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“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–III A2 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

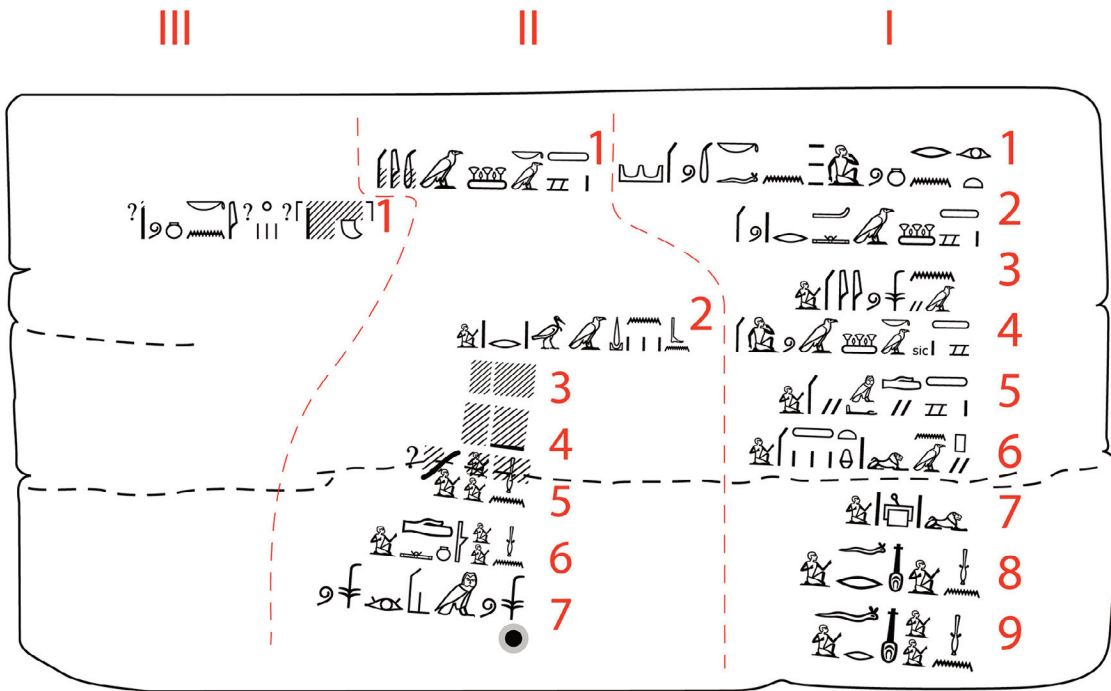


FIGURE 1: Writing Board BM EA 5647, recto (standardized hieroglyphs). (Copyright Marc Gabolde.)

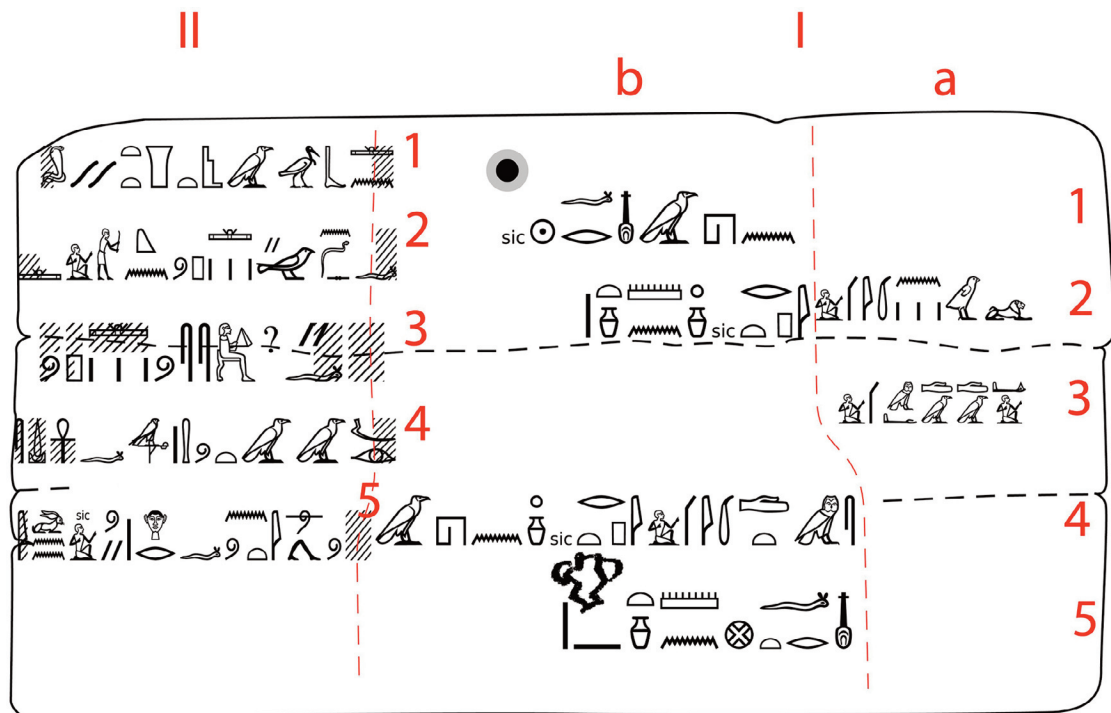


FIGURE 2: Writing Board BM EA5647, verso (standardized hieroglyphs). (Copyright Marc Gabolde.)




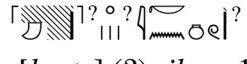




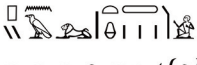

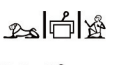





I	II	III
<p>1  <i>jr.t rn.w n(y.w) k-f-tj-w</i> Making names of Crete:</p>	<p>1  <i>jw-k-3-s3-3-'tj-j'</i> Iukashaty</p>	
<p>2  <i>jw-s3-3-hw-r(3)-w</i> Iushahurau</p>		<p>1  <i>'hnty' (?) jknw 1 (?)</i> 'copper'(?), 1 <i>jknw</i>-vessel(?)</p>
<p>3  <i>n-3-y-sw-j-j</i> Naysuy</p>		
<p>4  <i>jw-k-3-s3-3-w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

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





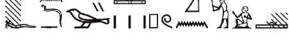




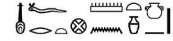

a Beneficiaries	b Origin, suppliers, nature of product	Prophecy of Neferty	
1	 <i>ny h3(y)-nfr</i> From Haynefer	1  [jw hry hb.t] '3(w)¹ n(y) (w)bst.t [There is a hi]gh [ritualist-priest] of Bastet,	
2	 <i>rw-w-n{.w}-tj-j</i> Ruun{u}ty	 <i>jrp mn.t 1</i> Wine, 1 <i>mn.t</i> -jar	2  [jty nb≈n 'nh(≈w) (w)d3(≈w) s(nb≈w) nfrt rn]≈f nds pw qn(w) [n(y) g3b≈f] [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	 {d≈j}-d-3-d-3- m-{' {Di}dadama	3  [sš pw jqr n(y) db' .w]≈f špssw pw [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  [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) [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	 -nfr <i>mn.t 1</i> -nefer, 1 <i>mn.t</i> -jar	5  [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[(?)- [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).

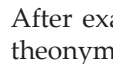
Egyptologists, an Anglicized vocalization of the anthroponyms follows the transliterations.

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.

 (r. I, 2)

After examining the potential connection with the theonym  from the Egyptian-Hittite treaty and rightly dismissing the hybrid etymologies proposed by Astour,³⁴ Schneider recognizes a Semitic anthroponym and concludes by suggesting a variant 'iqtil of the form 'aqtal from the word 'išhar, meaning "black."³⁵ Linear B offers several significant parallels. Three tablets from Pylos mention the male anthroponym *e-sa-ro* (PY En 609; PY Eo 224; PY Ep 705).³⁶ A tablet from Knossos mentions *a-sa-ro* (KN As 40) and another mentions *ja-sa-ro* (KN V(4) 832): these two male anthroponyms appear to be identical.³⁷ This is a Hellenized name from a Cretan dialect, which can also be found in a tablet in Linear A from Haghia Triada (HT 89.1), *a-sa-ra*₂, if the values of Linear B are understood to reflect, at least partially, those of Linear A. With caution, the Greek Εὔσωρος (Eusorus) could have been a plausible successor, but the name is only "mythological."³⁸ The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN) records Αἰσχύλος (Aeschylus), an ancient name known in Chios as early as the 8th century BCE,³⁹ which could be rea-

sonably rendered in Egyptian as *jw-š3-3-ḥw-r(3)-w*.⁴⁰ Despite the lack of a recognized prototype in Linear B, this seems to be the most suitable choice. Less convincing options include Αἰσχρος (Aischros), attested in Chios during the 6th–4th century BCE, and Ἄσαρος (Asarus), known in Sicily and the Bosphorus in the 5th century BCE, which are closer to the suggested Linear B form *a-sa-ro*.

 (r. I, 4)

Schneider finds no clear Semitic prototype for this name,⁴¹ despite comparisons with the biblical king אֶכִּיֶּשׁ ('Ākîš, Akkadian I-ka-ú-su, Biblical Greek Αγγχους) mentioned in 1 Samuel 21:10–13; 27–29; and 1 Kings 2:39–40. Ultimately, Schneider suggests a possible Hurrian origin: Ikišeia⁴² or Akšaya.⁴³ Furthermore, as previously noted, the use of the sign  could indicate a "speaker" of a potential "Axean" *jw-k-3-š3-3-w*-language (an interpreter?). While hypothetical in this case, such use of the "classifier"  appears to be attested in the designation of Egyptian-speaking Levantines *kmtj.w*  in the mastaba inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur, distinguishing them from Egyptians *kmtj.w*.⁴⁴ Linear B onomastics allows for a possible connection with *a-we-ke-se-u* (ἄέξω)⁴⁵ or *e-ke-se* attested on a Knossos tablet (KN Bk 799),⁴⁶ although these forms appear to have no Greek descendants. The proper name Ἄξιος (Axius), found in mythology and attested in Rhodes in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BCE after the LGPN, could serve as a reasonable equivalent, although Schneider's hypothesis of a Hurrian origin cannot be entirely ruled out.





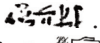
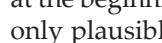
 (r. II, 1)

This anthroponym is considered by Schneider as a variant of *jw-k-3-š3-3-w*,⁴⁷ which was just examined. It is indeed tempting to interpret it as a "Semitic" feminine form of *jw-k-3-š3-3-w*; however, given that no feminine anthroponyms appear to have been recorded on this tablet, the explanation likely lies elsewhere. Linear B provides a compelling comparison with *e-ka-sa-te-u* (PY Qa 1291), which could correspond to *Εξανθεύς (Exantheus).⁴⁸ The anthroponym Εὐξάνθιος (Euxanthius), name of the son of the Cretan King Minos in Greek mythology, offers a remarkable correspondence with the Egyptian form; it is attested on Keos as early as the 8th century BCE, according to the LGPN. Other potential parallels

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 Ἀγισθος (Aegisthus).⁵⁰ Finally, the syllabic orthography system would also allow for a connection— independent of Linear B—with the Greek Ἰοκάστος/Ἰόκαστος (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 Ἀετίων 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-m³-³*,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 Rysya.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 Εὐδήμος (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-t³*),⁶¹ which he refers to as a simple variant of . A link with the lieutenant (*jd^w*)  *p³-³-t-w-n{w}-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) ...*. 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 Πανάρητος (Panaretos) attested in the 3rd century BCE in Arcadia according to the LGPN. Alternatively, Redford proposed Παναλήης (Panalthes).⁶⁸

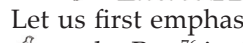
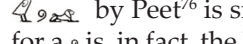
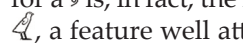
 *n-³-y-sw-w-j-j* (r. I, 3)

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 *נשן נס* (“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-n{-w-j-tj-j* (v. I, 2a)


Let us first emphasize that the sequence rendered  by Peet⁷⁶ is simply . What Peet mistook for a *ϑ* 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 Λεφοντεῖος (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-β-β-β-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-β-d-β-m{-}* (v. I, 3a)

Schneider reads the name as *mj^{-sj}-d^{-β}-d^{-β}-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 *dβ*. The scribe likely continued writing by recording *dβ* twice, neglecting to erase the initial signs, which did not hinder readability. The name should therefore be read as *{d-j}-d-β-d-β-m{-}*. Despite the temporal distance, this anthroponym should be compared to a proper name *tjijm³* (→ 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-β-d-β-m{-}* represents probably the earliest instance of a Didyme preserved in Egyptian writing.

SYNTHESIS

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENT: FOUR SCHOOL EXERCISES

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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), men-

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>	Exantheus 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>Ἀισχύλος</i> <i>Ἐύσωρος</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>Νῆσος</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>Λύσις</i> <i>Λυσίαας</i>	Lysis Lysias

tioning an Egyptian personal name, Semdeti, 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 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 (בִּנְזָבֵל*). 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 anthro-

ponyms—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-{}-a* 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*) *h^c.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-jar*¹²⁸ 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(β)* (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 s^3 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 s^3 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 $-\sigma\chi-$ of Proto-Greek, could have been perceived and recorded as a sequence [ʃ]/[s] + [ʃ] (in phonetic terms), i.e., s^3/s^3 + 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 s^3 in Egyptian. If the Greek χ could, among other possibilities, correspond to the Coptic Ⲭ inherited from the Egyptian ⲥ h^3 (as in $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho \rightarrow \text{Ⲭ}\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho$, cf. Allen 2020, 7), it could also correspond to the Coptic Ⲛ : $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\eta\rho / -\rho\epsilon \rightarrow \text{Ⲛ}\alpha\mu\alpha\text{Ⲛ}\rho$ (Černý 1976, 154). Moreover, the Coptic Ⲛ 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 Rysha 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 $\text{Ⲛ}h.t$, 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 $-re\text{-}ta$ are well attested in Linear B onomastics at Knossos ($pe\text{-}re\text{-}ta$: KN Vf(-) 9006) and Pylos ($pe\text{-}re\text{-}ta$: PY Jn(2) 658 and PY Jn(1) 725; $o\text{-}re\text{-}ta$: PY An(3) 657; $o\text{-}pe\text{-}re\text{-}ta$: PY An(1) 209 and PY Cn(3) 655), which would allow for a possible reconstruction of $*pa\text{-}na\text{-}re\text{-}ta$.
- 68 Redford 2005–2006, 150.
- 69 Astour 1964, 249.
- 70 Schneider 1992, 144, N 308.
- 71 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 562. See also Smod-

- laka 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) sb3 nhsy rmt n(y) km.t h3rw h3s.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 Mouthuy 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 Matić 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–III A1 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 Ἀτρεύς (Atreus), King of Ἀῆῖα (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 Ἀνδρεύς (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.