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## NEW READINGS IN THE LINEAR B TABLETS FROM KNOSSOS\*

The main purpose of this article is to publish, with brief comment, a number of new readings in the Linear B tablets from Knossos. These are the product of two visits to inspect the originals in the Heraklion Museum, in 1974 and 1983. The new readings will appear in due course in the planned major edition of the Knossos tablets (by J. Chadwick, L. Godart, J.-P. Olivier, A. Sacconi and myself); but some at least of them seemed of sufficient interest and importance to warrant a separate publication in advance of that edition. I also take this opportunity of publishing two new joins in the Knossos material.

I should like to record my warm gratitude to the following for their help in connexion with this work: Dr. J. Tzedakis, Prof. J. Sakellarakis and Mrs. A. Karetsoy, for their kindness in making the tablets available for study in Heraklion; Dr. J. Chadwick, Prof. L. Godart and Dr. J.-P. Olivier (who accompanied me on my visit to the Museum in 1974), for their comments and suggestions on the readings listed (and on matters arising from them); and Dr. J. A. MacGillivray, for allowing me to publish here a new fragment of tablet which he found in the Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos, in 1983, and which I have been able to join with one of the previously-known tablets in the Heraklion Museum (Ga(2) 420: see further below).

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### \*Guide to references:

- Docs<sup>2</sup> – M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge 1973.  
Duhoux 1976 – Y. Duhoux, Aspects du vocabulaire économique mycénien, Amsterdam 1976.  
Godart & Olivier 1973 – L. Godart, J.-P. Olivier, '98 raccords et quasi-raccords de fragments dans les tablettes de Cnossos' in *Minos* 13.2 (1972), 1973, 113–129.  
Killen 1966 – J. T. Killen, 'The Knossos Nc tablets' in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*, Cambridge 1966, 33–38.  
Killen 1974 – id., 'A problem in the Knossos Lc(1) (Cloth) tablets' in *Hermathena* 118, 1974, 82–90.  
Killen 1976 – id., 'Linear B *a-ko-ra-ja* / *-jo*' in *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics offered to Leonard R. Palmer*, Innsbruck 1976, 117–125.  
Killen 1983 – id., 'Mycenaean possessive adjectives in *-e-jo*' in *TPhS* 1983, 66–99.

## Joins

Ga(2) 420 + fr. (136)

.A po-ni-ki-jo [  
 .B pu-na-si-jo ]

The fragment, which contains most of the *pu* of *pu-na-si-jo*, completes the tablet to the left. As noted above, it was found in 1983 in the Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos, by Dr. J. A. MacGillivray, who describes its finding in a separate Appendix to this paper.

Lc(1) 541 + X 5055 (103)

.A ] TELA<sup>1</sup> + TE 22 LANA 154  
 .B ] ja-pu<sub>2</sub>-wi-ja

The join, to the left, restores the tablet to the state it was in at the time it was drawn for Scripta Minoa II. (As it stood before the new join, all that remained of the first word was ]pu<sub>2</sub>-wi-ja; and the reading we gave in KT<sup>4</sup> (*ja-pu<sub>2</sub>-wi-ja*) was derived from the SM II drawing.) The missing fragment, now restored at the beginning of the tablet, is not quite complete at the left, and strict epigraphical practice requires that one should give the reading as ]ja-pu<sub>2</sub>-wi-ja. To judge by the extent to which the tablet has already tapered at the point of the break, however, it is most unlikely that a further sign preceded the *ja*. (On the relationship between ]ja-pu<sub>2</sub>-wi-ja here and *i-ja-pu<sub>2</sub>-we* initially on Lc 646, see most recently Killen 1974. 89 n. 2.)

## New Readings

Ak(1) 5907.1

For ] MUL 2 read ]dē MUL 2 (and suppress the note)

*de* also occurs as an adjunct to MUL (WOMAN) on Ak(1) 610.1, Ak(1) 5948.1. It is also found as an adjunct to *ko-wo* on Ak(1) 620. C. On 5948, as here, the *de* MUL reference is followed by an entry of *pa di* WOMEN viz. 'last year's (recruits?) under instruction' (*di-da-ka-re*, / *didaskalei*/). Given that women (and children) appear normally to be recorded on the Ak tablets in order of seniority, the fact that *de* MUL evidently take precedence over *pa di* MUL is clearly consistent with the interpretation of *de* as an abbreviation of *de-di-<da->ku-ja* (attested before MUL on Ak(1) 611.1), meaning 'trained', i.e. having (recently) completed their apprenticeship.

## Ap 628.1B

For ]-ja read ]i-ja (and suppress the note)

Restore as *se-to-i-ja* (PN or ethnic) or \*56-*ko-we-i-ja* (ethnic)?

## Ap 637.1

For [.] -ke-si-ja, ka[ read a-ke-si-ja, ka-ma[

For the suggestion that *a-ke-si-ja* may be a possessive adjective derived from the "owner's" name *a-ke-ta* (KN B 798.3), and that *ka-ma*[ may be the PN *ka-ma* underlying the ethnic *ka-ma-jo* on Am(1) 5882 and attested in the simple form on L 520.2 (or an ethnic derived from this), see Killen 1976. 124.

## Ap 5868.1

For ]-ja / read ?ko-]no-si-ja / (and suppress the note)

If *ko-]no-si-ja* is the correct reading here, it is attractive to wonder whether this tablet may not be the totalling record (see the *to-sa*, /*tos(s)a(i)*/, 'so much, so many', following *ko-]no-si-ja*) for the two Ak/Lc(1) weaving workgroups which we know to have existed at Knossos: the *ko-no-so* / *ko-u-re-ja*, attested on Ak(1) 643 and probably also on Lc(1) 548, and the *ko-no-so* / *te-pe-ja*, attested on Le 641.4 and probably also on Lc(1) 549.

## As(1) 5609.1

For *vestigia* [ read e[

## D 5094

Add notes:

.A Trace at left consistent with OVIS<sup>x</sup>.

.B Trace at left consistent with *o*, not *pe* or *pa*.

## D 5545

.A For OVIS<sup>f</sup> 50 [ read OVIS<sup>f</sup> 50 LANA[

.B For *o* [ read *o* LANA[ (and suppress the note)

If the readings proposed are correct, the tablet should be reclassified as D1.

## D 8174.1

For ]-si-jo-jo OVIS<sup>m</sup>[ read ]-si-jo-jo / ko // OVIS<sup>m</sup>[

The purpose of the small *kə* remains unclear. It might stand for *ko-no-so* (cf. *se* standing for *se-to-i-ja* on the Do SHEEP tablets in hand 106); or, if a LANA sign followed directly after OVIS<sup>m</sup> (see Killen 1983. 79), it might indicate that the wool in question was intended for manufacture into *ko-u-ra* cloth. (The traces to the right are consistent with a restoration of ]-*si-jo-jo* as *we-we*]-*si-jo-jo*; and *we-we-si-jo*'s workgroup is shown as expected to produce (*pa-we-a*) *ko-u-ra* on Lc(1) 7392.) But neither of these suggestions can be regarded as anything more than a tentative guess.

Nc 5100 (recto)

For ] M 8 o M 4 read ] M 'ri' 8 o M 4

The small *ri* written between the first M (weight) sign and the following 8 is almost certainly an abbreviation of *ri-no*, /*linon*/, and an indication of the commodity which is being recorded on the tablet (and on the Nc tablets as a whole). I have already suggested, on the basis of the SA ideograms which are found on two members of the series (see Nc 4479, Nc 5121), that this was the subject of the series<sup>1</sup>; and *ri-no* is recorded in terms of weight at Knossos on Og 5778 (a tablet whose fabric is similar to that of the Nc records, and which is written in a similar, though perhaps not identical, hand). *ri* may well also abbreviate *ri-no*, or its derivative \**ri-to*, *ri-ta*, '(made) of linen', on KN Oa 745 [+ ] 7374, where it stands before the textile ideogram \*166 + WE<sup>2</sup>.

It is interesting to note that the three commodities recorded on Nc 5100, RI M on the recto and KE M, \*146 on the lower edge, are evidently the first three commodities in the standard list of six on the Ma taxation records at Pylos. With 5100, whose full text is given beneath, compare e. g. the standard 'assessment' entry on the top line of Ma 222, which concerns the place *a-ke-re-wa*:

Nc 5100 + 8184

] M 'ri' 8 o M 4

lat. inf. ]2 KE M 10 \*146 6

Ma 222.1

a-ke-re-wa \*146 23 RI M 23 KE M 7 \*152 10 O M 5  
ME 500

<sup>1</sup> Killen 1966.36

<sup>2</sup> For discussion, see Godart in Godart & Olivier 1973.116f.

As we note in KT<sup>4</sup>, Nc 5100 is probably part of the same tablet as Nc 8175:

e-si-  
lat. inf. o-pe[

If it is, the *o-pe[* on the *lat. inf.* of 8175, which is doubtless to be restored as *o-pe[-ro]*, will confirm that the items listed on the *lat. inf.* of 5100 are 'owed' to the palace, and are hence likely to be part of a taxation payment similar to those listed on the Ma tablets. That the *RI* on the recto also represents a commodity being supplied by the palace is clear from the presence of the term *a-pu-do-so[-mo?* on Nc 4484, very likely the totalling record for the group: see Duhoux 1976. 179. It is also possible that there is a reference to a deficit on the recto, in the syllabic sign *o* which precedes the second of the M entries. This may abbreviate *o-pe-ro vel sim.*, 'deficit', as it does widely elsewhere on the tablets; though, as Professor L. R. Palmer points out to me in personal correspondence, we cannot exclude the possibility that it is ideographic, and a reference to a fourth of the commodities listed on the Ma tablets, O, which is also a substance recorded in terms of M. It is consistent with the view that *o* here represents a deficit that it occurs after an earlier M reference, i. e., in the standard position for 'deficit' entries, and that all the entries on the rectos of the other tablets in the group (evidently) concern *linon* alone. On the other hand, no other tablet in the group contains a deficit entry; and the writing of the explanatory *ri* in the M entry preceding the *o* entry could be due to a desire to make clear that the first of the two commodities being recorded here in terms of weight was the normal *ri-no*, and not the O which is the subject of the second entry.

V 5113

*Add note:*

]me 300[ : perhaps rather ]ME 300[ : compare the hundreds following ME on the Pylos Ma tablets.

Sc 243

*For* pu<sub>2</sub>-re-o *read* pu<sub>2</sub>-re-wa

For the MN *pu<sub>2</sub>-re-wa* see also TH Of 26.1; and compare the MN *pu-re-wa* on KN U 4478.5

Sk 8100. Bb

*For* pa-ra / ko-ru GAL etc. *read* to-ra / ko-ru GAL etc.

There can be little doubt that *to-ra* is /*thōrāx*/ and a reference to the suit of armour whose various pieces Sk 8100 goes on to list. For the possibility of writing a final -Vx as -V (i.e., omitting the -x), compare *o-nu*, doubtless /*onux*/, on KN Od(1) 681 (as against the fuller spelling *o-nu-ka* (cf. *wa-na-ka* = /*wanax*/) on Od 485, etc.). See also *to-ro-wi* Cn 131.6, Jn 601.2, plausibly understood as a shorter spelling of the same name (in -ix) as appears spelt as *to-ro-wi-ka* on PY An 5.3<sup>3</sup>. On TI Si 5, /*thōrāx*/ is spelt in fuller form as *to-ra-ka*.

If *to-ra* on Sk 8100 is /*thōrāx*/, it is highly probable that all the Sk tablets had a precisely similar content. All (so far as we can tell) show identical entries after the initial word; and the only other record on which part of the first word on the tablet has been preserved, Sk 789, shows a final ]-*ra*, doubtless again *to-ra*, in this position. In other words, it looks as if the Sk tablets serve as 'dockets', as it were, each corresponding to a single suit of armour (in the palace stores?). For parallels for this, see the two Knossos Ld(1) 'store' records Ld(1) 571, Ld(1) 572, each of which contains an identical inscription (apart from the number of strokes in the 'fringe' at the bottom of the TELA sign, which, since the scribe of these tablets draws his 'fringes' extremely carelessly, seems unlikely to be a significant difference). Presumably, each of these records corresponds to a different bale of cloth in the palace stores, each with an identical content. And note especially the parallel of the Sk tablets at Pylos. These also deal with armour (with *to-ra* here, compare *to-ra-ke* on Sh 736) and like the Sk tablets give detailed accounts of the number of plates which are attached to the corslet and helmet. (In some cases, these details are similar at both sites: with *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja o-pa-wo-ta 4 pa-ra-wa[-jo 2* on Sk 8100, compare *ko-ru-to O 4 pa-ra-wa-jo 2* on Sh 737.) Like the Sk tablets, most of the Sh records list a single set of armour; and many of the records have the same contents as others in the same group.

Finally, it is worth noting that if *to-ra* is to be taken on Sk 8100 as describing the entire suit of armour that is listed in the body of the record, including the helmet (*ko-ru*) and the plates attached to it, this sense of /*thōrāx*/ will be comparable with that of the verb θωρήσσειν in many contexts in Homer, where it evidently means 'to arm', rather than, more specifically, 'to put on the breastplate'.

Xe 5546.3

For ma[ read ka-ma[

<sup>3</sup> For this suggestion, see previously Docs<sup>2</sup> 587.

The tablet as a whole now reads as follows:

*sup. mut.*

.1 ]	do-ti[
.2 ]	du-[
.3 ]	ka-ma[

There must be a good chance that *ka-ma*[, if it is read correctly, is the place-name *ka-ma* attested on KN L 520 and implied by the ethnic *ka-ma-jo* on Am(1) 5882 (or, alternatively, an ethnic adjective derived from it). Note that, just as *ka-ma*[ is accompanied by *do-ti*[ on this text, so *ka-ma* is accompanied by the place-name *do-ti-ja* on L 520.

[There is no clue as to how *du*-[ (1. 2) is to be restored. No known place-name at Knossos begins with *du*.]

X 5033 (note)

*For* Possibly ]*t*o-si-ja *read* Possibly ]*n*a-si-ja (*pu*-]*n*a-si-ja?) or ]*t*o-si-ja.

X 5125.1

*For* o-pe[ *read* o-pe-re[

X 7944

*For* ]e-[ *read* ]e-\*18[

X 7989

*For* ja[ *read* u[

The tablet may be in hand 141.

X 8107

*For* e-re-pa-te-[ *read* e-re-pa-te-o[ (and suppress the note).

### Appendix by J. A. MacGillivray

#### The discovery of a new fragment of Tablet Ga(2) 420

The new fragment which completes the left-hand side of Ga(2) 420 was found in the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos in box number 1195. Boxes 1190 to 1196 in the Stratigraphical Museum contain material

excavated in 1902 in the Area South of the Area of the Spiral Fresco, listed as M III<sub>2</sub> in the museum guide.<sup>4</sup>

The test in the Area South of the Spiral Fresco uncovered part of the deposit which became known as the Loomweight Basement.<sup>5</sup> More of the deposit was cleared in a sounding known as the Olive Press Test Pit, M II<sub>5</sub> in the museum guide, carried out in 1903 in the room-west of the 1902 test.<sup>6</sup>

The pottery in M III<sub>2</sub> box 1195 consists, for the most part, of fragments of bridge-spouted jars very similar to the example from the Olive Press Test Pit restored and published by Evans.<sup>7</sup> The pottery may be dated with confidence to the final use of the Loomweight Basement which is at the end of Middle Minoan IIB. There are no later ceramic intrusions. The Loomweight Basement was stratified beneath nearly three meters of Middle Minoan III fill and there was no indication of an intrusion in Late Minoan III.

The pottery sherds which make up the collection of the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos used to be kept in storerooms in and around the palace.<sup>8</sup> Material from part of the west side of the palace, the Central Court, and the east side, including the Loomweight Basement, was kept in the magazine south of the Throne Room. Occasionally, small finds were separated from the pottery lots, put in metal cigarette boxes and placed on high shelves in the magazines. It may be thus that the fragment of Ga(2) 420 was separated from the lot belonging to the Corridor of the House Tablets in the west side of the palace, where the rest of the tablet was found, and somehow fell into the lot from the Loomweight Basement which may have been shelved nearby. Whatever the circumstances that led to the new fragment being deposited with the Loomweight Basement finds, on the basis of its joining tablet Ga(2) 420 it is safe to assume that the fragment should be assigned with the rest of the tablet to the Corridor of the House Tablets.

<sup>4</sup> J. D. S. Pendlebury, *A Guide to the Stratigraphical Museum in the Palace at Knossos* 1933, 20.

<sup>5</sup> A. J. Evans, *Palace of Minos I*, 248–256, fig. 187.

<sup>6</sup> Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, 19.

<sup>7</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, 268 fig. 199 e; said to be, "Restored from fragments found in the area W. of the Loomweight Basement." – 269 n. 1, which is the Olive Press Test Pit.

<sup>8</sup> See Evans' introductory note in Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, 1–2.