



“CROSSING THE WINE-DARK SEA” FROM KNOSSOS TO MEMPHIS: HELLENIZED CRETANS IN EGYPT IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (BM EA 5647)

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a new onomastic study of the non-Egyptian names inscribed on writing board BM EA5647, which we redate to Amenhotep II's reign. Among the four school exercises recorded on this tablet, one on the recto appears to be a practice in writing complex foreign names, specifically the seven “names of Crete.” Somewhat curiously, analyses of these names have thus far focused more on presumed linguistic links with the Near Eastern (Akkadian and West Semitic) and Anatolian (Hurrian and Cilician) worlds, rather than with Aegean onomastics. Therefore, we explore the possibility of potential correspondences with Linear B and Ancient Greek names. Among several possibilities, we have found in particular: Exantheus (*e-ka-sa-te-u*), Eusorus (*e-sa-ro*) (second choice), Nasios (*na-si-jo*), Axius (**e-ka-sa*), Eudemus (*e-u-da-mo*), Panaretos (**pa-na-re-ta*) and Lysis (*ru-si*). On the verso, the short wine accounting from the Memphite harbor Haynefer mentions also two Aegean beneficiaries, Leonnatus (**re-wo-ni-te-u*) and Didyme (*di-du-me*), and it may be evidence of the development of a wine trade between Egypt and Crete in Late Minoan II times. We argue that this document is the earliest written evidence of Greek names in history, one or two decades before the first Linear B archive deposits at Knossos.

We boarded, sailed out from broad Crete,
running on before a strong wind out of the
north, lightly, as though downstream [...]. On
the fifth day we reached Egypt's fine-flowing
stream and in that Egyptian river I anchored
my curved vessels.

—Homer, *Odyssey*, XIV, 258¹

owing to its role as an administrative capital under the Thutmosid dynasty.² Open to the Mediterranean and the Near East, this cosmopolitan urban center welcomed sailors, merchants, and emissaries from across the known world.

Among these foreigners, those from the distant island of Crete stood out, as its emissaries traveled to the Memphite court to pay homage to the supreme power of the pharaoh in the aftermath of military campaigns conducted in the Levant during the autonomous reign of Thutmose III and that of Amenhotep II.³ In the very dockyards of Memphis, at Perunefer,⁴ Cretan-type ships were undergoing

INTRODUCTION

A CROSSROADS OF WORLDS

During the second half of the 15th century BCE [*as conventionally calculated by some—Eds.*], Memphis experienced a period of significant prosperity,

repairs in year 51 of Thutmose III's reign, while a few years later, Amenhotep II bestowed similar vessels upon his foster brother, Qenamun, the superintendent of Perunefer.⁵

Another well-known document—the writing board BM EA5647—provides indirect evidence of these Cretans who, like Odysseus, crossed the "wine-dark sea"⁶ from the island of Minos to the Nile Delta⁷ and went on to spend some time in the Memphite region during the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.

A CURIOUS STATE OF AFFAIRS

Acquired by the British Museum during the 19th century CE, writing board BM EA5647⁸ is a wooden tablet inscribed in hieratic with black ink on both sides. With a heading on the first line of the recto stating "Making names of Crete" (*jr.t rn.w n[y.w] kftjw*), this document has naturally been often discussed in studies on Aegean-Egyptian relationships during the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁹ However, somewhat curiously, studies on these names have thus far focused more on the presumed linguistic links with Near Eastern worlds (Hurrian, Akkadian, and West Semitic), such as those by M. C. Astour and T. Schneider,¹⁰ and even Anatolian (Cilician) connections, such as those by G. A. Wainwright,¹¹ rather than with Aegean onomastics—despite the tangible traces preserved in Linear A and B.¹² It appears that only H. W. Helck has addressed the possibility that some personal names may be those mentioned in Linear A documentation,¹³ although he was unable to provide satisfactory readings.¹⁴ To our knowledge, no scholar has attempted to relate these personal names to those attested in the documentation inscribed in Linear B, which records an archaic form of Ancient Greek. Only D. B. Redford, in two brief lines, suggests correspondences for seven names with personal names in Ancient Greek, which we will revisit.¹⁵

This situation, which may seem strange today, is due to two chronological factors pertaining to distinct disciplinary backgrounds among the scholars of Mediterranean antiquity: Egyptian epigraphy and Minoan archaeology.¹⁶ On the one hand, after an initial preliminary dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty by W. Spiegelberg,¹⁷ the writing board was ultimately dated by T. E. Peet to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, with the reign of Thutmose III serving as a *terminus ad quem*,¹⁸ corresponding to the Late Minoan (LM) IB period in Crete, where a bureaucracy using Linear A persisted. On the other hand, until the late 1990s, it

has generally been assumed that the entire Linear B archive from Knossos belongs to either the LM IIIA2 period or the subsequent LM IIIB period,¹⁹ contemporaneous with the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the very early Twentieth Dynasty.

With such a chronological gap of one to two centuries between the dating of the writing board and that of the Knossos archives, Egyptologists and Aegeanists have thus far completely dismissed the possibility of a connection to Linear B.²⁰ However, these two dating ranges now need to be reassessed. On the one hand, since the 1990s, J. Driessen has questioned the "unity of the Knossos archives", and his work has highlighted the existence of successive deposits of Linear B tablets in different locations of the palace,²¹ particularly the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT), dated as early as the end of the LM II period (c. 1400 BCE),²² and the North Entrance Passage (NEP), dated to the end of the LM IIIA2 Early period (c. 1340 BCE),²³ which are contemporaneous with the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁴ On the other hand, our brief re-examination of the palaeographic dating of the hieratic signs of the writing board²⁵ would suggest slightly lowering its date to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty,²⁶ corresponding to the LM II–IIIA2 Early period.

This possible relative contemporaneity between the writing board written in hieratic and the first batches of clay tablets from the Knossos palace inscribed in Linear B, which precede by a few generations the archives known from mainland Greece (e.g., Mycenae, Ayios Vasileios, Thebes, and Pylos),²⁷ has encouraged us to propose a new onomastic analysis in search of potential correspondences in Linear B or Ancient Greek.

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLITERATION, AND TRANSLATION

The high-quality photographs available on the British Museum's website make it unnecessary to produce a facsimile.²⁸ We first provide a transcription of the text in standardized hieroglyphs (FIGS. 1–2).

With only a single verb at the beginning of the recto, it is quite difficult to provide a continuous translation of this text, which consists of only one true sentence. Consequently, we have chosen to present the transliteration and translation in tabular form, both for the recto (FIG. 3) and the verso (FIG. 4), organized according to the reading direction of English (from left to right). For readers who are not

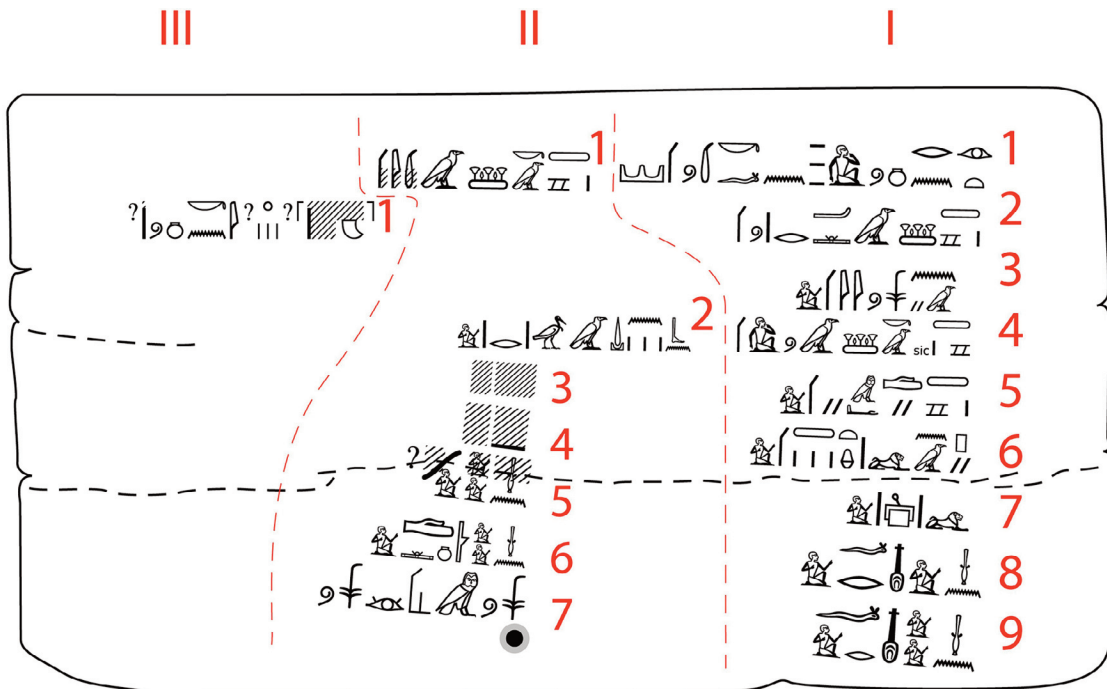


FIGURE 1: Writing Board BM EA 5647, recto (standardized hieroglyphs). (Copyright Marc Gabolde.)

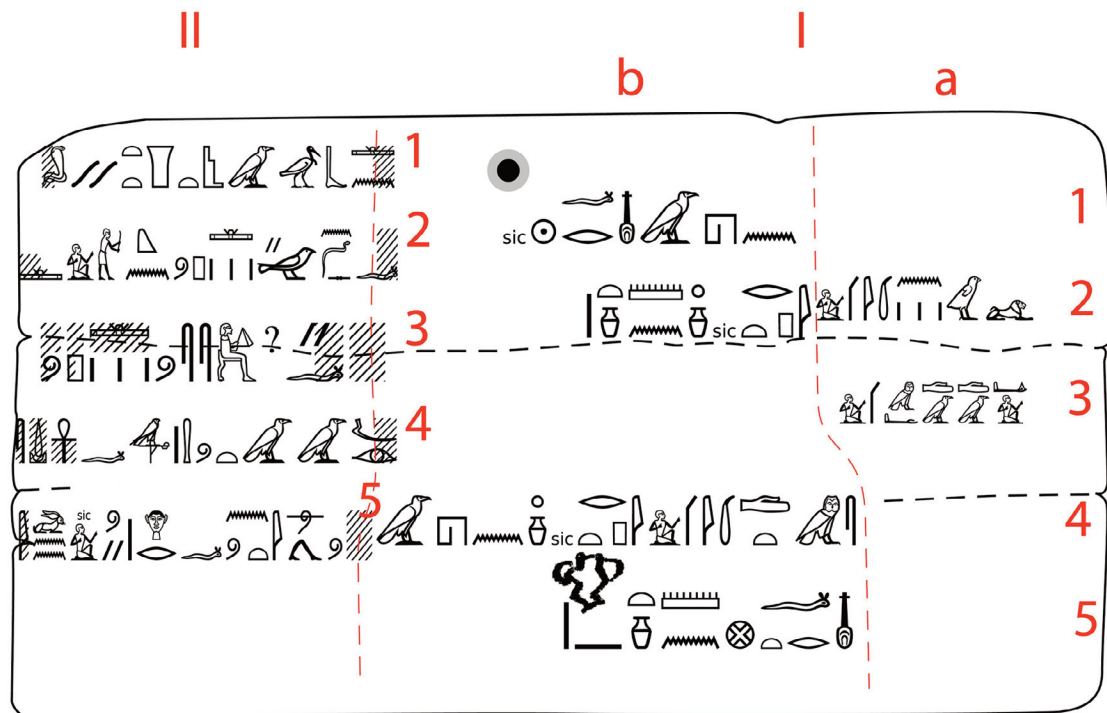


FIGURE 2: Writing Board BM EA5647, verso (standardized hieroglyphs). (Copyright Marc Gabolde.)

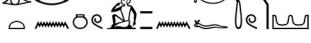
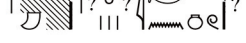
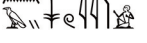
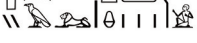
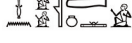
I	II	III
1  <i>jr.t rn.w n(y.w) k-f-tj-w</i> Making names of Crete:	1  <i>jw-k-3-š3-3-'tj-j'</i> Iukashaty	1  <i>'hmtj' (?) jknw 1 (?)</i> <i>'copper'(?), 1 jknw-vessel(?)</i>
2  <i>jw-š3-3-hw-r(3)-w</i> Iushahurau		
3  <i>n-3-y-sw-j-j</i> Naysuy		
4  <i>jw-k-3-š3-3-w</i> Iukashau (<i>speaker?</i>)	2  <i>b-n-n{.w}-d3-3-b3-r(3)</i> Benzabel	
5  <i>jw-d-y-m-{'}-y</i> Iudymay	3  [...] [...]	
6  <i>p-y-n-3-rw-t{3}</i> Pynaruta	4  [...] [...]	
7  <i>rw-s3</i> Rusa	5  <i>'sn(≈j)-ms(≈w)'</i> 'Senimes '	
8  <i>sn-nfr(w)</i> Sennefer	6  <i>sn≈j-qd(≈w)</i> Seniqed	
9  <i>sn≈j-nfr(≈w)</i> Seninefer	7  <i>sw-m-rs-sw</i> Suemressu	

FIGURE 3: Writing Board BM EA5647, recto (transliteration and translation).

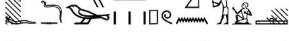
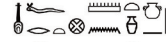
a Beneficiaries	b Origin, suppliers, nature of product	Prophecy of Neferty
1	 <i>ny h3(y)-nfr</i> From Haynefer	1  <i>[jw hry hb.t] '3(w)¹ n(y) (w)b3st.t</i> [There is a hi]gh [ritualist-priest] of Bastet,
2	 <i>rw-w-n{.w}-tj-j</i> Ruun{u}ty  <i>jrp mn.t 1</i> Wine, 1 <i>mn.t</i> -jar	2  <i>[jty nb≈n 'nh(≈w) (w)d3(≈w) s(nb≈w) nfri rn]≈f nds pw qn(w) [n(y) g3b≈f]</i> [our sovereign, our master (living, prosperous, and in good health)], his [name is Neferty]. He is a good man of the common people [(but) with] a valiant [arm].
3	 <i>{d≈j}-d-3-d-3-m-{'} {Di}dadama </i>	3  <i>[sš pw jqr n(y) db' .w]≈f špssw pw</i> [He is a skilled scribe with] his [fingers], a wealthy man.
4	 <i>smdttj jrp{.t} n(y) h3-</i> Semdetti, wine of Hay-	4  <i>[Ø '3(w) n≈f: h.t r mjty≈f nb hwy jn(.tw)≈f 'm33' {tw}(sw) hm≈f 'nh(≈w) (w)d3(≈w) s(nb≈w)</i> [His goods are greater than (that of) all his peers. Ah! Let him be brought, and] may His Majesty, living, prosperous, and in good health, see him!
5	 <i>-nfr mn.t 1</i> -nefer, 1 <i>mn.t</i> -jar	5  <i>[dd~jn hm≈f 'nh(≈w) (w)d3(≈w) s(nb≈w) js j n≈j sw s]t3(≈w) jn.tw≈f (n≈f) hr ('wy) wnn~j[(?)-</i> [Then His Majesty (living, prosperous, and in good health) said, 'Go and bring him to me!' Sum]mon he was im(mediately) brought (to him), and...

FIGURE 4: Writing Board BM EA5647, verso (transliteration and translation).

Egyptologists, an Anglicized vocalization of the anthroponyms follows the transliterations.

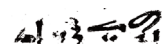
STUDY OF NON-EGYPTIAN NAMES

Among the sixteen names preserved on the tablet, six are without any doubt Egyptian (Sennefer, Seninefer, Senimes, Seniqed, Suemressu, and Semdetti)²⁹ and one was already recognized by Astour and Schneider as Semitic (although untested): **בנזבל** *Benzabel, "Son of Zabel" or "Son of the potentate."³⁰ We will therefore focus on the remaining anthroponyms for this onomastic study, that is to say, Iukashaty, Iushahurau, Naysuy, Iukashau, Iudymay, Pynaruta, Rusa, Ruun{u}ty and {Di}dadama.

The rules of W. F. Albright, which form the basis for most studies involving Egyptian so-called group writing or "syllabic" orthography,³¹ are only partially applicable to non-Semitic languages, especially since their relevance is regularly questioned.³² Given the challenges in matching the vowels of Egyptian syllabic orthography with those recorded in the Linear B syllabary, comparisons are primarily based on the consonantal skeleton.³³ The names are analyzed individually below in the alphabetical order of their transliterations.

𐀪𐀭𐀮𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻

include *a-ke-ti-jo* (PY An 209), which may correspond to Ἀκέστιος (Acestius) and its related form Ἀκέστης (Acestes).⁴⁹ Another possibility is *a₃-ke-ta* (KN Dv 1139), which could represent the prototype of Αἰγισθος (Aegisthus).⁵⁰ Finally, the syllabic orthography system would also allow for a connection— independent of Linear B—with the Greek Ἰοκάστος/Ιόκαστος (Iocastus), derived from Ἰοκάστη (Iocaste), the name of Laius’s wife and Oedipus’s mother. However, this name presents the drawback of being exclusively mythological, with no known precursor in Linear B. Alternatively, Redford proposed Ἀκαστος (Acastus).⁵¹ In any case, Aegean onomastics provides several plausible solutions, making a possible Hurrian influence unlikely.

 *jw-d-y-m{ }-y* (r. I, 5)

The revised reading *jw-d-y-m{ }-y*, instead of *jw-d-y-n-3-y*, allows for the rejection of all the Semitic interpretations proposed by Schneider,⁵² as well as the suggested connection with Αἰτίων put forward by Redford.⁵³

The Papyrus Louvre N 3171 r. III, 6, dating to years 9–10 of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III,⁵⁴ mentions an individual named  *j-d-y-m{ }* within the name of a small settlement:  “the hamlet of *j-d-y-m{ }*.” The context pertains to grain accounting and tax collection. Spiegelberg originally read the name as ,⁵⁵ while A. H. Gardiner translated it as “Idima,”⁵⁶ without providing a hieroglyphic transcription. Schneider reconstructs the name as  *j-d-y-m{ }-3*,⁵⁷ which appears to be an unverified extrapolation based on A. H. Gardiner and does not align with the preserved traces, either at the beginning or the end of the name: . The only plausible hieroglyphic rendering is , which closely resembles the writing of *jw-d-y-m{ }-y* found on the writing board BM EA5647 (r. I, 5). Additionally, the proposed connection to Northwest Semitic ‘adi-ma (“He is my father”) does not seem to be the “problemlosen Erklärung” that Schneider suggests, even if the Papyrus Louvre N 3171 does reference several individuals of Near Eastern origin, such as Akiteshub, son of Amenhotep, or Hyta, Abuy, and Rysha.⁵⁸

Thus, an Aegean solution via Linear B—*e-u-da-mo*, attested at Knossos (KN Bk 799; KN V(1) 57) and Thebes (TH Z 853)⁵⁹—appears far more convincing. This name corresponds to the Greek Εὐδαμος or Εὐδημος (Eudamus or Eudemus), attested between

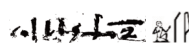
the 10th and 8th centuries BCE in Corinth, according to the LGPN.

 *p-y-n-3-r(w)-t(3)*
(r. I, 6)

Schneider dismisses the proposals by Astour (Pî-^dNār^w + suffix -ti) and Helck (a variant of *pi-ru-ti* in Linear A). Instead, he cautiously suggests a possible connection with the Akkadian toponym Pinaratum, positing it as a nisbe form.⁶⁰ Curiously, Schneider does not make the connection with  (*pn-r-t*),⁶¹ which he refers to as a simple variant of . A link with the lieutenant (*jd^w*)  *p³⁻³-t-w-n{ }-r(3)*, cited as a witness in the Papyrus Mook II, 6,⁶³ would require a double metathesis, which seems unlikely.

Furthermore, an administrative papyrus (CGC 58079, EMC JE.2137, d, 2), dated to the year 1 (3rd month of the season *šmw*) of an unnamed king—who could be Amenhotep II⁶⁴—provides the beginning of a lacunar name in line 3 that could potentially match a reading of  *p³⁻³-n-3-r(w)-t(3)* ...]. Schneider also remarks for *p-y-n-3-r(w)-t(3)* that: “Eine tatsächlich kretische Herkunft des Namens kann aber nicht ausgeschlossen werden.”⁶⁵ This is a clear invitation to explore the possibility of a Cretan name.

Although nothing directly corresponds in Linear B, one can compare it with *pa-na-re-jo*, well attested at Knossos (KN As(2) 1516; KN As(2) 1517; KN U 4478; KN Vf 1004) and Pylos (PY Fn(1) 837),⁶⁶ and corresponds to the Greek Πανάρειος (Panareios). Depending on vowel fluctuations, one can arrive at a strong match with **pa-na-re-ta*,⁶⁷ thus corresponding to the Greek Πανάρετος (Panaretos) attested in the 3rd century BCE in Arcadia according to the LGPN. Alternatively, Redford proposed Παναλθής (Panalthes).⁶⁸

 *n-3-y-sw-w-j-j* (r. I, 3)

After reviewing the Našui/Našwi of Nuzi and Našeia of Alalakh and after contesting the Hurrian “nešše,” both suggested by Astour,⁶⁹ Schneider cautiously proposes a connection with the Semitic root *נשנ* *nš’* (“to rise, be born, grow”).⁷⁰

Linear B provides an excellent match with *na-si-jo* (KN B(5) 800), which would correspond to Νάσιος (Nasios), “Insular” (from νήσος, “island”).⁷¹ However, the LGPN recognizes only Νησεύς (Neseus), attested in Thasos and Athens during the 5th century BCE. See also *na-e-si-jo* attested at Knossos

(KN V(2) 147), Pylos (PY Jn(1) 750), and Thebes (TH Av 106);⁷² *na-i-se-wi-jo* known at Pylos (PY Jn(1) 692; PY Jn(1) 725; PY Mn(2) 1408);⁷³ and possibly *na-su-wo* (KN Bk 799), although it would not be of Greek origin.⁷⁴ Redford proposed Νῖσος (Nisos),⁷⁵ but this is more of a "mythological" name than a genuine anthroponym: Nisos was a mythical king of Megara and the father of the young Scylla. In conclusion, Linear B offers more matches than Semitic anthroponyms.

 *rw-w-nj-w-j-tj-j* (v. I, 2a)

Let us first emphasize that the sequence rendered  by Peet⁷⁶ is simply . What Peet mistook for a *ṣ* is, in fact, the leftward return of the bird's legs , a feature well attested for this sign until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷⁷ The notation *rw* + *w* is rare, especially with the quail chick (Gardiner G43), and may indicate that the "*w*" is not merely a phonetic complement but rather a full-fledged consonant. The *Luwanta proposed by Astour,⁷⁸ as well as the Hurrian etymologies suggested by Helck,⁷⁹ are rightly rejected by Schneider, who acknowledges having no Semitic name to propose as an alternative.⁸⁰

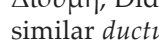
There is certainly no direct equivalent in Linear B, but similar names are nevertheless attested, notably *ru-wa-ni-jo*, found at Knossos (KN X 7706), which would mean "Luwian."⁸¹ The first part of the discussed anthroponym is also not far removed from *re-wo* (KN Xd 7663), which carries the meaning "lion."⁸² The LGPN records, for example, Λεόντιος (Leontios) in Arcadia during the 3rd century BCE. For his part, Redford suggests Λεωντεῖος (Lewonteios),⁸³ which has a potential prototype in *re-wo-te-jo* (PY Ta 722).⁸⁴ This makes a comparison with the Greek name Λεωνίδας (Leonidas) quite attractive, attested in Laconia in the 6th century BCE after the LGPN. But, given that names ending in *-i-da* are strangely rare in Linear B onomastics,⁸⁵ another Greek name could be more convincing: Λεοννάτος (Leonnatus). In this case, one might consider a possible prototype **re-wo-ni-te-u*. Indeed, if *jw-k-ṣ-ṣ-ṣ-tj-j* corresponds to *e-ka-sa-te-u* (see above), then there could be a correlation between the Egyptian *tj-j/-tj* and the Linear B *te-u*.⁸⁶

 *rw-s3* (r. I, 7)

Schneider sees this anthroponym as the abbreviated form of an Egyptian name.⁸⁷ The name *rw-s3* is

indeed attested as a masculine personal name at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁸⁸ However, Linear B onomastics provides a remarkable correspondence with the personal name *ru-si*, known from Knossos (KN Ak(1) 634; KN Xf 8214),⁸⁹ which finds a Greek equivalent in Λῦσις, Λυσίας (Lysis, Lysias), attested as early as the mid-6th century BCE according to the LGPN. Redford's proposal Λούσιος (Lousias)⁹⁰ is also very close.

 *{d-j}-d-ṣ-d-ṣ-m{}* (v. I, 3a)

Schneider reads the name as *mj-ṣl-d-ṣ-d-ṣ-m^F* and interprets it as a Semitic anthroponym *Mudādum, meaning "Beloved," with multiple derivatives following the *m-d-d* pattern.⁹¹ However, the complex justifications for the *mj-* prefix and its unusual, entirely isolated spelling are unconvincing. Redford, who hypothesized a prothetic "yod" at the beginning of the name, proposed the Greek equivalent Διδουμαῖος.⁹² Actually, the initial group  in the name, as noted by Peet,⁹³ has no meaning in syllabic orthography. However, in the context of a dictated text, it is easily understood due to the assonance between *d≈j* and *dṣ*. The scribe likely continued writing by recording *d3* twice, neglecting to erase the initial signs, which did not hinder readability. The name should therefore be read as *{d-j}-d-ṣ-d-ṣ-m{}*. Despite the temporal distance, this anthroponym should be compared to a proper name *tjtm3* (→ Διδύμη, Didyme) recorded in Demotic with a very similar *ductus*  on a papyrus from University College London (provis. Nr 10, II, 1).⁹⁴

Among the personal names in Linear B listed "as of Minoan origin even though they are (so far) not attested in Linear A," T. Meissner identifies *di-du-me* (KN L 588) and *di-du-mo* (KN X 5751, MY Oe 129), noting: "this name seems attested both in its Minoan form *di-du-me* (on Crete only) and Hellenized as *di-du-mo*, enjoying a somewhat wider distribution."⁹⁵ This equation *di-du-mo/di-du-me* = Δίδυμος/Διδύμη (Didymus / Didyme) had already been recognized by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick.⁹⁶ Therefore, *{d-j}-d-ṣ-d-ṣ-m{}* represents probably the earliest instance of a Didyme preserved in Egyptian writing.

SYNTHESIS

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENT: FOUR SCHOOL EXERCISES

The school tablet BM EA5647 is a heterogeneous document, and at least four different school exercises are apparently preserved, either in part or in

full, on both sides. These exercises, written by the same apprentice scribe,⁹⁷ were likely dictated (?) by a teacher based on given themes. One should therefore not expect to find the rigorous columnar arrangement typical of accounting books and personnel lists in this document. The alignment between lines and columns is inconsistent, creating a certain confusion.

The verso first contains a literary exercise (v. II:

excerpt from the prologue of the *Prophecy of Neferty*, lines 9–12), which has been erased two-thirds of the way and replaced with an administrative exercise (v. I: short wine accounting from Haynefer), mentioning an Egyptian personal name, Semdetti, and two “Aegean” personal names, Leonnatus/Lewonteios/Leonidas and Didyme/Didymus (TABLE 1).

The content of each of these two exercises suggests a Memphite origin for this tablet.⁹⁸ In fact, on the one

TABLE 1: Two “Aegean” names in BM EA 5647 (v. I) and their Linear B/Ancient Greek correspondences.

LOCATION	EGYPTIAN	LINEAR B	GREEK	ENGLISH
v. I, 2a	<i>rw-w-n{-w-}-tj-j</i>	<i>*re-wo-ni-te-u</i> <i>re-wo-te-jo</i> <i>*re-wo-ni-da</i>	<i>Λεοννάτος</i> <i>Λεφοντειος</i> <i>Λεωνίδαας</i>	Leonnatus Lewonteios Leonidas
v. I, 3a	<i>{d-j}-d-3-d-3-m{-}</i>	<i>di-du-me</i> <i>di-du-mos</i>	<i>Διδύμη</i> <i>Δίδυμος</i>	Didyme Didymus

TABLE 2: Seven “names of Crete” in BM EA 5647 (r. I–II) and their Linear B/Ancient Greek correspondences.

LOCATION	EGYPTIAN	LINEAR B	GREEK	ENGLISH
r. II, 1	<i>jw-k-3-š3-3-tj-j</i>	<i>e-ka-sa-te-u</i> <i>a-ke-ti-jo</i> — — <i>a3-ke-ta</i>	<i>Ἐξανθεύς</i> <i>Εὐξάνθιος</i> <i>Ἀκέστιος</i> <i>Ἀκέστης</i> <i>Ἰοκάστος</i> <i>Ἰοκάστη</i> <i>Ἀκαστος</i> <i>Αἴγισθος</i>	Exanthheus Euxanthius Acestius Acestes Iocastus Iocaste Acastus Aegisthus
r. I, 2	<i>jw-š3-3-hw-r(3)-w</i>	— <i>e-sa-ro</i>	<i>Αἰσχύλος</i> <i>Εὐσωρος</i>	Aeschylus Eusorus
r. I, 3	<i>n 3-y-sw-w-j-j</i>	<i>na-si-jo</i>	<i>Νάσιος</i> <i>Νησεύς</i> <i>Νῖσος</i>	Nasios Neseus Nisos
r. I, 4	<i>jw-k-3-š3-3-w</i>	<i>*e-ka-sa</i>	<i>Ἄξιος</i>	Axius
r. I, 5	<i>jw-d-y-m-{-}-y</i>	— <i>e-u-da-mo</i>	<i>Εὐδημος</i> <i>Εὐδαμος</i>	Eudemus Eudamus
r. I, 6	<i>p-y-n-3-r(w)-t(3)</i>	<i>*pa-na-re-ta</i>	<i>Πανάρετος</i> <i>Παναλθής</i>	Panaretos Panalthes
r. I, 7	<i>rw-s3</i>	<i>ru-si</i>	<i>Λῦσις</i> <i>Λυσίας</i>	Lysis Lysias

hand, K. Hassan has demonstrated that the most important documents of the *Prophecy of Neferty* (Papyrus Hermitage 1116-B r. and writing board EMC JE.22972) are of Memphite origin.⁹⁹ On the other hand, P. Tallet has convincingly argued for a Memphite location of the toponym Haynefer, which he identifies with a structure linked to harbor facilities located north of the city.¹⁰⁰

The recto is characterized by two other educational exercises of a different nature, as they involve creating lists of anthroponyms. The instruction for the first exercise is quite explicit, as it involves making seven "names of Crete" (r. I, 1), followed by phonetically spelled names. The first name is written on the same line, following the instruction (r. II, 1), while the subsequent names are written one below the other and carefully aligned with the beginning of the instruction (r. I, 2–7). In the onomastic study presented here, without systematically challenging previous identifications, we explore the possibility of potential correspondences in Linear B and Ancient Greek (TABLE 2).

Partially interwoven within this list on the recto, we encounter an ambiguous phrase, "'copper'(?), 1 *jknw*-vessel," as well as a Levantine name of West Semitic structure, *Benzabel (בנזבל*). The relationship between these two terms and the other names in the list remains unclear.¹⁰¹

Lastly, a second exercise appears to have been assigned by the instructor to the apprentice scribe, focusing on Egyptian proper names beginning with "s". Following one or two missing entries (r. II, 3–4), the preserved names include Sennefer, Seninefer, Senimes, Seniqed and Suemressu (r. I, 8–9 and II, 5–7).¹⁰²

DISCUSSION: THE REALITY OF HELLENIZED CRETANS' JOURNEYS IN EGYPT

In total, including the anthroponyms mentioned in the brief wine accounting on the verso, no fewer than seventeen or eighteen male names were originally inscribed on tablet BM EA5647. Of these, six—possibly eight—are definitively Egyptian, while another unmistakably reveals its Semitic origin. However, and this is the crucial significance of this document, the majority of the listed names—nine anthroponyms—have plausible prototypes in Linear B and/or in Ancient Greek. Despite the uncertainties expressed in the onomastic study regarding some of these names, the possibility that authentic "names of Crete" of proto-Greek structure were inscribed in

hieratic on this school tablet is far from negligible and must now be seriously considered.

These Hellenized Cretan names are not mere "inventions" of a student's imagination but were likely composed by a master intent on training his pupil in the subtleties of exotic, particularly complex, or simply unusual personal names. The satirical letter of Hori to Amenemope (Papyrus Anastasi I) is replete with such toponymic and anthroponymic details,¹⁰³ designed to challenge the scribes' knowledge. This antique *disputatio* reflects the extensive awareness that Egyptian literati had of the non-Egyptian world surrounding them, as all the names cited therein are well attested. Some of the Egyptians who recorded these names had travelled and were multilingual, while others had frequented the docks of harbor facilities near Memphis, engaging with the cosmopolitan and multilingual environment of sailors, merchants, mercenaries, and captives from diverse origins.¹⁰⁴ This multicultural character of the capital of Lower Egypt also extended to Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, where an individual named "The Cretan" (*p³-kftjw*) is involved in the *srm.t*-beverage production and trade with some fifteen Egyptians and Levantines.¹⁰⁵

The unusual names recorded by the apprentice scribe thus correspond to real individuals. Indeed, some of these foreigners, whether staying temporarily or residing in the region, also learned Egyptian, as evidenced by the scribe Ani, who likely lived during the Nineteenth Dynasty. In his instructional text for his son Khonsuhotep, he states that "The language of the people of Egypt is taught to the Nubian, as well as to the Syrian and every other foreigner alike."¹⁰⁶ Trade and diplomacy required the presence of interpreters who were at least bilingual.¹⁰⁷ The novice scribe of the school slate BM EA5647, as previously noted, must have heard these Cretan names from his master¹⁰⁸ or through other networks, or possibly even from the individuals themselves. J. Vercoutter suggested that this apprentice might have assisted "au cours de l'accomplissement d'une formalité, administrative ou autre, à un enregistrement des noms de ces étrangers et les a reproduits ensuite de mémoire."¹⁰⁹ In any case, he was required to transcribe these foreign names into Egyptian script as accurately as possible.¹¹⁰ It is therefore essential to recognize that these Cretans were, in all likelihood, real contemporaries of the tablet's writer.

DATE: THE REIGN OF AMENHOTEP II

The historical significance of the Hellenic character of the seven "names of Crete" on the recto and the two "Aegean" names on the verso of the writing board depends on the date assigned to this document. As we have seen, the palaeography of the signs does not rule out a mid-Eighteenth Dynasty date. Moreover, Tallet suggests a date range "entre les règnes d'Amenhotep II et d'Amenhotep III."¹¹¹ This period coincides with the *floruit* of the Cretan kingdom of Knossos (LM II–IIIA2 Early), whose administrative records are written in the Greek language (Linear B).¹¹²

It seems possible to further refine the dating of this document. First and foremost, Egyptian names such as Sennefer, Seninefer, Senimes and Seniqed are typical of the Eighteenth Dynasty and are strongly associated with the first century of the Thutmosid kings.¹¹³ Certainly, the double mention of the toponym Haynefer on the reverse of the tablet would suggest a rather "late" date, given that the other ten mentions of this site unambiguously date to the Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten period.¹¹⁴ However, for these latter documents, the reference concerns a renowned vineyard whose existence likely began before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Indeed, it is worth noting that jar labels appear in significant numbers only under Amenhotep III and, therefore, that the documentary silence that precedes this period is by no means significant or indicative of the non-existence of this settlement.

Ultimately, it is by comparing the document studied here with a papyrus in the Louvre that we can refine its dating. Indeed, if the  *jw-d-y-m-{}-y* from the writing board BM EA5647 (r. I, 5) is to be identified with the  *j-d-y-m-{}-y* from the Papyrus Louvre N 3171 (r. III, 6), which names a "hamlet" active in the Memphite region during the years 9–10 of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III,¹¹⁵ we would likely place the *floruit* of this figure at least one generation earlier. It is possible to further refine this date, as this same Papyrus Louvre N 3171, which mentions "The hamlet of *j-d-y-m-{}-a* (Eudemus)," also refers to the "child of the inner palace (*k3p*)" Rysha/Rusha (I, 10 and III, 4). This dignitary was "responsible for the armament (the armory?)" (*3 n[y]*) *h3.w*) of the ship *Star-in-Memphis*,¹¹⁶ as indicated by the inscriptions on his tomb at Saqqara.¹¹⁷ Rysha/Rusha and the ship *Star-in-Memphis* are also mentioned in the Papyrus Mook (II, 7), which is definitively dated to the reign of Thutmose IV.¹¹⁸ His

title of "child of the inner palace (*k3p*)" likely makes him a contemporary of Thutmose IV, as he is born on the same day as him, thus at the latest under Amenhotep II.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, it is plausible that the name "Hamlet of Idyma (Eudemus)" dates from the very end of Idyma's (Eudemus's) life, and the possibility that it is a posthumous title to honor its "founder," a Greek-speaking Cretan settled near Memphis, remains the most likely explanation.¹²⁰ Consequently, it is not too bold to propose that the texts on the writing board BM EA5647 were written during the reign of Amenhotep II.

CONCLUSION: THE EARLIEST WRITTEN EVIDENCE OF GREEK NAMES IN HISTORY?

By recording the names of Greek-speaking Cretans circulating within the Memphite spheres, the apprentice scribe, likely a contemporary of Amenhotep II, sheds important light on the effects of the sociopolitical shift that had taken place one or two generations earlier in Crete during approximately the mid-15th century BCE¹²¹ when the old oligarchy of Neopalatial Crete (LM IB) was supplanted by a new monarchical regime (LM II).¹²² Establishing itself at Knossos, this hybrid or Cretan-Mycenaean elite imposed its language, Greek, in the local administration.¹²³ While the writing board BM EA5647 supports the widely accepted interpretation of the progressive Hellenization of the Cretan elite, it appears to be somewhat earlier—by one to two decades at most—than the first Linear B archive deposits attested to date in the palace of Knossos, specifically those in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT), dated to the late LM II to early LM IIIA1 (around 1400–1390 BCE).¹²⁴ Thus, we would have here the very first document attesting to the presence of Greek speakers in Egypt, shortly before the emergence of the first Greek writings in the Aegean world. In other words, within just a couple of decades, the earliest written trace of Greek anthroponyms preserved would not be in Mycenaean Linear B, but in Egyptian hieratic.¹²⁵

A FINAL NOTE: A WINE TRADE BETWEEN EGYPT AND CRETE?

As already stressed, the second half of the 15th century BCE marks the beginning of a true "Golden Age" of Cretan-Egyptian relationships.¹²⁶ In this vein, it is possible that this document, surprisingly rich, also offers a glimpse into mercantile exchanges. Among the small accounting entries on the verso, it

is noted that two Greek-speaking individuals, Leonatus/Lewonteios/Leonidas and Didyme/Didymus, would be the beneficiaries (rather than "suppliers," considering the apparent incompetence of the scribe?), "soit individuellement, soit collectivement," according to Tallet,¹²⁷ of a *mn.t*-jar¹²⁸ of wine from Haynefer (v. I, 1–3), a settlement linked to the harbor facilities of Memphis and renowned for its vineyard. Among the labels mentioning wine from Haynefer, three unpublished ones preserved at the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO nos. 6709, 6710, and 7330) are inscribed on amphorae made from marl D clay.¹²⁹ It is precisely in this particular clay that the first Egyptian wine amphorae arrived at the settlement of Kommos in the western Messara (southern central Crete), the main Knossian harbor town for trade with the eastern Mediterranean.¹³⁰ Unearthed in LM II levels of the Southern Area, dedicated to port activities, these few fragments (representing a minimum number of vessels of at least 3) are indeed identified as originating from the Memphis region.¹³¹ Although this accounting is merely a scribe's exercise, one might be tempted to link these few lines written in hieratic to the scant archaeological evidence found in Crete. Indeed, it is possible to see in these fragments the beginnings of a wine trade that may have developed between the Memphis region and the western Messara during the reign of Amenhotep II, involving Greek-speaking merchants, Egyptian scribes, and sailors from far-off lands.

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NOTES

- ¹ Green 2018, 273.
- ² For Memphis during the New Kingdom, see Pasquali 2008. For textual documentation relating to the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Pasquali 2011.
- ³ The toponym *kftjw* is mentioned among the foreigners' processions of emissaries of the Great Ones (*wr.w*) depicted in the tombs of Vizier Rekhmire (TT 100), the High Priest of Amun Menkheperreseneb the Elder (TT 86), and Lieutenant-Commander Amenemheb (TT 85). For a synthesis on these Cretan homages, see Dautais 2024, I, 391–410. One may also refer to Vercoutter 1956; Wachsmann 1987; and Matic and Franković 2017.
- ⁴ For a Memphite localization of Perunefer, see notably Jeffreys 2006, 36–37; Pasquali 2007, 77–78, n. 37; Dautais 2024, I, 391, n. 2200. *Contra* M. Bietak (2009a; 2009b; 2010).
- ⁵ For a reassessment of the *kftjw*-ships issue, see Dautais 2021; Dautais forthcoming.
- ⁶ Regarding the practice of the direct maritime route between Crete and Egypt in the second half of the 15th century BCE (conventionally dated), see Dautais 2024, I, 386–387. One may also refer to Sauvage 2012, 281–283.
- ⁷ Homer, *Odyssey*, V, 503.
- ⁸ Unknown provenance, intact (height 13.8 cm; width 25.5 cm; thickness 0.5 cm). First mentioned in Spiegelberg 1891. Two editions were published in the early 20th century: Müller 1900, 6–9 and pls. I–II; Peet 1927, 90–99 and pls. XV–XVI.

- ⁹ See, *inter alia*, Wainwright 1914, 32 and 82 (no.19); Grapow 1921, 48 (no.13a); Vercoutter 1956, 45–51 (no. 4); Strange 1980, 94–96 (no. 39); Haider 1988, 19–21; Cline 1994, 109 (no. A.10); Vivas Sainz 2013, 72–74; Vandersleyen 2019, 128 (no. 4).
- ¹⁰ Albright 1934, 21; Astour 1964, 248–254; Schneider 1992, N72; N77; N78; N88; N181; N229; N293; N308; N389; N593; F17.
- ¹¹ See the works of G. A Wainwright (1931, 26–40; 1952, 200–202). The interpretation was already criticized in Strange 1980, 128–132.
- ¹² Lindgren 1973; Hooker 1991; Enegren 2008; Meissner 2019; Jiménez Delgado 2024.
- ¹³ Helck 1978, 12; Helck 1979, 101–103.
- ¹⁴ Also see, for a discussion of the supposed linguistic contributions of this document to the study of Linear A, Kyriakidis 2002, 217–218; Notti 2018, 147–149.
- ¹⁵ Redford 2005–2006, 150.
- ¹⁶ A point already discussed, although not truly untangled, by J. Strange (1980, 116–117).
- ¹⁷ Spiegelberg 1891, 166. Dating accepted in Müller 1900, 7.
- ¹⁸ Peet 1927, 99. Dating accepted in Vercoutter 1956, 47, and followed by others since then.
- ¹⁹ For a discussion on the controversy surrounding the dating of the Knossos archives during the second half of the 20th century, see the historiographical synthesis developed in Langohr 2009, 22–28.
- ²⁰ For example, Smith 1965, 95. Some scholars even argue that no Greek name can be found in this document: Merrillees 1972, 285; Strange 1980, 115; Duhoux 2003, 227.
- ²¹ Driessen 1997.
- ²² Driessen 2000.
- ²³ Mouthuy 2020.
- ²⁴ See Warren 2010; Dautais 2024, I, 72–103.
- ²⁵ For a preliminary analysis based on the palaeography provided in Möller 1909, cross-referenced with the ostraca from Deir el-Bahari (Römer 2023, 527–589), see Dautais 2024, II, 50–57. Other texts also exhibit a very similar *ductus*, particularly two dated to the latter part of Thutmose III's reign: the papyri Louvre E.3226 (year 34; cf. Megally 1977) and British Museum EA10056 (year 51; cf. Gundacker 2017), as well as another more broadly dated to the autonomous reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II: the fragmentary tablet BM EA29558 (Dautais et al. 2022).
- ²⁶ A more detailed discussion of the writing board's dating, based on its content and the cross-referencing of other well-dated documents, is presented in the synthesis of this article.
- ²⁷ Driessen and Mouthuy 2022, 74 and table 1.
- ²⁸ See British Museum n.d.
- ²⁹ In the order of their appearance in the text: *sn-nfr* (r. I, 8); *sn≈j-nfr(≈w)* (r. I, 9); *sn(≈j)-ms(≈w)* (r. II, 5); *sn≈j-qd(≈w)* (r. II, 6); *sw-m-rs-sw* (r. II, 7); *s-m-d-t-tj* (v. I, 4b). See Ranke 1935, 302 and 308–310.
- ³⁰ *b-n-n{w}-d3-3-b3-r(3)* (r. II, 2); cf. Astour 1964, 250; Schneider 1992, 92, N 181.
- ³¹ Albright 1934; Edel 1966, 61–90; Helck 1971, 505–575; Helck 1989, 121–143.
- ³² Janssen 1965–1966, 443–446; Hoch 1994, 3–14; Meeks 1997, 58–59.
- ³³ Not being Linear B specialists or Hellenists, we primarily relied on the following key works for Aegean onomastics from the period under examination: Ventris and Chadwick 1973; Varias 2002; Meissner 2019; Killen 2024. The online resource LIBER (<https://liber.cnr.it/>) was consulted, along with occasional use of the Linear B Lexicon (<https://linear-b.kinezika.com/lexicon.html>) and DAMOS (<https://damos.hf.uio.no/>). For onomastics and vocabulary, the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN, hereafter) (<https://search.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>) was extensively utilized, along with the indispensable Eulexis (<https://outils.biblissima.fr/fr/eulexis-web/>).
- ³⁴ Astour 1964, 249.
- ³⁵ Schneider 1992, 45–46, N 72.
- ³⁶ Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 546.
- ³⁷ Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 79, 534 and 549.
- ³⁸ Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, 1, 947–1077.
- ³⁹ Woodhead 1963 (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XIX, 585, 2).
- ⁴⁰ The sequence of syllables 33 and hw in the Egyptian text is significant and suggests that, for the

- original language to an Egyptian listener, these fricative consonants may have involved a voiceless pharyngeal or velar sound (perhaps somewhat softened) following a sibilant or fricative sound (either palato-alveolar or voiceless alveolar). On the one hand, the Egyptian $\mathfrak{S}$ is regularly used to represent the sibilants in Indo-European languages, while on the other hand, voiceless pharyngeal and velar sounds can be difficult to distinguish after a sibilant or fricative. It is therefore reasonable to consider that, for an Egyptian, the sequence [s] + [x] (in phonetic terms), corresponding to the -σχ- of Proto-Greek, could have been perceived and recorded as a sequence [ʃ]/[s] + [ʃ] (in phonetic terms), i.e., $\mathfrak{S}/\mathfrak{S} + hw$. This possibility is all the more likely given that it remains uncertain whether these "Cretan names" were dictated to the scribe by a native Cretan or by an Egyptian whose pronunciation may have been less accurate. In any case, there are few alternative explanations for the presence of hw following the syllable $\mathfrak{S}$ in Egyptian. If the Greek χ could, among other possibilities, correspond to the Coptic Ⲭ inherited from the Egyptian ⲭ h^3 (as in $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho \rightarrow \text{Ⲭ}\Delta\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho$, cf. Allen 2020, 7), it could also correspond to the Coptic Ⲫ : $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\eta\rho / -\rho\epsilon \rightarrow \text{Ⲫ}\Delta\text{ⲙ}\Delta\text{Ⲫ}\text{Ⲭ}$ (Černý 1976, 154). Moreover, the Coptic Ⲫ also represents the Egyptian sounds h and h (Allen 2020, 32).
- 41 Schneider 1992, 47, N 77. The resemblance had already been noted in Müller 1893, 389, n. 1.
- 42 Cassin and Glassner 1977, 65.
- 43 Kupper 1983, 562.
- 44 Allen 2009, 20-22 and fig. 3.
- 45 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 100.
- 46 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 543.
- 47 Schneider 1992, 47, N 78.
- 48 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 542.
- 49 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 529.
- 50 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 536. For the beginning of the anthroponym, compare with the structure of $a_3\text{-}ku\text{-}pi\text{-}ti\text{-}jo$ (Αἰγύπτιος) "The Egyptian" (Aegyptius), see Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 537.
- 51 Redford 2005-2006, 150.
- 52 Schneider 1992, 50-51, N 88.
- 53 Redford 2005-2006, 150.
- 54 Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XVIII; Gardiner 1941, 56-57.
- 55 Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XVIII.
- 56 Gardiner 1941, 57.
- 57 Schneider 1992, 50, N 87.
- 58 Rysa is cited as a witness in the well-dated Papyrus Mook (II, 6) from the reign of Thutmose IV; cf. Spiegelberg 1928. His tomb (361/BUB) at Saqqara was discovered by A.-P. Zivie (1979) in the Cliff of Ankhtawy (Bubasteion).
- 59 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 547; Varias 2002, 355, table I/1.
- 60 Schneider 1992, 107-108, N 229.
- 61 Schneider 1992, 108, N 230.
- 62 Schneider 1992, 161, N 341.
- 63 Spiegelberg 1928.
- 64 Golénischeff n.d., pl. LXXII, 5 (no. 58079; *JE* 21367, d, 2). The same batch also yielded an account page (EMC *JE*.21367, i, 3), dated to the year 53, 3rd month of the season $\mathfrak{S}h.t$, day 25, which can only pertain to the final decades of the reign of Thutmose III (Golénischeff n.d., pl. LXXI (no. 58078, frag. A).
- 65 Schneider 1992, 107-108.
- 66 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 568.
- 67 One should stress that masculine anthroponyms ending in *-re-ta* are well attested in Linear B onomastics at Knossos (*pe-re-ta*: KN Vf(-) 9006) and Pylos (*pe-re-ta*: PY Jn(2) 658 and PY Jn(1) 725; *o-re-ta*: PY An(3) 657; *o-pe-re-ta*: PY An(1) 209 and PY Cn(3) 655), which would allow for a possible reconstruction of **pa-na-re-ta*.
- 68 Redford 2005-2006, 150.
- 69 Astour 1964, 249.
- 70 Schneider 1992, 144, N 308.
- 71 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 562. See also Smolaka Vitas 2018:24: "Finally, the Mycenaean term for island could be reconstructed by analysing personal names. The Doric νᾱσος (Ion. νῆσος) can be seen in the simple anthroponym *Na-si-jo* (KN B 800), Νάσιος (Νήσιος), Νησίων. Confirmation for this name, with the same root but

- different suffixes (Νήσιος, Νήσιον, Νάσιον, Νησεύς) is found dating from the post-Homeric period. The origin of the name may be explained in two ways – it either derived from an ethnonym, although confirmations of that toponym are not found in Mycenaean documents, or from the appellative. It is interesting to note that a name with the meaning ‘Islander’ is noted on the same island, that is to say, Crete.”
- ⁷² Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 562.
- ⁷³ Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 562.
- ⁷⁴ Varias 2002, 356.
- ⁷⁵ Redford 2005–2006, 150.
- ⁷⁶ Peet 1927, 93.
- ⁷⁷ See Möller 1909, 18, no. 200.
- ⁷⁸ Astour 1964, 253.
- ⁷⁹ Helck 1979, 102.
- ⁸⁰ Schneider 1992, 270, N 593.
- ⁸¹ Widmer 2006, 82–84.
- ⁸² Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 580.
- ⁸³ Redford 2005–2006, 150.
- ⁸⁴ Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 82.
- ⁸⁵ Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 94.
- ⁸⁶ Personal names ending in *-te-u* are frequent, according to Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 530–532 and 571–575.
- ⁸⁷ Schneider 1992, 293–294, F 17.
- ⁸⁸ Louvre E 5608 (D.1985.1.23; C 266; C 299) (Musée du Louve n.d.b).
- ⁸⁹ Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 581.
- ⁹⁰ Redford 2005–2006, 150.
- ⁹¹ Schneider 1992, 137–138, N 293.
- ⁹² Redford 2005–2006, 150.
- ⁹³ Peet 1927, 93, edition note no. 3.
- ⁹⁴ Lüddeckens 2000, 1266.
- ⁹⁵ Meissner 2019, 40.
- ⁹⁶ Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 540.
- ⁹⁷ The writing style, uniform throughout, appears to involve only one scribe. For the alternation between literary exercises and accounting works on the same school “slate”, see Hagen 2013.
- ⁹⁸ See already Tallet forthcoming.
- ⁹⁹ Hassan 2017, 270–273.
- ¹⁰⁰ Tallet forthcoming.
- ¹⁰¹ While the possibility of individuals of Semitic origin settling in Crete cannot be ruled out, there is no onomastic evidence preserved in Linear B to support this hypothesis; see Billigmeier 1970, 180.
- ¹⁰² It is unlikely that this represents an exercise in assigning Egyptian names to foreigners (*contra* Vercoutter 1956, 50), although such a practice was indeed common in the process of Egyptianization during the Eighteenth Dynasty.
- ¹⁰³ Fischer-Elfert 1992.
- ¹⁰⁴ On language contact and multilingualism in Egypt, see the overview provided by Schneider (2023).
- ¹⁰⁵ Dautais 2023.
- ¹⁰⁶ *tw≈tw (hr) sbꜣ nḥsy rmꜥ n(y) km.t ḥꜣrw ḥꜣs.wt nb.(w)t (m) mjt(y).t* (Instruction of Any, B 23, 5–6).
- ¹⁰⁷ For such interpreters, see Bell 1976; Chevreau 2001, 228 no. 34; Youssef and Staring 2025.
- ¹⁰⁸ He may have used an official register, as suggested by W. M. Müller (1900, 8), who stated that “Diese Namen sind wohl wie stets sonst aus öffentlichen historischen Inschriften (möglicherweise, obwohl weniger wahrscheinlich aus offiziellen Papyrusurkunden) ausgezogen, vermutlich aus Gesandtschaftsberichten.” In a similar vein, I. Vivas Sáinz (2013, 74) suggested that “quizás la lista recogiese nombres de cretenses llegados a Egipto por motivos diplomáticos, como los que vemos representados en las tumbas tebanas de la XVIII Dinastía.”
- ¹⁰⁹ Vercoutter 1956, 50. On the same page, he adds that “la présence de ces étrangers en Egypte était un fait suffisamment courant pour qu’un scribe ait jugé bon de se familiariser avec leurs noms.”
- ¹¹⁰ This document does not provide any evidence whatsoever of any foreign language acquisition (*contra* Notti 2018, 148).
- ¹¹¹ Tallet forthcoming.
- ¹¹² Driessen and Moushuy 2022.
- ¹¹³ Sennefer: Römer 2023, 228 (17 examples); Seninefer: Römer 2023, 228 (3 examples) and

- Hayes 1942, no. 63, r. 5; no. 64, r. 5; no. 65, 2; no. 66, 6; Senimes: Römer 2023, 225 (2 examples); Seniqed: Ranke 1935, 310, 1.
- ¹¹⁴ Tallet forthcoming.
- ¹¹⁵ Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XVIII; Gardiner 1941, 56–57. The online entry for the Papyrus Louvre N 3171 can be accessed on the museum’s website (Musée du Louvre n.d.a). This accounting document discusses grain taxes with references to ships (I, 6; II, 3; II, 4; III, 3; III, 4) and crews (II, 2; II, 9; III, 2; III, 4), as well as the “granary of Memphis” (II, 9 and III, 2). The Twentieth Dynasty dating proposed by Schneider (1992, 306, N87) is entirely inappropriate, and his hieroglyphic rendering of the name, with one missing sign and two incorrect signs for a seven-sign name including the determinative, is similarly flawed.
- ¹¹⁶ Other sources mention this ship, including a commemorative scarab of Thutmose IV: Matouk 1971, 79, no. 411=488. Soldiers from the ship *Star-in-Memphis* ship are cited in the Papyrus Mook (Spiegelberg 1928): Simut, Mah[u], Maimes (?), Amenemhat, Penamun, [...]heqa, Thutmose. An additional soldier from this ship, Bak, is known from the stele BM EA368 (Budge 1914, pl. 45). The monopteral disk depicted on it is very common during the reign of Thutmose IV (Mostafa 1993). A certain Nebnefer, also a “child of the inner palace (*kap*)”, had responsibilities on the same ship (Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 497).
- ¹¹⁷ Zivie 1979.
- ¹¹⁸ Spiegelberg 1928.
- ¹¹⁹ Mathieu 2000; Danilova 2020.
- ¹²⁰ Noteworthy cases include the village of “Djarukha,” mentioned in several documents from the New Kingdom (Yoyotte 1959; Gabolde 1994), which is named after a figure from the Middle Kingdom, known from the stele Louvre N 184 (Ranke 1935, 406 no. 27; Musée du Louve n.d.c). Another example is the village of “Aperia/Aperel,” cited in the Ramesside papyrus Anastasi VIII (BM EA 10248, I, 7), where the name is clearly inspired by one of Amenhotep IV’s viziers (Zivie 1990). The previously cited Papyrus Louvre N 3171 also mentions a “Hamlet of Teti” (II, 8).
- ¹²¹ For Egyptian iconographic evidence of this shift in power on Crete, including the dominance of the palace of Knossos at this time, see the analysis by Matic and Franković 2017 of the change in the dress—from the breechcloth to the kilt—of the Aegeans in Theban tombs, including the palimpsest in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100).
- ¹²² On this upheaval, which is part of an internal process (the gradual rise to power of a new Cretan elite in cooperation with individuals from mainland Greece) and cannot be interpreted as a singular external event (the so-called military conquest of Crete by mainland Greeks, *contra* Hood 1985 and Wiener 2015), see, among others, D’Agata et al. 2022, 13–15 and 425–428.
- ¹²³ Driessen and Langohr 2007, 187–188; Driessen and Mouthuy 2022, 71. Linear B is a syllabary probably locally invented in the Knossos region that partially adopted its signs from Linear A. The latter, in turn, records a pre-Hellenic Cretan dialect that had been in use on the island since at least the Protopalatial period (c. 19th–18th centuries BCE).
- ¹²⁴ Driessen 2000. The absolute dates are based on Warren 2010; Dautais 2024, I, 72–103. *Contra* S.W. Manning (2010, table. 2.2), who dates the LM II–IIIA1 transition around 1420–1410 BCE.
- ¹²⁵ These Greek names would, in any case, be older than those mentioned in Hittite texts that have been the subject of heated debates since the studies of E. Forrer (1924a; 1924b). His proposals have generally been contested, rejected, modified, or, at times, confirmed. See, *inter alia*, Sommer 1932; Muhly 1974; Kazansky 1997. For a recent synthesis, see Beckman et al. 2011. The possible Greek anthroponyms once cataloged by E. Forrer, from the oldest to the most recent, are:
- Attariššiyaš, Greek Ἀτρεὺς (Atreus), King of Aḫḫiya (Beckman et al. 2011, 80–81, §12; AhT 3 = CTH 147 [KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.3], obv. 60, Arnuwanda I’s reign, c. early 14th century BCE.
 - Antarawaš, Greek Ἀνδρεὺς (Andreas), (Beckman et al. 2011, 190–191, §19, 192–193, §23; AhT 20 = CTH 570.1 [KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 + KBo 53.103 (+) KUB 50.123], ii, 33; ii, 48, Mursili II’s reign, c. late 14th century BCE.

- Alakšanduš, Greek Ἀλέξανδρος (Alexander), King of the Wilusa region (Beckman et al. 2011, 87–93; CTH 76), Muwattali II’s reign, c. early 13th century BCE.
- Tawagalawa, Greek Ἐτεοκλῆς (Ἐτεφοκλέφης) (Eteocles) (Beckman et al. 2011, 102–103, §1, 110–111, §8; AhT 4 = CTH 181, [KUB 14, 3] obv. i, 3 ; ii 61, Hattusili III’s reign, c. mid-13th century BCE. Linear B: **e-te-wo-ke-re-we* (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 396 and 546); cf. **e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* “son of Eteocles” in Pylos (PY An(3) 654 ; PY Aq 64) (AhT 4). Nonetheless, one should note that after N.N. Kazansky (1997, 189–193), Tawagalawa would be not Ἐτεοκλῆς but Σακόλαος (T[a]wako-lawos).

¹²⁶ Dautais 2024, I, 374–458.

¹²⁷ Tallet forthcoming.

¹²⁸ For the *mn.t*-jars, D. A. Aston (2008, 24) establishes that in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the *mn.t*-jar seems to correspond to a vessel with a

capacity of 5 to 10 liters, compared to a capacity of up to 15 liters during the Ramesside period. According to T. Pommerening (2005, 87–88), *mn(.t)*-containers are heterogeneous vessels with varying volumes, unrelated to any potential *mn(.t)* capacity measure.

¹²⁹ Tallet forthcoming. For Marl D, regarding the origin of the clay, Aston (1998, 65) suggests the Memphite-Fayum region. For their part, Bourriau et al. 2000, 18, favors “the Memphite or eastern Delta regions.”

¹³⁰ Rutter 2006b; Langohr 2009, 123–129; Wright 2022.

¹³¹ Rutter 2006a, 488 no. 45/10, pl. 3.49.45/10 (inv. no. C10765); Rutter 2006a, 494 no. 47/19, pl. 3.52.47/19 (inv. no. C3559); Rutter 2017, 32 no. X2:7/7, fig. 2.20 (inv. no. C8837). See the petrographic and chemical analyses in Day et al. 2011, 514, table 1 (no. 98/33, no. 98/41, and no. 98/49), 529–530 and 553–554.