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Writing in Late Bronze Age Thera. An overview of the development of writing practices, *stricto sensu* and *lato sensu*, during the Minoan cultural expansion of the 2nd millennium BC

ABSTRACT

The art of writing may be considered one of the most extraordinary technologies ever born from the human mind. Historically, the process of the invention of writing is considered to be concluded when the understanding comes that not only can the graphic traces which express, fix and transmit the ideas and feelings of an individual existence be transcribed, but also that these very ideas and feelings may have a name made up of sounds and that these sounds can be represented graphically. In Minoan Crete, such a salient transition from “*homo loquens*” to “*homo scribens*” took place in the 2nd millennium BC, when the island became the birthplace of what are thought to be “the most ancient writing systems in Europe”. As regards Linear A, this script extended beyond Crete, as the cultural expansion of the Minoan civilization spread into the Aegean basin, as far as the Peloponnese and the Syro-Palestinian coast.

This study therefore intends to focus on the relations between Crete and Thera suggested by the written evidence. In the light of new first-hand examinations and an overall revision of the currently available documentation, special attention is paid to the Theran epigraphic evidence of Linear A. Further observations on the mason’s marks found in Akrotiri are also provided.

KEYWORDS: Linear A, Thera, Akrotiri, Minoan mason’s marks, writing, ancient scripts

1.1. LINEAR A INSCRIPTIONS FROM THERA. THE *CORPUS*

The Theran *corpus* of Linear A comprises the inscriptions discovered on the island, almost entirely at Akrotiri, the city buried under a thick layer of volcanic material by a catastrophic eruption in the Late Bronze Age (LM IA / LC I). These are listed and transnumerated in Tables 1 and 2.¹

* I wish to thank the Organizing and Scientific Committee for giving me the opportunity to discuss a topic particularly dear to me. In order to remain within the time limit allotted to authors, I shall focus especially on those aspects which I consider most relevant to the general theme of this Congress Section. I have included a minimal bibliography, which the reader may consult for further reference. The results of a more comprehensive study will be included in a forthcoming monograph, and I wish to thank the Prehistoric Museum of Firà and the French School at Athens for allowing me to make a first-hand examination of the material, and also the Ventris Foundation for funding my research. I likewise wish to thank Artemis Karnava for her support. I am particularly grateful to Christos Doumas for his patience and generous help and to Louis Godart for his invaluable advice.

¹ The last two, in particular, have been considered “*documents douteux*” and their eventual inclusion in the *corpus* of

2 ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΙΒ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΚΡΗΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ

Tab. 1. Linear A inscriptions from Thera			
<i>Nomenclature</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Find-spot</i>	<i>Text</i>
THE Zb 1	<i>pithos</i> rim fragment	Potamos	AB 41-30-81[
THE Zb 2	jug	Akrotiri, Complex Δ, room Δ4	AB 08-27-31-06
THE Zb 3	jug	Akrotiri, Complex Δ	AB 08-24 [[]]
THE Zb 4*	<i>pithos</i> lid fragment	Akrotiri, Arvaniti 1, Sector Alpha] AB 08-27[
THE Zg 5**	<i>ostrakon</i>	Akrotiri	.1] AB 80 40 AB 50 5 [.2] AB 120 7 AB 20 9 AB 59 4[
THE Zb 6	<i>pithos</i> of non-local manufacture	Akrotiri, <i>House of the Ladies</i> , room 9, light-well	AB 08-59-06-46
THE 7-12	fragments of clay tablets	Complex Δ, room Δ18α	
THE 7a			<i>sup. mut.</i> .1] <i>vacat</i> .2] <i>vacat</i> .3] 4[.4] AB 21 ^f 46 .3 considering the distribution of numerical entries, possibly 6 or 7
THE 7b			<i>sup. mut.</i> .1 <i>vacat</i> [.2 40[
THE 8			<i>sup. mut.</i> .1] <i>vest.</i> [.2]A 702-707 .3] A 536bis200[.4] <i>vest.</i> [<i>inf. mut.</i>
THE 9]AB 69., AB 04-08-31-09[
THE 10] [•]-AB 67 [
THE 11]A 302[
THE 12]A 302[

* 27[is barely visible. Alternatively, AB 31 is not excluded (*GORILA* IV, 105). On the *verso*, a cruciform sign, such as those frequently seen on pottery, is visible.

** .2 AB 120 (difficult reading) appears more likely than, alternatively, 171.

Linear A is under discussion. These doubts have so far led to “some degree of inconsistency in nomenclature” – “THE Zb 14” cf. “THE Fr.”, “THE Zb 15” cf. “THE Zb 14” (Del Frio – Zurbach 2011, 93). See more below n. 5 and § 2.

Tab. 2 Documents of difficult interpretation

<i>Nomenclature</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Find-spot</i>	<i>Tentative Transumerations</i>
THE Zb 13	<i>pithos</i> rim fragment	Akrotiri, Trench 64A, to the south of <i>Xeste</i> 2	[•] A 588 [[120]] 100 AB 08-41-[[••04]]
THE Zb 14*	oval-mouthed amphora fragment	Akrotiri, Complex Δ, room Δ3	A 318-AB 41
THE Zb 15**	<i>lychnos</i>	Akrotiri	AB 27-[••]

* As regards the uncertain identification of one of these two signs incised after firing, a new first-hand examination now allows me to express a definite preference for a comparison with AB 41. In perfect lighting conditions this sign clearly shows a trident shape, whose middle horizontal traits appear still visible, particularly the one on the left.

** Several signs are visible on the *lychnos* base. “Only the first sign might find a reliable parallel within signs of writing” (Tzachili – Karnava 2016, 34). AB 27 seems to provide a closer parallel to it rather than alternatively AB 09. The others are of very doubtful interpretation, apparently no more than mere scratches or a sort of “*probatio calami*” cf. HT 97b (TMT p. 91). For further discussion see Tzachili – Karnava 2016, 33-37.

1.2. LINEAR A INSCRIPTIONS FROM THERA. AN OVERVIEW

As is unfortunately not infrequent in Linear A, the words included in the Theran *corpus* are unparalleled. Naturally without going into the question of readability and the unknown language underlying the texts, which goes beyond the scope of this study, we may observe the presence of AB 08- and AB 08-27- in initial position, on, for example, the so-called “Aresana vessel” (THE Zb 2), a famous inscribed jug well-known for having awoken in Marinatos’s mind the image of the mythical figure of Ariadne.²

Another inscription that has attracted attention is THE Zb 6 (Boulotis 2008, 69-71). This is the only one incised on a pithos of non-local manufacture, in all probability of Cretan origin. Although an intriguing similarity with the Mycenaean and Homeric evidence may call to mind the figure of the goddess Athena and her relationship with the most famous Greek city,³ the complexity of the subject would take us too far afield,⁴ and in any case it is difficult to say whether the Theran

² Naturally, leaving aside this wishful thinking, we may observe that when having to do with inscriptions made up of one single word it would seem licit – at least in theory – to postulate the presence of onomastic material. However, this might not be the only possible scenario. As regards place names, it is interesting to recall in particular the identification of a Cretan toponym through a comparison between Linear A and Linear B – AB 58-67-53-04-28-57 (HT Zb 158b), cf. 58-67-53-59 (PH Wa 32) : *Myc. su-ki-ri-ta* (KN) cf. Σύβριτα.

³ Ἀθήναι / Ἀθᾶνα; Ἀθηναία / Ἀθαῖναία contracted Ἀθηνᾶ / Ἀθᾶνᾶ – Athānā *vel. sim.* (DELG s.v.l., Duhoux *Companion* vol. 2 2011, 16). As regards the unknown identification of the toponym – precisely in Attica but also elsewhere – it is worth remembering Duhoux’s comment: “Outside Attica, there were several towns called Ἀθῆναι in ancient Greece and historical PN can appear both in the singular and in the plural (e.g. the same town of Argolis is known as the singular Μυκῆνη and as the plural Μυκῆναι). A town Athānā (?) could thus well have existed in Mycenaean Crete” (Duhoux *Companion* vol. 1, 2008, 277-278). As for non-Greek place names showing -(ā)nā- : alf. Gr. -vā- cf. e.g. Μεσσᾶνᾶ, see García Ramón 2011, 241.

⁴ Without going deeper into this topic, we may just observe that the traces of some historical events might have been transfigured into myth, so perhaps we would have to turn our attention first of all towards the Cretan myth of the Minotaur, and Theseus, the Attic hero *par excellence*, who sets out from Athens – where a crucial part of the events is known to have begun – and finally kills the monster.

evidence has in fact any connection with such a complex picture.⁵ It therefore seems expedient, for now, to focus on the available objective data emerging from the *corpus* of Linear A. The word AB 08-59-06-46 may be compared with other evidence from Zakros – AB 08-59-06-[•] (ZA 9.4) and AB 08-59-06-04 (ZA 10a.2), but cf. also AB 59-06-04 (ZA 10a.1) –⁶ perhaps providing an interesting piece of new data, the presence of AB 46 in final position. In particular, the sematographic signs of ZA 9 suggest that this tablet records sheep, while ZA 10 comprises only syllabograms forming words followed by whole numbers and might therefore contain onomastic material, proper nouns or toponyms.⁷

The local clay tablets discovered at Akrotiri (Δ18α)⁸ obviously have special significance. A number of observations on three major and three minor fragments have already been formulated, starting with those contained in Boulotís's fundamental studies. A fresh scrutiny now provides us with an overall view of these texts (Tab. 1).⁹ Among the sematographic signs referring to commodities such as sheep and oil, a combination of signs, AB 54+09 = 536bis (*THE* 8.3), followed by a notable numerical entry, may enhance our knowledge of the wide use of ligatures in Linear A and show probable new written evidence on cloth designations,¹⁰ thus

⁵ Myc. *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (KN V 52.1) may be interpreted as /At^hānāspotniāi/, “To the Mistress of Athana” (cf. Ἀθῆναι), cf. Hom. πόντιν' Ἀθηναίην (*Il.* VI, 305). Of course, the epigraphic resemblance tempts us to draw a comparison with *THE* Zb 6, which could even suggest a “scandalous” linguistic coincidence assuming an – apparently – close parallel with the Greek *côté* – AB 08-59-06-46 cf. Athānaiā / Athēnaiē (!); but could *THE* Zb 6 actually provide an example of a pre-Greek theonym which might have been reinterpreted in Greek? (As regards questions of linguistic interference, see the extensive comment on KY Za 2, AR Zf 1, 2 by Negri in Facchetti – Negri 2003, 134-136.) Obviously, the Linear B values would have to be adopted in order to affirm such a coincidence, and this poses the question of readability at a first level of analysis. However, even adopting a “broad phonological transcription” (Negri 2017, 552), following the homography : homophony principle between Linear B and Linear A (as for the readability of AB 08, 59, 06 see Godart 2001, 150-152; *TMT*, 15), we would still be unsure of the identification of this word, as we would still have to face the ineliminable heuristic limits which unfortunately characterise this field of research and any study having to do with unknown and isolated languages. In practice, therefore, the possibility of adopting the etymological comparative method, or of collecting corroborative evidence through morphemic and semantic analysis, is to be ruled out. On the basis of currently available knowledge, it is therefore difficult to establish whether the pithos discovered in the House of the Ladies at Akrotiri carries a reference to a toponym, or to a divine figure (further archaeological evidence naturally being desirable in order to reconstruct its origin and function), and whether or not this reference could actually provide a missing link with the complex hypothetical framework which I have only touched upon here in passing.

⁶ Sign sequences such as 08-59- or -59-06- are variously and frequently attested in the *corpus* of Linear A, for example within long words which may provide clues to word formation (*TMT*, 256-257, 302-303). In short, given the current state of knowledge of the Minoan religious or cult sphere on the basis of epigraphic evidence, it should not be forgotten that only a few hypotheses of “identification”, such as that of a word possibly referring to a divine “receiver of offerings” and another word possibly traceable to the “semantic field of offering” have so far been tentatively advanced (AB 08-AB 59-AB 28-A 301-AB 54-AB 57, AB 57-31-31-60-13 and related variants – cf. also CHIC 042-019-019-095-052).

⁷ *TMT*, 201.

⁸ The discovery of Cretan sealings in the adjacent storeroom, Δ18β, provides further evidence concerning the cultural relations and transactions between Akrotiri and Crete (Karnava 2011, 87-91).

⁹ Linguistic observations naturally go beyond the scope of this paper, but it is still interesting to note that following recent examination, the identification of a few incomplete and doubtful signs (such as AB 69 and Q8) has led to the transnumeration of *THE* 9 (Tab. 1), where we may observe a word showing an interesting sign sequence. This is preceded by a separator (no other clearly visible traces of separators can be seen on this fragment).

¹⁰ Although no perfect correspondence has been identified for the Thera attestation, it is interesting to note that in Linear B *168 – a rectangular logogram which might be connected with the textile industry (KN Pp) – is attested ligatured with *SE*. In the *corpus* of Linear A a sematographic use of AB 54, similar in shape to Linear B *159 *TELA* “cloth”, is generally accepted. Ligatured with other signs, AB 54 has been clearly identified on HT 38.3 (AB 54+81 and

providing further epigraphical support to the picture already suggested by the archaeological data.¹¹

Despite the physical peculiarities of the support and the uncertain readings,¹² THE Zb 13 seems to affirm another interesting link between Thera and Crete. In fact, one of its more easily identifiable signs is a stylized ligatured wine logogram – A 588 (AB 131+04) – which may provide an epigraphical parallel with KN Zb 34.¹³ Whatever the precise meaning of this ligature may be, it is clear that we are in the presence here of some kind of qualification analogous to one used in Crete, which suggests an exchange of methodology and informative data. The reference to this commodity is accompanied by signs of more difficult interpretation, such as the peculiar recording of the amount, which might be the result of second thoughts or a correction.¹⁴ In any case, the quantity is noteworthy and naturally of special cultural interest, considering the well-known importance of wine in the Aegean world, particularly at Akrotiri, where considerable archaeological evidence has been collected (Doumas 2010, 758).

Unique among the inscribed materials so far discovered, a piece of a broken vessel which was reused as a support for an inscription incised after firing (THE Zg 5) suggests, more than any other, that “writing was practised locally, and possibly on all sorts of materials that were ready to hand” (Michailidou 1995, 19). As the scholar noticed, the single signs followed by whole-number entries are likely to have acrophonic values and might represent some commodities,

AB 54+A 312) followed by whole-number entries (2 and 1 respectively). The former is generally considered to provide a parallel with Linear B *tela+KU* and the latter perhaps with *tela+ZO* (for doubts concerning the attribution of HAR Zb 1 – possibly showing AB 54+04 cf. Linear B *tela+TE* – to the *corpus* of Linear A or Cretan Hieroglyphs, see Del Frio – Zurbach 2011, 86).

¹¹ Considerable archaeological evidence has been gathered in Akrotiri concerning the cloth industry, and the importance of this harbour town in the Aegean trading network must of course be borne in mind (Doumas 2010, 757; on the general topic of textile production see also in particular Militello 2014, Andersson – Nosch 2015 and the related bibliography).

¹² The first sign on the left is of difficult interpretation (Karnava and Nikolakopoulou – 2005, 220 – suggest AB 21). As explained by the Editors, it is not to be excluded that this first sign was incised at a later stage. Although we obviously cannot know for sure whether this was incised in order to provide further or different information, it is worth remembering that signs with sematographic values can precede wine logograms, such as AB 13 (ZA 15a.3), A 639 (PYR 1.2).

¹³ As regards wine logograms in Linear A and B see *TMT*, 17-18; see also in particular PYWr 1359.α (Wine Magazine, H. 13), CMS I 363, CMS Beiheft 6 2000 (see Palaima’s comment p. 230).

¹⁴ The ligature is followed by twelve horizontal strokes, which apparently could be none other than a numerical entry, and by another sign (the fourth from the left, counting these bars as one), which has justifiably been interpreted by the Editors as a syllabogram (Karnava – Nikolakopoulou 2005, 220). The peculiar *ductus* of this sign, a squared circle (a variant which might apparently be explained by the nature of the support) containing three small dots, has encouraged them to attempt an arduous comparison with AB 77 (cf. PH Wc 44), and so transnumerate the inscription as AB ‘21’ A ‘588’ 120AB 77-08-41-[[•_•_04]]. However, considering the physical characteristics of the signs, this inscription remains of very difficult interpretation. Since the fourth sign seems to show a closer resemblance to the numerical entry “10” – the dots being possibly irrelevant and not necessarily a constitutive part of this and other signs on this inscription – and the horizontal bars appear rather carelessly incised, lighter and in part erased, it does not seem impossible that the maker might have begun recording the quantity by using the bars, evidently with poor results, then corrected himself and traced a more canonical incision for the numeral 100. Whatever the truth behind such peculiar results, the amount(s) appears anyway notable and a secondary annotation seems likely. Other hypotheses have also been considered by Karnava – Nikolakopoulou (2005, 220-222). For a wider explanation, I take the liberty to refer the reader to my forthcoming volume and I wish to thank Louis Godart once again for having discussed this *punctum dolens* with me and for his valuable advice.

which she hypothesised as being again related to cloth. Without, of course, going deeper into her interpretations, two signs in particular seem to be relevant to this study. AB 80 (THE Zg 5.1) is naturally intriguing, as it is known that this sign may be found ligatured to form a monogram, AB 80+26, which closely resembles the Linear B monogram *145 for “wool”.¹⁵ However, we must admit that it is difficult to prove with confidence that the sign was actually used alone here as an abbreviation of this well-known ligature. As far as is known, no ulterior linguistic or epigraphical evidence has so far emerged to support with any certainty the interpretation of these signs based on what in any case remains a brilliant hypothesis. However, recent re-examination has encouraged the identification of one of these as AB 120 (THE Zg 5.2), thus suggesting the inclusion of this important cereal in the list of the commodities attested in the Theran *corpus of Linear A*.

As regards the specificity of the *corpus*, we might say – metaphorically speaking, of course – that the famous “freedom” and “distinctiveness” so often cited when describing the art and culture of the flourishing Theran culture, may have an epigraphic offshoot. Nevertheless, the Theran *corpus* clearly reflects a picture already noted in the Minoan world. No modifications were made to the writing system – on the contrary, in some cases, as emphasised above, we may even find that the Theran evidence may help to improve our knowledge of, for example, the use of ligatures or possible evolutionary paths of certain signs.

Besides the important local tablets – which we may call the “Boulotis tablets” – the Theran evidence consists of various objects incised before and after firing,¹⁶ mostly vessels, all of which are of local manufacture, except for one pithos (see above THE Zb 6). However, the absence of any historical records or direct evidence naturally prevents us from defining the relations between the various Minoan “*scriptoria*”, the manner and circumstances of learning and transmission of writing skills, especially outside Crete, or establish *if* – and to what extent – the Cretan administrations might have been involved.

From a palaeographic point of view – bearing in mind the final destruction of LM IA (/ LC I) – it is not surprising to see that the signs of the Theran *corpus* may be compared with sign variants attested throughout the Middle and Late Minoan periods. However, of special interest are those signs which seem to find closer comparisons with more chronologically and geographically circumscribed occurrences, such as the variant of AB 08 characterised by two parallel horizontal strokes (THE Zb 3), which appears immediately traceable to a well-noted variant group attested in the Late Minoan period,¹⁷ or an attestation of AB 06¹⁸ (THE Zb 6), which, while not appearing to have any exact parallel, seems to resemble later variant types cf. KN Zb 20 and 40.2.

¹⁵ On the basis of comparative epigraphic and linguistic evidence, a relation with Gr. μαλλός “tuft of wool” (Hsch. μάλλυκες· τρίχες) has been hypothesised and a word such as mod. Grk. μαλλί has been postulated to be an ancient loanword which might in fact have survived until today, with basically the same meaning and form (with the itacism *u>i*), beside terms which were probably more common in the Mycenaean and Greek world, such as the hereditary λήνος (cf. e.g. Lat. *lana*, Got. *wulla*) or Gr. ἔριον, εἶρος (Hom.); *TMT*, 281.

¹⁶ THE Zb 4, 14-15, THE Zg 5.

¹⁷ On the basis of currently available palaeographic knowledge, the Theran signs clearly date back to LM I and seem to even straddle the time of its demise.

¹⁸ The sign AB 06 is also attested in THE Zb 2, where it shows an interesting, slightly curved, third horizontal stroke.

2. FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE AKROTIRI MASON'S MARKS

The discovery at Akrotiri of a notable quantity of mason's marks – 54 incised blocks catalogued so far –¹⁹ provides further material for the investigation into the relations between Crete and Thera (Notti 2014). Their physical characteristics appear to be in line with the coeval Minoan evidence collected elsewhere. Measuring no more than “15 cm across in their widest dimension” (cf. Hood 2002, 102), they were typically cut on the larger (probably the upper) surface of ashlar blocks of tuff.

Considering that a sequence of two signs may form – *virtually* – an inscription, it might be tempting to compare two pairs of signs incised on two separate blocks (“block 001” and “020”) – respectively, a Λ -shaped sign and a branch, and a cross and Λ -shaped sign – with the signs used in the Linear A system of writing. With the former pair, we might think of a comparison with AB 37 and AB 27, while the latter might be compared with AB 02 and again AB 37 or alternatively with A 731.²⁰ It is intriguing to notice too that – at least at the mere level of shape type – we might compare the former with MI Zb 3, an inscription incised on a jug handle from Phylakopi (Second/Third City).²¹ Nevertheless, particular caution is required.²² In fact, up to now it has rarely been possible to confidently identify true inscriptions on analogous supports, such as MA Ze 11 or KN Ze 16. However, what is important to note is the particular interest of this evidence in the context of the development of the writing practice *lato sensu* and the cultural relations between Crete and its Aegean neighbours. The presence of mason's marks during the period of the diffusion of writing practices is unquestioned, and so is their relation to coeval Cretan scripts, at least in their shape. The same observation might in fact be extended to other minor instances of writing such as isolated signs or potter's marks, and these too are well-attested at Akrotiri (Michailidou 2002). These instances of so-called minor epigraphy are of particular significance not only in the study of palaeography, but also since they obviously reflect a certain degree of familiarity with writing – whatever the depth of such familiarity might have been – and writing appears to have been a distinctive feature in the context of cultural exchange in the Aegean region during the 2nd millennium BC.

¹⁹ Besides parallel lines occurring in groups of up to three marks (tot. 61), the Akrotiri mason's marks are generally attested singularly and show simple sign types – crosses (25), branches (5), Λ -shaped signs (2) and a trident.

²⁰ The elementary Λ -shaped sign might be compared also with 301 or a (rotated) A 707. A sequence of A 702 and 707 is recorded in THE 8.2 (cf. A 731, even if back-to-front).

²¹ This comparison which I suggest here for the first time – obviously, with due caution, and on the basis of mere shape resemblance – might perhaps provide a further comparative datum for a wider discussion of MI Zb 3, which has so far been considered unparalleled and included among the doubtful inscriptions (Del Frio – Zurbach 2011, 89). I wish to thank Susan Sherratt for sending me a beautiful photo of the inscription.

²² Most of the Akrotiri mason's marks are unfortunately erratic. Although we cannot go deeply into the question of their nature and function, in many cases it is clear that the same tool was used both to dress the stones and incise the signs on it. Several concentrations and analogies regarding possible relations between the signs and the physical characteristics of the blocks into which they were cut have been noticed. The tuff quarry has not yet been located. However, the hill where modern Akrotiri now stands would appear to be a likely candidate, due to its geology.

As for the general question of the functions of Minoan mason's marks, a thorough study on the Knossian evidence by Hood is now forthcoming and this will certainly provide a wider view and a fundamental frame of reference. I wish to thank him and Lisa Bendall for keeping me informed.

3. CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

At Akrotiri, the Cycladic evidence is known to be incontestable, being indicated by the deep soundings made throughout the site as far down as its most ancient roots in the mid-fifth millennium BC (Doumas 2010, 752). By the Late Bronze Age, though, all aspects of material culture, such as architecture, pottery, frescos and – significantly – writing show the strong influence of Minoan Crete. By the time of the so-called “Minoan Eruptio” (LM IA / LC I) “tangible and intangible” forms of culture had in fact already spread beyond Crete, and the presence of Linear A appears to be the particular hallmark of the profound cultural influence of Crete upon its neighbours. The Thera *corpus* of Linear A is particularly fruitful in the study of the relations between Thera and Crete. The presence of analogous writing habits allows us in fact to collocate Thera well within the “Minoan koiné”. The discovery of a considerable quantity of mason’s marks, along with other minor instances of writing, provides a further tool for the construction of a more general and consistent frame of reference.

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