



TWO LIBYAN NAMES IN A SEVENTH CENTURY SALE DOCUMENT FROM ASSUR¹

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ABSTRACT

In Neo-Assyrian cuneiform sources, Libyan names are rarely found. This paper identifies two additional such names in the sale document StAT 2 53 from Assur, dated 700 BCE, which concerns the sale of a bathhouse in the city of Guzana. The paper begins by summarising the contents of StAT 2 53, before turning to the suspected names. The first name, borne by Uširihūhurti “the Egyptian”, is shown to be Libyan. This identification is based on morphological and historical analysis, as well as comparison with similar names from North Africa. The second name, written Ḥanabeš, should be understood as a variant of the well-known name Ḥallabēše. Attestations of this name indicate that most (and perhaps all) men so named associated with individuals bearing Egyptian names. This observation strengthens prior suggestions that name comes from North Africa. Among these suggestions, the most convincing is that Ḥallabēše is a Libyan name. Finally, the paper considers when and why Uširihūhurti “the Egyptian” and Ḥallabēše came to Guzana. It cautiously suggests these men were among those deported from Samaria to Guzana by the Assyrian army, in an event recorded by the Book of Kings, among other sources. The appearance of such cosmopolitan men in StAT 2 53 coincides with heightened Assyrian and Egyptian trade interests in the Levant, to which a range of documentary sources attests.

INTRODUCTION

In the cuneiform onomasticon of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Libyan names are rarely identified.² Only six have been adduced with conviction, held by no fewer than nine individuals. In Akkadian and Egyptian sources, these names appear as follows: Lamintu (Eg. *Nmrt*);³ Nikkū (Eg. *Nk3w*);⁴ Pišamelki (Eg. *Psmṯk*);⁵ Šilkanni/Šilkānu/Ušil’kanu’ (Eg. *Wsrkn*);⁶ Šusānqu/Susinqu (Eg. *Ššnk*);⁷ and Takil’ā’ti (Eg. *Tkrt*).⁸ The name Ḥallabēše (Eg. *Ḥrbs?*), which occurs in StAT 2 53, is also likely Libyan, and will be discussed shortly.

The scarcity of Libyan names in Neo-Assyrian sources may be contrasted with the abundance of etymologically Egyptian names, well over a hundred of which are attested for the period 700–612*, mostly in documents postdating the Assyrian invasions of Egypt.⁹ In this article, I draw attention to two further Libyan names, found in a private legal document from Assur, published by Donbaz and Parpola as StAT 2 53.¹⁰

THE SOURCE

StAT 2 53 is a fairly standard instrument of purchase, dated 1-VII-700.¹¹ For convenience, a transliteration and translation of the document is given at the end of this article. The document belongs a small private archive from Assur known as N18, which

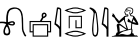
comprises at least seventeen documents with preserved eponyms falling between 708–621*.¹² The contents of StAT 2 53 have no obvious connection to other documents from the archive. The document records how one Qišerāia (^mqi-še-ra-a-a, l. 8) made a purchase in Guzana (^{ur}gu-za-ni, l. 7, modern Tel Halaf),¹³ from Sama’ the Samarian (^msa-ma-a’ ^{lú}si-me-ri-na-a-a, l. 2),¹⁴ for fifty sheqels of silver (l. 9). The object purchased was a *tu-a-ni*, clearly a building since it is described as having “beams and doors, and a wall” (l. 5).¹⁵ The word *tuānu* is a *hapax legomenon*, but since the structure is later referred to as a “bathhouse” (é—tus, l. 11), the editors’ translation as “bath” is certain.¹⁶ Part of the structure sold is said to lie between the properties of Ribiši (^mri-bi-ši-ši) and Ḥanabeš (^mha-na-bē-eš?, both l. 6). The deed states that payment has been made and the transaction completed (l. 10–12), and further warns that any contravention of the sale will incur a fine to Adad of Guzana (l. 13–r.5).

A list of witnesses is given, among whom are probably representatives of both the buyer and the vendor.¹⁷ To the circle of the vendor in Guzana likely belonged three personnel of the Adad Temple (r. 6, 8, 11), a chief brewer associated with the governor of Guzana (r. 20), and at least two further men whose names invoke the god Adad (r. 10, 14). The witnesses include such cosmopolitan men as “Zanbālā, Arab” (^mza-an-ba-uru-a ^{lú}arba-bi, r. 7), “Adda-bi’di, merchant” (^m10-bi-i-di’ ^{lú}dam.gār, r. 10),¹⁸ and three



ubārus “foreign residents” (r. 15–17),¹⁹ among them Paltī-Iaū (^m*pal-liṭ—ia*, r. 15), whose name Schwemer considered Aramaic or Hebrew.²⁰


IDENTIFYING THE NAME UŠIRIḪIUḪURTI

Of particular interest in StAT 2 53 is the reference to one “Uširīḫiuḫurti, the Egyptian” (^m*ú-ši-ri-ḫi-ú-ḫur-ti* ^l*mi-šir-ra-a-a*, r. 9). The origin of this man’s name has hitherto remained elusive. Donbaz and Parpola offered no etymology, and Raija Mattila, writing in the Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, suspected the name to be of Egyptian derivation, “probably containing the theophoric element *Wsir-*” (*i.e.* Osiris).²¹

I would propose instead to understand ^m*ú-ši-ri-ḫi-ú-ḫur-ti* as an Assyrian rendition of the hieroglyphic name  *Wsirbrt*. This name, of unknown meaning, is attested on an unprovenanced bronze axe now in the Cairo Museum,²² ascribed by Yoyotte and Colin to the time of the Twenty-Second to Twenty-Fourth Dynasties.²³





The relationship between the cuneiform and hieroglyphic writings of this name can be established through the comparison of similar names attested in both scripts.²⁴ The transcription of

 *ws* as *ú-ši* is paralleled in cuneiform renditions of  *Wsirkn*²⁵ as ^m*ú-si-il-ka-nu*,²⁶ ^m*ši-il-ka-a-nu*,²⁷ and ^m*ši-il-kan-ni*.²⁸ The last two spellings are aphetic, showing the loss of *u*-Anlaut.²⁹ All three display the liquid shift *r* to *l*, paralleled by the cuneiform *al* for Egyptian (*l*) *r* “to bring up”.³⁰ Transcriptions without this shift, as in the spelling Uširīḫiuḫurti, are altogether more common, and include all attested Neo-Assyrian writings of the theophoric name “Horus” (Eg. *Ḥr*),³¹ and all writings of the name component “who has given him” (Eg. *ir-di-sw*).³² As usual in Neo-Assyrian texts, the Egyptian *s* is represented by Akkadian *š*.³³ Parallels for transcription of *ir* as cuneiform *ri* are provided by ^m*pu-ṭi-še-ri*³⁴ and ^m*pu-ṭi-ši-ri*³⁵ (Eg. *P3-di-wsir*, “The one whom Osiris has given”). Transcriptions of Egyptian *h* are rare in cuneiform, but earlier parallels show the expected correspondence with *ḫ*; the Amarna letters give *ḫi-na* (Eg. *ḥnw*),³⁶ *ḫu-bu-un-nu* (Eg. *ḥbn.t*),³⁷ *ḫa-nu-u-nu sa-ḫu-u* (Eg. *ḥnn šḫ*),³⁸ and *ra-aḫ-ta* (Eg. *rhd.t*).³⁹

The second half of the writing, *-ḫi-ú-ḫur-ti* for  *-hrti*, either contains an excrescent consonant (*cf.* Akk. ^m*ma-an-ti-me-an-ḫi-e* for Eg. *mntw-m-ḫ3.t*, “Montu is at the fore”),⁴⁰ or reflects an aspect of the hieroglyphic name not preserved in its sole attestation. Since neither photograph nor handcopy of the tablet was published, it is possible that the name was erroneously transliterated. The relevant line must be collated.

Uširīḫiuḫurti as a Libyan Name

The name written *Wsirbrt* on the Cairo axe doubtless belongs to the large group of Libyan names known from hieroglyphic

sources.⁴¹ This judgment is based on a range of factors (morphological, genealogical, and historical). Firstly, the name *Wsirbrt*, like other Libyan names, does not appear to be etymologically Egyptian, and is spelled using group writing, a system used to transcribe foreign or otherwise unfamiliar words into Egyptian.⁴² Secondly, its first and only attestation links it to the magnates and rulers of the Twenty-Second to Twenty-Fourth ‘Libyan’ Dynasties, whose own ancestral ties with the nomadic groups of North Africa were first recognised by Stern and Möller,⁴³ and subsequently elucidated by Yoyotte.⁴⁴ Yoyotte drew particular attention to the idiosyncratic features of these dynasties, including their use of such titles as “*ms/wr* of the Ma(shwesh)” and “*ḫ3w.t-general*”. Both these titles were borne by *Wsirbrt*, who is named  *ms 3 (n) n3 m ḫ3w.t* “great *ms* of the Ma, *ḫ3w.t-general*” on the Cairo dagger.⁴⁵ Noteworthy too is the determinative governing *ms* in this inscription, which depicts the two-feathered headdress characteristic of canonical portrayals of the Tjehenu in Egyptian artwork of the New Kingdom.⁴⁶ Thirdly, the name *Wsirbrt* shares idiosyncratic components with several better-attested names from the Libyan onomasticon.⁴⁷ The component *Wsir-* is shared by the names  *Wsirkn*,⁴⁸ and the component *-brt* by  *Mshrt*⁴⁹ and  *Mshbrt*.⁵⁰ In final defence of a connection to North Africa, the corpus of Libyco-Berber inscriptions from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco contains names which share components with *Wsirbrt*, as well as other names from the Libyan onomasticon.⁵¹ For example, the names written in hieroglyphic as *Ššnk*, *Tkrt*, *Mshrt*, *Nmrt* and *Wsirkn* are attested in the Libyco-Berber inscriptions as *Šnk*,⁵² *Tklt*,⁵³ *M's' (h)rt/Mslt*,⁵⁴ *Nmrt*,⁵⁵ and *Ushrkn*.⁵⁶ From the third and last of these names, a Libyco-Berber form of *Wsirbrt* may tentatively be reconstructed as **Ushr(h)rt* or **Ushrt*.

Uširīḫiuḫurti as an “Egyptian”

In StAT 2 53, Uširīḫiuḫurti’s African heritage is confirmed by his description as an “Egyptian” (^l*mi-šir-ra-a-a*), a gentilic which makes his background—or at least his perceived cultural-linguistic affiliation—abundantly clear.⁵⁷ It should be noted that the vast majority of individuals in Neo-Assyrian sources with etymologically Egyptian names are not identified by a gentilic of any kind; among at least thirty individuals in the Assyrian corpus explicitly identified as “Egyptian”, barely a third have names that are of clear Egyptian etymology, and most of the remainder bear East or West Semitic names. This phenomenon is not easily explained; it is perhaps possible that Egyptian names, which are overwhelmingly constructed using easily discernible preformative and divine elements (*e.g.* Akk. *puṭu* = Eg. *p3-di*; Akk. *ḫuru* = Eg. *Ḥr*), contrasted so strongly with the predominantly Semitic onomasticon of the Neo-Assyrian Empire that further specification was unnecessary.

The writing of the gentilic nisbe ^{lu}*mi-sir-ra-a-a* “the Egyptian” is itself of interest. Such nisbes may stand in apposition to another noun, in the genitive, or in isolation with substantive meaning.⁵⁸ The nisbe is usually preceded by one of two determinatives: the land determinative KUR (𒌷) or the human determinative LÚ (𒍪). As Mario Fales has recently observed, applications of the nisbe with prefixed LÚ determinative usually concern people or groups which “entertained political and/or economic relations with the Assyrian empire but who were not incorporated (yet/any longer) within its boundaries and thus were not subjected to the ‘inner’ jurisdiction of the provincial areas.”⁵⁹ This observation holds for the many “Egyptians” mentioned in Neo-Assyrian state documents. Accordingly, the military group encountered by Shalmaneser III at Qarqar,⁶⁰ the Egyptian traders of the Lebanese coast,⁶¹ the Egyptian emissaries attested at eighth century Nimrud,⁶² the Egyptian specialists being deported from Egypt by Esarhaddon,⁶³ and the Egyptian armies mentioned in royal queries to the sun god⁶⁴ are all specified as ^{kur}*mušurāia*, rather than ^{lu}*mušurāia*. By contrast, the prefixed LÚ is applied largely to persons or groups settled within the bounds of the empire, and incorporated within its administrative structure.⁶⁵ Indeed, none of the gentilically identified “Egyptians” in Neo-Assyrian private legal documents is specified with the determinative KUR,⁶⁶ instead marked with LÚ, or in rare cases (confined largely to an unpublished archive from Assur) with no determinative at all. Like other Egyptians identified as ^{lu}*mušurāia*, Uširihiuḫurti was an active participant in the legal framework of the Empire, and likely to have been regarded as a settled inhabitant.

IDENTIFYING THE NAME ḪALLABĒŠE

In StAT 2 53: 6, one ^m*ḫa-na-bē-eš*² is identified as the owner of the property neighbouring the bathhouse sold by Sama’. Writing in PNA, Heather Baker filed this as an example of the otherwise unattested name Ḫanabeš, of unknown origin and meaning.⁶⁷ Donbaz and Parpola more plausibly suggested that ^m*ḫa-na-bē-eš*² is a variant spelling of the well-known name Ḫallabēše.⁶⁸

This name has been variously considered equivalent to the Phoenician *Hilbs*,⁶⁹ to the Greek *Χάβης*,⁷⁰ or to the Egyptian name transcribed by Ranke as *ḥrbs*.⁷¹ This Egyptian name is itself of disputed etymology, considered either an indigenous Egyptian name (*Ḥr-Bs* “Horus Bes”,⁷² *Ḥl-Bs* “Bes has flown”,⁷³ or of uncertain translation⁷⁴), or otherwise a Libyan name.⁷⁵

The following section argues for an African, and specifically Libyan origin for the name, on the following grounds. First, men named Ḫallabēše in Neo-Assyrian sources cluster disproportionately alongside individuals bearing Egyptian names. This strengthens arguments for an African rather than Phoenician origin for the name. Second, previous arguments that the name has an indigenous Egyptian etymology are unpersuasive on orthographic and phonetic grounds. Finally, several men named *Ḥrbs* were related to persons with Libyan names, or to those who

bore characteristic titles of the ‘Libyan’ dynasts. Accordingly, Leahy’s proposal to understand *Ḥrbs* as a Libyan name remains the most convincing.

Ḫallabēše as an Associate of Persons With Egyptian Names

Examining the attestations of the name Ḫallabēše in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform, it is apparent that most, and perhaps all, men named Ḫallabēše associated with persons bearing Egyptian names. This observation strengthens arguments that the name Ḫallabēše itself originated in North Africa.

The corpus contains the following individuals: Ḫallabēše 1. (^m*ḫal-bē-šú*),⁷⁶ Ḫallabēše 2. (^m*ḫa-la-bé -(e)-si/šī/še*, ^m*ḫal-bi/la- [...]*),⁷⁷ Ḫallabēše 3. (^m*ḫal-la-’bé-šú*, *ḫa-la-bē-šú*),⁷⁸ Ḫallabēše 4. (^m*ḫal-l(a-bē-še/šú)*),⁷⁹ and Ḫallabēše 5. (^m*ḫa-na-bē-eš*).⁸⁰ Of these individuals, four (2.-5.) definitely associated with persons with Egyptian names, and another (1.) may be identical with Ḫallabēše 5.

Ḫallabēše 2. acted as a witness alongside Puṭi-Eše (Eg. *P3-di-3st*, “The one whom Isis has given”) the “commander of fifty”⁸¹ and Uta-Ḫūru 2. (Eg. *Wd3-ḫr*, “May Horus be sound!”)⁸² in the archive of the Ninevite courtier Inūrta-šarru-ušur. This archive mentions numerous other persons with etymologically Egyptian names.⁸³

Ḫallabēše 3. is a minor character in the so-called “Egyptian Archive” from Assur, and appears in StAT 2 192: 4 (629*) as the father of a man borrowing silver. Witnesses to this document include Taḫ-artiše 1. (Eg. *Pth-ir-di-sw*, “It is Ptah who has given him”)⁸⁴ and Ḫur-waši 6. (Eg. *Ḥr-wd3*, Horus is sound)⁸⁵. Ḫallabēše 3. also appears as witness to the silver loan StAT 2 177: r. 2 (617*), where he is listed immediately before Aḫūru (Eg. *i-Ḥr?*).⁸⁶

Ḫal[labēše] 4. is attested as witness to the Ninevite wife sale SAA 14 161: r. 21 (623*), in which the individuals Amu-rtēše 2. (Eg. *Imn-ir-di-sw*, “It is Amun who has given him”),⁸⁷ Niḫti-Eša-rau (Eg. *Nḫt-3st-r=w*, “Isis is strong against them”),⁸⁸ Ši-ḫū 4. (Eg. *Dd-ḫr*, “The face [of DN] has said”),⁸⁹ and Šaḫpimāu (Eg. *T3-Ḫp-im=w*, “May Apis seize them!”)⁹⁰ also feature.

The putative Ḫallabēše 5. is attested in StAT 2 53 (the same document as Uširihiuḫurti) as ^m*ḫa-na-bē-eš*² (1.6),⁹¹ and is identified as the owner of a property neighbouring the bathhouse sold at Guzana by the Samarian Sama’.




Ḫallabēše 1. appears in the letter SAA 16 63 (undated), where one ^m*ḫal-bē-šú* (r. 9) gives testimony concerning crimes committed by servants against the governor of Guzana. Ḫallabēše 1. is described as a “Samaritan” (^{um}*sa-mir-i-na-a-a*, r. 9), and those against whom he informs include ^m*pal-ti—ia-u* and ^m*ni-ri—ia-u* (l. 4), both of whom have Aramaic or Hebrew names.⁹² Since a man named ^m*pal-ti—ia* also appears in StAT 2 53, alongside Ḫallabēše 5., the suggestion that these sets of men are identical seems reasonable.⁹³ If Ḫallabēše 1. and 5. are indeed the same, this may also explain why StAT 2 53 features a servant of the governor

of Guzana, a man with whose comrades Ḥallabēše and Paṭī-Iaū have a working relationship in SAA 16 63.

From the preceding discussion, it is clear most (and perhaps all) men named Ḥallabēše in Neo-Assyrian documents had links to persons with Egyptian names.⁹⁴ On the basis of this observation, the name is itself almost certainly of North African extraction.

Ḥallabēše as a Libyan Name

The appearance of Ḥallabēše 5. alongside an “Egyptian” with a Libyan name in StAT 2 53 prompts reconsideration of Leahy’s theory that Ḥallabēše is itself a Libyan name. Against an indigenous Egyptian origin for the name *Ḥrbs*, Leahy provided the following three arguments. First, he noted that the majority of the name’s hieroglyphic and demotic spellings begin with characters that are either ambiguous, or altogether incompatible with spellings of the names *Ḥr* “Horus”. This is a significant blow to Kuentz’s proposition that the name spells *Ḥr-Bs*, “Horus-Bes”. Second, Leahy correctly noted that cuneiform spellings of the name *Ḥallabēše* consistently indicate the consonant *l*, which is never used to transcribe the strong *r* at the end of the name Horus.⁹⁵ Finally, he adduced three early attestations of the name *Ḥrbs* associated with Libyan names and titles. A man named as

 and  *Ḥrbs* appears as the son of *ṭknš* on a series of canopic jars.⁹⁶ Another man named  (sic) *Ḥrbs* appears on a Serapeum Stela dated to Year 37 of Sheshonk V as the son of *‘nh-Ḥr*, “great chief of the Libu” (*ms/wr ʿz n Rb*).⁹⁷ In absence of a plausible Egyptian etymology, and in view of the name’s unusual orthography and association with names and titles of the ‘Libyan’ dynasts, Leahy concluded that the name *Ḥrbs* is Libyan.

Colin considered this judgment problematic, and excluded the name from his corpus on two grounds. First, he observed that the letter *ḥ* is otherwise unattested in his corpus of Libyan names.⁹⁸ This criticism appears damning, until one considers that another putative Libyan name identified by Leahy, *Ḥrwz*, was excluded on the same grounds.⁹⁹ For comparison, Colin’s corpus contains only two names beginning with the letter *p*,¹⁰⁰ and only four beginning with the letter *n*,¹⁰¹ none of which was excluded on the grounds of rarity. Second, Colin noted that the majority of the Egyptian attestations of *Ḥrbs* occur in the Ptolemaic period. This cannot be understood as a criticism of Leahy’s proposal, as the name is question is already securely attested centuries earlier.

In view of the strong association between the name Ḥallabēše and Egyptian names in cuneiform; the absence of plausible indigenous etymology for the Egyptian name *Ḥrbs*, the name’s association with Libyan name-bearers and dynasts identified by Leahy, and the fragile grounds on which the name was excluded from the Libyan onomasticon by Colin, the balance of probabilities suggests that *Ḥrbs* is indeed a Libyan name, and with it, the name Ḥallabēše.

WHEN AND WHY DID UŠIRIḤIUḤURTI AND ḤALLABĒŠE COME TO GUZANA?

Having considered the origins of their names, we now contemplate how Uširiḥiuḥurti and Ḥallabēše came to Guzana, and what they were doing there. Uširiḥiuḥurti’s status as witness to the tablet suggests he was considered a permanent resident in the city, since he and the other witnesses were specifically chosen to provide testimony in the case of “any revocation, lawsuit or litigation” whether undertaken “in the future [or] at any time, whether [by] Sama’ or his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, his relatives or any litigant of his” (l. 12 – r. 5). Likewise, Ḥallabēše was the owner of property in Guzana, and likely too a permanent or semi-permanent resident.

The date of the tablet is significant, for if the tablet’s eponym has been correctly restored, StAT 2 53 dates to 700 BCE. It is therefore the earliest dated Neo-Assyrian private document to mention an “Egyptian”. Tablets from the Nimrud ‘Wine Lists’ reveal that “Egyptian scribes” and “Kushites” were present at Tiglath-Pileser III’s Nimrud court already by the mid-eighth century,¹⁰² but no “Egyptian” is attested in a private source before 700.

The appearance of Uširiḥiuḥurti and his colleague Ḥallabēše at Guzana, long before the conquests of Esarhaddon (r. 680–669) and Assurbanipal (r. 668–c.624) brought large numbers of Nile dwellers to Mesopotamia, therefore requires special explanation. The most straightforward reason for their appearance is deportation in wake of the Assyrian campaigns in the Levant, to which diverse sources attest.

The first Assyrian royal inscriptions to record the deportation of “Egyptians” from the Levant are those of Sennacherib (r. 705–681), who personally claimed to have captured alive “(Egyptian) charioteers and Egyptian princes” (*lū en gišgiṛ-meš ū dumu-meš luḡal-meš kur mu-šu-ra-a-a*) during engagements with a hostile confederation at Eltekeh in 701.¹⁰³ It is faintly conceivable that the men in StAT 2 53 arrived in Mesopotamia as captives of this campaign, as Balogh¹⁰⁴ and Radner¹⁰⁵ have persuasively argued in relation to the high-ranking and military men mentioned in the house sale SAA 6 142 from Nineveh, dated 16-III-692. The men listed in that document include Šil-Aššūr 2., the “Egyptian scribe” (*lū a.ba lū mu-šu-ra-a-a*), Rasū’ (Eg. *rš.w?*),¹⁰⁶ Ḥūr-waši 1. (Eg. *ḥr-wd3*, “Horus is sound!”),¹⁰⁷ Ḥūr-waši 2. (Eg. *ḥr-wd3*),¹⁰⁸ and Šusānqu (Eg. *ššnk*) “in-law of the king [of Assyria]”. Nevertheless, in the case of StAT 2 53 this explanation is highly unlikely. The time that had elapsed between the battle and the appearance of these men in the documentary life of Guzana is simply too short.

Another possibility, which I cautiously propose as the more plausible, is that Uširiḥiuḥurti and Ḥallabēše were among the deportees taken from Samaria to Guzana by the Assyrian armies of Shalmaneser V (r. 726-722) or Sargon II (r. 721-705).¹⁰⁹ Such deportations are famously recounted by the Book of Kings (2 Ki. 17: 3–6, 18: 9–11), which states that “Shalmaneser, king of

Assyria" attacked Israel after King Hoshea conspired to form an alliance with "So, king of Egypt", usually identified as Osorkon IV of Tanis. After a siege lasting three years, the city was captured, and the inhabitants were taken to Guzana and Haran (2. Ki. 17: 6).¹¹⁰ Although Assyrian sources leave the chronology of the campaign open to dispute,¹¹¹ the royal inscriptions of Sargon II state that the Assyrian army destroyed¹¹² and plundered the city,¹¹³ deporting numerous inhabitants from the region.¹¹⁴ Elements of the conquest are corroborated by the Babylonian Chronicle,¹¹⁵ by Josephus (Jewish Antiquities IX 15), and so too by Assyrian administrative documents indicating that Samaritans found their way to Guzana.¹¹⁶

The suggestion that Uširihiuḫurti and Ḫallabēše were taken from Samaria to Guzana would account well for the cosmopolitan group attested in StAT 2 53, which includes men with Levantine and Libyan names, as well as individuals with ties to Guzana and Samaria. The vendor of the property in Guzana is described as a "Samaritan",¹¹⁷ and the witnesses include both a servant of the governor of Guzana (r. 20) and the individual Paṭi-Iaū (^m*pal-liṭ—ia*, r. 15), whose name is either Aramaic or Hebrew.¹¹⁸

The Egyptian presence in the Levant prior to the Assyrian deportations should be viewed against a background of international trade and military interests in the region, to which numerous contemporary sources attest. The Assyrian sources include: the summary inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, which record the creation of a royally-sanctioned trading post or *bīt kāri* shortly after the king's conquest of Gaza in 734, intended to manage trade with the neighbouring Nile Valley;¹¹⁹ a well-known letter from Nimrud in which Qurdi-Aššūr-lāmur reports to Tiglath-Pileser III on the undesirable involvement of "Egyptians" (^{kur}*mu-šur-a-a*) in the Levantine wood trade near Tyre;¹²⁰ and

Sargon II's Khorsabad Annals, in which the king claims to have "mixed together the people of Assyria and Egypt" and "made them trade with each other" following the Assyrian victory at Rapiḫu in 720.¹²¹ The hieroglyphic Kawa III and Kawa VI stelae further indicate that Taharqa of Kush obtained Levantine wood for the Amun Temple at Kawa in 683 and 681,¹²² showing that Egyptian trade interests in the region were upheld. Of further relevance are a passage in the Book of Ezekiel recording Egypt's importance to the cloth trade at Tyre (Ezek. 27: 7), and two discoveries made at Samaria: of a vase fragment of Osorkon II;¹²³ and of a scarab and clay sealing of the Twenty-Second or Twenty-Third Dynasty.¹²⁴

If Uširihiuḫurti, Ḫallabēše, or their families were involved in Levantine trade of the kind alluded to above, this would comfortably explain their presence in the region of Samaria at the time of the deportations. In StAT 2 53, Uširihiuḫurti is listed immediately prior to "Adda-bi'di, merchant" (r. 10), and it is possible the two men's professions were related.¹²⁵ The appearance of a putative "*Arab*" (r. 7) is also significant, given the importance of such men to navigation of the desert routes of the Sinai and Negev, on which both Egypt and Assyria came to rely.¹²⁶

CONCLUSIONS

In closing, the findings of this paper may be outlined as follows: Uširihiuḫurti is a transcription of a Libyan name known from Egypt; the name which appears in StAT 2 53 as Ḫanabēš should be understood as a variant spelling of Ḫallabēše, another name which is very likely Libyan; and the presence of Uširihiuḫurti and Ḫallabēše at Guzana in StAT 2 53 may be explained with reference to Assyrian deportations from the Levant, coinciding with well-documented Egyptian and Assyrian trade interests in the region.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

A 1924 = Ass 8642a = StAT 2 53; after Donbaz and Parpola 2001, 44–45, with emendations as indicated above.

1	[<i>ku-um</i> ^{na4} ki]šib-šú šu-pur-šú is-kún	¹ Instead of his [se]al he impressed his fingernail.
2	[<i>šu-pur</i>] ^m sa-ma-a ¹⁰ šī-me-ri-na-a-a	² [Fingernail] of Sama', Samarian, [son of Ša]maš-bēl-ketti, from Guzana, owner of the <i>tuānu</i> (bath) being sold.
3	[a ^{m4} u]tu—en—zi ša ^{un} gu-za-ni	
4	[e]n <i>tu-a-ni</i> sum-an	
five fingernail impressions		(five fingernail impressions)
5	<i>tu-a-ni a-di</i> ^{giš} ur ^{meš} šú a-di ^{giš} ig ^{meš} šú	⁵ A <i>tuānu</i> (bath) with its beams (and) doors, and a wall between Ribiši and Hanabēš (=Hallabēše), (property) of Sama' in the city of Guzana —
6	<i>i-ga-a-ri bir¹¹-te^mri-bi-ši-ši bir¹¹-te^mha-na-bē-eš²</i>	⁸ Qišeraya, chief [...]ean, has contracted and bought it for fifty sheqels of silver.
7	ša ^m sa-ma-a ¹ ina ^{un} gu-za-ni	¹⁰ The money is paid completely. The bathroom in question is acquired and purchased. Any revocation, lawsuit or litigation is void.
8	ú-piš-ma ^m qi-še-ra-a-a lú.gal—x x-a-a	¹³ Whoever in the future, at any time, whether Sama' or his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, his relatives or any litigant of his who seeks a lawsuit or litigation with Qi[šer]aya and his sons,
9	ina ša-bi 50 gin ^{meš} kù.babbar il-qi	
10	<i>kas-pi ga-mur</i> sum-an	
11	é—tuš šu-a-te za-ri ^p la-qi	
12	<i>tu-a-ri de-ni</i> dug ₄ dug ₄ la-šu	
13	<i>man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina im-ma-ti-me</i>	
14	<i>lu-u</i> ^m sa-ma-a ¹ lu-u ^m dumu ^{meš} šú	
15	<i>lu-u</i> dumu—dumu ^{meš} šú lu-u še ^{meš} šú	
16	<i>lu-u qur-ub-šú lu-u mim-ma</i> ^{meš} šú	
17	ša de-ni dug ₄ dug ₄ ta ^m qi ^r —[še-r]a-ia	
18	ú dumu ^{meš} šú ub-ta-[u-ni]	
e. 19	10 ma.na kù.babbar lu ^h -ú 1 m[a.na]	¹⁹ shall place ten minas of refined silver (and) one m[ina] of pure gold in the lap of Adad who resides i[n G]uzana, shall tie four white horses at the feet of [Šin] who resides in Haran, and shall return the money tenfold to its owner. He shall contest in his lawsuit and not succeed.
20	kù.gi sak-ru ina bur-ki ^d 10 š[a]	
r. 1	a-šib i[na ^{un} g]u-za-ni i-šā-kan	
2	4 anše.kur.ra babbar ^{meš} te ina gir.2 ^d [30]	
3	a-šib ^{un} kaskal i-rak-kas kas-pi a-na 10 ^{meš} te	
4	a-na en-šú ú-ta-ri a-na de-ni-šú	
5	dug ₄ dug ₄ ma la i-la-qi	
6	igi ^m ab-ba-gir-pab-a-a ¹⁰ erim.ḫi	^{r.6} Witness Abba....aya, <i>scholar</i> .
7	igi ^m za-an-ba—uru-a ¹⁰ arba-bi	⁷ Witness Zānbālā, <i>Arab</i> .
8	igi ^m a-bar-ra-a ¹⁰ erim.ḫi ša é— ^d im	⁸ Witness Abarrā, <i>scholar</i> of the temple of Adad.
9	igi ^m ú-ši-ri-ḫi-ú-ḫur-ti ¹⁰ mi-šir-ra-a-a	⁹ Witness Uširihuhurti, Egyptian.
10	igi ^m 10—bi-i- ^d di ¹⁰ dam.gār	¹⁰ Witness Adda-bi'di, merchant.
11	igi ^m 10—pab—pab ša é—dingir	¹¹ Witness Adad-aḫu-ušur of the temple.
12	igi ^m ha-a-a—apin-eš	¹² Witness Ḫaia-ēreš.
13	igi ^m gab-ri-i	¹³ Witness Gabrī.
14	igi ^m 10—sa-ka-a a ^m hu-ri-ri	¹⁴ Witness Adda-sakā, son of Huriri.
15	igi ^m pat-liṭ—ia ú-ba-ru	¹⁵ Witness Paṭī-Iaū, visitor.
16	igi ^m mi-zi—ia ki.min	¹⁶ Witness Mizi-Iaū, ditto.
17	[igi] ^m šeš—a-bi ki.min	¹⁷ [Witness] Aḫ-abi, ditto.
18	[igi] ^m mi-ni—pab.me lú.ašgab ša ^m dingir—ne-me-qi	¹⁸ [Witne]ss Mini-aḫḫe, leather worker of Il-nēmeqi.
19	[igi] ^m ši-ra-nu-u ^m a-la-ra ¹⁰ ki-šur-te ^{meš} šú	¹⁹ [Witne]ss Širānū (and) Alara, his ...s.
20	[igi] ^m bu-ra-ia lú.gal—lunga—kaš	²⁰ [Witness] Buraya, chief beer-brewer [of?] the governor of Guzana.
21	[ša ³] ¹⁰ en.nam ša ^{un} gu-za-ni	²² [Witness ...]ayā.
22	[igi ^m x]-a-ia-a	^{s.1} Witness Ni...ni, Witness Nabū-aḫu-[...], keeper of the tablet.
s. 1	igi ^m ni— ^d šú—x x ni igi ^m pa—šeš—[x]	² Month Tishri (VII), 1 st day, eponym year of Mi[tūnu].
2	ša-bit im iti.du ⁶ ud-1-kam lim-me ^m mi-[tu-nu]	³ One sheqel of silver for his fingernail.
3	1 gin kù.babbar ša šu-pur-šú	

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NOTES

- ¹ For reading and commenting on drafts of this article, I give my sincerest thanks to Eva Miller, Orla Polten, Karen Radner, Günter Vittmann, Martin Worthington, and to JAEI's anonymous reviewers. The abbreviations used in this paper may be consulted at http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=abbreviations_for_assyriology and <http://www.egyptologyforum.org/EEFrefs.html> (noting PNA not PNAE, and RIL for Chabot 1940). The numbers (1., 2., 3., etc.) following normalised personal names refer to those used by the PNA. Following the convention of the PNA and SAA, asterisks indicate dates determined by post-canonical eponym (see PNA 1/I, p. xviii–xx).
- ² 'Libyan names' refers to those names whose association with lands to the west of the Nile is determined using a range of morphological and historical factors (see especially Colin 1996). By wider Egyptological convention, which I attempt here to avoid, the term 'Libyan' is used indiscriminately to refer a range of ethnic groups and associated cultures originating in North Africa, referred to in Egyptian texts as the "Tjehenu", "Tjemehu", "Meshwesh", "Ma", and "Rebu", among other names (see Snape 2003, 93–106, and Cooney 2011). Issues attendant to ascribing ethnicity on the basis of onomastics are outlined by Fales 2013, 51–52, footnote 11; it suffices here to say that the presence of a Libyan name is not sufficient grounds to call the bearer 'Libyan'.
- ³ On the name Lamintu (Eg. *Nmrt*), see Ranke 1935, 204, no. 11; Demot Nb, 725 (see further the *Korrekturen und Nachträge* to the Demot Nb, 193); Tallqvist 1918, 120; Onasch 1994, i.56; Yoyotte 1957–1960, 24; Colin 1996, i.68–69, ii.50–55. In the Neo-Assyrian corpus this name is attested only of a king of Hermopolis ('Nimlot E') in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, spelled *la-mi-in-tú*, *la-mi-in-tú*, see PNA 2/II, 652. For a recent *obiter dictum* that the name means "Der zum Panther (*nmr*) gehört," see Zauzich 2013, 416, footnote 30.
- ⁴ The name of Necho I (Eg. *Nk3w*) is attested in the Assyrian royal inscriptions as Nik(k)û. For the spellings and references, see PNA 2/II, 963. The name is otherwise unattested as a personal name in Assyria, but appears at Neo-Babylonian Sippar in BM 120052: r. 20 as *ni-ku-ú* (Zadok 2005, 95). Griffith (1909, 243, note 7) considered the Egyptian form an atypical revival of the Old Kingdom name *Nj-k3.w*, "Belonging to the *kas* (i.e. souls)", see further Ranke 1935, 213, no. 16; so too Ryholt 2004, 485; PNA 2/II, 963; Demot Nb, 624–625 (against the demotic readings, see Depauw and Clarysse 2002). Griffith's hypothesis has been convincingly refuted on orthographic grounds by Leahy (2011, 56–565), confirming suspicions that the name was not originally Egyptian. I am grateful to Claus Jurman for bringing this article to my attention (8/04/2015). Like the demotic writing of *Psmṭk* as *P3-s-(n)-mṭk* "the mixed-drink vendor" (Ray 1990, 197; Quaegebeur 1990), the spelling *Nj-k3.w* must be considered a secondary development. If Perdu's analysis of the relationship between the Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties is correct, it stands to reason that the name Necho (and with it Psammetichus) is Libyan (Perdu 2002; Leahy 2011, 566). For the etymology of Nechepsos as "Necho the Wise", see Ryholt 2011. I thank Luigi Prada for this reference (09/04/15).
- ⁵ The name of Psammetichus I (Eg. *Psmṭk*) is attested in the Assyrian royal inscriptions as Pišamelki. For the spellings and references, see PNA 3/I, 997. On the rogue spelling *tu-sá-me-el-ki* as a scribal error, see Worthington 2012, 77–78, 124. As it appears in Neo-Assyrian sources, the final portion of the name diverges considerably from the Egyptian. Conceivably it was influenced by *mlk* "to rule" (Ray 1990, 197); Martin Worthington also points out to me that the name could be understood as the sentence *pīša melki*, "her utterance is my advice" (09/04/15). The name is attested in Persian Babylonia as *pu-sa-mi-is-ki* (Edel 1980; Onasch 1994, i.164, footnotes 608–609), and at Sippar as *pu-sa-mi-is-ki* (Bongenaar and Haring 1994, 70). As with Necho, the name is probably Libyan (Ray 1990, 196; Schneider 2001, 164; Leahy 2011, 565), a supposition strengthened by morphological compatibility with the Libyan onomasticon (Colin 1996, ii.121), and recent analysis of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty's descent (Perdu 2002).
- ⁶ On the name Šilkanni/Šilkānu/Ušil'kanu' (Eg. *Wsrkn*), see Ranke 1935, 87, no. 2; Demot Nb, 129 (see also *Korrekturen und Nachträge* to the Demot Nb, 141); Albright 1956, 24; Colin 1996, i.61–63, ii.20–36. Neo-Assyrian sources attest to three individuals with this name: *šī-il-kan-ni* (Osorkon IV) in the inscriptions of Sargon II, on whom see Fuchs 1998, IIIc: 8, and PNA 3/II, 1421–1422; the servant *šī-il-ka-a-nu* from Assur in StAT 2 268: 1, 2 (644* or 629*), see PNA 3/II: 1422; and the witness *šī-si-il-'ka-nu* from Assur in StAT 3 97: 14 (date lost), see PNA 3/II, 1422.
- ⁷ On the name Šusānu/Susinqu (Eg. *Ššnḳ*), see Ranke 1935, 330, no. 6; Demot Nb, 105, 970, 974; Tallqvist 1918, 204; Onasch 1994, i.53; Colin 1996, i.71–2, ii.61–88. Two individuals with this name are attested in Neo-Assyrian sources: the in-law of Sennacherib attested in SAA 6 142: r.12 as *šū-sa-an-qu* (692); and the king of Busiris attested as *su-si-in-qu* in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, see PNA 3/II, 1161.
- ⁸ On the name Takil'ā'ti (Eg. *Tkrṭ*), see Ranke 1935, 394, no. 25; Demot Nb, 105; Tallqvist 1918, 228; Colin 1996, i.74, ii.106–114. In the Neo-Assyrian corpus, one individual with this name is attested as a witness at Nineveh, in SAA 14 26: r. 4 as *ta-ki-la-a-ti* (645*), and in SAA 14 154: r. 11 as *ta-ki-la-ti* (627*), see PNA 3/II, 1303. Vittmann, 1984, 65, provides a Neo-Babylonian example; the name also appears as *Tak-la-a-ta* in BM

- 59410: 15 and CT 56, 87 III: 16, and as *Tak-la-ta* in BM 59410: r. 20' and CT 56, 664 ii.15', see Bongenaar and Haring 1994, 71; Zadok 1992, 143.
- ⁹ These and the other (very approximate) figures given in this article are based on my own tabulation of the personal names in PNA, as well as those in Radner, K., *IV. Die beiden neuassyrischen Privatarchive* (forthcoming). On the invasions, see RINAP 4; Onasch 1994; Borger 1996; Kahn 2006; Radner 2008; Kahn and Tammuz 2009, all with references to expansive further literature. For a short thematic summary of the Egyptian presence in Assyria, see Huber 2006.
- ¹⁰ A 1924 = Ass 8442a = StAT 2 53 (700); Donbaz and Parpola 2001, 44–45.
- ¹¹ The eponym preserved on s. 2 is fragmentary, but may be restored as *lim-me* ^m*mi*-[*tu-nu*], this being the only eponym to begin with MI. Identical restorations are given in Radner 1997, 308, and Donbaz and Parpola 2001, 45. For the date of Mitūnu, see Millard 1994, 101.
- ¹² Pedersén 1986, 106–107; not all the tablets can be dated.
- ¹³ The site is located close to the Syrian-Turkish border, centred on 36°49'34"N; 40°2'22"E.
- ¹⁴ see Ponchia 2003, 275–76, superseding the reading ^{li}*si-me-ri-šu-a-a* “the Damascene”, which is based on *ša-imērišu*, a form unattested in non-literary texts. I am thankful to Ran Zadok for bringing this reference to my attention. The name Sama' is West Semitic, see PNA 3/I, 1081; Tallqvist 1918, 191; Zadok 1977a, 119, and is held by another “Samaritan” in the undated administrative list CTN 3 99: ii 20.
- ¹⁵ Described as a “Haus” in Radner 1997, 249, footnote 1296.
- ¹⁶ Simo Parpola suggests the word is Aramaic, noting similarities to the Syr. *taūno/tauwōnō*, “an inner room; a garner” and J.Aram. *tawwāna* “Gemach, Kammer”, see: Smith 1903, 606; and Dalman 1938, 440 (personal correspondence, 16/9/2014).
- ¹⁷ I am most grateful to Ran Zadok for his comments concerning the likely division of the witnesses in StAT 2 53 (11/9/14).
- ¹⁸ On the nuances of *dam.gār*, *tamkāru* during the Neo-Assyrian period, see Radner 1999.
- ¹⁹ The term *ubāru* (suḫuš), customarily translated “visitor”, describes a resident alien or envoy of high status, usually enjoying special support from the local government, see CAD, vol. 20, U and W, 10–11. For the term in an administrative context, see SAA 7 151: ii.2 (undated); for a legal context see the court decision StAT 2 173: 1 (636* or 625*), delivered after a group of “Egyptian merchants” (^{li}*dam.gār*^{meš} ^{li}*mu-šur-ra-a-a*) entered the house of Ḥakubaya as *ubārus* and met with misfortune at the hands of five men. The related expression *bēt ubrēšu* appears in SAA 1 153: r. 6 (undated), in reference to the lodging place of the dignitaries of Sidon.
- ²⁰ Read by *pa-lit—ia*-<*ú*> by Schwemer in PNA 3/I, 982, apparently assuming haplography with *ú-ba-ru*. Donbaz and Parpola read instead ^m*bal-liṭ—ia*. The name on the following line, ^m*mi-zi—ia*, seems also to invoke Iaū.
- ²¹ PNA 3/II, 1422.
- ²² Cairo J.E. 36513 (purchase), Daressy 1907, 284–285.
- ²³ Yoyotte 1961, revised and reissued 2012, 12, no. 31; Colin 1996, ii.20.
- ²⁴ For discussions of the transcription of Egyptian words into cuneiform, see *inter alia*: Steindorff 1890, citing earlier literature on p. 332; Ranke 1910; Albright 1946; Albright 1956; Vycichl 1964; Wiseman 1966; Fales 1974; Osing 1978; Edel 1980; Leahy 1980; Zadok 1992; Leahy 1993; Zeidler 1994; Zadok 1977; Zadok 1979; Zadok 1983; Zadok 1995; Zadok 1997; Mattila 2002; Zadok 2005; and the numerous entries on etymologically Egyptian names, mostly by Raija Mattila, in the PNA.
- ²⁵ Ranke 1935, 87, no. 2; see further spellings in Colin 1996, ii.20–36.
- ²⁶ StAT 3 97: 14 (date lost), perhaps better with *-št-*, see endnote 36.
- ²⁷ StAT 2 268 (644* or 629*): 1, 2, as ^m*ši-il-ka-a-nu*.
- ²⁸ Fuchs 1998, IIIc, 8; Kahn 2001.
- ²⁹ Albright 1956, 24, attributed the loss of *u*-Anlaut in writings of *Wsirkn* to confusion with the Akkadian conjunction *u* “and, or”. The potential for confusion in cases of *u*-Anlaut is further suggested by Akkadian scribes' near-universal preference for the sign *Ú* (rather than *U* or *Û*) in word-initial position, one of the very few ‘rules’ of Akkadian orthography to have met with widespread acceptance, see Westenholz and Wasserman *apud* Worthington 2012, 55, footnote 193.
- ³⁰ “Leahy 1993, 56, TIM 11 14 r. 7 (date lost), *cf.* Coptic ^s ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲗⲙⲓ (Wb i.41.14); perhaps also in the name ^m*il-la-a* TIM 11 3: 2 (612*), if Leahy's proposal (1993, 59) to understand the name as Eg. *Iry* is accepted.”
- ³¹ *e.g.* ^m*a-ḥu-ru* in StAT 2 177: r 3 (617*); and AD-Ḥuru 1.–2. in ND 2306: r. 17 (687) and TIM 11 10: r. 7 (eponymy of Mannu-kī-Arbail), see PNA 1/I, 10, the latter perhaps better understood as ^s*It-ḥr* “Horus is (my) father” than as a hybrid name. See further footnote 86, below.
- ³² *e.g.* PNA 1/1, 109, Amu-rṭēše 1.–3.
- ³³ The writings ^{kur}*pa-tu-ri-si*, ^{kur}*pa-tu-ri-su*, ^{kur}*pa-ta-ri-is*, and ^{kur}*pa-<tu>-ri-su* for Eg. *p3-t3-rsy* in the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon (see RINAP 4), and perhaps also the above-cited spelling of *Wsirkn* are among very few exceptions to this rule (see Ranke 1910, 91). The word *urissu*, presumably also referring to Upper Egypt, is also spelled with *s* in a passage from Sargon II's Display Inscription, see Fuchs 1994, 349, l. 109–111. Notes that in Neo-Babylonian sources, Egyptian *s* is usually represented by Akkadian *s*, see footnote 94 below, and further Ranke 1910, 91.
- ³⁴ SAA 11 169: 13 (undated).
- ³⁵ StAT 1 11: r. 8 (undated).
- ³⁶ Lambdin 1953, 365; Edel 1988, 105; EA 14.111.62; Wb. ii.493.2–14; *apud* Muchiki 1999, 299.

- 37 Lambdin 1953, 365; EA 14.1.58, 60, II.51; Wb. ii.487. 13–19; *apud* Muchiki 1999, 299.
- 38 Lambdin 1953, 365; Edel 1988, 112; EA 14.11.52; *apud* Muchiki 1999, 298.
- 39 Ranke 1910, 24; Lambdin 1953, 367; EA 14.1.46. Wb. ii.441.5–7 NK; *apud* Muchiki 1999, 301.
- 40 PNA 2/II, 701.
- 41 So already Colin 1996, ii.20.
- 42 Hoch 1994, 501, “Even in monumental inscriptions the system [CD: of group writing] is quite evident in the writing of the names of rulers and ancestors of the Libyan and Nubian dynasts”.
- 43 Stern 1883; Möller 1921.
- 44 Yoyotte 1961, revised and reissued 2012.
- 45 The idiosyncratic title *ms* has long been understood a transcription of the Libyco-Berber word *mes* “master, lord”, see Yoyotte 2012, 4, footnote 11; Gardiner 1933, 23. Colin 1996, 12–13, following Pérez-Die and Vernus 1992, 45–46, preferred to understand the title as an idiosyncratic writing of *ms* “l’enfant”. Literally, this interpretation is hard to reconcile with the existence of such titles as *sz n ms n nz m* “son of the *ms* of the Ma(shwesh)” (e.g. Gardiner 1933, 23); Frédéric Colin (personal correspondence, 13/04/15) therefore suggests the title be understood metaphorically, akin to that of the “fils royaux de Ramsès” (Collombert 1996, *apud* Colin).
- 46 See endnote 2; for examples, see Kitchen 1979, 612, l. 11 (Luxor Temple, Ramses II); Robbins 1997, 136; Aldred 1968, fig. 32 (Tomb of Anen); Nibbi 1986, 76, fig. 35 (Tomb of Seti I); cf. the single-feathered determinative in Maspero 1883, 69, and those on the Great Triumphal Stela of Piankhy (Grimal 1981, pl. 5).
- 47 Termed “vieux libyque” in Colin 1996.
- 48 Ranke 1935, 87, no. 2; Demot Nb, 129 (see also the *Korrekturen und Nachträge* to the Demot Nb, 141). The spelling is incompatible with the meaning “Osiris” suggested by Mattila (PNA 3/II, 1422). Günter Vittmann (12/04/15) kindly informs me that the name *Wsr̥it* appears in an unpublished papyrus of the Third Intermediate Period (pVienne D12011 cII, col. II 9, in preparation). The man’s son is named *Nmr̥it* (i.e. Nimlot).
- 49 Ranke 1935, 165, no. 22; Gardiner 1933, 23; see Colin 1996, ii.46–48 for variant spellings.
- 50 Colin 1996, ii.48.
- 51 Chabot 1940; Donner and Röllig 1962–4; Chaker 2002; Pichler 2007; Kerr 2010a; Kerr 2010b, 41–68. The alphabet of these ‘Libyco-Berber’ inscriptions is clearly related to the *tifinagh* scripts of the Tuareg and modern Berber communities of North Africa (see Kerr 2010b). The underlying language of the inscriptions is thought a distant relative of modern Berber, but this has been difficult to prove given the brevity of the inscriptions and the limited correspondence of the bilingual inscriptions (See Kerr 2010b, 45–46, with references). As a consequence, use of the term ‘Libyco-Berber’—and accordingly the description of certain Egyptian names as ‘Libyan’—is not yet a definitive comment on linguistic affiliation, but rather a historical shorthand used to describe a group of names and inscriptions which are historically and morphologically related, based on the balance of probabilities. On the ties between Libyan names and Libyan identity, especially into later Egyptian history, see: Winnicki 2009, 401–402; De Meulenaere 1956, 255–256; and Leahy 1980.
- 52 RIL, no. 2.
- 53 RIL, no. 7.
- 54 RIL, no. 895 (*Msl̥t*); RIL, nos. 413, 290 (*Mšbr̥t/Msr̥t*), transcribed in Neo-Punic as *Mš’rt* (Jongeling 1984, 10, 188, *apud* Colin, i.66).
- 55 RIL, no. 680.
- 56 RIL, no. 1.
- 57 On the equation of Mušur (III) with Egypt, see Kessler 1997. For an excellent discussion of *nisbes* and the problems associated with discussions of ethnicity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, see Fales 2013.
- 58 von Soden 1995, §56f.
- 59 Fales 2013, 57.
- 60 Kurkh Monolith = BM 118884 = RIMAP 3 Shalmaneser III A.0.102.2: ii 92 (1 lim érin^{mes} šá^{kur} mu-uš-ra-a-a). Two further exemplars from Nimrud and Nineveh do not preserve the relevant passage. The ‘columns’ of the stela refer by convention to the recto and verso.
- 61 ND 2715 = CTN 5 13 = SAA 19 22: 22 (^{kur}mu-šur-a-a).
- 62 “ND 2765 = CTN 5 14 = SAA 1 110: r. 5 (^{lū}maḥ^{mes} kur^{kur} mu-šur^{kur}-a-a); “the letters, therefore, do not antedate the conquest of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III (732 B.C.) and the integration of its territory into the Assyrian provincial system” (Eph’al 1982, 55).”
- 63 Nineveh (Prism) S = Bu 91–5–9 218 = RINAP 4 Esarhaddon 9: 10 (^{lū}A.BA^{kur} mu-šur-a-a’).
- 64 See SAA 4 (Starr 1990) *passim*.
- 65 This is suggested independently by Fales (2013, 57), and supported by analysis of “Egyptians” in the Neo-Assyrian corpus.
- 66 A possible exception appears in PNA 2/II, 749 as ^mme-na-se-e^{kur} muš-ra-a-a (Menas(s)ê 3.), but collation by Faist gives the reading ^{kur}šur-a-a-a’ “from Šurru” (2007, 158).
- 67 PNA, 1/II, 449.
- 68 Donbaz and Parpola 2001, 44–55, footnote 6. Note that /n/ and /l/ are both apicals with similar points of articulation (Allen 2012, 22).
- 69 Leahy 1993, 57.
- 70 Griffiths 1951, 219.
- 71 Ranke 1935, 253, no. 27; elsewhere transcribed as *Hr̥bs*, *Hl̥bs*, and *Hr̥-Bs*.
- 72 Kuentz 1934, 145–147; Ranke 1952, 379; Vernus 1978, 95, 392; Zadok 2005, 83–84.
- 73 John Ray *apud* Leahy 1980, 60.
- 74 Griffiths 1951; Wiseman 1966, 156.
- 75 Leahy 1980, 50, 61.
- 76 Ḥallabēše 1., CT 53 46: r. 9 (undated), see PNA 1/II, 443.

- ⁷⁷ Hallabēše 2., TIM 11 15: r. 14 (634*); TIM 11 3: 1, 5, 8, 15, r.13 (612*); TIM 11 10: l.e. 1 (date lost); see PNA *ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ Hallabēše 3., StAT 2 192: 4 (629*); StAT 2 177: r. 2 (617*); see PNA *ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ Hallabēše 4., SAA 14 161: r. 21 (623*); see PNA *ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ Hallabēše (5.), StAT 2 53: 6 (700), not listed in PNA, possibly identical with Hallabēše 1.
- ⁸¹ TIM 11 15: r. 12 (634*); see PNA 3/I, 1001; these same two men are likely attested in TIM 11 3: r. 12, 14 (612*); cf. TIM 11 10: r. 6, l.e. 1 (eponymy of Mannu-ki-Arbail).
- ⁸² TIM 11 15: r. 14 (634*).
- ⁸³ Ismail and Postgate 1993, republished in Mattila 2002; see especially Leahy 1993.
- ⁸⁴ StAT 2 192: r. 2 (629*); PNA 3/II, 1302–1303; Leahy 1993, 61; Zeidler 1994, 54.
- ⁸⁵ StAT 2 192: r. 3 (629*); PNA 2/I, 482; Leahy 1993, 59; Zadok 1977b, 64; Edel 1980, 25; Zeidler 1994, 43.
- ⁸⁶ StAT 2 177: r. 3 (617*); PNA 1/I, 87. Günter Vittmann (personal communication, 12/04/15) kindly points out that the name cannot simply be *Hr* “Horus”, and tentatively suggests **i-Hr* “O Horus!” following the Late Period pattern *i* (interjection) + god’s name, (e.g. Eg. *i-ḥnsu*, “O Khonsu!”, Ranke 1952, 260, no. 2). This name should not be confused with *i-ḥr* “O face [of DN]!”, which would have lost its final *r* in pronunciation.
- ⁸⁷ SAA 14 161: 2, r. 15 (623*); PNA 1/I, 109; Ranke 1910, 27; Tallqvist 1918, 14, 23; Zadok 1977b, 67.
- ⁸⁸ SAA 14 161: 10, r. 5 (623*); PNA 2/II, 960; Ranke 1910, 31.
- ⁸⁹ SAA 14 161: 12, 14 (623*); PNA 3/I, 1170; Steindorff 1890, 53; Ranke 1910, 34, 38; Tallqvist 1918, 205; Edel 1980, 30.
- ⁹⁰ Ranke 1910, 35; Ranke 1935, 388, no. 2; cf. the Babylonian attestation cited in Zadok 2005, 96–97.
- ⁹¹ StAT 2 53: 6 (700).
- ⁹² PNA 2/II, 959; PNA 3/I, 982.
- ⁹³ The possibility that Palṭi-Iaū 1. and 2. are identical is already entertained by Schwemer, PNA 3/I, 982.
- ⁹⁴ The same is true of the attestations of Hallabēše in the Neo-Babylonian sources known to me. One ^m*ḥa-la-bē-e-su* appears in BM 57337: 1’ from Sippar, along with a number of other men with Egyptian names, including ^m*ḥu-ú-[ru]* (Eg. *Hr*, “Horus”) and ^m*ḥa-ar-[ma-šu]* (Eg. *Hr-wd3*, “May Horus be sound!”), see Wiseman 1966, 156; one ^m*ḥa-la-bē-e-’su* ^{lú}gal.[10]-*tú* appears in BM 59410: 1 (Bongenaar and Haring 1994, 59) along with the Libyan names ^m*pu-sa-mi-is-ki* (l. 4) and ^m*tak-la-a-ta* (l. 15); the names ^m*ḥa-la-bē-su* (r. 1) and ^m*ḥa-la-bē-su* (r. 14) occur in BM 57701 (Bongenaar and Haring 1994, 63) alongside other Egyptian names. Further examples are cited in Zadok 1992, 141, no. 22, and Zadok 1993, 73. The name also appears in an unpublished text from Claremont, IAC 292, as ^m*ḥa-la-bē-su*, again alongside Egyptian names (personal communication from Ran Zadok, 10/13/13).
- ⁹⁵ Leahy 1980, 56–57.
- ⁹⁶ Leahy 1980, 51, no. 11a–b; for *ḫknš* as a Libyan name, see Colin 1996, ii.15–16.
- ⁹⁷ Leahy 1980, 50, no. 4.
- ⁹⁸ Colin 1996, ii.122–123.
- ⁹⁹ Leahy 1980, 62–63; Colin 1996, ii.122.
- ¹⁰⁰ Colin 1996, ii.43.
- ¹⁰¹ Colin 1996, ii.50–57.
- ¹⁰² On the discovery of the documents, see Mallowan’s foreword to Kinnier Wilson 1972; for the layout of the apartments, see Dalley and Postgate 1984, 4 and the map adjacent to p. 1. For the translations, see Kinnier Wilson 1972. As Fales 1994, 363, notes, ‘wine lists’ is a misnomer as the majority of the texts are so damaged that the materials to which they refer cannot be ascertained. A group of “Egyptian scribes” (^{lú}a.ba^{meš} ^{ku}*mu-šu-ra-a-a*) and group of “Kushites” (^{ku}*ku-sa-a-e*) are attested in CTN 1 9 (745 or 732 BCE, for the date see Dalley and Postgate 1984, 22). Also note attestations of the personal name “the Kushite” (^m*ku-si-i*) in CTN 1 6: 21, CTN 1 19: 25, and perhaps in the broken context CTN 3 120: 2. For Egyptian scholars at the Assyrian court following the invasions of Egypt, see Radner 2009. See conveniently Radner 2012, 475, footnote 5.
- ¹⁰³
- ¹⁰⁴ Balogh 2011, 70.
- ¹⁰⁵ Radner 2012.
- ¹⁰⁶ Radner considered the name’s etymology uncertain (2012, 472) and it was not listed in PNA. It could perhaps be equated with Eg. *rš(w)*, known from New Kingdom sources and also from those of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Ranke 1935, 227, no. 10).
- ¹⁰⁷ PNA 2/II, 481–482.
- ¹⁰⁸ PNA 2/II, 482.
- ¹⁰⁹ I thank one of JAEI’s anonymous reviewers for suggesting this possibility.
- ¹¹⁰ See further Oded 1979, 69–74.
- ¹¹¹ See Park 2012, 98, for a convenient summary of the disagreements.
- ¹¹² Fuchs 1994, 303, l. 21.
- ¹¹³ Fuchs 1994, 308, l. 15.
- ¹¹⁴ Fuchs 1994, 313, l. 10–16 (context damaged); cf. Oded 1979, 52.
- ¹¹⁵ RINAP 1, p. 18, no. 2.
- ¹¹⁶ See Oded 1979, 6, 14–15. Aside from StAT 2 53, the relevant documents include SAA 6 34 (709) and SAA 16 63 (undated). As late as 613*, a man called ^m*ku-sa-a-a*, “The Kushite,” was attested at Guzana as witness to fragmentary legal settlement, TH 110 l.e. 1 (613*), so too TH 108: 4 (625*), see PNA 2/I, 643.
- ¹¹⁷ Ran Zadok, personal communication (11/9/2014).
- ¹¹⁸ PNA 3/I, 982.
- ¹¹⁹ see RINAP 1 Tiglath-Pileser III 49: r. 16, and RINAP 1 Tiglath-Pileser III 48: 18 (context restored). On the function of the *bīt kāri*, consult Tadmor 1966, 87–88; Postgate 1974, 390–391; and Zamazalová 2011, 307.
- ¹²⁰ SAA 19 22 (c. 734) = ND 2715 = CTN 5 155.
- ¹²¹ Fuchs 1994, 314, l. 17–18.
- ¹²² Macadam 1949, 4–14, pls. 5–6; *ibid.*, 32–40, pls. 11–12, l. 18, 20–21; see further Spalinger 1978, 26–28; Kahn 2006, 250–53.

¹²³ Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924, ii, pl. 56, *cf.* i, p. 247 and p. 334, fig. 205.

¹²⁴ Rowe 1936, 205, no. 875, pl. 22 (scarab); Rowe 1936, 265, .S104 (A), pl. 29 (seal).

¹²⁵ A group of “Egyptian merchants” (^{lú}dam.gàr^{meš} ^{lú}*mu-šur-ra-a-a*) is attested in StAT 2 173: 1, 6–7 (636* or 625*). Donbaz and Parpola also restore “[Egyptian] merchant” (^{lú}dam.gàr [^{kur}*mu-šur-ra-a-a?*]) in StAT 2 271: 2. As this document contains no Egyptian names and cannot be

assigned to any particular archive, one supposes the restoration is based on the “two scarab impressions” reportedly borne by the tablet. An “oval scarab impression” also appears on the sale document StAT 2 273 (625*), in which the vendor Ṭab-Bēl is stated to be “an Egyptian” (^{lú}*mu-šur-ra-a*).

¹²⁶ Elat 1978, 28–30; Radner 1999, 104, footnote 26; Radner 2008, 309–311.