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Egyptians Abroad: The Role of Egyptians in the socio-political landscape of Assyria during the Neo-Assyrian Period

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Egyptians Abroad

The Role of Egyptians in the socio-political Landscape of Assyria during the Neo-Assyrian Period



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Front page: Assyrian relief depicting the siege of an Egyptian fort c. 645 – 635 BCE, BM 124928

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Introduction

The relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia have always been fascinating to scholars. Numerous times have the famous *Amarna Letters* been studied in order to sketch the diplomatic landscape between the many great powers in the ancient Near East during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600 – 1100 BCE). However not much attention has been dedicated to the contact between Egyptians and Mesopotamians on a smaller, more social scale. This paper explores the status and social standing of Egyptians in Assyria during the Neo-Assyrian Period (900-612 BCE).¹

An increase of contact and trade between multiple territories can be observed in the Ancient Near East during the first millennium BCE. Although not a lot is known about contact between Egypt and Mesopotamia, from both textual and archaeological sources it can be concluded that some Egyptians lived in Mesopotamia. Egyptians are mentioned first in Babylonia in 676 BCE and can also occasionally be found in cuneiform texts from the Assyrian period from the 8th to 6th century BCE, with the earliest possible attestation of a named Egyptian in the Neo-Assyrian corpus being a man called *ḥa-ru-a-šu* who acts as a witness in a contract dated to 725 BCE.²

Although some scholars have studied these Egyptians,³ they have never been studied in great detail, especially regarding their place in society. Since almost all sources concerning Egyptians in Assyria come from the Neo-Assyrian Period, this timeframe will serve as the focus of this study. The research question for this paper shall be: ‘What was the status and social standing of Egyptians in Assyria during the Neo-Assyrian Period?’. In order to answer this question several texts in which Egyptians are mentioned will be studied in order to unearth what the social status was of the Egyptians who are recorded in the extant evidence and whether this varied geographically or chronologically.⁴ Textual evidence will therefore be the primary source material for this research, but archaeological evidence will also be taken into consideration since some Egyptian material culture has been found in Assyria. Additionally, Egyptians living in Babylonia will briefly be discussed as some differences and overlap can be noted regarding their social standing and status compared to those living in Assyria.

Most previous scholars who delved into this subject primarily studied the Egyptians living in Babylonia, beginning with Sidney Smith’s 1932 article ‘An Egyptian in Babylonia’⁵ where a link between Egypt and the city Dēr was made. Subsequently, not much was done with the subject until Wiseman wrote about Egyptians in Babylonia in his 1966 article.⁶ The subject started gaining more traction in the 1990’s with

¹ Dating conventions are primarily based on the chronological overview in R. Forshaw, *Egypt of the Saite Pharaohs, 664-545 BC* (Manchester, 2019) (see fig. 6). Dates outside this timeframe are based on M. Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000-323 BC* (3rd edn; Chichester, 2016) and M. Van De Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (2nd edn; Hoboken, 2021).

² K. Radner, F.J. Kreppner and A. Squitieri (eds), *Exploring the Neo-Assyrian Frontier with Western Iran. The 2015 Season at Gird-i Bazar and Qalat-i Dinka* (PPP 1; Gladbeck, 2016), 17-19; K. Radner, ‘A Neo-Assyrian Slave Sale Contract of 725 BC from the Peshdar Plain and the Location of the Palace Herald’s Province’, *ZA* 105/2 (2015), 193-195; R. Zadok, ‘An Egyptian in Kurdistan’, *NABU* 1 (2018), 51.

³ See chapter 3.5, 5, 6 and 7.

⁴ Though the very fact that these Egyptians already feature in texts suggests that their setting is unlikely to be specially lowly and is perhaps unrepresentative, at least insofar as the Egyptians are not servile people who appear as passive objects in texts.

⁵ S. Smith, ‘An Egyptian in Babylonia’, *JEA* 18 (1932), 28-32.

⁶ D.J. Wiseman, ‘Some Egyptians in Babylonia’, *Iraq* 28/2 (1966), 154-158.

articles by Dandamayev (1992),⁷ Bongenaar and Haring (1992),⁸ and Zeidler (1994)⁹ in which more attention was placed on the various Egyptians in Mesopotamia. In the 2000's the place of Egyptians in Mesopotamian society were studied more closely by Huber (2006)¹⁰ and Hackl and Jursa (2015)¹¹ but in recent years an explosive interest in Assyria can also be noted in contributions made by Melanie Wasmuth (2011)¹² and (2016),¹³ Karlsson (2018),¹⁴ (2019)¹⁵ and (2020)¹⁶ and most notably Karen Radner (2009),¹⁷ (2012)¹⁸ and (2016).¹⁹ The main focus of recent studies is often Assur's N31 archive, also dubbed 'The archive of the Egyptians', in which many Egyptians occur whereas the sources from Nineveh and especially Kalhu still have not received nearly as much attention.

In this paper all possible Egyptians in Assyria that are currently known by the author are studied to create a broader understanding of this group of individuals. The attestations in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (henceforth *PNA*),²⁰ *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire: Neo-Assyrian Specialists* (henceforth *PNAP*)²¹ and additions made to it on *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire Online* (henceforth *PNAO*)²² have proved to be vital for this research as they provided a general overview of all named individuals that can be found in the *State Archives of Assyria* (SAA), Assyrian private archives and several other sources with texts from the Neo-Assyrian Period. From this

⁷ M.A. Dandamayev, 'Egyptians in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.', in D. Charpin and F. Joannès (eds), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1992), 321-325.

⁸ A.C.V.M. Bongenaar and B.J.J. Haring, 'Egyptians in Neo-Babylonian Sippar', *JCS* 46 (1994), 59-72.

⁹ J. Zeidler, 'Einige neue keilschriftliche Entsprechungen ägyptischer Personennamen: Zu weiteren Namen in Jacobsen, CTNMC Nr. 68', *WO* 25 (1994), 36-56.

¹⁰ I. Huber, 'Von Affenwärtern, Schlangenbeschwörern und Palastmanagern: Ägypter im Mesopotamien des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends', in R. Rollinger and B. Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag* (OrOcc 12; Stuttgart, 2006), 303-329.

¹¹ J. Hackl and M. Jursa, 'Egyptians in Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods', in J. Stökl and C. Waerzeggers (eds), *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context* (Berlin, 2015), 157-180.

¹² M. Wasmuth, 'Tracing Egyptians Outside Egypt: Assessing the Sources', in K. Duistermaat and I. Regulski (eds), *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean* (OLA 202; Leuven, 2011), 115-124.

¹³ M. Wasmuth, 'Cross-Regional Mobility in ca. 700 BCE: The Case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924', *JAES* 12 (2016), 89-112.

¹⁴ M. Karlsson, 'Egypt and Kush in the Neo-Assyrian State Letters and Documents', *SAAB* 24 (2018), 37-61.

¹⁵ M. Karlsson, 'Multiculturalism and the Neo-Assyrian Empire', *RANT* 16 (2019), 109-117.

¹⁶ M. Karlsson, 'Egypt and Kush in Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions', *RINAP* 17 (2020), 165-188.

¹⁷ K. Radner, 'The Assyrian King and his Scholars: The Syro-Anatolian and the Egyptian Schools', *StOr* 106 (2009), 221-238.

¹⁸ K. Radner, 'After Eltekeh: Royal Hostages from Egypt at the Assyrian Court', in H. Baker et. al. (eds), *Stories of Long Ago. Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf* (AOAT 397; Münster, 2012), 471-480.

¹⁹ K. Radner, 'Die Beiden Neuassyrischen Privatarhive', in P.A. Miglus, K. Radner and F.M. Stępniewski, *Ausgrabungen in Assur: Wohnquartiere in der Weststadt. Teil I.* (Wiesbaden, 2016), 79-133.

²⁰ K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 1, Part I: A.* (Helsinki, 1998); K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 1, Part II: B-G.* (Helsinki, 1999); H.D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 2, Part I: H-K* (Helsinki, 2000); H.D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 2, Part II: L-N* (Helsinki, 2001); H.D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 3, Part I: P-S* (Helsinki, 2002); H.D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 3, Part II: Š-Z* (Helsinki, 2011).

²¹ H.D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 4, Part 1. Neo-Assyrian Specialists: Crafts, Offices, and other Professional Designations* (Helsinki, 2017).

²² Baker, H.D., *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire Online* (2017) <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/PNAO/index.html>>, accessed 15-07-2020.

corpus a list of supposed Egyptians has been created which has been studied in great detail through the use of statistics, prosopography and Social Network Analysis. Based on these results the position of Egyptians in Assyrian society during the Neo-Assyrian Period can be re-evaluated.

1. The concept of ethnicity and collective identity

Before we delve into the topic of this paper it is crucial that we form clear definitions of the terminology that is often used in this type of research in order to prevent any misunderstandings. The most important terms will be discussed here with their respective definitions.

1.1. Ethnicity

The term *ethnicity* is in and of itself a rather difficult concept which has led to the many definitions and approaches that have been presented by scholars from several fields of study. Contrary to the term '*ethnic*'²³ the term 'ethnicity' is relatively modern:²⁴ the first recorded usage of the term was in 1953 and it was not until 1973 that the term was added to a dictionary.²⁵ Max Weber was one of the first who attempted to more clearly define 'ethnicity' as "*the believe of social actors in common descent based on racial and cultural differences, among other factors*". Weber stresses the importance of the belief in, and not the fact of, common descent.²⁶ However this definition has presented some problems. Firstly, this means that a vast range of groups can be characterised as ethnic as it essentially includes any group about which one can plausibly say that they have a sense of belonging together.²⁷ Secondly, in this definition both ethnicity and *race* are incorporated²⁸ in which 'race' refers to a group that shares a set of biological characteristics.²⁹ Although in recent years most scholars have chosen to abandon the word 'race' when discussing ethnicity, the argument being that competing notions of genetic background (*ethnos*) and cultural build-up should be separated, even recent studies still seem to conflate the concepts of race and ethnicity.³⁰ Even though the concept of ethnicity still sparks some debate regarding its interpretation, sociologist Anthony D. Smith presented six characteristic features of ethnicity which are generally accepted as a correct interpretation of the term, namely:

1. Use of a common name for the group;
2. A myth of common descent;
3. Shared histories of a (perceived) common past;
4. One or more distinctive cultural elements (often religion or language);
5. A sense of having a territorial homeland (either current or ancestral);

²³ The term was already known in the fifteenth century: M. Bös, 'Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups: Historical Aspects', in J.D. Wright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences Volume 8* (2nd edn; London, 2015), 136-137.

²⁴ While the term might be relatively modern, there is an ongoing debate on whether or not the concept is as well, as some argue that the concept was already known in ancient times. For further reading see: A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford, 1986) and N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, 'Introduction' in N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan (eds), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, 1975), 1-26.

²⁵ Glazer and Moynihan, in Glazer and Moynihan, *Ethnicity*, 1, 5.

²⁶ M. Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology, Volume I* (Berkeley, 1978), 389-393.

²⁷ J. Valk, *Assyrian Collective Identity in the Second Millennium BCE: A Social Categories Approach* (PhD thesis, New York University; New York, 2018), 8.

²⁸ For an in-depth discussion on ethnicity see Valk, *Collective Identity*.

²⁹ Bös, in Wright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia*, 137.

³⁰ F.M. Fales, 'Ethnicity in the Assyrian Empire: A View from the Nisbe, (II): "Assyrians"', in M.G. Biga et. al. (eds), *Homenaje a Mario Liverani, fundador de una ciencia nueva (I)* (ISIMU 11-12; Madrid, 2015), 186 n. 9.

6. A self-aware sense of membership among the group.³¹

Still, the term itself is fluid which leads to multiple definitions and approaches that can all be correct as different fields of interest, time periods and other variables demand a focus on other elements in order to correctly study the concept.³² This is already visible in Assyriology and Egyptology: while both approach the concept in a similar manner, namely by studying it from the eyes of the beholder,³³ their circumstances and available data differ (e.g., mainly textual sources in Mesopotamia versus primarily material culture in Egypt) forcing them to focus on different elements (e.g., ethnic group labels versus iconography) in order to trace ethnic groups within their respective communities.

To quote Randall Collins: *“Ethnicity is an intrinsically messy topic because the historical processes that produce it are intrinsically messy. Our analytical problems stem from the fact that ethnicity is always a distorted concept, an attempt to impose a pure category on a social reality that is not at all pure.”*³⁴

1.2. Collective identity

It is in the author's opinion that the term 'ethnicity' should be replaced in favour of a more fitting concept, namely that of *collective identity* since ethnicity exists within the conceptual realm of collective identity but is in itself too vague of a term to be used in this paper. As we saw in the previous section: ethnicity is very difficult to define and although it is not always intended, it does not always seem to be able to lose its connotation with race. Collective identity is not nearly as loaded as a concept and occurs when a group of people share certain elements with one another through which a *social group* can be formed. However, it must be stressed that many divisions within these *social categories* are not mutually exclusive and can be rather fluid since people can belong to multiple social groups (e.g., one can both be a father as well as an Egyptian).

In this paper an attempt will be made to identify Egyptians in Assyria by studying similarities between individuals which hint at an individual's Egyptian history so that social categories can be created through which the 'Egyptian' social group can be formed. We will delve deeper into the process of the identification method used for this social group and the difficulties which it entails in later chapters.³⁵

To accomplish this, this paper will generally follow the *social categories approach* used by Jonathan Valk. The *social categories approach* can explain how social categories form and behave and what they do, thus explaining how collective identities arise from social categories, how they shape the social landscape, how socially determinant categories structure the social order and how they relate to the

³¹ J. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith (eds), *Ethnicity* (Oxford, 1996), 6-7.

³² D. Candelora, 'Entangled in Orientalism: How the Hyksos Became a Race', *JEH* 11 (2018), 48 reaches a similar conclusion.

³³ By studying how the individuals themselves recognised ethnic categories and use them to their advantage, see B.J.J. Haring, 'Occupation: Foreigner. Ethnic Difference and Integration in Pharaonic Egypt', in W.H. van Soldt (ed.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002* (PIHANS 102; Leiden, 2005), 163; F.M. Fales, 'Ethnicity in the Assyrian Empire: A View from the Nisbe, (I): Foreigners and "Special" Inner Communities', in D.S. Vanderhooft and A. Winitzer (eds), *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature. Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist* (Winona Lake, 2013), 50-53.

³⁴ R. Collins, 'Chapter 4: Balkanization or Americanization: a geopolitical theory of ethnic change', in Collins, R. (ed.), *Macrohistory: Essays in the Sociology of the Long Run* (Stanford, 1999), 78.

³⁵ See chapters 3.1 and 3.2.2.

distribution of power. This is done by establishing the essential likeness of collective identities based on selected criteria.³⁶

1.3. Stages of integration

The inclusion of an individual or ethnic groups in a new host society involves adaptation processes of various intensities that collectively can be labelled *acculturation*. These stages progress from superficial adaptation with the aim to simply survive in the host society that can last indefinitely, to more structural changes in social and professional affiliation, marriage patterns, values, and identity until ultimately the stage of assimilation to the host society is complete.³⁷ In order to more clearly differentiate the acculturation process, Friedrich Heckmann proposes the following stages:

1. *Accommodation*: One is able to live in the host society but does not embrace the change of basic values or modes of thinking.
2. *Acculturation*: A change of values takes place and the individual acquires linguistic, professional, and cultural knowledge. One also exhibits a change in behaviour and life style due to the contact with the host society. The subject still has a separate cultural identity.
3. *Assimilation*: A complete reception of the host culture and rejection of the culture of origin.³⁸

It must however be stressed that a distinction should be made between individual and group acculturation. Marked social hierarchies, a strong majority culture and a distinct motivation for assimilation accelerate the process of acculturation for individuals. Crucial conditions for group acculturation include the openness of the group structure, the willingness and ability of the minority group to acculturate and a majority society disposed favourably towards the group's acculturation.³⁹ According to Ran Zadok the constant Assyrianisation process of foreigners seems to have mainly occurred within the Assyrian heartland⁴⁰ and certain adjacent regions due to the stable Assyrian demographic base, whereas in the periphery the West-Semitic majority prevailed and even increased in the last generation of the Assyrian empire.⁴¹

³⁶ Valk, *Collective Identity*, 15-18. For a complete explanation of Valk's definitions and methodology read pages 15-97.

³⁷ T. Schneider, 'Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context', in W. Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology* (Oxford, 2010), 144-145.

³⁸ F. Heckmann, *Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation: Soziologie inter-ethnischer Beziehungen* (Stuttgart, 1992), 167-171.

³⁹ Heckmann, *Minderheiten*, 181-207; Schneider in Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, 145.

⁴⁰ Although the general borders of the Assyrian empire keep changing the core region of Assyria, the heartland, can generally be described as the land within the so-called Assur-Nineveh-Arbela triangle with Assur in the south, Nineveh in the north and Arbela in the east: see K. Radner, 'The Assur-Nineveh-Arbela Triangle: Central Assyria in the Neo-Assyrian Period', in P.A. Miglus and S. Mühl (eds), *Between the Cultures: The Central Tigris Region from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC. Conference at Heidelberg January 22nd – 24th, 2009* (HSAO 14; Heidelberg, 2011), 321.

⁴¹ R. Zadok, 'The Ethnolinguistic Composition of Assyria Proper in the 9th-7th Centuries BC', in H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. XXXIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Heidelberg 6.-10. Juli 1992* (HSAO 6; Heidelberg, 1997), 216.

2. The social identity of Assyria and Egypt

2.1. The Assyrian identity

2.1.1. Defining 'Assyrian': the ideological view

In order to understand why some were considered "Egyptian" we must first understand what the Neo-Assyrians considered to be "Assyrian". Machinist identifies five main categories of phraseology in royal inscriptions regarding the native elites' views of "Assyria" and "Assyrians", namely:

1. *Assyria*, of which the basic term is *māt* (KUR) *Aššūr*: 'the land of Aššur'. Although generally identified as the land around the upper Tigris River, it is not entirely clear whether the borders were already considered "Assyria" or only the core was identified as such.
2. *Assyrian*. Three terms occur in royal inscriptions to describe the population:
 - a. The dominant one: 'x of Assyria' where 'x' can be expressed by the Akkadian words *nīšē* ('people'), *mārē* ('sons') or *ba'ulāt/baḥulāt* ('population' or 'subjects').
 - b. Membership based on the principal god of the realm such as "subjects of Enlil" (*ba'ulāt ^dEnlil*) which is less frequently used.
 - c. An 'Assyrian' or 'Assyrians' can be designated by the form *aššūrû* or *aššūrāia* in which a gentilic (*-āia* or *-iu*) has been added. This form also may or may not be preceded by the determinatives KUR (= *mātu* 'land') and/or LÚ (= *awīlu* 'man').
3. *Foreign geographical units*. These units are conventionally preceded by a determinative to mark the semantic type of which they belong: KUR (= *mātu* 'land') and URU (= *ālu* 'town', 'city') (e.g., KUR Yادنانا is Cyprus). In addition, the term *naqû* ('district', 'region') can be found with the name of a foreign territory or alone and is used as a general designation for an area and as a technical label for an administrative subdivision of a larger territorial unit.
4. *Foreign peoples*. Similarly to how 'Assyrians' were designated, foreign people were referred to by using *mārē* or *nīšē* in combination with the name of a geographical unit or by applying the gentilic *-āia/-iu*.
5. *The world*. The four aforementioned categories make up the world as it was known by the Assyrian administration and could be expressed in phrases such as "*kiššatu* ('universe'), *kibrāt arba'i/erbetti* ('the four quarters [of the world]') and the king 'who exercises authority over all lands from the rising to the setting sun'.⁴²

Even though these categories are based on the Assyrian ideology in royal inscriptions, it provides us with a general idea of what the notion "Assyria" entails. How exactly then were foreigners perceived by the Assyrian society itself and how did one become Assyrian?

⁴² P. Machinist, 'Assyrians on Assyria in the First Millennium B.C.', in K.A. Raaflaub (ed.), *Anfänge politischen Denkens der Antike: Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen* (SHK 24; München, 1993), 80-83.

2.1.2. Assyria's view on foreigners

Assyria is often regarded as a multi-ethnic and multilingual empire.⁴³ Already during the Middle Assyrian Period (ca. 1400 – 1050 BCE) the royal court had a markedly international character. This process of internationalisation only further developed as the empire expended during the Neo-Assyrian Period.⁴⁴ At the core of Assyria's ideology was the need to order the disorder of the non-Assyrian world by imposing obedience to the god Aššur through the Assyrian king. The terms "Assyria" and "Assyrian" in royal inscriptions are therefore mainly political terms that define a region and people that manifest the required obedience instead of ethnic ones. As foreigners were seen in Assyrian ideology as "confused", "knowing no lordship" and "hostile",⁴⁵ there was a need to subject them to the Assyrian king who was to re-establish order. This is also clear from the expressions used for conquered populations that "become Assyrian". The expression "*I counted them among the people of my land*" and especially the expression "*I submitted them to the yoke of my lordship*" reflect their submission and obedience to the Assyrian king.⁴⁶ This is further supported by the different terms that can be used to denote a "foreigner". The basic semantic notion for the Akkadian *aḫûm* refers to one being that of externality or peripheral location and does not invoke hostility. This is however implied in the words KÚR, *nakrum* and *kurur*.⁴⁷ From visual sources it is also clear that Assyrians did not equate foreigners with enemies as reliefs depict many different foreign troops within the Assyrian army that were not treated with hostility.⁴⁸

Assyrian ideology therefore distinguishes between "established Assyrians" and "new Assyrians", the latter being individuals from recently conquered territories. If one were to "become Assyrian" it simply refers to the subjection of people to the same obligations (in taxes and corvée) and authority (god and king) as the inhabitants of the imperial heartland, without distinction between old and new provinces.⁴⁹ In the end, everyone within the Neo-Assyrian empire was an Assyrian (*mār Aššūr; aššūrāiu*) which appears to have been an essential factor in the stability and success of the empire. Individuals who had been subdued were "*counted among the Assyrians*" and had the same obligations as natives for which they were given the protection of the king in return.⁵⁰

⁴³ N. Postgate, 'Ancient Assyria – A Multi-Racial State', *Aram* 1:1 (1989), 1-10; S. Parpola, 'The Neo-Assyrian Ruling Class', in T.R. Kämmerer (ed.), *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Orient* (BZAW 374; London, 2007), 257-274; Karlsson, *RANT* 16, 109-117.

⁴⁴ Parpola, in Kämmerer (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte*, 259.

⁴⁵ Machinist, in Raaflaub (ed.), *Anfänge*, 89-90.

⁴⁶ M. Liverani, *Assyria: The Imperial Mission* (MC 21; Winona Lake, 2017), 203-208.

⁴⁷ G. Beckman, 'Foreigners in the Ancient Near East', *JAOS* 133/2 (2013), 203.

⁴⁸ S. Nowicki, *Enemies of Assyria* (AOAT 452; Münster, 2018), 105; D. Nadali, 'The Assyrian Army: Foreign Soldiers and Their Employment', in W.H. van Soldt (ed.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002* (PIHANS 102; Leiden, 2005), 230-231.

⁴⁹ Liverani, *Assyria*, 203-208.

⁵⁰ K. Radner, 'Neo-Assyrian Period', in R. Westbrook (ed.), *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law. Volume 2* (HdOr 72-2; Leiden, 2003), 892.

2.2. The Egyptian identity

2.2.1. Egypt's view on foreigners

The Egyptians had a similar view of foreigners as the Assyrian. In Egyptian royal ideology foreigners represent forces of evil and chaos because they threaten the cosmic order known as *ma'at*. It was Pharaoh's duty to protect the land from these foreigners. He is often depicted trampling these foreign enemies. That foreigners were seen as lesser is also clear from the use of the Egyptian word *rmꜥ* meaning 'person' or 'people' in this ideological context. This term excluded foreigners whose homelands were not considered to be "lands" but "deserts", even if the land was fertile.⁵¹ This rather extreme, ideological view on foreigners is not visible in society itself as living in Egypt meant taking on a new ideological code as an Egyptian. This is supported by the fact that the Egyptian word for foreigners (*ḥꜣs.tjw*) is exclusively reserved for foreigners outside of Egypt who are devoid of any opportunity of acculturation and never used for peoples of foreign origin in an Egyptian socio-economic context. However, ethnonyms like *ꜥꜣm* ('Asiatic') or *nḥsj* ('Nubian') can be used for both non-accultured people outside Egypt as well as adapted members of the Egyptian social system in where they merely indicate the notion of foreign origin.⁵² The royal ideology also does not reflect reality in the political sphere as, even though Egyptians considered themselves superior to foreigners, the foreign nations were generally treated as equals in international correspondence such as the Amarna letters.⁵³

Egyptians differentiated foreigners in two distinctly different ways, namely stereotypically or individually. The Egyptians recognised at least the three main groups of foreigners bordering Egypt: Asiatics to the northeast, Nubians to the south and Libyans to the west. Each of them was depicted in stereotypical costumes and physical appearances in Egyptian iconography (fig. 1).⁵⁴

⁵¹ Haring, in Van Soldt (ed.), *Ethnicity*, 164.

⁵² Schneider, in Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, 144.

⁵³ Liszka, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, 1.

⁵⁴ K. Liszka, 'Foreigners, Pharaonic Egypt', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Chichester, 2012), 1.



Fig. 1. Egyptians, Asiatics, Libyans, and Nubians as based on images in the Tomb of Seti I, KV 17.

Foreigners could also be depicted in a way that emphasised their individuality, especially in literary texts like *Sinuhe*,⁵⁵ *The Doomed Prince* and *Wenamun*. In these texts foreigners appear as individualised characters with whom the Egyptian protagonists interact.⁵⁶ *The Tale of Sinuhe* and other literary texts also describe Egyptian funerary culture as an inextricable part of Egyptian identity. *The Tale of Sinuhe* takes place during the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2040 – 1640 BCE) and begins with the death of king Amenhemhat I of the 12th dynasty (ca. 1990 – 1960 BCE).⁵⁷ The tale deals with the fortunes and misfortunes of a royal official named Sinuhe who, upon hearing of the king's presumed death, flees in his blind panic to the land of "Retjenu" (modern-day Lebanon) where he winds up as a tribal man. He adapts to the customs of the land, marries and earn respect among the people. However, once he defeats a challenger in single combat, he realizes his life is devoid of meaning as long as he is away from Egypt, isolated from the royal court and without a proper burial.⁵⁸ Sinuhe is completely cleaned upon his arrival back in Egypt and thus casts off his Asiatic identity. The fear of not receiving a proper Egyptian burial is also echoed in *The Story of Wenamun* when the titular character refuses to see the gravesite of Egyptian emissaries in Byblos⁵⁹ and in Papyrus Lansing, in which the scribe warns about

⁵⁵ Although the *Story of Sinuhe* is presented to be an autobiography, it seems to be more of a literary text that is structured like an autobiography. Perhaps this was done to give the text more authority, especially since it might contain propagandic undertones. For further reading see J. Winand, 'The Tale of Sinuhe', in H.M. Hays, F. Feder and D. Morenz (eds), *Interpretations of Sinuhe: Inspired by Two Passages* (EU 27; Leiden, 2014), 215-243.

⁵⁶ Liszka, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, 1.

⁵⁷ R.B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC* (Oxford, 1997), 21.

⁵⁸ R. Salim, *Cultural Identity and Self-preservation in Ancient Egyptian Fictional Narratives. An Intertextual Study of Narrative Motifs from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman Period* (Copenhagen, 2013), 6.

⁵⁹ E. Hornung, 'Sinuhe und Wenamun. Zwei ägyptische Wanderer', in F. Graf and E. Hornung (eds), *Wanderungen* (Erano 3; München, 1995), 64.

the soldier dying in a foreign land indicating, according to Biase-Dyson, that this fear had not subsided even after years of intercultural exchange.⁶⁰

Non-literary texts frequently mention foreigners and showcase a detailed knowledge of foreign lands, suggesting the Egyptians were exposed to foreigners and their lands on many occasions. Many foreigners lived and worked in Egypt as is clear from the Wilbour Papyrus and other documents that mention foreigners living in towns of various sizes with some of them even bearing foreign names.⁶¹ Foreigners were already present during the Middle Kingdom and lived all throughout Egypt. Although the general consensus would have us believe these foreigners were forcibly brought to Egypt as prisoners of war, it seems that a portion also came on their own volition to Egypt for economic reasons where they practiced a plethora of occupations.⁶² The most extensive evidence for international communities within Egypt dates to the Late Period (664 – 332 BCE),⁶³ a time during which many people relocated within the Near East, both voluntarily as well as forced.

2.2.2. Kushites and Libyans

One point that must be addressed for the purpose of this research is whether or not Kushites and Libyans should be identified as Egyptians in the Assyrian sources and should be included in this research. During Egypt's Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1069 – 664 BCE), a period which can be seen as the prelude to this research, there was an influx of Kushites and Libyans who settled in great numbers across large areas of Egypt.⁶⁴ The native Egyptian population seems to have treated Kushites and Libyans as Egyptians even if elements of their ethnic origins remained evident, contrary to the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romans who were always seen as foreign.⁶⁵ This can easily be understood if one considers the fact that Libyans and Kushites were highly Egyptianised, so much so that they could be regarded Egyptians on both a cultural as well as ethnical level.⁶⁶

Some Kushites were also present in Assyria as is clear from SAA 7, 47 in which two Kushite (^{KUR}*ku-sa-a*) eunuchs are mentioned. Although Kushites and Libyans were highly Egyptianised, they have not been included in the general research. The reasoning for this is twofold. Firstly, these are the only two named⁶⁷ individuals in Assyria of Kushite origin from the Neo-Assyrian Period that do not belong to the sphere of royalty or vassal kings. Although there are some sources that mention Kushites,⁶⁸ there is too little evidence to support the idea of a Kushite community in Assyria. The same applies for Libyans whose names remain difficult to identify with certainty.⁶⁹ If there is speculation whether or not a name is

⁶⁰ C. Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives* (PAe 32; Leiden, 2013), 336-337.

⁶¹ Liszka, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, 1-2.

⁶² W.A. Ward, 'Chapter Three: Foreigners Living in the Village', in L.H. Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers: The Village of Deir El Medina* (Ithaca, 2018), 61.

⁶³ Liszka, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, 2.

⁶⁴ C. Nauntom, 'Libyans and Nubians', in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt: Volume I* (Oxford, 2010), 136-137.

⁶⁵ K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Die Fremderherrschaft im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.', *Orientalia* 69 (2000), 1-2.

⁶⁶ Nauntom, in Lloyd (ed.), *Companion*, 137.

⁶⁷ 15 Kushite women are mentioned on a list of female palace personnel, see SAA 7 24.

⁶⁸ Such as SAA 13 13.

⁶⁹ Only six names belonging to nine individuals have been definitively identified as Libyan, in addition to two new suggestions made by Charles Draper, see: C. Draper, 'Two Libyan Names in a Seventh Century Sale Document from Assur', *JAIE* 7/2 (2015), 1-15.

Egyptian or Libyan, as is the case with the name Ḫallabēše, the name will be included since there is a possible link to Egypt.⁷⁰ Secondly, it is difficult to be certain whether or not the Kushites came from Egypt or their homeland. This is less so the case with Libyans whose homeland did not have set boundaries and had slowly integrated into Egyptian society. Furthermore, it remains elusive whether or not both the Libyans or Kushites identified as Egyptian.⁷¹

3. Defining ‘Egyptian’

3.1. Identification

As has been stated in chapter 1.2., this paper attempts to identify Egyptians in Assyria by studying similarities between individuals which hint at an individual’s Egyptian history so that social categories can be created through which the “Egyptian” social group can be formed. However, it must be stressed that these categories have merely been created for the purpose of this study in order to identify the social group that corresponds to our idea of an “Egyptian”. This therefore does not mean that someone who we identify as an “Egyptian” in Assyria also considered themselves to be one. Different or additional elements could have consolidated the idea of being “Egyptian” in Assyria. Many of these elements have been lost to time, prompting us to work with the common themes within the group that we can observe.

So then how can we identify an Egyptian in Assyria? Although at first this question seems quite easy to answer the answer is not as straightforward as one might expect. One could state that the land of origin defines your Egyptian identity. Someone born in Egypt could thus be regarded as an Egyptian. But in this case, as soon as the second generation is born in Assyria this statement is no longer valid. Can we say that a third generation Egyptian is as much an Egyptian as a first generation Egyptian, especially if intermarriage occurs with each generation? Rigid definitions do not work.

In addition, we need to ask ourselves whether or not these “foreigners” are seen as such both by themselves as well as by society. Unfortunately, although there are multiple texts in which Egyptians are mentioned, there are



Fig. 2. Amarna stela from the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin, no. 14122.

⁷⁰ Libyan existence within Egyptian society is clear from the presence of Libyan names well into the Ptolemaic Period. Libyans are known to take Egyptian names, contrary to Egyptians who most likely did not take Libyan names which, in combination with the fact that Libyan names could appear within Egyptian naming patterns, suggests some level of assimilation, see L. Hulin, ‘The Libyans’, in I. Shaw and E. Bloxham (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptology* (Oxford, 2020), 507. A discussion on the name Ḫallabēše can be found in appendix II.

⁷¹ In Assyrian sources the lines between Egyptians and Kushites are also often blurred.

no texts about Egyptians written by Egyptians who live in Assyria and we are thus always subjected to the viewpoint of the native Assyrians. An example from Egypt presents us with some of the difficulties when discussing social identity: a stela from Tell el-Amarna (fig. 2) depicts a husband and wife. Both have Semitic names. However, only the man is depicted as a Canaanite, while his wife is depicted as an Egyptian.⁷² As native Egyptians probably did not give foreign names to their children⁷³ the question arises: why is just one depicted as an Egyptian even though both have a Semitic background? It is likely that the wife is integrated further into society than her husband, perhaps because she is a child of a first generation Asiatic and has therefore always lived in Egypt, while her husband may have settled recently in Egypt and is not yet fully integrated into society.

Melanie Wasmuth has also questioned the definition of “Egyptian” and formulated a list with elements that may identify someone as an “Egyptian” based on a person’s:

1. *Prosopographical association*: the presence of a (blood)link to an Egyptian’s household;
2. *Origin*: having a connection to the land of Egypt;
3. *Cultural identification*: interacting with the Egyptian culture (e.g., writing and religion);
4. *Administrative/professional authorities*: representing Egypt through a profession.

As Wasmuth herself also notes,⁷⁴ many of these elements are often not visible or difficult to prove in the data we have of Egyptians abroad, making it difficult to identify these Egyptians. Most of the time we do not know how or when these Egyptians came to Assyria: their interaction with Egyptian culture is barely visible in both archaeological as well as textual evidence and it is unclear if seemingly Egyptian professions were exclusively practiced by Egyptians.⁷⁵ Some of the points within Wasmuth’s list can only hint at a possible link to Egypt and must therefore always be used complimentary to other indicators which suggest an Egyptian heritage (e.g., known to trade in Egypt). So how then can we identify the Egyptians in Assyrian society?

3.1.1. Onomastics

The first and most important way of identifying an Egyptian is through his or her name.⁷⁶ Egyptian names can often be easily distinguished from that of other populations. Generally, there exist two types of Egyptian names: Egyptian names which have been “Assyrianised” or hybrid names in which a person has an Akkadian name save for an Egyptian theophoric element.⁷⁷ Egyptians also may have

⁷² W. Spiegelberg and A. Erman, ‘Grabstein eines syrischen Söldners aus Tell Amarna’, ZÄS 36/1 (1898), 126-129.

⁷³ Ward, in Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh’s Workers*, 62.

⁷⁴ For the complete list see Wasmuth in Duistermaat and Regulski (eds), *Intercultural Contacts*, 116.

⁷⁵ This will be further discussed in chapter 3.1.5.

⁷⁶ The rendering of the Akkadian names follows the normalisation and transcription of the most recent source discussing the name which is primarily PNA or PNAO.

⁷⁷ The latter does not guarantee that the individual bearing the name was Egyptian. If a foreign deity was popular in the area, an Assyrian could also have referred to it in their name. Furthermore, if an Egyptian theophoric element is the only thing linking an individual to their possible Egyptian origins, a different explanation of the name might be possible.

taken an Assyrian name when they migrated to Assyria in order to help with their integration as was a well-known practice in Babylonia.⁷⁸

We know of several Egyptians who have Assyrian names but are ethnonymically denoted as Egyptian. The opposite is also true in Babylonia where Iranians could take an Egyptian name while seemingly having no connection to that ethnic background.⁷⁹ It also was not uncommon in Babylonia for a person to have multiple names (e.g., both a Greek and Babylonian name). However, this phenomenon is mostly known from the Seleucid Period (312 – 32 BCE) onwards⁸⁰ and to my knowledge there is no evidence that this practice also occurred many years earlier in Assyria.⁸¹ As foreigners integrate into society they take Assyrian names, making it difficult to clearly establish a ratio between ‘native’ Assyrians and immigrated individuals based on onomastics alone. As Zadok puts it: “*Foreigners are an ever-dwindling entity whereas the Assyrians can be depicted as an entity which is constantly being inflated with new layers of absorbed foreigners*”.⁸² Authorities could also rename deportees, which was mostly done to slaves and votaresses.⁸³ It is also not always possible to determine a person’s origin based on his name as there are many commonly shared elements within Semitic names, or other names from the Ancient Near East.⁸⁴ Therefore it is sometimes possible that a case can be made for multiple interpretations regarding the origin of the name.⁸⁵

Variance regarding personal names in Assyria seemed to have occurred almost exclusively through hypocoristic (familiar/endearing) nicknames, mainly through the use of shortened forms of the original personal name⁸⁶ which also occurred in Egypt. There it was also possible to use names which were based on individuals who were deemed important to the name-bearer, although the link between the “borrower” and “lender” is often impossible to determine (e.g., *Nb(j)-pw-Mḥw* ‘Mehu is my lord’).⁸⁷ There are attestations from Egypt where an individual has two names: the first being the formal, ‘proper’ Egyptian name while the second could be either the original foreign name or an Egyptian

⁷⁸ T. Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia: A Study of Deportees in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BCE* (CHANE 109; Leiden, 2020), 48.

⁷⁹ Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 305; M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* (CLIS 6; Costa Mesa, 1992), 131f.

⁸⁰ H.D. Baker, ‘Approaches to Akkadian Name-Giving in the First Millennium BC Mesopotamia’, in C. Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday, 4 October 2002* (Dresden, 2002), 6.

⁸¹ Tiglath-Pileser III and Shalmaneser V both have two names, but this might be a different phenomenon altogether.

⁸² Zadok, in Waetzoldt and Hauptmann, *Assyrien im Wandel*, 215.

⁸³ R. Zadok, ‘Onomastics as a Historical Source’, in G.B. Lanfranchi et. al. (eds), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History: Sources, Problems, and Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the University of Helsinki on September 22-25, 2014* (SAAS 29; Helsinki, 2019), 419.

⁸⁴ B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 12.

⁸⁵ See for example the element “Amman” within the names “Amman-appu” and “Amman-tanaḥti” in PNA I, 102: in the former the element is identified as the Elamite theophoric element “Humban”, while in the latter it is identified as the Egyptian theophoric element “Amon”.

⁸⁶ F.M. Fales, ‘The Composition and Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Empire’, in G.B. Lanfranchi et. al. (eds), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History: Sources, Problems, and Approaches* (SAAS 29; Helsinki, 2019), 49 n. 11.

⁸⁷ G. Vittmann, ‘Personal Names: Structures and Patterns’, in E. Froom and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 1/1 (Los Angeles, 2013), <<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/42v9x6xp>>, accessed 02-06-2021, 1-13.

nickname.⁸⁸ Even though there currently exists no clear evidence that Egyptians used multiple names in Assyria, it is still possible that they were used since patronyms and professions are often omitted in Assyrian documents thus making it difficult to clearly identify individuals as one and the same.⁸⁹

In the Neo-Assyrian Period names were usually given around the time of birth or at least in early infancy.⁹⁰ This was also the case in Egypt where the mother seems to have been the name-giver.⁹¹ Egyptian names need not to imply that the named identified themselves as “Egyptian”, but since the parent is the name-giver, the presence of the Egyptian name does imply that (one of) the parent(s) identifies as “Egyptian”. This presence of a blood link will for that reason be used as one of the better ways to identify an Egyptian. Still, even the presence of an Egyptian name does not guarantee this individual is an actual Egyptian: it is possible that someone simply took an Egyptian name without having a direct link to Egypt or due to the presence of Egyptian culture in its region.⁹² As this is impossible to prove we will assume that those with (partially) Egyptian names have a high probability of being of Egyptian origin.⁹³

3.1.2. Ethnic group labels

Another way in which an Egyptian can be recognised is on the basis of the “labels” of geographic and/or ethnic⁹⁴ provenience which were attached to individuals or groups within the written documentation. These *ethnic group labels* are sometimes mentioned in a text in order to identify a person as belonging to that ethnic group, in this case Egyptian.⁹⁵ In Assyrian the nisbe-ending *-āi* or *-āiu* is exclusively used to denote the names of people and inhabitants.⁹⁶ The nisbe can be added after the word for “Egypt” (^{KUR}*mušri*) in order to call someone an Egyptian (^{KUR}*mušurāia*). Sometimes it is still possible to identify the individual’s sex when a name is broken, based on the spelling of the ethnic group label. Male names take the ending *Mu-šur-a-a*, while those of female individuals appear to always be followed by either *Mu-šur* or *mu-šur-tú*.⁹⁷ These differentiations allow for the reconstruction of the individual’s sex even if the text has been damaged.

The ethnic group label can be preceded by two different identifiers, namely the land determinative KUR or the human identifier LÚ that can indicate both a person or profession. Fales states that the identifier KUR was primarily used for individuals or groups whose origin or homeland lay outside the

⁸⁸ Ward, in Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh’s Workers*, 64.

⁸⁹ As PNA shows it is already difficult to ascribe documents to one and the same individual due to the lack of information regarding the individual generally given in these texts.

⁹⁰ Baker, in Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives*, 3.

⁹¹ G. Posener, ‘Sur l’attribution d’un nom à un enfant’, *RdE* 22 (1970); H. Ranke, *Grundsätzliches zum Verständnis der ägyptischen Personennamen in Satzform* (Heidelberg, 1937), 24.

⁹² If this did occur, the most likely location for this to occur is the Levant especially considering their specialisation regarding the creation of Egyptianised objects, which at one point could barely be distinguished from the originals. See chapter 7.

⁹³ Generally, the connection between name and ethnicity is an assumption and we have to believe that in most cases, this assumption is correct. See also: Ward in Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh’s Workers*, 62-66.

⁹⁴ Although we have already discussed the problematics regarding the term “ethnicity”, I will continue to use the term “ethnic group labels” as it is the generally accepted term for this grammatical element.

⁹⁵ As briefly discussed in chapter 2.1.1. Egyptian examples will be given in chapter 3.2.3.

⁹⁶ Fales, in Vanderhooft and Winitzer (eds), *Literature as Politics*, 52; W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik* (AnOr 33; Rome, 1995), 85.

⁹⁷ Compare for example Radner (2016) I.33 r.5, I.35 9 and I.38:4. We can therefore assume that the individual in I.35:13 should be identified as a female.

borders of the Assyrian state whereas the use of the identifier LÚ is generally reserved for peoples or groups which “entertained political and/or economic relations with the Assyrian empire but were not incorporated (yet/any longer) within its boundaries and thus were not subjected to the ‘inner’ jurisdiction of the provincial areas”.⁹⁸

This practice of specifically identifying someone as a foreigner through the use of an ethnic group label also occurs in Egypt. Like in Assyria, the terms could be used as a label (‘The Canaanite X’) – which may indicate that what follows is a foreign name– or personal name (‘The Canaanite’).⁹⁹ This usage of an ethnic group label as a proper name can also be observed in Assyria with individuals who bear a name that reflects one’s land of origin such as ^m*mu-su-ra-a* ‘The Egyptian’.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, not all individuals with gentilics were truly part of the empire as sometimes rulers of outside enemy polities are referred to as gentilics although an argument can be made that they still belonged to the sphere of the Neo-Assyrian empire.¹⁰¹ Radner has suggested that the label “Egyptian” may not have necessarily referred to their ethnic background, but could primarily be a designation of their profession as was also the case for the “people from Hūndur” in Western Iran (*Hūndurāiu*).¹⁰² If this is the case, this profession might reflect the Aššur temple’s counterparts of the Egyptian scribe (*ṭupšarrē Mušurāiē*) and the *ḫartibē*¹⁰³ in the royal entourage.¹⁰⁴

Personal names based on an ethnic group label are not reserved for the first generation who left their home as a reference to their land or city of origin.¹⁰⁵ Since the use of the ethnic group label is an explicit identifier in terms of ethnicity rather than inferred, it presents a basic advantage over personal names.

3.1.3. Family relations

Personal names and ethnic group labels are relatively clear identifiers of Egyptians. Other traits and elements can however also help us distinguish Egyptians or strengthen their Egyptian identity. However, the rest of the indicators that will be treated in the remainder of this chapter are less stable for the identification process. The first of these more instable identifiers is family relations.

By studying existing family relations between individuals who showcase Egyptian characteristics it is possible to identify people as Egyptian who would normally fall between the cracks due to, for example, their Assyrian name. However, in theory it is possible that although the son of an Egyptian father has Egyptian blood, he has no interest in his Egyptian heritage and thus does not identify as an Egyptian. Contrastingly, an adopted child without Egyptian blood might be raised with Egyptian values and beliefs and identifies as an Egyptian.¹⁰⁶ These two cases illustrate how difficult it can be to identify Egyptians within families and what makes one more Egyptian than another.

⁹⁸ Fales, in Vanderhooft and Winitzer (eds), *Literature as Politics*, 57. This is however still an ongoing discussion.

⁹⁹ Ward, in Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh’s Workers*, 63.

¹⁰⁰ See appendix I.

¹⁰¹ Karlsson, *RANT* 16, 115.

¹⁰² K. Radner, ‘An Assyrian View on the Medes’ in G.B. Lanfranchi, R. Rollinger and M. Roaf (eds), *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia* (HANEM 5; Padova, 2003), 62-63.

¹⁰³ See chapter 3.1.5.

¹⁰⁴ Radner, *StOr* 106, 225 n. 24.

¹⁰⁵ See for example Mušurāiu (5) in appendix I who is the son of Šarru-lu-dāri. This is also clear from other names based on ethnic group labels, see for example in *PNA* Aššūrāiu.

¹⁰⁶ See for example, the case of Puṭi-Aṭḫiš and his adoptive son Aḫu-iddina in appendix I.

An example from Babylonia of the Miširāia-clan shows us how blurred the lines of claimed descent can become. Here multiple people claim descent from a person by the name of Miširāia ‘The Egyptian’, but apart from that name there is no real evidence to prove that the bearers of this family name had any Egyptian background.¹⁰⁷

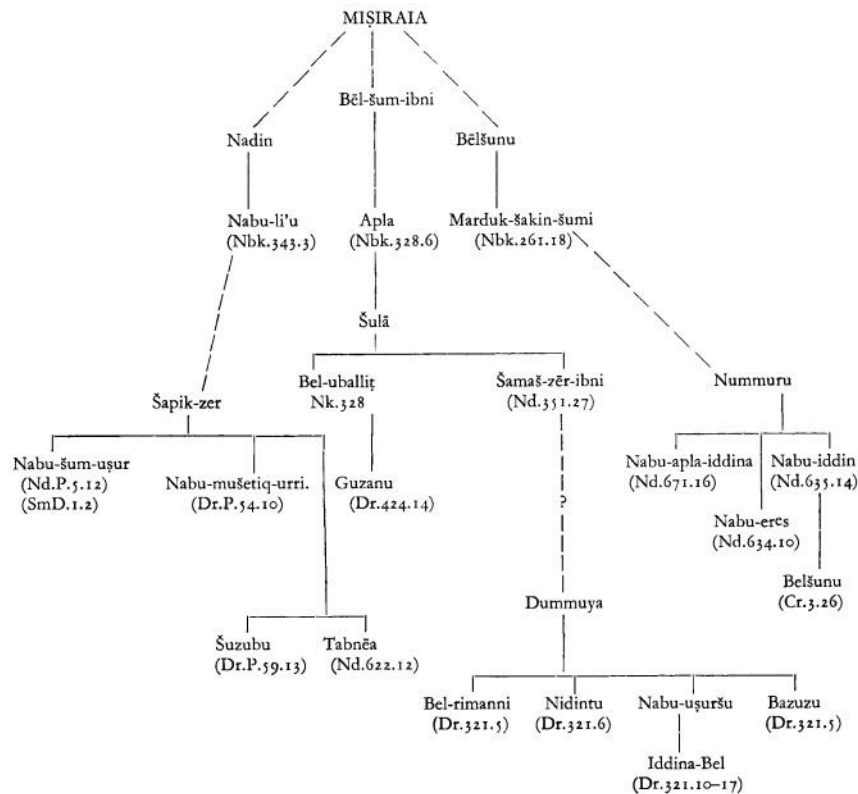


Fig. 3. The Miširāia-clan

A blood link between two direct family members therefore is not enough in and of itself to prove someone is Egyptian, although it does raise the probability significantly.

3.1.4. Connections to other Egyptians

The weakest approach in regards of gauging an individual's level of 'Egyptianness' is by studying his or her inner circle. If an individual shows no link to Egypt whatsoever but is surrounded by suspected Egyptians the probability that this individual is also an Egyptian rises, if only by a small margin. This approach is not enough by itself to clearly identify Egyptians and will therefore only be used in conjunction with other cues. Studying the inner circle of supposed Egyptian individuals by the use of Social Network Analysis on Assyrian archives, the most important one being N31, might however help us to more clearly visualise the level of social integration of the Egyptians living in Assyria.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Hackl and Jursa, in Stökl and Waerzeggers (eds), *Exile and Return*, 158.

¹⁰⁸ See chapter 5.1.1.

3.1.5. Professions

The final feature by which we might be able to recognize some Egyptians is based on their professions. Some professions explicitly use the term “Egyptian” and although this might give the impression that we can use this to easily identify Egyptians, some caution is advised in the case of the Egyptian scribe as we will discuss further in this section. Other professions such as the *ḥartībē* are only practiced by Egyptians.

3.1.5.1. Scholars at the Assyrian court

As indicated by a list of scholarly experts at court,¹⁰⁹ Egyptians were also present in the higher spheres of society and could be consulted for their expertise. Although the document only mentions the 17th day of the month Tebet, with no mention of a year name, it can still be dated to the period shortly after 671 BCE king Esarhaddon’s (681-669 BCE) second, successful invasion of Egypt.¹¹⁰ After this conquest an influx of Egyptian scholars at the Assyrian court can be noted among them “exorcists, *ḥartībē*, [...], veterinary surgeons, Egyptians scribes, [...] [and] snake charmers”.¹¹¹ Likely, these foreign specialists were brought forcibly to the Assyrian court, although they themselves might have sought employment at the Assyrian court.¹¹²

The document begins by listing 36 experts representing the five branches of Mesopotamian scholarship, followed by three further groups of advisers who were brought to the Assyrian court: three “bird watchers” (*dāgil iššuri*), three “Egyptian ritual experts” (*ḥartībē*) and three “Egyptian scribes” (*ṭupšarru Mušurāiu*). These scholars formed a close group (*ḥassu*) and lived together in the city but outside the palace.¹¹³ Interestingly enough, of these 45 scholars only a dozen is clearly identifiable in other sources from this time period, but none of the nine individuals with non-Babylonian scholarly professions is mentioned elsewhere. As there is evidence to suggest that royal scholars were not confined to the palace at Nineveh in the early seventh century BCE, this might provide a possible explanation regarding their absence.¹¹⁴ Our focus lies on the two latter groups of scholars since the bird watchers all bear Akkadian names and seem to be part of the Syro-Anatolian school.¹¹⁵

One of the most interesting professions mentioned here is that of the *ḥartībē*, often identified as “Egyptian dream interpreters”. The word *ḥartibu* is a loanword derived from the Egyptian title *ḥry-ḥb* *ḥry-tp* meaning “chief lecture-priest”, but was abridged to *ḥry-ḥb* in Late Egyptian and/or *ḥr(y)-tb* in Demotic where it also became to mean “magician”.¹¹⁶ The Egyptian office had previously been simply translated as *ašipu* as is clear from diplomatic correspondence between Ramses II and the Hittite court¹¹⁷ and therefore seems to have functioned similarly. However, the idea that *ḥartībē* were also

¹⁰⁹ SAA 07, 001.

¹¹⁰ Radner, *StOr* 106, 222-223; S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (SAA 10; Helsinki, 1993), XXIV n. 4.

¹¹¹ This list of specialists is only known from a badly broken prism fragment from Nineveh: H. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens: Teil I: Kommentare und Anmerkungen* (ÄAT 27/2; Wiesbaden, 1994), 31-32.

¹¹² Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 307.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 306.

¹¹⁴ E. Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Network: A Social Geography of Cuneiform Scholarship in the first-millennium Assyria and Babylonia* (London, 2019), 100.

¹¹⁵ Radner, *StOr* 106, 223.

¹¹⁶ R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), 220-221.

¹¹⁷ E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* (Opladen, 1976), 53-63, 68-69.

dream interpreters is still contested as that theory is largely based on the affinity with the Aramaic/Hebrew word *ḥarṭummîm*, in the Bible as referring to experts in the interpretation of dreams. Yet, as there is no evidence that *ḥry-tp* was also a technical term for dream interpreter in Egypt, Szpakowska argues that *ḥarṭibē* should be seen as “wise men, magicians or priests who did not necessarily have much experience at all in the practice of dream divination, or at best practiced oneiromancy as one of their many specialties”¹¹⁸ who would have consulted materials written in their native Egyptian although none of these documents have been found.¹¹⁹

3.1.5.2. The case of the Egyptian scribe

The profession of Egyptian scribe (*ṭupšarru Mušurāiu*) is the most prominent profession among the supposed Egyptians but it has one glaring issue: it is not completely clear whether or not these people themselves are considered to be Egyptian or if they are simply proficient in the Egyptian language. This profession could in theory also be practiced by an Assyrian and can thus not be used as direct proof that the practitioner is an Egyptian. For this reason, the profession will be used as an indication that the practitioner is Egyptian.

Scribes of foreign languages were present at the Assyrian court and were probably part of the king's outer circle of experts.¹²⁰ Yet, no direct evidence of the Egyptian scribe's activity has survived leaving us to guess what duties they performed. Karen Radner suspects that the Egyptian scribes were probably specialists in the hieroglyphic script rather than the Hieratic and Demotic scripts,¹²¹ but I question that as there is no evidence to support this theory and even in Egypt most literate people and functionaries only knew cursive script.¹²² Robert Morkot suggests that Egyptian scribes may have been involved in the diplomatic correspondence with Egypt and Kush¹²³ whereas James Kinnier Wilson believes that Egyptians scribes were not just secretaries but scholars as well and even suggested that some of them included the aforementioned *ḥarṭibu*.¹²⁴ Another theory, proposed by Silvie Zamazalová, is that the Egyptian scribes drew up documents and correspondence on papyrus in the Egyptian language for the Egyptian community in Assyria.¹²⁵ But did the Egyptian community in Assyria even need such a scribe? In the 1st millennium BCE Aramaic became the lingua franca in the administrative sphere and it is clear in a letter from the Assyrian king¹²⁶ that he was against the use of Aramaic: one was to only write in Akkadian in the domain of correspondence with the king, not in any other language; it is not clear what the implications are beyond that. Still, the letter also implies that the king

¹¹⁸ K. Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams & Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2003), 64-65.

¹¹⁹ S. Zamazalová, 'Egyptian in hieroglyphic script', *Nimrud: Materialities of Assyrian Knowledge Production*, The Nimrud Project at Oracc.org (2015)

<<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/nimrud/ancientkalhu/thewritings/egyptian/>> accessed 11-05-2021.

¹²⁰ Huber, in Rollinger und Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 306.

¹²¹ Radner, *StOr* 106, 225.

¹²² P. Piacentini, 'Scribes', in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), 189.

¹²³ R.G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London, 2000), 230.

¹²⁴ J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists: A Study of Men and Administration at the Assyrian Capital at the Eighth Century, B.C.* (CTN 1; London, 1972), 63.

¹²⁵ Zamazalová, on The Nimrud Project.

¹²⁶ SAA 17, 002.

and his court were able to use Aramaic or else the question makes no sense to begin with.¹²⁷ One wonders if there was even a need for the Egyptian scribes to write in their native language at all.

Egyptian scribes are not the only scribes attested in Assyrian documents with an ethnic group label: Aramaic and even Assyrian scribes, who are mainly situated at Nineveh, are mentioned in Assyrian documents.¹²⁸ Based on this clear distinction at first glance the addition of the ethnic group label seems to primarily refer to the knowledge of the script rather than to the social identity of the individual.¹²⁹ However, as Laurie Pearce has shown, Assyrian scribes seem to have been recorders of literary, scientific, or canonical texts whereas the Aramaic scribes focused on administration thereby indicating that addition of “Aramaic” or “Assyrian” to a scribe’s title seems to reflect the hierarchy in the cuneiform tradition rather than language¹³⁰ which may have been a secondary distinction. Despite the lack of information regarding the Egyptian scribe, studying the Aramaic scribe might present us with more insights regarding their activities and heritage as it is the closest comparison we have. The majority of Aramaic scribes seem to have been of Aramaic (or more generally West-Semitic) descent.¹³¹ It therefore seems very likely that Egyptian scribes were also of Egyptian descent which is also supported by the fact that it took years to master the Egyptian script.¹³² If the Egyptian scribes truly wrote in Egyptian, it would simply be easier to appoint an Egyptian who was already familiar with the script. In her 2009 article Radner has noted that the Egyptian scribes mentioned in the Assyrian court list mentioned in the previous section¹³³ “*all (read: these) Egyptian scribes (...) bear Egyptian names*”.¹³⁴ This would therefore strengthen the idea that the “Egyptian” element within “Egyptian scribe” refers to their ethnic origin. Although the interpretation of the name Niḫarā’u is still unclear, the other two names (Hūru and Ḫur-waši) have been identified as Egyptian and can therefore support this idea. Even though we know of the existence of at least six Egyptian scribes, we unfortunately only have one other named Egyptian scribe, namely Šil-Aššūr (2) who has an Akkadian name and does not have other clear links to an Egyptian heritage.¹³⁵ A possible seventh Egyptian scribe is Pi’u (1) who bears an Egyptian name but is only referred to as a “scribe”. As he is the only Egyptian indicated as such, it is unclear whether or not the Assyrians made a distinction between the two. Pi’u also lived in Kalhu, which further suggests that he was in fact an Egyptian scribe as, out of the six attested Egyptian scribes, four were stationed in Nineveh during the reigns of Sennacherib (705-681 BCE) and Esarhaddon and two

¹²⁷ Probably Sargon II, see L.E. Pearce, ‘Sepīru and ^{LU}A.BA: Scribes of the Late First Millennium’, in K. van Lerberghe and G. Voet (eds), *Languages and Cultures in Contact: At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm* (OLA 96; Leuven, 1999), 364-365.

¹²⁸ Assyrian and Aramean scribes were already accompanied by Egyptian scribes in a wine list dating to the second half of the 8th century BCE (CTN 1 9 r.18’-20’) which to my knowledge is the earliest attestation of an Egyptian scribe in Assyria.

¹²⁹ *PNAP*, 263, 343. See also SAA 04 144:9; SAA 03 033: r. 22’; SAA 04, 058 r. 10 for attestations of the other types of scribes.

¹³⁰ Pearce, in Lerberghe and Voet, *Languages and Cultures*, 362-363.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 361.

¹³² Piacentini, in Redford (ed.) *Oxford Encyclopedia*, 188. Piacentini also states that the study of foreign languages was limited in Egypt. This might also have been the case in Assyria as Assurbanipal’s reign would have been too short to have made an immediate change regarding the study of foreign languages at his palace in his quest for knowledge.

¹³³ SAA 07, 001.

¹³⁴ Radner, *StOr* 106, 223.

¹³⁵ See also: M.M. Groß, *At the Heart of an Empire: The Royal Household in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (OLA 292; Leuven, 2020), 289 n. 655.

were situated in Kalhu during the second half of the 8th century.¹³⁶ It therefore seems very likely that Egyptian scribes generally worked in the capital as Kalhu was the capital of the Assyrian Empire before Nineveh.¹³⁷

Radner's theory looks promising, but as of now, we still lack definitive evidence to confidently say that Egyptian scribes are indeed *all* of Egyptian origin. However, there is enough circumstantial evidence that supports a probable link to Egypt regarding the Egyptian scribes and for this reason, they have been included in this study as confirmed Egyptians.¹³⁸

Another explanation regarding the role of the Egyptian scribe comes from Ludovico Portuese who has argued that "*foreign delegations came to the Assyrian court along with Assyrian interpreters or with their own interpreters, learned and educated at the Assyrian court, in the guise of mediators between king and envoys*". Portuese based this on Greek sources which tell how the Egyptian court sometimes sent Egyptian boys to Hellenistic settlers to learn a foreign language.¹³⁹ It is thus also possible that a similar thing is at hand here and that the Egyptian scribes only temporarily stayed in Assyria as beneficiary exchange for both parties. This could also explain the general lack of Egyptian scribes within the Assyrian sources and their concentration at Assyrian capitals.

It seems that, unlike Aramaic or Assyrian scribes who are the products of local linguistic and cultural practices, Egyptian scribes are not anchored in the broader Assyrian orbit. The Egyptian scribe was very likely an exotic complement to the other scholars at court who helped the king in his decision-making. Still, as we do not have any surviving evidence of the Egyptian scribe's activities, we can only guess as to what exactly their role at the Assyrian court entailed.

3.2. Approach and methodology

3.2.1. Prosopography

In order to provide a data set of possible Egyptians living in Assyria, it was necessary to create a *prosopography* based on their attestations. A prosopography is an overview consisting of a description of individuals based on a series of textual attestations within a text corpus.¹⁴⁰ PNA was searched for all possible Egyptians by selecting people who seemed to fit at least one of the five identification categories presented in chapter 3.1. This data was tested against the corrections and additions to PNA made by Heather Baker¹⁴¹ with missing information added by me.¹⁴² The resulting overview¹⁴³ combines the most important information of the selected individuals: the name, family

¹³⁶ See fig. I in appendix V.

¹³⁷ With a small period in between during which Dur-Sharrukin was the capital.

¹³⁸ The same also applies for the *ḫartībē*, see the selection criteria in chapter 3.2.2.

¹³⁹ L. Portuese, *Life at Court: Ideology and Audience in the Late Assyrian Palace* (Marru 11; Münster, 2020), 124.

¹⁴⁰ A.G. Anderson, *The Old Assyrian Social Network: An Analysis of the Texts from Kültepe-Kanesh (1950-1750 B.C.E.)* (PhD thesis, Harvard University; Cambridge MA, 2017), 4 n. 3.

¹⁴¹ Baker, PNAO <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/PNAO/updatestoPNA/index.html>> accessed 15-07-2020.

¹⁴² New individuals were added to the prosopography by following the PNA numbering system and some of these new individuals have not yet been connected to already existing individuals. Newly added individuals or changes made to the original prosopography have been indicated with an asterisk behind the name.

¹⁴³ See appendix III.

ties, profession and location of the individual, the date during which the individual lived and the texts in which the person occurs. The role of the individual in the text and the type of text were further specified. Further important information has been added in the 'notes' section.

Egyptian vassals or kings¹⁴⁴ will not be used for this prosopography as they are not based in the Assyrian heartland and are mainly stationed in Egypt. However, their names are included in appendix II as their names gives us a valuable insight regarding how their Egyptian names are converted to Assyrian when they all received Assyrian names upon their instalment as vassals.

This prosopography served as the basis for a more detailed study as, by compiling an overview of all of these individuals, relations between them can easily be established. This overview is merely an overview of possible Egyptians. Some of these individuals have a stronger probability of actually being an Egyptian compared to others. Therefore, the next step will be to select these individuals based on certain selection criteria in order to find the most probable Egyptians so that we may draw conclusions and statistics from only this group. This original prosopography has been added in appendix I, so that other researchers can easily return to the overview of all possible Egyptians and draw their own conclusions based on this data, if one were to be in disagreement with my approach.

3.2.2. Selection criteria

The prosopography was subjected to a number of selection criteria to form a new data set, which will form the basis for answering the research question.¹⁴⁵ Most important to study in order to ascertain the probability of one's Egyptian heritage are the following:

- Does the individual have an *Egyptian name*?
- Is the individual *explicitly stated as being an Egyptian* through the use of an ethnic group label?
- Does the individual have an "*Egyptian*" *profession* and if so, how certain is it that this profession is exclusive to Egyptians?
- Is the individual *related by blood to an Egyptian*? If so, is this a primary or secondary blood relation?
- Does the individual have contact with other (probable) Egyptians outside of their family?

Based¹⁴⁶ on how well these individuals fit the selection criteria, a rank will be ascribed to them. These ranks are as follows:

- *Certain*:
 - The individual is explicitly identified as an Egyptian based on the use of an ethnic group label.
- *Strong*:

¹⁴⁴ For an overview of Egyptian vassals of Assyria see Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 273-275.

¹⁴⁵ See appendix III.

¹⁴⁶ These questions were answered by comparing the data from the *PNA* by searching for the terms "Egypt", "Egyptian" and "Muşur".

- The individual bears an undisputed Egyptian name *or*
 - the individual has parents who have a strong or certain likelihood of being Egyptian.
- *Probably:*
 - The individual probably has an Egyptian name but no satisfactory translation and/or transliteration has been suggested *or*
 - the individual has a certified Egyptian name, but there is no evidence that supports the usage of the name in question during the Late Period *or*
 - the individual has a partially Egyptian name *or*
 - the individual has siblings who have a probable to certain likelihood of being Egyptian
 - and/or has a likely Egyptian profession (e.g., Egyptian scribe).
 - *Possible:*
 - It is uncertain whether or not the name is truly Egyptian in origin *or*
 - An indirect family member (e.g., aunt) bears an Egyptian name *or*
 - The individual bears a Libyan name.
 - *Unclear:*
 - Only circumstantial evidence: the individual has an Assyrian name but has a lot of contact with Egyptians or archaeological finds suggest a possibility.
 - *Unlikely:*
 - The individual's name is ambiguous or was previously suspected to be Egyptian but upon study seems unlikely *or*
 - the individual does not seem to fit the likely time-frame (e.g., individuals who bear the name Ḫarmāku are the only ones living during the reign of Adad-nerari III (810-783 BCE), thus making it unlikely that these are all Egyptians).

In addition, to the data in the original prosopography, some other information has been added to this overview. These items include:

- *Location:* For studying the distribution of Egyptians across the empire.
- *Time-period:* Divided in either Pre-Esarhaddon, Post-Esarhaddon (includes the reign of Esarhaddon) and 7th century if specific details are unknown, because this can give us a valuable insight regarding the presence of Egyptians before the reign of Esarhaddon.
- *Profession:* If known, the profession of these Egyptians might be able to tell us a lot about their social standing.
- *Role in documents:* Divided in the categories of *active* (active party (e.g., debtor, creditor, accused)), *inactive* (present as a witness or named in document but not part of the active party) and *passive* (patronym or an individual who is not (directly) involved (e.g., neighbour)).

- *Occurrence in document*: The number of times someone is mentioned in the documents can tell us something about this person's social network and importance. The categories are: once, twice, 3-5 times, 5-10 times, 10+ times.
- *Sex*: The presence of women might give us valuable information regarding the role of Egyptian women.

Only the information of individuals who can meet the rank of “probably” or higher will be discussed further in this research. Double entries have been avoided as much as possible. If the prosopography mentions the possibility of one individual being identical to another, the individual with the most complete information or with the clearest Egyptian link will be subjected the selection criteria. Especially the entries which can be identical to multiple individuals (e.g.: Hur-waši (6-11)) will be left out.¹⁴⁷ Based on the final selection data conclusions and statistics will be drawn. This is done ensure the reliability of the results by eliminating possible double-counting of Egyptians: it is better to have a smaller but more reliable group of individuals than a larger one with a higher chance of inconsistency and errors.

3.2.3. Identifying Egyptian names

3.2.3.1. The structure of Egyptian names

In order to be able to identify Egyptian names in Assyrian we must first analyse how Egyptian names itself are constructed after which we can study the transformation these names undergo in Akkadian.

Surprisingly, not much has been written on the general structure of Egyptian names as in-depth research regarding this subject has only recently been done by Günter Vittmann.¹⁴⁸ According to Vittmann, Ancient Egyptian personal names can be generally be assigned to one of three basic groups:

1. One-word names such as *Hr* ‘Horus’, but also those that include the definite article (from the 18th Dynasty onward): e.g., *P3-Nḥsj* (‘The Nubian’).
2. Compound names not constituting a complete sentence such as *P3-dj-Sbk* ‘Given by Sobek’ or *3st.wrt* ‘Great Isis’.
3. Names constituting a complete sentence such as *Jmn-m-ḥ3t* ‘Amun is in front’ or *Ns-Hnsw* ‘The one who belongs to Khonsu’.

Another classification can be made through content and semantics in which *endophorous*, *exophorous* and *hypocoristica* can be identified. Endophorous names lack any mention of divinities or kings (e.g., *Nḥt.n.j* ‘She whom I desired’). Sometimes these names invoke an individual's physical features (e.g., *Nfr* ‘Beautiful’) or reflect a person's titles, professions (e.g., *P3-ḥm-nṯr* ‘The Prophet’). Animal (e.g., *P3-hjk* ‘The falcon’) and plant names (*Sššn* ‘The lotus’) can also be used as personal names.

¹⁴⁷ The raw data can be found in appendix I and III.

¹⁴⁸ Vittmann, in Frood and Wendrich (eds), *Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1-13.

Exophorous names include reference to a god or pharaoh. These names may or may not describe the relationship between the named individual or his family and the god or pharaoh. Vittmann divides this category in two further sub-categories: *theophoric* and *basilophorous* names. Theophoric names are extremely common in all periods of Egyptian history, although these name-patterns varied over time. Some theophoric names did not include reference to the relationship between the bearer or his family such as is the case with pure, unextended divinity names (e.g., *Hr* 'Horus'), or only the divine epithet is used instead of the god's name (e.g., *Nb-swmmw* 'Lord of Sumenu'). Names consisting of sentences in which an action, a quality or a state of the deity is expressed were also popular (e.g., *Htp-Pth* 'Ptah is content'). In general, the most popular name-patterns were:

1. The individual belonging to a god (e.g., *T3-nt-Jmn* 'She of Amun')
2. As a servant of a god (e.g., *Hm-Rc* 'The servant of Ra')
3. Beloved of praised by a god (e.g., *Mry-Shmt* 'Loved by Sekhmet')
4. Protected or saved by a god (e.g., *Nhm-s(w)-3st* 'Isis has saved him')
5. The individual as a gift of a god (e.g., *P3-dj-3st* 'He whom Isis has given')
6. Child of a god (e.g., *S3-Hwt-Hr* 'The daughter of Hathor')
7. Made by a god (e.g., *P3-jr-Jch* 'He who is made by the Moon(-God)')
8. The "speaker" who is "kept alive by a god (e.g., *Schnj-wj-Pth* 'Ptah keeps me alive')

Basilophorous names can be divided into two types of names based on royal names:

1. Unextended royal names, consisting of either the birth (e.g., *Jmn-m-hct* 'Amenemhat') or throne name (e.g., *Hpr-k3-Rc* 'Kheperkare', the throne name of Senwosret I).
2. Names composed with a royal name which often form a complete sentence (e.g., *chnj-Sšnq* 'May Shoshenq live').

3.2.3.2. Phonological changes in Akkadian

Due to the absence of vowels in Egyptian scripts which continued writing consonants which had been subjected to sound change or were no longer pronounced, identifying Egyptian names in Akkadian sources remains difficult. In order to help us identify the Egyptian equivalent to these Assyrianised names, the spellings found in other scripts, such as Demotic, Coptic and Greek, are usually used to reconstruct the Egyptian equivalent to Assyrianised names.¹⁴⁹ Cuneiform texts can also help us reconstruct how Egyptian names were pronounced since the names have been written out syllabically. For example, we now know that in the New Kingdom -y was pronounced as [-ya], meaning *My* would be pronounced as *Maya*.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46, 64.

¹⁵⁰ Vittmann, in Frood and Wendrich (eds), *Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 7.

Although the Egyptian equivalents of many “Akkadianised” Egyptian names still remain a mystery, many attempts have been made to reconstruct the original names.¹⁵¹ A systematic study of phonological changes of Egyptian in Akkadian has been made by Yoshiyuki Muchiki based on Egyptian proper names and loanwords in the El-Amarna tablets which gives a great overview of the phonetic correspondences between the two languages at that point in time.¹⁵²

Akk <i>b</i> : Eg <i>b</i>	Akk <i>q</i> : Eg <i>ḳ</i>
Akk <i>d</i> : Eg <i>d</i>	Akk <i>r</i> : Eg <i>r</i>
Akk <i>g</i> : Eg -	Akk <i>s</i> : Eg <i>s</i>
Akk <i>ḥ</i> : Eg <i>h</i>	: Eg <i>š</i>
: Eg <i>ḥ</i>	Akk <i>ṣ</i> : Eg -
: Eg <i>ḥ</i>	Akk <i>š</i> : Eg <i>s</i>
: Eg <i>š</i> (<i>s</i> > /š/ > /ḥ/)	: Eg <i>š</i>
Akk <i>y</i> : Eg <i>y</i>	Akk <i>t</i> : Eg <i>t</i>
: Eg <i>i</i>	: Eg <i>ṭ</i> (> /t/)
: Eg <i>ʿ</i>	: Eg <i>d</i> (> /t/)
Akk <i>k</i> : Eg <i>k</i>	: Eg <i>ḏ</i> (> /d/ > /t/)
Akk <i>l</i> : Eg <i>r</i>	Akk <i>ṭ</i> : Eg <i>d</i>
Akk <i>m</i> : Eg <i>m</i>	: Eg <i>ḏ</i> (> /d/)
: Eg <i>b</i>	Akk <i>z</i> : Eg <i>ṭ</i>
Akk <i>n</i> : Eg <i>n</i>	
Akk <i>p</i> : Eg <i>p</i>	
: Eg <i>f</i>	

Fig. 4. Overview of phonological correspondences (from Muchiki, *Proper Names*, 304).

Until recently most scholars focused their studies on Egyptians in Babylonia and therefore, most of the research regarding phonological changes is based on Babylonian sources. Comparing the research on phonological changes in Babylonian and Amarna sources with the Assyrian sources shows that Egyptian names follow the same, if not similar, phonological rules in Babylonian and Assyrian sources. For example, the correspondence of the Egyptian *ḏ* with the *š* which is well known in Babylonian seems to also occur in Assyrian (e.g., Ḫur-waši for *ḥr-wḏš* and Ši-ḥû for *ḏd-ḥr*) as well as the disappearance of the final *-r* in a name, especially in the word *nfr* (e.g., Ḫatpi-Napi for *ḥtp-nfr*).¹⁵³

Some differences can be noted, however. In Babylonian the Egyptian *w* is often rendered as *ma/ba* due to the Late Babylonian sound change from *w* to *m* in the cuneiform script,¹⁵⁴ but in Assyrian the use of *ma/ba* does not seem to correspond with *w*, *u* is used instead (e.g., Babylonian *Ḫar-ma-ša* compared to Assyrian *Ḫur-waši*).¹⁵⁵ In contrast, during the Amarna period the Egyptian *p* could be

¹⁵¹ Some examples include H. Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation* (Berlin, 1910); E. Edel, ‘Neue Keilschriftliche Umschreibungen ägyptischer Namen aus den Boğazköytexten’, *JNES* 7/1 (1948), 11-24; K.L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (ASSF 43/1; Helsinki, 1918).

¹⁵² Y. Muchiki, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic* (SBL 173; Atlanta, 1999), 289-312.

¹⁵³ Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46, 66-67.

¹⁵⁴ An example would be the word *awīlu* (“man”, “person”) which becomes *amēlu*.

¹⁵⁵ Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46, 68.

dropped in Akkadian if it was not supported by a vowel. This occurred most notably in the Egyptian word *hpr* ‘to exist’ (e.g., the name *Naphuru/areya* which should be transcribed as *nf(r)-h(p)r(.w)-r^c* ‘Good is the being of Re’).¹⁵⁶ This does not seem to happen in Assyria as all names with the element *Hu-ru* refer to the god Horus and *hpr* might have been written as *hi-pir*.¹⁵⁷ Babylonian sources indicate that Egyptian *tj* also generally corresponds with the Akkadian *ṭa*,¹⁵⁸ but this cannot be confirmed to also be the case in Assyria.¹⁵⁹

Secondly, it is important to see whether the proposed interpretation of an element within a name is consistently rendered the same. If for example, the element *r^c* is generally transcribed as *ri(a)* in Assyrian (e.g., *Ri-m-pi-ae*) it might be possible that a similar sounding element within a different name (e.g., *rāu* in the name *Niḫti-Eša-rau*) refers to an entirely different word (in this case *rw* should be read instead).¹⁶⁰ Still, as of now, not many Egyptian names in Assyria have been identified with certainty making it difficult to clearly recognize confirmed phonological patterns and structures within these names.

None of the Egyptian gods within theophoric names are preceded by a divine determinative (^d), but since this is neither consistently done in theophoric names with Mesopotamian deities it is not that remarkable of an observation.¹⁶¹ The phenomena of *honorific transposition* in the Egyptian language also does not seem to occur in cuneiform transcription. With honorific transposition theophorous or basilophorous elements would frequently be written at the beginning a name even if it was pronounced in the syntactically appropriate place. Thus, a name which was written as *Pth* + *hpr* perhaps should be read as *Htp-Pth*.¹⁶²

In order to prove whether or not a name has an Egyptian origin, the rendition of the name into Akkadian must correspond to the phonological rules the language follows. We must also have evidence that the name was in fact used in Egypt during that time period. Often times a transliteration of translation of a name is proposed which might seem reasonable, but if the name is only attested during Old Kingdom Egypt it becomes doubtful whether or not the name was still in use during the Late Period. The interpretation of the name does not necessarily have to be incorrect, but caution should be taken. As Egypt has less surviving textual evidence, it may simply be that the name was in use during that period but there is no textual evidence to prove it. In order to accommodate this uncertainty, a question mark will be added in appendix II after the suggested origin of the name.¹⁶³ An individual with a name that is doubtful will have to present more links to its Egyptian heritage when the selection criteria are applied to strengthen its legitimacy rather than an individual whose name has been proven

¹⁵⁶ Muchiki, *Proper Names*, 293, 306.

¹⁵⁷ See *Hipirrāu* in appendix I.

¹⁵⁸ As told to me through personal correspondence by Dr Ben Haring.

¹⁵⁹ Based on the names listed in appendix II.

¹⁶⁰ Regional differences of a name may be possible as different scribes in different cities might transcribe the name differently but this does not appear to be the case in our material.

¹⁶¹ Babylonian scribes often do add the divine determinative, see Dandamayev in Charpin and Joannès (eds), *La circulation des biens*, 321.

¹⁶² Vittmann, in Frood and Wendrich (eds), *Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 7-8.

¹⁶³ These names are given the label ‘probably’ when applying the selection criteria, see appendix III.

to be Egyptian. If multiple individuals with a doubtful name have a high likelihood of being of Egyptian descent, this can in turn further increase the possibility of the individual bearing an Egyptian name.

3.2.3.3. Identification methodology

In their similar study of Egyptians in Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods, Hackl and Jursa viewed Akkadian and West-Semitic names as the default in the Babylonian and West-Semitic/Aramaic ethno-linguistic landscape of this period and thus not strongly indicative of the socio-economic and ethnic affiliation of the name bearer. As Egyptian names are an anomaly in this context, Hackl and Jursa considered them as ‘marked’ and thus indicative of the origin, identity and/or aspirations.¹⁶⁴ They however do not go into their method regarding the identification process of these names as “Egyptian” and how certain the earlier assessments of these names by other scholars are. It is possible that some of the conclusions they have drawn based on these assumptions should be questioned. Aside from onomastics, Hackl and Jursa also identified Egyptians based on the presence of an ethnic group label.

To aid in this research and to prevent questionable conclusions, appendix II was made. Through this appendix it is possible to study the phonological patterns Assyrianised Egyptian names in more detail as it lists all presently known Egyptian names from Assyria and dissects the name by listing their Akkadian spelling, discussions on the names and –if known– the Egyptian spelling and translation of the name. Almost all names have been found in *PNA*¹⁶⁵ and on *PNAO*, where Heather Baker’s additions to *PNA* can be found.¹⁶⁶ In order to limit the scope of this research, the decision has been made to not question the validity regarding the labelling of all of these names as “Egyptian” too much since the main contributor of the Egyptian names in *PNA* Raija Mattila has studied these names in great detail for her MA thesis¹⁶⁷ and had therefore been chosen for the task. Due to these restrictions *PNA* will also not be looked through by me in detail in order to find new Egyptian names that have previously gone unnoticed. However, some new suggestions and re-evaluations regarding all presently suspected Egyptian names have been made¹⁶⁸ which have been indicated in blue in the overview. Due to this more critical assessment of the names, many presumed Egyptian names have been filtered out. The criteria were as follows: if it can be proven that the suggested name was used during the Late Period,¹⁶⁹ its origin will be confirmed as Egyptian.¹⁷⁰ When it cannot be proven that the suggested reading of a name was in use during the Late Period or the name sounds Egyptian but currently no (satisfying) interpretation has been made, the name will be labelled as “Egypt.?”. It is also possible that names that were previously labelled as “Egyptian” might now have been labelled as “origin unknown” if the name in question upon re-evaluation does not sound Egyptian. Many names in *PNA* also seem to have

¹⁶⁴ Hackl and Jursa, in Stökl and Waerzeggers (eds), *Exile and Return*, 158.

¹⁶⁵ Radner and Baker (eds), *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire I-IV*.

¹⁶⁶ Baker, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire online*, accessed 10-09-2020.

¹⁶⁷ R. Mattila, *Egyptiläiset henkilönimet I vuosituhannen eKr. nuolenpääasiakirjoissa ja -kirjeissä* (MA thesis, University of Helsinki; Helsinki, 1983). Her thesis studies Egyptian names in NA and NB transliteration by examining the correspondence of sibilants and dentals.

¹⁶⁸ Many thanks to my thesis supervisors Ben Haring and Jonathan Valk for going through the entire name list I had created with me in order to check my suspicions. As this name list is critical for my data as it influences whether or not someone will be labelled an Egyptian, I am very grateful for their help.

¹⁶⁹ As discussed in the previous section.

¹⁷⁰ One exception are the names beginning with Puṭi or Puṭu (Egypt. *p3-dj*) as it seems that, when looking at the data, only Egyptian names seem to contain this element.

automatically been assumed to have been Egyptian if that name is mentioned in a list of Egyptian deportees, even though it is possible these names in actuality have a Libyan, Kushite or other origin. It is still possible that an individual with such a “foreign” name would identify themselves as an Egyptian thus explaining their presence in a document amongst other, more clearly identifiable, Egyptians.

The immediate labelling of a name as “Egypt.?” when the origin is unknown also occurs in *PNA* for individuals who have a profession believed to only be practiced by Egyptians. Again, even though it is possible that these names are indeed Egyptian, it is also very likely that the name in question has an entirely different origin and if one does not provide a possible transliteration of the name, these assumptions could easily lead to faulty research.

Mattila collected and labelled the names as Egyptian based on:

- Names that belong to Egyptian individuals mentioned in royal inscriptions;
- Names that belong to persons who are defined as Egyptians in the text itself;
- Names that previously have been identified as Egyptian by others;
- Names with elements that have been previously identified in Egyptian names;
- Unidentified names that occur among Egyptian names.¹⁷¹

The Egyptian roots of some of the names in the appendix have been heavily discussed or are dubious but through this research, where the names will be viewed in context, it is possible that the Egyptian origin of a name can be ascertained. If, for example, arguments have been made for a name to be either Libyan or Egyptian, the presence of an Egyptian name within the direct family of this person increases the likeliness that we are indeed dealing with an Egyptian name or that the original Libyan name could also be given to Egyptians which is not unsurprising since Egypt was ruled by Libyan rulers at the time.

3.2.4. Social Network Analysis

Social Network Analysis (henceforth called SNA) has in recent years also gained much traction in Assyriology due to its value regarding the study of social networks based on cuneiform material. First developed in Social Sciences, SNA is a method to carry out empirical, quantitative research in social structures.¹⁷² It is a broad strategy for investigating social structure, not a formal or unitary “theory”.¹⁷³ Based on the documentation we can establish a network of individuals who were in contact with one another. Their frequency and role within the documentation can also highlight the importance of an individual within a certain social network.

The main purpose of SNA is to study an individual’s relations with others in the system by recreating

¹⁷¹ As explained to me through personal correspondence.

¹⁷² C. Waerzeggers, ‘Social Network Analysis of Cuneiform Archives – A New Approach’, in H.D. Baker and M. Jursa (eds), *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History: Methodology and Practice* (Oxford, 2014), 209

¹⁷³ M. Emirbayer and J. Goodwin, ‘Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency’, *AJS* 99/6 (1994) , 1414.

the web of *ties* that link an *actor* to other actors. One can be linked to others both *adjacently*, where two individuals are directly linked with one another, or *indirectly* in which others are removed from the selected individual by two or more steps.¹⁷⁴ These relationships are visualised in a *graph* in which every *node* represents an actor (in most cases an individual) and every *edge* represents a relationship (*ties*) that binds two nodes together. Edges indicate the type of relationship a person has with the other and can be categorised as either *undirected* (symmetric relationships) or *directed* (asymmetric relationship). Moreover, edges can be *weighted*, meaning a certain quantity is attributed to them (fig. 5).¹⁷⁵ To put it more simply: by applying SNA on these archives a web of individuals linked by their interactions within texts can be created through which it is possible to visualise (part of) a community. This way, the primary actors, the networks surrounding individuals, as well as the role individuals play within archives can be easily observed.

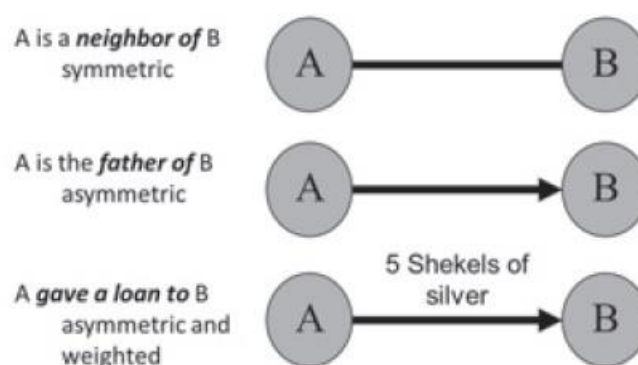


Fig. 5. Examples of possible tie-types.

There are two types of networks: *one-mode networks* and *two-mode networks*. In one-mode networks all nodes represent the same social entity, such as an individual, a family or an archive whereas in two-mode networks the nodes represent two different entities, meaning that the nodes are divided into two non-overlapping sets (*modes*). As the two-mode network allows us to build networks associating individuals to the texts that mention them and is mostly used in Assyriology,¹⁷⁶ this will be the type that is applied to in this research.¹⁷⁷

Most SNA in Assyriology has been done on Neo-Babylonian archives rather than Assyrian ones. Although the structure and approach remain similar for the most part, some differences must be noted regarding the information available between Assyrian and Babylonian documents. It is much harder to sketch a family tree through Assyrian sources than it is through Babylonian ones. In Babylonia it is a lot more common to state not only the name of the individual and their father, but also the name of your general ancestor (Fig. 3). In Assyria on the other hand, it is not even standard practice to mention the individual's patronym and the practice of referring to an ancestor is absent altogether, making it difficult to identify someone as the same individual or as a new one. Furthermore, there is generally less information available in Assyrian documentation compared to Babylonian sources because Neo-

¹⁷⁴ Waerzeggers, in Baker and Jursa (eds), *Documentary Sources*, 209.

¹⁷⁵ A. Wagner, Y. Levavi, S. Kedar, K. Abraham, Y. Cohen and R. Zadok, 'Quantitative Social Network Analysis and the Study of Cuneiform Archives', *Akkadica* 134/2 (2013), 120-121.

¹⁷⁶ Wagner et al., *Akkadica* 134/2, 120-122.

¹⁷⁷ The ties in this research are undirected.

Assyrian legal texts are primarily of private nature and were highly standardised. They were written down for one of the parties, not for official record and therefore do not present us with much additional historical information.¹⁷⁸ Lastly, the Assyrians use a dating system in which every year was named after an official (*limu*, “eponym”)¹⁷⁹ instead of a king as was the case in Babylonia. Even though the sequence of these officials has been reconstructed for the period 910 – 649 BCE, no canon is available at present for the period between 648 BCE and the end of the Assyrian empire in 609 BCE. While the gaps can partially be filled by studying the genealogy of the citizens through family archives, other problems still make it difficult to present certain dates for some documents due to fragmentary eponyms in the texts and the fact that there currently is a larger number of eponyms than required by the period 648-612 BCE.¹⁸⁰

As a rather large archive has been found involving many Egyptians in the city of Assur (N31), an attempt will be made to apply Social Network Analysis on this group of people for this might present us with valuable information regarding their integration within Akkadian society. In addition, it might help us identify other Egyptians who have previously gone unnoticed or at least increase the probability of Egyptian heritage to some individuals since the person might have found himself within a tightly knit community of Egyptians. This can also help us with the identification process regarding names that were previously doubted to be of Egyptian origin.¹⁸¹

Besides the N31 archive, Assur has two more archives in which quite a number of Egyptians are active, namely the 52a and 52b archives. SNA will also be applied on the 52b archive whereas the 52a will not be subjected to SNA. This is due to the small amount of Egyptians mentioned in only a few of the many documents of archive 52a and because almost all texts are investment documents in which many individuals are summed up. The Egyptians mentioned in the 52a archive will still be included in the prosopographical overview and will be studied more closely, just not through SNA.

Following the approach of Maarja Seire,¹⁸² all texts belonging to the N31 archive¹⁸³ and 52b archive¹⁸⁴ have been entered into a separate Excel-file in order to create a graph in the program *Gephi*.¹⁸⁵ In order to create these graphs the Gephi-plugin “MultimodeNetworksTransformation” has been used. Individuals that are only mentioned as patronyms are excluded from SNA as the individual themselves

¹⁷⁸ B. Faist, ‘Legal Texts as a Historical Source: How to Use and to Deal with Them’, in G.B. Lanfranchi, R. Mattila and R. Rollinger (eds), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History: Sources, Problems and Approaches* (SAAS 29; Helsinki, 2019), 262-263.

¹⁷⁹ See A. Milliard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC* (SAAS 2; Helsinki, 1994), 1-14 for a general introduction of the topic.

¹⁸⁰ Faist, in Lanfranchi et al., *Writing Neo-Assyrian History*, 265-266.

¹⁸¹ One such example is the name Hur-waši of which the origin has been continuously discussed.

¹⁸² M. Seire, ‘Gephi Guidelines for Cuneiform Archives’ on *Persia & Babylonia*:

<<http://persiababylonia.org/archives/methods/gephi-guidelines-for-cuneiform-archives-part-2-cleaning-your-dataset/>>, accessed 23-09-2020. I am also very grateful to Maarja Seire who has helped me personally with applying SNA on the N31 archive.

¹⁸³ Following the overview in B. Faist, *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur* (StAT 3; Wiesbaden, 2007), 126-129.

¹⁸⁴ Radner, in Miglus et al., *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 121-126.

¹⁸⁵ Gephi is a free, open-source software through which data from spreadsheets can be imported in order to visualize and analyse large network graphs. For further information see *Gephi* <<https://gephi.org/>> accessed 21-05-2021.

were not active in the document and it can therefore not be proven that they still lived or had contact with the same individuals. As can be seen in appendix I, some names have all but completely broken. Individuals with broken names will still be included in the research as they are still active parties within an archive, but have all received a separate number as it is unclear whether or not the name belongs to an already known individual from the archive or to an entirely new individual (e.g., [...]-Aššūr).

Egyptians have been colour-coded in order to indicate their location within the archive in order to discover if there was a centralised community of Egyptians and their manner of integration into Assyrian society. Confirmed Egyptians (those with a likelihood of 'probably' and higher) are indicated in orange, non-Egyptians are indicated in blue (this also includes unlikely Egyptians or individuals with an unclear Egyptian heritage) and possible Egyptian are indicated in green. The latter has been given its own colour as their presence within the Egyptian community can help raise the probability of their Egyptian heritage. Direct links between Egyptians are indicated in orange whereas a link between an Egyptian and a non-Egyptian is rendered in pink. The size of both the name and the node are relative to the number of connections an actor within the archive has. One individual has no connections due to the broken texts in which they occur.

4. Historical context

4.1. Assyria: the rise and fall of an empire

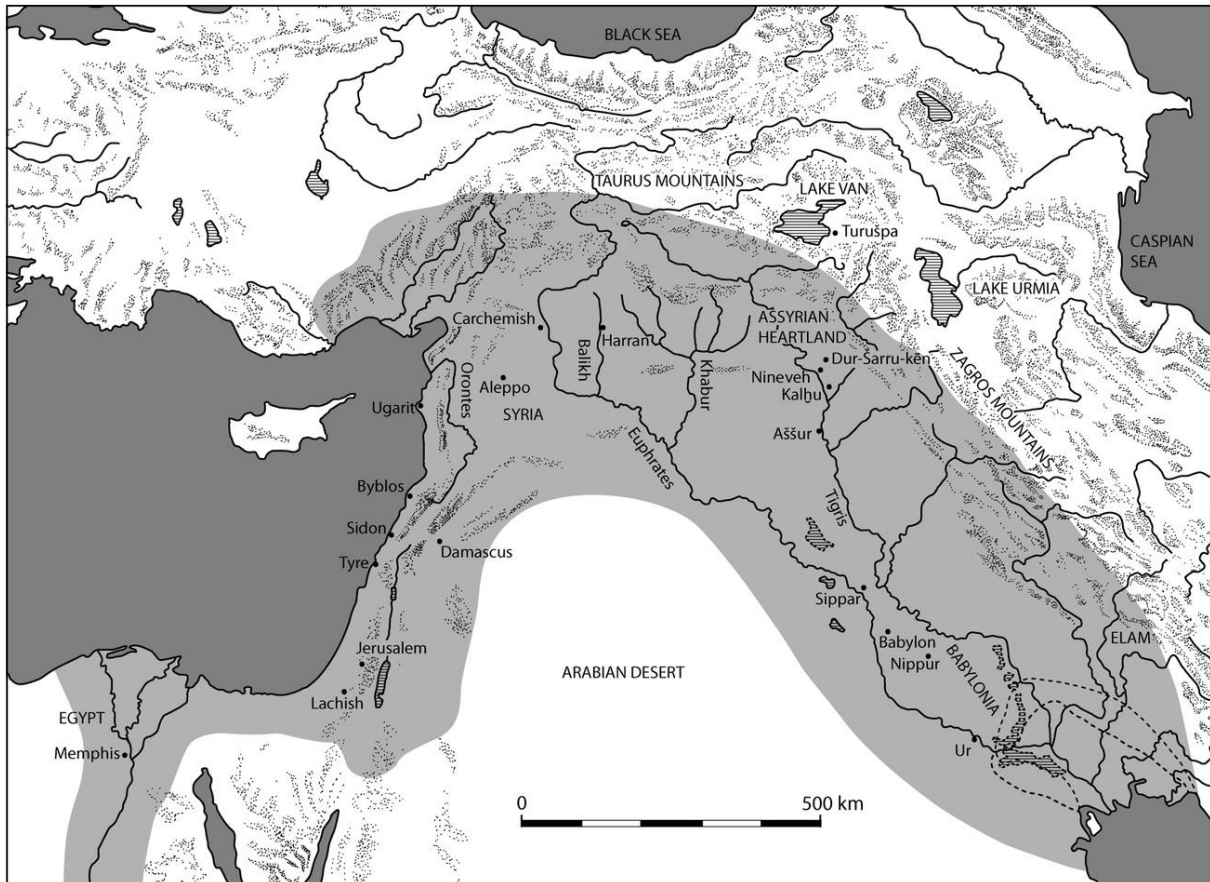


Fig. 6. Map of the Neo-Assyrian Empire at the height of its power (7th century BCE)

4.1.1. The Rise of an Empire: The Late Neo-Assyrian Period

In the Neo-Assyrian period there are some ideological conceptions that developed continuously from the earliest period of Mesopotamian kingship¹⁸⁶ which seemed to have been closely related to the new political formula of the Assyrian empire: all neighbouring countries were to be conquered in order to widen the divine dominion of Assyria. This is also reflected in the image of the god Aššur who shifted from being a patron deity to a god of war.¹⁸⁷

Due to the geographic remoteness of the Assyrian heartland from the Levant, Assyria escaped the complete collapse that many surrounding states suffered following the collapse of the Bronze Age Civilisation in the 12th century BCE. As a result, these states were easily conquered by the Assyrian army.¹⁸⁸ This expansion of the empire started from Tiglath-Pileser III to Assurbanipal (669-627 BCE)

¹⁸⁶ S. Parpola, 'Neo-Assyrian Concepts of Kingship and their Heritage in Mediterranean Antiquity', in G.B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger (eds), *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity: Proceedings of the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop Held in Padova, November 28th – December 1st, 2007* (HANEM 11; Padova, 2010), 35.

¹⁸⁷ Nowicki, *Enemies of Assyria*, 7.

¹⁸⁸ E. Frahm, 'The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000-609 BCE)' in E. Frahm (ed.), *A Companion to Assyria* (Hoboken, 2017), 167; Liverani, *Assyria: The Imperial Mission*, 13-15, 116.

who no longer accepted the existence of the great states at Assyria's borders, they were to be confronted and subdued.¹⁸⁹ At the height of its power Assyria controlled a territory that spanned from Egypt to western Iran during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.

In order to facilitate an empire of this size, internal reorganisation was necessary: old provinces under strong governors were divided into smaller ones and their numbers increased from twelve to twenty-five. In addition, the most important military and administrative offices were now assigned to two individuals instead of just one, making them less powerful.¹⁹⁰

One of the Assyrians most well-known systems is that of *deportations* which was already practiced by kings prior to Tiglath-Pileser III, but mass deportations began systematically and with great momentum during Tiglath-Pileser's reign, causing deportations to become a regular feature of Neo-Assyrian empire policy. Deportation in this context refers to the resettling a large number of individuals outside their own land or adding them to the Assyrian army.¹⁹¹ The main goal for the application of this method was twofold: it would destroy the identity of colonised polities, thus reducing the potential for armed resistance; and it enabled the king to send large numbers of laborers wherever they were most needed.¹⁹² Assyrians often deported men with their whole family as this not only prevented deportees from escaping to their homeland, but also improved the prospects of the deportees for settling down and beginning a new life in the new location.¹⁹³ It is therefore possible that the children of some of the Egyptian families living in Assyria could have been deported together with their parents. This does not mean that all Egyptians (and their families) living in Assyria were deported; some of them may have come voluntarily to Assyria as scholars, merchants, etc. It merely provides us with one possible explanation how the Egyptian communities came into being.¹⁹⁴

Resettled deportees were generally healthier and more prosperous which is also reflected in their relatively large family size compared to others from the lower-class in Assyria.¹⁹⁵ Sometimes "two-way" deportation was used where people from conquered lands were brought to a place which had previously been seized and from which people were already deported,¹⁹⁶ but as resettlement was expensive, administratively difficult and logistically challenging it was only reserved for places that were of immediate strategic significance or those in need of repopulation that merited an influx of deportees.¹⁹⁷ This was for example done by Assurbanipal who exiled people from Egypt to Assyria and in turn brought people from Elam to Egypt.¹⁹⁸ The deportees were often brought to Assyria's capitals

¹⁸⁹ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Near East*, 270.

¹⁹⁰ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Near East*, 266.

¹⁹¹ Oded, *Deportations*, 2, 19.

¹⁹² Frahm, *The Neo-Assyrian Period*, 177. Valk identifies three similar motivations, namely *bodysnatching*, *strategic resettlement* and *dealing with dissent*, see: J. Valk, 'Crime and Punishment: Deportation in the Levant in the Age of Assyrian Hegemony', *BASOR* 384 (2020), 80-81.

¹⁹³ Oded, *Deportations*, 23-24.

¹⁹⁴ Oded, *Deportations*, 76 also shares this belief: 'it is highly probable that a considerable number of the foreigners were deportees or their descendants'.

¹⁹⁵ G. Galil, *The Lower Stratum Families in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (CHANE 27; Leiden, 2007), 273-291.

¹⁹⁶ Oded, *Deportations*, 29.

¹⁹⁷ J. Valk, 'Crime and Punishment: Deportation in the Levant in the Age of Assyrian Hegemony', *BASOR* 384 (2020), 89.

¹⁹⁸ D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. Volume II.* (Chicago, 1927), 778, 850.

and even though not all eventually settled down in these locations,¹⁹⁹ it can explain why we find so many Egyptians in Kalhu, Nineveh and Assur. Of course, most of our sources also originate from these cities causing these Egyptians to be more visible than those outside the heartland; absence of evidence does not equal evidence of absence. Most Egyptian deportees were probably stationed in the periphery as agricultural workers²⁰⁰ and are therefore generally invisible in our sources. Considering the fact that the Assyrianisation process was stronger in the Assyrian heartland than in the periphery,²⁰¹ it is also possible that these Egyptians retained a closer connection with their Egyptian heritage than their city-dwelling counterparts.

Due to the fast expansion of the empire, a system needed to be created which would make the newly conquered territories comply with Assyrian demands. In order to accomplish this goal, three types of political arrangements with the states in the west can be distinguished according to Van De Mieroop, which in turn reflect three stages toward their full incorporation into the empire:

1. Vassal states where the ruler remained in charge but was to deliver annual tribute.
2. Puppet states where a local man considered to be more faithful to the Assyrians was placed on the throne.
3. Provinces, where a governor directly under Assyria's control ruled.

Disobedience would result in progression from one stage to the next, reducing their local autonomy. The idea behind this system was that the Assyrians could maximise control whilst also reducing direct confrontation with surrounding enemies.²⁰² The Neo-Assyrian kings no longer acknowledged the legitimacy of other kings which is especially clear when Esarhaddon pronounced himself to be “king of the kings of Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt and Nubia”, marking the beginning of a hierarchical order between the Assyrian kings and the lesser kings of other countries (i.e. their vassals).²⁰³ As both Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal chose and appointed the rulers of their newly added territories, the title “king of kings” seems appropriate. Especially when one considers the fact that newly appointed vassals were often chosen from those who were kept and raised at the Assyrian court as royal hostages.²⁰⁴

4.1.2. The Fall of an Empire

Although the systems in place were meant to create a unified and peaceful empire, rebellions often flared up especially following the unexpected death of a king and the threat Assyria's neighbours posed was ever-present. Due to the continuous, heavy demands for tribute, rebelling was appealing for the Assyrian periphery. In the last decades of the empire the conquered territories may have even been successful in withholding tribute, thus cutting off the empire's supply base.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁹ Oded, *Deportations*, 26.

²⁰⁰ Valk, *BASOR* 384, 81-82

²⁰¹ As previously discussed in chapter 1.3.

²⁰² Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Near East*, 267.

²⁰³ K. Radner, 'Assyrian and Non-Assyrian Kingship in the First Millennium BC', in G.B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger (eds), *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity: Proceedings of the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop. Held in Padova, November 28th – December 1st, 2007* (HANEM 11; Padova, 2010), 30-31.

²⁰⁴ S. Zawadzki, 'Hostages in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions', in K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors (eds), *Immigration and Emigration within the Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński* (Leuven, 1995), 449-458.

²⁰⁵ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Near East*, 286.

During the reign of Assyria's last 'great' ruler Ashurbanipal, cracks started to appear in the foundation of the Assyrian empire. Assurbanipal's death in 631 BCE²⁰⁶ ultimately led to a power struggle and the true downfall of the Assyrian empire. Following the death of the pro-Assyrian Babylonian puppet king Kandalanu in 627 BCE, Nabopolassar (626 – 605 BCE) seized the throne of Babylon in the following year. An alliance was made with the Medes which eventually led to the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE and with it, the Assyrian Empire. A final stand was made at the city of Harran in northern Syria, but the city fell in 610 BCE and, after a failed attempt to reconquer the city with Egyptian support, the Assyrian state fell.²⁰⁷

4.2. The state of Egypt



Fig. 7. Map of Ancient Egypt

²⁰⁶ A. Fuchs, 'Die unglaubliche Geburt des neubabylonischen Reiches oder: Die Vernichtung einer Weltmacht durch den Sohn eines Niemand', in M. Krebernik and H. Neumann (eds), *Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spätbabylonischer Zeit* (AOAT 369; Münster, 2014), 25-72.

²⁰⁷ Frahm, in Frahm (ed), *Companion to Assyria*, 191-192.

4.2.1. The Third Intermediate Period

Meanwhile, Egypt experienced various changes at the end of the 20th Dynasty (ca. 1186-1099 BCE) that were caused by a number of factors. Corruption within the ruling administration and rivalry between various members of the royal family,²⁰⁸ unfavourable environmental conditions which led to an economic downfall,²⁰⁹ and a substantial influx of Libyans and Nubians into Egypt²¹⁰ are some of the many reasons which ended the New Kingdom and ushered in the Third Intermediate Period²¹¹ as, following the death of Ramesses XI, there was no longer a unified Egypt.²¹² The political power in Egypt became fragmented among a number of Delta dynasts, including a number of Libyan tribal chiefs.²¹³ This decentralisation of government caused the growth of provincial power-bases and made it possible for local dynasties of Libyan chieftains to increase their autonomy; the ruling families in both the north and south during the 21st Dynasty even included individuals bearing Libyan names. The influx of Libyans already started during the New Kingdom as people from the west moved and settled into Egypt and slowly rose to positions of major political power.²¹⁴ This is also why the period running from the 21st to 24th Dynasty has also been called the *Libyan Period*.

‘Libyans’ typically refers to the inhabitants to the west of the Nile Valley and Delta regions. In ancient Egypt the term encompassed several different groups of people who were primarily organised along tribal lines.²¹⁵ Various chiefs and high-ranking Libyans began to dominate and control the areas they had settled into whilst maintaining the tribal structure and some even becoming self-governing principalities,²¹⁶ all based at an important town and controlled by a Libyan chief, not only in the Delta but also at strategic points along the Nile Valley.²¹⁷ Their political structure was therefore “a loose confederation reinforced by family alliances and appointments”²¹⁸ in which tribal units were led by ‘chiefs’ or ‘great chiefs’ with no need for an overarching authority. As Pharaoh was also regarded a ‘great chief’, he too was considered an equal.²¹⁹ This Libyan ideology of parallel rule might also explain why the coexistence of different centres of power was tolerated.²²⁰ A point of discussion still is the influence of the tribal background of the Libyan dynasties on the Egyptian tradition during the 22nd to 24th Dynasties.²²¹

²⁰⁸ N. Grimal, *A History of Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), translated by I. Shaw, 276, 288.

²⁰⁹ D.B. Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 2004), 101.

²¹⁰ J. Taylor, ‘The Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC)’, in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 330.

²¹¹ Naunton, in Lloyd (ed), *Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 121.

²¹² Forshaw, *Saite Pharaohs*, 2-3.

²¹³ S. Zamazalová, ‘Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria’, in J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads: Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1-3, 2010* (Prague, 2011), 298.

²¹⁴ Forshaw, *Saite Pharaohs*, 6.

²¹⁵ Forshaw, *Saite Pharaohs*, 6.

²¹⁶ Forshaw, *Saite Pharaohs*, 14; J. Yoyotte, *Les principautés du Delta au temps de l’anarchie libyenne* (Cairo, 2012).

²¹⁷ Taylor, in Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History*, 339.

²¹⁸ A. Leahy, ‘The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation’, *LibStud* 16 (1985), 59.

²¹⁹ G.P.F. Broekman, ‘Libyan Rule Over Egypt. The Influence of the Tribal Background of the Ruling Class on Political Structures and Developments during the Libyan Period in Egypt’, *SAK* 39 (2010), 87.

²²⁰ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 259.

²²¹ See R. Ritner, ‘Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period’, in G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée and O.E. Kaper (eds), *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st – 24th*

Despite the disarray in the kingdom, Shoshenq I's reign (ca. 945-924 BCE) is a highlight of the Third Intermediate Period. When Shoshenq, native of a Libyan chiefdom based at Bubastis, came to the throne he was already the most powerful figure in the land. He held the position of Great Chief of the Ma in addition to being an advisor to king Psusennes II from whom he inherited the throne, ushering in the 22nd Dynasty. Shoshenq inaugurated the new era of Libyan chiefs, who were to restore Egypt to a position of power²²² and sought to re-establish the political authority of the king most notably through aggressive intervention in the Levantine politics.²²³

Even though attempts were made to consolidate the unity of the land by Shoshenq's successors, the growing power of provincial rulers caused a weakening of royal control and led to a further fragmentation of the land.²²⁴ The 22nd Dynasty survived until 715 BCE in Tanis, but coexisted for over a hundred years with multiple kings outside its control, dubbed the 23rd and 24th Dynasties, together with several other royal houses.²²⁵

4.2.2. The Kushite rulers of the 25th Dynasty

In the meantime, the Kingdom of Kush in Nubia, which closely followed Egyptian customs, began to blossom through its trade. From 730 BCE onwards Nubia seemed to have traded directly with Assyria. From a geographic perspective, when Egyptologists refer to "Kush" they generally refer to the territory stretching southward from the 1st Nile cataract, with its heartland laying between the 3rd and 6th cataract and centred on Napata, Nubia's religious centre.²²⁶ Nubia was a valuable asset to Egypt due to its gold and goods, which played a valuable role in the Egyptian culture, and Egyptian rulers therefore always tried to subdue Nubia. That control however, was weakened during Egypt's Third Intermediate Period.

During the 23rd Dynasty the city of Sais, in the western Delta had become an important centre populated by Libyans. Its ruler, Tefnakht (ca. 730-720 BCE), had begun to expand his territory into Upper Egypt as he tried to unify the Delta. At the same time the Kushites extended their influence into Thebes. When Tefnakht subdued the town of Hermopolis, which was under Kushite control, the Kushite king Piye (ca. 747-716 BCE) responded by reclaiming the town. Piye then continued north, conquered Memphis, and ventured into the Delta where he submitted various rulers and eventually Tefnakht himself,²²⁷ ending his successful campaign through Egypt in his 20th year (728 BCE). Due to the aforementioned fragmentation of the land, Egypt did not present unified opposition and Piye could therefore easily conquer Egypt by defeating a series of local potentates as depicted in his victory stela at Napata.²²⁸ Although Piye claimed to have gained full control over Egypt, he did not stay there but

Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007 (EU 23; Leuven, 2009), 327-340 and K.A. Kitchen, 'The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact & Fiction', *ibid.*, 161-202 for their different opinions.

²²² Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 319-322.

²²³ Taylor, in Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History*, 335.

²²⁴ Taylor, in Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History*, 335-339.

²²⁵ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 262.

²²⁶ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 2-5.

²²⁷ Naunton, in Lloyd (ed.), *Companion*, 124.

²²⁸ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 262-263, 267-269.

returned to Napata. Since Piye did not reunify the land of Egypt, he did not end the Third Intermediate Period.²²⁹

There are multiple debates on when exactly the Third Intermediate Period ends²³⁰ and some claim this was done when Shabaqo (ca. 702-690 BCE) annexed Egypt to Nubia ten years later. Once Shabaqo became king in Memphis his newly established 25th Dynasty ruled a unified Egypt for about 50 years all the while also ruling over Kush.²³¹

4.2.3. The Beginning of the 26th Dynasty

When the Kushite king Taharqa (ca. 690-664 BCE) was defeated by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon and fled in 671 BCE, the Assyrians converted a large part of the land into a network of polities directly vassal to Assyria. However, Taharqa returned in 669 BCE to reclaim Memphis but was once again defeated, this time by the newly installed Assyrian king Assurbanipal.²³² During the 25th Dynasty the Nubians had subjugated, but not suppressed, tribal authority and political divisions within Egypt.²³³ Thus, Assurbanipal simply reinstalled his Delta vassals in their cities in 667 BCE, but as soon as Assurbanipal left some of the Delta princes began to plot with Taharqa. They were found out and executed along with many of the citizens of the city-states save for Nekau I (ca. 672-664 BCE) of Sais. As Nekau retained the rule of Sais, his son Psamtik was made ruler of Athribis. Following Taharqa's death Tanutamun, the last pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty, reclaimed Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis, drove out pro-Assyrians and made the Delta princes submit to him in 664 BCE.²³⁴ Since he was the suspected leader of the Delta coalition, it was probably during this battle that Nekau I of Sais lost his life and his son Psamtik I, who was still loyal to the Assyrians, fled to Syria.²³⁵

One year later Assurbanipal returned to reclaim Thebes and installed Psamtik as a vassal over Egypt, where he was made ruler of Athribis. Following his father's death, Psamtik I inherited the throne of Sais which by then had become the most powerful state in the Delta. During these many years of conflict, a power vacuum had developed that Psamtik I managed to exploit as he began to expand his domain and consolidate his power.

Psamtik's rise to power came at the cost of tribal influence: he deprived Libyan dynasts of their fiefdoms or reduced them to the status of Mayors.²³⁶ Libyan castes would continue to serve as military forces, but they would never again attain positions of political power.²³⁷ It was only in Year 9 of the rule of Psamtik (656 BCE) that the final reunification of Egypt seems to have been achieved with the

²²⁹ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 270.

²³⁰ There are two main stances regarding the Third Intermediate Period: some Egyptologists argue that a unified Egypt ends an Intermediate Period and that the 25th Dynasty therefore ends the Third Intermediate Period. However most Egyptologists regard the 26th Dynasty as the beginning of the Late Period and view the 25th Dynasty merely as a transition phase between the 'true' Third Intermediate Period (21st – 24th Dynasties) and the Saite-Persian Period that began with the 26th Dynasty.

²³¹ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 270.

²³² A. Dodson, *Afterglow of Empire: Egypt from the Fall of the New Kingdom to the Saite Renaissance* (Cairo, 2012), 165-169.

²³³ Ritner, in Broekman et al (eds), *Libyan Period*, 339.

²³⁴ Dodson, *Afterglow*, 165-169.

²³⁵ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 295.

²³⁶ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 302.

²³⁷ R.K. Ritner, 'The End of the Libyan 'Anarchy' in Egypt' *Enchoria* 19 (1990), 101-108.

adoption of Psamtik's daughter Neitiqerti as God's Wife of Amun by Amenirdis II, the daughter of Taharqa and adopted heir of the still reigning God's Wife Shepenwepet II in Thebes.²³⁸

With this the 26th Dynasty was a fact and it ushered in the Late Period which is characterised by foreigners who ruled over Egypt, most notably the Libyans and Persians who alternated rule with native Egyptians but still kept and honoured the Egyptian traditions.²³⁹ The Late Period eventually came to an end in 332 BCE with the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great.

²³⁸ Dodson, *Afterglow*, 170; L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden, 1997), 188.

²³⁹ Ritner, *Enchoria* 19, 101-108.

4.3. Relations between Egypt and Assyria

Egyptian kings		Assyrian kings	
25th Dynasty (747-656 BCE)		Neo-Assyrian Period (912-612 BCE)	
Piye	747-716 BCE	Tiglath-Pileser III	744-727 BCE
		Shalmaneser V	727-721 BCE
		Sargon II	721-705 BCE
Shabitqo	716-702 BCE		
Shabaqo ²⁴⁰	702-690 BCE	Sennacherib	705-681 BCE
Taharqa	690-664 BCE	Esarhaddon	681-669 BCE
Tanatamun	664-656 BCE		
26th Dynasty (664-525 BCE)			
[Nekau I]	[672-664 BCE]	Assurbanipal	669-627 BCE
Psamtik I	664-610 BCE	Assur-etil-ilani	c. 631-627 BCE
		Sin-shumu-lishir	626 BCE
		Sin-shar-ishkun	c. 627-612 BCE (Fall of Nineveh)

Fig. 8. Overview of the kings holding power in their respective kingdoms during the studied timeframe.
Based on the chronology by Forshaw.

²⁴⁰ Until recently it was believed that Shabaqo was succeeded by Shabitqo which was based on Manetho's chronology. New evidence shows however, that a Shabitqo-Shabaqo succession is more likely although not yet fully accepted by all Egyptologists: see Forshaw, *Saite Pharaohs*, 32-33 and G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée and O.E. Kaper (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st – 24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007* (EU 23; Leuven, 2009), ix. See also C. Jurman, 'The Order of the Kushite Kings According to Sources from the Eastern Desert and Thebes. Or: Shabataka was here first!', *JEH* 10 (2017), 125-127 for a general overview of the recent discussion on this subject.

4.3.1. Before the reign of Esarhaddon

Contact between Assyria and Egypt was already present in ca. 1450 BCE as is clear from the Amarna Letters: hundreds of diplomatic letters that were sent between the leaders of the great empires of the Ancient Near East and which were discovered in the ruins of the Egyptian city El-Amarna. In two of these letters Assur-uballit I of Assyria writes to the pharaoh. In the first Assur-uballit sends greetings and gifts to the pharaoh. The second letter seems to have been sent quite some time later as Assur-uballit now refers to the king of Egypt as his “brother” and reinforces the claim of equality by referring to himself as “Great King”, implying a change in the reality of the political scene.²⁴¹

One of the earliest references to Egypt is an inscription engraved on the upper part of the so-called “Broken Obelisk” dating to the reign of Aššūr-bēl-kala (1073-1056 BCE) in which is stated that Egypt sent several kinds of animals that were later displayed in Assyria. King Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) would receive a similar gift many years later, probably to signify peaceful relations with Assyria after 853 BCE.²⁴² Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) and Shalmaneser III had namely already begun expanding their territory by reducing small kingdoms in Syria and the Levant to vassaldom. Egypt saw this advancement and tried to prevent Assyria from reaching their own land by temporising with diplomacy and gifts or by discreetly supporting the states of Syria-Palestine in their battles against Assyria as Syria-Palestine was a valuable buffer zone for Egypt between them and Assyria.²⁴³

Contact between Assyria and Nubia also already existed before the campaigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal as an Assyrian administrative record includes references to Nubians who were present at the court of the Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BCE). Around the same time Assyrians began importing horses from Nubia as Nubians were recognised as experts in the breeding and management of horses.²⁴⁴ Starting with Tiglath-Pileser III we gradually see the expansion of Assyria’s control over Egypt and with it an increased mention of Egypt in Assyrian sources.²⁴⁵ In some of his inscriptions, Tiglath-Pileser claims that he exercised control over lands “as far as Egypt”²⁴⁶ indicating that he controlled the border area to Egypt and indirectly held power over Egypt.²⁴⁷ This is further supported by the erection of a stela, a “royal image” (*šalam šarrūtiya*), in the city ‘Brook of Egypt’ (*naḥal Mušur*)²⁴⁸ that were placed by Assyrian kings in the periphery to mark borders²⁴⁹ implying that this place was now controlled by the Assyrian empire.²⁵⁰ In addition, Tiglath-Pileser erected a royally-sanctioned trading post (*bīt kāri*) shortly after his conquest of Gaza in 734 BCE, in order to manage trade with

²⁴¹ Postgate, *Aram 1/1*, 3; A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Volume 1. From the Beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I*. (Wiesbaden, 1972), 47-49: §307-318.

²⁴² P. Albenda, ‘Observations on Egyptians in Assyrian Art’, *BES* 4 (1982), 5.

²⁴³ K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)* (2nd edn; Warminster, 1986), 325.

²⁴⁴ Kinnier Wilson, *Nimrud Wine Lists*, no. 9; Forshaw, *Saite Pharaohs*, 28.

²⁴⁵ M. Elat, ‘The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt’, *JAOS* 98:1 (1978), 21.

²⁴⁶ H. Tadmor and S. Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria* (RINAP 1; Winona Lake, 2011), 47: 4; 51: 4; [52: 4].

²⁴⁷ Karlsson, *RINAP* 17, 168.

²⁴⁸ *RINAP* 1, 48: 18’f.

²⁴⁹ D. Morandi, ‘Stele e statue reali assire: Localazione, diffusione e implicazione ideologiche’, *Mesopotamia* 23 (1988), 105-155; H. Tadmor, ‘World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire’, in L. Milano, S. De Martino, F.M. Fales and G.B. Lanfranchi (eds), *Landscapes, Territories, Frontiers, and Horizons in the Ancient Near East. Papers Presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Venezia, 7-11 July 1997. Part I: Invited Lectures* (HANEM 3/2; Padua, 1999), 55-62.

²⁵⁰ Karlsson, *RINAP* 17, 168.

Egypt.²⁵¹ Increased anonymity against the Egyptians is also clear in a letter to the king stating: “*Bring down the wood, do your work there, but do not sell it to the Egyptians or Philistines*” in regards to the Levantine wood trade near Tyre.²⁵²

Sargon II (721-705 BCE) also claims in numerous texts that he exercised authority “as far as the Brook of Egypt”²⁵³; still implying an indirect source of power over Egypt. Following the Assyrian victory at Rapihu –a battle in which the Egyptians aided a Palestinian rebellion against the new Assyrian king– in 720 BCE, Sargon II states that he has “*opened the closed harbour of Egypt, joined Assyrians and Egyptians with one another and let (them) practice trade*”.²⁵⁴ Through his statement Sargon seems to express some sort of dominion over Egypt and the Egyptians.²⁵⁵ A few years later, an Egyptian king, probably Osorkon IV (ca 732-715 BCE), sent a gift of horses to Sargon II in 716 BCE.²⁵⁶

The first direct clash between Egypt and Assyria happened at Eltekeh in Palestine in 701 BCE. Following Sargon’s death in 705 BCE while on campaign, his son Sennacherib (704-681 BCE) established himself as Assyrian king. The western states took this opportunity to assert independence. Hezekiah, the ruler of Judah, hoped to gain independence from Assyria and began expanding his territory into Philistia. Consequently, the Assyrian army led by Sennacherib marched against them and following their pleas for help, Egypt joined the alliance against Assyria. Although the outcome of the clash is unclear, the Egyptian army withdrew and was not pursued by the Assyrians.²⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Egypt must have had some losses as Sennacherib’s royal inscription is the first to record the deportation of Egyptians from the Levant stating that he has captured alive “*the (Egyptian) charioteers and sons of Egyptians*” (*lu’en giš gigir^{meš} ú dumu^{meš} lugal^{meš} kur mu-šu-ra-a-a*) at Eltekeh.²⁵⁸ The west wall of Sennacherib’s throne room also appears to have depicted his victory over the Egyptians at Eltekeh,²⁵⁹ further supporting this outcome.²⁶⁰

²⁵¹ Draper, *JAES* 7/2, 5; RINAP 1, 49: r. 16; RINAP 1, 48: 18.

²⁵² SAA 19 22.

²⁵³ A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons. II aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen, 1993) 1.1: 13; C.J. Gadd, ‘Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud’, *Iraq* 16 (1954): ND 3411, 11.

²⁵⁴ Fuchs, *Inschriften Sargons*, 2.3: 17f; Gadd, *Iraq* 16, iv 46ff.

²⁵⁵ Karlsson, *RINAP* 17, 168-169.

²⁵⁶ Dodson, *Afterglow*, 151.

²⁵⁷ Forshaw, *Saite Pharaohs*, 34. Aston doubts if Taharqa’s forces ever joined battle as there is no record of such a conflict in Assyrian or biblical sources and believes a plague may have decimated the Assyrian army: D.A. Aston, ‘The Third Intermediate Period’, in I. Shaw and E. Bloxam (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptology* (Oxford, 2020), 707-708.

²⁵⁸ Radner, in Baker et al. (eds), *Stories of Long Ago*, 475.

²⁵⁹ J.M. Russell, *The Final Sack of Nineveh: The Discovery, Documentation, and Destruction of King Sennacherib’s Throne Room at Nineveh, Iraq* (New Haven, 1998), 36-37, 43.

²⁶⁰ The depiction of a victory scene is not always definitive evidence that this was in fact the true outcome (e.g., Ramses II’s “victory” in the battle at Qadesh). Supporting evidence is therefore always necessary.

4.3.2. Esarhaddon and his campaigns into Egypt

Egypt was the final, most important rival to Assyria since it had supported Syro-Palestinian rebels. The land was impossible to conquer at the beginning of the Assyrian empire due to its location and Assyria's weak control over the regions in between. The wealth of Egypt, especially the gold mines in Nubia that supplied the entire Near East were reason enough for Esarhaddon to start his campaign into Egypt as soon as he had sufficiently consolidated his control over southern Palestine through a system of loyal vassals. Another reason may have been the need for the aforementioned Lebanese timber as the edict that Tiglath-Pileser III had put in place seems to have been generally ignored. When Esarhaddon ascended the throne, he was in dire need of cedar for his massive building programmes in Nineveh and Babylon.²⁶¹

Esarhaddon organised three campaigns and was, according to The Babylonian Chronicle 1 col. IV, defeated in battle in Egypt in 674 BCE²⁶² but was eventually able to defeat the Nubian king Taharqa and conquer the northern capital of Memphis in 671 BCE²⁶³ and thus became the first Mesopotamian ruler to conquer and govern Egypt. As Assyria had previously resettled deportees in the southern Levant's frontier zone in order to reinforce the Assyrian presence at the border and to bolster the Assyrian position against Egyptian encroachment, the area played a vital part in Assyria's conquest and later reconquest of Egypt.²⁶⁴

Esarhaddon emphasised his victory by giving the delta city Saïs the Akkadian name *Kār-bēl-mātāti*²⁶⁵ as a way of "Assyrianising" Egypt.²⁶⁶ His dominance is further reflected in his titulary as Esarhaddon not only presents himself as "king of Egypt" but sometimes also as "the king of the kings of (Lower) Egypt (*Mušur*), Upper Egypt (*Paturisu*), and Kush".²⁶⁷

Esarhaddon further showcased his victory by carving an Assyrian relief next to a New Kingdom relief of Ramses II at the Nahr el-Kelb river in Lebanon. But this was not the only Assyrian relief found there:



Fig. 9. The Ramses II rock relief (left) and Esarhaddon rock relief (right) at Nahr el-Kelb.

²⁶¹ Aston, in Shaw and Bloxham (eds), *Oxford Handbook*, 708.

²⁶² D. Kahn, 'Taharqa, King of Kush and the Assyrians', *JSSEA* 31 (2004), 112; Aston in Shaw and Bloxham (eds), *Oxford Handbook*, 708.

²⁶³ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Near East*, 274.

²⁶⁴ J.T. Walton, 'Assyrian Interest in the West: Philistia and Judah', *Eretz-Israel* 33 (2018), 178-180.

²⁶⁵ E. Leichty, *The Royal Inscription of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)* (RINAP 4; Winona Lake, 2011), 54: 25'.

²⁶⁶ M. Karlsson, 'Egypt and Kush in Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions', *RANT* 17 (2020), 170.

²⁶⁷ RINAP 4, 48: 28f; RINAP 4, 60: 8'f; Karlsson, *RINAP* 17, 169.

in total six Assyrian reliefs were found accompanying New Kingdom reliefs of Ramses II and several more recent carvings on the cliffs. Only the Esarhaddon relief was legible but it is assumed that the other reliefs can be attributed to the reigns of Shalmaneser III (858-824) and Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076)²⁶⁸ indicating that the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb may have functioned as a historical record of imperial presence in the region for centuries as the route on which the Nahr el-Kelb lies was used by many passing armies. The fact that the Esarhaddon relief was carved immediately next to the Ramses relief that commemorates his successful campaigns into the Levant hints that the placement of Esarhaddon's relief was intentional as it, in turn, records Esarhaddon's successful campaign into Memphis: the farthest an Assyrian ruler had campaigned into Egypt thus far.²⁶⁹

Esarhaddon also recorded the war against Egypt on stelae that he had carved at Nahr el-Kelb and erected in the provincial cities of Sam'al (Zenjirli) and Kar-Shalmaneser (Til Barsip). The decoration of these three stone monoliths is the same: a massive image of king Esarhaddon is depicted with small images of the Assyrian gods and their emblems hovering before his face. Esarhaddon holds a rope in his hand which is attached with a ring through the lips to two kneeling individuals. One wears Phoenician clothing and has been suggested to be either Ba'al of Tyre or Abdi-milkutti of Sidon. It has been proposed that the other figure with Kushite feature is Taharqa himself since the individual is wearing a cap with the royal uraeus but it is probably his son, prince Ušanaḫūru²⁷⁰ as Esarhaddon states after the conquest of Memphis he took Taharqa's wife, his palace women, the crown prince as well as *tīru* (probably "eunuch") and *mazzāz pāni* (probably a type of member of court)²⁷¹ along with a large number of deportees from the rest of the Egyptian population. Esarhaddon seemed to focus on deporting individuals in which he had special interest or those who practiced profession of which there was a shortage of in his own land:²⁷² primarily military personnel, (magical) healers, but also musicians, bakers, cooks and fishermen.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ A.T. Shafer, *The Carving of an Empire: Neo-Assyrian Monuments on the Periphery* (PhD diss., Harvard University; Cambridge MA, 1998), 319.

²⁶⁹ M.H. Feldman, 'Nineveh to Thebes and Back: Art and Politics between Assyrian and Egypt in the Seventh Century BCE', *Iraq* 66 (2004), 141-142.

²⁷⁰ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 264-265; A. Spalinger, 'Esarhaddon and Egypt: An Analysis of the First Invasion of Egypt', *OrNS* 32 (1974), 303-304.

²⁷¹ Groß, *Heart of an Empire*, 258; RINAP 4 103:4; A.R. George, 'Sumerian tiru = "eunuch"', *NABU* 3 (1997).

²⁷² Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 312.

²⁷³ Onasch, *Assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 30-32.



Fig. 10. The Zinjirli Stela (VA 02708) with a close-up of the captives on the right side.

As a result, Taharqa had fled south, leaving his heir and several family members behind. However, since Esarhaddon not only left Egypt but also did not leave an army behind, it did not take long before Taharqa retook the city of Memphis. In response, Esarhaddon marched towards Egypt during his third campaign in 669 BCE, but died on his way there.²⁷⁴

4.3.3. Assurbanipal and the end of the Assyrian Empire

Esarhaddon's successor, Assurbanipal, almost immediately dealt with Taharqa upon ascending the throne. During the years 667 and 666 BCE Assurbanipal sent an army after Taharqa that pursued him from Memphis to Thebes, which it also raided. However, Taharqa managed to escape and his successor Tanutamun returned to Egypt in 664 BC, recapturing Memphis. Again, Assurbanipal reacted immediately as his troops seized Memphis and Thebes and carried off a large booty of treasure.²⁷⁵ Sources regarding Assurbanipal's campaign mentioned Tanutamun's flight but no battle between their armies. It is unclear what exactly happened to him due to the absence of Egyptian and Assyrian sources on the matter. Some later Greek sources suggest that Tanutamun once again attempted to regain control of Egypt after the Assyrian invasion in 663 BCE.²⁷⁶ With Assyrian support the city-state of

²⁷⁴ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 280.

²⁷⁵ Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 280-281.

²⁷⁶ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 297-298.

Athribis was incorporated into the kingdom of Sais after the sack of Thebes and with that Psamtik I was also recognised as sole king of Egypt.²⁷⁷

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
734	Tiglath-Pileser III establishes a border with Egypt at the “Brook of Egypt”
722	Assyrian conquest of Samaria under Sargon II
701	Battle at Eltekeh in Palestine under Sennacherib
674	First campaign against the Egyptians, Esarhaddon defeated.
671	Second campaign: Esarhaddon sacks Memphis, Taharqa flees
669	Third campaign: Esarhaddon dies on his way to Egypt, Taharqa recaptures northern Egypt
667-666	Taharqa chased from Egypt, Thebes raided by Assurbanipal
664	Tanatamun recaptures Memphis
663	Assurbanipal retaliates: Thebes and Memphis plundered
663	Psamtik I reinstated as Assurbanipal’s primary vassal
656	Psamtik I recognised in Thebes as king of a reunified Egypt
627	Death of Assurbanipal
626	Nabopolassar crowned king of Babylonia
612	Fall of Nineveh, Assyrian king Sîn-šarru-iškun killed
610	Final stance at Harran with Egyptian support
609	Assur-uballit II dies, end of the Assyrian Empire

Fig. 11. Overview of the main events

Assurbanipal had appointed the king Psamtik I as a vassal over Egypt after a temporary stay as a hostage at Nineveh²⁷⁸ and was possibly related to the wider Assyrian royal family by marriage.²⁷⁹ Psamtik was made ruler of Athribis and was given the Assyrian name Nabu-shezibanni.²⁸⁰ He eventually claimed the throne of a reunified Egypt in 662 BCE as Assurbanipal was prevented from marching westwards and no new attempts to regain control over Egypt were made.²⁸¹ Psamtik I and his successor Nekau II still supported Assyria but their long history came to an end with the fall of Harran in 610 BCE and the subsequent death of the last Assyrian king Assur-uballit II in 609 BCE.²⁸²

²⁷⁷ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 186.

²⁷⁸ O. Perdu, ‘Psammetique I^{er}, restaurateur de l’unité nationale et initiateur de renouveau saïte, *EAO* 28 (2003), 3-12.

²⁷⁹ Radner, in Lanfranchi and Rollinger (eds), *Concepts of Kingship*, 31.

²⁸⁰ Dodson, *Afterglow*, 167. Dan’el Kahn believes that Nabu-shezibanni should be identified as Psamtik’s son who was appointed ruler over Athribis instead, see D. Kahn, ‘The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt (673-663 B.C.) and the Final Expulsion of the Kushites’, *SAK* 34 (2006), 260 n. 59.

²⁸¹ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 298-299.

²⁸² Van De Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 286.

5. Egyptians in archives and palace administration

5.1. Assur

The city of Assur (modern-day Qal'at Širqāt) is located 110 kilometres south of Mosul on the right bank of the Tigris. Assur was the religious and, for most of its history, political centre of Assyria.²⁸³ Under king Assur-uballit I (1353-1318 BCE) it became the capital of Assyria,²⁸⁴ but lost its status as the seat of royal power and state when Assurnasirpal II moved the royal court to Kalhu in 879 BCE.²⁸⁵ Although the city was heavily destroyed by a Median army in 614 BCE it did not fall until the Sasanian conquest of 241 BCE.²⁸⁶ The city was excavated by W. Andrae between 1903 to 1914 on behalf of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society).²⁸⁷

5.1.1. Archive N31: The Archive of Urad-Aššūr and Kišir-Aššūr

5.1.1.1. Find

The most important find for this particular study is archive N31 in the city of Assur since Egyptians played an important role in the texts of the archive. The archive was found in two locations: the first group of tablets (A) consisted of 43 unbaked clay tablets which were probably found in the eastern part of this Neo-Assyrian private house situated southeast of the northeast road and the back side of the Nabû temple (fig. 12),²⁸⁸ most likely in the eastern part.²⁸⁹ The house and its entrance from the road were partly destroyed and the extent of the house both to the northwest and southwest is not completely clear. The house seems to have had a central courtyard surrounded by rooms. A grave chamber was found underneath the floor of one of these rooms, in the eastern corner of the house.²⁹⁰

²⁸³ E. Frahm, 'Ashur', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Chichester, 2012).

²⁸⁴ Frahm, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*.

²⁸⁵ Radner, in Miglus and Mühl (eds), *Between the Cultures*, 323.

²⁸⁶ Frahm, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*.

²⁸⁷ Frahm, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*.

²⁸⁸ The tablets were found in a private house, but no specifications regarding its exact location have been given. See W. Andrae, 'Aus der Berichten aus Assur', *MDOG* 38, 25.

²⁸⁹ O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur. A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations. Part II.* (SSU 8; Uppsala, 1986), 125-126.

²⁹⁰ Pedersén, *ALCA*, 125.

It has been suggested that the tablets were located in the eastern room above the grave chamber²⁹¹ although a findspot more to the east cannot be excluded. Huber states that the archive was found in a room containing a sarcophagus which would not have been unusual in Assur,²⁹² even though Pedersen does not mention a sarcophagus and states that the tablets were found *above* the grave chamber. At least 6 unbaked clay tablets (D) were found at the same place probably as an addition to group A. In the same area where group A was found an Egyptian scarab and a bronze object adorned with a man in Egyptian style were also found.²⁹³

About 350 meters to the southeast 44 more unbaked clay tablets (B) were found which seem to belong to the same archive based on their similar content. Two additional tablets (C & E) contextually also seem to belong to the same corpus,²⁹⁴ but their archaeological context is unknown since they have reached the museums via the antiquities market.²⁹⁵

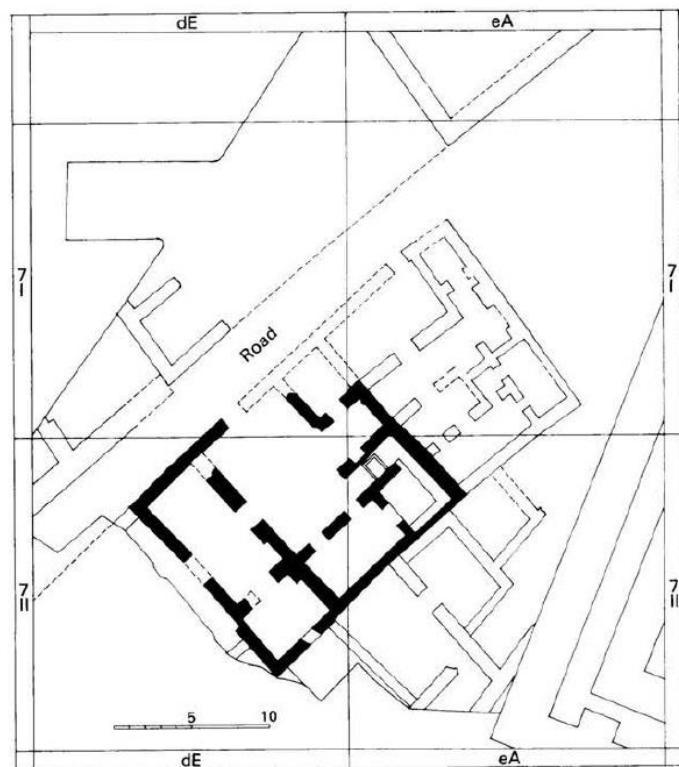


Fig. 12. Private houses between the southwest to northeast road and the Nabû temple. Tablet group A of archive N31 was found in the eastern part of the southern house along the road or perhaps in a house between that house and the Nabû temple.

There is some discussion regarding the size of the archive. Zadok states that the archive consists of 101 tablets,²⁹⁶ some of them being duplicates or having envelopes with partially duplicated text of the inner tablets which brings the total number of 'original' documents down to 94. Of these texts, most are currently in Istanbul (73); the others are situated in Berlin (26), London (1) and Copenhagen (1). Unfortunately, the Istanbul texts have not been published with copies nor photographs and can therefore not be checked.²⁹⁷ Zadok is the only one who mentions 101 tablets in conjunction with the archive, but does not mention where the copies and envelopes were found. Pedersén clearly states where these 94 tablets were unearthed, but does not mention the copies.

²⁹¹ Pedersén, *ALCA*, 126; O. Pedersén, 'Private Archives in Assur compared with some other sites', *SAAB* 1/1 (1987), 47.

²⁹² Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 316.

²⁹³ Pedersén, *ALCA*, 126-127. Further discussed in chapter 7.1.2.1.

²⁹⁴ Pedersén, *ALCA*, 126-127. See also StAT 3, 126-129 for a complete overview of all the texts belonging to this archive.

²⁹⁵ Zadok, in Lanfranchi et al. (eds.), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History*, 429 n. 429.

²⁹⁶ His overview only includes 100 texts.

²⁹⁷ Zadok, in Lanfranchi et al. (eds.), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History*, 426.

Betina Faist identifies 95 documents within the N31 archive, including StAT 2 199²⁹⁸ which Pedersén also identifies as part of the N31 archive,²⁹⁹ as well as the recently identified³⁰⁰ BM 103956³⁰¹. Zadok include StAT 2 199, but offers no explanation as to why he did not include this text in his N31 overview. For this study, the overview of the N31 archive made by Betina Faist³⁰² will be followed when applying SNA.

The owners of archive N31 were Urad-Aššūr and Kišir-Aššūr. Their archive mainly consists of loan documents but also contains some purchase documents, marriage documents, a division of inheritance and a letter,³⁰³ spanning a period from 650 BCE until the postcanonical 613 BCE. No genealogical connection can be detected between the two men.³⁰⁴ As some document date before the conquest of Memphis in 671 BCE, Huber argues not all of the Egyptians in this archive came to Assyria as deportees following the conquest, but some already lived there.³⁰⁵ The earliest document from the N31 archive is StAT 2 164 which dates to 675 BCE and mentions Auwa, most likely an Egyptian, who acts as groom. After that, the first clear evidence for the presence of Egyptians in Assur is in 658 BCE, when we see Ḫapi-maniḫi and Ḫur-waši (6) mentioned in StAT 3 95 as debtor and creditor respectively. The fact that Auwa acts as a groom perhaps indicates that quite some years have passed since his initial arrival, but based on just this one document it is hard to prove that more Egyptians had already settled in Assur at this time.³⁰⁶

It has generally been assumed that most of the persons in this archive belong to a group of partly assimilated Egyptians led by La-turammanni-Aššūr,³⁰⁷ another key figure in the archive who appears to have been both a father of two sons bearing Egyptian names and a commander-of-fifty.³⁰⁸ Parpola believes that the Egyptian colony living in Assur was originally deported there and that Urdu-Aššūr, La-turammanni-Aššūr and Kišir-Aššūr are examples of foreigners who have become fully Assyrianised in the span of a few generations.³⁰⁹ It is certainly possible, but I doubt whether or not this occurred over a span of a few generations. Most deportations occurred during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, leaving little time for a multi-generational family of Egyptians to form in Assyria.

Based on the results derived from SNA (fig. 13),³¹⁰ the three most important Egyptians within the archive appear to be Ḫur-waši (6), the cohort commander Ḫūru (2) and most notably the commander-

²⁹⁸ StAT 3, 128.

²⁹⁹ O. Pedersén, review of V. Donbaz and S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul* (StAT 2; Saarbrücken, 2001), *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 98-3 (2003), 359.

³⁰⁰ StAT 3, 125 and Zadok in Lanfranchi et. al. (eds), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History*, 429.

³⁰¹ F.M. Fales, 'Studies on Neo-Assyrian Texts II: "Deeds and Documents" from the British Museum', *ZA* 73/2 (2009), no. 11.

³⁰² StAT 3, 126-129.

³⁰³ O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500-300 B.C.* (Bethesda, 1998), 142.

³⁰⁴ Pedersén, *ALCA*, 127.

³⁰⁵ Huber in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 316. Huber states that some documents date to the reign of Sennacherib, but this is incorrect as the earliest document from the archive dates to 675 BCE while Sennacherib died in 681 BCE.

³⁰⁶ Other sources from Assur also do not support this theory, see chapter 6.3.

³⁰⁷ Pedersén, *ALCA*, 127.

³⁰⁸ See La-turammanni-Aššūr 1 and 2 in appendix I.

³⁰⁹ Parpola, in Kämmerer (ed.), *Ritual und Sozialgeschichte*, 261 n. 21.

³¹⁰ See also appendix IV.

of-fifty Lā-turammanni-Aššūr (3) who all seem to hold key positions within the archive for the Egyptian community. From this figure we can also tell that Urdu-Aššūr's direct involvement with the Egyptian community was smaller than initially expected as most of his connections are with non-Egyptians and a similar conclusion can also be drawn from Kišir-Aššūr's (45) attestations (see also fig. a in appendix IV). This therefore weakens the assumption that Kišir-Aššūr and Urdu-Aššūr were Egyptians themselves. There does appear to be a division between the Assyrian community and the Egyptian community (fig. b in appendix IV) hinting that the Egyptians mainly involved themselves with one another instead of the Assyrians and contact with non-Egyptians seems to have generally flowed through La-turammanni-Aššūr (3) supporting Huber's idea of it being a self-regulating and hierarchically structured community.³¹¹

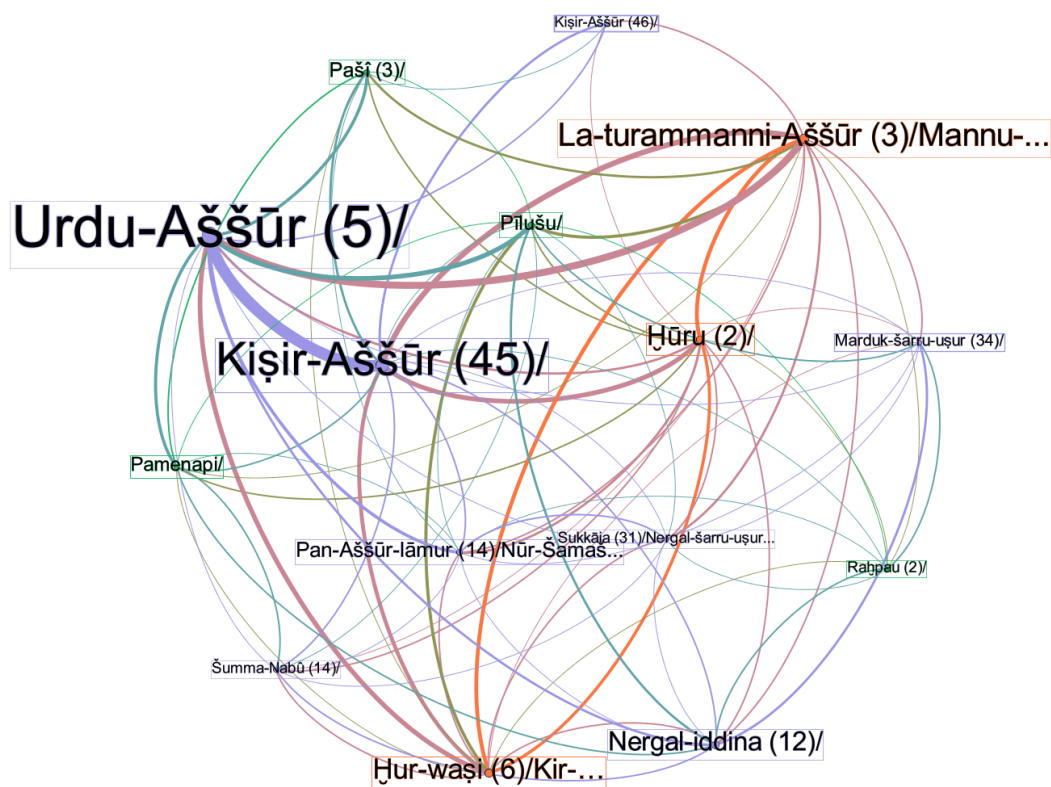


Fig. 13. Overview of the main actors in the N31 archive.

11,26% of all attestations are of Egyptians, with another 6,62% being of possible Egyptians, leaving 82,12% of non-Egyptians in the archive. Only 3,53% of all attestations in N31 consist of females, 2,21% has an unclear sex and in 0,22% of instances the sex is unknown.

It must however be stressed that this is a unique case and the results can therefore not be generalised: the social structure among the Egyptians in archive N31 does not have to mean that this structure was also present in other communities that Egyptians were a part of.

³¹¹ Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 317.

5.1.1.2. Interesting texts

StAT 2 173 and its envelope StAT 2 174 tell of a court decision regarding Egyptian merchants who had entered the house of Hakkubaia as foreign guests who, upon entering, had been attacked by five individuals, including a priest. Unfortunately, no more information is given regarding the motive of the attackers, but some information can still be distilled. None of the names of these Egyptian merchants has been given, but it is mentioned that they were foreign guests. This seems to imply that these Egyptians did not live in Assur but were merely visiting Assur as part of their work. Still, even these Egyptians were given a fair trial with the five attackers explicitly being called “criminals” thus suggesting that everyone in Assyria, whether visiting or not, had the right to a fair trial.

5.1.2. Archive Assur 52

Surprisingly, a second archive in which Egyptians are active was found in Assur. Albeit smaller than archive N31 it still provides us an additional insight into the lives of the Egyptians living in Assur at the time. Most of the tablets were found during the 1990 excavation led by Hrouda in area eA8V³¹² and are presently housed in the Iraq Museum.

Originally the collection of tablets was identified as a single archive³¹³ but according to Radner the collection contains two archives: 75 texts belong to the archive of Dūri-Aššūr (52a) and 15 texts which should be ascribed to a group of Egyptians (52b).³¹⁴

5.1.2.1. Assur 52a: The archive of Dūri-Aššūr

The texts from archive 52 were mainly found in debris from two rooms of building W-1/VI. Most tablets were located in the southern part of room 1C1/F2 and in the south-eastern part of the neighbouring room 1D2, a smaller number of tablets was found. The remaining tablets were found in rooms 1D3, 1D5, 1B4, 1E6 and 1E1.³¹⁵ Despite the large number of tablets in some rooms, these tablets were not found concentrated in certain areas, but lay randomly distributed.³¹⁶

³¹² K. Hecker, ‘Zu den Keilschrifttexten der Grabung Frühjahr 1990 in Assur’, *MDOG* 123 (1991), 111-114; B. Hrouda, ‘Vorläufiger Bericht über die neuen Ausgrabungen in Assur Frühjahr 1990’, *MDOG* 123 (1991), 95-109.

³¹³ Pedersén, *ALANE*, 143.

³¹⁴ Radner, in Miglus et al, *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 79.

³¹⁵ P.A. Miglus, ‘Architektur und Kleinfunde des Wohnquartiers’, in P.A. Miglus, K. Radner and F.M. Stępniewski, *Ausgrabungen in Assur: Wohnquartiere in der Weststadt. Teil I.* (WVDOG 154; Wiesbaden, 2016), 67.

³¹⁶ Radner in Miglus et al., *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 79-80.

One of the most interesting aspects of the 52a archive is the large number of Egyptian women who acted independently as investors of Dūri-Aššūr's trade ventures.³²¹ In Egypt it was quite normal for women to conduct business on their own accord, since as business partners, they were equal before the law.³²² This was not the case in Assyria where women were generally represented by male relatives. It therefore seems that Egyptian women continued practicing business as they had in Egypt, even in Assur.³²³ According to Radner, the large number of Egyptians listed in the texts can be explained as there was an Egyptian family living next door to Dūri-Aššūr. Presumably, she is referring to the Egyptians to whom the 52b archive belongs as their house is located right next to Dūri-Aššūr's.³²⁴ Radner assumes that the neighbouring Egyptian family settled into the city as highly valued specialists after the conquest of Thebes and Memphis in 671 BCE.³²⁵ However, currently no clear overlap between individuals from the 52a archive can be established with either the N31 or 52b archive in Assur.

5.1.2.2. Assur 52b: The archive of the Egyptians

The 15 texts from archive 52b were all found in the northern part of room 1A2 in building W-1/IV on a platform of baked bricks. The documents were covered by a new floor which was put in during a later building phase. For this reason, unlike the documents from 52a, most tablets were protected from fires that may have occurred as a result of the conquest of the city in 614 BCE causing all of them to be unbaked,³²⁶ which is also part of the reason why these tablets are in poor condition. All of the texts are legal texts from the time of Assurbanipal, approximately spanning a period from 658 to 632 BCE.³²⁷

Multiple Egyptians are associated with the archive, most of them bearing an Egyptian name following the pattern of 'p3-dj-DN' although there also appears an Egyptian named Kišir-Aššūr, son of Urdu-Nabû in the archive. The archive also contains some texts in which women play an active role. Radner identifies these two women as Egyptians and believes this to be a similar instance of (financially) independent women that we previously

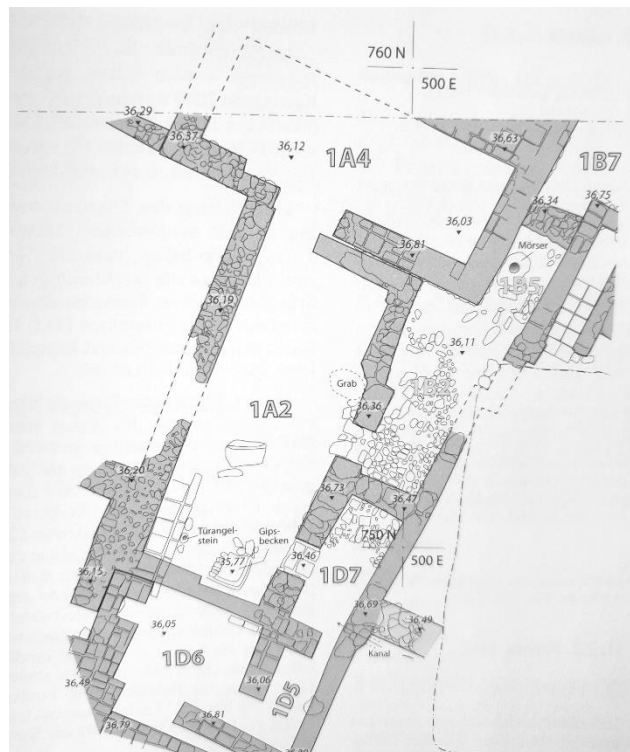


Fig. 15. Building W-1/IV (1:100) in which archive 52b was found.

³²¹ Radner, in Miglus et al. *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 121.

³²² S. Lippert, 'Law', in I. Shaw and E. Bloxam (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptology* (Oxford, 2020), 801-802.

³²³ Radner, in Frahm (ed.), *Companion*, 226.

³²⁴ P.A. Miglus and F.M. Stępniewski, 'Räume und Hausinventare' in P.A. Miglus, K. Radner and F.M. Stępniewski, *Ausgrabungen in Assur: Wohnquartiere in der Weststadt. Teil I* (WVDOG 154; Wiesbaden, 2016), 8, fig. 1.

³²⁵ Radner, in Frahm (ed.), *Companion*, 226.

³²⁶ Miglus, in P.A. Miglus, et. al., *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 67.

³²⁷ Radner, in Miglus et al., *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 121.

observed in 52a.³²⁸ However, besides their appearance in this “Egyptian” archive and the assumed independent nature of Egyptian women,³²⁹ there is nothing that connects them to Egypt.

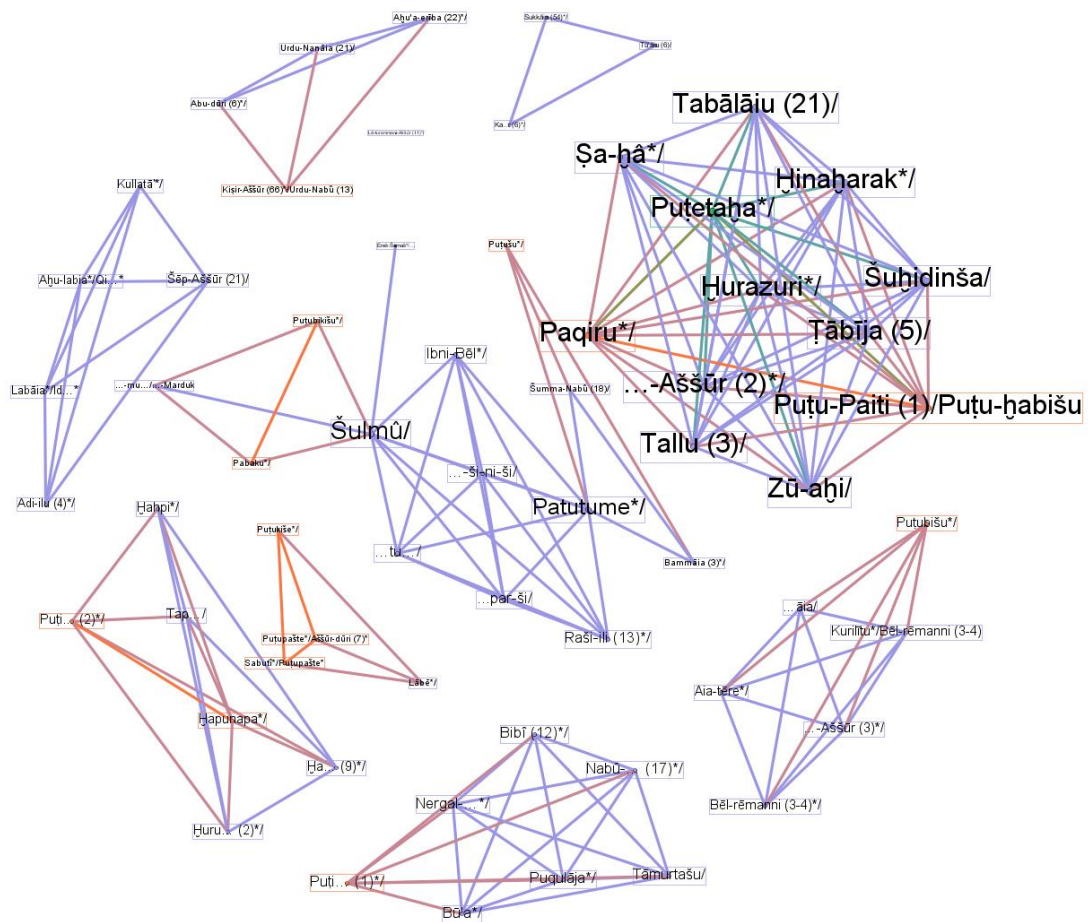


Fig. 16. An overview of the 52b archive.

In figure 16 an overview is given of the 52b archive. From this figure it is clear that the 52b archive is not as cohesive as the N31 archive nor does it seem hierarchical in nature. This is unsurprising considering the small amount of (legible) documents from the archive compared to the large and diverse number of documents from the N31 archive.

The 52b archive consists of multiple small clusters, mainly of non-Egyptians. Although it appears as if Paqiru and Puṭu-Paiti (1) play an important role in the archive, they merely appear in a text with many individuals, thus increasing their node size. The main actors within the archive are in fact Patutume and the gate guard Šulmû who appear in two and three texts respectively. Compared to N31 there is no clear cluster of Egyptians visible indicating that, based on these texts, they have integrated well into society.

Of the attested individuals within the archive 20,97% can be identified as Egyptian, 77,42% are non-Egyptians with a remaining 1,61% being possible Egyptians. Furthermore, 83,87% of the individuals are male, 8,06% are female and of another 8,06% the sex is unclear, but they are probably male. The

³²⁸ Radner, in Miglus et al., *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 121.

³²⁹ See chapter 5.1.2.1.

professions of all Egyptians within the archive are unknown but at least four Egyptian families can be identified within the archive. Of the 13 identified Egyptians, almost all have Egyptian names: Kišir-Aššūr is the only one with an Akkadian name and the origin of Sabutî's name is still unclear. The almost 10% increase regarding the number of Egyptians in this archive compared to the N31 archive can mostly be explained due to the low amount of (legible) texts. Still, the fact that so many Egyptians appear in such a small number of texts does convey the idea of a second, large Egyptian community within Assur that may or may not have interacted with the individuals from the N31 archive.

5.1.3. Other observations

Egyptian agricultural workers occur in SAA 13, 13. In the text, Kushites and Egyptians of lower social status seem to be working in the estate of the Aššur temple in Assur,³³⁰ which would fit with the general profile of deportees. Even though these Kushites are of lower social status, they appear to have had rights as the king asks: “[Why do you take] grain rations [of the Kushites]?” and after a small break the document further mentions how the Kushites are being attended to and how the sender of the letter will complete their work for them.³³¹ Although they had rights and were defended by the king, it does not necessarily mean these Kushites were treated well as the fact that the Kushites needed to be attended to in the first place due to a lack of rations, causing them to not finish their work might indicate hard working conditions.

It is also interesting to note that the name Pašî (10) appears as an eponym name in the date formula from both legal as well as a number of administrative documents from Assur. As the origin of the name is still debated,³³² the possibility that an eponym was named after someone with an Egyptian name would indicate that an Egyptian may have held a high position in Assur, but it is also possible that Pašî was an alternative name for Nabû-tapputi-alik.³³³

5.2. Nineveh

The city of Nineveh is situated on the east bank of the Tigris river opposite the modern city of Mosul.³³⁴ The city was chosen by king Sennacherib to be Assyria's new political capital in 705 BCE until the end of the Assyrian empire in 612 BCE when the city fell.³³⁵ Excavations of the city were initiated by Layard in 1846 and continue until today.³³⁶

5.2.1. The social status of the Egyptians in Nineveh

Contrary to Assur where most texts came from private archives and thus presented us with a more intimate view of the Egyptian communities living in Assyria, most texts from Nineveh come from the palace administration and thus gives a broad view of the Egyptians living in Nineveh. Even though a number of Egyptians are named, many of them are only referred to as a group in lists and therefore remain anonymous. In addition, the lack of private archives that feature Egyptians means that overlap

³³⁰ Karlsson, *SAAB* 24, 51-52.

³³¹ <<http://oracc.org/saao/P334752/>> accessed 15-06-2021.

³³² *PNA* 3/1, 'Pašî', 992.

³³³ J.E. Reade, 'Assyrian Eponyms, Kings and Pretenders, 648-605 BC', *OrNS* 67 (1998), 259.

³³⁴ E. Frahm, 'Nineveh' in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Chichester, 2012).

³³⁵ Frahm, in Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*.

³³⁶ E. Frahm, 'The Great City: Nineveh in the Age of Sennacherib', *CSMS* 3 (2018), 13.

between individuals is minimal. Still, these texts present us with other information, most notably on what types of professions the Egyptians practiced who appear in our documentation. Considering the fact that most Egyptians were deportees, they most likely would have been settled on agricultural land and thus remained largely invisible in texts from the palace administration in Nineveh.

Multiple texts hint at the social status of Egyptians in Nineveh. One such a text is a fragmentary legal text (SAA 14, 16) in which Huddaia, the son of Muṣurāiu,³³⁷ sells some slaves to the royal eunuch Ninuayu. Huddaia is defined as being the owner of the slaves and the fact that he is simply capable of owning and selling slaves hints at the social status of Egyptians in Assyria.³³⁸ In another text (SAA 6, 142) the Egyptian scribe Šil-Aššūr³³⁹ purchases a house for one *mina* of silver. From this document it is clear that the legal rights of Šil-Aššūr were greatly protected; it states that anyone who would seek a lawsuit or litigation regarding this transaction in the future should pay ten *minas* of silver.³⁴⁰ In a similar document (SAA 6, 311) a house is being sold in Bet-eriba-ilu to the chief chariot driver Remanni-Adad for four *minas* of silver by Issar-duri and Lu-šakin, the latter being the son of Abšiešu, the Egyptian. A man of Egyptian descent can thus sell a house to a high official of Assurbanipal.³⁴¹

Not only in legal documents do we see hints of the social status Egyptians enjoyed in Nineveh, but also in some letters. In a poorly preserved letter (SAA 16, 55) addressed to Esarhaddon that seems to be a petition on behalf of some weavers, a man claims that the weavers' assets were unfairly given or sold to the Egyptians. A similar thing can be observed in a letter regarding the report of a prophecy. In the text, which dates to the reign of Esarhaddon, it is stated that a prophetess prophesied the following: *"Why did you give the [...] wood, the grove and the [...] to the Egyptians?"*³⁴² She urges that this matter is brought before the king so that wood and grove can be returned to her. According to Karlsson, these two letters seem to indicate that these Egyptians were business people.³⁴³

5.2.2. Interesting individuals

In SAA 14 442, the Egyptian Puṭi-Aṭḫiṣ buys and adopts the son of a temple prostitute so that he has an heir. Zadok claims that this transaction highlights the humble and pitiful status of an Egyptian dependent. According to him Puṭi-Aṭḫiṣ is an implicitly childless deportee who is offered or persuaded by his superiors to adopt the son of an indigenous prostitute. The large number of witnesses (some bearing Egyptian names) in the document were not only present for legal reasons but also in order to express consent and to ensure that the family would not be ostracised, as adopting the son of a prostitute would be a constant source of deep contempt for both the adoptive parent and the child.³⁴⁴ Although an interesting text, in my opinion Zadok overgeneralises this single attestation. Furthermore, it was a fairly common practice to adopt a child in order to obtain a male heir.³⁴⁵

³³⁷ See Huddaia in appendix I.

³³⁸ Karlsson, *SAAB* 24, 49.

³³⁹ See Šil-Aššūr in appendix I.

³⁴⁰ Karlsson, *SAAB* 24, 50.

³⁴¹ Karlsson, *SAAB* 24, 51.

³⁴² SAA 13, 144.

³⁴³ It is also possible that the Egyptians in the latter text were agricultural labourers, see Karlsson, *SAAB* 24, 51.

³⁴⁴ Zadok, in Lanfranchi, Mattila and Rollinger (eds), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History*, 413-414.

³⁴⁵ K. Radner, *Die Neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt* (SAAS 6; Helsinki, 1997), 137-143.

One of the most interesting individuals within the Nineveh corpus is Inurta-šarru-ušur (2), courtier of the New Palace (*mār ekalli ša/šá É.GAL GIBIL*). As is clear from the textual evidence, he had a lot of contact with individuals bearing either Egyptian or West-Semitic names: his business partners occasionally had West-Semitic names whereas witnesses to his legal transactions bore West-Semitic or Egyptian names.³⁴⁶ His archive, which was found near the Šamaš Gate of Nineveh,³⁴⁷ even includes legal documents recording transactions of persons with Egyptian names that do not mention Inūrta-šarru-ušur altogether.³⁴⁸ According to Melanie Groß the designation *mār ekalli* generally refers to individuals with foreign origin or background who were brought to and kept in Assyrian palaces.³⁴⁹ In addition to Inurta-šarru-ušur's connections with groups of foreign backgrounds,³⁵⁰ Groß has suggested that Inurta-šarru-ušur is a person of foreign (possibly Egyptian) descent who has taken on a secondary name.³⁵¹ The possibility of Inurta-šarru-ušur being Egyptian is also supported by a text from his archive in which he is in charge of the delivery of 220 legs of dead donkeys.³⁵² It is believed that these legs were boiled in order to obtain the gelatine within which could be used to make glue. As there is hardly any evidence of this practice in Mesopotamia but it is common in Egypt, it supports the idea that Inurta-šarru-ušur had Egyptian roots.³⁵³ If this is true, this would make him not only one of the few Egyptians who held a high position at the Assyrian court, but also a key figure for the Egyptian community living in Nineveh.³⁵⁴

PNA states that there was also a prefect (*šaknu*)³⁵⁵ of a group of Egyptians in Nineveh, namely Abdi-Samsi (2).³⁵⁶ This individual is only mentioned in one document regarding the purchase of a woman in which Abdi-Samsi acts as a witness³⁵⁷ and states that Abdi-Samsi is the *LÚGAR-nu-šú šá mḥa-la-bé-e-še*, 'the prefect of Ḥallabēše'. Nowhere is the term *mušurāiu* used and a copper smith by the name of Ḥallabēše acts in the document as the one who sells a woman to whom the title may refer. So where could this assumption have come from? As previously discussed, the name Ḥallabēše was perhaps Libyan in origin, although due to the large number of Libyans living in Egypt at this time it is also

³⁴⁶ Groß, *Heart of an Empire*, 271.

³⁴⁷ PNA 2, 556.

³⁴⁸ E.g., SAA 14, 428.

³⁴⁹ Another individual who held the function of *mār ekalli* was Mušurāiu (1). See chapter 5.2.2. for a deeper discussion regarding this term.

³⁵⁰ Not only the Egyptians of the N31 archive, but also the *ḥundurāius* of the N9 and N10 archives.

³⁵¹ Groß, *Heart of an Empire*, 270-271. Note that she herself is wary of her conclusion as it contradicts the suggestion of Ismail and Postgate, see TIM 11, 4. Groß follows here the general assumption that DN-šarru-ušur names could be secondary names, as they could be given when boys became eunuchs according to K. Deller, 'The Assyrian Eunuchs and Their Predecessors', in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East – The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo). March 22-24, 1996* (Heidelberg, 1999), 306. Inurta-šarru-ušur is however not a eunuch (*ša rēši*), but a courtier (*mār ekalli*) and as Baker, in Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives*, 4-5 has pointed out, there is little evidence to support even the eunuch theory, especially in the NA-period.

³⁵² SAA 14, 428.

³⁵³ Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 314; N. B.K. Ismail and N. Postgate, *Texts from Nineveh* (TIM 11; Baghdad, n.d.), 16.

³⁵⁴ It would be very interesting to see whether or not SNA based on this individual's archive supports this idea.

³⁵⁵ The duties of the *šaknu* are still widely debated, but it seems to have been a high-ranking military officer who also had governmental and civic duties, see J.N. Postgate, 'The Place of Šaknu in Assyrian Government', *AnSt* 30 (1980), 74-76.

³⁵⁶ PNA 1, 7.

³⁵⁷ TIM 11 3.

possible that this individual identified himself as an Egyptian. Still, that does not explain the use of plural in the interpretation of this title which may have originated from the idea that the *šaknu* generally stood at the head of a number of individuals.³⁵⁸ This interpretation of Abdi-Samsi's title by Fales should therefore be discarded as it is an overgeneralisation based on no evidence and has also been corrected by later entries in *PNA*.³⁵⁹

5.2.3. Egyptian princes at the royal court of Nineveh

One of the most interesting texts from Nineveh involves a man named Susanqu,³⁶⁰ whose name is the Assyrian rendering of the name Shoshenq. This individual is mentioned in a legal text (SAA 6 142) in which the Egyptian scribe Šil-Aššūr buys a house. Susanqu is named as the first witness meaning he was an important man. Following his name, it is mentioned he is a *ḫatan šarri*: a relative to the king by marriage. Onasch has suggested the 'king' in this case might refer to the king of Kush or an Egyptian ruler.³⁶¹ Radner believes that we should identify this king as Assyrian since Neo-Assyrian legal texts refer exclusively to relatives of the Assyrian king in this manner, meaning that Susanqu was related by marriage to the Assyrian king Sennacherib.³⁶² It has also been generally accepted that Susanqu was a member of one of the Delta dynasties from the Third Intermediate Period,³⁶³ because the name was popular among various royal houses of Libyan descent who ruled over the Nile Delta.³⁶⁴

A problem was however the fact that Susanqu had to have been transferred to Nineveh more than two decades before the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon in 671 BCE. One explanation comes from Zadok who suggested that Susanqu and the other Egyptians in the document came to Assyria as a result of Sargon's actions against Egypt during the last two decades of the 8th Century BCE.³⁶⁵ Karen Radner suggests that Susanqu was one of these princes captured after the battle of Eltekeh near the city of Ekron in southern Palestine in 701 BCE. A passage from Sennacherib's royal inscriptions mentions how the city of Ekron revolted against the Assyrian authority and were supported by Egypt. According to the Assyrian annals, several Egyptian charioteers and princes were captured after the battle. Some of the other witnesses that are listed in the aforementioned legal document clearly bear Egyptian names and Radner believes that they were also captured at that time since they all hold military positions.³⁶⁶

The Assyrians had a practice of taking high-born hostages (*lītu*) who were treated as a royal guest due to their high rank.³⁶⁷ This is probably what happened to Susanqu after his capture. These noble foreigners were routinely educated at the Assyrian court to permanently integrate them into the imperial elite, so that once they returned to their native countries, they would be fully devoted to the

³⁵⁸ Postgate, *AnSt* 30, 67-76.

³⁵⁹ *PNA*, 'Ḫallabēše', 443; *PNAP*, 'šaknu', 157.

³⁶⁰ See Susanqu (1) in appendix I.

³⁶¹ Onasch, *Assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 15.

³⁶² Radner, in Baker et al. (eds), *Stories of Long Ago*, 472.

³⁶³ Onasch, *Assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 15.

³⁶⁴ Radner, in Baker et al. (eds), *Stories of Long Ago*, 472-473; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 520-521, 606-607.

³⁶⁵ R. Zadok, 'Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam During the 1st Millennium B.C.', *LingAeg* 2 (1992), 139.

³⁶⁶ Radner, in Baker et al. (eds), *Stories of Long Ago*, 474-475.

³⁶⁷ Zawadzki, in Lerberghe and Schoors (eds), *Immigration and Emigration*, 449-458.

imperial cause.³⁶⁸ Susanqu's marriage to a relative of the Assyrian king would further strengthen his loyalty and was an alliance policy according to Radner. The continued presence of the Egyptian prince(s) would guarantee their families' cooperation with Assyria and would therefore keep the relationship of the northern kings with Kush in balance.³⁶⁹

Susanqu was not the only Egyptian prince who had lived at the Assyrian royal court in Nineveh. The son of Nekau I of Saïs, Psamtik I was brought to Nineveh as a hostage after Assurbanipal's first campaign to Egypt in 667 BCE. He was given the Assyrian name Nabû-šēzibanni.³⁷⁰ After Assurbanipal decided to reinstall Nekau I into his office, he installed his son, Psamtik, as ruler of Athribis. As discussed before,³⁷¹ Psamtik would succeed his father in 664 BCE and found Egypt's 26th Dynasty as ruler of all of Egypt. Radner raises the possibility that Psamtik may have also been married to an Assyrian princess during his time at Nineveh and that his ties with the royal house of Assur may have motivated his sons and successor to get involved in the succession war over Assyria after its fall in 612 BCE.³⁷²

5.3. Kalhu

Kalhu is located in the east bank of the Tigris River, ca. 35 kilometre southeast of modern Mosul. The excavations of the city began in 1845 by the British explorer A.H. Layard and were later continued by British, Iraqi, Polish and Italian archaeologists until 1990.³⁷³ The city was one of the most important cities of Assyria and was made the new Assyrian capital by Aššurnāṣirpal II (883-859 BCE).³⁷⁴ The city would remain Assyria's capital for over 150 years until Sargon II made Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) the new capital. Esarhaddon would later move his residence back to Kalhu for a while.³⁷⁵ It was eventually destroyed during the fall of the Assyrian empire in 612 BCE.³⁷⁶

Not as much information can be gathered from the documents from Kalhu. This is partly due to the fact that few texts have been published³⁷⁷ even though copies of some of the tablets and summaries of the texts have been published in the journal *Iraq*.³⁷⁸ Of the initial 22 individuals mentioned in these texts, only 11 have been identified as Egyptian and all of these individuals only occur once in these texts. Most individuals did not have contact with other Egyptians. In only one instance a blood link with an Egyptian could be established. Besides the previously discussed Egyptian scribes present in Kalhu

³⁶⁸ S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2; Helsinki, 1989), XXI.

³⁶⁹ Radner, in Baker et al. (eds), *Stories of Long Ago*, 475-476.

³⁷⁰ *PNA* 2/2, 881 no. 12; Perdu, *EAO* 28, 3-12; Kahn, *SAK* 34, 261-267.

³⁷¹ See chapter 4.2.3.

³⁷² Radner, in Lanfranchi and Rollinger (eds), *Concepts of Kingship*, 31.

³⁷³ E. Frahm, 'Kalhu (Nimrud)', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Chichester, 2012).

³⁷⁴ Radner, in Miglus and S. Mühl (eds), *Between the Cultures*, 321-329.

³⁷⁵ Frahm, in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*.

³⁷⁶ M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1990), 162.

³⁷⁷ In Postgate, J.N., *The Governor's Palace Archive* (CTN 2; London, 1973) and S.M. Dalley and J.N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser* (CTN 3; London, 1984).

³⁷⁸ D.J. Wiseman, 'The Nimrud Tablets, 1953', *Iraq* 15/2 (1953), 135-160; B. Parker, 'The Nimrud Tablets, 1952: Business Documents', *Iraq* 16/1 and B. Parker, 'Nimrud Tablets, 1956: Economic and Legal Texts from the Nabu Temple', *Iraq* 19/2 (1957), 125-138.

before the reign of Esarhaddon,³⁷⁹ only two other individuals are named with their profession: a scribe and a gate guard. Compared to Assur and Nineveh, there are no central or recurring figures in these tablets from which a clear sense of community can be established.

³⁷⁹ See chapter 3.1.5.

6. Observations and statistics

6.1. Professions and rank

In Chapter 3.1.5. we have seen that most Egyptians at the Assyrian court were situated in the king's outer circle. One exception to this rule might be Muṣurāiu (1) who held the profession of *mār ekallim* (lit. "son of the palace") in Nineveh.³⁸⁰ The interpretation of this profession remains unclear. It has been suggested that Muṣurāiu was the son of a concubine.³⁸¹ Huber remarks that this individual then probably would have been given an Assyrian name,³⁸² but Muṣurāiu is an Akkadian name, even if it directly translates into "the Egyptian". Onasch translates the term as "courtier"³⁸³ but Huber believes it is also possible that the title refers to a higher office such a palace manager. Huber also refers to another individual holding the office of *mār ekallim*, namely Inurta-šarru-ušur (2)³⁸⁴ who had his own archive in Nineveh. Huber believes it is possible that he too was of foreign origin,³⁸⁵ but due to a lack of evidence supporting this claim, he was filtered out of our list of suspected Egyptians as the only tie he had to Egypt was his contact with multiple Egyptians.³⁸⁶

Multiple Egyptians can also be found in the military ranks, most holding the title *rab ḥanše* ("commander-of-fifty")³⁸⁷ or the title of "cohort commander" (*rab kišri*)³⁸⁸ who frequently appear as witnesses in documents. In the list of Egyptian deportees after Esarhaddon's conquest military personnel is listed, besides the aforementioned Egyptian specialists,³⁸⁹ including a "third man" of the chariot crew, chariot builders, shipbuilders, charioteers, etc. and it is possible that they simply integrated into the Assyrian army,³⁹⁰ or were enlisted as specialists who could raise the level of training of the Assyrian army.³⁹¹

6.2. Family relations

Despite the lack of patronyms and other information regarding an individual's family, quite some family links were unearthed during the process of this study. Marriage was normally arranged between the father of the bride and the bridegroom, though the brother could also act as the bride's agent. Theoretically every bride received a dowry and the bridegroom probably always paid a bride-price to his future father-in-law,³⁹² which is documented as the purchase of a wife. However, one of the

³⁸⁰ SAA 16, 50.

³⁸¹ TIM 11, 4.

³⁸² Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 307.

³⁸³ Onasch, *Assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 14.

³⁸⁴ SAA 14, 435, see also chapter 4.2.2.

³⁸⁵ Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 307.

³⁸⁶ See appendix III.

³⁸⁷ La-turammanni-Aššūr (3), Pi-san-Eši (1) and Puṭiše (1). Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 307 also identifies Ra'u, Kišir-Aššūr, Urdu-Aššūr and Pinaiawa as Egyptians with this title, but there is insufficient evidence supporting their Egyptian heritage.

³⁸⁸ Hūru (2). Raḥpau (2) might also be an Egyptian cohort commander.

³⁸⁹ See chapter 3.1.5.

³⁹⁰ Onasch, *Assyrische Eroberungen I*, 31-33.

³⁹¹ Huber, in Rollinger and Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum*, 307-308; see also S. Dalley, 'Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Armies of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II', *Iraq* 47 (1985), 31-48.

³⁹² Radner, in R. Westbrook (ed.), *Near Eastern Law*, 895.

problems with Assyrian documents regarding the purchase of a women is that it is sometimes unclear whether or not the individual is purchased as a wife or slave.³⁹³

The largest traceable family is that of Mullissu-ḫāṣinat of whom not only her own relatively large family is known, but also that of her husband (fig. 17). This was only due to the fact that her marriage document (SAA 14 161) names a large number of family members involved in the binding of the two families. Mullissu-ḫāṣinat is a third-generation descendant of someone with a clearly Egyptian name and neither her brothers or her father has an Egyptian name. However, as she is married into a clearly Egyptian family ties to her Egyptian roots may have still existed.

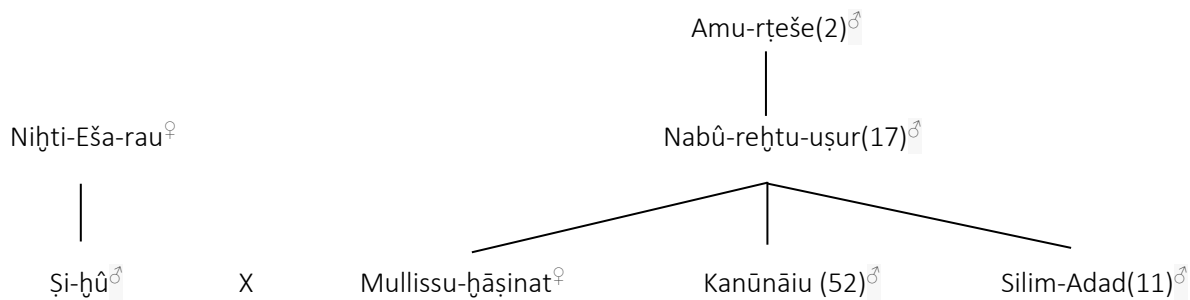


Fig. 17. Overview of Mullissu-ḫāṣinat's family.

Other third-generation Egyptians are known to us. Best known is the La-turammanni-Aššūr family through the division of his inheritance (CTNMC 68). La-turammanni-Aššūr was a commander-of-fifty and a prominent individual in the N31 archive. Both La-turammanni-Aššūr and his father bore Akkadian names and nothing, save La-turammanni-Aššūr's many contacts with Egyptians, would have hinted at his Egyptian heritage if not for his two sons bearing Egyptian names.

Wife	Husband	Children
Al-ḫapi-mepi	Puṭi-Eše	
Bēlet-issē'a (2)	Amman-tanaḫti (2)	Apî (1)
Tataširi	Amu-rēše (3)	
Mulissu-hammat	Auwa	
Mullissu-ḫāṣinat	Ši-ḫû (4)	

Fig. 18. Overview of marriage between individuals (blue indicates confirmed Egyptians)

Based on the little information we have on the marriages of Egyptians, there does not seem to be a preference to marry other Egyptians. Of the four confirmed Egyptian husbands,³⁹⁴ only two marry other Egyptians. The other two wives might be Egyptian but there is too little evidence to confirm that, especially regarding Bēlet-issē'a (2) who forms a slave family together with her husband and child. Although the father and therefore the child can be identified as Egyptian, her origin remains unclear.

³⁹³ A clear example is StAT 2 180 in which Amu-rēše (3) buys Tataširi from her husband. Due to the broken context of the text, it is not entirely clear if only the marriage between her and her husband Saḫarpuṇḫu is made void so that he cannot reclaim her as his wife or if Tataširi remarries as Amu-rēše's wife.

³⁹⁴ As stated before, it is unclear if Tataširi remarries.

6.3. Statistics

The initial list of suspected Egyptians in Assyria consisted of a total of 318 individuals. After applying the strict selection criteria 186 individuals remain, this number was further reduced to 172 individuals after applying strict selection criteria and removing double entries.³⁹⁵ 86% of these Egyptians appear in the Assyrian sources post-Esarhaddon, thus following his conquest of Egypt. Only 4% of Egyptians can be attested before his reign and the time period during which the remaining 10% lived cannot be clearly established.³⁹⁶ The 4% of Egyptians attested *before* Esarhaddon's reign consists of six Egyptians: three appear in the same document (SAA 6 142) regarding Šil-Aššūr's purchase of a house with Susanqu as a witness,³⁹⁷ two (or more) Egyptian scribes are mentioned in a wine list from Kalhu³⁹⁸ which was the royal capital at the time and the last individual may be the earliest attested Egyptian from the Neo-Assyrian corpus:³⁹⁹ a servant of the palace herald from the town of Qalat-i Dinka in North-Eastern Iraq. This Hur-waši (13) lived during the time of Shalmaneser V (727-721 BCE)⁴⁰⁰ who, according to Zadok, may have come as a deportee to Assyria following Tiglath-pileser III's campaign against Gaza.⁴⁰¹

The first to be explicitly identified as "Egyptian", Uširiḫiuhurti, appears in a text dated to 700 BCE together with the suspected Egyptian Ḫallabēše.⁴⁰² The presence of these "early" Egyptians in Assyria are likely caused by deportations in wake of the Assyrian campaigns to the Levant mentioned in multiple sources, as a result of international trade and military interests in the region.⁴⁰³ It is also possible these Egyptians migrated to Assyria on their own volition. The last Egyptian attested in Assyrian sources is Sîn-na'di (27), son of Mušurāiu (6)⁴⁰⁴ who appears in a land sale from Dur-katlimmu, which dates to 600 BCE, *after* the collapse of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

Among the 172 identified Egyptians, only 21 individuals were identified based on the presence of an ethnic group label.⁴⁰⁵ The use of the ethnic group label seems not to have been limited to a certain time period.⁴⁰⁶ There is no evidence to support the idea that they only applied to newcomers in the community, or when two individuals with an identical name are mentioned in the same text. For example, Bur-Kūbi, whom we know already lived in Assur in 629 BCE, is only mentioned with his ethnic group label in a text dating to 618 BCE when he should have long settled down in the community. Thus,

³⁹⁵ Kišir-Aššūr (66) was not removed for this reason as Kišir-Aššūr (45) was already filtered out due to a lack of evidence.

³⁹⁶ See fig. II in appendix IV.

³⁹⁷ Hur-waši (1), Hur-waši (2) and Šil-Aššūr (2).

³⁹⁸ CTN 1, 9.

³⁹⁹ R. Zadok, 'An Egyptian in Kurdistan', *NABU* 1 (2018), 51-52. Do note that as this name is written as ^mḫa-ru-a-šu this interpretation remains tentative as the manner in which the theophoric element is written is more in line with the Babylonian style (ḫa-ri) than the Assyrian style (ḫu-ru).

⁴⁰⁰ Radner, *ZA* 105/2, 192-193.

⁴⁰¹ Zadok, *NABU* 1 (2018), 51-52.

⁴⁰² StAT 2 53.

⁴⁰³ Draper, *JAEI* 7/2, 4-5. In contrast to Balogh and Radner who attribute their appearance to the battle at Eltekeh, Draper believes the early Egyptians to be deportees taken from Samaria to Guzana by the Assyrian armies of Shalmaneser V or Sargon II but this does not align with our data, see fig. II in appendix V.

⁴⁰⁴ SAAB 7 4 r. 6.

⁴⁰⁵ Those who have a name based on an ethnic group label are excluded.

⁴⁰⁶ See appendix I.

Beckman's theory that over the course of a generation or two displaced and deracinated groups would commonly shed their previous cultural identities and melt into the surrounding society and would thus cease to be seen as foreigners,⁴⁰⁷ does not seem to apply here. Instead, the notion of being Assyrian once an individual is subjected to the same obligations as the Assyrians seems to prevail here.

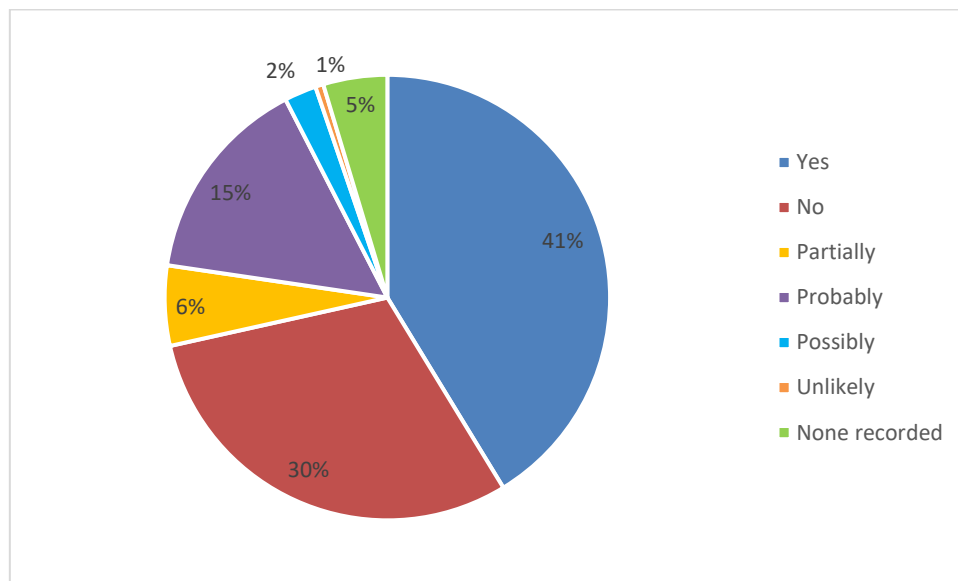


Fig. 19. Percentage of individuals bearing Egyptian names.

The presence of an Egyptian name was the second-most important way to identify an Egyptian. Interestingly enough, 30% of Egyptians did not have an Egyptian name and 6% had a partial Egyptian name. There does not seem to be a preference for a particular type of non-Egyptian name, but in names including a theophoric element the gods Aššur and Nabû seem to be the most popular. The previously mentioned idea that DN-šarru-ušur names were common among foreigners⁴⁰⁸ is not supported by this data as only 1 out of the 318 individuals in the initial list had such a name, but there was no evidence to support that he had Egyptian roots. The most popular names among Egyptians seem to have been compound names which included the element *p3-dj*. Thirty-two out of ninety-seven individuals had (probable) Egyptian names containing this element. The most popular god to be mentioned in a name is the god Horus, followed by Isis and Amon (fig. 20).⁴⁰⁹ Some words of caution regarding this overview must be made: firstly, as the name Ḥur-ši-Ešu, which occurs once, contains both the theophoric element for Horus as well as Isis, it has been attributed to both deities. Secondly, this overview only reflects the explicit inclusion of a theophoric element. This means that the name Pi-san-Eši ('Son of Isis'), which occurs three times, has been attributed to Isis even though Horus is implied. Another name that may imply a deity is the name Pabaku ('The Falcon') which has been left out because it does not contain a theophoric element but could refer to the falcon-headed gods Horus or Re or could simply refer to the animal (as appear to be the case with the name Paqiru ('Frog')).

⁴⁰⁷ Beckman, *JAOS* 133/2, 210.

⁴⁰⁸ See chapter 5.2.1.

⁴⁰⁹ This figure depicts the total amount of identifiable names that can be attributed to individuals and can therefore include a name multiple times as several individuals are attested with that name.

A plethora of different names can be created with a theophoric element (fig. V in appendix V).⁴¹⁰ Most variants can be found in the Horus-names. This is not surprising due to the sheer number of individuals who bear such a name. The gap between the follow-up is not as great as it was in the previous figure however, as a lot of variation can also be noted in names which contain the theophoric element for 'Isis'. The relative popularity of Apis-names can probably be explained by the popularity of the Apis-cults during the Late Period.⁴¹¹ The popularity of certain deities seems to be directly reflected by their inclusion in theophoric names. For example, the sun god Re, whose popularity diminished in the Late Period in favour of other deities,⁴¹² is only included once.

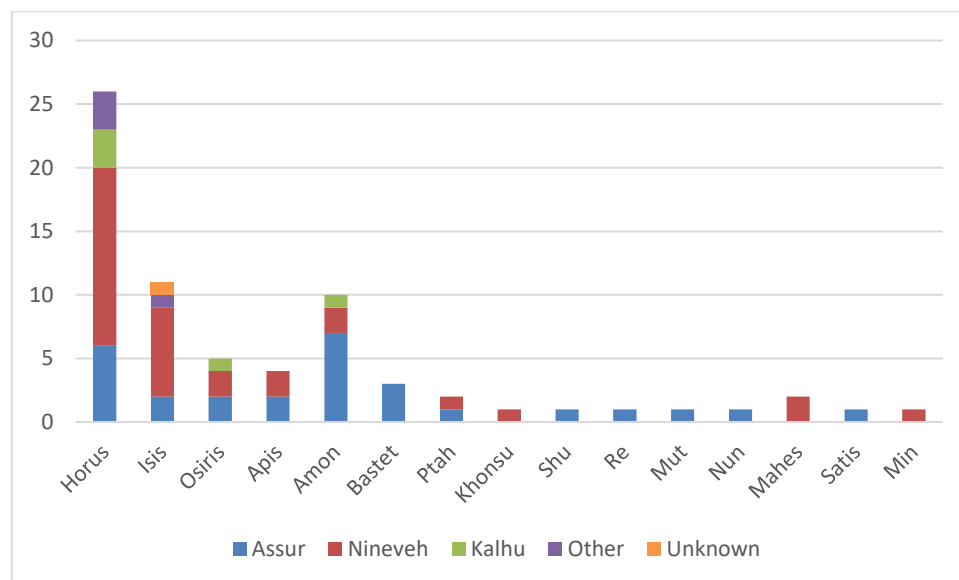


Fig. 20. Frequency of theophoric elements in names.

Regarding the names given to children of Egyptian parents, the following can be observed. Out of the 172 Egyptian, 137 are not mentioned with a patronym. The remaining 35 individuals who *are* mentioned with the name of a parent⁴¹³ have been compiled in the table below (fig. 21). The table notes the origin of the names of the children above and for the parents on the left from which the naming practices of Egyptian children can be derived.⁴¹⁴ The results are of course a bit skewed due to the fact that one of the ways in which this final list came to be was through the presence of Egyptian names. As can be concluded from these statistics, a patronym cannot be attested for most Egyptian and, as quite a number of Egyptians had Akkadian names, many of them simply would not have been identified as such were it not for a blood link, profession or ethnic group label identifying them as such.

⁴¹⁰ Do note that the name [...] -Ḫūru has not been included in this overview as it is unclear if it is an already existing name or a new one.

⁴¹¹ R.H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), 172

⁴¹² Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, 209.

⁴¹³ One exception is

⁴¹⁴ For the statistics used in this paragraph names that are probably or certain Egyptian in origin have been placed under the label 'Egyptian'. Names that might be Egyptian in origin have been labelled 'unclear'. Anonymous names have been labelled 'unknown'. As the name 'Muṣurāia' is Akkadian in origin, it has been filed as such.

		Children			
Parents		Akkadian	Egyptian	Unclear	Unknown
	<i>Akkadian</i>	10	3	0	1
	<i>Egyptian</i>	9	6	3	2
	<i>Unclear</i>	0	1	0	0
	<i>Unknown</i>	0	0	0	0

Fig. 21. The practice of name-giving among Egyptian parents.

The general preference of the parents seems to be to give their children Akkadian names. Nineteen out of thirty-five children bear an Akkadian name.⁴¹⁵ It is also still usual for parents with an Egyptian name themselves to give their children Egyptian names. It does appear to be less common for parents with Akkadian names to give their children Egyptian names. Only La-turammanni-Aššūr (3) and one other individual are known to do this. The practice of taking an Akkadian name also does not appear to be location-bound:⁴¹⁶ only in Nineveh do we see a large difference between the use of Egyptian and Akkadian names. This is most likely due to the many lists of Egyptian deportees who were not yet settled in the Assyrian community and therefore all still bore their Egyptian names.

Of the 172 Egyptians, 152 were male and 20 were female. Among the women 50% had an active role, compared to 29% of men.⁴¹⁷ This large number of active women is interesting to note as women generally barely appear in documents and when they do, they often appear as inactive individuals who are sold as slaves or wives. Rarely do women play an active part in a text or do they act as a witness. Nine out of ten of these 'active' Egyptian women came from Assur and 8 of them appeared in the 52a archive. It begs the question: why? And why only in this particular archive if we know that a lot of Egyptians were also active in the N31 and 52b archive? For now, Radner's theory regarding an Egyptian family living next to the trader Dūri-Aššūr seems to be the most logical explanation.⁴¹⁸ Perhaps it was quite common for Egyptian women who had the means to invest to partake in investing practices and we simply believe it to be a unique situation based on the fact that we only have these types of texts from this particular archive. However, Radner's explanation only accounts for the presence of one family in the archive, but as we know at least two Egyptian women from different households took part in the investment practice,⁴¹⁹ with a possible third⁴²⁰ further indicating that this practice may not have been as isolated as it appears to be.

⁴¹⁵ See also fig. VI in appendix V.

⁴¹⁶ See fig. VII of appendix V.

⁴¹⁷ See fig. III and fig. IV in appendix V. Most individuals appear just once, primarily in an inactive role and only a small percentage is a recurring character.

⁴¹⁸ See chapter 5.1.2.

⁴¹⁹ Mušuritu (1) from the household of Karānūtu and Mušuritu (2) from the household of Ubrūtu.

⁴²⁰ Ašāia (1) from the household of Nādinu (26) who may be identical to the Egyptian women Ašāia (2).

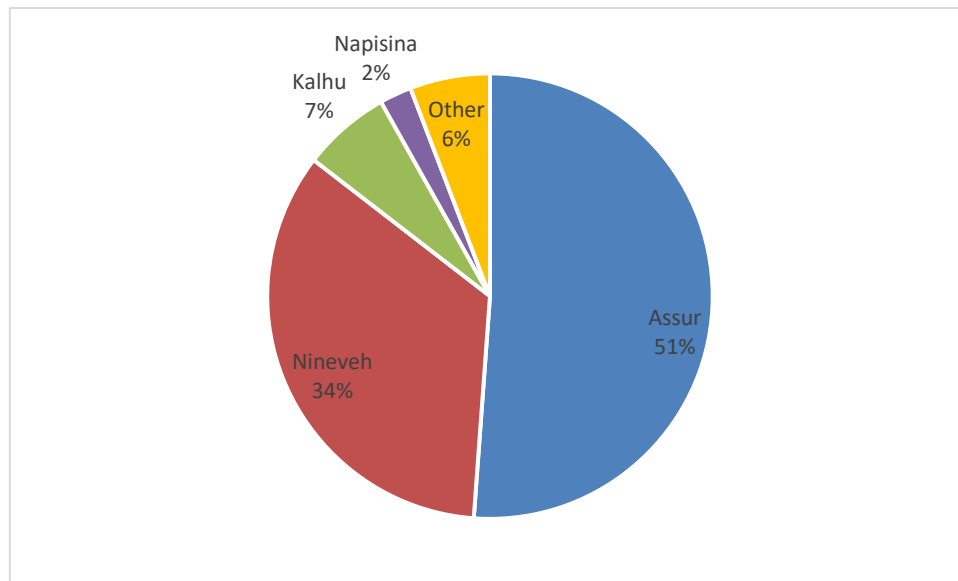


Fig. 22. Locations of Egyptians.

More than half of the attested Egyptians lived in Assur, followed by Nineveh where 34% of all Egyptians lived (fig. 22). Interestingly enough, the distribution between Egyptians in Kalhu and other locations is equal,⁴²¹ most likely due to the lack of textual evidence from Kalhu. The four individuals that are attested in Napisina are also noteworthy. These four individuals were part of two separate Egyptian families who appear together in one text. This is not immediate evidence of an Egyptian community in Napisina, but it is still an interesting observation. Despite the fact that having contact with other Egyptians barely increased the likelihood of one being an Egyptian, 64% had some form of contact with other Egyptians besides their family, supporting the idea of an established Egyptian community. Still, 33% did not seem to have any contact with other Egyptians.⁴²² This can partially be explained due to the lack of sources on these individuals as most Egyptians only occur once in texts and this one appearance in a text does not need to reflect actuality.

⁴²¹ For a more detailed graph see fig. VIII in appendix V.

⁴²² See fig. IX in appendix V.

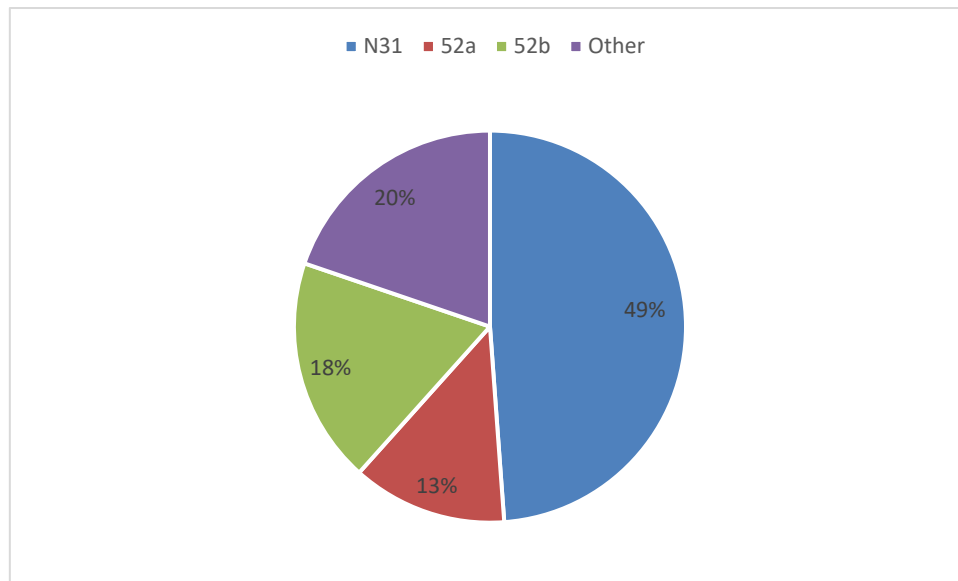


Fig. 23. The distribution of Egyptians within the different archives from Assur.

Initially there does not seem to be any overlap between 52b and N31: the key figures from N31 (fig. 13) do not seem to recur in archive 52b. However, two individuals with familiar names are attested in the 52b archive namely La-turammanni-Aššūr (11) and Kišir-Aššūr (66), the son of Urdu-Nabû. Unfortunately, both individuals are only mentioned once in the archive.

La-turammanni-Aššūr (11) is mentioned in a document dating to 636 BCE where he seems to pay for a sacrifice obligation. This is the only document of this type in both the N31 and 52b archives and if indeed La-turammanni-Aššūr (3) is implied in this text, this would be his sole appearance in such a text despite his large presence within the N31 archive. Still, this text does fit his timeframe and Radner does identify him as La-turammanni-Aššūr (3).⁴²³

Although at first it seems promising to identify the Egyptian Kišir-Aššūr (66) as Kišir-Aššūr (45), it seems unlikely that this is indeed the same individual, as Radner (2016) II.9 states that he fled both the city and Assyria.⁴²⁴ Considering the fact that the 52b archive dates between 658 and 632 BCE whereas Kišir-Aššūr (45)'s attestations run from approximately 645 to 613 BCE where he mainly acts as creditor instead of debtor it does not appear to fit either his timeframe or his profile.⁴²⁵

⁴²³ Radner, in Miglus et al., *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 121.

⁴²⁴ Radner, in Miglus et al., *Ausgrabungen in Assur*, 125.

⁴²⁵ See appendix I.

7. The Nabû and Horus parallel

In VAT 9749 a person named Qibīt-Aššūr, priest of Nabû (^{LÚ}SANGA ša dPA, 642 BCE) is mentioned.⁴²⁶ In VAT 8915 another Qibīt-Aššūr is mentioned as a witness, this time as a priest of Horus (^{LÚ}SANGA ša {šá} dhu-ru, 636 BCE).⁴²⁷ According to Radner, as both texts are part of the N24 archive, this must be the same individual. She further argues that this proves that gods Horus and Nabû were –at least in Assur due to the large Egyptian community living there– equated with one another especially since Assyria at the time was very open to new religions and syncretism. As both gods were sons of divine parents (Nabû, son of Marduk and Zarpanitu; Horus, son of Osiris and Isis) they could easily be associated with each other. Egyptian individuals who therefore bear a name with the theophoric element “Nabû” such as Urdu-Nabû (19), the son of Puṭišu and brother of Puṭu-širi,⁴²⁸ might in fact have chosen this name as it refers back to Horus.⁴²⁹

In my opinion, this is too little evidence to say for certain whether or not this is indeed the same individual. Only if the individual were to be identified with the same patronym bearing the same titles, would it prove Radner’s hypothesis. But we also have no text in which the two individuals appear together, so it can also not be disproven. Regarding one individual with the same name appearing twice in the same archive with a different title: take the case of Sukkāia in archive 52a.⁴³⁰ In the 52a archive there appear a doorkeeper of the Nabû-temple, a stonecutter and a priest all with the name Sukkāia but none of them are mentioned with their patronym so it is impossible to say who appears in what text. We can only conclude that there existed at least three individuals with the same name in this community.⁴³¹ Furthermore, were this to be the case we would expect a lot more names with the Nabû-element among the Egyptian community, when in fact there are only three individuals with such a theophoric name.⁴³² However, it must be mentioned that quite some individuals who might be Egyptian seem to have some link to the Nabû-temple⁴³³ so the idea should not be completely refuted. Still, the fact that there even existed a priest of Horus shows that Egyptian community in Assur must have quite substantial.

So, what do our Egyptian sources tell us? Nabû was known in Egypt, at least among the Arameans: a letter written from Memphis that was intended for Syene (modern-day Aswan) but found in Hermopolis bore the salutation: “Greeting (šlm) to the Temple of Nabû”. Furthermore, a priest of Nabû from Syene named Sheil was buried in Memphis. Lastly, Elephantine and Hermopolis papyri contain more personal names compounded with Nabû than with any other pagan deity.⁴³⁴ Although Elephantine has a unique community and therefore does not reflect the whole of Egypt, it at least presents us with some link to Egypt. In addition, this evidence does not provide further proof that Nabû

⁴²⁶ SAAB 9, 126-128. See Qibīt-Aššūr (19) in PNA.

⁴²⁷ SAAB 9, 116-118. See Qibīt-Aššūr (30) in appendix I.

⁴²⁸ See appendix I.

⁴²⁹ Radner, *Neuassyrisches Privatarchiv*, 73-74.

⁴³⁰ See for further information on the 52a archive chapter 5.1.2.

⁴³¹ See appendix III.

⁴³² Two individuals do come from Assur however, but this is merely circumstantial evidence. Quite a number of individuals from Assur (5) do have a name containing the theophoric element ‘Horus’

⁴³³ See for example Daiaī (1), Ḥarmāku (8) and Sukkāia (43) in appendix I.

⁴³⁴ B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley, 1968), 165-166.

was equated with Horus or any other deity within Egypt and may have simply been worshipped in his original form.

8. Visibility of Egyptians in material culture

Quite a number of Egyptian objects have been found in Assyria. Most of them seem to have come to Assyria in the form as war tribute or can be dated to the New Kingdom and can therefore often not be used to trace the Egyptian communities living in Assyria during the 1st millennium BCE.⁴³⁵ In addition, most of these objects are either ivories or scarabs which were widely distributed in the ancient Near East as they were appreciated for their engraved decorations and could be used to increase or reinforce one's social status or prestige. Since understanding the hieroglyphs or Egyptian motifs were not a prerequisite to enjoying the items or deriving prestige and status from possession of them, the accessibility of Egyptian or other imports does not necessarily reflect an immediate connection to Egypt or Egyptians in general.⁴³⁶ The objects discussed in this chapter will be those that fit our time period or that give us valuable information.

Furthermore, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether an object is Egyptian or Egyptianising. Craftspeople in the Levant became so good at creating objects in the Egyptian style during the 1st millennium BCE that in some instances it is almost impossible to distinguish a Levantine version from an Egyptian one. As a result, Wasmuth poses the valid question: 'Was someone who identifies themselves with Egyptian culture really satisfied with mere Egyptianising artifacts or was this person determined to possess genuine Egyptian artifacts?'⁴³⁷ Unfortunately, it is *practically* impossible to retrace Egyptian objects to Egyptian individuals, so this question together with many others will have to remain unanswered. As many Egyptianised objects have been found in the Ancient Near East, our main focus will lie on Egyptian items.

8.1.1. Descriptions in textual evidence

Even though textual sources reflect a spike of Egypto-Asiatic activities and exchanges of materials, items, animals and personnel during the reign of Taharqa⁴³⁸ and a number of royal inscriptions mention war tribute brought from Egypt, little Egyptian material evidence has been recovered in Assyria. This scarcity of Egyptian objects can be explained through the plundering and destruction of Assyrian cities by foreign invaders at the end of the empire. Esarhaddon lists that he brought back golden helmets, a golden cobra and snakes, (*nakliš*) vessels of silver, gold, bronze, ivory and ebony to Nineveh following his sacking of Memphis⁴³⁹ in addition to tiaras, crowns for queens, various items of gold and silver, divine statuettes of deities from Taharqa's palace and their cultic furnishings and items with stone, ivory and wooden components among others.⁴⁴⁰ Assurbanipal even mentions that he brought two tall,

⁴³⁵ See for attestations of Egyptian(ising) objects before the Neo-Assyrian Period L.W. King, 'Some New Examples of Egyptian Influence at Nineveh', *JEA* 1 (1914), 107-108, 237-240, pl. XV, XXXV, XXXVI and also G. Mumford, 'Egypto-Levantine-Relations during the Iron Age to the early Persian Periods (Dynasties Late 20 to 26)', in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of his Retirement* (Münster, 2007), 151-152 for a list of all Egyptian objects found both inside as well as outside the Assyrian heartland.

⁴³⁶ V. Boschloos, 'Traded, Copies, and Kept: Scarabs: The Ubiquitous Appeal of Scarabs', in P.P. Creasman and R.H. Wilkinson (eds), *Pharaoh's Land and Beyond: Ancient Egypt and its Neighbors* (Oxford, 2017), 154-155.

⁴³⁷ Wasmuth, in Duistermaat and Regulski (eds), *Intercultural Contacts*, 120.

⁴³⁸ Mumford, in Schneider and Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories*, 184, graph 1.

⁴³⁹ Onasch, *Assyrische Eroberungen I*, 24-26.

⁴⁴⁰ Mumford, in Schneider and Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories*, 159.

shining obelisks made out of electrum that were taken from the temple towers of Tanatamun back to Assyria,⁴⁴¹ although they have never been found.⁴⁴²

8.1.2. Egyptian objects found in Assyria

8.1.2.1. Assur

A remarkable amount of Egyptian(ising) vessels are known.⁴⁴³ The earliest of these are (fragments of) vessels, fashioned out of Egyptian alabaster and containing inscriptions written in Egyptian, dating to the 15th century BCE, which were found in a crypt.⁴⁴⁴ One granite vase fragment from the palace of Esarhaddon was found containing Taharqa's cartouche,⁴⁴⁵ suggesting that it was looted during Esarhaddon's campaigns into Egypt.

Besides these Egyptianised vessels, not many other Egyptian objects have been found in Assur. The only other objects that were found were the aforementioned⁴⁴⁶ Egyptian scarab and a bronze object depicting a man in Egyptian style that were found in the house containing archive N31. As it is unclear to whom the house belonged, the owner of these objects remains unknown. They may have belonged to either Kišir-Aššūr (45) or Urdu-Aššūr (5) as they were the central figures in the N31 archive. Of these two, it seems more likely that it belonged to Urdu-Aššūr or one of his family members as an Urdu-Aššūr (7), son of Puṭi-Ḫutapiša also occurs in the archive and may be identical to Urdu-Aššūr (5).

It is surprising that, despite the large number of texts from Assur that sketch a vibrant Egyptian community, so little Egyptian material culture had been unearthed besides the large number of Egyptianising vessels. Perhaps the Egyptians were content with having Egyptianised versions instead of the genuine artifacts, especially since the objects were already in circulation in Assur during the 15th century BCE. It is also possible that many objects simply perished or kept being used as Assur, unlike many other Assyrian cities, was not destroyed after the collapse of the empire.

8.1.2.2. Nineveh

Through tribute, conquests of Egypt and many diplomatic gifts, Assyrian kings acquired quite a number of Egyptian objects which they took back to Nineveh. Yet despite the large number of Egyptian objects that Assyrian kings have gathered over time, just a small amount has been recovered. Three statues of Taharqa were found in the entrance gates to the arsenal on Nebi Yunus in Nineveh⁴⁴⁷ in addition to a small bronze and gold statuette of the Egyptian goddess Anukhet.⁴⁴⁸ The lack of large and expensive Egyptian items can be attributed to the looting that occurred in Nineveh after its fall in 612 BCE. Some small objects depicting Egyptian elements have been found, but not many. Among them are a seal

⁴⁴¹ Onasch, *Assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 123.

⁴⁴² A. K. Thomason, 'From Sennacherib's Bronzes to Taharqa's Feet: Conceptions of the Material World at Nineveh', *Iraq* 66 (2004), 158.

⁴⁴³ F. W. von Bissing, 'Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Alabastergefäße aus den Deutschen Ausgrabungen in Assur', *ZA* 12 (1940), 149-182.; H. Onasch, *Ägyptische und assyrische Alabastergefäße aus Assur* (WVDOG 128; Wiesbaden, 2010).

⁴⁴⁴ Von Bissing, *ZA* 12, 149-182.

⁴⁴⁵ D. Oates, 'Fort Shalmaneser: an Interim Report', *Iraq* 21 (1959), 98.

⁴⁴⁶ See chapter 5.1.1.1.

⁴⁴⁷ N. al-Asil, 'News and Correspondence', *Sumer* 10 (1954), 110-111.

⁴⁴⁸ N. Al-Asil, 'News and Correspondence', *Sumer* 11 (1955), 129.

impression on a bulla depicting a Horus-child design in hybrid Egyptian and Assyrian motifs,⁴⁴⁹ some Egyptian(ising) calcite vessels from the Northwest Palace – one containing an attempted imitation of a hieroglyphic inscription (ND 3556) –⁴⁵⁰ and an Egyptian weight bearing cuneiform inscriptions from Esarhaddon's palace which came to Nineveh as war booty.⁴⁵¹

Most notably however is the discovery of two crushed, clay sarcophagi and a burial pit in tunnels at the Shamash Gate, about 100 metres north of its western doorway. The burial pit is of particular interest as it contained a broken pottery jar with clay tablets and an Egyptian *wedjat*-eye made of frit.⁴⁵² The presence of the pot of clay tablets in the grave is unusual as these would normally be stored separately, with the pot being placed on the floor of a house and the grave lying beneath the floor of that same room, hinting at a disturbed context.⁴⁵³ The 33 published clay tablets found within the pot were all part of the archive of Inurta-šarru-ušur (2) who may have been an Egyptian himself,⁴⁵⁴ which spans a period from 669 to 612 BCE.⁴⁵⁵ The *wedjat*-eye might date to the 25th Dynasty and may have originated from Heliopolis or its vicinity as parallels have been found there. If this is correct, the burial pit should be dated to the end of the Neo-Assyrian Period and may have been the grave of Inurta-šarru-ušur himself or someone related to him.⁴⁵⁶ The presence of this one Egyptian object does not immediately confirm that Inurta-šarru-ušur was indeed Egyptian. It may simply reflect his intensive contact with the Egyptian community, taking all our earlier observations into account, the likelihood that he has Egyptian roots keeps increasing and can therefore most certainly not be excluded.

Another interesting object is a part of a jar-stopper with the depiction of an Egyptian king in the smiting position, probably subduing an enemy. The image is accompanied by three sets of hieroglyphic inscriptions, one identifying the depicted figure as king Shabaqo.⁴⁵⁷ A



Fig. 24. Seal impression from a jar-stopper depicting king Shabaqo, Nineveh (BM 84527).

small bronze, dated by Leonard King to the 7th century BCE, has also been unearthed depicting the Egyptian god Ptah-Tatenen.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁴⁹ B. Parker, 'Seals and Seal Impressions from the Nimrud Excavations', *Iraq* 24 (1961), 39.

⁴⁵⁰ M.E.L. Mallowan, 'The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalḫu), 1953', *Iraq* 16 (1954), 125.

⁴⁵¹ Mumford, in Schneider and Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories*, 173 n. 210.

⁴⁵² T.A. Madhloum, 'Nineveh, The 1967-1968 Campaign', *Sumer* 24 (1968), 45-52.

⁴⁵³ L. Troy & O. Pedersen, 'Egyptians in Nineveh', *NABU* 2 (1993), 39.

⁴⁵⁴ See chapter 5.2.2.

⁴⁵⁵ TIM 11, no. 3-30e.

⁴⁵⁶ Troy and Pedersen, *NABU* 2, 39.

⁴⁵⁷ R. Giveon, *Egyptian Scarabs from Western Asia from the Collection of the British Museum* (OBO 3; Göttingen, 1985), 167-168.

⁴⁵⁸ King, *JEA* 1, 240.

8.1.2.3. Kalhu

In Fort Shalmaneser a fragmentary ivory scarab was found containing the name of Kushite pharaoh Taharqa,⁴⁵⁹ together with thousands of ivory plaques that depict Egyptian imagery but came from the Levant, commonly known as the “Nimrud ivories”.⁴⁶⁰ Why this large amount of ivories was found in Kalhu remains a mystery but it has been suggested that the Assyrian kings had a fascination for Egyptian objects and may have decorated their palaces with the ivories.⁴⁶¹ It also still remains a question how this one genuine Egyptian scarab ended up in Kalhu but it is possible the object came to Kalhu together with the ivories in the form of diplomatic gifts, tribute or war booty or it may have come directly from Egypt as a result of Assyria’s invasion of Egypt under Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.⁴⁶² A playing board for the Egyptian Game Hounds and Jackals⁴⁶³ has also been found in Kalhu. It contains an inscription which ascribes the object to the reign of Esarhaddon who appears to have brought the game to Assyria.⁴⁶⁴ Several others have been found in other locations.⁴⁶⁵ A large amount of Egyptianising objects, dating to the late 8th to 7th centuries BCE, have primarily been found in Kalhu, some in domestic settings. These include Egyptian-style scarabs, scaraboids and seal-impressions, Levantine seals with Egyptian motifs, cylinder seals with Egyptian hieroglyphs, *wedjat*-eyes, Bes-figurines, beads and alabaster vessels.⁴⁶⁶ This suggests that there was an interest in Egyptian objects among Kalhu’s citizens, perhaps due to the presence of a relatively large Egyptian community living there.

The most interesting finds come from House 3 (T.W.53) belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7), a eunuch and wealthy merchant. In room 28 of the house a faience *wedjat*-eye was found⁴⁶⁷ and the remains of a Saluki-type dog, commonly known from Egypt, were also found on his property.⁴⁶⁸ In addition, two seals in Egyptian style have been found on documents from room 19 in the same house, one depicting a squatting figure holding a ma’at-feather (ND 3424) and the second showing an Egyptian king (ND 3425). The latter was foreign, possibly Syrian workmanship and applied on a tablet dating after 648 BCE. The seal might have belonged to either Šēp-Nabû-ašbat or Urdu-Sebetti (4) as they are named as affixing their seals.⁴⁶⁹ Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) seems to have been an Assyrian as, besides these finds, there is not much evidence supporting an Egyptian heritage. A closer study of his archive that consists

⁴⁵⁹ G. Herrmann, *Ivories from Nimrud V: The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser* (London, 1992), no. 178, fig. 4.

⁴⁶⁰ Boschloos, in Creasman and Wilkinson (eds), *Pharaoh’s Land*, 152.

⁴⁶¹ Thomason, *Iraq* 66, 159.

⁴⁶² Boschloos, in Creasman and Wilkinson (eds), *Pharaoh’s Land*, 152.

⁴⁶³ Also known as 58 holes.

⁴⁶⁴ C.J. Gadd, ‘An Egyptian Game in Assyria’, *Iraq* 1/1 (1934), 45-50.

⁴⁶⁵ Also known as 58 holes.

⁴⁶⁶ See for a more detailed overview Mumford, in Schneider and Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories*, 172-173.

⁴⁶⁷ Mallowan, *Iraq* 16, 130, 143-144.

⁴⁶⁸ Mumford, in Schneider and Szpakowska (eds), *Egyptian Stories*, 173 n. 205.

⁴⁶⁹ Mallowan, *Iraq* 16, 119, pl. XXVI no.1.

of over 40 tablets might shed a light regarding his contact with Egyptians,⁴⁷⁰ but as a merchant it would not be unusual for him to have Egyptian objects in his possession.



Fig. 25. Seal impression in Egyptian style on a document, from Kalhu (ND 3424)

In a house belonging to Rab-ekalli another seal impression was found, this time on a docket, depicting a cobra and sun disc (ND 7065).⁴⁷¹ Again, the owner of the house does not seem to have any other possible connection with Egypt and seems to have been Assyrian.⁴⁷² The seal was probably of Syrian workmanship based on the fact that designs with Egyptian figures, used in the 7th century BCE appear unmixed with Assyrian or Babylonian figures and may have been made by foreign engravers living in Kalhu at the time.⁴⁷³ This would also explain the large amount of Egyptian(ised) objects found in Kalhu, compared to other Assyrian locations.⁴⁷⁴ The presence of these objects under assumedly Assyrian individuals might hint back at the earlier mentioned popularity of certain Egyptian items in the Ancient Near East.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰ A brief look at his *PNA* entry reveals no immediate signs of contact with possible Egyptians, see *PNA* 3/2, 1211-1213.

⁴⁷¹ B. Parker, *Iraq* 24, 38, pl. XX no. 5.

⁴⁷² There appears to be no entry for this individual in *PNA*, but none of the individuals mentioned in connection to the Kalhu seals appear in the overview of possible Egyptians, see appendix I.

⁴⁷³ Mallowan, *Iraq* 16, 106, pl. XVII no. 3.

⁴⁷⁴ It seems doubtful that Egyptian seals held enough value for them to be looted during the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

⁴⁷⁵ See chapter 5.2.2..

9. Egyptians in Babylonia

Now that we have explored the Assyrian Egyptian in great detail, we can compare their living experiences and social status to the Egyptians living in Babylonia. This chapter will only briefly discuss the Babylonian Egyptians in order to establish a general overview regarding their position within Babylonian society as a general consensus might be present within the two communities.⁴⁷⁶

In Babylonia the earliest attested Egyptian can be found in a document dating to 676 BCE. In the document, the Egyptian Šarru-lu-dari appears as one of the individuals who incited the governor of Nippur to anti-Assyrian actions in 676 or 675 BCE.⁴⁷⁷ As a result, he is currently the only Egyptian known to have played any role in events in Babylonia in the period 689 to 627 BCE.⁴⁷⁸ Zadok argues that he may have come to Babylonia from Assyria, either on his own accord or brought to Babylonia by the Assyrians.⁴⁷⁹ It is only after the beginning of Nabopolassar's rebellion against the Assyrians that an increase in attestations of Egyptians can be noted. Most sources come from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is an uneven distribution in terms of institutional and private archives regarding the Egyptians within the source material.⁴⁸⁰ A considerable Egyptian community was already established in Babylon in 529 BCE, *before* Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 BCE.⁴⁸¹ Generally, two 'waves' of 'incoming' Egyptians can be identified according to Hackl and Jursa: one in the reign of Nabopolassar and the early reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and a second one from the late reign of Cambyses onwards following the Persian conquest of Egypt⁴⁸² during which Egyptians were forcefully brought to Babylonia as prisoners of war or hostages.

Quite a number of Egyptians appear in documents as privately owned slaves, sometimes owned by temples. After 484 BCE, the year of the Babylonian revolts, two changes regarding the status of Egyptians can be observed: firstly, Egyptian slaves were no longer only featured in documents as the object of transaction, but also as contracting parties and witnesses. Secondly, an increase of Egyptian free men can be noted.⁴⁸³ Most Egyptians were free and lived in relative harmony with the native Babylonian population. They can be found working for institutions ranging from the Persian army to royal and temple administration. Those who were free could own property and there even existed an "assembly of Egyptian elders" (*puḫru ša šībūti ša miširāyī*),⁴⁸⁴ which provides evidence for semi-self-governed military colonies of Egyptians in Babylonia in the early Persian Period.⁴⁸⁵

An interesting difference between Assyria and Babylonia is the existence of toponyms named after groups of exiles that were headed by an official (*šaknu*).⁴⁸⁶ As Eph'al points out, this self-organisation

⁴⁷⁶ As it is not the focus of this study, the validity of these Babylonian "Egyptians" that are used by the cited sources have not been questioned as many problems also arise when identifying Babylonian Egyptians which would merit its own study.

⁴⁷⁷ CT 54, 22 r. 11-13.

⁴⁷⁸ G. Frame, *Babylonia 689-627 B.C.: A Political History* (PhD Thesis, University of Chicago; Chicago, 1981), 184.

⁴⁷⁹ Zadok, *LingAeg* 2, 139.

⁴⁸⁰ Hackl and Jursa in Waerzeggers (ed.), *Exile and Return*, 157.

⁴⁸¹ I. Eph'al, 'The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.: Maintenance and Cohesion', *Orientalia* 47/1 (1978), 76-77.

⁴⁸² Hackl and Jursa in Waerzeggers (ed.), *Exile and Return*, 159.

⁴⁸³ Hackl and Jursa in Waerzeggers (ed.), *Exile and Return*, 160-163.

⁴⁸⁴ Dandamayev in Charpin and Joannès (eds), *La circulation des biens*, 322-324.

⁴⁸⁵ Hackl and Jursa in Waerzeggers (ed.), *Exile and Return*, 166.

⁴⁸⁶ For Egyptian examples see Dandamayev in Charpin and Joannès (eds), *La circulation des biens*, 324.

and ethnic self-identification among exiles indicates that Babylonian authorities allowed the exiles to preserve their identity which stands in stark contrast to the Assyrian practice where all foreigners needed to assimilate into Assyrian society.⁴⁸⁷ With this in mind, it is curious that the use of the ethnic group label to explicitly designate Egyptians as such diminishes in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, compared to the 6th century BCE.⁴⁸⁸ It appears as if the Egyptians may have retained their ethnic identity but the Babylonians no longer identifies them as such.

In general, Egyptians in Babylonian society do not differ that greatly from those living in Assyria. They were allowed to retain their ethnic identity, appear to have held similar rights, could be found in all layers of society and were relatively free. Egyptian slaves appear more frequent in Babylonian sources and based on these sources, Egyptians appear to be able to attain higher and more diverse positions compared to those living in Assyria. This does not mean that this was not also the case in Assyrian society, as Babylonian sources often contain more information on individuals than Assyrian sources. Babylonian sources mainly consist of temple administration whereas Assyrian sources mainly consist of palace administration. This difference in administration thus also provides us with a different perspective on their respective societies. It is possible that Egyptians of lower social status were also frequently stationed at Assyrian temples, but aside from SAA 13 13,⁴⁸⁹ we simply do not have the data. Furthermore, the general absence of Egyptians in the lower layers of Assyrian society does not mean they did not exist; they most likely did but as they were not visible in our source material they cannot be traced. The Assyrian sources commonly omit the occupation of the Egyptians mentioned in their texts. Yet, as fig. I of appendix V shows, Egyptians could be found in all layers of Assyrian society.

Later, Elamite documents from the Persepolis archives also mention multiple Egyptian specialists such as goldsmiths, wood-carvers, painters, stonemasons and brewers as well as travelling Egyptians who were dependent workers (*kurtas*).⁴⁹⁰ As we know that Esarhaddon also had an interest in Egyptian artisans,⁴⁹¹ it might be possible that multiple Egyptians in Assyria had similar occupations.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ Eph'al, *Orientalia* 47/1, 82-83, 87.

⁴⁸⁸ Hackl and Jursa in Waerzeggers (ed.), *Exile and Return*, 171.

⁴⁸⁹ See chapter 5.1.3.

⁴⁹⁰ W.F.M. Henkelman, 'Egyptians in the Persepolis Archives', in M. Wasmuth (ed.), *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation in der Achämenidenzeit* (OrOcc 27; Stuttgart, 2017), 276-302, 386-394.

⁴⁹¹ Onasch, *Assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 31-32.

⁴⁹² We know of several Egyptian weavers and the Egyptian perfume maker Sa-ḥpi-māu who have similar professions in addition to some possible Egyptians, namely: the copper-smith Ḫallabēše (2), the chief brewer Ḫipirrāu and the fuller Ubru-Mulliissu.

Conclusion

As we have seen, there was a prominent community of Egyptians living in Assyria during the Neo-Assyrian Period, most notably in Assur. Returning to the research question: ‘What was the status and social standing of Egyptians in Assyria during the Neo-Assyrian Period?’ we can conclude that the Egyptians who appear in our texts had integrated well into society. Their presence in our texts even suggests that they are participating in Assyrian high society. They could invest, purchase houses, were treated equally before the law and could hold high positions. The idea that once foreigners were subjected to the same obligations as the Assyrians, they were seen as equals seems to be confirmed in our sources as both geographically and chronologically there does not appear to be a clear difference regarding the treatment of Egyptians, nor their social standing within Assyrian society. Certain occupations such as Egyptian scribe, which seem to have primarily lived in the Assyrian capital, seem to have been restricted to certain geographical locations, but this was likely a result of demand, not of unequal treatment.

Most Egyptians appear to have come to Assyria as deportees. This would also explain the presence of the multiple Egyptian families since the family as a whole would have been deported. Not many original Egyptian objects belonging to private individuals have been found in Assyria, probably as a result of the looting that followed after the fall of the Assyrian empire. The large presence of Egyptianising objects may also have quelled the need for authentic ones among the Egyptian communities. Egyptians did not seem to feel pressured to give their children Akkadian names, although the small increase in Akkadian names in Egyptian children does hint at a need to assimilate. One would expect that the Egyptians would want to blend into society as quickly as possible and the easiest way to do that would be to lose their Egyptian name and to give their children Akkadian names. The data proves however, that even though such a trend can be observed, there is not an overwhelming tendency to do so. The fact that the Egyptians bearing Akkadian names would have gone unnoticed to us, were it not for the Egyptian names of their children or the presence of an ethnic group label shows just how well they blended into Assyrian society.

Due to the limited scope of this study and an unbalance within the corpus, this study mainly focused on Assur. The material from Assur, in particular the N31 archive, has been studied extensively in recent years. The Nineveh material would merit a closer look,⁴⁹³ most notably Inurta-šarru-ušur’s archive,⁴⁹⁴ may yield more information about Egyptians living in the Assyrian empire and may help us to more clearly establish his ethnic identity.

The inclusion of Babylonian sources may also help fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge, especially in the field of onomastics. Studying the Egyptian names in both Assyrian as well as Babylonian sources may help more easily discover connections and interpretations that otherwise would have been missed. This, in combination with the Akkadian found in Egyptian documents can help us further help us identify the general phonological rules that are applied when transcribing Egyptian to Akkadian and vice versa. It is also possible that there are many, yet unidentified Egyptian names hidden in *PNA* that have been labelled as “origin unknown”.

⁴⁹³ With exception of the palace administration.

⁴⁹⁴ See chapter 8.1.2.2.

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Abbreviations

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ADD	See Johns (1898-1901) and (1925/6)
ÄPN	<i>Die Ägyptischen Personennamen</i> , see Ranke (1935 – 1977)
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ALANE	See Pedersén (1998)
ALCA	See Pedersén (1986)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASSF	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie (und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft)
BATSH 6	See Radner (2002)
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CLIS	Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies
CMCS	Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud: see 1: Kinnier Wilson (1972); 2: Postgate (1973); 3: Dalley and Postgate (1984).
CTNMC	See Jacobsen (1939)
DN	See Lüddeckens (1980-2000)
EAO	Egypte, Afrique et Orient
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven

GM	Göttinger Miszellen
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East Monographs
HdOr	Handbuch der Orientalisk
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
ISIMU	ISIMU. Revista sobre Oriente Proximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad
JAEl	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH	Journal of Egyptian History
KAV	See Schroeder (1920).
LibStud	Libyan Studies
LingAeg	Linguae Aegyptia
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-gesellschaft zu Berlin.
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
ND	Siglum of texts excavated in the British excavations at Kalhu: see Wiseman, (1953); Parker (1954) and Parker (1957).
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OrNS	Orientalia Nova Series
OrOcc	Oriens et Occident
PAe	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PPP	Peshdar Plain Project Publications

Radner (2016)	Radner, in Miglus, Radner and Stepniowski, <i>Ausgrabungen in Assur</i> , 79-133.
RANT	Res Antiquae
RdE	Revue de l'Égypte ancienne
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Empire; see 1: Tadmor and Yamada (2011), 4: Leichty (2011).
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin; see 5: Fales and Jakob-Rost (1991); 7: Fales (1993); 9: Deller et al. (1995).
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
SHK	Schriften des Historischen Kollegs
SOÄW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.hist. Klasse.
SSU	Studia Semitica Upsaliensia
StAT	Studien zu den Assur-Texten; see 1: Radner (1999); 2: Donbaz and Parpola (2001); 3: Faist (2007).
StOr	Studia Orientalia
T. Hadid	See Na'aman and Zadok (2000).
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum; see 11: Ismail and Postgate (n.d.)
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
Zadok (1977)	See 1977a: Zadok, <i>West Semites</i> ; 1977b: Zadok, <i>GM</i> 26.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

Appendix I: Overview of the possible Egyptians in Assyria

Text references marked in blue use an ethnic group label to refer to the individual.

Name	Family ties	Profession	Location	Date	Function in text	Subject of the text	Text reference	Notes
[...]-Aššūr (1)*	Son of Hur-waši (6-11)		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase	StAT 2 181 r. 14 (629*)	Father bears an Egyptian name.
[...]gurši		ḫarṭibu	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Listed individual	List of scholars at the royal court	SAA 7 1 r. i 12-ii 2 (n.d.)	
[...]-Ḫūru*			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Purchase of a slave	StAT 2 178:16	A new individual, as he is the only one with a name ending on “-Ḫūru” living in Assur.
Abdi-Mūnu		Engaged in commercial activities	Assur	After reign Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	Rfdn 17 17:6 (612*)	Name has Egypt. divine element.
Abi-Ḫūru (1)	-	Gate guard	Kalhu	Reign of Sennacherib	Witness	Sale of land and people	ND 2306 r. 17 (687)	
Abi-Ḫūru (2)	-	-	Nineveh	7 th century, probably after reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Barley loan	TIM 11 10 r. 7 (eponymy of Mannu-ki-Arbail)	Acts as a witness with Puṭiše (1), Puṭi-Eše and Ḫallabēše (2).
Abši-Ešu	Father of Lū-šakin (14), possibly also of Issar-duri (26)	Egyptian	Bet-Eriba-ilu	Reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Purchase of a house	SAA 6 311:2 (666)	
Adimasia		Slave woman	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Slave	Purchase of a slave	StAT 2 273:4 (636*)	Meaning of name unknown, possibly Egyptian. Sold to Adda-dimri by the Egyptian Ṭāb-Bēl (8).

Agaragara	Brother of Paši (1)		Kalhu	Early reign of Assurbanipal	Payer	Fine payment	ND 2337:4 (658)	Brother possibly bears an Egyptian name.
Aḥu-dūr-enši (2)	Son of Ḥūru (2)	-	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or after	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 191:3 (644*, 629* or 610*)	
Aḥūru	-	-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver debt	StAT 2 177 r. 3 (617*); StAT 3 82:12 (617*)	
					Witness	Loan of wares	StAT 2 175 r. 4 (635*)	
Al-ḥapi-mepi	Wife of Puṭi-Eše, daughter of Puṭu-Meheši (2).	Woman	Nineveh	7 th century, probably after reign Assurbanipal	Bride	Marriage contract	SAA 14 443 r.7 (dl, dating suggested by archival context)	Sold to Puṭueši by Puṭumeheši in a document from the archive of Inurta-šarru-ušur.
Amān-išme	-	-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Unclear	Rfdn 17 19 l.e. 1 (612*)	
Amat-Emūni	-	Palace personnel	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Listed individual	List of all female palace personnel	SAA 7 24:19 (nd)	
Ameḥi	-	-	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Donor	Transfer	StAT 2 167:3 (646*)	One of nine men, all of them possibly bearing Egyptian names, who might be dividing an inheritance and could therefore be related.

Amman-tanaḥṭi (1)	-	-	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Donor	Transfer	StAT 2 167:4 (646*)	One of nine men, all of them possibly bearing Egyptian names, who might be dividing an inheritance and could therefore be related. May be identical with Matanaḥṭe.
Amman-tanaḥṭi (2)	Father of Apî (1); husband of Bēlet-issē'a (2)	Slave	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Inherited slave	Division of inheritance	CTNMC 68:12 (625*)	Part of a family of slaves.
Amu-rṭēše (1)	-	Individual	Kalhu	Early reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of slave	ND 2315:1, 11 (663)	
Amu-rṭēše (2)	Father of Nabû-rehtu-ušur, the Hasean.	-	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Sale of daughter, marriage contract	SAA 14 161:2, r. 15 (623*)	
Amu-rṭēše (3)	New husband of Tataširi	Chief [...]	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Buyer	Sale of a woman	StAT 2 180:5 (629*)	Previously wife of Saḥarpunḫu.
					Witness	Redemption of sister and son	VAT 20374 l.e. 2 (624*)	
					Witness	Silver debt	StAT 2 204 r. 5 (620*)	

					Witness	Unclear	KAV 189 r. 7 (dl)	
					Debtor	Debt-note	StAT 2 213 b.e. 8 (dl)	One of six men who owe three horses, <i>iškāru</i> of the king, to Urdu-Aššūr.
Apâ	Son of Apihuniawa	-	Assur	7 th Century	Debtor	Silver loan	StAT 2 216: 4 +217:4 (dl)	
Apî (1)	Daughter of Amman-tanaḫti (2) and Bēlet-issē'a (2)	Slave girl	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Inherited slave	Division of inheritance	CTNMC 68:13 (625*)	Daughter of a slave family of three which Puṭimunu inherits from his father La-tu-ramanni-Aššūr.
Apî (2)	Sister of Ṭab-Bel (7); Mother of Pašî (9)	-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Redeemed individual	Redemption	VAT 20374:3, l.e. 9, r. 4, 8 (624*)	
Apiḫuniawa (Name formerly read as Apihunišî[...])	Father of Apâ	-	Assur	7 th century	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 216: + 217:5 (dl)	
Ašê	Son of Taḫ-artiše (2)	-	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Court order	SAA 14 446:1, r. 2 (612*)	
					Witness	Marriage contract	TIM 11 14 l.e. 1 (dl)	

Ašāia (1)			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.39:10; Radner (2016) I.56:3,4 (nd); Radner (2016) I.59:2 (nd)	Part of the household of (the son of) Nādinu (26)*. Perhaps identical with Ašāia (2).
					Witness	Inheritance	AfO 32 42:3, r. 12 (620*)	
					Witness	Lawsuit	Assur 2/4 11 r. 6, envelope Assur 2/4 11* r. 8 (617*)	Lawsuit of Šamaš-ibni and Qat-Aššūr-lamur against Qibit-Aššūr.
Ašāia (2)*	-	Egyptian woman	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.38:6 (nd); Radner (2016) I.57:3 (nd);	52a. Not in PNA 1, but is mentioned in PNAP. Perhaps identical with Ašāia (1).
Aššūr-balaṭu-...	Father of Ḫarmāku (17)		Ma'allanate	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Patronym	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 244 u.e. 2 (dl)	
Aššūr-dūri (7)*	Father of Puṭupašte*; Grandfather of Sabutī*		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Court decision (<i>dēnu</i>)	Radner (2017) II.10 Vs. 3 (dl)	Son bears an Egyptian name.
Aššūr-le'i (2)	Father of Ḫarmāku (2)		Kalhu	Probably reign of Adad-Nerari III	Patronym	Slave sale	CTN 2 11 r. 8 (dl)	
Aššūr-šarru-ušur (14)	Son of Ḫā-bāšti (3)	Cohort commander, royal bodyguard	Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal and/or later	Witness	Land sale	ADD 358+ r. 6 (dl)	Father possibly bears an Egyptian name.

				Witness		ADD 608 r. 1 (dl); ADD 211 r. 17 (year date lost)	In the second text he is a witness for Kakkullanu, cohort commander of the crown prince.
Ata'	Sister is Šulmu-[...]- lumur		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or after	Brother	Marriage contract	StAT 2 184:1, 5 (dl) Belongs to the circle of La-turam- manni-Aššūr.
Ati'	Father of Ubru- Mulissu		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Purchase	SAA 14 161 r. 11, 27 (623*)
Attâ-ḥaši		Woman	Kalhu	Early reign of Assurbanipal	Buyer	Purchase of a slave woman	ND 2315:4, l.e. 13 (663) Possible Egyptian name. Buys a slave from Amu-rṭeše (1).
Aṭû			Assur	7 th century	Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 216 r. 5 and envelope StAT 2 217* r. 6 (dl) Witness for Apâ.
Auwa <i>Previously read as Awa.</i>	Son of Tap-nahte (1), husband of Mullissu-hammat	-	Assur	Reign of Esarhaddon and later	Husband	Marriage contract	StAT 2 164:1, 6, 20 r. 1, 5, 8 (675) Father bears an Egyptian name. Father of wife may bear an Egyptian name.
Awa			Assur	Reign of Sîn-šarru- iškun	Party	Receipt	StAT 3 87:4 (617*)
Bakkî			Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Division of an inheritance	CTNMC 68 r. 14 (625*) Witness for Hutnahte and Puṭimunu who share the inheritance after their father La- turamanni-Aššūr's death.

Bariku (8)	Son of Ra'ū (2)		Assur	Early reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 296:4 (dl)	Father possibly bears an Egyptian name.
Batu-naḫti			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Donor	Transfer	StAT 2 167:7 (646*)	One of nine men, all of them possibly bearing Egyptian names, who might be dividing an inheritance and could therefore be related.
Bēlet-issē'a (2)	Mother of Apî (1); wife of Amman-tanaḫti (2)	Slave woman	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Inherited individual	Division of an inheritance	CTNMC 68:11 (625*)	
Bessu'a (11*)	Son of Taia (2)	Horse trainer of the god Aššur	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Purchase of a slave	SAAB 9 109 r. 16 (615*)	May be the same as Bessu'a (8).
Bur-Kūbi		Egyptian	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Neighbour, witness	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 207: r. 16 (618*)	Neighbour of Urdu-Aššūr (7). Acts as a witness with some men with Egyptian names.
					Witness	Silver loan	StAT 3 97:15 (dl)	
					Witness	Purchase of a maid	StAT 2 178: r. 14 (629*); StAT 2 181: r. 6 (629*)	
Butanaḫte			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Donor	Transfer	StAT 2 167:8 (646*)	One of nine men, all of them possibly bearing Egyptian names,

							who might be dividing an inheritance and could therefore be related. Preceeded in the text by Batu-naḫti.
Butinaḥ	Egyptian	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 207: r. 17 (618*)	
Daia (1)	Individual	Assur	Reign of Sennacherib	Guarantor	Loan	StAT 2 4 r.1 (692)	Name may be linked with Egypt.
Daia (2)	Master builder(?)	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Guarantor	Silver loan	SAAB 5 25 r. 5 (644* or 625*)	Name may be linked with Egypt. Possibly same person as in SAAB 9 83 r. 4
Daiā (1)	Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon	Witness	Purchase of a vineyard	SAA 6 202 r. 16 (680)	Name may be linked with Egypt.
Daiā (2)	Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan	SAA 14 97 r. 9 (646*)	Name may be linked with Egypt.
Daiā (3)	Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Exchange of a field	Radner (2016) I.17 r. 8 (637*)	Name may be linked with Egypt.
Daiā (4)*	Palace shepherd under the authority of the chief cook	Ikamaraia	Reign of Adad-Nerari III or later	Joint seller	Sale of land	Edubba 10 28:3 (793 or 773)	

Daiaî (1)	Gate guard, probably of the Nabû temple	Kalhu	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Barley loan	ND 5453 r. 11 (662); ND 5449 r. 4 (661); ND 5454 r. 4 (661); ND 5455 r. 4 (661); ND 5456 r. 4 (661); ND 5459 r. 4 (661); ND 5474 r. 4 (661); ND 5468 r. 4 (652); ND 3463 r. 15 (641*)	Name may be linked with Egypt.
Daiaî (2)*		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Court decision (<i>dēnu</i>)	StAT 3 63: 8' (615*)	
Daiaia	Outrider	Assur	Reign of Sennacherib	Witness	Sale	SAAB 9 75 r. 19 (683)	Name may be linked with Egypt.
Dān-Ešu	Individual	Unknown	Reign of Assurbanipal	Mentioned individual	Statement	ABL 1380 r. 8 (nd)	
Din-Īūru	Individual	Kalhu	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan	CTN 3 41 r. 8 (616*)	Nabû-aḫu-ušur is owed silver by two men with clearly Egyptian patronyms: Kalbāia (2) and Urdu-Mullissu (10).
Ēšā	Individual	Assur	7 th century, probably reign of Assurbanipal or later	Buyer	Purchase	StAT 2 139:8 (dl)	Buys a boy from Bibia, son of Aḫu- lešir.
Eša-rēše	Egyptian weaver	Nineveh	7 th century	Egyptian weaver	List of Egyptian deportees and their possessions	SAA 11 169 r. 3 (nd)	One of the four weavers mentioned.

Ezibtu (2)	Egyptian woman	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.38:7 (nd); Radner (2016) I.41 r.1 (nd); Radner (2016) I.68:6' (nd)	52a. In I.68 not explicitly called an Egyptian. Teppo, 104 states that she is from Qumbāte. Radner (2016), 108 has transliterated it as such, but has not translated the phrase. Unclear if it refers to Ezibtu.
					Administrative document	KAV 121:6 (nd)	
Gula-eṭir (3)	Brother of Meia and Ribaia (11)	Assur	7 th century	Sender	Letter to brother Ribaia and sister Meia	CT 53 974:1, r. 3 (nd)	Sister bears an Egyptian name.
Ḫā-bāšti (1)	Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon	Witness		SAA 6 245 r.11 (672)	Witness for Danaia.
Ḫā-bāšti (2)	Chief gatekeeper	Nineveh	Reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal	Witness		SAA 6 206 r. 6 (679)	Often in contact with Mannu-ki-Arbail.
				Witness for harem manageress of the city of Kalzi		SAA 6 247 r. 4 (679)	Acts as a witness together with the cohort commander Arzezu and the gatekeeper Nuhšaia.

	Witness for the royal eunuch Illu-ṣabtanni	Purchase of extensive landed property	SAA 6 283 r. 14 (672?)	
	Witness, possibly for Mannu-ki-Arbail	Land sale	SAA 6 211 r. 7 (dl)	Acts as a witness together with the cohort commander Arzezu.
	Witness	Purchase of people and landed property	SAA 6 269 r. 6 (679)	
	Witness	Purchase of property	ADD 284 r. 9 (668); K 20900 r. 11 (668); ADD 537 r. 8 (dl)	
	Witness		SAA 6 220 r. 10 (dl); SAA 6 218 r. 3 (dl); SAA 6 297 r. 8 (671); SAA 6 307 r. 3 (668); SAA 6 323 r. 10 (664); SAA 6 325 r. 16 (663); SAA 6 328 r. 8 (dl, after 668); SAA 6 308 r. 7 (dl); SAA 6 348 r. 5 (dl); SAA 6 340 r. 11 (dl); SAA 6 332 r. 9 (dl); SAA 6 350 r. 8 (dl); BT 118 r. 2 (678); SAA 6 278 r. 11 (674); SAA 6 248 b.e. 11 (dl)	

Ḫā-bāšti (3)	Father of the cohort commander Aššūr-šarru-ušur		Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Patronym	Land sale	ADD 358+ r. 7 (dl)	
Ḫalabēšu (1)* (In PNA under Ḫallabēše (3))	Father of Urdu-Bēltu (2)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Patronym	Silver loan	StAT 2 192:4 (629*)	
					Witness	Silver debt	StAT 2 177 r. 2 (617*)	
Ḫallabēše (2)	Son of Illāia	Copper smith	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Seller	Sale of a woman	SAA 14 435:1, 5, 8, 15 (612*)	Sells a woman to Inurta-šarru-ušur. Abdi-Samsi is the prefect of Hallabeše. Possibly identical with Ḫallabēše (4).
					Witness	Adoption of a son	TIM 11 15 r. 14 (634*)	
					Witness	Barley loan	TIM 11 10 l.e. 1 (dl)	
Ḫallabēše (4)		Individual	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161 r. 12 (623*)	Possibly identical with Ḫallabēše (2)
Ḫana-Ḫūru		Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Neighbour	Purchase of a house	SAA 14 102:8 (642*)	
Ḫapi-maniḫi**	Has at least two sons whose names are broken, see	Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver loan	StAT 3 95:3 (658)	Not in PNA.

Anonymous (6) and (7).							
Ḫapi-nāu		Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Dividing of estate	CTNMC 68 r. 5 (625*)
Ḫapunapa*		Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan with interest	Radner (2016) II.7 (I) Rs. 4 (dl) Archive 52b. Not in <i>PNA</i> . Name might be Egyptian.
Ḫaqu-nēši		Individual	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Court order	SAA 14 446 l.e. 1 (612*)
Ḫarmāku (1)		Individual or a profession	Kalhu	Reign of Adad-nerari III	Part of summary	Decree of Adad-nerari III	SAA 12 69 r. 25 (809) Several persons are summed up as twelve ^m ḫar-ma- <i>k[i]</i> . This may refer to the profession which is attested in the plural in the same text (r. 9 and r. 19).
Ḫarmāku (2)	Son of Aššūr-le'i		Kalhu	Reign of Adad-nerari III	Witness	House sale	CTN 2 14 r. 8 (802)
					Witness		CTN 2 79, r. 2 (783)
					Witness	Slave sale	CTN 2 11 r. 8 (dl)
Ḫarmāku (3)	Son of Inurta-na'di	Cohort commander of the recruits	Kalhu	Reign of Adad-nerari III	Seller	Sale of a slave woman	BaM 24 1 r. 5 (dl)
Ḫarmāku (4)	Father of Kunasî		Nineveh	Reign of Adad-nerari III	Patronym	Sale of land	SAA 14 462 526:2 (791) <i>PNA</i> states that the individual is from Kalhu, SAA states that the

							text is from Nineveh.
Ḫarmāku (5)	Cohort commander from Arrapha	Kalhu	Reign of Sargon II	Listed individual	List	CTN 3 102 ii 17 (nd); CTN 3 99 i 12 (nd)	
Ḫarmāku (6)	Official in charge of equids	Nineveh	Probably reign of Sargon II	Listed individual	List	SAA 11 117 b.e. 5 (nd)	
Ḫarmāku (7)	Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Sennacherib	Witness	Silver loan	SAA 6 189 r. 5 (682)	
Ḫarmāku (8)	Individual	Kalhu	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Barley loan	ND 5451 r. 6 (665)	
Ḫarmāku (9)	Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Sale of a slave woman	StAT 3 16 r. 10 (639*)	
Ḫarmāku (10)	Individual	Ma'allanate	Reign of Assurbanipal	Lender	Silver loan	O 3700:3 (652)	
				Debtor	Debt payment	O 3690:3 (652)	
Ḫarmāku (11)	Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan	ZA 73 8 r. 4 (623*)	
Ḫarmāku (12)	Son of Aššūrbalāssu-iqbi (5); Grandson of Sīn-na'di (16)	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	House sale	StAT 1 22 b.e. 2 (dl)	As it is very unlikely that he or his family have any ties to Egypt and as both the corpus of texts in which his grandfather appears as well as his family are enormous, they have not been

							included in this overview.	
Ḫarmāku (13)		Dependent individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Receiver	Disimbursements	VAT 8586:9 (xii-615*); VAT 8681:10 (i-614*); VAT 8674:10 (ii-614*)	Documents from the exorcist's library
Ḫarmāku (14)		Dependent person	Issete	Reign of Aššūr-etel-ilani	Mentioned individual	Land grant	SAA 12 58:4 (dl)	
Ḫarmāku (15)		Individual	Nineveh	-	Witness	Legal document	ADD 536 r. 1 (dl)	
Ḫarmāku (16)	Son of Harranaiu (13)		Ma'allanate	After reign of Assurbanipal	Payer	Debt payment	AUAM 72 72:5, b.e. 9 (dl)	
Ḫarmāku (17)*	Son of Aššūr-balaṭu- [...]		Ma'allanate	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 244 u.e. 2 (dl)	Baker believes it is a new individual but perhaps identical with Ḫarmāku (12)?
Ḫarranaiu (13)	Father of Ḫarmāku (16)			Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Creditor	Debt payment	AUAM 72 72:3, 6 (dl)	
Ḫasâ		Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Adoption of a son	TIM 11 15 r. 16 (634*)	
Ḫašbasnu [...]		Individual	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161 r. 18 (623*)	Acts as a witness for the Egyptian woman Nihtiešarau, who buys the woman Mullissu-ḫašina, daughter of Nabû-rehtu-ušur as a wife for her son. Some of the witnesses also bear Egyptian names.

Ḫatpi-Ašte		Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a maid	StAT 2 181 r. 13 (629*)	
Ḫatpi-Mūnu		Individual	Nineveh	After reign Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan	SAA 14 119 r. 4 and the envelope SAA 14 120 r. 3 (631*)	
Ḫatpi-Napi		Egyptian	Assur	Reign of Assurbanpal and later.	Witness	Sale of a house	StAT 2 207 r. 19 (618*)	House bought of Urdu-Aššūr, son of Puṭi-hutapiša. Also occurs in StAT 2 167 according to PNA but this creates a double entry with Pamenapi. This text has therefore been ascribed to Pamenapi.
Ḫipirrāu		Chief brewer	Assur	Reign of Esarhaddon	Witness	Marriage contract	StAT 2 164 r. 14 (675)	Witness for Awa, who marries Mullissu-hammat daughter of Pabbau, a votaress of Ištar of Arbail.
Huddāia (4)	Son of Mušurāiu (2)	Egyptian	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of slaves	SAA 14 16:1 (639*)	Sells slaves to the royal eunuch Ninuaiu.
Ḫursisu		Individual	Nineveh	-	Witness	Conveyance text	SAA 14 309 r.3 (dl)	
Ḫur-šia		Individual	Assur	7 th century	Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 204 r. 6 (620*)	

Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (2)		Prefect of the Hallateans	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Listed individual	List of lodgings for officials	SAA 7 9 r. ii 1 (nd)	Possibly identical with Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (3).
Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (3)		Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Adoption of a son	TIM 11 15 r. 15 (634)	Possibly identical with Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (2).
Ḫur-tibû (1)		Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	7 th century	Listed individual	List	SAA 11 169:6 (nd)	Listed among other deportees with Egyptian names.
Ḫur-tibû (2)	Father of Urdu-Mullissu (10)		Napisina	After reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Silver debt	CTN 3 41:4 (616*)	PNA states that he is from Kalhu, but probably comes from Napisina.
Ḫūru (1)		Egyptian scribe	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon	Listed individual	List of scholars	SAA 7 1 r. ii 5 (no year date, but can be roughly dated on prosopographical grounds)	Listed as one of three Egyptian scribes.
Ḫūru (2)	Father of Aḫu-dūr-enši (2)	Cohort commander	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Lender	Silver loan	StAT 2 168:2 (645*)	Active within the circle of Kišir-Aššūr and Urdu-Aššūr according to the tablets from the archive N31.
					Borrower	Debt-note for horses	StAT 2 213:4 (dl)	
					Patronym & witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 191:4 (644* or 629*)	
					Witness	Court case	StAT 2 173 b.e. 15 and the envelope StAT 2 174 r. 1 (636* or 625*)	Court case involving Egyptian merchants.
					Witness	-	StAT 2 178 r. 15 (629*); StAT 2 184 r. 12 (dl); StAT 3 92: 8 (613*)	

				Witness	Inheritance	CTNMC 68 r. 8 (625*)	
				Witness	Settlement of accounts	StAT 3 92: 8 (626*)	
				Witness	Receipt	StAT 3 87: 14 (617*)	
Ḫūru (3)	Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Pledge	StAT 1 36 r. 5 (614*)	
Ḫūru-[...] (1)	Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	7 th century	Egyptian deportee	List	SAA 11 169:9 (nd)	Listed among other deportees with Egyptian names.
Ḫūru-[...] (2)*		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver loan	Radner (2016) II.7 (I) Vs.3 (dI)	Archive 52b.
Ḫur-waṣi (1)	‘Third man’ of a chariot team	Nineveh	Reign of Sennacherib.	Witness	Purchase of a house	SAA 06 142, r. 13 (692)	
Ḫur-waṣi (2)	Chief boatman	Nineveh	Reign of Sennacherib.	Witness	Purchase of a house	SAA 06 142, r. 16 (692)	
Ḫur-waṣi (3)	Egyptian scribe	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon	Listed individual	List of scholars	SAA 07 1, r. ii 5 (no year date, but can be roughly dated on prosopographical grounds.	Mentioned in a list of scholar as one of three Egyptian scribes.
Ḫur-waṣi (4)	Mayor	Gezer	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Sale of land and people	PEF 36 229, r. 9 (652)	
Ḫur-waṣi (5)	Individual	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Unclear	Letter on a lawsuit	TIM 11 29:6 (nd)	
Ḫur-waṣi (6)	Son of Ki[r-...]	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Owner of a house, witness	Division of an inheritance	CTNMC 68:4 (625*)	
				Witness		StAT 2 168:12 (645*?); StAT 2 210 r. 3 (631*); StAT 1 11 r. 9	

						(627*); StAT 2 184 r. 9 (nd)	
			Witness	Silver loan		StAT 2 77 r. 5 (643*); StAT 2 192 r. 3 (629*); StAT 2 216 r. 4 (tablet) + StAT 2 217 r. 5 (envelope) (613*)	
			Witness	Slave sale		StAT 2 178 r. 16 (629*)	
			Witness	Barley loan		StAT 2 187 r.4 (644* or 629*)	
			Witness	Redemption of Šamaš-ibni's brother from Urdu-Aššūr		StAT 2 229 r.5 (dl)	
			Debtor	Silver loan		StAT 3 97: 4, 11 (dl)	
			Creditor	Silver loan		StAT 3 95: 2	
Ḫur-waši (7)		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Sales contract for a house	StAT 2 207 r. 13 (618*)	Possibly identical with 6. or 9.
Ḫur-waši (8)	Son of TARhursi	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Sales contract for a house	StAT 2 207 r. 22 (618*)	Possibly identical with 9., 10. or 11.
Ḫur-waši (9)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Marriage contract	StAT 2 184 r. 16 (dl)	Possibly identical with 7., 8., 10. or 11. Attested in the archive N31.
Ḫur-waši (10)	Commander-of-fifty	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Court decision	KAV 189 r.6 (dl)	Possibly identical with 6. Alternatively could be identical with 8. or 9.
Ḫur-waši (11)	Cook	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Inheritance document	StAT 2 201 r. 7 (622*)	Possibly identical with 6., 8. or 9.
Ḫur-waši (12)* (In PNA under Ḫur-asu (2))	Eunuch	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Court case	StAT 2 171 r. 2 (623*)	

Ḫur-waši (13)*	Servant of the palace herald; deportee(?)	Qalat-i Dinka	Shalmaneser V	Witness	Deed	Radner (2015), 17 (725*)	Earliest attested Egyptian in the NA corpus.
Ḫur-waši (6-11)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Slave sale	StAT 2 179 r. 2 (625*)	Tablet is not listed as belonging to the archive N31.
				Witness	Court decision	StAT 2 198 r. 4 (623*)	The eunuch Ḫur-asu acts as a witness in the same document.
				Witness	Silver loan	StAT 3 78:12 (631*); StAT 3 114: 9 (644* or 629*)	
				Witness	Receipt	StAT 3 87: 14 (617*)	
	Father of [...] -Aššūr	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	-	StAT 2 181 r. 14 (629*)	In PNA under Ḫur-asu (1). Both son and father are witnesses. Probably identical to Ḫur-waši (6), but also possibly identical to Ḫur-Waši (7-11).
Ḫuṭ-naḫti	Son of La-turammanni-Aššūr (3); Brother of Puṭi-Mūnu (2)	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Inheritor	Inheritance	CTNMC 68:6, 10 (625*)	Many of the witnesses bear Egyptian names.
lašanimu	Father of La-turammanni-Aššūr (6)	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Silver loan	SAAB 9 68:2 (625*)	Possibly an Egyptian name.
Ibašši-ilani (6)	Father of Pašî (6)	Daian-Adad	Reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Land sale	ADD 373:2 (634*)	Son possibly bears an Egyptian name.
Illāia	Father of the coppersmith Hallabeše (2)	Nineveh	After the reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Sale of a woman	SAA 14 435:2 (612*)	
Inurta-na'di (1)	Father of Ḫarmāku (3)	Kalhu	Reign of Adad-nerari III	Patronym	Purchase of a woman	BaM 24 1 r. 5 (dl)	Son might bear an Egyptian name.

Inurta-šarru-ušur (2)		Courtier of the New Palace of Nineveh	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Buyer	Sale of a woman	SAA 14 435: 6 (612*)	Has a lot of contact with Egyptians and some other possible links with Egypt. <i>Wadjet</i> -eye found in his or his relative's grave.
					Creditor	Silver loan	TIM 11 12:2 (636*); TIM 11 7:2 (630*); TIM 11 6:4 (622*); TIM 11 8:2 (616*)	
					Witness	Adoption	TIM 11 15 r. 13 (634*)	
					Creditor	Contract	TIM 11 5 b.e. 6 (626*)	
					Plaintiff	Court decision	TIM 11 13:3 (621*)	
					Creditor	Loan of wares	TIM 11 9:2 (618*); TIM 11 10 b.e. 2 (eponymy of Mannu-ki-Arbail [hapax])	
					Lessor	Lease contract	TIM 11 4:5 (612*)	
Ispiniša		Egyptian woman	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.38:8 (nd)	52a.
Issar-duri (26)	Perhaps the son of Abši-Ešu, the Egyptian and therefore possibly the brother of Lū-šakin (14).		Bit-Eribailu, in the vicinity of the town Šab-Adad	Reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of a house	SAA 6 311:1, 9 (666)	
Kalbāia or Kalbi-Aia (2)	Son of Pi-san-Eši (2)		Napisina	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	CTN 3 41 b.e. 1 (616*)	Kalbāia (2) and Urdu-Mullissu (10) owe silver to Nabû-aḥu-ušur.

							Both debtors' fathers bear Egyptian names. Din- Ĥūru is a witness. <i>PNA</i> states that he is from Kalhu, but probably comes from Napisina.
Kanūnāiu (52)	Son of Nabû-reĥtu-ušur (17); Grandson of Amu-rṭeše (2); Brother of Mullissu-ḫāšināt and Silim-Adad (11).	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161:5 (623*)	Grandfather bears an Egyptian name, sister marries an Egyptian. Father is a Hasean.
Karānūtu	Egyptian woman	Assur	Probably reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.41:3 (nd) ; Radner I.43 r.3 (nd)	52a.
				Head of household	Investment	Radner (2016) I.56:1 (nd); Radner (2016) I.58 r.5	Mušuritu (1) is part of her household.
Kisiri	Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Donor	Transfer	StAT 2 167:6 (646*)	One of nine men, all of them possibly bearing Egyptian names, who might be dividing an inheritance and could therefore be related.
Kiṣir-Aššūr (45)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Creditor	Silver loan	VAT 20768:2 (646*); StAT 2 177:2 (617*); StAT 2 224:2 (dl); [StAT 2 220: 3 (612*)?]; StAT 3 82: 5 (617*);	Key figure in archive N31. Has a lot of interactions with Egyptians.

	Creditor	Loan of wares	StAT 2 187:3 (644* or 629*); StAT 2 186:2 (644* or 629*?); StAT 2 188:3 (dl)	
	Buyer	Purchase	StAT 2 169:8, r. 3 (641*); StAT 2 178:5, r 1 (629*); StAT 2 183:8 (dl)	
	Debtor	Loan of wares	StAT 2 210:6 (636* or 625*?)	
	Victim	Court decision	StAT 2 206:2 (618*); StAT 2 198:2 (nd)	
	Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 168 r. 3 (645*?); StAT 2 218:7 (645*? or 612*?); StAT 2 191 l.e. 1 (644* or 629*); StAT 2 194 r. 4 (626*); A 1809 r. 3 (622*); StAT 2 216 r. 3 and the envelope StAT 2 217 r. 4 (613*); StAT 2 215 r. 3 (615*)	
	Witness	Receipt	StAT 2 202 r. 3 (622*)	
	Witness	Purchase	StAT 2 207 r. 21 (618*)	Babilaiu purchases a house from Urdu-Aššūr and Puṭi-hutapiša.
	Witness	Court decision	StAT 2 173 b.e. 14 and the envelope StAT 2 174 r. 1 (636* or 625*)	Egyptian merchants have entered the house of Hakku-baia.

					Witness	Marriage	StAT 2 184 r. 13 (dl)	Rihpi-munu takes the sister of Ata' as his wife.
					Creditor	Settlement of accounts	StAT 3 92: 2 (613*)	
					Creditor	Court decision	StAT 2 199:6 (623*)	
					Creditor	Account	StAT 3 93: 1, 7 (nd or dl)	
					Payer	Unclear	StAT 3 89: 9' (dl)	
Kiṣir-Aššūr (66*)	Son of Urdu-Nabû (13)	Egyptian	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Debtor	Silver debt	Radner (2017) II.9:6 (nd)	Same as Kiṣir-Aššūr (45)?
Kunašî	Son of Ḫarmāku (4)		Nineveh	Reign of Adad-nerari III	Unclear	Sale of land	SAA 14 462:2 (791)	Father possibly bears an Egyptian name (unlikely). <i>PNA</i> states that the individual is from Kalhu, <i>SAA</i> states that the text is from Nineveh.
Kurarâ		Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	7 th century	Deportee	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:14 (nd)	Listed among deportees bearing Egyptian names.
La-turammanni-Aššūr (3)	Son of Mannu-ki-Aššūr (21?); Father of Ḫuṭ-naḫti and Puṭi-Mūnu (2)	Commander-of-fifty	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Testator	Inheritance	CTNMC 68:1 (625*)	Sons bear Egyptian names. Attested in a number of documents from N31: many tablets feature individuals bearing Egyptian names. Probably identical with La-turammanni-Aššūr (2). Radner also attributes Radner (2016) II.5 from

							archive 52b to him, making it our only connection between the two archives.	
				Debtor	Silver loan	SAAB 9 68:1 (625*); StAT 2 208:3 (616*); StAT 2 209:3 (dl)		
				Witness		StAT 2 167 r. 7 (646*); StAT 2 191 r. 3 (644* or 629*); StAT 2 77 s. 2 (643*); StAT 2 211 r. 2 (631*); StAT 2 178 r. 14 (629*); StAT 2 192 r. 1 (626*); StAT 2 177 r. 1 (617*); StAT 2 208 9 (616*); StAT 2 183 r. 6 (dl); StAT 2 231 s. 3 (nd/dl); BaM 16 31 r. 15 (620*)		
				Witness	Work contract	A 1809 r. 2 (622*)		
						StAT 3 81: 3 (655); StAT 3 87: 3 (617*); StAT 3 82: 11 (617*); StAT 3 80: 3' (nd/dl); StAT 3 92:10 (613*)		
La-turammanni-Aššūr (4)		Servant and commander-of-fifty	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Marriage contract	StAT 2 184 r. 8 (dl)	Probably identical with La-turammanni-Aššūr (3).
La-turammanni-Aššūr (6)	Son of Iašanimu	Possible Commander-of-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Loan	SAAB 9 68:1, 5 (625*)	Father possibly bears an Egyptian name.

			fifty of Egyptian origin ⁴⁹⁵					
Lawaḥameḥi		Individual	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 221:4 (eponym of Šamaš-abu-ušur)	
Lulūlu		Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Transfer	StAT 2 167 r.8 (646*)	
Lū-šakin (14)	Son of the Egyptian Abši-Ešu; brother(?) of Issar-duri		Bit-Eribailu, in the vicinity of the town Šab-Adad.	Reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of a house	SAA 6 311:1, 9 (666)	
Mannu-ki-Arbail (21)	Son of Puḥutana	-	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 168:3 (645*)	Father bears a possible Egyptian name. Owes silver to Ḫūru.
					Witness	Debt-note for horses	StAT 2 213 l.e. 2 (dl)	Witness for Urdu-Aššūr.
Mannu-ki-Aššūr (21?)	Father of La-turammanni-Aššūr (3); Grandfather of Ḫuṭ-naḫti and Puṭi-Mūnu (2)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and possibly later	Patronym	List	StAT 3 81: 4 (655)	
Mannu-ki-Ninua (13)	Father of a daughter	Egyptian	Kalhu	Reign of Assurbanipal	Father, seller	Sale of a daughter	CTN 3 34:1, 8 (638*)	Possibly the same person who acts as a witness in an orchard sale: CTN 3 54 r.5 (642*)
Matanaḫte		Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 208:5 (616*)	Possibly identical with Amman-tanaḫti (1).
Meia	Sister of Gula-eṭir (3) and Ribaia (11)		Assur	7 th century	Addressee	Letter by brother Gula-eṭir	CT 53 974 r. 1 (nd)	
Menas(s)ê (3)			Assur	Probably after reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of a slave	StAT 3 105:2 (date broken)	PNA 2, 749 identifies this man

⁴⁹⁵ According to Frahm, 494 (PNA). Seems unlikely to me since only his son's PNA record mentions it. Probably mistaken for La-turammanni-Aššūr (3) or (4).

								as an Egyptian but StAT 3, 156-157 reads ^{KUR} šur-ra-a-a ("Tyre") (see also RLA 14, 250).
Mullissu-hammat	Daughter of Pabbā'u, wife of Auwa.	Votaress of Ištar of Arbail	Assur	Reign of Esarhaddon	Bride	Marriage contract	StAT 2 164:3,4, r.10 (675)	Father and witness possibly bear Egyptian names.
Mullissu-ḫāṣinat	Daughter of Nabû-rehtu-ušur (17); granddaughter of Amu-rēše (2); wife of Ši-ḫû (4); daughter-in-law of Nihti-Eša-rau; sister of Kanūnāiu (52) and Silim-Adad (11).		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Wife/daughter	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161:8 (623*)	Purchased by Nihti-Eša-rau for her son Šiḫâ: both have Egyptian names. Mullissu-ḫāṣinat's grandfather also bears an Egyptian name. Nabû-rehtu-ušur is however mentioned being a Hasean.
Muṣurāiu (1)		Courtier of the palace	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon	Palace personnel	Order of admittance	ABL 512:6 (nd)	One of fourteen men and women who are admitted into the palace personnel.
Muṣurāiu (2)	Father of Huddāia (4)		Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Sale of slaves	SAA 14 16:1 (639*)	
Muṣurāiu (3)		Individual	Kalhu	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Legal text	CTN 3 7 r. 4 (620*)	
Muṣurāiu (4)	Father of Sukki-Aia (43)		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Administrative document	Radner (2016) I.37:7 (nd)	
Muṣurāiu (5)	Son of Šarru-lu-dari (33)		Assur	7 th century	Witness	Aramaic loan contract	AssU6 r. 5 (nd)	
Muṣurāiu (6)	Father of Šin-na'di (27)		Dur-katlimmu/Magdalu	Post 612, reign of Nebukadnezzar II	Patronym	Land sale contract	SAAB 7 4 r. 6 (600)	

Muṣuritu (1)*		Egyptian woman	Assur	Probably reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.56:1 (nd); Radner (2016) I.58 r.4, 5	52a. Unnamed, but is part of the household of the Egyptian Karānūtu. Unclear whether or not this is an actual name.
Muṣuritu (2)*		Egyptian woman	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.58:1, 2 (nd)	52a. Part of the household of Ubrūtu (4).
Nabareu		Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 228 r. 10 (nd)	Witness for Urdu-Aššūr.
Nabû-reḥtu-uṣur (17)	Son of Amu-rṭeše (2); Father of Kanūnāiu (52), Mullissu-ḥāṣinat and Silim-Adad (11); Father-in-law of Ši-ḥû (4).	A Hasaeen under the authority of Urdu-Issar	Town of the Washerment	After reign of Assurbanipal	Bride's agent	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161:1, 9, b.e. 18 (623*)	Father bears an Egyptian name. Daughter marries an Egyptian.
Nādinu (26)*	Perhaps a relative of Ašāia (2)*	Head of a household	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Head of a household	Investment	Radner (2016) I.39:10; Radner (2016) I.56:3,4 (nd); Radner (2016) I.59:2 (nd)	Perhaps related to Ašāia (2)* and if she is identical to Ašāia (1)* he might be Egyptian as well.
Nibḥēa		Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 192 r. 5 (629*); StAT 2 208:13 (616*)	In the second text, La-turammanni-Aššūr is one of the people involved.
					Debtor	Debt-note for horses	StAT 2 213:5 (dl)	N31.
Nibiḥis (In PNA under Nipiḥitu)		Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Law suit	StAT 2 198 r. 6 (623*)	N31.
					Witness	Barley debt	StAT 3 46:13 (623*)	
Niḥarā'u		Egyptian scribe	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon	Listed individual	List of scholars	SAA 7 1 r. ii 4 (no year date, but can	One of three Egyptian scribes.

							be roughly dated on prosopographical grounds.	List dated the 17 th of Kanunu.
Niḫti-Eša-rau	Mother of Šihû (4); mother-in-law of Mullissu-ḥaṣinat.	Individual	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Buyer	Purchase of wife	SAA 14 161:10, r.5 (623*)	Buys Mullissu-ḥaṣina(t), the daughter of Nabû-rehtu-uṣur as a wife for her son Šihâ.
Nummurija		Individual	Unknown	Reign of Assurbanipal	Alleged ally of the traitor Ṣallâ	Composition containing invective against Bel-eṭir of Bi-lbâ.	SAA 3 29:4 (nd)	
Pabaku*			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan	Radner (2016) II.1 Rs. 2 (658)	Archive 52b.
Pabbâ'u	Father of Mullissu-hammat	Horse keeper(?) of Iṣtar of Arbail	Assur	Reign of Esarhaddon	Bride's agent	Marriage contract	StAT 2 164:18, b.e. 22 (675)	Name might be Egyptian. Daughter given in marriage to Auwa, son of Tap-nahti the latter being an Egyptian name.
Paḫî		Female slave	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Female slave	Transfer	SAA 14 155:14 (627*)	
Pamenapi		Individual	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Transfer	StAT 2 167 r. 9 (646*)	Double entry for StAT 2 167 in <i>PNA</i> , also under Ḫatpi-Napi! Has been ascribed to Pamenapi in this study.
					Witness	Inheritance	StAT 2 201 r. 10 (622*)	
					Witness	Marriage contract	StAT 2 184 r. 12 (dl)	Ata' gives his sister in marriage to Rihpi-Munu.

					Debtor	Debt-note	StAT 2 210 b.e. 8 (dl); StAT 2 213:6 (dl)	N31 archive.
Paqiru*			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan with interest	Radner (2016) II.3 (H) Rs. 3' (640)	Archive 52b.
Paši (1)	Brother of Agaragara	Individual	Kalhu	Reign of Assurbanipal	Payer	Payment of a debt	ND 2337:2 (658)	May bear an Egyptian name.
Paši (2)		Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver debt	SAAB 9 98 r. 3 (650)	May bear an Egyptian name.
Paši (3)		Cohort commander	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Donor	Transfer	StAT 2 167:10 (646*)	May bear an Egyptian name. From the circle of Urdu-Aššūr. One of nine men, all of them possibly bearing Egyptian names, who might be dividing an inheritance and could therefore be related.
					Witness	Court decision	StAT 2 173 r. 7 and the envelope StAT 2 174 r. 3 (636* or 625*)	Case involving Egyptian merchants entering the status of <i>ubartu</i> in the house of Hakkubaia.
					Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 214 l.e. 1 (615*)	
					Debtor	Debt note	StAT 2 212:4 (dl)	
					Debtor	Receipt	StAT 3 87: 2 (617*)	
					Debtor	Account	StAT 3 93: 3, 16 (nd/dl)	
Paši (4)		Individual	Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Lease of a field	SAA 14 118 r. 7 (631*)	

Paši (5)		Judge	Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Judge	Legal dispute	SAA 14 123:3 (630*)	
Paši (6)	Son of Ibašši-ilani (6)	Individual	Daian-Adad	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of land	SAA 14 114:1, r. 7 (634*)	
Paši (7)		Individual	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Purchase of a slave	StAT 2 138 r. 6 (dl)	
Paši (8)		Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase	VS I 95 r. 18 (625*)	
Paši (9)	Son of Apî (2); Nephew of Ṭab-Bel (7)	Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Redeemed individual	Redemption	VAT 20374 b.e. 9, r. 4, 8 (624*)	
Piluna		Individual	Assur	7 th century	Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 216 r. 6 (613*) and the envelope StAT 2 217 r. 7 (dl)	
Pilušu		Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a female slave	StAT 2 181 r. 12 (629*)	Acts as a witness in a number of documents from archive N31, whose tablets feature quite a number of individuals bearing Egyptian names.
					Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 192 r. 4 (629*); StAT 2 195 r. 5 (626*); StAT 2 225 r. 4 (dl); StAT 2 209 r. 4 (dl).	
					Witness	Division of inheritance	CTNMC 68 r. 8 = Postgate (1976) no. 18 (625*)	Huṭ-nahti and Puṭi-Munu divide the estate of their father La-turammanni-Aššūr.
					Witness	Marriage contract	StAT 2 184 r. 17 (dl)	Ata' gives his sister to Rihpi-Munu as a wife.

				Witness	Debt note	StAT 2 211 r. 4 (dl)	
Pilzu		Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Redemption	StAT 2 229 r. 4 (nd) Šamaš-ibni redeems his brother from Urdu-Aššūr.
Pinaiawa		Commander-of-fifty, superior of Babilaiu	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Crime	StAT 2 198 r. 4 (623*) Name might be Egyptian.
				Witness	Purchase of a house	SAT 2 207 r. 10, l.e. 1 (618*)	Babilaiu buys a house from Urdu-Aššūr.
Pinapi		Individual	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Contract on silver debt	StAT 2 77 r. 6 (643*)
Pi-san-Eši (1)		Commander-of-fifty	Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a slave	SAA 14 91 r. 3 (648*)
Pi-san-Eši (2)	Father of Kalbaia (2)		Napisina	After reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Silver debt	CTN 3 41:2 (616*) Also possible that he comes from Kalhu instead.
Pi-san-Eši (3)		Individual	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Seizing of debtor	SAA 14 171 l.e. 4 (613*) Witness for Mannu-ki-mat-Aššūr.
Pi'u (1)		Scribe	Kalhu	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Barley loan	ND 2321 r. 16 (624*) Witness for Issar-šumu-iddina.
Pi'u (2)	Son of Taḫ-artiše (1)	Individual	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Division of estate	CTNMC 68 r. 10 = Postgate (1976) no. 18 (625*) Witness for Huṭ-nahti and Puṭi-Munu who divide the estate of their father La-turammanni-Aššūr.
				Payer	Receipt	StAT 3 87: 5 (617*)	
Pizešḫurdāia		Chariot driver	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 207 r. 26 (618*) Witness for Babilaiu who buys from Urdu-Aššūr.

Puḫutana	Father of Mannu-ki-Arbail (21)	-	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Father	Silver debt	StAT 2 168:4 (645*)	Possibly bears an Egyptian name.
Pūnašti	-	-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 177:4 (617*)	Owes silver to Kišir-Aššūr and Urdu-Aššūr.
Putā[...]	-	-	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver debt	StAT 2 168 r. 2 (645*)	Possibly bears an Egyptian name.
Puṭetaḫa* <i>In PNA under Puṭu-zutaḫa.</i>			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver debt	Radner (2016) II.3 (H) Rs. 4' (640*)	Archive 52b. Name might be Egyptian.
Puṭi[...] (1)*			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan with interest	Radner (2016) II.2 Rs. 1 (647*);	Probably the same individual as Puṭi[...]
Puṭi[...] (2)*			Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan with interest	Radner (2016) II.7 Vs. 3 (dl)	(2) as it is the only individual in the 52b archive with a name beginning with Puṭi-[...].
Puṭi-Atḫiṣ	Adoptive father of the boy Aḫu-iddina (14)	-	Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Buyer and adopter	Adoption of a boy	SAA 14 442:5, r. 5, 9, 11 (634*)	Probably the same individual as Puṭi[...]
								(1) as it is the only individual in the 52b archive with a name beginning with Puṭi-[...].
								Son of a prostitute, bought from his grandfather, the cook Abdi-Kurra. The text states that Puti-Atḫiṣ has 10 sons, but it is unclear whether or not they are all his biological sons and whether or

								not this amount includes Aḫu-iddina.
Puṭi-Bina[...]	Son of Tap-naḫte (4)	Egyptian	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 77 b.e. 7 (643*)	
Puṭi-Eše	Husband of Al-Hapi-Mepi; son-in-law of Puṭu-Meheši (2).		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Buyer	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 443:2, 8 r. 5, 8, 10, 15 (dl)	His wife is the daughter of Puṭu-Meheši. From the circle of Inurta-šarru-ušur.
					Witness	Purchase of a woman	SAA 14 435 r. 14 (612*)	
					Witness	Loan	SAA 14 436 r. 6 (eponymy of Mannu-ki-Arbail)	Putiše (1) is attested in the same line. Ḫallabēše (2) and Abi-Ḫūru (2) also act as a witness.
					Witness	Court order	SAA 14 449 l.e. 2 (dl)	
					Witness	Court case on an adoption	SAA 14 450 r. 3 (dl)	
Puṭi-Ḫūru		Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Egyptian deportee	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:7 (nd/dl)	Most of the other deportees also clearly have Egyptian names.
Puṭi-ḫutapiša	Father of Urdu-Aššūr (7)	-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Sealer/owner	Sale of a house	StAT 2 207:2, 13, 17 (618*)	
Puṭi-Māni		Fugitive Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Fugitive	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:12 (nd)	Most of the deportees have clearly Egyptian names.
Puṭi-Mūnu (1)	-	-	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase	ZA 73 11 r. 8 (640*)	
Puṭi-Mūnu (2)	Son of La-turammanni-Aššūr (3); brother of Ḫuṭ-naḫti		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Heir	Division of inheritance	CTNMC 68:7, 14 = Postgate (1976) no. 18 (625*)	Division of the estate of their father. In addition to the house

							which they share, three people (Belet-isše'a, Amman-tanahti and Apî) are assigned as his portion.
				Witness	Lawsuit	StAT 3 79: 12 (626*)	
Puṭi-Mutû		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Creditor	Silver loan	SAAB 9 90:2 (638*)	Possibly bears an Egyptian name. Loans silver to Qiti-muti.
Puṭi-Nūnu		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	StAT 2 194:3 (626*)	Owes silver to Urdu-Aššūr.
Puṭiše (1)	Commander-of-fifty	Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Purchase of a boy	SAA 14 442 r. 12 (634*)	From the circle of Inurta-šarru-ušur. Next witness is Inurta-šarru-ušur.
				Witness	Court order	SAA 14 430 r. 7 (621*)	Witness for Inurta-šarru-ušur.
				Witness	Renting of a field	SAA 14 434 r. 10 (612*)	Witness for Inurta-šarru-ušur.
				Witness	Barley debt	SAA 14 436 r. 6 (eponymy of Mannu-ki-Arbail)	Puṭi-Eše is mentioned in the same line. Also acts as a witness with Ḫallabēše (2) and Abi-Ḫūru (2).
				Witness		SAA 14 445 r. 7 (621*)	
Puṭiše (2)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	-	StAT 2 176:16 (633*)	The tablet may belong to the archive N31. Possibly identical with Puṭiše (3).

Puṭiše (3)	Father of Puṭi-Širi (5) and Urdu-Nabû (19)	-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Division of estate	CTNMC 68 r. 12 = Postgate (1976) no. 18 (625*)	Possibly identical with Puṭiše (2).
Puṭi-Širi (1)		Egyptian, official	Nineveh	Late reign of Esarhaddon	Listed individual	List of military and other officials	SAA 7 5 r. i 20 (nd/dl)	Possibly identical with Puṭi-Širi (6).
Puṭi-Širi (2)		Fugitive Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Fugitive	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:13 (nd)	Most deportees bear clearly Egyptian names.
Puṭi-Širi (3)			Kalhu	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Debtor	List of debts	ND 3455 r. 3 (post-canonical eponymy of Bel-šaddû'a)	
Puṭi-Širi (4)			Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver debt	StAT 1 11 r. 8 (627*)	
Puṭi-Širi (5)	Son of Puṭiše (3); brother of Urdu-Nabû (19)	-	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Division of estate	CTNMC 68 r. 12 = Postgate (1976) no. 18 (625*)	Witness for Huṭ-nahti and Puṭi-Munu who divide the estate of their father La-turammanni-Aššūr.
					Witness	Court decision	StAT 3 79: 11 (626*)	
Puṭi-Širi (6)			Nineveh	7 th century	Recipient	Letter	CT 53 113:2 (nd)	Possibly identical with Puṭi-Širi (1).
Puṭu- [...]			Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase	SAA 14 442 l.e. 4 (634*)	
Puṭu-Bāšti (2)			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase	ZA 73 11 r. 9 (640*)	
Puṭu-Bāšti (3)			Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Court case	StAT 2 173 b.e. 13 (636* or 625*)	Court case concerning Egyptian merchants who have been attacked in the house of Hakkubaia.

Puṭubikišu*		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver loan	Radner (2016) II.1 Rs. 3 (658)	Archive 52b.
Puṭubišu*		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Buyer	Purchase	Radner (2016) II.6 Vs. 4 (dl)	Archive 52b. Name is most likely Egyptian.
Puṭu-ḥabišu	Father of Puṭu-Paiti (1).	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Silver debt	Radner (2016) II.3.1:4 (631*) and the envelope Radner (2016) II.3.2:2 (dl)	Owes silver to Zahâ.
Puṭukiše*		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Plaintiff	Court decision	Radner (2016) II.10 Vs. 1,2 (dl)	
Puṭu-Meḥeši (1)		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161 r. 17 (623*)	Witness for Nihti-Eša-rau who buys a wife for her son.
Puṭu-Meḥeši (2)	Father of Al-Hapi-Mepi; father-in-law of Puṭi-Eše.	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Father/Seller	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 443:1 (dl, but can be roughly dated by the archival context)	
Puṭu-Paiti (1)	Son of Puṭu-ḥabišu	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver debt	Radner (2016) II.3 (H) Vs. 1, 4; II.3 (I) (640*)	Archive 52b. He and his father bear Egyptian names.
Puṭu-Paiti (2)		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161 r. 26 (623*)	
Puṭupašte*	Son of Aššūr-dūri (7)*; Father of Sabutî*	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Accused	Court decision (<i>dēnu</i>)	Radner (2016) II.10 (dl)	Archive 52b. Name is probably Egyptian.
Puṭupiāti		Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon	Debtor	Silver loan	SAA 6 236:3, 6 (670)	May bear an Egyptian name.
Puṭu-šisi[...]	Female slave	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Female slave	Purchase of a slave	SAA 14 435:4 (612*)	Bought by Inurta-šarru-ušur (2) from Hallabeše (2).
Puṭušu*		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Debtor	Silver loan	Radner (2016) II.8 Vs. 3 (dl)	
Qašḥamete		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Purchase of a slave	StAT 2 169 r. 16 (641*)	

				Witness	Judicial settlement	StAT 2 197 r. 3 (625*)	Judicial settlement made in Kalhu.
Qibit-Aššūr (30)	Priest of the Egyptian deity Horus	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a slave	SAAB 9, 127 r. 18 (636*)	Radner (1999) 74 proposed an identification with <i>PNA</i> Qibit-Aššūr (17) who is a priest of Nabû.
Qišāia or Qiš-Aia (2)	Egyptian	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 207 r. 18 (618*)	
Qišiṣim		Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Document on foreign merchants in the house of Hakkubaia	StAT 2 173 r. 6 (636* or 625*)	Possibly bears an Egyptian name.
Quni-Ḫūru		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Court decision	SAA 14 171 l.e. 3 (613*)	
Raḫdibi’?		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Purchase of a woman	StAT 2 180 r. 7 (644* or 629*)	
Raḫpau (1)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Marriage	StAT 2 164 r. 20 (675)	
Raḫpau (2)	Possibly a cohort commander	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Division of estate	CTNMC 68 r. 9 (625*)	
				Witness	Purchase	StAT 2 207 r. 11 (618*)	
Ra’sî	<i>ḫarṭibu</i>	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Listed individual	List of experts at court	SAA 7 1 r. i 13 (nd)	
Rasū’	Chief boatman	Nineveh	Reign of Sennacherib	Witness	Purchase of a house	SAA 6 142, r. 14 (692)	Witness for the Egyptian scribe Šil-Aššūr.
Ra’ū (1)		Assur	Reign of Sennacherib	Witness	Copper debt	VAT 20337*:11 (693 or 688)	
Ra’ū (2)	Father of Bariku (8)	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Silver debt	StAT 2 296:5 (dl)	
Ra’ū (3)		Nineveh	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver debt	SAA 14 119 r. 4 (631*) and the	

						envelope SAA 14 120 r. 4 (631*)	
Ra'ū (4)		Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or late	Witness	Court decision	KAV 189 r. 7 (dl, but can be roughly dated by archival context)	
Ra'ū (5)		Nineveh	Unknown	Witness	Purchase of a slave	SAA 14 244: 8 (dl)	Details unknown.
Rawa		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness		Rfdn 17 12 l.e. 2 (dl)	
Ribaia (11)	Brother of Gula-eṭir (3) and Meia	Assur	7 th century	Addressee	Letter	CT 53 974 (nd)	Sister bears an Egyptian name.
Rihpi-Mūnu	Husband of Šulmu- [...] -lumur	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Husband	Marriage	StAT 2 184:2 (nd, but can be dated by the archival context)	Ata' gives his sister, a votary of Ištar of Arbail to him as his wife along with a dowry.
Ri-m-pi-aue		Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Marriage document	StAT 2 184 r. 10 (nd/dl, but can be dated by the archival context)	Witness when Rihpi-Munu marries the sister of Ata'.
Sabutī*	Son of Puṭupašte*; Grandson of Aššūr-dūri (7)*	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Accused	Court decision (<i>dēnu</i>)	Radner (2017) II.10 Vs. 4 (dl)	Father bears an Egyptian name.
Saḥarpunḫu	Former husband of Tataširi	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Bride's agent	Sale of a wife	StAT 2 180:1, 4 (629*)	Sells his wife to Amu-rṭeše.
Sa-ḫpi-māu	Perfume maker	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Guarantor	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161 r. 9 (623*)	Guarantor for Nihti-Eša-rau.
Sē'-raḫī		Nineveh	Possibly reign of Esarhaddon	Involved party	Fragmentary letter to the king	CT 53 134:4 (nd)	Details unknown. Mentioned in broken context, the next two lines both mention a LÚ*.mu-šur-a-a "Egyptian".

Siḫā'			Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Donor	Transfer	StAT 2 167:5 (646*)	One of nine men, all of them possibly bearing Egyptian names, who possibly divide an inheritance and could therefore be related. Archive N31.
					Witness	Silver debt	StAT 2 208 r. 3 (616*)	Witness for Urdu-Aššūr.
Silim-Adad (11)	Son of Nabû-reḫtu-ušur (17); grandson of Amur-ṭēše (2); brother of Kanūnāiu (52) and Mullissu-ḫāṣinat.		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Bride's agent	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161:6 (623*)	Grandfather bears an Egyptian name, sister marries an Egyptian. Father is a hasean.
Sîn-na'di (27)	Son of Mušurāiu (6)		Dur-katlimmu/Magdalū	Post-612, reign of Nebukadnezzar II	Witness	Land sale	SAAB 7 4 r.6 (600)	Father bears a name literally meaning "The Egyptian".
Sukkāia or Sukki-Aia (43)	Son of Mušurāiu (4)	Egyptian	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.33 r.5 (nd) ; Radner (2016) I.37:7 (nd) ; Radner (2016) I.42:12	52a. <i>PNA</i> states he is the doorkeeper of the Nabû temple, but this is uncertain as there are many other Sukkāia's mentioned in this archive with other functions (see Sukkāia or Sukki-Aia (45)*). The stonecutter Sukkāia is also mentioned in I.33.

Sukkāia or Sukki-Aia (58)*		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.38 l.e. 1 (nd); Radner (2016) I.68:4 (nd); Radner (2016); Radner (2016) I.52:7 (nd)	52. Identical with Sukkāia (43) or Sukkāia (54)* the son of Nabû-bēlu-ušur (18)* who appears in the same archive. It can also be an entirely new individual as there are also a priest (33), brother of Ka[...] and Tū'āiu (6) (55)*, stonecutter (56)* and doorkeeper (57)* named Sukkāia (see Radner (2016) I.48:9, II.11 4', I.33:14 and I.41:8 respectively).
Susinqu (1)	Relative (by marriage) of the king	Nineveh	Reign of Sennacherib	Witness	Purchase of a house	SAA 6 142 r. 12 (692)	Related most probably to the Assyrian king, though possible that the Egyptian king is intended here cannot be excluded. Dalley (1998) 84 states that he was the husband of one of Esarhaddon's daughters and identifies him with the king of Bubastis (2), but this is not

								compatible with the dating of the tablet -> Onasch (1994) I 15f.
Ši-ḥû (2)		ḥarṭibu	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Listed individual	List of experts at court	SAA 7 1 r. ii 1 (no year date)	One of three Egyptian scholars mentioned. ḥarṭibu “Egyptian dream interpreter”.
Ši-ḥû (3)		Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Listed individual	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:15 (nd)	Most of the deportees listed clearly have Egyptian names.
Ši-ḥû (4)	Son of Nihti-Eša-rau; husband of Mullissu-ḥašināt; son-in-law of Nabû-rehtu-ušur (17).		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Husband	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161:12, 14 (623*)	Nihti-Eša-rau buys Mullissu-ḥašina(t), daughter of Nabû-rehtu-ušur and granddaughter of Amu-rṭeše as wife for her son.
Ši-Ḥūru (1)		Physician at the royal court	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Listed individual	List of experts at court	SAA 7 1 ii 15 (no year date); SAA 7 2:5 (nd)	One of nine physicians.
Šil-Aššūr (2)		Egyptian scribe	Nineveh	Reign of Sennacherib	Buyer of a house	Sales contract of a house	SAA 6 142:11 r. 10 (692)	
Šumaššeri		Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	Reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal	Fugitive	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:10 (nd)	Most deportees clearly have Egyptian names.
Šarru-lu-dari (12)		Egyptian	Ḥarran(?)	Reign of Esarhaddon.	Suspect	Letter to the king	SAA 10 112 r.12 (nd)	Conspirator and ally of Sasî.
Šarru-lu-dari (33)	Father of Mušurāiu (5)		Assur	7 th century	Patronym	Aramaic loan contract	AssU6 r.6 (nd)	Son bears the name literally meaning “The Egyptian”. From archive N17 in Hug (1993).

Šašmâ (1)		Egyptian	Tell Hadid, Israel	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Silver debt	T. Hadid 2 r. 4 (664)	
Šē'i-Ēši			Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Contract	SAA 14 446 l.e. 2 (612*)	
Šulmu-[...]-lumur	Sister of Ata'; wife of Rihpi-Munu	Votary of Ištar of Arbela	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal or later	Wife	Marriage	StAT 2 184:2 (nd/dl, but can be dated by the archival context)	No specific entry for this person in PNA.
Šumma-Ēši or Šumma-Eššu		Chariotry officer	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Employer	Repayment of a debt	StAT 2 37:3 (666)	
Taḥ-artiše (1)	Father of Pi'u (2)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 192 r. 2 (629*)	
					Witness	Division of inheritance	CTNMC 68 r. 3 (625*)	Huṭ-nahti and Puṭi-Munu divide the inheritance of their father La-turammanni-Aššūr.
					Witness	Receipt	StAT 3 87:13 (617*)	
Taḥ-artiše (2)	Father of Ašê		Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Father	Court order	SAA 14 446:2 (612*)	
Taḥa'u			Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Silver debt	StAT 2 228 r. 7 (dl; the approximate date is based on archival context)	Name might be Egyptian.
Taia (1)	Father of Tutakihama		Assur	Reign of Esarhaddon	Witness	Marriage contract	StAT 2 164 r. 19 (675)	Name might be Egyptian.
Taia (2)	Father of Bessu'a (11*)		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Purchase of a slave	SAAB 9 109 r. 16 (615*)	Name might be Egyptian.
Taia (3)			Dur-Katlimmu/Magdalu	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a slave	BATSH 6 60 r. 12'' (637*)	Name might be Egyptian.
					Witness	Silver loan	BATSH 6 5b r. 5 and the envelop BATSH 6 5a r. 6' (dl)	

Taka'in(?)		Nineveh	Probably 7 th century	Witness	Conveyance document	SAA 14 309:4 (dl)	Name might be Egyptian.
Takilāti		Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Silver debt	SAA 14 26 r. 4 (645*)	
				Witness	Purchase of a slave	SAA 14 154 r. 11 (627*)	Witness for Abdunu.
Ta'lā (5)	Egyptian	Assur (or active there)	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Witness	Purchase of a slave	SAAB 9 77 r. 13 (dl)	Witness for Kusu who buys from Raši-il.
Tamūzītu (1) (Formerly read as Du'ūzītu)	Daughter of Urdu-Nanaia (20)	Egyptian	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.35:9 (nd)
Tap[...]		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver loan	Radner (2016) II.7:2 (dl)	
Tap-naḥte (1)	Father of Auwa, father-in-law of Mullissu-hammat	Assur	Reign of Esarhaddon	Patronym	Marriage contract	StAT 2 164:2 (675)	
Tap-naḥte (3)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Recipient	Transfer	StAT 2 167 b.e. 14, r. 3 (646*)	Possibly identical with Tap-naḥte (4). As the donors all possibly bear Egyptian names, and this might be the division of an inheritance, he could be related to the donors.
				Witness	Silver debt	StAT 3 99:10 (635*); StAT 3 78:2 (631*)	
Tap-naḥte (4)	Father of Puṭi-Bina[...]	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Silver debt	StAT 2 77 b.e. 8 (643*)	Possibly identical with Tap-naḥte (3). Son is an "Egyptian".
TARhursi	Father of Hur-waši (8)	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Patronym	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 207 r. 22 (618*)	Son bears an Egyptian name.

Tataširi ⁴⁹⁶	Previous wife of Saharpunhu, new wife of Amu-r̥še (3).		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Bride	Sale of a wife	StAT 2 180:3, l.e. 2 (644* or 629*)	
Tattapha(?)		Egyptian deportee	Nineveh	-	Listed individual	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:4 (nd/dl)	Most deportees have clearly Egyptian names.
Tutakiḫama	Son of Taia (1)		Assur	Reign of Esarhaddon	Witness	Marriage contract	StAT 2 164 r.19 (675)	
Ṭāb-Bel (7)	Brother of Apī (2); Uncle of Pašī (9)		Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Payer	Redemption	VAT 20374:7, r. 4, 8 (624*)	
Ṭāb-Bel (8)		Egyptian	Assur	Late reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of a slave	StAT 2 273:1, 5, 8 (636*)	
Ubru-Mullissu	Son of Ati'	Fuller	Nineveh	After reign of Assurbanipal	Guarantor	Purchase of a wife	SAA 14 161 r. 11 (623*)	Father has an Egyptian name. Guarantor for Niḫti-Eša-Rau.
Ubrūtu (4)	Perhaps a relative of Mušuritu (2).	Head of a household	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	House of the household	Investor	Radner (2016) I.58:2 (nd)	Unclear from the texts whether or not they are related.
Urdu-Aššūr (5)		Commander-of-fifty	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal and later	Witness	Transfer	StAT 2 167 r. 6 (646*)	May be identical to Urdu-Aššūr (7).
					Creditor	Loan	StAT 2 212:3 (dl)	
					Party to contracts	Court decision	StAT 2 165:8, r. 1 (650); StAT 2 166:7, 9 r. 5 (650)	
					Creditor	Lawsuit	StAT 2 229:3, 7 (nd)	
					Creditor	Debt-note	StAT 2 191:2 (644* or 629*); StAT 2 187:2 (644* or 629*); StAT 2 196:3 (636* or 625*); StAT 170:2	

⁴⁹⁶ Under Amu-r̥še's PNA entry the name is spelled as Tatabarri.

			(636* or 625*); StAT 2 171:3 (635*?); StAT 2 175:3 (633*); StAT 2 192:2 (629*); StAT 2 195:2 (626*); StAT 2 194:2 (626*); StAT 2 197:1 (625*); StAT 2 203:2 (621*); StAT 2 177:3 (617*); StAT 2 208:2 (616*); StAT 2 210:3 (615*); StAT 2 214:5 (615*); StAT 2 216:3 (613*); StAT 2 188:2 (dl); StAT 2 222:2 (post- canonical eponymy of Sin- ibni); StAT 2 221:2 (eponymy of Šamaš-abu-ušur); ; StAT 2 228:4, r. 1 (nd); StAT 2 225:2 (dl); StAT 2 213:3 (dl);
			StAT 2 209:2 (dl); StAT 2 226:2 (dl); StAT 2 223:3 (dl)
	Employer	Work contract	StAT 2 202: 4, 6 (622*)
	Witness	Purchase of four people	StAT 2 183: r. 13 (dl)
	Witness	Marriage	StAT 2 184 r. 9 (dl)

Urdu-Aššūr (7)	Son of Puṭi-ḫutapiša	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Seller	Sale of a house	StAT 2 207:1, 4, 12, 17, 23 (618*)	Father probably bears an Egyptian name. Possibly identical with Urdu-Aššūr (5).
Urdu-Bēltu (2)	Son of Ḫalabēšu (1)	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Debtor	Silver loan	StAT 2 192:4 (629*)	Father possibly bears an Egyptian name.
Urdu-Mullissu (10)	Son of Ḫur-tibû (2)	Napisina	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Silver loan	CTN 3 41:3 (616*)	Kalbāia (2) and Urdu-Mullissu (10) owe silver to Nabû-aḫu-ušur. Both debtors' fathers bear Egyptian names. Din-Ḫūru is a witness.
Urdu-Nabû (13)	Father of Kišir-Aššūr (66)*	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Patronym	Silver debt	Radner (2016) II.9:6 (nd)	
Urdu-Nabû (19)	Son of Puṭiše (3); brother of Puṭi-Širi (5)	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Division of inheritance	CTNMC 68 r. 13 (625*)	
				Witness	Silver loan	StAT 2 177 r. 4 (617*)	
				Listed individual	List	StAT 1 40:20 (nd)	
Urdu-Nanaia (20)	Father of Tamūzītu (1)	Assur	Reign Assurbanipal or later	Father	Daughter listed as party in trading venture	Radner (2016) I.35:10 (nd)	Daughter is an Egyptian. Possibly identical with Urdu-Nanaia (21).
Urdu-Nanaia (21)		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Debtor	Loan	Radner (2016) II.9:3 (dl)	Possibly identical with Urdu-Nanaia (20). Owed silver by the Egyptian Kišir-Aššūr.
Urkitu-kallat	Egyptian woman	Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal or later	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) I.38:4 (nd)	

Usta-Ḫūru		Kalhu	After reign of Assurbanipal	Debtor	Barley debt	CTN 3 44 5 (621*)	
Uši-Ḫanša	Egyptian	Nineveh	-	Deportee	List of deportees	SAA 11 169:5 (nd/dl)	Most deportees have clearly Egyptian names.
Uširiḫiuḫurti	Egyptian	Assur	Reign of Sennacherib (<i>PNAP</i> : After reign of Assurbanipal)	Witness	Purchase	StAT 2 53 r. 9 (700)	
Uta-Ḫūru		Nineveh	Reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Adoption of a boy	SAA 14 442 r. 14 (634*)	
Zateubatte	Egyptian	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Witness	Purchase of a house	StAT 2 207 r. 20 (618*)	One of multiple Egyptian witnesses.

* = New entry following *PNA*'s numbering.

** = Newly proposed Egyptian.

Unnamed individuals

Name	Family ties	Profession	Location	Date	Function in text	Subject of the text	Text reference	Notes
Anonymous (1)	Daughter of the Egyptian Mannu-ki-Ninua (13)		Kalḫu	Reign of Assurbanipal	Sold individual	Sale of a daughter	CTN 3 34 3, 4(638*)	Sold by her father to the harem's manageress of the queen's household of the Review Palace of Kalhu.
Anonymous (2)		Female weaver	Nineveh	7 th century	Listed individual	List of Egyptian deportees	SAA 11 169 (nd)	Part of a total, preceded by Eša-rṭeše who is one of the weavers.
Anonymous (3)		Female weaver	Nineveh	7 th century	Listed individual	List of Egyptian deportees	SAA 11 169 (nd)	Part of a total, preceded by Eša-rṭeše who is one of the weavers.
Anonymous (4)		Female weaver	Nineveh	7 th century	Listed individual	List of Egyptian deportees	SAA 11 169 (nd)	Part of a total, preceded by Eša-rṭeše who is one of the weavers.
Anonymous (5)	Son of Ḫapi-maniḫi		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Pledge	Silver loan with interest	StAT 3 95 (658)	Text is broken where name should be.
Anonymous (6)	Son of Ḫapi-maniḫi		Assur	Reign of Assurbanipal	Pledge	Silver loan with interest	StAT 3 95 (658)	Text is broken where name should be.
Anonymous (7)		Egyptian woman	Assur	After reign of Assurbanipal	Investor	Investment	Radner (2016) 1.35 14 (nd)	Name lost, might be one of the Egyptian women known from this archive.
Anonymous (8)		Egyptian scribe	Kalhu	Second half of the 8 th century	Listed individual	List	CTN 1 9 19' (possible dates: 751, 747 or 735)	As the texts speaks of A.BA.MEŠ there were at least two anonymous Egyptian scribes present in Kalhu at the time.
Anonymous (9)		Egyptian scribe	Kalhu	Second half of the 8 th century	Listed individual	List	CTN 1 9 19' (possible dates: 751, 747 or 735)	As the texts speaks of A.BA.MEŠ there were at least two anonymous Egyptian scribes present in Kalhu at the time.

Appendix II: Overview of names with (possible) Egyptian elements

Blue indicates new additions or a new interpretation.

Akkadian name	Egyptian spelling	Literature	Meaning	Origin	Gender	Syllabic spelling of the Akkadian name	Notes
[...]-Ḫūru	-	-	Name contains the theophoric element Horus.	Egypt. or W.Sem with Egypt. divine element.	Masc.	[^m x]-x-x-ḫu-ru	
Abdi-Mūnu	-	Radner (<i>PNA</i> 1), 7.	“Servant of Amon”	W.Sem with Egypt. divine element	Masc.	^m ab-di-mu-nu	
Abī-Ḫūru	-	Leahy (n.d.) 57; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 10.	“Horus is [my] father”	W.Sem with Egypt. divine element	Masc.	^m AD-ḫu-ru, ^m ab-ḫu-ru	
Abši-Ešu	-	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 15.	Exact meaning unknown, may contain the theophoric element Isis	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m ab-ši-e-šu	
Adimasia	-	Radner (<i>PNA</i>), 53.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown, poss. Egyptian	Fem.	MÍ.a-di-ma-si-a	Origin unknown, possibly Egypt.
Aḫūru	-	Berlejung/Zadok (<i>PNA</i>), 87.	“Horus”	Assyrianised form of an Egypt. name	Masc.	^m a-ḫu-ru	The name is probably to be linked with ḫr in the Phoenician attestation CIS 4754:3, on which see Benz (1972) 264.
Al-ḫapi-mepi	ʿr-ḫp-(r)-mn-nfr	Leahy (n.d.) 56; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 97.	“The Apis bull has been brought to Memphis”	Egypt.	Fem.	MÍ.al-ḫa-pi-me-pi	Fits time period, see <i>DN</i> , 106 and <i>ÄPN</i> , 70:16.
Amān-išme	-	Radner (<i>PNA</i>), 98.	“Amon has heard”	Akk. with Egypt. divine element	Masc.	^m a-ma-a-niš-me	
Amat-Emūni	-	Zadok (1997a) 212; Fales (<i>PNA</i>), 99.	“Female servant of Amon”	Egypt.?	Fem.	MÍ.a-mat-e-mu-ni	<i>PNA</i> believes it to be a W.Sem. name with an Egyptian divine element. However, Amon’s name is normally written in Akkadian as Amman or Amu, not as Emūni.
Ameḫi	-	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 100.	Meaning unknown, probably including the element Amon.	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m a-me-ḫi	

Amman-appu	<i>imn-m-īpj</i>	Tallqvist (1914) 168; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 102; Baker & Parpola (<i>PNA</i>), 967.	“Amon is in the Luxor temple”	Egypt?	Masc.	^m a[m-man-a]p-pu; ^m am-man-ap-pu	<i>PNA</i> 1, 102 states this name contains the Elamite theophoric element Humban. <i>PNA</i> 2, 967 however states that the name could be interpreted as Egyptian. Fits the time period, see <i>DN</i> , 64.
Amman-tanaḥti	<i>imn-tzy.ī-nḥt</i>	Zadok (1977b) 63; Zeidler (1994) 37f; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 102.	“Amon is my strength”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m am-ma-ta-na-aḥ-te	Possibly the same name as Matanaḥte. The name is known with a 3SG-suffix in this period, but not with a 1SG-suffix, see <i>DN</i> , 68.
Amu-rṭēše	<i>imn-ir-dī-sw</i>	Ranke (1910) 27; Tallqvist (1918) 14; Zadok (1977b) 67; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 109.	“It is Amon who has given him”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m a-mur-ṭe-ia-ši, ^m a-mur-ṭe-e-ši, ^m a-mur-ṭe-e-šú, ^m a-mur-ṭe-še, ^m mur-ṭe-e-še	Fits the time period, see <i>DN</i> , 26:25.
Apâ	-	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 112.	Meaning unknown.	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m a-pa-a	<i>PNA</i> interprets the name as probably Egyptian but does not suggest a reading of the name.
Apî	<i>ipy</i>	Edel (1948), 23; Zadok (1977b) 63; Ranke, <i>ÄPN</i> I, 22-23 no.23; Osing (1978) 37; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 102.	Meaning unknown.	Egypt.?	Fem.	Mí.a-pi-i, Mí.a-pi-i'	<i>PNA</i> interprets the name as Egyptian but there is insufficient evidence to support this idea.
Apiḥuniawa	-	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 112; Baker (<i>PNAO</i>).	Meaning unknown.	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m a-pi-ḥu-ni-ia-u-a	Name previously read as Apiḥuniš[...]. in <i>PNA</i> .
Aṣê	<i>wḏz</i>	Leahy (n.d.) 56; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 139.	“Prosperous”	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m a-še-e, ^m a-še-e'	<i>PNA</i> interprets the name as Egyptian.
Ata'	-	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 230.	Meaning unknown.	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m a-ta-a'	Probably Egyptian according to <i>PNA</i> but no reading suggested.
Ati'	<i>iti/sti</i>	Zadok (1977b) 63; Osing (1978), 38; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 233.	Meaning unknown.	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m a-ti-i, ^m a-te-e'	The etymology of <i>iti</i> suggested by Zadok has been questioned by Osing (1978), 38. <i>PNA</i> interprets the name as Egyptian.
Attâ-ḥāši	-	Radner (<i>PNA</i>), 233.	-	Prob. Sem.	Fem.	Mí.a-ta-ḥa-a-ši, Mí.a-ta-ḥa-ši	Possible connection with the name Mullisu-ḥāšinnat, or else it may be Egyptian.

Aṭū	<i>id</i>	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 237.	“The deaf one”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m a-ṭu-u	Mostly known from the MK, but the name <i>id.y</i> is known in Demotic, <i>ĀPN</i> , 54:2.
Auwa	Abb. for: <i>r^c-m-pz-wi3?</i>	Baker (<i>PNA</i>), 433; Baker (<i>PNAO</i>)		Egypt.?	Masc.	^m a-ú-u-a, ^m a-ú-e, ^m a-u-a, ^m a-u-ú-a	Listed in <i>PNA</i> as “Awa”.
Awa	Abb. for: <i>r^c-m-pz-wi3?</i>	Baker (<i>PNA</i>), 433; Baker (<i>PNAO</i>)		Egypt.	Masc.	^m a-u-‘a	
Bakkī	<i>bky</i>	Zadok (1977b) 64; Osing (1978) 37; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 254.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m bak-ki-e	Egyptian reading by Zadok (1977b) with doubts raised by Osing (1978), 37. The several readings for the combination of signs ḤU and KI make it in Osing’s view impossible to establish a certain identification. <i>PNA</i> interprets the name as Egyptian.
Batu-naḥti	Probably includes the Egyptian element <i>nḥtw</i> “strength”.	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 277-278.	Meaning unknown	Partially Egypt.	Masc.	^m ba-tú-na-aḥ-te	<i>PNA</i> reads the name as Egyptian, but unclear how the element “Batu” should be interpreted.
Bukunanni’pi	<i>b3k-n-ḥfy</i>	Ranke (1910) 27; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 350.	“Servant of the wind”	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-i’-pi	No attestations from LP.
Bukurninip	<i>b3k(-n)-rn.f</i>	Ranke (1910) 27; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 350.	“Servant of his name”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m bu-kur-ni-ni-ip	Fits the time period, see <i>DN</i> , 147, 152.
Butanaḥte	Probably includes the Egyptian element <i>nḥtw</i> “strength”.	Baker (<i>PNAO</i>)	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m bu-ta-na-aḥ-te	
Butinaḥ		Baker (<i>PNAO</i>)		Egypt.?	Masc.	^m bu-ti?-na-aḥ	
Daia, Daiâ, Daiaî, Daiaia	The name may be linked with Egyptian <i>dyy</i> .	Schneider (1992), 207; Pruzsinszky (<i>PNA</i>), 367.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m da-a-a, ^m da-a-iá	
Dân-Ešu		Parpola/Radner (<i>PNA</i>), 376.	“Isis is strong”	Akk. with Egypt. divine element.	Masc.	^m da-né-e-šu (sandhi)	
Din-Ḥūru		Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 385.	“Judgement of Horus”	W.Sem. with Egypt. theophoric element.	Masc.	^m di-in-ḥu-ru	<i>PNA</i> states origin unknown.

Eptimu-r̥tešu	<i>nfrtm-ir-dī-sw</i>	Ranke (1910) 29; Fecht (1958), 113f; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 398.	“It is Nefertem who has given him”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m ep-ti-mur-ṭi-e-šú	Fits the time period, see <i>DN</i> , 701.
Ēšā		Tallqvist (1918), 255; Zadok (1977a), 27; Pempe (<i>PNA</i>), 406.	Hypocoristicon based on the divine name Isis.	Egypt.	Masc.	^m e-ša-a	
Eša-r̥teše	<i>ʾst-ir-dī-sī</i>	Mattila (1983), 24; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 407.	“It is Isis who has given her”	Egypt.	Fem.	Mí.e-šar-ṭe-e-[še]	Fits the time period, see <i>DN</i> , 75.
Ḫā-bāšti		Tallqvist (1918), 15; Zadok (1977a), 120 157; Lipiński (1983), 127-132; Parpola/Radner (<i>PNA</i>), 435.	“Brother of Ubasti”	Akk.	Masc.	^m PAB-ba-áš-te, ^m PAB-ba-as-te, ^m a-ḫi-ba-as-tú, ^m ḫa-ba-áš-ti-i, ^m ḫa-ba-áš-ti, ^m ḫa-ba-áš-tú, ^m ḫa-ba-sa-tú, ^m ḫa-ba-as-te, ^m ḫa-ba-as-ti, ^m ḫa-ba-a-si-te, ^m ḫa-ba-as-tú, ^m ḫab-as-ti	Taken as an Akkadian name in <i>PNA</i> , but there have been multiple different readings of the name. One suggestion by Lipiński is that the name comes from the Phoenician Ah-Ubasti, with the Egyptian deity name Ubasti (Bastet).
Ḫalabēšu		Baker (<i>PNAO</i>)		Possibly Libyan	Masc.	^m ḫa-la-bé-šú; ^m ḫal-la-bé-šú	
Ḫallabēše	<i>ḫr-bs?</i>	Kuentz (1934), 146; Ranke (1952), 357; Wiseman (1966), 156; Leahy (n.d.), 57; Mattila/Schuster (<i>PNA</i>), 443.	Meaning unknown. “Horus-Bes”?	Possibly Libyan	Masc.	^m ḫa-la-bé-e-si, ^m ḫa-la-bé-e-se, ^m ḫal-bé-[e-šú], ^m ḫal-la-bé-še,	Leahy questions the earlier interpretation of this name as Egyptian <i>ḫr-bs</i> or as Phoenician <i>ḫlbs</i> , and suggests a Libyan origin (the latter is also supported by Draper (2015)). Further evidence can be given based on Hackl & Jursa, 175 who identify this as an Egyptian name, which is further supported by the fact that one of the fathers is named Paṭ-Esu, a name that seem to contain the theophoric element for Isis.
Ḫana-Ḫūru		Baker (<i>PNA</i>)	“Horus has been merciful”	WSem. with Egyptian deity name	Masc.	^m ḫa-na-ḫu-ru	<i>PNA</i> is doubtful of the proposed origin, but it is a correct interpretation of the name.

Ḥapi-maniḥi	<i>ḥp-mnḥ</i>	Baker (PNAO)	"The excellent Apis"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥa-pi-ma-ni-ḥi</i>	Based on Dem.Nam. Suchliste, 141. Other option is Ranke, "Personennamen I", 237. In addition, the name occurs in a text from archive N31.
Ḥapi-nāu	<i>ḥp-nʿi</i>	Zadok (1977b), 64; Zeidler (1994), 42; Mattila (PNA), 458.	"Apis is lenient"	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥa-pi-na-a-u</i>	No attestations from the LP.
Ḥapunapa	<i>nb-nfr</i>	-	"The good lord"	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥa-pu-na-pa</i>	The name is known from the NK at the latest, see Ranke, 185:18.
Ḥaqu-nēši	<i>ḥq3-nʿš</i>	Leahy (n.d.), 58; Mattila (PNA), 458.	"Strong ruler"	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥa-qu-ni-še</i>	The proposed reading of the name cannot be found in either Ranke or Dem. Namenbuch and the origin should therefore be doubted.
Ḥarmāku		Edel (1980), 38; Mattila (PNA), 460.		Akk.?	Masc.	<i>ḥar-ma-ki, ḥar-ma-ku</i>	Although the name Hurmahi in Babylonian sources can be identified with the Egyptian <i>ḥr-m-3ḥt</i> there is no indication that Harmaku/i might be an Egyptian name or that any of the people bearing this name were of Egyptian origin. The name is perhaps an abbreviation of the name Ḥarmāki-Issār.
Ḥasâ	<i>ḥsy</i>	Ranke (1910), 28; Ranke (1935), 254; Leahy (n.d.) 58; Mattila (PNA), 463.	"Praised"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥa-sa-a</i>	Name known in the LP: Dem. Namenbuch, 846. Ranke, 254 states that the name was only known in the OK and MK although variations on this name are known from later periods.
Ḥašbasnu[...]		Tallqvist (1918), 87; Jas (PNA), 464.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥa-ās-ba-[a]s-nu-[...]</i>	Possibly Egyptian, meaning unknown.
Ḥatpi-Ašte	<i>ḥtp-stt</i>	Mattila (PNA), 466.	"May Satis be satisfied"	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥa-tú-pi—áš-te</i>	No attestations from LP.
Ḥatpi-Mūnu	<i>ḥtp-īm</i>	Tallqvist (1918), 87; Ranke (1935), 258; Mattila (PNA), 466.	"May Amon be satisfied"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥa-at-pi—mu-nu</i>	Fits the time period, see DN, 847.
Ḥatpi-Napi	<i>ḥtp-nfr</i>	Mattila (PNA), 466.	"May the Beautiful One be satisfied"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥat-pi--na-pi</i>	
Ḥipirrāu		Schwemer (PNA), 473.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥi-pir-[r]a'-a-u</i>	PNA identifies the name as Egypt. without suggesting a reading. It is

							unlikely that the name contains the theophoric name Re as that most likely would be written as “ria” instead of “rāu”. Name might contain the element <i>hpr</i> .
Ḫursisu		Tallqvist (1918), 87; Leahy (n.d.), 58; Mattila (PNA), 481.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥur-si-su</i>	PNA identifies the name as Egypt., without suggesting a reading. According to Mattila the connection with Huršešu, <i>ḥr-s3-3st</i> , suggested by Leahy (n.d.), 58 is unlikely because in texts written in the Neo-Assyrian the use of sibilants is consistent, in contrast to those written in Standard Babylonian.
Ḫur-šia	<i>*ḥr-s3</i> , possibly a shortened form of <i>ḥr-s3-3st</i>	Mattila (PNA), 481.	“Horus [is] son”	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥur-ši-a</i>	
Ḫur-ši-Ēšu	<i>ḥr-s3-3st</i>	Tallqvist (1918), 86f; Ranke (1910), 28; Ranke (1935), 250; Ranke (1952), 378; Leahy (n.d.), 58; Mattila (PNA), 481.	“Horus, son of Isis”	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥur-si-e-šú</i> , <i>ḥur-si-ie-e-šú</i> , <i>ḥur-še-še</i> , <i>ḥur-še-šu</i>	
Ḫur-tibû	<i>ḥr-t3-b3t</i>	Ranke (1910), 28; Tallqvist (1918), 87; Mattila (PNA), 481.	“Horus of the Tree”	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥur-ti-bu-u</i>	
Ḫūru	<i>ḥr</i>	Ranke (1910), 29; Tallqvist (1918), 90; Zadok (1977b), 64; Zeidler (1994), 47f; Mattila (PNA), 481.	“Horus”, a short form of names containing this theophoric element.	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥu-u-ru</i>	
Ḫūru- [...]		Mattila (PNA), 481.	Meaning uncertain, probably contains the theophoric element “Horus”.	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ḥu-u-ru-x(x)</i>	
Ḫur-waši	<i>ḥr-wd3</i>	Leahy (n.d.), 59; Zadok, (1977b) 64; Edel, (1980) 25ff;	“Horus is sound”	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ḥur-a-ši</i> , <i>ḥur-a-šu</i> , <i>ḥur-ba-ša</i> , <i>ḥur-ma-ša</i> , <i>ḥur-</i>	In PNA partly under Ḫur-asu which has been corrected by Baker.

		Zeidler (1994), 43ff; Mattila (PNA), 480-481; Baker (PNAO); Zadok (2018), 51.				<i>u-a-ši, ᵐḥur-ú-a-ši; ᵐḥa-ru-a-šu</i>	
Ḥuṭ-naḥti	<i>ḥd-nḥt(w)</i>	Zadok (1977b), 64; Osing (1978), 37; Zeidler (1994), 48; Mattila (PNA), 483.	"The attack is strong"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ᵐḥu-uṭ-na-aḥ-te</i>	Osing rejects reading the name as <i>ḥst-nḥt</i> as suggested by Zadok (1977b), 64; Zeidler (1994), 48.
Iašanimu	-	Deller et al. (1995), 25; Frahm (PNA), 494.	Meaning unknown.	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐi-aš-a-ni-mu</i>	PNA identifies it as Egypt.? Possibly a badly written <i>ᵐi+a'-sa'-mu</i> according to Fales or an Egyptian name (Deller) but a convincing Egyptian etymology of the name is not at hand.
Illāia		Leahy (n.d.), 59; Jursa (PNA), 519.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐil-la-a-a</i>	PNA identifies the name as the Egyptian <i>iry</i> but this is unlikely.
Išpimāṭu	<i>ns-pz-mdw</i>	Ranke (1935), 175: 1 and Ranke (1952), 365; Frahm (PNA), 586.	"He belongs to the holy staff"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ᵐiṣ-pi-ma-a-ṭú, ᵐiṣ-pi-ma-ṭú</i>	
Kisiri		Charlier/Zadok (PNA), 620.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐki-sir-i</i>	PNA identifies it as Egypt.? If Semitic, then possibly a <i>qVtīl</i> formation of the root <i>kšr</i> "to be advantageous, proper, suitable"
Kurarâ		Mattila (PNA), 639.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐku-ra-ra-a</i>	PNA identifies it as Egyptian.
Lawaḥameḥi		Pruzsinszky (PNA), 659.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐla-u-aḥ-a-me-ḥi</i>	PNA identifies the name as Egypt.?
Lulūlu		Luukko (PNA), 669.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐlu-lu-u-lu</i>	PNA identifies the name as Egypt.?
Manti-me-ḥē	<i>mnṯw-m-ḥst</i>	Ranke (1910), 30; Ranke (1935), 154:7; Ranke (1952), 361; Tallqvist (1918), 127; Frahm (PNA), 701.	"[The god] Montu is in the lead"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ᵐma-an-ti-me-((an))-ḥe-e</i>	PNA says "Month is in the lead" but this is clearly a typo.
Matanaḥte	Probably contains the Egyptian element <i>nḥt</i>	Van Buylaere (PNA), 744.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ᵐma-ta-na-aḥ-te</i>	Possibly the same name as Amman-tanaḥti.

Meia	<i>mry, mei</i> (Coptic)	Lipiński (PNA), 747.	“Beloved”	Egypt.	Fem.	^m Mí.me-ia	
Nabareu		Charlier (PNA), 788.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m na-bar-e-u	PNA identifies the name as Egyptian without offering an interpretation.
Naḥkê	<i>p3-nhk, (p3)-nh-k3</i>	Tallqvist (1918), 166; Lüddeckens (1980-2000), 193; Frahm (PNA), 922.	“The desired”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m na-aḥ-ke-e	Name occurs in LP: see Dem. Nam., 193. “King” of Heracleopolis in Egypt. Egyptian vassal of E&A.
Naḥti-ḥūru-ansini	<i>nh-t-ḥr-n3-šnw</i>	Ranke (1910), 30; Tallqvist (1918), 166; Ranke (1935), 211:5; Frahm (PNA), 922.	“The Horus of the trees is strong”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m na-aḥ-ti-ḥu-ru-an-si-ni	
Nibḥēa		Reynolds (PNA), 959.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m ni-ib-ḥe-e-a, ^m ni-ib-ḥa-a-a	PNA identifies the name as Egypt.?
Nibiḥis		Reynolds (PNA), 960; Baker (PNAO)	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m ni-bi-ḥi-is; ^m ni-bi-ḥi-is!	In PNA under the name Nipiḥitu. PNA identifies the name as Egypt.
Niḥarā’u	Reading uncertain: Ranke suggests a connection with Coptic Niharau.	Ranke (1910), 31; Reynolds (PNA), 960.	Meaning uncertain	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m ni-ḥar-a-u	PNA identifies the name as Egypt.
Niḥti-Eša-rau	<i>nh-t-3st-r.w</i>	Ranke (1910), 31; Mattila (PNA), 960.	“Isis is strong against them”	Egypt.	Fem.	^m ni-ih-ti-e-šá-ra-u	
Nikkû	<i>nk3w</i>	Streck (PNA), 963.	“The one to whom belongs a Ka”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m ni-ik-ku-u, ^m ni-ik-ku-u, ^m ni-ik-ku-ú, ^m ni-ku-u, ^m ni-ku-ú, [^m ni-ī]k-ku, ^m niki-ú	Necho I, king of Egypt.
Nummurīja	Possibly <i>nb-m3-t-r</i>	Ranke (1910), 14; Baker/Parpola (PNA), 967.	“Ra is the lord of truth”	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m nu-um-mur-a-a	Ranke (1910) 14 (for the writings of the name of Amenophis III in the Amarna texts as ^m ni-immu-ri-ia etc.); however, this name is not otherwise attested as a personal name. Note that the other text mentioning Bel-etir, SAA 330, mentions Ammanappu, whose name can be

							interpreted as <i>imn-m-ipt</i> , "Amon is in the Luxor temple," a well-attested Egypt. name (contra <i>PNA</i> I/I, where an Elam. etymology is cited). Cf. Tallqvist (1914) 168 and CAD N/II 335 (citing NB Nummuru).
Pabaku	<i>p3-bjk</i>	-	"The falcon"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ᵐpa-ba-ku</i>	Proposed reading fits the timeframe see: <i>DN</i> , 182.
Pabbā'u		Ambos (<i>PNA</i>), 977.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ᵐpa-ab-ba-a-u</i> , <i>ᵐpa-ab-ba-a-ú</i>	
Paḥi	<i>p3-ḥj</i>	Tallqvist (1918), 179; Ambos (<i>PNA</i>), 979.	"The high one"	Egypt.	Fem.	<i>MÍ.pa-ḥi-i</i>	Identification based on <i>DN</i> , 404. <i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?
Pamenapi		Schwemer (<i>PNA</i>), 983.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ᵐpa-me-na-pi</i> , <i>ᵐpa-ma-na-pu</i> , <i>ᵐpa-[me-na]-a-[pī]</i>	A possible reading of the name could be <i>p3-mn-jp.t</i> but no attestations of that name are known from this time period.
Paqiru	<i>p3-ḳrr</i>	-	"Frog"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ᵐpa-qi-ru</i>	Proposed reading fits the timeframe see: <i>ÄPN</i> , 120:1.
Pa-qruru	<i>p3-ḳrr</i>	Steindorf (1890), 348; Tallqvist (1918), 180; Ranke (1910), 31; Ranke (1935) 120:1; Onasch (1994), 42; Bagg (<i>PNA</i>), 988.	"Frog"	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ᵐpa-aq-ru-ru</i>	
Paši	<i>p3-šj</i> ; <i>p3-šj</i>	Tallqvist (1918), 180; Bagg (<i>PNA</i>), 992.	"Osiris"; "Fate"	Egypt.? Alternatively Akk. <i>Pašû</i>	Masc.	<i>ᵐpa-ši-i</i>	<i>DN</i> , 412, 417.
Piluna		Pruzsinszky (<i>PNA</i>), 994.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐpi-lu-na</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?
Pilušu	Either <i>p3y-rws</i> or <i>p3y-iws</i>	Zeidler (1994), 49; Pruzsinszky (<i>PNA</i>), 994.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ᵐpi-lu-šú</i> , <i>ᵐpi-lu-šá</i> , <i>ᵐpi-lu-ši</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.
Pilzu		Van Buylaere (<i>PNA</i>), 994.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ᵐpi-el-zu</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?


Pinaiaawa		Pruzsinszky/Van Buylaere (<i>PNA</i>), 995.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m <i>pi-na-ia-u-a</i> , ^m <i>pi-na-ia-u</i> , ^m <i>pi-ni-i-a-u</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?
Pinapi	<i>p3-nfr</i>	Mattila/Pruzsinszky (<i>PNA</i>), 995.	“The beautiful”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pi-na-a-p[i]</i>	Fits the timeframe, see <i>DN</i> , 192.
Pir’û	<i>pr-ʿ3</i>	Ranke (1910), 32; Mattila/ Weszeli (<i>PNA</i>), 996.	Masc.	Egypt.	“Pharaoh”	^m <i>pi-ir-’u-û</i> , ^m <i>pi-ir-’i</i>	King of Egypt (during reign of Sargon II)
Pi-san-Eši	<i>p3-šry-n-3st</i>	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 996.	“Son of Isis”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pi-sa-ni-še</i> , ^m <i>pi-sa-ni-ši</i> , ^m <i>pi-si-ni-ši</i>	Edel (1980), 31 rejected the etymology <i>p3-šry-n-3st</i> and preferred <i>*p3-sn-(n)-3st</i> because the writing then attested, ^m <i>pi-sa-ni-si</i> , does not correspond to the Coptic vocalisation (<i>šen</i>) of the word <i>šry</i> . This argument is no longer valid, however, because the writing ^m <i>pi-si-ni-si</i> shows that there is variation in the vowel. The etymology <i>p3-šry-n-3st</i> follows the rules concerning sibilants in Neo-Assyrian texts, while the interpretation put forward by Edel, drawing on royal inscriptions written in Standard Babylonian orthography as well as on true Neo-Assyrian texts, does not. Fits the timeframe, see <i>DN</i> , 228.
Pišamelki	<i>psmḫk</i>	Steindorff (1890), 360-61; Ranke (1910), 32; Tallqvist (1918), 181ff; Gardiner (1961), 352f; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 997.	“The negus vendor”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pi-šá-me-el-ki</i> , ^m <i>tu-šá-me-el-ki</i> (scribal error)	Psamtik I, king of Egypt during the reign of Assurbanipal.
Pi-šan-Ḥūru	<i>p3-sn-n-ḥr</i>	Edel (1980), 31ff; Leahy (1983), 37ff; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 997.	“The brother of Horus”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pi-šá-an-ḥu-ru</i>	Vassal, King of Natho.
Pi’u	<i>p3-jwḫw</i>	Zadok (1977b), 64; Zeidler (1994), 49; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 998.	“The hound”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pi-’u</i> ; ^m <i>pi-’i</i>	Suggested translation and transliteration based on <i>DN</i> , 434. <i>PNA</i> states it might be a hypocorism.

Pizešhurdāia		Van Buylaere (<i>PNA</i>), 998.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m <i>pi-ze-eš-ḥur-da-a-a</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?
Puḥutana		Van Buylaere (<i>PNA</i>), 999.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ḥu-ta-na</i>	
Pūiama	<i>p3-jm</i>	Onasch (1994), 53; Mattila/Van Buylaere (<i>PNA</i>), 999.	“The sea”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ú-a-a-ma</i>	Vassal, King of Mendes.
Pūnašti		Capraro (<i>PNA</i>), 1000.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>pu-u-na-áš-ti</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.
Putā[...]		Weszeli (<i>PNA</i>), 1001.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ta-x[x]</i>	As <i>p3-dj</i> names normally become <i>Puṭi</i> or <i>Puṭu</i> in Akkadian, it is uncertain whether or not this is an Egyptian name.
Puṭetaḥa	Perhaps contains the Egyptian element <i>p3-di-</i> and an unidentified theophoric name.	-	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭu-dà-(ḥa); pu-ṭe-e-ta-ḥa</i>	The Egyptian element <i>p3-dj</i> usually becomes <i>puṭu</i> or <i>puṭi</i> in Akkadian, not <i>puṭe</i> . <i>PNA</i> reads this name as <i>Puṭu-zutaḥa</i> .
Puṭi[...]	Probably contains the Egyptian element <i>p3-di-</i> followed by an unknown theophoric name.	-	“The one whom [...] has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-[x x]; pu-ṭ[i-x x]</i>	
Puṭi-Athiṣ	Probably contains the Egyptian element <i>p3-di-</i> and an unidentified theophoric name.	Leahy (n.d.), 59; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1001.	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-at-ḥi-iṣ</i>	

Puṭi-Bina[...]	Contains the Egyptian element <i>p3-di-</i>	Mattila (PNA), 1001.	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-bi-na-[x]</i>	
Puṭi-Eše	<i>p3-di-3st</i>	Leahy (n.d.), 60; Mattila (PNA), 1001.	“The one whom Isis has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-e-šu</i> , ^m <i>pu-ṭi-e-šú</i> , ^m <i>pu-ṭu-e-ši</i> , ^m <i>pu-u-ṭu-e-še</i>	Fits time period, see DN, 290.
Puṭi-Hūru	<i>p3-di-ḥr</i>	Ranke (1910), 33; Mattila (PNA), 1001.	“The one whom Horus has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-ḥu-u-ru</i>	Fits time period, see DN, 322.
Puṭi-ḥutapiša	Probably containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-di</i> . Proposed reading: <i>p3-dj-ḥtp-js.t</i>	Mattila (PNA), 1001.	Meaning uncertain, perhaps “The one whom satisfied Isis has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-ḥu-ta-pi-šá</i>	Although the proposed reading seems to fit, there are currently no attestations of this exact name in this time period. However, both the name <i>p3-dj-3s.t</i> as well as the name <i>ḥtp-is.t</i> are known from this time period, see DN, 847, 1124.
Puṭi-Māni	<i>p3-di-mn</i>	Mattila (PNA), 1001.	“The one whom Min has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-ma-a-ni</i>	Fits time period, see DN, 310.
Puṭi-Me[...]	Probably containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-di</i> .	Onasch (1994), 33.	Meaning uncertain.	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-me-[...]</i>	Not in PNA or PNAA.
Puṭi-Mūnu	<i>p3-di-ḫmn</i>	Zadok (1977b), 64; Zeidler (1994), 50; Mattila (PNA), 1001.	“The one whom Amon has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-mu-u-nu</i> , ^m <i>pu-ṭi-mu-nu</i> ; ^m <i>pu-ṭi-mu-u-ni</i>	Fits time period, see DN, 281.
Puṭi-Mutû	Possibly contains the Egyptian element <i>p3-di</i> . Proposed reading: <i>p3-dj-Mwt</i> .	Mattila (PNA), 1002.	“The one whom Mut has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-mu-tu-u</i>	Proposed identification based on ÄPN, 123:17 which fits within our time frame.
Puṭi-Nūnu	<i>p3-di-nnw</i>	Mattila (PNA), 1002.	“The one whom Nun has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭe-nu-nu</i>	No attestations from the LP.
Puṭiše	<i>p3-di-sw</i>	Zadok (1977b), 65; Zeidler (1994), 51; Mattila (PNA), 1002.	Abbreviation of “The one whom DN has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>pu-ṭi-še</i> , ^m <i>pu-ṭi-šú</i> , ^m <i>pu-ṭa-ši</i>	Leahy (n.d.), 60 suggested that Puṭiše might in fact be the same name as Puṭi-Eše. However because both Puṭiše and Puṭi-Eše are attested in the same line of the same text, TIM 11 10 r. 6 (=SAA 14

							436) it seems advisable to keep these two names separate (Mattila (PNA)). Fits the time period, see <i>ÄPN</i> , 126:6.
Puṭi-Širi	<i>p3-dī-wsir</i>	Zadok (1977b), 65; Zeidler (1994), 51; Mattila (PNA), 1002.	“The one whom Osiris has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-ši-ri, ^m pu-ṭi-še-ri, ^m pu-ṭi-še-ra, ^m pu-ṭi-UZU	Fits time period, see <i>DN</i> , 298.
Puṭu-Bāšti	<i>p3-dī-b3stt</i>	Steindorff (1890), 349f; Ranke (1910), 33; Mattila (PNA), 1002.	“The one whom Bastet has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-ba-a-āš-te, ^m pu-ṭu-ba-āš-ti, ^m pu-ṭu-biš-ti	Fits time period, see <i>DN</i> , 303.
Puṭubikišu	Possibly containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-dī-</i>	-	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-bi-ki-šú	A suggested reading would be <i>p3-dj-hjk-js.t</i> “The one whom the falcon (meaning Horus) of Isis has given” but there is currently no evidence of this name existing during this time period. The name <i>p3-dj-hjk</i> is attested in the Late Period however, see <i>ÄPN</i> , 304.
Puṭubišu	Possibly containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-dī-</i>	-	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-bi-šú	A suggested reading would be <i>p3-dj-bs</i> “The one whom Bes has given” but there currently exists no evidence of this name during this time period.
Puṭu-ḥabišu	Possibly containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-dī-</i>	Mattila (PNA), 1002.	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-ḥa-bi-šú	
Puṭukiše	Possibly containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-dī-</i>	-	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m pu.ṭu-ki-še	
Puṭu-Meḥēši	<i>p3-dī-m3y-ḥs3</i>	Ranke (1910), 34; Leahy (n.d.), 60; Mattila (PNA), 1002.	“The one whom Mahes has given.”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-me-ḥe-e-ši, ^m pu-ṭu-um-ḥe-e-še, ^m pu-ṭu-ḥe-e-ši	Fits time period, see <i>ÄPN</i> 123:15.
Puṭu-Paiti	<i>p3-dī-p3-ity</i>	Mattila (PNA), 1003.	“The one whom the Ruler has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu- ^d pa-i-ti, ^m pu-ṭu-pa-te	No attestations in LP.
Puṭupašte	<i>p3-dī-b3st.t</i>	<i>DN</i> , 303; <i>ÄPN</i> 123, 5.	“The one whom Bastet has given”	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-pa-āš-te	Name has been attested in the Late Period.

Puṭupiāti		Tallqvist (1918), 182; Ranke (1910), 34; Van Buylaere (<i>PNA</i>), 1003.	Meaning unknown.	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-pi-ia-ti	
Puṭu-šisi[...]	Probably containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-di-</i>	Leahy (n.d.), 61; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1003.	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.	Fem.	Mí.pu-u-ṭu-šii-s[i x x]	
Puṭušu	<i>p3-di-šw</i>	<i>DN</i> , 342.; <i>ÄPN</i> , 126: 6.	"The one whom Shu has given"	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-šú	<i>ÄPN</i> , 126 confirms that the name was used in the Late Period.
Puṭu-zutaḥa	Possibly containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-di-</i>	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1003.	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu-zu-ta-ḥa	The name should perhaps be reads as <i>p3-dj-štḥ</i> "the one whom Seth has given". However, currently there is currently no evidence that this name was in use during this time period. Radner (2016) reads this name as Puṭetaḥa.
Puṭu-[...]	Reading uncertain, probably containing the Egyptian element <i>p3-di-</i>	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1003.	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.	Masc.	^m pu-ṭu- ^{d?} [x x]	
Qašḥamete	Perhaps based on Demotic <i>ḳi</i> "young" and <i>s.ḥm.t</i> "woman".	Lipiński (<i>PNA</i>), 1009.	"Woman's young"?	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m qa-áš-ḥa-me-te	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.
Qišišim	-	Baker (<i>PNA</i>), 1015.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m qi-ši-ši-im	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?
Quni-Ḥūru	<i>ḳn-ḥr</i>	Ranke (1911), 112; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1018.	"Horus is strong"	Egypt.	Masc.	^m qu-ni-ḥu-ru	Name also occurs during this time period: <i>DN</i> , 978.
Raḥdibi'?	-	Hunger (<i>PNA</i>), 1028.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m ra-aḥ-[dī]-bi-i'	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as W.Sem.? or Egypt.?
Raḥpau	<i>iry-ḥpy-i3wt</i>	Zeidler (1994), 52-4; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1030.	"May Apis reach old age!"	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m ra-aḥ-pa-u, ^m ra-aḥ-pi-u-a-a'	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt. but the suggested transliteration of the name seems far-fetched.
Ra'si	-	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1033.	Meaning uncertain	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m ra-a'-si-i	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.

Rasū'	<i>rsw</i>	Zadok (1977b), 66; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1033.	Meaning uncertain	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m <i>ra-su-u'</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.
Ra'ū	<i>r-ʒw</i>	Zadok (1977b), 65; Baker/ Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1036.	Meaning uncertain	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>ra-u-u</i> , ^m <i>ra-u-ú</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.
Rawa		Zadok (1998), 1.2.11; Hunger (<i>PNA</i>), 1036.	Possibly from <i>rw/yy</i> "be saturated"	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m <i>ra-u-a</i>	Zadok (1998) 1.2.11 suggesting as an alternative a possible Egypt. derivation.
Rē'e or Ra'ê	<i>r-ʒw</i>	Fuchs (<i>PNA</i>), 1037	Meaning unknown	Egypt.	Masc.	^m SIPA- <i>'e</i> , ^m SIPA- <i>'e-e</i>	Egyptian commander-in-chief (reign of Sargon II)
Rihpi-Mūnu	Possibly containing the Egyptian divine name <i>imn-</i>	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1053.	Meaning uncertain, possible containing the theophoric name "Amon"	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>ri-ih-pi-mu-nu</i>	
Ri-m-pi-aue	<i>r^c-m-pʒ-wiʒ</i>	Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1053.	"Ra is in the bark"	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>ri-im-pi-a-ú-e</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt. However, the name is currently only known as <i>r^c-m-wjʒ</i> in the NK, not later. See <i>ÄPN</i> , 217:15. This name is known from the Late Period with the theophoric element for Amon instead of Re, see <i>DN</i> , 65.
Saharpunhu		Kessler (<i>PNA</i>), 1062.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	^m <i>sa-har-pu-un-hu</i>	
Sa-hpi-māu	<i>ʔʒ-hp-im.w</i>	Ranke (1910), 35; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1062.	"May Apis seize him!"	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>saḥ-pi-ma-a-ú</i>	Proposed transliteration fits the time period, see <i>ÄPN</i> , 388:2 and <i>DN</i> , 1350.
Siḥā'		Baker (<i>PNA</i>), 1108.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	^m <i>si-ḥa-a'</i> , ^m <i>si-ḥa-a</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?
Susinqu	 <i>snk</i>	Steindorf (1890), 351; Ranke (1910), 34; Baker, Fuchs and Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1161.	Meaning unknown	Libyan.	Masc.	^m <i>su-si-in-qu</i> , ^m <i>ʒu-sa-an-qu</i>	
ʒi-ḥû	<i>ḡd-ḥr</i>	Steindorf (1890), 353; Ranke (1910), 34, 38; Tallqvist (1918), 205; Edel (1980), 30; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1170.	"The face [of DN] has said"	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>ʒi-ḥa-a</i> , ^m <i>ʒi-ḥi-[i]</i> , ^m <i>ʒi-ḥu-u</i>	Fits the time period, see <i>ÄPN</i> , 411:12.
ʒi-Ḥūru	<i>ḡd-ḥr</i>	Edel (1980), 30; Baker & Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1170.	"Horus has said"	Egypt.	Masc.	^m <i>ʒi-ḥu-ru</i> , ^m <i>ʒi-i-ḥur-ru</i>	Fits the time period, see <i>ÄPN</i> , 411:12 as the writings of the name could be read as both "Horus has said" or "The face

						has said” in Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic. The name could also be an abbreviation for <i>ḏd-ḥr-īw=f-ḥnḥ</i> , see <i>DN</i> , 1370. ⁴⁹⁷	
Šumaššeri		Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1178.	Meaning uncertain	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ṁṣu-ma-áš-še-ri</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.
Šē'i-Ēši		Tallqvist (1918), 255; Zadok (1977a), 27; Weszeli (<i>PNA</i>), 1255.	“[The one who is] seeking Ēši [Isis]”	Akk. with Egypt. DN	Masc.	<i>ṁši-i-e-še</i>	
Šumma-Ēši or Šumma-Eššu		Stamm (1939), 135; Luukko (<i>PNA</i>), 1286.	“Truly Ēši! [=Isis]”	Akk. with Egypt. DN	Masc.	<i>ṁšum-ma-eš-šú</i>	
Taḥ-artiše	<i>ptḥ-ir-di-sw</i>	Leahy (n.d.), 61; Zeidler (1994), 54ff; Schwemer (<i>PNA</i>), 1302.	“It is Ptah who has given him”	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ṁta-ḥar-te-šú</i> , <i>ṁta-ḥar-ṭi-še</i>	Fits the time period, see <i>DN</i> , 488.
Taḥa'u		Schwemer (<i>PNA</i>), 1303.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Masc.	<i>ṁta-ḥa-u</i>	
Taia		Schwemer (<i>PNA</i>), 1303.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ṁta-a-a</i> , <i>ṁta-a-ia</i> , <i>ṁta-ia</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies this name as Egypt.?
Taka'in(?)		Schwemer (<i>PNA</i>), 1303.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ṁta-a-ka-in</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egypt.?
Takilāti	<i>ṭklṭ</i>	Tallqvist (1918), 228; Capraro/Zadok (<i>PNA</i>), 1303.	Meaning unknown	Egypt. (originally Libyan)	Masc.	<i>ṁta-ki-la-a-ti</i> , <i>ṁta-ki-la-ti</i>	(τακελωτης), NB <i>Ta-ki-la-(a-)ta</i> (cf. Vittmann (1984), 65:1).
Tap-naḥte	<i>ṭzy.f-nḥtt</i>	Steindorff (1890), 352; Ranke (1910), 35; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1311.	“His strength”	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ṁtap-na-aḥ-te</i> , <i>ṁtap-na-aḥ-ti</i>	Fits time period, see <i>DN</i> , 1232.
Tap[...]		Baker (<i>PNA</i>), 1311.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	<i>ṁta-pi-[x x]</i>	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as “Egypt.?”
Tarqû		Baker (<i>PNA</i>), 1317.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.	Masc.	<i>ṁtar-qu-ú</i> , <i>ṁtar-qu-u</i> , <i>ṁtar-qu</i> , <i>ṁta-ar-qu-ú</i> , <i>ṁta-ar-qu-u</i>	Taharqa, king of Egypt and Kush, ruler of the 25 th Dynasty.
Tataširi	Perhaps the name contains the theophoric	Vanderroost (<i>PNA</i>), 1321.	Meaning unknown	Egypt.?	Fem	<i>Mí.ta-ta-ši-ri</i>	

⁴⁹⁷ As explained to me by Juan José Archidona Ramírez MA through personal correspondence.

	element <i>wsjr</i> “Osiris”						
Tattapha(?)		Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1321.	Meaning uncertain	Origin unknown	Fem.	Mí.ta-KUR-ḥa (reading uncertain)	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egyptian.
Tutakiḥama		Groß (<i>PNA</i>), 1337.	Meaning unknown	Origin unknown	Masc.	ṁtú-ta-ki-ḥa-ma	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egyptian.
Unamunu	<i>wn-jmn</i>	Lipiński (<i>PNA</i>), 1386.	“Amon is there”	Egypt.	Masc.	ṁú-na-mu-nu	Vassal, king of Nathu
Usilkanu	<i>Wsrkn</i>	Albright (1956), 24; Onasch (1994), 6f.; Baker/Schwemer (<i>PNA</i>), 1421.	Meaning unknown	Libyan	Masc.	ṁú-si-il-ka-nu, ṁši-il-kan-ni, ṁši-il-ka-a-nu	Shilkani (Osorkon IV), king of Egypt during the reign of Sargon II.
Usta-Ḥūru	<i>wḏz-ḥr</i>	Leahy (n.d.), 60f; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1422.	“May Horus be sound!”	Egypt.	Masc.	ṁus-ta-ḥu-ru	Explanation of Leahy must be considered tentative. Uncertain whether or not the element “Usta” should be read as <i>wḏz</i> . Would fit time period, see <i>DN</i> , 130.
Uši-Ḥanša	<i>wḏz-hnsw</i>	Ranke (1910), 36; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1422.	“Khonsu is prosperous”	Egypt.	Masc.	ṁú-ši-ḥa-an-šá	Fits the time period, see <i>ÄPN</i> , 89:2.
Uš-Anaḥūru	<i>ns-inḥrt</i>	Ranke (1935), 174:2; Ranke (1952), 365; Onasch (1994), 19; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1422.	“He belongs to Onuris”	Egypt.	Masc.	ṁú-šá-na-ḥu-ru	Kushite crown prince, son of Taharqa (reign of Esarhaddon).
Uširiḥiuḥurti	Probably containing the Egypt. theophoric element <i>wsir</i> -.	Baker/Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1422.	Meaning uncertain.	Egypt.?	Masc.	ṁú-ši-ri-ḥi-ú-ḥur-ti	<i>PNA</i> identifies the name as Egyptian. Might also be the Libyan name <i>wšjrḥrt</i> see Draper (2015).
Uta-Ḥūru	<i>wḏz-ḥr</i>	Leahy (n.d.) 61f; Mattila (<i>PNA</i>), 1424.	“May Horus be sound!”	Egypt.	Masc.	ṁú-ta-ḥu-ru	Explanation of Leahy must be considered tentative. Uncertain if the element “Uta” should be read as <i>wḏz</i> . Would fit time period, see <i>DN</i> , 130.

Appendix III: Selection criteria applied

The highlighted individuals are those included in the final study.

Name	Patronym	Egyptian name	Ethnic group label	Location	Time	Sex	Profession	Related by blood	Contact Egyptians	Role in documents	Occurrence	Archive	Likelihood	Notes
[...]-Aššūr (1)	Ḫur-waši (6-11)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	1	Other	Strong	
[...]gurši		No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	<i>ḫarṭibu</i>	No	Yes	Inactive	1	Other	Probably	
[...]-Ḫūru		Partially	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Probably	
Abdi-Mūnu		Partially	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	Other	Probably	
Abi-Ḫūru (1)		Partially	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Gate guard	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Abi-Ḫūru (2)		Partially	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Abši-Ešu		Probably	Yes	Bit-Eriba-ilu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Certain	
Adimasia		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Slave	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Agaragara		No	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Active	1	x	Possibly	
Aḫu-dūr-enši (2)	Ḫūru (2)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	N31	Strong	
Aḫūru		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	3	N31	Possibly	
Al-ḫapi-mepi	Puṭu-Meheši (2)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Amān-išme		Partially	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Probably	
Amat-Emūni		Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Palace personnel	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Ameḫi		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	

Amman-tanaḥti (1)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Strong	
Amman-tanaḥti (2)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Slave	Possibly	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Amu-rṭēše (1)		Yes	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Possibly	Active	1	x	Strong	
Amu-rṭēše (2)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Amu-rṭēše (3)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Chief [...]	No	Yes	Both	5	N31	Strong	Buys Tataširi.
Apâ	Apihunia wa	Possibly	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	
Apî (1)	Amman-tanaḥti (2)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Slave	Yes	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Apî (2)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly	
Apiḥuniawa		Possibly	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	
Ašê	Taḥ-artiše (2)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Both	2	x	Strong	
Ašāia (1)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	No	Active	5	52a	Unlikely	Part of the household of (the son of) Nādinu (26)*. Perhaps identical with Ašāia (2).
Ašāia (2)		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	2	52a	Certain	
Aššūr-balaṭu- [...]		No	No	Ma'allanate	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Unlikely	No	Passive	1	x	Unlikely	
Aššūr-dūri (7)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Passive	1	52b	Strong	
Aššūr-le'i (2)		No	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Unlikely	No	Passive	1	x	Unlikely	
Aššūr-šarru-ušur (14)	Ḫā-bāšti (3)	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Cohort commander ; royal bodyguard	Possibly	No	Inactive	3	x	Possibly	

Ata'		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	
Ati'		Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	x	Possibly	
Attâ-ḥaṣi		Unlikely	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	x	Unlikely	
Aṭû		Yes	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Auwa	Tap-nahte (1)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Possibly	Active	1	N31	Strong	
Awa		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	N31	Possibly	
Bakkî		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Bariku (8)	Ra'û (2)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Active	1	Other	Possibly	
Batu-naḥti		Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Probably	
Bēlet-issē'a (2)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Slave	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely	Wife of Amman-tanaḥti (2)
Bessu'a (11)	Taia (2)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Horse trainer	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Unlikely	
Bur-Kūbi		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	4	N31	Certain	
Butanaḥte		Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Probably	
Butinaḥ		Probably	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Probably	
Daia (1)		Possibly	No	Assur	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	Other	Possibly	
Daia (2)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Master builder	No	No	Active	1	Other	Possibly	
Daiâ (1)		Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Daiâ (2)		Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Daiâ (3)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	52a	Possibly	

Daiâ (4)	Possibly	No	Ikamaraia	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Palace shepard	No	No	Active	1	x	Possibly		
Daiaî (1)	Possibly	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Gate guard	No	No	Inactive	9	x	Possibly		
Daiaî (2)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly		
Daiaia	Possibly	No	Assur	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Outrider	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly		
Dân-Ešu	Partially	No	Unknown	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Probably		
Din-Ĥūru	Partially	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably		
Ēšâ	Yes	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	Other	Strong		
Eša-rṭeše	Yes	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Female	Weaver	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.	
Ezibtu (2)	No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	4	52a	Certain		
Gula-eṭir (3)	No	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Active	1	x	Probably	Sister Meia bears an Egyptian name.	
Ĥā-bāšti (1)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly		
Ĥā-bāšti (2)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Chief gatekeeper	No	No	Inactive	23	x	Possibly		
Ĥā-bāšti (3)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	x	Possibly		
Ĥalabēšu (1)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	2	N31	Possibly	Name is probably Libyan in origin, but name might still belong to an Egyptian.	
Ĥallabēše (2)	Illāia	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Copper smith	No	Yes	Both	3	x	Possibly	Name is probably Libyan

													in origin, but name might still belong to an Egyptian.
Ḫallabēše (4)	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	Possibly identical with Ḫallabēše (2). Name is probably Libyan in origin, but name might still belong to an Egyptian.
Ḫana-Ḫūru	Partially	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	x	Probably	
Ḫapi-maniḫi	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	N31	Strong	
Ḫapi-nāu	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Probably	
Ḫapunapa	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	52b	Probably	
Ḫaqu-nēši	Probably	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Ḫarmāku (1)	Unlikely	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely	Unclear if this is even an individual.
Ḫarmāku (2)	Aššūr-le'i (2)	Unlikely	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	3	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (3)	Inurta-na'di (1)	Unlikely	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Cohort commander	No	No	Active	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (4)		Unlikely	No	Nineveh	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (5)		Unlikely	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Cohort commander	No	No	Inactive	2	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (6)		Unlikely	No	Nineveh	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Official	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (7)		Unlikely	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely

Ḫarmāku (8)		Unlikely	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (9)		Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (10)		Unlikely	No	Ma'allanate	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	2	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (11)		Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (12)	Aššūr-balāssu-iqbi (5)	Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (13)		Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	3	Other	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (14)		Unlikely	No	Issete	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (15)		Unlikely	No	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian Period	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (16)	Harranaiu (13)	Unlikely	No	Ma'allanate	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarmāku (17)	Aššūr-balaṭu- [...]	Unlikely	No	Ma'allanate	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫarranaiu (13)		No	No	Ma'allanate	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Unlikely	No	Active	1	x	Unlikely
Ḫasâ		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong
Ḫašbasnu [...]		Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Possibly
Ḫatpi-Ašte		Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	Other	Probably
Ḫatpi-Mūnu		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Possibly	Inactive	1	x	Strong
Ḫatpi-Napi		Yes	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong
Ḫipirrāu		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Chief brewer	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly
Huddāia (4)	Muṣurāiu (2)	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Active	1	x	Strong

Ḫursisu	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian Period	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Ḫur-šia	Yes	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (2)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Prefect	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Possibly identical with Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (3).
Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (3)	Yes	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Possibly identical with Ḫur-ši-Ēšu (2).
Ḫur-tibû (1)	Yes	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Ḫur-tibû (2)	Yes	No	Napisina	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	x	Strong	
Ḫūru (1)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Egyptian scribe	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Ḫūru (2)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Cohort commander	No	Yes	Both	10	N31	Strong	
Ḫūru (3)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Strong	
Ḫūru-[...] (1)	Probably	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Ḫūru-[...] (2)	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52b	Probably	
Ḫur-waši (1)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Third man of a chariot team	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Ḫur-waši (2)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Chief boatman	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	

Ḫur-waši (3)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Egyptian scribe	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Ḫur-waši (4)		Yes	No	Gezer	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Mayor	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Ḫur-waši (5)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Ḫur-waši (6)	Ki[r-...]	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Both	13	N31	Strong	
Ḫur-waši (7)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	S	Strong	Possibly identical with 6. or 9.
Ḫur-waši (8)	TARhursi	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	Possibly identical with 9., 10. or 11.
Ḫur-waši (9)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	Possibly identical with 7., 8., 10. or 11.
Ḫur-waši (10)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Commander -of-fifty	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	Possibly identical with 6. Alternatively could be identical with 8. or 9.
Ḫur-waši (11)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Cook	No	Possibly	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	Possibly identical with 6., 8. or 9.
Ḫur-waši (12)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Eunuch	No	No	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Ḫur-waši (13)		Probably	No	Qalat-i Dinka	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Servant of the palace herald	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Ḫur-waši (6-11)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	6	Other	Strong	
Ḫuṭ-naḫṭi	La-turamman ni-Aššūr (3)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	N31	Strong	
lašanimu		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	Other	Unlikely	

Ibašši-ilani (6)		No	No	Daian-Adad	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Passive	1	x	Possibly	
Illāia		No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Passive	1	x	Possibly	
Inurta-na'di (1)		No	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Unlikely	No	Passive	1	x	Unlikely	
Inurta-šarru-ušur (2)		No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Courtier	No	Yes	Both	11	x	Unclear	<i>Wedjat</i> -eye found in his or his relative's grave.
Ispiniša		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52a	Certain	
Issar-duri (26)	Abši-Ešu(?)	No	No	Bit-Eriba-ilu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Active	1	x	Possibly	
Kalbāia	Pi-san-Eši (2)	No	No	Napisina	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	x	Strong	
Kanūnāiu (52)	Nabû-reḫtu-ušur (17)	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Probably	Yes	Active	1	x	Probably	Sister marries an Egyptian.
Karānūtu		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	4	52a	Certain	
Kisiri		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	Unclear if this is an inheritance document or a transfer.
Kiṣir-Aššūr (45)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Both	29	N31	Unclear	
Kiṣir-Aššūr (66*)	Urdu-Nabû (13)	No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Active	1	52b	Certain	Perhaps identical with Kiṣir-Aššūr (45)?
Kunašî	Ḫarmāku (4)	No	No	Nineveh	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Unlikely	No	Active	1	x	Unlikely	
Kurarâ		No	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.

La-turammanni-Aššūr (3)	Mannu-ki-Aššūr (21?)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Commander -of-fifty	Yes	Yes	Both	21	N31	Strong	
La-turammanni-Aššūr (4)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Commander -of-fifty	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely	Probably identical with La-turammanni-Aššūr (3).
La-turammanni-Aššūr (6)	lašanimu	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	Other	Unlikely	
Lawaḥameḥi		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	N31	Unlikely	
Lulūlu		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	Unclear if this is an inheritance document or a transfer.
Lū-šakin (14)	Abši-Ešu	No	No	Bit-Eriba-ilu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Active	1	x	Strong	
Mannu-ki-Arbail (21)	Puḥutana	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Both	1	N31	Possibly	
Mannu-ki-Aššūr (21?)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Passive	1	N31	Possibly	Unclear if he truly is the father of La-turammanni-Aššūr (3).
Mannu-ki-Ninua (13)		No	Yes	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Certain	
Matanaḥte		Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Probably	Active	1	N31	Probably	Possibly identical with Amman-tanaḥti (1).
Meia		Yes	No	Assur	7th Century	Female	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Strong	
Menas(s)ê (3)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	Other	Unlikely	
Mullissu-hammat	Pabbā'u	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Votaress of Ištar of Arbail	Possibly	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	Marries Auwa.

Mullissu-ḥāṣinat	Nabû-rehtu-uṣur (17)	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	Probably	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Granddaughter of Amu-rṭeše, marries into an Egyptian family.
Muṣurāiu (1)		No	Yes	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Courtier	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Muṣurāiu (2)		No	Yes	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	x	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Muṣurāiu (3)		No	Yes	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Muṣurāiu (4)		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Passive	1	52a	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Muṣurāiu (5)	Šarru-lu-dari (33)	No	Yes	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Muṣurāiu (6)		No	Yes	Dur-katlimmu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	x	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Muṣuritu (1)		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52a	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Muṣuritu (2)		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52a	Certain	Ethnic group label in the name itself.
Nabareu		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Possibly	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Nabû-rehtu-uṣur (17)	Amu-rṭeše (2)	No	No	Town of the Washermen	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	x	Strong	A Hasean. Daughter marries Ši-ḥû (4).
Nādinu (26)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Head of a household	Possibly	No	Inactive	1	52a	Possibly	
Nibḥēa		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Both	3	N31	Unlikely	

Nibiḫis	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	2	N31	Unlikely	
Niḫarā'u	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Egyptian scribe	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Niḫti-Eša-rau	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	x	Strong	
Nummurīja	Possibly	No	Unknown	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Pabaku	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	52b	Strong	
Pabbā'u	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Horse keeper of Iṣtar of Arbail	No	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	Daughter marries Auwa.
Paḫī	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Slave	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Pamenapi	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Both	5	N31	Possibly	
Paqiru	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	52b	Strong	
Paši (1)	Possibly	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Possibly	
Paši (2)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly	
Paši (3)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Cohort commander	Possibly	Yes	Both	6	N31	Possibly	
Paši (4)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Paši (5)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Judge	No	No	Active	1	x	Possibly	
Paši (6)	Ibašši-ilani (6)	Possibly	No	Daian-Adad	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Possibly
Paši (7)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly
Paši (8)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly
Paši (9)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Inactive	2	N31	Possibly

Piluna	No	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely	
Pilušu	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	8	N31	Possibly	
Pilzu	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely	
Pinaiaawa	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Commander -of-fifty	No	Yes	Inactive	2	N31	Unlikely	
Pinapi	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	Other	Strong	
Pi-san-Eši (1)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Commander -of-fifty	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Pi-san-Eši (2)	Yes	No	Napisina	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Passive	1	x	Strong	
Pi-san-Eši (3)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Pi'u (1)	Yes	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Scribe	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Pi'u (2)	Taḥ-artiše (1)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Both	2	N31	Strong
Pizešḫurdāia	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Chariot driver	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely	
Puḫutana	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Passive	1	N31	Possibly	
Pūnašti	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Putā[...]	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Puṭeta(ḫa)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	52b	Possibly	
Puṭi[...] (1)	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	52b	Probably	Probably the same individual as Puṭi[...] (2).
Puṭi[...] (2)	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	52b	Probably	Probably the same individual as Puṭi[...] (1). The only individual in the 52b archive

													with a name beginning with “Puṭi”.	
Puṭi-Aṭḫiš		Probably	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	x	Probably	
Puṭi-Bina[...]	Tap-naḫṭe (4)	Probably	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	Other	Certain	
Puṭi-Eše		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Both	5	x	Strong	Marries Al-Hapi-Mepi, the daughter of Puṭu-Meheši.
Puṭi-Ḫūru		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Puṭi-ḫutapiša		Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	N31	Probably	
Puṭi-Māni		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Puṭi-Mūnu (1)		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Puṭi-Mūnu (2)	La-turamman ni-Aššūr (3)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Both	2	N31	Strong	
Puṭi-Mutû		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	Other	Strong	
Puṭi-Nūnu		Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	N31	Probably	
Puṭiše (1)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Commander -of-fifty	No	Yes	Inactive	5	x	Strong	

Puṭiše (2)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	Possibly identical with Puṭiše (3).
Puṭiše (3)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	Possibly identical with Puṭiše (2).
Puṭi-Širi (1)	Yes	Yes	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Official	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Certain	
Puṭi-Širi (2)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Puṭi-Širi (3)	Yes	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Strong	
Puṭi-Širi (4)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	Other	Strong	
Puṭi-Širi (5)	Puṭiše (3)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	2	N31	Strong
Puṭi-Širi (6)	Yes	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Strong	Possibly identical with Puṭi-Širi (1).
Puṭu-...]	Probably	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Puṭu-Bāšti (2)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Puṭu-Bāšti (3)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Possibly	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Puṭubikišu	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	52b	Probably	
Puṭubišu	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	52b	Probably	
Puṭu-ḫabišu	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Passive	1	52b	Strong	
Puṭukiše	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52b	Probably	

Puṭu-Meḥeši (1)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Puṭu-Meḥeši (2)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Daughter marries Puṭi-Eše.
Puṭu-Paiti (1)	Puṭu-ḥabišu	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Probably	Yes	Active	1	52b	Strong	
Puṭu-Paiti (2)		Probably	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Puṭupašte	Aššūr-dūri (7)	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Probably	Active	1	52b	Probably	
Puṭupiāti		Probably	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Probably	
Puṭu-šisi[...]		Probably	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Slave	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Puṭušu		Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	52b	Strong	
Qašḫamete		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	2	N31	Unlikely	
Qibit-Aššūr (30)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Priest	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly	Priest of Horus, might be identical to Qibit-Aššūr (17) who is a priest of Nabû.
Qišāia (2)		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Certain	
Qišišim		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely	
Quni-Ḫūru		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Raḥdibi’?		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	Other	Unlikely	
Raḥpau (1)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Probably	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Raḥpau (2)		Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Cohort commander (?)	No	Yes	Inactive	2	N31	Possibly	

Ra'sî	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	<i>ḥarṭibu</i>	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Rasû'	Unlikely	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Chief boatman	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely	
Ra'û (1)	Possibly	No	Assur	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Possibly	
Ra'û (2)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	Other	Possibly	
Ra'û (3)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Ra'û (4)	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Ra'û (5)	Possibly	No	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian Period	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	
Rawa	Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Unlikely	
Ribaia (11)	No	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Active	1	Other	Probably	Sister Meia bears an Egyptian name.
Riḥpi-Mūnu	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	N31	Probably	Marries Šulmu- [...] -lumur who might be Egyptian.
Ri-m-pi-aue	Probably	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Probably	
Sabutî	Puṭupašte	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	52b	Probably
Saḥarpunḥu	Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	Other	Unlikely	Former husband of Tataširi.
Sa-ḥpi-māu	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Perfume maker	No	Yes	Active	1	x	Strong	
Sē'-raḥî	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	x	Possibly	Mentioned in broken context, the next two lines both mention an "Egyptian".

Siḫā'		Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Both	2	N31	Possibly	
Silim-Adad (11)	Nabû-reḫtu-ušur (17)	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	x	Probably	
Sîn-na'di (27)	Mušurāiu (6)	No	No	Dur-katlimmu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Sukkāia (43)	Mušurāiu (4)	No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Active	3	52a	Certain	
Sukkāia (58)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52a	Unlikely	
Susinqu (1)		No	No	Nineveh	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Relative of the king	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Possibly	Name is probably Libyan in origin, but name might still belong to an Egyptian.
Ṣi-ḫū (2)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	<i>ḫartibu</i>	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Ṣi-ḫū (3)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Ṣi-ḫū (4)	Niḫti-Eša-rau	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	x	Strong	
Ṣi-Ḫūru (1)		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Physician	No	Yes	Inactive	2	x	Strong	
Ṣil-Aššūr (2)		No	No	Nineveh	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Egyptian scribe	No	Yes	Active	1	x	Probably	
Ṣumaššeri		No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.

Šarru-lu-dari (12)	No	Yes	Harran(?)	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Certain	
Šarru-lu-dari (33)	No	No	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Passive	1	Other	Strong	Father of Mušurāiu (5)
Šašmā (1)	No	Yes	Tell Hadid	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Šē'i-Ēši	Partially	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Šulmu-[...]-lumur	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Votaress of Ištar of Arbail	Possibly	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	Marries Riḥpi-Mūnu.
Šumma-Ēši	Partially	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Chariotry officer	No	No	Active	1	Other	Probably	
Ta'la (5)	No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Certain	
Taḥ-artiše (1)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	3	N31	Strong	
Taḥ-artiše (2)	Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	No	Passive	1	x	Strong	
Taḥa'u	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Probably	Inactive	1	N31	Possibly	
Taia (1)	Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely	
Taia (2)	Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	Other	Unlikely	
Taia (3)	Unlikely	No	Dur-Katlimmu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	2	x	Unlikely	
Taka'in(?)	Unlikely	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	Possibly	Inactive	1	x	Unlikely	
Takilāti	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	2	x	Possibly	Name is probably Libyan in origin, but name might still belong to an Egyptian.
Tamūzitu (1)	Urdu-Nanaia (20)	No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52a	Certain

Tap[...]	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52b	Unlikely	
Tap-naḫte (1)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Passive	1	N31	Strong	
Tap-naḫte (3)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Both	2	N31	Strong	Possibly identical with Tap-naḫte (4).
Tap-naḫte (4)	Yes	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Passive	1	Other	Strong	Possibly identical with Tap-naḫte (3). Son is an “Egyptian”.
TARhursi	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Passive	1	N31	Strong	
Tataširi	Possibly	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	Other	Possibly	Bought by Amur-ṛēše (3).
Tattapḫa(?)	Unlikely	No	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian Period	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Tutakiḫama	Taia (1)	Unlikely	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Possibly	Inactive	1	N31	Unlikely
Ṭāb-Bel (7)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	Other	Possibly	
Ṭāb-Bel (8)	No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	N31	Certain	
Ubru-Mullissu	Ati’	No	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Fuller	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	x	Possibly
Ubrūtu (4)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Head of a household	Possibly	No	Inactive	1	52a	Possibly	Unclear from the texts whether or not they are related.
Urdu-Aššūr (5)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Commander -of-fifty	No	Yes	Both	33	N31	Unclear	

Urdu-Aššūr (7)	Puṭi-ḫutapiša	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Probably	Yes	Active	1	N31	Probably	Possibly identical with Urdu-Aššūr (5).
Urdu-Bēltu (2)	Ḫalabēšu (1)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Possibly	Yes	Active	1	N31	Possibly	
Urdu-Mullissu (10)	Ḫur-tibû (2)	No	No	Napisina	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Active	1	x	Strong	
Urdu-Nabû (13)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Passive	1	52b	Strong	Son is an Egyptian.
Urdu-Nabû (19)	Puṭiše (3)	No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	3	N31	Strong	Brother of Puṭi-Širi (5).
Urdu-Nanaia (20)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	No	Passive	1	52a	Strong	Possibly identical with Urdu-Nanaia (21). Father of the Egyptian Tamūzītu (1).
Urdu-Nanaia (21)		No	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52b	Unlikely	Possibly identical with Urdu-Nanaia (20).
Urkittu-kallat		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Active	1	52a	Certain	
Usta-Ḫūru		Yes	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	No	Active	1	x	Strong	
Uši-Ḫanša		Yes	No	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian Period	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian deportees.
Uširiḫiuḫurti		Possibly	Yes	Assur	7th Century	Male	Unknown	No	No	Inactive	1	Other	Certain	
Uta-Ḫūru		Yes	No	Nineveh	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Strong	
Zateubatte		No	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Certain	
Anonymous (1)	Mannu-ki-Ninua (13)	None recorded	No	Kalhu	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	Yes	No	Inactive	1	x	Strong	

Anonymous (2)		None recorded	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Female	Weaver	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian.
Anonymous (3)		None recorded	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Female	Weaver	No	Yes	Inactive	2	x	Probably	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian.
Anonymous (4)		None recorded	No	Nineveh	7th Century	Female	Weaver	No	Yes	Inactive	3	x	Probably	Not explicitly called an Egyptian, but is named in a list of presumed Egyptian.
Anonymous (5)	Ḫapi-maniḫi	None recorded	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Anonymous (6)	Ḫapi-maniḫi	None recorded	No	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Male	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Inactive	1	N31	Strong	
Anonymous (7)		None recorded	Yes	Assur	Post-Esarhaddon	Female	Unknown	No	Yes	Inactive	1	52a	Certain	May be identical to one of the other Egyptian women from this archive.
Anonymous (8)		None recorded	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Egyptian scribe	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	
Anonymous (9)		None recorded	No	Kalhu	Pre-Esarhaddon	Male	Egyptian scribe	No	Yes	Inactive	1	x	Probably	

Appendix IV: Social Network Analysis on archive N31

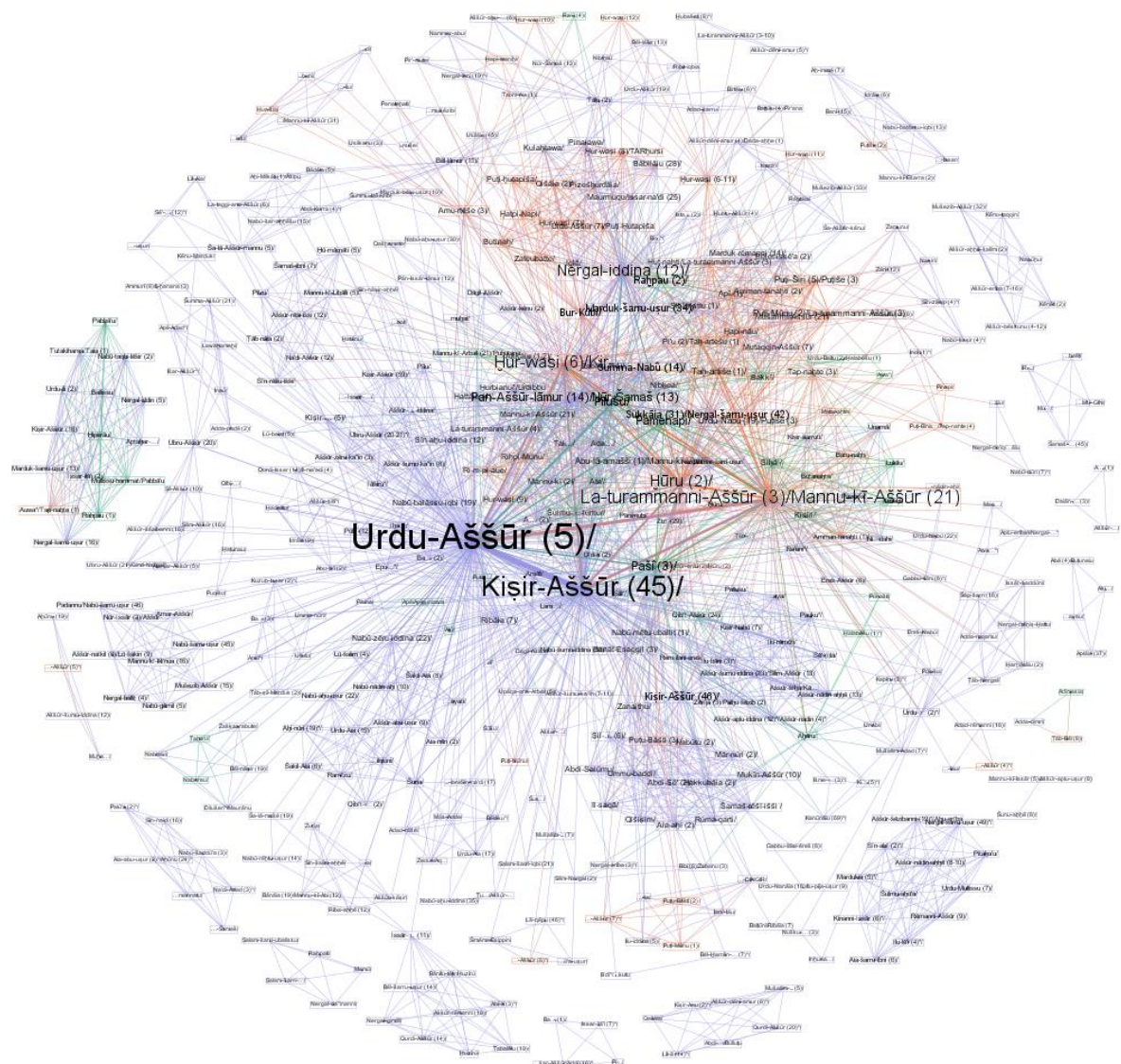


Fig. a. An unfiltered overview of the N31 archive.

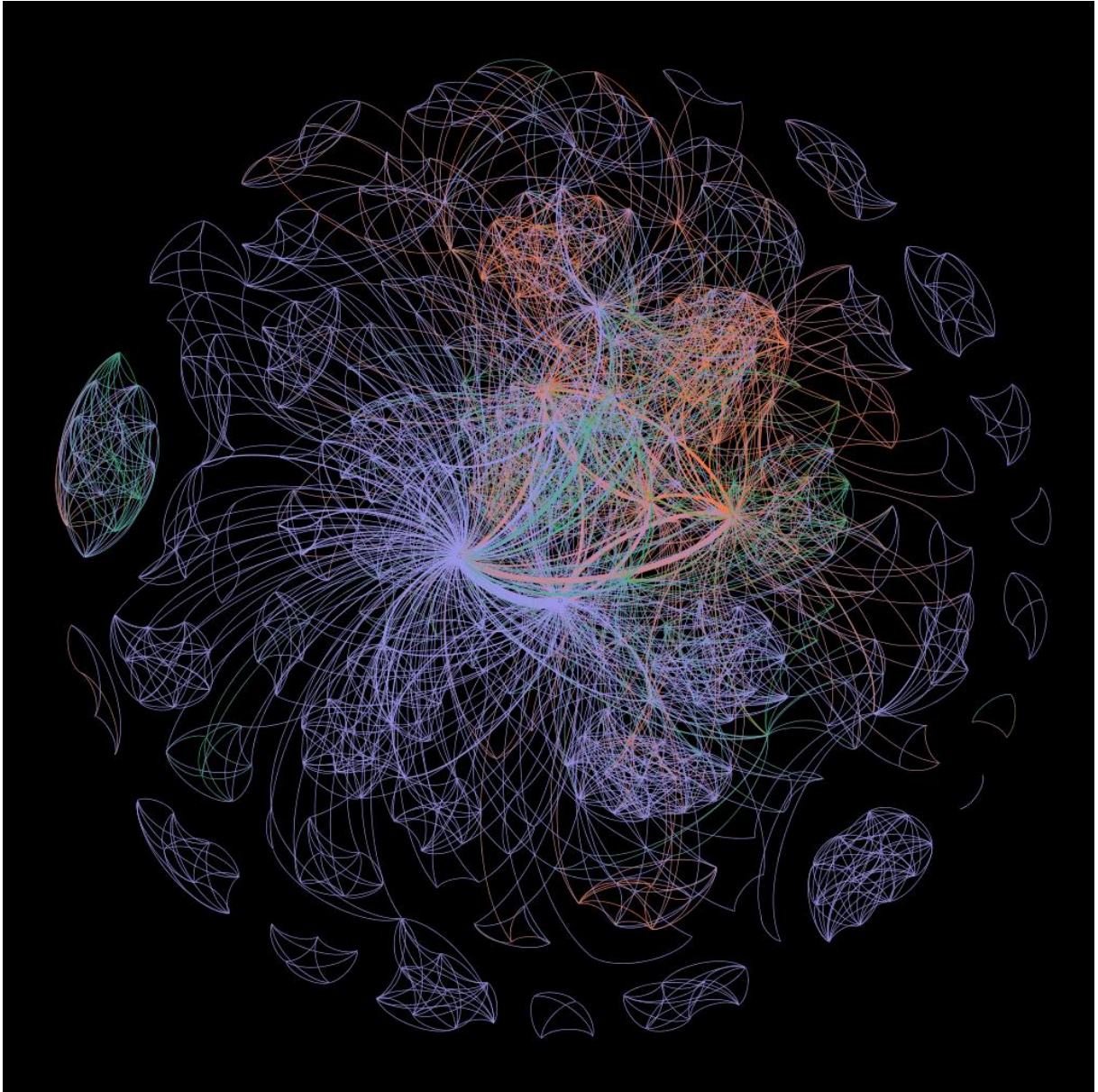


Fig. b. A visualisation of the clusters within archive N31.

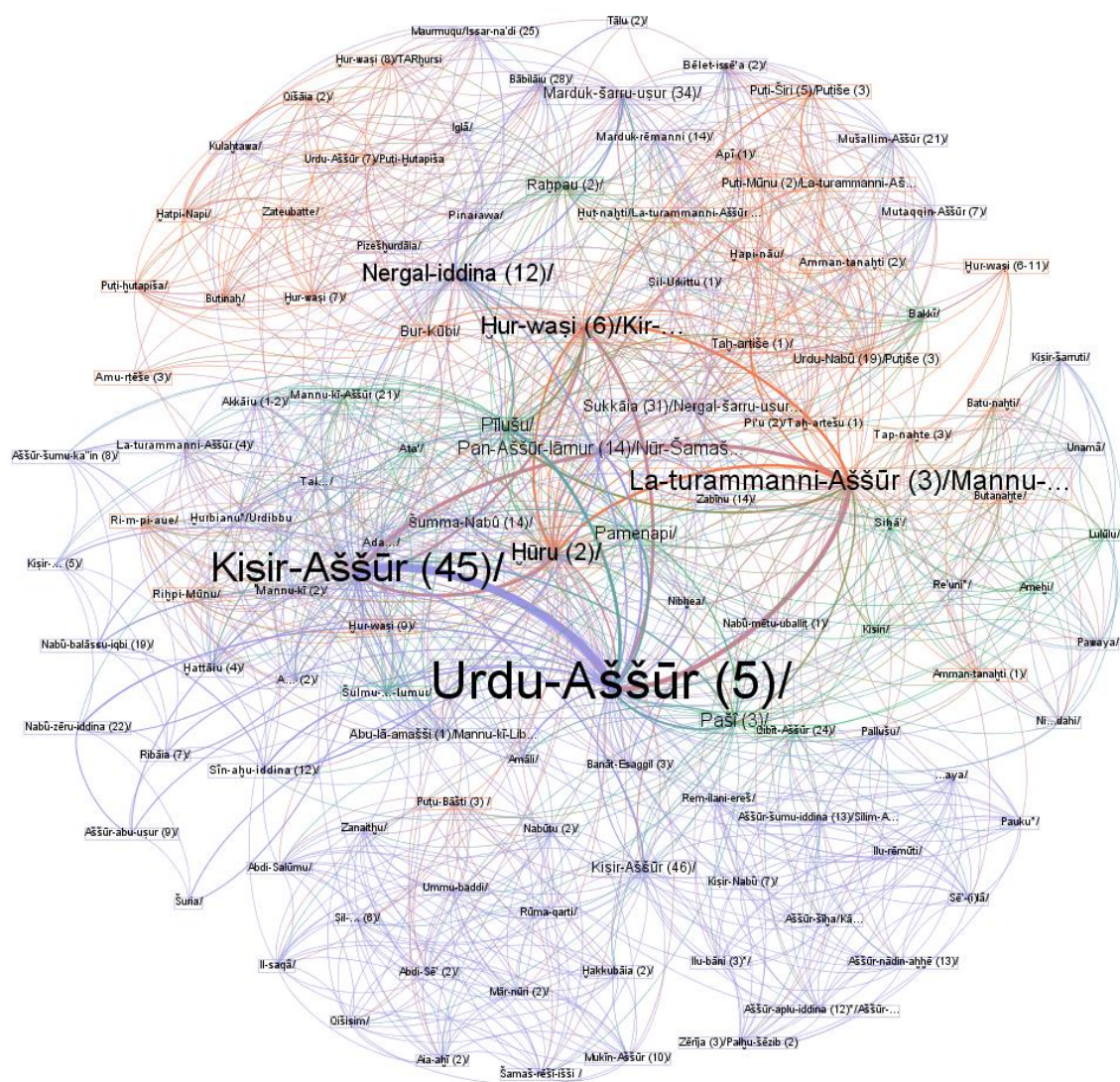


Fig. c. An overview of the N31 archive with filter 16 applied.

Appendix V: Additional statistics

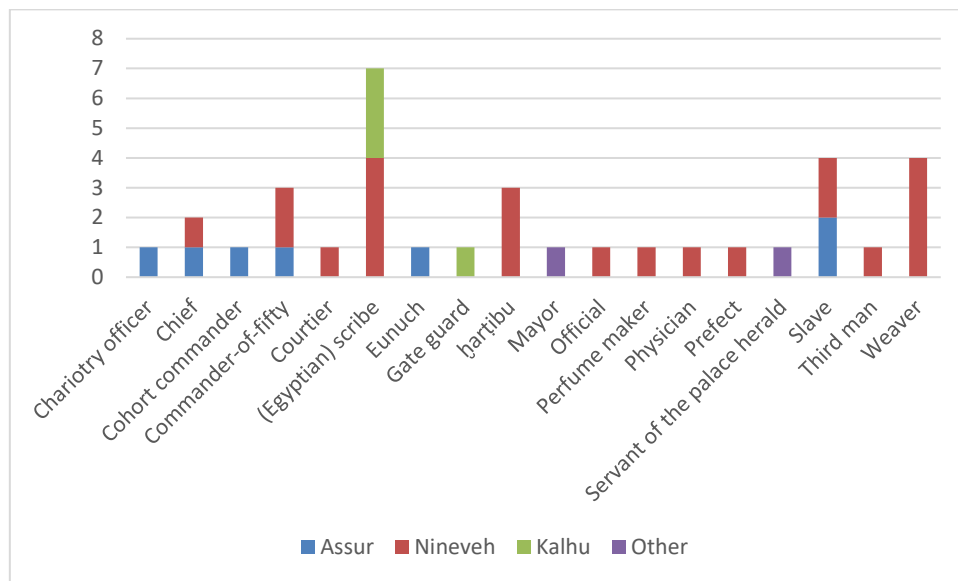


Fig. I. Professions of Egyptians in Assyria.

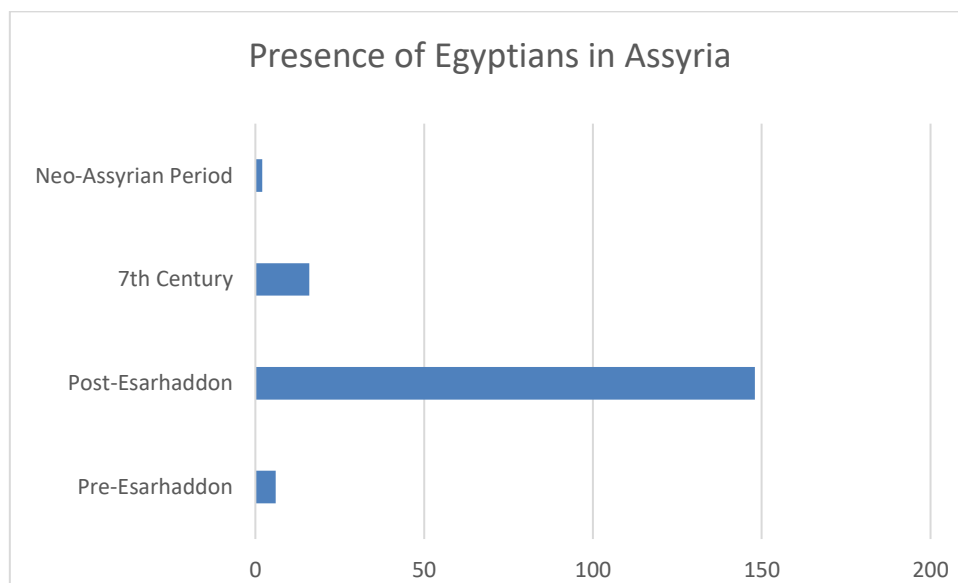


Fig. II. The presence of Egyptian in Assyria.

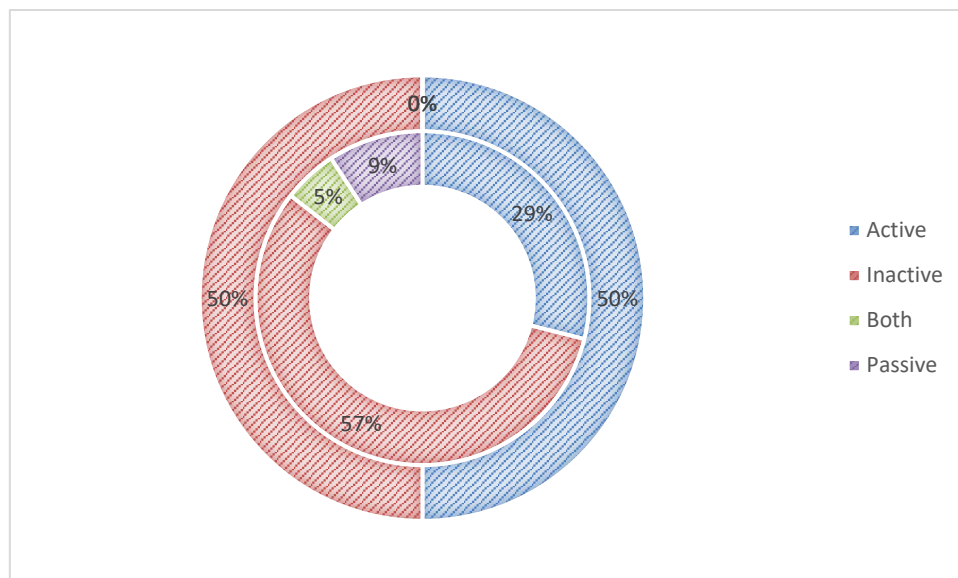


Fig. III. The role in documents of women (outer circle) and men (inner circle)

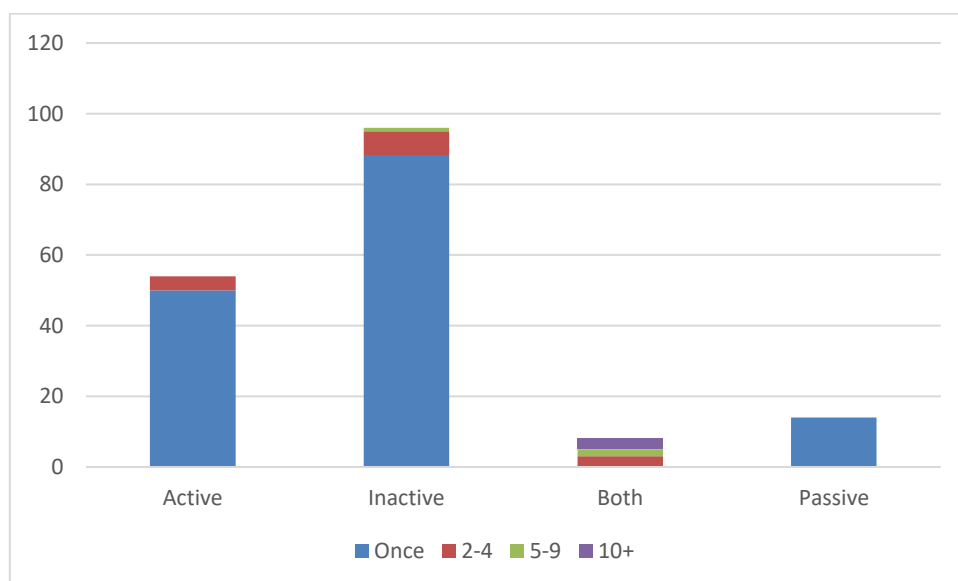


Fig. IV. Occurrence and activity level in sources.

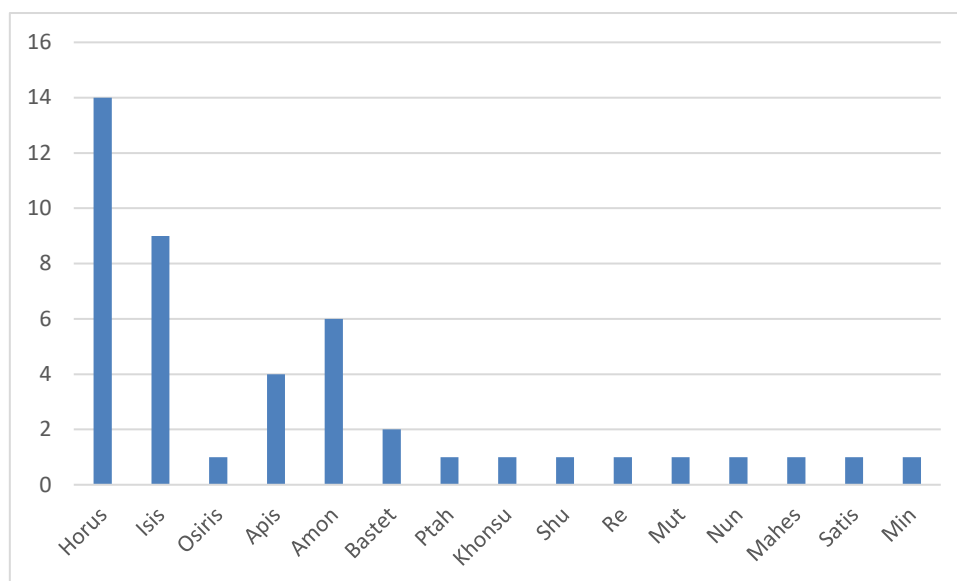


Fig. V. Different variants of names with a theophoric element.

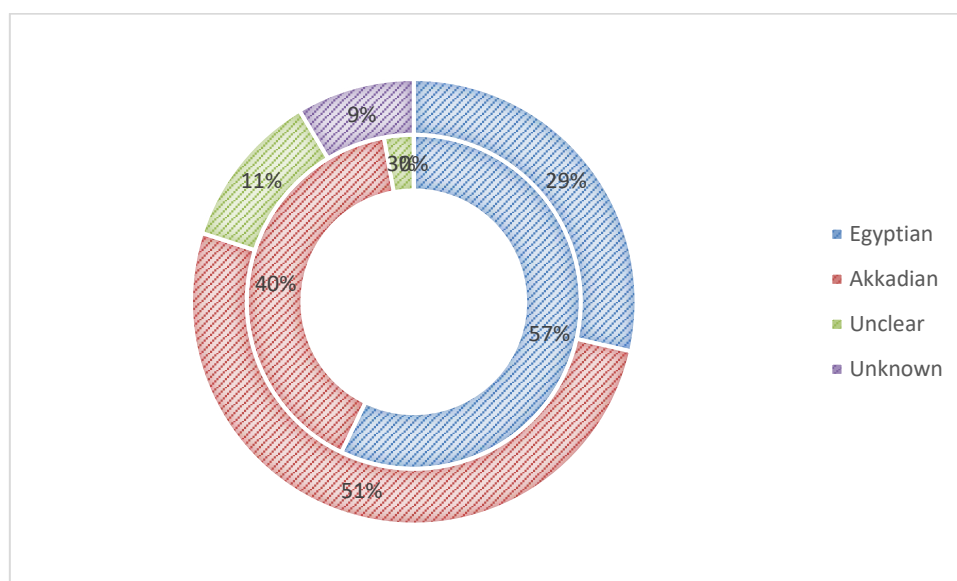


Fig. VI. Distribution of Egyptian and Akkadian names between parents (inner circle) and children (outer circle).

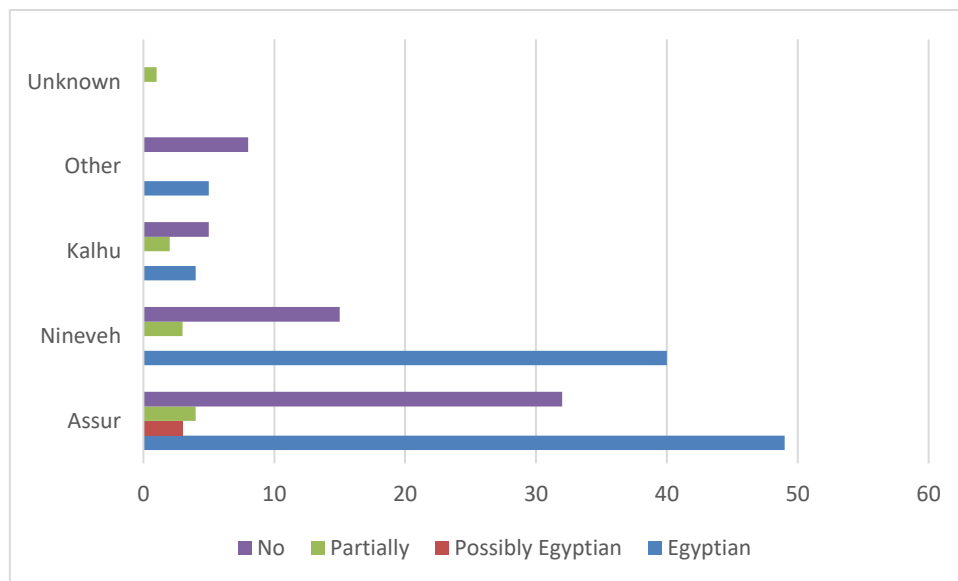


Fig. VII. Distribution of name types per location.

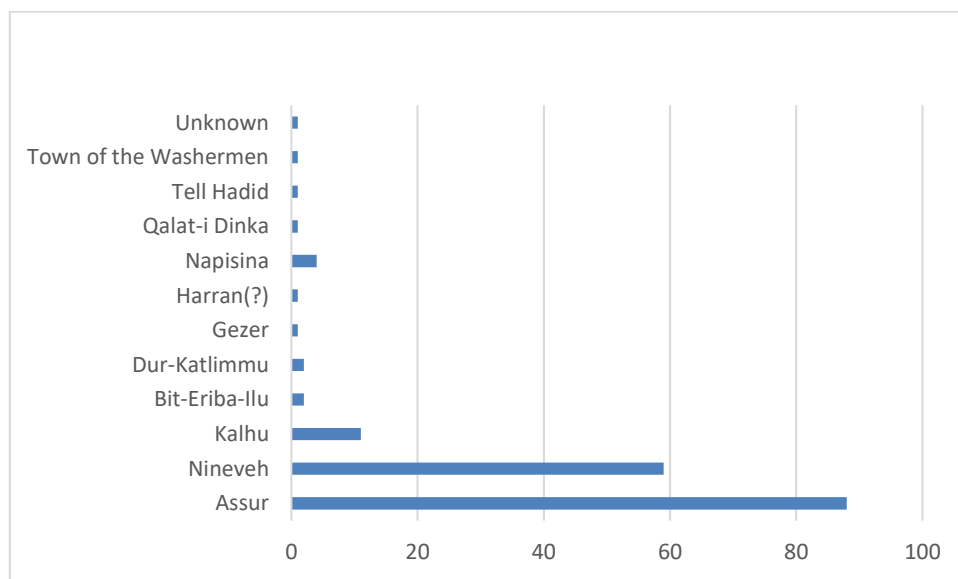


Fig. VIII. Locations of Egyptians.

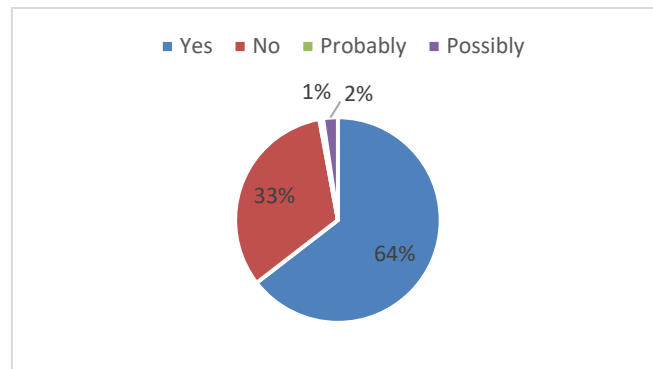


Fig. IX. Contact with other Egyptians.