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SETS AND FILES WITHIN THE KNOSSOS TABLETS

It will no doubt be a long time yet before we have a full edition of the Knossos tablets, comparable to MT II and MT III. Such an edition would provide not only drawings, photographs, translation, transliteration, and commentary but also a statement of the physical affinities of each text, so far as these are discoverable. Professor Palmer's *Find-places of the Knossos tablets* (hereafter FP) contains much, though not all, of the information necessary to describe as fully as possible the provenience of the tablets. It is the more regrettable that he could not find room for an index by which the find-place of each tablet could be found quickly; in his review of FP, M. Jean-Pierre Olivier rightly calls this lack „une lacune assez étonnante“, AC xxxiii (1964), 525, and then provides such an index. Subsequently, M. Olivier has very courteously told me of his intention to make use of the facts presented in FP, combined with his own examination of the tablets themselves and of recent photographs, to come to some conclusions about the scribal 'hands' represented at Knossos — with all that this may imply about the organization of the Palace economy. On reading through the extremely valuable collection of material in FP, I had made notes of my own with the same purpose in mind, and some preliminary observations were published in *Kadmos* iii (1965), 114—121. Unfortunately, in identifying 'hands', I have had access only to the drawings in SM II, which are sometimes unreliable and do not of course extend to tablets and fragments discovered in recent excavations or brought to light in other ways. It must be emphasized that the notes which follow were written independently of M. Olivier's work; they are intended as no more than a very tentative contribution to this subject, which will be entirely superseded when his study appears. I have chosen here a few groups of the tablets from Knossos which seemed to lend themselves especially well to the kind of treatment I was able to give. By a 'set' I understand a group dealing with the same general subject-matter: thus the Ag tablets form one 'set', Ai another, Am a third, and so on through the groups of tablets transliterated in KT³. A 'file' consists of a tablet or tablets written apparently by the

same hand and discovered in approximately the same find-place; it sometimes happens, of course, that a 'file' will contain tablets from more than one 'set' — cf. file (2) of the Od set, *inf.*

The Ai set

File (1):	63 115 194 321	}	Room of the Chariot Tablets
File (2):	338		
File (3):	632		
File (4):	739		
File (5):	750—754 762	}	Room of the Saffron Gatherer
File (6):	825 982		

In File (1) the last three inscriptions are fragmentary, but like 63 they contain a very simple formula connecting the ideogram MUL with *kowa* and *kowo*. 338, of which only the right-hand part is preserved, seems to be of a more complex type and its ideogram is differently drawn; since, moreover, it comes from the Court of the Altar (the only tablet found there), it probably represents a distinct file: it is not easy to see how it can be a 'stray' from (1), as FP 78. 632 and 739 appear to belong respectively to two further distinct files, again because of their different provenience and different rendering of the MULIER ideogram. In subject-matter 632 is closely linked to the Ak set, which is represented by some 13 tablets in the XV Magazine. Of the tablets in (5), 750—754 are certainly by the same hand, and the file connects MULIER with GRANUM, an ideogram not found in the preceding files; for the possible affinities of (5), cf. FP 127. As in the case of (3), these two tablets were found in the same area with Ak tablets.

The As set

File (1):	40	Near South-west Door
File (2):	566	XIV Magazine
	602—609	} XV Magazine
	645	
File (3):	821	Area of the Bull Relief

File (4): 1516	Hall of the Colonnades
1517—1520	Corridor of the Sword Tablets
File (5): 4493	Little Palace

Apart from the tablet assigned to the Little Palace, the contents of the As set as well as their find-places seem to point to four clear files. Files (1) and (4) are composed of tablets of the 'page'-type; these contain simple lists of proper names, usually followed by the VIR ideogram, and a summation. At FP 70 Palmer points to the cross-reference between 40.6 and 1516.20 (*sukere* at the place *setoiija*). There is nothing surprising in the appearance of the same name in more than one file, since these lists may have been drawn up for different purposes, so that a man could figure in one as an owner, in another as a payer of tribute, etc. File (2) consists of 'palm-leaf' tablets. These again are basically lists of men with ideograms and summation, except that the TELA ideogram appears as well as VIR on 602 and 605; for the join 602 + 650 + 1639, cf. BSA lvii (1962), 67—68. The fragmentary tablet 566 probably belongs to this file. Although 821 is also of the palm-leaf type, it is completely different in lay-out from the tablets of file (2); this fact, together with the presence of religious references not found in other As tablets and the different provenience, places it in a separate file.

The B set

File (1): 41	Near South-west Door
File (2): 101	} Room of the Chariot Tablets
164	
213	
File (3): 755	} Room of the Saffron Gatherer
772	
File (4): 779	} Room of the Spiral Cornice
807	
File (5): 798	} Area of the Bull Relief
File (6): 799—806	
File (7): 808?	} Area of the Bull Relief
809—818	
822	
823	
File (8): 1055	Room of the Clay Signet

The element linking the tablets of this set is the ideogram *103. With the exception of 101, the tablets of (1), (2), (3), and (4) are very fragmentary, and they have been assigned to separate files purely on the evidence of their find-circumstances (755 and 772 were found at different levels, FP 127). Within the Bull Relief area there seem to be three files containing lists of *103: (6) is a coherent file, consisting of large pieces of page-style tablets with a different lay-out from that of 798; 809ff. are fragments of palm-leaf tablets very similar to 808, though this of course may belong to a different file. 1055 is another large 'page'-tablet, which contains the summation *103 213 (perhaps therefore inclusive of lists on other tablets of this file, now lost) (cf. FP 156).

The C set

File (1):	33	Clay Chest?
File (2):	50	} Room of the Chariot Tablets
	59	
	113	
	162	
	163	
File (3):	394	Room of the Column Bases
File (4):	767	Room of the Saffron Gatherer
File (5):	901?	} Area of the Bull Relief
	905?	
File (6):	908?	
	913—915	
	922?	
	941	
	973	
File (7):	911	} Corridor of the Sword Tablets
	912	
	918?	
File (8):	954?	
File (9):	1561	

These tablets dealing with mixed herds of CATTLE are assigned to separate files solely on the evidence of the find-places, 33 and 767 being insignificant fragments. (For the find-place of 33, cf.

FP 68). An attempt has been made to distinguish files within the Bull Relief deposit by taking content and scribal peculiarities into account; the fragmentary tablets 901 and 905 are probably not susceptible of such sub-division. Palmer's statement at FP 59 that "the SWORD tablets comprise ON 1569—1595 = SM 1540—1566" is in need of correction in respect at least of 1561.

The Dk set

File (1): 671	Corridor of the Stone Jambs
File (2): 727	Room east of the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco
File (3): 920	Area of the Bull Relief
931	
936	
945	
951	
File (4): 1064—1077	Area east of the Bay of Seal Impressions
1320	
1399	
1565?	
File (5): 1567	North end of the Long Gallery

Most of the Dk tablets (which list OVIS^m and LANA), like most of the D series as a whole, were found in the East Wing; but a number of Dk inscriptions appear to belong to other parts of the Palace. For the tablet 1565 compare the comment on C 1561, sup. The Dv tablets present a picture very similar to that of the Dk set.

The E set

File (1): 36	South-west Corner
File (2): 71	Room of the Chariot Tablets
132	
165	
File (3): 668	XV Magazine
File (4): 749	Room of the Saffron Gatherer
File (5): 777	Room of the Spiral Cornice

File (6):	842	}	Area of the Bull Relief
	843		
	845—850		
	971		
	1035		
File (7):	1569	?	
File (8):	1574		Hall of the Colonnades
File (9):	4466		Arsenal

For the suggested re-classification of X 35, 37, and 551 as E tablets, see FP 70. 71, 132, and 165 are all very fragmentary and they are assigned to the same file for no better reason than that they contain the GRANUM ideogram and were found in the same area. There seems to be no strong reason for placing 551 in the E series just because it begins with the word *emesijojo* (the handwriting is certainly different from that of the same word on 35). Despite similarities in content between 668 and 749 (both giving a list of masculine ethnics followed by GRA and numeral, and both including *rukitiyo* in their list), they belong to different files because of their different find-places; they were moreover written by different scribes. 777 is different again, with a list of feminine ethnics associated with LUNA and GRANUM. The group from the Bull Relief Area presumably form a coherent file: 842 is the only one with an overtly religious reference, recording offerings to *teoi* (cf. *pasiteoi* on F 955, from the same area); 847, like 777, links LUNA with GRA; the structure of 971 (word + *opa* + IDEOGRAM) recalls that of Dm 1184. The provenience of 1569 seems to be beyond discovery; compare the widely scattered loci of tablets 1560ff., FP 59; but the same source is definite about 1574.

The F set

File (1):	51	}	Room of the Chariot Tablets
	157		
File (2):	288?	}	
File (3):	452	}	IV Magazine
	456		
File (4):	669	}	XV Magazine
	670		

File (5): 741	Gallery of the Stone Basin
File (6): 760	Room of the Saffron Gatherer
File (7): 841+867	} Area of the Bull Relief
File (8): 844?	
File (9): 851	
854	
File (10): 852	
853?	} Area of the Bull Relief
File (11): 953 and 955	
File (12): 1058	Room of the Clay Signet

As would be expected of a series of tablets concerned with miscellaneous offerings, a number of files may be discerned within this set. So far as the handwriting is concerned, 288 belongs rather with such tablets as X 289 and Vc 290 than with the other F tablets from the same room. On (4), cf. FP 104. Even within the deposit of F tablets in the Bull Relief Area, several distinct files seem to be represented: the different shapes of the GRA ideogram point to the fact that different scribes wrote 851 and 852; 854 seems to belong with 851; while 844 and 853 are really too fragmentary to permit a useful conclusion. 953 and 955, which form respectively the left-hand and right-hand parts of a long tablet, deal with different subjects from the other F tablets in this area. For the location of 1058, cf. FP 59.

The Gg set

File (1): 10	Clay Chest
File (2): 210	Room of the Chariot Tablets
File (3): 700	Near South-west Door
File (4): 701	Long Gallery (near VIII Magazine)
File (5): 702—705	} Gallery of the Jewel Fresco
709	
717	
File (6): 706—708	VIII Magazine
710	VII Magazine
712	VIII Magazine

File (7): 711	North of Room of the Column Bases
File (8): 713	Long Gallery (North End)

These tablets deal with AMPHORA(+A) associated with ME + RI, in religious contexts; they are quite similar to one another, but the scribal differences do on the whole confirm the evidence of the find-places: thus, 700 presents an ideogram not found on the other tablets of this set, while the handwriting of 701, 705, and 713 respectively is sufficiently different to assign them to separate files.

The Od set

File (1):	487		VII Magazine
	502		VIII Magazine
File (2):	539?		XI Magazine
	682	}	Long Gallery (North End)
	687		
	688		
	689		XI Magazine
	690	}	Long Gallery (North End)
	691		
File (3):	562	}	XII Magazine
	563		
File (4):	666	}	XV Magazine
	667		
File (5):	696		North-west Passage
File (6):	714—716		Gallery of the Jewel Fresco
File (7):	1062		South-west Corner?
	1063		Room of the Clay Signet
File (8):	2129		Little Palace

An attempt has been made to separate the tablets into files, taking into account subject-matter, shape of the ideogram LANA, and provenience. No very clear picture emerges. To file (2) belong also M 683 and V 684. On the difficulty of locating 1062, cf. FP 70; it surely belongs to the same file with 1063. For 2129, cf. FP 60.

The Og set

File (1): 180	Room of the Chariot Tablets
File (2): 396—398 424—427	} Corridor of the House Tablets
File (3): 833 834 878	
File (4): 1527	Corridor of the Sword Tablets?
File (5): 4467	Arsenal

A number of separate files would be expected within this set, since it includes tablets which record the delivery by weight (M, in the revised transcription) of various commodities: often, though not always, spices. In the case of files (4) and (5), the commodity is more likely to have been metal. On 427 cf. AC xxxiii (1964), 526. The exact provenience of 1527 is uncertain, FP 59.

The Uf set

File (1): 79 120 198 311	} Room of the Chariot Tablets
File (2): 432	
File (3): 625	
File (4): 835—839 970 980 981 983 987 990 991 1011 1022 1031	
File (5): 1522	Corridor of the Sword Tablets?

The Uf tablets deal with land-holding: the complete ones refer to a measure of land DA, sometimes also to PA. File (1) consists of fragments of small, one-line tablets. 432 and 625 are both 'page'-tablets, but they certainly belong to separate files; not only is their provenience different, but the writing on 625 is much more careless than the notably neat hand of 432. File (4) constitutes a coherent group of carefully written palm-leaf tablets. (X 984, though coming from the same area and containing a reference to *kekemena*, which might seem to link it in subject to 835 and 983, has a different lay-out). 1522 contrasts with file (4), being a tall and narrow tablet of the 'page' type; for its provenience, cf. again FP 59.