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## AEGEAN SCRIPTS

Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies  
Copenhagen, 2-5 September 2015

Volume I



# AEGEAN SCRIPTS

*Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium on  
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Volume I

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Marie-Louise Nosch  
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## Abbreviations

### I. Journals

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
<i>AAWW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse.</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>Antiquité Classique</i>
<i>ACD</i>	<i>Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis.</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς.</i>
<i>AIÖN</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli.</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>AOF</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports.</i>
<i>ArchAnAth</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών.</i>
<i>ASAA</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente.</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>BIBR</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome.</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London.</i>
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.</i>
<i>CArchJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal.</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology.</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly.</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>Τό Εργον τής εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.</i>
<i>G&amp;R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome.</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen.</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>

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<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
<i>JPR</i>	<i>Journal of Prehistoric Religion.</i>
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung).</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum.</i>
<i>MSS</i>	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.</i>
<i>OAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia.</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La parola del passato.</i>
<i>PZ</i>	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>RAL</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei.</i>
<i>RCCM</i>	<i>Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale.</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus.</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes.</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques.</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines.</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica.</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi classici e orientali.</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.</i>
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni.</i>
<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>SSL</i>	<i>Studi e saggi linguistici.</i>
<i>TAPhS</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.</i>
<i>TPhS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society.</i>
<i>ZAnt</i>	<i>Živa Antika.</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>

## II. Mycenological conferences

<i>Acta Mycenaea</i>	M. S. Ruipérez (ed.), <i>Acta Mycenaea. Actes du cinquième Colloque international des études mycéniennes, tenu à Salamanque, 30 mars - 3 avril 1970</i> , 2 vol., Minos 11-12 (1972).
<i>Aegean Scripts</i>	M.-L. Nosch & H. Landenius Enegren (eds), <i>Aegean Scripts. 14th International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, Copenhagen, 2-5 September</i>

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	2015, <i>Incunabula Graeca</i> , Vol. CV:1-2 (2017).
<i>Austin Colloquium</i>	<i>Proceedings of the 11<sup>th</sup> Mycenological Colloquium</i> , Austin, 7-13 May 2000 (unpublished).
<i>Cambridge Colloquium</i>	L. R. Palmer & J. Chadwick (eds), <i>Cambridge Colloquium. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies</i> (1966).
<i>Colloquium Mycenaeanum</i>	E. Risch, H. Mühlestein (ed.), <i>Colloquium Mycenaeanum. Actes du sixième Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel du 7 au 13 septembre 1975</i> (1979).
<i>Colloquium Romanum</i>	A. Sacconi, M. del Freo, L. Godart & M. Negri (eds), <i>Atti del XII Colloquio Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 20-25 febbraio 2006</i> , <i>Pasiphae</i> 2 (2008).
<i>Études Mycéniennes</i>	M. Lejeune (ed.), <i>Études Mycéniennes. Actes du Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens, Gif-sur-Yvette, 3-7 avril 1956</i> , (1956).
<i>Études Mycéniennes 2010</i>	P. Carlier, C. De Lamberterie, M. Egetmeyer, N. Guilleux, F. Rougemont, J. Zurbach (eds), <i>Actes du XIII[e] colloque international sur les textes égéens, Sèvres, Paris, Nanterre, 20-23 septembre 2010</i> (2012).
<i>Florent</i>	S. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. Hiller, O. Panagl (eds), <i>Florent Studia Mycenaea. Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995</i> , Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 274 (1999).
<i>Mycenaean Studies</i>	E. L. Bennett, Jr. (ed.), <i>Mycenaean Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium for Mycenaean Studies Held at 'Wingspread', 4-8 September 1961</i> (1964).
<i>Mykenaiika</i>	J.-P. Olivier (ed.), <i>MYKENAIKA. Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens organisé par le Centre de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine de la Fondation Hellénique des Recherches Scientifiques et l'École française</i>

- d'Athènes, Athènes, 2-6 octobre 1990, BCH Suppl. XXV (1992).*
- Res Mycenaee* A. Heubeck, G. Neumann (ed.), *Res Mycenaee. Akten des VII. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Nürnberg vom 6.-10. April 1981 (1983).*
- Tractata Mycenaee* P. Hr. Ilievski, L. Crepajac (ed.), *Tractata Mycenaee. Proceedings of the Eight International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, held in Ohrid, 15-20 September 1985 (1987).*

### III. Congresses

- 2<sup>nd</sup> Cretological Congress* Πεπραγμένα Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (1967).
- 8<sup>th</sup> Cretological Congress* Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Heraklion, 9-14 September 1996 (2000).
- 9<sup>th</sup> Cretological Congress* Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Elounda, 8-6 October 2001 (2006).
- 10<sup>th</sup> Cretological Congress* Ι' Διεθνές Κρητολογικό Συνέδριο, Khandia, 1-8 October 2006 (2011).
- Culti primordiali* *I culti primordiali della grecità alla luce delle scoperte di Tebe, Roma, 24-25 febbraio 2000, Contributi del Centro Linceo "Beniamino Segre" 109 (2004).*
- Economy and Politics* S. Voutsaki & J.T. Killen (eds), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States, Proceedings of a Conference held on 1-3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge, TPhS Suppl. 27 (2001).*
- Emporia* R. Laffineur & E. Greco (eds), *EMPORIA. Aegeans in Central and Eastern Mediterranean, Actes de la 10<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene, 14-18 Avril 2004, Aegaeum 25 (2005).*
- Epi ponton plazomenoi* V. La Rosa, D. Palermo, L. Vagnetti (eds), *Ἐπὶ πόντον πλαζόμενοι. Simposio italiano di Studi Egei dedicato a Luigi Bernabò Brea e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, Roma, 18-20 febbraio 1998 (1999).*



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<i>Fiscality</i>	M. Perna (ed.), <i>Fiscality in Mycenaean and Near Eastern Archives, Proceedings of the Conference held at Soprintendenza Archivistica per la Campania</i> , Naples 21-23 October 2004, <i>Studi egei e vicino-orientali</i> 3 (2006).
<i>Food, Cuisine and Society</i>	P. Halstead & J. Barrett (eds), <i>Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece, Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> Aegean Round Table, University of Sheffield, 19-21 January 2001</i> (2004).
<i>Kosmos</i>	M.-L. Nosch & R. Laffineur (eds), <i>KOSMOS. Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. 13th international Aegean conference held at Copenhagen, April 2010/13eme rencontre égéenne, Copenhagen, avril 2010</i> , <i>Aegaeum</i> 33 (2012).
<i>La Crète mycénienne</i>	J. Driessen & A. Farnoux (eds), <i>La Crète mycénienne, Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École Française d'Athènes, 26-28 Mars 1991</i> , <i>BCH Suppl.</i> XXX (1997).
<i>Linear B: A 1984 Survey</i>	A. Morpurgo Davies & Y. Duhoux (eds), <i>Linear B: A 1984 Survey. Proceedings of the Mycenaean Colloquium of the VIII<sup>th</sup> Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies, Dublin, 27 August-1<sup>st</sup> September 1984</i> (1985).
<i>Metron</i>	K. P. Foster & R. Laffineur (eds), <i>METRON. Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age. Actes de la 9<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, New Haven, Yale University, 18-21 Avril 2002</i> , <i>Aegaeum</i> 24 (2003).
<i>Monuments of Minos</i>	J. Driessen, I. Schoep, R. Laffineur (eds), <i>Monuments of Minos. Rethinking the Minoan Palaces, Proceedings of the International Workshop "Crete of the hundred palaces?", held at the Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, 14-15 December 2001</i> <i>Aegaeum</i> 23 (2002).
<i>Polemos</i>	R. Laffineur (ed.), <i>POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Egée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7<sup>e</sup></i>

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<i>Politeia</i>	R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier (eds), <i>POLITEIA. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Actes de la 5<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994</i> , Aegaeum 12 (1995).
<i>Potnia</i>	R. Hägg & R. Laffineur (eds), <i>POTNIA. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age, Actes de la 8<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000</i> , Aegaeum 22 (2001).
<i>Primo Congresso</i>	<i>Atti e Memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 27 settembre-3 ottobre 1967</i> , Incunabula Graeca XXV (1968).
<i>Pylos Comes Alive</i>	C.W. Shelmerdine & T.G. Palaima (eds), <i>Pylos Comes Alive. Industry + Administration in a Mycenaean Palace, May 4-5 1984</i> , (1984).
<i>Secondo Congresso</i>	E. De Miro, L. Godart, A. Sacconi (eds), <i>Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma-Napoli, 14-20 ottobre 1991</i> , Incunabula Graeca XCVIII:1-3 (1996).
<i>Syllabes 2000</i>	<i>IIèmes Journées d'Etudes Linguistiques, Nantes, 25-27 mars 1999</i> (2000).
<i>Texte aus Theben</i>	S. Deger-Jalkotzy & O. Panagl (eds), <i>Die neuen Linear B Texte aus Theben: ihr Aufschlusswert für die mykenische Sprache und Kultur. Akten des internationalen Forschungskolloquiums an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 5.-6. Dezember 2002</i> , Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 338. Band (2006).
<i>Techne</i>	R. Laffineur & P.P. Betancourt (eds), <i>TECHNE. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age, Actes de la 6<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18-21 April 1996</i> , Aegaeum 16 (1997).
<i>Thalassa</i>	R. Laffineur & L. Basch (ed.), <i>THALASSA. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer, Actes de la 3<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université</i>

- de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques, Calvi, Corse, 23-25 avril 1990, Aegaeum 7 (1991).*
- The Role of the Ruler* P. Rehak (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992, Aegaeum 11 (1995).*

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- Briciaka* Y. Duhoux (ed.), *Briciaka. A Tribute to W.C. Brice*, Cretan Studies 9 (2003).
- Festschrift Bartoněk* I. Radová & K. Václavková-Petrovicová (eds), *Graeco-Latina Brunensia. Festschrift in honour of A. Bartoněk*, Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské Univerzity 6-7 (2001-2002).
- Festschrift Panagl* T. Krisch, T. Lindner, U. Müller (eds), *Analecta homini universali dicata. Arbeiten zur Indogermanistik, Linguistik, Philologie, Politik, Musik und Dichtung. Festschrift für Oswald Panagl zum 65. Geburtstag* (2004).
- KE-RA-ME-JA* D. Nakassis, J. Gulizio, S.A James (eds.), *KE-RA-ME-JA: Studies presented to Cynthia Shelmerdine* (2014).
- Meletemata* P. P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, W.-D. Niemeier (ed.), *MELETEMATA. Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th Year* (1999).
- Minoica* E. Grumach (ed.), *Minoica. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Johannes Sundwall* (1958).
- O-o-pe-ro-si* A. Etter (ed.), *o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag* (1986).
- Studi Fiandra* M. Perna (ed.), *Studi in onore di Enrica Fiandra. Contributi di archeologia egea e vicinorientale* (2005).
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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Marie Louise Nosch and Hedvig Landenius Enegren*

At the meeting of the *Comité international permanent d'études mycéniennes* (CIPEM) in Sèvres in September 2010, the CIPEM accepted Marie-Louise Nosch's suggestion to host the 14th Mycenological colloquium in Copenhagen. The first gathering took place in Gif-sur-Yvette near Paris in 1956. The spirit of good humour and collaborative enthusiasm established at the first colloquium became known within the field as *l'ésprit de Gif*.

The group of countries and scholars at the mycenological conferences still reflect the correspondents and receivers of Ventris's work notes, which he had circulated to colleagues long before the internet made such a practice feasible.<sup>1</sup> The Gif colloquium included participants from Britain, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and the USA.

Today mycenological studies are also an active field of research in Germany, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, the Czech Republic, Cyprus, and Australia. It is still the founding members of CIPEM who represent the most numerous scholars in the field of Aegean scripts since 1956, but new scholars join the group, and the photographs from each mycenological colloquium illustrate how the number of participants increases. We are an expanding discipline. Another significant change is the increasing number of female scholars in the field. John Chadwick, in his speech at Salzburg in 1995 noticed the few female scholars,<sup>2</sup> but this has also changed since then. In Nürnberg 1981, the hosts graciously arranged for a parallel 'spouse program' during the colloquium. In Copenhagen, 24 of 57 participating scholars were women. Since the publication in 1954 of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Ventris and Chadwick strived to include other disciplines into the study of Aegean scripts, among others, the disciplines exploring texts from the ancient Near East.

Pierre Carlier and his co-organisers of the *13th Mycenological Colloquium*

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<sup>1</sup> Bennet 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Chadwick 1999, 36.

in Sèvres in 2010 were the first to convene special events on comparative studies of the Mycenaean palatial economy and Near Eastern palatial economies.<sup>3</sup> We believe this to be a particularly important yet challenging endeavour and we are happy that several colleagues took up the challenge and publish stimulating comparative studies in the present volume.

Since the Paris colloquium in 2010, we have lost colleagues who will be missed for their scholarly contribution as well as for the friendship that unites us: Pierre Carlier (1949-2011), Emmett L. Bennett Jr. (1918-2011), Petar Hr. Ilievski (1920-2013), Martin S. Ruipérez (1923-2015), Anna Morpurgo-Davies (1937-2014) and Margareta Lindgren (1936-2017). We would like to take this opportunity to dedicate this volume to one our discipline's first ladies, historical linguist Anna Morpurgo-Davies, a world-leading figure in the study of ancient Greek and Anatolian, and as such a role model for what it takes to conduct comparative analyses. We corresponded with Anna Morpurgo-Davies until a few months before she passed away in September 2014. She was trained by Gallavotti and was editor of the first lexicon of Mycenaean, published in 1963. In Oxford, she worked closely with professor of Comparative Philology, Leonard Palmer, and Hittitologist and epigraphist David Hawkins. In 1971, she succeeded Palmer as chair at Oxford.

In this volume we also wish to remember the very first female scholar in Aegean scripts, Alice Kober (1903-1950), and thus highlight her significant contribution to the field of Mycenaean studies. Alice Kober who received an MA and PhD from Columbia University became assistant professor at Brooklyn College. It was with a Guggenheim Fellowship that she was able to immerse herself full-time to the study of Linear B.<sup>4</sup> Her methodological approach to the study of the Linear B signary, in which she established that the Mycenaean script shows an inflected language, ultimately influenced Ventris's final decipherment of the script.<sup>5</sup>

We also wish to commemorate our Scandinavian colleague, Margareta Lindgren (1936–2017). A pupil of Arne Furumark, she continued the Linear B scholarly tradition at Uppsala University with her publication on the prosopography of Pylos, a fundamental work within Mycenaean Studies.

As head of the Department for Maps and Prints at the Uppsala University Carolina Library for many years, she kept in close contact with the Department of Archaeology and Ancient history as an immensely appreciated lecturer in Aegean Scripts, who really knew how to engage her audience with her keen sense of humour. On a personal note, she was the thesis advisor to the co-

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<sup>3</sup> Zurbach et al. forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice\\_Kober](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_Kober)

<sup>5</sup> <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/15875>

editor of this volume (Hedvig Landenius Enegren). Her last participation in a Mycenological Colloquium was in Rome in 2006 with a paper on Cypriot Scripts. Many of us remember her vivid personality and her enthusiasm in a wide range of interests that went beyond Linear B; these included in later years, among others, pistol target shooting and the Harry Potter books!

It was an honour to host the 14<sup>th</sup> *Mycenological Colloquium* in Copenhagen, 2-5 September 2015. We thank friends and colleagues for joining us for this event, and for their presentation and fruitful discussions. We are particularly honoured to hear of *l'esprit de Copenhague*, uniting us all in a friendly conversation on the advancement of knowledge in our field.

For hosting the conference on the exquisite premises of the Carlsberg Academy, the former private villa of brewer Jacobsen and domicile of Niels Bohr, we warmly thank the Carlsberg Foundation. For continued support and trust, we thank the Danish National Research Foundation and the University of Copenhagen. Egzona Haxha, Camilla Ebert and Louise Ludvigsen were our efficient and kind coordination and organisation hostesses and assistants. We warmly thank Maurizio Del Freo for all his help in editorial and other matters; for the indexation Mikkel Nørtoft and for editorial assistance Peder Flemstad. We warmly thank Lillian and Dan Finks Fond, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory and the R.K. Rasks Legat foundation for generous support for this publication. We are grateful to Alessandro Naso, Marco Bettelli and Maurizio Del Freo for welcoming the conference proceedings in the *Incunabula Graeca* series.

Copenhagen and Brussels, Fall 2017

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## PALAEOGRAPHY, ADMINISTRATION, AND SCRIBAL TRAINING: A CASE-STUDY\*

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More than 60 years after Michael Ventris' decipherment of Linear B, 14 of its syllabic signs remain 'undeciphered':<sup>1</sup> despite many proposals to assign sound-values to these signs,<sup>2</sup> none has yet been officially accepted. This paper is based on part of a study investigating new approaches to these undeciphered signs. As signs which cannot yet be read in the same way as the rest of the Linear B script, they provide an opportunity to explore ways in which studying individual signs without necessarily being able to read them – that is, through palaeographic analysis of their forms and their use by different scribes – can contribute towards our understanding of wider questions about the script and its context of use.

This paper will focus in particular on the potential of palaeographic analysis (which is, naturally, the primary basis for the identification of scribal hands)<sup>3</sup> to contribute towards reconstructions of the work of the Mycenaean scribes. Considerable work has already been carried out on reconstructing the palaces' administrative systems and the specialisations of individual scribes,<sup>4</sup> but many

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<sup>1</sup> These signs are: \*18 𐀀, \*19 𐀁, \*22 𐀂, \*34 𐀃, \*47 𐀄, \*49 𐀅, \*56 𐀆, \*63 𐀇, \*64 𐀈, \*65 𐀉, \*79 𐀊, \*82 𐀋, \*83 𐀌, and \*86 𐀍. I do not include the pseudo-sign \*89 (Judson 2013, 80) or the proposed identifications of a sign \*92 on **PY Ma 397.1** (*Mémoires* III, 91; Melena 2014, 88-89) or **TH Fq 207.3** (*AGS 2001*, 361; Witczak 2002-2003), neither of which has been officially accepted.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Melena forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> *Scribes Knossos*, 26-33; *Scribes Pylos*, 21-26.

<sup>4</sup> For Knossos see, e.g., *Scribes Knossos*; Shelmerdine 1988. For Pylos see, e.g., *Scribes Pylos*; Kyriakidis 1996-1997; Bennet 2001; Kyriakidis 2011.

questions remain unanswered – in particular, how scribes were trained (via ‘apprenticeships’ to a ‘master scribe’, or in a scribal ‘school’?),<sup>5</sup> and what their actual status was (writers working for palace administrators, the administrators themselves, or even, in some cases, craftspeople keeping records related to their work?).<sup>6</sup>

Of course, a palaeographic study based on only 14 signs, some of which are particularly infrequently attested, is not necessarily representative of the whole Linear B script, and cannot yet be used to draw any overall conclusions in answer to these questions. This paper, however, aims both to establish a methodology for this kind of analysis and to explore the potential implications of my preliminary results, in order to provide a basis for further research of much broader scope.

It has previously been suggested that palaeographic similarities correlate to some extent with other forms of relationships between scribes, for instance those based on working in the same location and/or on similar administrative topics: this applies particularly to the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT) and Northern Entrance Passage (NEP) at Knossos,<sup>7</sup> as well as two pairs of Knossian scribes who both work in the same area of the administration and have very similar handwriting (H103 and H115, both recording aspects of textile production; H117 and H119, both working on sheep records), suggesting the possibility of a ‘master-pupil’ relationship within these pairs.<sup>8</sup> The possibility that palaeographic similarities may be used to reconstruct scribal relationships based on training has similarly been raised at Pylos, with the major hand in each of the three main scribal ‘classes’ (H1 in Class i; H21 in Class ii; H41 in Class iii) suggested to have been responsible for training the other scribes in that class;<sup>9</sup> cf. also the suggestion that orthographic differences between groups of scribes at Pylos may reflect different scribal ‘schools’ or traditions.<sup>10</sup>

This study therefore aims to systematically investigate whether a correlation can be found between scribes’ palaeographic similarities and their administrative relationships, and to explore the resulting implications for our reconstructions

<sup>5</sup> On possible ‘masters’ and ‘apprentices’, see *Scribes Knossos*, 135; *Scribes Pylos*, 188. On the possibility of identifying a ‘school’, see most recently Duhoux 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Palaima 2011, 122–123; Bennet 2001, 29–30; Kyriakidis 1996–1997, 219–220.

<sup>7</sup> *Scribes Knossos*, 135; on the NEP, see also Driessen 1999. The RCT has in fact been suggested to be a scribal school (Chadwick 1967; Chadwick 1968; Duhoux 2011); for an argument that the features of this deposit which form the basis of this suggestion are instead due to its being of earlier date than the rest of the Knossos tablets, see *Early Destruction*; *Scribes RCT*. A detailed discussion of the status of this deposit is, however, beyond the scope of this paper, which will focus mainly on tablets from other areas of the palace of Knossos.

<sup>8</sup> *Scribes Knossos*, 135.

<sup>9</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 188; Palaima 2011, 116.

<sup>10</sup> Duhoux 1986.

of both the operations of the Mycenaean palace administrations and methods of scribal training. Administrative relationships between scribes may range from directly visible interactions (e.g. one scribe writing on or correcting another's tablets) to those which can only be reconstructed more indirectly (for instance, scribes working on similar areas of the economy and/or in the same locations within the palace are likely to have interacted to some extent in the course of their work). If scribes who appear to be administratively related in any (or all) of these ways do tend to share palaeographically significant features of individual signs, and scribes who lack such an administrative relationship tend to differ in those features, this might imply that scribes were taught to write by another scribe working in a similar location and/or subject, on a model similar to an 'apprenticeship' (though we should remain aware of the potential for anachronism in the use of terms such as 'apprentice' or 'school'). Conversely, if no correlation can be seen between administrative relationships and the use of shared or differing palaeographic features, this would imply a very different situation in terms of scribal training – whether the existence of scribal 'schools' or, at least, a less individualised type of training involving a larger number of potential teachers than the 'apprenticeship' model implies. Of course, it is entirely possible that methods of training and types of scribal interrelationship could have varied between different sites; the sites which offer the most evidence for this kind of reconstruction, Knossos and Pylos, will therefore each be briefly discussed in turn, before the results from both sites are compared to explore their overall implications.

## Knossos

My reconstruction of administrative relationships between scribes at Knossos is largely based on Jean-Pierre Olivier's identification of the different administrative areas within the palace and the scribes who worked in them,<sup>11</sup> in addition to the work of Richard Firth and José Melena in establishing tablets' original findspots.<sup>12</sup> Knossian administrative 'departments' may be (relatively) specialised by subject – e.g. those in the West Wing dealing with textiles or 'aromatics' (spices and honey, in both religious and non-religious contexts), or that in the East Wing dealing with flocks of sheep (J1) – or non-specialised, such as the NEP or RCT.<sup>13</sup> Within a single department, scribes may of course be more or less closely related by their particular subject-matter, while some

<sup>11</sup> *Scribes Knossos*; see also Shelmerdine 1988.

<sup>12</sup> Firth 1996-1997; Firth 2000-2001; Firth & Melena 1998-1999; Firth & Melena 2000-2001; Firth & Melena 2008.

<sup>13</sup> On the former, see Driessen 1999. The latter will be omitted from the main discussion here due to the ongoing debate over its chronological and administrative status: cf. p. 194, n.7.

scribes may have worked in more than one department and therefore act as a link between those departments.<sup>14</sup> Although a full discussion of the relationships between different administrative areas of Knossos should take into account the ongoing debate over their relative chronology,<sup>15</sup> discussion of this is beyond the scope of this paper; this analysis will therefore be restricted to palaeographic variation which can be shown to be (approximately) contemporary, i.e. occurring within single departments or between administrative areas which can be demonstrated to be closely related (e.g. via scribal links). I shall therefore make no particular assumptions about the relative chronology of the tablet deposits in the West Wing, East Wing, and NEP, nor about the possible chronological implications of their palaeography.<sup>16</sup> Two illustrative examples comparing the palaeography of the undeciphered signs to the administrative relationships of the scribes who have written them will be presented in order to illustrate the overall results obtained through this methodology: signs \*22/CAP  $\uparrow$  and \*83  $\text{𐀓}$  have been chosen as they both occur in a reasonably wide range of scribal hands and locations, and therefore offer a relatively large number of possible comparisons of palaeographic and administrative relationships. \*22/CAP has two main forms of palaeographic variation at Knossos, the first of which is the presence or absence of a small curved stroke underneath the sign's 'head', as shown in Fig. 1.<sup>17</sup>

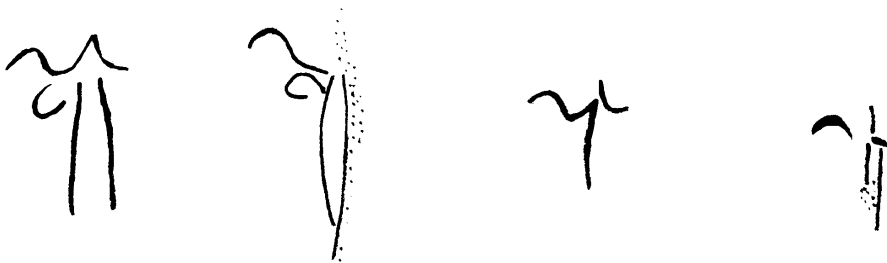


Fig. 1. \*22/CAP in Knossos H107, H125, H120, and H108<sup>18</sup>

The form with this curved stroke is found only in the RCT and NEP: in

<sup>14</sup> See in particular Firth 1996-1997; Firth 2000-2001.

<sup>15</sup> For the argument that the main administrative areas of Knossos (especially parts of the West Wing, the East Wing, and the NEP) can be separated into several different chronological layers, see Driessen 1997; *Scribes RCT*, 150-152. For different views see Firth 1996-1997, 67-75; Firth 2000-2001, 260-279; Greco 2012.

<sup>16</sup> On the possibility of using palaeographic analysis as a dating criterion for the Knossos tablets, see Driessen 1997, 131, fig.9; *Scribes RCT*, 151-153; Skelton 2008; Skelton 2011.

<sup>17</sup> With the exception of the use of the gendered forms of CAP (discussed on pp. 197-198 below), the syllabographic and ideographic forms of this sign generally show a similar range of palaeographic variation; both are therefore included in this study.

<sup>18</sup> **Co** 904.2 (CAP<sup>f</sup>); **V(5)** 1002.B (\*22); **Dk(1)** 920.b (\*22); **Ak(2)** 627.1 (\*22). Drawings: author, after CoMIK.



the latter, examples of \*22 with this feature occur in H125 (**V(5) 1002.B**; but this hand's other example on **V(5) 756.B** lacks this feature) and on **F(2) 841.2** (unattributed), and examples of CAP in H107 (**Co 903.1.2, 904.2, 906.2, 907.2, 909.2, 910.2**).<sup>19</sup> This might appear to be a good example of palaeographic similarity correlating with an administrative relationship; however, there are at least four other NEP scribes who write \*22/CAP without this feature.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, there is no good reason to assume a particularly close relationship between H107 and H125, who are attested as working only on livestock and personnel records respectively, nor between either of these and the author of **F(2) 841** (agricultural produce). If anything, we might expect H107 to be more closely linked to other NEP hands attested as writing livestock tablets, such as H111 and H112, who both use the other form of CAP (n.20). Of course, it is entirely possible that chances of attestation may be responsible for the lack of any tablets showing H107 and H125 to have worked on similar topics: but with the evidence available, merely working in the NEP – a reasonably large, non-specialised department containing the work of up to 30 different scribes<sup>21</sup> – is not sufficient to prove a close relationship. A similar pattern of distribution for this feature can also be seen within the RCT, where again both forms are attested without any apparent correlation to subject-matter.<sup>22</sup> Although the small extra stroke therefore appears to be a feature limited to particular deposits, it is far from being characteristic of all scribes from those deposits, nor does its use (or lack of use) appear to correspond to especially close scribal relationships within those deposits.

Secondly, \*22 may have either a single vertical stalk (= CAP  $\uparrow$ : e.g. the H120 example in Fig. 1) or a double stalk, consisting of two strokes which either diverge (as is usual for CAP<sup>f</sup>  $\wedge$ : cf. the H107 example in Fig. 1) or, more usually, join together at the bottom (e.g. the H125 and probably the H108 examples in Fig. 1); there is no syllabographic form corresponding to CAP<sup>m</sup>  $\wedge$ . Both the single- and double-stalk forms are found in every major tablet deposit where \*22 occurs:<sup>23</sup> there is at least one scribe who uses each form in both the West

<sup>19</sup> Two more examples, on **C 7088** and **X 7655**, are of unknown findspot and unattributed to any scribal hand.

<sup>20</sup> \*22: H120 (**Dk(1) 920.b**); H122 (**Uf(2) 839.b**); unattributed example on **G 820.3**. CAP: H111 (**C(4) 911.3-7, 912 v.1**); H112 (**C(2) 908, 913.1-2?, 914.B, 915.B, 922, 5765, 7064.1?, 8225**); unattributed examples on **C 954.1-3** and **6021.1**.

<sup>21</sup> Driessen 1999, 213-214.

<sup>22</sup> Three examples of the form with the small extra stroke (CAP: **Ce 163.2, H124-B; Ce 7516.1, H124**. \*22: **Xd 7808, H124**) occur alongside at least nine without it (\*22: **Ce 59.2b, H124-C; Xd 131, H124**. CAP: **Ce 152.2.4 and v.1-3, 7516.1, 9109.1 and v., all H124**). As the majority of examples are both attributed only to 'H124', it is difficult to analyse any possible relationships between the RCT users of both forms; however, note that the only two identified RCT hands writing \*22/CAP, H124-B and H124-C, have not only used different forms but have both done so in the Ce-series.

<sup>23</sup> This includes one example of each in the RCT (single-stalk: **Ce 59.2b, H124-C**; double-stalk: **Xd 131**,

Wing textiles department<sup>24</sup> and the NEP,<sup>25</sup> and in J1, H117 is attested as using both forms (the only hand to do so),<sup>26</sup> while unattributed examples of both forms are also found.<sup>27</sup> Again, this even applies to scribes who appear from their subject-matter to be particularly closely related: for instance, H103 and H108 not only both appear in the West Wing textiles department, but have also written very similar Ak-series tablets recording textile workgroups of women and children – and yet they use different forms of this sign.

The situation of \*83 is more complex, as this sign exhibits a large range of variation which cannot be easily classified into simple pairs of variants. Fig.2 shows a few representative examples to demonstrate this variation.



Fig. 2. \*83 in Knossos H103, H115, H118, H117, and H223<sup>28</sup>

If these variants are classified according to the form of the sign's 'head', these scribes fall into two main groups: H103 and H115's large curved 'V' shapes to each side contrast with H117's and H223's two short strokes in the same position, while H118's two separate curves are intermediate between the two. The first palaeographic pair, H103 and H115, are also administratively connected through their work in the West Wing textiles department (and have even been suggested to be 'master' and 'pupil');<sup>29</sup> but although H117 (J1) and H118 (NEP) have no close connection to either of these, H223 is similarly related to H103 via the West Wing 'aromatics' department.

H124).

<sup>24</sup> Single-stalk: H103 (E(2) 669.2; Lc(1) 7901; Xe 544.b). Double-stalk: H108 (Ak(2) 627.1); H116? (Ld(1) 5955.1). The West Wing 'aromatics' department has only one example of \*22, the single-stalk form (H223: Ga(3) 464.1), but is closely linked to the textiles department by the presence of H103 in both.

<sup>25</sup> Single-stalk: H120 (Dk(1) 120.b); unattributed example on G 820.3. Double-stalk: H122 (Uf(2) 839.b); H125 (V(5) 756.B, 1002.B); unattributed example on F(2) 841.2.

<sup>26</sup> Single-stalk: D-series, *passim*. Double-stalk: Da 2027; De 5032.B; Dn 1093.1; Dv 1216.B. All of the latter examples are either majuscule or in the tablet heading: this hand relatively frequently varies between simpler minuscule and more elaborate majuscule forms (Bennett 1966, 297).

<sup>27</sup> Single-stalk: Wb 5665 (on the findspot of this document, see Firth & Melena 2000-2001, 348). Double-stalk: Mc 1508.B (whose attribution to H132? has been convincingly shown to be incorrect: Melena 1972, 33-34; Killen 2008, 48-49).

<sup>28</sup> E(2) 670.1; Vc(2) 7517; Dl(1) 933.B; Dd 1425.B; Ga(3) 465.1. Drawings: author, after CoMIK.

<sup>29</sup> *Scribes Knossos*, 135.

Moreover, if these variants are instead analysed according to the form of the sign's central section, H103, H117, and H118 (all with two approximately parallel vertical strokes) would belong together, while H115 differs from H103 in this respect (with only a single vertical stroke) despite their close administrative connection; the same goes for the wavy stroke(s) to the left, present in H103, H117, and H118 but absent in H115 (due to the damaged condition of the tablet, H223's form of these features cannot be determined). In some aspects of this sign's construction, then, H103 is closer to the administratively unrelated scribes H117 and H118 than to the closely related H115.

The picture becomes still more complicated if we now add another variant form of \*83, as shown in Fig.3.

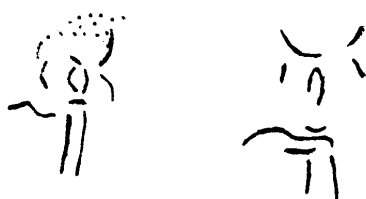


Fig. 3. \*83 in Knossos H141 and H222<sup>30</sup>

H141 and H222, both found in the 'Room of Column Bases' (E1, in the West Wing), have a form with symmetrical, centrally-located 'legs' (otherwise seen only in the RCT: Sc 257.2, H124). This appears to be a good example of hands working in the same deposit sharing a distinctive form; however, H222, as a secondary hand, cannot certainly be distinguished from H141,<sup>31</sup> and the relationship of this deposit with the rest of the West Wing is controversial. E1 has been argued to be both administratively and chronologically separate from the textiles and 'aromatics' departments in this area;<sup>32</sup> but although the only possible link between E1 and the rest of the West Wing via scribal hand is probably the product of a misrecorded findspot,<sup>33</sup> it shares with the 'aromatics' department not only its subject-matter (religious and secular distributions of olive oil) but also records of the activities of a person called *ku-pi-ri-jo*, who appears as a 'collector' responsible for distributing perfumed oil in the E1 Fh-series and the 'aromatics' department's Ga- and Gg-series, and is very probably

<sup>30</sup> **Fh 9067; Fp(2) 363.2.** Drawings: author, after *CoMIK*.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Scribes Knossos*, 40.

<sup>32</sup> *Early Destruction*, 69-71; Driessen 1997, 120; against this see, e.g., Firth 2000-2001, 204.

<sup>33</sup> **Fh 462** (H141?) is the only tablet attributed (even tentatively) to this hand recorded as being found outside of E1 (in West Magazine IV, F3); however, this is now joined to **Fh 5470**, which was found in E1 (Firth & Melena 1998-1999, 123, n.30). As E1 and F3 were excavated within a day of each other, a mistake in recording the findspot of 462 seems plausible (Driessen 1997, 120).

the same individual in both cases.<sup>34</sup> If E1 is linked to the ‘aromatics’ department, then within the broadly linked administrative area of the West Wing we have up to five scribes (H103, H115, H141, H222, H223) who between them display almost the complete range of variation shown by \*83 at Knossos.

\*22 and \*83 thus provide a good illustration of the overall results of this palaeographic study at Knossos – namely the lack of any significant correlation between scribes’ forms of the undeciphered signs and the locations in which their documents are found or the administrative work they are attested as carrying out. The second section of this paper will now investigate the same issue at Pylos to determine whether any variation in results is seen between different sites.

## Pylos

It has often been observed that the administrative system of Pylos differs in many respects from that of Knossos;<sup>35</sup> this results in a somewhat different methodology in attempting to reconstruct interrelationships between scribes at this site. Some administrative areas of the palace can for these purposes be deemed broadly similar to those at Knossos, in that scribes working in these areas can be presumed to have some kind of administrative connection through their location and/or subject-matter: for instance, the set of rooms used for storing olive oil and recording its collection and distribution (Rooms 23, 24, 32, and 38: although not geographically contiguous, these are linked by the presence of H2 as well as their subject-matter),<sup>36</sup> or the North Eastern Building (NEB; Rooms 98 and 99), a ‘clearinghouse’ where products of various types were stored and recorded.<sup>37</sup> However, since around 80% of the tablets found at Pylos originate from the Archives Complex (AC), and many of these may have been transferred from elsewhere,<sup>38</sup> the location of a scribe’s tablets is often of limited use in establishing possible administrative connections with other scribes. On the other hand, Pylos offers significant amounts of other kinds of evidence for scribal relationships: most notably, the possibility of observing collaboration between scribes on particular series of tablets, either directly (in cases where one scribe has made corrections or additions to another’s tablets) or indirectly (where different series clearly deal with identical subjects, one often being a preliminary version on which the other, more final version is based). For the purposes of this section, H21 will be used as an illustration of both my

<sup>34</sup> See most recently Killen 1995; also Godart 1968; Godart 1969; Foster 1977.

<sup>35</sup> See, e.g., Olivier 1984; Shelmerdine 1988; Shelmerdine 1999.

<sup>36</sup> *Perfume Industry*.

<sup>37</sup> Bendall 2003.

<sup>38</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 179.

methodology for reconstructing scribal relationships in this way and the results of the palaeographic study: this hand was chosen as exemplifying a range of administrative relationships of different types as well as being attested as writing examples of several undeciphered signs, allowing the greatest possible range of administrative and palaeographic comparisons.

Amongst H21's tablets from the AC, for instance, are some which show a close connection to both H1 (who has added extra information to H21's **Cn 595**, **599**, and **655**)<sup>39</sup> and H2 (who has used H21's **Jn 658** and **706** to compile their own Jn-series tablets).<sup>40</sup> H21 therefore appears to work closely with the two most prolific scribes at Pylos.<sup>41</sup> In addition, H21 has tablets (in the Cc-series, dealing with goats and sheep) from the NEB and is therefore connected to the other hands found in this location. Given the large range of subjects dealt with in the NEB, scribes working on similar topics are the most likely to have had a particularly close link; the hand to whom H21 has the most chance of being closely connected in this location is therefore H31,<sup>42</sup> whose two NEB tablets record goats (**Cn 1287**) and animal hides (**Ub 1315**).<sup>43</sup>

Another factor which needs to be taken into account at Pylos is the three main palaeographic classes (Class i: H1-H15; Class ii: H21-H3; Class iii: H41-H45) into which scribes from this site have been divided based on their palaeographic similarity to the first scribe in each class;<sup>44</sup> as was stated above, these have been suggested to be the result of these three individuals each being responsible for training a group of scribes.<sup>45</sup> Instances of administratively-related scribes from the same class sharing palaeographic features could therefore be due to their class affiliation (and so, perhaps, to their training) rather than to any administrative connection; conversely, the sharing of palaeographic features by scribes from different classes is more likely to be significant, as are palaeographic differences within a single class. I will therefore firstly examine some instances where hands attributed to Class ii (of which H21 is the major scribe) use different forms of undeciphered signs.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also instances of H1 and H21 dealing with very similar topics: e.g. their Aa- and Ab-series tablets record the same workgroups (*Scribes Pylos*, 51-52).

<sup>40</sup> Smith 1992-1993, 203-204.

<sup>41</sup> On the relationship between H1 and H2, see Kyriakidis 2011.

<sup>42</sup> NB that this is the classification given to the hand of this tablets by *Scribes Pylos*, whereas *PoN IV* refers to this hand as H27.

<sup>43</sup> It is possible that these two tablets are related to each other by topic, if animals slaughtered for consumption also provided hides for leatherworking (Bendall 2003, 217).

<sup>44</sup> Class iv is omitted from this discussion as it has been argued to be a chronological as well as a palaeographic distinction, and in any case contains only a single identified hand, H91 (Palaima 1983; *Scribes Pylos*, 111-113, 133; see also Melena 1996-1997, 165-166).

<sup>45</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 188; Palaima 2011, 116.

<sup>46</sup> NB that in all the following, only hands with certain examples of the relevant signs are included.

\*34  $\phi$ : This form, with the curve opening to the right, is found in Class i (H1 and H2) and H21; the Class ii hands of **Va 15** and **Vn 46**, as well as H41 (Class iii), use the mirror-image version (originally \*35).<sup>47</sup>

\*64  $\boxtimes$ : H1, H2, H21, and H31 all write this sign with extra small strokes at the ends of the verticals (Fig.4, left); H23, S324 (Class iii) and the Class iii hand of **Vn 34** write it without these strokes (Fig.4, right).<sup>48</sup>



Fig. 4. Variant forms of \*64 at Pylos<sup>49</sup>

\*22/CAP  $\hat{\uparrow}$ :<sup>50</sup> This sign's palaeographic variation is somewhat different at Pylos from Knossos: here the only significant variation is in the form of the head, which may consist of either a curve with a vertical stroke at the end (Fig.5, left) or a wavy line (Fig.5, right). H1 and S1331 (Class i), the Class ii hand of **Cn 1286**, and the Class iii hand of **Cn 418** use the former, while H21, H31, and H42 use the latter.<sup>51</sup>

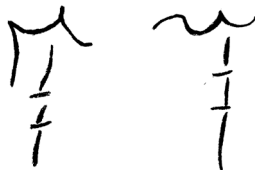


Fig. 5. Variant forms of \*22/CAP at Pylos<sup>52</sup>

\*65/FAR  $\mathbb{K}$ : H1, H2, H6, and the Class ii hand of **Vn 46** write the more elaborate form of this sign (Fig.6, left); H21, H22, H24, the Class ii hand of **Vn 879**, and H41 use a simplified form (Fig.6, right).<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> H1: **An 654.3**, **519.11**; Es-series, *passim*; **Vn 130.1**, H2: **Fn 187.10.19**; **Ta 709.3**, H21: **Aq 218.11**. Class ii: **Va 15.1**. 2 a. and v.; **Vn 46.5.10**. H41: **Eb 472.B**, **871.1**, **846.1**[[A]]. Class iii: **Wr 1374.γ**.

<sup>48</sup> H1: **Aa 701**, H2: **Jn 832.11**, H21: **Ab 515.B**, H23: **Ad 315**, **326**, H31: **Cn 1287.1**, S324 (Class iii): **Fn 324.3**. Class iii: **Vn 34.2**.

<sup>49</sup> **Cn 1287.1** (H31); **Vn 34.2** (Class ii). Drawings: author, after photographs in the Mycenaean Epigraphy Room, Faculty of Classics, Cambridge (photographs © University of Cincinnati). Not to scale.

<sup>50</sup> This sign is attested only in its ideographic form at Pylos.

<sup>51</sup> H1: Cn- and Un-series, *passim*. S1331 (Class i): **Wr 1325.α**, **1334.α**. H21: Cc- and Cn-series, *passim*. H31: **Cn 1287.1-10**. Class ii: **Cn 1286.1**, H42: **Ua 17.2**; **Un 138.3**. Class iii: **Cn 418.4.8**.

<sup>52</sup> **Cn 643.5** (H1); **Cn 599.2** (H21). Drawings: author, after photographs in the Mycenaean Epigraphy Room, Faculty of Classics, Cambridge (photographs © University of Cincinnati). Not to scale.

<sup>53</sup> H1: **En 74.9**, **609.7**; **Un 2.4**, H2: **Jn 431.6**, **725.8**; **Fn 187.3**, H6: **Un 853.5**, H21: **Aq 218.16**, **64.7**, H22: **Ae 344**, H24: **Un 718.10**. Class ii: **Vn 46.11**, **879.1.2**, H41: **Eo 211.4**, **276.8**.



Fig. 6. Variant forms of \*65 at Pylos<sup>54</sup>

\*82 𐀀: H1, H2, H6, the Class i hand of **Jo 438**, and H25 have a form with a wavy central stroke (Fig.7, left); H21, the Class ii hand of **Vn 19**, H44, and S1272 (Class iii) have a simpler central curve (Fig.7, right).<sup>55</sup>



Fig. 7. Variant forms of \*82 at Pylos<sup>56</sup>

Two examples of H21 sharing a form with Class i are therefore balanced by three in which, although at least one other Class ii hand shares the Class i forms, H21 instead shares a form with Class iii. No particular palaeographic influence resulting from H21's close administrative connection with the Class i hands H1 and H2 can thus be detected.

Of these five signs, three are attested in other hands from the NEB. H21 and H31, who were argued above to be particularly closely related within this department by their work on a similar topic (livestock), share both the form of \*64 with small strokes on the ends of the verticals and the wavy-head form of \*22/CAP; however, the other form of \*22/CAP is also found in this location, in S1331 (Class i) and the Class ii hand of **Cn 1286** (no other NEB hand is attested as writing \*64).<sup>57</sup> Since all of these (being examples of CAP) are also in livestock tablets and sealings, S1331 and the hand of **Cn 1286** have just as good a chance of being closely related to H21 through their work in the NEB as H31 does. In addition, H21 and S1272 (Class iii) share the simpler form of \*82,<sup>58</sup> but since S1272 is attested only as

<sup>54</sup> **Jn 725.8** (H2); **Aq 218.16** (H21). Drawings: author, after photographs in the Mycenaean Epigraphy Room, Faculty of Classics, Cambridge (photographs © University of Cincinnati). Not to scale.

<sup>55</sup> H1: **An 803.12**; Cn-series, *passim*; **Na 322**. H2: Jn-series, *passim*; **Ma 225.1**. H6: **Un 6.3.4**. Class i: **Jo 438.26**. H21: **Cn 600.15**. H25: **Vn 20.3**. Class ii: **Vn 19.1**. H44: **Tn 316 v.4.5**. S1272 (Class iii): **Ac 1276**.

<sup>56</sup> **Un 6.3** (H6); **Vn 19.1** (Class ii). Drawings: author, after photographs in the Mycenaean Epigraphy Room, Faculty of Classics, Cambridge (photographs © University of Cincinnati). Not to scale.

<sup>57</sup> References: p.202, n.48 and 51.

<sup>58</sup> References: n.55, above.



writing Ac-series personnel tablets there is no particular reason to view this hand and stylus as being closely connected.

This case-study has demonstrated that in some instances the forms of signs used by the three palaeographic classes at Pylos show a considerable degree of overlap between classes and/or divergence within a single class: the resulting palaeographic situation appears overly complex to be fully explained by a system of scribal training carried out exclusively by the major hand of each class. However, based on the available evidence, scribes' administrative relationships cannot account for these complexities either: as at Knossos, no overall correlation can be seen between scribes' palaeography and their administrative connections, regardless of whether the latter are reconstructed through location and/or subject-matter or other kinds of scribal interactions.

## Conclusions

Despite the many differences between the palaeographic situations and the administrative systems of Knossos and Pylos, the results of this case-study are strikingly similar for both sites; it is equally striking that the palaeographic picture is in both cases a far more complex one than that suggested by the usual models of scribal work and training. The wide range of palaeographic variation seems to argue against the existence of a single 'scribal school' at each site, while the complexity of possible palaeographic relationships and their lack of correlation to any reconstructable form of administrative relationship similarly argue against an 'apprenticeship'-type system. Instead, all of these features suggest that scribes may have been subject to palaeographic influences from multiple different sources, which could have resulted from a significant degree of movement between different administrative locations and/or subjects in the course of their work and/or training.

Reconstructing this level of scribal mobility would have a significant impact on our understanding of the Mycenaean administrative systems: did scribes only specialise in particular areas of work after they had already been trained in several different areas of the administration (a system which, to employ another anachronistic term, might be described as similar to a series of 'internships')? Or were individual scribes in fact less specialised in their work than their surviving tablets suggest? It is, after all, always possible that our view of the Mycenaean administrative systems and of individual scribes' activities might be quite different were we to have a larger number of tablets preserved, or even a similar number referring to a different time of year. Our view of the scribes' actual status may be similarly affected: are scribes who are less specialised and more mobile within the administrative system more



likely to be writers who might work for multiple different bureaucrats? Or would such a lesser degree of specialisation be explicable for the bureaucrats themselves under a different form of administrative reconstruction?

Of course, it should be stressed once again that these results are preliminary ones, based as they are only on the undeciphered signs, and that a much more extensive palaeographic investigation of Linear B will be necessary in order to establish whether they are in fact representative of the script as a whole: only then can any conclusions of the type tentatively suggested above be securely drawn. However, despite its preliminary nature, this case-study has demonstrated not only that the palaeography of Linear B is more complex and its range of variation within individual sites (and administrative areas of those sites) considerably greater than is generally assumed, but also that detailed palaeographic analysis, when combined with archaeological data, has the potential to make a vital contribution to unresolved questions concerning the Mycenaean scribes' work, their training, and even their identity.

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