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**Young people in Mycenaean sources.
Archaeological and philological study**

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INTRODUCTION

Childhood is a stage of life in which humans have not yet revealed all their potential. In turn, adulthood is the stage of implementation, activity, and fulfillment of the individual. However, both stages are very diverse historically and geographically. The factor of cultural context has a major impact here, which makes it difficult to define general models of experiencing childhood, the stage of an individual's life on which I will focus on in this dissertation. The subject of this study is the issue of childhood at a specific time and place and is based on precisely defined sources.

The subject of childhood in the Mycenaean period is very poor in recent literature. Furthermore, no systematic research on this topic has been carried out, which would comprehensively study data known from various sources with similar dating to the Late Helladic period. Children in the Mycenaean society are believed to have been connected to motherhood, toys, and general care from adults. Numerous tablets with Linear B script have documented children and youth in lists of workers and recipients of food rations or other goods. It is generally accepted that a young person mentioned on a list was an apprentice and a part of a worker's family (Bennett 1955; Uchitel 1984; Hiller 1989; Olsen 1998; Carlier 1999). A growing body of literature on the Mycenaean art has interpreted representations of a child as always occurring with those of a woman, treating them as contextually integral (Carlier 1999). Hence, in these interpretations, reference is always made to mothers, daughters, goddesses, and nurses. More recent literature (i.e., Budin 2014) proposes bolder interpretations about kinship relations between Mycenaean figures, suggesting for example siblings. Children in the Minoan society are valued members, especially these of higher social group, presented in various works of art (Budin 2011:282). More detailed publications on the subject of young people in the Aegean world are presented by Anne Chapin (2021) and Eirini Papageorgiou (2019).

The scientific aim of this dissertation is to determine the role of children in Mycenaean culture through analyzing Mycenaean, and auxiliary, Minoan objects - Mycenaean and Minoan art are intertwined and complement each other. The studies were conducted based on a comparison of Linear B tablets found at Mycenae, Thebes, Pylos and Knossos that mention children with archaeological objects depicting children as well as their burials. In this

research, an interdisciplinary (combining archaeology, anthropology, philology) and local approach for each of the following regions was applied:

- North-Central Crete - Knossos, Kefali Chondros Viannou, Sklavokampos, Gournes, Upper Gypsades, Zafer Papoura and Phourni.
- Argolid - Mycenae, Nemea, Berbati and Prosymna;
- Boeotia – Thebes and Tanagra;
- Messenia – Pylos with Further and Hither Province.

This dissertation verifies the hypothesis that children and adolescents recorded as apprentices next to adults can be interpreted as children learning a profession performed by one of the parents. An attempt was made to distinguish specializations based on inheritance. Furthermore, the period of childhood is supposed to be a time for a youth to learn and prepare for his/her future occupation.

A challenging problem with material culture research is the strain of gaining access to archaeological objects. For example, furnishings from the graves of Mycenaean children and youth are often separated into different parts of museum exhibitions, some of them are stored in warehouses, and others are lost. One of the main issues in the study of Mycenaean childhood is the lack of relevant data from old excavations, especially descriptions of human remains and their condition. Therefore, the burials of children and youth are very difficult to research. Single burials of children are not easy to find because most were buried together with other members of the local Mycenaean society. Traditionally, this multiple graves is called a 'family tomb' and was re-opened for use by subsequent generations. The core problem with multiple burials is the custom of moving predecessors' remains under the wall of the multiple graves. Thus, important data, such as the stage of a skeleton's development, its position in the grave, associated furnishings and their location relative to the body, pathological conditions and similar information are mostly unavailable. Although accessible details are found in excavation reports (e.g. Keramopoullou 1917; Evans 1930; Blegen 1937), a major disadvantage of these reports is that the age of buried subadults was determined without specifying the methods used.

A major difficulty when studying Linear B script is the fragmentation of clay tablets with inscriptions. This results in limited information, but most importantly, a loss of the context of the entire text. Moreover, there is still much controversy surrounding the interpretation of

some of Mycenaean words and signs. Specialists of the Linear B script try to fill in the contextual gaps by comparing inscriptions from different palatial archives. Although this general approach is interesting, it suffers from the lack of local features created by individuals at each palace.

Although children may have been scribe assistants, the palm- and fingerprints will be not a subject of this study. The methods used for comparing palm prints of modern children are inaccurate (Sjöquist and Åström 1985). To determine the age of the person who left finger or palm print, the correct method has to be applied, taking into account the shrinkage of the clay during firing, and hence the reduction of the imprint. Besides, the possible errors should be kept in mind. First, the regression models, used to define age, are based on data collected from modern and not from prehistoric populations. Secondly, the edges of the impression decrease under drying and burning out (Králik and Nowotný 2003; Stróżyk *et al.* 2019).

Recent progress in anthropology and genetic studies has led to their use in archaeological research. In the case of Mycenaean studies, the use of aDNA and isotopic analysis has been slowly implemented (e.g. Brown *et al.* 2000; Bouwman *et al.* 2008, 2009, 2010; Lazaridis *et al.* 2017). This is due to difficulties in accessing bone material and the possibility of conducting such analyses and their costs. In the presented dissertation, only the results of dental analyses from tombs at Pylos (Schepartz *et al.* 2009) are included. Analysis of DNA from Grave Circle A and B at Mycenae does not represent useful results for this thesis (examination of adults bones, and only a few examples with useful DNA).

Researchers have mostly seen Mycenaean childhood through the prism of a modern approach to children (prolonged childhood, late entering adulthood) and next to mothers, nannies, or supervisors (Hockey and James 1993; Marchand 2001; Köhler 2008; Ruttle 2010; Gowland *et al.* 2014). This point of view influences both the research approach and the interpretation of archaeological results. When this bias is acknowledged, Linear B script and archaeological objects offer potentially richer information regarding Mycenaean childhood experiences than previously thought. For example, Linear B inscriptions about children include words used to indicate family connections (i.e., father, mother, son, and daughter) separately from the stage of the child's biological or skill development (i.e., boy, girl, new, younger, and older).

Previous studies have also mainly concentrated on the interpretation of a single line of evidence (e.g., frescoes, figurines, burials, Linear B script, etc.) from a specific archaeological site compared with those located at another site (French 1971; Rethemiotakis 2001; Rutter

2003). A number of scholars have also studied the burials of children. However, most have done so without reference to other lines of evidence, such as Mycenaean texts (Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Lebegyev 2009; Pomadère 2005, 2009, 2010, and 2012). Several publications have attempted to move away from this conventional approach. These have compared research from art and archaeology, and refer to anthropological analogies (Chapin 2007; Nosch 2019). Therefore, there is a need to consider a more critical approach and update understandings of Mycenaean childhood where philological and archaeological evidence for the appearance of youth exist. It is important as well to leverage the possibility to compare objects that testify to various spheres of childhood. The significant aspect of this dissertation was to adopt a local approach (focuses on local features of the particular Mycenaean region) to the subject of Mycenaean childhood, without data generalization.

This dissertation consists of an introduction, followed by four chapters and catalogue of Linear B tablets. The catalogue of archaeological objects is included in Chapter 3, and accessible separately in the form of an attachment. The introduction provides a brief overview of the aim and stated research problems. The literature review together with the ethnological section and methodology are then described in Chapter 1. A critical examination of the linguistic data from Linear B tablets is presented in Chapter 2 and the archaeological objects from the second catalogue are analyzed in Chapter 3. Finally, a comparison of results from Linear B script with archaeological objects is discussed in Chapter 4, together with an area of future research.

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CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD AND METHODOLOGY OF STUDIES

1.1. CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN PRE-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Anthropological problems with the estimation of the age and sex of subadult remains have delayed the development of research on childhood in past societies. Recently, the archaeology of childhood focuses on children's roles in society, and these studies are based on the interdisciplinary between anthropology, bioarcheology, and archaeology.

1.1.1. Anthropology and bioarcheology

In the case of anthropological remains the term 'age' and its numerical indicators should be used with mindfulness because are three different meanings of 'age' in human life:

- Physiological/biological age - indicating the stage of skeletal development;
- Chronological age - counted in years, as a time passed from the moment of birth;
- Social age - socially constructed norms that include proper behavior for each age group in the community (Robb 2002; Gowland 2006:143).

In studies of bioarcheology, the intermediate phases of human life are (Jimenez – Arenas 2015:30-1):

- Infancy – from the time of birth until childhood. In prehistoric societies, infancy lasted until around 38 months. Full dependence on the mother and/or other members of the group;
- Childhood – from the 38th month of life until 6.5 years of age. Beginning of the learning phase;
- Juvenile – 6.5 years to 9 years of age;
- Adolescent – 9 years to 17 years of age;
- Adult – 17 years to 20 years of age.

On the other hand, osteologists separate subadults differently (Baker *et al.* 2005:10):

- Fetus – prior to full term;
- Perinatal – shortly before and after birth;
- Neonate –birth until 1 year of age;
- Child –1 year to 6 years of age;
- Juvenile – 7 years to 12 years of age;
- Puberty – 10 (female) or 12 (male) years to 14 (female) or 16 (male) years of age;
- Adolescence – 14 (female) or 16 (male) years to 18 (female) or 20 (male) years of age.

In the archaeology, the age categories suggested by Rudolf Martin (1928) are most often used for the skeletal remains of subadults found in graves:

- *Infans I* (0-6 years of age);
- *Infans II* (7-13 years of age);
- *Juvenis* (14-19 years of age);
- *Adultus* (over 20 years of age).

These divergences have been explained by palaeopathologists who recognize that there are no exact age borders between the stages of childhood, and the period of adulthood (Baker *et al.* 2005).

With the awareness in this dissertation of the existence of various methodologies related to the anthropology of children, an attempt was made to integrate the study of subadult burials with other sources.

1.1.2. Archaeology of childhood

Until the 1990s, children were marginalized by bioarcheology and anthropology. The most possible explanation for this is the difficulty in identifying infant remains during research due to taphonomic reasons (Baker *et al.* 2005:13; Stodder 2008; Gowland *et al.* 2014; Ferrer 2018:71-2). In some cases, subadult skeletons are poorly preserved and scientists confuse the small bones with animal remains. This may happen due to inadequate excavation techniques and deficient literature. Furthermore, the study of subadult remains is more complicated, because there is no direct method to verify the sex of a buried child (Scheuer and Black 2000; Sutter 2003; Baker *et al.* 2005:10).

In the opinion of archaeologists, the distance from the child's burial to the settlement plays a significant role, as a child placed further away from his/her home, was considered more

'human' (Cohen and Rutter 2008). On the other hand, children buried close to domestic areas present strong emotional bonds and the willingness of parental protection. This appears as the reduction of the physical distance between a parent and a child by interring the child in the space of daily activities (Ferrer 2018:77-9). Moreover, infant burials are often placed as foundation deposits in houses or shrines, as they were believed to have a connection with spirits and the underworld (Scott 1999; Lancy 2012:11-2; Moore 2013). In the Archaic period, children burials were often located in the dromos of a tomb, where ceremonies and rituals were taking place (Ferrer 2018:80-2). These practices often leave a mark on the archaeological material. Treatment of children's bodies, like decoration, body positioning, or grave furnishings can carry information about their age, social status, and gender, and indirectly, about the organization of the society itself (Prout 1999:7; Sofaer 2007:60; Alarcón García 2015). The physicality of the body is also a source of information. The analyses of skeletal remains can reveal injuries, pathological conditions, and food consumption patterns (Sanchez Romero 2008). Some activities taken by children require physical effort, which can also leave marks on their skeletons (Chapa 2003, 2008).

The objects in child graves are linked to social relations and represent symbolism and values, as well as emotions and memories of the buried child (Lucy 1998; Hooper-Greenhill 2000; Sørensen 2000; Wood 2009). Children burials followed the same rules and rituals like those of adults because they share the same social reality during their life (Wood 2009). For example, the wealth of people and their high social status is recognizable by metal furnishings which are found in both adult and subadult graves (Sanchez Romero and Alarcón García 2015:106). On the other hand, an example from the Bronze Age Iberian Jarama River Valley shows that children graves were furnished with grave goods approximately twice as often as adults' burials. This result arises probably from children having 'status by definition'. This means that precious grave goods in his/her grave were placed there because of his/her young age (emotional motive) and/or the high status of his/her family (social motive). Moreover, the appearance of atypical or individual child burials in the archaeology of the Bronze Age period could be associated with a dual loss – that of an already active member of prehistoric society, and at the same time, that of the future potential of the youth (Blanco-Gonzalez 2015; Aliaga Almela *et al.* 2015:251-4).

1.1.3. History of childhood

In the literature, a clear definition of childhood is not apparent (Frønes 1994:146-8; Sanchez Romero *et al.* 2015:2). They are two basic points of view for the understanding the childhood:

- General - as a time and age of being a child;
- Biological - as the state and quality of a first period in the life cycle, from infancy to puberty (Lillehammer 2015:11).

According to Philippe Aries, children in pre-industrial societies were not social beings. The author argues that: *'People could not allow themselves to become too attached to something that was regarded as a probable loss'* (Aries 1962:39).

From this point of view, the mother had no emotional connection with her children because of high infant mortality rates, which during ancient periods amounted to around 30% (Golden 1992). This thinking would consider a child as an unrecognizable member of the community. Some psychohistorians suggested that infanticide and high infant mortality were easier to accept if a child acquired the position as a member of society after crossing a symbolic line, such as when he/she was named, began to talk, or walk, or reach a specified age (Williamson 1978:64).

Following the feminist and gender movement, the interest of scientists focused on a child's development (Baker 1997; Kamp 2001; Mays *et al.* 2017:38-9) and his/her remains in past societies (Scheuer and Black 2000; Baker *et al.* 2005; Lewis 2007). From the beginning, studies of children in prehistoric cultures have focused on burials with archaeological artifacts, interpreting them as toys (Politis 2005:129). Research carried out on pottery manufacture was concentrated mostly on male potters, while women and children were seen in passive roles as helpers and apprentices, respectively (Lillehammer 1989; Baxter 2005; Menon and Varna 2011:86; Garrido Pena and Herrero Corral 2015:41). On the other hand, a few reports indicate women producing pottery in the domestic space, and transmitting the knowledge within the kinship group (Silva 2008:233; Bowser and Patton 2008).

In social studies, childhood is explained as a period when group relations amongst children, children and adults, and children and other subjects allow them to pass through to adulthood (Alarcón García 2015:60-1). Namely, it is the time frame when a child is prepared by society for a specific role inside the group (Lancy 2012:4). This research also mentions 'enculturation', which is based on the assumption that children learn local skills very gradually and acquire knowledge from adults (Crown 2001; Ferguson 2003).

The studies carried out later by David F. Lancy and Frank Marlowe (2010), have shown that a child easily learns survival skills from an early age, through observation, imitation, and make-believe. Hence, adults do not play the main role in children's skill acquisition.

An important part of children's studies in past societies is the space they occupied. According to Grete Lillehammer (2015:14-9), we can separate three spaces related to a child:

- Space outside the adult world – separate places where children can broaden their own creation, far from the house and control of adults, inside shelters or other buildings, and distanced from their work obligations. These places are mostly unrecognizable after generations;
- Space shared by children and adults – this space is connected with learning and technology;
- Space for life and death, created for children by adults – these are surroundings for socialization and adaptation of children.

Today, the nature of studies on this period of life is based on interdisciplinary research that includes material culture, texts, representations, and the study of bodies and spaces (Sanchez Romero *et al.* 2015). Moreover, recent studies highlight the active role of youth in traditional agrarian societies, interpreting them as 'family capital'. This means that a child took part in rituals, as well as economic and cultural exchanges with other groups of people; he/she was also understood as a supportive and productive element for the future of the specific society (Gonzalez- Marcén 2018:14-5).

1.1.4. Aspect of children's learning and socialization and their early social roles

Childhood in prehistory is believed to be a period in the human life span when an individual is not a full member of the local society (Lancy and Grove 2011). Age phases during childhood are socially constructed and may differ from the biological age of a child (Gowland 2006:143-4). In his/her transformation into a full member of the community, not only does a child's biological development (i.e., menarche) play an important role, but also his/her participation in the process of socialization carried out by adults (Ibanez 2010; Ferrer 2018:71-2). For example, in the Roman Empire, a girl became a woman when she was married (Fraschetti 1997:69; Laurence 2000).

Two fundamental processes to research in terms of childhood in pre-industrial communities are learning and socialization. These happen within the group, which works together to ensure

that a child successfully becomes a new member (Jimenez-Arenas 2015:27). Both have an effect on two inseparable dimensions: social and cultural. We understand ‘learning’ as a cultural process during which a child gains specialized knowledge about technologies to use for specific tasks as an adult (Sanchez Romero 2010). It varies in terms of starting age, knowledge transmission strategies, kinds of technology learned, learning phases, locations, time of the year, raw materials, and forms of manufactured goods (Garrido and Herrero 2015; Calvo *et al.* 2015). Socialization helps children become acquainted with the world in which they live through participating in rituals and other expressions of social identity (Sanchez Romero 2017). During this process, ideas about the personality of a particular group are transmitted (Sanchez Romero *et al.* 2015). Children can learn technical skills and their roles in the community through observation, imitation, instruction, experimentation, and play. Toys and games are significant parts of child socialization and learning. They are believed to transmit cultural messages and to be an intermediary between children and adults (Sofaer-Derenski 2000:397).

On the basis of anthropological studies, we know that children achieve the ability to understand the three-dimensionality of objects from around 3 years of age. Therefore, the first stage of learning probably occurs between the ages of 3 and 7 years (Moore and Moore 1999; Bagwell 2002:91).

Production of miniature pottery is the best-documented evidence of child apprenticeships (Donley-Reid 1990:113-4; Smith 2005; Silva 2008:234; Kamp 2010:113). As the research on pottery production in Bronze Age settlement Penalosa (Spain) has established, we can distinguish objects made by children. The characteristic features of small pottery vessels manufactured by children are:

- Modeling by hand;
- Miniature scale;
- Imitation of large items;
- Asymmetric dimensions;
- Technological malformations;
- Strong temper inclusions;
- No/little surface treatment;
- Very low-temperature firings.

Molecular analysis has also found traces of animal fat and waxy material inside pots. This evidence indicates they were used in daily life for food preparation (Alarcón García *et al.* 2018:37).

Poorly manufactured miniature vessels, diverse in style and decoration, were found as well in Bell Beaker contexts and were also supposedly made by children (Garrido and Herrero 2015; Aliaga *et al.* 2015; Sanchez Romero *et al.* 2015). Most of the Bell Beaker miniatures came to light in the graves of children up to 38 months of age, but a few examples came also from youth and adult burials and were included together with normal size vessels. Some small pots from child graves are high quality, probably made by qualified potters. In this case, they were placed in the burial to indicate the child's age group (Garrido-Pena and Herrero Corral 2015:49). Generally, they were used as offerings, ritual and votive objects, as well as containers for pigments and unguents (Baxter 2005; Park 2006; Menon and Varma 2011; Garrido-Pena and Herrero Corral 2015).

Another study carried out on pottery of domestic manufacture has shown that children learned the craft at a very early age – between 2 and 5 years of age (Smith 2005). Learning starts through playing with pieces of clay and decorating vessels made by adults (Wallaert 2001, 2008:188; Bagwell 2002:7). In the ethnoarcheological approach, both boys and girls are involved in modeling objects, even when only one group will become potters as adults. Girls made animal figurines, pots, and cooking vessels imitating pottery made by adults, and boys made animal and rider figurines and other reproductions of reality (Santacreu *et al.* 2015:94-5). At the age of 9, a child prepared miniature pots as a part of his/her novitiate (Wallaert 2001, 2008; Bagwell 2002). Around 14 years of age, a child was ready to make normal sized vessels, but not to fire them in a kiln. This action was kept for adults (Garrido-Pena and Herrero Corral 2015:42).

Another activity of prehistoric societies in which children were involved was metallurgy. On the basis of research conducted in the Bronze Age metallurgical settlement of Penalosa (Spain), we know that children and women were actively engaged in the operation chain of metal production (Alarcón García *et al.* 2018). A child began helping around 5 to 6 years of age and used instruments and places intended for adults (Bellamy 1904:101-2; Arboledas Martinez and Alarcón García 2015:107). At the age of 10, children were working outside, carrying baskets with minerals and water, transporting them to or from the mine. Most of the children used for a hard work were slaves. (Alarcón García *et al.* 2018). Importantly, metal production in La Fortuna in Spain was recognized in domestic contexts, and involved members with blood ties or affinities (Sanahuja 2007, Alarcón García *et al.* 2018).

The presented research confirms that examples of children learning and socialization in domestic contexts can be distinguished in the archaeological record, as well as in Aegean societies (Budin 2011; Chapin 2021:35). The basic determinants are various figurines and miniature, imperfect pottery. Adaptation of these results will be helpful in the study of miniature vessels and terracotta figurines found in the graves of Mycenaean children. In addition, the sociological approach connects the physical possibilities at various stages of a child's development with his/her participation in social activities.

1.2. HISTORY AND CURRENT KNOWLEDGE OF MYCENAEAN STUDIES

Mycenaean society during the Late Helladic period was based on a palatial system and bureaucratic structure, with kingdoms in the Argolid (Mycenae, Argos, Tiryns, Midea, and Asine), Messenia (Pylos), Boeotia (Thebes and Orchomenos), Athens, Iolkos, and Gla (de Fidio 2008:91). For administration records, Mycenaeans were using the Linear B script, based on syllabograms, ideograms, and numbers. This writing system developed from the Cretan Linear A script to write the Mycenaean Greek language (Whittaker 2013:106-7).

1.2.1. Studies of Mycenaean children

The information about Mycenaean children is dispersed and minimal. Excluding articles that are mostly based on well-known literature, there is no systematic research on the Mycenaean youth. Despite this, in the archaeological publications is available basic information on this subject. For example, the reports of excavation sites were published from 1915th in the Greek journal *Archaiologikon Deltion*. Important results of Mycenaean sites are also presented in other publications summarizing archaeological excavation seasons (e.g., Evans 1906; Blegen 1937; Hood 1956-1960; Marinatos 1956, 1961; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997; Papadaki 2014). However, preliminary work in the field of youths in Mycenaean society did not occur until later and focused on iconography, primary depictions on frescoes and figurines (French 1971, 2001, 2008; Budin 2011). Until now, researchers established four age grades in Mycenaean childhood:

- infancy (the youngest children, up to 1 year in age as suggested by artistic representation or perhaps even 1–2 years in age as indicated by funerary evidence);

- early childhood (1 to 5– 6 years);
- middle childhood (5– 6 to 11);
- early adolescence (12– 14), after which Mycenaean teenagers may have been culturally perceived as adults (Chapin 2021:38).

On the basis of Theran frescoes, it was suggested that children started their activity in the society from the age of five, when a child is familiar with the first rites of passage from the childhood to a period of adolescence, also in communal meaning (Papageorgiou 2019:103-104). Historical sources mention the participation of young people from aristocratic families in religious rituals, racing, and animal hunting as symbolic rites of entering adulthood (Papageorgiou 2019:105-106). Boys 12-16 year's old hunted wild animals as a kind of sport, while girls assisted in ceremonies at sanctuaries (Papageorgiou 2019:67-68, 105-106).

1.2.2. Philological aspect of children's studies

In the literature, there are many examples of Linear B script studies. Researchers mostly concentrate on the archives from Knossos and Pylos because they are the two largest sets of Linear B tablets, and it is beneficial to work on such extensive material. In addition, there are several examples of Linear B script dictionaries. The basic one is in the publication by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick titled *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1973). Linear B words and references have been extensively documented in the *Diccionario Micénico* Volumes I and II by Francisco Aura Jorro (1985, 1993). A series of articles *Joins and Quasi-joins of Fragments in the Linear B Tablets (...)*, by Jose Melena (1993a, 1993b, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1997e, 2000-2001), of Pylos and Knossos tablets have been put forward to solve the issue of Mycenaean and Minoan text fragmentation. However, inscriptions must be studied with careful attention because later publications have discredited previous connections between particular fragments (e.g., Killen and Olivier 1989:225; Melena 1999:371).

Previous studies emphasized that children in Mycenaean administrative records are noted in groups, although there is no mention of individual youths recorded by name (Killen 1981; Nosch 2001). The Mycenaean archaeological evidence induced the theory about the transfer of some craft technologies and skills in the context of the family, and the same assumption is moved to the children's appearance in 'palace' administration records - Linear B script. A woman noticed on Linear B tablets seems to be interpreted as the mother of a young apprentice recorded next to her. Groups of workers with children are interpreted then as

people with family relationships because of using next to them a female noun or adjective (Hiller 1989; Olsen 1998, 1999).

On the basis of food ration size from Linear B scripts compared to human nutritional requirements, Stefan Hiller (1989) suggested that the different names of groups of youths were related to their age; for example, *ko-wa/ko-wo me-u-jo* as a child under eight years of age, *ko-wa/ko-wo me-zo* between nine and eleven years of age, and *ko-wo VIR* as a boy between twelve and seventeen years old. Alternatively, Pia de Fidio (1989) states that *ko-wa / ko-wo me-u-jo* is a child up to six years old, *ko-wa / ko-wo me-zo* is seven to eight years of age, and *ko-wo VIR* is nine to twelve years old. Subsequently, Thomas Palaima (2006) has suggested the use of the signs *65 *ju* and *69 *tu* as a possible abbreviation for *i-jo* (a son) and *tu-ka-te* (a daughter), respectively.

Around 2000, studies of the Linear B inscriptions began to focus on gender differences. The feminist movement has initiated research based on the division of female and male occupations (Olsen 1998, 1999), and differentiation in the food rations for both sexes (Nosch 2003; Efkleidou 2004). It was also stressed that roles, activities and stages of adolescents before entering adulthood are culturally constructed. They vary depending on society and time period. However, even in these publications, children continued to be interpreted as under the protection and supervision of their mothers only (Olsen 2009, 2014; Budin 2011).

A recent review of the literature about Knossos and Pylos tablets highlights the concept that children and youths were apprentices. Furthermore, texts that discuss the various determinations for young people together with food rations in the Linear B script are now understood to be connected with the stage of skill development or training rather than with biological age (Nosch 2019).

1.2.3. Archaeological aspect of children's studies

Examples of Mycenaean and Minoan art depicting children and youths from the Late Helladic period are very sparse. We have frescoes from administrative buildings at Knossos, Akrotiri, Pylos, and Mycenae. More youth iconography comes from seals and sealings. Only a few are figurines, mainly of children in the prepubertal age, or *kourotrophos* figurines depicting infants. In addition, subadult burials except of Prosymna cemetery, are rarely noticed in archaeological reports.

1.2.3.1. Frescoes

In Aegean frescoes depicting young people, a small difference between Minoan and Mycenaean representations is notable. Frescoes from Knossos are strictly focused on young and muscular boys of adolescence age, while paintings from Mycenae are connected with groups of women and girls (Rehak 2007:221). Nevertheless, the clothing of figures depicted in Crete and Thera, as well as on Mainland frescoes, is very similar. The interpretations of female and male figures from frescoes and other iconography were first based on the concepts of 'Mother Goddess' and 'Master of Animals', giving these figures a divine dimension (Evans 1930; Mylonas 1970:123; Kritseli-Providi 1982:49-50; Gesell 1985; Castledon 1990; Immerwahr 1990:119). Other iconographic interpretations noticed the dichotomy of male and female pictures, referring to social roles in society (Davis 1995:16; Koehl 1995:26; Rohrllich-Leavitt 1977:46-9). The core problem with representations on frescoes is that they were found in palatial contexts, and their symbolism probably refers only to the upper class (Popham *et al.* 1984; Hamilakis 1996; Dougherty 2004:203). We can say that wall paintings were used mostly as a powerful tool for transmission of administration center interests to the public (Tournavitou 2018:496).

The Theran presentation of young persons in the form before passing into adulthood shows the opposite icon of youth - boys are depicted nude, whereas girls are dressed (Doumas 2018:41).

After the painted pottery as a way of transmission messages (Doumas 2018:29), the frescoes on lime plasters of internal walls were the next step to depict the human figure, power, and social status of individuals (Georma 2018:299; Doumas 2018:40). The popular manner for presenting aristocracy of the LH III period on the wall of all administration centers, was scenes of processions and hunting (Immerwahr 1990:106, 114-8; Tournavitou and Brecolaki 2015:233-241; Tournavitou 2018:506).

Different sexes are presented by anatomical details, but also could be shown by skin color, dress, and hairstyle (Doumas 2018:40). On the other hand, a hairstyle in the Aegean iconography can indicate a social class or profession, combined with age stage (Chapin 2021:33).

1.2.3.2. *Kourotrophos* figurines

The *kourotrophoi* are one of the most interesting anthropomorphic figurines, representing a woman carrying a child in her arms. They are dated from LH II B to LH III C period (ca.

1400 BC –1050 BC) and have been found in many contexts, including funerary, religious, domestic, and workshops. Representations such as *kourotrophos* figurines were always explained as a child inseparable from the woman assumed to be his/her mother (Carlier 1999). On the other hand, the function of *kourotrophoi* and other female figurines is under discussion. Interpretations include their function as ritual offerings (French 1961), playthings (Blegen 1937), divine nurses (Mylonas 1973), as well as children's attendants or keepers (Pilali-Papasteriou 1998). In the past, a female figure was usually interpreted in the role of a daughter, goddess, or child's nurse (Marinatos 1964:86; Kritseli-Providi 1982; Mylonas 1983; Younger 1992).

1.2.3.3. Seals and sealings

The largest number of Aegean Bronze Age glyptic has been found on Crete (Younger 1987:46). A few examples from the mainland are mostly Minoan or Near Eastern imports (Younger 1984). On the other hand, a few of the latest sealings are dated to ca. 1200 BC and came from Pylos (Younger 1987:47). Their function was primarily an indication of the owner's high status as designations of ownership, but they were also used as personal body decorations, especially for Mycenaeans (Younger 1987:49). Themes on seals and sealings depict people involved in ceremonies, scenes with animals, bull-leaping, and violence. There are also heraldic imagery, symbols, nature, gods, and daemons (Panagiotopoulos 2010:306-7). Sealings depicting youths are very rare and represent persons (mostly boys) of adolescent age, like bull-leapers, warriors, or a boy/girl between two animals. The character of the picture is more likely symbolic (e.g., representation of power) rather than realistic, and does not refer directly to the owner (Panagiotopoulos 2010).

1.2.3.4. Other representations

There are not many other representations of children from the Late Helladic period, and the majority of them are one of a kind. Some examples are elements of decoration, figurines found in graves, or parts of utility items. Each requires a separate description, as is present in the literature (Rutter 2003; Chapin 2007; Rehak 2007). On the other hand, some authors still closely link child images to a woman-mother (Olsen 1998; Zeimbeki 2009; Budin 2011).

Tanagra larnakes, dated to LH IIIB and LH IIIC periods, are an unusual custom for mainland Greece (Demakopoulou 1987:74; Aravantinos 2003:68-70). Burials in larnakes are characteristic for the Minoan funeral practice primarily in the West and Central Crete

(Aravantinos *et al.* 2013:40). Tanagra larnakes belong to the private sector of art (Tournavitou 2018:496).

1.2.3.5. Children burials

Much work on the potential of Mycenaean children's status has been carried out on the basis of their burials. The majority of scientists treat children's graves as secondary, in comparison with burials of adults. In addition, burials of children are analyzed separately from the Linear B script (Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Pomadère 2005, 2009, 2010, 2012; Lebegyev 2009).

An interesting study, and the first to present distinct research on the burials of subadults, was presented by Kazimierz Lewartowski (2000). The interpretation of the results in these studies is, however, impeded by the various contexts and placements of subadult burials.

Children's interment places from the Late Helladic period (ca. 1700 – 1050 BC) are very miscellaneous. Some youths were buried separately from adults - particularly in niches, under house floors, or in the dromos of multiple graves. On the other hand, a considerable part of subadult burials has been found together with adults in multiple tombs (Blegen 1937).

1.2.4. Recent knowledge about the Mycenaean world during the Late Helladic period

The territory of the local power was maintained by an administrative center. Information about the extent of the 'palace' control is known mainly from the Linear B script. In other cases, historical sources are helpful.

1.2.4.1. Regional control of administration centers

North-Central Crete

On the base of Linear B records from the main administration archive at Knossos, we have information about the direct supervision of North-Central Crete from Knossos 'palace', while the South part of Crete with Phaistos, and West part of the island were controlled by so-called 'collectors' (Hallager *et al.*, 1992; Bennet 2011:150). The West of Crete with Kydonia (today Chania) was partially independent of administration at Knossos. Importantly, in Homer's Iliad only the central part of Crete is shown (Hope-Simpson and Lazenby 1970:112, map 6; Bennet 2011:151). It confirms our knowledge about keeping Linear B records at Chania separately from administration at Knossos, from XIII century BC (Hallager, Vlasakis, Hallager 1992; Bennet 2011:151).

The region controlled by the administration center at Knossos is shown in the Figure 1.1:

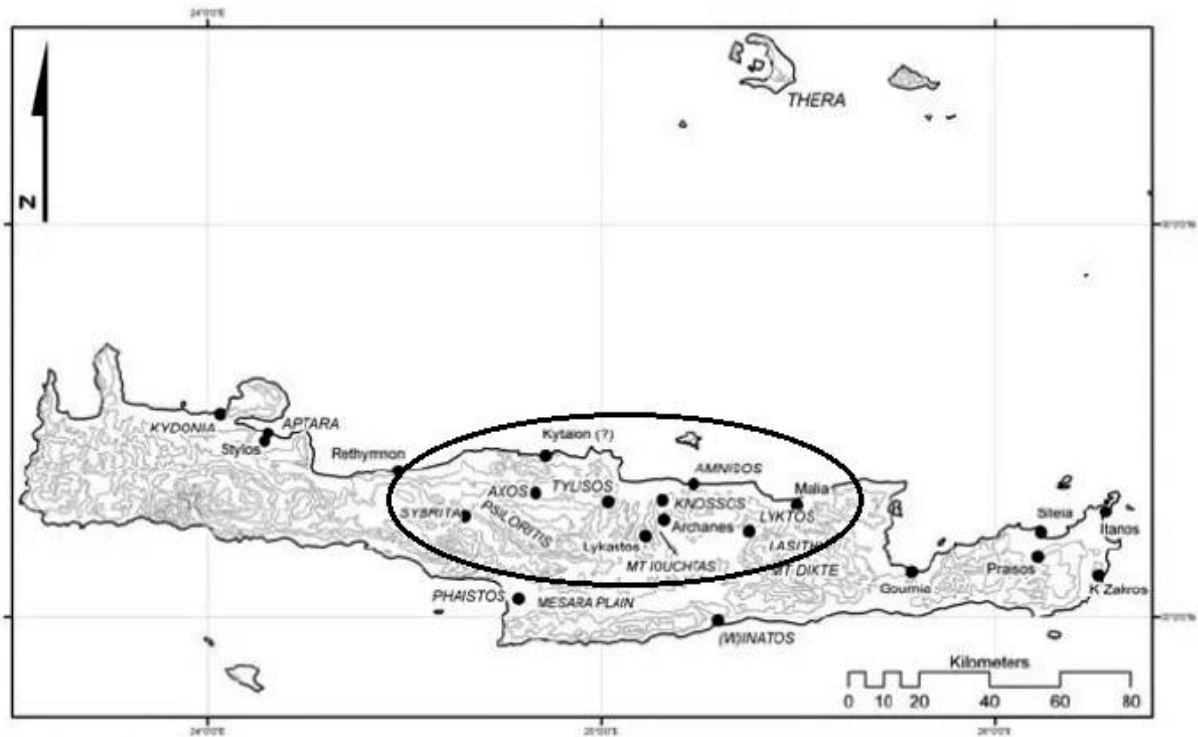


Figure 1.1: Region of North-Central Crete. Toponyms highlighted with italic capital letters are places that occurred on Knossos tablets (Bennet 2011:148, fig. 13.1).

Argolid

In the case of Linear B tablets from Mycenae, there is no clear information about other named places related to the administration at Mycenae (Bennet 2011:156). The only clue we can find is in Homer's texts. We can gather there the information that the area to the south of Mycenae (with Argos and Tiryns) was a separate part of the Mycenaean world (Figure 1.2). The region under control of the administration center at Mycenae included northeast part, reaching up to the Gulf of Corinth (Hope-Simpson and Lazenby 1970:57; Bennet 2011:157; Bennet 2017:159-160), together with Nemea (based on archaeological studies, for example Cherry and Davis 2001). The lack of Linear B inscriptions dealing with children or youth from Tiryns and Midea excludes these places from the study.



Figure 1.2: Map with the region controlled by the administration center at Mycenae (Bennet 2011:156, fig.13.3, with changes).

Boeotia

The Theban control mostly reached to the east and south (Figure 1.3). About significant influences of Thebes in the central and south parts of Euboea, testify toponyms on the Linear B records: *ka-ru-to* (Karystos) and *a-ma-ru-to* (Amarynthos) (Bennet 2011:156; Bennet 2017:159). To the north of Thebes was Orchomenos, place independent during the Mycenaean period (Bennet 2011:155-6). Homer's Iliad as a later historical source confirms the vastness of presented regions (Hope-Simpson and Lazenby 1970:20, map 2; Bennet 2011:156).



Figure 1.3: Map with a region controlled by Thebes (Bennet 2011:156, fig.13.3, with changes).

Messenia

The area presented on the map (Figure 1.4) shows two regions under control of administration center at Pylos (*Pu-ro*). The territory was divided into Hither and Further Province, with *pu-ro* as the capital of the Hither Province, and *re-u-ko-to-ro* as the capital of Further Province. The natural border of two regions was the mountain Aigaleon, starting on the north - from the modern city of Kyparissia, up to mount Likodimos on the south. The border between the north parts of Hither and Further Province is not exactly clear (Bennet 1998-99:19-20; 1999a:133-34; Bennet 2011: 152; Chadwick 1972:104; Hope-Simpson 1981:144-52). The west border is separated by the coast, while the east border was probably designated by Nedon river (*ne-do-wo-ta-de*, which means: 'to the river *ne-do-wo*' from the tablet PY An 661) (Bennet 2011:154).

The map with Hither and Further Province has been adapted from the publication of Michael Cosmopoulos from 2006, with the addition of *Ku-pa-ri-so*, *Ai-ko-ra-i-ja*, *Ne-do-wo-ta*, *Re-u-ko-to-ro*, *Ri-jo* (Bennet 2011:152-155).

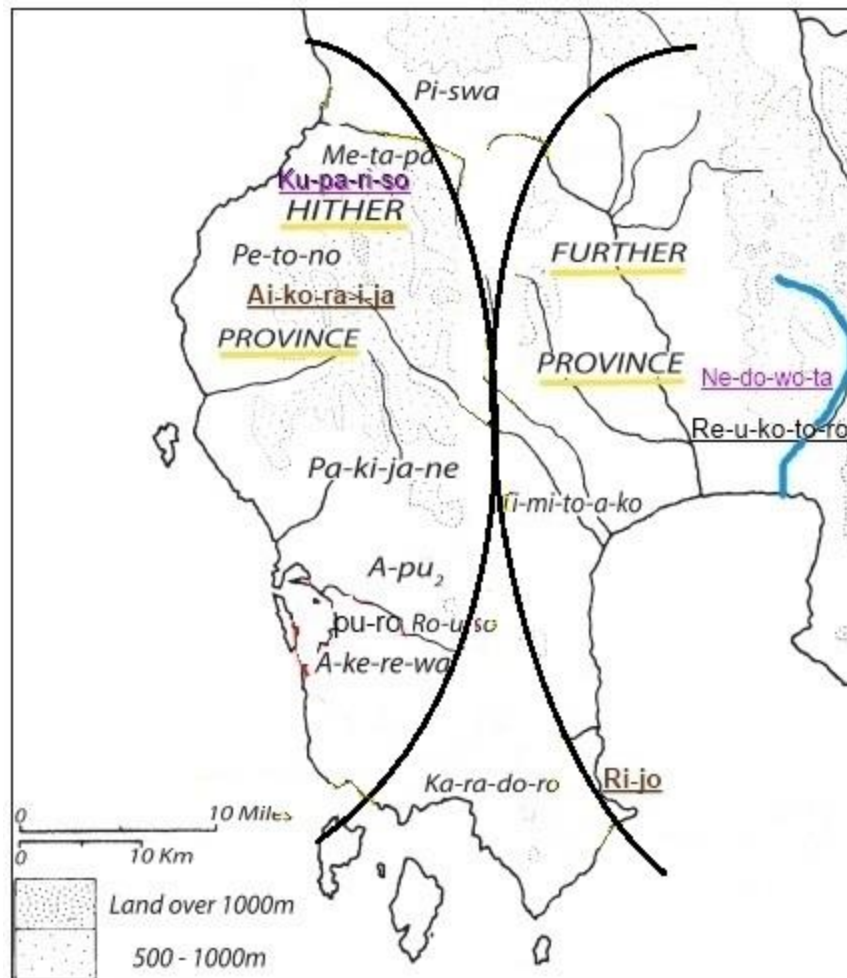


Figure 1.4: The map with the possible location of the settlements from Pylian Linear B tablets (Cosmopoulos 2006:207, fig. 1, with changes).

1.2.4.2. Demographic transformations

After the period of fluorescence (Late Helladic III A1 – LH III B1), the situation for the Mycenaean civilization seems to have changed. For example, the architecture dated to Late Helladic III B2 includes constructions for protective reasons, such as provisions for water and fortification walls. As is evident in the archaeological material, consecutive disasters destroyed Mycenaean ‘palaces’, causing drastic depopulation in regions like Messenia and Laconia. Slowly, regionalization visible in the archaeological material from this period (e.g., the local production of pottery), replaced the centralized structure, and exportation of products managed by Mycenaean ‘palaces’ (de Fidio 2008:103). During the Late Helladic III B1-III B2 period on the mainland, each of the administration centers was involved in different activities

(Wright 1984). For example, inside the citadel of Thebes was situated an ivory workshop, an arsenal, and a cleaning building for wool (Symeoglou 1985; Demakopoulou 1990; Shelmerdine 2008). The 'palace' at Mycenae received and distributed various kinds of spices, olive oil, and wool (Mylonas 1983; French 2003; Schelmerdine 2008). Activities at the Pylos 'palace' were connected with wine production, linen textiles, jewelry, and perfumes. Furthermore, eating and drinking vessels, and storerooms for olive oil were found inside the buildings (Blegen *et al.* 1973; Tzonou-Herbst 2002:178).

The evidence for Mycenaean presence at the Knossos 'palace' is dated to the transition of Late Minoan II/III A1 and comes from the Room of the Chariot Tablets in the form of the Linear B script (Palmer 1969; Del Frio 2016:187). There is other material evidence of Mycenaean culture in Knossos, regardless of the reason (assimilation or conquest). Unusual tomb types (The Royal Tomb at Isopata, The Kephala Tholos, The Tomb of the Double Axes), weapons in the grave equipment, the use of megaron type of structure in the houses, and new shapes of pottery, these are examples of a living (McEnroe 2010:118). What is important, in the Palace of Knossos, Mycenaean elements were mixed with Minoan elements (McEnroe 2010:119-128). Rebuilt architecture parts were similar to those of Minoan (McEnroe 2010:124), while wall paintings with figure-eight shields, and a scene of ceremonial banqueting from the *Camp Stool Fresco* are more familiar with the Mycenaean society (McEnroe 2010:125).

The Knossos administration was focused on the honey, wool, divine offerings, and aromatics distribution (Shelmerdine 2008:127).

The historical and cultural situation in the examined period is an indispensable background for the proper interpretation of research results. The presented information confirms a need of a local approach for each of the regions, because of decentralization of the Mycenaean world during the time in question.

1.3. AIM OF STUDIES AND PROPOSED HYPOTHESIS

The scientific aim of this dissertation is to clarify the role and status of Mycenaean children and youth, on the base of the Linear B script, iconography, burials and other objects connected with children of this period. The presented study is based on interdisciplinary of archaeology, anthropology, and philology.

The basic sources of presented studies and connected to children and youth, are:

- Linguistic – in the form of the Linear B script, where the followed rule is a presence of at least one of listed words in one sentence: *ko-wa*, *ko-wo*, *tu-ka-te/tu*, *ki-ra,i-jo/u-jo/ju(?)*, *me-wi-jo*, *me-zo-e*, *pa-te*, *ma-te*, *ne-wo*¹;
- Archaeological – as archaeological objects, related to children's presence and activities in the Mycenaean society (as an example: terracotta figurines, which could be made by children and in the case of child's death – be a part of accompanying offerings);
- Iconographical – representations of children and youth, assuming them as naturalistic;
- Anthropological – mainly focused on recent excavations and minor osteology studies on the old excavated human remains. The reason lies in the poor condition of bones, and in the lack of methodological approach specifying age and sex (at the beginning of the XX century excavators were measuring size of bones to determine age, and 'female' and 'male' objects in the grave's equipment were used as sex indicators).

This research is based on regionalization of the Mycenaean civilization, highlighting most of the local features, which could be omitted in more general approach. The basic source for the knowledge about Mycenaean regions and their extension is the Linear B script. It was the main administration tool controlling movement of exclusive goods (Voutsaki 2001; Killen 2008), and register of tributes, land inventories, cultivation of some plants, and animal husbandry (Bennet 1956:120; Marazzi 1979:118; Foster 1981:81; Halstead 2001; de Fidio 1992; Olivier 1967; Killen 1964).

¹ *ne-wo* is visible in the database table in the notes, because is not connected directly to children. It can have many meanings and might be related to people, animals, but also to things.

The research was conducted through comparison of archaeological material with tablets with the Linear B script from four Mycenaean centers at: Knossos, Mycenae, Thebes, and Pylos. The basic assumption is the local approach for each of the following regions: North-Central Crete, Argolid, Boeotia, and Pylos with Further and Hither Province, which were under control of particular administration center. Other Mycenaean archaeological places, like: Iklaina, Tiryns, Dimini, Ayios Vasileios and Chania (Aravantinos and Vasilogamvrou 2010; Del Freo 2010; Hallager *et al.*; Shelmerdine 2010; Aravantinos 2010b:53) due to the poor amount of Linear B inscriptions are excluded from this research (Bennet 2017:9).

We can collect from the Linear B tablets direct or indirect information about places under control of a particular palatial center from various relations between the local ‘palace’ and craftsmen/officials (Sainer 1976:52; Thompson 2014:180; Dzukeska 2017:139-140), or private persons (cattle lists: Dzukeska 2017: 140-141). These data come from:

- Ethnic names of women and men receiving food rations or raw materials as an indication of a close relation between them and palatial center (Garcia Ramón 2008:236);
- Toponyms and texts indicating relations between one place and another, or between the place and center (close-far distance) (Sainer 1976:22-23; Dzukeska 2017:139-140);
- Province names (only in the case of Hither and Further Province) subordinate to center at Pylos (*de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra3-ko-ra-i-ja*) (Sainer 1976:20; Garcia Ramon 2011:240; Bennet 2011:152);
- Geographic names, for example settlements lying along river valleys and mountains (Bennet 2011:143);
- Indirectly, we have named officials from particular sites under the control of the ‘palace’ center, for example: *ko-re-te* ‘a mayor’ (Sainer 1976:20; Dzukeska 2017:138-139);
- Indirectly, providing wharf safety services in Pylos provinces (tablets with *o-ka*) (Sainer 1976:21);

We can collect also a useful information from the location of Linear B tablets in the archive – for example, scribes from Pylos were separating inscriptions from both provinces of Pylos, and placed them in two different locations in the archive (Bennett 1958: 328-331).

Then, toponyms, ethical names and other names connected with topography, can be compared with historical known places (not always successfully) (Bennet 2011:144-145).

The method used in the case of unknown place names and without possibility of comparison with historical sources, is a ‘textual distance’ (for example: Hart 1965:3). The method assumes that a sequence of recording toponyms on Linear B tablets corresponds to the geographical/physical distance between places. The scribe would build a mental map from the closest to the farthest for him town, and in this way, he/she keeps administrative records (for Knossos see: Cremona *et al.*1978; Palmer 1972:33; Palmer 1979:47). The reference points should be always historically recognizable toponyms (Bennet 2011:145). It should be mentioned that the information in Linear B records about topography is not always clear, and sometimes contributes to the doubt and room for various interpretations.

In order to answer to the question about the role and status of young people in the Mycenaean society, a few hypotheses are proposed. One of the essential assumptions to verify is inheritance of Mycenaean occupations. In fact, some specializations during the Mycenaean period were inherited from generation to generation. An example could be found in the inscription about sons of weavers on the tablet PY Ad 684 (Olsen 2014:76-8), or a patronymic name of bronze-smith from the tablet PY Jn 937. Thus, the question is: are the young people always biological children of adults recorded with them? They may represent learners without family connection to their teachers, or workers of low status without opportunity to carry out work of a big importance as well. Taking it into account, I hypothesize that children recorded with adults play a role of apprentices or learners of the particular occupation. To confirm this thesis, at first we distinguish the hierarchy levels, related to young people on the same terms with adults, based on ‘palace’ administration records (in gradation order):

- Person mentioned by his/her name;
- Person mentioned by his/her ethnicity;
- Person mentioned by occupational name;
- Counted group of people described by age or gender and their profession;
- Counted group of people described by ethnic name;
- Uncounted group of people described by ethnic or occupation name.

It is clearly proved that individuals mentioned by name have a greater significance than unnamed individuals (Shelmerdine 2008:138-9). Specifically, first in the hierarchy is a personal name, followed by an ethnic name. Subsequently relevant is a person identified by the name of his/her profession, then by age and gender group (e.g., men, boys, etc.) identified by occupation name with an indication of the number of people, a group with an ethnic name and an indication of the number of people, and finally an occupation or ethnic group without the number of people.

Following other archaeological scholars who mention the cultural relativism in the concept of childhood (Lillehammer 1989:103, 2008; Demand 1994; Wilkie 2003; Baxter 2005:47-8; Kamp 2006; Sanchez Romero 2006; Beckman 2016; Couto-Ferreira 2016; Feucht 2016; Ferrer 2018), my theory assumes that the modern Western idea of 'childhood' based on passive role of children (Hockey and James 1993:60), did not exist in the Mycenaean society. Rather, the periods of childhood and adolescence were more likely connected with preparation for future occupation or a social role. The previous studies suggest that stone objects and different tools which are present in the furnishings of subadult's burials can be connected with specializations in which they were involved. For example, inside the tomb of *infans II* (boy between 7 and 13 years old) from Ayios Stephanos in Laconia were found a schist slab and a stone polisher. In comparison with records from Linear B tablets, boys were noticed as apprentices of corn-grinders (*me-re-ti-ri-ja*), using these kinds of stone tools (Gallou 2010). In addition, ethnological research, referred to at the beginning of this chapter, have shown that features on archaeological objects are visibly made by children. If the same type of object, for example a figurine, is variable in details, it cause of lenient teaching's model, hence, in distance of parents. On the one hand, in the case of Mycenaean culture we have an example of traditional society, where children partly are helping and learning from their parents at home (further reading: Gallou 2010). On the other hand, we know from the administration records that young people were receiving food rations from the 'palace' (economic dependence) and compensation or payment for their activity. I suggest that the family status was playing the most important role for choice, which learning method is adequate for their child. Probably, fundamental for mastering of significant professions (ensuring high status for the next generation), and of low status professions (reducing social advancement and guarantee of a high position for a limited number of people) were kinship relations. However, most of the occupations were based on teacher-learner's education method and remuneration of children as adults.

1.4. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The contextual approach employed in this study can be problematic because of unclear findspots of archaeological objects and Linear B tablets in some cases. This is due to inadequate excavation methodology, filling a daily report out several days after the actual excavations date, or because of lost of archaeological material, and its accessibility only in the drawings of excavation reports. This problem is exemplified by the Knossos tablets (Del Frio 2016).

Together with unknown findspots, also uncertainty of dates ascribed to the material can be a cause of gaps in object descriptions of the catalogues. Since the first excavations of Mycenaean sites when dating was based solely on ceramic styles, during which many of the objects included in this study were excavated, science has developed advanced methods to determine more accurate dates. Dating may also be influenced by the long period of use and re-opening of Mycenaean tombs in order to add the next burial to other individuals. This practice lasted several generations and a single burial in this so-called 'family tomb' is almost impossible to accurately date, so more general time frames, such as Late Helladic (i.e., LH) are employed.

Despite problems mentioned above, the benefits in terms of a contextual approach far outweigh the disadvantages. The collection of information in the computer database is considered beneficial. The principal advantages include the transparency of information, easy access to the data, the possibility of using the database as a basis for future research, as well as the easy presentation of results using statistics and diagrams.

To analyze and compare archaeological and linguistic data about Mycenaean children, two catalogues were created. Information has been collected from archaeological museums and sites, from the literature available in various libraries and websites, online databases of seals and sealings (Arachne), and tablets with Linear B script (LiBER). The materials included in these catalogues and the analyses used to interpret Mycenaean childhood are explained below.

1.4.1. Philology

The Linear B script was used by Mycenaean centers only for administration records. They include lists of workers, flocks, and lands, contributions and taxes, distribution of raw materials for craftsmen, and division of food rations.












1.4.1.1. Research data

The first catalogue includes clay tablets and fragments with the Linear B script, listed separately for each of the Mycenaean ‘palaces’ (Figure 1.5). Different tables for every ‘palace’ are used for the observation of local features. Only tablets that contained words connected with family relationships, children, and youth (see Table 1) were added.



Figure 1.5: Map of the site locations from which the tablets included in this research originated, (A) Knossos, (B) Mycenae, (C) Thebes, and (D) Pylos.

Table 1: Linear B words connected with children included in the research (data from Aura Jorro 1985, 1993; Palaima 2006; Olsen 2014).

| Linear B Script | | Greek Analogy | English Translation | Archaeological Site |
|---|------------------------------|---------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Symbol | Phonetic Pronunciation | | | |
|  | <i>ko-wo</i> | κόρος/κόροι | boy/children | Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae |
|  | <i>ko-wa</i> | κόρη | girl | Knossos, Pylos, Thebes |
|  | <i>ki-ra</i> | νεογιλλός | small girl | Mycenae V 659 |
|  | <i>tu-ka-te</i> | θυγάτηρ | daughter | Mycenae, Knossos, Pylos |
|  | <i>i-jo/u-jo</i> | υῖός | ‘son of’ | Knossos, Pylos, Thebes, Mycenae |
|  | <i>me-zo</i> | μείζων | older, bigger | Knossos, Pylos |
|  | <i>me-wi-jo/ me-u-jo</i> | μείων | smaller, younger | Knossos, Pylos |
|  | <i>ne-wo/ne</i> | νέος | new, young | Pylos, Knossos, Thebes, Mycene |
|  | <i>*65 ju</i> | υῖός | abbreviation of <i>i-jo</i> (son) | Pylos, Thebes, Knossos |
|  | <i>*69 tu</i> | θυγάτηρ | abbreviation of <i>tu-ka-te</i> (daughter) | Pylos, Knossos |
|  | <i>pa-te</i> | πατήρ | father | Pylos, Knossos |
|  | <i>ma-te</i> | μήτηρ | mother | Pylos |

The data from tablets recorded in the catalogue contains the tablet series, number, and ordinal number in the general catalogue, the word connected to children, a summary of the text's content or the whole sentence in which the word was used, the dating of the tablet and its findspot, as well as associated literature or other important remarks. Tablets with the Linear B script are dated from the transition of LM II/III A to Late Minoan III A2 on Crete, and on the mainland from Late Helladic III B1 to Late Helladic III B2, depending on the particular 'palace'. The arrangement of representative tablets in Chapter 2 of this dissertation is arranged according to the dating – from the oldest inscriptions to youngest, in order: Knossos, Mycenae, Thebes and Pylos. The differences in dating are significant. Foremost, Crete is the oldest place, where the Linear B script was used. Secondly, in the range of all the tablets, only inscriptions with young people were selected, which means also the use of the time frame (see Table 2 and tablets dating from the Linear B Tablets Catalogue).

Table 2: The chronology of palatial tablets sets from Knossos, Mycenae, Thebes and Pylos, in comparison with the chronology of tablets related to children (based on Marazzi 2009:8-19; Warren and Hankey chronology 1989).

| Archaeological site | Chronology of tablets set | Chronology of tablets with children |
|---------------------|--|--|
| Knossos | LM II/III A1 – LM III A2/III B (1420 – 1330 BC) | LM II/IIIA – LM III A2 (1420 – 1320 BC) |
| Mycenae | LH III A2 – LH III B2/C (1370 – 1180 BC) | LH III B1 (1320 – 1260 BC) |
| Thebes | LH III B1 – LH III B2 (1330 – 1190 BC) | LH III B2 (1260 – 1190 BC) |
| Pylos | LH III A – LH III B2 (1390 – 1190 BC) | LH III B2 (1260 – 1190 BC) |

Influences from Knossos in texts from Pylos are clearly visible. Mostly common characteristics are stylistic features, the use of the same words, and the text's arrangement on the tablet. The similar situation we can observe on the Mycenae and Thebes texts, which have comparable contexts of inscriptions.

There is evidence from the Linear B script excluding only family relations between adults and youth noticed side by side. We can recognize ‘teacher-learner’ relation, which is demonstrated by following words and abbreviations:

- Syllabograms ‘DA’ and ‘TA’ used as abbreviations for a supervisor/teacher;
- Syllabogram ‘DE’ for the word *de-di-ku-ja* (boy or girl ‘after training’); and
- Syllabogram ‘DI’ for the word *di-da-ka-re* (boy or girl ‘under training’) (Nosch 2019).

There are also inscriptions, where children are mentioned in separation of adults, for example on the tablet from Mycenae Oe 121 and Knossos Ai 115. As an explanation is the opinion that family bonds between youths and adults are presented with indirect form (Palaima 2000-2001:478-81; Melena 2001:49-51; Duhoux 2001-2003, 2005; Garcia Ramon 2010:86). In contrast to this, we can distinguish words directly indicating family relationship, like: ‘son’, ‘daughter’, ‘mother’ and ‘father’.

Another argument in favor of deeper interactions between adult and youth is the number of mentioned people. In-depth analysis of the Linear B script showed that the number of persons noticed in one verse often make it impossible to indicate the parent (tablet KN Ai 338 - 5 women, 2 children). As an example, we can cite the formula of the inscription from PY Ab 745 tablet:

ethnic name + occupation name + 2 women + 1 boy + food ration amount

The lack of family words and the presence of mixed adult-young groups do not exclude family bonds between these persons, but it makes a space for other interpretations.

1.4.1.2. Methodology

The selection of tablets and archaeological material to be included in this research depends on their geographic findspots as well as their dating to Mycenaean and Minoan periods. The selected tablets and archaeological objects were analyzed using the techniques described below, and the received data has been registered in Microsoft Access®. All statistical analyses were performed in Microsoft Excel® and these records are presented in the form of charts throughout this dissertation.

The sources for the Linear B script database are primarily catalogues containing drawings and photos of Linear B tablets (Evans 1909; Bennett 1955; Bennett and Olivier 1973-1976; Chadwick *et al.* 1987-1999; Aravantinos *et al.* 2001-2006). The online database 'LiBER'

which contains photos of tablets and sealings from Tiryns, Mycenae and Midea was also used. In some cases, it was possible to compare blurred photos published in the literature, with tablets displayed in the archaeological museums. The emphasis was placed on the visual placement of symbols in the text, so that the size of particular words (smaller, bigger), position in the sentence (up or down of the main verse) and other worth of attention traits can be observed.

The initial stage of philological analysis concentrates on the general qualification of the text regarding the parameters discussed above and allocation of tablets to a specific topic (e.g., list of rations for workers, list of learners, and list of individuals). Deeper analysis relied on identifying the pragmatic features of the text. An important attribute was the way in which the original scribe incorporates information into the text to represent social reality (Krzyżanowska 2013). For studies of the Linear B script, the size of a sign and its location in the text field are crucial. Preliminary analysis of the Linear B tablets confirmed that some words in the text were different in size relative to others throughout the inscription. It is assumed that the scribe intentionally used smaller characters to emphasize importance, for example using an epithet for the mentioned object or person (Piquette and Whitehouse 2013:5). Considering this assumption, I state that words represented by larger signs are more important than those represented by smaller signs.

The Linear B texts were translated by the author with reference to the *Diccionario Micenico* by Francisco Aura Jorro (1985, 1993), and *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Chadwick and Ventris 1973) to understand the content of inscriptions with words connected to children. To translate ancient Greek personal names from Linear B texts, the *Index of Personal Names* (Catling 2010) has been referenced. The number of people was expressed in words, and measures and weights were expressed as numbers in unchanged form. If the tablet was divided by horizontal lines, verses were presented with the ordinal number (1, 2, 3, etc.). In cases when tablets did not have a line separating two verses, the letters *a* and *b* were used to differentiate the first and second verse, respectively. In addition, the words written with bigger signs on the tablet are also presented bigger in the dissertation.

The method used in this thesis for interpreting the meaning of the translated Linear B texts was adopted from linguistics. It is based on the critical discourse analysis (Costin 1996; Fairclough and Duszak 2008; Bielecka-Prus 2012) and the principal assumption is that accurate behavior for boys and girls is constructed through cultural and social factors. These

studies are focus on the critical and interdisciplinary application of methods and consideration of information context (Gardiner 1992; Bradley 2008). Importantly, the critical discourse approach rejects the interpretation of a woman solely as a mother or a potential mother (Friedan 1992). Therefore, the Linear B script has been carefully examined in the case of inscriptions where a child was mentioned next to a woman, to avoid the hasty about a woman as his/her mother. This approach corresponds well with recent archaeological studies of gender (e.g., Gilchrist 1999; Sørensen 2000; Nelson 2015), and allows us to compare the information about childhood, collected from the Linear B script, with Mycenaean archaeological objects.

1.4.2. Archaeology

The primary sources of information about archaeological objects included in this dissertation are archaeological site reports. The data was also obtained through a search for particular objects at archaeological sites and local museums. A key problem with the most of the literature in the relation to social phenomena in the Mycenaean society is a generalization of results on the base of restricted case-studies. For the subject of Mycenaean ‘palaces’, we are dealing with different local contexts. Each of the regions has common practices, but also their own characteristic features (like funeral customs, various workshops, differ in the wealth of inhabitants, and possible differences in social hierarchy).

1.4.2.1. Research data

The second database comprises archaeological objects associated with children, including:

- Depictions on frescoes, jewelry, pottery, seals and sealings;
- Clay figurines called *kourotrophos*;
- Burials of children;
- Tools from children’s graves.

The selection was conducted within geographical and temporal frames. The basic rule is as follows: the objects had to be similar in dating with the appearance of words, which describe children on Linear B tablets. Theoretically, dating of archaeological objects is strictly subordinate to periods of using Linear B tablets, with division into particular administrative centers: North-Central Crete, Argolid, Boeotia and Messenia. Despite this, during selection of objects from archaeological sites a question came up: should be in the catalogue an imprecise

dated object with a very wide range of possible dating? The author of the thesis decided positively on this issue. Such an object should be included in the catalogue because it covers the period which is the subject of research. Provided that the catalogue extension and dating range will be used exceptionally for those objects for which it is not possible to precisely determine the dating. As a result, in the catalogue of archaeological objects are also included artifacts more widely dated and going beyond chronological frames. The best examples of objects with extended dating are:

- Phourni, Archanes Cemetery, Tholos 5, dated from MM IA to LM IIIA period;
- Prosymna, Grave 17, dated from LH I to LH III period.

This research took into consideration objects from surrounding local areas under control of Mycenaean ‘palaces’. Fortunately, many regional toponyms are recognizable in the administration records by names of local officials, and collectors of taxes. The database is divided into four tables, one for each local area under the control of the Mycenaean center, including: Argolid (controlled by the Mycenae center), Boeotia (controlled by the center at Thebes), North-Central Crete (controlled by the Palace at Knossos), and Messenia (the Hither and Further Province controlled by the center at Pylos) (Figure 1.6). Each table contains the ordinal number of the object, the name of the archaeological site where it was found, the type of object (figurine, burial, seal, etc.), a detailed description of the object and its context, as well as its date and any associated literature. The catalogue of archaeological objects contains a total of 72 items from the area of Argolid, 24 from Boeotia, 25 from Messenia, and 37 from North-Central Crete. The catalogue has been divided into parts and included in the subsections of Chapter 3.

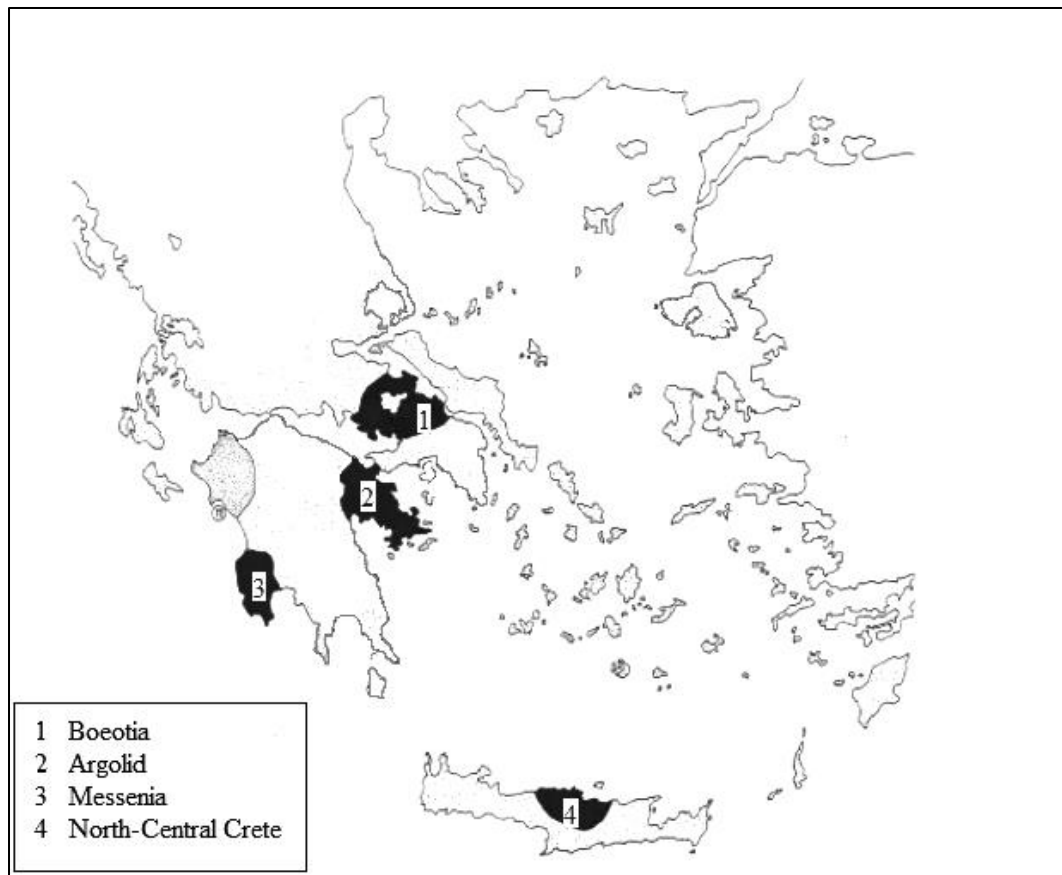


Figure 1.6: Mycenaean regions (Own figure based on Kelder 2010, Map 2).

The objects found in the area controlled by the Palace at Mycenae are mostly the burials of subadults (around 47 burials), 13 *kourotrophoi* figurines, 10 seals, including two signets with reliefs, one figurine triad made of ivory and one fresco. In the local area of Messenia, children were represented by 3 seals and sealings, around 17 burials, 2 gold rings, a figurine of a pregnant woman, one fresco and one decoration on a dagger. From the region of Boeotia, we have 3 paintings on larnaxes, which show ‘prothesis’ scenes and are recognized as unique representations of children. In addition, around 16 burials, 4 *kourotrophos* figurines and one seal from this area are included in the database. Most objects from the North-Central Crete connected with children are seals and sealings (15 items). There are also 2 frescoes, 14 burials, 4 figurines and one iconographical representation of youth on the gold signet, coming from this region. The objects are listed in this dissertation in the following order: frescoes, figurines, seals and sealings, other representations, and burials.

The archaeological objects were selected to be close in time with the appearance of words used for children in administration records. Due to imprecise chronology for majority of archaeological objects, extension of the chronological frame was needed. The Linear B tablets

in the first catalogue are dated from Late Minoan II/IIIA to Late Minoan III A2 on Crete, and on the mainland from Late Helladic III B1 to Late Helladic III B2, depending on the particular ‘palace’. The chronology of the second database begins on the Late Minoan I B period, and finish on Late Minoan III B period on Crete, and on the mainland the objects are dated from Late Helladic I to Late Helladic III C (Table 3). The dating is established on Peter Warren and Vronvy Hankey chronology (1989).

Table 3: Chronology of Linear B tablets and archaeological objects included in databases.

| Archaeological site | Linear B script chronology | Archaeological objects chronology |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Knossos | LM II/III A – LM III A2 (1420 – 1320 BC) | LM I B – LM III B (1530 – 1190 BC) |
| Mycenae | LH III B1 (1320 – 1260 BC) | LH I – LH III B/C (1600 – 1150 BC) |
| Thebes | LH III B2(1260 – 1190 BC) | LH III A – LH III C (1390 – 1050 BC) |
| Pylos | LH III B2(1260 – 1190 BC) | LH I – LH III C (1600 – 1050 BC) |

The discrepancy in the dating of Linear B scripts and archaeological objects chosen for this dissertation is inherent because of two basic problems with archaeological data. First, we have insufficient archaeological material, including depictions, burials, and other items that can be connected with children of the same period with Linear B texts. The second difficulty is the extended use of multiple graves, which were utilized from generation to generation and contain the largest numbers of children burials.

1.4.2.2. Methodology

To analyze the representations of children and youth from archaeological objects, patterns of physiological growth and development of the human body (Tanner and Whitehouse 1982; Blakemore and Jennett 2001), combined with age determinants based on Akrotiri and Minoan frescoes (Chapin 2000, 2007), were considered. The author of the studies suggests that representations of male youths are naturalistic, and it is possible to specify age grades on the basis of physiological features. The elements like skin color, nudity, hairstyle and social roles presented iconographical, are considered in the cultural context and are separated. The human growth is divided in a few phases:

- Infancy – large head because it develops rapidly;

- Childhood – in early childhood the head, trunk and chest grow fastest. Slower mature arms and legs, and finally the hands and feet;
- Puberty – very fast development of hands, legs, and feet, followed by the torso.

To determine the approximate anthropological age of children and youth from the presentation of Mycenaean and Minoan art, this thesis adopted the theory of the naturalistic way of a human body's depiction. Importantly, most examples have visible characteristics for the age stage, such as muscles, facial features, and body proportions appropriate to developmental stages of the skeleton. Based on naturalistic depictions, we have the possibility to determine the probable biological age. Each subsequent stage in the development of the skeleton and muscles has its own specificity, which is presented below. Similar to Anne Chapin's publication, *Boys will be boys: Youth and Gender Identity in the Theran Frescoes* from 2007, a model showing the growth and development of an average European boy is taken as a model here (Figure 1.7). The pattern was made on the basis of anthropological research from the 20th century (Chapin 2007:236, Figure 12.3; Tanner and Whitehouse 1982:27). On the basis of anthropological research, the features characteristic of each stage of human development can be distinguished by the following proportions:

- the size of the head in relation to the height of the figure;
- shoulder width in relation to the body height and waist circumference;
- the length of the legs in relation to the torso and the height of the entire figure;

In addition as a supplementary, we follow the example of:

- curvature of the spine and abdominal bulges;
- the stage of muscle development.

The author of this thesis used a grid pattern with marked lines, the same for each of the iconographic examples, calculating the proportions on the basis of the number of mesh grids. The basic unit is one square, superimposed on the picture. Moreover, when changing to a different image, the mesh remains the same - the size does not change. The resulting canon is authoritative in this way. At the first stage, the lengths and proportions for the boy's canon of development according to James M. Tanner and Reginald H. Whitehouse were calculated, suitable for ages 4 to 18 years (Figure 1.7, Table 4, and Table 5). Then, the lengths and proportions for the selected art representations were calculated, but only when it was possible to define them. The more length measurements are taken from the iconography, the more accurate the effect. The results are shown below.

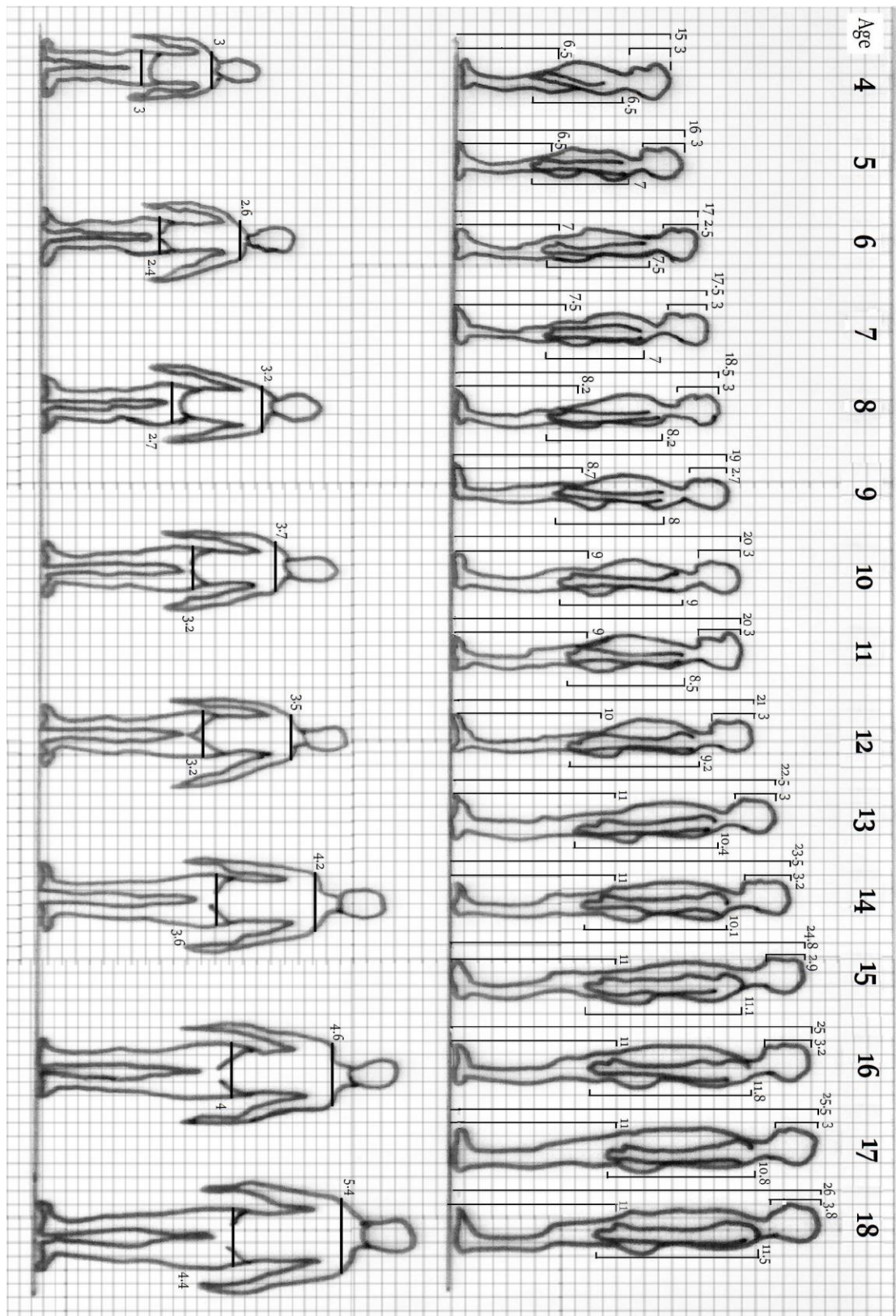


Figure 1.7: A model with a grid, stages of development of the average European boy (after: Tanner and Whitehouse 1982, with changes).

Table 4: Table of height and body parts' length for the average European boy according to the James M. Tanner and Reginald H. Whitehouse pattern, based on mesh grid calculation.

| Length (grids) | Age | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Body height | | 15 | 16 | 17 | 17.5 | 18.5 | 19 | 20 | 20 | 21 | 22.5 | 23.5 | 24.8 | 25 | 25.5 | 26 |
| Head length | | 3 | 3 | 2.5 | 3 | 3 | 2.7 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 3.2 | 3 | 3.8 |
| Arm length | | 6.5 | 7 | 7.5 | 7 | 8.2 | 8 | 9 | 8.5 | 9.2 | 10.4 | 10.1 | 11.1 | 11.8 | 10.8 | 11.5 |
| Legs length | | 6.5 | 6.5 | 7 | 7.5 | 8.2 | 8.7 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Shoulder width | | 3 | | 2.6 | | 3.2 | | 3.7 | | 3.5 | | 4.2 | | 4.6 | | 5.4 |
| Hip width | | 3 | | 2.4 | | 2.7 | | 3.2 | | 3.2 | | 3.6 | | 4 | | 4.4 |

Table 5: Table of proportions of the average European boy according to the James M. Tanner and Reginald H. Whitehouse pattern.

| Proportions | Age | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
|---------------------------------------|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| figure height - head length | | 10:2 | 10:1.9 | 10:1.5 | 10:1.7 | 10:1.6 | 10:1.4 | 10:1.5 | 10:1.5 | 10:1.43 | 10:1.33 | 10:1.36 | 10:1.17 | 10:1.28 | 10:1.18 | 10:1.46 |
| figure height - arm length | | 10:4.33 | 10:4.27 | 10:4.41 | 10:4 | 10:4.43 | 10:4.21 | 10:4.5 | 10:4.25 | 10:4.38 | 10:4.62 | 10:4.3 | 10:4.47 | 10:4.72 | 10:4.23 | 10:4.42 |
| figure height - leg length | | 10:4.33 | 10:4.06 | 10:4.12 | 10:4.28 | 10:4.43 | 10:4.58 | 10:4.5 | 10:4.5 | 10:4.76 | 10:4.89 | 10:4.68 | 10:4.43 | 10:4.4 | 10:4.31 | 10:4.23 |
| figure height - shoulder width | | 10:2 | x | 10:1.53 | x | 10:1.73 | x | 10:1.85 | x | 10:1.66 | x | 10:1.79 | x | 10:1.84 | x | 10:2.08 |
| figure height - hip width | | 10:2 | x | 10:1.41 | x | 10:1.46 | x | 10:1.6 | x | 10:1.52 | x | 10:1.53 | x | 10:1.6 | x | 10:1.69 |

For the study of archaeological objects, a conventional comparative method based on the available literature was conducted. Each object was analyzed considering both its physical and contextual features. Different characteristics of the same object categories (e.g., frescoes) were evaluated using statistical analysis. During the examination of archaeological data, the random selectivity of preserved objects was carefully considered. Finally, the results from the archaeological objects were compared (aspects within a specific region) with information collected from Mycenaean Linear B inscriptions at the local level.

It is important to define the terminology used in this dissertation. Firstly, some basic keywords should be described, because in publications they are applied in general meaning or are not specified at all. For example, the word 'child' is defined as having a very restricted age range (between 3 and 12 years of age) in Anglo-American studies of human skeletons (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994), and another age extend in osteology studies (from 1 to 6 years old). In archaeology, words like: 'children', 'child', 'youth', or 'adolescent' are used alternately. In the case of this research, these terms will be exchanged with the word 'subadult' when referring to burials of individuals 19 years of age or younger, to distinguish them from adults. The term 'childhood', which has so many meanings in different human disciplines, will be used here to describe the social construct defining general norms and behaviors adopted in Mycenaean society for the period of a human life before reaching adulthood.

The next term used in this dissertation is an 'archaeological object', which refers to material artifacts collected in the catalogue of archaeological data, and that includes: burials, furnishings, pottery, and other objects connected and used for or by Mycenaean youths.

Continuing, the word 'representation' is used throughout this thesis in order to introduce iconography of children in the form of frescoes, *kourotrophos* figurines, paintings on larnaxes, seals and sealings. The 'prothesis' scene, which is also a kind of representation, is defined as icon depicting the preparation of a body for exposure and mourning, display of a funeral procession to the burial place, and deposition of cremated or inhumed remains in the grave or in the larnax (Diogo de Souza and Barcellos Dias 2018; Aravantinos *et al.* 2018:442).

The terminology used commonly for a tomb with multiple burials practiced for centuries by the same society is called a 'family tomb' or 'family grave'. In order to avoid any associations with unconfirmed family relations, these words will be replaced with the term: 'multiple grave'.

Lastly, the term 'feeding bottle' tends to be used in the literature for a handmade handled jug with a tubular spout (Lis 2016:501). The shape resembles a bottle for feeding children and hence the name (Gallou 2004). In this dissertation, the word 'feeding bottle' will be used in quotations. Recent studies do not confirm that the function of this type of vessel was used for nourishing infants. For example, molecular analysis of a 'feeding bottle' from the Midea archaeological site revealed traces of beeswax and fermented product (Tzedakis and Martlew

1999:169), so looks like it was used for mead. Furthermore, vessels of this shape are proportionately present in adults' and children's burials.

CHAPTER 2

A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LINEAR B SCRIPT

2.1. INTRODUCTION

To better understand Greek childhood experiences and address the research questions put forth in this dissertation, inscriptions related to children on tablets recovered from Knossos, Mycenae, Thebes, and Pylos were examined. The first catalogue includes 136 of 9947 (1.4%) tablets with joins from Knossos, 5 of 86 (5.8%) from Mycenae, 22 of 294 (7.5%) from Thebes, and 144 with joins of 1101 (13%) from Pylos (Figure 2.1). It is worth emphasizing that the difference in the number of administration records mentioning youth between Pylos and Knossos is significant. The biggest part of inscriptions referred to children was found at Pylos, in opposition to administration records from Knossos. A similar percentage of tablets listed in young people is coming from Thebes and Mycenae. We have to be aware, however, that the total number of tablets found in each of the ‘palaces’ is differential, and it depends on accidental survival.

Inscriptions were translated by the author with assistance from published sources (Ventris and Chadwick 1973; Aura Jorro 1985, 1993; Catling 2010). The following sections discuss the terms related to children inscribed on tablets in greater detail by the site.

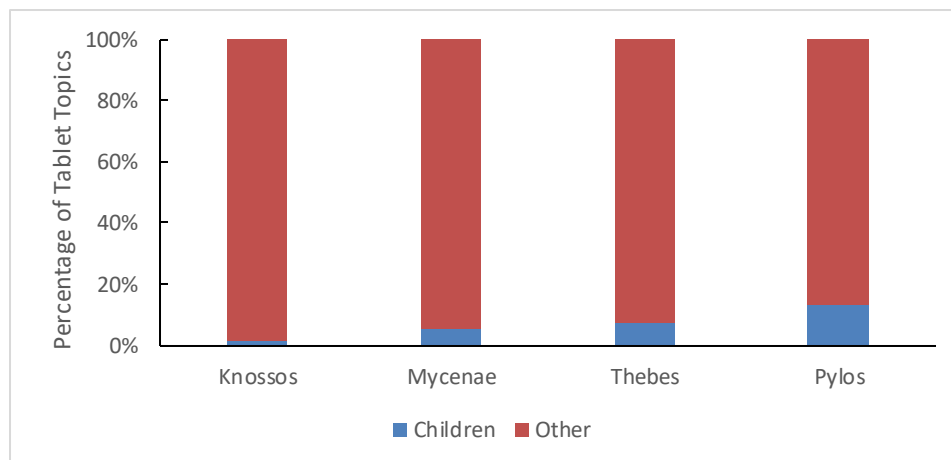


Figure 2.1: Percentage of Linear B tablets and joins with words connected to children from archaeological sites included in this study.

2.2. KNOSSOS

The first set of analyses examined 9947 tablets found in the Palace at Knossos. As a result of the selection, 136 tablets plus joins that related to children were chosen. These tablets dated to the transition of the Late Minoan II/III A (ca. 1420 BC) to Late Minoan III A2 (ca. 1320 BC) periods. Most were found inside the West Wing of the 'palace' (Figure 2.2). Only two findspots were outside the West Wing: one in the East-West Corridor and the second on the first floor above the Corridor of Sword Tablets.

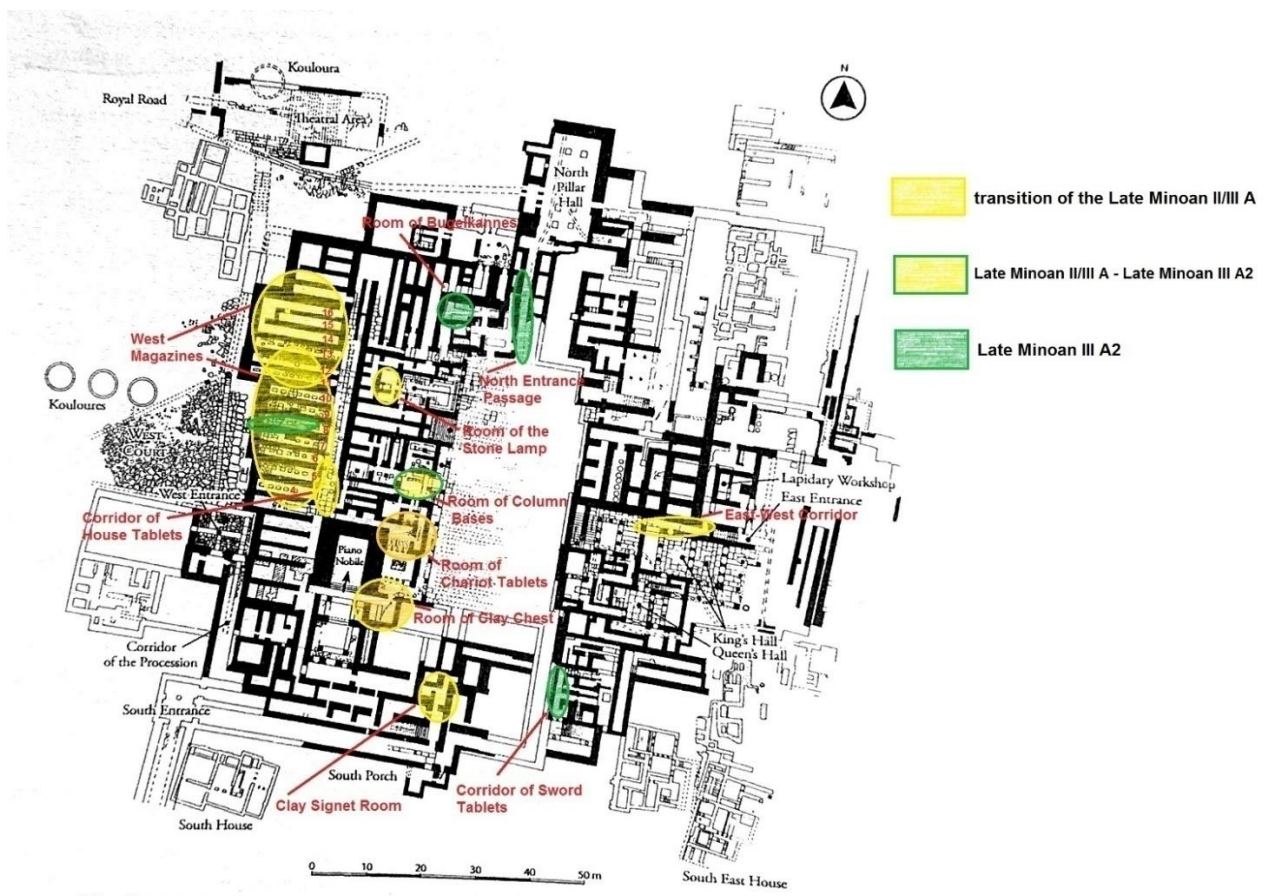


Figure 2.2: Plan of the Palace at Knossos, findspots and dating of tablets connected with children (own figure based on G. Cadogan 1980, fig. 6, by Dan Davis).

The arrangement of findspots for the tablets that met the criteria is variable; almost all the words selected in this research can be located in inscriptions recovered from every findspot. Despite this, concentrations of other indicators are observable. For example, while inscriptions detailing collectors and supervisors are noticeable throughout the 'palace', tablets that list recipients are concentrated in the north-central part of the building. The vast majority

of learners' lists fell down from the first floor above the North Entrance Passage and were found in West Magazines XIV and XV, whereas lists of workers were recorded in the area of the West Wing (Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: Findspot locations of tablets with inscriptions connected to children (own figure based on G. Cadogan 1980, fig. 6, by Dan Davis).

Only 12% of words describing a child on Knossos tablets correspond to family relations. The words *i-jo* and *u-jo*, meaning 'son of', appear on 19 tablets (see Catalogue of Linear B tablets - Knossos, nos. 1, 3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 19, 22, 23, 48, 60, 67, 69, 71-75) and the word *pa-te* - 'father' (nos. 16, 68, 70 and 120) and the sign *69 *tu* - the abbreviation of *tu-ka-te* - 'daughter' (nos. 41, 46, 86 and 136) - appear on four tablets each. Two tablets from Knossos have the sign *65 *ju* (nos. 14 and 46), which probably indicates the abbreviation of son. The texts that describe youth, around 60% of all selected Knossos tablets, include words describing boys (*ko-wo*) and girls (*ko-wa*) equally often (69 and 67 tablets, respectively). At roughly the same level of prevalence are the terms *me-wi-jo* (younger) and *me-zo* (older) at 14% and 12% of chosen tablets, respectively. Finally, a few tablets with the word *ne-wo* ('new/young') comprised around 5% of the selected tablets. The numerical diagram in Figure 2.4 presents the above data in visual form.

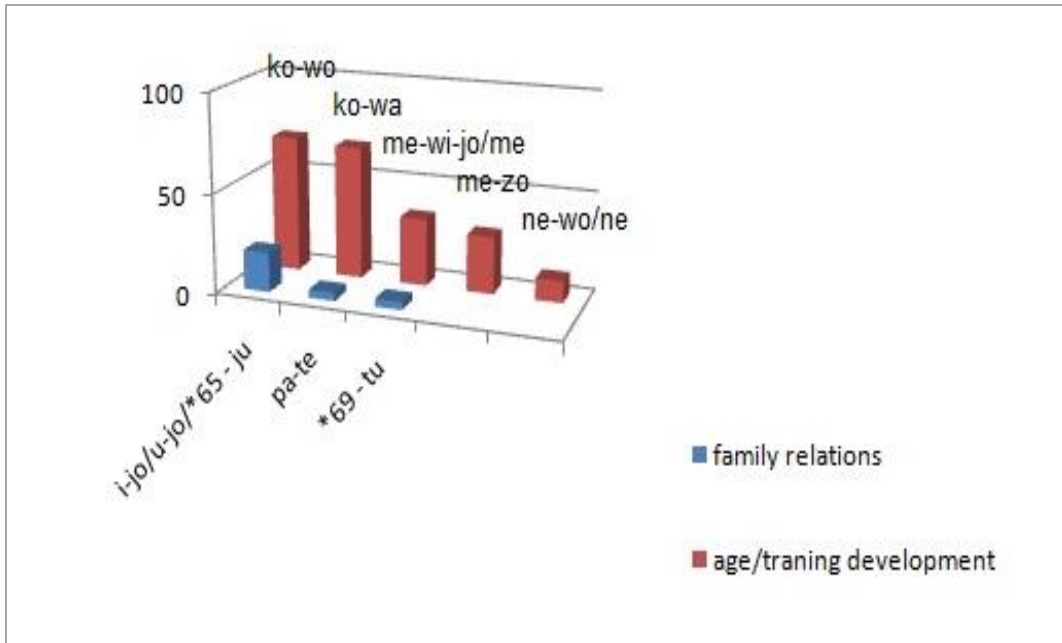


Figure 2.4: Number of the tablets with words connected to children.

It should be noted that on most of the tablets the terminology for youths (*ko-wo* and *ko-wa*) is associated with only a limited number of occupations: *to-te-ja* (στόρτεια ‘maker of a kind of garment called *to-ta*’), *da-te-we-ja* (unknown name), *e-ne-re-ja* (ἐνέρειαι ‘makers of *e-ne-ra*’), and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* (ἀσκήτρια ‘finishers/decorators’). One specialization occurred exclusively with boys – *we-ke-i-ja* (‘workers’, from ἐργασία; tablet no. 62, Am 819) and one only with girls – *a-ra-ka-te-ja* (ἀλακάτεια ‘spinner’; tablet no. 79, Ak 5009+). Most inscriptions of boys and girls mentioned them as apprentices/learners without specifying a trade (see for example tablet no.30, Ak 613). However, Cretan scribes often used abbreviations that of them are unclear to us, which makes our studies more difficult.

2.2.1. Family relations

2.2.1.1. *i-jo/u-jo* (υἰός ‘son of’)

Among the 136 tablets from Knossos, 18 contained *i-jo* and only one tablet have its equivalent, *u-jo*. On all tablets, these designations are mentioned as a suffix at the end of a male name. An exception occurred on tablet KN V 1523, where *i-jo* was written separately but in connection with the verse written below it. Probably it describes the male name mentioned lower in the inscription.

KN V 1523

.4a **i-jo** **i-jo**

.4b]pi di-zo , pi-ma-(na)-ro , zo-wi-jo1 a-tu-qo-te-ra-to[

.5a **i-jo**

.5b o-pi ri-zo , pi-ma-na-ro pi-ro-i-ta 1

.4] (*o-pi?*) Δίζος, Pimanaros, 1 son of Ζώφιος and Αρτυγωχοντέρατος (?)

.5 (*o-pi*) Ρίζως, Pimanaros, 1 son of Φιλωιτᾶς

Inscriptions also present male names with received goods. Among them, there are patronymic names ending with *i-jo*. An example is shown on tablet KN Le 641 verse 1 with the name Αρήιος (*a-re-i-jo*) – ‘son of Ares’, which came from the name Ἄρης. The character of the texts also shows the high status of the mentioned men - patronymic names occurred next to military equipment, royal vessels, and flocks of animals, pointing to the possession of these items by the men mentioned in the text. Furthermore, these names are highlighted in the inscription with larger syllabograms, similarly indicating their importance. It is worth mentioning that these patronymic names could be supplemented by the ideogram VIR representing a man.

KN Le 641

.1 o-a-po-te, de-ka-sa-(to), **a-re-i-jo**, o-u-qe po[

.2 pa-i-ti-ja, ^{pe} TELA+TE 2 _{mi}TELA¹+TE 1(4) da-wi-ja, pe TELA^x+TE[

.3 do-ti-ja _{mi} TELA+TE 6 qa-mi-ja TELA¹+TE 1[

(...)

.1 *Oafotes* (male name?) received, and not Αρήϊος, po[

.2 *pe* (adjunct) woman from Faistos, 2 parts of a cloth with ropes (*te*), 14 parts of cloth with ropes *mi* (cloth description), *pe Dawija* (female ethnic name) cloth with ropes[

.3 *Dotija* (female ethnic name) *mi* 6 parts of a cloth with ropes, *Qamija* (female ethnic name) 1 cloth with ropes[

2.2.1.2. *65 –ju (abbreviation of a ‘son’)

One tablet and one fragment of a tablet from Knossos have the syllabogram *65 –ju, which in some cases could be a variant of ‘son’. In the case of KN Ap 639, ju appears on the list of women and with ideogram MUL indicating female.

KN Ap 639

(...)

.10 tu-ka-na MUL 1 **sa-ju** MUL 1 u-jo-na , MUL 1 sa-mi MUL 1

(...)

.10 1 woman Τυχάρá (?), 1 woman Σαλλή (?), 1 woman Ουλόνα (?), 1 woman Σάμη (?)

On the fragment KN Xd 292, the word with ending -ju has no context, but it is possible to connect it with *te-u-to* (the male name Τεῦθος?).

KN Xd 292

te-u-to-ri-(**ju**) [

the son of Τεῦθος[

2.2.1.3. *69 –tu (abbreviation of tu-ka-te θυγάτηρ ‘daughter’)

Four tablets with extensive text and tu within the inscription have the following similar pattern:

toponym – syllabogram tu – ideogram of a woman – number

Details, like female names or words for children (*ko-wa, ko-wo*), are located in different parts of the text keeping the above formula. For example:

KN Ap 629

.1 tu-ni-ja ^{tu}MUL 4 ne^{di} 3 ^{ko1}ri-jo-no ^{tu}MUL 3 **ko-wo** 3 [

.2 do-ti-ja^{2tu}MUL 4 ne^{di} 6 [] *vacat* [

²„Δώτιον, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὅπου μετώκησαν οἱ Κνίδιοι, ὠν ἡ χώρα Κνιδία. ἀπό Δωτίας της Ἐλάτου κληθεῖσα, ἢ ἀπό Δώτιος ἢ ἀπό Δώτου. ὁ πολίτης Δωτιεύς. τό θηλυκόν Δωτηίς καί Δωτιάς.”, Weistermann, A., *Stephani Byzantii, EΘNIKΩN. Quae supersunt*, 1839: 114.

.1 4 women, daughters of Ελτυνία (toponym), 3 new³ learners, (abbreviation *ko*) 3 women, daughters from Πιωνός, 3 boys[

.2 4 women, daughters from Δώτιον/Δωτιάς (?)⁴ 6 new learners []*vacat* [

2.2.1.4. *pa-te* (πατήρ ‘father’)

Among the four tablets with the word *pa-te*, two inscriptions are too short to understand the content. The other two inscriptions seem to be unrelated to the word for father:

KN B 1055

- .1 ko-no-si-jo, e-qu-e-ta,
- .2 pi-sa-wa-ta, VIR[]-(se) [
- .3 wo-si-jo-ne VIR[
- .4 .5 *vacat*
- .6]VIR 1 e-ko-te[
- .7]-(wi)[] VIR 1 me-(tu)[
- .8]-ma-ro, VIR 1
- .9 to-so, **pa-te** VIR 213[

- .1 followers of the king from Knossos,
- .2 man, Πισφάτας (?) (ethnic name) []-se [
- .3 man, Βάσιλος (male name)[
- .4 .5 *vacat*
- .6]1 man have[
- .7]-wi[], 1 man Μέθυλλος (?) (male name) [
- .8]-ma-ro, 1 man
- .9 so much in all (‘τόσσοι πάντες’): 213 men [

KN Ra 984

- .1]-**pa-te**, de-de-me-na [
 - .2]zo-wa, e-pi-zo-ta, ke-ra, de-de-me-na (*236)[
-
- .1]ivory⁵ bounded[
 - .2]animal horn bounded around of (a dagger)[

³‘ne’-abbreviation of *ne-wo* - new/young.

⁴Toponym or ethnic female name.

2.2.2. Determinants of age or a child's development

2.2.2.1. *ko-wa* (κόρη– ‘girl’)

The word *ko-wa* appears on 67 tablets, plus joins from Knossos. Most of these tablets are lists of apprentices/learners, but also lists of workers and recipients of GRA (wheat). This word is always mentioned before the word *ko-wo*. The word *ko-wa* is also connected with *me-wi-jo/me-u-jo* (younger, smaller) and *me-zo* (older, bigger) in the inscriptions. Tablets with the word *ko-wa* were found in many findspots:

- Twenty-three tablets plus joins that are lists of learners were found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the West Magazine XV, Magazines VI and VII, above Magazines VIII and IX, and in the North Entrance Passage;
- Nineteen tablets with joins are lists of workers and came from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, West Magazines XIV and XV, the Room of Clay Chest, the Room of the Stone Lamp, Rooms of the Búgelkannes (North-West Insula), the North Entrance Passage, and Magazines VI and VII;
- Three tablets describing girls as recipients of goods were recovered from Rooms of the Búgelkannes, probably from West Magazine XV, and from the Room of the Chariot Tablets;
- Twenty-two fragments of tablets are very small, and their contents are unclear.

Most inscriptions with the word ‘girl’ are connected with lists of apprentices (see the example for *ko-wo* KN Ak 624 on the next page), while the next most common inscriptions are lists of workers. For example:

KN Ak 5009[+]

.a] ka-pa-ra₂[

.b] **ko-wa**, (me)[

.c (a)-ra-ka-te-ja, (ko)[

.a]Κόβαλλα (?) (ethnic/occupation female name)[

.b]girl,(*me-zo* or *me-u-jo*?)[

.c spinning-woman (ἄλακάτεια), (*ko-wo/wa*?)[

⁵ Probably end of the word *e-re-pa-te* ‘ἑλέφας’, in dat.

Only three tablets that mention girls represent them as recipients (purely of GRA), for example:

KN Ai 752[+]

]re-ja MUL (3) **ko-wa** 1 ko-wo 1 GRA (T)[

3 women (e-ne)/(ko-u)-re-ja⁶ 1 girl 1 boy (T) units of wheat grain[

2.2.2.2. ko-wo (κόρος/κόροι ‘boy/children’)

This word appears on Knossos tablets in many combinations: with other men, women, or/and girls, as well as on the list of workers, learners, recipients of goods, and high-status people.

The word *ko-wo* appears on 69 tablets plus joins, including:

- Twenty-eight tablets with inscriptions describing learning a specialization. These were found in five spots (West Magazines XIV and XV, Magazine VI and VII, North Entrance Passage area, above Magazine VIII, and above Magazine IX);
- Fifteen tablets are lists of workers and were found in six spots: the Room of Chariot Tablets, the North Entrance Passage, Magazines XIV and XV, Rooms of the Bügelkannes (North-West Insula), the Room of Clay Chest, and in the Room of the Stone Lamp;
- Six tablets with lists of recipients came from five spots: Rooms of the Bügelkannes (North-West Insula), the North Entrance Passage, F-P spot, a tablet probably from the Room of Chariot Tablets and one from Magazine XV;
- Three tablets could be lists of male names. Each tablet was found in a different spot: the Room of Chariot Tablets, and in Magazines VI and VII of the North Entrance Passage;
- Seventeen tablet fragments are too small to understand the content of their inscriptions.

Most of the inscriptions that discuss boys also mention girls as apprentices/learners (‘DI’- ‘under instruction’) and women as teachers (‘DA’ – δάσκαλος) or supervisors (‘TA’) (Nosch 2019). For example:

⁶ Both occupation names connected with female textile workers.

KN Ak 624

- .1 ri-jo-ni-ja, TA[
- .2 ne di 3 ko-wa, me-zo-e[
- .3 **ko-wo**, di 3 **ko-wo**, me-zo-e 1[

- .1 *Rijonija* (fem.ethnic) supervisor[
- .2 3 new/young learners, older girls[
- .3 3 ‘under instruction’ boys, 1 older boy[

There are also lists of workers (mostly textile workers) on which toponyms, ethnic names and occupational names are visible:

KN Ai 739

- .1 ra-su-to, a-ke-ti-ri-jaMUL 2
- .2 ko-wa 1 **ko-wo** 1

- .1 *Λάσωνθος* (toponym), 2 women – textile decorators/finishers (*ασκήτρια*)
- .2 1 girl, 1 boy

Boys listed on Knossos tablets were also recipients of goods, predominantly wheat:

KN Ai 5543

- .1 **(ko)](wo)** 6 GRA 2 T(2)[
- .2]2 **ko-wo** 8 GRA (2) (T)[
- .3 **(ko)](wa)** 8 **ko-wo** 10 GRA 2 T(3)[
- .4] *vacat* [

- .1]6 (boys) 2+(2)T units of wheat⁷[
- .2]2, 8 boys (2+2 T) units of wheat[
- .3 8 (girls), 10 boys 2+(3)T units of wheat[
- .4] *vacat* [

The word *ko-wo* is also associated with a male name (see KN Ai 115) and with other adults mentioned by the name, for example on the tablet KN Am 827+. Finally, one exceptional tablet that includes the word *ko-wo* could indicate a family connection between workers (Shelmerdine 2016:629):

⁷1T – 1/10 of the whole -10 liters (Bennett 1950) or 1/12 of the whole- 12 liters (Chadwick 1958).

KN Am 827[+]

.1 si-mi-te-u VIR 1 a-wa-ti-ka-ra MUL 1[

.2 ko-wo 1

.1 1 man Σμίνθος/Σμινθεύς, 1 woman *Awatikara* (female name)[

.2 1 boy

2.2.2.3. *me-wi-jo/me-u-jo* (μείων – ‘smaller, younger’)

The words *me-wi-jo* and *me-u-jo* are visible on 31 tablets from Knossos:

- Eighteen tablets plus joins are lists of apprentices/learners and were found in West Magazine XV, Magazines VI and VII, above Magazines VIII and IX, and in the North Entrance Passage;
- Five tablets with joins are probably lists of workers in the Knossian Palace. They were found in the North Entrance Passage, West Magazine XV, and Magazines VI and VII;
- Eight tablet fragments plus joins are very small, and their content is unclear.

The words describing ‘smaller’ and/or ‘younger’ may appear in singular (*me-wi-jo/me-u-jo*) or plural (with suffix ‘e’) form and as an adjective to the noun in front of it:

KN Ak 613

.1 qa-mi-ja, TA1 DA1 (MUL)[

.2 ko-wa, **me-u-jo-e** 9 ko-wo[

.1 a woman *Qamija* (female ethnic name), 1 supervisor and 1 teacher [

.2 9 younger/smaller girls, boys[

Most tablets with *me-wi-jo* and *me-u-jo* describe boys and girls who are probably learning a trade (i.e. apprentices). Mainly, they can be trained for specializations connected with clothes and textiles. The pattern used by scribes for this kind of inscription often also includes a toponym or an ethnic name to indicate the worker’s origin, and looks like an attendance list:

KN Ak 626

- .1 a]ko-no-so[
 - .1 b] pa⁸di 2 pa di 2[
 - .2] **me-wi-jo-e** 7 [
 - .3] **me-wi-jo-e** 6[
-
- .1]2 old learners, 2 old learners from Knossos[
 - .2]7 smaller/younger[
 - .3]6 smaller/younger[

On the list of workers the word ‘smaller/younger’ always appears next to *ko-wa* or *ko-wo*:

KN Ak 7001

- .1] (a-ke)-ti-ri-ja, MUL 1[
 - .2](**me-wi**)-**jo-e** 4 ko-wa[
-
- .1]finishers/textile decorators, 1 woman[
 - .2]4 smaller/younger, girl[

Notably, the syllabogram *me*, probably an abbreviation of *me-u-jo*, also appears on the tablets from Knossos. For example:

KN Ak 5741[+]

- .1] 10 ko-wa me-zo 1[
 - .2] (jo), ko-wo me-zo-e 2 ko-wo **me** 1
-
- .1]10, 1 older girl[
 - .2] (jo), 2 older boys, 1 younger boy

2.2.2.4. me-zo (μεῖζων – ‘larger, older’)

The word *me-zo* occurs on 31 tablets from Knossos, almost always with *me-u-jo/me-wi-jo* on the same tablet. It often appears next to a girl or boy, and rarely after the personal name of a collector. Tablets that exhibit this word were recovered from the following locations:

⁸ The abbreviation *pa* comes from the word *pa-ra-jo* – ‘old’.

- Sixteen tablets with joins are lists of apprentices/learners. They were found in the West Magazine XV, above Magazines VIII and IX, in Magazines VI and VII, and in the North Entrance Passage area;
- Three tablets are probably lists of workers and came from the West Magazine XV and the North Entrance Passage;
- Two tablets discuss collectors and came from Magazines VI and VII;
- The content of 10 tablet fragments with joins is unclear from their limited inscriptions.

The majority of tablets with this adjective is applied to young people trained by teachers and supervisors:

KN Ak 610

.1a]DA1

.1b](TA)1 MUL 10 de MUL 1

.2] ko-wa **me-zo-e** 3 (de), ko-wa 1

.3] ko-wo (**me**)-zo1 ko-wo me-wi-jo 2

.1]1 supervisor and 1 teacher, 10 women, 1 woman ‘after training’

.2] 3 older girls, 1 girl ‘after training’

.3] 1 older boy, 2 younger boys

Only 3 tablets seem to be lists of workers. For example:

KN Ak 5553

.1 ko-ro-ka[

.2] (ko)-wa **me-zo** 1[

.1 female occupational name (?)[

.2]1 older girl[

An example of a list with a collector is the following tablet:

KN Lc 504

.a pa-we-a TELA [

.b (ku)-ru-so-no, **me-zo** LANA 40[

- .a older/larger pieces of cloth (φᾶρος)[
- .b of Χρύσονων (male name in Gen.) 40 units of wool[

2.2.2.5. *ne-wo*/abbreviation *ne* (νέος – ‘new, young’)

The word *ne-wo* or its abbreviation, *ne*, appears only on 11 tablets from Knossos:

- Seven tablets plus joins are lists of apprentices/learners. These tablets came from West Magazine XV and the North Passage area;
- Two tablets are connected to receiving OLE (olive oil) and were found in the Room of the Column Bases;
- On the tablet KN Od 689 from West Magazine XI, *ne-wo* is connected to a male name, probably of a supervisor;
- One tablet, KN X 658, is too short to understand the content of the inscription.

Tablets with a list of apprentices are represented by the tablet:

KN Ak 781[+]

- .1] MUL 17 (di-da-ka-re)[
- .2 ko-wa [
- .3 di-da-ka-re **ne** 1 ko-wo[

- .1]17 women ‘under instruction’[
- .2 a girl[
- .3 1 new learner boy[

The tablet below includes the inscription about olive oil:

KN Fh 362

- .1 **ne-wo** (OLE 83 S4)[
- .2 tu-[] 7 V 4[
- .1 for a new (83 units and S4 of olive oil)[
- .2 *tu-*[] 7 V 4[

Finally, only one tablet with *ne-wo* includes a description of a new supervisor:

KN Od 689

.a ne-wo

.b o-pi po-po LANA 4

4 pieces of wool, at the workshop of a new/young Πόπλιος (male name of the supervisor?)

2.2.3. Conclusion

After the examination of inscriptions from Knossos, it is noteworthy that family relations were not used in the case of occupations. The words describing a ‘son’ were used on the lists of named individuals with received goods, land/herd owners, and a description of ethnicity (place name + ‘son of’). The word ‘daughter’ was used next to individual women and as a description of ethnicity (place name + ‘daughter of’). These two words indicating the next generation were written with smaller signs, likely used as epithets. In sum, 12% of tablets that discussed children were connected to family bonds and 88% with other relations.

Furthermore, girls and boys are mentioned equally often on the tablets from Knossos. The same applies to the words ‘younger’ and ‘older’. Most of the children noted in these inscriptions are not connected to a specialization. The data is as follows:

- 61.5 % are lists of apprentices/learners;
- 28% are lists of workers;
- On 7.5 % of tablets children are recipients of food rations;
- 1.3 % are lists of collectors and recipients of unknown goods;
- 0.4% is about a new supervisor.

A few occupations occurred that involved youth of both sex/gender in textile production. Only one time the word ‘boy’ is exclusively noted in terms of general workers (*we-ke-i-ja*), and girls as spinners. It is very important to emphasize that occupational names connected with children are feminine, even if they refer to boys. In the formula where both boys and girls are included, a girl is always noted first in the verse.

Tablets with inscriptions mentioning children were found primarily in the northwest part of the Knossos ‘palace’ and probably fell from the first floor. Children connected to workers are primarily mentioned on the tablets from the West Wing.

2.3. MYCENAE

Of the 86 tablets found at Mycenae, only five are connected to youth and children. Three of those tablets selected for this research include a family relation - daughter and son (see Catalogue of Linear B Tablets – Mycenae, nos.1, 4, and 5). Three times the inscription refers to training stage/age (boy – no.3, small girl – no.1, new/young – no.2). Only one occupation name is mentioned, wherein a young boy was identified as a bronze-smith (tablet no.3, Oe 121).

Notably, the chosen tablets from Mycenae were found outside the Citadel (Figure 2.5). Their inscriptions are dated to Late Helladic III B1 (ca. 1320-1260 BC). Four of the five tablets from Mycenae chosen for this thesis were found in the House of the Oil Merchant (Room 2) and the fifth (MY V 659) was found in the West House (Room 5).

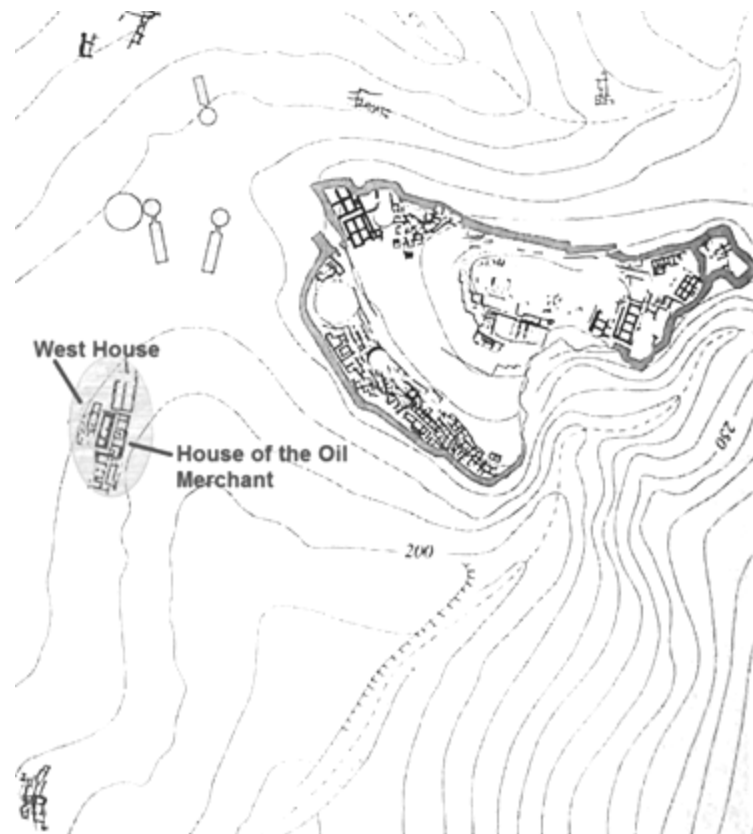


Figure 2.5: Map of the locations of Mycenae tablets examined in this thesis (own figure based on Treuil *et al.* 2008, fig. 50).

2.3.1. Family relations

2.3.1.1. *i-jo/u-jo* (υἰός ‘son of’)

One tablet from Mycenae contains the word for son on a list of men (anthroponyms and small groups of men with two groups of occupation names). Specifically, one man is listed with his son:

MY Au 102

.1 wa-ra-pi-si-ro, **i-jo**-qe VIR 2

(...)

.1 2 men: Φράψιλλος (?) and his son

(...)

2.3.1.2. *tu-ka-te* (θυγάτηρ ‘daughter’)

The word ‘daughter’ appears on two tablets: MY V 659 and MY Oe 106. The first lists individuals grouped in pairs, and although sex is not indicated, a single man is possibly listed at the end. The second tablet is a list of women recipients of wool, mentioned by name:

MY Oe 106

.1 to-te-we ja-se-we ko-ro-to LANA 1

.2 o-te-ra, **tu-ka-te-re** LANA 1

.3 i-ta-da-wa LANA 2

.1 for *Totewe* (male occupation) and for *Jasewe* (male name?) 1 unit of dyed wool

.2 for a daughter of Ορτυγία (female name), 1 unit of wool

.3 for Ιρθαλλάμμη (female name) 2 units of wool

2.3.2. Determinants of age or a child's development

2.3.2.1. *ko-wo* (κόρος/κόροι – ‘boy/children’)

The tablet MY Oe 121 is an example of an inscription that lists individuals, specifically wool recipients, that also mentions a *ko-wo* as an adjective:

MY Oe 121

- .1 i-te-we-ri di LANA 5 ku-ka LANA 2[
.2 ka-ke-wi LANA 2 pa-se-ri-jo **ko-wo** LANA 2[

.1 5 units of wool for Ιθυλλις (male name) ‘under training’, 2 units of wool for Γύγης (?)[
.2 2 units of wool for bronze smiths (χαλκεύς), 2 units of wool for a boy Φασήλιος[

2.3.2.2. *ki-ra* (νεογυλλός ‘new-born’, here: ‘a small girl’)

The Mycenaean tablet V 659 is the only example that uses the word *ki-ra*:

MY V 659

- .7 pi-ro-wo-na **ki-ra**-qe 2
(...)

.7 2 (people), Φίλοφοίνᾱ and a little girl (...)

2.3.2.3. *ne-wo* (νέος - ‘new, young’)

One tablet from Mycenae also has the word *ne-wo*, which appears on the list of wool recipients and occurs before the occupation name:

MY Oe 129

- .a di-du-mo
.b **ne-wo**, ka-na-pe-we ^{LANA 4}

4 units of wool for Δίδυμος (male name), a new fuller (κναφεύς)

2.3.3. Conclusion

All the chosen tablets from Mycenae note youth and children in the lists of individuals, and equally refer to family relations and age. Importantly, girls occur next to women and boys next to men. Furthermore, three of five tablets discussing young people are connected to the distribution of wool. Tablets from Mycenae associated with youth were found outside the citadel, in the area of private workshops where most tablets were recovered and the character of the inscriptions is strictly connected to craft work.

2.4. THEBES

Of the 294 tablets from the Thebes ‘palace’ (Figure 2.6), 22 were included in the presented study. They contain words indicating family (39%), as well as the age or training stage of children (61%). Unexpectedly, texts with family indicators described only a son using *i-jo*, *u-jo* and *65 *ju* (see Catalogue of Tablets – Thebes, nos. 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20 and 22). The word *ko-wa* (girl) appears 13 times and is noticed separately from adults. The word *ne-wo* (new/young) appears only once. The statistical analysis of these terms is presented in the following diagram (Figure 2.7). Around 90% of tablets from Thebes included in this thesis came from Odos Pelopidou, while the remaining 10% came from Odos Epameinondou (Figure 2.8). These tablets date to Late Helladic III B2 (ca. 1260-1190 BC). Neither a boy nor a girl is mentioned next to an occupational name; rather, occupation names occur only with the word *ne-wo* (‘new/young’) and do not recognize the sex/gender of the child.

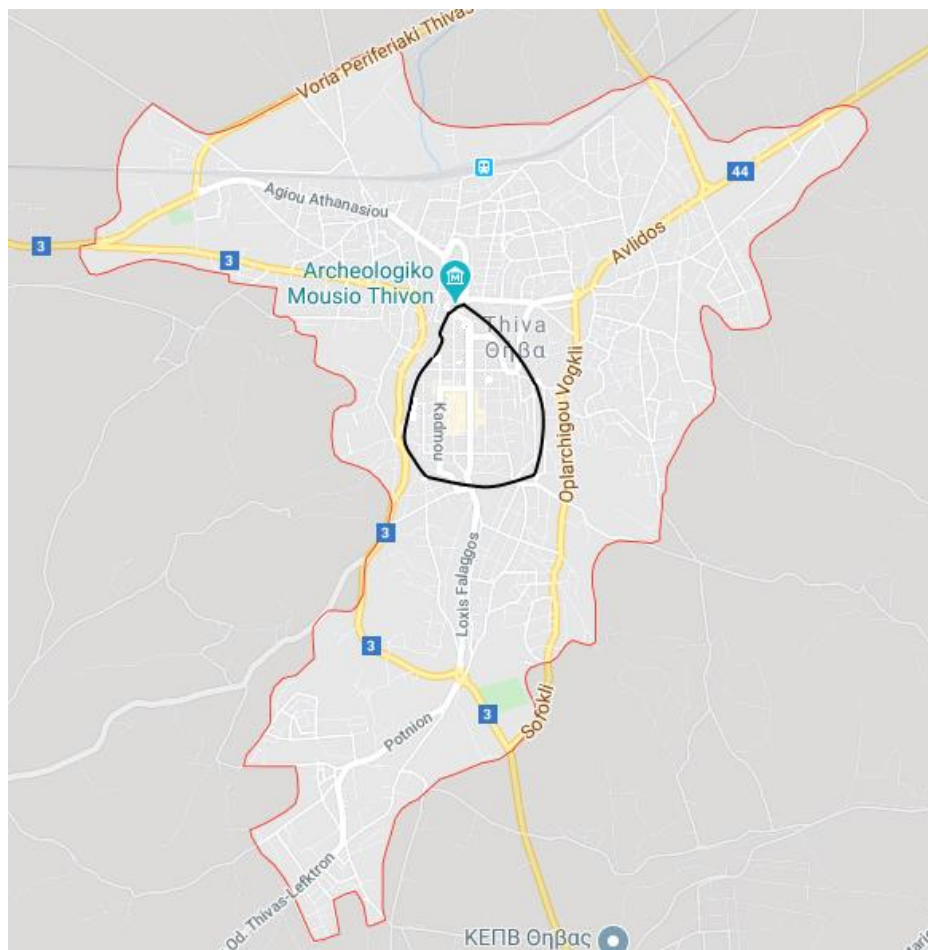


Figure 2.6: The location of the citadel at Thebes (own figure based on Google Map®2020).

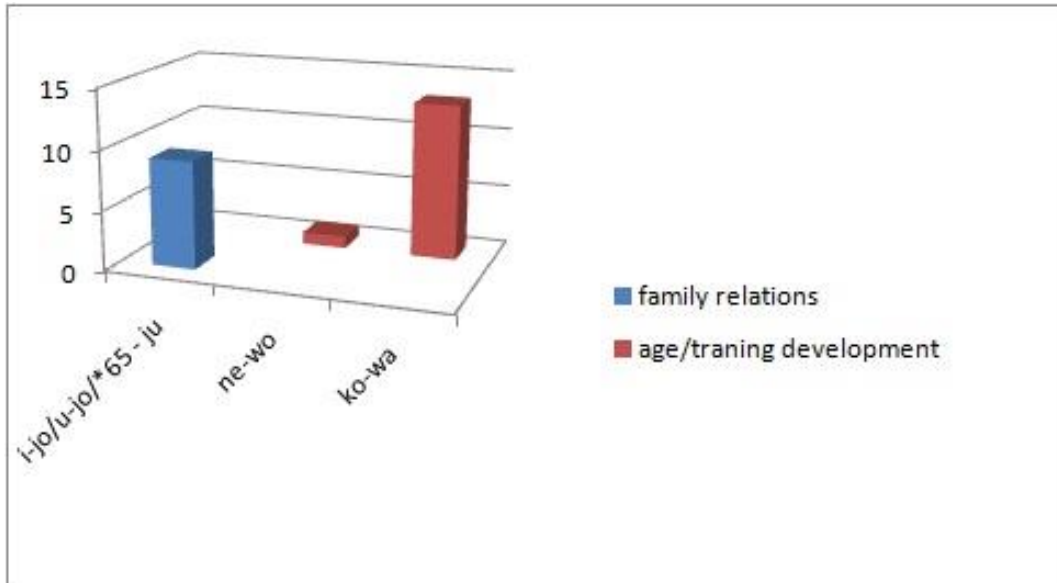


Figure 2.7: Frequency of words connected to children on tablets from Thebes.

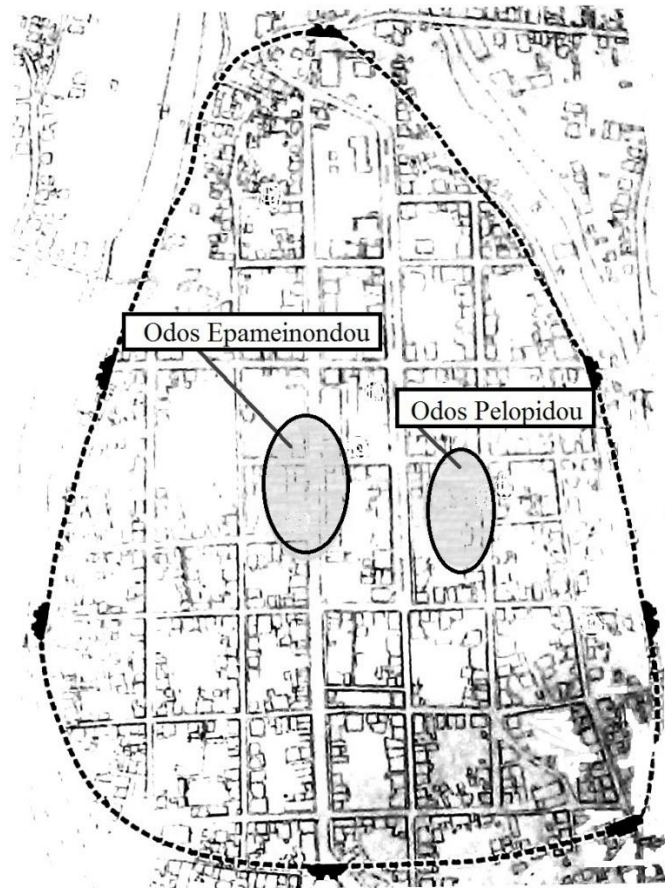


Figure 2.8: The plan of Theban Citadel indicating tablet findspots (own figure based on Aravantinos 2008, fig. 1).

2.4.1. Family relations

2.4.1.1. *i-jo/u-jo* (υῖός - ‘son of’)

Three tablets from Thebes have the word *i-jo* and one tablet has the word *u-jo*. They are fragments of personnel lists with named male individuals. For example:

TH Av 106

(...)

.4]na-e-si-jo VIR 1 te-u-ke-**i-jo** VIR 1

(...)

.4]1 man Ναχέσιος and 1 man, Θευχειος (patronym)

2.4.1.2. *65 –ju (abbreviation of a ‘son’)

There is a doubt whether the tablet TH Fq contains the *65 sign and scholars debate (Palaima 2006; Duhoux 2008; Valério 2008) whether it could be also interpreted as the ideogram *129 – FAR (grain):

TH Fq 130

.1 o-te , o-je-ke-te-to ma-ka HORD T 2[

.2 o- po –re -i V 2 ko-wa Z 2[

.3 ka-wi-jo-***65** V 1 re-wa-ko a-me-[

.4] (a)- ke- ne- u- si V 2 ku-si V 2[

.1 ‘when burnt offerings were made’ T 2 of barley[

.2 to Ορθόννας (male name) V 2, to a girl (or male name?) Z 2[

.3 to son of Κλαύδος V 1, to Ράυκιος (male name) a-me[

.4 to Hagneus V 2 , to Κουσοῦ V2[

One other tablet has the *65 sign in several verses:

TH Fq 254 [+] 255

(...)

.6 ka-wi-jo-(***65**) V 1 (*63)-[]-(ka) [] i-po-qo-po-i V 1 Z 1

.7 a-(ra-o)-*65 V 1 [] V1 me-to-(re)-i Z 2

(...)

.13 ra-ke-(da)-mi-ni-jo-*65 V 2 a-ke-ne-u-si V 2

.6 to the son of Κλαύδος V 1 (*63)-[]-(ka)[] to the horse-feeders V 1 Z 1

.7 to the son of Άραξος V 1 [] V 1 to Μετώλης Z 2

(...)

.13 to the son of Λακεδαιμόνιος V 2 to the winnowers V 2 (Palaima 2006)

2.4.2. Determinants of age or a child's development

2.4.2.1. *ko-wa* (κόρη – ‘girl’)

The word ‘boy’ is not presented on tablets from Thebes. Most of them represent the word for girl. Of the 22 tablets from Thebes, 13 include the word *ko-wa*, and always in a list of individuals. The term ‘girl’ often occurs with *a-pu-wa* or *o-po-re-i* in one sentence. For example:

TH Fq 275

.1](ko)-da-(mo)Z(2)

.2]V 4 Z 2 **ko-wa** Z 2 a-pu-wa Z 2

(...)

.1]for *Akodamo* (obscure anthroponym) Z 2

.2]V 4 Z 2, for a girl (or male name?) Z 2 (dry/liquid measure) for *Άποῦς* (male name?) Z 2

2.4.2.2. *ne-wo* (νέος – ‘new, young’)

On the tablet TH Of 34, the plural form of *ne-wo* appears:

TH Of 34

.1 a-pi-qo-ro, **ne-wa**, ko-tu-ro₂, DA, LANA 3

.2 a-ra-ka-te-ja, pa-ra-ja LANA 1[

.1 for new attendants (ἀμφίπολοι), for a teacher Κοτιοῦς (male name?) 3 units of wool

.2 for the old spinning-woman 1 unit of wool

2.4.3. Conclusion

The youth mentioned on the tablets from Thebes are shown in a similar context to those mentioned at Mycenae. Namely, adolescents and children of individuals are noted only in the lists of individuals. Furthermore, most of them are recipients of some commodity (e.g., barley, wool, and non-specified goods). Boys on the tablets from Thebes occurred only as sons next to male names. However, it is more possible that the scribe was indicating the family background of the noted men. The word *ko-wa* appears alone as a recipient in the list of individuals, possibly with the meaning of a male name. We cannot interpret specific occupations connected between family members (e.g., father and son), but relatives are noted on the lists together with coastal inshore/offshore, fullers/carders, and lyre players.

Tablets that mention children were found inside the citadel of Thebes and were related to palatial administration records.

2.5. PYLOS

Approximately 13% of tablets from Pylos mention children. Around 16% of these are related to the family. Mostly the inscriptions describe a son - *i-jo* and *65 *ju* (see Catalogue of Linear B Tablets – Pylos, nos.107, 109, 110, 112, 114-117, 119-122, 124-126, 128-130, 133-140 and 143), but there are also words for mother *ma-te* (nos.113, 131) and father *pa-te* (no.113). The majority of tablets (84%) present words describing age/training stage. The word ‘boy’ appears on 107 tablets, and ‘girl’ appears on 60 tablets. A person was mentioned as new or young (*ne-wo*) six times and once as younger (*me-wi-jo*) (Figure 2.9).

The significant major of tablets was found in the archive, but some of them came also from other rooms of the Mycenaean ‘palace’ at Pylos (Figure 2.10). Namely, almost 95% percent of examined tablets came from Archive Rooms (1, 2, 7, and 8). Only some tablets were found in Rooms 95 and 99. A single tablet was found in Room 23, the South-West Building, and Rooms 71 and 72 each. The concentration of tablets mentioning children was focused on the West-Central part of the ‘palace’. All date to Late Helladic III B2 (ca. 1260-1190 BC) and are similar in age to the tablets from Thebes.

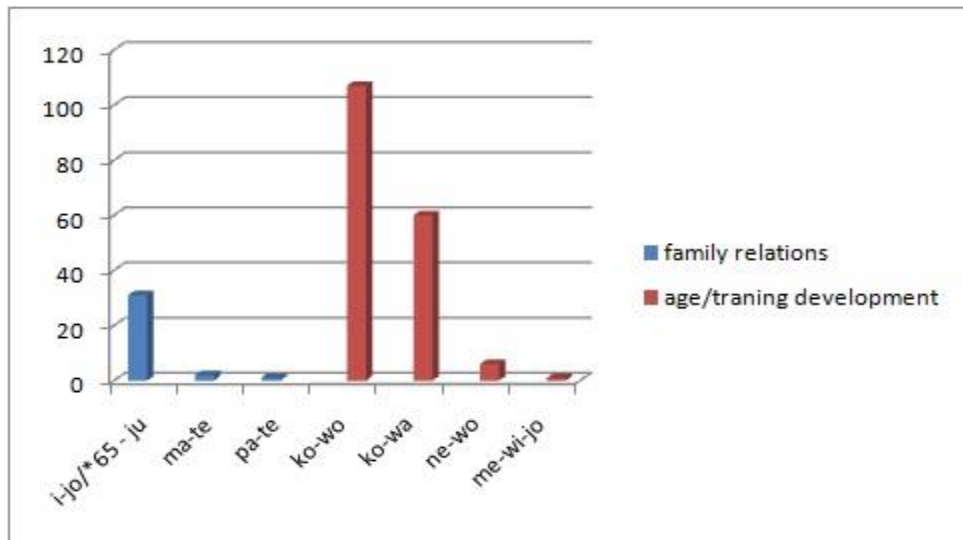


Figure 2.9: The number of Pylos tablets with words connected to children and youth.

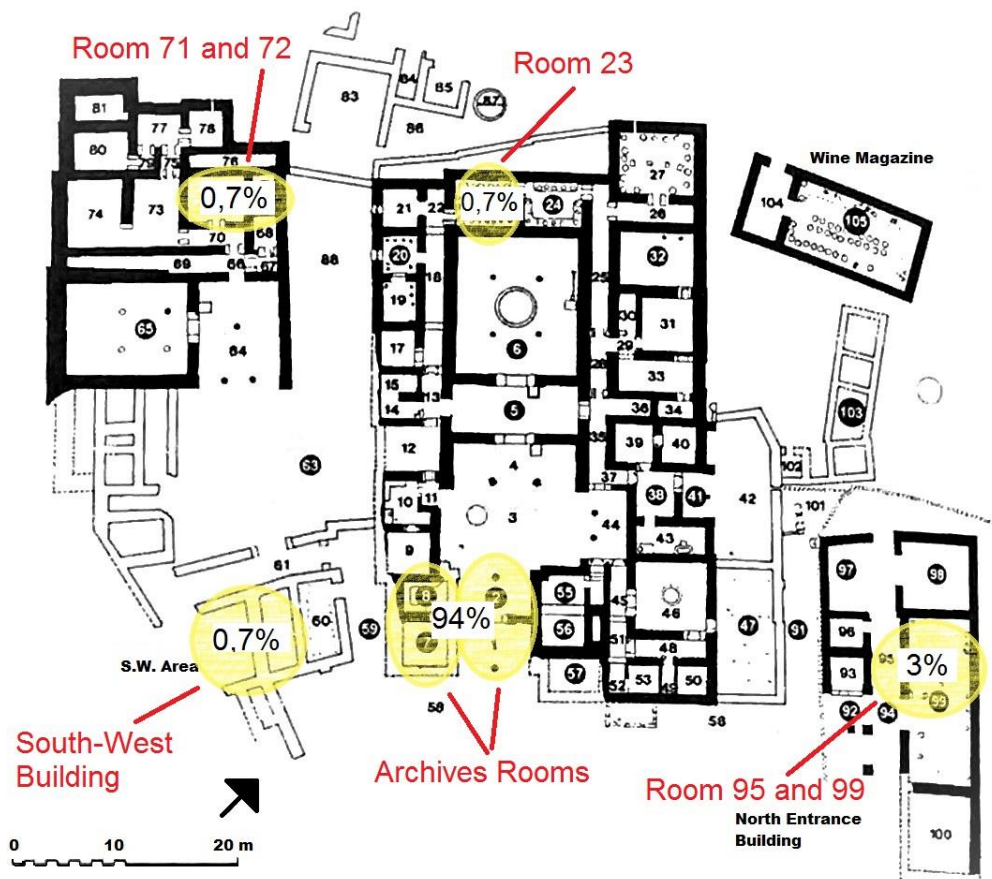


Figure 2.10: Plan of the Pylos 'palace' indicating tablet findspots (own figure based on Wright 1984, fig. 2, by D. Davis).

The arrangement of text topics was examined in the 'palace' plan (Figure 2.11). Although there were no correlations between the arrangements of tablets with particular words

describing children, there was a significant correlation between inscriptions connected with children in general and their findspots. As the analyses show, tablets with content regarding lists of apprentices, workers, recipients, and individuals are concentrated in the Archive Rooms. Persons mentioned by the name are also evident in the South-West Building, near the Archive Rooms. Several tablets found in the east part of the ‘palace’ contain lists of herd owners and equipment for horses. The content of the texts from this area is clearly connected with animals. One tablet found in the northwest of the Pylos Palace (Room 23) also discusses religious practices. Finally, the content of a small piece of the tablet from Room 71 with the word *ko-wo* is unclear.

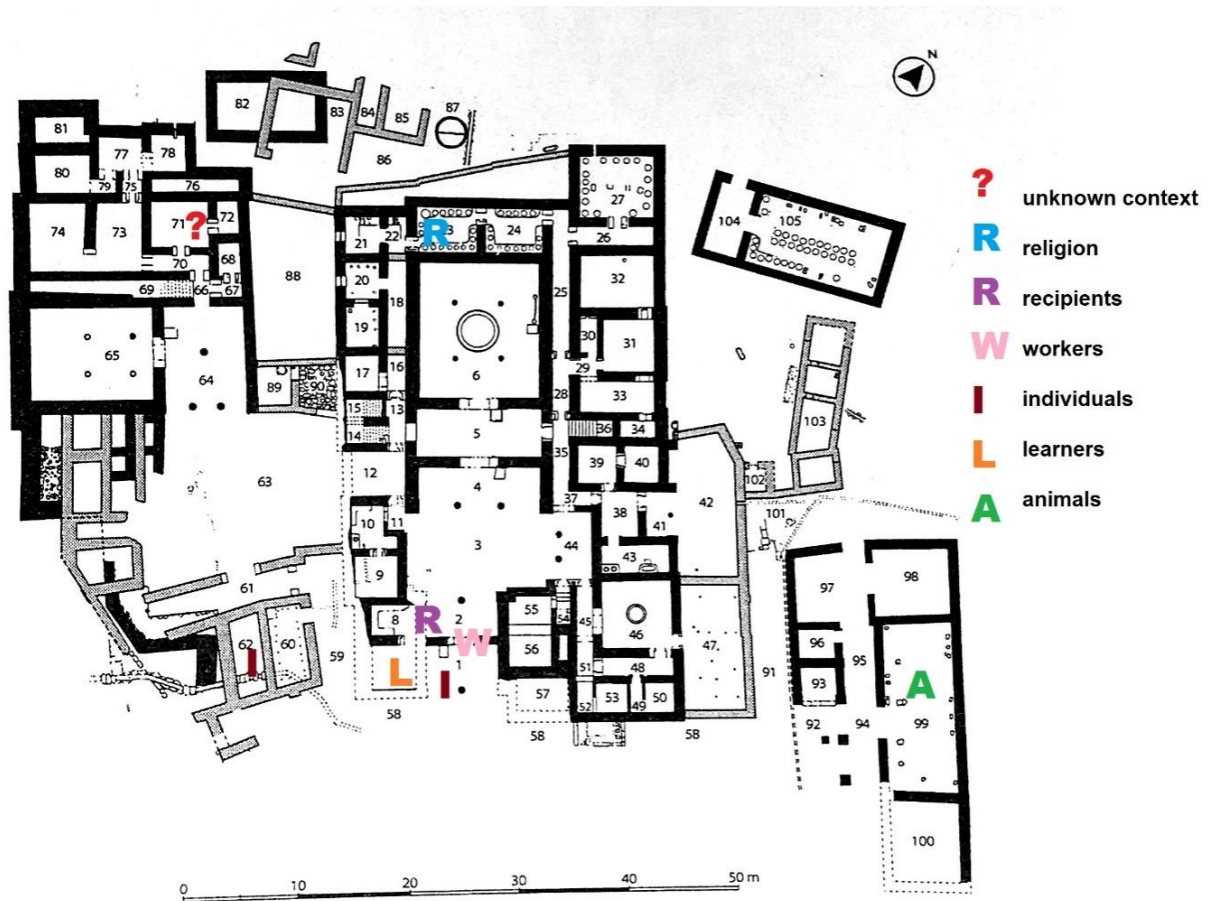


Figure 2.11: Plan of the Pylos ‘palace’ indicating findspots and text content (own figure based on Wright 1984, fig. 2, by D. Davis).

On the Pylos tablets, the majority of boys and girls are mentioned with the same occupational names: *me-re-ti-ri-ja* (μελέτρια ‘corn-grinders’), *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* (ἀσκήτρια ‘finishers/decorators’), *no-ri-wo-ko* (νωρί-ἐργός ‘nori-workers’), *a-ra-ka-te-ja* (ἀλακάτεια ‘spINNERS’),

o-ti-ri-ja (οίστρια ‘*triai*-workers’), *pa-ke-te-ja* (φάκτειᾶ makers of *pa-ko-to* vessels’), *ne-we-wi-ja* (new textil-workers), *we-we-si-je-ja* (‘wool [εἶρος] workers’), *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* (λοετροχόος ‘bath-attendants’), *ka-pa-ra-de* (‘textile workers’), *pa-wo-ke* (‘maids with a variety of tasks’ from πᾶς and ἔργον), *a-pi-qo-ro* (ἀμφίπολος ‘attendants’), *o-nu-ke-ja* (ὀνούχεια ‘makers of *o-nu-ke* cloth’), *ra-qi-ti-ra₂* and *ra-pi-ti-ra₂* (λάμπτριαι ‘seamstress’), *pe-ki-ti-ra₂* (πέκτρια ‘wool-carders’), and *ri-ne-ja* (λύνεαι ‘linen-workers’). There is no specialization only for girls, but boys are separately mentioned for the following crafts: *ka-ke-we* (χαλκεύς ‘bronze-smith’), *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* (αμπόξ and ἔογον ‘head-band makers’), *i-te-ja-o* (ἰστειᾶων ‘weavers’), *e-ke-ro-qo-no* (ἐγγληρόκωοινος ‘wage-earners’), *a-ro-po* (ἀλοιφός ‘anointers/painters’), and *si-to-ko-wo* (σιτομέτρης ‘grain measurers’).

2.5.1. Family relations

2.5.1.1. *i-jo/u-jo* (υἴος ‘son of’)

The word *i-jo* occurred on 26 tablets from Pylos. Lists of named individuals were always connected with higher specializations or official titles (i.e., herd owner, company of the king, mayor of the district, carpenter, bronze-smith, leaseholder, etc.). For example:

PY An 261

(...)

.6 a-pi-jo-to, ke-ro-si-ja, a-ra-**i-jo** VIR 1

(...)

.6 Ἀμφίοντος, council of elders, Ἀργεῖος (?) 1 man

However, the term *i-jo* has a different meaning (indication of ethnicity) on the following tablet:

PY Na 543

.a , e-ko-si

.b ka-ra-do-ro, ko-ro-ku-ra-**i-jo** SA 30

For a son of Corfu, who had Χάραδρος (district of Hither Province), 30 measures of sesame/flax

2.5.1.2 *65 -ju (abbreviation of a 'son')

The sign *ju* appears on five tablets from Pylos (all are lists of high-status individuals), often in connection with *i-jo*:

PY Ae 344

pi-ro-wo-na, wi-do-(wo)-**i-jo**, i-*65(ju) VIR 1

Filofoinas (?), 1 man - son of Βιδβιός

2.5.1.3. pa-te (πατήρ 'father') and ma-te (μήτηρ 'mother')

Parents occurred together only once in Linear B script on the tablet An 607 from Pylos:

PY An 607

(...)

.1a ja

.1b me-ta-pa, ke-ri-mi-ja, do-qe-ja, ki-ri-te-wi

.2 do-qe-ja, do-e-ro, **pa-te**, **ma-te**-de, ku-te-re-u-(pi)

(...)

.6 MUL 3 do-qe-ja, do-e-ra, **ma-te**, **pa-te**-de, ka-ke-u,

.7 MUL 1 do-qe-ja, do-e-ra, **ma-te**, **pa-te**-de, ka-ke-u,

.8 MUL 3

vacat

.1 *Metapa* (town of Hither Province), prison's guard Κρηττα (women's adjective or name?)

.2 father - slave's guard with mother from Κύθηρα

(...)

.6 three women, mother - slave's guard with bronze-smith father

.7 one woman, mother - slave's guard with bronze-smith father

.8 three women

vacat

The word *ma-te* is also present on the following tablet and connected with religious practice:

PY Fr 1202

- .a pa-ko-we V4
 .b me-tu-wo, ne-wo, **ma-te-re**, te-i-ja OLE PA 5 S 1

A new *methuos*, divine's mother, oil perfumed with sage (σφάκος – V 4) 5 units and 1 S (liquid measure).

2.5.2. Determinants of age or child's development

2.5.2.1. *ko-wa* (κόρη – 'girl')

The word *ko-wa* occurs in most cases together with *ko-wo*. The texts are mostly lists of apprentices/learners (25 tablets plus joins), lists of recipients (21 tablets plus joins), and lists of workers (14 tablets plus joins). Two fragments of a tablet are too small to discuss content. All tablets from Pylos with the word for a girl were found in the Archive Rooms. The formula on the list of apprentices appears as follows:

PY Aa 792

ki-ni-di-ja MUL 21 **ko-(wa)** 12 ko-wo 10 DA 1 TA 1

21 Cnidian women, 12 girls, 10 boys, 1 teacher, 1 supervisor

Alternatively, the formula from the list of recipients appears as follows:

PY Ab 899

.a GRA 2 T 2

.b pu-ro, o-pi-ro-qo MUL 8 **ko-wa** 3 ko-wo 3 NI2 T 2

Pylos, 8 other (ὑπίλοικ^wος) women, 3 girls, 3 boys, 2 units and 2 T of wheat, 2 units and 2 T of figs

The following is the formula for lists of workers:

PY Aa 804

a-pi-qo-ro MUL 32 **ko-wa** 26 ko-wo 15 TA 1

32 attendant (ἀμφίπολος) women, 23 girls, 15 boys, 1 supervisor

2.5.2.2. *ko-wo* (κόρος/κόροι – ‘boy/children’)

The word *ko-wo* appears on Pylos tablets mostly in lists of workers, but also on lists of apprentices and recipients. Five tablet fragments are too small to understand the content. Mainly, a *ko-wo* is written with a *ko-wa*. All tablets exhibiting this phrase were found in the Archive Rooms. A total of 53 tablets that list this word are lists of workers, for example:

PY Aa 764+

me-re-ti-ri-ja MUL 6 ko-wa 8 **ko-wo** 6

6 women flour-grinding, 8 girls, 6 boys

A total of 24 tablets are lists of apprentices/learners, for example:

PY Aa 695

ne-we-wi-ja MUL 21 ko-wa 10 **ko-wo** 6 DA 1 TA 1

21 textile working women, 10 girls, 6 boys, 1 teacher, 1 supervisor

There are also 22 lists of recipients that include the word *ko-wo*, for example:

PY Ab 555

.a GRA 16[

.b pu-ro, ra-pi-ti-ra₂ MUL 38 ko-wa 20 **ko-wo** 19 NI 16[

Pylos, 38 sewing women, 20 girls, 19 boys, 16 units of wheat, 16 units of figs

2.5.2.3. *me-wi-jo* (μείων – ‘smaller, younger’)

Only one tablet from Pylos – Cn 202 – has the word *me-wi-jo*. It was found in Room 95/99. Probably this fragment discusses sheep owned by an individual person. This male, identified probably with a name, is described as younger or smaller:

PY Cn 202

- .1] a-ke-re-wa, we-re-ke [
 .2] me-wi-jo, o-ki-ri-so OVISm 80[

- .1]At *Akrewa* (toponym), fenced (flock?)[
 .2]smaller/younger *Okrisos* (Κρῖσος?), (has) 80 male sheep[

2.5.2.4. *ne-wo* (νέος – ‘new, young’)

The word *ne-wo* appears on six tablets from Pylos: on lists of workers, recipients, and individuals, as well as one tablet connected probably with religion and one tablet describing horse equipment. These tablets were found in Rooms 99, 23, and 7. On three of these tablets, *ne-wo* is a part of the toponym. For example:

PY Aa 786

ne-wo-pe-o MUL 8 ko-wa 3 ko-wo 2 TA 1

At *Neopeos* (?) 8 women, 3 girls, 2 boys, 1 supervisor

On the tablet PY Ub 1315, *ne-wo* appears as an adjective to the object and will be excluded from further analysis:

PY Ub 1315

- .3a 2
 .3b ne-wa (,) a-ni-ja, a-na-pu-ke, 5 dwo 2 a-pu-ke 9 a-ni-ja e-e-ro-pa-jo-qo-(ro)-(sa)
 .4a 1
 .4b a-pe-ne-wo 4 a-pu-ke, a-pe-**ne-wo** ne-wa po-qe-wi-ja ZE 11

.3 5 new reins (ἡνία) without head-bands, 2 pairs of head-bands, 9 head-bands, 2 (ZE as a ‘couple of’) reins for carriage (?)

.4 4 *apenewo*, 1 *apenewo* head-band, 11 pairs of new halters (φορβειά)

2.5.3. Conclusion

On the tablets that mention children from the Pylos ‘palace’, common features with Knossos administration records of youths are clearly notable. First, family names are used as indications of an individual’s genealogy or ethnicity. Second, named specializations in which

boys and girls were involved are feminine. In the majority of occupations, boys and girls were involved together. There was no specialization only for girls, but boys were noted alone in association with activities like metallurgy, grain measuring, weaving, and headband making. Eighty-four percent of inscriptions of children is connected with age/training stage and only 16% is with family relations. The words *ko-wo* and *ko-wa* are noted together in one verse on tablets from both Pylos and Knossos. Furthermore, girls always stand before boys, with the exception being if the boy is named (hierarchy rule). Similar to Knossos, the word ‘me-wi-jo’ appears once on a Pylos tablet.

In contrast to Knossos inscriptions, the Pylos records clearly note specialization names that indicate a worker together with a son. Furthermore, most of the children are noted in the lists of workers:

- 41% are lists of workers;
- 27.5% are lists of learners;
- 24.5% are lists of recipients;
- 7% are lists of high-status individuals.

Inscriptions connected with youths at Pylos are strictly found in the location where most of the tablets were recovered – the Archive Rooms in the south part of the ‘palace’.

2.6. CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

This chapter examined 327 tablets connected with youth from ‘palaces’ at Knossos, Mycenae, Thebes, and Pylos. Thirty-seven the most informative tablets are exhaustively discussed above. These analyses, together with a consideration of their findspots and content, have also been visually illustrated in figures. As a result, we can recognize the first local features characteristic of each ‘palace’. On the basis of the conducted research, we know that 27% of tablets from four ‘palace’ centers: Knossos, Mycenae, Thebes, and Pylos, mention children.

For Knossos, where tablets with Linear B script are older than these on the mainland, fewer occupational names were mentioned together with words indicating children. Importantly, both boys and girls are equally involved. The largest part of the tablet archive mentions children on lists of learners and specifies their stage of training (abbreviations: ‘DI’, ‘TA’,

‘DA’, words: *me-wi-jo*, *me-u-jo*). In addition to children in lists of learners, ‘old’ persons (*pa-ra-jo/ja*) as experienced teachers/supervisors are also noted.

Inscriptions show generations focus mostly on lists with recipients-individuals and reach until the second generation (grandfather – father – son).

At Mycenae and Thebes, almost half of the examined tablets described people in connection to their families. Sons are mentioned by patronyms (in Thebes 12 times, in Mycenae - twice) and daughters with mothers (4 times on tablets from Mycenae). All mentions of youths are presented in the lists of named individuals and recipients of goods (e.g., bronze-smiths, muleteers, and bakers). In addition to the mention of youth on worker lists from Thebes, experienced craftsmen (*pa-ra-jo/ja* – ‘old’) are also mentioned. Furthermore, the word *ko-wo* appears on Thebes tablets as unnamed individuals, separate from other persons.

Finally, inscriptions from Pylos, which are the youngest, have the biggest percentage of tablets with children. Furthermore, girls and boys are primarily recorded together with occupational names: *me-re-ti-ri-ja* (μελέτρια ‘corn-grinders’), *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* (ἀσκήτρια ‘finishers/ decorators’), *no-ri-wo-ko* (νωρί-ἐργός ‘nori-workers’), *a-ra-ka-te-ja* (ἀλακάτεια ‘spinners’), *o-ti-ri-ja* (οἴστρια ‘triai-workers’), *pa-ke-te-ja* (φάκτειᾶ makers of *pa-ko-to* vessels’), *ne-we-wi-ja* (new textil-workers), *we-we-si-je-ja* (‘wool [εἶρος] workers’), *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* (λοετροχόος ‘bath-attendants’), *ka-pa-ra-de* (‘textile workers’), *pa-wo-ke* (‘maids with a variety of tasks’ from πᾶς and ἐργον), *a-pi-qo-ro* (ἀμφίπολος ‘attendants’), *o-nu-ke-ja* (ὀνόχεια ‘makers of *o-nu-ke* cloth’), *ra-qi-ti-ra₂* and *ra-pi-ti-ra₂* (λάμπτρια ‘seamstress’), *pe-ki-ti-ra₂* (πέκτρια ‘wool-carders’), and *ri-ne-ja* (λύννεια ‘linen-workers’). The family-related words are presented on the lists of individual workers (carpenter, bronze-smith, prison guard, slave’s guard) and elites (council of elders, mayor, land/herd owner, ‘companion of a king’) or connected with ethnicity.

Most of the youth in the Mycenaean administration records were listed in groups taking part in textile production, decoration, simple works, attendance/personnel, and work in the field. Activities in which a daughter or son was recorded individually include metallurgy, carpentry, accompanying the king, mayors, guarding, and owning fields/animals.

Considering the location of the tablets’ findspots in the area of Mycenaean ‘palaces’, we can distinguish two different methods of storing. First, the tablets from Knossos and Pylos connected to children were primarily found in archive rooms. They were collected in one

specific place, perhaps in an area with no other function. At Knossos, the archive rooms were located on the first floor, above the Magazines. A few tablets discussing children also came from other parts of the 'palace' (e.g., the temple and corridors); however, there was a concentration in the West Wing. At Pylos, the tablets were strictly recovered from the Archive in the south part of the 'palace'. Only 3% of the selected tablets were found in Room 99 and had inscriptions referring to animals and equipment, suggesting chariot production.

Second, tablets from Mycenae and Thebes were located in workshop areas. Specifically, inscriptions of youths from Thebes were found in two different workshops: one for dying textiles and a second connected with food storage and distribution of commodities. At Mycenae, texts discussing children were found outside the citadel, at West House and the House of the Oil Merchant.

CHAPTER 3

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MYCENAEAN AND MINOAN MATERIAL

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In addition to the tablets with inscriptions that discuss children described in Chapter 2, archaeological objects related to childhood are the topic of this chapter. The catalogue of objects is divided into tables, and included in the following subsections of the doctoral dissertation. Specifically, the iconography that has been interpreted as depictions of children or adolescents (found on vessels, seals, sealings, jewelry, and frescoes), as well as the burials of children (i.e., subadults), were identified (Figure 3.1). The areas from which these objects come are:

- North-Central Crete – Knossos, Kefali Chondros Viannou, Sklavokampos, Gournes, Upper Gypsades, Zafer Papoura, and Phourni;
- Argolid – Mycenae, Nemea, Berbati, and Prosymna;
- Boeotia – Thebes and Tanagra;
- Messenia – Pylos - Chora, Tragana, Peristeria, Routsy-Myrsinochori, and Koukounara.

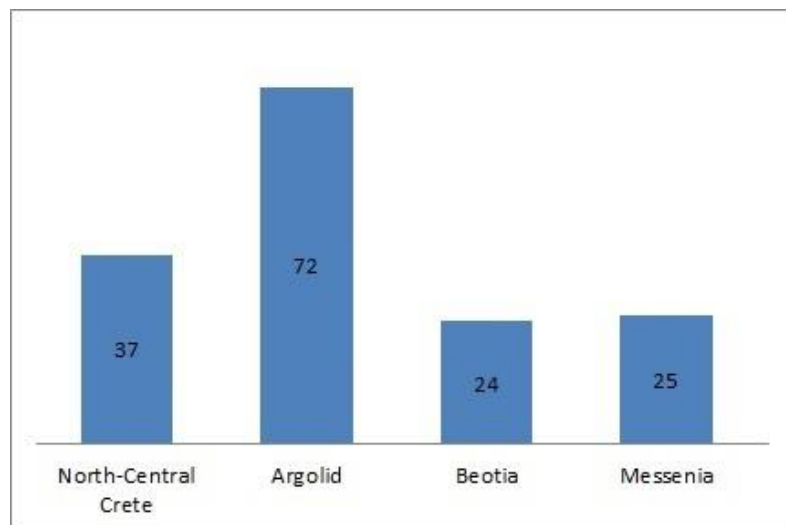


Figure 3.1: The number of objects from North-Central Crete, Argolid, Boeotia and Messenia.

Regional differences in the number of objects related to children are obvious. The region of Argolid has the largest amount of iconographic evidence and child burials. Approximately half the number of objects found in Argolid were found in the region of North-Central Crete. The smallest amount of archaeological material comes from Boeotia and Messenia. This diversity between regions may be the result of several factors. First, the modern cities of Heraklion and Thebes were raised on prehistoric sites. In contrast, the Mycenaean citadel is situated on an intact hill, with a small modern village nearby. The location has a large impact on the quality of a field study. Furthermore, the influence on the number of child burials may be related to different burial practices (inhumation in domestic areas separate from cemeteries) and taphonomic reasons (e.g., bone mineralization).

The presence of a single appearance of Minoan objects on the mainland is a natural phenomenon during the Late Helladic period, and should not significantly impact broader understandings of the studied regions. What is more, the objects could have been made in a Minoan workshop, or locally, but by a Minoan craftsmen. The use of seals or other objects depicting young people by the Mycenaean is important and may testify to their similar beliefs about childhood. Both cultures had a great influence on each other, so when studying material from the Mainland, features characteristic for Crete also appear.

Some fresco representations have also been compared to the frescoes from Akrotiri on Thera, where the art of wall-painting was adopted through Crete (Georma 2018:299). Akrotiri is an example of well-preserved wall paintings focusing on human figures and provides a good basis for comparison with the collected iconography database (Papageorgiou 2019:33).

3.2. NORTH-CENTRAL CRETE

In total, 37 archaeological objects related to children were identified and selected for this study. The time frame considered starts from the Late Minoan I B (ca. 1530 BC) period, and end on the Late Minoan III B (ca. 1190 BC) period. In the course of the research, several Minoan sources from this period were additionally analyzed, because significantly complement the database. Depictions of Minoan iconography are an inseparable element of the changes taking place in art on Crete. This approach has weaknesses, such as the blurring of the differences between the Minoan and Mycenaean approaches to youth and the lack of sufficient knowledge about the child's position in Minoan culture.

In the case of multiple graves, the general name of the period (e.g., Late Minoan) is used. The majority of objects comprise artistic representations, like frescoes, figurines, seals and sealings, and one vessel, together with burials (Figure 3.2). Sixteen objects constitute seals and sealings depicting young people, and fourteen are the burials of subadults. Figurines are only 4, and just 2 are frescoes. There is also one representation of a relief decorating a gold ring, which is included in seals and sealings representations. One vessel in the shape of birth-giving woman is included as well.

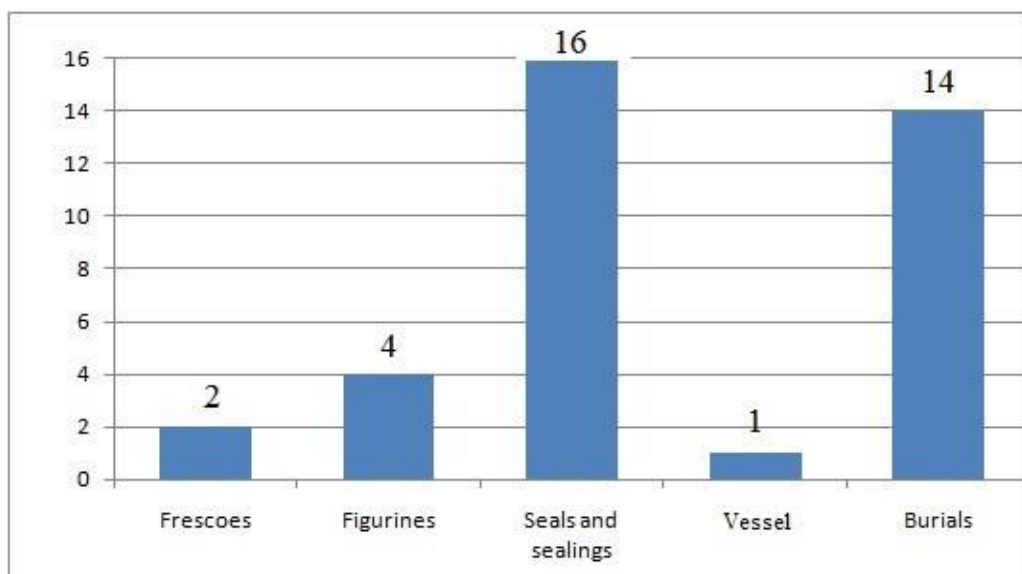


Figure 3.2: Objects connected with children and youth from North-Central Crete.

3.2.1. Representations of a child or youth

3.2.1.1. Frescoes

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | Knossos - Palace, the East Wing | 'Taureador Fresco' | Fresco with bull-leapers with red and white skin (interpreted as either a youthful male and female, respectively, or as different stages of a jump). Too schematic to distinguish age or sex. | LM II/ III A | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Evans 1930; Marinatos 1984; Hood 1993; Bietak <i>et al.</i> 2007. |
| 2 | Knossos, House of the Frescoes | Fresco 'The Captain of the Blacks' | Fresco 'The Captain of the Blacks', depicting running young boys. The boy in the front is wearing a Minoan loin cloth and holds spears. | LM III A2- LM III B1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Evans 1928:755-6. |

Figure 3.3: Frescoes details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, North-Central Crete.

Two frescoes from the Knossos Palace were chosen for the catalogue of archaeological objects (Figure 3.3). Both, the *Taureador Fresco* (Figure 3.4) and *The Captain of the Blacks* (Figure 3.5) depict fit and well-built athletic boys with physical features corresponding to early and late adolescence, respectively. Firstly, the figures are measured according to the model based on the James M. Tanner and Reginald H. Whitehouse picture of an average European boy's development, and then both frescoes will be compared with iconography from Akrotiri - an example of well-preserved wall paintings focused on human figures, and closely connected with Minoan traditions.



Figure 3.4: The *Taureador Fresco* reconstruction (after Bietak *et al.* 2007, fig. 104).



Figure 3.5: *The Captain of the Blacks* (after Evans 1928, Plate XIII).

The *Taureador Fresco* depicts three figures jumping a bull, each of them of the same height and probably the same age, dressed only with so-called *zoma* - a wide strip of cloth like a belt, with fringes and beads at one end. With the *zoma* young boys wrapped the body from the waist down to the thighs forming a skirt. Two figures are painted with white color, one with dark brown. Because of the similarities between these three figures, there is a doubt regarding the number of persons taking part in this scene (Evans 1930:222-3; Hood 1993:72-4; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999:167-9; Betancourt 2007:192-5). The first interpretation was presented by Arthur Evans - the white figures would represent two girls, and the figure with red color would be a boy (Evans 1930:211). Another interpretation suggests that the white figure in front of a bull keeps the animal stable while the red person jumps. The boy behind the bull stays there for protection and safe landing of a jumping figure (Marinatos 1984:109-11). Alternatively, another conception is based on the presentation of a single jump sequence wherein each stage is represented by a different color (Evans 1930:223; Younger 1976:125-137; Bietak *et al.* 2007). The capture of a bull from the EM IIIB – MM IA period started as a common motive in iconography (Papageorgiou 2018:303). It was depicted in the palatial

buildings and had a role of creating fear in anyone coming inside. Besides, it is a symbol of Knossian authority (Papageorgiou 2008:94; Papageorgiou 2018:304).



Figure 3.6: Measurements of a figure from the *Toreador Fresco* reconstruction (after Bietak *et al.* 2007, fig. 104, with changes).

Table 6: Measurements and proportions of the *Toreador Fresco* figure.

| | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) |
|---------------|---------------------------|--|
| Figure | 15.9 | x |
| Head | 1.7 | 10:1.07 |
| Arms | 8.2 | 10:5.16 |
| Legs | 7.9 | 10:4.97 |

Based on the figure height from the *Toreador Fresco*, proportions of the figure's body were measured and calculated (Figure 3.6 and Table 6). The results, in comparison with the canon of the average European boy's development present the following proportions:

- Figure height and length of a head is in ratio: 10:1.07. The nearest result in the canon is presented by a boy aged 15 and 17. The proportions here are: 10:1.17 and 10:1.18, respectively. They are the smallest values for body-head proportion in the pattern table.
- Another value is the length of the figure compared to the length of the arms: 10:5.16, this result most closely matches a ratio 10:4.72 for a boy aged 16.
- The last available measurement is the length of the legs compared to the figure, which is in ratio 10:4.97, suitable for a boy 13 years old.

The proportions show that a male figure could be a boy between 13 and 17 years old. Supportive, we are guided by the shape of the figure from the *Toreador Fresco*, and based on the development of the leg muscles, the narrow waist, and visible abdomen. In comparison with the canon, the person depicted in the fresco is not less than 15 years old. In conclusion, the age of the *Toreadors*, based on the measurements of the figure and body shape, can be described as a boy/boys aged from 15 to 17. It is not without significance that this is the transition age from puberty (12-16 years) to adolescence (16-20 years).

A similar presentation of a bull-leaping scene is known from the miniature frieze dated to the period of Thutmose III, corresponding to the Late Minoan IB (Figure 3.7). It is coming from the palace F at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt (Papageorgiou 2018:306). The scene presents the final stage of the bull hunting – the capture of a bull by two men (Bietak et al. 2007:63-5; Papageorgiou 2013:305; Papageorgiou 2018:306).



Figure 3.7: The Bull and Maze frieze from the palace F at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt (Papageorgiou 2018:306, fig. 5).



Figure 3.8: The Vestibule of Xeste 3, Akrotiri, South Wall (Papageorgiou 2019:65, fig. 40 and 41).

The bull-hunting motive is present also in the Theran fresco (Figure 3.8), and is widely used in Aegean art. In this scene, we have two young males capturing a bull and tying the animal with rope (Papageorgiou 2018:306; Papageorgiou 2019:63-4). Maria Shaw suggested that the hunting of a bull without weapons was a part of a Minoan religious ceremony on top of other athletic activities, such as boxing and wrestling (Papadimitriou 2019:73; Shaw 2004:65-84). The wild animals were hunting for making a sacrifice (Papageorgiou 2019:75). Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, examining the Minoan courtyard as a stage setting, concludes the picture of bullfights as a symbolic ways of legitimizing power. Because of a dangerous nature, it was used as well as a media of political authority (Papageorgiou 2008:93-4). If this is the case, then we can reasonably assume that the iconographic cycle of hunting - at least when it appears as ideological media - is related on the symbolic level, to the expression of transition. For example, change of social age or level of existence (Panagiotopoulos 2006:125-138). Probably, it was the last of the passage rites for young men to enter adulthood (in a social meaning), and so, the most important.

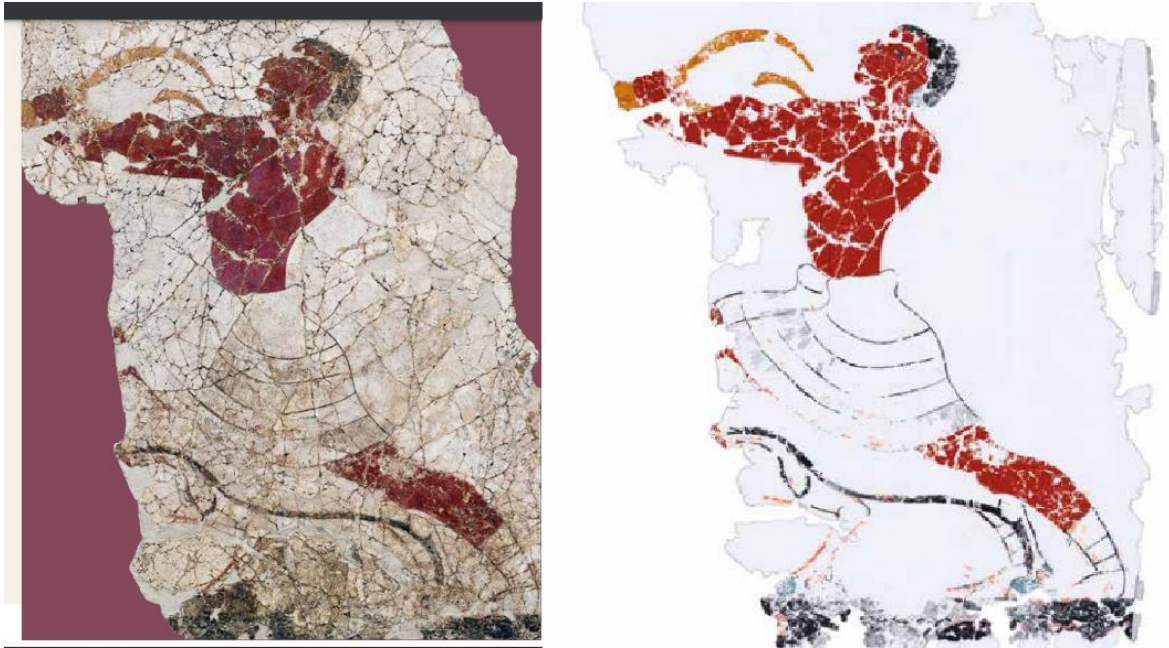


Figure 3.9: Xeste 3, two young men capture a wild goat, North wall of Vestbule, Akrotiri (Papageorgiou 2018:308-9, fig. 8 and 9).

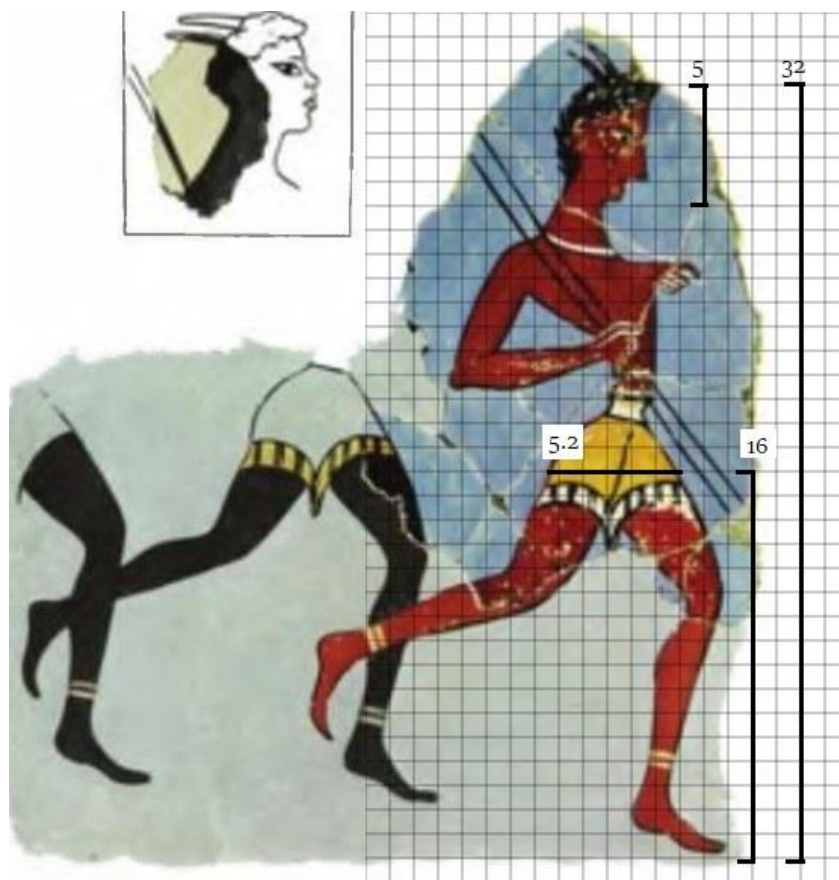


Figure 3.10: Body measurement from a fresco *The Captain of the Blacks*, Knossos (after Evans 1928, Plate XIII, with changes).

On the other iconography from the Theran frescoes (Figure 3.9), we can see two young men capturing a wild goat called *agrimi*. Two male figures, one behind the other, are in the mimic position. They wear white leather boots and skirts divided into horizontal zones. Based on the muscle development, boys supposed to be at the beginning of adulthood (Papageorgiou 2019:63). This scene is again a symbol of entering maturity (Papageorgiou 2018:308).

The second fresco included in the Catalogue of objects from North-Central Crete is an adolescent from *The Captain of the Blacks* fresco (Figure 3.10). He is situated in front of a group of black soldiers. He is wearing a Minoan loincloth and holds two spears. The presented icon could testify to Cretan expansion on the African side, and black color mercenaries could serve as ‘palace’ guards (Evans 1928:755-6).

Table 7: Table of the length and proportions of the figure from the fresco *The Captain of the Blacks*, Knossos.

| | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) |
|---------------|-----------------------|--|
| Figure | 32 | x |
| Head | 5 | 10:1.56 |
| Arms | x | x |
| Legs | 16 | 10:5 |
| Hips | 5.2 | 10:1.62 |

Proportions obtained from the fresco depicting a young man running at the head of other men (Table 7) are:

- the proportion of the figures high to the length of the head: 10:1.56;
- figures height to the length of the legs in a ratio 10:5;
- figures height to hip-width: 10:1.62.

Such a large number in measured proportions for a height and size of a head is found only in the early stage of the boy's growth (between 6 and 11 years of age), or very late, after reaching 18 years of age. The length of the legs oscillates around the age of 13 (the formula gives the maximum value 10:4.89). Guided by other visible features, such as narrow and wide

hips (characteristic of a boy between 16 and 18 years of age), an emphasized nose and chin, the boy is probably in the final stage of adolescence, i.e. about 18 years of age.

3.2.1.2. Figurines

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---|---|---|-----------------------|--|
| 3 | Knossos- Unexplored Mansion | Bronze figurine of a child (?) | Bronze figurine in worship posture with hands together. It has a skirt and some kind of headgear but is in poor condition. The figurine probably represents a female, but the stocky arms and legs with no visible neck indicate it is more likely a child. | LM II B- LM III A2 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Verlinden 1984; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995. |
| 4 | Knossos, Mavro Spelio Cemetery, Tomb VII B | Female figurine with a child-idol | Clay female figurine holding a child-idol in arms, raised to chest height. | LM II B- LM III A | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Forsdyke 1926-27; Rethemiotakis 1998; Rutter 2003; Andreadaki-Vlazaki <i>et al.</i> 2008; Budin, 2011. |
| 5 | Phourni, Archanes Cemetery, Tomb G | Ivory parts of two boy figurines | Ivory parts of two boy figurines, including the head, one leg and one arm. | LM IB | Sakellarakis 1982:526-7; Sakellarakis and Sapouna- Sakellaraki 1997. |

Figure 3.11: Figurines details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, North-Central Crete.

Four figurines that meet chosen period time requirements and presented in the Figure 3.11 include a bronze figurine from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Verlinden 1984; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995), a clay female figurine holding a child/idol found in Tomb VII B at the Mavro Spelio Cemetery at Knossos (Forsdyke 1926-27:290-1; Rethemiotakis 1998; Rutter 2003:47; Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al.* 2008:207; Budin 2011), and ivory elements of two boy figurines from the Archanes Cemetery, Phourni (Sakellarakis 1982; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997). Three of the figurines were found as grave furnishings. The statuettes are different, ranging from the raw material from which they were made, through the way they were made, to the presentation of the child.

The bronze statuette from the Unexplored Mansion can represent a young child (Figure 3.12). The figurine is in poor condition and only some features indicate that it depicts a person. The stocky arms and legs with no visible neck, and a large head are characteristic for infants and very young children (Chapin 2007:235-7). The statuette is supposed to be partially preserved – the down part of the legs is missing, or it was made of another material. The figurine is dated to the Late Minoan II period (Popham *et al.* 1984:217-218).

The Mavro Spelio female figurine holding a child is unique in Crete (Figure 3.13). It is still debated whether this woman holds a child or an idol, as well as what is the purpose of its creation (Olsen 1998; Budin 2011; Rethemiotakis 2001). Stephanie L. Budin, who interpret a child as an idol, noticed the impossibility of holding a child in this position - with the woman's hands behind the child's knees (Budin 2007:93). Alternatively, the woman from the figurine could be interpreted as weaving her fingers into a seat. In that case she is not holding the legs of the child from the front, but rather she is providing a seat for the child.

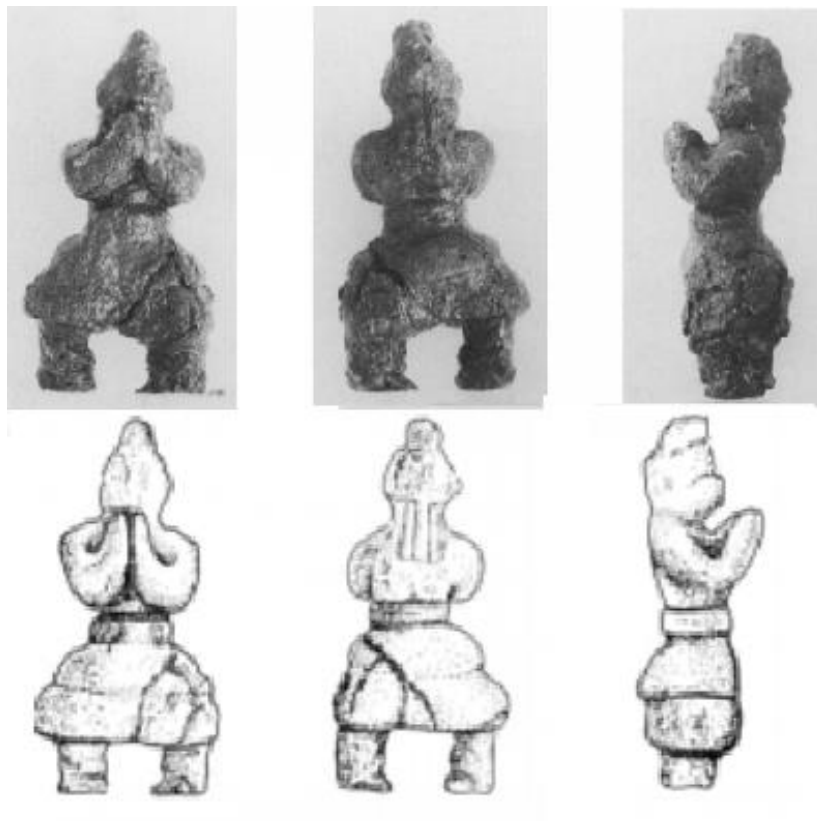


Figure 3.12: Bronze statuette (Popham *et al.* 1984, Plate 195 h-j and Plate 200, no 8).



Figure 3.13: The Mavro Spelio figurine (after Budin 2007, fig. 16).



Figure 3.14: Ivory parts of two boy figurines, Archanes Cemetery (own figure based on the photography from the Heraklion Archaeological Museum).

Two figurines from Archanes Cemetery consist of several parts. Both are made of ivory, and include two heads with visible face details, legs, arms, and other unidentified elements (Figure 3.14). The characteristics of the survived parts indicate pubertal growth, including long hands and legs combined with immature facial features.

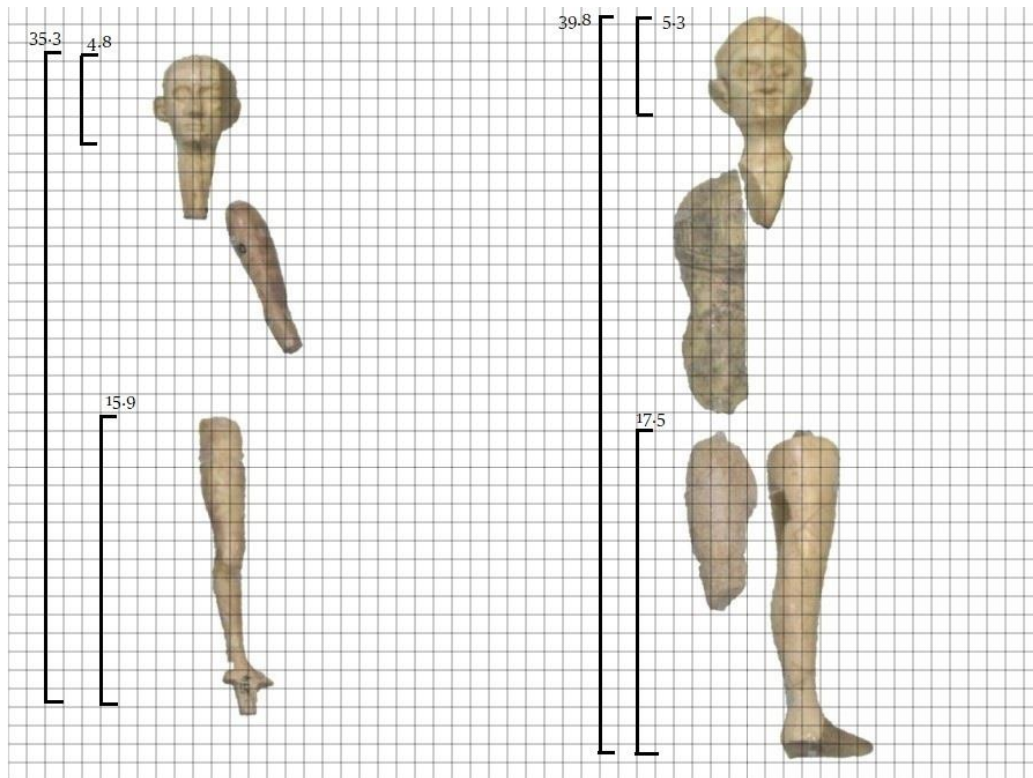


Figure 3.15: Measurements on a grid plotted on a photograph with figurines of boys from Archanes, Knossos (from the left: Boy 1, Boy 2).

The comparison of the body parts and the proposed height of the figures is a challenge here, because the arrangement of individual elements is entirely hypothetical, and was made for the purpose of the author's doctoral dissertation.

Table 8: Table with measurements of figures lengths and proportions, Boy 1 and Boy 2.

| <i>Boy 1</i> | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) | <i>Boy 2</i> | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) |
|---------------|-----------------------|--|---------------|-----------------------|--|
| Figure | 35.3 | x | Figure | 39.8 | x |
| Head | 4.8 | 10:1.36 | Head | 5.3 | 10:1.33 |
| Arms | x | x | Arms | x | x |
| Legs | 15.9 | 10:4.5 | Legs | 17.5 | 10:4.4 |

Based on proposed lengths and proportions presented for Boy 1 and Boy 2 (Figure 3.15, from the left: Boy 1, Boy 2; Table 8), the following results were obtained:

- Boy 1 – the proportion of the figure to the head is 10:1.36, exactly matching the canon of a 14-year-old boy. The proportion of the figure to the length of legs is in a ratio of 10:4.5, which is comparable to a 10-11-year-old boy's canon (10:4.5 in both cases). The delicate features of the face and the long, but not yet muscular arm and leg, may indicate a boy between 11 and 14 years of age.
- Boy 2 - the proportion of the figure to the head is 10:1.33, that is, the proportion that appears in an average 13-year-old boy. The proportion of the figure to the length of the legs is in a ratio of 10:4.4, which is the proportion in the model table for a 16-year-old boy. More muscular legs, a prominent chin, and an outlined lower jaw would confirm age between late 13 and 16.

We can compare these two figurines to other representations of boys of a similar age, known from Thera frescoes. Firstly, we have a *Boxing Boys* from the Building Beta at Akrotiri (Figure 3.16, on the left). The scene is surrounded by six antelopes (Georma 2018:294). The boy on the left side is wearing jewelry, both have a belt, and one glove on the left hand. Boys are presented in movement, fighting with each other. On the base of the figures height and body parts measurement, they are supposed to be the same age, between 6 and 12 years old (Georma 2018:295; Papageorgiou 2019:90). The boxing between boys can have a context of transition from one age stage to another, or entering the higher level of social hierarchy (Papageorgiou 2008:93; Papageorgiou 2019:95). The scene shows that the training of young boys began in the middle stage of childhood (Chapin 2007:251-252; Chapin 2021:34).

On the other hand, we have a representation of fishing boys (Figure 3.16, on the right). Fishing was another part of children's education before entering adolescence (Marinatos 1993:216-7; Papageorgiou 2000:964-6; Papageorgiou 2018:303; Papageorgiou 2019:97). *The Fishermen* from the West House at Akrotiri are the best examples (Doumas 1992; Televantu 1994:180-5; Papageorgiou 2000:964-6).



Figure 3.16: From the left: *Boxing Boys*, Building Beta, Room 1, Akrotiri (Doumas 2018:38, fig.13a) and *The Fishermen*, Akrotiri (Papageorgiou 2019:96, fig.79).

In order to get closer to the age of ivory boys from Knossos, we can compare their physical features, like lengths of heads and proposed height of a body, with Thera *Boxing Boys* and *The Fishermen* frescoes (Figure 3.17 and Table 9). The boy on the left side from the *Boxing Boys* fresco has proportions of a body height compared with parts of the body similar to a boy aged between 7 and 12 years old, while the boy on the right side seems to be not much younger – 6 or 7 years old. Both boys are similar in height and may look to be the same age. The height is not a good indicator here, as the body proportions suggest the difference in age between these boys. In result, both boys are significantly younger than ivory boys.

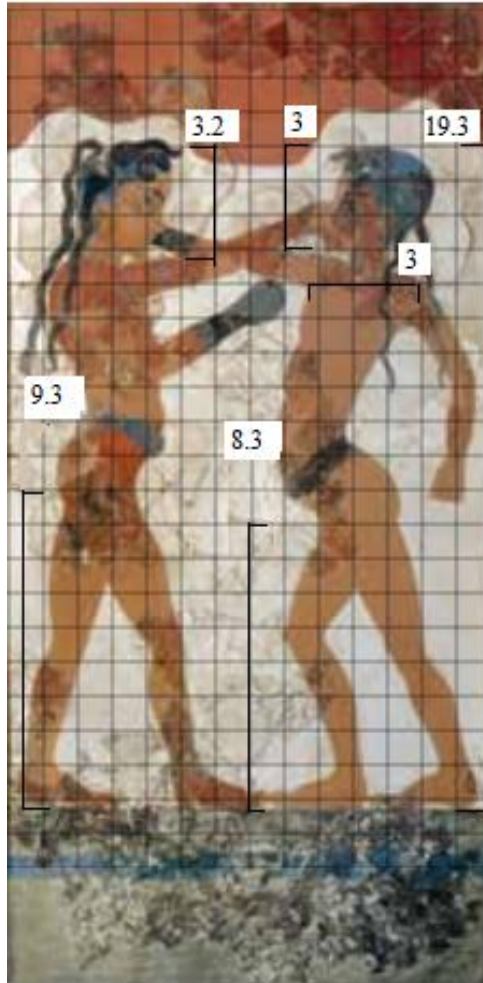


Figure 3.17: Measurements on a grid plotted on a photograph with figurines of *Boxing Boys* (Doumas 2018:38, fig.13a, with changes).

Table 9: Table with measurements of figures lengths and proportions of *Boxing Boys*.

| <i>Boy on the left side</i> | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) | <i>Boy on the right side</i> | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--|------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| Figure | 19.3 | x | Figure | 19.3 | x |
| Head | 3.2 | 10:1.66 | Head | 3 | 10:1.55 |
| Arms | x | x | Arms | 3 | 10:1.55 |
| Legs | 9.3 | 10:4.82 | Legs | 8.3 | 10:4.3 |

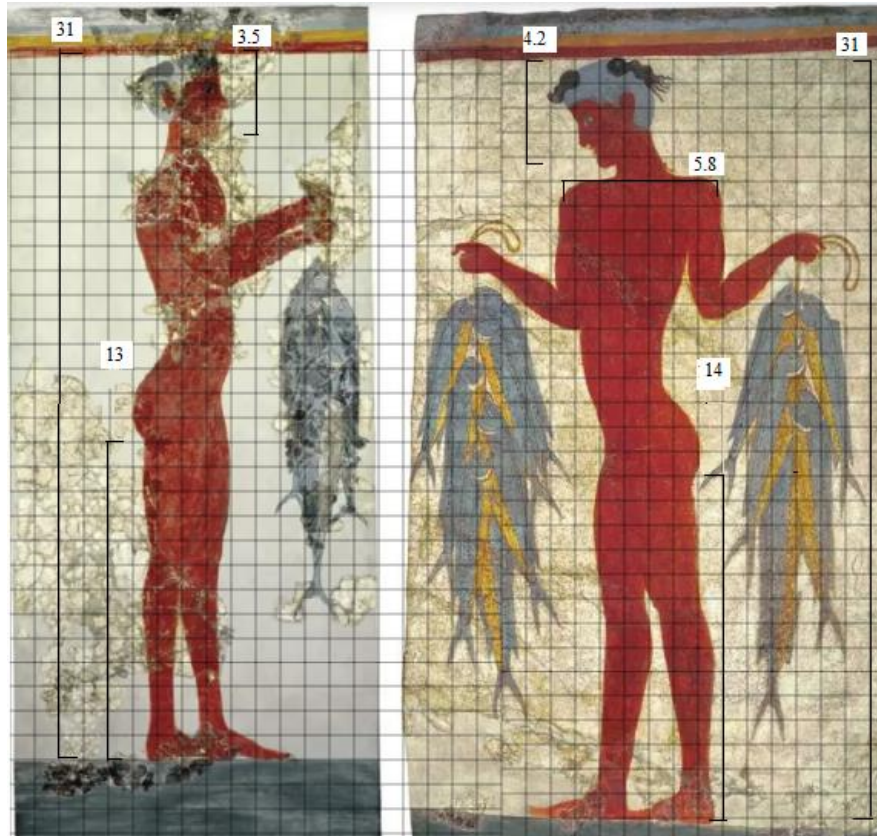


Figure 3.18: Measurements on a grid plotted on a photograph with figurines of *The Fishermen* (Papageorgiou 2019:96, fig.79, with changes).

Table 10: Table with measurements of figures lengths and proportions of *The Fishermen*.

| <i>Fisherman on the left</i> | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) | <i>Fisherman on the right</i> | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| Figure | 31 | x | Figure | 31 | x |
| Head | 3.5 | 10:1.13 | Head | 4.2 | 10:1.35 |
| Arms | x | x | Arms | 5.8 | 10:1.87 |
| Legs | 13 | 10:4.19 | Legs | 14 | 10:4.52 |

If we examine in the same way *The Fishermen* fresco (see Figure 3.18 and Table 10), the boy on the left could be in the age of 15-17 years old. The proportions of the second fisher boy are less helpful. They match the proportions of a 10-11 years old boy, as well as a boy between 14 and 16 years old. The same kind of hairstyle may indicate the same age stage of both boys, between 15 and 17 years old. In comparison with ivory dolls, the features of *The Fishermen* are alike to a Boy 2, who is also expected to be of a similar age.

3.2.1.3. Seals and sealings

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------------------|---|
| 6 | Knossos - Palace and a Little Palace | Clay sealing no. 267 | Clay seal depicting a young boy milking an animal. | LM III A1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 7 | Knossos - Palace and a Little Palace | Clay sealing no. 650 | Clay seal depicting a young boy carrying prey. | LM III A1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Arachne catalogue. |
| 8 | Knossos - Palace and a Little Palace | Clay sealing no. 655 | Clay seal depicting a young boy helping an adult with cooking in a large vessel. | LM III A1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Arachne catalogue. |
| 9 | Knossos | Clay sealing no. 382 | Clay seal depicting a prince with two animals. Half-preserved. | LM III A2 - LM III B | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Arachne catalogue. |
| 10 | Knossos | Stone seal no. 1461 | Stone seal depicting a crouching young man with a hide on his back. | LM? | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 11 | Knossos | Stone seal no. 944 | Stone seal depicting a young girl with raised arms and wearing a Minoan dress. Two birds with heads down are present on either side of the central figure. | LM? | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 12 | Knossos | Sealing no. 157 | Clay seal with the representation of a young person (a girl?) in a Minoan skirt sitting with a dog or griffon in the front. | LM? | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 13 | Knossos | Sealing no. 396 | Clay sealing depicting a bull-leaping scene. | LM? | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 14 | Knossos-Sellopoulo, Tomb 1 | Clay sealing HMS 1863 | Clay seal depicting two jumping boys and a deer. | LM III A2 - LM III B | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Arachne catalogue. |
| 15 | Sklavokampos | Sealing no. 612 | Clay sealing depicting a bull-leaping scene. | LM? | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 16 | Sklavokampos | Sealing no. 613 | Clay sealing depicting a bull-leaping scene | LM? | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 17 | Knossos | Sealing no. 250 | Clay sealing depicting a bull-leaping scene. | LM? | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 18 | Knossos, Isopata Cemetery, Grave 1 | Cylindrical stone seal HMS 900 | Seal depicting boys and a dog. | LM III A1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Arachne catalogue. |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---|------------------------|--|----------------------|--|
| 19 | Knossos, Mavro Spelio Cemetery, Grave 3 | Stone seal HMS 1317 | Seal depicting a boy and a lion. | LM II - LM III A1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |
| 20 | Gournes - Pediados, Grave 1 | Seal HMS 1232 | Seal depicting a bull-leaping scene. | LM III B1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition; Arachne catalogue. |
| 21 | Knossos- Sellopoulo | Gold signet | Scene presents a young male figure embracing a baetyl under a tree. A flying bird is visible on the right column in the middle of the scene; alternatively - apiculture scene with flying bees and beehive in profile. | LM III A1 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition: Popham <i>et al.</i> 1974:219; Younger 1988:282-3; Harissis and Harissis 2009: 43-5; Harissis 2018. |

Figure 3.19: Seals and sealings details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, North-Central Crete.



Figure 3.20: From the left: a boy carrying a pray, CMS II 8 238 (Gill 1965, Plate 9), and bull-leaper on sealing from Sklavokampos, CMS II 6 256 (Younger 1976, Plate 21, fig.16).



Figure 3.21: Seals impressions from the Knossos Catalogue, number from the left is the inventory number and on the right is CMS number (after Arachne catalogue:

<https://arachne.unikoeIn.de>).

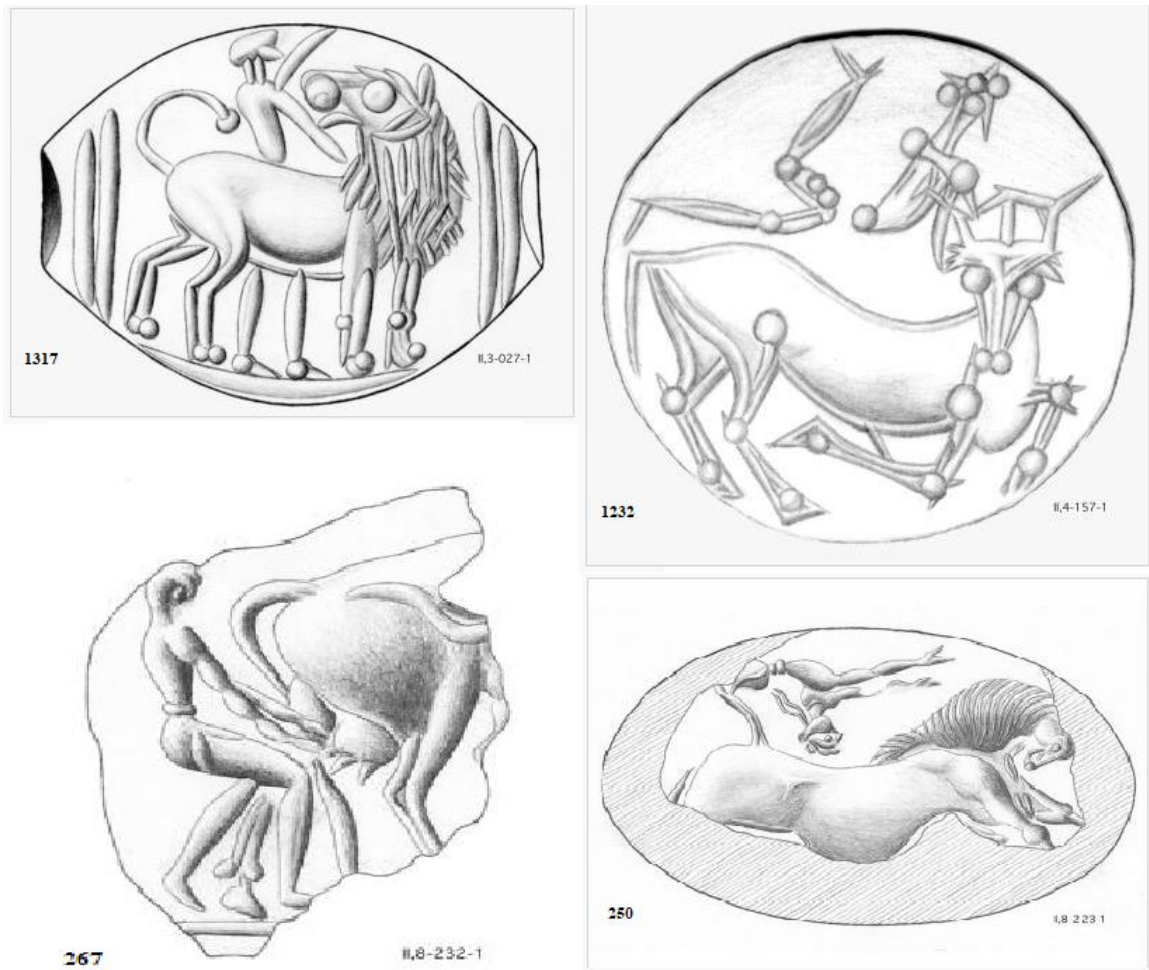


Figure 3.22: Seals impressions from the Knossos Catalogue, number from the left is the inventory number and on the right is CMS number (after Arachne catalogue: <https://arachne.unikoeIn.de>).

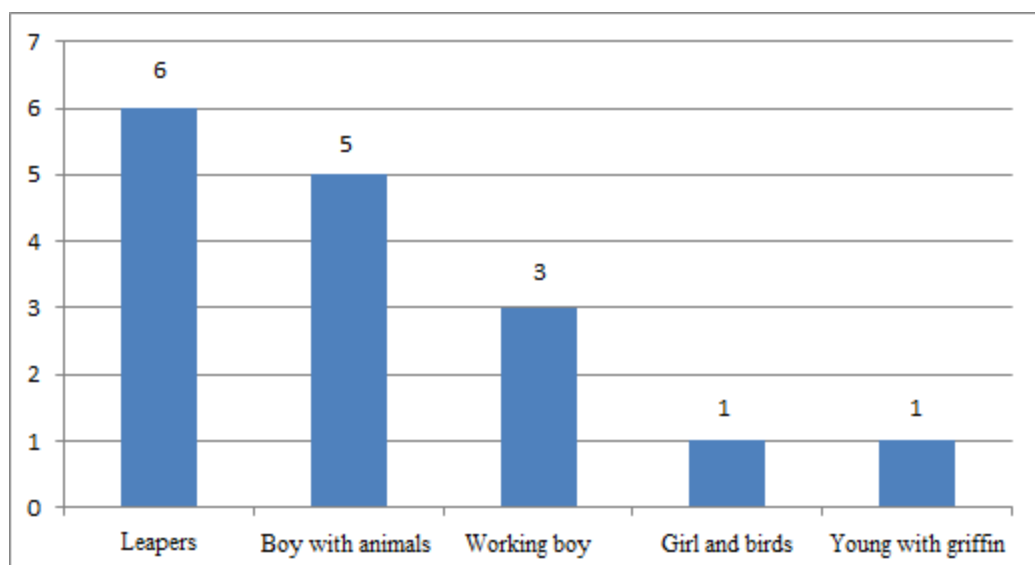


Figure 3.23: Topics depicted on seals and sealings from Knossos.

A total of 16 seals and sealings from North-Central Crete are included in the catalogue of archaeological objects (Figures: 3.19, 3.20, 3.21, 3.22). Almost half of them (6 seals) depict a scene of a boy leaping over a bull or deer (Figure 3.23). Another five sealings represent a boy flanked by animals. Three sealings depict a boy helping an adult or working alone. Only one seal (Knossos, no. 944, CMS II 3 327) depicts a young girl in a standing position between two birds, and one seal (Knossos, no. 157, CMS I 8 239) presents a young person with griffin.

Most of the young people depicted on sealings have physiological features characteristic for adolescents - broad shoulders, the thickness of the waist, long legs and hands in comparison with the torso, and partly developed musculature (Chapin 2007). The icons of a boy/girl passive standing between animals are generally interpreted as Master of Animals or Goddess (Younger 1988).

The impression of a gold ring from Sellopoulo (Figure 3.24) is also included in this category (Popham *et al.* 1974:219; Younger 1988:282-3; Harissis and Harissis 2009:43-5).



Figure 3.24: A scene from the gold signet, Sellopoulo (after Harissis and Harissis 2009, fig.31.8).



Figure 3.25: A scene from the gold signet, Kalyvia (after Harissis and Harissis 2009, fig. 31.9).

The scene on a signet from Sellopoulo shows a young male figure embracing a baetyl under a tree. The scene was initially interpreted as having religious meaning and sacred symbols (Evans 1901:177; Glotz 1923:286; Nilsson 1950:43, 275). On the right, we can see one shield, and in the middle of the scene, a flying bird. Similar to representations on seals and sealings, the boy is in the adolescence age. The rock where the adolescent kneels is interpreted as the navel of the Earth (Younger 1988:127). Recent studies of Haralampos and Anastasios Harissis on apiculture in prehistory, present similar image of youth on gold rings, for example from Kalyvia (CMS II, 3, no. 114, Figure 3.25), and from Mycenae (CMS I, no. 126, see Figure 3.39), the second one is included in this research. Recently, researchers changed the interpretation from religious image to a more prosaic category of capturing swarms from a tree. For example, the cluster-like objects on the trees could be swarms of bees, a beehive is shown in profile on the left, and the small dots around the boy are likely flying bees (Harissis and Harissis 2009:43-51; Harissis 2018:20).

3.2.1.4. Other

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|
| 22 | Kefali Chondros Viannou | Clay vessel, inv. no. Π 11087 | Lower section of a tripod vessel in the shape of a woman giving birth. | LM III A2- LM III B2 | The Heraklion Archaeological Museum, exhibition. |

Figure 3.26: Vessel details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, North-Central Crete.



Figure 3.27: The vessel in the shape of pregnant woman (after Platon 1957, fig. 72a).

One other object connected with children is included in the catalogue. It is a part of a clay vessel in the shape of a woman about to give birth, from Kefali Chondrou Viannou (Figures 3.26 and 3.27).

The lower part of the tripod vessel in the shape of a pregnant woman from the exhibition of the Heraklion Archaeological Museum is very unusual. The form of the vessel is round, with the woman's legs partially attached to the vessel in the form of decoration, and her feet form two supports. On the back of the tripod is the third pillar, which resembles a seat. On the lower section of the vessel, the outer folds of the labia are prominent. This configuration supports the interpretation that the vessel represents a woman giving birth (Platon 1957).

3.2.2. Burials

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|---|------------------|--|
| 23 | Upper Gypsades Cemetery, Tomb 3 | Subadult burial | Single subadult burial with a bronze ring, described in the excavation report as a child aged 8-9 years old. | LM? | Hood <i>et al.</i> 1959, BSA 54. |
| 24 | Upper Gypsades Cemetery, Tomb 10 | Multiple grave with an infant burial | Inside the tomb, 4 adult burials and the burial of a subadult (in a small pit grave with a pilgrim flask) were found. | LM III A2 | Hood <i>et al.</i> 1959, BSA 54. |
| 25 | Upper Gypsades Cemetery, Tomb 12 | Shaft grave with 2 subadult burials | Shaft grave with 2 subadult burials, one inside the larnax and one below it. Furnishings included 1 conical spindle-whorl made of green steatite flecked with white. No dates were available. | Unknown | Hood <i>et al.</i> 1959, BSA 54. |
| 26 | Upper Gypsades Cemetery, Tomb 15 | Subadult burial | Chamber single burial containing the skeletal remains of a subadult in a wooden coffin as well as a jug and a cup. | LM III A1/A2 | Hood <i>et al.</i> 1959, BSA 54. |
| 27 | Zafer Papoura, Tomb 21 | Multiple grave with a subadult | Burial of an adult male next to a subadult. A small gold ring, 1 painted bowl, and 1 pyramidal-shaped steatite spindle whorl were buried with the subadult. | LM? | Evans 1906, <i>Archaeologia</i> LIX. |
| 28 | Zafer Papoura, Shaft Grave 79 | Subadult burial | Traces of skeletal remains, probably of a subadult, together with a lozenge-shaped cornelian bead. | LM? | Evans 1906, <i>Archaeologia</i> LIX. |
| 29 | Zafer Papoura, Chamber Tomb 94 | Subadult burial | Robbed tomb contained the remains of a poorly preserved subadult and a clay bowl with a solid projecting handle. | LM? | Evans 1906, <i>Archaeologia</i> LIX. |
| 30 | Zafer Papoura, Chamber Tomb 99 | Multiple grave with a subadult | The tomb contained two skeletons with several small vases between their heads, one of which was a subadult. An additional adult burial with rich furnishings was found inside. | LM? | Evans 1906, <i>Archaeologia</i> LIX. |
| 31 | Phourni, Archanes Cemetery, Area 5, Tholos Tomb 5 | Children burials | Inside the tomb, a chest larnax containing the bones of 19 people was found. Between them were the remains of 2 children around 10 years of age and 2 adolescents. | MM IA - LM III A | Sapouna-Sakellarakis <i>et al.</i> 1997. |
| 32 | Upper Gypsades Cemetery, Tomb 16 | Burial of a juvenis | Double shaft grave, containing the remains of a subadult inside the larnax with no grave goods. | LM? | Hood <i>et al.</i> 1959, BSA 54. |

Figure 3.28: Burials details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, North-Central Crete.

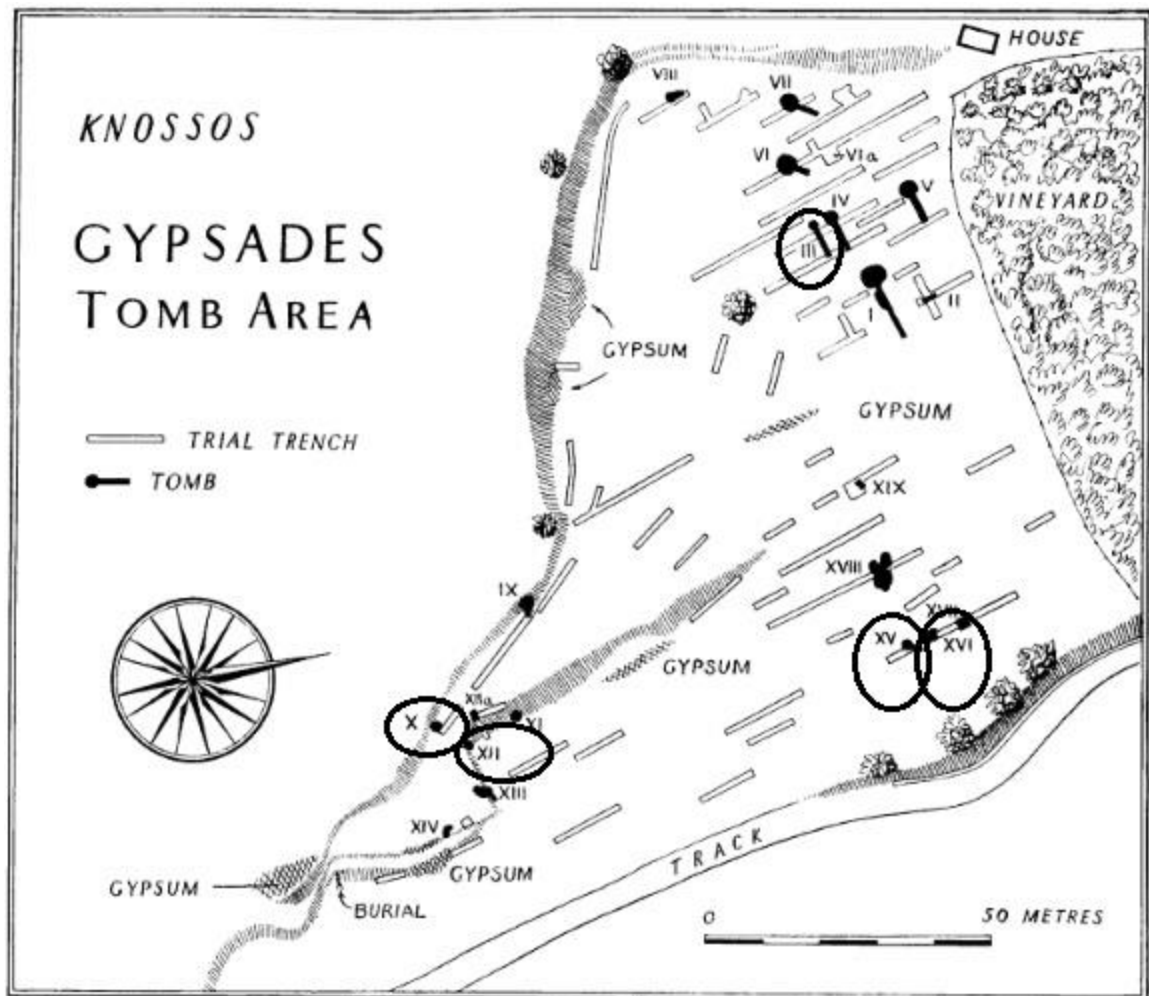


Figure 3.29: Knossos, Gypsades Tomb Area (Hood *et al.* 1959:195, fig.1).

Fourteen burials containing the skeletal remains of subadults (i.e., under 19 years of age at death) met the research requirements of this study (Figure 3.28). Five burials were recovered from the Upper Gypsades Cemetery near Knossos and include two single subadult burials, two multiple graves that contained one subadult burial each, and one grave that contained only the remains of subadults (Figure 3.29, Hood *et al.* 1959). Two multiple graves containing the remains of subadults and two single subadult burials were recovered from the Zafer Papoura Cemetery, also near to Knossos (Evans 1906). One grave with multiple burials including those of a subadult was excavated from the Archanes Cemetery (Tholos Tomb 5) (Sakellarakis *et al.* 1997). Three burials were placed in larnaxes, including in Tombs 12 and 16 from the Upper Gypsades Cemetery, and in Tholos Tomb 5 from the Archanes Cemetery. Furthermore, Tomb 15 from the Upper Gypsades Cemetery contained the single burial of a subadult in a wooden coffin (Hood *et al.* 1959:216).

The furnishings of children's graves from the Late Minoan period mostly consist of various types of pottery: bowls, pilgrim flask, jug, cup, and miniaturized vessels. However, jewelry was found in two of the graves listed above (Zafer Papoura – gold ring in the Tomb 21, carnelian bead in the Shaft Grave 79), two graves (Zafer Papoura - Tomb 21, Upper Gypsades -Tomb 12) contained tools, specifically spindle whorls, and two others were found without furnishings (Upper Gypsades - Tomb 16 and Tholos Tomb 5).

Clay figurines and sharp objects were not recorded in any of the selected graves.

3.2.3. Conclusion

The number of archaeological objects related to children from the region of North-Central Crete is poor, but we are able to compare them to the Theran iconography. The majority of children representations depict young, healthy, and muscular boys and girls of adolescent age. Images of girls are rarely presented (a girl between two birds). Most of the art examples from the Knossos area connected to children are one of a kind (boys' dolls, a vessel in the shape of a woman giving a birth, the Mavro Spelio figurine). The *Ivory Boys* are the youngest male figures, aged 11-14 and 13-16 years old, while boys depicted hunting wild animals are in the age of 15-17 years old. The oldest figure from representations is a boy from *The Captain of the Blacks*, who is around 18 years old. What distinguishes him from other pictures is equipment with weapons - spears.

The burials of subadults are limited in number as well. Nine were multiple burials and another five were single. The characteristic feature of burial practice on Crete was placing the deceased in a terracotta larnax or wooden coffin. Furnishings often contained a range of pottery, metal rings, and spindle whorls. No weapons or terracotta figurines were found with subadult burials from North-Central Crete.

3.3. ARGOLID

A total of 72 archaeological objects connected with children and youth were found in the region of Argolid. Multiple graves used over several generations are dated from Late Helladic I to the transition from Late Helladic III B to C period. Almost two-thirds of the objects (47 items) in the catalogue are subadult burials (see Figure 3.30). Another 14 objects are figurines depicting children, and 10 constituted seals. A child/adolescent is depicted on a single fresco from the Mycenaean ‘palace’, and other representations are coming from two gold signet rings, which are included to seals and sealings category.

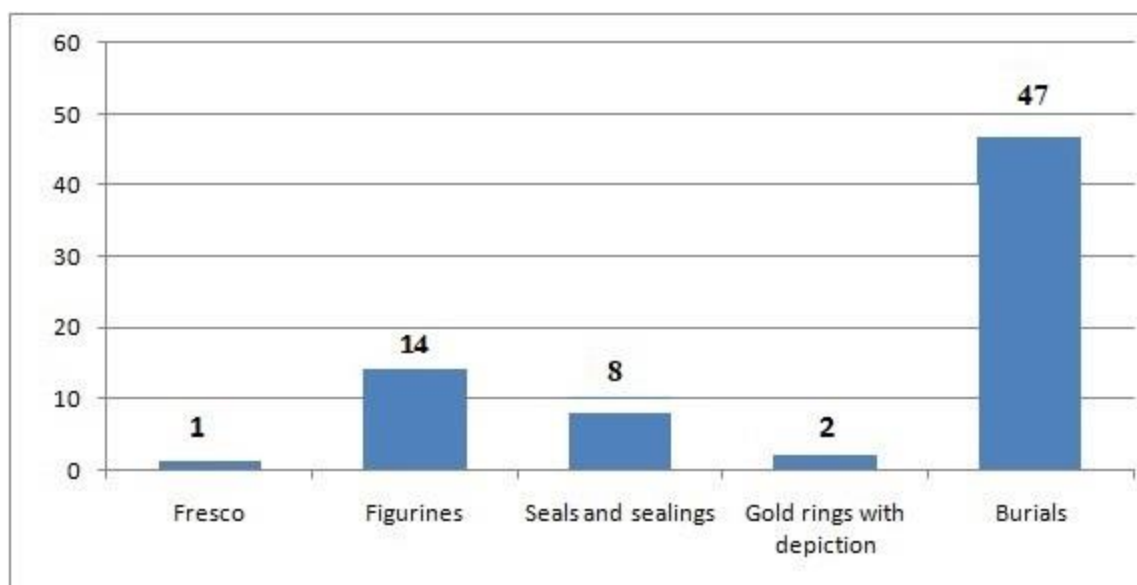


Figure 3.30: Kinds of objects connected with children and youth in the Argolid area.

3.3.1. Representations of a child or youth

3.3.1.1. Frescoes

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Mycenae, The Cult Center | Fresco 'The Seated Goddess' | Mycenaean fresco depicting a little girl as a devotee of the goddess. The girl wears a garment of yellow ochre cloth with clusters of 3 or 4 red dots (carnelian beads?) nearly identical to that worn by a seated woman. | LH III B/C | Jones 2009; Jones 2015. |

Figure 3.31: Fresco details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Argolid.

The Seated Goddess from the Southwest Building at Mycenae is a single example of a fresco depicting a young person from the Late Helladic III period (Figures 3.31 and 3.32) (Kritseli-Providi 1982, pl. 6a; Papadimitriou *et al.* 2015:196). It depicts a little girl as a devotee of the goddess who wears a very similar garment to that worn by a seated woman in the scene (Jones 2009). She is wearing yellow cloth with clusters of 3 to 4 red dots, probably carnelian beads (Jones 2015:205-8). The small girl is standing in the center, depicted as a miniature version of the bigger woman, so it is difficult to interpret her possible physical developmental stage. Anne Chapin suggested that the small figure might be a hollow figurine made from some kind of hard material (Chapin 2021:38).

We can find a parallel illustration with very similar kind of clothing on the Thera frescoes. For example, the girl in the composition of *The Worshipers* from the sanctuary at Akrotiri (Figure 3.33, on the left) wears a dress similar to Mycenaean women from the *Seated Goddess* fresco. We can see that she has a flat chest, so probably she is in pre-adolescence age. What is interesting, she is carrying a piece of textile, like this one of which is made the dress of a seating woman from the Mycenaean fresco.

The small figure of the Mycenaean girl is very alike as well to *The Priestess* fresco from the West House, Room 5 at Akrotiri (Figure 3.33, on the right). *The Priestess* wears a heavy crocheted tunic and has a flat chest, without any further physical details of the body. She keeps a vessel with perfumed oil.

Both female figures from Akrotiri frescoes are in similar age (Papageorgiou 2019:45), probably 10-12 years old. Based on many similarities between these three figures, I suggest that a small girl from *The Seated Goddess* fresco from Mycenae is in the same age with girls from Akrotiri frescoes.

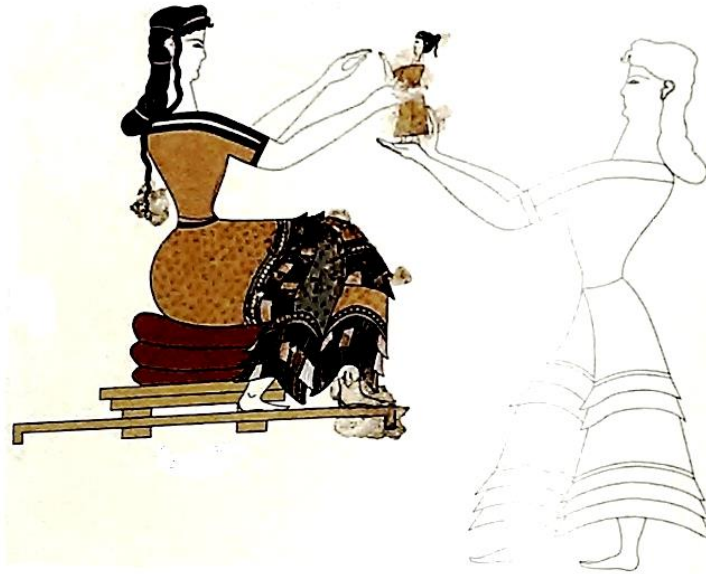


Figure 3.32: Reconstruction of the *Seated Goddess* fresco, Mycenae (after Jones 2009, fig.14).



Figure 3.33: From the left: A girl from Xesti 3, ground floor, Room 3a, North Wall (Papageorgiou 2019:46, fig.22), and *The Priestess* fresco from the West House, Room 5 (Papageorgiou 2019:36, fig.10).

3.3.1.2. Figurines

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---|---|---|---------------------------|--|
| 2 | Prosymna, Tomb 35 | Children's burial, kourotrophos T035-514-7 | Inside Cist III there were no bones (infants?), but 4 female disc figurines, 3 small jugs and 2 cups, 5 small pierced shells, 1 steatite pendant, and a bit of bronze wire were found. Cist II contained small arm and leg bones, with a disc-shaped terracotta figurine (dating to LH III A/B). Cist IV contained the arm and leg bones of a juvenis lacking a skull, and a small jug was found just outside. In total there were 4 subadults and 1 adult interred in this tomb. | LH III A2- LH III A/B | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 118-119; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 64-65, Plan 21. |
| 3 | Mycenae, Asprochomata Cemetery Chamber Tomb 41 | Kourotrophos with 2 children (no.2493) | Kourotrophos depicting 2 children - a Phi figurine holding 1 child in the arms and a second on the back. The kourotrophos was found with other 2 figurines and although no burial was mentioned, the size of the pit grave (1.4m x 0.42 m) suggests it was for a subadult. | LH III A-B | Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 114-115. |
| 4 | Mycenae, Petsas House | Kourotrophoi no. 9, no. 22871, one Phi B type | Female figurines were deposited with 3 kourotrophoi (2 transitional types no. 9 and no. 22871 (LH III A2) and one Phi B type (LH IIIA/B). | LH III A2 - LH III A/B | Archaeological Museum of Mycenae, exhibition; French 1964. |
| 5 | Mycenae, Kalkani Cemetery, Chamber Tomb 79 | Subadult burial and a 'triad' group kourotrophos (no.3230) | A multiple grave containing a subadult burial, female figurines, 1 'triad' group kourotrophos (no.3230), 1 miniature clay boat (no. 41), 2 animal figurines (no. 42 and 3093), 1 bronze disc (inv.no. 82/inv. No. 3092), 1 stone seal (inv.no. 3094) and 1 gold seal, 1 vase, and 1 female figurine. | LH III A-B | Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 219-222. |
| 6 | Mycenae, Charvati-Kalkani, Chamber Tomb 80 | Kourotrophos depicting a woman feeding baby (no. 3221) | Tomb contained 7 or 8 female figurines (no. 30, no. 33), 1 kourotrophos depicting a woman feeding baby (no. 3221), 2 stirrup jars (no. 18 and 19), 1 jug (no. 6), and 1 'feeding bottle' (no. 8). No burial was mentioned. | LH III A2 | Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 222-224. |
| 7 | Mycenae, Loupouno, Tomb III | Kourotrophos no.10 | A kourotrophos depicting a woman feeding a baby kept on her left side was recovered. | LH III B | Archaeological Museum of Mycenae, exhibition. |
| 8 | Mycenae, Asprochoma, Tomb II | Kourotrophos no. 7 | Phi kourotrophos depicting a woman feeding a baby on her left side. | LH III A | Archaeological Museum of Mycenae, exhibition. |
| 9 | Nemea, Aidonia Cemetery, Chamber Tomb 6 | Kourotrophos | The tomb was disturbed, but contained 1 kourotrophos and a jar decorated with ivy and palm trees as well as 1 rounded alabastron. No burial was mentioned. | LH II B | Kaza-Papageorgiou 1996; Theodoridis 2014. |
| 10 | Berbati, Chamber Tomb II | Kourotrophos Phi no. MN 11593, subadult burial | Phi kourotrophos and 3 other figurines were found inside the tomb. | LH III A - LH III B | Säflund 1965: 34. |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|------------------------------------|--|---|----------|--|
| 11 | Mycenae, Great Poros Wall | Kourotrophos no. 7372 | Psi female figurine holding a child (?) in her arms. Unusually wide shoulders. | LH IIIB2 | Mylonas 1964. |
| 12 | Mycenae, Atreus Bothros deposit | Fragment of a kourotrophos no. 5637 | Fragment of a kourotrophos chest with cross-hatching on the back (shawl?). | LH IIIA1 | French 1961. |
| 13 | Mycenae, Mycenaean Temple | Figurine 'Ivory triad', EAM/NAM II 7711 | Representation of 3 girls (2 adolescents and 1 toddler). Based on the hairstyle, one adolescent girl could be 14-15 years old and the second could be 16-17 years old. All 3 are probably sisters. | LH III B | National Archaeological Museum of Athens, exhibition; Mylonas 1966; Budin 2014: 111-112. |

Figure 3.34: Figurines details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Argolid.



Figure 3.35: The *Ivory Triad* (after Mylonas 1966, fig.129).

The Argolid catalogue contains figurines presenting children, from which most of them are *kourotrophoi*, although one is an ivory figure of two women/girls, and a child called the *Ivory Triad* (Figure 3.34 and 3.35).

The *kourotrophos* figurines included in this study were found in every part of Argolid, even if in small numbers. They are similar in shape, but differ in details. For example, children may be depicted as being held in woman's arms, fed by her, as sitting in a sling on the chest, or as being carried on the back. Of the 13 figurines, 8 were found in graves, and only 3 of which were recovered from subadult burials (Blegen 1937; French 1961, 1964; Mylonas 1964; Saflund 1965; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985; Kaza-Papageorgiou 1996; Theodoridis 2014).

The *Ivory Triad* figurine from the temple at Mycenae presents two older girls with one toddler-aged girl, and probably is of Minoan manufacture (Figure 3.35). Two women are wearing Minoan skirts and necklaces, while a child has a simple, foot-length skirt and a necklace (Rehak 2007:221; Chapin 2021:29). In fact, recent studies of the figurine hairstyle and clothing convincingly argue that the figurine represents three sisters (Budin 2014). The smaller girl could be 2 or 3 years old (Chapin 2021:28), and is wearing very simple tunic, different from the older girls.

It is possible that the Mycenaean understanding of this scene was different from the original intention of the Minoan artisan. On the Mainland, the *Triad* could be interpreted as a picture of the family (mother with two daughters), or with religious symbolism, as deities.

3.3.1.3. Seals and sealings

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--|--|--|------------------------|--|
| 14 | Mycenae, Acropolis | Gold signet ring | Gold signet ring with representation of a small girl behind a seated woman with two women of the same size between them. The smaller figure of a woman/girl appears to be giving the main figure offerings. The symbol of double-axe is above the figures. | LH III B/C | Jones 2009; Jones 2015. |
| 15 | Mycenae, Loupouno, Grave VIII | Carnelian bead-seal, inventory no. 19375 | Boy with a lion. | LBA I-II | Arachne catalogue. |
| 16 | Mycenae, House of Idols | Agate bead-seal, inventory no. 69-813 | Bull-leaping boy. | LH III B2 | Arachne catalogue. |
| 17 | Mycenae, Kalkani Cemetery, Grave 518 | Carnelian bead-seal, inventory no. 6489e | Bull-leaper. | LH I-LH II | Arachne catalogue. |
| 18 | Mycenae, Panagia Cemetery, Grave 91, Pit Gamma | Gold ring, inventory no. 3179 | A representation of youths (one girl and one boy). | LH II- LH III A1 | Arachne catalogue; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985. |
| 19 | Mycenae, Panagia Cemetery, Grave 47 | Agate bead, inventory no. 2439 | Ox-leaper. | LH IIIA1 – LH IIIA2 | Arachne catalogue; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985. |
| 20 | Mycenae, Panagia Cemetery, Chamber Tomb 91 | Seal stone, no.3208 | Acrobats. | LH II- LH III A1 | Arachne catalogue. |
| 21 | Mycenae, Lower Town, Chamber Tomb 58 | Seal stone, no. 2863 | Bull-leaper. | LH II – LH IIIA1 | Arachne catalogue. |
| 22 | Mycenae, Kato Fournos Cemetery, Chamber Tomb 44 | Seal stone, no. 2442 | Bull-leaper. | LH III A1 | Arachne catalogue; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985. |
| 23 | Mycenae, Phournodiaselo Cemetery, Grave 1 | Agate seal stone, no. 6235 | One female figurine with 2 smaller figurines (girls?). | LH II/ LH III | Arachne catalogue. |

Figure 3.36: Seals and sealings details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Argolid.

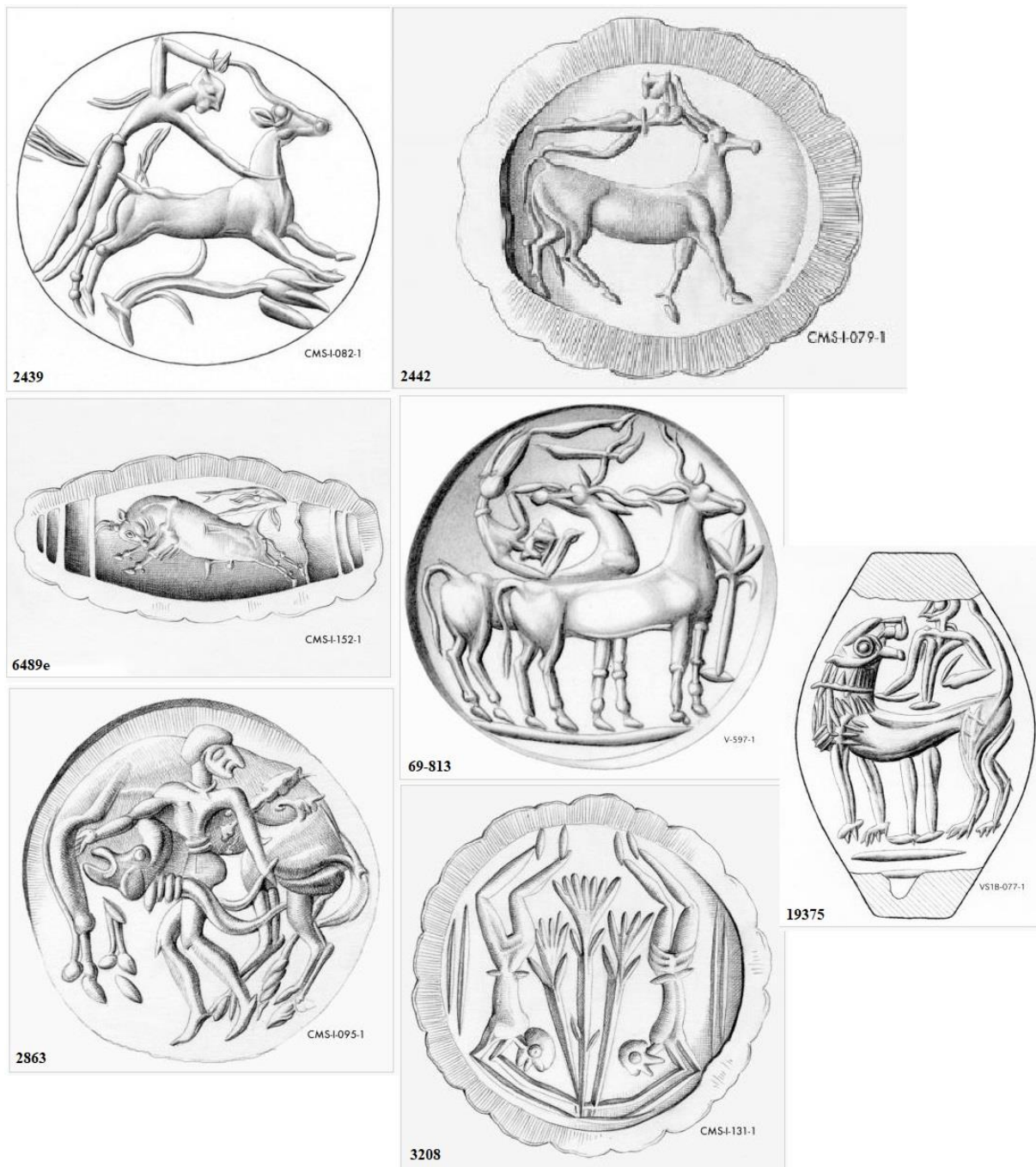


Figure 3.37: Seals impressions from the Argolid Catalogue, number from the left is inventory number and on the right is CMS number (after Arachne catalogue:

<https://arachne.unikoeln.de>).

The database contains 10 seals and sealings, including two impressions of gold rings (Figure 3.36). Eight of the objects were found as grave furnishings. Only one seal (seal no. 69-813, CMS V 597) came from domestic context, specifically from the House of Idols at Mycenae (Arachne catalogue). All seals are made of semi-precious stones, mostly carnelian and agate,

in the form of a bead. Nine seals depict adolescent boys, and one illustrates a woman with two girls (Figures 3.37, 3.38). Just like the presentations on seals and sealings from North-Central Crete, here also boys are mostly depicted as bull-leapers and acrobats. Several seals present also a boy figure passively standing with animals. Finally, there are no representations of youth taking part in labour. The most likely is that a part of seals found at Mycenae are Minoan imports (Castleden 1990:118-20).

On the sealing from Cemetery at Phournodiaselo (Figure 3.38, Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985; Younger 1988), one adult woman flanked by two smaller figures are depicted on the sealing. As John G. Younger suggested, they are brought to a shrine for a sacrifice. The hands on the waist and some kind of rope connecting two small females with a bigger woman can suggest that these girls are kept against their will. He connects the picture with an ancient Greek poem of Korinna from Boeotia. She tells about a plague that has struck a village. Then an old woman tells two young girls to sacrifice themselves to Persephone and Hades (Edmonds 1927:22-7; Younger 2016:437). Another possible interpretation of this scene is a ritual dance. The pose of female figures from Ring No 2 from Pylos (see page 144, Figure 3.65) is very similar (further reading: Caskey 1986: 36-37; Davis and Stocker 2016: 642).

Two gold signet rings were also included in the catalogue. Both were found at Mycenae: one ring was found in Grave 91 from the Panagia Cemetery, and the second one was located on the Acropolis (Arachne catalogue; Mylonas 1966; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985; Jones 2015). The first mentioned ring (inventory no. 3179, CMS I 126) shows an adult woman in the center of the scene with a boy and girl of adolescent age on her left and right sides, respectively (Figure 3.39). The scene is recently interpreted as apicultural, presenting the woman as a 'honey supervisor' controlling two working youths. On the left and right, we have stone beehives with visible honeycombs. The boy and girl are probably catching swarms. The work is supervised by a woman (Harissis and Harissis 2009: 43-51; Harissis 2018:20).

The second ring presents a similar scene to the representation on the fresco from the cult center at Mycenae (Figure 3.40). Little girls are shown also here as a miniature version of adult women. All figures are wearing Minoan style skirts. What is important, one girl is located in the center of the scene, like in the case of the girl from *Seated Goddess* fresco. She presents offerings to a woman seated in front of her, and two other women of normal size are situated on either side of the girl. In addition, one another small figure is presented on the right side, collecting flowers from the tree, probably to give them to the sitting woman. The

scene is interpreted as religious, with little girls offering flowers to the goddess (Jones 2009:311).



Figure 3.38: Sealing CMS I 159, Mycenae chamber tomb at Phournodiaselo (after Arachne catalogue: <https://arachne.unikoeln.de>).



Figure 3.39: Gold signet from Grave 91, Mycenae, CMS I 126 (after Mylonas 1966, fig. 123, ring 10).



Figure 3.40: Gold ring with small figures, the cult centre at Mycenae (after Jones 2009, fig. 3, ring 15, CMS I, no 17).

Scenes with young girls and flowers are depicted as well on Akrotiri frescoes. Two females on the East Wall of the Room 3, Xesti 3 are presented collecting crocus flowers (Figure 3.41). The female on the right side, presented in profile, is depicted with a flat chest indicating very young age. A woman on the left has marked breast. The scene on the second fresco from the North Wall in the same room is showing another young girl, empties her basket with crocuses (Figure 3.42). Again, she has a flat chest (Papageorgiou 2019:41). Both girls are probably in the same age, and at a similar age to adolescent girls from Mycenaean gold rings.



Figure 3.41: Xesti 3, Room 3, East Wall. Two female crocus collectors, a young girl on the right (Papageorgiou 2019:38, fig.12).



Figure 3.42: Xesti 3, Room 3, North Wall. Two females, griffin and blue monkey (Papageorgiou 2019:40, fig.15).

3.3.2. Burials

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|------------------|---|
| 24 | Prosymna, Tomb 1 | Subadult burial in the dromos | Tomb was re-open and a subadult burial was found in the dromos. To the right side of the dromos, many poorly preserved remains were found, including 4 skulls of unidentifiable age as well as small teeth, probably from a subadult. Objects dating between LH I to III included shattered pottery, many small glass paste beads, 4 steatite buttons, fragments of a bronze pin, and 2 pieces of a small bronze ring. On the right side of chamber remains similar to those in the dromos were found, but without a subadult. On the left side a small cup and a 'feeding bottle' without bones (infant?) were recovered. | LH I - LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 69- 72; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 28-29, Plate 9. |
| 25 | Prosymna, Tomb 2 | Children's burial | A shallow cist containing two juvenis skeletons and 1 infant was located in the left part of the chamber. Several pieces of thin gold leaf (from the infant's wrappings?) and a potsherd from a shallow cup were also found. | LH II- LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 173-180; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 102-109, Plan 38. |
| 26 | Prosymna, Tomb 4 | Children's burial | Three adult skulls in the inner right corner of the tomb, with 5 terracotta animal figurines, 1 stirrup vase and pottery fragments. Cist III to the right contained many small bones and 3 skulls (2 children and 1 infant). The figurines probably are associated with Cist III. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 190-193; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 123, Plan 42. |
| 27 | Prosymna, Tomb 8 | Children's burial | One infant skull and a few small broken bones were found inside Cist I, along with 1 large jug, 1 'feeding -bottle', 1 kylix and 1 small pyxis with a lid. Inside Cist II, the small bones of a juvenis and a large spherical crystal bead were found. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 160- 164; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 95-97, Plan 34. |
| 28 | Prosymna, Tomb 10 | Infant's burial | Some small charred bones, probably of infant, in total disorder. Inside 8 figurines and small vases, among other objects were recovered. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 197-200; Blegen, 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 126-128, Plan 44. |
| 29 | Prosymna, Chamber Tomb 16 | Children's burial | A well preserved juvenis skeleton was recovered from the left part of the chamber in the contracted position on the right side with the head to west and no funerary objects. A second juvenis skeleton was found in the seated/crouching position but again with no objects. To the right, a small niche with a cist containing bones (3 infant skulls) and 5 small vases (1 squat jar, 1 jug, 2 cups, and 1 stirrup vase). The niche burials date to the early LH III, the seated subadult dates to LH III, and the date of the burial above is unknown. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 51-52, Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 16, Plate 2. |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|----------------------|----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| 30 | Prosymna, Tomb 17 | Infant's burial | The 1st level contained 4 pots and no skeletal remains. The 2nd level contained 1 small bird-shaped askos and 1 'feeding bottle' without a skeleton, and to the right, an infant inside a terracotta larnax (N) with (SW) 4 fluted spherical blue glass paste beads, 2 almond-shaped beads made of yellowish glass paste, and 1 steatite button were recovered. To the N of the larnax, 3 vases were found, 2 small vases were found beneath it, and an alabastron and 4 steatite buttons associated with fragmentary long bones and a skull to the N, were found to the E. Around the larnax remains of 12 adults also dating to LH I and II were found. The later burials of subadults on the upper level of the tomb are also possible. | LH I- LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, 1937, Vol. I, 53-57; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 17-19, Plan 3. |
| 31 | Prosymna, Tomb 19 | Children's burial | To the left, 1 jar, 1 jug, 2 stirrup vases, 5 terracotta animal figurines, but no human remains were found. The outer right corner contained 1 deep jar, 1 squat jar, 2 stirrup vases, 2 steatite buttons, 1 steatite pendant, 1 fluted bead, 1 conical glass-paste button, 2 small marine shells and a single small bone. Nearby, a small cist cut in the floor containing 2 fragmentary bones, part of a small bronze ring, 10 steatite buttons, 128 whole and 25 fragmentary glass paste beads, and several stirrup vase sherds was found on the left side of the tomb. Several other small bones were also recovered. | LH III- Geometric Period | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, 1937, Vol. I, 59-61; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 22, Plan 5. |
| 32 | Prosymna, Tomb 21 | Infant's burial | Small bones were recovered from the middle-right side of the tomb without a skull or other objects. To the N, a cist (once containing an infant?) without bones or other objects was also identified. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, 1937, Vol. I, 62-65; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 23-25, Plan 7. |
| 33 | Prosymna, Tomb 29 | Infant's burial | Cist VI was located in the central-south side and contained small bones lacking a skull, 2 terracotta female figurines and a terracotta horned animal were found nearby. | LH II- LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, 1937, Vol. I, 75-80; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, 1937, Vol. II, 30-34, Plan 11. |
| 34 | Prosymna, Tomb 30 | Infant's burial in the dromos | Burial of an infant in the dromos in a niche beside the entrance, with 2 spherical beads, 2 fluted spherical beads, 4 small spherical beads, and 4 flattened spherical beads. | LH I- LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, 1937, Vol. I, 72-74; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 29-30, Plan 10. |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|----------------------|--|---|--------------------------|--|
| 35 | Prosymna, Tomb 33 | Infant's burial | Remains of small bones mostly on the right side, probably of an infant, but a positive identification was not possible. The skeleton was found with a small group of vessels (1 kylix, 1 small cup, and 1 stirrup vase) and fragments of 2 larger kylixes and 1 'feeding bottle'. The right side contained many skeletal remains, as well as small vessels, 16 Phi type terracotta figurines, and around 200 bluish glass beads. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, 1937, Vol. I, 104-110; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 52-57, Plan 18. |
| 36 | Prosymna, Tomb 35 | Children's burial, kourotrophos T035-514-7 | Inside Cist III there were no bones (infants?), but 4 Phi type figurines, 3 small jugs and 2 cups, 5 small pierced shells, 1 steatite pendant, and a bit of bronze wire were found. Cist II contained small arm and leg bones, with a disc-shaped terracotta figurine (dating to LH III A/B). Cist IV contained the arm and leg bones of a juvenis lacking a skull, and a small jug was found just outside. In total there were 4 subadults and 1 adult interred in this tomb. | LH III A2- LH III A/B | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 118-119; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 64-65, Plan 21. |
| 37 | Prosymna, Tomb 36 | Infant's burial | Near the centre of chamber, 3 small bones from an infant were found and a small stirrup vase and a large jug were found closer to the door on the left. To the right side, 1 terracotta figurine was found. Behind the bones, 1 large jug, 2 terracotta figurines, and a small alabastron were recovered and farther on 3 other figurines were identified. On the right side of the tomb, a separate chamber contained 1 diminutive stirrup vase, 1 'feeding bottle', 1 small amphora, 1 stirrup vase, and 1 large unpainted jug. There were no bones in this room. | LH II- LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 119-123; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 65-68, Plan 22. |
| 38 | Prosymna, Tomb 38 | Infant's burial | Close to the N-E of the chamber, 2 small teeth and poorly preserved bones, probably from infants' skull, together with 1 black steatite lentoid sealstone, 6 carnelian beads, 158 glass-paste beads and pendants, and 1 bone pendant were found. The tomb also contained animal figurines (at the back), 3 female figurines and 2 terracotta quadrupeds to the S-E, and 3 crescent-shaped terracotta figurines in middle-east part of the tomb. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 128-131; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 71-74, Plan 24. |
| 39 | Prosymna, Tomb 42 | Infant's burial | In the center of the tomb - a small skull (10 year old child?) and 1 tiny alabastron, 1 one-handed shallow cup, and small bones were found to the N-W, together with 1 tall slender amphora and 4 crescent female figurines. The remains of the child were in the center, but probably were moved to the left side of chamber after burial. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 147-152; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 86-91, Plan 30. |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--|--|---|------------|--|
| 40 | Prosymna, Tomb 43 | Children's burial | The right quarter of the tomb contained 7 adult skulls mixed with the small bones of subadults. Objects recovered included several bronze weapons (1 slender knife, 1 broad dagger, 1 cleaver, 2 leaf-shaped daggers, and fragments of another dagger), 1 bronze arrowhead, 9 rivets, small bronze fragments, 23 vases, 5 female figurines, 45 carnelian beads, 2 crystal beads, 1 amber bead, 71 glass-paste beads, 1 rosette and a fragment of ivory, small bits of silver, steatite buttons, and obsidian fragments. A large 'feeding-bottle' was found to the SW. A niche to the left contained a small skull and the bones of a subadult, with 3 small pots, 2 stirrup vases, a shattered alabastron, and several vases. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 185-190; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 116-123, Plan 41. |
| 41 | Prosymna, Tomb 48 | Infant's burial | The inner right side of the tomb contained a infant's skull and a few fragments of small bones, in disorder. Only 1 shallow cup was found nearby. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 215-218; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 137-138, Plan 48. |
| 42 | Prosymna, Tomb 51 | Children's burial | Left of the door, the remains of a juvenis without funerary objects was recovered. At the end of the chamber, many skeletal remains and possibly the skull of an infant were found. Several small vases and 1 small female figurine were found among other goods. | LH III | Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. I, 224-227; Blegen 1937, Prosymna, Vol. II, 141-143, Plan 52. |
| 43 | Mycenae, Vraserka, Tomb 1 | Chamber tomb with an infant (?) | No skeletal remains, but 1 terracotta larnax with a lid (no. 14), 1 cup (no. 9), 2 spouted cups (no. 10 and no. 16), 3 stirrup jars (no. 12, no. 15 and no. 18), 1 Psi figurine (no. 11), 1 beaked jug (no. 17), 1 Phi figurine (no. 19), 1 stone conulus (no. 21), 1 faience and 1 rock crystal beads (no. 24 and 25) were recovered. | LH III B1 | Archaeological Museum of Mycenae, exhibition. |
| 44 | Mycenae, Panagia Cemetery, Tomb 30 | Infant's burial | An infant burial in a cist, with 1 small jug, a seat for a figurine, 1 female figurine and 24 beads (22 glass, 1 carnelian and 1 faience). | LH IIIA-B | Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985:106-107; Shelton 1993: 199. |
| 45 | Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Tomb Rho | Burial of an infant (?) | Tomb robbed in antiquity. A small skull fragment (infant?) was recovered, along with bits of gold, 1 Egyptian sealstone (lapis lazuli scarab), 3 'palace style' piriform jars, 2 small Middle Helladic vases, fragments from a bronze cauldron, pieces of ivory, fragments of alabaster vessels, bronze wire, and semi-precious stones. | LH II A | Papadimitriou 1954; Cavanagh and Mee 1998. |
| 46 | Mycenae, Kalkani Cemetery, Chamber Tomb 79 | Subadult burial and a 'triad' group kourotrophos (no.3230) | A multiple grave containing a subadult burial, female figurines, 1 'triad' group kourotrophos (no.3230), 1 miniature clay boat (no. 41), 2 animal figurines (no. 42 and 3093), 1 bronze disc (inv.no. 82/inv. No. 3092), 1 stone seal (inv.no. 3094) and 1 gold seal, 1 vase, and 1 female figurine. | LH III A-B | Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 219-222. |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---|--|--|------------------------|--|
| 47 | Mycenae, Aspria, Chamber Tomb | Subadult burial | Small individual chamber containing a subadult burial. A rounded alabastron with 1 small cylindrical glass-paste bead, and 1 large carnelian bead were found on the chest. At the feet, another alabastron decorated with ivy leaves was placed. Next to the head, 4 vases (2 one-handled kylixes, 1 jug and 1 jar) and 1 clay lamp were recovered. Objects are very high quality. | LH II B | Archaiologikon Deltion 36, 1981, B1: 99. |
| 48 | Mycenae, S-W of Kalkani Hill, Grave A | Subadult burial with an adult female | Burial of a subadult and an adult female containing 6 vases (1 stirrup jar, 1 'feeding bottle', 5 jugs, kylix, and 1 one-handle kylix) and 13 figurines. | LH IIIA/ LH III B | Verdelis 1962. |
| 49 | Mycenae, Paliomandri, Grave Delta | Burial of an adult and a subadult | Two skeletons (1 adult and 1 subadult) were found with 5 vases, 2 one-handle goblets, 1 stirrup jar, 1 kylix, 1 drinking cup, 2 figurines, and 1 bronze object. | LH III B | Verdelis 1962. |
| 50 | Nemea, Ayia Sotira, Tomb 4 (EU 36) | Burial of a juvenis (probably female) | Stone-covered pit burial of adolescent girl (16-17 years old), with no grave goods, together with burials of adults (1 male and 1 female). | LH III A2 | Aegean Archaeology 8, 2009: 101-104. |
| 51 | Berati, Chamber Tomb II | Kourotrophos Phi no. MN 11593, subadult burial | Phi kourotrophos and 3 other figurines were found inside the tomb. | LH III A - LH III B | Saflund 1965: 34. |
| 52 | Mycenae, Gortsoulia, Tomb 2 | Subadult burial | In the niche of the dromos, a subadult burial with no objects was found. | LH IIIA-B | Takahashi 2009, Τα εθιμα τάφης στην Αργολίδα: 456-457. |
| 53 | Mycenae, Petsas house, Room Sigma | Subadult burial | Grave in the workshop/domestic space, where female figurines were found as well. Inside a small and shallow pit in the bedrock under the floor level an infant burial was found. Together with two small fragments of bones, three vases, a conical cup, a miniature conical cup, a miniature goblet BE 32409, and a necklace of beads (gold, lapis lazuli, blue glass). | LH III A1 | K.S. Shelton, Petsas House, Pottery Production, and the Mycenaean People in LH IIIA2, 2016: 7-18. |
| 54 | Mycenae, Panagia House II, Room 21 | Subadult burial | A child burial was found below the bench covered with flat stones. The bones were poorly preserved. Only one black steatite button or spindle-whorl was discovered with the burial. In the earth filling of bench was a small jug with a strainer spout, not for sure connected with subadult's burial. | LH III A1 | I. Mylonas-Shear, The Panagia Houses at Mycenae, 1987. I. Tournavitou, et.al., Textile production at Mycenae, mainland Greece, 2015: 259. |

Figure 3.43: Burials details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Argolid.

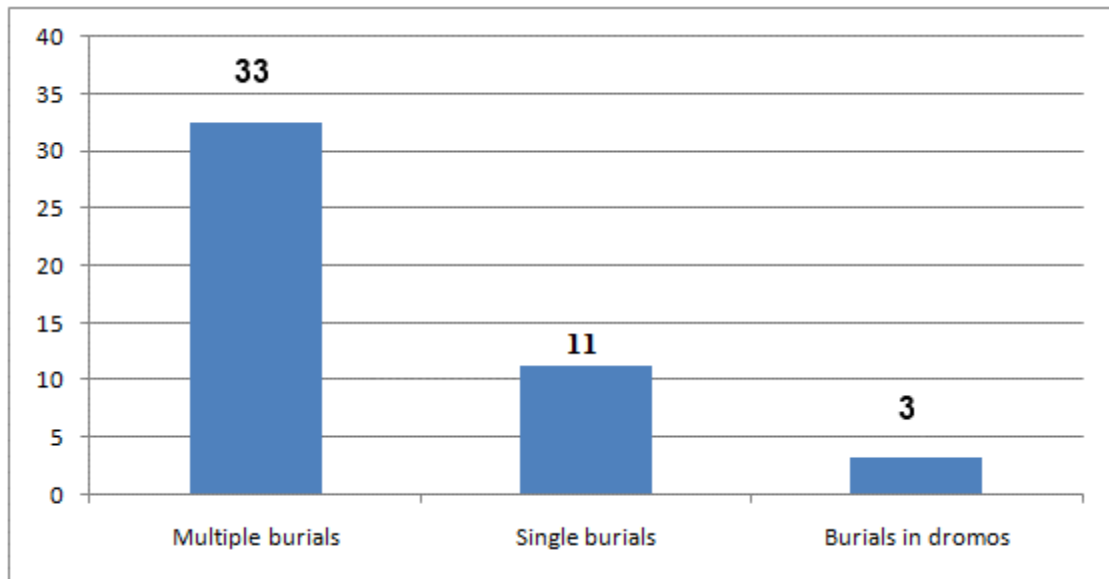


Figure 3.44: Types of subadult burials from the Argolid region.

More than half of the objects from the Argolid area are subadult burials (Figure 3.43). The most of them were found in the Prosymna Cemetery (see Figure 3.44; Blegen 1937). A significant majority of subadult burials were placed within multiple graves (Figure 3.44). Three of multiple tombs were 1+1 burials, which means one adult with one subadult in adolescence age. There were other eleven single burials and three burials which were located in the dromos of tombs (Figure 3.45, Verdelis 1962; Deshayes 1966; Kaza-Papageorgiou 1985; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985; Mylonas-Shear 1987; Shelton 1993; Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Protonotariou Deilaki 2009; Smith *et al.* 2009; Takahashi 2009; Sarri and Voutsaki 2012; Driessen 2016).

The furnishings of subadult burials were mostly pottery and terracotta figurines. In graves of younger children we can notice female and animal figurines, and in *juvenis* graves – *kourotrophos* figurines. Vessels of different types were buried together with children, for example – shallow cups, conical cups, stirrup jars, jugs, kylixes, goblet, and pyxis. The most often pottery was in miniature size, especially for younger children. *Juvenis*' graves contained miniaturized pottery together with normal size pots. Jewelry, especially beads made of various semiprecious stones and glass, also commonly appear as offerings for infants. Burials in the dromos essentially have no funerary objects. Something unusual was also observed in three wealthy graves - they contained sealstones as offerings. However, no evidence of tools was found associated with subadult burials.

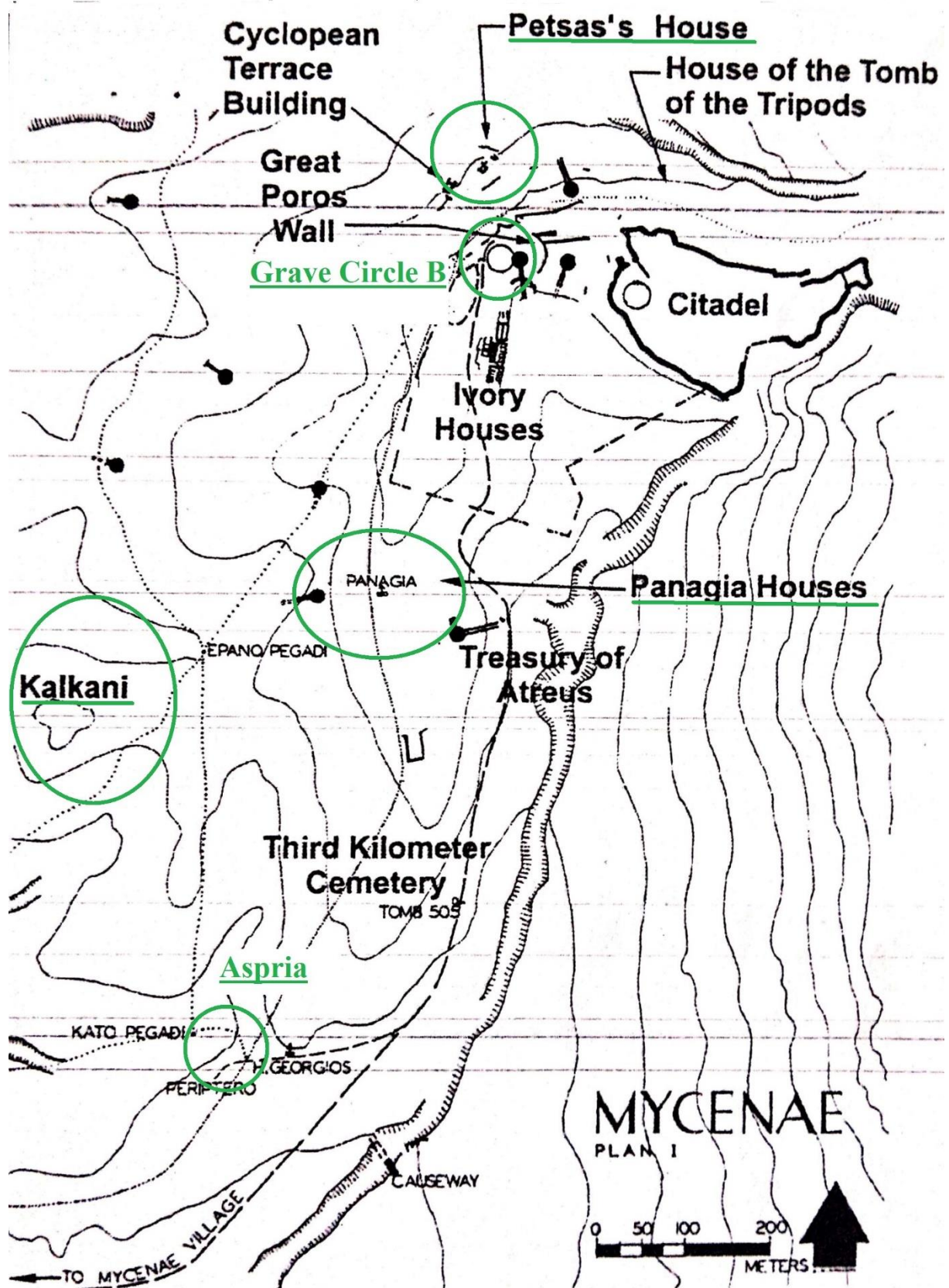


Figure 3.45: Mycenae, area with cemeteries (after Tzonou-Herbst 2002, fig. 3, with changes).

3.3.3. Conclusion

The iconography from the Argolid region is generally focused on the female segment of society. Consequently, representations of children primarily illustrate girls that are depicted like mature women (clothes and hairstyle), but in miniature. The youngest girl is presented on the *Ivory Triad*. Young children are visible in offering scenes (only girls), in age around 10-12 years old, as well as icons connected to labor (girls and boys), in early adolescence age. At Mycenae, we have noticed strong influences from the Minoan art, maybe similar to Mycenaean ideals. As an example, scenes from gold signets found in Grave 91 and from the cult center at Mycenae (which are influenced by Minoan style), are similar to the fresco of *The Seated Goddess*. The convention of these representations is very alike, starting from the type of clothing (the lower part of the skirt/dress has the same fabric folds), by miniaturizing the figure of a girl, to the same way of pinning the women's hair.

Characteristic for subadult burials are terracotta figurines: female and animal figurines which were found in younger children graves, and *kourotropoi* inside *juvenis* burials. Furthermore, pottery is mostly miniaturized and in various shapes. Younger children are equipped with colorful beads, while the graves of older children have sealstones and weapons. The *Juvenis* burials are equipped with grave goods usually associated with adult's burials.

3.4. BOEOTIA

Twenty-four objects from Boeotia related to children were selected for the archaeological catalogue. These objects are dated from Late Helladic III A (ca. 1390 BC) to Late Helladic III C (ca. 1050 BC). A significant majority of objects (16 items) include burials of subadults. Only four figurines in the *kourotrophos* type were found in this area. The remaining four representations of youth that are included in the research, are two larnaxes with three 'prothesis' scenes, and one seal.

3.4.1. Representations of a child or youth

3.4.1.1. Figurines

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---|---|--|----------------------|--|
| 1 | Thebes, Kolonaki Cemetery, Site 24, Tomb 25 | Kourotrophos | Adult burial with many objects, vases and many figurines, one of which was a kourotrophos. The tomb interrupted the grave in the dromos (Tomb 10) from LH III C. | LH IIIB- LH III C | Keramopoullou 1917, Thibaika: 187-194; Symeonoglou 1985: 248-249. |
| 2 | Thebes, Kastellia Cemetery, Site 122, property of Demetrios Kyriakos | Kourotrophos inside a tomb | Inside, 1 kourotrophos and several bones were found, but there was no indication about age or sex. | LH III A2 | Archaiolegikon Deltion 23 (1968), B1: 213-214; Symeonoglou 1985: 274. |
| 3 | Thebes, Kolonaki Cemetery, Site 151, prop. Alexandros Marlasis, chamber tomb | Kourotrophos, adult's burial | Inside 3 terracotta figurines (among other objects) were found, one of which was a kourotrophos. Some adult bones were found, but the age or sex of the others could not be determined. | LH | Archaiolegikon Deltion 23 (1968), B1: 219-220; Symeonoglou 1985: 280. |
| 4 | Thebes, Kallithea, Tomb 4 | Remains of a juvenis and 1 kourotrophos | The tomb of a subadult with the following objects: several vases, 3 (?) Psi terracotta figurines, 1 kourotrophos, 1 bull figurine, several steatite 'buttons', several glass-paste beads, 1 representation of a young man (?), and 1 perforated whetstone. | LH III A-B | Archaiolegikon Deltion 26 (1971): 213-214. |

Figure 3.46: Figurines details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Boeotia.

Four *kourotrophos* figurines dated to the Late Helladic period from the area of Boeotia were chosen for this research (Figure 3.46). All of them were found in graves. Two of them are coming from the Kolonaki Cemetery, one from the Kalithea Cemetery, and one from the Kastellia Cemetery at Thebes (Keramopoullou 1917; Faraklas 1968; Spyropoulos 1971; Symeonoglou 1985). Two graves with *kourotrophos* figurines contained the remains of adults (Kolonaki Cemetery – Tomb 25, Keramopoullou 1917; chamber tomb at site 151, Faraklas 1968:219-20), a third is the burial of a subadult determined to be a boy by the original investigators (Kallithea – Tomb 4, Spyropoulos 1971:213-4), and in the fourth burial bones were unrecognizable (Kastellia Cemetery – Site 122, Symeonoglou 1985:274).

The *kourotrophos* figurines are characterised by their diversity. They can appear in the Phi, Psi and Tau types, but the form of a child figure and its placement are subtly different. In the case of Boeotia region, *kourotrophoi* were found together with other clay figurines.

3.4.1.2. Seals and sealings

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|------------------------------|--|--|----------|---|
| 5 | Thebes, Kadmeion building | Agate bead, inventory no: 211, CMS V 674 | Agate bead with representation of a bull-leaping boy. | LH III B | Arachne catalogue; Younger 1984:109. |

Figure 3.47: Seal details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Boeotia.

The catalogue includes one bead made of agate, with the form of a seal, representing a bull-leaping boy (Figures 3.47 and 3.48). This seal came from the Kadmeion in Thebes, where a large amount of pottery was found. The scene is very similar to other representations of adolescent leapers found on the Mainland and Crete. Despite this, the seal has characteristics (Spectacle-Eye Group - rounding of various elements like the eyes and the nostrils of the bull) indicating it was manufactured in the Near Eastern workshop (Younger 1986:134). The bull-leaping scene is very well known for a representation of young boys in adolescence age.

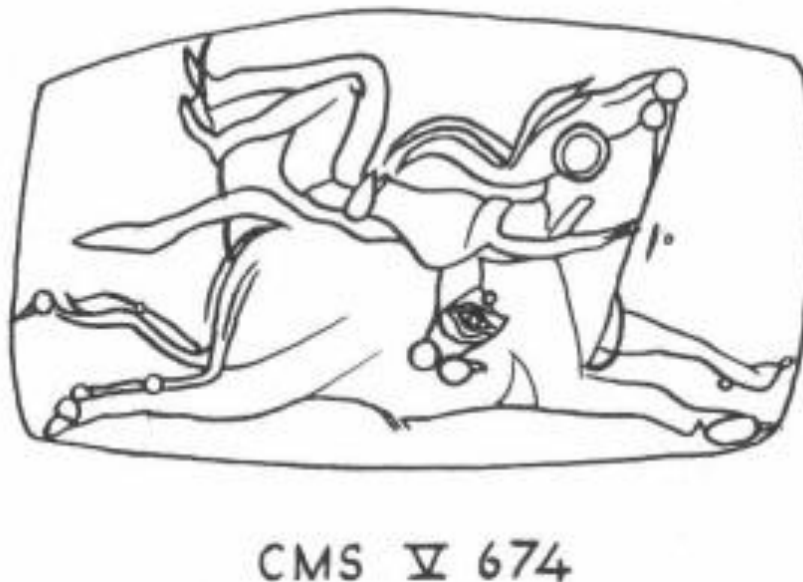


Figure 3.48: Representation of bull-leaper from the seal CMS V 674, Thebes (after Younger 1984: 109, fig. 3).

3.4.1.3. Other – ‘prothesis’ scenes

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|------------------------------|---|---|---------------|--|
| 6 | Tanagra Cemetery, Tomb 6 | Scene of 'prothesis' on two sides of a child larnax, subadult burial | Tomb containing 9 larnaxes, including one with the iconography of a 'prothesis' on two sides (child larnax), pottery and terracotta figurines. | LH III B-C | Michaud 1971; Archaologikon Deltion 26, 1971. |
| 7 | Tanagra Cemetery, Tomb 22 | Scene of 'prothesis' on a child larnax, subadult burial | Tomb containing pottery, figurines, glass-paste beads and other larnaxes. | LH III A-B | Spyropoulos 1969; Michaud 1971. |

Figure 3.49: ‘Prothesis’ scenes details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Boeotia.

There are three scenes of ‘prothesis’ from Boeotia showing the child's burial (see Figures 3.49, 3.50 and 3.51). They are situated on two larnaxes from the Tanagra cemetery (Tombs 3 and 22). Both coffins contained remains of subadults (Spyropoulos 1969; Iakovidis 1966; Marinatos 1970; Michaud 1971; Spyropoulos 1971). Each of the three scenes on the larnaxes shows two people placing a child into a coffin. We can see there figures with upraised hands, probably in mourning. It is noteworthy how much attention and how many people were involved in the funerary ceremony of a child (de Souza *et al.* 2018).

Two images presented on the Figure 3.50 are coming from the larnax, which was found at Tanagra, Grave No 22 (Kramer-Hajos 2015:650, 654; Spyropoulos 1969, fig. 14)⁹, and one iconography (Figure 3.51) comes from the Grave No 3 (Kramer-Hajos 2015; Panagiotopoulos 2007: 214; Burke 2008, fig. 4.2)¹⁰.

⁹ The publication: *Minoan and Mycenaean Larnakes: A comparison* (Spyridon Marinatos 1997) has incorrect information about provenance of one larnax picture from the Grave No 22 (as a Grave No 3, p.283, Fig.1), while publication of The Archaeological Museum of Thebes exhibition has no details about provenance of both larnax pictures (Aravantinos 2010a).

¹⁰ The picture from this larnax is presented also in *Archeologicon Deltion 26* (Spyropoulos 1971), Fig. 189e, but without indication of grave number.



Figure 3.50: ‘Prothesis’ scenes presented on two sides of one larnax from Tanagra, Grave No 22 (Spyropoulos 1969, fig. 14).



Figure 3.51: ‘Prothesis’ scene from the Tanagra larnax, Grave No 3 (Burke 2008, fig. 4.2).

Scenes on both larnaxes depict preparations for ‘prothesis’, which is the moment of laying the deceased on the bed or in the coffin, and exposing his/her body:

‘Η πρόθεση και ο θρήνος - Η πρόθεσις, δηλαδή η έκθεση του νεκρού σε αυτό που θα λέγαμε «προσκύνημα», γινόταν μέσα στο σπίτι του και διαρκούσε μία ημέρα. Ο νεκρός τοποθετούνταν πάνω σε μια κλίνη με τα πόδια προς την πόρτα του σπιτιού και με το κεφάλι ξεσκεπαστο (...). Η πρόθεση εικονίζεται ήδη στις μυκηναϊκές σαρκοφάγους και αργότερα, τον 8ο αιώνα, στη γεωμετρική αγγειογραφία: ο νεκρός είναι τοποθετημένος πάνω σε μια ψηλή κλίνη και συχνά σκεπασμένος με ύφασμα –που ορισμένες φορές φαίνεται σαν να αιωρείται από πάνω του– πλαισιωμένος από θρηνωδούς (...).’

[‘Prothesis’ and lament – ‘prothesis’, that is, exposing the deceased in a show of respect, took place in his house and lasted for one day. The deceased was placed on a bed, legs facing the front door of the house and head exposed (...). ‘Prothesis’ was depicted on Mycenaean larnaxes and later, in the 8th century, in vase painting of the geometric period: the deceased is placed on a high bed and often covered with cloth - which sometimes seems to hover above it - surrounded by mourners (...)].(Museum of Cycladic Art: <https://cycladic.gr/page/ethimatafis>).

The fact that the Tanagra larnaxes represent the ‘prothesis’ scene can be found in Georgos Spyropoulos' publication:

‘Η Τανάγρα μας έδωσε την πρώτη και πλήρη παράσταση πρόθεσης νεκρού στην κλίνη του στην μακρά πλευρά μιας λάρνακας (εικ.8) (...).’

[Tanagra gave us the first full scene of the ‘prothesis’ of the deceased on his bed, on the long side of one of the larnaxes (fig.8) (...)]. (Spyropoulos 2020:3).

The ‘prothesis’ scene can also depict the direct assembly of the body into larnax by family members:

*‘A scholarly consensus has emerged that reconstructs Mycenaean mourning and funerary customs as similar to those inferred from the Geometric Dipylon vases or known from Archaic and Classical Athens: **women prepared the body of the deceased and placed it in the larnax (the prothesis)**, and they partook in (ritual) wailing, symbolically represented by the two-handed mourning gesture, funerary dirges, and funerary dances to mourn the deceased (...).’ (Kramer-Hajos 2015:636).*

This information contains also following description of the larnax from the Grave No 3:

*‘Wailing, tearing of clothes, pulling the hair or beating the head, lacerating the face, and shaving of hair are all well-attested as having been part of mourning rituals for women in ancient Greece. These depictions seem to capture the essence of unrestrained grief. **The “rawness” of these figures suggests that they represent family members, devastated by grief, rather than official threnodists; this is also suggested by the prothesis scene (...).**’ (Kramer-Hajos 2015:643).*

We can find there also description of the larnax from the Grave No 22:

*The prime example, a larnax from Gephyra tomb 22 (36), shows on its four panels, each subdivided into two registers, wailing women in alternating red and black curving silhouette, as well as **prothesis scenes** on the two short ends, a bull-leaping scene, and a possible hunting scene with no fewer than 19 goats; it is the most ambitiously painted larnax published from Tanagra. The latter two scenes are reminiscent of Cretan fresco and larnax decorations, and suggest that this larnax shows an amalgam of typically Mycenaean (prothesis, wailing) and more typically Minoan scenes (...). The larnax containing the remains of the “young man” (36) measures $0.73 \times 0.31 \times 0.59$ m. Given the narrow width, the deceased was perhaps an adolescent, maybe about 14–15 years old, with a rather slender build: perhaps his legs and torso had grown, while he had not yet packed on much muscle (...). [Kramer-Hajos 2015:650, 654].*

As we can see in the presented publication fragments, ‘prothesis’ scene is not limited to displaying the body of the deceased in his/her home, but also combines the ritual of preparing the body and laying it on the bed. The rituals were not limited to priests, but could also be performed by family members of the deceased.

3.4.2. Burials

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--|---|--|----------------------|---|
| 8 | Thebes, Kolonaki Cemetery, Site 24, Tomb 1 | Infant's burial | The bones of a small infant were recovered with the following objects: a few amforiskoi, 1 stirrup jar, 1 two-handled vase (with bones?), 2 pithoi, 1 Tau figurine, 2 bases and the head of other figurines. | LH III B | Keramopoulou 1917, Thibaika: 124, 126-128; Symeonoglou 1985: 248-250. |
| 9 | Thebes, Kadmeia, Site 17 | Infants burial under floor of a house | A pit grave cut in the rock contained 5 infant skeletons arranged radially, with feet towards the center. One alabastron was found inside, and square poros stone, probably as a grave marker, was found above the grave. | LH | Archaologikon Deltion 21 (1966), B1: 185; Symeonoglou 1985: 243. |
| 10 | Thebes, Kolonaki Cemetery, Site 24, Tomb 4 | Subadult burial | The skeletal remains of a subadult, as well as 1 almond-shaped lead, pieces of glass paste, 12 beads, 11 rosette-shaped beads, 3 gold discs, 1 gold rosette, 1 bronze arrowhead, 1 bronze viper, 1 marble vase, 1 amphoriskos, 2 cups, 1 deep bowl, 2 three-handle alabastrons, and 2 pithoi were found. | L H II - LH III B | Keramopoulou 1917, Thibaika: 129-136; Symeonoglou 1985: 248-249. |
| 11 | Thebes, Kolonaki Cemetery, Site 24, Tomb 10 | Subadult and adults burials | Tomb in dromos of Tomb 25 dating to LH III B. The remains of small subadult with 1 small and incomplete amphoriskos, 2 oinochoe, and 1 pyxis were found on the right side of the dromos. | LH III C | Keramopoulou 1917, Thibaika: 146-147; Symeonoglou 1985: 248-249. |
| 12 | Thebes, Kolonaki Cemetery, Site 24, Tomb 12 | Burial of 3 adults and a subadult | Inside the tomb, 3 adult skeletons and the skull of 1 subadult, with 1 alabastron, 1 lead, bronze utensils, 1 kylix, 1 vase, and 2 amphoriskoi were found. | LH III C | Keramopoulou 1917, Thibaika: 148-149. |
| 13 | Thebes, Isminios Lofous, Site 8, Tomb 2 | Infant's burial | Kind of tomb like a small arcosolium (arched recess) containing the bones of an infant, 2 vases, 5 alabastrons, 2 amphoriskoi, 2 oinochoe, 2 deep bowls, 1 pithos, 3 terracotta figurines, and 4 pelekus (stone axes). | LH | Filios 1897: 94; Keramopoulou 1917, Thibaika: 81-85; Symeonoglou 1985: 236-237. |
| 14 | Thebes, Kallithea, Tomb 4 | Remains of a juvenis and 1 kourotrophos | The tomb of a subadult with the following objects: several vases, 3 (?) Psi terracotta figurines, 1 kourotrophos, 1 bull figurine, several steatite 'buttons', several glass-paste beads, 1 representation of a young man (?), and 1 perforated whetstone. | LH III A-B | Archaologicon Deltion 26 (1971): 213-214. |
| 15 | Thebes, property of P.Zoulamoglou, Grave 57 | Infant's burial | Secondary burial of an infant in a cinerary urn, including small, burned bones and 1 amphoriskos. | LH III C | Papadaki 2014 |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--|--|--|---------------|--|
| 16 | Thebes, property of P.Zoulamoglou, Grave 65 | Infant's burial | Secondary burial of a cremated infant in a cinerary urn as well as 1 amphora, 1 cup, and 1 bronze blade. | LH III C | Papadaki 2014 |
| 17 | Thebes, property of P.Zoulamoglou, Grave 66 | Infant's burial | Secondary burial of an infant in a cinerary urn containing small bones, buried with several steatite spindle whorls and 1 burned bone disc. | LH III C | Papadaki 2014 |
| 18 | Tanagra Cemetery, Tomb 6 | Scene of 'prothesis' on two sides of a child larnax, subadult burial | Tomb containing 9 larnaxes, including one with the iconography of a 'prothesis' on two sides (child larnax), pottery and terracotta figurines. | LH III B-C | Michaud 1971; Archaologikon Deltion 26, 1971. |
| 19 | Tanagra Cemetery, Tomb 22 | Scene of 'prothesis' on a child larnax, subadult burial | Tomb containing pottery, figurines, glass-paste beads and other larnaxes. | LH III A-B | Spyropoulos 1969; Michaud 1971. |

Figure 3.52: Burials details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Boeotia.

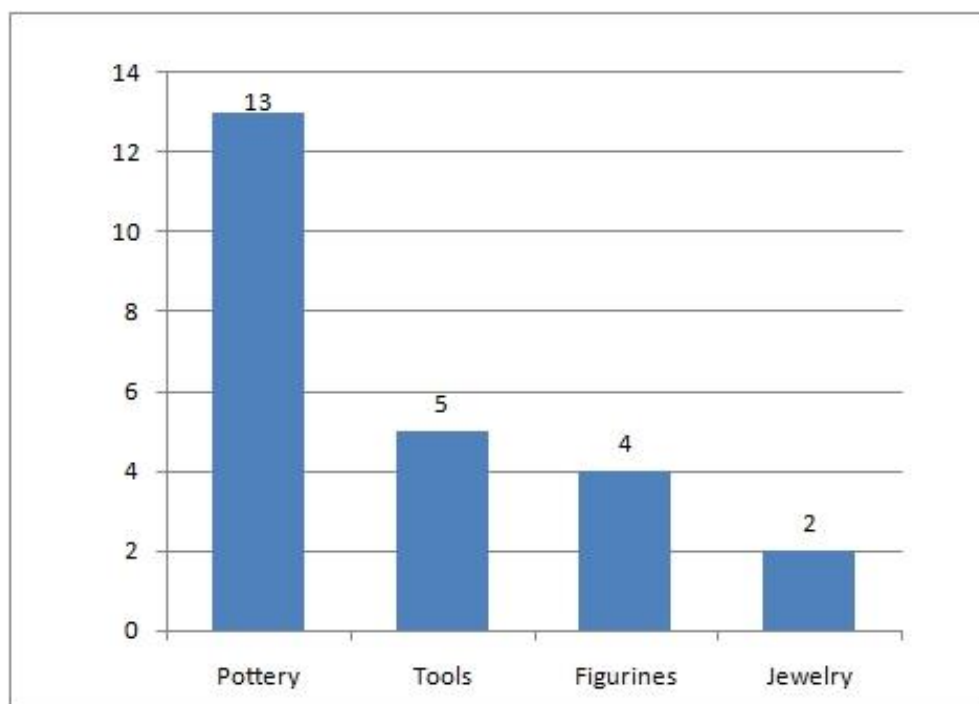


Figure 3.53: Types of furnishings from subadult graves in the Boeotia area.

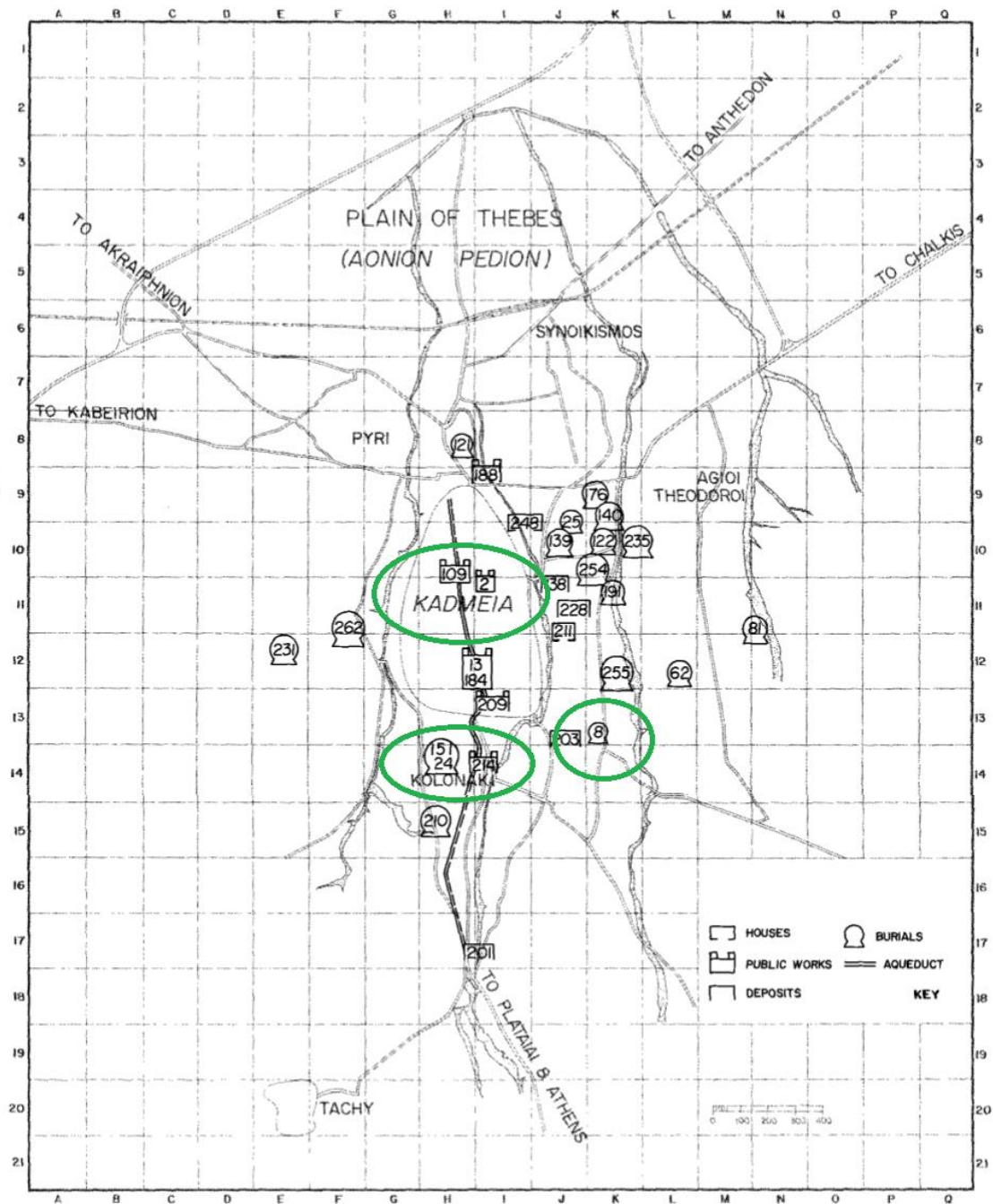


Figure 3.54: Late Helladic cemeteries in the Thebes area (after Symeonoglou 1985:51, fig. 2.12, with changes).

Sixteen subadult's burials from the Boeotia region were included in this research (Figure 3.52; Filios 1897; Keramopoulou 1917; Symeonoglou 1966, 1985; Michaud 1971; Spyropoulos 1971; Papadaki 2014). Pottery was the most frequent objects included as an offering in subadult graves in the Boeotia area, whereas one fifth were figurines and tools (Figure 3.53). The shapes of vessels are very diverse – small stirrup jars, cups, deep bowls,

amphoriskos, pyksis and pithoi. In graves of newborn infants, the characteristic is an alabastron. In four subadult graves, tools made of bronze, stone axes, a bronze blade and one bronze arrowhead were identified. Furthermore, one grave of a juvenis was equipped with terracotta figurines (also one *kourotrophos*), beads and a whetstone.

Most of the burials were found at the Kolonaki Cemetery (Figure 3.54). Two burials from Tanagra Cemetery with ‘prothesis’ scenes on larnaxes are included as well. The number of single and multiple graves that contained subadult skeletons are approximately similar, at seven and eight, respectively. Furthermore, one subadult burial was located in the dromos of a tomb (Kolonaki Cemetery, Tomb 10). The most unusual burial was found under the floor of a house within a citadel (Kadmeia, Site 17) that consisted of a pit grave cut in the rock containing the remains of five infants arranged radially, with heads towards the center. Only one vase (an alabastron) was placed as an offering in the middle between the heads of infants (Symeonoglou 1985:243). A square porous stone located above the grave probably functioned as a grave marker (Symeonoglou 1966:183-7).

3.4.3. Conclusion

The archaeological objects from the region of Boeotia are limited, but clearly show the importance of children. A great number of objects is coming from the burial context and mostly represents schematic icons of young children, without showing physical details of a body (*kourotrophoi*, ‘prothesis’ scenes). The icons of ‘prothesis’ scenes are strictly focused on a child. He/she is in the center of the scene, with other figures mourning and caring for his/her dead body. In subadult burials, we can recognize the placement of newborn children in domestic areas, equipped only with an alabastron. Tombs with older children are mostly wealthy, supplied with various miniature pottery, colorful beads, but also with objects made of metal and stone. The furnishing of juvenis burials is connected with workshop (tools), body decoration (beads), and *kourotrophos* figurines.

3.5. MESSENIA

A total of 25 archaeological objects related to children in the database came from the region of Messenia and date from Late Helladic I to III C (ca. 1600 to 1050 BC). Like in other regions, burials have been used for a long time; for example, Tragana Tomb 1 (A) dates from periods of LH IIA to LH III C. Seventeen objects are subadult burials, while three are seals and sealings. Two gold rings and their impressions are included in sealings category. One fresco from the Palace of Nestor, one female figurine, and one representation of youths as a decoration on a dagger are also included in the catalogue (Marinatos 1965:110-15).

3.5.1. Representations of a child or youth

3.5.1.1. Frescoes

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--------|---|
| 1 | Pylos, Palace of Nestor, Vestibule | Fresco 'Vestibule procession' | The detail from the 'Vestibule procession' depicts an adult male and young boy in the front of him. These two figures have the same clothing, but a different height. | LH | Lang 1969; Säflund 1980; Hägg 1985; McCallum 1987; Wright 2004; Egan 2015 |

Figure 3.55: Fresco details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Messenia.

The parts of the Vestibule 'procession' fresco were found in the Vestibule of the Nestor Palace, near to the northern part of NW wall (Figure 3.55; Lang 1969:192; Egan 2015:212). The main part of the 'procession' scene contains men moving to the left. The first interpretation of fresco fragments from Pylos Palace Vestibule came with Gösta Säflund's publication in the *Opuscula Atheniensi* from 1980. Based on numerous of kylixes found at the site, he suggests that the 'palace' was a place of wide-ranging sacrificial banquets (Säflund 1980:244-5; Egan 2015:25). Mabel Lang also interprets painting fragments as a scene of procession, because of objects carried by figures, with the distinction of two individuals 'similarly dressed but of different scale', 'as a 'man and boy', or 'priest and aeolyte' (Lang 1969:193; Egan 2015:212). Another point of view was presented by Robin Hägg, who suggested that the Vestibule wall paintings are designed to direct real processions

as a ‘sign-post’, through the Vestibule into the Throne Room (Hägg 1985:216). Opposite to Robin Hägg, Lucinda R. McCallum disagrees on reconstructed by Piet de Jong panel elements, regarding shapes of vessels (Figures 3.56 and 3.57; McCallum 1987:137; Egan 2015:221-2). Furthermore, Lucinda R. McCallum interpreted the scene as a ‘memorialize an important sacrificial procession’ that happened in the past (McCallum 1987:120; Egan 2015:222), and suggested that on fresco we see a state-sponsored festival presented on the fresco, with the Vestibule procession of men representing different social status and/or occupation (McCallum 1987:77-87; Egan 2015:223).

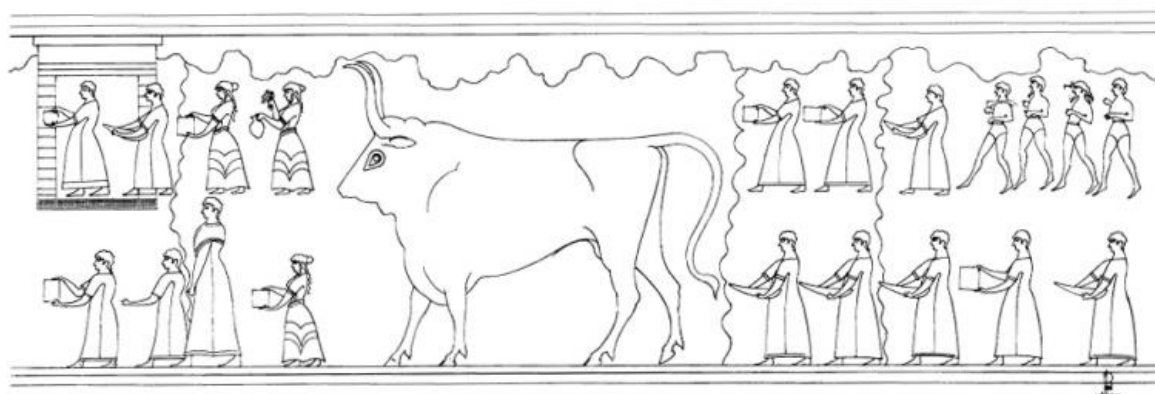


Figure 3.56: Line drawing of a composition from the NW wall of the Pylos Vestibule showing a procession (P. de Jong, Wright 2004:42, fig. 12, after PN II, pl. 119).

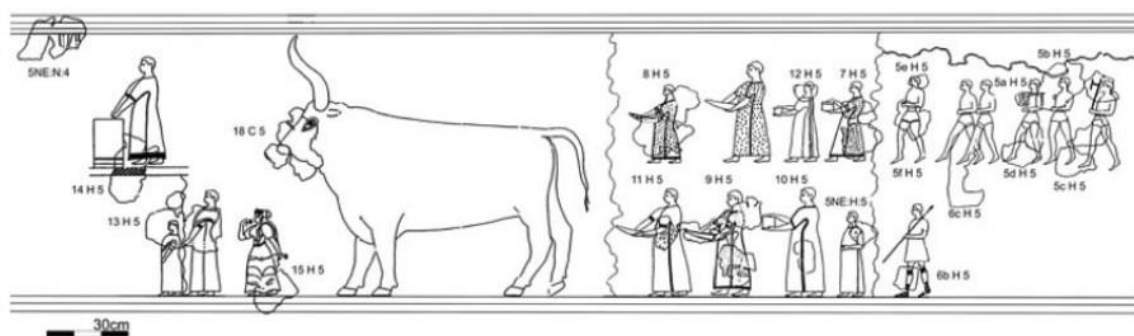


Figure 3.57: Revised reconstruction of the procession scene on the NW wall of the Pylos Vestibule (L. R. McCallum, Thaler 2012:193, fig. 3, after McCallum 1987:196-197, figs. VIIIb-c).

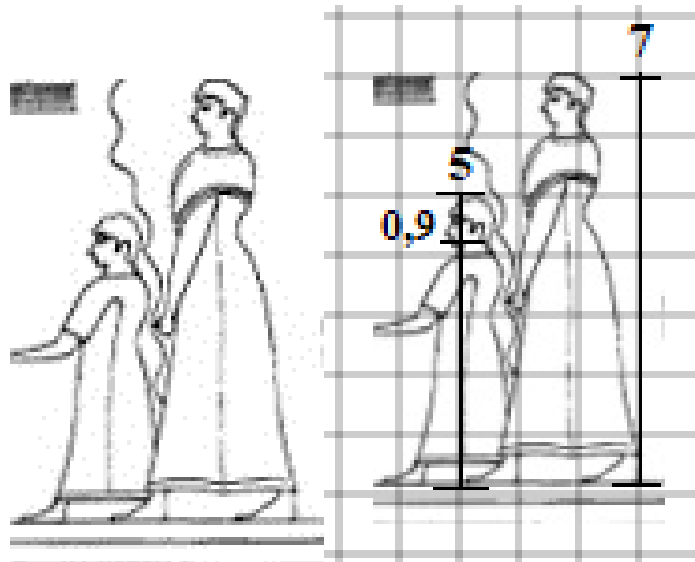


Figure 3.58: Detail of panel reconstruction and measurements on a grid plotted on a photograph with figures (P. de Jong, Wright 2004:42, fig. 12, after PN II, pl. 119, with changes).

Table 11: Table with measurements of figures lengths and proportions of the Vestibule procession.

| | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--|
| Small figure | 5 | x |
| Head | 0.9 | 10:1.8 |

We can measure and calculate the proportions of a smaller male figure, and then compare the results with an adult male with a normal height (Figure 3.58 and Table 11). Proportions of a child's height compared to the head, is in a ratio of 10:1.8. In comparison to proportions for the average European boy according to the James M. Tanner and Reginald H. Whitehouse pattern, the author suggests a boy around 8 years old. We can try to compare both figures height, assuming that the bigger figure is a male adult. The adult and smaller figure are in proportion 7:5 grids. If the pattern for a 18 years old male has a height of 26 grids, we have to check, which of the child figures in the pattern has the same proportion, as have an adult and a child on the procession fresco. The child on pattern should have 18.57 grids, so it fits a proportion for a child around 7-8 years old. This proportions correspond with results from the child's height and length of the head.

3.5.1.2. Figurines

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--|-----------------|--|-----------------|--|
| 2 | Pylos, Chora- Ano Englianos V, Tholos Tomb Vagena 5 (Grave Circle at Pylos), Pit 2 | Female figurine | Representation of a pregnant woman? The figurine was found on the right breast of a male adolescent/adult, inside very wealthy tomb, together with other furnishings: bronze mirror, bronze awl, a dagger or knife, a bronze scale pan, a bronze bowl, an askos and a large white glass bead. | MH/ LH IIIA1 | Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973; Tzonou-Herbst 2002; Pylos Regional Archaeological Project 2005. |

3.59: Figurine details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Messenia.

One very interesting figurine was analyzed for this study (Figures 3.59 and 3.60). It was found in the Vagena 5 Tholos Tomb from the Chora - Ano Englianos V (also called Vagena Grave Circle), and dates from Late Helladic I to II period (ca. 1600 to 1390 BC, Blegen *et al.* 1973:136-49; Tzonou 2002:179; Pylos Regional Archaeological Project 2005). At the first sight, the figurine is similar to other Mycenaean female figurines. It is distinguished by an enhanced belly in profile view. Moreover, the hands of female figurines are usually placed on the chest or breast. In the case of the figurine from the Vagena tomb, the hands are situated on the belly. These significant features could indicate the representation of a pregnant woman.

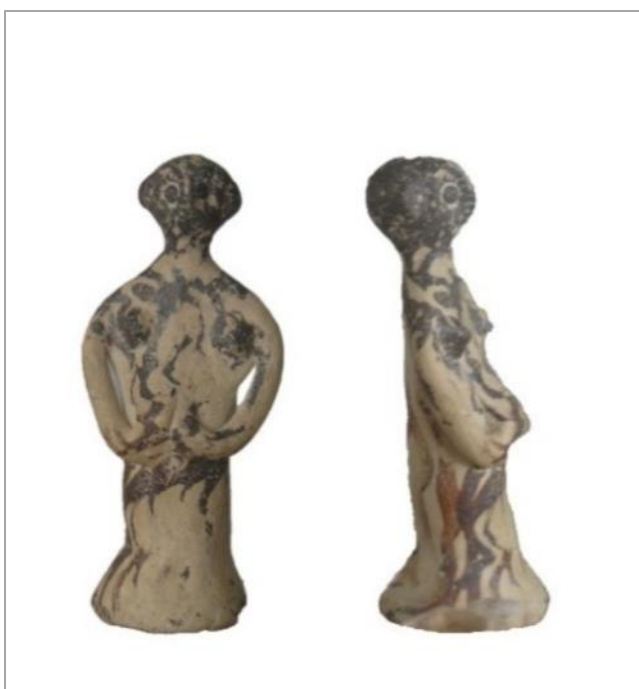


Figure 3.60: Female figurine, Vagena 5 (Archaeological Museum of Chora).

3.5.1.3. Seals and sealings

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--|-----------------------------|---|----------|---|
| 3 | Pylos, Tragana Cemetery, Tomb 1 (A) | Amethyst seal (no. 2705) | Representation of 3 adolescents, one of which held a lance/spear. | LH IIIA1 | Marinatos 1955; Younger 1985; Younger 1988; Arachne catalogue. |
| 4 | Pylos – Chora, Palace of Nestor, Room 98 | Clay sealing no. 8491 | Seal depicts 3 women in skirts, the largest of which in the center has two smaller women on either side (adolescents?). | LH II | Blegen 1966. |
| 5 | Koukounara (Ilia), Akona 1, Tholos Tomb | Sealing no. 145 | Seal with representation of a man/boy jumping over a goat. | LH III | Arachne catalogue. |
| 6 | Pylos, 'Griffin Warriors' grave | Gold signet Ring 1 | Bull and bull-leaper. | LH II | Davis and Stocker 2016 |
| 7 | Pylos, 'Griffin Warriors' grave | Gold signet Ring 2 | Female figures flanking a shrine, three adults and two young girls. | LH II | Davis and Stocker 2016 Chapin 2021 |

Figure 3.61: Seals and sealings details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Messenia.

Two seals included in the catalogue were found in graves (Figure 3.61, Koukounara - Akona 1, and Tragana - Tomb 1). A third sealing was discovered in the Room 98, the Palace of Nestor. Three different topics are presented on each of these objects. The clay sealing from the Palace of Nestor presents three silhouettes of women in skirts (Figure 3.62, on the left). The woman in the center of the scene is bigger than the two beside her, suggesting the smaller figures are younger girls (Blegen 1966:317). The seals from graves depict young boys with an active character - the seal from the Koukounara Cemetery presents one boy jumping over goat while the amethyst bead from the Tragana Cemetery shows a battle scene (Figures 3.62, on the right, and 3.63; Marinatos 1955; Younger 1985:63-4).



Figure 3.62: From the left: Sealing no 8491, CMS I 321, Palace of Nestor, Room 98 and Sealing no 145, CMS V 638, Koukounara, Akona 1 (after Arachne catalogue: <https://arachne.uni-koeln.de>).

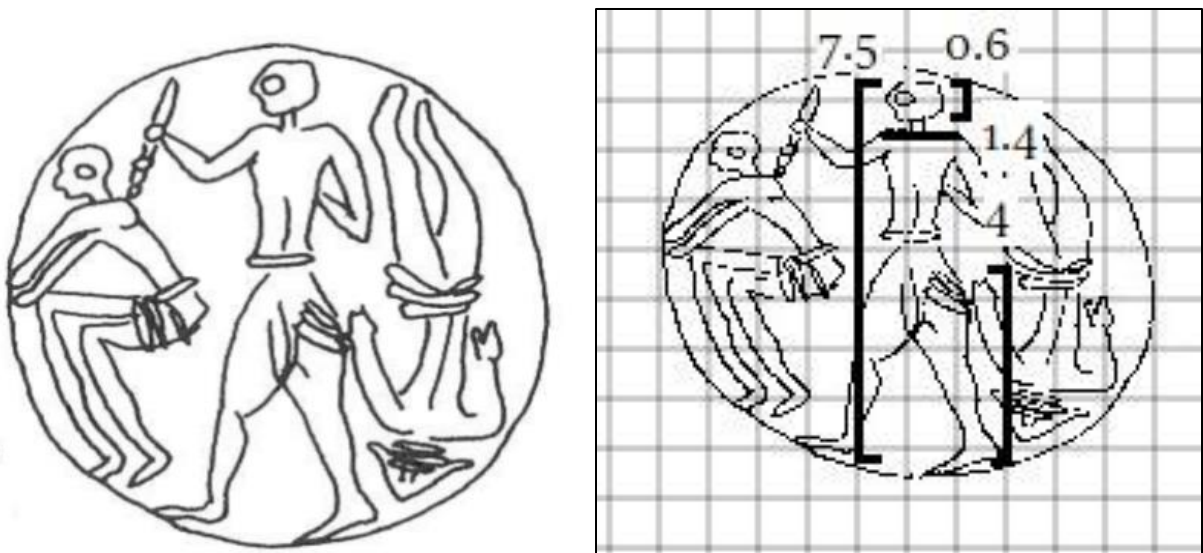


Figure 3.63: A battle scene on the amethyst seal from Tragana, Tholos 1, CMS I 263 (after Younger 1988, fig. 96).

Table 12: Table of the length and proportions of the figure, seal CMS I 263.

| | Length (grids) | Proportions (figure and body parts) |
|---------------|---------------------------|--|
| Figure | 7.5 | x |
| Head | 0.6 | 10:0.8 |
| Arms | 1.4 | 10:1.87 |
| Legs | 4 | 10:5.33 |

The figures are presented more schematically than on other iconography examples, without many details. It may be effected by the raw material or undeveloped workshop technique.

The young man depicted on the seal with a battle scene has a small head (the body-to-head ratio is only 10:0.8, Table 12), where the closest value to results is a boy aged 15 (10:1.17) or 17 years old (10:1.18). In addition, it has a narrow waist and well-built legs in a ratio of 10:5.33. The standard is at age 13, with a proportion of 10:4.89, which is the highest value in the table for the height of the figure compared to the length of the legs. The proposed shoulder width is 1.4, which is a proportion of 10:1.87. However, it is not helpful, because such a proportion can be found both in the younger 10-year-old boy (10: 1.85) and in the 16-year-old boy (10: 1.84). The proportion of the figure to the length of the legs is 10: 5.33, wherein in the canon there is no pattern with such a large measure (the highest is 10: 4.89 for a 13-year-old). In this case, figures are not presented with natural proportions. The difference is significant and does not indicate a specific age range. Besides, in the absence of details, visible facial features, and outlined muscles, it is extremely difficult to determine the age of a young man. The only thing we can deduce from his waist and muscular thighs is that he is over the age of 16.

In the catalogue are included impressions of two gold signet rings of presumably Minoan manufacture found in the newly discovered grave of the 'Griffin Warrior' at Pylos (Davis and Stocker 2016:640-3), depicting a bull-leaper, and a cult scene. The grave is dated to the LH II period (Davis and Stocker 2016:627), with some grave goods similar to other tombs in Messenia and on the Mainland (Myrsinochori-Routsi, Nichoria tholos, Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae, Circle Grave at Englianos). On the other hand, iconography of objects is similar to the style and ideology of Crete (Rutter 2005:26; Davis and Stocker 2016:634-7).



Figure 3.64: Bull and bull leaper, Ring No 1 (Davis and Stocker 2016:639, fig.9 a, b).



Figure 3.65: Female figures flanking a shrine, Ring No 2 (Davis and Stocker 2016:641, fig. 10a, b).

The bull-leaping scene from Ring No 1 is very detailed (Figure 3.64). The bull is in gallop, while a young male is jumping, but still in the air. A jumper is on the last stage of the jump, just before landing on the ground. Similar gold rings were found on Crete and Mainland: Asine, Sklavokambos, Gournia, Kato Zakros, Ayia Triada, Chania (Davis and Stocker 2016:637-8; Krzyszkowska 2005:141-2, 189-191).

The scene from Ring No 2 presents five female figures, three on the right side and two on the left, with a shrine located on the seaside (Figure 3.65). The skirts of the figures on the right are flounced in Minoan style. Two figures are smaller than the woman between them, they have a flat breast, so likely they are young assistants. These three figures are interpreted as one female Minoan deity, dancing in the ritual with her two immature worshipers (Davis and Stocker 2016:640-2). The other two female figures are wearing conical hats similar to these of the faience figures from the Temple Repositories of Knossos. Their gestures suggest that are

singing. The composition is explained as a Minoan cult scene (Davis and Stocker 2016:643). Each girl is flat-chested in comparison with her buxom adult female attendant, and comparisons with modern childhood growth charts suggest they depict girls about five to six years in age (Chapin 2021:29). One another ring from the ‘Griffin Warrior’ grave is not included in this research. The previous illustrations confirmed that a young age of girls is marked by a flat chest and miniaturization. On the Ring No 4 both female figures have marked breast, so supposedly are presented as mature.

3.5.1.4. Other

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|----------------------|-----------------------|--|---------|-----------------|
| 8 | Peristeria, Tholos 1 | 2 gold leaf fragments | Tholos contained Mycenaean vases, bronze fragments, 1 gold bead, 2 gold leaf fragments, and 2 other gold leaf fragments from a dagger with the representation of 7 human figures, the smaller of which are interpreted as adolescents or children. | LH I/II | Marinatos 1965. |

Figure 3.66: Details of dagger decoration from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Messenia.

In the Tholos 1 tomb from the Peristeria Cemetery, two gold leaves in the shape of a decorative dagger were found (Figures 3.66 and 3.67). This image depicts seven people walking one by one in a column. One figure is much taller than the other six, and based on that, this scene has been interpreted as a man with young boys (Marinatos 1965:110-5).



Figure 3.67: Dagger decoration, Tholos 1, Peristeria (after Marinatos 1965, pinax 127 g).

3.5.2. Burials

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|--|---------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| 9 | Pylos, Chora-Volimidia, Koronios Group, Chamber Tomb 3, Pit Grave 3 | Burial of a juvenis | Remains of a subadult, probably male, inside along with obsidian arrows, bronze blades, pottery, 1 spindle whorl, 1 stone tool, and 1 goblet with a double-axe motive. | LH I-III | Marinatos 1952. |
| 10 | Pylos, Chora, Tsoulea-Vorias, Tomb 2 | Children burial | 20 meters to the south-east, the remains of a 1-2 year old infant were found. Near the remains, those of a 3-5 year old child as well as a 'feeding bottle' were found. Three small cavities inside contained the remains of a 3 year old child, a subadult and fragments of 2 skulls (subadult or new-born). Materials date to LH III and also included the remains of adults. | LH III | Marinatos 1952. |
| 11 | Pylos, Tragana Cemetery, Tomb 2, Pit Grave 3 | Burial of a juvenis | Two probable female skulls aged 14 to 16 years at death. Nearby gold fragments, stone arrows, amphora, 15 amethyst and red jasper beads, 3 crystal beads, 1 bronze mirror disc, 2 steatite spindle whorls of steatite, 1 silver ring, 2 bronze arrows, and 1 obsidian arrow were found. On the north pyre, a gold necklace made of 41 shell-shaped beads, a glass-paste disc and plaquettes, and 5 stone glyptic seals including 1 made of crystal with gold elements (no. 2703), 1 made of agate with a representation of bulls (no. 2708), 1 made of sardonyx (no. 2706), 1 made of red jasper (no. 2707), and 1 that was almond-shaped (no. 2704), as well as several bronze objects were found. | LH I/II | Marinatos 1955. |
| 12 | Pylos, Chora - Volimidia, Kefalovryso Group, Shaft Grave 2 | Infant's burial | The burial of an infant was found in a niche in the dromos with 1 Phi female figurine (Kalamata Museum, no. 3), 1 stirrup jar, 1 jug, 1 small cup with one handle, and 2 other vases – a spouted goblet and a spouted cup. | LH III A | Marinatos 1964. |
| 13 | Pylos, Chora-Volimidia, Vorias Group, Tomb 3, Grave 1 | Burial of a juvenis | Two skeletons embracing each other 1.55 m ('mother') and 1.4 m ('daughter') dating to the same period were buried with loom weights, small three-handled amphoras, 1 stirrup jar, 1 'tea-pot', and several other burials. | LH | Marinatos 1954. |
| 14 | Pylos, Chora-Volimidia, Vorias Group, Tomb 5, Grave 2 | Burial of a juvenis | Two skeletons from the same period, 1 adult and 1 subadult (1.5m), were interred with other burials. | LH | Marinatos 1954. |
| 15 | Pylos, Chora- Agios Ilias, Tomb Maniati 1 | Subadult burial | Four skulls, some possibly from subadults, were found with 1 stirrup jar, 1 one-handle hydra, fragments of a vaphieo cup, as well as 1 bronze needle, bronze ring objects, 1 bronze blade, and bronze cups. | LH | Marinatos 1954. |
| 16 | Koukounara, Tholos Tomb 2 | Infant's burial | In the dromos of the robbed Tholos Tomb 2, one pit grave containing the remains of a 5-6 year old child was found (probably female). The child wore a wreath of fine gold leaf over the head and was buried with 2 alabasters, 2 necklaces (1 of amber and 1 of faience) and 1 Egyptian scarab. | LH II- IIIA1 | Iakovidis 2014 |

| ID | Archaeological site | Kind of object | Description | Dating | Source |
|----|---|------------------------|--|---------------------|--|
| 17 | Routsi-Myrsinochori, Tholos Tomb 2, Pit 1 | Burial of a juvenis | Among 5 pit burials, one was of a subadult called 'princess' by the original investigators and dated between 1680-1300 BC. The subadult was interred with 1 large necklace of round glass beads in several colours and a prism made of honey coloured glass, imitating amber was found next to her right arm, as well as 1 three-handled pithoid jar, blue beads, vases, and a three-handled pithoid jar depicting an octopus. | LH I - LH III B1 | Marinatos 1956. |
| 18 | Pylos, Tomb E-4, Pit A | Subadult burial | Burial of a boy 6-9 years old (dental analysis) with 1 female figurine. | LH IIIA1 | Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973; Tzonou-Herbst 2002; Schepartz <i>et al.</i> 2009. |
| 19 | Pylos, Tomb E-6 (parts: 6 sa, 6 I) | Subadult burials | Two burials of boys in age around 8 and 5 years old (dental analysis), furnished with 2 female figurines and glass beads, together with an adult. | LH IIIA2 | Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973; Tzonou-Herbst 2002; Schepartz <i>et al.</i> 2009. |

Figure 3.68: Burials details from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Messenia.

Among the seventeen subadult burials included in this research, fifteen were placed in multiple graves (Figure 3.68; Marinatos 1952, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1964; Iakovidis 2014). Two subadult burials were located in the dromos of a multiple tomb (Chora-Volimidia – Shaft Grave 2, Koukounara – Tholos Tomb 2). Six of seventeen burials are recognized by original explorers as containing *juvenis*' remains. It indicates high mortality in this phase of a human development. Two burials included in this research from Tsakalis Tombs (E-4 and E-6) have been tested for stable isotopes of carbon and nitrogen (Schepartz *et al.* 2009). The results have shown that in Pit A inside the Tomb E-4 was buried a boy around 6-9 years old, while the age specified in archaeological records was 12 years old (Blegen *et al.* 1973:182-6; The Pylos Archaeological Project 2005). A child was buried together with a woman, and equipped with a female figurine dated to the LH III A1 period (Tzonou-Herbst 2002:179). In the second Chamber Tomb E-6 remains of two boys - 8 and 5 years old were found, buried together with adults. Burial is dated to the LH IIIA2 period. The furnishings included 2 female figurines and glass beads (Blegen *et al.* 1973:186-9; Tzonou-Herbst 2002:179; The Pylos Archaeological Project 2005).

Most of the subadult graves (Figure 3.69) contained pottery as offerings, whereas there were jewelry in six of the graves, and four graves contained craft tools. Three burials were equipped with female figurines (Chora – Volimidia, Kefalovryso Group, Shaft Grave 2;

Tomb E-4; Tomb E-6), and another one had no furnishing. Infant burials did not have any offerings, except of one burial – inside it a small ‘feeding bottle’ was found. In the region of Messenia, similarly to burials in other regions, graves of children in the infant age (from 3 until around 6 years old) were furnished with beads, miniature vessels of various shapes (stirrup jars, jugs, cups, spouted goblets, and alabasters), and terracotta figurines. Older children have been equipped with seals and necklaces. There are also burials of older children (around 12/14 years old), which are characterized by weapons (arrows, bronze blades), vessels in miniature and normal-sized, ornamentation, as well as by tools and individual or double burial (1 *juvenis* + 1 adult). The *juvenis*’ burials are alike to this of adults.

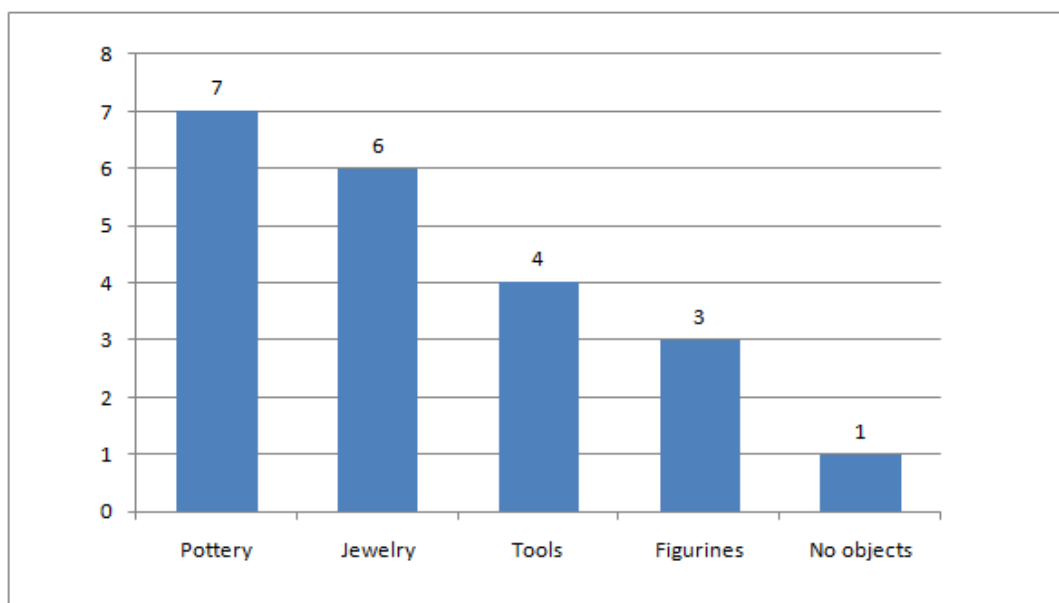


Figure 3.69: Types of furnishings from subadult graves in the area of Messenia.

3.5.3. Conclusion

The youth from the Messenia area probably were actively involved in craft works (many tools were recovered from subadult burials) and warfare (e.g., a battle scene on a seal, decoration of a dagger, and weapons as part of grave furnishings in significant number of *juvenis* burials). A high mortality rate among adolescents is evident. Miniaturized pottery is often presented in subadult graves, especially of infants. On the other hand, child graves were well-equipped with wealthy furnishings (especially youth of adolescence age), such as bronze objects, seals, and jewelry. The iconography presents young people in relation with religious ceremonies (Vestibule ‘procession’, Ring No 2), and with bull-leaping (Ring No 1, sealing CMS V 638).

3.6. CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions presented here are preliminary, due to the limited number of archaeological objects from the period under examination. However, future investigations of archaeological objects related to children will provide additional data that will expand upon the results presented here.

Chapter 3 has investigated a total of 155 archaeological objects from the North-Central Crete, Argolid, Boeotia, and Messenia areas. The number of objects connected with children is very small and varies in each of the regions. Most of them were found in Argolid, but the large part of objects from there is constituted by burials (47 of 70 objects). In North-Central Crete, the art representations outweigh children's graves. Boeotia and Messenia have only around 15 child burials of the Late Helladic period and a few iconographic of youth. With so poor data, it is difficult to do any statistical analysis. On the other hand, the iconography of 'palatial' centers depicts very similar scenes.

Most of the objects collected from the region of North-Central Crete are representations of youth on seals, sealings, and frescoes – mainly boys playing and jumping over bulls. Some similar seals are present also in the region of Argolid (mostly as grave goods, imported from Crete), but what is clearly different in the case of this region is the focus on female representations (the fresco of *The Seated Goddess*, the *Ivory Triad*, iconography on rings), with influences from Minoan art. In addition, the major part of children's icons from Argolid constitutes *kourotrophos* figurines, even though most of them were found in adult burials. What is interesting, in Boeotia region only 4 *kourotrophos* figurines were recognized, but more than 20 female figurines were found inside children's graves. None of them were found in North-Central Crete or in Messenia. These two regions are similar in the depiction of youth. In Messenia likewise, on Crete, a boy/man figure is most often represented. The difference lies in the context of the presentation. The characteristic feature of the Messenia region certainly is battle scenes and warrior equipment. This subject is visible on the silver relief decoration of a dagger, semi-precious seal, as well as in the furnishings of subadult's graves. Together with objects collected from the Boeotia region, these are the youngest pieces connected with children and can testify to the last moments of the Mycenaean world.

Some representations, like frescoes or figurines, are unique in kind and could be treated as characteristic forms for the regions from which they were recovered. The examples from the North-Central Crete are two boy dolls made of ivory, a tripod vessel in the shape of a woman giving a birth, and the Mavro Spelio figurine. All of these were found in burial contexts. From the Messenia region, we also have an unusual image of a pregnant woman – a female figurine from Tomb Vagenia 5 (Grave Circle at Pylos). Very special representations from Argolid include the *Ivory Triad*, interpreted as three sisters, and the relief on a gold ring showing an apicultural or worship scene. Other exceptional objects are Tanagra's 'prothesis' scenes from the region of Boeotia, depicting the burial ceremony of a child. Each scene presents her/him in the center, with parents or priests bent over the child's body. Other paintings on larnaxes with 'prothesis' scenes illustrate people in mourning.

The biggest part of children's burials in the regions of Argolid, North-Central Crete and Messenia contains multiple graves. For Argolid it is 33 of 47 burials, for Messenia – 15 of 17 burials, and for Crete – 9 of 14 burials. The Boeotia region has a similar number of 7 single and 9 multiple children burials. In the region of Argolid, inside children's graves located in dromos of tombs, no furnishings were found. Furthermore, no tools were found in the burials of subadults. In contrast, in Boeotia region the most common offering inside graves is a tool.

Independent of the subject of regionalization, children were buried in many places: in the dromos of tombs, in multiple and single graves, in cemeteries, and inside the citadel. The type and wealth of furnishings do not correlate with the type of burial. Rich offerings and graves without furnishings were found in every type of grave. Alternatively, some features regarding age stages are slightly visible. On the basis of grave descriptions, children younger than around 2 years of age were buried without offerings, and the first notable group buried with furnishings are infants. The age at which a child is considered an 'infant' is unclear due to general terminology in excavation data, but based on the descriptions of the remains, they are supposed to be between 2 and 6 years of age. The offerings for the infant group include miniature vessels, beads, and figurines. From around 6 years to 9/12 years of age, child graves are furnished with seals and jewelry (necklaces, beads, rings made of metal). In this group, no diversity between the sexes is apparent. Only a few adolescent burials (from 10/12 to 14/16 years of age) were found and analyzed. In this group, the youth were inhumed with clear adult indicators, such as bronze weapons or cosmetic utensils. Presumably, they were already treated as adults. Due to the unrecognizable reasons for burying children in various types of graves (single or multiple, in the dromos of a tomb), it is possible to find common features

only on the basis of grave furnishings. The initial distinction of age groups during childhood as indicated by burial context can be stated as follows:

- Newborn – from the time of birth to 2 years of age, very difficult to identify during excavations, absent from cemeteries, buried in a domestic context;
- Infant – 2 years to 6 years of age, distinguished by the presence of miniature vessels, beads, and figurines;
- Juvenile – 6 years to 9/10 years of age, characteristic grave goods are seals, jewelry (necklaces, beads, metal rings), and no sex/gender distinction in grave goods;
- Adolescent – 10/12 years to 14/16 years of age, burial offerings include those common for adults, such as weapons and utensils.

The youngest children were buried in domestic contexts, close to the family and other members of the group. The strong emotional bond between a child and the rest of society is presented on 'prothesis' scenes from Boeotia. Child burials within the household are also common in Boeotia. The infant period starts with observation and imitation activities, like making and using miniature vessels, or playing with pieces of clay (female figurines from Boeotia and Argolid). Common for infant and juvenile burials are various kinds of beads. They are visible as grave goods for these groups, and were supposedly added to the grave as an offering from adults. Relying on ethnological research and furnishings, they are indicators of self-awareness, which appears from the juvenile period. Beads were used as an individual decoration of the child's body in funeral practice, but they were also worn during his/her life as jewelry. The distinction of gender roles is indicated by the presence of furnishings common for adults, which is characteristic of the adolescent group. This period probably was associated with independence and entering adulthood, perhaps through transition rituals. An example could be presented by the common Minoan bull-leaping scenes, notable not only in North-Central Crete, but also in Argolid and Messenia. Metal or stone tools are noted rarely, but in each of the described groups. Conversely, beads are commonly found as furnishings, usually as parts of necklaces, but it is questionable whether they all formed parts of jewelry. As some researchers point out (see: Wright 2013:403), because of the inner hole, spindle whorls are often misunderstood as beads. Beads are usually not bigger than 2 cm in diameter. The characteristic type of vessel almost always placed in a child's burial is an alabastron, even when there are no other offerings.

The youth's world during the Mycenaean period demonstrated by archaeological objects on one hand indicates regional similarity. However, on the other there exists differences in the treatment of youths in two zones: North-Central Crete with Messenia, and Boeotia with Argolid. Both iconographic representations, and burial practices, may testify to the status of children in these areas, divided into two social spheres: aristocratic (public) and private.

The situation of youth in North-Central Crete is presented by two types of iconography. The first one is connected with administration buildings and representative motives - bull- and ox-leapers, and Masters of Animals. In the second one, we have a few examples of working/helping adolescents. There is no doubt that the center of attention is a boy – always young and limber, with marked muscles. He is featured as a symbol of power – he is taming nature. Even moveable dolls are made as boys. There are also unusual figures, like a figurine from Mavro Spelio, a bronze statuette, or a vessel in the shape of a pregnant woman.

The iconography from Messenia shows boys and girls. Again, we see a muscular and active image of adolescent boy, in the context of battle and in bull-leaping scenes. This time the child also appears in sacred scenes: the ceremonies are attended by small children (the boy from the Vestibule 'procession', and girls presented on the Ring No 2 from the grave of the 'Griffin Warrior').

The situation in Argolid looks totally different from the other two regions. The depictions of women and girls dominate the art. Only seals and sealings are focused on adolescent boys. Girls are notable in representations as miniatures of adult women, wearing the same kind of clothes. Girls are the smallest figures in the images, but we cannot interpret them as low-status females, because of their central position in the scene. Iconography presents the important and high-status women (high officials and goddesses or queens), supervising young people in work, or adored by girls and other women. Depictions of boys or men are extremely rare; thus, all the power is focused on the female part of society.

Strong relations between members of Argolid region are obvious. The largest number of child burials is located in multiple graves, and many are '1+1' burials (1 adult + 1 subadult). In addition, child graves were often furnished with female and animal figurines, which probably were made by them during life and indicate their involvement in simple works and the first stage of learning from their parents/keepers.

Similar to Argolid, the objects from the Boeotia region suggest very close bonds between family and other people of the group. The grief and mourning after a child's death are clearly

visible in 'prothesis' scenes. Furthermore, half of child burials were located in multiple graves, close to other members of society and furnished with clay figurines. These are important indications that youth were learning their future occupation in the domestic context, and probably within the family. On the other hand, a significant number of single child burials means that children were treated very individually.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This final chapter summarizes and presents attempts at social and cultural interpretation of the results presented in Chapters 2 and 3. Firstly, assumptions coming from Linear B script's analysis are presented. The second part is focused on results gathered from archaeological objects and finally, all information became the base for a sociocultural interpretation of children and young people in the Mycenaean society.

The chapter ends with a brief overview of areas for future research.

4.1. RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

4.1.1. Children in Mycenaean Linear B Script

The analysis of the Linear B script revealed that each of the examined 'palaces' had significant differences in how children were recorded, but also some similarities. First and foremost, the tablets from Knossos included in this research are the oldest, next in order are the texts from Mycenae, Thebes and the youngest are these from Pylos. Even with a significant difference in time period, inscriptions from Knossos and Pylos have a lot of parallels. These are: use of abbreviations for some words, the word *me-wi-jo* which is noticeable on the mainland only at Pylos, a 'daughter' positioned after the place name in order to specify the ethnicity, as well as specific place for archiving tablets (at Knossos – north-west part of the 'palace', at Pylos – south part of the 'palace'). Similar to texts from Pylos, there are many Knossos tablets that mentioned children, although they constitute only around 2% of all tablets. For Pylos it is 13 percent. In many inscriptions from Knossos and less from Pylos, abbreviations are noticed (e.g., *me, ne, tu, ju, pa*, 'TA' and 'DA'). It is characteristic for the significant experience of the scribe and frequent use of the same words.

Unlike other research carried out in this area (Hiller 1989; Olsen 1998), the current study has shown that words indicating a family relationship occurred very sparsely, and are clearly separated from words describing the development of the child's skills. The description of

kinship relation at Knossos occurred on 12% of 136 tablets, at Pylos on 16% of 144 tablets, and at Thebes on 30% of 22 tablets (Figure 4.1). Three of five tablets from Mycenae are excluded from the percentage calculations because of the small number.

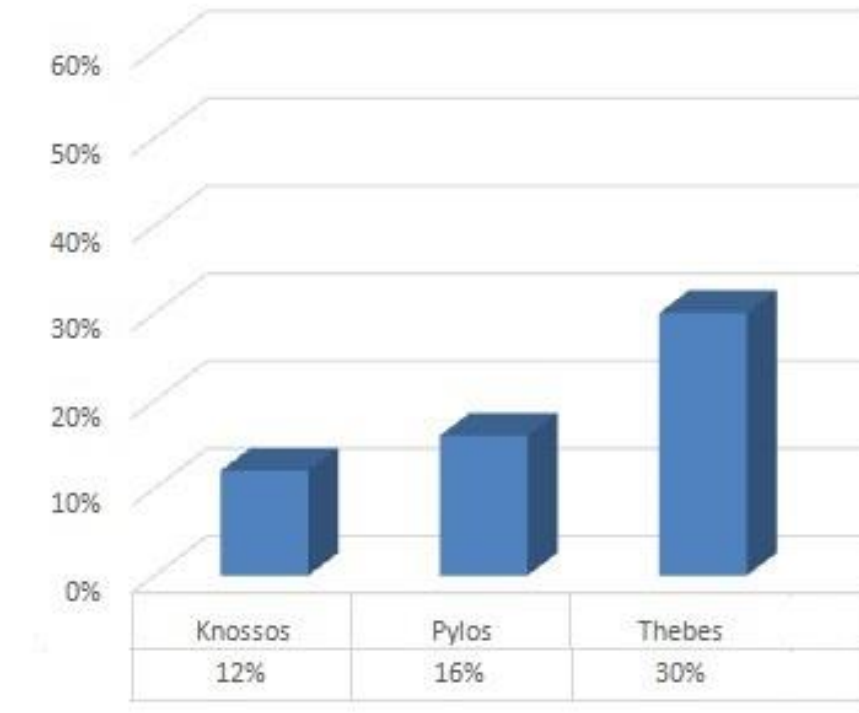


Figure 4.1: The percent of tablets including children from Knossos, Pylos, and Thebes.

The most marked observation to emerge from the Linear B data comparison was the abundance of words *i-jo/u-jo/*65 ju* depicting patronymic naming of male children. The word ‘son’ appears as a suffix in addition to names on tablets from each of the ‘palaces’. The suffix ‘*i-jo*’ next to the ideogram VIR, occurred on the KN B 800, MY Au 102 and TH Av 106 tablets. On the other hand, the ideogram of a man (VIR) on Pylos tablets is noticed with the word *ko-wo*. In both cases, these are representations of ‘an adult’ in social meaning. The second example is probably representing boys who already underwent a transitional practice to enter adulthood, and were therefore treated as mature. Despite this, their physical growth has not fully developed. Inscriptions with the word ‘son’ standing separately and without the ideogram VIR would be related to the age factor. It means that an individual noted without the symbol of a man is an immature boy, and due to his young age was mentioned with his parent.

Inscriptions from Pylos and Knossos have shown that family-related words always indicate high-status people. At Pylos, these include herd owners, companions of a king, mayors of districts, and leaseholders. Patronymic names connected with specializations, like a carpenter or a bronze-smith, indicate skills transferred within the family. In Knossos texts, patronymic names were mentioned with royal vessels, military equipment, and flocks of animals. Furthermore, next to patronymic names (already with ending *-i-jo*), a second *i-jo* could also occur, for example on KN V 1523. This repetition indirectly indicates three generations:

- Grandfather *zo-wo* (male name Ζῶος),
- Father *zo-wi-jo* (Ζωῖος - male name with suffix *i-jo*), and
- Grandson *zo-wi-jo i-jo* (Ζωῖον υἱός - patronymic name and *i-jo* noticed after).

What is clear on the base of these examples, an indication of family antecedents was very important.

Girls or women as daughters are also mentioned in each of the ‘palaces’ (Thebes – 13 times, Knossos – 5 times, Mycenae – 2 times, Pylos – once). Most descriptions of children on Mycenae tablets refer directly to a ‘daughter’. Another one text (MY V 659) presents also a small girl (*ki-ra*) in the context of a family member, and she is mentioned next to a named woman. What is surprising, is the fact that on tablets from Thebes the word *tu-ka-te* or its abbreviation is not found. Researchers in the literature argue that the word *ko-wa* was an indirect sign of the family relationship, and is used in religious context for a daughter of deity called Demeter (Aravantinos *et al.* 2001:189). In many inscriptions from Thebes, a ‘girl’ was without a name or ideogram of a woman. In this case, *ko-wa* could be connected with a named man (as her father) mentioned before her in the same verse, or to have the same meaning like in other Linear B texts – a female child (Palaima 2000-2001:478-81; Melena 2001:49-51; Duhoux 2001-2003, 2005; Garcia Ramon 2010:86). Another possibility is that the word *ko-wa* refers to a male name (James 2002-2003; Duhoux 2008:369, 388). On texts from Pylos and Knossos, literary device is used to indirectly indicate a daughter. A few tablets with noticed women, have a detailed description of their parents’ profession (KN Am 827+, PY An 607).

As expected, mentioned mother and father are always people of high-status, which is proved by their personal names, and a big responsibility associated with their professions. It is proposed then, that we can distinguish four ways for describing family relations in the Linear B script:

- Directly, by the words for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ or their abbreviations;
- By patronymic and matronymic names;
- By characterizing of the father and mother specializations;
- By *ko-wa/ko-wo/ki-ra* standing separately, but following an adult worker, presumed to be a parent.

To the best of my knowledge, no other studies conducted in the subject of kinship based on the Linear B script, have found that named individuals are not only indicators of high status, but also are techniques used by the original scribes to identify a person. The scribe could easier identify, for example, a new or young worker by describing him/her by his/her adult parent already known in the workshop or, more generally - in the society.

The word 'new, young' (*ne-wo/ne*) often occurs in Mycenaean texts, but not exclusively as a description of people. It was also used as a part of place names and for describing items. Importantly, not only the workers had the epithet 'new', but also supervisors and collectors. The most remarkable result to emerge from the linguistic data, connected with specializations and youth, is that a named boy-learner (MY Oe 121) received a smaller wage for his work than a new unnamed craftworker (MY Oe 129). These results have further strengthened the conviction that experience was more valuable than status of the family, in the case of craftsmen mentioned by patronymic name.

The words *me-wi-jo* and *me-zo* are connected with boys and girls as an epithet of learners/apprentices on Knossos tablets. The most intriguing correlation between each of the ‘palaces’ is that girls always are noted before boys in the texts (the pattern noted on Pylos tablets by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick 1973:91-2), with one exception - when a boy is mentioned by name. These results offer compelling evidence for stating the following stages of craftwork hierarchy/development, already partly defined in the literature (*ko-wo* and *ko-wa* as apprentices, Nosch 2019). The most important being at the top, as follows:

- name with *i-jo/u-jo/*65 ju*;
- *ne-wo*;
- named *ko-wo*;
- *ko-wo* VIR;
- *me-zo ko-wa* (apprentice);
- *me-zo ko-wo* (apprentice);
- *me-u-jo ko-wa* (apprentice);

- *me-u-jo ko-wo* (apprentice);
- *ko-wo/ko-wa* and number.

It is worthy to notice that stages presented above are not related to age. For example, a new (*ne-wo*) collector may be younger in age, than named *i-jo* ('son'), and a girl from *ko-wa* group older than *me-zo* (older) *ko-wa*.

This research highlighted also important dissimilarity in 'palace' texts consisting of children participation in craft work. On many Knossos tablets that mention youth, only a few occupational names are recorded, and they are connected with fabrics: *to-te-ja* (στόρτεια 'maker of kind of garment called *to-ta*'), *da-te-we-ja* (unknown name), *e-ne-re-ja* (ἐνέρειαι 'makers of *e-ne-ra*), and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* (ἀσκήτρια 'finishers/decorators'). Both boys and girls were involved in these textile works for Knossos 'palace'. What is worthy to noticed, one specialization occurred only with boys, and it is a description of a simple worker (*we-ke-i-ja*, from ἐργασία). Feminine noun for occupations is used even in the group of where boys are mentioned (Uchitel 1984:257-8, Nosch 2003:19). As well, only one occupation is connected to girls – *a-ra-ka-te-ja* (ἀλακάτεια 'spinner'). Children from Knossos are mostly mentioned on learners' lists, together with teachers sometimes described as 'old' (*pa-ra-jo/ja* and its abbreviation – '*pa*'). This epithet is more related with extensive experience than with a specific age group. In the case of Knossos, most of the tablets listing apprentices/learners fell from the first floor and were cumulated in the north-west part of the 'palace'. Taken as a whole, the results from Knossos indicate the high probability that a scribe school was located on the first floor of the building, up of Magazines. Lists of apprentices/learners, the variety of words for describing younger and older children, as well as the use of training's grade words ('DA', *di-da-ka-re*, *de-di-ku-ja*) support this hypothesis.

The number of tablets from Thebes and Mycenae is more limited than those found in the Knossos Archives, but they contain important information about young people and are similar in some aspects. Texts mentioning youth were found in workshop areas on both archaeological sites. Furthermore, a large part of texts from these sites confirm similar relations between high status people mentioned with their children. Boys on the tablets from Thebes occur as sons next to male names. The word *ko-wa* appears alone as a recipient on the list of individuals, possible with the meaning of a male name, or as a daughter of the worker mentioned at the beginning of the sentence. We have no indication for specific occupation

connections between family members (for example, father-son), but relatives are noticed on the lists together with coastal inshore/offshore, fullers/carders, and lyre players.

Children from Mycenae were noticed on the lists of high status individuals, including lists of women and men, and three lists of individuals (workers receiving wool). The most children were described in a patronymic (one time) or matronymic manner (four times). In addition, a boy is noticed next to a man, and a girl – next to a woman. Importantly, these tablets were found outside the citadel, in the workshops' area. Among five tablets discussing children from Mycenae, one mentioned an occupational name *ka-ke-u* (bronze-smith) associated with a boy (MY Oe 121) and one mentioned a new (*ne-wo*) fuller. These few examples testify that Mycenaean children listed on tablets were, among others, involved in textile work for the 'palace'.

Parallel to the findspots at Knossos, most of the findspots at Pylos were focused in one place – Archive Rooms, on the south part of the building. In contrast to Knossos archives, the greatest number of working children was mentioned on tablets from Pylos (13%). Youths are mostly presented on lists of workers and recipients of goods. Most of the occupational names are connected with groups of boys and girls working together to manufacture textiles and pottery, as 'attendants', as well as assisting millers, and doing more general activities (vaguely mentioned in texts). As in the tablets of Knossos, also in the inscriptions of Pylos listing a group of workers with boys, the occupation's names are used in feminine form. Texts from Pylos did not mention a speciality indicated exclusively for girls, whereas a noticeable number of eight specializations are dedicated only for boys: *ka-ke-we* (χαλκεύς 'bronze-smith'), *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* (αμπόξ and ἔογον 'head-band makers'), *i-te-ja-o* (ἰσθειάων 'weavers'), *e-ke-ro-qo-no* (ἐγγηρόκωοινος 'wage-earners'), *a-ro-po* (ἀλοιφός 'anointers/painters'), and *si-to-ko-wo* (σιτομέτρης 'grain measurers'). The largest amount of words connected with children occurred next to occupational names. On the other hand, children appear also with ethnic names (probably they were migrants). A significant number of individuals with patronymic names are also recognized. It points to the likelihood that Pylos in big part was training children for the work and martial defense, resulting from the uncertainty about territorial unity.

4.1.2. Children represented by archaeological objects

Given that the archaeological findings are based on a limited number of objects, the results from these analyses should be treated as preliminary.

In the case of subadult burials, we have physical evidence that furnishings are connected to the buried child. On the basis of grave goods analysis, the following age groups are assumed:

- Newborn – from birth to 2 years of age, buried in domestic contexts (close to living members of society) indicating strong emotional bonds, graves are without furnishings or only with alabastron;
- Infant – 2 years to around 6 years of age, distinguishable by the inclusion of miniature vessels, beads, and figurines in their graves, made and used by them as a part of initial stage of learning and socialization;
- Juvenile – 6 years to 9/10 years of age, characterized by body decoration - necklaces, beads, or metal rings, as indicators of self-awareness, but without sex/gender understanding;
- Adolescent – 10/12 years to 14/16 years of age, sex/gender recognition with furnishings common for adults, like weapons and utensils; independence and transition rituals connected with *kourotrophos* figurines and bull-leaping scenes.

One feature that is considered to be characteristic of subadult burials is the inclusion of miniature vessels. However, the types of pottery found in analyzed in this study children's graves, did not differ from those of adults. In addition to the hypothesis that the miniature vases were used to prepare children for future specialization (Nosch 2019:11), I suggest they also had a utility function, and in the case of professional ceramics, they were used as an indicator of social age. Some small vessels were made and used by the child, and then became part of the burial offerings after the child death.

Terracotta figurines (excluding *kourotrophos* figurines) are commonly buried in multiple graves that contain subadults. In graves of adults, they are rare (Blegen 1937; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 200-203). Their function is still under discussion, and it is debated whether they served as ritual offerings (Pilali-Papasteriou 1998), child's attendants or keepers (Blegen 1937), or as divine nurses (Mylonas 1966), among others. Because of the different contexts in which they were found (theory about a child as an author), it would be worthy to conduct the research on palm and fingerprints left on terracotta figurines (Kamp 2001). The interpretation of children

as creators would explain satisfactorily the various findspots of Mycenaean clay figurines (see Figure 4.2).

The evidence from this study demonstrates that *kourotrophos* figurines were mostly found with *juvenis* and adults burials (13 of 16 graves). The other furnishings from subadult graves suggest that adolescence was a transitional period (e.g., miniature vases together with big size vessels, weapons, but also jewelry). Consequently, it is possible that *kourotrophos* figurines symbolized a child entering sexual maturity and her/his readiness to become a parent.

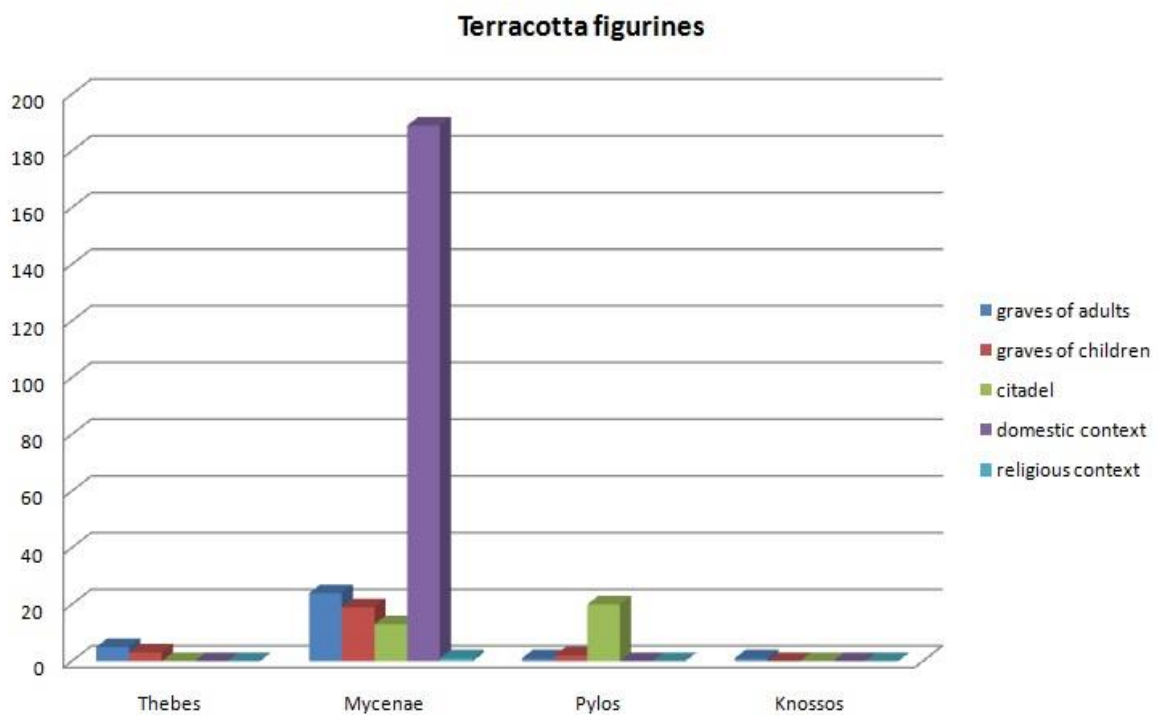


Figure 4.2: The context of terracotta figurines from Thebes, Mycenae, Pylos and Knossos.

Data collected from North-Central Crete is mainly representations of adolescent youth. The majority of them depicts young boys aged from 11 until 18 years old (*Ivory Boys*, *Toreador Fresco*, *The Captain of the Blacks*). Two girls' figurines represent early childhood, around 3-5 years old.

Assuming the realism of the frescoes' iconography, different skin colors represented on both frescoes from Knossos could depict people of other ethnicities. For example, the ethnic name for Egyptians is testified in Linear B texts from Knossos: *a3-ku-pi-ti-jo* (Αἴγυπτος 'man of Egypt') from the KN Db 1105 tablet, and *mi-sa-ra-jo* (Μισραίοσ – ethnic name from Arabic toponym for Egypt 'Miṣr') from the KN F 841 tablet (Aura Jorro 1985:136-7, 454). There is also a difference between these two frescoes depicting adolescents from Knossos. The

Toreador is 15-17 years old and hunts the bull unarmed, while an 18-year-old leader is presented with two spears.

However, there are not missing images of girls and boys helping adults with different activities (e.g., cooking, carrying prey, or milking animals etc.). Other objects seem to be unique in their form. What is important, is that most subadult burials were located in multiple graves (10 of 14 burials). The most common furnishings were pottery and jewelry. Only two burials had tools, specifically spindle whorls, and only one burial was equipped with miniature vessels. No figurines (so common on the mainland) were found in subadult graves on Crete.

In the case of objects from the Argolid area, 33 of 47 burials are burials of subadults in multiple graves. In the furnishings we noticed a surprisingly high number of terracotta figurines associated with children (around 200). The figurines of animals and female shaped Psi, Phi and Tau types were in around 90% found with subadult burials (Blegen 1937; Mylonas 1966). In contrast, *kourotrophos* figurines of a woman with a child are mostly known from adult graves. The most common offerings in subadult graves are also the miniature vessels, and beads. No tools were found in subadult burials from this region. In contrast, the observation of miniaturized objects in graves correlates favorably with Marie-Louise Nosch (2019) and further supports the concept of children training, for example in pottery workshops. On the other hand, women and girls representations are showing their high status, as officials and goddess.

In the case of the Boeotia region, archaeological evidence presents a high degree of parental care to children. The most outstanding representation of a child occurred on 'prothesis' scenes from two Tanagra larnaxes. They probably depict parents at the time of placing the deceased child in the clay coffin. Nearby are figures in mourning. In addition to this iconography, less than half of subadult burials are single graves (7 of 16 graves). This highlights the individuality of each child, as well as a large amount of care they received. In contrast to results from iconography are those of the burial furnishings. A significance number of grave goods were tools and sharp metal objects. This is unusual for subadult graves in other Mycenaean regions, and could indicate the involvement of children in various occupations, or the wealth of the child's family.

Objects collected from Messenia are unique in their presentation. Next to depictions of jumping boys, and girls with an adult, we have also two battle scenes. One illustrates

a boy fighting with two enemies, and the another presents a flank of boys/youth/warriors with their commander. Ritual scenes with young children are also presented (boy 7-8 years old and girls around 6 years old). Most of the 17 burials of subadults from the Messenia region are multiple. There is an important diversity between buried girls and boys – weapon for males, burials rich in jewelry for females. Young boys were trained firstly for military activities, and secondly for craftwork. The texts and burial furnishings suggest that the region of Messenia, along with the coast, was well controlled by the Pylos administration.

4.2. COMPARISON OF LINEAR B SCRIPT AND ARCHAEOLOGY - FINAL CONCLUSION

Based on the presented study, it can be assumed that Linear B inscriptions related to children show social views and treatment of young people from the lower parts of social hierarchy. The ‘phases’ diverse on Mycenaean administration records with words: *ki-ra*, *ko-wa*, *ko-wo*, *me-wi-jo/me-u-jo* and *me-zo* are strictly corresponding with ‘social age’ of children, not biological. As the results show, Mycenaean children from birth were treated as members of society (burials of newborns). However, the comparison of results from the Linear B script with children iconography (ideological symbols and physiological features of figures) and burials (furnishings – cultural meaning; remains – anthropological development) shows the Mycenaean child icon well enough.

As a result, I suggest the following stages of childhood in Mycenaean society:

- *Ki-ra* – ‘newborn’ girl, from the day of birth to 2 years of age. The burials of newborns were placed in domestic contexts, indicating strong emotional ties and the status of a member of society from the moment of birth. Burials are either without equipment or only with alabastron;
- *Ko-wa/ko-wo me-u-jo/me-wi-jo* – a smaller girl/boy from the infant group, from around 2 to 6 years of age. On administration records, children of this age are not connected to a sex/gender, as feminine occupational names were given to both boys and girls. Notable burial furnishings include miniature vessels, beads, and figurines made and used by children as a part of their initial stage of learning and socialization;
- *Ko-wa/ko-wo me-zo* – children of the juvenile group, from around 6 years until 9/10 years of age. In texts, these children are again characterized by feminine occupational

names for both girls and boys. Burials include elements of body decoration - necklaces, beads, and metal rings as indicators of self-awareness, but without sex/gender recognition;

- Named *ko-wa/ko-wo* – 12 years to 16 years of age. Administration records present a named boy or girl, always standing separately in the text. Their burials are recognized by furnishings common for adults, like weapons and utensils. It is a period of independence and transitional practices, and most likely presented in the iconography, like *kourotrophos* figurines and bull-leaping scenes.
- *Ko-wo* VIR – the period just after entering adulthood (14/16 years of age). In the Linear B script, they are strictly independent individuals, but this is impossible to capture in their grave furnishings.
- *Ne-wo* – stage of social development unrelated to biological age, characterized by the end of training for craft specialization or taking up a new function. It is visible only in the Linear B texts and unattainable in the archaeological material.

The age groups are based on descriptions of grave furnishing types, and the possible age of child burials, ethnoarchaeological studies of child growth and development, and the comparison with names for children noted in the Linear B scripts. Interestingly, in addition to 'new' (*ne-wo*) and an inexperienced individual, we have also an 'old' (*pa-ra-jo*) person, someone who helped youth to gather necessary skills. On the other hand, there are no representations of older people in the iconography of the Late Helladic period.

In the case of words related to family, like 'son', daughter', 'mother' and 'father', they were used both for children and adults. The reasons are:

- To indicate high status ancestors;
- As a part of ethnicity;
- Person's identification.

In the case of the Boeotia and Argolid regions, we can argue that the communities were based on inheritance and domestic learning. The evidence includes many terracotta figurines, miniaturized pottery, tools, and metal objects inside subadult graves, as well inscriptions that contain a high frequency of family-related words. At Messenia and North-Central Crete, the situation is different. Most of the specializations were taught away from parents, as evidenced by many teachers and supervisors in administration records, the low frequency of words

related to kinship, and a few terracotta figurines and tools in subadult graves. Within the family, only limited occupations were taught, and they were reserved for high-status people.

The subject of always mentioning a girl before a boy is connected to linguistic influences from the Linear A script. The Minoan writing was adapted to the language of Mycenaean in the form of the Linear B script. What is important, the grammar and syntax were left untouched. Taking into account the writing as a kind of 'mirror' for fundamental principles, the syntax features of the Linear B texts provide evidence about the values of Minoan society. Based on the example of the *ko-wa + ko-wo* formula and the feminine form used in the case of children of both sexes, we can assume that girls were favored in Crete.

The high number of animal leaping scenes may be connected with rites of passage and religious ceremonies for aristocratic boys, aged 14-16. This kind of scenes are also a symbol of authority and power.

The results from archaeological objects do not confirm the previous findings in the language data about the limited participation in the work of children and youth for the 'palace'. The children presented in the Linear B script were engaged in activities for the administration center. The activity of children in the Mycenaean specializations is growing up in time. Furthermore, both girls and boys were equally involved in works for the "palace", even in textiles or making pottery. The last one applied to children of every social status, which is evident in the example of furnishing children's graves with miniature vessels, of which they were sometimes authors. Miniaturized pottery is noticed both in poor (for example Pylos, Chora-Volimidia, Shaft Grave 2; Prosymna, Chamber Tomb 16) and rich (Thebes, Site 24, Kolonaki Cemetery, Tomb 10) graves, with the assumption that the wealth of furnishings testifies about low or high social status. On the other hand, we have representations of young children as worshipers, and adolescent boys as symbols of power and high status.

In the case of Knossos texts, children are noticed on less than 2% of all tablets. It looks that youth were more involved in playing games, hunting, and gymnastic exercises (which also symbolizes the transition to adulthood) than in craft work. Burial furnishings support this assumption – no tools and figurines were found in child's graves. On the other hand, inhabitants of Crete were closely connected to their families and other members of the local groups – it is observable in children's burials located in multiple graves, and in administration records recognizing ancestors until 3rd generation. Contrastingly, the iconography shows women in public roles (Olsen 1998:390).

At Thebes and Mycenae, the tablets date to a later period, and the percentages of tablets that mention children are higher (6% and 7%, respectively). Both in the regions of Boeotia and Argolid, tools and clay figurines (female, animals, *kourotrophos*) are very common in children's graves. This demonstrates domestic learning, together with mothers or tutors from the locality. The special treatment of children is clearly noted in the region of Boeotia in the form of 'prothesis' scenes, individual children burials and burials in the domestic context, and noticed girls and daughters who are mentioned separately from adults in administration records. Only one boy was mentioned on Linear B tablets as being involved in a specific trade (a bronze-smith), and the other inscriptions are probably connected with individual works (*ko-wa* without a name, on the individual's list). The most possible explanation is that a *ko-wa* (girl) was involved in a craft specialization. This girl could be identified by a person mentioned before her in the text, maybe as a supervisor or teacher.

The area of Argolid has similar characteristics in the children's treatment, and obviously favored girls. Most of the children in Mycenae texts are daughters mentioned next to mothers of high social status (list of individuals). Representations in iconography also clearly focus on women (no men in the scenes) and girls (central figures). The high number of child burials in multiple graves also supports the importance of strong bonds between family members.

The tablet sets mentioning children from the Pylos archives had the highest percentage of youths involved in workshops (13%). The iconography and administration records are focused again on a boy, as in the case of North-Central Crete (specializations only for boys, battle scenes, etc.). Taking into account the general difficult situation in the Messenia region during the Late Helladic III B period (depopulation and catastrophes in Mycenaean regions), and compared with commonly recovering weapons and tools in the graves of youths, the high percentage of children mentioned as helpers and workers on Pylos tablets seems reasonable. The increased involvement of children in the 'palatial' workshops could be a last attempt by the Mycenaean 'palace' to stay strong and reduce general costs. Furthermore, a significant number of mentioned children is noted in large groups, which could be an indication of low status – they could represent groups of migrants or captives.

As with all humanistic studies, the present research has led to a number of additional questions. In the future, additional research can help to improve upon interpretations presented in this thesis. For example, further research should be undertaken to find traces (e.g., palm prints and fingerprints) on terracotta figurines to identify age of the authors.

Furthermore, isotopic studies could reveal the identity of the liquid that filled jugs that we call today 'feeding bottles' to determine whether they functioned as food storage vessels or containers for other liquids such as oil.

The evidence from this study suggests that it is valuable to compare various different sources of evidence to develop and test archaeological hypothesis, and also to further contribute to a more detailed understanding of the past. The results of this study allowed several general statements about children and youth involved in the craft work, military training, and also playing with their peers, to be proposed. However, more important for understanding the roles and status of children was the analysis of various data within local contexts. On this basis, it is argued herein that youths in the Mycenaean period were perceived through their ancestry. This helped to identify them, and place them at the appropriate level within the Mycenaean social hierarchy. However, this did not interfere with the tasks with which they were entrusted, nor the remuneration they received. More important, however, is that local differences between particular Mycenaean 'palaces' are incredibly varied in the ways of treating the young members of their society. As research has shown, probably it was due to regional social differences and the diversity of tablets from particular Mycenaean 'palaces' over the time period.

The hypotheses presented in this study should be verified in the future by increasing the pool of source data and carrying out more of the specialist analyses postulated above. The subject of tablets findspots located inside Mycenaean 'palace' rooms is very intriguing and there is a need for more detailed research in the future.

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STRESZCZENIE W JĘZYKU POLSKIM

Celem pracy doktorskiej było określenie znaczenia i roli dzieci w świecie mykeńskim, poprzez analizę pisma linearnego B oraz obiektów archeologicznych. Przedstawione badania bazują na porównaniu inskrypcji znalezionych w Knossos, Mykenach, Tebach i Pylos z pozostałościami archeologicznymi związanymi z dziećmi. W badaniach zaaplikowano interdyscyplinarne (łącznie archeologię, filologię i antropologię) i lokalne podejście dla każdego z badanych regionów (Argolida, Beotia, Pylos z Bliższą i Dalszą Prowincją, oraz północno-centralna Kreta).

Badacze zazwyczaj podchodzą do społeczeństwa mykeńskiego poprzez pryzmat współczesnych czasów, zakładając długi okres dzieciństwa, późne wchodzenie w dorosłość, oraz opiekę dorosłych nad dziećmi. W związku z tym, potrzebne jest rozważenie bardziej krytycznego podejścia i zaktualizowania wizji dzieciństwa w przeszłości. Co ważne, istnieje możliwość porównania obiektów pochodzących z różnych sfer życia.

W celu porównania i analizy danych archeologicznych i lingwistycznych zostały utworzone dwa katalogi. Informacje w pierwszym katalogu pochodzą z tabliczek z pismem linearnym B i obejmują: numer porządkowy, serię, numer i miejsce pochodzenia tabliczki; wskazanie słowa, które jest związane z dziećmi; wers lub cała sentencja tabliczki; datowanie i miejsce znalezienia tabliczki; literatura i ważne adnotacje. Tabliczki z pismem linearnym B włączone do katalogu są datowane od okresu późnohelladzkiego III B1 do późnohelladzkiego III B2 (około 1300 do 1180 przed Chr.) na łądzie stałym, oraz od okresu przejściowego późnominojskiego II/III A do późnominojskiego III A2 (około 1420 do 1320 przed Chr.) na Krecie. Obiekty archeologiczne włączone do drugiego katalogu są datowane od okresu późnominojskiego I B (około 1530 przed Chr.) do późnominojskiego III B (około 1190 przed Chr.) na Krecie, oraz od późnohelladzkiego I (około 1625 przed Chr.) do okresu przejściowego z późnohelladzkiego III B do C (około 1180 przed Chr.) na łądzie stałym. Baza danych jest podzielona według regionów kontrolowanych przez pałace mykeńskie. Włączone w katalog są następujące regiony: Argolida (pałac w Mykenach), Beotia (pałac w Tebach), północno-centralna Kreta (pałac w Knossos) oraz Mesenia (Bliższa i Dalsza Prowincja kontrolowana przez pałac w Pylos). Każda tabela posiada numer porządkowy obiektu, miejsce znalezienia, rodzaj obiektu (figurka, pochówek, itp.), szczegółowy opis obiektu i jego

kontekst, a także datowanie i literaturę. Katalog obiektów obejmuje 37 obiekty z północno-centralnej Krety, 72 obiekty z Argolidy, 24 z Beotii i 25 z Mesenii.

Do pracy nad tabliczkami z pismem linearnym B zaaplikowana została krytyczna analiza dyskursu. Podstawą badań było krytyczne i interdyscyplinarne podejście do użytych metod z uwzględnieniem kontekstu informacji. Co ważne, krytyczna analiza dyskursu odrzuca interpretację przedstawiania kobiety wyłącznie jako matki lub potencjalnej matki. W celu analizy przedstawień dzieci i młodzieży na obiektach archeologicznych, użyto wzorców wzrostu i rozwoju ciała ludzkiego połączonego z wyznacznikami wieku na podstawie fresków z Akrotiri. W określaniu szczątków ludzkich znalezionych w grobach osób młodych posłużyła terminologia Rudolfa Martina (1928).

Analiza pisma linearnego B ujawniła, że każdy z badanych pałaców posiadał znaczące różnice między sobą w zapisywaniu dzieci. W przeciwieństwie do poprzednich badań w tym temacie, przeprowadzone badania pokazały, że słowa opisujące relacje rodzinne było wyjątkowo rzadko użytkowane. Badania przeprowadzone na obiektach wskazują na zabieg miniaturyzacji ceramiki w wyposażeniu grobów dziecięcych, której formy są także znajdowane w grobach osób dorosłych. Kolejnym badanym obiektem są figurki kourotrophos, które przedstawiają kobietę trzymającą dziecko. Ich funkcja pozostaje nierozpoznana, jednakże ze względu na różne konteksty znalezienia figurek, w pracy zaproponowano, iż dzieci mogą być ich autorami. Co więcej, dowody wskazują, że tego rodzaju figurki są znajdowane przede wszystkim w grobach młodzieży. Pozostałe elementy wyposażenia grobów pokazują, że dorastanie było formą okresu przejściowego (przykładowo małe i duże naczynia, broń, oraz biżuteria). Figurki kourotrophos mogły więc symbolizować przejście dziecka w okres dojrzałości seksualnej i jego gotowość do stania się rodzicem.

Jak wykazały badania, w celu rozwoju i sprawdzenia archeologicznych hipotez niezwykle wartościowe jest porównywanie różnych źródeł informacji. Wyniki przedstawionych badań pozwoliły na postawienie kilku znaczących stwierdzeń na temat dzieci i młodzieży mykeńskiej, które były zaangażowane w prace rzemieślnicze, szkolenie militarne, praktyki religijne, ale także w zabawę z rówieśnikami.

SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

The scientific aim of this dissertation is to determine the status of children in Mycenaean culture through analysing the Linear B script and archaeological objects. The studies were conducted on the base of a comparison of Linear B tablets found at Knossos, Mycenae, Thebes and Pylos with notice youth, with archaeological objects connected with children. In this research, an interdisciplinary (combining archaeology, anthropology, philology) and local approach for each of the regions (Argolid, Boeotia, Pylos with Further and Hither Province, and North-Central Crete) was applied.

In the traditional approach, researchers assume that the presence of young people in the administrative records is related to the transfer of skills and craft workshop from generation to generation. This suggests blood ties between craft workers and the children recorded next to them. In the last few years, much more information on children as apprentices and learners has come to light. For example, it has been proposed that most children mentioned on Knossos tablets indicate occupational training at various stages.

What we know about Mycenaean youth is largely based on visual forms of representing a child. Many studies have been published on Mycenaean art, most focusing on terracotta figurines and frescoes. In a broader study of the issue, specialists focus on the analysis of figurines found both in domestic and funerary contexts. A growing body of literature has interpreted representations of a child as always occurring with those of a woman, treating them as contextually integral.

To study children and youth in Mycenaean society, two catalogues were created. The first collected data from Linear B tablets and their fragments and was built separately for each Mycenaean palace archive. Tablets included in this study dated from the transition of Late Helladic III B1 to Late Helladic III B2 (ca. 1300 to 1180 BC) on the mainland and from the transition from Late Minoan II/IIIA to Late Minoan III A2 (ca. 1420 to 1320 BC) on Crete. Details from each tablet selected for the database included series, tablet number, the word mentioned, a part of the inscription (with context), the dating of the tablet and the location where the tablet was found. The collected data includes 144 + joins of 1101 tablets from Pylos, 5 of 86 tablets from Mycenae, 22 of 294 tablets from Thebes and 136 + joins of 9947 tablets from Knossos.

The second database contains archaeological objects like figurines, burials, potential tools and frescoes representing youth and children. The catalogue is divided into four tables: Mycenae - Argolid, Thebes - Boeotia, Pylos - Hither and Further Province, and Knossos - North-Central Crete. The features of archaeological objects are shown in the table as follows: archaeological site, type of object, description, dating and literature source. The objects were collected from palace centers and putative regions under their control. Archaeological objects similar in dating to Linear B tablets were selected. For the analysis of archaeological data, author used the classic comparative method. The second catalogue includes 37 archaeological objects from North-Central Crete, 72 from Argolid, 24 from Boeotia, 25 from Messenia.

The method of interpretation was influenced by critical discourse analysis, which is mostly used in linguistics. This method assumes the construction of gender, taking into account cultural and social factors. Thanks to this approach, we can attempt to interpret such social phenomena. This type of research focuses on criticality, interdisciplinary choice of methods and information context. In critical discourse analysis, the image of a woman as only a mother or potential mother is abandoned. In the current study, this approach was used to study Linear B scripts without assigning 'mother' status to a woman mentioned beside a child in the text. The detailed analysis consisted of identifying the pragmatic features of the text. The results have shown that single words in the text could differ in size and layout throughout the entire inscription. Thus, it can be assumed that the scribe intentionally used smaller characters to emphasize lower significance, for example using an epithet for the noun.

Analysis of the Linear B script revealed that each of the examined palaces had significant differences in how children were recorded. Unlike other research carried out in this area, the current study has shown that words indicating a family relationship occurred very sparsely. The research on archaeological data has shown miniaturization of vessels for children graves, usually used as furnishings for adult's burials. The function of kourotrophos figurines representing a woman keeping a child is still under discussion, especially because of the different contexts from which they were found. Suggested in this dissertation interpretation of children as authors of figurines would satisfactory explains the various findspots. Furthermore, the evidence from this study demonstrates that kourotrophos figurines were mostly found with *juvenis* burials. The other furnishings from subadult graves suggest that adolescence was a transitional period (e.g., miniature vases together with big size vessels, weapons, but also jewelry). Consequently, it is possible that these figurines symbolized a child entering sexual maturity and her/his readiness to become a parent.

As this research has shown, it is valuable to compare various different sources of evidence to develop and test archaeological hypothesis. The results of this study allowed several general statements about children and youth involved in craftwork, military training, religious practice, but also playing with their peers, to be proposed.

List of Linear B Tablets

PYLOS (144 + joins/1101 tablets)

ko-wa, gr. κόρη (girl/daughter):

Aa 60, 61, 62, 63, 76, 85, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 240, 313, 354, 506, 662, 695, 699, 701, 717, 752, 759, 762, 764, 770, 775+956, 777, 783, 786, 788, 792, 795, 798, 804, 807, 815

Ab 186, 189, 190, 194, 210, 217, 277, 356+1049, 372, 379, 382, 515, 553, 554+582, 555, 558, 573, 578, 586, 746, 789, 899, 946

ko-wo, gr. κόρος/κόροι (boy/children):

Aa 60, 61, 62, 63, 76, 85, 89, 93, 94, 95, 98, 240, 313, 354, 662, 695, 699, 701, 717, 752, 759, 762, 764, 770, 772+956, 775, 777, 779, 783, 786, 788, 792, 795, 798, 804, 807, 815, 860, 863, 1182

Ab 186, 189, 190, 194, 210, 217, 277, 356+1049, 379, 382, 515, 553, 554+582, 555, 558, 559, 564+1105, 573, 575, 578, 586, 745, 789, 899, 978

Ad 290, 295, 315+1450, 318+420, 326, 357, 380, 390+696, 663+674, 664, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681+687+289, 683, 684, 685, 686, 688, 689, 690, 691, 694, 697, 700, 921

Ae 142, 1014

An 199, 292

Un 718

Xa 1443

me-wi-jo/me-u-jo, gr. μείων (smaller/younger):

Cn 202

i-jo, gr. υἱός ('son of):

An 5, 857+283+261, 519, 614+1124, 615+1139, 654, 656, 661, 1060

Ae 344

Aq 64

Cn 599

Ea 421

Ep 539

Fn 187

Jn 415, 431+435, 937

Mb 1365+1386

Na 396, 516, 543, 577

On 300+375+1074+Xn 1446

Vn 851+914

*65-ju (probably an abbreviation of i-jo):

Ae 344

Aq 64, 218

Jn 725, 731+435

pa-te, gr. πατήρ (father):

An 607

ma-te, gr. μήτηρ (mother):

An 607

Fr 1202

ne-wo, gr. νέος (new/young):

Aa 786

Ab 554+582

Ad 688

An 656

Fr 1202

Ub 1315

MYCENAE (5/86tablets)

ko-wo, gr. κόρος/κόροι (boy/children):

Oe 121

i-jo, gr. υἱός ('son of):

Au 102

tu-ka-te, gr. θυγάτηρ (daughter):

Oe 106

V 659

ki-ra, gr. νεογυλλός (new-born, here: small girl):

V 659

ne-wo (νέος new/young):

Oe 129

THEBES (22/294 tablets)

ko-wa, gr. κόρη (girl/daughter):

Fq 126, 130, 169, 229, 239, 240, 241, 254+255, 257, 258, 275, 307, 309

i-jo, gr. υἱός ('son of):

Av 106

Gf 108

Of 28

**65-ju* (probably an abbreviation of *i-jo*):

Fq 123, 214, 236, 254+255, 342

u-jo, gr. υῖός ('son of):

Gp 227

ne-wo, gr. νέος (new/young):

Of 34

KNOSSOS (136+joins/9947)

ko-wa, gr. κόρη (girl/daughter):

Ag 87, 88+7033, 1654

Ai 63, 190, 194, 338, 739, 752+753, 754, 824, 5543, 7017, 7023+7605, 7026+8662, 7029, 9508, 9509, 9510

Ak 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 617, 619+5633+5892+5963+6010+8258+6687, 620+6028, 621, 622, 624, 627+7025, 634+5767, 636, 638, 640, 780+7004+7045+7767, 781+8339, 828, 830, 1807, 2126, 5009+6037+8588, 5553, 5648+5967+8606, 5741+5895, 5884+5896, 5893+8623, 5940+8667, 7001, 7005, 7008, 7009, 7013, 7015, 7018, 7019, 7022+7024, 8218+8336, 8334+8335, 9173+9459, 9407+9417, 9545

Ap 639, 5876+5928+5971+6068, 8154+8155+8158+8168

X 7720

ko-wo, gr. κόρος/κόροι (boy/children):

Bg 817+7858+7876,

Ai 63, 115, 194, 321, 338, 739, 750, 752+753, 754, 824, 5543, 7023+7605, 7026+8662, 7027, 9512

Ag 87, 88+7033, 90,

Ak 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 617, 619+5633+5892+5963+6010+8258+6687, 620+6028, 621, 622, 624, 627+7025, 631, 634+5767, 636, 638, 640, 780+7004+7045+7767, 781+8339, 828, 830, 5611, 5741+5895, 5879, 5926+5933+8219, 6048, 7002, 7005, 7007, 7008, 7013, 7014, 7016, 7018, 7021, 7022+7024, 8334+8335, 8337, 9173+9459, 9407+9417

Am 819, 827+7032+7618

Ap 629, 639, 5077, 5868+8220, 5876+5928+5971+6068

V 482+7868

X 9802

me-wi-jo/me-u-jo, gr. μείων (smaller/younger):

Ai 824

Ak 610, 611, 612, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617,619+5633, 626, 627+7025, 631, 634+ 5767, 782, 636, 780+7004, 783+7011, 1807, 2126, 5884+5896, 5907, 5940+8667, 7001, 7009, 7010, 7020, 7022+7024, 7030+9664, 8334+8335, 9407+9417+9422+9485+X9554, 9410.

me-zo, gr. μείζων (larger/older):

Ai 824

Ak 610, 611, 612, 614, 615, 617, 619+5633, 621, 622, 624, 627+7025, 636, 784+8019, 828, 830, 1807, 2126, 5553, 5741+5895, 5893+8623, 5926+5933, 7002, 7009, 7010, 7022+7024, 9001+9031, 9002

Lc 504

i-jo, gr. υἱός ('son of):

As 1517

B 800

Bg 1040

De 1084

Dv 1085, 1462+5279

Fc 153+ 7348

Fp 354

Ga 424

K 875

Le 641

Sc 103

V 1523

Vc 68, 177, 191

Vd 62

Xd 302

*65-ju (probably an abbreviation of i-jo):

Ap 639

Xd 292

*69-tu (probably an abbreviation of tu-ka-te):

Ap 629, 637, 639, 5748+5901

pa-te, gr. πατήρ (father):

B 1055

Ra 984

X 8215

Xd 320

ne-wo, gr. νέος (new/young):

Fh 362, 375

Od 689

X 658

u-jo, gr. υἱός ('son of):

Ga 425

*24-ne (abbreviation of ne-wo):

Ak 624, 781+8339, 5926+5933, 5940+8667, 7005, 8341

Ap 629

*13-me (abbreviation of me-u-jo):

Ak 634+5767

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Figure 3.66: Details of dagger decoration from the Catalogue of archaeological objects, Messenia.

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Figure 4.2: The context of terracotta figurines from Thebes, Mycenae, Pylos and Knossos.

Catalogue of Linear B Tablets - Knossos

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|--|
| 1 | Vd | 62 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No |] (we)-ro a-ka-i-jo] (ca. 1400BC) | LM II/ LM III A | Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT) |
| 2 | Ai | 63 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A pe-se-ro-jo, e-e-si .B MUL 1 ko-wa I ko-wo 1 (ca. 1400 BC) | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |
| 3 | Vc | 68 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | a-ka-i-jo 1 (ca. 1400 BC) | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |
| 4 | Ag | 87 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .Ia ko-wa 1]wa VIR 1 MUL 2 ko-wo 1 (ca. 1400 BC) | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |
| 5 | Ag | 88, 7033 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pe-re-ko VIR 1 MUL 1 ko-wa 2. ko-wo 1 (ca. 1400 BC) | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |
| 6 | Ag | 90 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-ri-*.19 VIR 1 ko-wo 1 (ca. 1400 BC) | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-------------------------------------|-------|
| 7 | Sc | 103 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | ki-ra ₂ -i-jo TUN 2 BIG(1) EQU | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 8 | Ai | 115 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pa-ro, u-wa-si-jo. ko-wo I | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 9 | Fc | 153. 7348 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | verso: .1 me-no .2]-pi .3 ta-pa-no .4 me-je-ta .5 a-ka-i-jo .6 a-ri-we-(we) | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 10 | Vc | 177 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | wa-ke-i-jo | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 11 | Ai | 190 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |]ko-wa I di ko-wa I | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| 12 | Vc | 191 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No wa-ke-i-jo | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 13 | Ai | 194 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |] MUL 3 ko-wa 1 ko-wo 2 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 14 | Xd | 292 | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | te-u-to-ri-(ju) | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 15 | Xd | 302 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-ra-i-jo | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 16 | Xd | 320 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No |] a-pa-te | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |
| 17 | Ai | 321 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |] MUL 1 ko-wo 1 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | RCT |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 18 | Ai | 338 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A]ko-wa 6 .B]ja MUL 5 ko-wo 2 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Room of Clay Chest |
| 19 | Fp | 354 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1]ka-ra-e-i-jo OLE 1 S2 .2]jo OLE 1 V1 pa-ja-ni-jo OLE V1 | LM II/ LM III A – LM III A2 | Room of Column Bases |
| 20 | Fh | 362 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1]ne-wo (OLE 83 S 4) .2 tu-[] 7 V 4 | LM II/ LM III A – LM III A2 | ne-wo Room of Column Bases |
| 21 | Fh | 375 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |] ne-wo OLE 10] | LM II/ LM III A – LM III A2 | ne-wo Room of Column Bases |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 22 | Ga | 424 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A po-(ni)-ki-jo .B *56-ko-we-i-jo a-pu-do-si M 5 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Corridor of House Tablets |
| 23 | Ga | 425 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A] pa-ra-u-jo a-pu-do-si po-ni-ki-jo M1 vacat | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | u-jo Corridor of House Tablets |
| 24 | V | 482. 7868 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 e-u-ko-ro 1 .2 qe-ra-jo 1 a-mi-nwal .3 nu-to 1 mi-ru-ro 1 .4] vacat .5] me-to ko-wo 2 WO | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine VI, VII |
| 25 | Lc | 504 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | .A] pa-we-a TELA .B ku-ru-so-no. me-zo LANNA 40 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine VI, VII |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 26 | Ak | 610 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1] TA DA1 MUL 10 de MUL 1 .2] ko-wa me-zo-e 3 (de). ko-wa 1 .3] ko-wo (me)-zo 1 ko-wo me-wi-jo 2 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | West Magazine XV |
| 27 | Ak | 611 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1 to-te-ja. TA 2 DA 1 MUL 10 [] (de)-di-ku-ja MUL 11 .2 ko-wa. me-zo-e 4 [] ko-wo. me-wi-jo 1 [] | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | West Magazine XV |
| 28 | Ak | 612 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .A TA 1 DA 1 MUL 9 .B ko-wa. me-zo 1 ko-wa me-u-jo 1 c da-te-we-ja ko-wo me-zo 1 (ko-wo me) | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | West Magazine XV |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 29 | Ak | 613 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1 qa-mi-ja. TA IDA 1 (MUL) I .2 ko-wa. me-u-jo-e 9 ko-wo I | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine VI, VII |
| 30 | Ak | 614 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .A] TA 2 MUL 30 pa di 4 I .B] ko-wa me-zo-e 5 ko-wa me-u-(jo) I .C] ko-wo. me-zo I ko-wo me-u-jo 2 I | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | West Magazine XV |
| 31 | Ak | 615 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1] a-no-qo-ta MUL 30 .2] ko-wa. me-zo-e 6 ko-wa. me-uj I .3] ko-wo me-(zo-e 3) ko-wo me-u-(jo) I | LM III A2 | up of Magazine VIII |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 32 | Ak | 616 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1] 36 pe di MUL 2 di za MUL 2] .2 (me)-u-jo-e 8 .3] me-u-jo-e 13 | LM III A2 | up of Magazine VIII |
| 33 | Ak | 617 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1] TA 2 MUL 73 au MUL 1] .2] me-zo-e 13 ko-wa. me-u-jo] .3] (me)-zo-e 12 ko-wo me-u-jo] | LM III A2 | up of Magazine IX |
| 34 | Ak | 619, 5633, et al. | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1]] MUL 22 pa di 3] .2] ko-wa me-zo-e 4] .3] -wa me-wi-jo-e 5 ko-wo di 2] .4] ko-wo me-zo-e 1]] ko-wo me-wi-jo-e 2] | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | West Magazine XV |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 35 | AK | 620, 6028, et al. | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A] TA 2 (DA 1) MUL 14[.B] ko-wa di 1 ko-wa[.C] ke-ja ko-wo, de 1 I | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | West Magazine XV |
| 36 | AK | 621 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | .A] MUL 34 pe (di)I .B] ko-wa, me-zo-e 4 ko-(wa)I .C] da-wo, ko-wo. me-zo-e 6I | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine VI, VII |
| 37 | AK | 622 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | .1 we-we-si-jo-jo, I .2 ko-wa, me-zo-eI .3 ko-woI | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine VI, VII |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| 38 | Ak | 624 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | .1 ri-jo-ni-ja. TAI .2 ne di 3 ko-wa. me-zo-e I .3 ko-wo. di 3 ko-wo. me-zo-e II | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | *ne ¹ West Magazine XV |
| 39 | Ak | 626 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1] pa di 2 ko-no-so pa di 2] .2] me-wi-jo-e 7 I (ca. 1400 BC) .3] me-wi-jo-e 6] | LM II/ LM III A | West Magazine XV |
| 40 | Ak | 627. 7025 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1 da-*22-to. a-no-zo-jo TAI (DAI) (MUL) 9 pe di 2 .2 ko-wa me-zo-e 7 ko-wa (me)-wi-jo-e 10 .3 ko-wo me-zo-e 2 ko-wo (me)-wi-jo-e 10 | LM III A2 | up of Magazine VIII |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 41 | Ap | 629 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | .1 tu-ni-ja tu MUL 4 ne (di) 3 kol ri-jo-no tu MUL 3 ko-wo 3 .2 do-ti-ja tu MUL 4 ne di 6 [] | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | *ne' Magazine XIV, XV |
| 42 | Ak | 631 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1 pe di MUL 6 .2 ko-wo, me-u-jo-e 4 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine VI, VII |
| 43 | Ak | 634, 5767 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .A [(DA1) [] 74 di 5 .B (se-to-)i-ja ko-wa, me-u (jo-e) 10 ko-wo me 5 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | *me' West Magazine XV |
| 44 | Ak | 636 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | (...) .2] ko-wa me-zo 1 .3] ko-wo me-u-jo-e 2 | LM III A2 | up of Magazine VIII |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 45 | Ak | 638 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | . A e-ne-re-ja . B ko-wa . C a-mi-mi-so ko-wo | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 46 | Ap | 639 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | (...) .3 wo-di-je-ja MUL 1 ko-wo 1 du-sa-ni, MUL 1 ma-ku | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 47 | Ak | 640 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 sa-tu 1 .2 .3 ko-wa 8 ko-wo 2 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Magazine XIV, XV |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 48 | Le | 641 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 o-a-po-te, de-ka-sa-(to), a-re-i-jo, o-u-qe-pol .2 pa-i-ti-ja, pe TELA TE 2 mi TELA TE 14 da-wi-ja, pe TELA TE 11 .3 do-ti-ja mi TELA TE 6 qa-mi-ja TELA TE 1 .4 ko-no-so, te-pe-ja mi TELA te 3 tu-mi-ja TELA TE 11 | LM III A2 | up of Magazine XV |
| 49 | X | 658 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ne-wo, za-we] on the back: a-ro-we a-nu-to | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | ne-wo East-West Corridor |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 50 | Od | 689 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | . A ne-wo . B o-pl po-po LANA 4 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | ne-wo West Magazine XI |
| 51 | Ai | 739 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | . 1 ra-su-to, a-ke-ti-ri-ja MUL 2 . 2 ko-wa 1 ko-wo 1 | LM II/ LM III A (ca. 1400 BC) | Room of the Stone Lamp |
| 52 | Ai | 750 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |] ko-wo 2 GRA 1 T 2 | LM III A2 | Room of the Bugelkamm es (N-W Insula) |
| 53 | Ai | 752, 753 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |] re-ja MUL (3) ko-wa 1 ko-wo 1 GRA (T)] | LM III A2 | Room of the Bugelkamm es (N-W Insula) |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-----------|---|
| 54 | Ai | 754 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No. 1 MUL ko-wa 2 ko-wo 2 | LM III A2 | Room of the Bugelkamm es (N-W Insula) |
| 55 | Ak | 780, 7004, et al. | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No. 1 da-wi-ja. ne-ki-ri-de MUL 2 pe VIR 2 .2 ko-wa me-wi-jo II 1 .3 ko-wo me-(wi-jo)-e 3 | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 56 | Ak | 781, 8339 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No. 1] MUL 17 (di-da-ka-re)I .2 ko-wa I .3 di-da-ka-re neI ko-wo I | LM III A2 | 'ne' North Entrance Passage Area |
| 57 | Ak | 782 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No. 1] MUL 3 .2] me-wi-jo-e 2 | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-----------|---|
| 58 | Ak | 783. 7011 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No .1] di-da-ka-re pe MUL 2 .2] me-wi-jo-e 14 .3] me-wi-jo-e 9 | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 59 | Ak | 784. 8019 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No .1] we-ra-ti-ja [] 2 .2] me-zo-e, di-da-ka-re[] 11 .3] me-zo-e, di-da-ka-re[] (15) | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 60 | B | 800 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) .3] a-wo-ro. VIR na-si-jo VIR .4] VIR. ri-zo VIR me-de-i-jo VIR .5] -do. VIR (...) | LM III A2 | up of North Entrance Passage Area |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| 61 | Bg | 817, 7858, et al. | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | 10-50 ku-su-to-ro-qa VIR 32 ko-wo.dil | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 62 | Am | 819 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A] we-ke-i-ja VIR 18 ko-wo 8 .B] (qa)ra si-to LUNAI HORD 9 T7 V3 | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 63 | Ai | 824 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1 a-pi-qi-i-ta do-e-ra MUL 32 ko-wa. me-zo-e 5 ko-wa me-wi-jo-e 15 .2 ko-wo me-wi-jo-e 4 | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| 64 | Am | 827, 7032, et al. | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 si-mi-te-u VIR1 a-wa-ti-ka-ra MUL 1 .2 ko-wo 1 | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 65 | Ak | 828 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | .1 pa-i-ti-ja, DA 1 TA .2 ko-wa me-zo-e, di-da-ka- .3 ko-wo me-zo-e, di-(da) | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 66 | Ak | 830 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | .1 du-wi-ja. po-(si) .2 (ko-)wa me-zo-e .3 (ko)wo me-zo-e 3 | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|---|
| 67 | K | 875 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .4 i-da-i-jo. qa-si-re-wi-ja. di-pa a-no-wo-to | LM III A2 | up of North Entrance Passage Area |
| 68 | Ra | 984 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | .1 pa-te. de-de-me-na. .2 zo-wa. e-pi-zo-ta. ke-ra. de-de-me-na (*236) | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage Area |
| 69 | Bg | 1040 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A a-pu-do-si .B we-i-jo po-ni-ki-jo (VIR) | LM II/ LM III A | West Palace Quarter |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-w0 | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-z0 | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 70 B | | 1055 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | .1 ko-no-si-jo. e-ge-ta. .2 pi-sa-wa-ta. VIR[] (se) .3 wo-si-jo-ne VIR (...) .6 VIR 1 e-ko-tel .7 (wi) VIR 1 me-(tu) .8 ma-ro. VIR 1 .9 to-so. pa-te VIR 213 | LM II/ LM III A | Area of the Clay Signet Room |
| 71 De | | 1084 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A a-ka-i-jo .B ko-ti pa-i-to, OVISm 3 4 OVISF 4 0 OVISm 2 | LM II/ LM III A | East-West Corridor |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|---------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|---|
| 72 | Dv | 1085 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A a-ka-i-jo .B ki-mu-ko, pa-i-to OVISM 36 OVISf 36 OVISf 11[[OVIS]m | LM II/ LM III A | owner of the flock, East-West Corridor |
| 73 | Dv | 1462, 5279 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A OVISM 84 OVISf 14 .B a-wo-i-jo, ri-jo-no[[OVISM 2 | ? | ? |
| 74 | As | 1517 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .7 e-ru-to-ro 1 ku-ta-i-jo 1 (...) | ? | ? |
| 75 | V | 1523 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .4a i-jo i-jo .4b]pi / di-zo, pi-na-(na)-ro, zo-wi-jo 1 a-tu-qo-te-ra-to (1)] .5a i-jo | LM III A2 | up of a Sword Tablets |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 76 | Ag | 1654 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | qe-ri-jo VIR 1 MUL 1 ko-wa | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |
| 77 | Ak | 1807 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1 ko-wa me-zo .2 (ko)wa me-u-jo-e | LM II/ LM III A | lost tablet Magazine VI, VII |
| 78 | Ak | 2126 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .2a ko-wa me-wi-(jo-e 1) .2b me zo 1 ko-wa me-zo 1 e | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 79 | Ak | 5009, 6037, et al. | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A ka-pa-ra₂ .B ko-wa. .C (a)ra-ka-te-ja. (ko) | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 80 | Ap | 5077 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 -e-ke .2 -wa ko-wo 1 .3 (OLIV 1) | LM II/ LM III A | F-P |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| 81 | Ai | 5543 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1(ko)](wo) 6 GRA 2 T (2) .2]2 ko-wo 8 GRA (2) (T) .3(ko)](wa) 8 ko-wo 10 GRA 2 T (3) .4] vacat I | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XV (?) |
| 82 | Ak | 5553 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | .1 ko-ro-ka I .2] (ko)wa me-zo I I | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XV |
| 83 | Ak | 5611 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1] ko-wo I | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XV |
| 84 | Ak | 5648, 5967, et al. | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A] TA I I .B] (ja)] ko-wa I | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XV |
| 85 | Ak | 5741, 5895 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1] 10 ko-wa me-zo I I .2] (jo). ko-wo me-zo-e 2 ko-wo me I | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|---------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| 86 | Ap | 5748, 5901 | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No .1 si I tu I ki-zo I MUL (3) (TELA) [(a)-na-no- .2 1 o-ri-mo MUL 3 TELA+TE 1 pu-zo , ti-no , pi-jà-mu-nu (MUL) .3 ni-ta , o-sa-po-to MUL 3 TELA+TE 1 | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 87 | Ap | 5868, 8220 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No .1 ko (no)-(si)-ja / to-sa MUL 26 (di) .2 7 ko-wo 9 ka-ra-we MUL 6 | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| 88 | Ap | 5876, 5928, et al. | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No .1] ko-wo . di (4) qa-mi-ja ko-wa 'di' 3 ko-wo di (3)] .2] 'di' 1 ri-jo-no ko-wo di 2] | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 89 | Ak | 5879 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No .1]] 3] .2]] ko-wo] | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 90 | Ak | 5884, 5896 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No .1] [(10)]] vacat .2] 5]] [(ko)-wa / me-u-jo 2 .3] e 4] | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 91 | Ak | 5893, 8623 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No .1] kolwa me-zo-e] .2]] (wo)] | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|---------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|--|
| 92 | Ak | 5907 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1 [(de) MUL 2 pa di 1 .2 [(ko-wa) me-wi-jo-e 5 | LM III A | 'pa' - from <i>pa-ra-jo</i> 'old' |
| 93 | Ak | 5926, 5933 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No .1] MUL [] ne di 1 .2 [(me)-zo-e 3 .3] ko-wo / me-(wi)] | LM II/ LM III A | 'ne' Magazine XIV, XV |
| 94 | Ak | 5940, 8667 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1]8 ne di 1 .2]ko-wa , me-wi-jo 2 | LM II/ LM III A | 'ne' Magazine XIV, XV |
| 95 | Ak | 6048 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 [(3) zol .2]ko-wo] | LM II/ LM III A | lost tablet East-West Corridor |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 96 | Ak | 7001 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No .1 [(a-ke)-ti-ri-ja . MUL I] .2 [(wi)-jo-e 4 ko-wa] | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage |
| 97 | Ak | 7002 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No (...) . .2] me-zo-e 9 ko-wo (me)] | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI. VII |
| 98 | Ak | 7005 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No .1 [(84) di-(da)] .2 [(ka)-re . ne 5 ko- (wa)] .3 [(di-da-ka-re) . ne 3 ko-(wo)] | LM III A2 | 'ne' North Entrance Passage |
| 99 | Ak | 7007 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) . .2] ko-wo] | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage |
| 100 | Ak | 7008 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No ko-[wa 2 ko(wo)] | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage (?) |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| 101 | Ak | 7009 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1 ko wa . me-zo .2 (me)-u-jo-e 4 | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 102 | Ak | 7010 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1 (zo)-e 3 .2 me-u-jo-e (1) | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 103 | Ak | 7013 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) .2 ko-wa (me) .3 ko-wo (me) | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 104 | Ai | 7014 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [3] ko-wo 1 | LM II/ LM III A | RCT (?) |
| 105 | Ak | 7015 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [ko-wa (1) | ? | ? |
| 106 | Ak | 7016 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [ko-wo 3 | ? | ? |
| 107 | Ai | 7017 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (MUL) 12 ko-wa | LM II/ LM III A | RCT (?) |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|---------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 108 | Ak | 7018 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ko wa 6 ko-wo 3 | ? | ? |
| 109 | Ak | 7019 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | 14 ko-wa. 4l | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI. VII (?) |
| 110 | Ak | 7020 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | (...) .2 ko wa me-u-(jo)l .3] (me)- u-jo | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI. VII |
| 111 | Ak | 7021 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1] MUL l .2] ko-(wo) l | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI. VII |
| 112 | Ak | 7022, 7024 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | .1]-ki 'DA] 'TA 2 MUL] 2l .2] ko-wa me-zo-(e) (10)]] ko-wa me]ko-(wo) . me .3] ko-wo me-(wi)-jo-e l(2)l]e-ra (MUL)l | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI. VII |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|--------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| 113 | Ai | 7023, 7605 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [(1) ko-wa 2 ko-wo 1 | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |
| 114 | Ai | 7026, 8662 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | 1 MUL (6) (ko)wa 6 ko-wo 4 GRA1 T (7)I | LM II/ LM III A | RCT (?) |
| 115 | Ai | 7027 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | 1 (3) ko-wo I | LM II/ LM III A | RCT (?) |
| 116 | Ai | 7029 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | 1 ko-wa (2)I | LM II/ LM III A | RCT |
| 117 | Ak | 7030, 9664 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1 [ja MUL (4) I .2 [(me)-wi-jo-e 2]I | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 118 | X | 7720 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | 1 ko-wa (3)I | ? | ? |
| 119 | Ap | 8154, 8155, et al. | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 [na I i-I .2 ko-wa (1) (ku)mi I I I | ? | ? |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|---------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 120 | X | 8215 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | [(pa)te-o] I | ? | ? |
| 121 | Ak | 8218, 8336 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .B] ko-wa[.C] kol | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 122 | Ak | 8334, 8335 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | .1] (MUL) (20] .2] ko-wa / I me](wi)-(jo)-e 14 ko-(wo)] | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV |
| 123 | Ak | 8337 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No] ko-wol | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine XIV, XV (?) |
| 124 | Ak | 8341 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No] ne dil | LM II/ LM III A | *ne' Magazine XIV, XV |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|---|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 125 | Ak | 9001, 9031 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No .1] za 'di' MUL 2[.2 me zo-e 9 [.3](9) | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 126 | Ak | 9002 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No (...) .2] me-zo-e l | LM III A2 | North Entrance Passage |
| 127 | Ak | 9173, 9459 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No .1] we-si-(io)l .2]ko-wa . l .3] ko-wo . l | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 128 | Ak | 9407, 9417, 9422, 9485, X 9554 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No .1] MUL 40[] 12[.2] (ko)wa. me-u-jo-e (ko-wo) me-u-jo[.3] ko(wa) me-u-jo []-e l l | LM IV/ LM III A | Magazine VI, VII |
| 129 | Ak | 9410 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No (...) .3 me u-jo-e 2 | ? | ? |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|------------------|
| 130 | Ai | 9508 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No] ko-wa] | ? | ? |
| 131 | Ai | 9509 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No]] ko-wa]] | ? | ? |
| 132 | Ai | 9510 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No] ko(wa) (3)] | ? | ? |
| 133 | Ai | 9512 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No] (10) ko(wo)] | ? | ? |
| 134 | Ak | 9545 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No] ko-wa] | ? | ? |
| 135 | X | 9802 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No] T] ko-wo] | ? | ? |
| 136 | Ap | 637 | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No . 1 (a)-ke-si-ja , ka-(ma)] . 2 ko-so-jo , MUL 1 tu 2] . 3 (da)-] | LM II/ LM III A | Magazine VIII |

Catalogue of Linear B Tablets - Mycenae

| ID | Series | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|--------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|----------|---|----------|---|
| 1 | V | 659 | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .5 o-to-wo-wi-je tu-ka-te-qe 2 vac. .6 a-ne-a ₂ tu-ka-te-qe 2 .7 pi-ro-wo-na ki-ra-qe 2 | LH IIIB1 | West House, Room 5 |
| 2 | Oe | 129 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ne-wo. ka-ra-pe-we LANA 4 | LH IIIB1 | House of the Oil Merchant, Room 2 |
| 3 | Oe | 121 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2 ka-ke-wi LANA 2 pa-se-ri-jo ko-wo LANA 2 | LH IIIB1 | House of the Oil Merchant, Room 2 |
| 4 | Oe | 106 | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2 o-te-ra. tu-ka-te-re LANA 1 | LH IIIB1 | House of the Oil Merchant, Room 2 |
| 5 | Au | 102 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | wa-ra-pi-si-ro. i-jo-qe VIR 2 | LH IIIB1 | House of the Oil Merchant, Room 2 |

Catalogue of Linear B Tablets - Thebes

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|-----------|-------------------|
| 1 | Av | 106 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .4]na-e-si-jo VIR 1 re-u-ke-i-jo VIR 1 | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 2 | Gf | 108 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .3] ke-i-jo | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 3 | Fq | 123 | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | .1 ka-wi-jo-ju VI | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 4 | Fq | 126 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .2 o-po-re-i V1 Z2 ko-wa Z1 | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 5 | Fq | 130 | Yes | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .2 o-po-re-i V2 ko-wa Z2 .3 ka-wi-jo-ju V1 re-wa-ko a-mel | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 6 | Fq | 214 | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .7 o-to-ro-no-ju V2 mel (...) .13 o-u-wa-ja-wo-ni Z2 a-ra-o-ju VI | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-w0 | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-z0 | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|----------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| 7 | Fq | 169 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2 o-po-re-ji V2 ko-wa] .3](ru)-we Z2 ke-re-na | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 8 | Fq | 229 | Yes | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .3 a-pu-wa Z 2 ko-(wa)] .4 ra-ke-da-mi-mi-jo-ju] | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 9 | Fq | 236 | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .5 ku-no-ju] | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 10 | Fq | 239 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No .1] (ko)-wa (V)] | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou | |
| 11 | Fq | 240 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2]V 3 Z (2) ko-wa Z 2 | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 12 | Fq | 241 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2](e) V 3 Z 2 ko-(wa) Z 1 | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-w0 | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|----------|---|-----------|-------------------|
| 13 | Fq | 254, 255 | Yes | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .4 (ko)-wa Z 2 a-pu-wa Z 2 ko-ru Z 2 .5 qe-re-ma-o V1 Z2 zo-wa V1 a-me-ro V1 .6 ka-wi-jo-ju V1 *63I | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 14 | Fq | 257 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2 I] Z 2 ko-wa Z (2) a-(pu)-(wa)]] Z (2) | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 15 | Fq | 258 | Yes | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2 ma-di-je V (3) Z 2 ko-wa (Z)] .3 to-jo V3 ra-ke-da-mi-mi-jo- jul | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 16 | Fq | 275 | Yes | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2]V 4 Z 2 ko-wa Z 2 a-pu-wa Z 2 .3]V1 ra-ke-da-mi-mi-jo- ju V2 | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-w0 | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-z0 | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|----------|---|-----------|-----------------------|
| 17 | Fq | 307 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2](2) Z (2) (ko)-wa Z (1)] | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 18 | Fq | 309 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2]je V 2 Z 1 ko-(wa)] | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 19 | Fq | 342 | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2]ka-wi-jo-ju V] | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |
| 20 | Of | 28 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2 i-da-i-jo KULANA PA 2 e-ra, ke-o-te-ja KULANA 1 | LH III B2 | Odos Eparneinandou |
| 21 | Of | 34 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .1 a-pi-go-ro, ne-wa, ko-tu-ro ₂ , DA, LANA 3 [PAI] | LH III B2 | Odos Eparneinandou |
| 22 | Gp | 227 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2]ke-da-mi-ni-jo-u-jo VI] | LH III B2 | Odos Pelopidou |

Catalogue of Linear B Tablets - Pylos

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Aa | 60 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-wi-ri-pi-ja MUL 16 ko-wa 11 ko-wo 7 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Rooms (1, 2, 7, 8) |
| 2 | Aa | 61 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro ze-pu ₂ -ra ₃ , MUL 26 ko-wa 15 ko-wo 10 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 3 | Aa | 62 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | me-re-ti-ri-ja MUL 7 ko-wa 10 ko-wo 6 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 4 | Aa | 63 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ki-ma-ra MUL 3 ko-wa 5 ko-wo 4 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 5 | Aa | 76 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | po-to-ro-wa-pi MUL 4 ko-wa 4 ko-wo 3 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 6 | Aa | 85 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | a-ke-ti-ri-ja MUL 12 ko-wa 16 ko-wo 8 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|---------------|
| 7 | Aa | 89 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | (a)-ra-ka-te-ja MUL 37 ko-wa 26 ko-wo 16 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 8 | Aa | 93 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ke-eMUL 6 ko-wa 9 ko-wo 6 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 9 | Aa | 94 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-pi-ko-oMUL 14 ko-wa (5) ko-wo 8 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 10 | Aa | 95 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-pi-jo-ta-na MUL 8 ko-wa 8 ko-wo 7 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 11 | Aa | 96 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | da-[ko-wa 13 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 12 | Aa | 98 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | no-ti-wo-ko MUL 8 ko-wa 10 ko-wo (5) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|---------------|
| 13 | Aa | 240 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | a-ra-ka-te-ja MUL 20 ko-wa 25 ko-wo 4 TA I | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 14 | Aa | 313 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | o-ti-ri-ja MUL 21 ko-wa 12 ko-wo 8/11 DA I TA I | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 15 | Aa | 354 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ko-ro-ki-ja MUL 8 ko-wa 4 ko-wo 1 DA 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 16 | Aa | 506 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ku-te-ra ₃ MUL 38 ko-wal | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 17 | Aa | 662 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pa-ke-te-ja MUL 9 ko-wa 5 ko-wo 10 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 18 | Aa | 695 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ne-we-wi-ja MUL 21 ko-wa 10 ko-wo 6 DA I TA I | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|------------|
| 19 | Aa | 699 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ti-wa-si-ja MUL 9 ko-wa 4 ko-wo 3 DA 1 TA I | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 20 | Aa | 701 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | a-*64-ja MUL 35 ko-wa 11 ko-wo (1)4 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 21 | Aa | 717 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ro-u-so. a-ke-ti-ri-ja MUL 32 ko-wa 18 ko-wo 8 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 22 | Aa | 752 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | me-ta-(pa) MUL 7 ko-wa 3 ko-wo 3 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 23 | Aa | 759 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [(ko)-wa 2 ko-wo 4 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 24 | Aa | 762 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ke-re-za / we-we-si-(je)-ja MUL 22 ko-wa 6 ko-wo 11 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 25 | Aa | 764 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ko-wa 8 ko-wo 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|----------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|------------|
| 26 | Aa | 770 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No ki-si-wi-ja MUL 6 ko-wa 4 ko-wo 6 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 27 | Aa | 772 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-u-de-we-ro MUL 6 ko-wo 4 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 28 | Aa | 775, 956 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [[o-wi-to-no]] [MUL] 4 ko-wa 2 ko-wo 10 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 29 | Aa | 777 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A e-ke-ro-qo-no .B o-pi-ro-qo MUL 7 ko-wa 3 ko-wo 4 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 30 | Aa | 779 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | me-ta-pa MUL 3 ko-wo 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 31 | Aa | 783 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo MUL 38 ko-wa 13 ko-wo 15 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|---------------------|
| 32 | Aa | 786 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ne-wo-pe-o MUL 8 ko-wa 3 ko-wo 2 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | me-wo Rooms 2, 7 |
| 33 | Aa | 788 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ka-pa-ra ₂ -de MUL 24 ko-wa 8 ko-wo 2 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 34 | Aa | 792 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ki-mi-di-ja MUL 21 ko-(wa) 12 ko-wo 10 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 35 | Aa | 795 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pa-wo-ke MUL 4 ko-wa 2 ko-wo 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 2, 7 |
| 36 | Aa | 798 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ro-u-so, mi-ra-ti-ja MUL 54 ko-wa 35 ko-wo 22 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 37 | Aa | 804 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | a-pi-qo-ro MUL 32 ko-wa 26 ko-wo 15 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|---------------|
| 38 | Aa | 807 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ke-re-za , ra-wi-ja-ja MUL 26 ko-wa 7 ko-wo 7 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 39 | Aa | 815 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | a-ke-ti-ra ₂ MUL 38 ko-wa 33 ko-wo 16 DA 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 40 | Aa | 860 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |]1 ko-wo 1 TA 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 41 | Aa | 863 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |]ko-wo 4 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 42 | Aa | 1182 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pi-we-re MUL 7 ko-wo 2 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 43 | Ab | 186 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 2 T 4 TA DA B pu-ro , ra-mi-ni-ja MUL 7 ko-wa 2 ko-wo 2 NI 2 T 4 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|---------------|
| 44 | Ab | 189 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 6 T 7 TA DA .B pu-ro ki-mi-di-ja MUL 20 ko-wa 10 ko-wo 10 NI 6 T 7 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 45 | Ab | 190 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 3 DA TA .B pu-ro ti-nwa-si-ja MUL 9 ko[]2 ko-wo 1 NI 3 T | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 46 | Ab | 194 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 3 TA DA .B [ki-si-wil] o-nu-ke-ja MUL 7 ko-[wa] 3 ko-wo 6 NI 3 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 47 | Ab | 210 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 3 T 6 I .B a-pu-ko-wo-ko MUL 8 ko-wa 7 ko-wo 8 NI 3 T 6 I | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 48 | Ab | 217 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 5 T 1 TA I .B pu-ro ke-re-za , we-we-si-je-ja MUL 16 ko-wa 5 ko-wo 7 NI 5 T 1 I | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|---------------|
| 49 | Ab | 277 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 3 DA TA .B o-wi-to-no MUL 8 ko-wa 5 ko-wo 2 NI 3 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 50 | Ab | 356, 1049 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 2 T 2 DA .B pu-ro , ra-qi-ti-ra ₂ MUL 6 ko-wa 3 kolwo]1 NI 2 T 2 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 51 | Ab | 372 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 2 T 7 TA DA .B pu-ro ko-ro-ki-ja MUL 9 ko-wa 2 [] NI 2 T 7 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 52 | Ab | 379 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 2 T 8 TA DA .B e-u-de-we-ro MUL 8 ko-wa 2 ko-wo 3 NI 2 T 8 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 53 | Ab | 382 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 16 T 8 DA TA .B ro-u-so mi-ra-ti-ra MUL 54 ko-wa 3 []] ko-wo 20 NI 16 T 8 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|------------------------|
| 54 | Ab | 515 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 10 DA TA .B pu-ro , a-*64-ja MUL 35 ko-wa 12 ko-wo 11 NI 10 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 55 | Ab | 553 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 11 T (1) DA TA .B pu-ro , re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo 37 ko-wa 13 ko-wo 15 NI 11 T 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 56 | Ab | 554, 582 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 21] DA TA .B ne-wo-pe-o MUL 7 ko-wa 5 (ko)-wo 5 NI | LHIII B2 | ne-wo Archives Room |
| 57 | Ab | 555 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 16 .B pu-ro , ra-pi-i-ra ₂ MUL 38 ko-wa 20 ko-wo 19 NI 16 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 58 | Ab | 558 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 1 T 8 TA DA .B pu-ro , pa-wo-ke MUL 4 ko-wa 2 ko-wo 1 NI 1 T 8 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|---------------|
| 59 | Ab | 573 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 5 T 1 DA TA .B pu-ro , mi-ra-ti-ja MUL 16 ko-wa 3 ko-wo 7 NI 5 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 60 | Ab | 575 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No pu-ro me-ki-to-ki-ri-ia MUL 1 ko-wo | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 61 | Ab | 578 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 2 T 4 TA .B pu-ro , pe-ki-ti-ra ₂ MUL 7 ko-wa 4 ko-wo 4 NI 2 T 4 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 62 | Ab | 586 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 7 T 7 DA TA .B pu-ro ke-re-za , ra-wi-ja-ja MUL 28 ko-wa 9 ko-wo (6) NI 7 T 7 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 63 | Ab | 745 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA T 5 .B pa-ke-te-ja , ri-ne-ja MUL 2 ko-wo 1 NI T 5 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 64 | Ab | 746 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA T 3 .B pa-ke-te-ja , ri-ne-ja MUL 2 ko-wa 1 NI T 3 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 65 | Ab | 789 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A pu-ro GRA 2 T 1 .B me-re-ti-ra ₂ MUL 6 ko-[wo] 6 ko-wo 3 NI 2 T 1 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 66 | Ab | 899 | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A GRA 2 T 2 .B pu-ro , o-pi-ro-qo MUL 8 ko-wa 3 ko-wo 3 NI 2 T 2 | LHIII B2 | Room 8 |
| 67 | Ab | 946 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [ko-wa] | LHIII B2 | x. 83, near to Room 7 |
| 68 | Ab | 978 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [4 ko-wo] | LHIII B2 | Room 8 |
| 69 | Ab | 1102 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |] ko-wa] | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 70 | Ae | 142 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | wi-ja-da-ra. [ke]-we-u ko-wo VIR 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|---------------|
| 71 | Ad | 290 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | re-u-ko-to-ro a-ke-ti-ra ₂ -o ko-wo VIR 2 ko-wo 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 72 | Ad | 295 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ke-e ri-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR 8 ko-wo 5 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 73 | Ad | 315, 1450 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro a-*64-ja-o ko-wo VIR[] 2 ko-wo 6 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 74 | Ad | 318, 420 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro . kel] . we-we-si-je-ja-o ko-wo VIR 7 ko-wo 7 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 75 | Ad | 326 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | re-u-ko-to-ro / ri-ne-ja-o a-*64-ja-o ko-wo VIR 3 ko-wo 9 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 76 | Ad | 357 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ne-we-wi-ja-o ko-wo VIR 6 o-pe-ro VIR 3 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|---------------|
| 77 | Ad | 380 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro [] ra-ti-[ja]-o a-ra-te-ja-o ko-wo 3 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 78 | Ad | 390, 696 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro ku-te-ra-o ko-wo [] VIR 22 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 79 | Ad | 663, 674 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | o-ti-ra ₂ -o ko-wo VIR[] 5 ko-wo 7 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 80 | Ad | 664 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo ze-pu ₂ -ra-o ko-wo ri-ne-ja-o VIR 4 ko-wo 3 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 81 | Ad | 666 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro. a-ke-ti-ra ₂ -o ko-wo VIR 20 ko-wo 7 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|------------|
| 82 | Ad | 667 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro ra-qi-ti-ra ₂ -o ko-wo VIR 2 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 7, 8 |
| 83 | Ad | 668 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | re-u-ko-to-ro ki-ma-ra-o ko-wo VIR 4 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 84 | Ad | 669 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | re-u-ko-to-ro . no-ri-wo-ko-jo ko-wo VIR 5 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 85 | Ad | 670 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-u-de-we-ro ri-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR 4 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 86 | Ad | 671 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o-qe o VIR (5) .B pu-ro . a-pu-ko-wo-ko]pa-ke-te-ja-o-qe VIR (11) ko-wo (6) | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 87 | Ad | 672 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | e-pi-ko-e-ri-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR 4 ko-wo 3 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|------------|
| 88 | Ad | 675 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [(pu)-(ro)ki]si-wi-ja-o-o-nu-(ke)-(ja)-o ko-wo VIR 3 ko-wo 5 | LHIII B2 | x. 83 spot |
| 89 | Ad | 676 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo ko-wo VIR 22 ko-wo 11 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 90 | Ad | 677 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro a-ra-ka-te-ja-o ko-wo VIR 30 ko-wo 9 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 91 | Ad | 678 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | po-to-ro-wo-pi ri-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR ko-wo 1 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 92 | Ad | 679 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A ka-pa-ra ₂ -do .B pu-ro ku-te-ra-o ko-wo VIR 6 [o-pe-ro] | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------------------|-------|
| 93 | Ad | 680 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A pu-ro .B ko-ro-ki-ja-o ko-wo VIR 5 | LHIII B2 Room 7 | |
| 94 | Ad | 683 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No pu-ro ki-mi-di-ja-o ko-wo VIR 5 ko-wo 4 | LHIII B2 Room 7 | |
| 95 | Ad | 684 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | upper: a-pu-ne-we e-re-ta-o (ko)-wo pu-ro ti-mwa-ti-ja-o i-te-ja-o ko-wo VIR 5 ko-wo 2 | LHIII B2 Room 7 | |
| 96 | Ad | 685 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | o-wi-to-no to-sa-me-(ja)-o ko-wo VIR 3 ko-wo | LHIII B2 Room 7 | |
| 97 | Ad | 686 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-[ka-wo-ta-ral](po)-(ro) .B pu-ro ke-re-za , ra-wi-ja-ja-o] [ko-wo VIR 15 | LHIII B2 Room 7 | |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|--|----------|-----------------|
| 98 | Ad | 688 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ne-wo-pe-o ko-wo VIR 4 ko-wo 2 | LHIII B2 | me-wo Room 7 |
| 99 | Ad | 689 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A-a-so-qil ja .B pu-ro mi-ra-ti-ja-o ko-wo VIR 2 ko-wo | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 100 | Ad | 690 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro a-pi-ro ko-wo VIR 10 ko-wo 4 o VIR 3 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 101 | Ad | 691 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A e-ke-ro-qo-no-qe . pa-wo-ko-qe .B pu-ro o-pi-ro-qo ko-wo VIR 9 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 102 | Ad | 694 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pe-ki-ti-ra ₂ -o ko-wo VIR 4 ko-wo 3 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 103 | Ad | 697 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A e-rel qe-ro-me-no .B da-mi-ni-jal (ti)-me-ja-o ko-wo VIR | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|---------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|---------------|
| 104 | Ad | 700 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | jo ko-wo VIR (2) ko-wo 10 I | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 105 | Ad | 921 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | ko-ri-to / te-pe-ja-o ko-wo VIR 10 ko-wo 1 | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 106 | Ae | 1014 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No |] ja ko-wo 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 107 | Ae | 344 | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | pi-(ro)-(wo)-na . wi-do-(wo)-i-jo . i-ju VIR 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 108 | An | 199 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 e-ke-ro-qo-no VIR 12 ko-wo I .2 a-ro-po VIR 3 ko-wo I | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 109 | An | 261. 283. 857 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) a-pi-jo-to . ke-ro-si-ja . a-ra-i-jo VIR 1 (...) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|---------------|
| 110 | An | 5 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 e-ta-je-u , te-ko-to-a-pe VIR I .2 wi-do-wo-i-jo , te-ko-to-a-pe VIR I (...) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 111 | An | 292 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1 si-to-ko-wo .2 ka-pa-ra ₂ -de MUL 24 ko-wo 10 .3 ko-ro-ki-ja MUL 8 ko-wo .4 ki-mi-di-] 21 (ko) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 112 | An | 519 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .3 ki-ri-ja-i-jo , wa-tu-wa-o-ko , mu-to-na (...) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 113 | An | 607 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | .1a-ja .1b me-ta-pa , ke-ri-mi-ja , do-qe-ja , ki-ri-te-wi- .2 do-qe-ja , do-e-ro , pa-te , ma-te-de , ku-te-re-u-(pi) .3 MUL 6 do-qe-ja , do-e-ra , e-qe-ta-i , e-e-to (...) | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 114 | An | 614, 1124 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .4](ku)-(ra)-i-jo VIR II (...) | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|-------|----------|--|----------|------------------------|
| 115 | An | 654 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .8 a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo , e-te-wo-ke-re-we- .9 i-jo , (...) | LHIII B2 | x. 83 spot |
| 116 | An | 656 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .6 pe-re-go-ni-jo , a-re-i-jo , .7 ne-wo-ki-to , wo-wi-ja , ko-ru-ku-ra-i-jo , (...) .15 u-wa-si , ke-ki-de , ne-wo VIR 10 | LHIII B2 | ne-wo Room 7 |
| 117 | An | 661 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .2 a-ti-(ro)-[] , i-da-i-jo , e-se-re-a ₂ (...) | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 118 | An | 943 | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No (...) | .2] 2 a-ni-ni-(so) [.3] MUL 15 tu[| LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 119 | An | 1060 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .15]re-[]-(si)-(jo)[VIR]-ka-i-jo VIR [1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|--------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|----------|--|----------|---------------|
| 120 | Aq | 218 | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .16 qo-te-wo . i-ju ZE 1 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 121 | Cn | 599 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .5 a ₂ -pa-tu-wo-te . pa-ro . a-wo-i-jo . CAPF 50 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 95, 99 |
| 122 | Ea | 421 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .1 ra-wa-ke-si-jo-jo .2]le-i-jo . a-mo-te-wo . ko GRA 1 T (4) V 2 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 123 | Ab | 564, 1105 | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | pu-ro a-ke-ti-ra ₂ MUL[ko-]wa 3(4)] | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 124 | AnXn | 615, 1139 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | .18]i-jo]] vacat | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes | |
|-----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|----------|--|----------|---------------|--|
| 125 | On | 300. | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) | | LHIII B2 | Archives Room | |
| | | 375. | | | | | | | | | | | | .5 [ko-re-te *754 3] *154] | | | |
| | | 275 | | | | | | | | | | | | (...) 1 e-ra-te-i-jo *154 3 | | | |
| 126 | Na | 543 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A. e-ko-si .B ka-ra-do-ro , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo SA 30 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room | |
| | | Xn | 279 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 127 | Ad | 289. | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | [e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja] ri-ne-ja-o ko [-wo] VIR | LHIII B2 | Archives Room | |
| | | 681. 687 | | | | | | | | | | | | 7 ko-wo 3 | | | |
| 128 | Mb | 1365. | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | [ke-do-jo-nol] [i-jo *146 4] | LHIII B2 | S-W Building | |
| | | 1386 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 129 | Ep | 539 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | .12 wi-dwo-i-jo . a-pi-me-de-o . do-(e)]]. o-na-to . e-ke . ke-ke-me-na . ko-to-na (...) | | | |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|----------------------|
| 130 | Fn | 187 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .2 po-si-da-i-jo-de HORD] NI T 1 (...) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 131 | Fr | 1202 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | .A , pa-ko-we V 4 .B me-tu-wo (.) ne-wo , ma-te-re , te-i-ja OLE+PA 5 S 1 | LHIII B2 | ne-wo Room 23 (?) |
| 132 | Cn | 202 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | (...) .2]me-wi-jo , o-ki-ri-so OVISm 80 | LHIII B2 | Rooms 95, 99 |
| 133 | Jn | 415 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .3 wi-du-wo-i-jo AES M 5 ke-ti-ro AES M 5 (...) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 134 | Jn | 431, 435 | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | .1 a-pe-ke-i-jo , ka-ke-we , ta-ra-sil (...) .6 qa-si-re-u , a-pi-qo-ta I [(i)-ju-qe I (...) | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|----------|---------------|
| 135 | Jn | 725 | No | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | (...) .8 ko-ma-do-ro I [po-so-ra-ko I] wa-ti-ko-ro I i-ju-qe I (...) | LHIII B2 | Room 7 |
| 136 | Jn | 937 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .1[(me)-no . ka-ke-we . ta-ra-si-ja . I .2] N 2 we-ke-i-joI | LHIII B2 | ? |
| 137 | Na | 396 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A (e)-ko-si .B wo-no-qe-wa , ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo SA 30 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 138 | Na | 516 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | .A [e-ko-si] .B [ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo SA 10 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |
| 139 | Na | 577 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | ke-i-jo , SA 14 | LHIII B2 | Archives Room |

| ID | Serie | No. | ko-wa | ko-wo | tu-ka-te | ki-ra | i-jo | ju? | tu | me-wi-jo | me-zo | pa-te | ma-te | Inscription | Dating | Notes |
|-----|-------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|----|----------|-------|-------|--|---|------------------|--------------|
| 140 | Aq | 64 | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) .7b pe-ri-me-de-o i-(u), po-so-ri-jo-no , te-ra-ni-ja , a-ke-re-se , to-to-we-to , *171 I(2) (...) .15 ne-ge-u , e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo, to-to, we-to , o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 I | LH IIIB2 | Rooms 99, 95 |
| 141 | Ub | 1315 | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) .3b ne-wa (.) a-ni-ja , a-ra-pu-ke , 5 dwo 2 a-pu-ke 9 a-ni-ja-e-e-ro-pa-jo-qo-(ro)-(sa) | LH IIIB2 | ne-wa Room 99 | |
| 142 | Un | 718 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) .4 tu-ro2 , TURO2 10 ko-wo , *153 I | LH IIIB2 | Room 7 | |
| 143 | Vn | 851, 914 | No | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No (...) .14 I]ra-i-jo I | LH IIIB2 | Rooms 2, 8 | |
| 144 | Xa | 1443 | No | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No | No]ko-wo I | LH IIIB2 | Rooms 71, 72 | |