i>qa-mo</i>	
74	49	1180	1180	1232	1242	Db 1242	<i>tu-ri-so</i>	
75	50	1181	1181??	1230	1240	Dh 1240	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
76	51	1182	1182?	1105	1112	De 1112	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
77	52	1183	1183?	1192	1201	Dd 1201	<i>ra-ja</i>	
78	53	1184	1184	1221	1231	De 1231	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	<i>pe-ri-qi-te-jo</i>
79	54		11....	1185	1194	Da 1194	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
80			...87	1087	1094	Dn 1094	<i>pa-i-to/da-wo</i>	
81	55		1188	1182	1191	Dv 1191	<i>ra-to</i>	
82	56	1159	11...9?	1403	1422	Dv 1422		
83	57	1190?	1190?	1402	1455	Dc 1228	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
84	58		119...?	1405	1486	Db 1262	<i>qa-ra</i>	
85	59	11....	1192	1197	1207	Dd 1207	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
86	60	1198?	119...?	1106	1113	Dv 1113	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
87	61	1105	1195	1404	1461	Da 1461	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
88	62	1197	1197	1071	1079	Da 1079	<i>a-ka</i>	
89	63	1198	1198	1406	1472	De 1472	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
90	64	11....	1199	1407	1502	Dv 1502	<i>ra-su-to?</i>	
91	65	1200	1200	1216	1221	Da 1221	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
92	67	1209	1201?	1408	1402	Dd 1402	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
93	66			1188	1197	Da 1197	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
94	68		120..?	1099	1105	Db 1105	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
95	69	4	1189	1200	Dn 1200	<i>do-ti-ja/ra-su-to</i>	
96			1205	1255	1269	De 1269	<i>qa-ra</i>	
97	70			1126	1134	Da 1134	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
98			1207	1129	1137	Da 1137	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
99	71	1208	1208	1367	1475	Db 1373	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
100		1210	..210	1368	1356	Dd 1271	<i>e-ko-so</i>	

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
101		1211	1211	1369	1357	Dv 1226	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
102	72	1212	1212	1205	1214	Dv 1214	<i>u-ta-no</i>	
103		1215	1215	1370	1358	De 1136	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
104			..12..8??	1396	1491	Dk(2) 1491		
105		1210	1218	1100	1107	Dg 1107	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
106	73	1221		1375	1601	Da 1601	<i>qa-ra</i>	
107	74	1223	1222	1202	1211	Db 1211	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
108	75	1223	1223	1256	1317	Da 1317	<i>qa-mo</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
109	76	1225	1225	1376	1471	Dv 1471	<i>ra-to</i>	
110	77	1236	1226	1198	1206	Dv 1206	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
111	78		1227	1259	1271	Dd 1271	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
112	79	1233	1228	1217	1225	Db 1225	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
113	80	1229	1229	1183	1193	Dd 1193	<i>ra-to</i>	
114	81	1230	1230	1512	1390	Da 1390	<i>ra-to</i>	
115	82	1231	1231	1513	1462	Dv 1462	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
116	83		1232?	1260	1275	Da 1275	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
117	84	1213	1233	1233	1319	Dn 1319	<i>a-mi-ni-si-ja</i>	
118		1233		1379	1603	Dq(2) 1603	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
119	85	1235	1235	1409	1410	Dv 1410	<i>pu-so</i>	
120	86		1236	1378	1311	Dn 1094	<i>pa-i-to/da-wo</i>	
121	87	1235	1238	1380	1340	Db 1340	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
122	88	1243	1240	1410	1438	Dg 1438	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
123	89		1241	1411	1437	Da 1137	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
124	90	1392	1242	1381	1339	Da 1339	<i>pu-so</i>	
125		1135	1243	1382	1273	Da 1273	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
126	91		1245	1383	1336	Dn 1096	<i>ra-ja/pu-na-so</i>	
127		1247	1246	1107	1114	Da 1114	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
128			1247	1108	1115	Db 1115	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
129		1248	1248	1082	1089	Dn 1089	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
130		1240	1249	1083	1090	Dn 1090		
131		1250		1383	1604	Dg 1438	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
132		1251	1251	1084	1091	Da 1091	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
133	92		1252	1410	1413	Da 1091	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
134		1253	1253	1206	1215	Dv 1215	<i>u-ta-no</i>	
135		1254	1254?	1385	1380	Da 1380	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
136		1252	1255	1386	1350	Da 1350	<i>a-ka</i>	
137			1256	1199	1374	Dd 1374	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
138	93	1236	1256	1413	1431	Dm 1181	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
139	94	1253	1257	1414	1424	De 1424	<i>qa-ra</i>	
140	95	1221		1387	1429	Dd 1429	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
141		1217	1258	1239	1250	Db 1250	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
142	97		1259	1415	1504	Dv 1504	<i>e</i>	
143	96	1262		1417	1432	X		
144			1262?	1417??	1400	Da 1163	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
145	98	1263	1263	1244	1255	De 1255	<i>qa-ra</i>	
146			1264	1242	1252	Dd 659	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
147	99			1418	1496	Dv 1496	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
148	101	1265	126..	1086	1093	Dn 1093	<i>da-*22-to/*56-ko-we</i>	
149	100	1265	1266	1085	1092	Dn 1092	<i>e-ko-so/su-ki-ri-ta</i>	
150		1269	1269	1200	1208	Db 1208	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
151	102			1419	1446	Db 1105	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
152	103			1282	1298	Dc 1298	<i>e-ra</i>	
153	104			1077	1084	De 1084	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>a-ka-i-jo</i>
154	105			1142	1150	Dd 1150	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
155	106			1235	1246	Db 1246	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
156	107			1262	1278	Dg 1278	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
157	108			1223	1233	Df 1233	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
158	109			1109	1116	Da 1116	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
159	110			1143	1154	Dc 1154	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
160	111			1420	5193	Da 5193	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
161	112			1165	1173	Da 1173	<i>pa-i-to</i>	
162	113			1224	1234	Dq(2) 1234	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
163	114			1263	1279	Db 1279	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
164	115			1225	1235	Dg 1235	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
165	116			1144	1155	Db 1155	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
166	117			1149	1153	De 1153	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
167	118			1121	1473	De 1362	<i>qa-ra</i>	
168	119			1209	1218	Dd 1218	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
169	120			1162	1170	Da 1170	<i>pa-i-to</i>	
170	121			1422	1425	Dd 1425		
171	122			1423	1470	Dv 1470		
172	123			1308	1331	Dv 1331	<i>e</i>	<i>a-ka-ta-jo</i>
173	124			1426	1395	Da 1313	<i>da-wo</i>	
174	125			1425	1389	Db 1389	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
175	126			1428	1418	Dd 1418		
176	127			1430	1407	Da 1343	<i>e-ra</i>	
177	128			1064	1072	Dk(2) 1072	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
178	129			1092	1098	Da 1098	<i>qa-ra</i>	
179	130			1065	1073	Dk(2) 1073	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
180	131			1093	1099	Db 1099	<i>qa-mo</i>	
181	132			1066	1074	Dk(2) 1074	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
182	133			1067	1075	Dk(2) 1075	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
183	134			1115	1122	Dc 1122	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
184	135			1226	1236	Db 1236	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
185	136			1237	1247	Db 1247	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
186	137			1243	1254	De 1254	<i>qa-ra</i>	
187	138			1264	1280	Dg 1280	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
188	139			1073	1078	Da 1078	<i>a-ka</i>	
189	140			1284	1299	Da 1299	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
190	141			1145	1156	Da 1156	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
191	142			1068	1067	Dk(2) 1067	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
192	143			1076	1082	Da 1082	<i>a-ka</i>	
193	144			1110	1117	Dc 1117	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
194	145			1146	1157	Dd 1157	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
195	146			1302	1507	Db 1507	<i>pa-i-to</i>	
196	147			1227	1237	Dv 1237	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
197	148			1285	1300	Dd 1300	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
198	149			1074	1081	Da 1081	<i>a-ka</i>	
199	150			1286	1301	De 1301	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
200	151			1147	1151	De 1151	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	K75	Toponym	Collector
201	152			1148	1152	De 1152	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
202	153			1287	1302	Db 1302	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
203	154			1288	1303	Dc 1303	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
204	155			1296	1314	Da 1314	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>te-ra-po-si-jo</i>
205	156			1150	1159	Db 1159	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
206	157			1120	1127	Da 1127	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
207	158			1130	1138	De 1138	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
208	159			1111	1118	Dc 1118	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
209	160			1237	1248	Dv 1248	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
210	161			1256	1270	Dc 1270	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
211	162			1289	1304	Db 1304	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
212	163			1239	1249	Dv 1249	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
213	164			1290	1305	Db 1305	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
214	165			1265	1281	Dd 1281	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
215	166			1266	1282	Db 1282	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
216	167			1267	1285	Df 1285	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
217	168	red 1258		1268	1286	Dd 1286	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
218	169			1269	1287	De 1287	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
219	170			1270	1288	Da 1288	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
220	171			1210	1219	Df 1219	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
221	172			1245	1260	De 1260	<i>qa-ra</i>	
222	173			1163	1171	Dd 1171	<i>pa-i-to</i>	
223	174			1170	1177	Dm 1177	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
224	175			1112	1119	Df 1119	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
225	176			1271	1283	Dd 1283	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
226	177			1193	1202	Da 1202	<i>ra-ja</i>	
227	178			1272	1284	Dd 1284	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
228	179			1273	1289	Da 1289	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
229	180			1113	1120	Df 1120	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
230	181			1281	1297	Db 1297	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
231	182			1231	1241	Db 1241	<i>tu-ri-so</i>	
232	183			1274	1290	Df 1290	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
233	184			1275	1291	Dd 1291	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
234	185			1246	1261	Db 1261	<i>qa-ra</i>	
235	186			1276	1292	Dv 1292	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
236	187			1151	1169	Dv 1169	<i>da-ra-ko</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
237	188			1277	1293	Da 1293	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
238	189			1173	1182	Dm 1182	<i>to-u-na-ta</i>	
239	190			1121	1129	Dc 1129	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
240	191			1304	1324	Db 1324	<i>su-ki-ri-ta</i>	
241	192			1122	1130	Dc 1130	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
242	193			1222	1232	Db 1232	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	<i>pe-ri-qi-te-jo</i>
243	194			1152	1158	Dg 1158	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
244	195			1153	1162	Da 1162	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
245	196			1211	1220	Dc 1220	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
246	197			1278	1295	Db 1295	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
247	198			1078	1085	Dv 1085	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>a-ka-i-jo</i>
248	199			1154	1166	Db 1166	<i>di-ro</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
249	200			1257	1272	Dv 1272	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>ko-ma-we-to</i>
250	201			1124	1132	Da 1132	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
251	202			1139	1147	Da 1147	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
252	203			1140	1148	Dc 1148	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
253	204			1213	1222	Df 1222	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
254	205			1233	1243	Dh 1243	<i>tu-ri-so</i>	
255	206			1141	1149	Dd 1149	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
256	207			1258	1274	Db 1274	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
257	208			1247	1262	Db 1262	<i>qa-ra</i>	
258	209			1305	1423	Db 1423	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
259	210			1248	1263	Db 1263	<i>qa-[.]</i>	<i>te-ra-po-si-jo</i>
260	211			1306	1445	Da 1445		
261	212			1234	1245	Db 1245	<i>tu-ri-so</i>	
262	213			1190	1198	Db 1198	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
263	214			1291	1306	Dd 1306	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
264	215	896?		1125	1133	Dv 1133	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
265	216			1436	1135	Da 1135	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
266	217			1292	1307	De 1307	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
267	218			1249	1264	De 1264	<i>qa-ra</i>	
268	219			1164	1172	Da 1172	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
269	220			1191	1199	Dv 1199	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
270	221			1240	1253	Da 1253	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
271	222			1498	1227	Db 1227	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
272	223			1499	1426	Db 1426	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
273	224			1500	1492	Dv 1492	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
274	225			1068	1076	Dk(2) 1076		<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
275	226			1114	1121	Df 1121	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
276	227			1502	1210	Df 1210	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
277	228			1504	1420	Da 1420	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
278	229			1501	1415	Da 1415	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
279	230			1503	1430	Dv 1430	<i>da-ra-ko</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
280	231			1506	1463	X		
281	232			1507	1399	Dk(2) 1399		<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
282	233			1508	1466	Dv 1466	<i>e-ra</i>	
283	234			1115	1123	Da 1123	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
284	235			1279	1294	De 1294	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
285	236			1261	1276	Da 1276	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
286	237			1431	1397	Dc 1364	<i>e-ra</i>	
287	238			1432	1490	Dv 1490	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
288	239			1433	1403	Dc 1403	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
289	240			1280	1296	Dd 1296	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
290	241			1301	1312	Dv 1312	<i>da-wo</i>	
291	242			1155	1160	Db 1160	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
292	243			1207	1216	Dv 1216	<i>u-ta-no</i>	
293	244			1228	1238	Da 1238	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
294	245			1434	1497	De 1381	<i>pu-na-so</i>	<i>e-me-si-jo</i>
295	246			1309	1503	Dv 1503	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
296	247			1134	1142	Dv 1142	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
297	248			1435	1396	Da 1396	<i>da-wo</i>	
298	249			1218	1226	Dv 1226	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
299	250			1227	1394	Da 1394	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
300	251			1156	1168	Db 1168	<i>e-ko-so</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	K75	Toponym	Collector
301	252			1437	1469	Df 1469	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	
302	253			1438	1404	Dv 1330	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
303	254			1439	1405	Da 1378	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
304	255			1440	1408	De 1269	<i>qa-ra</i>	
305	256			1310	1310	Dv 1310	<i>da-wo</i>	
306	257			1311	1328	Dv 1328	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
307	258			1312	1329	Db 1329	<i>qa-sa-ro-we</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
308	259			1441	1451	Da 1451	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
309	260			1442	1505	Dv 1505		
310	261			1443	1385	X		
311	262			1444	1386	Dv 1386	<i>qa[</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
312	263			1445	1498	Dv 1146	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
313	264			1446	1453	Df 1230	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
314	265			1447	1482	Da 1382	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
315	266			1448	1495	Da 1495	<i>pa-i-to</i>	
316	267			1201	1209	Dn 1209	<i>ri-jo-no/ra-to</i>	
317	268			1313	1337	Dc 1337	<i>pu-na-so</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
318	269			1157	1163	Da 1163	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
319	270			1158	1167	Dc 1167	<i>di-ro</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
320	271			1172	1181	Dm 1181	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
321	272			1449	1511	Dd 1511	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
322	273			1219	1229	Df 1229	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
323	274			1316	1515	Dc 1515	<i>da-wo</i>	
324	275			1450	1411	Dv 1411		
325	276			1251	1266	Dv 1266	<i>qa-ra</i>	
326	277			1252	1488	Dv 1370	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
327	278			1159	1161	Da 1161	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
328	279			1451	1447	Dv 1447	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
329	280			1453	1443	Dv 1139	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
330	281			1454	1493	Dv 1493	<i>qa-na-no-to</i>	
331	282			1397	1485	Da 1485	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
332	283			1456	1501	Dv 1501		
333	284			1457	1500	Dv 1500		
334	285			1458	1499	Db 1140	<i>qa-ra</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
335	286			1459	1478	X		
336	287			1460	1434	Dv 1434	<i>ma-no-we[</i>	<i>o-pa-we-[</i>
337	288			1461	1391	Db 1367	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
338	289			1462	1409	De 1409	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
339	290			1463	1428	Da 1363	<i>qa-ra</i>	
340	291			1464	1506	Dv 1506		
341	292			1229	1239	Dv 1239	<i>ti-ri-to/da-*22-to</i>	
342	293			1317	1332	Dv 1332	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>pe-ri-qa-te-jo</i>
343	294			1465	1441	Da 1277	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
344	295			1466	1474	X		
345	296			1467	1421	Da 1164	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
346	297			1468	1509	Dv 1509	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
347	298			1117	1125	Dv 1125	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
348	299			1469	1512	Dv 8289		
349	300			1194	1203	Dc 1203	<i>ra-ja</i>	
350	301			1252	1363	Da 1363	<i>qa-ra</i>	

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
351	302			1470	1476	Dc 1203	<i>ra-ja</i>	
352	303			1471	1479	Dv 1479	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
353	304			1472	1477	Db 1265	<i>qa-ra</i>	
354	305			1473	1454	Da 1341	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>da-mi-ni-jo</i>
355	306			1474	1406	Dh 1406	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
356	307			1475	1436	Dv 1436		
357	308			1476	1414	Dn 1089	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
358	309			1477	1484	Dv 1188	<i>ra-to</i>	
359	310			1478	1510	De 1510	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
360	311			1479	1398	De 1398	<i>ra-ja</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
361	312			1480	1448	Da 1338	<i>di-ro</i>	
362	313			1481	1412	Dv 1412		
363	314			1482	1456	Dm 1175	<i>ra-su-to</i>	
364	315			1483	1607	Dv 1607	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
365	316			1484	1480	De 1371	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>te-ra-po-si-jo</i>
366	317			1485	1481	X 6032		
367	318			1293	1513	Db 1367	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
368	319			1486	1467	Da 1353	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
369	320			1487	1387	Dc 1359	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
370	321			1488	1433	De 1138	<i>da-wo</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
371	322			1318	1417	Dv 1417	<i>ru-ki-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
372	323			1319	1392	Da 1392	<i>se-to-i-ja</i>	<i>a-te-jo</i>
373	324			1320	1326	Db 1327	<i>su-ki-ri-ta</i>	
374	325			1321	1313	Da 1313	<i>da-wo</i>	
375	326			1489	1416	Dv 1416		
376	327			1490	1384	Da 1384	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
377	328			1491	1452	Da 1350	<i>a-ka</i>	
378	329			1492	1450	Dv 1450		
379	330			1493	1440	Da 1273	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
380	331			1494	1464	Db 1464	<i>pa-i-to</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
381	332			1495	1435	Da 1435	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
382	333			1496	1483	Dv 5054	<i>tu-ni-ja</i>	
383	334			1323	1359	Dc 1359	<i>*56-ko-we</i>	
384	335			1116	1124	Dv 1124	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
385	336			1324	1187	Df 1187	<i>ra-to</i>	
386	337			1325	1318	Dg 1318	<i>qa-mo</i>	
387	338			1294	1308	Dv 1308	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
388	339			1160	1165	Db 1165	<i>da-ra-ko</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>
389	340			1326	1277	Da 1277	<i>e-ko-so</i>	
390	341			1131	1139	Dv 1139	<i>da-*22-to</i>	<i>u-ta-jo</i>
391	342			1327	1377	Dq(2) 1377	<i>ti-ri-to</i>	
392	343			1328	1621	Dv 1621	<i>e</i>	<i>pe-ko</i>
393	344			1329	1364	Dc 1364	<i>e-ra</i>	
394	345			1330	1179	Dm 1179	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
395	346			1331	1128	Dv 1128	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
396	347			1332	1362	De 1362	<i>qa-ra</i>	
397	348			1333	1360	Df 1360	<i>do-ti-ja</i>	
398	349			1334	1353	Da 1353	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
399	350			1119	1126	Db 1126	<i>ku-ta-to</i>	
400	351			1335	1366	Dd 1366	<i>da-wo</i>	

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
401	352			1336	5012	Dd 5012]ra	
402	353			1516	1367	Db 1367	do-ti-ja	
403	354			1132	1140	Db 1140	qa-ra	u-ta-jo
404	355			1337	1244	Dd 1244	tu-ri-so	
405	356			1338	1378	Da 1378	pa-i-to	u-ta-jo
406	357			1133	1141	De 1141		u-ta-jo
407	358			1339	1584	Df 1469	ru-ki-to	
408	359			1254	1268	Da 1268	qa-ra	se-wo-to?
409	360			1220	1230	Df 1230	*56-ko-we	
410	361			1161	1164	Da 1164	pa-i-to	we-we-si-jo
411	362			1340	1368	Db 1368	da-wo	
412	363			1253	1267	Db 1267	qa-ra	
413	364			1341	1383	De 1383	ku-ta-to	u-ta-jo
414	365			1342	1361	De 1361	da-wo	te-ra-po-si-jo
415	366			1343	1352	Da 1352	pa-i-to	u-ta-jo
416	367			1517	1373	Db 1373	da-*22-to	
417	368			1497	1355	Da 1355	di-ro	
418	369			1344	1585	De 1585		
419	370			1518	1609	Da 1379	ri-jo-no	
420	371			1519	1606	Db 1250	tu-ni-ja	
421	372			1345	1369	Dc 1369	ra-ja	u-ta-jo
422	373			1283	1365	Da 1365		
423	374			1520	5042?	X		
424	375			1521	1610	Db 1460	da-wo	
425	376			1346	1586	Dd 1579	da-ra-ko	we-we-si-jo
426	377			1524	1341	Da 1341	pa-i-to	da-mi-ni-jo
427	378			1525	1611	Db 1344	pa-i-to	we-we-si-jo
428	379			1347	1381	De 1381	pu-na-so	e-me-si-jo
429	380			1348	1376	Dd 1376	pu-na-so	
430	381			1135	1143	Da 1143	ri-jo-no	u-ta-jo
431	382			1136	1144	Dd 1144	e-ra	u-ta-jo
432	383			1349	5023	De 1424	qa-ra	
433	384			1350	1587	Dc 5030		
434	385			1526	1370	Dv 1370	e-ra	u-ta-jo
435	386			1351	1588	Da 1588	pu-na-so	
436	387			1352	1589	Df 1589		
437	388			1353	1371	De 1371	da-wo	te-ra-po-si-jo
438	389			1354	1382	Da 1382	ri-jo-no	u-ta-jo
439	390			1355	1590	Db 1389	ti-ri-to	
440	391			1527	1612	Db 5041	tu-ni-ja	
441	392			1528	1372	Db 1372	da-wo	
442	393			1529	1613	Dk(2) 1613	ku-ta-to	
443	394			1530	1343	Da 1343	e-ra	
444	395			1356	1351	Da 1351	qa-na-no-to	
				1427	1393	Dc 1337	pu-na-so	a-te-jo
				1072	1080	Da 1080	a-ka	
				1171	1180	Dm 1180	pa-i-to	
				1175	1184	Dm 1184	pa-i-to	
				1510	1228	Dc 1228	*56-ko-we	
				1240	1251	Dd 1511	tu-ni-ja	

TABLE J.i (continued)

DO	Evans' lists	IN	ON	RN	SM	KT5	Toponym	Collector
				1250	1265	Db 1265	<i>qa-ra</i>	
				1315	1338	Da 1338	<i>di-ro</i>	
				1314	1342	Dd 1342	<i>pa-i-to</i>]ra-to-jo
					1344	Db 1344	<i>pa-i-to</i>	we-we-si-jo
				1215	1345	Db 1327	<i>su-ki-ri-ta</i>	
					1375	Db 1212	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
					1379	Da 1379	<i>ri-jo-no</i>	
					1401	Da 1401	<i>da-*22-to</i>	
				1411	1439	Dv 1439	<i>qa[</i>	te-ra-po-si-jo
					1459	Dv 1459		
				1299	1514	Dv 1410	<i>pu-so</i>	
				1371	1591	Df 1591		
				1372	1592	Dd 1592	<i>ra-to</i>	
				1373	1593	Dd 1402	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
				1374	1600	Dd 2010	<i>su-ri-mo</i>	
				1377	1602	Df 1602	<i>ra-to</i>	
				1509	5048	Dm 1180	<i>pa-i-to</i>	

Note: Additional information obtained from J. L. Myres' *Notebook 3* and File 6.

TABLE J.ii

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>J4</i>		1546	1531				(1531) 1530
		1547	1532	Ga(5)	221		
		1548	1535	Ga(5)	221		
		1549	1538	X			
<i>J2</i>		1553	1516	As(2)	101		
<i>J3(or J2)</i>		1554	1517	As(2)	102?		
		1555	1518	As(2)	105		
		1556	1520	As(2)	105		
		1556/1557	1522	Uf			
		1558/1563	1523	V(7)	101		
		1559	1524	V(7)	105		
		1560	1525	X			
		1561	1521	V(7)	105		
		1564	1529				(1529) 1518
		1564/1565	1527	Og	221?		
Sword tablets, <i>J3</i>		1569	1540	Ra(1)	126		
		1570	1541	Ra(1)	126		
		[1571]	1542	Ra(1)	126		
		1572	1543	Ra(1)	126		
		[1573]	1544	Ra(1)	126		
		1574	1545	Ra(1)	126		
		1575	1546	Ra(1)	126		
		1576	1547	Ra(1)	126		
		1576	1547bis	Ra(1)	126		SM 1814
		1577	1548	Ra(1)	126		
		1578	1549	Ra(1)	126	L ZETA	
		1580	1551	Ra(1)	126		
		1581	1550	Ra(1)	126		
		1582	1552	Ra(1)	126	L ZETA	
		1583	1553	Ra(1)	126		
	1585	1554	Ra(1)	126			
	1586	1557	Ra(1)	126			
	1588	1559	Ra(1)	126			
	1589	1560				(1560) 1543	

Note: The only tablets listed above are those with RN's. All the tablets from SM 1530-1560 are included in the *Handlist*. SM 1530-1539bis are under the catch-heading «E. Bath Room», SM 1517-1529 under the heading «Near sword tablets» and SM 1540-1560 under the heading «Sword tablets».

TABLE K

Find-place	ON	RN	SM	Class	Scribe	Palm	Notes
<i>K</i>	1092	730	1062	Od(3)			
	1094	732	1063	Od(3)			
<i>K1</i>	1095	1055	1061	Dp	117?		
	1096	1054	1060	Dī	215		
	1102	1053	1055	B	102?		
			1056	<i>Fh</i>			
			1057	<i>Fh</i>			
			1058	Ga	135?		
		1059	<i>Fh</i>				