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EGYPTIANS IN BABYLONIA AND ELAM DURING THE 1ST MILLENNIUM B.C.¹

Ran Zadok

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the evidence for Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam from the Sargonid period down to the Seleucid period. It is based on a comprehensive prosopography (over 300 individuals) which cannot be presented within the limited space of an article. A methodological remark is in place here: the names *Šu-sa-an-qu* (NA; also *Su-si-in-qu*; N/LB *Si-su-qu*) and *Tak-la-(a)-ta* (NA *Ta-ke-la-a-ti*, *Studia Pohl*, Series Maior 14, 1, 25; 147, 12) are originally Libyan, but since they were used as royal names in Egypt, their bearers were in all probability Egyptians.

§ 1 *Babylonia*

1.1 *Individuals bearing typical Egyptian names*

Egyptians are recorded in Babylonia as early as 676 B.C. (see G. Frame, *Babylonia 689-627 B.C.: A Political History*, Diss. Chicago 1981, 184), i.e., before the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon. It is likely that they arrived there from Assyria or brought to Babylonia by the Assyrians. The first Egyptians in Assyria proper are mentioned in 692/1 B.C., but it is very probable that they were found there at least one generation earlier. This can be argued in view of the Assyrian name *Šilli-Aššur* borne by an Egyptian scribe who purchased a house in Nineveh then (*ADD* 324 = *Studia Pohl*, Series Maior 14, 333, 11f.). The list of witnesses of his transaction is headed by *Šu-sa-an-qu* who was Sennacherib's son-in-law. The former was in V.V. Struve's opinion (*ZÄS* 62 [1927], 66) a prince originating from the Delta. He is followed by other Egyptian witnesses. It is possible that these Egyptians arrived in Assyria in connection with Sargon's actions against Egypt during the last two decades of the 8th century B.C. (cf. below, 1.6).

At least nine Egyptians are recorded in Babylon in Nebuchadnezzar II's reign. They were probably originally prisoners of war from his campaigns in the West (notably in 604 B.C.; see E.F. Weidner, *Mél. Dussaud*, 930f. and add *HAR-ma-šu* who was one of the

1 Abbreviations as in A.L. Oppenheim *et al.*, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago-Glückstadt 1956-), except for the following: *ÄPN* = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen 1-2*, Glückstadt 1935-52; *Dem. Nam.* = E. Lüddeckens *et al.*, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden 1980-; *SÖAW* 375 = E. Edel, *Neue Deutungen keilschriftlicher Umschreibungen ägyptischer Wörter und Personennamen*, Wien 1980). f.=father; gs.=grandson; p.c.= private communication; s.=son. I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote from the unpublished documents BM 61993, 62094, 67107, 77907 and 92996. The research was supported by the Foundation for Basic Research of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

judges of a prison and work-house [*bit-kīli*, *ROMCT* 2, 51 *ad* 37, 25]). The same number of Egyptians is recorded in Babylon and its region during the Achaemenian period (see M.A. Dandamaev, *Drevnij Egipet i Drevnjaja Afrika*, Moscow 1967, 15ff.; id., *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 41, 2/2, 1983, 133ff.; id., in D. Charpin - F. Joannès [eds.], *Actes de la 38^e RAT*, Paris 1992, 321f.). At least one of them was brought to Babylonia following Cambyses' conquest of Egypt (see M. Stol, *RA* 71 [1977], 96).

The following individuals from Sippar and its region were in all probability originally prisoners of Nebuchadnezzar II's campaigns:

(1) *Si-ip-ta-hu* (<Eg. *S3-ptḥ*, *ÄPN* 1, 282:1, see G. Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 65:7) is mentioned in 590/89 B.C. (*CT* 56, 87 r. ii, 29), but it is possible to trace his activity as early as 603/2 B.C. ([*S*]i-, *CT* 56, 664, i, 24; the document can alternatively be dated to either 593/2 or 583/2 B.C.). The activity of 2-4 falls within the same years (the restorations of 2.3 were kindly suggested by Prof. Dr. E. Edel, p.c.):

(2) [*Pa-ṭ*]u-si-ri (*CT* 56, 664 r. i, 10 < Eg. *P3-dj-wšir*, *ÄPN* 1, 123:1, cf. *GM* 26 [1977], 65:15), (3) [*A-m*]u-ru-ṭar-is (*CT* 56, 664 r. i, 11, poss. also r. i, 6: [*A-mu-r*]u-ṭar-is). (4) [*HAR-ri*]-ú-šú was in charge of a kiln (*ša kīri*)² then (*ibid.*). He was identical with *Ha-ar-[ma-šu]* (D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 [1966], 156f.: *CT* 56, 724, 7 < Eg. *ḥr-wd3w*, see E. Edel, *SÖAW* 375 [1980], 25f.:7; cf. Zadok, *GM* 26 [1977], 64:7) and perhaps with 9. He is mentioned together with (5) *Am-na-mar-h[i]* (*CT* 56, 724, 5) who is also recorded on 1.II.602/1 B.C. (Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 156f.: BM 49785, 11: it may begin with Eg. *Imn* according to K.A. Kitchen *ap.* Wiseman, *ibid.*). (6) *A-mur-ṭa-is* (< Eg. *Imn-ir-dj-š(w)*, *ÄPN* 1, 26:24 > Aram. 'mrtys, *ÄPN* 2, 406) acted as a foreman in charge of ten persons (*rab ešerti*) in 590/89 B.C. (*CT* 56, 87 r. ii, 25). He is possibly mentioned in r. i, 4 as well (copy *A-KI-ta-LU*, reading suggested by Prof. Edel, p.c.). *A-mu-ru-ṭa'-is* acted in the same capacity according to BM 62094, 1 (undated). He appears as *A-mu-ru-ṭa-a-is* in Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 156f.: *CT* 56, 724, 4 and as *A-mu-ru-ṭa'-is* in BM 61993,3' ([*A-mu-r*]u-).6'. He might have been identical—if the restoration is correct—with *A-mu-ru-[ṭa-(a)']-is* from 1.II.602/1 B.C. (Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 156f.: BM 49785,10). (7) *Se-e-pí* (*ibid.*: *CT* 56, 724, 3 < Eg. *Sjḫ* < **Sjḫ*, see Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 65:6) was the only Egyptian in a group of temple oblates (*širkē*), all bearing Semitic names (*VS* 6, 204 from the II-VIIth month of the 14th year, i.e., prob. 591/0 B.C.). He is also recorded in another oblates' list (*VS* 6,230) from 17.IV.-. The unknown ruler was possibly Nebuchadnezzar II as the canal of *Nabû-kudurra-ušur* (not far from Sippar) is mentioned. The other oblates of the latter list also bore only Semitic names. Some of them recur not only in *VS* 6, 204, but also in *CT* 56, 87.664, in which case they were active in the same years as 1-4, as well as in *CT* 44, 89 (cf. below). *Se-e-pí* (without designation) recurs in BM 61993, 7' from 590/89 B.C. and was probably under the supervision of 6 according to *CT* 56,87 r. ii, 26 (same year). The same applies (according to *CT* 56, 87 r. ii, 27ff.) to (8) *Pa-aṭ-ú-ba-si-ti* (< Eg. *P3-dj-b3št.t*, *ÄPN* 1, 123:5, see Ranke, *APAW* 1910/II, 33; Zadok, *GM* 64

2 An analogous case from the same period may be *lúšabtu ša ina muhhi kīri* (AnOr 9, 8, 52), i.e., "the prisoner in charge of the kiln" (*CAD* Š, 45a; cf. *AHW*, 1072a, s.v. *šabtu(m)*, 1b).

[1983], 73:3), (9) *HAR-ri-ú-šu* (= 4?), as well as to (10.11) *Pa-aṭ-i-si* and his namesake (< Eg. *P3-dj-šs.t*, *ÄPN* 1, 121:18; 2, 355b). 13-19 were supervised by (12) *Kinūnayyu* (Semitic name), another foreman of ten who is recorded in *CT* 56, 664, 20.r.i, 7 (603/2, 593/2 or 583/2 B.C.), *CT* 44, 72, 18 (12.IX.599/8 B.C.; explicitly described as an Egyptian: *lúmi-š[ir-a-a]*), *CT* 56, 87 r. ii, 14.24; BM 61993, 5'.8' (both 590/89 B.C.); *CT* 56, 724, 2, BM 62094,2 (*K[i-N]E-*) and 67107, i, 7 (all undated, but from about the same period); 12-14.16-20 are mentioned in 590/89 B.C. (*CT* 56, 87 r. ii, 15ff.), whereas 15 may be dated to either 603/2, or 593/2 or 583/2 B.C. (*CT* 56, 664, ii, 18). (13) *Pa-aṭ-'-ú* (also BM 67107, i, 7; undated < Eg. *P3-dj-w*, see Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 66 n. 3), (14) *Tak-la-a-ta* (< *Tkrt/Takelothis*, cf. Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 65:1=1.3:1 below?), (15) *Ga-šu-šu* (< Eg. *Q3j-d3d3*, *ÄPN* 1, 429:21; 2, 404, see Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 65:2), (16) *Sa-am-na-par* (? if the reading is correct < Eg. **Smn-nfr(w)*, see Edel, *SÖAW* 375, 33f.:11), (17) *A-ta-mar-ṭa-is* (cf. BM 61993,2' from 590/89 B.C.? < Eg. *Itm-iir-dj-š(w)*, *ÄPN* 1, 51:21; see Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 65:3), (18) *An-ha-pu* (< Eg. 'nḥ-ḥp, *ÄPN* 1, 65:25; 2, 347; cf. Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 65:5; *OrNS* 58, 226 ad Aram. 'nḥ(ḥ)py), (19) *A-mur-ṭa-is*, (20) *Pi-he/hi-ri* (< Eg. *P3-ḥ(3)r*, *ÄPN* 1, 116:17, see Vittmann, *GM* 70 [1984], 65:4). (21) *Ši-hur-ru* (*CT* 56, 87, ii, 22; 590/89 B.C. < Eg. *Dd-ḥrw*, see Edel, *SÖAW* 375, 30f.:9). (22) *Ha-la-bé-su* (< Eg. *Hrbš* [> Phoen. *Hlbs*], cf. *ÄPN* 1, 253:27; 2, 379), who was probably a foreman of ten as well, was in charge of 23-26, 1.2:2-4 and their colleagues bearing Semitic and other names (cf. 1.2) according to *CT* 56, 87 r. ii, lff. from 590/89 B.C. He is also recorded in *CT* 56,724,1 (*Ha-la-bé-e-su*, cf. Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 156f.). (23) *Ha-pár^{ar}-ṭa-is* (Edel, p.c. who suggests an identification with Eg. *Ḥp-iir-dj-š(w)*, *ÄPN* 1, 237:9) acted as a foreman of ten according to BM 62094, 5' (*Ha-pa-ar-ṭa-'-is*; same spelling without title in BM 67107, i, 6), (24) *Pa-aṭ-ha-an-si* (< Eg. *P3-dj-ḥns.w*, *ÄPN* 1, 125:21; cf. Zadok, *GM* 64 [1983], 73:1), (25) *Hu-ú-ru* (also in *CT* 56, 724, 6, cf. Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 156f.) and (26) *Ha-ri-ú-ma-šu* (homonym of 4). (27) *Pa'* (?)*-mu-nu* (< Eg. *P3-(n)-imn*, *ÄPN* 1, 106:8; see Ranke, *APAW* 1910/II, 39), who occurs in BM 67107, i, 2, was a member of a group of ten Egyptians; his colleague (28) *[A]-š/za-al-lu(?)*-*ia* (i, 8; *A-š/za-al* [copy *LAK*]-*lu?*-*'x'*, *CT* 56, 87 r. ii, 28) might have borne a Semitic name.³ Most of the others' names are broken. It is not impossible that the following four Egyptians (29-32) were somehow related to the preceding individuals. The four homonyms (10.11.29.31) might refer to one and the same individual (cf. below):

(29) *Pa-ṭe-e-su* (*Nbk.* 459, 14; a "farmer" [*ikkāru*]; prob. Sippar, time of Nebuchadnezzar II). (30) *A-ba-a* (Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 157 & Pl. 44:BM 56348, 1f.; 8.XI.–prob. of the same ruler < Eg. *Ibj*, *ÄPN* 1, 20:14f.), is explicitly described as an Egyptian. (31) *Pa-aṭ-di-si* (*CT* 55, 539, 7, perhaps from the Sippar region, prob. before 482 B.C.; homonymous with 10.11.29). (32) *Se-e(?)*-*pi* (Th.G. Pinches, *PSBA* 10 [1888], 527,19; poss. Sippar; 12.II.- [ruler unkn.]). The document is prosopographically related to *VS* 6, 205

3 Compare OB *A-š/za-la-a* (*TCL* 1, 70, 21) and Bibl. 'Āšēl (see R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, Leuven 1988, 101).

(23.XII.14 [ruler unkn.]), 249 and 264 (both undated). The fact that both VS 6, 204 and 205 are dated to the 14th year and the hypothetical restoration *širkē* in VS 6, 249,1' (cf. NRV 882) may strengthen the case for the identity of 32 and 7. Cf. 1.3:22 below.

(33) *Šá-am-mu-ú* (< Eg. *T3j-(n-)im.w*, ÄPN 1, 387:13, 2, 407; see Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 [1979], 173; Vittmann, *OrNs* 58, 229 *ad* Aram. *Šmw*) is mentioned in a document from Kish (*OECT* 10, 285, 4'; broken context; prob. Achaemenian). His namesake (34), who is mentioned at Borsippa on 30.XI.443/2 B.C. (*VS* 3, 189, 1: *-m[u-ú].9*), was a slave of a certain As/s/z-ba/ma-a. No less than 26 individuals are recorded in the Murashu archive from Nippur (and its region) between 439 and 416 B.C. Two more individuals are recorded in N/LB Documents whose place of issue is not indicated.

1.2 *Individuals bearing doubtfully Egyptian names*

The following individuals are recorded in documents from Sippar or its region:

(1) *Ki-i-pi-'* (?) (*CT* 56, 664, ii, 16; 603/2,593/2 or 583/2 B.C. < Eg. *Kf3*, ÄPN 1, 344:15? cp. *P3-kp*, *Dem. Nam.*, 278 and ÄPN 1, 120:5?) was under the supervision of Kinūnayu (like 1.1:13-19) whereas (2) *Bi/Pí-ni-ti-re-e*, (3) *Ki*(copy *DI*)-*pi-'* and (4) *Ni-ši-hu-se-e-su* (*CT* 56, 724; with Eg. *-s3-š3.t* [cf. ÄPN 1, 178:17]?), as well as other individuals whose names are either Semitic (certainly such: *dAmurru-za-ba-na*; perhaps Sem.: *Ha-s/šim-man-ni*⁴) or unexplained (*Ki-pa-'*, *Ši-ni-'*, and *Ni-la[?]-ú-ma-e[?]*) according to *CT* 56, 87 r. ii, 1ff. from 590/89 B.C.), were in charge of *Ha-la-bé-su* (like 1.1:23-26). (5) *Šu-ši-na-hu-ru* (*CT* 55, 510 r. 7'; with *-hr(.w)*?) is from about the same time (mentioned together with [the same?] Kinūnayu). (6) *A-tar-d/te(?)*-*e-su* (*Nbk.* 148, 3; 17.I.580/79 B.C.; with *-š3.t?* poss. from Sippar as the document is from the AH collection and contains many *Šamaš*-names). (7) *Hu-ru-ra-su-sa-pa-nu* (*VS* 4, 203,5; with *Hr(.w)*-? cf. A. Ungnad - M. San Nicolò, *NRV*, 232 *ad loc.*; perhaps time of Darius I, i.e., sometime between 521 and 486 B.C.). 8.9 occur in undated documents from Sippar or its region (presumably sometime between 603 and 482 B.C.):

(8) *Ha-nu-hu-ru* (*CT* 57, 720, 19) looks as if it reflects Eg. *Hn-hr(.w)*, but the latter is recorded only in the Old Kingdom (ÄPN 1, 229:27; 2, 374). (9) *Pi-b/pit-ti* (*CT* 55, 539, 4; does it begin with *P3*-? compare perhaps *P3-ibt.t* or *Pa-p3-tj*, *Dem. Nam.*, 153.550).

Is (10) *fPa-hu-nu-ta* wife of Nabû-aha-ittannu (*Dar.* 245, 35; Kish, 10.XIIb.514/3 B.C.) homonymous with the male's name Eg. *P3-(n-)hnt.t* (ÄPN 1, 110:14) or *P3-ħm-ntr* (> Aram. *Pħnt'*, last consonant uncertain; M. Maraqtan, *MDAIK* 43 [1986], 170f. *ad* 3,2)?

Semitic names containing the theophorous element *Esi* are linguistically hybrid, but their bearers cannot be regarded as Egyptians. Such names, which are not recorded in Babylonia before the last third of the 5th century B.C., merely indicate the popularity of the Isis cult in Western Asia during the late Achaemenian and Hellenistic periods. They were borne by five individuals from late Achaemenian Nippur and three from Hellenistic Babylonia (Babylon, Uruk and an unknown place; one each). It is noteworthy that a Carian

4 Compare perhaps *Hšmwn'y*/Ἀσμωνναίος (cf. A. Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus*, Leiden 1968, 18c, *s.v.*). The problems concerning these names will be discussed by me elsewhere.

(*lúKa-<ar>-sa-a-a*) bore the Egyptian name *Šá-mu-ú* (514/3 B.C.; C. Bezold, ZA 1 [1886], 445, 1; cf. 1.1:33 above). Has he arrived in Babylonia from Egypt where Carian mercenaries served in pre-Achaemenian periods as well?

1.3 Individuals bearing non-Egyptian and damaged names who are explicitly described as Egyptians

Three such individuals are recorded in Babylon and its region. The following individuals are recorded in documents from Sippar and its region:

(1) *Tak(?) - la - ta(?)* (cf. 1.1:14) is mentioned together with another seven Egyptians (2-8) whose names are damaged (*CT* 56, 664, i, 25ff.; ii, 13ff. from 603/2, 593/2 or 583/2 B.C.). Another two Egyptians (9-10) with damaged names are mentioned in Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 156f.: BM 49785, 8f. from 1.II.602/1 B.C. A similar case (11) is recorded in *CT* 56, 87 r. i, 3(590/89 B.C.). (12) *Nabû-rihta-ušur* is mentioned together with *Kinûnayyu* (identical with the above-mentioned foreman?) in *CT* 44, 72, 19 from 12.IX.599/8 B.C. (13) [...] - *Ahhē-iddina* (*VS* 4, 14, 15; prob. Sippar, -XI.589/8 B.C.). Fifty Egyptians are recorded in *CT* 44, 89 from -.16th year of an unknown ruler. The ruler may be *Nebuchadnezzar II*, in which case it would be 589/8 B.C., seeing that *Ki-Šamaš* and *Ak-kud-danu* as well as *Bānītu-ēreš*, *Abu-Tamiš*, *Šamaš-bēla-ušur* and *Zabīnā* recur in *CT* 56, 87 (590/89 B.C.) and 664 (603/2, 593/2 or 583/2 B.C.) respectively; *Šamaš-mukīn-ahi* and *Nabû-idri* appear in all the three documents. The preserved names of the foremen are Semitic. The fifty individuals—as far as their names are fully preserved—bore non-Egyptian names (mostly Babylonian; many with the theophorous elements *Šamaš* and *Ebabbarra*, i.e. typical of Sippar) with the exception of (22) *Ka-mi-na* (< Eg.**K3-mn* [> Aram. *Kmn*, cf. Vittmann, *OrNS* 58, 216.228]). It is very probable that their names were given them by their Babylonian masters. They were organized in eleven uneven sub-groups supervised by the following foremen, viz. *Šalammānu* (14-16); *Nabû-ušur* (17.18); *A-da-da* (19.20); *Ad-ra-a* (21); *Nabû(?) - iqbī* (22-26); *Šamšayyu* (27-32); [...] (33-37); [...] (38-43); x[...] (44-50); *Šamaš-x[...]* (51-58); [...] (59-63). Another six individuals (64-69) are late Chaldean and Achaemenian.

1.4 Individuals with non-Egyptian names whose ancestors or relatives bore Egyptian names or were described as Egyptians

It is noteworthy that a descendant of an Egyptian bore the Babylonian name *Nabû-šarra-ušur* as early as 23.IV.588/7 B.C. (*UCP* 9/1, 64:29,3; prob. Uruk). Another two analogous cases are recorded at Uruk in the late-Chaldean period. Individuals with non-Egyptian names whose ancestors or relatives bore typical Egyptian anthroponyms are not recorded in Babylonia before the last decade of the Chaldean period (altogether three from Babylon, Sippar and Uruk). On the other hand, nineteen such individuals are known from Achaemenian Babylonia (Babylon and region 7; Sippar, Kish and Ur with their regions one each; Nippur and region 9). This is an indication that the Egyptians assimilated to their Semitic milieu in Babylonia. Note, e.g., *x-šar-ilāni* son of *Pi-ih-mi-'* (*CT* 56, 186, 19; 17.-.5; <

Eg. *P3-ḥmj*, *ÄPN* 1, 115:18? Sippar or its region; ruler unknown, early Achaemenian, i.e. sometime between 535 and 482 B.C.).

1.5 *Individuals with typical Egyptian names whose ancestors bore non-Egyptian anthroponyms*

From the early Achaemenian period onwards there are cases (altogether 16) of sporadic recurrence of Egyptian anthroponyms within families whose members have already adapted themselves to their Babylonian milieu (Babylon and region 2; Kish 1; Borsippa and region 4; Nippur and region 7; Uruk and region 1). Note *Qa-ha* (poss. < Eg. *Qh*, *ÄPN* 1, 336:22) son of *Il-ta5-mišmi-iš* (West Semitic patronym, H.G. Stigers, *JCS* 28, 36:22, 18) from Gišši (location unknown; 10.VIb.503/2 B.C.).

1.6 *Members of the Miš(i)rayyu clan(s)*

No less than 100 members of the Miš(i)rayyu clans are recorded in Babylonia between 667 and 148 B.C. with the following geographical distribution (cf. Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 157f. with n. 41; there is no evidence that the hypothetical ancestor *Miš(i)rayyu* was in all cases one and the same person; the full documentation will be presented elsewhere):

Babylon and its region (55); Sippar and its region (12); Opis (1); Kish (5); Borsippa and its region (11); Marad (1); other places in northern and central Babylonia (8); Uruk and its region (5); and Ur (2).

The following Egyptians are recorded in Babylon after Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt:

(1) Bēl-iddina (BM 77907; Babylon, 667/6 B.C.); (2) Bēl-uballiṭ (O.R. Gurney, in J.N. Postgate [ed.], *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, Warminster 1982, 121:1, 3; Aballu [issued at Babylon], 21.V.665/4 B.C.); (3) Bēl-šuma-iddina (653/2 B.C.; *VS* 4, 6, E.). (4) [...] son of Damqiya (*VS* 5, 4, 48; 28.X.630/29 B.C.); (5) Šullumu son of Dayyān-Marduk (*OECT* 10, 400, 35; Babylon, -.623/2 B.C.); (6) Munnabitti (BM 92996, 27; Babylon, 26.-.620/19 B.C.). The latest dated individual is the scribe Bēl-uballissu s. of Bēl-ana-bitišu gs. of Mardayyu (*AOAT* 2, 167, 4). The earliest member of the *Miš(i)rayyu* clan in Babylonia outside the capital is Marduk-ētir (TuM 2/3,68,13; 20.IX.621/0 B.C.) from Borsippa. Šulā (E.F. Weidner, *AfO* 16 [1952/3], Pl. 6 after 196:9,10) is recorded at Sippar on 5.IX.614/3 B.C. All the other individuals mentioned outside the capital are recorded after 604 B.C.

The accelerated assimilation and absorption of the members of the *Miš(i)rayyu* clan into the high echelons of the Babylonian society can be illustrated by the following facts: (1) All the members of this clan bore typical Babylonian names; (2) Not a few members acted as scribes as early as the first half of the 6th century B.C. Several scribes of this clan even copied literary texts (cf. e.g., *AOAT* 2, 152). It is probable that the descendants of *Miš(i)rayyu* originated from the earliest Egyptians in Babylonia, seeing that these Egyptians arrived there in a period when the formation and crystallization of the system of Babylonian surnames has not yet reached its final stage. On the other hand, the individuals belonging to the categories listed in 1.1-5 above presumably did not arrive before 604 B.C.

There is no telling whether the gentilic *Ku-(uš-)šá-a-a* (e.g., *Dar.* 502, 2; *VS* 6, 6, 211, 2; defectively *Ku-šá-a*, *VS* 3, 79, 31; related to *Ku-uš-ši-ia* [E. Dhorme, *RA* 25 [1928], 60.75.79:12 r. 3]?), which is recorded in Babylonia during the late-Chaldean and early Achaemenian periods, actually refers to ethnic Nubians (is it used just as a physiognomic designation?).

§ 2 Elam

2.1 From Susa

(1) *Ug/k/q-ha-ap-pi-*' son of *Na-ah-tu-ha-ap-pi-*' (< Eg. **q-ḥpjw*, and *Nḥt-ḥp* [*Dem. Nam.*, 654, see Edel, *SÖAW* 375, 45f, resp.) and (2) *Hu-ú-ru* are recorded in the Murashu document *PBS* 2/1, 113 from 3.XIIb.419/8 B.C. F. Joannès in F. Vallat (ed.), *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran. Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*, Paris 1990, 175f.) published two documents of the archive of (3) *Šá-mu-ú lúus-ta[r-bar-ra]* who bore an unmistakably Egyptian name and was in charge of several Egyptians. It is noteworthy that he bore the same royal title as his contemporary *Pa-ṭa-ni-^de-si-*' (*BE* 10, 15, 15.U.E.: <*d*>; < Eg. *P3-dj-nj-3š.t*, see Ranke, *APAW* 1910/II, 40) who is recorded at Babylon, another Achaemenian capital, in 423/2 B.C. The first document is dated to the reign of Artaxerxes I, II or III. The date of the second one is lost, but it probably belongs to the same period. The following individuals, whose names look Egyptian, are recorded in the archive:

(4) *HAR-nu-ni*(rather «*ni*»?)-*na-pir-ru* (1 r. 7.seal; ends in *-nfr*, cp. *Ḥr-n-nfr*, *ÄPN* 1, 252:7; 2, 378?), (5) *Pe-e-ṭi-*'-*ú* (1,3), (6) *Pa-hu-tu* (< Eg. *P3-n-nḥt*, Gk. Πεχυτης, *ÄPN* 1, 109:7?) s. of *Pa-*' -[...] (1 r. 8'), (7) *Pa-nu-ú* (1 r. 10', cp. *Pnw*, *ÄPN* 1, 133:6?), (8) *HAR-ti-ni-*' (f. of [...], 1 r. 7'f.); and (9) *Sis-^rsa!?-na-a-qu* (2, seal; related to *Ššnq?*). The first one acted as a *ku-ma-ru* (prob. "priest"; with a short unstressed *-a-* between two nasals/liquids) of a deity whose name is not preserved (a certain Ban-dak-ku was the *kumaru* of the deity Nanâ there). (10) The son of *Hu-ú-ru* with the Semitic (Akkad./Aram.) name Mannu-ki-Nanâ was the servant of *Šá-mu-ú*. He brought *šú-ba-an-du-*' (1, 4.8.r. 4' < Old Iranian **Hu-bandu*⁵; originally the female slave of a certain Kinūnayyu) from Agmatanu (Hamadan) to Susa. She might have become his wife. This mixture of names from various unrelated dialects among members of the same family at Susa, the capital of Elam which had a considerable Semitic and Iranian populace, reminds one of the case of *Ši-ha-a* (Eg.) s. of *Ba-ga-da-du* (Iran.) and brother of *At-ta-lu-uš* (poss. Elam.) from late Achaemenian Borsippa (*CT* 44, 81, 4).

The following fifteen individuals are contained in two marriage contracts which were found at Susa and may be dated to the same period. 11-16 and 17-26 are recorded in *TBER* 78 and 93.94 respectively; see Joannès, *RA* 78 (1984), 71ff. and P. Vernus *ap.* Joannès,

5 "Having good relatives, friends". Compare Old Indian *Su-bandhu-*, EA *Šu-ba-an-du/di* (see I. Scheftelowitz, *KZ* 38 [1905], 271; P.-E. Dumont, in R.T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, Rome 1948, 61b. 152a; M. Mayrhofer, *IF* 70 [1965], 150). A Semitic alternative interpretation of the EA name (see F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome 1967, 200, s.v. *T-W-B*) seems less likely.

ibid., 78f. (re-edited by M. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements, 7th-3rd Centuries B.C.*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989, 108ff.: 34f.):

(11) *fA-re-e-si* (ends in Eg. -*šs.t*) wife of (12) *Ku-ú-(')-pi*, (13) *Ah-pi-mu-ú-nu* (ends in Eg. *Imn*) s. of *x-pi-mu-[-...]*, (14) [...].s. of *Si-su-qu*, (15) *Hu-ú-ru* s. of [...], (16) [...].s. of *Hu-ú-ru*; (17) *HAR-ri-me-en-na* (s. of [...]) < Eg. *Ḥr-mn(.w)* (ÄPN 1, 248:19). Joannès (RA 78, 79) compares it with NA *HAR/Ha-ra-“MAN”*, but the NA spellings probably reflect rather a West Semitic name ending in *-Daddi*. *HAR-ri-me-en-na* was the husband of (18) *fNa-ah-d/te-e-su*. (19) *Pi-si-sa-ma-as-ka* (f. of 18). (20) *Us-su-ri-me-en-na* (< Eg. *Wšir-mn*, *Dem. Nam.*, 125) s. of *Ú-mar-[-x-su(?)]* was possibly brother of (21) *Pa-me-en-na* (< Eg. *P3-(n-)mn(.w)*, ÄPN 1, 108:8) s. of *Ú-mar-x-su*. (22) *Ši-h[a-a]* s. of *Pi-hu-ra-a-[x]*, (23) *Pa-mu-ú-nu* s. of [*Š*]*i-hu-ri-'* (poss. brother of Ina-šilli-Nanâ), as well as, perhaps (24) *Id-da-a-su* s. of *Bé-e-[-su?]* and (25) *fTa-di-ia* (< Eg. *T3-dj*, ÄPN 1, 372:12, fem.).

2.2 From Persepolis

Groups of anonymous Egyptians (e.g. 547 and 33 acc. to *OIP* 92, 1557 and 1547 resp.) are recorded in Persepolis documents between 502 and 498 B.C. Some of them went from Susa to Matezziš in Persis. A certain Egyptian (*Mu-iz-ri-ia*, *Mu/Mi-da-ri-ia*, *Mu-ud-ri*) acted as a functionary who disbursed rations (cf. *OIP* 92, 735, s.vv. *Muzirraya*, *Muzirriyar*, *Muzirriyara*; see M.A. Dandamaev, *VDI* 1972/1, 26). *Ba-ka4-[ba]-ud-da*, who bore an Iranian name (**Baga-pāta-*), is explicitly described as Egyptian (see G. Giovinazzo, *NABU* 1987/110). *Bad-du-ba-iš-ti-iš* (explicitly designated as an Egyptian, W. Hinz - H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1987, 115, s.v.: Fort. 2033-1,15) bore an Egyptian name (*P3-dj-b3št.t*, see R. Schmitt, *Historische Sprachforschung* 101 (1988), 81f.:21; a foreign name treated by the Elamite scribe like an Iranian *-i-* stem, compare the case of *Ad-d[a]-ir-nu-ri-iš* < Aram. *‘Attar-nūrī* in the same corpus [*OIP* 92, 1799, 4f]). The patronym *A-hi-ma-a-su* (Persepolis, time of Darius I; M.W. Stolper, *JNES* 43 (1984), 300,4) is probably Eg. *‘Iḥ-mś* (Αμσ/ο/ωσις, ÄPN 1, 12:19; *Dem. Nam.*, 58). See C.E. Jones - M.W. Stolper, in L. de Meyer - H. Gasche - F. Vallat (eds.), *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: Mélanges offerts à M.J. Steve*, Paris 1986, 251f.