

THE ADMINISTRATION OF HAGHIA TRIADA

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Haghia Triada is a Minoan site in Southern Crete. It has yielded the largest amount of Linear A inscriptions so far, dated to the LM IB period. This paper discusses various aspects of the administration of this complex. Firstly, the geographical distribution of the inscriptions within the buildings is discussed. After that the paper analyses the similarities and differences in the vocabulary between two main parts of the complex, the Villa and the Village. A similar analysis is afterwards given for the ideograms. Finally, attention is paid to some particular words whose meaning we have tried to understand on the basis of the contextual particularities of the inscriptions.

Key words: Crete, Haghia Triada, Minoan, Writing, Linear A.

Haghia Triada was originally the name of a small church in the Southern Crete dated to the Venetian period. A Minoan site, that has been discovered in the vicinity and excavated from 1902 until 1912 by F. Halbherr and L. Paribeni, was named after this church nearby. Given the geographical position of the site, the first problem to contemplate was obvious: how to explain its evident proximity to the Minoan palace of Phaistos discovered two years earlier (the first excavation there was undertaken in 1900). This fact immediately led to the presumption that the edifice was politically or economically dependent on Phaistos. The second problem to resolve was the purpose of the edifice. Was it a palace, an

estate or something else? After some consideration, the idea of it being palace could be dismissed on two grounds: a) Haghia Triada (**fig. 1**) did not reveal an architectural organisation typical of other contemporary palaces (for example, the non-existence of a central court), and b) there is simply no logic to building two palaces (which are now generally seen as administratively,¹ maybe even as politically, independent units) in such close proximity. Even though some people still refer to Haghia Triada as a palace (due to its size and luxury), it was determined quite early to be a villa. F. Halbherr suggested that it was a royal summer residence for the rulers of Phaistos.² Although Halbherr himself changed his view quite

¹ As concluded by I. Schoep, 1999, 220: "The nonstandardisation of Linear A writing styles, the differential formatting of tablets and booking of commodities, and the widespread use of writing all stand in sharp contrast to what is understood about the Linear B administration. Analysis of the LM IB administration demonstrates that the local archives were kept by local administrators, each with their own idiosyncrasies, rather than by officials sent out from a single centre to regulate the flow of tribute."

² F. Halbherr, 1903, 7 - he actually said "*la residenza campestre dei principi di Phaistos*" - *residenza campestre (rural)* is by English speaking archaeologists translated and interpreted as *summer residence*

soon, this initial interpretation was for a long time widely shared.³ I think that his concept was wrong for several reasons:

1. Haghia Triada is only three kilometres from Phaistos - why would the rulers of Phaistos build a summer residence practically in the neighbourhood of their home? They would probably choose a more distant place, maybe with a different landscape or different contents with which to occupy themselves. Furthermore, the whole image of a summer resort, apparently opposed to a winter one, does not work on Crete, where the climate is geographically uniform, especially when we take into account such proximate places as Haghia Triada and Phaistos. To illustrate this point we can imagine the absurdity of building a summer residence in Eastborne for someone living in Brighton. Even if we neglect this argument of geographical proximity, I must admit that the whole idea of a summer residence seems far too modern to be applicable to Minoan times.
2. Haghia Triada has abundant economical and administrative traces, which go beyond the needs of a simple summer resort. Having a large number of magazines and proofs of the production of various goods, it gives a picture of a permanently inhabited place, rather than the one dwelled in intermitently. There are at least three different magazines in Haghia Triada, with quite a number of separate rooms each. If it was a summer villa, one single magazine would be enough for the supplies necessary for any particular summer. The goods would be transported to that "part-time" magazine from Phaistos together with the arrival of the summer occupants, rather than unnecessarily accumulated and preserved there during periods of the year when the villa was vacant.⁴

The production of various goods has been evidenced by unearthed tools which prove the following activities to have taken place in Haghia Triada: smithing, pottery manufacture, carpentry, weaving and farmworking (L.V. Watrous, 1984, 130). This again goes against the image of a leisurely summer residence. Furthermore, there is also proof of possible trade: 19 copper ingots have been discovered in the North Magazines. Together with numerous traces of a well developed administration (what I discuss below), the complex of Haghia Triada shows evidence of an economic *autarkeia* in the Aristotelian sense.

3. The size of the complex supercedes the size of a summer residence and some of its structural parts are difficult to explain in such a context: What would be the purpose of the complex north of the *Villa(s)*,⁵ the so called *Village* (which is obviously a habitat); or even more perplexing: What would be the function of the existing "bastion" in the supposed summer resort?
4. Finally, Banti and others (1977, 15) mention the existence of the cemetery in the vicinity, which usually makes part of permanently inhabited settlement only.

I hope that these arguments are enough to show that the hypothesis that Haghia Triada was a summer villa was mistaken. I am happy to see that my arguments agree with its more recent interpretation as the center of an estate.⁶

I would like now to move to the real topic of this paper: the administration of Haghia Triada. When we talk of the administration there, we have in mind the Linear A inscriptions on various kinds of objects (tablets, roundels, nodules), the sealings on the same sort of objects (except on tablets), and the two of them combined. All these documents are uniformly dated to LM IB, a phase ended by a violent fire that

³ For example, even in the early sixties we can read in J. W. Graham, 1962, 50, such a statement: "It is commonly supposed that H. Triada formed a sort of seasonal residence for the rulers of Phaistos."

⁴ A possible argument against this point can be found in Banti, Halbherr, Stefani, 1977, 33: "La villa ha una particolarità, che non trovo altrove. Ciascun quartiere di abitazione, sia per la servitù che signorile, ha annessi uno o più vani ad uso magazzini. Non contenevano derrate, o provviste - queste erano conservate nei grandi Magazzini Nord - bensì oggetti di terracotta, di pietra, di bronzo, cioè oggetti adoperati da coloro che abitavano nei rispettivi quartieri". Even so, why would they have conserved there all those numerous objects, some of which seem to have been quite precious, if they had not lived in the *Villa* permanently. Rather, they would have conserved them in Phaistos and brought over only those which were of use over the summer.

⁵ L. V. Watrous, 1984, 123-134, claims that we are not dealing with one single villa here, but with at least two separate villas (Villa A and B), possibly even three.

⁶ For example, L. V. Watrous, 1984, 123

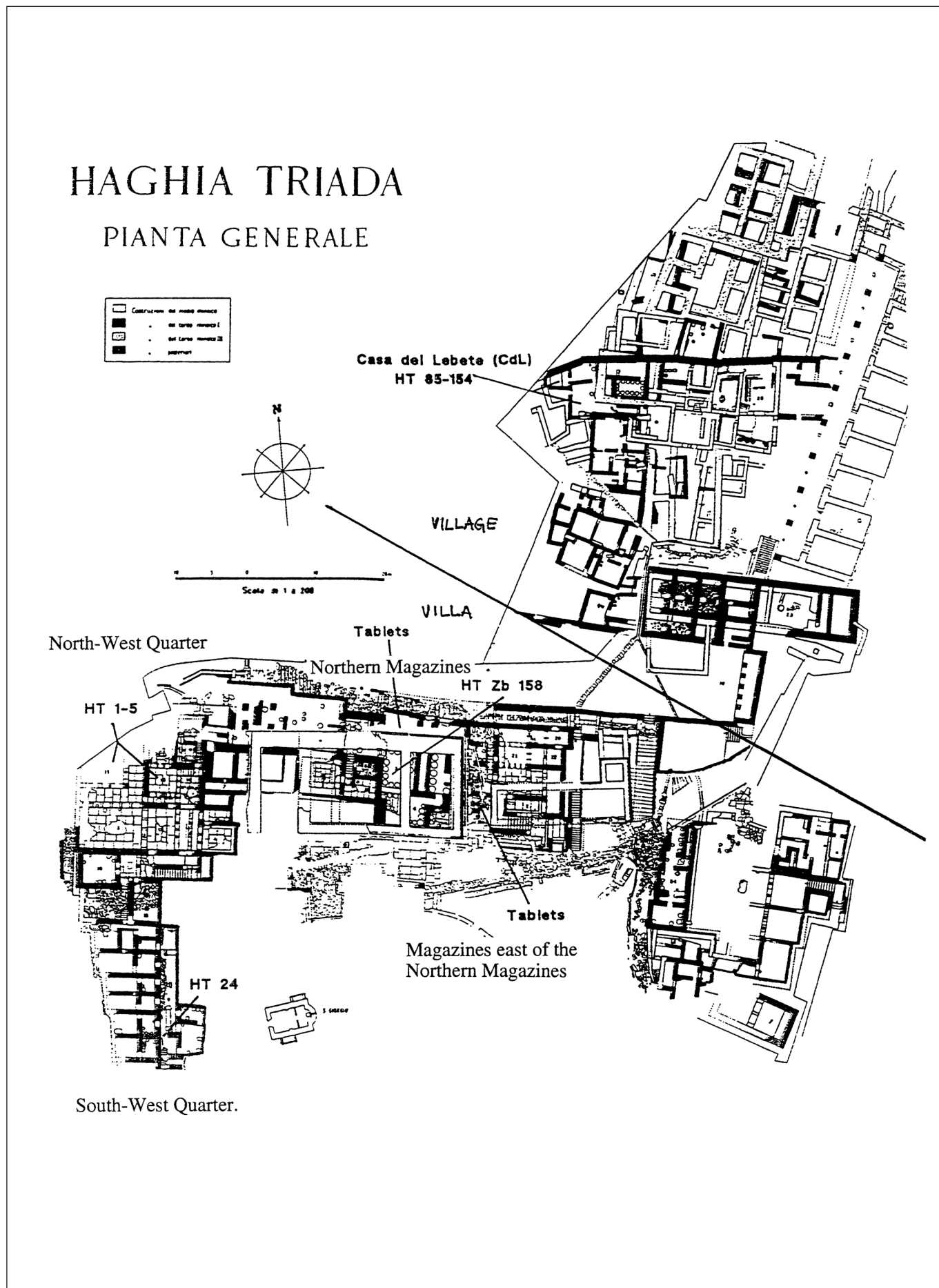


fig. 1

left traces in most of the parts of the *Villa*, especially in the magazines which were believed to store the oil. No objects have been with hieroglyphic script. The reason for this is simple: in the Prepalatial and Protopalatial times Haghia Triada was an unimportant centre. From the Protopalatial period we have got rare traces of walls, which are understood as the remains of some houses, rather than the remains of a *Villa* which would precede the Neopalatial one. Linear B inscriptions have not been found either, though we do have traces of Mycenaean reoccupation: megaron above the Northern Magazine and the large store rooms east of the Minoan *Village*.

These are the totals of the inscriptions found:

1. tablets: 154 (HT1-154)

According to Carratelli (1963) tablets 1-84 come from the *Villa*, while 85-154 come from the *Casa del Lebete* in the *Village*. We have a serious problem with those tablets found in the *Villa*: no proper records were made during the excavations, so today we do not know the exact provenance of most of them.

2. nodules: 861 (HT Wa 1001-1861)

All nodules come from the *Villa*; there have not been any nodules found in the *Village*.

3. flat based nodules (parcel nodules): 2 (HT Wb 2001-2002)

Their provenance is unknown to us.

4. roundels: 21 (HT Wc 3001-3021)

To this number recorded in *GORILA* (Godart & Olivier, 1976-85), I. Schoep (1996, 28) added two more: HT Wc 3022 kept in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam and inventoried as originating from Haghia Triada, and HT Wc 3024 which was found in 1987 in the surface opposite to portico 11 of the *Villa*.

5. graffiti on pithoi: 4 (HT Zb 158-161)

All graffiti come from the *Villa*: according to Banti (1977, 110) two of them were found in “vano” 16 and two in magazine 5 (Banti, 1977, 142).

6. graffiti on stucco: 3 (HT Zd 155-157)

All three of these instances of graffiti come from the wall underneath the south portico of the North-West Quarter, close to the small staircase no. 15 (Banti, 1977, 98).

The inscriptions from the *Villa* come from four general areas:

1. The entrance to the South-West Quarter.
2. The North-West Quarter: portico 11 and room 13 (Stanza dei Sigilli).
3. The Northern Magazines: magazine 59.
4. The Magazines east of the Northern Magazines: “vano” 72.

Banti, Stefani and Halbherr, in the final publication of the excavations in Haghia Triada, claim that all the tablets come from parts of the complex defined as magazines.⁷

The South-West Quarter

The South-West Quarter consists of eighteen rooms and two light-wells (9 and 42). This part of the *Villa* has been interpreted as the servant's quarter due to some factors which make it different from the rest of the *Villa*: the rooms are simpler, the walls are built with less care, the floors are also basic (there are no paved floors), the pottery found was modest and almost exclusively for the domestic use. No objects have been found above the floor level, indicating that they may have fallen from upstairs (like in some other parts of the *Villa*) and that suggests that this part of the *Villa* did not have an upper floor at all.

One Linear A tablet was found on the threshold between vestibule 26 and light-well (or corridor) 9. This tablet has now been identified by Militello⁸ as HT 24. In the adjacent room 27 some uninscribed noduli (45 of them) were found; apparently they had some seal impressions. These noduli cannot be identified today. The presence of records at the south entrance of the *Villa* suggested to Watrous (1984, 128) that commodities (servants' rations) coming in and out were recorded here. If we start from the assumption that the records were kept either in the

⁷ L. Banti (1977, 3): “È interessante notare che le tavolette iscritte di Haghia Triada furono trovate quasi unicamente in magazzini: nel magazzino 27 del quartiere sud-ovest; nel magazzino 16 annesso al quartiere nord-ovest; nel magazzino 59 dei Magazzini Nord; in uno dei piccoli magazzini annessi al quartiere orientale; in due magazzini della Casa del Lebete.”. If this is the case, it should be mentioned that HT 24 is an exception (as will be explained below).

⁸ P. Militello, 1992, note 8: “Siamo ora in grado di affermare che si tratta di HT 24”.

magazines or in the archives, then it is natural to suppose that room 27 had one of those functions. But, when we take into consideration the variety of other objects found there, we might easily conclude that we do not have the case of either option. The other objects found were two small vases, numerous drinking cups, numerous loom-weights, an oil-lamp, a bronze hydria, a bronze bowl, etc. Such equipment implies that some consumption took place in the room, rather than merely archiving or storing. A much smaller room just next to it (28) had more or less the similar contents: numerous drinking cups and small vases, a number of jugs, four discs of small dimensions whose function has not been determined, one pilgrim's flask, and a number of pithoi along the walls. Bearing in mind all these items and remembering that room 39 has been interpreted as kitchen, I would like to propose that room 27 was actually the dining room of the servant's quarter. Firstly, as I have already said, its contents imply that drinking or eating possibly took place in it (with the lamp to imply that the room was also in use in the evenings - maybe for evening meals). Secondly, the kitchen was just down the corridor. Thirdly, if the complex had a common kitchen, should it not have had a common dining room as well? Fourthly, the position of the room is perfect for this purpose: it is just by the entrance and thus easily accessible. Fifthly, its size is also suitable: with the measures of ca 3,95 X 2,80 metres it is one of the largest rooms in this servant's quarter. Thinking of rooms 29-38 as the personal domicile of the servants, then we have five groups of dwellings (each consisting of two rooms). If we further suppose that each of these was occupied by one family, and that the average family consisted of four to six members, that gives a total of about twenty five people living in the servant's quarter. Twenty-five people could easily be accommodated in a dining room of this size, especially if children did not eat with the adults.

The adjacent room 28 could, in this context, be explained as a store room for the dishes (for twenty to twenty-five people quite a quantity would be needed) and a small magazine, indicated by pithoi which line its walls, is sufficient for the modest needs of the servants and their families. Room 28 was accessible from both room 27 and corridor 9, which made it easily reached from both the kitchen and the putative dining room. Numerous drinking cups prove that this room was used for their storage. No plates have been found (and we know that they were definitely in use in the *Villa*, since some have been discovered in the North-East Quarter - Quartiere Signorile). This is not unusual bearing in mind the social status of those who dined here. Similar exam-

ples come from quite a recent history: my grandmother, who was born in a rural area and grew up in a large family, has told me how they could not afford to buy plates and cutlery, so they would all sit around a big table grabbing food by the fingers from two or three large bowls.

If my hypothesis of the dining room is accepted, then the existence of the noduli in the same room is quite odd. My view is that they should not have been there in the first place. In Minoan times, literacy was seen as something of high value, something that was practiced only by those in upper levels of the social pyramid. There was a special group of people in this hierarchy, called scribes, and their number was small. We can understand them as specially trained individuals who were, unlike those on lower social steps, educated (if this term does not sound too modern for Minoan society). They occupied themselves with the administration of the palaces. If noduli were seen as one of the elements of that administration, how can we explain their presence in quarters allocated to the servants? First of all, they were illiterate, and thus could not make any use of administrative documents. Secondly, writing itself was probably something abstract to them: depositing administrative documents in such an environment was not wise, since they could be damaged or even destroyed out of pure ignorance. I do not agree with Watrous (1984, 128) who believes that those noduli were records of servants' rations coming in and out. If that was so, then room 27 would function as a sort of office where the records of those rations were made by some scribe who would use this office when needed. Well, if that is the case, then all the drinking cups found in this room imply that the scribe had quite a joyful feast while practicing what was supposed to be a serious and responsible task. Though, I believe that such an office did exist in Haghia Triada, we should not be looking for its location within the servant's quarter, but somewhere near the large magazines. Is it not more logical that the servants would be expected to find their own way to the proper office if they had any business like rations to deal with? The scribe's arrival to this punitive office in the servant's quarter could have been awkward: he had to bring with him not only the goods for the servants (which would for twenty to twenty-five be quite a large amount), but also clay for the tablets, seals, tools for writing, at least one assistant to mould the documents, etc; and then finally, on Watrous' account, he left the documents in an unsuitable environment. This is what I meant by saying that those noduli should not have been there at the first place. However, they were there and the evidence is the evidence, even if it very often goes against what archaeologists would like to believe.⁹

⁹ The most convincing explanation of noduli today is that of Hallager (1996, 130-131) who sees them as tokens proving the service rendered to the administration, or maybe products supplied to the administration. In that case it could be possible that the noduli were issued to servants in the office who then brought them into this area.

Following the same reasoning, we can conclude that the Linear A tablet (HT 24) found in this area, should not have been there either; and I am willing to understand its presence as a pure accident. Perhaps, one of the scribes came to check something, and then simply dropped the tablet. Its position at the moment of discovery was also odd: on the threshold between two rooms (corridor 9 and vestibule 26), basically at the entrance of the building. That implies that the tablet was either carried in or out of the complex at the moment when it was dropped. Since the complex has not yielded further tablets, I am even more inclined to believe that the presence of HT 24 was purely accidental.

The whole problem could also be approached by supposing that this was not a servants quarter at all (what has been suggested by some scholars).

The North-West Quarter (Quartiere signorile)

The first documents in this area were found during the campaign of "the trench of the megaron" in 1903, and they consisted of five tablets (identifiable as HT 1-5) and five roundels (identifiable as HT Wc 3001-3005). According to the daybooks, another tablet, with an opisthographic text, was discovered in the same trench, but unfortunately this one has not been identified. With further excavations that year six more tablets emerged (they cannot be identified), together with numerous nodules and some roundels.

All together this area has yielded:

- tablets - 11: six of them are attributed to portico 11, while the rest were scattered around the area and we do not know their exact provenance
- roundels - around 20
- nodules/noduli - about 900 of them; the largest number of them (more than 450) came from room 13, which was therefore christened as the "room of the sealings" ("stanza dei sigilli")

All the documents were found in the debris above the floor level, which clearly indicates that they must have fallen from the upper floor. Banti (1977, 86) suggested that rooms above this area served as an archive in which these documents were stored. All the documents are dated to LM IB on the basis of pottery from the same period discovered together with them in the destruction debris.

One single roundel was found in the subterranean reservoir between two door jambs in room 13. This reservoir is understood by Banti (1977, 86-87) as a *latrina* (it was 0,90 m deep, 0,45 m wide and it stretched for 1,80 - 1,90 m under the pavement of the adjacent corridor 50), but she was not completely sure of its function. The roundel is recognized as the now missing HT Wc 3018 (Hallager, 1996, vol. I,

43). It is almost sure that the roundel got there accidentally, but how? It would be easy to suppose that it simply fell from the upper floor like the other documents. However, while all the other documents were discovered quite high above the floor level, this roundel found its way not only down to the floor level, but even under it: there is more than one metre of destruction debris between the roundel and the objects that fell from the upper floor. Did this document belong to some earlier period? Since the roundel was the only object found in this *latrina*, we have no suitable context for its chronological determination. Infact, context is a general difficulty in this quarter, which obstructs any exact determination of the documents' provenance.

The North-West Quarter has also yielded three graffito inscriptions on stucco (HT Zb 158-161) and two graffiti on pithoi (HT Zd 155-157).

The North Magazines

The inscribed documents in this area come from a single room: magazine 59. One roundel, two nodules and an uncertain number of tablets (Hallager, 1996, vol. I, 44) have been found here. Most of the tablets came from inside two pithoi placed along the East wall, just by the staircase leading to room 8 (which probably contained oil, since it suffered extremely violent damage). On the bottom of this staircase another tablet and one of the nodules were found. Apart from inside of the pithoi, some fragments of tablets were found between them as well.

The scholars have been discussing an important issue: whether the tablets fell from the upper floor into the pithoi, or they were originally placed in them. Militello (1988, 240) thought that they were initially placed inside since if they had fallen from upstairs, they would have been dispersed over a wider area. It seem unimaginable that the tablets so neatly fell into the pithoi, without many breaking or scattering around. Some tablets would probably happen to hit the rim of the pithoi, getting broken and falling with one half inside the pithoi and with the other half outside of it. Trying to imagine this scene, I can in a way support Militello's disbelief. Three arguments, however, go against his conviction that the tablets were originally stored inside the pithoi. First, this would have been an unusual practice and we do not have any other examples of the storage of Linear A tablets inside the vessels. Second, if they were supposed to be stored inside the pithoi, how can we then explain those fragments found between them and on the staircase just next to them - they could not simply fall out. Third, Militello thinks that the tablets would have been scattered over a wider area around the pithoi had they fallen from upstairs. But this did not have to be the case: the example from *Casa del Lebete* suggests that the storage of the tablets inside of a presumably wooden chests may

have been the practice in Haghia Triada. Since the tablets were contained in a chest, they did not scatter – at least at *Casa del Lebete* – once they fell from the upper floor, but covered a confined area of approximately one square-metre. They probably stayed inside the wooden chest after it had fallen. The chest then decayed over time, leaving the tablets agglomerated on one place. If such a practice of storing of the tablets was usual in Haghia Triada, then it is no longer unimaginable to suppose that tablets from magazine 59 were originally stored in a similar wooden chest which happened to fall on top of two pithoi; as time passed, the chest decayed and the tablets slid into the pithoi (while some fell outside).

However, it should be noted here that we are not completely sure about the existence of the second storey in this area. Even though scholars do believe that it did exist,¹⁰ and I am inclined to assume so as well, I must admit that something is strange here. The documents from the North-West Quarter are also believed to have fallen from an upper floor, though in this case we can be more certain since they were found as high as one metre above the floor level. Unlike these, the tablets from room 59 are found either in pithoi, or simply on the floor. If these had fallen from above, how did they manage to fall all the way down to the floor without resting somewhere higher and mixing with the destruction debris?¹¹ Banti (1977, 133-134) does not talk about the destruction debris nor does she mention any other objects that fell from the upper floor. We may suppose that the upper room did not contain anything else, and that the wooden floor/ceiling which collapsed after the destruction decayed with time, allowing the tablets to reach the lower floor. But in any case there should have been remains of the upper floor walls (unless they were wooden as well). The destruction debris in the North-West Quarter is amazingly abundant. Compared with the far less abundant debris in room 59 can we suppose that the North-West Quarter had more than two storeys? These opens the possibility that the archive was on the third floor and that thick debris between the floor level and the level of the documents is the remains of the second storey.

The East Quarter (*Quartiere signorile orientale*)

This is a complex consisting of a group of elegant rooms and their magazines. Banti proposed that this part of the *Villa* was the “Ladies’ Quarter” (*quartiere delle donne* - 1977, 151). Few tablets are

reported to have come from magazine 72. Pithoi and some other vases were also discovered here. This area was badly damaged by the later Mycenaen edifice (Banti, 1977, 168), so it is very difficult to make any conclusion about the possible existence of an upper floor. Since no tablets have been identified either, understanding of the administration in this area is very obscure.

Casa del Lebete

The complex North-East of the *Villa*, the so called *Village*, is a network of various houses. They are built without much order, leaning on each other in such a way that it is often difficult to say which walls belong to which house, where the entrances are, or the passages between the houses.

One of these houses is *Casa del Lebete*, named after a large bronze cauldron, found in room 7 of the house. The excavations of *Casa* produced about sixty tablets. The 1903 campaign revealed the first group, which appeared approximately six to fifteen centimetres above the threshold of room 7 (towards the West). These were, as I have already said above, densely laid within less than one square-metre, which made Banti (1977, 258) suggest that they were originally placed on a shelf or a wooden chest which fell from the upper floor. Militello (1992, 411) identified these tablets as HT 85-113. Numerous other objects came from this room as well: the bronze cauldron mentioned above, a big bronze needle, a terra-cotta bath-tube, some loom weights and seven examples of nicely decorated pottery. Eight years later, in 1912, another group of tablets was discovered not far from the first one - in the central part of room 9. This group is identified by Militello (1992, 411) as HT 114-124 and 129-131. Both groups are dated to LM IB. Hallager thinks that the second group also could have fallen from an upper floor and that, in this case, the two deposits belonged to the same archival group.

Casa del Lebete is the only house in the *Village* to yield the tablets (and no other documents have been found here apart from the tablets). Militello managed to connect some of them with two groups of tablets mentioned in the excavation records. As for the tablets HT 125-128 and 132-154 we do not know where exactly in the house they were found.

It should be mentioned that *Casa del Lebete* is the richest house, or at least the only house in the complex that offers a variety of fine objects. Room 3 was a magazine which consisted of numerous pithoi

¹⁰ Recent works on this subject, like E. Hallager (1996, 44) and I. Schoep (1996, 21-22), claim that the tablets fell from above, which means that these authors do not doubt the option of existence of an upper floor.

¹¹ Those tablets found between the pithoi have already raised numerous chronological questions and Banti believes that they could be chronologically older than those inside the pithoi. This issue is fully addressed by I. Schoep (1996, 21-22).

(14 in total) and some other vases placed against the walls. Further vases were found in the other rooms as well, and more pithoi came from room 8. If this was a dwelling, the private rooms should have been on the upper floor. Whatever the function of the house was, it had a special status in the *Village*. Perhaps it was a general magazine for the whole complex. Some objects, though, imply that the house may have had an even more important function. The bronze cauldron and the terra-cotta bath tube, for example, are not the objects that we usually find in Minoan magazines, and similar examples have not been found elsewhere in Haghia Triada. Their uniqueness and exoticness imply that they were in a way special objects, probably very expensive as well. They may have been objects of trade, which could shed additional light to the function of *Casa del Lebete*. The bath-tube was definitely not used in this house for its initial purpose, namely as a bath. This can be concluded from its placement: in the corner of the front room (number 7) of the house, and thus easily visible even from the entrance. If its purpose had been for bathing, it would have been located in some private place and probably not in the *Village*, but in one of the luxurious rooms of the *Villa*. Perhaps it was for sale and it was placed so as to catch the eye of potential purchasers. The same could be said for the bronze cauldron, strategically placed just opposite to the entrance. If these two precious objects were supposed to stay in the *Village*, they would have been stored in one of the back rooms. Bearing all these observations in mind, interpreting this house as the trade centre of the *Villa* (with the magazines and the shop on the ground floor, and an archive on the upper one) seems plausible.

Just to mention at the end, the function of the *Village* has not yet been resolved and thus we are not completely sure about its relations to the *Villa*.

Linear A tablets

As I have explained above, the complex of Haghia Triada has so far yielded 154 tablets¹²: HT 1-84 were found in the *Villa*, and HT 85-154 in *Casa del Lebete* in the *Village*. After analyzing their locations and their provenance, I will discuss the tablets themselves. Others have already analysed them in detail according to their shape, their manufacture, the organization of their inscriptions, the purpose of different segments of those inscriptions, and so on¹³. There is, however, much more to be said. In this section I will address the tablets, leaving aside their external appearance, and concentrating on their con-

tents. I will focus my attention on the vocabulary of the tablets and their correlation to the respective ideograms. To be more precise, even though Linear A tablets (**fig. 2**) at first sight appear to list a bulk of information without many mutual relations, after a thorough reading of the tablets, and after carefully comparing them, some remarkable regularities did emerge. I noticed, for example, that some words occur more often than others and that some of these words are usually associated with particular ideograms. Each tablet, therefore, is not necessarily a separate record of information, but is often connected to other tablets giving us a possibility for some general conclusions.

Strictly speaking, a study of the tablets from Haghia Triada can be conducted at four interacting levels:

1. The analysis of the elements of each tablet in order to understand its contents.
2. The comparison between tablets, with an eye to mutual constituents, that may imply a similar context and possibly yield some general semantic patterns.
3. The comparison between two geographically distinct groups of tablets - those from the *Villa* and those from the *Village*, in order to see if the similarities/differences in context could reveal the possible similarities/differences in vocabulary, administrative practice, or economy.
4. The analysis of the results of the three previous levels in order to obtain a general picture of the economy of Haghia Triada.

The vocabulary of the tablets

From 154 tablets from Haghia Triada, we have a total of about 410 different words. About seventy of these words are incomplete (the beginning of the word or its end is definitely missing on some tablets, while on some others only hypothetically). In this paper I will use the same signs as in *GORILA* to indicate when the word is incomplete:] when the beginning of the word is missing, and [when the end is missing. In some cases signs in the middle of the word are also missing and they will be indicated by [] . Some signs are either no longer legible, or they cannot be found listed among the signs presented in the tables from *GORILA*. These will be indicated by a question mark. A question mark in brackets following immediately after a sign means that the sign is hypothesized, since it is not clear enough to be recognized with certainty.

¹² The number is smaller if we exclude the tablets missing in *GORILA*. These are: HT71, HT 76, HT 77, HT 124, HT 134, HT 138, HT 143 and HT 145.

¹³ Ilse Shoep (1996) gives the best account of these particulars.



























































































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AB 03	 PA	AB 21 ^m		AB 37	 TI	AB 56	 *56	AB 78	 QE	AB 131b	
AB 04	 TE	AB 22	 *22	AB 38	 E	AB 57	 JA	AB 79	 *79	AB 131c	
AB 05	 TO	AB 22 ^f		AB 39	 PI	AB 58	 SU	AB 80	 MA	AB 164	
AB 06	 NA	AB 22 ^m		AB 40	 WI	AB 59	 TA	AB 81	 KU	AB 171	
AB 07	 DI	AB 23	 MU	AB 41	 SI	AB 60	 RA	AB 82	 *82	AB 180	
AB 08	 A	AB 23 ^m		AB 44	 KE	AB 61	 O	AB 85	 AU	AB 188	
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AB 10	 U	AB 26	 RU	AB 46	 JE	AB 66	 TA ₂	AB 87	 TWE	A 301	
AB 11	 PO	AB 27	 RE	AB 47	 *47	AB 67	 KI	A 100/102		A 302	
AB 13	 ME	AB 28	 I	AB 49	 *49	AB 69	 TU	AB 118		A 303	
AB 16	 QA	A 28b		AB 50	 PU	AB 70	 KO	AB 120	 GRA	A 304	
AB 17	 ZA	AB 29	 PU ₂	AB 51	 DU	AB 73	 MI	A 120b		A 305	
AB 20	 ZO	AB 30	 NI	AB 53	 RI	AB 74	 ZE	AB 122	 OLIV	A 306	

fig. 2

Of the 410 different words preserved on Haghia Triada tablets; about 225 come from the *Villa*, and about 190 from the *Village*. Only 42 words, meaning 10%, are common to tablets from both the *Villa* and the *Village*.

At the beginning of my analysis of the tablets, I was puzzled by the idea that the *Villa* and the *Village* could have provided somewhat different contents in the inscriptions, as suggested by the use of different words or even different ideograms. The idea is that possibly different economies of the two parts of the Haghia Triada complex might be reflected in the different lexical and ideographic contents. At the end this idea seems to fail. Even though there is significant diversity in the vocabulary between the two groups of tablets (10% of the shared vocabulary is quite a small overlap), this cannot support this notion. The fact is that there is not much vocabulary shared within each of those groups either. In the *Villa*, as I have said, about 225 different words have been preserved, but only 19 of them are repeated on more than one tablet (which gives only about 9%). In the *Village* about 190 words have been preserved and out of these only 29 are repeated on more than one tablet (about 15%). We can conclude, therefore, that the tablets of Haghia Triada are generally very diverse in their vocabulary.

This diversity is imposing another problem. On the basis of the similarity to Linear B tablets, we can infer the probable context of the Linear A ones; and this implies that the recorded words have, in most cases, three meanings: personal names, place names or the names of commodities. In that case such a high number of different words is really surprising. Haghia Triada was, compared to contemporaneous palaces on Crete, a relatively small complex. It could accommodate only a few hundred inhabitants. If we start with personal names, then it is quite unusual that some words are not repeated more often. In such small communities, probably consisting of twenty, thirty or, let us suppose, even fifty families, the number of personal names should be limited. Even today on Crete, which is far more populated and interconnected, the variety of personal names is still restricted. This is probably due to a tradition according to which names are inherited from immediate ancestors. Thus, the eldest son is usually named after his paternal grandfather, and the eldest daughter after her paternal grandmother, while the other children are given names either according to their maternal grandparents or those which are the most common to the community. Following this pattern in modern Crete we have a number of names which are being used again and again, for example, Yannis, Giorgos, Nikos, Vangelis, Vassilis, Dimitris, Mihalis, Manolis, Aris, Antonis, Andreas or Stavros. And for women Maria, Ioanna, Eleni, Ariadni, Katerina..... The situation is more or less the same in many small communities. where tradition is much more pro-

nounced than in larger centres. We can suppose that Haghia Triada followed the same pattern. Why, then, are not some words, which we can assume to stand for personal names, repeated more often? Even if we take into account the possibility that people recorded on the tablets were not necessarily inhabitants of Haghia Triada, but merchants or visitors from other villages, farmsteads or palaces, they still would not have been, in most cases, foreigners, but belonged to the same, so-called Minoan culture; and this means that they probably spoke the same language and shared the same range of the most typical names.

Some words also presumably stood for place names. Here the situation is even more puzzling, since the number of options would have been even more limited than in the case of personal names. Haghia Triada may have had trade contacts which were just occasional or conducted with some remote places. But there should have been a number of places with which it had a regular exchange of goods, especially those within a short distance. And exactly the names of such places should appear more often on the tablets. Why, then, do tablets not manifest repeated words which could be interpreted this way (apart from one case, which will be explained later)?

Finally, the third option were the names of commodities. Some ideograms are repeated over and over, helping us to understand the economy of Haghia Triada. But words which could possibly be the names of these or some other commodities, are not repeated with the appropriate frequency. It seems unlikely that Haghia Triada would have produced or traded so many goods which would then be represented by such a wide range of different words. Therefore, nonexistence of more often occurrences of some of the vocabulary is odd in this context as well.

To conclude these introductory remarks, it is very difficult to approach the vocabulary of an undeciphered script having at our disposal only its contextual peculiarities. In the case of Haghia Triada, our contextual knowledge is not very helpful: the tablets contain a large number of words, but most of them occur just once. Obviously, only those words which recur on more tablets could give ground for speculation. For example, if one word appears on several tablets always accompanied by the same ideogram, that certainly means that the meaning of that word is in some way closely connected to that ideogram (for instance, the name of a commodity additionally represented by an ideogram, or the name of a place whence the commodity was usually imported, or the name of a deity to which that commodity was usually sacrificed, etc.). Hence, I focus my analysis on recurrent words. This has yielded justifying results: some regularities do exist and I think that if we had more tablets at our disposal, some of these regularities would probably be confirmed.



fig. 3

I would like to start the analysis of these repeated words with the tablets found in the *Villa* (HT 1-84). As I have already said, the only tablets from this part of the Haghia Triada complex whose exact provenance we know are HT 24, from the servant's quarter, and HT 1-5, from the "the trench of the megaron". I compared tablets HT 1-5 to see if they have any common features which would distinguish them from other tablets found in the *Villa*. Unfortunately, they did not have much in common - only one word (*ku-56-nu*) - but we need to take into consideration the fact that the tablets are badly damaged and fragmentary (especially HT 4 and HT 5), so helpful information may be missing. However, from what is now left we can see that even the concepts of the inscriptions are different: HT 1 has a heading at the beginning, followed by a list of words each paired with a numeral. Due to their fragmentary condition, we cannot say if HT 4 and 5 had headings as well, but they also consist of list-words and their associated numerals. HT 2 and 3, on the other hand, have ideograms in addition, but they do not seem to have headings (though we cannot be completely sure about HT 3, since the top left corner of the tablet is missing). The word *ku-56-nu* appears on HT 1 and HT 3 as a list-word and is followed by a numeral in each case. HT 3 is a bit problematic: the end of the line preceding this word is no longer legible, so we do not know if there were more syllables to join *ku-56-nu*. Two more words from these five tablets are worth mentioning since they sound very similar: *qe-ra2-u* as a heading for HT 1 and *qe-ra-ja* from the damaged part of HT 3.

The word *ku-56-nu* is also recorded on the *Village* tablets: it appears once on HT 117a and twice on HT 88 and HT 122a. On these three tablets this word is again followed by a numeral only (number

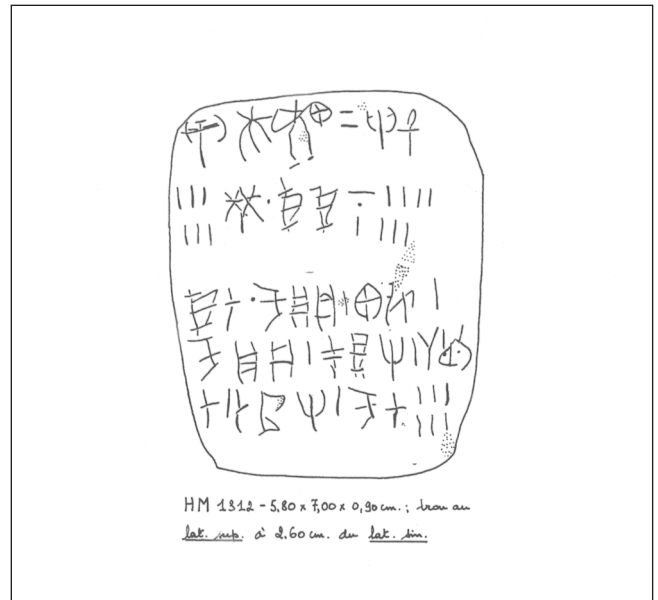


fig. 3a

one in all five examples). That means that *ku-56-nu* appears seven times on the tablets of Haghia Triada which, compared to other words, is quite often.

I would like to pay some more attention to the tablet HT 88 (fig. 3 a-c). It is odd that here one single word occurs twice as part of the same list. Would it not be easier to write the word just once and add its numerals? There must have been a good reason for listing them separately and the only reason it could be is that the word referred to different issues or in some way had different meanings. Bearing in mind the three most frequent meanings of any word from Linear A tablets, two of them we can disqualify immediately. If *ku-56-nu* had been the name of some commodity, it would have occurred just once along with an associated total of two, for it is almost certain that the inhabitants would not have had two different commodities bearing the same name which would then, in this case, require two separate entries. It is even more unlikely that they had two different places bearing the same name, *ku-56-nu*, since geographical terms are usually unique. It does sometimes occur that two villages have the same name (especially if that name has some characteristic meaning, for example *Anopoli* in modern Crete, which implies that a village is located on a hill). However, even when it happens that two places have the same name they are geographically so distant that the possibility of misunderstanding is small. Following these assumptions, I conclude that it is very unlikely that one single name, referred to two different commodities or places. But the third option, a personal name, is quite acceptable: we can easily envision two individuals bearing the same name. This is directly supported by my previous discussion of the likelihood that in such a small community, most probably with a tradition of name giving, a closed set

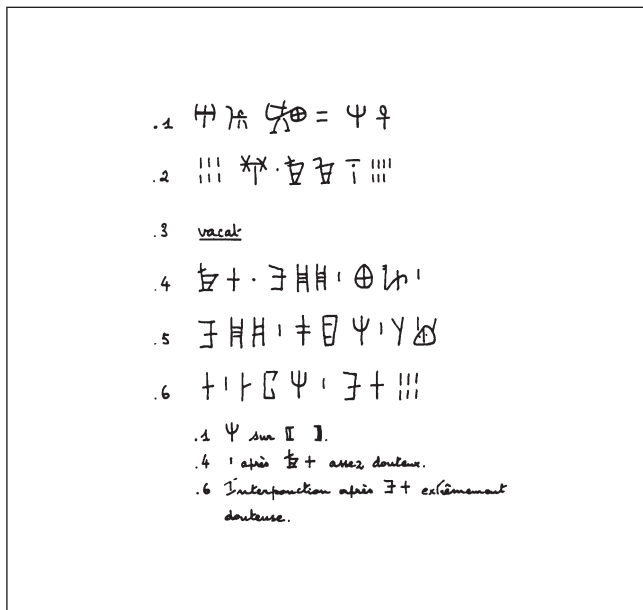


fig. 3b

of personal names circulated. I also said that in such a case we should have a number of words which are repeated more often on various tablets. From this point of view, HT 88 fits quite nicely, since it offers an example of the same word repeated not only on the same tablet, but also under the same heading.¹⁴ Tablet HT 122a displays an almost identical situation (fig. 4 a-c): a list of words under the same heading, followed by the numeral 1 in each case; the word *ku-56-nu* has two separate entries here again. This tablet, therefore, supports just elaborated understanding of *ku-56-nu* as a personal name.

Apart from *ku-ro* (meaning *total*), which all together occurs thirty-one times, the most common word on the tablets from Haghia Triada is *sa-ra2* (HT 18, HT 28a, HT 28b, HT 30, HT 32, HT 33, HT 34, HT 90, HT 93a, HT 94a, HT 99a, HT 101, HT 102, HT 105, HT 114a, HT 121, HT 125a and HT 130). There are thirty-one different ideograms associated with *sa-ra2*. Twenty-two of them appear just once, some of them appear two or three times, while a few are regular companions of this word: ideogram AB 120 accompanies *sa-ra2* nine times, ideogram AB 30 (figs?) also nine times, AB 131a (wine) six times, and A 303 four times. Often some

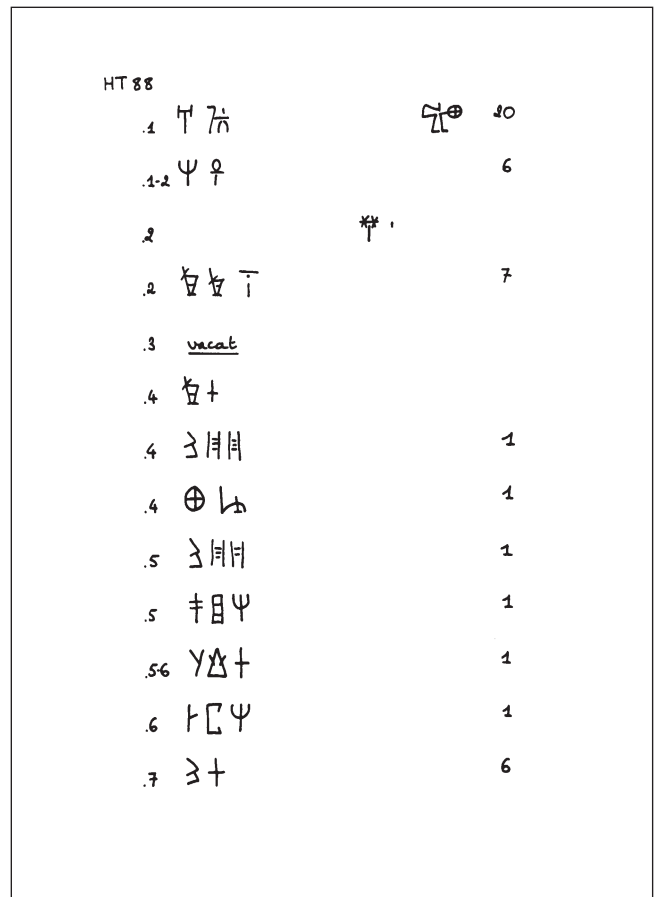


fig. 3c

of these frequent ideograms occur together on the same tablet; for example, on HT 18, HT 90, HT 94a, HT 99a, HT 101. On HT 28a we have *sa-ra2* with the ideograms which are in same order repeated on the other side of the tablet. Tablet 114a is even more interesting because it is almost exactly like another tablet, HT 121: they have the same heading, *ki-ri-ta2*, and then *sa-ra2* followed by an identical set of five ideograms (HT 121 has another ideogram between the heading and *sa-ra2*, and this is the only difference between the two tablets). It is also notable that in most cases *sa-ra2* appears on tablets without many list-words, but are abundant in ideograms *sa-ra2*.¹⁵ We have two examples, HT 33 and HT 34, where *sa-ra2* is the only list-word on the table, followed by a long set of ideograms.

¹⁴ Sometimes we have examples of some other words repeated on the same tablet, but in those cases the heading of each of the words is different, meaning that the context has changed. In such a case the word repeated can still have the same meaning and is simply mentioned in two different contexts. However, on HT 88 the appearances of the same word are coming under the same heading.

¹⁵ Out of 18 occurrences of *sa-ra2* there are only two exceptions to this concept: HT 93a and HT 102, where *sa-ra2* makes a part of a longer list of words and is followed either by one ideogram or has no immediate ideogram following it.

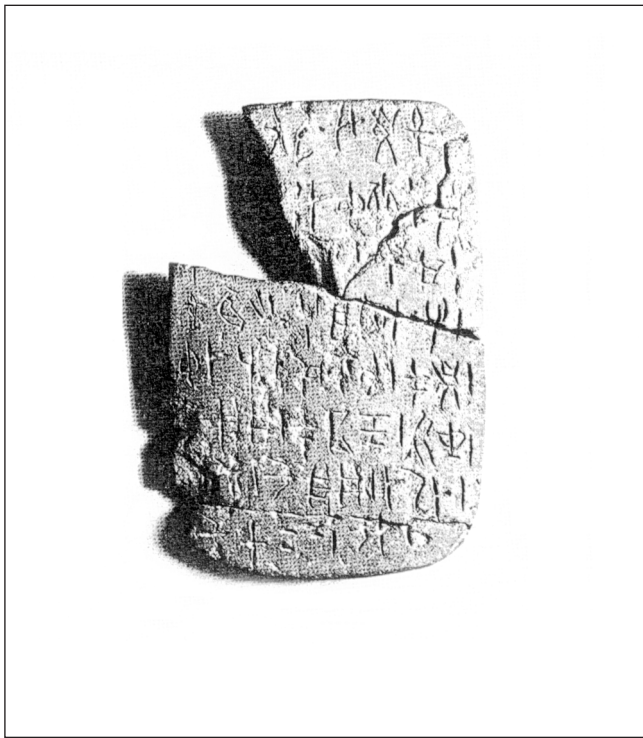


fig. 4

One may conclude from these observations that *sa-ra2* always appears associated with lists of various commodities. As we have seen, there is a certain number of these commodities which quite regularly accompany this word. It is evident that the word did not itself have the meaning of a commodity. I am inclined to believe that *sa-ra2* was a place, characterized by those commodities mentioned, especially wine, figs, and two others (whose ideograms we can not interpret). That place appears to be very rich or very poor in these goods, and thus had to export or import them on a regular basis to or from Haghia Triada. If *sa-ra2* does stand for a place, where was it? It must have been close enough to Haghia Triada if the exchange of goods was to be so frequent. If we suppose that the tablets preserved would cover a span of a few months, up to a year, then the exchange of commodity AB 120 happened at least nine times (since the tablets contain nine entries of *sa-ra2* + AB 120) - nine times was AB 120 exported from Haghia Triada to *sa-ra2*, or from *sa-ra2* imported to Haghia Triada. Trade with more distant places would have probably happened less frequently.

I do not think that *sa-ra2* was a personal name. If it was a personal name, it probably referred to one of three different kinds of individuals: a merchant, an inhabitant or a deity. A merchant seems unlikely since it would be too difficult for a single

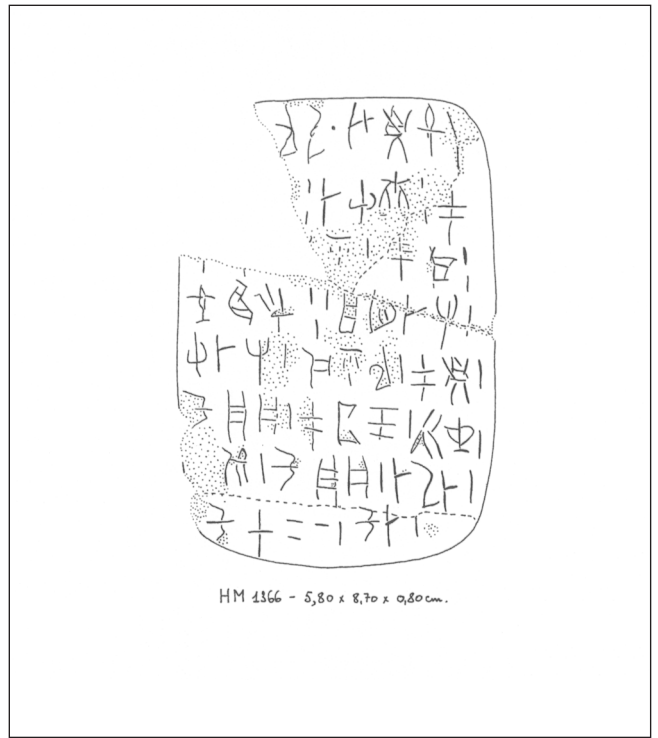


fig. 4a

person to be involved in a trade of so many different goods (to repeat: thirty-one different commodities appear together with *sa-ra2*). Perhaps there were more merchants dealing with different goods, but bearing the same name? It sounds like too much of a coincidence to have a group of merchants who would come to Haghia Triada on a regular basis and probably from many different places, and who would all happen to be named *sa-ra2*. A deity also seems unlikely. We do not have a single deity to whom so many different goods were sacrificed, and since the names of deities are unique to one culture, we cannot suppose that there were more of them named *sa-ra2* to which the respective goods from this selection were offered. Finally, if it was a personal name of an inhabitant, for example, to recorded a worker's ration, then the situation would be strange, with individuals called *sa-ra2* receiving an overabundance of such goods as wine and figs, while they would not get enough of other goods; also, other people, bearing a different name, would not get so much wine and figs.

After analyzing these possible options, understanding *sa-ra2* as a place-name, which had regular contacts with Haghia Triada could be one plausible explanation.¹⁶ I said that, due to its frequent appearance in the administrative records, *sa-ra2* should not have been situated far from Haghia Triada. One

¹⁶ Dr. John Bennet has suggested (in a private communication) that *sa-ra2* could be a Minoan word for *magazine* in which all the commodities mentioned in connection with this word were preserved.

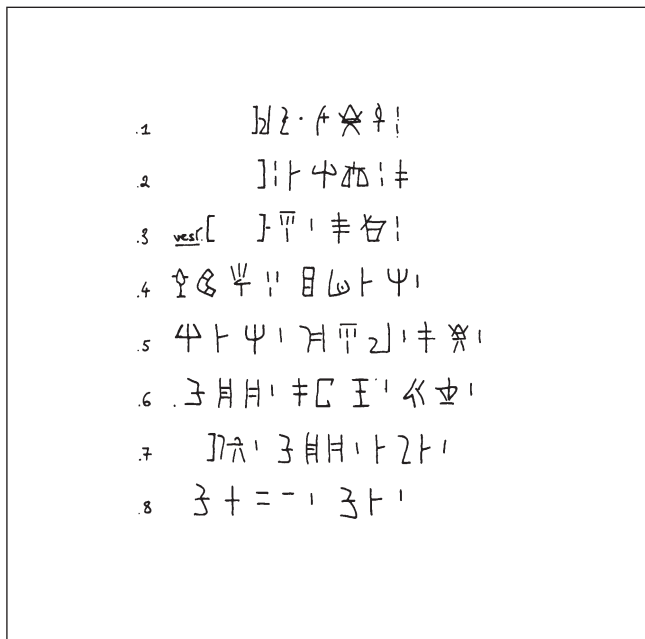


fig. 4b

factor, however, appears odd: the word *pa-i-to*, which is understood as a name for neighbouring palace of Phaistos, appears no more than twice on a total of 154 tablets: on HT 97a and HT 120 (but in both cases some signs are in question). The lack of more frequent mention of Phaistos is unusual, especially since the two complexes were a mere three kilometers apart. Two explanations come to my mind. The first arises from the fact that the Linear A records from Haghia Triada are the latest ones, dating to the late LM IB. Perhaps, Phaistos lost its prominence and wealth by the time when these tablets were written. Or perhaps it was already in ruins. A second explanation, and the less credible one, is that there was some kind of animosity between the two places which resulted in a lack of amiable neighbourly contact. This option, however, can be dismissed on the basis of the general impression that Minoans were a friendly and peaceful people.

There are further examples of recurrent words on the Haghia Triada tablets. Unfortunately, they do not appear often enough to enable us to make any major conclusions.¹⁷

Some other, more general features, can be noticed on the Haghia Triada tablets. One of these is connected to the number of syllables in a word. Most of those words consist of one or two syllables. There is also quite a number of four-syllables words. Twelve

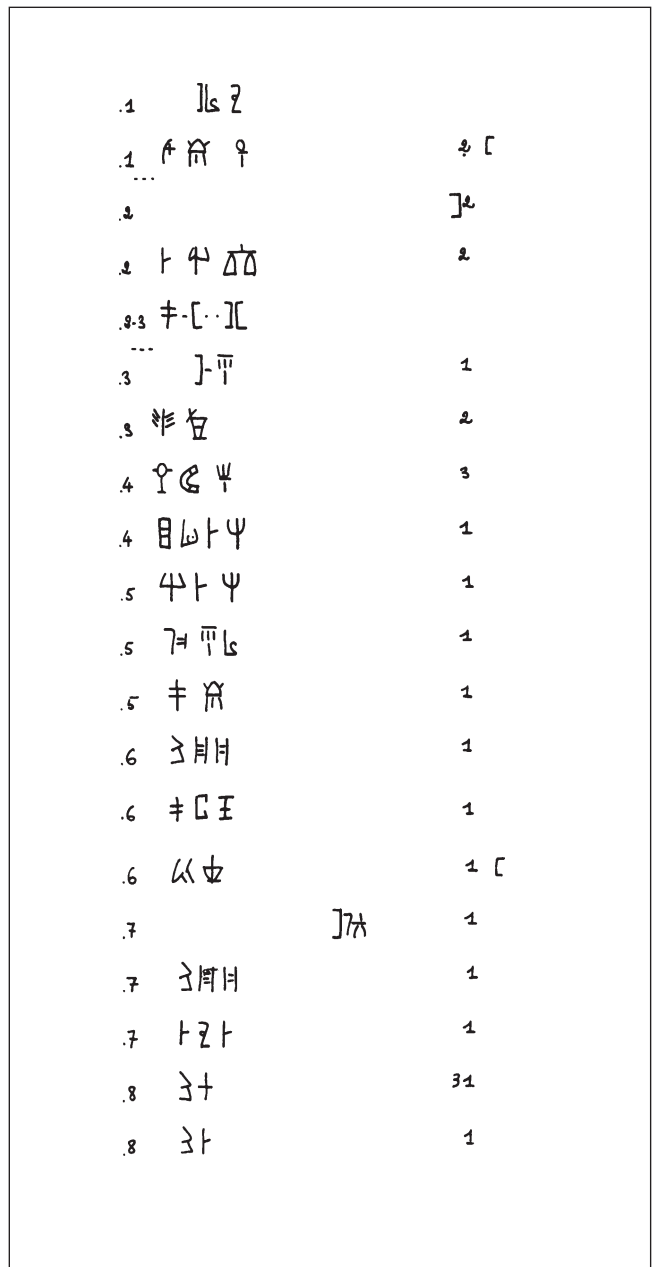


fig. 4c

words consist of five syllables: *J306-ti-ka-a-re(?)* (HT4), *[ki-de-ma-pi-na]* (HT 31), *si-ru-ma-ri-ta2* (HT 90), maybe *ra-?-de(?) -me-te* (HT 94b), *i(?)ti-ti-ku-ni* (HT 96a), *56(?) -da(?) -ku-se-ne* (HT 103), *da-ku(?) -se-ne-ti* (HT 104), *si-du-34-ku-mi(?)* (HT 110a), *ri(?) -ta-ma(?) -nu-wi* (HT 115a), *na-2lf(?) -ne-mi-na* (HT 115a), *mi-ru-ta-ra-re* (HT 117a) and *tu(?) -ru-56nu-i-me* (HT 128a). The only word of six syllables is *Ja-ra-ju-u-de-za* (HT 122b).

¹⁷ Apart from *ki-ro* that appears fifteen times and has been interpreted as *deficit*.

Typically, the list-words consist of two or three syllables, while four-syllables ones often appear as headings. So far, I have discussed three prevailing types of words: personal names, place-names and commodities. But what about verbs? Some words should be verbs; and when we think about their probable position on a tablet, the heading suggests itself as the most logical option. The function of a heading is to introduce the context of the tablet; for example a name of the place which connects in some way with the ideograms listed. But more information is needed, like what was done with those ideograms. The purpose of a verb would be to let us know where the goods listed were exported, imported, produced, etc. I am quite confident that some of the words from the headings must have been verbs, especially in those headings that consist of more than one word (for example, HT 28b, HT 43, HT 96a, HT 117a and maybe HT 34). If it is so, and if we then remember that often words in the headings consist of four syllables, then perhaps we can trace some connection. Perhaps some prefix or suffix was added to indicate the past tense of a verb whose average number of syllables in the present tense, like in the majority of the other words, would otherwise be two or three.

Perhaps the transaction signs also had some function in indicating the tense or the mood of a verb. For example, sometimes we find the transaction sign AB 04 following relatively a long word (for example, HT 13, HT 21 and HT 40). Some other examples, however, (like HT 9a, HT 14, HT 52a and HT 133) do not follow this rule.

Other peculiarities of the transaction signs are also noticeable. For example, on a number of tablets we find the transaction sign AB 04 and the ideogram for wine (AB 131a) together (HT 9a, HT 13, HT 17, HT 19 and HT 62 + 73). However, I do not think that this is the result of any striking connection since AB 04 is the most frequent transaction sign, and AB 131a nearly the most frequent ideogram. Thus, it should not be surprising that we find them together more often than the others.

The usual position of a transaction sign is at the beginning of a tablet between a heading and an ideogram. But in a few occasions a transaction sign occurs as the very first information on the tablet. For

example, on HT 92 transaction sign AB 04 is at the beginning, followed by *a-du* (the most frequent heading in the *Villa* tablets) and an ideogram.¹⁸ Sometimes we find AB 04 preceded by the ideogram for figs (AB 30), with a word divider between them (HT 51a, HT 70, HT 67¹⁹). On HT 63 we have the transaction sign AB 04 preceded by the sign A 305, also separated by a word divider.

CONCLUSION

Prior to writing this paper I did a detailed analysis of the Haghia Triada tablets in order to trace any consistent patterns which would enable us to understand not only the tablets themselves, but also some more general principles. The lack of sufficient text arises as an impediment. I found many correspondences during my analysis, but there was not enough reference in the tablets to confirm them as a rule or reject them as simple coincidences.

I was especially inspired by a comparison of the tablets from the *Villa* and from the *Village* hoping that they could help us understand the relationship between these two parts of the Haghia Triada complex. As it has already been elaborated in the paper, the first surprise was to find that there is an enormous number of different words on the tablets and that only about 10% of them are actually repeated. The fact that there is not much vocabulary shared between the two groups of tablets was, therefore, not surprising any more. The Haghia Triada tablets in generally demonstrate a remarkable variety in the vocabulary in both *Villa* and the *Village* and no patterns specific for either of these groups can be traced. Typically, when a word occurs in one group of the tablets, it is either not repeated at all within that group or is repeated a very few times. On the other hand, the words shared between the two groups are repeated quite often.

Some words, which are not shared, but still repeated more than twice on different tablets within a respective group, may be seen as part of the vocabulary specific to that group. If not coincidental, those repetitions may have some broader implication for the type of vocabulary, or for some other peculiarities of the two parts of the complex. These are such words:

¹⁸ Maybe this is just a mistake, since on HT 133 we have a more typical order where AB 04 is placed between the same heading and a similar ideogram.

¹⁹ AB 04 on the last two tablets is probably not a transaction sign, but an ideogram since it is followed by numbers (plus on HT 67, AB 04 is on the bottom of the tablet, which is definitely not the place where transaction signs usually occur). HT 51a is also dubious since the part of the tablet preceding it is broken off and therefore the information is incomplete.

VILLA:

- di-na-u* - HT 9a, HT 9b, HT 16 (*di-na-u(?)*), HT 25 x 2 (*di(?)na(?)u(?)*)
sa-ro - HT 9a, HT 17, HT 19, HT 42 + 59

VILLAGE:

- da-me* - HT 86a, HT 95a, HT 95b, HT 120
a-du - HT 85a, HT 86a, HT 88, HT 92, HT 99a, HT 133
qa-qa-ru - HT 93a, HT 111a (*Ćqa-qa-ru*), HT 118a, HT 122
sa-ru - HT 86a, 86b, HT 94b, HT 95a, HT 95b, HT 123a
mi-nu-te - HT 86a, HT 95a, HT 95b, HT 106

As we see, the examples are quite limited. One of them, however, deserves special attention: *a-du*. This word appears six times, but only on the *Village* tablets. The more important fact is that in all of these six cases it appears as a heading. In two cases it is followed by the ideogram AB 100/102, in three cases by the ideogram AB 120 or its versions, and twice is in the immediate vicinity of the transaction sign AB 04. Unfortunately, there are no further similarities (not even in the vocabulary).

A final observation. I do not know if it is of any importance, but I noticed that about 60% of the words which are shared between the *Villa* and the *Village* mostly appear on tablets HT 1-20, while the rest is scattered on the remaining sixty-five tablets from the *Villa*. Could that in any way be caused by the original geographical distribution of the tablets, meaning that those from 1-20 were found in the area of the *Villa* which was in its purpose similar to the *Village*? The problem is that we do not know the exact provenance of the *Villa* tablets. If we could

know that all the tablets that share vocabulary with those from the *Village* originated from the same part of the *Villa*, we might reasonably conclude that this area of the *Villa* possibly had the same function as *Casa del Lebete* did.

The next stage was to compare the ideograms from the *Villa* and the *Village* to see if they could give any clue to the similarities/differences between the two. Out of 125 different ideograms (meaning that Haghia Triada dealt with 125 different commodities in the span of time registered by these 154 tablets), only 40 are shared! Most of the ideograms which are not shared appear again just once within either group. The ideograms specific to the *Villa* are: A 613 (it occurs four times), A 510 (eleven times), AB 118 (three times), A 550 (five times), A 508 (five times) and AB 27 (six times). On the tablets from the *Village* I could not find the ideograms which would be repeated more than once (and most of them are not being repeated at all). Since we do not know the meaning for the majority of the ideograms, we can hardly make any solid conclusions regarding the nature of Haghia Triada economy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- GORILA* L. Godart & J.P. Olivier, *Recueil des inscriptions en linéaire A*, Paris, 1976-1985

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ADMINISTRACIJA AJA TRIJADE

Ključne riječi: Kreta, Aja Trijada, minojsko, pismo, Linear A

Aja Trijada je minojski lokalitet na jugu Krete. Iskopavana je početkom stoljeća pod vodstvom H. Halbherra i L. Paribenija. Uprkos raskoši svojih zdanja, Aja Trijada ipak nije mogla biti nazvana palačom, za razliku od nekih drugih kretske brončanodobne kompleksa, npr. Knosa, Festa ili Malije. Razlog je tome nepostojanje arhitektonskih obilježja karakterističnih za istodobne kretske palače, od kojih je najvažnije središnje dvorište. K tome, Aja Trijada se nalazi svega tri kilometra od Festa, pa ne vidimo dobrog razloga za gradnju dviju tako blizih palača, što znači političkih i administrativnih središta jedno do drugog. F. Halbherr (1903, 7) protumačio je Aju Trijadu kao ljetnu vilu vladara Festa, što se opet ne čini utemeljenim i naši su argumenti protiv takvog tumačenja navedeni u prvom poglavlju teksta.

U Aji Trijadi pronađena je zasad najbogatija zbirka natpisa na Linearu A, nadešifiranom kretske brončanodobne pismu. Ta se zbirka sastoji od 154 glinene tablice, 861 nodula, 21 ronđele, 4 natpisa na pitosima, te 3 natpisa na štuku na zidovima. Ovi natpisi nisu činili jedan jedinstveni depo, već su nađeni u nekoliko različitih dijelova južnog dijela kompleksa zvanog *Villa*, te u jednoj od kuća sjevernog dijela zvanog *Village*. Namjena većina prostorija u kojima su nađeni natpisi nije nam poznata. Postojeći dokazi upućuju da su neke bile ostave za namirnice. U drugim se pak slučajevima čini da su natpisi prvobitno bili pohranjeni na gornjem katu zdanja, koji danas više nije vidljiv, te da su se po uništenju palača, zajedno s ostacima stropa i zidova urušili u donje prostorije u kojima su kasnije i pronađeni. Slične pojave uočene su u nekim drugim minojskim zdanjima, zbog čega vjerujemo da su minojski arhivi obično bili smješteni na gornjem katu.

Osim rasprave o mjestima nalaza natpisa unutar kompleksa, ovaj je članak pokušaj razumijevanja nekih

aspekata Linear A vokabulara. Na temelju sličnosti s Linear B tablicama, danas donekle možemo naslutiti značenje riječi na tablicama Lineara A. Budući da su tekstovi bili administrativne prirode, većina riječi mogla je imati jedno od ova tri značenja: osobna imena, imena mjesta, te imena predmeta (namirnice, posude i sl.) Posebna je pažnja posvećena dvjema tablicama, HT 88 i HT 122a. Obje ove tablice imaju sličan kontekst – poduži popis riječi od kojih je svaka popraćena brojkom 1. Da su nabrojane neke namirnice, brojke bi vjerojatno bile veće, ili pak popraćene razlomcima, što je čest slučaj na drugim tablicama. Jedna riječ plijeni pažnju: to je *ku-56-nu* koja se na obje tablice javlja dva puta. Da se radi o imenu nekog predmeta, količine ne bi jednostavno bile zbrojene pod jednim navodom *ku-56-nu*. Mogućnost da se radi o dva različita mjesta također nije vjerojatna. Na temelju ovih, te još nekih argumenata, pretpostavljamo da je *ku-56-nu* bilo ime osobe (npr. nekog radnika ili trgovca). U tekstu se osvrćemo na još jednu riječ, *sa-ra2*, za koju mislimo da je mogla biti ime nekog mjesta nedaleko od Aje Trijade.

Osim analize nekih zasebnih riječi, osvrnuli smo se i na neke općenite karakteristike vokabulara Lineara A. Jedan od rezultata do kojih smo došli pri analizi natpisa je i raznolikost vokabulara. Od ukupno 410 različitih riječi s natpisa Lineara A, svega 10% njih ponovljeno je bar još jednom. To začuđuje, s obzirom da bismo neke riječi, pogotovo osobna imena, očekivali vidjeti mnogo više puta. Nadalje, postoji i razlika u vokabularu dvaju glavnih dijelova kompleksa. Riječi koje se ponavljaju relativno često na tablicama iz dijela nazvanog *Villa*, nećemo naći u dijelu nazvanom *Village* i obrnuto. Možda ova činjenica upućuje na raznolikost u funkcijama ova dva dijela kompleksa, koja se tako jasno ocrtava u njihovim pisanim dokumentima. Situacija je gotovo identična po pitanju ideograma. Oni koji su najčešći na tablicama iz *Ville* ne pojavljuju se u *Villageu* i obratno. Na žalost, za većinu ovih ideograma ne znamo značenje, pa je teško donositi zaključke u čemu se to točno razlikovala funkcija ovih dvaju dijelova Aja Trijade.