

Notes on the Knossos L(2) tablets

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In memoriam J.-P. O.

I have previously suggested that *ko-pu-ra e-ni-qe* on several L(2) tablets at Knossos are the names of two male finishers of cloth, linked by the copulative *-k^we*, Gr. $-\tau\epsilon$.¹ In a forthcoming commentary Yves Duhoux questions this conclusion, on the grounds that *e-ni-qe* is regularly written smaller than *ko-pu-ra* and he therefore prefers John Chadwick's suggestion that the term is */eni k^we/*, Gr. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \tau\epsilon$, 'and there is among it'.²

I set out below all the texts and drawings of tablets classified as L(2).³

L(2)	593 + 5992 + 8587	(103)
.Aa] vac. []o-pe-te-wo-qe *161[
.Ab] vac. []si-ja, o-re-ne-a TELA ¹ [
.B	ko-]pu-ra, / e-ni-qe, pe-ne-we-ta *161 TELA ¹ 4 TUN +KI 2 TUN +KI[
.Aa	*161 doubtless adjunct to TELA ¹ in .Ab.	
.B	Slanting extra rule after TUN+KI 2 indicates that following entry belongs to .A.	



Fig. 1. KN L(2) 593.

¹ KILLEN & OLIVIER 1968, 120-121.

² *Docs*².

³ *CoMIK*; *KT*⁵. In *KT*⁶ all these texts and nearly all these critical notes are reproduced without change. There is one change of classification to be mentioned: **Xe 7857** is classed as L(2), which is difficult to accept, given that neither of its entries (*e-ta[-wo-ne(-u)]* and [LANA] P₂) is paralleled in the L(2) tablets.

- L(2) 647 + 2012 + 5943 + 5974 (103)
 .A] 'nu-wa-ja, pe TELA¹ [] TELA¹ 17 TUN +KI 3
 .B]ra, / e-ni-qe e-ra-pe-me-na 'nu-wa-ja' TELA¹ []-ra₂ TELA¹ 1

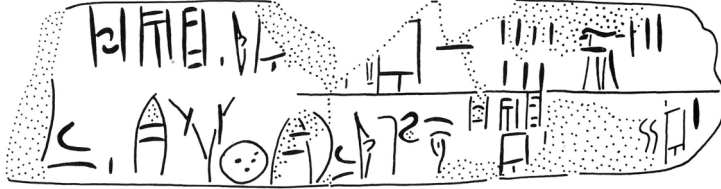


Fig. 2. KN L(2) 647.

- L(2) 5108 (103)
 .A] o-re-ne-ja *161 []
 .B] pe-ne-we-te []
*lat. inf. to-*sa TELA¹ 8 []
 .A Trace at right not incompatible with TELA[.

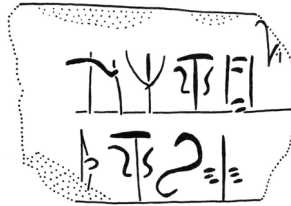


Fig. 3. KN L(2) 5108.

- L(2) 5909 + 5939 + 6007 (103)
 .1a]-ke-me-na, a-ro-za[]
 .1b]o-re-ne-ja []
 .2] 'a-ro-za' TELA^x 4 []
 .1a]ke-ke-me-na not impossible.
 .2 Traces at right.



Fig. 4. KN L(2) 5909.

L(2) 5910 + 5920

(103)

- .1] , e-ni-qe , nu-wa-i-ja , [
- .2] a 'a-ro₂-a' *161 TELA¹ 12 po[
- .1 Trace at right.



Fig. 5. KN L(2) 5910.

L(2) 5924 + 6000

(103)

- .A] zo-[
- .B] , e-ni-qe [
- .A Perhaps zo-ta[.
- .B Perhaps upright in the break at right.

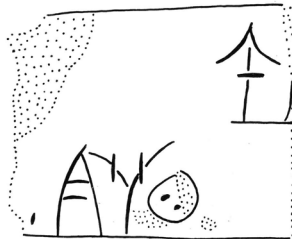


Fig. 6. KN L(2) 5924.

L(2) 5961

(103)

- .1] e-ni-qe[
- .2] TUN+KI 3[
- inf. mut.*
- .2 3[: probably at least 5[.

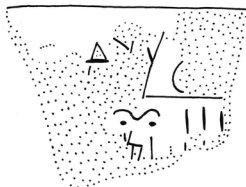


Fig. 7. KN L(2) 5961.

L(2) 5998

(103)

- .A pa-we-ǻ[
 .B ko-pu-ra, / e-ni[-qe

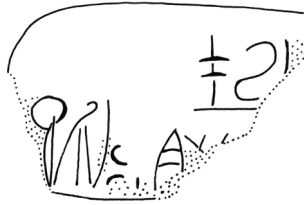


Fig. 8. KN L(2) 5998.

I begin by examining how easy it would be to follow Chadwick, and now Duhoux, in taking *e-ni-qe* as /*eni k^we/* ‘and there is among it’ in the contexts in which we find it. Taking *ko-pu-ra*, as I have done, as the name of the ‘owner’ of a finishing workshop, a first possibility would be to take the following *e-ni-qe*, if it means /*eni k^we/*, as referring to all the cloth which the tablet goes on to record: ‘K’s workshop: and there is among it (viz. the cloth which K. has finished): x CLOTH, y CLOTH.’ There is, however, a serious difficulty with this potential approach. If I am right in taking *ko-pu-ra* as the name of a textile workshop, this term will play the same role as many other terms standing at the beginnings of Knossos CLOTH records, viz. they identify the producers of the fabric. Alternatively, it might describe the type of the cloth (like e.g. *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* initially on L(7) 471) or its colour (like e.g. *po-pu-re-ja* initially on L(7) 474). Yet nowhere else, including on tablets in the same hand as the L(2) tablets (103) and on the L(7) records just mentioned, do we find *e-ni-qe*: this is only found on the L(2) tablets.

Another possible way of attempting to explain *e-ni-qe* if it were /*eni k^we/* would be, in cases where it stands on line B, to take it as referring to the cloth on the same line, which is noted as forming part of the cloth on line A. Thus: ‘CLOTH on l. A, and there is among it the CLOTH on l. B.’

However, if we take as an example L(2) 593, where the contents of both registers are reasonably clear, the problems with this approach are immediately evident:

L(2)	593 + 5992 + 8587	(103)
.Aa] vac. []o-pe-te-wo-qe *161[
.Ab] vac. []si-ja, o-re-ne-a TELA ¹ [
.B	ko-] pu-ra, / e-ni-qe, pe-ne-we-ta *161 TELA ¹ 4 TUN +KI 2 TUN +KI[
	.Aa *161 doubtless adjunct to TELA ¹ in .Ab.	
	.B Slanting extra rule after TUN+KI 2 indicates that following entry belongs to .A.	

The CLOTH on l. A is (*161) TELA qualified as]si-ja, quite likely *e-qe-si-ja*, a term which like others on the L(2) tablets appears on the Ld(1) 'store' records, and *o-re-ne-a*, plus an unknown number of chitons (TUN+KI). The fabric on l. B is *161 TELA qualified as *pe-ne-we-ta* plus two chitons (TUN +KI). It is clear from the Ld(1) 'store' records that *o-re-ne-a*/*o-re-ne-ja* and *pe-ne-we-ta* are mutually exclusive descriptions of cloth: though both are attested in the series, neither is found on the same tablet as the other. It follows therefore that the *o-re-ne-a* cloth on L(2) 593.A cannot have included any *pe-ne-we-ta* fabric, and hence that *e-ni-qe* before *pe-ne-we-ta* on L(2) 593.B cannot mean /eni k^we/ and indicate that the *pe-ne-we-ta* cloth on l. B is part of the *o-re-ne-a* cloth on l. A.

There is also a further obstacle to this line of approach: that there is clear evidence on L(2) 593 that, as on many tablets of the .A.B (and .a.b) type, line B was the first to be written and line A the second. This is confirmed in this instance by the entries at the end of line B which involve two entries of TUN + KI. As we note in the critical apparatus,⁴ the second entry is separated from the first by a slanting stroke which shows that this second entry belongs to line .A: which in turn shows that line A must have been written after line B. And if line A was written after line B it is difficult to see how *e-ni-qe* on l. B can mean 'and there is in it' and refer to cloth yet to be recorded on l. A.

It is difficult, then, to believe that *e-ni-qe* can mean 'and there is in it'. But what of the alternative proposal, that *ko-pu-ra* and *e-ni* are two personal names linked by the copulative *-qe*, *-k^we*, *Gr.* -τεε?

1. First, we do have parallels on the CLOTH records at Knossos, including on records in Hand 103, for two men's names linked by the copulative *-qe*. One group of parallels is on As(1) 602 and

⁴ And previously in KILLEN & OLIVIER 1968, 121.

As(1) 605, where we find such entries as *ka-nu-se-u ta-to-qe* VIR 2 TELA¹ 1 [(see **As(1) 602.3**). The situation here is rather different, however: the pair of men on the **L(2)** tablets, if this is what *ko-pu-ra e-ni-qe* are, form a whole workgroup, involved with a large number of cloths, whereas the men on the **As(1)** tablets are pairs of individuals each dealing with a single cloth (except for two entries on **As(1) 602.1.2**, where the MAN : CLOTH ratio is 1 : 1).

A second set of parallels is on **L 588**, the first two lines of which read as follows:

1. i-ku-tu-re , ru-si-qe , a-pa-i-ti-jo , ze-me-qe[
2. a-qo-ta , TELA § zo-ta-qe , TELA¹ 13 [

On line 1, two pairs of men, each linked by *-qe*, are listed, while *a-qo-ta zo-ta-qe* on l. 2 may be a further such linked pair, though we cannot exclude the possibility that *a-qo-ta* and *zo-ta* are the names of the fabrics whose ideograms follow each term (with *zo-ta-qe* here, compare *zo-*[, perhaps *zo-ṭa*[, on **L(2) 5924.A**). Whichever is the correct explanation, however, it seems clear that we have evidence here for pairs of men associated with more than a single cloth: **L 588.2** records a total of 21 cloths, but a maximum of six (possibly only four) men.

2. There is clear evidence on several tablets that *ko-pu-ra* and *e-ni-qe* are intended to be taken as separate from the text on the rest of the tablet, to their right. On **L(2) 593**, for instance, *ko-]pu-ra e-ni-qe* stands in an otherwise blank space at the beginning of the tablet and before the dividing line that separates lines A and B. In addition, while *ko-]pu-ra* is written (slightly) larger than *e-ni-qe*, *e-ni-qe* is in turn written larger than any of the text that follows it. On **L(2) 647**, again, while *e-ni-qe* is slightly smaller than the surviving *ra* of *ko-pu-ra*, it is again larger than the *e-ra-pe-me-na*, etc. following it, and again stands to the left of the beginning of the .A.B dividing line. On **L(2) 5924**, again, *e-ni-qe* stands to the left of the beginning of the .A.B dividing line. Clearly, given this evidence, it is attractive to conclude that *ko-pu-ra* and *e-ni-qe* should be taken together, and as forming the heading of each of the tablets on which they are found.

3. As I noted in my discussion of the newly-joined L(2) 593,⁵ further evidence to support the conclusion that *ko-pu-ra e-ni-qe* are the names of two men linked by the copulative *-k^we* is provided by line .Aa of 593, which begins as preserved with the term]*o-pe-te-wo-qe* written small above the CLOTH entry on the register and perhaps therefore forming (part of?) a gloss. Since it is difficult to doubt that *o-pe-te-wo* is genitive of a man's name in *-eus* (whose dative *o-pe-te-we* appears on So 4447), it is also difficult to doubt that *o.* stands in parallel to *e-ni-qe*: that either this is the second element in a second pair of names on the tablet, or that it is to be construed with *ko-pu-ra e-ni-qe*: K. and E. and O. It is true that while *ko-pu-ra* and *e-ni* are nominatives, *o.* is a genitive. But there are plenty of parallels for the names of 'owners' of textile workshops being quoted in the genitive at the beginning of the relevant record. See e.g. Lc(2) 504]*ku-ru-so-no*, Lc(1) 551 *e-me-si-jo-jo*, Lc(2) 7377]*wę-ri-jo-jo*, Lc(1) 7392 *we-]we-si-jo-jo*, Ld(1) 598 *wi-jo-ęo-ta-o*.
4. The final question remains, however: why, if *ko-pu-ra e-ni-qe* is a pair of (men's) names linked by the copulative *-k^we*, is *e-ni-qe* regularly written smaller than *ko-pu-ra*? It is this difference, as we have seen, that has led Duhoux to question my explanation of *ko-pu-ra e-ni-qe* as two men's names.

The first point to make is that the difference in size between *ko-pu-ra* and *e-ni-qe* is relatively small, though large enough for Jean-Pierre Olivier and I to have marked it with a forward slash in the relevant texts.⁶ It is also the case, as we have seen earlier, that *e-ni-qe*, though smaller than *ko-pu-ra*, is itself regularly written larger than the rest of the inscription on the tablet.

But how are we to explain the change of size of signs between *ko-pu-ra* and *e-ni-qe*? Two possibilities come to mind. The first is that it reflects the relative status of the two individuals: that *ko-pu-ra*, who is always named first, was as it were the 'senior partner,' and as such is given preferential treatment as far as the size of the signs in which his name was written is concerned. Alternatively, and this is the view to which I would incline myself, the

⁵ KILLEN & OLIVIER 1968, 120.

⁶ See CoMIK; KT⁵.

diminution in the size of signs in which *e-ni-qe* is written may be due to an (unconscious?) anticipation by the scribe of the smaller signs which he will be writing in the latter part of the inscription.

II

There is evidence to suggest that the cloth on the **L(2)** tablets includes fabric of high quality. Some of the epithets used to qualify it are also found on the **Ld(1)** 'store' records, including – probably – *e-qe-si-ja* (**L(2)** 593.Ab), which given its association with the high-ranking *e-qe-ta* is unlikely to have been an inferior fabric. Indeed, on three of the four occasions on which *e-qe-si-ja* occurs on the **Ld(1)** tablets the cloth being recorded is explicitly described as *a-ro₂-a* 'of better quality,' a term which also appears on the **L(2)** tablets, on **L(2)** 5910.2. Again, if I am right in interpreting *nu-wa-(i-)ja* on **L(2)** 647, **L(2)** 5910 as 'cloth for bridewealth' i.e. for purchasing a bride,⁷ this also is unlikely to be cloth of inferior quality.

Against this background, it is attractive to wonder whether]-*ra₂* on **L(2)** 647.B might be *po-pu*]-*ra₂* 'purple.' 'Purple' is the only term on Knossos textile records which is spelt with a final *-ro₂* or *-ra₂*: see *po-pu-ro₂* of two units of TELA+PU on **L** 758. Moreover, there is room enough in the space before *-ra₂* to accommodate *po-pu*. It cannot be objected to this restoration that the entry which follows *-ra₂* concerns one unit of TELA, which we would normally expect to be preceded by *-ro₂*, agreeing with *pa-wo*. But we have a parallel elsewhere in the CLOTH records for a neuter plural instead of an expected neuter singular. On **Ld(1)** 587, after four entries involving multiple amounts of TELA qualified by terms in *-Ca*, we have an entry involving a single TELA which is again preceded by a term in *-Ca*, *po-ri-wa* 'grey' (neut. plur.): presumably because the scribe, having been dealing with neuter plurals in the previous entries, has continued with one here. There are three, possibly four, terms in *-Ca* qualifying TELA in the entries preceding]-*ra₂* TELA on **L(2)** 647: is the *-ra₂* due to the same phenomenon here as we find on **Ld(1)** 587, viz. the scribe continuing with a neuter plural after those he has written earlier, even though the entry only involves a single TELA?

⁷ KILLEN 1986, 281–284.

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