

# THE LINEAR B INSCRIPTIONS AND POTTER'S MARKS

by

Erik Hallager

The first Linear B inscriptions in Khania were discovered on inscribed stirrup jars by Yannis Tzedakis in the mid and late 1960s in the early excavations on the Kastelli Hill. Two of these inscriptions (**KH Z 2** and **3**) were published together with the inscribed stirrup jar (ISJ) from the Mameloukou cave in 1967.<sup>1</sup> In the early 1970s I was kindly permitted by Dr Tzedakis to go through his boxes with pottery from the old excavations in the Kastelli area and this resulted in the discovery of another twelve sherds from stirrup jars with Linear B or possible Linear B signs. Together with the first inscription identified from the Greek-Swedish Excavations (**KH Z 10**) these were published in 1975.<sup>2</sup> Since then fragments of stirrup jars with Linear B turned up frequently at the Greek-Swedish Excavations and were published separately or in connection with the reports of the excavation.<sup>3</sup> Since the mid 1980s a few more sherds from ISJ's were found in the Greek-Swedish Excavations and some more were identified during the detailed studies of the pottery.<sup>4</sup> These ISJ's (**KH Z 26-42** and **45**) will be published here for the first time.<sup>5</sup> Of the 43 ISJ's uncovered in the last century none of the jars were complete and only one inscription was completely preserved (*u-so* on **KH Z 22**). This regrettable state of affairs was remedied during the excavations in 2005, when an intact (except for the spout) inscribed stirrup jar was uncovered in a late LM IIIB:1 pit in a house which had also revealed evidence of Linear B tablets.<sup>6</sup>

The Greek-Swedish Excavations have not only revealed ISJ's, but Linear B tablets as well. The first fragment of a Linear B tablet (**KH X 3**) was actually found in 1973, but at that time it was considered and published as Linear A.<sup>7</sup> It was after the discovery of unmistakable Linear B tablets during rescue excavations in 1989 and 1990 that we realized the true nature of **KH X 3**.<sup>8</sup> The first fragment of a Linear B tablet to be recognized as such was **KH Sq 1** found in an LM IIIB:1 rubbish pit in 1989,<sup>9</sup> while the following year three almost complete Linear B tablets (**KH Ar 4**, **Gq 5**, and **X 6**) were discovered *in situ* on a floor of the late LM IIIB:1 period<sup>10</sup> in the same building which later revealed the complete ISJ.

It was during the early excavations that the Linear B script was recognized in Khania and they have revealed 18 fragments of inscribed stirrup jars, while the Greek-Swedish Excavations have revealed 24 inscriptions on stirrup jars, three on cups and a bowl and five tablets inscribed with Linear B. All the inscribed Linear B material belongs stratigraphically within the LM IIIB period.

As will be understood from the above, most of the inscriptions have been published previously, while others are presented here for the first time. For the convenience of the reader the entire catalogue will be presented below with very short comments on the epigraphical evidence. In the catalogue will be found the term "not-decoration type" which means that a stroke (or strokes) which would not fit with an ordinary decoration on a stirrup jar has been considered a possible Linear B sign.<sup>11</sup> The drawings and photographs are presented on *Pls. 270-278*. All inscriptions on pottery are rendered on a scale of 1:2, while the tablets are reproduced on a scale of 1:1. Many of the inscriptions have been re-drawn after new inspection of the material. References to clay analyses are as they will appear in *Table 1*.

<sup>1</sup> Tzedakis 1967, 106-109.

<sup>2</sup> Hallager 1975, 64-76.

<sup>3</sup> **KH Z 16**: Hallager & Vlasaki 1976, 215-219; **KH Z 17**: Tzedakis & Hallager 1978, 43-44; **KH Z 18-25**: Hallager 1983, 58-73; while joins which made **KH Z 22** complete are found in Hallager & Tzedakis 1984, 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> This also applies to the early Tzedakis excavations from which four more fragments were recognized (**KH Z 29-31** and **44**). I am grateful to Dr Tzedakis for his permission to include these inscriptions here.

<sup>5</sup> Those found in the LM IIIB:2 levels are, however, as pottery published in *GSE III*, 66-67 (**KH Z 32**), 69 (**KH Z 35**), 78 (**KH Z 33**), 117 (**KH Z 26**), 118 (**KH Z 36** and **41**), 114 (**KH Z 39**), 153 (**KH Z 42**), 157 (**KH Z 38**), 161 (**KH Z 18**), 180 (**KH Z 21**), 149 (**KH Z 45** [70-P 0620+]). The inscriptions were shortly commented upon in *GSE III*, 274-275.

<sup>6</sup> Andreadaki-Vlasaki & Hallager 2007, 17-20.

<sup>7</sup> Hallager 1975, 56; *GORILA* 3, 22.

<sup>8</sup> *GSE III*, 275.

<sup>9</sup> Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990.

<sup>10</sup> Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager, 1992.

<sup>11</sup> See also *GSE III*, 274, n.1.

## CATALOGUE

## Inscriptions on pottery

**KH Z 1** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 270*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. opposite spout. Semi-coarse clay, brick-red, at outer 0.001 almost black. Orange-yellowish slip. Dark red-brownish paint. Band encircling false neck and handle. Remains of two body bands below inscription: *ka-ru-ka* [. MpH 0.122. W 0.124. Th. 0.007-10. Clay analyses: Crete.

*The inscription:* Especially the 2<sup>nd</sup> sign is difficult to interpret; *ru* has been preferred here although *sa* and *go* cannot be excluded. *ka* is painted the usual way: circle, horizontal and last vertical stroke. *ru* seem to be painted first with the left bent stroke and after that the vertical together with the right bent stroke. The inscription probably represents a personal name, for which there is no parallel in the corpus of Linear B.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 64-65; Sacconi 1974, 179; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87; Hallager 1987, 74, n. 24.

**KH Z 2** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 270*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill, 1966, Trench B

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, frg. of shoulder and handle (two fragments). Semi-coarse clay, pink yellowish throughout. Light grey-yellowish slip. Dark brown paint, and badly adhered. Bands along sides of handle. Two body bands below inscription: ]-i-jo. a) MpH 0.104. W 0.131. Th. 0.0085-108. b) MpH 0.094. W 0.124. Th. 0.0085-105. Handle: 0.0335 × 280. Clay analyses: Crete.

*The inscription:* Reading of the first sign rather uncertain, while *i* and *jo* are rather straightforward. Also in this case we are probably dealing with a personal name.

*Published:* Tzedakis 1967b, 106-109; Hallager 1975, 65-66; Sacconi 1974, 180; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 88.

**KH Z 3** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 270*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, disc from false neck. White-yellowish, finely gritted clay except for few larger grains. Light yellow-brownish slip. Dark brown paint. The decoration consists of three Linear B signs: *ma-di-jo* [. Ø 0.051. Th. 0.008. Surface of disc is flat. The back is rough, slightly convex and almost in the centre a circular impression (Ø 0.0046. Depth 0.003). Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* The last sign is uncertain – could also be *go*. *ma* is painted first with the right lower bow, then the left and the two vertical strokes. Last the inner part of the “ears” and the horizontal stroke below. On *di* the horizontal stroke is painted last. If read *ma-di-jo* we may have the genitive case of the personal name *ma-di* found on **KN As 603** and **Db 1168**, while the personal name *ma-di-jo* is found on **KN B 806**, **Dl 930** and **Dv 1460**.

*Published:* Tzedakis, 1967b, 106-109; Hallager 1975, 66; Sacconi 1974, 180; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 4** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 271*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. opposite spout. Semi-coarse clay, brick-red throughout. Yellow-brownish slip. Dark brown-red-dish paint. Remains of body band below inscription: ]*pu-ti* [. MpH 0.081. W 0.092. Th. 0.010-12. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* On *pu* the vertical strokes were painted after the main stroke, and on *ti* it seems that the central stroke was painted last. Same inscription found on **KH Z 10** and **18**. Again we are probably dealing with a personal name which might perhaps be one known from both Knossos (**Db 1232.B**) and Pylos (**Jn 845.11**) *na-pu-ti-jo*.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 66-67; Sacconi 1974, 181; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 5** (Excavation no. 3106/19), *Pl. 271*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill 1966, Trench B, Level 9 (Tzedakis & Kanta 1978, 26, 49, fig. 24:5), i.e. LM IIIB:2, cf. B.P. Hallager in *GSE* III, 216, n. 211.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Semi-coarse, brown clay turning grey towards inside. Probably light cream slip (burnt). Dark brown paint. Band encircling false neck and handle above and body band below the inscription: ]*de-so* [. MpH 0.085. W 0.049. Th. 0.010-12. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Part of the *ta-[\*22-] de-so* inscriptions found at Thebes. Same painter. *de* is painted with the upper part first. First left then right stroke and the horizontal strokes afterwards. Of the legs first the one starting on the upper right side. On *so* the traces of the horizontal strokes are very faint, but they seem to be painted last. One more fragment from same inscription and painter cf. **KH Z 39**. At Thebes the name is found both as *ta-[\*22-de-so* and *ta-de-so*, a personal name attested several times at Knossos (**As 604**, **De 1409**, **Df 1285** and **V 655**).

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 67-68; Sacconi 1974, 181; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 6** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 271*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill, Vlamakis plot, June, 68; Room A, Level 6.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg.?. Semi-coarse clay, grey black turning thin red towards inside. Cream greyish slip. Dull brown paint, traces of fire outside. Part of body band below possible inscription: ]*ka* [. MpH 0.066. W 0.064. Th. 0.009-10. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Circle painted first, then horizontal and lastly vertical stroke. Restored, the sign would be rather large for a shoulder inscription which the curved band seems to indicate. Isolated *ka*'s need not be from canonic inscriptions.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 68; Sacconi 1974, 182; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 7** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 271*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, frg. with false neck, handle and shoulder. Semi-coarse clay, reddish turning grey-brownish towards the inside. Yellow-greyish cream slip (like **KH Z 10**). Black-brownish paint – badly preserved. Band below neck and around handles; semicircular bands on disc running down handle. Below neck band one Linear B sign: ]*to* [. MpH 0.090. W 0.124. Th. 0.008-11. Ø neck 0.048. Handle 0.033 × 24; Disc: 0.08. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* May possibly come from a two-line inscription as found on **EL Z 1**. Horizontal strokes seem to be painted after vertical.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 68; Sacconi 1974, 183; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 8** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 271*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill, A<sub>II</sub>, 1-3 November 1966, Lakkos.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Semi-coarse clay, red turning grey towards inside. Buff, dull slip. Red-brownish dull paint. Two body bands (c. 0.006) below possible inscription: ] *zo-pa* [. MpH 0.066. W 0.106. Th. 0.007-11. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* The suggested reading is very uncertain, but the lower part of two different signs are certain. Both signs have been painted after the body bands.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 68-69; Sacconi 1974, 183; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 9** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 271*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, frgs. of shoulder and false neck. Semi-coarse clay, brick-red throughout. Cream-yellowish slip. Red paint. Circle on top of disc; bands along sides of handle and on neck; band running below neck and handle (see Hallager 1975, pl. VIII). Two body bands below the inscription which reads ]*u-•-•* [. MpH 0.105. W 0.102. Th. 0.008-11. Ø of neck 0.058. Handle 0.024 × 37. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Consists of at least three signs of which only one is completely preserved. *u*: first main stroke, then second stroke and crossing vertical. 2<sup>nd</sup> main stroke does not meet first – peculiar! This sign is probably done by the same hand as on **KH Z 22** (cf. below). It would be tempting to see this inscription as part of the *u-pa-ta-ro*

series from Tiryns, but the upper right corner of the third sign does not fit with *ta*, but rather with *wa* or *su*.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 69; Sacconi 1974, 184; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 10** (Excavation no. GSE 70-P 0377), *Pl. 272*

*Context:* "19.6.70, Trench 2, Cleaning Eastern Wall" coming from unstratified cleaning of trench wall (*GSE I*, 66, 76). A large portion of this wall, however, consisted of the IIIB:2 Rubbish Area North of the habitation and from which several other Linear B inscriptions have been recorded: (**KH Z 18, 20, 21?**, **23, 24, 38, 42** and **45** cf. below). Probable date LM IIIB:2.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body frg. Light red-brownish clay, turning dark grey-brownish towards inside. Cream-yellowish slip. Light brown paint. Part of a body band above inscription which reads ]*pu-ti*[. MpH 0.123. W 0.105. Th. 0.008-12. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Same inscription on **KH Z 4** and **18**, which, however, are shoulder inscriptions. *pu* written as on **KH Z 4**. *ti* cannot be distinguished.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 69-71; Sacconi 1974, 185; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87; *GSE III*, 274; *GSE IV*, 252.

**KH Z 11** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 272*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill 1966, Trench A, L. 6.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. with part of handle and beginning of false neck. Very fine semi-coarse clay, red turning greyish towards the inside. Buff, dull slip. Brown-black slightly lustrous paint. Single band around handle and neck and one wavy band up along handle. Remains of a body band below possible Linear B inscription: *ε*[. MpH 0.099. W 0.099. Th. 0.009-16. Handle 0.027 × 33. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* May be inscription *ε*[. First left vertical, the right followed by the two horizontal strokes.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 71; Sacconi 1974, 186; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 12** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 272*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill 1966, A<sub>I-III</sub>, L. 4

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Semi-coarse, red-brown clay turning grey towards the inside. Buff, pinkish, dull slip. Red dull paint. Two body bands (c. 0.010) below possible Linear B inscription: ]*ta*[. Unusually large space between the body bands. MpH 0.083. W 0.102. Th. 0.010-11. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* In all probability correctly interpreted as ]*ta*[. The vertical stroke is painted after the lower horizontal. The *ta* is very "closed" in front, and does not recall the other copies of the same sign on **KH Z 19, 39, 43** (*Fig. 98*).

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 71; Sacconi 1974, 186; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 13** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 272*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill 1966, Vlamakis, L.3, A<sub>II</sub>

*Description:* Stirrup jar, medium-sized, part of disc of false neck and part of handle. Relatively fine clay with few larger inclusions, red throughout. Buff smooth slip. Red-brownish slightly lustrous paint. Barred handle, two parallel strokes on disc from possible Linear B sign: ]*pa*[ or ]*to*[. MpH 0.043. W 0.032. Th. 0.017. (on disc: 0.005). Est. Ø of disc 0.05. Handle: 0.009 × 15. Clay analyses: Crete.

*The inscription:* Reading uncertain, but one of the two suggested above. No crossing strokes. Upper much thinner than lower.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 72; Sacconi 1974, 187; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 88.

**KH Z 14** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 272*

*Context:* Kastelli 1966, diaphora.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Semi-coarse clay, light red turning grey towards inside. Buff to light reddish slip. Brown slightly lustrous paint. Remains of band above possible Linear B inscription: ]*ka*[. MpH 0.045. W 0.0425. Th. 0.005-6. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* If an inscription it might read ]*ka*[, while ]*ti*[ is also a

good possibility when compared to that sign found on **KH Z 4** and **18**. According to B.P. Hallager this could well be an ordinary octopus design. Too little preserved to be sure of procedure of painting.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 72; Sacconi 1974, 188; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 15** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 272*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill 1966, Trench A, L. 5.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. from just below handle. Fine light brownish clay throughout with many small white inclusions. Light brown slip. Red-brownish slightly lustrous paint. Thick band around handle and two body bands below possible Linear B inscription: \**ʃ*[ or *ε*[. MpH 0.048. W 0.055. Th. 0.005-6. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* If correctly interpreted as an inscription it probably reads \**ʃ*[. Since the vertical stroke is sloping much the reading *ε*[ cannot be excluded. The horizontal strokes have been painted after the vertical.

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 72; Sacconi 1974, 188; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 87.

**KH Z 16** (Excavation no. GSE 76-P 0001), *Pl. 272*

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, between Buildings 1 and 2, Upper deposit, cf. this volume, p. 170.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, false neck, disc, and beg. of both handles. Clay: coarse to semi-coarse red throughout. Slip same colour as clay. Cream-whitish dull, badly adhered paint. Ext. a band at the lower part of the false neck. Band along edge of disc continuing down the handles. On top of disc one incised sign in Linear B: *wa*. MpH 0.071. Ø of neck 0.045. Ø of disc 0.078. Th. of neck 0.01. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Reads *wa*. Very lightly incised. Vertical strokes very thin, horizontal more rough. The horizontal strokes cross the right vertical, i.e. the horizontal strokes drawn last. The isolated *wa* may stand as an abbreviation for *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, royal. This is the only identified incised Linear B inscription on pottery from Khandia.

*Published:* Hallager & Vlasaki 1976, 215-219; Hallager 1987, 177-179 and n. 61; Haskell 2005, 216; Andreadaki-Vlasaki & Hallager 2007, 20, n. 50; *GSE IV*, 170.

**KH Z 17** (Excavation no. GSE 77-P 0500), *Pl. 273*

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, between Buildings 1 and 2, 12-Pit E, cf. this volume p. 179.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Clay: finer semi-coarse brown-grey, burnt hard. Black paint. Ext. remains of one body band below possible inscription: ]*ka-ka*[. MpH 0.050. W 0.060. Th. 0.005-7. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Reads ]*ka-ka*[ with possible parallel to **KH Z 24** and **PY Jn 320.3**, *ka-ka-po*. Difficult to see for certain, but procedure seems to be circle, horizontal, vertical stroke for both *ka*'s, at least certain for left one.

*Published:* Tzedakis & Hallager 1978, 43-44; *GSE IV*, 179.

**KH Z 18** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 0487), *Pl. 273*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Rubbish Area North, Central dump, middle layer, cf. *GSE III*, 160-161. Same context as **KH Z 10?**, **20?**, **21?**, **23, 24, 38, 42** and **45**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. from opposite spout. Semi-coarse (to coarse) clay, red throughout. Pinkish-cream, dull slip. Red, dull paint. Ext. remains of two Linear B signs: ]*pu-ti*[. MpH 0.054. W 0.076. Th. 0.007-9. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Reads ]*pu-ti*[ as **KH Z 4** and **KH Z 10**. On *pu* the vertical stroke is done after the curvy main stroke. On *ti* none of the three strokes meet. For comments on reading cf. **KH Z 4**.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 58-59; *GSE III*, 161, 214, 274.

**KH Z 19** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 0858+), *Pl. 273*

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Room C, floor deposit, cf. this volume p. 52. Same context as **KH Z 22**, cf. below.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Clay: reddish-brown with grey core. Ext. part of four linear B-signs ]*na-ta*[ remains of a band



from below false neck and with two body bands below. MpH 0.130. W 0.095. Th. 0.009-12. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Reads ]-na-ta- and may be paralleled with the inscription on **KH Z 957**. There seems little doubt that we are dealing with the same inscription and – considering the execution of *na* – done by the same painter on the two sherds. *na* started with the upper three horizontal strokes, then the lower part (the bow is painted above the lower strokes). On *ta* it seems that the small horizontal was painted first. Sacconi's suggested reading *o-na-ta-* is not incompatible with the remains of the first sign on the Khania inscription, cf. Hallager 1983, fig. 3.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 59-61; Hallager *et al.* 2006, 55; *GSE IV*, 55.

**KH Z 20** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 0892), *Pl.* 273

*Context:* General Cleaning, cf. *GSE I*, 66, 76. Unstratified, but may be connected to the IIIB:2 Rubbish Area North where also other **KH Z** numbers (**10?**, **18**, **21?**, **23**, **24**, **38**, **42** and **45**) were found. Probable date LM IIIB:2.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body frg. Brown clay turning dark grey towards the inside; semi-coarse, burnt severely all over. Brown slip by fire burnt greyish-black. Red-brown dull paint. Remains of a Linear B sign: ]no[. MpH 0.075. W 0.092. Th. 0.009-10. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* The inscription reads ]no[. Pres. H: 0.072. It seems that the vertical strokes are painted after the horizontal and it seems as if the legs are also crossing the horizontal one. Differently executed from the other *no*'s at Khania, cf. *Fig. 98*.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 61-62; *GSE III*, 274; *GSE IV*, 253.

**KH Z 21** (Excavation no. GSE 70-P 0830), *Pl.* 273

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Trench 2 Related deposit?, cf. *GSE III*, 180-181. Same context as **KH Z 10?**, **18**, **20?**, **23**, **24**, **38**, **42** and **45**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar?, large, body or shoulder frg. Semi-coarse, light greyish-brown clay. Creamish-white dull slip. Black, faded paint. Ext. remains of a possible Linear B sign ]wq[. H 0.056. W 0.059. Th. 0.007-9. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* If correctly identified the inscription reads ]wq[ or less likely ]q[. The central stroke being thinner indicates that *wa* is the correct interpretation. The procedure of painting is difficult to distinguish, but apparently the horizontal stroke is painted above the left vertical. Executed very differently from the other *wa*'s at Khania, cf. *Fig. 98*.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 62-63; *GSE III*, 180, 215, 274.

**KH Z 22** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 1398+), *Pl.* 273

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Building 1, Room C, floor deposit, cf. this volume, p. 52. From same context came also **KH Z 19**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, upper shoulder frgs. Clay: reddish-brown. Thin cream slip and reddish-brown paint. Part of one handle and scar from the second. Ext. band around handle false neck section. Two Linear B signs on upper body (*u-so*) and two upper body bands. MpH 0.137. Handle (close to attachment) 0.038 × 0.040. Th. 0.008-11. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Reads *u-so*. Palaeographically somewhat unusual especially the *so* which is not paralleled in any other painted inscription. The inscription is painted after the body bands. The only certainty about *u* is that the vertical stroke is painted first. The execution of the sign recalls that on **KH Z 9**, cf. above.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 63-64; Hallager & Tzedakis 1984, 15-16; *GSE IV*, 56.

**KH Z 23** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 0920), *Pl.* 274

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Rubbish Area North, Central dump, middle layer, cf. *GSE III*, 160-167. Same context as **KH Z 10?**, **18**, **20?**, **21?**, **24**, **38**, **42** and **45**.

*Description:* Cup, rim frg. Almost straight rounded rim. Clay: fine, light brown, rather hard, few small inclusions. Paint: red to reddish-brown, lustrous – misfired in kiln. Int. RB. Ext. RB and body band below possible Linear B inscription: ]ti-da-to[. MpH 0.038. W 0.051. Th. 0.003-4. Rim Ø est. 0.11. H between bands 0.024. Clay and fabric very similar to **KH Z 24** (here below). Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* The inscription reads ]ti-da-to[. *ti*, central stroke painted last. *da* horizontal stroke painted last; last sign *to* the horizontal strokes painted last.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 64-66; *GSE III*, 165, 200, 274.

**KH Z 24** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 0772), *Pl.* 274

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Rubbish Area North, Central dump, middle layer, cf. *GSE III*, 160-167. Same context as **KH Z 10?**, **18**, **20?**, **21?**, **23**, **38**, **42** and **45**.

*Description:* Cup, rim frg. Straight rounded rim. Clay: hard, fine, light brown clay, few small inclusions. Paint: red on unburnt part, brown on burnt, lustrous. Int. RB. Ext. RB and body band below possible Linear B inscription: ]ka-ka[. MpH 0.040. W 0.0535. Th. 0.003-5. Rim Ø est. 0.11. H between bands 0.033. Fabric very similar to **KH Z 23**. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* If correctly interpreted as an inscription it reads: ]ka-ka[. The paint is very badly preserved, but the procedure seems to be the usual: circle, horizontal and last vertical stroke.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 64-66; *GSE III*, 164, 200, 274.

**KH Z 25** (Excavation no. GSE 73-P 0484), *Pl.* 274

*Context:* LM IIIC, Space P, Related deposits, cf. *GSE II*, 48.

*Description:* Bowl, rim/body frgs. Clay light red. Slightly everted rim, scar from a horiz. roll handle. Int. monochrome. Ext. RB, part of a Linear B sign *je* and two body bands. Rim Ø est. 0.16-17. Th. 0.004-6. Clay analyses: west Crete. Date LM IIIB:2?

*The inscription:* If correctly interpreted as a sign, it reads *je* (Pres. H. of sign: 0.023). First the cross (first the one leaning right) then “tabs”.

*Published:* Hallager 1983, 67-68; *GSE II*, 48, 141, restored in drawing pl. 41.

**KH Z 26** (Excavation no. GSE 84-P 0279), *Pl.* 274

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Southeast area, 20-Pit B, cf. *GSE III*, 117. Same context as **KH Z 36**, **39** and **41**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar?, large, body frg. Semi-coarse clay, red all way through. Reddish-brown, dull slip. Dull creamish-yellow paint. Ext. inscription in Linear B ]pu[. MpH 0.096. W 0.106. Th. 0.006-10. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Only the lower part of the sign *pu* is preserved. Compared to the other ISJ *pu*'s in Khania this one has got “feet” (*Fig. 98*) which were added after the vertical strokes. Feet on ISJ *pu* only found on **MY Z 713**. This way of rendering the sign is quite common with the Knossos scribes (Olivier 1967, Tables II-LXVII). Uncertain whether this sherd may belong to the ]*pu-ti*[ series from Khania, also **KH Z 10** is a ]*pu-ti*[ inscription on body, but “dark on light” and without the lower part of the sign preserved. Fabric and paint recalls **KH Z 35** and **29**.

*Published:* *GSE III*, 214, 274.

**KH Z 27** (Excavation no. GSE 84-P 1281), *Pl.* 274

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Courtyard, Phase 3, South Below floors, 20-Pit F, cf. this volume p. 159.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg.? Clay: very light yellowish-pink turning light grey towards the int. (could be LW). Slip: buff yellowish dull. Reddish-brown, slightly lustrous paint. One inscription in Linear B: ]no[. MpH 0.056. W 0.043. Th. 0008-9. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* The sign is *no* in the version known from a few Knossos tablets and several of the ISJ's (Hallager 1987, 75 with further references to parallels and discussion of the sign). No traces of the lower part of the sign are preserved and we cannot tell whether or not it was originally rendered as some of those found in Tiryns and Thebes or whether it was originally complete. The sign appears to be carefully painted. The vertical strokes were painted first and then the crossing wavy line.

*Published:* Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 27, n.13; *GSE IV*, 159.

**KH Z 28** (Excavation no. GSE 84-P 0663), *Pl.* 274

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Rubbish Area Southeast, 20-Pit J, cf. this volume, p. 124.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body or shoulder frg. Clay: light reddish-

brown, turning grey int. Ext. a circle with a cross int.?, possibly the Linear B sign *ka*. MpH 0.036; W 0.048; Th. 0.006. Clay analyses: probably west Crete.

*The inscription:* If an inscription, *ka* seems, the direction of the sherd taken into consideration, the only possible interpretation. Casually painted like, for example, on **KH Z 1**. It cannot be decided whether the cross or the circle was painted first since the paint has faded away exactly where they meet.

*Published:* Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 27, n. 13; *GSE IV*, 126.

#### **KH Z 29** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 274*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill 1966, A<sub>II</sub>, Above floor, L. 5.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, [body- or] shoulder frg. Red clay throughout, rather finely gritted, few small white inclusions. Slightly brown-reddish slip, dull. Light cream-yellow paint (as **KH Z 26**). Possible part of Linear B inscription ]*ru*[. MpH 0.052. W 0.048. Th. 0.006. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* If a Linear B sign, *ru* is the most probable. There are very faint traces to show that the “horn” (as it is always rendered) has been painted in one stroke above the vertical stroke. The main difference from the other known painted *ru*'s, is that the vertical stroke continues above the central part of the “horn”. Following the wheel marks on the reverse the sign is seen to be sloping towards the right.

#### **KH Z 30** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 274*

*Context:* “Kastelli Hill 1965, 100-150”, i.e. coming from an unstratified area in the 1965 trench on the Agia Aikaterini Square.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body frg., upper part. Outer 1/4 red clay, inner 3/4 grey; semi-coarse. Dull brown slip. Slightly lustrous black paint. Part of a body band below which remains of a possible Linear B inscription: ]*o*[ or ]*du*[. MpH 0.073. W 0.085. Th. 0.008. Clay analyses: Crete.

*The inscription:* It is the upper part of a possible sign, and both the above mentioned interpretations are possible. The “knot” is painted after the horizontal stroke and counter clockwise.

#### **KH Z 31** (Excavation no. -), *Pl. 274*

*Context:* Kastelli Hill 1964, from unstratified context at the Agia Aikaterini Square.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body frg. Outer 2/3 to 4/5 red clay, inner part dark grey, semi-coarse. Light red, dull slip. Red, faded in most places. Three parallel vertical strokes, possibly part of Linear B: ]*wa*[. MpH 0.75. W 0.092. Th. 0.007-10. Clay analyses: Crete.

*The inscription:* If an inscription, *wa* seem the only interpretation, especially with comparison to **EL Z 1**, which is also “high and narrow”. The empty space behind *wa* seems to indicate that the sign is terminating the possible inscription, while in front of *wa* there may have been more signs. Also the *wa* on **KH Z 43** (cf. Andreadaki-Vlasaki & Hallager 2007, 18, fig. 8) is rendered as a narrow sign with little space between the vertical strokes.

#### **KH Z 32** (Excavation no. GSE 70-P 1118), *Pl. 274*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Room A, Floor deposit, upper floor, cf. *GSE III*, 65-71. Same context as **KH Z 35**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body frg. Clay: dark grey throughout, semi-coarse with few large incl. Light brown slip and reddish-brown paint. Ext. remains of a possible Linear B sign ]*no*[. MpH 0.082. W 0.083. Th. 0.005-7. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* The inscription in all probability reads ]*no*[. Usually the vertical and horizontal strokes do not meet (see, however, **KH Z 20**). In this case it is clear that the left vertical stroke is ended and separate – only is it painted a little above the horizontal stroke. In front of the right foot is a dot of paint/colour which does fit with the interpretation of the sign as *no* because the paint is rounded where the fracture is. It thus fits perfectly with the “S” in front of the sign – although going low down. Many *no*'s are known from the corpus of painted Linear B signs. The “S” in front seem to indicate that it is not the \*52 *bis* variant. Fractures too close to decide whether or not signs were in front or behind. Palaeographically too little is preserved to suggest obvious parallels.

*Published:* *GSE III*, 274.

#### **KH Z 33** (Excavation no. GSE 70-P 1113), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Room A, The floors (i.e. in floor), cf. *GSE III*, 77-78.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Clay: semi-coarse, outer 1/3 light brown, inner 2/3 grey. Light brown dull slip. Reddish-brown dull paint. Ext. at bottom two bands and above remains of a slightly declining vertical stroke, possibly from a Linear B sign, ]*ves*[. MpH 0.071. W 0.075. Th. 0.006-8. Clay analyses: west Crete. Date: LM IIIB:1.

*The inscription:* If an inscription, many possibilities may be imagined and none shall be suggested here. The “inscription” is mainly included because it is difficult to associate with ordinary decoration on stirrup jars. “Not-decoration type”.

*Published:* *GSE III*, 78, 216, 274.

#### **KH Z 34** (Excavation no. GSE 70-P 1141), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* Geometric, Pit in former Courtyard F, cf. *GSE I*, 225, i.e. unstratified.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. close to neck. Semi-coarse clay, red-brownish with thick grey core. Light brown slip. Red-brownish dull paint. Remains of a neck band and remains of a possible Linear B sign below ]*ves*[. MpH 0.0425. W 0.031. Th. 0.005-7. Clay analyses: west Crete. Date LM IIIB:1/2.

*The inscription:* Remains of two vertical strokes leaning slightly towards the left. The most obvious interpretation of the sign would be *no*, although *a<sub>3</sub>* and *i* cannot be excluded. If *no* it does not recall the way this sign is otherwise rendered at Khania (*Fig. 98*). “Not-decoration type”.

*Published:* *GSE I*, 225; *GSE IV*, 257.

#### **KH Z 35** (Excavation no. GSE 71-P 1478), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Room A, Floor deposit, upper floor, cf. *GSE III*, 65-71. Same context as **KH Z 32**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body or shoulder frg.? Clay: red, finer semi-coarse all the way through. Brownish-red dull slip. Dull creamy-white paint. Burnt? on int. Ext. part of two body bands with remains of a crossing vertical stroke which may be from a Linear B sign. MpH 0.062. W 0.054. Th. 0.006-8. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* If correctly interpreted as a sign it is surely crossing the two body bands, as seen for example on **KH Z 8**. On body inscriptions it seems rather unusual for the signs to cross the lower body bands, while it does happen more frequently on shoulder inscriptions. Clay, fabric and paint so similar to **KH Z 26** that they may possibly be from the same jar. The paint of the vertical stroke has been applied after the body bands were painted. “Not-decoration type”.

*Published:* *GSE III*, 69, 214, 274.

#### **KH Z 36** (Excavation no. GSE 84-P 0529), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Southeast Area, 20-Pit B, cf. *GSE III*, 114-122. Same context as **KH Z 26**, **39** and **41**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body or shoulder frg. Semi-coarse clay, brown to black, hard burnt. Brown? burnt dark grey slip all over. Dull creamish-white paint. Ext. remains of two or three Linear B signs ]*ko*[. MpH 0.050. W 0.071. Th. 0.010. Analysed: west Crete.

*The inscription:* Difficult to interpret. The first sign consists of a bent vertical stroke to the right which is on the inner part met by another small bent stroke. It is impossible to see which stroke was painted first. A *ri* where the two bent strokes meet may be a possible interpretation. The remaining strokes are probably from two signs. The first consists of two slightly bent, vertical strokes with the beginning of a possible circle at top (the circle painted after the two vertical strokes) – features which makes the interpretation of *ko* possible. Of the last sign we have a vertical stroke which is thinner than the remaining. No suggestion for this stroke shall be made here. It should be noted that the signs are standing close together compared to most ISJ's.

*Published:* *GSE III*, 118, 214, 274.

#### **KH Z 37** (Excavation no. GSE 71-P 0888), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* Unstratified. Regular Surface, cf. *GSE I*, 58.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. with beginning of neck. Semi-coarse clay, much schist, red throughout. Light brown dull slip. Dull brown-reddish paint. Remains of neck-band above possi-

ble Linear B inscription ]ka[. Mph 0.052. W 0.052. Th. 0.004-9. Clay analyses: west Crete. Date LM IIIB:1/2.

*The inscription:* A roughly painted *ka* is the only possible interpretation. It is painted the usual way: circle, horizontal and last vertical stroke.

*Published:* GSE I, 58; GSE IV, 252.

**KH Z 38** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 0460), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Rubbish Area North, Central dump, upper layer, cf. GSE III, 155-160. Same context as **KH Z 10?**, **18**, **20?**, **21?**, **23**, **24**, **42** and **45**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body frg. Clay: semi-coarse, light brown to greyish-brown towards the int. Slip: light brown dull (like **KH Z 33**); paint: body band dull light brown; sign: darker reddish-brown probably same paint however. Ext. part of a body band and a possible Linear B inscription: ]vest[. Mph 0.080. W 0.074. Th. 0.008-9. Clay analyses: west Crete.

*The inscription:* If an inscription, the two vertical strokes might fit with *a*, *no*, *nu*, or \*56. If it is not just by accident it is worthy of note that the colour of the decoration and the “sign” are different. “Not-decoration type”.

*Published:* GSE III, 157, 214, 274.

**KH Z 39** (Excavation no. GSE 84-P 0204), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Southeast Area, 20-Pit B, cf. GSE III, 114-122. Same context as **KH Z 26**, **36**, and **41**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Clay: red semi-coarse turning grey towards inside. Paint: reddish-brown, slightly shiny. Ext. remains of band close to neck and one body band between which remains of three Linear B signs, one almost completely preserved: ]ta-\*22-[de-so]. Mph 0.075. W 0.077. Th. 0.008-9. Not analysed.

*The inscription:* Is undoubtedly one of the *ta*-\*22-*de-so* series. The \*22 is much like the one found at Thebes – undoubtedly same hand as remaining. In front of \*22 are enough strokes to be rather positive about the reading *ta* and the few painted frgs. behind may well fit with the sign *de*. There seems to be yet another link to Thebes. Does not fit to **KH Z 5** (where the remaining part ]de-so[ is noted.

*Published:* GSE III, 114, 214, 274; Hallager *et al.* 2006, 55.

**KH Z 40** (Excavation no. GSE 80-P 1061), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Room D, between layer with stones and floor, cf. this volume p. 62.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, body frg. Clay: light greyish-green. Ext. part of a possible Linear B-sign ]ra[ or ]o[? Mph 0.043. W 0.047. Th. 0.006. Not analysed.

*The inscription:* There is no immediate recognizable sign in connection with the preserved strokes although *ra* or *o* is a possibility. If *ra* the variation is not known from the Knossos scribes, while it is reminiscent of the one on **MY Z 202**. Neither is it found in Linear A (*GORILA* 5, p. xxxviii).

*Published:* GSE IV, 64.

**KH Z 41** (Excavation no. GSE 84-P 0528), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Southeast Area, 20-Pit B, cf. GSE III, 114-122. Same context as **KH Z 26**, **36**, and **39**.

*Description:* Closed vessel (stirrup jar, large), shoulder frg. Clay: brown with grey core. Paint almost black, slightly shiny. Scar from a handle. Ext. band around handle attachment, beside two diagonal strokes, which might be part of a Linear B sign ]vest[. One body band pres. below handle attachment. Mph 0.081. W 0.062. Th. 0.006-11. Not analysed.

*The inscription:* Extremely little is preserved from the possible Linear B sign. It should be noted though, that the one unbroken stroke is rather thin indicating a small sign. If so, one might perhaps suggest a two line inscription as we did for **KH Z 7**. A possible reading of the remains could be *zo*. “Not-decoration type”.

*Published:* GSE III, 118, 214, 274.

**KH Z 42** (Excavation no. GSE 01-P 0387), *Pl. 275*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Rubbish Area North, 1/2-Pit, cf. GSE III, 146-155. Same context as **KH Z 10?**, **18**, **20?**, **21?**, **23**, **24**, **38**, and **45**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Clay: light reddish. Creamish-light brown slip and pale reddish-brown paint. Ext. a Linear B sign ]ka[ and a body band. Mph 0.050. W 0.066. Th. 0.007-8. Not analysed.

*The inscription:* If an inscription, it is clearly the sign *ka* with the inside crossing strokes rendered slightly oblique.

*Published:* GSE III, 153, 214, 274.

**KH Z 43** (Excavation no. GSE 05-P 1848; Mus.no. Π 10344), *Pl. 276*

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Building 2, Room B, below latest floor in 35/Pit F, cf. Andreadaki-Vlasaki & Hallager 2007, 17-20.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, completely preserved except for spout. Ovoid body, flat base, roll handles; cylindrical, short neck. Reddish-brown, gritty clay; local according to visual inspection by B.P. Hallager. Thin buff slip. Reddish-brown partly thick paint. The painted decoration is restricted to only two bands: a wavy band encircles the base of the neck, the false spout and the handles. A second band surrounds the above mentioned. Wavy band on disc and handles. Below the surrounding band is found a Linear B inscription *ze-ta-ro, wa*. H 0.383. Body Ø 0.250. Disc Ø 0.068. Handle 0.032 × 0.035. Base Ø 0.103. Not analysed.

*The inscription:* The Inscription reads *ze-ta-ro, wa*. *ze* is found here on an inscribed stirrup jar for the first time. It is unmistakable, although rendered in a slightly unusual way. *ta* and *ro* are simple, well-attested signs. *wa* is rendered with very tight legs (like on **KH Z 31** if correctly identified) and tight, upper horizontal strokes. The first sign group probably represents a personal name in the nominative case, i.e. the producer, while the second sign is probably to be understood as an abbreviation for *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, royal, i.e. the owner. The name *ze-ta-ro* is not previously attested in Linear B.

*Published:* Andreadaki-Vlasaki & Hallager 2007, 17-20.

**KH Z 44** (Excavation no. -)

*Context* Kastelli Hill.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. Semi-coarse to fine clay, light brown. Slip as clay. Very dark brown, dull paint. Between neck band and body band a possible Linear B inscription ]ka[. Mph 0.071. W 0.064. Th. 0.0078. Not analysed.

*The inscription:* Only the *ka* is clear and almost completely preserved, but traces of paint indicate the presence of a sign before. The cross inside the *ka* is as oblique as on **KH Z 1**. The sign is drawn the usual way circle, vertical and lastly horizontal stroke.

**KH Z 45** (Excavation no. GSE 70-P 0620+), *Pl. 276*

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Rubbish Area North, 1/2-Pit, cf. GSE III, 146-147. Same general context as **KH Z 18**, **21**, **23**, **24**, **38**, **42** and possibly **10** and **20**.

*Description:* Stirrup jar, large, shoulder frg. from almost completely preserved jar (see GSE III, pl. 124a). Clay, red turning grey towards interior. Dull creamy slip. Brownish-black paint. Above upper body band ending of two strokes that may be from a Linear B sign. Mph 0.051. W 0.064. Th. 0.006-9. Clay analyses: local.

*The inscription:* Only the lower parts of two strokes are preserved. The left one is almost vertical, while the right one is bent and in an oblique position. If a Linear B sign, the most likely reading is ]ri[ (although *no* cannot be excluded). When restored as a *ri* the sign would probably be between 0.08-9 high, which is unusual on shoulder inscriptions, but not unique. “Not-decoration type”.

*Published:* GSE III, 149, 154, 214, 274.

## The Linear B Tablets

**KH Sq 1** (Excavation no. GSE 89-TC 014), *Pl. 277*

*Context:* “14.7.89, Trench 24, L.3, Pit H”, an LM IIIB:1 rubbish pit, cf. Hallager & Tzedakis 1988, 26.

*Description:* Frg. of palm-leafed Linear B tablet, broken at both ends. Light brown, very finely gritted clay, except for few larger sand grains. Surface as clay, except that it is burnt grey at places. Well-



polished on obverse, less so on reverse. Some imprints and scratches on the reverse which is slightly curved (i.e. getting thinner towards the right), while the obverse is straight. A few faint impressions of finger- or rather palm-prints (cf. Sjöquist & Åström 1985) on the reverse. The edges are flat, thus giving the tablet a rectangular cross-section. A string hole ( $\emptyset$  c. 0.002) runs through the full length of the tablet. Pres H 0.027. L 0.047. Th. 0.014-12.

*The inscription:*

**KH Sq 1** (-)

.1 ]ROTA ZE 10[

*Published:* Hallager & Tzedakis 1988, 26; Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 24-32.

**KH X 2** (Excavation no. GSE 89-TC 015, Mus.no. Π 6659), *Pl.* 277

*Context:* “12.7.89, Trench 24, L.3, Pit G”, i.e. a dump of the LM IIIB:2/C period covering the LM IIIB:1 pit where **KH Sq 1** was discovered, cf. Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 24-26.

*Description:* Lower right corner of Linear A of Linear B tablet. The clay is light brick-red, finely gritted except for few very small sand grains. Surface as clay, except that it is burnt grey on one edge and the reverse. The surfaces are slightly polished – more so on the obverse. The corner of the tablet is squarish in section and unevenly formed. The obverse, however, is “flat” while the reverse is more wavy. The actual corner is the thickest part on the preserved part of the tablet (0.019). Pres H 0.032. L 0.035. Th. 0.015-19.

*The inscription:*

**KH X 2** (-)

*sup. mut.*

.1 ]vest[

.2 vacat

*Published:* Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 24-26, 32-33.

**KH X 3** (Excavation no. GSE 71-TC 170), *Pl.* 277

*Context:* LM IIIB:2, Room E, accumulated deposit, cf. *GSE* III, 26-28.

*Description:* Lower right corner of Linear B tablet(?) which is cut right end. Brick-red clay, finely gritted except for one or two small sand grains, hard-fired, traces of burning. Surface as clay. Polished on obverse and on edge. The tablet is flaked, and thus without the original reverse. Two lines preserved divided by ruler. Remains from two signs on upper line. Incision deep and stylus fine. H 0.021. W 0.026. Th. 0.006-7.

*The inscription:*

**KH X 3** (-)

*sup. mut.*

.1 \*56 1

.2 vacat

*Published:* Hallager 1975, 56; *GORILA* 3, 22-23; Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 33-34; *GSE* III, 28, 275.

**KH Ar 4** (Excavation no. GSE 90-TC 069A), *Pl.* 277

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Building 2, Room E, on floor, cf. Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992, 63-67.

*Description:* Major right part of a Linear B tablet of the type intermediate between page-shape and palm leaf-shape. The very flat and straight edges of the tablet run practically parallel, while the preserved part of the right end seems to indicate only very slightly rounded ends, which are also very thin. The clay is brown-reddish and badly (i.e. lightly) burnt. It is relatively finely gritted with only few smaller sand grains visible. Originally the surface seems to have been well-polished, but most of that has been lost. Just behind the numbers in l. 3 an oblique hole pierces the tablet, and on the reverse a groove may be noted. There are only very few scratches and imprints on the reverse, and a few extremely fine scratches that show how the surface, both front and reverse, was smoothed; one rough slightly bent imprint on the lower edge; square section. The tablet has been ruled twice, i.e. it has three lines which are all inscribed. Most of the incisions are fairly light and the stylus was relatively fine. Perhaps a palimpsest. H 0.041-43. W 0.145. Th. 0.015.

*The inscription:*

**KH Ar 4** (1 [+NN])

.1 ]po ka-\*56-šo e-u-ko-ro 1 wa-ti-jo 1 [

.2 ]pu-na-si-jo 1 wō-ne-wa-ta 1 vest[

.3 to-so VIR 6 vest? [

.1 The complete tablet would have given room for at least one more sign in front of *po*; *u* clearly visible when the fragment was excavated; *e-u-\*83-ro* not entirely impossible; [[*jo-no-ko*]] below last l.

.2 *ko-ne-wa-ta* not entirely excluded; *vest* in [[ ]], perhaps *a*<sub>3</sub>.

.3 Perhaps traces at left; perhaps 7, but the seventh apparent stroke was probably made accidentally when the hole was pierced through the tablet; *vest* probably in [[ ]].

*Published:* Hallager & Tzedakis 1988, 40-42; Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992; Hallager & Vlasaki 1997; Olivier 1993; Palaima 1992-3.

**KH Gq 5** (Excavation no. GSE 90-TC 069B), *Pl.* 278

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Building 2, Room E, on floor, cf. Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992, 63-67.

*Description:* Almost completely preserved Linear B tablet of palm leaf-shape. Small part of the right end missing. Flat straight edges which run almost parallel. Obverse very flat, while reverse is a little uneven and bent, so that the tablet becomes thinner towards the end. The clay is reddish-brown throughout, and has only been relatively badly fired. Quite finely gritted with only very few, rather small sand grains visible. Most of the original polish has been preserved – best on reverse and edges. Practically no scratches and imprints on the reverse. On the obverse the tablet has at the upper right part a slight mark from the pick, while at the very right end in the bottom line there is an oblique impression which originally belonged to the tablet. The tablet has been ruled once, and thus has two lines which are both inscribed. The incisions are very light and effected with a very fine stylus. Erasure of the entire tablet seems to have been attempted. H 0.0220-195. W 0.111. Th. 0.013-4.

*The inscription:*

**KH Gq 5** (1?)

.1 di-wi-jo-[de . ]di-wę *ME+RI 209<sup>VAS</sup> + A* 1 [

.2 di-wo-nu-so *ME+RI* [ ] 2 [

.1 *ke*, and *ke-* possible in restored lacuna; no traces of divider after *jo* (where the tablet is undamaged); *ri* possible instead of *we*; 2 or even 4 possible instead of 1.

.2 remains of a very small cross behind *so* which seems accidental; tablet mutilated in lacuna, but possible remains are not incompatible with 209<sup>VAS</sup>.

*Published:* Hallager & Tzedakis 1988, 40-42; Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992; Olivier 1993.

**KH X 6** (Excavation no. GSE 90-TC 070), *Pl.* 278

*Context:* LM IIIB:1, Building 2, Room E, on floor, cf. Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992, 63-67.

*Description:* Almost completely preserved Linear B tablet of short palm leaf shape. Only the lower edge is rather straight, while the upper is more rounded. Both edges, however, are flat; the upper is thinner. This gives a rounded section towards the reverse. Only very little of the left end of the tablet is missing. The clay is brown to reddish throughout (precisely like the other two tablets) and not very heavily burnt. Finely gritted with very few small sand grains visible. Some of the original polish preserved – best on the reverse and un-inscribed part of obverse. Practically no scratches and imprints on reverse. A few faint impressions of papillary lines on reverse. On the lower part of the obverse there are two marks from the pick. The tablet has no ruler. The incisions are light and the stylus relatively fine. Perhaps palimpsest. H 0.025-35. W 0.106. Th. 0.015-09.

*The inscription:*

**KH X 6** (-)

.1 ] a-ra-wō / [.]no [vest]

The inscription may possibly be complete at left. The *vest* at right probably consists of one or two ideograms or one ideogram and numerals. MUL and numerals possible, but difficult.

*Published:* Hallager & Tzedakis 1988, 40-42; Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992; Olivier 1993.

## THE INSCRIBED STIRRUP JARS

The inscribed Linear B material from Khania is rather fragmentary. There are only three complete inscriptions, *u-so* on **KH Z 22**, *ze-ta-ro*, *wa* on **KH Z 43**, and *ma-di-jo* on **KH Z 3**, while also the inscribed isolated *wa* on **KH Z 16** and perhaps the isolated *je* on **KH Z 25** may be counted as complete. Furthermore, there are remains from four signs on **KH Z 19** which have tentatively been restored as ]*o-na-to-ro*.<sup>12</sup> Six sherds carry three signs, of which most often only two or one sign are readable.<sup>13</sup> Apart from the *u-so*, nine sherds carry two signs which are usually both readable.<sup>14</sup> Of the remaining, which carry only fragments of one sign, 20 are considered securely identified as Linear B signs, while six are of the “not-decoration type” (cf. above p. 414) and thus considered possible Linear B signs.<sup>15</sup> Concerning uncertain signs it should also be recalled, that the “*ka*” seems to appear also on large stirrup jars as a decorative element.<sup>16</sup> When we therefore have remains of only one *ka* as is the case on **KH Z 6, 28, 37** and **42** we cannot be absolutely sure that they are part of an inscription.

Apart from three inscriptions, all are found on fragments from large closed vessels – probably all stirrups jars, one of which is medium-sized. The two inscribed cups **KH Z 23** and **24** in west Cretan clay, although not from the Kydonian Workshop, are rather unique in that they are the only cups known with Linear B inscriptions. Also the context of these two inscriptions is interesting. They did not turn up in a domestic context, but in a large rubbish area in the northern part of the site. This area, Rubbish Area North, in the LM IIIB:2 and LM IIIC periods has been interpreted as a waste deposit from a shrine.<sup>17</sup> One can easily imagine that unique inscribed cups – whatever the meaning of their inscription – might have been valuable offerings in a shrine.

Linear B inscriptions on bowls are – in contrast to those found on cups – known from elsewhere in Crete as well as from the mainland.<sup>18</sup> In the case of the bowls from Knossos and Mycenae we find a three-sign inscription on the upper part close to the rim. In both cases we are probably dealing with personal names as is certainly the case with *pi-ra-ki* on the bowl from Mycenae.<sup>19</sup> The sign on **TI Z 52** is found on the bottom of the bowl and may as well be “only” a potter’s mark while the *a* found close to the rim on **TI Z 28** appears to be an isolated sign as does the *je* found on **KH Z 25**. We do not know the meaning of those isolated signs, but with reference to the other instances it would be tempting to suggest an abbreviation somehow referring to the owner of the bowl.

Concerning the inscriptions on the stirrup jars there is little doubt that by far, the majority represents personal names (see Index p. 427-428). ISJ’s exist basically in two types either single or three sign groups denoting personal name in nominative (manager), place name, and personal name in the genitive case (collector).<sup>20</sup> The only two complete inscriptions *u-so* on **KH Z 22** and *ze-ta-ro* on **KH Z 43** are new names in the Linear B vocabulary, while several others are known as personal names elsewhere. The restored *ta-[\*22]-de-so* on **KH Z 5** and **39** is known as a personal name on three tablets at Knossos<sup>21</sup> where the name appears as a manager of sheep at *e-ko-so* and *ru-ki-to*. The name appears in the same

administrative context both on the stirrup jars and the tablets, but whether we are dealing with one or more persons is impossible to say. *ma-di-jo* on **KH Z 3** may derive from *ma-di*, known as a personal name on two Knossos tablets.<sup>22</sup> The inscription could also read *ma-di-qa*.<sup>23</sup> If this is the correct reading, the personal name is known from three Knossos tablets.<sup>24</sup> For what it is worth it should be noted in connection with this, that one of the other personal names found on **KN B 806** is *pu-na-si-jo*, who is also found on the Khania tablet **KH Ar 4.2**. If the inscription on **KH Z 17** (and for that matter on **KH Z 24**<sup>25</sup>) is restored to *ka-ka-po* the name is known from a Pylos tablet.<sup>26</sup> The most frequent inscription on the Khania ISJ’s is ]*pu-ti*[. If the complete word was *na-pu-ti-jo* it is known both as a personal name at Knossos and at Pylos.<sup>27</sup> Of the only other longer inscriptions *o]-na-ta-[ro* there seem to be no parallels found in the Linear B vocabulary. Concerning *ka-ru -[* (alternatively *ka-sa-[*) on **KH Z 1** none of the existing personal names seem to fit when the possible reconstruction of the third sign is taken into consideration. The same applies to **KH Z 2**. Although many names end with *i-jo*, the possible interpretation of the first sign makes it difficult to apply a possible name to it. Although fragmentary, it is certain that among the personal names appearing in the Khania inscriptions there are well-known names as well as newcomers to the vocabulary.

With one exception on **TI Z 27**, toponyms only occur in three-word-inscriptions, and due to the fragmentary state of the material we simply do not know if some of the sherds came from three-word-inscriptions. These are usually found as body inscriptions. Of these we can count 12, possibly 14, but they almost exclusively consist of one sign only, which makes anything possible. However, there is one very good candidate for one sign in a place name on **KH Z 7**. It is on a shoulder fragment where we find a relatively small *to* as the last sign in an inscription. This sign is small enough to permit a two-line-shoulder inscription of which we have only one good parallel, **EL Z 1** where in the upper line we find the toponym *da-\*22-to* and the second line *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra-zo, wa*, i.e. personal name followed by the abbreviation for *wa-na-ka-*

<sup>12</sup> Hallager 1983, 59-61.

<sup>13</sup> **KH Z 1-3, 9, 23, 36.**

<sup>14</sup> **KH Z 4, 5, 8, 10, 17, 18, 24, 39, and 44.**

<sup>15</sup> These are **KH Z 33-35, 38, 41** and **45.**

<sup>16</sup> Raison 1968, 223-224. Raison has included some isolated *ka*’s in his corpus (**TH Z 860** and **TI Z 10**) which are not included in Sacconi 1974, and also Tzedakis is quoted (n. 10) concerning an isolated *ka* on a complete stirrup jar “*ka*’ est nettement ici un décor”.

<sup>17</sup> *GSE* III, 192-193; Hallager 2001a.

<sup>18</sup> From Crete **KN Z 171**; from Tiryns **TI Z 28** and **52**; from Mycenae **MY Z 712**, all cf. Sacconi 1974.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Index in Ventris & Chadwick 1973.

<sup>20</sup> “Manager” and “collector” are the terms used by van Alfen 1996-7, and they are followed here.

<sup>21</sup> **KN De 1409, Df 1285** and **V 655.**

<sup>22</sup> **KN As 603** and **Db 1168.**

<sup>23</sup> Sacconi 1974, 180, “... ]*ma-di-qa*[ non è esclusa.”.

<sup>24</sup> **KN B 806, D1 930** and **Dv 1460.**

<sup>25</sup> If complete, there exists only one *ka-ka*, on **KN R 1815** where the word is part of the description of spears.

<sup>26</sup> **PY Jn 320.3.**

<sup>27</sup> **KN Db 1232** and **PY Jn 845.**





Fig. 98. Individual Linear B signs found on **KH Z 1-45**.

*te-ro*, royal. One sign is not sufficient, especially when it concerns a simple sign like *to*, but even though the Eleusis jar is of central northwest Cretan origin<sup>28</sup> one is tempted to point out the possibility that **KH Z 7** might have been a duplicate of **EL Z 1**.

If the suggested identification should prove correct, we have a third example where stirrup jars produced in west Crete have been found both in Khania and on the mainland. The first to be identified was **KH Z 5** (later followed by **KH Z 39**) with the inscription *da-\*22-de so*, which has also been found – inscribed by the same painter/scribe – on five Theban stirrup jars.<sup>29</sup> The second instance is the ]-*na-ta*-[ inscription which is also identified by the same painter/scribe at Thebes on **TH Z 975**.<sup>30</sup> To these instances might possibly be added **KH Z 27**. The sign *no* is unusual and in the present version it is known from a few Knossos tablets and several of the ISJ's.<sup>31</sup> The inscriptions on the mainland belong to a series *no-di-zo* at Tiryns<sup>32</sup> and *di-no-zo* at Thebes.<sup>33</sup> The *no* on **KH Z 27** recalls in some detail several of the ones on the Tiryns inscriptions. When the upper part of the *no* on the Tiryns inscriptions is preserved they are all fairly equal in size: *c.* 0.04 – exactly like the Khania *no*. Since the *no-di-zo* series from Tiryns is of west Cretan clay it is therefore tempting to see **KH Z 27** as part of the same series.

In the above, we have presented some examples where we have identical inscriptions in Khania and on the mainland executed by the same painter/scribe. There are a few more examples where we may, with some confidence, argue that we are dealing with the same painter/scribe (*Fig. 98*). In the ]*pu-ti*[ series the rendering of the signs on **KH Z 4** and **KH Z 18** are so similar – even in size – that it would be fair to suggest that they were done by the same person. Also it would seem fair to argue the same case for the *u* found on **KH Z 9** and **KH Z 22**. Two traits are characteristic of this “hand”. One is the bending of the main stroke ending with a small dot pointing upwards and the second trait is that the secondary, lower stroke starts almost at the bottom of the sign, and on **KH Z 9** it is actually not touching the main stroke, but running parallel to it. A search for parallels in the remaining corpus of ISJ's came up negative. The closest similarity was found in the *u-pa-ta-ro* series from Tiryns,<sup>34</sup> but the characteristics of our *u* were not sufficiently pronounced to argue the case.

Of the remaining signs only a few shall be commented upon (*Fig. 98*). *wa* on **KH Z 16** is the only incised sign and there is no peculiarity in the way it is rendered, although it is noted that no stroke is standing alone, as is often the case on the Linear B tablets (see e.g. **KH Ar 4.1** and **.2**). The *pu* on **KH Z 26** is from an unusually large sign. It is the only one of the four *pu*'s where the lower part is preserved and we see that it has small horizontal strokes at the end of the vertical ones. On the ISJ's this is only paralleled on **MY Z 713** which, however, could not possibly have been done by the same scribe. This way of rendering *pu* is, however, well-known within the Cretan scribal tradition where the sign is very often found with “feet”, while this is less common on the mainland. If correctly interpreted the *ru* on **KH Z 1** and **29** do not find good parallels in the present corpus of Linear B.

With the natural exception of the *ma-di jo* on **KH Z 3** and the *to* on **KH Z 7** all signs are fairly large regardless of their

position on the jar.<sup>35</sup> On shoulder fragments the signs are estimated to be on average a little more than 0.06 high, while they are usually somewhat larger on the body fragments. This also fits well with the size of signs on stirrup jars exported to the mainland.<sup>36</sup>

The ISJ's exist both as light on dark and as dark on light. In the Khania material the dark on light far outnumber the light on dark with 37 to 4. All Linear B inscriptions except **KH Z 39-44** have been analysed – more than once. In Table 1 in the second column, the results of the old analyses by Jones can be seen dividing the Khania jars into A and B while, in the third column, the latest provenance analyses by Jones and Day are presented.<sup>37</sup> Concerning the analysed sherds from Khania, the subdivisions between A and B have been abandoned and they are now plainly “west Crete”. The four which were, in the early analyses, considered possible Knossian (**KH Z 1, 2, 30** and **31**) are now labelled “Crete” as is **KH Z 13** which was previously considered of uncertain provenance while **KH Z 28** which was “not local but like **KH Z 13**” is now “probably west Crete”. It is not surprising that the majority by far are locally produced – perhaps more surprising is that ISJ's were also imported to this important production centre of transport stirrup jars. All the imported pieces with the exception of **KH Z 28**, are from the early excavations at Khania and without detailed context, but there is no reason why they should not – like most of those found in the Greek-Swedish Excavations<sup>38</sup> – be of settlement context. Apparently many of the ISJ's found in Khania were not intended for export, but for domestic use, as certainly seems to be the case with **KH Z 22** and **KH Z 19**, found with other storage vessels in Room C in Building 1 of the LM IIIB:1 period. It is probably in this context that the imported stirrup jars shall be understood.<sup>39</sup> As the local inhabitants consumed the content (probably oil) of locally produced ISJ's they did the same for imported ones, whether acquired by trade or given as gifts. We do not know the exact location of where the jars were produced or where they were filled with the oil, but it would be reasonable to suppose that this would be the place from

<sup>28</sup> Haskell 2005, 212, Table 2.

<sup>29</sup> **TH Z 869-872** and **876**. For a full discussion and identification, see Hallager 1975, 67-68; *GSE* III, 274.

<sup>30</sup> For details, see Hallager 1983, 59-61.

<sup>31</sup> Hallager 1987, 75 with further references to parallels and discussion of the sign.

<sup>32</sup> **TI Z 11-19** + <**20-23**>.

<sup>33</sup> **TH Z 857-858**.

<sup>34</sup> **TI Z 1-5**.

<sup>35</sup> Of the inscriptions 22 are found on shoulder fragments, 12 on body fragments; 4 are indeterminable and 3 are found on the disc.

<sup>36</sup> On this, see also van Alfen 1996-7, 255 and Haskell 2005, 208.

<sup>37</sup> As they will appear in Haskell, Jones, Day & Killen forthcoming. I am grateful to Halford Haskell for providing me with this information. Concerning those labeled “Crete” Dr Haskell informs me that some may be “associated with north central Crete, but in strictly chemical terms it is difficult to be more precise than “Crete”.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to the two inscribed cups found in the Rubbish Area North, i.e. the possible waste deposit from a shrine, several of the other inscriptions can be assigned to the same area: **KH Z 10?**, **18**, **20?**, **21?**, **38**, **42** and **45**.

<sup>39</sup> It falls outside the scope of this paper, but a detailed analysis of precise context for all ISJ's (official storage versus domestic contexts, etc.) might produce valuable information on the use and handling of ISJ's.

Table 1. Clay analyses.

Jar	Old analyses	New analyses
<b>KH Z 1</b>	Knossian?	Crete
<b>KH Z 2</b>	Knossian?	Crete
<b>KH Z 3</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 4</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 5</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 6</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 7</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 8</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 9</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 10</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 11</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 12</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 13</b>	Uncertain provenance	Crete
<b>KH Z 14</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 15</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 16</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 17</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 18</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 19</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 20</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 21</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 22</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 23</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 24</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 25</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 26</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 27</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 28</b>	Not local – like <b>KH Z 13</b> probably	west Crete
<b>KH Z 29</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 30</b>	Not local – like <b>KH Z 2</b>	Crete
<b>KH Z 31</b>	Not local – like <b>KH Z 2</b>	Crete
<b>KH Z 32</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 33</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 34</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 35</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 36</b>	Khania A	west Crete
<b>KH Z 37</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 38</b>	Khania B	west Crete
<b>KH Z 39-44</b>	Not analysed	
<b>KH Z 45</b>		west Crete

which the jars were recorded and shipped off to the mainland and other places (cf. below). Concerning the imported pieces in Khania there is nothing out of the ordinary about the inscriptions, with the possible exception of **KH Z 31**. Here we are most likely dealing with a *wa* and it is certain that no signs follow. It may very well be part of an inscription as found on **KH Z 43** or **EL Z 1** where an isolated *wa[-na-ka-te-ro]* follows a personal name. This is of course highly speculative, but if true the mention of a *wanax* outside Khania in the LM IIIB

period is interesting – not least because the early analyses considered the sherd to be of possible Knossian origin.

The presence of *wa* on the Khania inscriptions **KH Z 16** and **43** where we can be certain that they represent the abbreviation for *wa-na-ka-te-ro* (spelled out in full on the west Cretan jars **TH Z 839** and **TI Z 29**) is perhaps the most important isolated element of the inscriptions seen in a historical perspective. This has been discussed at length elsewhere,<sup>40</sup> but thanks to these inscriptions there is now a general consensus that a *wanax* existed in Crete in the LM IIIB period. The different opinions concern whether we are dealing with one or more *wanakes* and, if one, whether his palace is to be found in west or central Crete. That he is definitely connected to west Crete through the ISJ's does not mean that his residence could not have been elsewhere. The context of the two *wa*-inscriptions is also interesting. **KH Z 43** was carefully deposited in a pit below the latest floor of Building 2, Room B (the building where three Linear B tablets were also found), while **KH Z 16** was found in destruction debris immediately south of Building 2, Room/Space J (see *Fig. 1*). We consider it most likely that the mentioned debris, which is more than eight metres away from Building 1, must have derived from Building 2.<sup>41</sup> If so, it is the second reference to a *wanax* deriving from this building, which we now also call “the Linear B House”.<sup>42</sup>

Throughout, we have been talking about the LM IIIB period, because that is the only period to which the inscriptions can be dated. LM IIIB:1 is the date of the Linear B tablets found (cf. below) and LM IIIB:1 is the date of the ISJ's that are complete or with a complete inscription (**KH Z 16, 22** and **43**). The LM IIIB:1 date for the use of Linear B in Khania is therefore beyond question. Before our final detailed studies of the stratigraphy, two sherds were placed in LM IIIA:2 contexts,<sup>43</sup> but these contexts proved later to be LM IIIB:1. We cannot exclude that a few ISJ's might originally have been of LM IIIA:2 date, but until now we had no way to prove the existence of Linear B in Khania at that early date. Concerning the LM IIIB:2 period, we have no complete inscriptions or jars, but we argued earlier that the script – at least on the stirrup jars – continued in that period.<sup>44</sup> The main argument is that most were found in large rubbish pits with very homogeneous LM IIIB:2 material, and in the Greek-Swedish Excavations' material there are presently more ISJ's in the LM IIIB:2 deposits than we find in the LM IIIB:1 deposits.

With the three word inscriptions there is little doubt that the ISJ's reflect the administrative system found among others in the Da/Dg tablets at Knossos. It is therefore very likely, as strongly argued by van Alfen,<sup>45</sup> that the inscriptions on the stirrup jars must be understood – not as labels or

<sup>40</sup> Hallager 1987, 182-3; van Alfen 1996-7, 270-271; Haskell 2005, 216; Andreadaki-Vlasaki & Hallager 2007, 18-20.

<sup>41</sup> This volume p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> Andreadaki-Vlasaki & Hallager 2007, 17.

<sup>43</sup> For one of these **KH Z 27**, see Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992, 83; *GSE III*, 274, n. 10.

<sup>44</sup> *GSE III*, 274-275.

<sup>45</sup> van Alfen 1996-7.



trademarks intended for the consumers<sup>46</sup> – but as information for the administrative system that controlled the production of the jars and the oil. In most cases only one name was necessary. The scenario is that a batch of stirrup jars with oil at a certain location is ready for export. Of the batch of stirrup jars only one needs an inscription; then the administrator/scribe only needed to count the number of jars. The place was not needed, because he is present, and likewise he would know who the “collector” of the area was, and thus all the necessary information was available. This explains why the majority of the ISJ's carry only one name and it also suggests that the name on the jar is that of the “manager”, since there could be many “managers” within a certain production area. The idea with batches also explains more than satisfactorily why uninscribed stirrup jars outnumber the inscribed ones by far. If van Alfen is correct, and I believe that he is, it would settle one debated question. Whoever painted the inscriptions, they were intended to be read and are thus in themselves clear evidence of literacy in the LM IIIB period – if such evidence should be needed after the finds of Linear B tablets in Khania. The second thing which van Alfen's theory implies is that the evidence of the oil and stirrup jar production should be monitored on Linear B tablets. Actually there are hints on **PY 1184** that such a thing happened. Thinking of many batches at several different localities, “collection points”, would imply large amounts of stirrup jars to be recorded, and one cannot help wondering whether the fragmentary **KN K 700** which mentions at least 1,800 stirrup jars (+KA) is part of this system.

## THE LINEAR B TABLETS

Of the six presented tablets, four or more likely five, are certainly Linear B, while **KH X 2** with only part of a single stroke preserved must remain uncertain. All the tablets have been fully published previously<sup>47</sup> and there is no reason here to repeat what has already been printed. A summing up of the main points will do.

First and foremost Khania has now joined the club of palatial sites with Linear B tablets:<sup>48</sup> Knossos, Pylos, Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns<sup>49</sup> and lately also Sparta.<sup>50</sup> Although they are few tablets, the content is spread over a variety of topics: recording of personnel, religious offerings, and registration of chariot wheels. This clearly indicates that what has been unearthed until now has only been the tip of the iceberg. There can be little doubt that many more administrative documents existed in Khania, which clearly emphasize the importance of the site in the LM IIIB:1 period (cf. below).

A second point concerning the tablets which is of utmost importance for the Mycenaean studies, is that **KH Gq 5** seems to have settled once and for all that Dionysus was a god in the Greek pantheon already in the Bronze Age, and was a recipient of jars of honey together with Zeus.

Another important thing is the chronology. All the inscriptions were found in LM IIIB contexts: **KH X 2-3** in LM IIIB:2 contexts while the remaining were LM IIIB:1. **KH Sq 1** and **KH X 2-3** were found in different rubbish pits and an

accumulated deposit and therefore the context need not reflect the actual date of the tablets. They might be of earlier date – as is, for example, the case with the LM IB fragments of Linear A tablets **KH 1-2, 4**, found in a large rubbish pit of the LM IIIA:1 period. With the discovery of **KH Ar 4, Gq 5** and **X 6**, however, there could be no more doubt that Linear B tablets were produced in Khania by the end of the LM IIIB:1 period, since they were found *in situ* upon the floor in Building 2, Room E where the accompanying complete vases positively dated the latest use of the room.<sup>51</sup> An LM IIIB:1 date for the use of Linear B at Khania also fits well with the similar use on the inscribed stirrup jars, found not only in Khania (cf. above), but also elsewhere in Crete<sup>52</sup> and on the mainland to where inscribed stirrup jars of West Cretan origin were exported.<sup>53</sup> Chronologically the use of Linear B at Khania falls within the range observed elsewhere with – according to some colleagues – the possible exception of Knossos.

In connection with this it may be worthwhile to recall that, according to the mycenologists, two scribal traditions existed within the use of Linear B: the “mainland tradition” and the “Cretan tradition”.<sup>54</sup> The detailed investigations of the Khania tablets have very clearly shown that they – in spite of their date – belong to the “Cretan tradition”, which some scholars have argued is older than the “mainland tradition”.<sup>55</sup>

One last point should be mentioned here. Shortly after the official publication of the tablets, Jean-Pierre Olivier published his thorough study of the tablets.<sup>56</sup> In this study he very convincingly argued that four signs on **KH Ar 4** at the beginning of line 2, *pu, na, si, and jo* were done by a different hand than the remaining signs. With these four signs safely removed it was clear that the scribe of **KH Ar 4** was identical with Scribe 115 at Knossos. Olivier further argued that **KN Gq 5** was also written by the same hand. Many scholars reacted strongly against Olivier, although without studying the material at hand. Finally, Tom Palaima was persuaded to come to Crete and study Scribe 115 and the Khania tablets. The result of his detailed investigations<sup>57</sup> was that there were too many differences between Scribe 115 and the Khania scribe to accept the identity between the two. As a result of

<sup>46</sup> E.g. Chadwick 1976, 18; Catling, Cherry, Jones & Killen 1980, 91.

<sup>47</sup> **KH Sq 1**: Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 24-32; **KH X 2**: Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 24-26, 32-33; **KH X 3**: Hallager 1975, 56; *GORILA* 3, 22-23; Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 33-34; *GSE* III, 28, 275; **KH Ar 4, Gq 5** and **X 6**: Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992, 61-87.

<sup>48</sup> As prophesized by Catling in 1980, 94: “No archive of Linear B tablets has yet been found in the Chania excavations, but one does not require unusual prophetic gifts to predict that sooner or later such an archive must be forthcoming.”

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps not a proper palace in the administrative sense, cf. Hallager 2004.

<sup>50</sup> Three Linear B tablets from the site of Ag. Vasilios south of Sparta were in April 2009 presented at the Archaeological Etereia by Dr A. Vasilogambrou and Dr V. Aravatinos.

<sup>51</sup> Hallager, Vlasaki & Hallager 1992, 63-70

<sup>52</sup> At Malia, Armenoi, Mameloukou, and Knossos.

<sup>53</sup> Thebes, Eleusis, Orchomenos, Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. Bennett 1966; Palaima 1992-3.

<sup>55</sup> Hallager 1995.

<sup>56</sup> Olivier 1993.

<sup>57</sup> Palaima 1992-3.

this Olivier later renounced his identification as being based on evidence which was too scanty.<sup>58</sup> The problem with the scribes – in my opinion – is that the two tablets from Khania provide too little material for Olivier to be positive about the identification, while on the other hand the same is true for Palaima's rejection of the identification. Only more tablets from Khania, by the same scribe, will possibly settle the question.

## THE POTTER'S MARKS

The LM III period at the Greek-Swedish Excavations has till now, revealed seven fragments of pottery with potter's marks.<sup>59</sup> They are reproduced on *Pl. 279* in scale 1:1 and drawings of the marks are shown in *Fig. 99* in scale 1:2. The signs were all found on the base of cups and bowls with a base diameter varying from 0.037 to 0.060. Four marks were painted, three were incised, and all were painted/incised before firing. The most common mark is a simple cross which is found painted thrice and incised once. A "Y" is found incised twice, on 84-P 0490 isolated, while on 71-P 0948 it is followed by a vertical stroke. The last fragmentary mark, painted on the base of 71-P 0915, is more complex. One stroke and half a pointed oval are preserved. We played for some time with the idea that it might have been a Linear B sign with a parallel for the position of the sign to **TI Z 52**,<sup>60</sup> but no convincing interpretations as a Linear B sign could be argued, and we decided for a potter's mark.

One difference between the painted and incised marks can be noted. Whereas the painted marks seem to use the entire base of the vase for the sign, those that are incised use only a fraction of the base surface. One might perhaps argue that the painted signs are pure decoration, while the incised signs must have been placed on purpose and therefore have a meaning. When we find the same sign, the simple cross – both incised and painted – it would be reasonable to suppose that the painted signs also would have a similar purpose/function. This observation is strengthened by the fact that complicated signs were also painted, such as the one seen on 71-P 0915 and the above mentioned Tiryns inscription. The meaning of the signs, however, remains uncertain.<sup>61</sup> The context of those

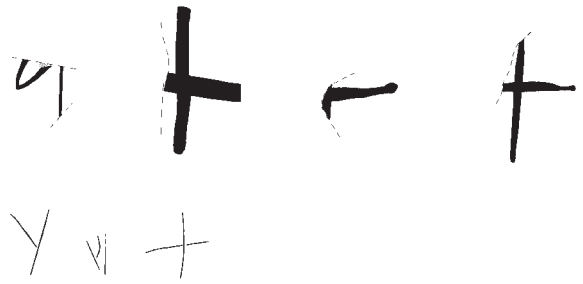


Fig. 99. Potter's marks in scale 1:2.

found at the Greek-Swedish Excavations is not helpful, since none were found in floor deposits, but in pits and secondary depositions.

Potter's marks are a rare phenomenon in LM III Khania, and they do seem to have a meaning. Therefore it may be worthy of note that they all belong to the LM IIIB period. The cups and bowls found in the LM IIIB:2 layers are all dated LM IIIB:1/2, while the ones from the LM IIIB:1 layers are all dated LM IIIB:1. Of the incised signs two came from the LM IIIB:2 deposits while the last, 71-P 0948 came from an unstratified context and can thus not be closer dated within the LM IIIB period. It thus seems that the appearance of potter's marks correlates with the appearance and use of the Linear B script in Khania. Whether this is a coincidence or not must remain an open question.

<sup>58</sup> Olivier 1996, 33-34.

<sup>59</sup> From Post Minoan levels: 71-P 0948 (cf. *GSE* I, 207 and *GSE* III, 184); From LM IIIB:2 levels: 70-P 0845 (*GSE* III, 155), 77-P 0258 (*GSE* III, 112), 84-P 0490 (*GSE* III, 117); from LM IIIB:1 strata: 71-P 0915 (above p. 192) 73-P 0619 (above p. 104) and 82-P 0864 (above p. 145). See also *GSE* III, 200 and this volume, p. 286.

<sup>60</sup> Sacconi 1974, 109.

<sup>61</sup> For this, see thorough overview and discussion in Bennet 1996, 313-321. Of the Kommos marks only one incised simple cross on the bottom of a conical cup, dated LM IIIB, may be compared to our 77-P 0258.