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A CLASSIFICATION PROPOSAL OF LINEAR A TABLETS FROM HAGHIA TRIADA IN CLASSES AND SERIES

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to propose an easy and useful classification of the Linear A tablets, starting with those from Haghia Triada because they represent the bulk of the Linear A tablets that we have (147 tablets or fragments). The two major aims that I have are: 1) to establish classes of tablets comparable to those of the Linear B tablets classification and, at the same time, suitable for the peculiarities of the Linear A tablets; 2) to leave open the possibility of expanding and adding new classes according to the characteristics of other Linear A tablets. Furthermore, I will consider the possibility of recognizing sets of homogeneous tablets on the basis of subject matter, text arrangement, find spot and scribe, in a specific geographic and chronological context, that of Haghia Triada in the period of LM IB (fig. 1).

Linear B tablets are conventionally classified into different classes indicated by a capital letter (e.g. A-class), on the basis of their subject matter (ideograms), and then grouped into series indicated by a small letter (e.g. Aa series), on the basis of the variation occurring in the arrangement of the text and contents¹. This system of classification has not been successfully applied to Linear A tablets, because many tablets record heterogeneous commodities, many of which are indicated by logograms and acrophonic abbreviations different from those used in Linear B tablets. Moreover, since we do not know either the language or Minoan conventions in record keeping, it is extremely problematic to establish the purpose for which an individual tablet was written, whether as registrations of tributes or as allocations or as inventories of goods and people. However, the biggest impediment to the study of Linear A tablets is the fragmentary state of preservation

¹ This type of classification was proposed even before the Linear B was deciphered (Bennett 1951, in particular XI–XII).

of most tablets as well as the difficulties in legibility and recognition of signs with certainty.

The division of Linear A tablets in three main groups suggested by R. Palmer, while basically correct, is too wide and general: Type A characterized by logogram+number, Type B characterized by words+number, and a third group that combines Type A and Type B². Among the previous attempts of classifying Linear A tablets, the most important are those of D. Packard and I. Schoep³. Packard⁴ subdivided the tablets of Haghia Triada on the basis of the subject matter in combination with the presence of recurring formulae and the quantities recorded. His classification is vitiated by: 1) the uncertain reading of the texts and classification of the signs, because he followed the readings of Pugliese Carratelli and Raison-Pope⁵, instead of, as now, the preferred GORILA readings; 2) the lack of homogeneous and univocal criteria on the basis of which the classification is made; 3) the impossibility of a direct comparison with the Linear B series. For example: his A Series comprises all tablets which contain sign-groups followed by the numeral 1; B Series contains tablets which feature the logogram AB 100/102; C Series records various agricultural logograms; D Series contains the logogram AB 120; the E Series comprises tablets which contain A 550, A 552, A 551, AB 21⁶; the G Series is characterised by logograms occurring in the headings, not in the lists.

Schoep proposed a classification of the Linear A tablets on the basis of their formats⁶. She distinguishes five main type formats, with possible subclasses made up on the basis of the subject matter: I Miscellaneous commodities tablets; II Tablets specialised in a single commodity or its variants with Logogram+Number lay-out; III Tablets specialised in a single commodity indicated just one time in the heading; IV Tablets characterized by the Word+Number lay-out, without logograms; V Tablets which combine different format types in different sections⁷. Schoep's classification has been criticised on the grounds that the typologies are not correctly defined and/or the

² Palmer 1995, pp. 135–136.

³ For a longer discussion of previous attempts of classification see Schoep 2002, pp. 69–71.

⁴ Packard 1974, pp. 38–66.

⁵ Pugliese Carratelli 1945, and 1963; Raison-Pope 1971. See Raison-Pope 1994, pp. 44–130 for the numerical transcription of the tablets from Haghia Triada on the basis of the old numeration even after the edition of GORILA.

⁶ Schoep 2002, pp. 67–87 and 167–174.

⁷ Schoep 2002, pp. 81–83.

tablets are not always well classified and described⁸. For example, HT 37 is classified as a Type IV format tablet, explained as census-records listing people⁹, but the ideogram *551 appears in the first line, and the scribe recorded the “*deficit*” at lines 5–6, which means that this tablet records entries of commodity *551.

Furthermore, Schoep’s classification cannot be easily applied to all Linear A tablets, most especially not the tablets from Khania (more than 90 tablets or fragments)¹⁰.

2. Classes

It now seems possible to define classes on the basis of the registrations’ subjects, as much as possible consistent with Linear B classes. New classes can be added by other scholars according to the characteristics of Linear A tablets from other sites. I propose the following:

- A = *100/102 and variants (personnel) and agricultural commodities
- B = *100/102 and variants (personnel)
- C = *21 and/or *22 and/or *23 and/or *85 and variants (livestock)
- D = *21 and variants (sheep)
- E = *120 and variants (barley)¹¹
- F = *302 and variants (olive oil)
- G = *303 and variants (wheat)¹²
- K = *400^{vas} – *418^{vas} (vessels)
- L = *54 (cloth)¹³
- M = Miscellaneous commodities
- N = *30 (figs)
- O = *559 and variants (wool)
- P = *131a and variants (wine)
- U = Unidentifiable ideograms
- V = List of syllabic groups or syllabic groups and single syllabograms
- X = Not classifiable tablets (too much fragmentary)

⁸ Duhoux 2004, p. 491.

⁹ Schoep 2002, p. 173.

¹⁰ Schoep 2002, p. 83.

¹¹ For the identification of the logogram *120 with barley, both in Linear B and in Linear A, see Schoep 2002, pp. 92–93.

¹² For the identification of Linear A ideogram *303 with Linear B ideogram *121 and of the latter with wheat see Schoep 2002, pp. 92–93 with bibliography.

¹³ For the use of sing *54 possibly as ideogram for TELA (Linear B *159) see Schoep 2002, p. 131.

W and Z-classes are already in use, respectively for inscriptions on sealings and for inscriptions on vases and other supports, starting from GORILA.

Because of many differences between the Linear B and Linear A record keeping¹⁴, the Linear A classes will not agree perfectly with Linear B classes. While some Linear B classes are missing in Linear A, for example R- (weapons), it was, on the other hand, necessary to create new classes for tablets characterized by features not attested in Linear B, and to call them with capital letter used in a completely different way (that is with a different reading code) than those of Linear B classification. This is the case of our G, N, P and U-classes, which have no relations with G, N, P and U-classes of Linear B. For example, I have chosen to call N the group of tablets recording figs, because figs are represented by the abbreviation *NI*, although the Linear B N-class is characterized by other ideograms (for example SA, flax, at Pylos). Moreover, all Linear A tablets recording miscellaneous items, mostly agricultural commodities, are grouped in the M-class, although the miscellaneous Linear B tablets are divided between the M-class, tributes of craft and pastoral products, and the U-class, miscellaneous provisions. I have instead assigned uncertain records, where ideograms are totally unknown, to the U-class. No complete tablets from Haghia Triada exclusively record sheep, apart from HT 136, that is too fragmentary to say if it recorded exclusively sheep or not. I have, however, included a D-class in the above list, because records of sheep, possibly connected with wool production, are attested in other sites, for example at Zakros (ZA 9, 22, 26). We can include in the C-class not only the three livestock tablets certainly found at Haghia Triada (HT 64, 118 and 136), but also the tablet classified as PH(?) 31 in GORILA 1, which may have been found either at Phaistos or at Haghia Triada¹⁵; its format and palaeographical characteristics are closer to those of the tablets of Haghia Triada (LM IB) than those of Phaistos (MM II).

Following the above classes, I suggest the classification of the 147 Linear A tablets from Haghia Triada shown by Table 1.

Some preliminary remarks on the classifications of Table 1:

- a) subject matters of *recto* and *verso* are distinguished only when they are or could be different;
- b) the choice of the subject matter is based on the legible text;

¹⁴ Schoep 2002, pp. 71–73.

¹⁵ Godart 1979, p. 354.

- c) the edition followed is GORILA 1, pp. 2–251, with *corrigenda* in GORILA 5, pp. 70–75;
- d) scribal attribution following L. Godart (GORILA 5, pp. 83–113)¹⁶;
- e) find spots are reconstructed by P. Militello¹⁷;
- f) although the matter is questionable, Linear A syllabograms similar in form to those of Linear B are transcribed giving them the phonetic value they have in Linear B, to make the text more easily readable, because the phonetic problem does not affect the classification¹⁸.

Note that, when two or three ideograms appear in the same record, of which only one is known, the tablet is classified on the basis of the known ideogram: for example, HT 103, where we have fig ideogram and the sign *188, is classified in the N-class; HT 8 and 56, which show OLE+KI on one face and *188 on the other, are classified in the F-class; etc. The single syllabogram *77/KA, attested on the tablets HT 11b.2–5, 85b.3 and 140.4, followed by numerals, could be (at least in 85b.3 and 140.4) the abbreviation of the word *ka-pa*, attested indeed in HT 140.5, instead of the abbreviation for an unknown product¹⁹. HT 130 is subdivided in two parts, the above part is seriously damaged and fragmentary, the one below preserves a list of wheat, figs and wine. This arrangement is very close to that of tablets which combine a section listing groups of people with a section containing the same foodstuff (see in particular HT 27a and

¹⁶ I do not agree with the corrections suggested by Militello 1989.

¹⁷ Militello 1988 and 2002. Part of the tablets were found in several rooms of the “Villa” and part in rooms 7 and 9 of the “Casa del Lebete” (C.d.L.), but the provenience from the Villa or from C.d.L. is still doubtful for 15 tablets.

¹⁸ The same signs may of course have different phonetic values in different scripts. In the case of Linear A, such a doubt arises, for example, when we consider that in KH 61.2 and in ZA 11a.2 the sign *78/*qe* was replaced by *80/*ma*. Nevertheless, the scribes may have confused the two signs not because of a presumed similar phonetic value that would invalidate the values *qe* and/or *ma*, but because of the resemblance of their shapes (circle – triangle with smoothed angles). On the matter compare the following studies: Olivier 1975, Godart 1984, pp. 122–128, Duhoux 1989, pp. 66–76 and Consani–Negri 1999, pp. 14–16, 21–22. In any case, there are several proofs that the phonetic structure of the language behind Linear A differed from that of Greek and that some modification of phonetic values of borrowed signs took place, thus great caution should be exercised in using Linear B-derived values to ‘read’ Linear A inscriptions (Bennet 2008, pp. 13–16). Linear A phonetic transcriptions are proposed by Consani–Negri 1999 (see in particular pp. 49–116 for the tablets from Haghia Triada) and by J. Younger (<http://people.ku.edu/~jyounger/LinearA/>).

¹⁹ *Contra* Peruzzi 1958, pp. 14–15 who identified the sign repeated in HT 11 as the ideogram for wheel.

89); I nonetheless decided to classify it among the tablets registering miscellaneous commodities (M-class) – and not among those recording personnel + foodstuff (A-class) – because the wheat ideogram and the word *ku-ro* “total”, both in the first section of HT 130, work against the hypothesis that the first section booked people but rather suggest comparison with miscellaneous records showing the sequence wheat – figs – wine in the lower part (cf. HT 30).

3. Series

Taking a further step forward, it is possible, in some cases at least, to group tablets not just in classes but also in series on the basis of the variation occurring in the arrangement of the text and in contents (Table 2).

Among the A-class, we group together in Aa series the tablets HT 27 (from Villa), 89, 94 and 100 (from Casa del Lebate, abbreviated C.d.L.) that record personnel in the first section and three or four commodities in the same order in the second section. This format can be compared with the Linear B tablets PY An 35 and 128. They may be interpreted as payments in kind to the workforce.

Among the tablets of B-class, I see three series.

- 1) The first (Ba) is composed by records found in the Villa, four of which have VIR/MUL ideogram in the headings followed by lists, more or less fragmentary, of syllabic groups: HT 7, 66, 68, 84, and one totalling tablet, that contains two possibly different variants of VIR/MUL ideograms at the end of the list, HT 25. The last one sums up not only the numbers written in the tablet, but possibly is a totalling tablet of registrations covering more tablets.
- 2) The three tablets of the second series (Bb) have the same arrangement of Ba series but come from C.d.L.: HT 85, 122 and the totalling tablet HT 105.
- 3) Both HT 97 and HT 119 come from C.d.L. and contain, besides VIR/MUL, the ideogram *327 graphically analogous to Linear B AES (copper/bronze). Although the total written at the end of HT 119 makes it unlikely that these actually register bronze, I suggest that we group separately as Bj, because Linear B tablets of J-class are characterized by ideograms for metals²⁰.

²⁰ Because of the abraded surface, it is even possible that the total written at the end of HT 119 was erased when the scribe realized that he had summed up bronze and personnel together (moreover the total is wrong).

The arrangement of the text on HT 127 from the C.d.L. is more similar to those of the first sections of the Aa series tablets, so I decided not to group it in the previous series.

Among the E-class we can group in an Ea series the tablets 15, 22, 40 and 52, which record GRA ideograms in large amounts and were found in the Villa (tablets 15 and 22 in room 11, 40 in room 59, and 52 in room 72). Moreover, tablets 15, 22 and 52 are possibly written by the same hand (2). While HT 133 seems similar to HT 40 and 52, both because of the transaction sign *TE* and the relatively large amount of barley (55 units), we prefer not to put it in the same series because of the different find-spot (C.d.L.) and the fragmentary state of preservation.

Among the E-class from the C.d.L., we group together HT 93, 102, 120 and 128 in an Eb series because they list syllabic groups associated with relatively large, but variable, quantities of barley, and contain always, although not exclusively, GRA and GRA+PA ideograms. Moreover, HT 93 and 102 are both from room 7, written by Hand 5, and contain totals and some identical syllabic groups (see *infra*). Two further observations: 1) the list written in HT 115 is similar to those in Eb, but the quantities are considerably lower (up to two units) and GRA+PA does not appear; 2) the little fragment HT 61 from the Villa could be part of a registration analogous to that written in HT (Eb) 128, from Casa del Lebete, because these are the only two tablets recording some units of GRA 'KU'. Finally we can group HT 86 and 95 in an Ec series because they record barley in fixed and round quantities (almost always ten and twenty units) and because they were found in the same room 7.

In the F-class, HT 8 and 56 record ideogram OLE+KI on a face and *188 on the other, so they may be grouped together in a Fa series. Another series (Fb) contains HT 2, 42[+]59 and 58 which record groups of syllabograms each associated with more OLE variants in variable quantities.

The only two records of K-class, HT 31 and 39, do not make up a series: although both come from room 59 and were written by scribe 13²¹, the shapes of vessels they record are different and they also differ in the format of the text.

The two registration of L-class, HT 16 and 20, were written by the same scribe 10, come from the same find spot (Villa room 59), and show three analogous rubrics in the same order: syllabic group

²¹ GORILA 5, p. 84, but the palaeographical analysis is limited by the fact that the tablets share only two signs, *31/SA and *80/MA.

followed by fraction sign F, ^{TELA} and *188+*KU* ideograms in fractional quantities. I think this couple belongs to the same series (La), perhaps making up a set.

M-class is the largest one. We can distinguish several series on the basis of nature and quantity of commodities recorded, text arrangement and find-spot:

HT 14, 18, 21, 44 and 50 – all found in the Villa – record barley, olive oil, *304 (not in HT 44), olives and/or figs and wine (exclusively in HT 44) in this specific order, so they can be grouped in Ma series. In HT 14, 18 and 21 the amounts of barley are large, and smaller those of the other commodities. In HT 44 and 50 the quantity of barley is lost, but in the former the numbers vary from 1 to 75²², in the latter fractional quantities prevail.

For simplicity I would group HT 12, 23, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 60 in a unique series Mb: all are from the Villa and record heterogeneous items, usually, but not always, in smaller quantities than those of Ma series.

Among the M-class tablets found in Casa del Lebete, HT 90, 91, 92, 99, 101, 114, 116, 121, 125, 129, 131, 137 and 139 can be grouped together in Mc series since they record miscellaneous agricultural commodities in a regular order, usually barley, olive oil, *304, olives and figs, occasionally with addition of wheat (HT 99), wine (HT 91, 99, 114, 121, 131), bulls (HT 114 and 121) and *38/*E* (HT 91). The quantities are comparable (several units), and usually the largest amount is that of barley (several tens). HT 92, from room 7, and 131, from room 9, record very large quantities (tens and hundreds) and I think they summarize collections of commodities already written on other tablets that may be, at least partly, among those we have already grouped. On the basis of the archaeological context and different state of preservation of the tablets, it was suggested that the deposit of room 7 was in use at the moment of the destruction of the Casa del Lebete and the deposit of room 9 was already discharged, probably because it dealt with the previous administrative cycle²³. If so, we can see in the Mc series the remains of records of goods gathered in two administrative cycles. We must stress that HT 114 and 121, on the one hand, and HT 91, on the other hand, present particular features slightly different from the other tablets of this series. HT 114 and 121 are written with the same words by the

²² In my opinion the guess]V₁N 75 (GORILA 1) is not supported by sufficient traces on the clay, so I prefer to read *lacuna* before the number.

²³ Militello 1988, pp. 242–243 and Militello 1989, p. 145.

same scribe (see *infra*) and they record such luxury items as wine and bulls, that might make us think of collections of goods intended for religious festivals. HT 91 is the only tablet of the Mc series that also records *E* commodity, but the major difference is in the quantities, almost all of which are fractional (X and A fraction signs). Someone might object that the presence of smaller quantities implies not so much a collection as, for example, a distribution of commodities. I would reply that HT 123, certainly a fiscal document²⁴, contains indeed fractions X and A.

In a Md series we can put HT 126 and 132. They are in a very fragmentary state of preservation, nevertheless, both record miscellaneous items, possibly not agricultural, among which they share *305 and OVIS.

I would like to suggest that we group HT 6, 51, 67 and 70, all from room 59 of the Villa, in a Na series. All but one contain figs ideogram in the heading, followed by a list of words (possibly providers of that commodity)²⁵, instead HT 67 is the lower fragment of a tablet on which hundreds of units of figs are recorded, probably intended for the storerooms of the Villa. In other words, it appears to be the recapitulative of a number of partial records written in other tablets such as HT 6, 51 and 70.

All tablets of the P-class have the same format: VIN ideogram and the transaction sign TE in the headings (the heading of HT 98 is lost but we can assume the same format, at least on the *recto*). We can group together HT 9 and 13 as Pa series, because both totalize the wine at the end of the registrations, and HT 17 and 19 as Pb, because they come from room 59 and have in common two syllabic groups (*ra*-*164-*ti* and *sa*-*315), but they are not part of a set because they were written by two different scribes²⁶.

U-class is quite heterogeneous because it contains tablets recording different unidentifiable ideograms, such as *304 (HT 41), *547/TU+RO (HT 47), *550 (HT 81), *551 (HT 37), *644 (HT 65). Nevertheless, I would group the three records from room 59 – HT 45, 57, 63 – in an Ua series, because they are small fragments with the logogram *305. Finally, HT 113 and 144 are very fragmentary,

²⁴ Cf. Mejer 1982, pp. 62 and 78; Schoep 2002, p. 183.

²⁵ Peruzzi 1963 suggests that in HT 6a the words followed by numbers are names of commodities, but they all are *hapax* and the etymological analysis, proposed by the author, is very uncertain because of the doubts about the language.

²⁶ The manner in which signs *164 and *04/TE are drawn is very different, so we cannot accept the suggestion of P. Militello that the tablets HT 17 and 19 were written by the same scribe 18 (Militello 1989, pp. 139 and 143).

but, on both tablets, the only legible ideogram is the abbreviation *61/O, so I suggest that we group them in Uo series.

Tablets of V-class do not bear ideograms, so we do not actually know which commodities they record. We can guess that the lists followed by number 1 are lists of people, on the basis of the parallelism with HT (Ba) 25 and 85, and because lists of personnel have the same feature in Linear B tablets²⁷. Also tablets containing exclusively whole numbers could possibly register people, given the parallelism with HT (Ba) 7 and (Bb) 85a and 122. Instead, tablets with fraction signs cannot list people, but rather agricultural commodities. Therefore, I suggest we distinguish four series:

- 1) Va, tablets containing only numbers 1: HT 55 (from Villa), 87 and 117 (from C.d.L.);
- 2) Vb, tablets containing only whole numbers: HT 1 and the three fragments 3, 4 and 5 from Villa, area of rooms 4/49/12; 29 from Villa room 59; 49 and fragment 69 from Villa room 72; fragment 135 from C.d.L. We note that HT 1 contains large numbers (from 52 up to 197) and starts with a deficit (*ki-ro*), so it could recapitulate partial records written on other tablets. We stress that HT 49, a tablet seriously damaged, contains three different registrations, separated by two horizontal lines: the first one is written on face *a* and contains only numbers 1, the second, covering the lower part of face *a* and the upper part of face *b*, contains, at least, numbers from 1 up to 5, while the third was written on the lower part of face *b* and is now almost totally lost.
- 3) Vc, tablets containing fractional quantities. This group consists of HT 10 and 104, found in different buildings (the first from Villa, room 59, and the second from C.d.L., room 7) and written by two different scribes.
- 4) Vd, tablets showing *ratio* among numbers: HT 11 (from the Villa) and 146 (perhaps from C.d.L.). There are many differences between the two tablets (in particular concerning the *status* of preservation and recurrence vs. absence of *77/KA), but the *b* face of HT 11 displays a *ratio* among numbers comparable with the repeated numbers of HT 146, that contains four entries (syllabic groups and a single syllabogram) each followed by 30 units. In my opinion this means that, although the two tablets may record different items, the purpose may be the same (taxation?).

²⁷ See discussion in Montecchi 2008, pp. 317–318 and 321.

4. Sets?

The classification summarized in Table 2 gives us two results:

- 1) It confirms that Linear A tablets treating a variety of subject matters were found in the same area, and *vice versa*, tablets treating the same subject were found in different rooms. Although the palaeographical analysis is extremely problematic because of the limited number of signs on each tablet, it seems that same scribes drew up tablets treating different subject matters; this means that either the deposits or the scribes may not have been specialised²⁸. In other words, most documents do not give evidence for on-the-spot-recording of economic processes. This could mean that the find spots, at least for the tablets in area of porch 11, magazines 59 and 72 of the Villa, and those found in filling ground of the room 9 of C.d.L., do not correspond to the original context of use²⁹. Therefore, they could be remains coming from more than one archive.
- 2) It makes it easier to compare similar records and to recognize some pairs of tablets which show strong affinities (as I discuss below). Among the Linear B tablets of a same series, it is sometimes possible to recognize tablets homogeneous in format, text arrangement, subject, scribal hand and find-spot; we can therefore group them into sets, as part(s) of the same document, just like pages of the same book. Quite possibly, too, some Linear A records filled more than one tablet, given that some lists lack the item recorded, and the ideogram might have been written on another tablet concerning the same type of transactions. Moreover, HT 110a and 11a seem to contain partial sums, which may have started in a previous, now missing, document³⁰.

We cannot make up true sets among the tablets of Haghia Triada, because the bulk of the original documentation is probably missing, we can, however, recognize some pairs of tablets showing strong

²⁸ Cf. Militello 1989.

²⁹ *Contra* Militello 1988, who thinks that tablets found in the magazines 59 and 72 were used to record on the spot commodities stored there, because many tablets found in the magazine 59 were within *pithoi*. I think, however, that tablets could have accidentally fallen there, just like the Linear B tablets found in the *pithoi* of Western Magazines of the Palace of Knossos, which probably do not represent “work in progress”, but were part, along with the other tablets found scattered in the storerooms, of archives originally kept in the upper storey (Firth 2000–2001, 147–149, 169–176, 207–213).

³⁰ Montecchi 2009, pp. 39–40.

affinities, which at least suggest an idea of what may have been in the missing sets:

1. (Bb) 85 and 122 come from C.d.L. room 7 and were written by Hand 9. Both contain the VIR/MUL logogram in the heading, followed by lists of syllabic groups and single syllabic signs, most of which are the same in the two tablets: *u-**325-*za* / *u-de-za*, *da-ri-da*, *da-si-dwo*, *da-re*, *DI*, *qa-**310-*i*. In each tablet, the numbers, 1 or more, are totalised and we cannot be certain that the coincidence between *ku-ro* 66 (HT 85a.6) and *ku-da* 1 (122a.8) + *ku-ro* 65 (122b.5) is a chance or not.
2. (Ea) 15 and 22 were both written by Hand 2 and were found together in the Villa porch 11. They record large amounts of barley, sometimes in fractional variants, therefore both could represent recapitulative records (note also the big “*deficit*” in HT 15.4).
3. (Eb) 93 and 102 come from the same archaeological context (C.d.L. room 7), and are written by the same scribe (5); both contain GRA, GRA+PA and VIR/MUL ideograms and totals, and share many syllabic groups: *di-ri-na*, *sa-ra₂*, *pa₃-ni(-na)*.
4. (Ec) 86 and 95 come from the same context (C.d.L. room 7) but do not seem to be written by the same hand. They record barley with the same text arrangement: a syllabic group at the beginning followed by lists of syllabic groups followed by 10 or 20 units, except that, in HT 95a.5, 7 units also appear (*qe-ra₂-u* 7). GRA ideograms (fractional variants in HT 86) are written once in each registration, either in the heading (HT 95) or after the first word of the list (HT 86). The two tablets share almost all the syllabic groups (local or personal names)³¹.
5. (La) 16 and 20 are very close: both are written by the scribe 10 and come from Villa room 59; both show three analogous rubrics in the same order (syllabic group followed by fraction sign F, TELA and **188+KU* ideograms in fractional quantities).
6. (Ma) 14 and 21 record the same commodities with the same text arrangement and both were found in the Villa room 59, but they were written by two different scribes.
7. (Mb) 32 and 33, both well preserved, were found in Villa room 59 and written by Hand 1. Both record miscellaneous products associated with *sa-ra₂*, two of which are the same in both registrations (**508*, **510*) and one apparently similar (*JU+JA+RU* and *JU+JA+KA*).

³¹ See Montecchi 2008, pp. 319–320 for a wider analysis of the syllabic groups.

8. (Mc) 114 and 121 are mixed registrations of barley, olive oil, figs, wine and bulls, both related to the same two words, *ki-ri-ta₂* and *sa-ra₂*. They are written by the same hand (4) and both could come from C.d.L. room 9, but the find spot of 121 is not certain.
9. (Pb) 17 and 19 were found in Villa room 59 and record the same commodity (vina) with the same text arrangement, share the same transaction sign (*TE*), and two of the three words (*ra-*164-ti* and *sa-*315*). Nevertheless the different *ductus* of signs **164* and **04* suggests that the tablets are written by two different scribes³². Therefore, these tablets seem to record the same transactions of wine occurred in two different occasions/days.
10. (Va) 87 and 117 come from C.d.L. (the former from room 7 and the latter from room 9) and are written by the same scribe (9). They list names followed by number 1 (one list in HT 87, three in HT 117). They share three words: *ma-ka-ri-te* and *qi-tu-ne* in heading, *di-ki-se* in list.

Table 2 sums up my classification proposal for Linear A tablets found at Haghia Triada. Classes are indicated by capital letters and series by small letters. Tablets not grouped in series but just in classes follow those classified in series. The classes/series are in parentheses to allow us to distinguish immediately and at a glance Linear A tablets, with series noted in parentheses – for example HT (Aa) 27 – from those of Linear B tablets, with series not in parentheses – for example PY Aa 60. Numbers of those couples that show stronger similarities, discussed in § 4, are put in subscript square brackets.

5. Research perspectives

I would like to conclude by pointing out perspectives for future studies. First, I believe we can classify all Linear A tablets according to the criteria outlined above. A quick examination of the tablets from Arkhanes, for example, suggests that most fit in M, P and V-classes; those from Khania seem to belong to the A, B, E, G, K, M, N-classes and those from Zakros to the D, E, M, N, P, U, V-classes, beside to the fragments of the X-class. This makes it easier to compare the records of different Minoan administrations. Second, such a classification simplifies the comparison between Linear A and Linear B tablets, on the understanding that the systems and aims in record keeping are, at least partly, different. As we have already seen, HT (Aa) 27, 89, 94 and 100, can be compared with the tablets PY An

³² *Contra* Militello 1989.

35 and 128, and interpreted as allocations of payments in kind to the workforce; HT (Ba), (Bb), (Va) and (Vb) series can be compared with Linear B tablets of B and Bg classes from Knossos (see, for example, KN B 164, 804, 805, etc.), and interpreted as list of personnel. The lack of specific classes in one of the two writing systems can be meaningful for reconstructing different purposes, interests and formalities. Finally, despite the difficulties due to the brevity of the texts, that the language is not known, and that several ideograms are not yet identified, such a classification of tablets on the basis of subject matter and textual arrangement might be a first step to better understanding the purpose(s) of the Linear A records, and distinguishing processes and occasions of bookkeeping, which fall into at least three major categories:

1. Inventories: lists of products kept in storerooms or workshops, flocks, personnel and final balances.
2. Incoming: collections/contributions of various items and recruitment of work or military force.
3. Outgoing: allocations/distributions of various items and personnel (e.g. rations, payments, cult offerings, sending of personnel from the centre to the periphery, etc.)

Table 1: Linear A tablets found in Haghia Triada classified in classes on the basis of the subject matters

Tablet	Classes	Subject matter	Find-spot	Scribe
1	V	List of syllabic groups (high numbers and <i>ki-ro</i>)	Villa, rooms 4/49/12	–
2	F	Olive oil	Villa, rooms 4/49/12	–
3	V	List of syllabic groups and single syllabograms	Villa, rooms 4/49/12	–
4	V	List of syllabic groups	Villa, rooms 4/49/12	–
5	V	List of syllabic groups	Villa, rooms 4/49/12	1 (?)

6	N	Figs	Villa, room 59	17: <i>recto</i> and <i>verso ll.</i> 1–3. 18: <i>verso ll.</i> 4–6
7	B	Personnel	Villa, room 59	11
8	F	<i>Recto</i> : olive oil. <i>Verso</i> : *188 ³³	Villa, room 59	2
9	P	Wine	Villa	–
10	V	List of syllabic groups and single syllabograms (with fraction signs)	Villa, room 59	–
11	V	<i>Recto</i> : list of syllabic groups and single syllabograms. <i>Verso</i> : *77/ <i>KA</i>	Villa, porch 11	–
12	M	Olive oil, *304, wool, wheat, figs, *510/511	Villa, room 59	11
13	P	Wine	Villa, room 59	8
14	M	Barley, olive oil, *304, olives	Villa, room 59	–
15	E	Barley, *188	Villa, porch 11	2 (?)
16	L	Mix: cloth, *188‘KU’, *74/ZE	Villa, room 59	10
17	P	Wine	Villa, room 59	–
18	M	Barley, olive oil, *304, figs	Villa, room 59	9
19	P	Wine	Villa, room 59	–
20	L	Mix: cloth, *07/DI, he-goat? ³⁴ , *188‘KU’	Villa, room 59	10

³³ For the reading of the *verso* see *corrigenda* in GORILA 5, p. 70.

³⁴ The reading of the ideogram is in doubt, it could be the fraction sign F or CAP^m. In this second case CAP^m would be followed by a fraction, so it could be an animal product (leather?).

21	M	Barley, olive oil, *304, olives	Villa, room 59	–
22	E	Barley, *643	Villa, porch 11	2 (?)
23	M	<i>Recto</i> : wheat, olive oil, wine, *38/E, *508, *510, *550, *308, *530. <i>Verso</i> : wheat, olive oil, *23/MU/BOS(?), *38/E, *508, *510, *550	Villa, porch 11	9 (?)
24	O	<i>Recto</i> : wool. <i>Verso</i> : wool? cloths?	Villa, room 26	–
25	B	Personnel	Villa, room 59	–
26	M	<i>Recto</i> : *406 ^{VAS} +KE, list of syllabic groups. <i>Verso</i> : *406 ^{VAS} +KE, personnel, syllabic groups, monograms, *308, *188-86	Villa, room 59	3
27	A	<i>Recto</i> : personnel, wheat, figs, wine. <i>Verso</i> : wine	Villa, room 59	–
28	M	Wheat, olive oil, figs, wine, *304	Villa, room 72	14
29	V	List of syllabic groups	Villa, room 59	–
30	M	*41/SI, wheat, figs, wine, olive oil, bulls, *510	Villa, room 59	1
31	K	Vessels	Villa, room 59	13
PH? 31	C	Sheep, rams, he-goats, she-goats and pigs	–	–
32	M	Olive oil, *308, *508, *510, *550, *07/DI	Villa, room 59	1
33	M	*305, *322+39, *401 ^{VAS} +*304, *508, *509, *526 *537, *552	Villa, room 59	1
34	M	Barley, *551, *552, *526/E+KA, *508, *509, *521 (oxen??), *50/PU (= *508?)	Villa, room 59	–
35	M	Wheat, figs, wine, olive oil, *308, *510, *550	Villa, room 59	–

36	E	Barley	Villa, room 59	–
37	U	*551	Villa, room 59	–
38	M	Vessels, pigs, sheep, textiles, *554	Villa, room 59	8
39	K	Vessels	Villa, room 59	13
40	E	Barley	Villa, room 59	2
41	U	*304 (and other not recognizable commodities?)	Villa, room 59	15
42[+]59	F	Olive oil	Villa, room 59	–
43	E	Barley	Villa, room 59	–
44	M	Barley, olive oil, olives, figs and wine	Villa, room 59	–
45	U	<i>Recto</i> : *305? <i>Verso</i> : *305, *509, *81/KU	Villa, room 59	–
46	X	?	Villa, porch 11	–
47	U	*547 (69+02/TU+RQ)	Villa, room 72	–
49	V	List of syllabic groups and single syllabograms	Villa, room 72	–
50	M	Barley, olive oil, *304, olives	Villa	–
51	N	Figs	Villa, room 59	–
52	E	Barley	Villa, room 72	–
53	F	Olive oil (possibly along with other commodities not preserved)	Villa, room 72	–
54	X	?	Villa, room 72	–
55	V	List of syllabic groups (very fragmentary)	Villa, room 59	–
56	F	<i>Recto</i> : *188. <i>Verso</i> : olive oil	Villa, room 59	–

57	U	<i>Verso: *305</i>	Villa, room 59	15
58	F	Olive oil, olives	Villa, room 59	8
60	M	Olive oil, *549, wine, *38/E, *508, *510	Villa, room 59	–
61	E	Barley (possibly along with other commodities not preserved)	Villa, room 59	–
62[+]73	M	Wine (?), barley (?) ³⁵	Villa, room 72	–
63	U	*305, *79 (?)	Villa, room 59	–
64	C	He-goat? (very fragmentary)	Villa, room 72	–
65	U	*644	Villa, room 59	–
66	B	Personnel	Villa, room 59	–
67	N	Figs	Villa, room 59	–
68	B	Personnel	Villa, room 59	–
69	V	List of syllabic groups and single syllabograms	Villa, room 72	–
70	N	Figs	Villa, room 59	–
72	X	?	Villa, room 59	–
74	X	?	Villa, room 59	–
75	X	?	Villa, room 59	–
78	X	?	Villa, room 59	–

³⁵ The tablet is very fragmentary and the surface is seriously damaged so the readings of the ideograms and, consequently, the classification of the tablet are problematic. Moreover, from my point of view, the reading]VIR/MUL[on line 5 (GORILA 1) is doubtful, but, in any case, I think that this sign is part of the name of, possibly, the sender of some commodity (cf. VIR/MUL-I in HT 11a.4, SI-VIR/MUL [in HT 72.1 or VIR/MUL followed by a fractional number in HT 93.9).

79[+]83	X	?	Villa, room 59	–
80	X	?	Villa, room 59	14
81	U	*550	Villa, room 59	–
82	E	Barley, *304	Villa, room 59	3
84	B	Personnel	Villa, room 59	–
85	B	Personnel	C.d.L., room 7	9
86	E	Barley	C.d.L., room 7	6
87	V	List of syllabic groups	C.d.L., room 7	9
88	A	Personnel and figs	C.d.L., room 7	7
89	A	Personnel, wheat, figs and wine	C.d.L., room 7	–
90	M	Barley, figs, olive oil, *304	C.d.L., room 7	2
91	M	Barley, *304, olive oil, olives, figs, wine, *38/E	C.d.L., room 7	16
92	M	Barley, *304	C.d.L., room 7	2
93	E	Barley (*406 ^{VAS} and *343?)	C.d.L., room 7	5
94	A	<i>Recto</i> : personnel, wheat, figs. <i>Verso</i> : list of syllabic groups; *86	C.d.L., room 7	9
95	E	Barley	C.d.L., room 7	–
96	M	Barley, figs, olive oil (*317 and *344?)	C.d.L.	12
97	B	Personnel (and copper/ bronze?)	C.d.L., room 7	7
98	P	<i>Recto</i> : syllabic groups followed by fractional quantities. <i>Verso</i> : wine	C.d.L., room 7	–

99	M	<i>Recto</i> : Wheat, figs, wine, barley. <i>Verso</i> : figs	C.d.L., room 7	2
100	A	Personnel, wheat, figs, wine, olive oil	C.d.L., room 7	–
101	M	Barley, olive oil, *304, olives	C.d.L., room 7	2
102	E	Barley	C.d.L., room 7	5
103	N	Figs, *188	C.d.L., room 7	–
104	V	List of syllabic groups (fraction signs and <i>ku-ro</i>)	C.d.L., room 7	5
105	B	Personnel	C.d.L., room 7	–
106	G	Wheat, *41/ <i>st</i>	C.d.L., room 7	–
107	F	Olive oil? ³⁶	C.d.L., room 7	–
108	A	Personnel, barley	C.d.L., room 7	2
109	X	?	C.d.L., room 7	7
110	M	<i>Recto</i> : wheat, figs. <i>Verso</i> : barley, *648 ^{VAS} , *80/MA, figs, *301	C.d.L., room 7	–
111	X	?	C.d.L., room 7	–
112	G	Wheat (possibly along with other commodities not preserved)	C.d.L., room 7	9
113	U	*61/O	C.d.L., room 7	–
113ter	X	?	C.d.L., room 7	–
114	M	Barley, olive oil, figs, wine, bulls	C.d.L., room 9	4

³⁶ The ideogram is classified in GORILA 5 as *332, but I suspect that it is a graphic variant of *302/OLE, because of their formal resemblance and because the commodity *332 would be recorded only in this tablet (the other possible attestation in HT 97b.1 is problematic).

115	E	Barley ³⁷	C.d.L., room 9	8
116	M	Barley, olive oil, olives, *304	C.d.L., room 9	9
117	V	List of syllabic groups	C.d.L., room 9	9
118	C	Pigs	C.d.L.	3
119	B	Personnel (and copper/ bronze?)	C.d.L., room 9	9
120	E	Barley	C.d.L., room 9	6
121	M	Barley, olive oil, figs, wine, bulls	C.d.L., room 9?	4
122	B	Personnel	C.d.L., room 9	9
123	M	<i>Recto</i> : olives, *308; <i>verso</i> : *308, *20/ZO ³⁸ , *188	C.d.L., room 9	6
125	M	Olive oil, barley, *304, figs	C.d.L.	–
126	M	<i>Recto</i> : *318. <i>Verso</i> : *305, *87/TWE, sheep, *69/TU	C.d.L.	–
127	B	Personnel	C.d.L.	–
128	E	Barley	C.d.L.	9
129	M	Barley, *304, figs, olive oil	C.d.L., room 9	16
130	M	Wheat, figs, wine	C.d.L., room 9	–
131	M	Figs, barley, olive oil, *304, olives, wine	C.d.L., room 9	–
132	M	Sheep, *319, *305	C.d.L.	9
133	E	Barley	C.d.L.	–
135	V	List of syllabic groups (very fragmentary)	C.d.L.	9
136	C	Sheep (very fragmentary)	C.d.L.	–
137	M	Barley, olive oil	C.d.L.	4
139	M	Barley, olive oil	C.d.L.	2

³⁷ At line 4 of the *verso* there is a ligature difficult to recognize (*634), in any case, I think it is a recipient (or a sender) of barley.

³⁸ This sign is classified in GORILA 5 as *312, but I think that *312 = *20 because of the similar shape and use with Linear B zo (see also the ligature with TELA in HT 38.3).

140	F	Olive oil, *77/KA	C.d.L.	12
141	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
142	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
144	U	*61/O	C.d.L.?	5 (?)
146	V	Syllabic groups and a single syllabogram (each followed by 30 units and very fragmentary)	C.d.L.?	9 (?)
147	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
154	X	Sheep? ³⁹	C.d.L.?	–
154A	M	Olives, barley, *81/KU	C.d.L., room 7	–
154B	E	Barley	C.d.L.?	–
154C	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
154E	N	Figs (possibly along with other commodities not preserved)	C.d.L.?	–
154G	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
154J	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
154K	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
154L	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
154M	X	?	C.d.L.?	–
154N	X	*41/SI ?	C.d.L.?	–

Table 2: Linear A tablets found at Haghia Triada classified in series chiefly on the basis of the subject matters and arrangement of the texts, and then ordinate by number.

Provenience + (class/series) + number	Find spot	Scribe
HT (Aa) 27	Villa room 59	–
HT (Aa) 89	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (Aa) 94	C.d.L. room 7	9
HT (Aa) 100	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (A) 88	C.d.L. room 7	7
HT (A) 108	C.d.L. room 7	2

³⁹ The fragment of tablet 154 preserves a sign that looks like *21/QI/ovis^f more than *37/TI (see *corrigenda* in GORILA 5 and compare the table of signs pp. XXXI and XXXIV), but we cannot be sure whether the sign has ideographic or phonetic value.

HT (Ba) 7	Villa room 59	11
HT (Ba) 25	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ba) 66	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ba) 68	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ba) 84	Villa room 59	–
HT (Bb) 85 _[1]	C.d.L. room 7	9
HT (Bb) 105	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (Bb) 122 _[1]	C.d.L. room 7	9
HT (Bj) 97	C.d.L. room 7	7
HT (Bj) 119	C.d.L. room 9	9
HT (B) 127	C.d.L.	–
PH? (C) 31	–	–
HT (C) 64	Villa room 72	
HT (C) 118	C.d.L.	3
HT (C) 136	C.d.L.	–
HT (Ea) 15 _[2]	Villa room 11	2 (?)
HT (Ea) 22 _[2]	Villa room 11	2 (?)
HT (Ea) 40	Villa room 59	2
HT (Ea) 52	Villa room 72	–
HT (Eb) 93 _[3]	C.d.L. room 7	5
HT (Eb) 102 _[3]	C.d.L. room 7	5
HT (Eb) 120	C.d.L. room 9	6
HT (Eb) 128	C.d.L.	9
HT (Ec) 86 _[4]	C.d.L. room 7	6
HT (Ec) 95 _[4]	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (E) 36	Villa room 59	–
HT (E) 43	Villa room 59	–
HT (E) 61	Villa room 59	–
HT (E) 82	Villa room 59	3
HT (E) 115	C.d.L. room 9	8
HT (E) 133	C.d.L.	–
HT (E) 154B	C.d.L. (?)	–
HT (Fa) 8	Villa room 59	2
HT (Fa) 56	Villa room 59	–
HT (Fb) 2	Villa rooms 4/49/12	–
HT (Fb) 42[+]59	Villa room 59	–

HT (Fb) 58	Villa room 59	8
HT (F) 53	Villa room 72	–
HT (F) 107	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (F) 140	C.d.L.	12
HT (G) 106	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (G) 112	C.d.L. room 7	9
HT (K) 31	Villa room 59	13
HT (K) 39	Villa room 59	13
HT (La) 16 _[6]	Villa room 59	10
HT (La) 20 _[6]	Villa room 59	10
HT (Ma) 14 _[7]	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ma) 18	Villa room 59	9
HT (Ma) 21 _[7]	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ma) 44	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ma) 50	Villa	–
HT (Mb) 12	Villa room 59	11
HT (Mb) 23	Villa room 11	9 (?)
HT (Mb) 28	Villa room 72	14
HT (Mb) 30	Villa room 59	1 (?)
HT (Mb) 32 _[8]	Villa room 59	1
HT (Mb) 33 _[8]	Villa room 59	1
HT (Mb) 34	Villa room 59	–
HT (Mb) 35	Villa room 59	–
HT (Mb) 38	Villa room 59	8
HT (Mb) 60	Villa room 59	–
HT (Mc) 90	C.d.L. room 7	2
HT (Mc) 91	C.d.L. room 7	16
HT (Mc) 92	C.d.L. room 7	2
HT (Mc) 99	C.d.L. room 7	2
HT (Mc) 101	C.d.L. room 7	2
HT (Mc) 114 _[9]	C.d.L. room 9	4
HT (Mc) 116	C.d.L. room 9	9
HT (Mc) 121 _[9]	C.d.L. room 9 (?)	4
HT (Mc) 125	C.d.L.	–
HT (Mc) 129	C.d.L. room 9	16
HT (Mc) 131	C.d.L. room 9	–

HT (Mc) 137	C.d.L.	4
HT (Mc) 139	C.d.L.	2
HT (Md) 126	C.d.L.	–
HT (Md) 132	C.d.L.	9
HT (M) 26	Villa room 59	3
HT (M) 62[+]73	Villa room 72	–
HT (M) 96	C.d.L.	12
HT (M) 110	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (M) 123	C.d.L. room 9	6
HT (M) 130	C.d.L. room 9	–
HT (M) 154A	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (Na) 6	Villa room 59	17/18
HT (Na) 51	Villa room 59	–
HT (Na) 67	Villa room 59	–
HT (Na) 70	Villa room 59	–
HT (N) 103	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (N) 154E	C.d.L. (?)	–
HT (O) 24	Villa, room 26	–
HT (Pa) 9	Villa	–
HT (Pa) 13	Villa room 59	8
HT (Pb) 17 _[5]	Villa room 59	–
HT (Pb) 19 _[5]	Villa room 59	–
HT (P) 98	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (Ua) 45	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ua) 57	Villa room 59	–
HT (Ua) 63	Villa room 59	–
HT (Uo) 113	C.d.L. room 7	–
HT (Uo) 144	C.d.L. (?)	5 (?)
HT (U) 37	Villa room 59	–
HT (U) 41	Villa room 59	15
HT (U) 47	Villa room 72	–
HT (U) 65	Villa room 59	–
HT (U) 81	Villa room 59	–
HT (Va) 55	Villa room 59	–
HT (Va) 87 _[10]	C.d.L. room 7	9
HT (Va) 117 _[10]	C.d.L. room 9	9

HT (Vb) 1	Villa rooms 4/49/12	–
HT (Vb) 3	Villa rooms 4/49/12	–
HT (Vb) 4	Villa rooms 4/49/12	–
HT (Vb) 5	Villa rooms 4/49/12	1?
HT (Vb) 29	Villa room 59	–
HT (Vb) 49	Villa room 72	–
HT (Vb) 69	Villa room 72	–
HT (Vb) 135	C.d.L.	9
HT (Vc) 10	Villa room 59	–
HT (Vc) 104	C.d.L. room 7	5
HT (Vd) 11	Villa room 11	–
HT (Vd) 146	C.d.L.?	9 (?)
HT (X) 46	Villa room 11	–
HT (X) 54	Villa, room 72	–
HT (X) 72	Villa, room 59	–
HT (X) 74	Villa, room 59	–
HT (X) 75	Villa, room 59	–
HT (X) 78	Villa, room 59	–
HT (X) 79[+]83	Villa, room 59	–
HT (X) 80	Villa, room 59	14
HT (X) 109	C.d.L., room 7	7
HT (X) 111	C.d.L., room 7	–
HT (X) 113ter	C.d.L., room 7	–
HT (X) 141	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 142	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 147	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154C	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154G	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154J	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154K	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154L	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154M	C.d.L.?	–
HT (X) 154N	C.d.L.?	–

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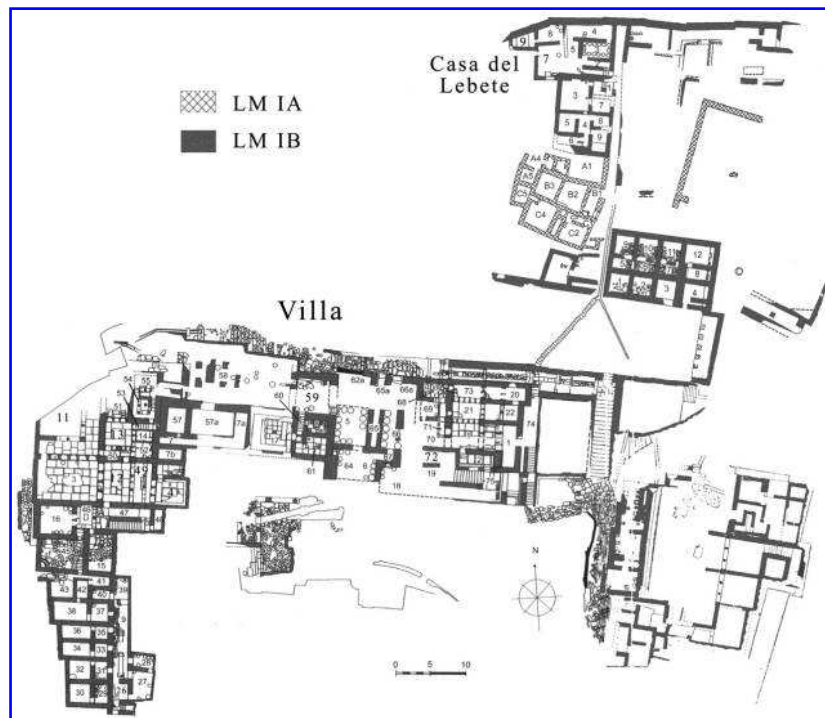


Fig. 1. Plan of the Neopalatial Site of Haghia Triada
(after Puglisi 2003, figs. 1 and 9)