

IDENTIFYING THE LINEAR B TABLETS FROM THE ARSENAL AND LITTLE PALACE AT KNOSSOS*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper follows an earlier study of Evans' *Handlist*, to identify the Linear B tablets from each of the find-places within the Palace at Knossos¹. The aim here is to identify the tablets found in the other buildings associated with the palace, i.e. the Arsenal and the Little Palace. The tablets from these find-places were not included by Evans in his *Handlist*. *OKTi* contains some discussion of these find-places (pp. 6, 59-60, 162, 168-169). However, it is evident that the picture is more complex than that described by Palmer.

In order to make progress it was necessary to start by analysing Myres' *Notebooks* and the documentation that he collected in his rôle as editor of *SM II*. The *Notebooks* contain evidence of the state of the Evans material which he inherited. They also demonstrate how Myres set about constructing listings of tablets that were not included by Evans in his *Handlist*. We will consider four different groups of tablets in this paper: the tablets from the Arsenal; *SM* 1569-1654 which Myres collated from various sources; the M1-138 series of tablets; and finally the tablets from the Little Palace. In this way, it is possible to put together a 'history' of the Arsenal and Little Palace tablets from the time that they were excavated and, thus, achieve some level of confidence in the identification of the tablets from these find-places.

The excavation of the Arsenal was started towards the end of the 1904 season, when the majority of tablets were found. However, there was also some excavation the following year and again in 1922, with tablets being found on each of these occasions. Subsequently, in 1957-1961, Hood also excavated tablets from the west side of the Arsenal area. The Little Palace was excavated in 1905 and tablet finds were recorded. Finds were also noted in excavations on the outside S.E. angle of the Little Palace in 1931.

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¹ R. J. Firth, «The Find-places of the Tablets from the Palace of Knossos», *Minos* 31-32, 1996-1997, pp. 7-122.

The difficulty in describing which tablets were found in these locations arises from the quality of data recording. During the first three years of excavation, Mackenzie supervised the excavations and wrote a daily record of the work done and a general description of the findings, whereas Evans recorded the Linear B tablets and the clay sealings. The quantity of information recorded in those first three years was very large but towards the end of that period the recording of tablets in the *Handlist* was beginning to lapse. When the Arsenal tablets were found in 1904, it must have seemed appropriate to start a new set of records, rather than append them to the back of the *Handlist*. These records are now labelled “File 13: Script B Knossos series 04, drawings for tablets of 04.Series”. However, it is evident from Myres’ notes that the files that he found were much more complete than the file that is available today, presumably because the file was split up during the editing of *SM II*. Although there were fewer tablets found in the Little Palace than in the Arsenal, it required considerably more work to track backwards from Myres’ notes to his sources and then try to reconstruct the evidence to give the best account possible of which tablets were probably found there. In *OKTi*, Palmer briefly listed the tablets that were found in the Arsenal and Little Palace, however, it is now clear that he had found only a limited part of the available evidence. Much of this evidence is spread around miscellaneous files in the Ashmolean Museum and sources in the literature, so the present study required more detective work than was initially anticipated.

SECTION 2 of the paper will start with Myres’ description of File 13 and then go on to discuss the tablets found in the Arsenal. SECTION 3 discusses the collation of tablets *SM* 1569-1654 and is based on Myres’ File 6 and *Notebook* 3. SECTION 4 considers the tablets M1-138, which were catalogued by David Clarke, at the British School at Athens. Finally, SECTION 5 attempts to identify the tablets found in the Little Palace.

It is often convenient to continue to use the *SM II* numbering in this paper because it reflects more accurately the original grouping of the tablets. However, it is known that from *KT3* onwards the numbering of tablets of the 04-series was modified, so that, for example, 04.01 is now 4401 and so on. Similarly, the numbering of tablets in the M-series was modified so that M1 to M138 are now 2001 to 2138. In addition, some of the tablets have acquired a sequence of numbers as the tablets were successively ‘lost’ and ‘re-discovered’. These are given in TABLE 1.

2. FILE 13 AND THE TABLETS FROM THE ARSENAL

2.1. Description of File 13

Myres’ notes of this work are recorded in his *Notebook* 3 (contained in the box file labelled Myres’ *Notebooks* 1, 2, 3). He states that when he originally

TABLE 1: Concordance of Tablet Numbers

Initial no.	Second no.	Present no.
04.94	4494	8101
04.95	4495	4495
04.96	1641	1641
04.97	1573	8204
04.98	1642	1642
04.99	1574	1574
04.100	1643	8103
1594	M126	2126
1595	M127	2127
1596	M128	2128
1597	M130	2130
1605	M129	2129

found the 04.*Notebook* (i.e. File 13) it had, at the beginning, a number of fragmentary drawings of tablets, which can be identified as E 1569, Ga 34 and Wm 1714. At the end of the file were drawings which he numbered as 04.99 and 04.100 but which we know as E 1574 and DI 8103.

File 13 still contains the drawing of tablet 04.99 = E 1574, which has the catch-heading ‘Corridor of the Sealed Bale’. In Myres’ notes, against 04.100 is written “drawing found loose, perhaps 04..”. This drawing is now missing. Both E 1574 and Wm 1714 were referred to by Evans in his personal *Notebook* when they were excavated in 1902 (pp. 48-49) in the area of the “S. door of Hall of Colonnades & entrance of passage beyond”. A number of ‘round tablets’ were found similar to Wm 1714 and Evans notes, “The round tablets with the same numbers & inscr. & impression of exactly similar cord seems to show that they secured the same bale or package”, giving rise to the alternative find-place name. Ga 34 is the tablet that had been excavated in the Western palace area some years prior to Evans arrival at Knossos. In other words, the 04.*Notebook*, that Myres found, began and finished with a small number of miscellaneous drawings that had accumulated in the file. The only one of these which is still in the file today is the drawing of E 1574 and that was drawn in the same style as the Little Palace tablets².

² There is an apparent anomaly with the drawing of tablet E 1574. This tablet was excavated in 1902 and has a museum inventory number of 609 (demonstrating that it was catalogued as part of the main batch of 1900-1902 tablets) but it appears to have been drawn in 1905. The simplest way of resolving this anomaly is to assume that E 1574 was actually drawn in 1902, but it was drawn in a manner that was sufficiently similar to that of the 1905 tablets that Evans subsequently put the drawings into the same file.

In respect of the drawings of tablets, 04.1-82, Myres notes that, “Apparently this series includes various kinds of tablets from the excavations of 1904: without note of find-spot”. Fortunately, these tablets were sufficiently well described by Evans in 1904³ that there is no doubt that they were all found during the excavation of the Arsenal.

The drawings of the remaining tablets in the file were not numbered and Myres gave them the sequential numbers 04.83 to 04.100. As already noted, the drawing of 04.100 is no longer in File 13. The other tablets, 04.83 to 04.99, are all drawn in pencil in the same style. The overwhelming majority of tablets from Knossos were drawn by Evans in ink and in a straightforward style, as used in *SM II*. The style of the pencil drawings is more ‘artistic’, accurately sketching the tablets as they actually appear, including blemishes. It is not possible to state with confidence who drew these tablets, but, the catch-headings are also in pencil and are clearly in Evans’ hand-writing. Tablets 04.83 to 04.92 have the catch-heading, ‘Arsenal’. Tablets 04.93 to 04.98 have the catch-heading ‘W. Building. H. of Fetish Shrine’, i.e. Little Palace.

2.2. *The 1904 Arsenal tablets*

The description of tablets from the Arsenal by Evans in 1904 states that 80 tablets were found and the tablet with the highest number, of those described, is actually 04.82. It seems reasonable to assume that tablets 04.01 to 04.82 were found in 1904 and that tablets that Myres numbered 04.83 to 04.98 were actually found in 1905⁴. This assumption can be strengthened considerably by considering the fate of the tablets after their excavation⁵.

We know from the Inventory of inscribed tablets in the Heraklion Museum that there were less than ten Arsenal tablets catalogued prior to June 1915. The bulk of the remaining 1904 tablets were catalogued by the museum between 1936 and October 1940⁶. The only 1905 Arsenal tablet catalogued at this stage was 04.84. In fact, we have a record of when these tablets were taken to the museum in the correspondence from R. W. Hutchinson quoted in *OKTi* (p. 54), “In 1940 Petrou collected all the stuff from the big apotheke in the villa including

³ A. J. Evans, «The Palace of Knossos», *BSA* 10, 1904, pp. 1-62.

⁴ It is also worth noting that photographs of most of these 1905 tablets were found by E. L. Bennett amongst the papers of Dr Kober (J. Chadwick, «Further Linear B tablets from Knossos», *BSA* 57, 1962, pp. 46-74.). It is presumed that these were Evans’ photographs of the 1905 finds.

⁵ It would actually have been more accurate if Myres had numbered 04.83 to 04.98 with an 05 prefix (instead of 04), however, he does not appear to have given much attention to the details of the excavation of the tablets.

⁶ The Heraklion Museum Inventory of Linear B tablets is described by one of the authors (RJF) in «A Review of the find-places of the Linear B tablets from the Palace of Knossos», *Minos* 35-36, 2000-2001, pp. 80-82.

the tin with the remaining fragments of tablets and took them down to the Museum... I think he collected the stuff in June or July". In practice, Petrou was Epimelete of Antiquities at Heraklion until 1939 and he subsequently moved to become Epimelete at Nauplion⁷. Thus, it seems more likely that Hutchinson misremembered the date and should have stated summer 1939, rather than 1940. In other words, the Arsenal tablets, which were excavated in 1904, had been stored at Knossos until 1939 and were then moved to the Heraklion Museum⁸.

We can draw the conclusion that, with the single exception of 04.84, the 1905 tablets were stored separately from the 1904 tablets, because otherwise they would also have been transferred to the museum in 1939.

The tablets inventoried in 1939 were predominantly from the Arsenal but they did include Da 5101 (scribe 117) and L(2) 5108 (scribe 103). Da 5101 joins with Da 1321 which was found in the East-West corridor. It is highly likely the L(2) 5108 was found in the Western Magazine area along with all the other tablets written by scribe 103. The point to be made is that, after 1904, tablets were stored in a relatively unsystematic way around the palace and Villa Ariadne. It cannot be automatically assumed that, if tablets were stored together, they were excavated from the same find-place⁹.

It is worthwhile briefly including a note here on Sg 1811 because, although it was clearly found in the Arsenal in 1904, there are a number of anomalies. Sg 1811 is actually made up from three large fragments, 1811 + 7485 + 7870. Tablet 7485 lists large numbers of wheels and was given special attention by Evans as an important tablet from the Arsenal¹⁰. However, tablet 7485 was clearly not included in File 13, as found by Myres. Tablet 1811 is the renumbered 809bis. This fragment contains two CAPS logograms, which particularly interested Evans, and he inserted the drawing of this tablet into the *Handlist* next to

⁷ For the life and deeds of Petrou see *Απάντα Χρίστου Ν. Πέτρου-Μεσογειότη* (1909-1944), edited by P. I. Filippou-Angelou, Kalyvia 1984. We thank A. Vassilakis (Museum of Heraklion) and L. Papazoglou (National Museum, Athens) for access to and photocopies from the volume.

⁸ This was undoubtedly part of the pre-war preparations; Hutchinson actually left Crete on 30 April 1941 (D. Powell, *The Villa Ariadne*, Athens, 1994, p. 114).

⁹ This point is also made in the papers by G. Huxley and J. Chadwick, «New Fragments of Linear B tablets from Knossos», *BSA* 52, 1957, pp. 147-151 and Chadwick, *supra*, n. 4. It is also worth noting that tablet, Dv 8836, which was bequeathed to Liverpool University by Hutchinson, was probably acquired whilst he was curator at Knossos (1934 to 1947) as one of a number of tablets that were stored at Knossos (J. T. Killen and C. B. Mee, «A Fragment of Linear B Tablet from Knossos in the Liverpool University Archaeological Museum», *Kadmos* 33, 1994, pp. 15-17.).

¹⁰ Evans, *supra*, n. 3, p. 58

similar tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief, which was excavated in 1900. Although it has been pasted into the *Handlist*, it is not ‘tied’ to the other drawings of tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief and it is not on the paper used in 1900. Furthermore, tablet 1811 was inventoried in the Heraklion Museum in 1939 along with the other tablets from the Arsenal. Thus, the find-place of the tablet is clear but an anomaly was created by the transfer of the drawing into the *Handlist*.

Finally, under the heading of the 1904 Arsenal tablets, we ought to consider the fragments of tablets that Evans considered to be too minor to include in his drawings. Within the 5000-8075 series of numbers, the Arsenal tablets are predominantly clustered within the bands 5098-5130 and 5779-5820, although it should be emphasised that the tablets within these bands are not exclusively Arsenal tablets and that there are also scattered Arsenal tablets with numbers outside these ranges. From the Heraklion Museum numbers we know that 5091, 5098-5100, 5102-5104 and 5107 were part of the batch of tablets taken from the Villa Ariadne to the museum in 1939. In addition, we know, from entry number 1485 in the museum inventory, that the batch included “hundred and ten (110) smaller and bigger fragments of similar inscribed tablets and a good number of other small similar with no signs on”. It is probable that many of these pieces originated from the Arsenal. It is also clear from this work that the 1905 tablets were largely kept separate from the 1904 tablets. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the minor tablets from the Arsenal which were taken to the museum before the war were excavated in 1904 and those which were found subsequently at Knossos were excavated in 1905 or 1922. However, as with all generalisations associated with these tablets, there are undoubtedly exceptions.

2.3. *Arsenal tablets excavated after 1904*

We will first turn our attention to the Arsenal tablets excavated in 1905. There are ten such tablets included in File 13, which Myres numbered 04.83 to 04.92. It has already been noted that 04.84 was catalogued in the Heraklion Museum in 1939. The other tablets were re-discovered in October 1960 by Raison during a systematic search for Linear B tablets in the Stratigraphical Museum¹¹. According to Raison, all these tablets were found on “a tray labelled F I 14 and from three chests bearing the number F I 13 (area of the ‘MM III Cists’, immediately south of the ante-chamber of the Throne Room, excavated in 1904)”. However, there are a number of reasons that we are confident that this label is misleading and that the tablets are actually from the Arsenal; their drawings were listed under that catch-heading by Evans when they were originally excavated; two of the tablets join with the Arsenal tablets found in 1904; and they all have the signs of intense firing which is characteristic of

¹¹ Chadwick, *supra*, n. 4.

tablets from the Arsenal. Thus, it is evident that the find-place labels for these tablets in the Stratigraphical Museum were not reliable.

There were numerous other fragments recorded by Raison as being found in FI 13 & 14 and these can now be attributed to the Arsenal because they are part of sets of tablets or because of the characteristic firing they received during the destruction of the building (i.e. SM 8172-8173, 8175-8176, 8178-8181, 8183-8188, 8714). D 8174 and DI(1) 8177 (scribe 118?) were also found in FI 13 & 14. These two tablets were both made from clay that was not typical of that used for Arsenal tablets, but, they had both undergone hard firing, implying they were probably fired in the Arsenal¹². Xf 8182 has a red clay appearance showing that it had not undergone hard firing, suggesting that it is unlikely to have been excavated from the Arsenal. In addition, Raison found X 8190 which has a black cracked appearance and is probably from the Arsenal. 8714 is noted (as MSK 25) by Chadwick¹³ but formally recorded by Olivier¹⁴.

Huxley¹⁵ also recorded finding tablets in a storeroom at Knossos including 8100, 8106-8107, which are almost certainly from the Arsenal.

From 1957 to 1961, Hood excavated on the West side of the Arsenal building. A number of Linear B tablets were found during the successive years of the excavation and these were reported by Chadwick¹⁶ and Chadwick and Killen¹⁷. It is reported by Hood that "some of the tablets recovered in the new excavations may belong to the Armoury series found by Evans. ... but some of the tablets certainly, and perhaps all of them, came from a fill of rubbish which had found its way into holes left by ... quarrying for stone"¹⁸. On this basis, 8144-8146 have been included with the Arsenal tablets in TABLE 2a because they have been identified as having been written by Arsenal scribe 133¹⁹. The other tablets excavated by Hood are listed separately in TABLE 2b as being from a separate find-place.

¹² Although they have probably the same provenance, D 8174 and DI 8177 are quite different records and the DI classification for 8177 is inferred from the scribal hand.

¹³ Chadwick, *supra*, n. 4.

¹⁴ J.-P. Olivier, «Nouvelles tablettes en Linéaire B de Cnossos», *BSA* 62, 1967, pp. 267-323.

¹⁵ Huxley & Chadwick, *supra*, n. 9.

¹⁶ Chadwick, *supra*, n. 4: tablets 8144-8150 and 8170-8171.

¹⁷ J. Chadwick and J. Killen, «Linear B tablets from Knossos», *BSA* 58, 1963, pp. 68-88, tablets: 8210-8215.

¹⁸ Chadwick *supra*, n. 4.

¹⁹ In principle, Og(2) 8150 should be included with the Arsenal tablets in TABLE 2a because it has been identified as part of the Og(2) set, along with Og(2) 4467. However, if one looks at these two tablets there is no indication that they are actually part of the same set. Therefore, since they were probably from separate find-places, they are listed in separate tables. It is suggested that Og(2) should not be regarded as a set.

TABLE 2a: Tablets excavated from the Arsenal⁽ⁱ⁾

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Sd		128	4401-4408, <u>4409</u> , 4412-4413, 4415-4416, 4422, 4450, 4468, <i>5091</i> , <u>8519</u> , <u>8544</u> , 9933-9934, 9936, <u>9937</u> , <u>9939</u>
Sf	(1)	128	<u>4421</u> , <u>4423</u> , <u>4427</u> , 4428
	(2)	129	<u>4418-4420</u> , 4424, <u>4425</u> , 4426, <u>4465</u> , <u>4491</u> , <i>5106</i>
So	(1)	130	4429-4430, 4432, 4436-4437, 4440-4441, 4448-4449
	(2)	131	<u>4431</u> , 4433-4434, 4438-4439, 4442, <u>4443</u> , 4445-4446
	(-)	128?	4435
	(-)	129?	4447
Sp			4451-4452
Mc		132	4453-4457, 4459-4464, <i>5107</i> , <i>5118</i> , <i>5124</i> , <i>5818</i> , <i>8448</i> , <u>8705</u> , <u>8708</u> , <u>9940-9942</u>
Nc		133	4470, 4473-4474, <u>4475</u> , 4479-4480, 4484-4485, 4489-4490, 8144, <u>8145</u> , 8146, <i>5100</i> , <i>5103</i> , <i>5110</i> , <u>5112</u> , <i>5117</i> , <i>5120-5122</i> , <i>5126</i> , <i>5128-5130</i> , <i>5772</i> , <i>5787</i> , <i>8106</i> , <i>8172-8173</i> , <i>8175-8176</i> , <i>8181</i> , <i>8183</i> , <i>8186</i> , <i>8187</i> , <i>8276</i> , <i>8286</i> , <i>8300</i> , <u>8309</u> , <u>8313</u> , <i>8315</i> , <i>8317</i> , <u>8453</u> , <i>8454</i> , <u>8455</u> , <i>8456</i> , <u>8542</u> , <u>8555</u> , <u>8586</u> , <u>8630</u> , <u>8728</u> , <i>8758</i> , <i>8803-8805</i>
Og			4467
R			1815, 4482
Ws			1704, 1705, 8495
Misc.			E 4466, U 4478 (scribe 202), Sg 1811 D 8174, <i>DI(1) 8177</i> (scribe 118?) Xf 4472 (scribe 131?), 4486 (scribe 133?), 4487, 4492, <i>5102</i> , <i>5104</i> , <i>5115</i> , <i>5125</i> , <i>5573</i> , <i>6004</i> , <i>8107</i> , <i>8298</i> , <i>8322</i> , <i>8719</i> , <i>8731</i> , <i>8764</i> , <i>8827</i> , <i>8835</i> , <i>9944-9947</i> X <i>8190</i>

Note:

⁽ⁱ⁾ Mc 1508 and Mc 5187 were found in the East-West Corridor (R.J. Firth, *supra* n. 6). It is judged that neither of these tablets was written by scribe 132, on the basis of the logograms (although they are currently attributed to 132? in *KT5*). 4427bis and 5111 have been excluded because they are now joined (see J.L. Melena, «19 raccords et quasi-raccords de fragments dans les tablettes de Cnossos», *Minos* 31-32, 1996-1997, pp. 417-422.).

TABLE 2a contains a full list of tablets from the Arsenal based on the indices in *CoMIK* IV. The underlined numbers imply that there is some doubt about the scribal hand. The numbers in italics imply that the find-place has been inferred usually on the basis of the scribal hand or the characteristic firing of the clay.

TABLE 2b: Tablets excavated from the area West of the Arsenal

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Misc.			M 8170, Og 8150, Sk 8100, 8149, U 8210 X 8147-8148, 8171, 8211-8215

TABLE 2b lists the tablets found by Hood in the excavations immediately to the west of the Arsenal (but excluding tablets which are evidently from the Arsenal itself).

The fragments of Arsenal tablets which cannot be classified further have been given the prefix Xf in *KT5* and in *CoMIK*. Although, *KT5* is not explicit on this matter, it would appear that this classification is not intended to include tablets found in the area immediately to the west of the Arsenal. If it is accepted that X 8190 is from the Arsenal then this should be re-classified as Xf 8190. Tablets 04.94 & 04.95 were excavated from the Little Palace and accordingly should be classified as X 8101 and X 4495 (i.e. not Xf).

3. MYRES' COLLATION OF SUPPLEMENTARY TABLETS *SM* 1569-1654

Following the death of Sir Arthur Evans, Myres was given the task of editing Evans' documents on Linear B. This was a substantial undertaking because Evans did not work in an orderly manner. Nevertheless, the Clarendon Press "had prepared, long ago, a fount of Minoan type, a large number of line blocks from Evans's transcripts, and an edition of collotype plates, numbered XIV-XCVII in continuation of those published in Volume I" (*SM* II, p. vi). In addition, Myres had the *Handlist*, which contained drawings of tablets *SM* 1-1568 in the final order in which Evans wanted them to be published, and also File 13, which contained the tablets found in the years 1904-5. However, Myres found numerous other miscellaneous drawings etc. which were separate from the *Handlist* and File 13 and it was not obvious which drawings were duplicates and which were additional to the two main lists. He organised this miscellaneous material under a number of headings and then set about eliminating the texts which duplicated those in the *Handlist* and giving consecutive numbers to the remaining drawings. Such a process would be relatively straightforward today, using computer technology, however, it is evident that, in the late 1940s, this took a considerable amount of effort.

The archives in the Ashmolean Museum contain three preliminary listings of these miscellaneous tablets, which are each different from the published listing in *SM* II. *Notebook* 3 contains two listings. The first of these listings appears to be the earliest attempt to gather together the miscellaneous material and the

second listing is labelled as being a fair copy. File 6 includes the third listing and, although this itself contains extensive re-numbering, it also has instructions to the printer, so presumably this was the draft given to the unfortunate type-setter. However, there are substantial differences between File 6 and the published version, implying that these changes were made by updating printed drafts²⁰. There also appears to have been continual updating of the *Notebook 3* listings as duplicate tablets were deleted and new tablets were ‘re-discovered’ at Knossos and in the Ashmolean. The listings are basically a roughly written representation of the Linear B texts, which is usually sufficient to identify the tablets. In addition, they occasionally include useful supplementary information which is not available elsewhere.

The mechanical process of eliminating duplicate texts from the listings is not of particular interest for present purposes although the discussion on *SM 1578* below provides a demonstration of the amount of work that was involved in rationalising Evans’ papers.

Many of the headings adopted by Myres appear in *SM II*, although the Linear B tablets listed under these headings are incorrect in the published book. This is because at some stage in the process, Myres fixed the bulk of the *SM* numbers and the tablets that were subsequently included in the list were inserted into gaps in the numbering. For example, the tablets which he numbered *SM 1594-7* and *1605* were known to him from a page of drawings by Hilda Pendlebury and R. W. Hutchinson which he received in 1948, when he was at an advanced stage in his work. However, these tablets were incorrectly slotted in under the heading “Tablets for which there are transcripts (under provisional numbers) in Evans’ manuscript notes” in *SM II*.

In practice, it is straightforward to reconstruct the headings and the corresponding tablets that should have appeared under them. Each of the headings is given here as the title of a sub-section with a discussion of any new items of interest which can be gleaned from Myres’ notes.

The set of numbers from 1569-1574 is slightly anomalous as it does not have a separate heading in the notes. In File 6, it appears that Myres intended to leave a gap in the numbering. However, the detailed *Notebook 3* listings show groups of tablets being moved into those slots and then deleted as duplicates. The residual tablets which acquired these numbers were *SM 1569*, *1573* and *1574*, which were based on drawings found in File 13. Tablet *SM 1571* was labelled as being a tablet represented only by a block (X24) with no known drawings or block pulls, although it was subsequently identified as a duplicate of Dq 672. In the sub-sections that follow, it is convenient to start the discussion of items 1-

²⁰ The set of proofs for pages 107 and 108 dated 1950 in the Ashmolean archives is markedly different from the published version of these pages.

5, 7 and 8 from the contents of File 6, whereas item 6 starts from *Notebook 3*, though information from both sources is used.

3.1. “Tablets not included in Evans’ numeration but represented by drawings with provisional number”

Under this heading Myres should have included *SM* 1575-1593, 1598, 1600-1604, 1606-1614, 1621.

SM 1575. There is an earlier Evans number given against this of 1003 together with the note “quoted by AE on ↑[VIR]”. It is clear the Evans had written a marginal note for himself, noting the word *ru-ki-ti-ja*, and cross-referencing it with a tablet numbered 1003. The signs ‘↑[VIR]’ would seem likely to be a shorthand for As 1516, i.e. the large man tablet, though the reason for the annotation is not understood. This earlier number is almost certainly a reference to ON 1003 = Ln 1568. If this is correct then *SM* 1575 should not have been included as a separate tablet number.

SM 1578. In *Notebook 3*, *SM* 1578 is annotated, “rubric only”, together with the earlier Evans number of 1072. This can be recognised as RN 1072 (*SM* 1080), which means that the text for *SM* 1578 given in *SM* II is the ‘rubric’ (i.e. shepherd’s name) from Da 1080. This interpretation can be supported by the drawing given for Da 1080 in the *Handlist* and *SM* II. However, Evans initially misread *au-ri-jo* as **e-mo-ri* and then compounded the error by writing it as **ti-mo-ri* in his list of shepherds names. It would have been this difference between the *SM* II drawing and the list of shepherds names that led to *SM* 1578 being included²¹.

We can use this example to give us some insight into the extent which Myres combed through Evans’ documents looking for Linear B texts which had not been included in the *Handlist*. Evans had drawn up a list of ~500 shepherds names, extracted from the main sheep archive tablets, with a Revised Number (RN) against each name²². Myres produced a concordance of RN and *SM* numbers, primarily for the *J1* tablets, and then went through the whole list of shepherds’ names, trying to discover whether there was additional material in the list of names. In practice, the only name which he could not locate was **ti-mo-ri* and thus it was included as a separate text.

SM 1579-1580. Using *Notebook 3*, we can identify some of the tablets with RN 664-667. This was a buffer of ‘spare’ numbers introduced by Evans into his Revised Numbering sequence; however, since these are numbers for stray tablets, they do not provide any reliable additional insight into find-places²³.

²¹ *KT5* states incorrectly that *SM* 1578 was not used.

²² Firth, *supra*, n. 1, SECTION 13.1.1

²³ Firth, *supra*, n. 1, APPENDIX B.2

RN 664 = *SM* 1579, RN 666 = *SM* 1580, RN 667 = *SM* 582 and RN 665 has the text]*ni-ki-jo*[. This is probably Od 5082.

Df 1591. Myres clearly had sight of some of Evans' drawings which are no longer in the Ashmolean files, including one or two pages of the uncut *Handlist* containing drawings of tablets from the main sheep archive. All of these additional drawings have now been identified with tablets, with the exception of Df 1591, which is listed as a missing tablet. Myres' notes imply that this tablet is RN 1371, which confirms that it was part of the main sheep archive, found in the East-West Corridor. The text of this tablet is given as including 50 rams and 8 ewes in *KT5* and Myres' notes, but in *SM* II and *CoMIK* II it has 60 rams and 18 ewes. Myres drew the signs from this tablet consistently a number of times in his notes and, in the absence of the tablet, this is more likely to be reliable than the version in *SM* II. The final point to note is that Myres records that there is doubt about the reading of the ewe sign.

SM 1621 was evidently slotted into a gap in the numbering at a late stage. Myres knew that it had been given an RN by Evans. However, the number given, RN 1589, is either a misreading or a misnumbering because there already is an RN 1589 = Ra 1560, which was found in the Corridor of Sword Tablets, whereas, Dv 1621 is clearly part of the main sheep archive found in the East-West Corridor.

3.2. "Tablets represented by AE pencil notes, without serial numbers"

This section contains tablets represented by drawings with no numbers. The tablets listed are *SM* 1615-1619. *SM* 1615-1616 actually both have Original Numbers and Revised Numbers, although clearly not on the drawings seen by Myres. Both tablets were found in Magazine IV. The remaining tablets are sheep tablets for which RNs were not allocated.

3.3. "Tablets represented only by references in print"

SM 1620 is listed under this heading. This is a single word which appears in *PoM* iv, p. 783. *SM* 1620 was included by Browning²⁴ but, in *KT1* and *KT2* the reading was omitted and replaced by the note "May never have existed", ascribed possibly to Bennett. In subsequent editions of *KT*, the notes for *SM* 1620 indicate the text was not in Linear B.

It is suggested that we have been unjust with Evans' reference to *SM* 1620 because his notes were generally reliable. With the present state of knowledge, the resultant text is extremely interesting: *o-ne-ro₂-i* provides us with an excellent dative of a noun easily identified in Greek, /*Oneiros*/ (personified dreams in

²⁴ R. Browning *The Linear B Texts from Knossos*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, Supplementary Paper no. 1, 1955.

Homer, as a kind of gods, *Il.* 2.6ff). The use of the syllabogram ro_2 fits very well with what we expect in its etymology: ro_2 is for $/r'r'o/ < /ryo/$. So, we expect that */oneiros/* is an adjectival construct in *-yos* with *e*-vowel from the old noun */onar/* ‘dream’, as */oner-yos/*, and the text of *SM* 1620 represents what we expected as a plural dative */oner'r'oihil/*. On the other hand, this type of dative is found among the Fh records (*de-u-jo-i* in Fh 352, *o-mi-ri-jo-i* in Fh 356, etc), and it is suggested that *SM* 1620 could represent a lost Fh tablet²⁵. The upright and circle form for the syllabogram ro_2 is well attested in hand 200 and an erased instance of it could even be seen in Xd 8653 in hand «124».

3.4. “Tablets represented by drawings without serial numbers, and not recorded in AE Handlist or AE notes”

Under this heading in File 6, Myres listed *SM* 1621-1627. However, it is clear that he subsequently found most of these amongst *Handlist* drawings and they were nearly all deleted. The tablet he does not appear to have traced is *SM* 1624 but his drawing of the tablet is both inconsistent and unclear, although it could be identified as the *verso* of 7377.

There is also a second listing of the same tablets in *Notebook* 3, with the variant heading, “Tablets not in AE *Handlist*, nor in AE notes, but represented by block-pulls”. However, on this occasion the list also includes *SM* 1599. This tablet has not been traced in the Heraklion Museum and there is an indication in *KT5* and *CoMIK* II that it might be a duplication of *SM* 1595 (line 2), referring to Myres’ papers. In fact, there are two important additional pieces of information about this tablet, contained in Myres’ papers, that should be taken into account. Firstly, the text is given as *TELA+PU* 3, whereas the published text omits the 3. Secondly, the notes include the number 439bis. *OKTi* (pp. 60-61) contains a discussion of Evans’ use of numbering in printed texts; basically Evans used whichever numbering system was current at the time he was writing. Thus, with this additional information, it is clear that *SM* 1599 is in fact L 1616, which contains the Linear B text *TELA+PU* 3 and is also one of two tablets with a post-RN number of 439 (see *OKTi*, p. 18).

3.5. “Fragmentary Tablets photographed in the Collotype Plates, but not otherwise recorded”

As noted above, during Evans’ lifetime, the Clarendon Press had already produced the collotype plates which were to be used to print the photographs of the tablets in *SM* II. These were probably in the form as published with their printed numbers. Thus, Myres would readily have been able to identify most of

²⁵ Fh 9068 was checked to see if it could represent the *remains* of 1620, but the upright at left precludes any identification with *o-*.

TABLE 3: Tablets on *SM II* photographs not identified within *Handlist* ⁽ⁱ⁾

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

Note:

⁽ⁱ⁾ For completeness, it is noted that the Linear A tablet 1637 is KN 28 and 1640 is KN 2, according to the *GORILA* numbering convention.

the tablets in these photographs from drawings in the *Handlist*. The tablets in the photographs which he could not initially identify were given the numbers 1628-1640 in *SM II*. Some of these tablets are not correctly identified in *KT5*, therefore TABLE 3 serves both to correct typographical errors in *SM II* (p. 108) and to identify *SM* 1628-1640 in terms of their current *KT5* numbers.

3.6. “Tablets found in 1946 in the Villa Ariadne, and transferred to the Candia Museum”

The tablets listed under this heading are *SM* 1641-1643 from the drawings by R. W. Hutchinson, discussed in SECTION 5.3. [Note that there are two tablets numbered 1642 in *SM II*, the current Xf 8101 and X 1642; the tablet under discussion here is the former.] Although, Myres states that they were transferred to the Candia museum in 1946, in fact, *SM* 1642 and *SM* 1643 were re-discovered at Knossos in 1956 (see SECTION 5.5) and *SM* 1641 was missing until after the publication of *KT3* and then re-appeared in the Kanellopoulos Collection, Athens (although it has subsequently gone missing again)²⁶.

²⁶ In respect of the supposed transfer to the Heraklion Museum, it is interesting to note from correspondence from Hutchinson to Myres on 25 January 1946 that, “It will probably be months or a year before anything in the Heraklion Museum is accessible since Platon cannot move anything until he has enough panes of glass and cases. Some cases he has but his most crying need is for panes of glass both for the cases and for the windows of the museum.” In other words, in 1946, it would not have been a priority of the museum to seek new acquisitions.

It is clear that Myres' list was compiled prior to 31.3 1947, because on that date there is a note in *Notebook 3* stating that information was transferred from one listing to another. In fact, it is clear that, even in 1946, *SM* 1641-1643 were late-comers into the listing as there was a re-numbering of the following Ashmolean tablets from 1640-1648 to 1644-1651 to accommodate the new drawings.

SM 1640bis should also be included in this section. In Myres' notes it is inserted late into the listing (i.e. later than *SM* 1641-1643), with the words "from Villa Ariadne". *KT5* correctly identifies 1640bis as Sc 242v. In practice, the drawings of 1640bis and 242v are based on the same original, although that differs markedly from the present accepted reading of the tablet. Myres' association of 1640bis = 242 with the Villa Ariadne tablets is incorrect because that tablet had been transferred to the Heraklion Museum in 1904 (M. Inv. 1200). Thus, separate inclusion of 1640bis in *SM* II can be seen to be due to an error that crept into the documentation of the tablets.

3.7. "Tablets in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, not included in *AE Handlist*"

Under this heading was initially listed *SM* 1644-1651. There are also notes received in 1951 by Myres from the Ashmolean in *Notebook 3* describing further tablets which were found in the archives of the museum. These were included at the end of the list as *SM* 1652-1654.

3.8. "Fragments found near the Little Palace: in the Stratigraphical Museum. Knossos: section P I 17 in Pendlebury's Catalogue"

These are the tablets from the page of drawings by Hilda Pendlebury and R. W. Hutchinson, which Myres numbered, *SM* 1594-1597, 1605. The page of drawings will be discussed in SECTION 4.2 and 5.4.

As already noted, it is clear that Myres' listings were compiled prior to 1947. However, he did not receive the Pendlebury/Hutchinson drawings (described in SECTION 3.4) until 1948. Rather than re-number his lists, Myres chose to slot these tablets into the numbering system as it then existed, which is the probable explanation why these tablets do not have consecutive numbers. The important point that can be deduced is that Myres did not see any drawings by Evans of these tablets.

Myres' notes also use the alternative heading, "Fragments from the 'Little Palace' area (Pendlebury, *Catalogue* P I 17) Found in the Villa Ariadne 1947, and transferred to the Candia Museum: drawn by Mrs Pendlebury". This heading was quoted by Palmer in *OKTi*. It is more misleading for three reasons: firstly, the tablets were actually found in 1948 by David Clarke; secondly, they were transferred to Athens and only later sent to the Heraklion Museum; and

thirdly, the drawings were found with the tablets and they were not drawn in 1948²⁷. The later history of these tablets is described below.

4. THE M-SERIES OF LINEAR B TABLETS

In *SM II*, the drawings of the M-series tablets are included under the heading, “Fragmentary tablets mislaid in the Villa Ariadne and transferred to the Candia Museum in 1949”. The story behind these tablets becomes clearer from the file of Myres’ correspondence.

David Clarke had acquired the task of cataloguing the museum material held by the British School at Athens (BSA). In the process of doing this, he ‘unearthed’ a number of ‘Objects with Minoan script’ in the BSA, which he duly catalogued as M1-28²⁸. In March 1948, Clarke sent to Myres a copy of the pages listing the tablets together with a set of photographs, taken by a photographer working with the archaeologists in the Agora.

In July 1948, he wrote again from Athens to Myres, this time enclosing a further page from his catalogue, listing tablets which he had catalogued as M126-138. He wrote, “Enclosed are some more photographs & a drawing of new pieces of script which I found knocking about the library of the Villa Ariadne when I went there this spring. The [BSA] Director was there at the time, & told me to bring them back to Athens & have them photographed, & they can be properly cared for here. I suppose they were picked up by Hutchinson but they were in such a mess (it has been a full day’s job for our mender to piece some of them together) that no identification could be reliable, & I doubt whether he could identify them himself.”²⁹

It is clear that the drawings sent by Clarke are those by Hilda Pendlebury and Hutchinson, which will be discussed in SECTION 5.4. However, it is also clear that Myres did not realise that the drawings represented some of the tablets

²⁷ It is possible to speculate on the date of the drawings as being somewhere between Hutchinson’s arrival at Villa Ariadne in 1935 and Hilda Pendlebury’s departure before the war in 1938. Hilda Pendlebury did return to Crete once after the war in 1947 to attend her husband’s memorial service and to make enquiries about his last living days. However, it seems unlikely that she would have chosen that time to draw fragments of tablets which had been excavated many years previously. In addition, it seems probable that if Hutchinson had remembered the existence of these drawings he would have sent them to John Myres during their correspondence on *SM II*. (The dates used are taken from Powell, *supra*, n. 8, p. 90, 101 and 200.)

²⁸ M1-28 were all Linear B tablets except M25 and M28, which are Linear A inscriptions and are included by W. C. Brice, *Inscriptions in the Minoan Linear Script of Class A*, 1961, Oxford University Press, p. 14 and 23.

²⁹ Huxley (*supra*, n. 9) states that Dr Boufidis found the tablets and sent the drawings to Myres. This is incorrect, although it is clear that Clarke consulted Dr Boufidis and acted on his advice.

M126-138, because he listed both sets separately in *SM II*, duplicating *SM* 1594-1597 and 1605 as M126-130.

The Ashmolean file also contains a page of transcripts of the M-series tablets. In his notes, Myres states that these transcripts were done by Dr Kober and, in a separate note, that the tablets were re-drawn by Miss Potter (whose work is formally acknowledged in *SM II*). Myres' notes record that the tablets were given to the Heraklion Museum in 1949.

It is clear from the above that the M1-27 tablets have a different 'history' from M126-138 and they will be discussed separately.

4.1. *Tablets M1-27*

In Clarke's catalogue of M1-27 there is a sentence, "These last 2 [i.e. M26 & M27] from the West Megaron (Hall of the Double Axes) Knossos". We do not know the basis for this sentence and, in fact, it is obviously garbled since the Hall of Double Axes would be the East Megaron. In practice, M27 = Da 2027 will have been found in the East-West Corridor, which is close to the Hall of Double Axes. M26 = Od 2026 was probably found with the other *wi-ri-za* LANA tablet, Od 8202, though the find-place of that tablet is not known. It is suggested that relatively little weight should be placed on Clarke's sentence on find-places.

It is more interesting to consider the likely origin of the tablets based on scribal hands. This produces the results shown in TABLE 4a.

It is clear from the limited number of find-places noted that these are not a random sample of fragments. It is worth noting also that they do not duplicate any tablets in the *Handlist*. It seems likely that M1-27 were obtained as a sample of Linear Script from a few of the digging trays where the fragments of tablets, which Evans considered to be unimportant, were kept³⁰.

We can get further clues about M1-27 from Hutchinson's letter quoted in *OKTi* (p. 54): "In 1939, I found an unlabelled biscuit tin of Linear B tablets ... in the apotheke of the Villa Ariadne. Since I did not know of anybody working on the tablets then except Sir Arthur, I suggested that a few fragments might be temporarily transferred to the British School in Athens for the interest of the students. Tom Dunbabin agreed and they were put on view in the School."

³⁰ TABLE 4a also gives an indication that Fh 462 (scribe 141?) was more likely to have been found in the Room of Column Bases than in Magazine IV. In practice, the clay is darker than that of the RCB Fh-series tablets but it has the same sort of inclusions as those tablets. In addition, *SM* 5470, which is joined with 462, appears in the 5000-series alongside the RCB tablets. If this assumption was correct it would imply that Evans had entered *SM* 462 under the wrong catch-heading in his *Handlist*. The tablets from Magazine IV were excavated on 1 May 1900 and those from the RCB were found on the following day and so it is plausible that the *SM* 462 could have strayed in this way. Similarly, *SM* 2001, 2002, 2003 & 2026 are likely to have been excavated from one of the find-places listed in TABLE 4a.

TABLE 4a: Genesis of M1-27

Probable Find-spot	Number	Joins + 5000-	Other joins
E-W Corridor	2005	5366	
	1402 (2007)		
	2010	5180, 5266	
	1333 (2015)		
	2016	8407 (= 5254)	
<i>13 tablets in total</i>	1502 (2017)		
	1276 (2018)		
	2019	5681, [5412]	
	2020	5314, 5423	
	1485 (2022)	5197	
	1435 (2023)		7220
	1207 (2024)		
	2027	fr. 1950	
R. of Column Bases	380 (2006)	5445	I/2
	2013		I/2
<i>3 tablets in total</i>	2014	5439	
W. Magazines:	IV 462 (2008)	5470	
	XV 2009		
	XV 647 (2012)	5943, 5974	
South (K)	2004	fr. 1950	
	2011	[5508]	
	2021		
Unknown	2001		
	2002		
	2003		
	2026		

Hutchinson goes on to suggest that the Athens tablets were of the Armoury type. However, we know that this cannot have been the case for two reasons:

i) because the Armoury tablets from the RCT were catalogued in the Heraklion Museum in 1904³¹.

ii) because the tablets from the Arsenal itself, with limited exceptions, were taken to the museum in 1939, as Hutchinson records in his letter (see SECTION 2) and because no tablets of an Armoury type were found by Clarke at the BSA³².

³¹ See discussion on the Museum Inventory in Firth, *supra*, n. 6.

³² The Hutchinson letter is included by Palmer in *OKTi* as part of an explanation of the fate of the minor fragments of the Sc-series which Evans put in a tin box, according to a note in the *Handlist* (see Firth *supra*, n. 1, SECTION 6). In practice, these Sc-series tablets had been received and catalogued by the Heraklion Museum over twenty years before Hutchinson became responsible for the Knossos site. Clearly, over a period of time, there had been more than one tin box containing tablets.

TABLE 4b: Genesis of M126-138⁽ⁱ⁾

Number	Joins + 5000-	Other joins	HP/RWH
2126			✓
2127			✓
2128			✓
2129		8720	✓
2130		7102	✓
2131		fr	✓
2132			✓
2133			
2134			
[2135]	5422		
2138			✓

Note:

⁽ⁱ⁾ It should be noted that the *KT5* Concordance is incorrect to suggest that SM 2136 is missing. In fact, Clarke's catalogue of 'Further fragments of Minoan Script' did not include an entry numbered M136.

Our best guess is that at some point in time it was found convenient to have a tin of tablet fragments to show to visitors to Knossos and a sample of reasonable size fragments were taken from a few of the digging trays. This tin of samples was subsequently then put in the apotheker and forgotten until Hutchinson found it and sent it to the BSA, at some stage in the 1930s³³.

4.2. Tablets M126-138

As already noted, M126-138 were found in spring 1948 by Clarke in the library of the Villa Ariadne along with the page of drawings by Hilda Pendlebury and R. W. Hutchinson. TABLE 4b analyses the genesis of M126-138 on the basis of joins. Similarly, TABLE 5 is an analysis of the Pendlebury/Hutchinson drawings.

The Pendlebury/Hutchinson drawings were found with the M126-138 group of tablets and nearly all the significant pieces (and a number of fragments)

³³ It should be noted that again in 1939 R. W. Hutchinson collected a sample of Minoan sherds, including two Linear B tablet fragments from the East-West Corridor, probably from the same stock as M1-27, on behalf of A. D. Trendall, University of Otago, New Zealand, but fortunately kept in the National Museum of Athens, see J. Sakellarakis - J.-P. Olivier, «Deux fragments de tablettes en Linéaire B de Cnossos au Musée National d'Athènes», *AAA* 5:2, 1972, pp. 289-292 (Dd 8831, joined to 7106 and later on to 5105; D 8787). The origin of the piece also from the East-West Corridor, once in the possession of R.W. Hutchinson and now at Liverpool (Dv 8836), cannot be determined, but it possibly comes from the same tin as well.

TABLE 5: Identification and concordance referring to fragments on HP/RWH drawings ⁽ⁱ⁾

encircled drawing no.	Identification	Comments
1	1594 = 2126	
2	1595 = 2127	
3	1596 = 2128r.	
4	2138	left part, two frr. missing
5	8791	[+] 7060
6	no number	fragment amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
7		not amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
8		not amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
9		not amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
10		not amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
11	no number	fragment amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
12	2132	
13	1597 = 2130	later on joined to 7102
14		not amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
15	no number	fragment previously (incorrectly) joined to 7060
16	2132	joined to 12
17	2131	without the base of <i>a</i>
18		not amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
19		not amongst the <i>agrapha</i>
20	1605 = 2129	joined further to 8720
21	1596 = 2128v.	

Note:

⁽ⁱ⁾ According to the annotation by Myres; drawings numbered 1 to 19 in the upper two-thirds of the page are by Hilda Pendlebury; Hutchinson drew numbers 20 & 21, together with duplicated drawings of Hilda Pendlebury's 1, 2, 3, 12, 13 in the lower third of the page.

appear in both lists. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the batch of tablets found by Clarke included not only M126-138 but also the remaining small fragments which were included in the drawings, which Clarke presumably considered to be too minor for his catalogue³⁴. We can also infer that any additional fragments which are now joined to these pieces were not part of this batch, since Clarke has told us that the mender at Athens spent a considerable amount of effort joining the fragments within that batch.

³⁴ This is not intended to imply that all these fragments had the same provenance or that they were all together when Hilda Pendlebury and/or Hutchinson made their drawings. It is simply suggested that we can reconstruct the grouping of tablets that had accumulated in the library at Villa Ariadne and which Clarke found in spring 1948.

There is a note at the bottom of the page of Pendlebury/Hutchinson drawings stating that they were from the “Little Palace area in general. Pendlebury’s catalogue P I 17”. Taken literally, this would refer to box P I 17 of the Stratigraphical museum “Outside SE angle, 1931”, although it will be shown that this reference to P I 17 recurs a number of times and is usually in error. It is also possible that it is referring to the “5 boxes from the [Little Palace] Area generally, no date” which follows on from P I 17 in Pendlebury’s catalogue. However, in the first instance, we will consider this batch of tablets as though this reference to the Little Palace was not there. In that case, we would make the following analysis:

- *Ak(2)* 2126 (scribe 108?) with brown compact, high density clay. The clay type and scribe suggest that it was probably excavated from Magazine VIII.
- L 2127 with red, earthy loose clay. The clay type suggests that it was probably from the Western Magazines or the North Entrance Passage.
- X 2128 with blackened clay as a result of hard firing, typical of Mc tablets from the Arsenal.
- *Dk(1)* 2129 (scribe 120?) with clay and firing typical of tablets from the North Entrance Passage.
- *Dk(2)* 2129 and D 2130 were not excavated from the Little Palace area because they are joined to pieces *SM* 8720 and 7102 and therefore appear to have arisen from the 1900-1904 excavations.
- similarly *SM* 8791 is part of same tablet as C 7060 which appears to have arisen from the 1900-1904 excavations.

This analysis shows that there is sufficient reason to doubt the validity of the note at the bottom of the page of Pendlebury/Hutchinson drawings, associating all of those tablets with the Little Palace excavations. The discussion of these drawings will be extended in SECTION 5.4 within a more general discussion of tablets from the Little Palace.

5. THE TABLETS FROM THE LITTLE PALACE

The documentation of the tablets from the Little Palace is much less satisfactory than that described for the Arsenal. There are basically seven separate sources of information (although some of these are unreliable);

1. Drawings in File 13
2. Drawings in Evans’ 1905 *Notebook*
3. Drawings by R. W. Hutchinson
4. Drawings by Hilda Pendlebury and R. W. Hutchinson
5. Tablets found in 1956 and reported by Huxley and Chadwick
6. Tablets found by Raison in 1960 in the Stratigraphical Museum
7. Tablet found opposite a vineyard near the Little Palace in 1965.

W. Building - H. of Fetish Shrine



FIGURE 1: Original Drawing of As <4493>

As in the case of the Arsenal tablets, the Little Palace tablets were stored at Knossos for decades. As a consequence, some of them were ‘lost’ and ‘re-discovered’ over the years and that, together with the inadequate labelling in the Knossos stores, explains the number of separate sources. Furthermore, a significant proportion of the tablets under discussion are now missing³⁵ and, in those cases, the drawings listed above are our best source of information. It is convenient to consider each of these sources of information separately.

5.1. Drawings in File 13

It has already been noted above that File 13 contains drawings of six tablets with the catch-heading, ‘W. Building. H. of Fetish Shrine’, i.e. Little Palace. These drawings were given the numbers 04.93-04.98 by Myres (although the tablets were actually excavated in 1905).

Tablets 04.94 and 04.96 were re-discovered at Knossos by Hutchinson (see SECTION 5.3). Tablet 04.94 was re-discovered again by Platon in 1956 (see SECTION 5.5). Tablets 04.95 and 04.97 were re-discovered by Raison in 1960 (see SECTION 5.6).

Tablets 04.93 = As 4493 and 04.98 = X 1642 are now missing and the drawings in *CoMIK II* are copies of the pencil sketch included in File 13.

³⁵ It is worth noting here Popham’s statement that “some 100 sealings [from the Little Palace] have been lost or stolen” (M.R. Popham and M.A.V. Gill, *The Latest Sealings from the Palace and Houses at Knossos*, 1995, BSA Studies 1, p. 50).



04.98

FIGURE 2: Original Drawing of X <1642>

Photocopies of the original drawings have been scanned and included in this paper (FIGURES 1 and 2). The modified readings based on the original drawings are,

As <4493>

.1]e-pi-ko-wō , e-qe-ta , e-re-u-te[

.2]ḏa-mo , e-ro-pa-ke-u , VIR 1 ko-ki-[

.3]jo / ra-wo-po-qo , ze-ro[

Not seen in July 1950, but photograph just re-found.

.2 ko-ki-ḏa[not impossible.

X <1642>

qa-no-ṣo [

Residual traces of a further sign on right, possibly remains of a minuscule sign such as *na*, *to*, *jo* or similar³⁶.

5.2. Drawings in Evans' 1905 Notebook

Evans' 1905 *Notebook* (p. 9a) contains drawings of X 1901 and C 1902 on a page headed 'Little Palace' (reproduced as Plate XXVIII of *OKTi*). These tablets have not been seen subsequently and the drawings in *CoMIK II* are reproduced from Evans' *Notebook*.

This *Notebook* also contains the drawing of a sealing of a bull with an adjacent 'ni' sign. The drawing is on p. 11, under the general catch-heading, 'Sealings of W. Building. H. of Fetishes'. This sealing is reproduced in *OKTii* (p. 64), by Gill³⁷ and Popham and Gill³⁸. Gill states that "it is impossible to judge whether the sign beside the bull is an incised countermark or part of the engraving of the original seal; the latter is more probable"³⁹. It is not included in *KT5*, because the sign

³⁶ It is not unlikely that the reading of <1642> was made difficult by e.g. accretions, and that Evans took an actual *ko* for *qa*. If so, it is likely that the tablet was ruled after the heading into .A, .B, the heading being the place-name <*ko*>-no-ṣo, Knossos.

³⁷ M.A.V. Gill, «The Knossos Sealings: Provenance and Identification», *BSA* 60, 1965, pp. 58-98, Plate 19, sealing U93

³⁸ Popham and Gill *supra*, n. 35, Plate 47.

³⁹ M.A.V. Gill, «Seal and Sealings: Some comments», *Kadmos* 5, 1966, p. 16.

might be part of the engraving. However, it is also excluded from Younger's catalogue of seal motifs with Linear B signs⁴⁰.

5.3. *Drawings by R. W. Hutchinson*

This page of drawings was found by Palmer in a file labelled 'Graffiti', but, it is now to be found in the same box file as File 6 and 13. The drawings are headed, "Fragmentary tablets from outside S.E. angle of Little Palace: excavated in 1931 (P I 17 in Pendlebury's *A Guide to the Stratigraphical Museum*)". We can identify that they were by Hutchinson because of his distinctive style of printing. Three different tablets were drawn:

1. The first tablet has been drawn twice, with the second drawing showing lines that appear in relief. It can readily be identified as tablet 04.96 = X 1641.
2. The second drawing is tablet 04.94 = Xf 8101.
3. The third drawing is upside down. It is 04.100 = SM 1643 = D1 8103.

These are the tablets discussed in SECTION 3.6. It is clear that the heading on the drawing is misleading since all of these tablets are recorded by Evans amongst tablets found in 1904-1905, File 13. It was also clear from Myres' account of that file, that 04.100 was a loose drawing included in the file, rather than part of the series. In other words, it is most unlikely that 04.100 was found in the Little Palace⁴¹. However, we know that 04.94 and 04.96 were found in the Little Palace excavations because they were recorded by Evans in File 13.

Hutchinson appears to have re-discovered these tablets in 1946 and sent drawings to Myres to be included in *SM II*. Myres records that these tablets were submitted to the Heraklion Museum, whereas, in fact, they were put back into storage at Knossos, where two of them were later re-discovered again by Huxley (see SECTION 5.5).

5.4. *Drawings by Hilda Pendlebury and R. W. Hutchinson*

The page of drawings by Hilda Pendlebury and R. W. Hutchinson has already been referred to in SECTION 3.8 and again in more detail in SECTION 4.2. It was found in the library of the Villa Ariadne in 1948 by Clarke along with fragments of tablets (M126-138) and the drawings were forwarded to Myres to be included in *SM II*. It was shown in SECTION 4.2 that the page of drawings and M126-138 are overlapping subsets of the fragments that were found in the library of the Villa Ariadne by Clarke in 1948.

⁴⁰ J.G. Younger, *The Iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Sealstones and Finger Rings*, Bristol Classical Press, 1988, p. 288.

⁴¹ It is evident that the *OKTi* discussion of these drawings did not take into account the contents of Myres' *Notebook 3*.

Hutchinson has given a title below his drawings at the foot of the page, “Little Palace area in general. Pendlebury’s *Catalogue* P I 17”. It is evident that for *OKTi*, Palmer had seen the Myres notes on these drawings in File 6 but had not seen the drawings themselves or the correspondence from Clarke to Myres. It was concluded in SECTION 4.2 that there is good reason to doubt the validity of the Little Palace labelling on the page of drawings.

5.5. *Tablets found in 1956 and published by Huxley and Chadwick*⁴²

Huxley and Chadwick reported the finding of a number of tablets (*SM* 8100-8115). These included two tablets which had been listed by Evans in File 13; i.e. 04.94 = Xf 8101, from the Little Palace, and 04.100 = D1 8103, which was included in the file as a loose drawing; these were two of the tablets already drawn by Hutchinson, see SECTION 5.3 above. *SM* 8100-8115 also included three inscriptions which were most probably found in the Arsenal (i.e. Sk 8100, Nc 8106 and X 8107, which has recently been identified as an Xf tablet in *CoMIK* IV).

Huxley reports that Xf 8101 and Sk 8100 were both found by Platon in 1956 in the Stratigraphical Museum in boxes labelled ‘Little Palace’. 8102 was reported as being found “about the same time in the neighbourhood of the pine-trees to the north-west of the Palace”. The remaining tablets are said to have been found in the store-room in the grounds of Villa Ariadne. Huxley notes that the Stratigraphical Museum labelling “was not a sure guide to the provenience of the tablets themselves”. It is evident from the firing that Sk 8100 was from the Arsenal, not the Little Palace. It is surprising that a tablet as important as 8100 was not noted by Evans. It is less surprising that D1 8103 had become separated from Xf 8101. However, given the widespread nature of the storage arrangements at Knossos at that time, it is surprising that they were found at approximately the same time in different locations.

It is possible to construct a more rational picture if we are permitted to assume that the tablets had been shuffled. As already noted, Hutchinson had included drawings of 8101 and 8103 on the same page. He believed that they were both found in the Little Palace. He could not give the tablets to the Heraklion Museum because it was closed during the war and for some years after, so we might reasonably expect him to have put the two tablets together in the Stratigraphical Museum in a box labelled ‘Little Palace’, where Platon would have found them. According to Hood and Smyth⁴³, Platon was excavating in the area of the Arsenal in 1955, which is north-west of the palace. It seems possible

⁴² Huxley and Chadwick (1957), *supra*, n. 9

⁴³ S. Hood and D. Smyth, *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area*, *BSA Suppl.* vol. 14, London, 1981, p. 51, no. 214

TABLE 6: Tablets excavated from the Little Palace

Class	Set	Scribe	Tablets
Misc.			As <4493>, C <1902> Xf 4495, 8101 X <1641>, <1642>, <1901>, 8197, 8198, 8204, 8205

that this is the location of the tablet reported by Huxley as being found by Platon. If this is the case, then the obvious contender would be Sk 8100, which would explain why Evans had not noted the tablet and this would also fit in well with the later finds of Sk tablets by Hood in the same general area. However, it is stressed that this is speculation. It is fortunate that, in practice, we do not have to rely on Huxley's account for our knowledge of the find-places of these tablets.

In neither account is there any link between the bulk of the fragments, recorded by Huxley as being found in the store-room, and tablets excavated at the same time from the Little Palace, so the Huxley tablets do not add any significant find-place information.

5.6. Tablets found by Raison in 1960 in the Stratigraphical Museum

In 1960, Raison made a thorough search of the Stratigraphical Museum for Linear B tablets⁴⁴. He found tablets in a number of locations. As already noted, these included a number of tablets excavated in 1905, i.e. 04.83 and 04.85-04.92, from the Arsenal, together with 04.95 and 04.97, from the Little Palace.

The fragments MSK 48-51, 63-64 were found together amongst the objects from the Little Palace in box P I 17, labelled "Outside SE Angle. 1931". This includes the two inscriptions that can be identified as tablets that were excavated from the Little Palace in 1905, namely 04.95 (now Xf 4495) and 04.97 (now X 8204). The remaining fragments are X 8197, X 8198 and X 8205. It is not clear whether these three fragments were excavated in 1905 or 1931. However, it is reasonable to suggest that they were probably found in the area of the Little Palace.

Finally, it should also be noted that fragments Da 8201 and Dv 8203 have P I 17 pencilled on *verso* (*KTT Color*)⁴⁵. These fragments were both written by scribe 117 and it is highly likely that they came from the main sheep archive. They represent yet another example of the assumption (by Hutchinson?) that loose tablets found around the Villa Ariadne had probably originated from the Little Palace excavation of 1931.

⁴⁴ Chadwick, *supra*, n. 4.

⁴⁵ *KTT Color* is the currently up-dated, working electronic version of *Knossos Tablets Transliterated* (in Microsoft Word using MycMonaco font worked by J.-P. Olivier).

5.7. *Tablet found in a vineyard opposite the Little Palace in 1965*

Olivier recorded the finding of sealing Wb 8711 in a vineyard opposite the Little Palace in the Autumn of 1965⁴⁶. This has been excluded from the summary table (TABLE 6) because it is not clear that it originated from the Little Palace itself. It is possible that it was excavated from the main palace, in earth that was not sieved, and left in one of the spoil heaps, which were later used as agricultural top-soil.

5.8. *Summary of Little Palace tablets*

TABLE 6 is a list of the tablets which can be ascribed to the Little Palace with some degree of confidence. It has already been noted that the tablets in TABLE 6 with the Xf classification should be changed to X 4495 and X 8101.

Bristol BS35 2HX, U. K.
Thornbury
12 Chiltern Park

RICHARD J. FIRTH

ecpmejij@vc.ehu.es

JOSÉ L. MELENA

⁴⁶ Olivier, *supra* n. 14.