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Cross-Regional Mobility in ca. 700 BCE: The Case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924

Melanie Wasmuth
University of Basel & Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam

Abstract
The Neo-Assyrian administrative and juridical documents feature a striking characteristic: while persons identified as "Egyptians" seem to have been viewed as integral part of society, the scarcity of preserved biographic information defies a micro-historical approach in each case. Nevertheless, the corpus of sources explicitly mentioning "Egyptians" is exceedingly suited for opening up research questions on the perception of "foreigners," the practicalities of cross-regional mobility, and the academic challenges to research these issues. This will be exemplified by a critical review of a specific case study, which provides an exceptionally high density of indications for cross-regional mobility.

Introduction
Cross-regional mobility—in ancient times as well as today—is characterized by a highly complex set of impacts on personal, local, regional, and cross-regional levels. This contribution highlights the potential as well as the limitations of investigating this complexity from a regionally specialized perspective based on a case study from the Neo-Assyrian text corpus of private legal and administrative documents. In contrast to presentations of hardships of travel or of enemy constructions as means of promoting literary or political agendas, these juridical and administrative documents primarily aim at solving and regulating practicalities of living. Therefore, they are prone to reveal insights into the actual workings of ancient societies and consequently also into the direct social impact of mobility.

As exemplified by artifact Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, a clay tablet inscribed in Guzana (modern-day Tall Halaf) in ca. 700 BCE with a private property sale deed, these kinds of sources provide other pitfalls: Most prominently, their potential is limited by corpus-inherent issues like the highly underdetermined identification information on the persons involved in the documents. In addition, academic research is inclined to linear explanation lines or to focus primarily on collecting evidence while providing only some basic level of interpretation. Multiple lines of further implications tend to be disregarded. Though a much more critical approach will prove to severely question some basic assumptions of current research, it will also open up and facilitate new angles for tackling questions of cross-regional mobility and its social, economic, administrative and personal impacts.

The Archaeological and Archival Context
The artifact constituting the case study of this paper[1] was unearthed in the first decade of the last century during the early scientific excavations at Assur (modern-day Qal'at aš-Šerqāṭ) under the aegis of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. In the subsequent find division it was assigned to the Istanbul lot—hence, the find number Ass. 8642a and the inventory number IstM A 1924 of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul.[2]

The clay tablet was found in the quarter of private houses built—as far as can be ascertained—in the 7th century BCE on the palace terrace of Tukulti-Ninurta I, who reigned in the 13th century BCE.[3] The *Inventar* specifies "Dezember 1905" for the three find complexes of clay tablets found in house 12: Ass. 8448, 8642a–d and 8645.[4] The *Tagebuch* refers to clay tablets found in the area and time frame in question only on the 6th of December, thereby indicating this day as the likely date of discovery.[5]

The find spot of the tablets discovered first—Ass. 8448—is marked on the plan of houses published by Conrad Preusser in 1954; Ass. 8642 and Ass. 8645 are explicitly noted in the *Inventar* as found in the same place as Ass. 8448.[6] The difficulty remains to decide what is meant by the specification of the find spot "wie 8448": Does this refer to *in the same spot* or *in the same house* or *in the area of less preserved houses south of d6*? All these readings are equally conclusive, as no other finds are specified as coming from house 12, but from another place than Ass. 8448, and the find spot specified for Ass. 8448 is "im Wohngebäude."[7]

Given the finds recorded immediately after Ass. 8448 respectively next to Ass. 8642 and Ass. 8645, the question

arises whether these texts constitute an *archive*, i.e., a depot for documents stored together for safekeeping and further reference: According to Olof Pedersén, "archive N 18" found in house 12 consisted of at least 17 clay tablets including two Aramaic dockets, which were found together with two sets of 3 (Ass. 8449) respectively 24 spindle whorls (Ass. 8643).[8] In the *Inventar*, some further small finds are described as also coming from the same place: theriomorphic pieces of baked clay (Ass. 8450), two pieces of lead (Ass. 8451), a small shell (Ass. 8452), and an unspecified clay object (Ass. 8644).[9] Unfortunately, no detailed information on the stratigraphic correlation between the find complexes is provided. However, the separation of the tablets into three and the spinning whorls into two different lots indicates that they were not actually found together, but that all of them were unearthed in the debris filling house 12 (see also note 6).

Consequently, these tablets were probably discarded in a house that was not in use anymore. Whether they originally belonged to the same "archive" or were separately disposed of in the fallen down house cannot be ascertained on the basis of the limited stratigraphic information provided.

The Persons Involved in the Contract

The tablet records a sale deed of a property, which is specified as *tuanu* (StAT 2, 53.4), respectively "bath" (l. 7), as property of a certain Sama' (l. 2–4, 7), as having walls and a roof, which are also part of the sale (l. 5–6), and as being situated in the city of Guzana (l. 7) between the properties of Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš (l. 7).[10] The buyer is Qišeraya, about whom nothing further is known other than his name and the fact of his purchase of the *tuanu* in question; even the indication of his profession/rank is only partly preserved and no other currently known document features this name (see also Table 2, pp. 110–112).

> [1][Instead of] his [se]al he impressed his fingernail. [2][Fingernail] of Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*, [son[?] of [md]U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel- ketti{,[?]} from Guzana, owner of the *tuanu* (bath) being sold. (five fingernail impressions)
> [5]A *tuanu* (bath) with its beams (and) doors, and a wall between Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, (property) of Sama' in the City of Guzana — [8]Qišeraya, chief […]jean, has contracted and bought it for fifty shekels of silver.
> [10]The money is paid completely. The bathroom in question is acquired and purchased. Any revocation, lawsuit or litigation is void. [13]Whoever in the future, at any time, whether Sama' or his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, his relatives or any litigant of his who seeks a lawsuit or litigation with Qi[še]raya and his sons,
> [19]shall place ten minas of refined silver (and) one m[ina] of pure gold in the lap of Adad who resides i[n G]uzana, shall tie four white horses at the feet of [Sîn] who resides in Harran, and shall return the money tenfold to its owner. He shall contest in his lawsuit and not succeed.
> [r6]Witness Abba-…aya, *scholar*. [r7] Witness Zanbalâ, *Arab*. [r8]Witness Abarrâ, *scholar* of the temple of Adad. [r9]Witness Uširihiuhurti, Egyptian. [r10]Witness Adda-bi'di, merchant. [r11]Witness Adad-ahu-uṣur of the temple. [r12]Witness Haya-ereš. [r13] Witness Gabrî. [r14] Witness Adda-sakâ, son of Huriri. [r15]Witness Balliṭ-Ia, visitor. [r16]Witness Mizi-Ia, ditto. [r17][Witness] Ah-abi, ditto. [r18][Witne]ss Mini-ahhe, leather-worker of Il-nemeqi. [r19][Witne]ss Ṣiranû (and) Alara, his …s. [r20][Witness] Buraya, chief beer-brewer [of?] the governor of Guzana. [r22][Witness …]ayâ.
> [s1]Witness Ni…ni. Witness Nabû-ahu-[…], keeper of the tablet.
> [s2]Month Tishri (VII), 1st day, eponym year of Mi[tunu] (i.e. 700-vii-1).
> [s3]One shekel of silver for his fingernail. (StAT 2, 53)[11]

In a first step, I will address the identities of the involved persons (see Table 2, pp. 110–112), especially the questions of "who is who" and "how do we know," for which I suggest to distinguish as strictly as possible between information stated in the text vs. information inferred by academia. Later sections deal with the implications of the find context and the text contents of the clay tablet on the scope, impact and some practicalities of cross-regional mobility.

Explicitly Specified Identifications

Regarding the information value concerning cross-regional mobility, Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 is both highly conventional and exceptional: While Neo- and Late Babylonian documents usually provide at least basic filiation information, identification in the Neo-Assyrian documents varies substantially, but is—from an academic perspective looking for biographical information—highly deficient. The tablet provides a perfectly representative collection of identifications:

- just by the name: Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, the owners of the neighboring properties (StAT 2, 53.6), and the witnesses Haya-ereš (StAT, 2, 53.r12), Gabrî (StAT 2, 53.r13), […]ayâ (StAT 2, 53.r22), and Ni…ni (StAT 2, 53.s1);
- by name plus filiation: the witness Adda-sakâ, son of Huriri (StAT 2, 53.r14);
- by name plus a geography-related identifier: the witnesses Zanbalâ, man of the Arabs[?] (StAT 2, 53.r7), and Uširihiuhurti, man belonging to Egypt (StAT 2, 53.r9);
- by name plus profession: Qišeraya, chief […]jean (StAT 2, 53.8), the buyer, the witnesses Abba-…aya, scholar[?] (StAT 2, 53.r6), Abarrâ, scholar[?] of the temple of Adad (StAT 2, 53.r8), Adda-bi'di, merchant (StAT 2, 53.r10), Mini-ahhe, leather-worker of Il-

nemeqi (StAT 2, 53.r18), and Buraya, chief beer-brewer [of?] the governor of Guzana (StAT 2, 53.r20);
- by name plus one piece of information related to the issue of the contract: not attested in this form in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924;
- by name plus one less clearly discernable category connected to the profession or status: the witnesses Adad-ahu-uṣur of the temple (StAT 2, 53.r11) and the "visitors" Balliṭ-Ia, Mizi-Ia, and Ah-abi (StAT 2, 53.r15–17; see also below the section on "residents from afar") as well as the witness and keeper of the tablet Nabû-ahu-[…];[12]
- or by combinations of these: as in the case of Sama', who is identified by a geographic identifier to be discussed below, by his filiation[?], and as seller of the *tuanu* (bath) (StAT 2, 53.2–4).

The identifiers for the witnesses Ṣiranû and Alara (StAT 2, 53.r19) are not sufficiently preserved to allow their categorization, while the reading and categorization of the identifying information on Šamaš-bel-ketti, possibly father[?] of Sama', poses problems, the solution of which has considerable impact on discussing the issue of cross-regional mobility and cultural diversity (for a detailed discussion see below, the section on "inferred identifications III").

Inferred Identifications I: by "foreign" names

As indicated above, the witnesses or other persons referred to in Neo-Assyrian contracts and other private legal documents are very commonly identified by just their name. This is probably one reason why academic discussion concerning cultural diversity focuses so strongly on the etymological analysis of the names, implying that the etymological origin of the name indicates the cultural and gentilic/"ethnic" affiliation as well as the geographical "origin" of the name bearer. In contrast to this prevailing assumption,[13] it can be shown, e.g., by the corpus of texts mentioning explicitly "Egyptians" that the equation *foreign name = foreigner from the implied area* does not work, although in case of several individuals such an inference may be likely, as can be argued for many persons in Assur bearing Egyptian names.

About the half of the approximately 30 persons known to be explicitly denoted as "Egyptian" or parent respectively child of an "Egyptian" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus (see Table 1, pp. 105–109) bear Akkadian names; only four names can be analyzed with high probability as etymologically Egyptian. Another four persons bear possibly Egyptian names, i.e., names out of which elements may be identified as Egyptian, including Uširihiuhurti with his probable Egypto-Libyan name (see Table 2).[14] In addition, at least two West Semitic names and an Aramaic one are attested, as well as three names currently defying etymologization.

An implication, which equates "foreign name" with "foreigner rooted in the cultural affiliation matching the etymology of the name," is therefore obviously highly problematic and needs discussion in each individual instance.[15] As a consequence, the information value regarding cross-regional mobility and cultural diversity to be gleaned from the etymologically foreign names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 is also limited. Nevertheless the variety of languages reflected in the names is striking, as is the amount of names currently defying etymologization (see Table 2 and also below, the section on "residents from afar").

The etymological spread of most attested names does not need cause irritation, except for their unhelpfulness regarding any line of argumentation: Akkadian names may have been chosen by anyone in the then Assyrian-ruled area of the Gezira and northern Euphrates region—whether by the parents in order to advance their own or their children's career, by the adult person on various occasions such as marriage, taking up special functions, etc., or by force via an institution.[16] Any Aramaean or other West Semitic names may at this period belong to inhabitants of Guzana, as well as to those living anywhere in the eastern Mediterranean region and Mesopotamia.[17] Egypto-Libyan and Egyptian names are likely to have spread at least to the southern Levant for centuries due to the close connection and long periods of Egyptian (claim to) control in that area.[18]

Consequently, Han/llabeš(e) may bear an Egyptian, Egypto-Libyan, Libyan, or Phoenician name[19] without regard to the family's (original) background: The northeastern African area and the Levant, and the southern half even more so, were closely connected in the 8th century BCE and long before,[20] facilitating both the mobility of people and of names. However, the scarcity of the name in the Neo-Assyrian onomasticon and the comparatively early date make it likely that also Hanabeš or his family were newcomers to Guzana from the south.[21] Whether or not the owner of the property adjoining the *tuanu* sold in this document is the same as the "Samarian" Hallabeše active in Guzana under Esarhaddon (Assyrian king between 680 and 669 BCE; PNA 2/1: 443 no. 1) cannot be ascertained. If this is indeed the case, he certainly belongs to the "newcomers" resident in Guzana, and it considerably strengthens the interpretation of a multi-cultural society at Guzana already in 700 BC. But whether a deportee—as Charles Draper suggests to account for his presence—may have owned a house within five years or a generation (depending on the assigned context of deportation) remains open to doubt.[22] The apparent diversity and mobility witnessed by the tablet shows that such an interpretation, which is still prevalent in order to account for foreigners in Assyria and Babylonia,[23] is not at all necessary.

Slightly more exotic seem the Arabian[?] name Ṣiranû, the many unidentified names such as Huriri, Qišeraya, or Ribiṣiṣi, as well as the hitherto uncommented[?] name Alara. As Arabian tribes are known to have been involved in the various allying and counter-allying strategies in the context of the Assyrian campaigns to the Levant and Egypt

and their aftermath,[24] Arabian names are likely to have become known and to spread within the wider region. Therefore, also an Arabian name does not necessarily imply an Arabic origin of the person.

For Alara two potential etymologies come to mind, one pointing to the Hittite sphere in analogy to names such as *A-la-ra-na-du*.[25] Another possible origin of the name may be Kush, where this or a similar name is known for one of the early 8th century BCE kings, although—as far as I am aware—only an Egyptian hieroglyphic rendering is known, thereby leaving the question of vocalization and therefore even the potential homonymy open to discussion.[26] Once more, a Hittite name does not provide much information about a person living in Guzana, while a Kushite etymology at this date may actually imply a person from Kush or at least from southern Egypt. As there is evidence for Kushites accompanying "Kushite horses" as early as ca. 730 BCE in Assyria,[27] a Kushite resident at Guzana is not completely out of the picture.

The names currently defying etymologization, i.e., Ribišiši, Qišeraya, and Huriri, may point either to more obscure origins or to the lack of comprehensive cross-disciplinary study of the Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 1st half of the 1st century BCE. In combination with the other indications for cross-regional mobility and high degree of cultural diversity, they strengthen the need for the latter: They either indicate a much more diverse naming practice than currently envisaged by academia, which is nevertheless to be expected in comparatively "globalized" societies, or they argue for an even wider scope of origins of the population of 8th and 7th century Assyria, or at least Guzana, than implied by the geography-related identifiers.

Inferred Identifications II: ethnicon, gentilic or toponym referring to a former or the current place of living?

A second issue to be addressed is the identification via a geography-related identifier. In case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, they at least include the identifying remarks on Sama', the seller of the *tuanu*, and on the witnesses Zanbalâ and Uširihiuhurti, and possibly also on Šamaš-bel-ketti who probably is the father[?] of Sama', although this cannot be ascertained due to the destruction of the beginning of the line (see below).[28]

As can be argued for a number of other cases, the identification "Egyptian," "Damascene," etc., may denote either a gentilic (including its potential cultural or ethnic affiliations) or a geography-related affiliation, which refers to the phenomenon of being an inhabitant of a place or region rather than focusing on belonging to the specific community as "in-group member." This toponymic identifier can specify the current as well as a former place of living, as can be shown for a group of documents from Persian period Babylonia, even though the context—regarding both, time and socio-cultural setting—is admittedly slightly different: As pointed out by Caroline Waerzeggers, the same group of persons is denoted in some of the texts as "Carians," in others as "Egyptians." Most likely, this reflects that they were originally from Caria, came to Egypt as mercenaries, and were later stationed at Borsippa as part of the Persian army.[29]

Such evidence puts the prevalent equation *geographic identifier = cultural affiliation to the region* nearly as much into jeopardy as the rather generally implied equation *foreign name = cultural affiliation to the region etymologically identified* (see above).[30] This does not mean that the equations are not valid in various or even in most cases, but that they need to be discussed in each instance.

Another important and not sufficiently researched issue in this context concerns the perception of larger geographic entities of changing political and subsequently socio-cultural setups. One of the most prominent examples is Egypt at the period in question, both regarding inside and outside perceptions: What is meant by *mišir* in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, i.e., in a period characterized by contested claims of control over the lower Nile valley and delta by the cross-regional superpowers—the Assyrian and the Kushite kingdoms—as well as various local powers, some of which feature Libyan roots or connections? Is the delta still perceived as "Egypt" or are the Kushite-controlled segments subsumed under "Kush" in the various inside and outside perceptions? Does "Libya" in the external sources from the East denote the area west of the delta or does it include or even primarily refer to the "Libyan" segments of the delta?[31] And are these shifts and changes observed e.g. in Guzana and by whom?

Inferred Identifications III: academic implications—the case of Sama', seller of the *tuanu*

In the case of Sama' (and Šamaš-bel-ketti), the reading of the identifiers in the introductory paragraph of the document is to be discussed:[32] it introduces Sama' as '$^{2\,m}$*sa-ma-a'* LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a* ^{3} [A ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI *ša* URU.*gu-za-ni* ^{4} [E]N *tu-a-ni* SUM *an*' (StAT 2, 53.2–4). There are difficulties to be dealt with at least regarding five different aspects:

1) a lacuna: Is the restitution [A ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI "[son of x]y" (beginning of line 3), suggested by Veysel Donbaz and Simo Parpola and questioned by Simonetta Ponchia in her review of the study, correct?[33]
2) the combination of this lacuna and the ambiguity of reading logographic writing: Does [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI denote a name ([Ša]maš-bel-ketti), as suggested in StAT 2 53, or a profession or status etc., as suggested in the review?[34]
3) the unusual writing of the place name: How is the place name *si-me-ri-šu-a-a* to be identified geographically, as Damascus (StAT 2, 53 and followers), as Samaria (Ponchia 2003, and followers) or another, still unidentified place name?[35]
4) the language-characteristic lack of punctuation: Are the identifying phrases structured in parallel or hierarchically, i.e. refers "of the (town of)

Guzana" to Sama' or to [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti?

5) the academic implications based on the interpretation of the geographic identifiers: Are they to be understood as ethnonyms/gentilics, cultural identifiers or as toponyms indicating a former or the current place of residence?

Although a lot is open to discussion, there is also some rather definitive information on Sama' in the text: Sama' is definitively identified by the geographic identifier "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," though both, the geographic identity of *si-me-ri-šu-a-a*' and the implication of the phrase LÚ* ("man") plus *nisba* of place name, are open to discussion. He is definitively the "owner of the *tuanu* being sold," as the *tuanu* is explicitly specified as property "of Sama' in (the town of) Guzana" farther down in the text (StAT 2, 53.7). Note that at least the last apposition (StAT 2, 53.4: "[E]N *tu-a-ni* SUM *an*" is constructed in parallel to "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," which as a consequence is to be deducted also for the identificatory phrase in (all or at least the first part of) line 3.[36]

In contrast, the restitution of the filiation of Sama' in this line cannot be ascertained with any degree of probability. All beginnings of lines 1–4 are restituted based on the contents-related standard formulas of these kinds of documents, which makes them exceedingly likely, but not certain. The only reading of these restitutions to have attracted comment is the filiation in line 3: not for linguistic reasons (e.g., unusual sentence construction, length of the lacuna, etc.), but due to its potential (and refuted) implications regarding cross-regional mobility at that date.[37] In absence of a plausible alternative for [A "son (of)"],[38] I will stick to this reading.

AS EXEMPLIFIED BY this and the other contributions in this volume, at the time in question, i.e., ca. 700 BCE, relocations and travels between Guzana and Damascus (or Samaria, for that matter) are as much in the picture as are forced or voluntary relocations, although only professionally inspired short- and long-distance travels as well as forced long-distance relocations (deportations as hostages or for breaking up local/regional communities and/or power structures) tend to be in the academic field of vision. I therefore wish to draw attention to the issue that the actual geographic identification of the (unusually written and therefore controversially interpreted) place name *si-me-ri-šu-a-a* (Damascus, Samaria, or a still unidentified place name) is of much less importance regarding the issue of cross-regional mobility than its scarcely discussed academic implications.

In order to exemplify the impact of the assumed connotations of the identifiers "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" (as toponym referring to a former or the current place of living, as gentilic or as identifier denoting Sama's cultural affiliation) and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" (referring either to Sama' or to his father?), I will outline a number of scenarios which might have caused the specific introduction of the seller and the sold property in the sale deed Ass. 8642a/ IstM A 1924:

> [Fingernail] of Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*, [son? of ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti{,?} from Guzana, owner of the *tuanu* (bath) being sold. (five fingernail impressions) [5] A *tuanu* (bath) with it's beams (and) doors, and a wall between Ribišiši and Hanabeš, (property) of Sama' in the City of Guzana […].[39]

NISBA = TOPONYMIC IDENTIFIER I (CURRENT PLACE OF LIVING) – FATHER? IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: The first line of interpretation is based on the assumption that Sama' was explicitly denoted as currently living in *Simerišu*? and as son? of an inhabitant of Guzana. In this reading, we do not learn when Sama' moved to *Simerišu*? or whether he was born there. As the father? Šamaš-bel-ketti is identified as "from Guzana," it seems likely that either the son? relocated to *Simerišu*? sometime in adulthood or that his father? temporarily lived there before returning or generally moving to Guzana. We also do not know how and when Sama' acquired the *tuanu* in Guzana. Possibly he inherited it from his father?, which would easily explain the additional identification of Sama' via his filiation "son? of Šamaš-bel-ketti from Guzana" and the repeated ascription of the *tuanu* as property of Sama'. Another open question is why the *tuanu* is sold.

At least three different scenarios may be devised, which meet the circumstances indicated in the text, albeit based on different implications: If the family or at least the father? originated from Guzana and had moved for whatever reason and at whichever time to *Simerišu*?, the former place of family residence may be stated in the identification of the father?, because the *tuanu* being sold is an old family property from the time before the relocation to *Simerišu*?. A second scenario assumes that the father?/family is still based in Guzana and only Sama' moved to *Simerišu*?. In this setting, Sama' possibly disposed of the (inherited?) *tuanu* after the death of his father?, himself being firmly established in *Simerišu*?. Equally perceivable is a situation, in which the family moved temporarily from Guzana or elsewhere to *Simerišu*?. The father? may have moved on or back to Guzana at some point in his life, while Sama' still lives at *Simerišu*?, but for whatever reason sells his (bought or inherited?) property at Guzana.

Possible contexts of relocations from Guzana to *Simerišu* include the Assyrian expansion politics to the Mediterranean—e.g., as part of the army or its retinue or in the hope of being able to live in a place not under Assyrian control—or for whatever personal or profession-related reasons.

Note that in this first line of interpretation, Sama' came north—explicitly for the occasion of or for various reasons including the sale of the *tuanu*—and testified with his fingernail his presence at Guzana during the writing of the sale deed.[40]

NISBA = TOPONYMIC IDENTIFIER II (FORMER PLACE OF LIVING) – FATHER? IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: In a second line of interpretation, Sama' is identified as former resident of *Simerišu*?, thereby implying a current place of living at Guzana. Similar scenarios come to the fore as sketched out above, but indicating different motivations for the toponymic ascriptions: The different geographic identifiers may have been used to stress that only Sama' had temporarily moved to *Simerišu*?. Possibly, the author wanted to emphasize that he belongs to Guzana, not only because he is (again) living there after some time of absence but also because of his family ties. Or the double identification was meant to indicate that Sama' had moved to Guzana as his father? had done before him. This was possibly of special relevance if he was selling the *tuanu* he had bought for himself when moving to (join his father? in) Guzana or which he had inherited there.

NISBA = TOPONYMIC IDENTIFIER (CURRENT OR FORMER PLACE OF LIVING)—SAMA' IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: A third line of interpretation is based on a different interpretation of the sentence structure, in which "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" does not identify [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti, but is a further apposition to Sama': i.e. Sama' is "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," "[son? of ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti," and "from Guzana." In this scenario, Sama's current place of residence would be explicitly specified as Guzana, although he is perceived as *Simerišian*?. No indication is provided why this is the case: because the family originates there, because he lived there sometime during his life, because of his affiliation to *Simerišian*? cultural aspects such as religious beliefs, language, etc., or because he associates in Guzana with *Simerišian*? people (note that the same spread of potential reasons behind the ascription may also apply here).

An introduction of Sama' explicitly as both from *Simerišu*? and from Guzana suggests the wish of the author (potentially any of the persons involved including the scribe) to draw attention to this double identification of Sama'. Possibly, such an introduction should be read similarly to a statement nowadays "I am from place/country x, born in place/country y." Depending on the amount and geographical scope of experienced relocations, the details provided may be affected by the context, in which the information is given—official or unofficial/private, migration- or identity-related, self-perceived, or assumed by others, etc. Unfortunately, an analysis of such identity constructions is beyond the highly underdetermined scope of information given in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus, at least with regard to the "Egyptians" mentioned in the sources (see Table 1, pp. 105–109).[41]

NISBA = GENTILIC IDENTIFIER—FATHER? IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: As indicated above (see above, the section on "inferred identifications II"), the universal validity of the academically prevalent interpretation of geographic identifiers (and especially those constructed as *nisba* of a geographic name plus a person identifier) as gentilics implying ethnic or cultural affiliation is to be questioned. They are neither to be generally assumed nor to be refuted as potentially explicitly implied notions. In the case of Sama', the seller of the *tuanu* in the contract inscribed on tablet Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, not enough biographical information is preserved to ascertain the underlying identity construction.

Accordingly, a fourth line of interpretation understands "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" as gentilic and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" as toponymic identifier for the father? [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti (hierarchical structure). This results at least in three possible scenarios: Sama' may have been seen as in-group member of the city of Guzana and specified as belonging to the subgroup of persons from *Simerišu*?. Or the father may have been perceived as in-group member at Guzana, while the son was not—as testified by his ascription as "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*." This may have been due to Sama's place of residence outside Guzana (possibly still or again in *Simerišu*?) or to displaying *Simerišian*? (cultural) identity. Depending on the social context of the sale, also a reversed in-group perception of father and son is possible: If the sale is concluded within the Guzanian subgroup of *Simerišians*?, the intention may have been to mark the son as in-group member, while the father is seen as resident of the town but not affiliated to the expat community from *Simerišu*?.

NISBA = GENTILIC IDENTIFIER – SAMA' IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: A fifth line of interpretation understands "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" as gentilic and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" as toponymic identifier for Sama' (parallel structure of appositions). This results in loosing information on the place of residence of the father, who may still live in *Simerišu*? or be also a resident of Guzana (or some other unspecified place). Sama' may belong to the local expat community or not (see scenarios above in the fourth line of interpretation).

NISBA = CULTURAL IDENTIFIER—*ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI* = OF GUZANIAN EXTRACTION: Further alternatives come to the fore, if "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" denotes neither a gentilic nor the place of (former) residence, but rather the perceived or explicitly displayed cultural affiliation. This opens up the question of what is denoted by the expression "*ša* place name": of Guzanian extraction or of Guzanian residence.

Accordingly, the sixth line of interpretation is devoted to a reading of "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" as cultural identifier and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" as toponymic identifier denoting the geographic family origin. In this scenario, no indication is given concerning either the father?'s or Sama's place of residence. They—and especially Sama'—may have lived in Guzana, *Simerišu*?, or any other place. The cultural identifier "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," despite Guzanian family origin, may be specified to stress that Sama' associates with the Guzanian expat group from *Simerišu*? or relocated to such an expat community or even to *Simerišu*? itself. Alternatively, the explicit denotation as "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-*

a," although of Guzanian extraction, may indicate that Sama' changed his cultural affiliation and displayed *Simerišian*? identity.

As a consequence, only one out of many equally possible reasons for identifying Sama' as "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" (and only when applying the equally problematic geographic identification of Samaria instead of Damascus or an unidentified place name) may have been that he originally came from Samaria and was possibly deported from there in the wake of 8th century Assyrian military actions in the Levant.[42] Similarly, only in this specific line of interpretation based on a parallel structure of all identifying appositions in the preamble of the contract and on a gentilic connotation of the geographical identifier, the issue of "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" referring to Damascus or to Samaria (or someplace else) is of conceptual importance. For Sama', it was evidently important in any case, but regarding the academic perception of the scope of cross-regional mobility at the time, the question of potentially repeated relocations is the key issue, while the scope of Guzana–Damascus or Guzana–Samaria is comparatively circumstantial.

On a different line of thought, the question remains whether the author of the contract used "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" just as palpable and definite identification for Sama', in which the issue of being perceived as "foreigner" may resonate or not. If the former, Sama' may equally have been marked as *outsider* or as *newcomer, who now belongs to the local community*. This opens up the further question what was considered as "foreign"—i.e., culturally different—at the given place and time: Would the Aramaic city-state of Damascus be seen as belonging to the same sphere as the Aramaic/Syro-Hittite city-state of Guzana? Similarly, would the polyglottic community of Samaria including at least Aramaic and Hebrew and possibly Egyptian-speaking residents be perceived as belonging to the same polyglottic (and culturally diverse) sphere as Guzana—potentially in contrast to Urartu and Assyria (and Egypt?), which were viewed as defining distinctly different spheres?

People-Object Inference Regarding Cross-regional Mobility

By combining archaeological and philological information, some further aspects of object-related people mobility can be observed: It is at least possible to follow the object from Guzana/Tell Halaf in the Upper Euphrates region to Assur on the Upper Tigris, within Assur, from Assur to Istanbul and within Istanbul, as well as its documentation at least from Assur to Berlin and within Berlin (see above, the section on "the archaeological and archival context," including note 2).

Mobility of objects I: from Guzana to Assur

The first step we can see of the probably much more extensive history of object mobility of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 is a transfer from Guzana/Tell Halaf to Assur. As has already been pointed out, e.g., in 1997 by Karen Radner,[43] the text found in Assur in 1905 had in all probability been written in Guzana. This is to be deducted from various comments in the text:[44]

1) The property for sale is in Guzana: "[5] A *tuanu* (bath) with it's beams (and) doors, and a wall between Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, (property) of Sama' in the City of Guzana— [8] Qišeraya, chief of […]ean, has contracted and bought it for fifty shekels of silver."
2) Adad residing in Guzana is invoked: "[13] Whoever in the future … seeks a lawsuit or litigation with Qi[šer]aya and his sons, [19] shall place ten minas of refined silver (and) one m[ina] of pure gold in the lap of Adad who resides i[n G]uzana shall tie four white horses at the feet of [Sîn] who resides in Harran, and shall return the money tenfold to its owner."
3) One of the witnesses is connected to the governor of Guzana: "[r.] 20 [Witness] Buraya, chief beer-brewer [r.] 21 [of?] the governor of Guzana."
4) Two further witnesses are likely to be connected to the Adad temple at Guzana: "[r.] 8 Witness Abarrâ, scholar of the temple of Adad. … [r.] 11 Witness Adad-ahu-uṣur of the temple."
5) In contrast, there is no evidence at all pointing to Assur or any other place than Guzana apart from the rather general invocation of "Sîn who resides in Harran" together with "Adad who resides in Guzana" in the curse formula (obv.13–18, e.19–20, r.1–4), which also points to the Balikh and Upper Euphrates region.

As the tablet has been found in house 12 in Assur (see above the section on "the archaeological and archival context"), this instigates the questions of how, when, and why the sale deed for a property in Guzana was transferred to Assur. The questions cannot be answered satisfactorily due to lack of information on the persons involved (see Table 2, pp. 110–112). However, there are a number of plausible explanations, as the transfer may have happened due to the mobility of the owner, of the ownership and of the record of this ownership:

If the transfer of the tablet has been due to the mobility of Qišeraya, the buyer, he may have acquired the property while living in Guzana and later on moved to Assur, or he may already have been a resident of Assur when he bought the property in Guzana, or he may have lived in a third place when he bought the property in Guzana and later on moved to Assur.

Equally possible is a transfer of the object due to the mobility of the property deed, i.e., the ownership of the property: The *tuanu* may have changed hands again to someone either living in or later on moving to Assur. Plausible scenarios for this are a further sale or an inheritance.

The transfer may also have taken place due to the

mobility of the object itself, i.e., the mobility of the sale deed *record*: With regard to Neo-Assyrian legal practice, the record may have been given into custody to a friend, e.g., because of a longer absence rather in the manner of nowadays putting important documents into a bank safe. Or the record may have been given to someone in Assur as a pledge.[45]

Mobility of objects II: within Assur

We can only speculate on the circulation of the object from the time of its being written in Guzana, its transfer to Assur, and finally the place where it has been in the ground for more than 2,500 years. There is no evidence illustrating to which extent the tablet has been shifted around. As it has not been found in a context indicating a deposition for safekeeping (i.e., filed away for later reference; see above, the section on "the archaeological and archival context"), it was at least handled—and therefore moved—either before house 12 was left or after, when the tablet (was discarded and) became part of the debris.

Residents from Afar

As already indicated, the tablet contents provide important, albeit in detail underdetermined, evidence for the social impact of cross-regional mobility, i.e., for a society characterized by a high degree of cultural diversity or at least a composition of persons from a variety of family origins. The seller of the *tuanu*, Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*,[46] is probably either a (descendant of) newcomer(s) to Guzana, relocated from Guzana to *Simerišu*? temporarily or permanently, or affiliated with persons from *Simerišu*? (see above). Similarly, two further persons in the document are explicitly specified by their gentilic, cultural affiliation or former place of living: One is Zanbalâ, *Arab*, the other Uširihiuhurti, Egyptian, verbatim [r.] 7 IGI ^{m}*za-an-ba*–URU-*a* LÚ*.*arba-bi* (witness Zanbalâ, "man of the Arabs") and [r.] 9 IGI ^{m}*ú-ši-ri-hi-ú-hur-ti* LÚ*.*mi-ṣir-ra-a-a* (witness Uširihiuhurti, "man belonging to Egypt").[47] Whether they both actually came from Arabia and Egypt, identified with the respective cultural tradition, or whether they have been more loosely associated with these areas, e.g., by temporarily living there, cannot be ascertained. The combination of the roughly matching etymological origin of the names—Zanbalâ is a West Semitic, Uširihiuhurti probably a Libyo-Egyptian name (see above)—and the topographic identifiers favor their interpretation as newcomers from the south. In Guzana, they seem to have been residents at the time of the sale deed, as is strengthened by the contrasting identifications of the witnesses Adda-bi'di, merchant, and the group of three *ubaru* ("visitors").[48] While the *ubaru* Balliṭ-Ia, Mizi-Ia, and Ah-abi in all likelihood stayed in Guzana only temporarily, Qišeraya, Sama', and Adda-bi'di were either residents of Guzana, albeit in case of Adda-bi'di requiring times of absence, or not; all other witnesses and persons referred to seem to have been long-term residents of the town.

The question arises why also temporary residents of Guzana are included as witnesses of the sale: As the three "visitors" Balliṭ-Ia, Mizi-Ia, and Ah-abi are only known from this document (see Table 2, pp. 110–112), no indication is preserved of why they were in Guzana at the time, where they came from, and why they testified the contract. Possibly they were included because they were easily available: Maybe they were housed with one of the contracting partners, Sama' or Qišeraya, with the scribe, or with one of the other witnesses. Or they were drawn upon due to the specific nature of the contract: e.g., because one or both of the contracting partners were possibly not residents at Guzana (see above). Alternatively, they may have stood in for other potentially interested parties, such as the neighbors Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, who are conspicuously absent in the list of witnesses. Or they and potentially also the merchant Adda-bi'di may themselves have been interested parties (see below).

The Organizational Framework of Cross-Regional Mobility

Characteristically, Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 mainly provides insights into the outcome of cross-regional mobility by testifying a community composition with a large amount of newcomers and subsequently a high degree of cultural diversity (for the potential scope of mobility to be gleaned from Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, see Fig. 1). Information on the organizational framework of the underlying mobility is scarce within the whole text corpus as well as in the presented document.

The *Ubaru* ("Visitors")

Of specific interest, both for the issue of cross-regional mobility in the 8th–6th centuries BCE and for a transcultural history of the Iron Age eastern Mediterranean region in general, is therefore the mentioning of *ubaru* ("visitors"). As has been pointed out by Simonetta Ponchia, the other attestations of the stem *wbr* in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus (especially StAT 2, 173; SAA 1, 153; SAA 7, 151) suggest that the ascription as *ubaru* entails a "peculiar juridical status for foreigners involved in commercial activities."[49]

StAT 2, 173 reflects a court decision concerning Egyptian merchants from either 636 or 625 BCE. According to the text edition, the document reads: "[1] The Egyptian merchants have entered the house of Hakubaya as foreign guests. [3] Šamaš-reši-išši, priest, Aya-naṣir, Mar-nuri, Il-saqa', Umubadi, Nabute—in all five *criminals* who *attacked* the Egyptian merchants in the house of Hakubaya. [8] Hakubaya shall test[ify] before the magnates. [10] Month Adar (XII), 22nd day, eponym year of Sîn-šarru-uṣur" (StAT 2 173).[50] This is not the place for a detailed discussion of this text.[51] For the context of this contribution, it suffices to point out that either the court proceedings or the specific juridical procedure requiring Hakubaya's testimony before the magnates may be due to the specific status of the merchants as *ana ubaratu* in the house of Hakubaya.[52] The issue would merit a much more thorough

study, especially a diachronic comparison on the relation to the *status of stranger/foreigner* (*wabrūtu*) attested in the Old Assyrian sources.[53]

From the same stem derives the expression *bīt wabrī*, which seems to denote a *guest house* or *caravanserai*, which is well attested in Old Assyrian and probably has a similar meaning in Neo-Assyrian times as indicated by SAA 1 153 (following the greeting formula of the letter): "The Sidonites and the(ir) heads did not go to Calah with the crown prince, my lord, nor are they serving in the garrison of Nineveh. They loiter in the center of the town, each in his lodging place (r6: *ina* É–*ub-re-šú*)" (SAA 1, 153.6–r6).[54] This opens up the questions of what defines a *bīt wabrī* and how it is organized: Is it an official/semi-official/private institution or is a private house e.g. of a functionary (e.g., Hakubaya?) used in such a capacity (see also the next section below)?

As a substantial amount of the available evidence is only in list format (e.g., Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 [StAT 2, 53] and SAA 7, 151), the potential of a comprehensive diachronic study of the evidence on *wbr* is limited. Nevertheless, a compilation and critical examination of the wider semantic field "foreigner/guest" will provide some basis for a cross-regional comparative discussion on the practical and socio-psychological implications of being perceived as foe, stranger, newcomer, or guest.[55] Possible lines of investigation could be to collect evidence for specific or unspecific geographical scopes, for example, versus implicit representations of "foreignness" and for the validity of a predominantly hostile connotation of the concept "foreign(er)."

As newcomers made up substantial percentages of towns like Assur, Nineveh, Guzana, or Babylon (or, e.g., 7th century BCE Memphis in Egypt) at the time in question, a detailed discussion of the evidence contrasting expressions like "descendant/son of a town" vs. "foreigner/stranger" may shed light on the question of what was the principal issue: Was it preeminent to be an official resident of the town, whatever one's extraction? Or did issues like cultural affiliation, obvious "foreignness," etc., play a major role in the actual economic, administrative, and social workings of such culturally diverse societies? A possible outcome might be that the common academic interpretation of, e.g., "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" or "LÚ*.LÚ*.*mi-ṣir-ra-a-a*" as gentilic implying cultural or ethnic affiliation is to be rejected completely as an anachronistic modern perception: the ancient toponymic denotation may only have referred to the fact of (formerly) living or the right to settle in a specific town or geographic area.

Why bothering about a bath at Guzana?

Another potential track to open up further research questions regarding the practicalities of cross-regional

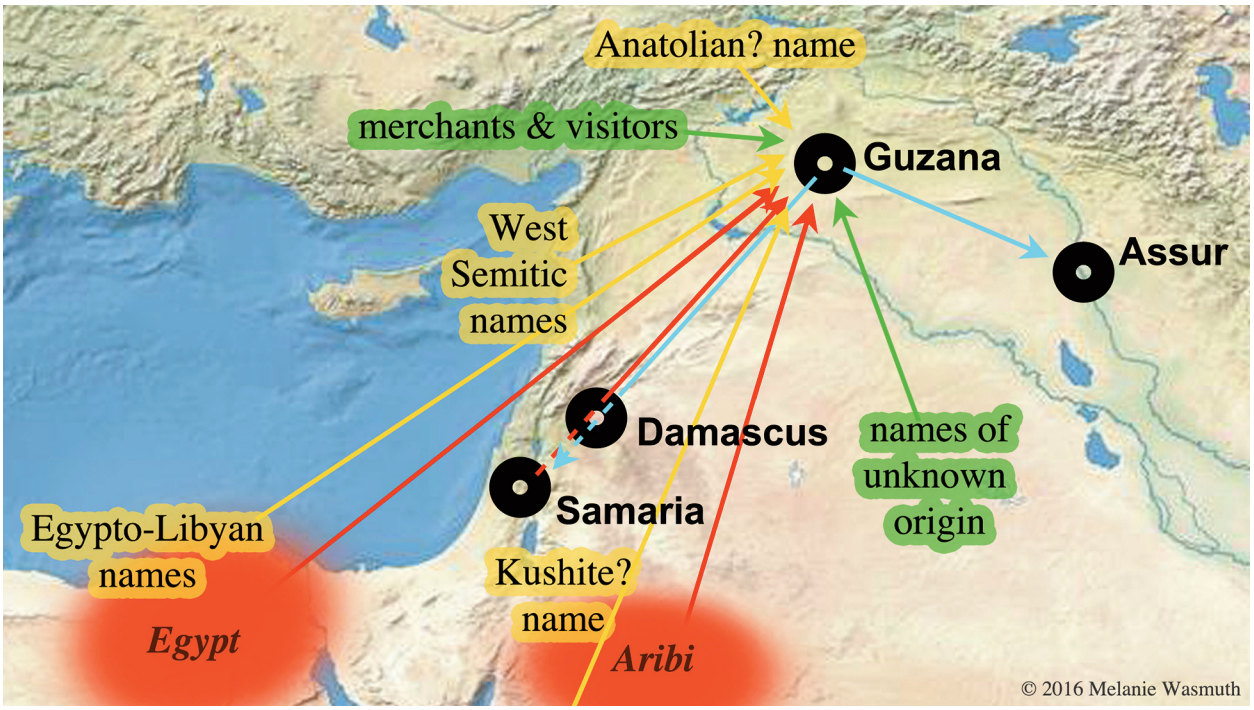


Figure 1: Scope of mobility to be inferred from Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 (underlying satellite map: NE 2).

mobility concerns the motivation behind purchasing a *tuanu*, a kind of bath as indicated in the sale deed. Though it is currently impossible to visualize the characteristics of such a *tuanu* bath (the word is a *hapax*[56]), it must have been a rather substantial architectural structure, as its walls and roof are mentioned in the contract (StAT 2 53.5–6).

But why would anyone buy (just) a bath? Likely reasons for such a purchase are financial investment or convenience. The interpretation of its potential usage is once more affected by the assumed place of living of the buyer, Guzana or someplace else, and the intended users—Qišeraya himself, associates of him, or unrelated persons.

If Qišeraya did not live or only temporarily lived in Guzana, it seems likely that the *tuanu* was bought to provide a lodging and cleaning facility for stopovers at the place, i.e., to facilitate cross-regional mobility. This may have been a matter of convenience for his own travels or for members of his social circle. Alternatively—and then we would have to consider the issue of an investment purchase—the *tuanu* could be used by any travelers passing through Guzana. The latter would provide a good explanation for why the "merchant" and the "visitors" are included in the list of witnesses. They themselves may have been interested parties, possibly using (or staying at) the *tuanu* at the time of the sale.

Other scopes of interpretation become likely, if Qišeraya has been a resident of Guzana at the time. In case of an investment purchase, similar explanations as highlighted above come to mind. But if he bought the *tuanu* for his own use while he himself was based at Guzana, a mobility-unrelated explanation is equally likely: He may have bought for himself a house characterized by a substantial or specific kind of bath that is cited as *pars pro toto* for the whole building.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, tablet Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 was found in Assur in the debris of house 12, possibly on a level roughly corresponding to the bottom of the niche in the room adjoining the indicated findspot for Ass. 8448. It has been assigned to a find complex including tablets, referred to as "archive N 18," but no indications are preserved to the tablet's last place of deposit for storage and further referencing.

The text documents a property sale (consisting of or including a special kind of bath), which involved a number of short- and long-term residents at Guzana, modern-day Tell Halaf, thereby indicating a high degree of cultural diversity and cross-regional mobility in ca. 700 BCE. However, the biographical information provided for each person is limited, especially regarding the geographical origin and cultural affiliation. This difficulty is augmented by the prevalent academic practice of inferring more precise and consequently even more limited information than is actually given. This applies to the exceedingly problematic implication of cultural affiliation and/or geographic origin commonly assigned to persons bearing names of etymologically foreign origin as well as to the interpretation of geographic identifiers as ethnonyms or gentilics.

By critically reviewing the textual structure and explicitly provided data along different lines of interpretation, this contribution illustrates that the potential scope of underlying realities may have been much more diversified than traditionally assumed: To give an example, the geographic family origins of Sama', the seller of the *tuanu* bath, may have been in *Simerišu*[?], a place name of uncertain identification (Damascus[?], Samaria[?], or another town yet unidentified). Alternatively, his family may have been native to Guzana with temporary place of residence in *Simerišu*[?]. Even an unspecified place of origin or former place of living may be inferred.

Similarly, the probable motivations behind the sale and acquisition of the property allow a number of reconstructions regarding the persons involved in the contract and the object itself, which was inscribed at Guzana but finally discarded in Assur: Depending on the assumed biography of Sama' and on the inferred motives for the various identifying ascriptions, the property at sale may originally have been bought by Sama' or inherited by him. Qišeraya may have acquired the property as an outpost for his own or his associates' convenience in traveling or as an investment purchase designed for housing temporary residents or lodgers in Guzana.

Also, the tablet may have been transferred to Assur due to a relocation of the owner of the property, another change of hands, or the economic value of the sale deed record, which may have induced the transfer for safekeeping or as a pledge.

In addition, the source and its discussion open up various more general research questions regarding cross-regional mobility: a) Did the perception of *miṣir* "Egypt" (as case study for any other area of contested claims of control) change at the time in question? Did it refer to the Nile delta plus lower Nile valley, only to the delta, only to the non-Kushite controlled areas of the delta, or mainly to the Egypto-Libyan areas of settlement and control? I.e., was *miṣir* "Egypt" predominantly perceived as a geographical, political, or socio-cultural entity? And how does this potential multivalence show in the sources reflecting a period when these categories do not correlate? b) What can be discovered about cross-regional standards and administrative or organizational features that facilitated larger-scale mobility and especially short- and long-term immigration? How did the level of cross-regional mobility affect "inside/outside" perceptions, attitudes toward one's neighbors, and strategies of living in ancient culturally diverse societies in the Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to 6th centuries BCE and beyond?

Abbreviations

AHW — Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner (1868–1947) I–III* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981).

Assur. Inventar III — Ernst Walter Andrae et al., "Assur. Inventar III. (10. August 1905. – 4. März 1907.). Nr. 6931–11144. Seite 2.–149. (Assur 1905–1907)" (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin).

CAD — Martha T. Roth et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956–2010).

CTN 3 — Stephanie Dalley and John Nicholas Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser, Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud III* (Oxford: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984).

MS Radner WVDOG — Karen Radner, "Die beiden neuassyrischen Privatarchive," in Peter Miglus, Karen Radner, and Franciszek M. Stepniowski, *Untersuchungen im Stadtgebiet von Assur: Wohnquartiere in der Weststadt I*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (forthcoming; manuscript version: 5 November 2012).

NE 2 — Nathaniel Vaughn Kelso, Tom Patterson et al., *Natural Earth II with Shaded Relief, Water, and Drainages: Coloring Based on Idealized Land Cover* (version version 3.2.0), *Natural Earth*, http://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/10m-natural-earth-2/10m-natural-earth-2-with-shaded-relief-water-and-drainages/ (accessed 18 February 2016).

PNA — Simo Parpola (ed.-in-chief) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire I–III* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–2011).

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PNAu — Heather D. Baker, *Updates to the Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, http://individual.utoronto.ca/HDBaker/pnaupdates.html, accessed 22 May 2016.

SAA 1 — Simo Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West, State Archives of Assyria 1* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987).

SAA 6 — Theodore Kwasman and Simo Parpola, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*, State Archives of Assyria 6 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991).

SAA 7 — Frederick Mario Fales and John Nicholas Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records I: Palace and Temple Administration*, State Archives of Assyria 7 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992).

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StAT 3 — Betina Faist, *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur*, Studien zu den Assur-Texten 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007).

Tel Hadid 2 — B. Tel Hadid Tablet G/1696 (figs. 6–7), in Nadav Na'aman and Ran Zadok, "Assyrian Deportations to the Province of Samerina in the Light of Two Cuneiform Tablets from Tel Hadid," *Tel Aviv* 27.2 (2000): 169–177.

[1] The discussion of this case study was originally presented at the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Basel, June 2014). Details were also included in the author's input into the workshop discussions on "*Inside* and *Outside* in Mesopotamia" (Leiden, May 2014) and on "Living in an Ancient Multi-cultural Society: The Case of the 'Egyptians' in Early Iron Age Mesopotamia" (Landgut Castelen, Switzerland, October/November 2013). I would like to thank the participants of both workshops for entering into the discussion and for their constructive input. The study is based on data compiled and evaluated within the scope of a Marie Heim-Vögtlin grant of the Swiss National Science Foundation affiliated to Basel University: Egyptology; all persons concerned are accorded my warmest thanks, foremost Susanne Bickel, head of the Egyptology division, Sabine Rossow, who assisted me with the data compilation and filing, and Karen

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2 On the specific practice of find division at Assur in the early 20th century CE, cf. Betina Faist, "Review: Donbaz, Veysel/Parpola, Simo: Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul. (Studien zu den Assur-Texten 2). Saarbrücken: SDV, 2001," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 94 (2004): 122–131. While the find complexes were split into an Istanbul and a Berlin lot, the documentation remains the property of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and is currently kept in the Vorderasitisches Museum Berlin.

3 Conrad Preusser, *Die Wohnhäuser in Assur*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur A. Die Baudenkmäler aus assyrischer Zeit VI (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1954), 15–17.

4 Assur. Inventar III, 54, 61.

5 "1905: Dezember—6. In den weniger guten Hausgrundrissen im Süden von d6 finden sich zahlreiche Thontafeln, ungebr. u. klein, darunter aramäisch beschriftete" (Ernst Walter Andrae et al., "Assur. Tagebuch III. 1. August 1905. Seite 188.–(Assur 1905–1907)" [Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin], 180).

6 Preusser 1954, Tf. 8; Assur. Inventar III, 61: "wie 8448." Olof Pedersén comments upon the find spot: "For a detailed description and plans of House 12 see *WHA* [= Preusser 1954, pp. 28f., pls. 8, 9, 12e]. Note however that whereas the findspot of the archive is correctly marked with [Ass.] 8848 on *WHA*, pl. 8, it is placed in the wrong room in the description, *WHA*, p. 29." (Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations II*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 8 [Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986], 106). This statement is to be qualified: a) As written in the section on "Texts and bibliography of N 18" (Pedersén 1986, 107), the find number under discussion is Ass. 8448, not 8848; b) the comment on page 29 in Preusser 1954 does not necessarily refer to the horizontal position of the find spot, but to the vertical one: the room, where the tablets were found, is not explicitly specified, although at first reading the most likely interpretation. But equally possible is a reading that only comments upon the level of the finds that corresponds to that of the bottom of the niche (in the adjoining room): "Dieser Hauptraum, an der Gassenfront auch schiefwinklig, hat in der Rückwand eine Nische, in deren Fußbodenhöhe unter anderen die beiden Tontafeln Ass. 8448a und b gefunden wurden (vgl. S. 15) …" (Preusser 1954, 29), thereby indicating that the tablets were not found on the floor, but rather in the debris above the spot indicated on the floor plan.

7 Assur. Inventar III, 54, 54–61.

8 Pedersén 1986, 106. This is not the place for a detailed discussion on what constitutes an "archive" and on the impact of Olof Pedersén's primarily philologically based definition, which was defined with regard to the contents and formats of the tablets, not based on find circumstances (cf. StAT 3, 2 and Pedersén 1986, abstract on the impressum page). In case of the so-called archive N 31 it is possible to show that tablet groups received a different find number when their place of excavation was distinctly separated. The problematic regrouping to one "archive" has in that case been the work of later emendation. Then, even tablets found more than 300 m away in another quarter of the town—although partly mentioning the same persons—were subsumed under the same "archive." For "archive" N 31 cf. Pedersén 1986, 125–129; StAT 3: 125–149; StAT 2, 117–154; Melanie Wasmuth, "Einige archäologische Überlegungen zum sogenannten 'Ägypter-Archiv' von Assur (N 31)," forthcoming.

9 Assur. Inventar III, 54–61.

10 For previous discussions or comments on the property sale and/or the persons involved see, e.g., SAAS 6, 249; StAT 2 53: 44–45; Simonetta Ponchia, "Review of Veysel Donbaz—Simo Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul. Studien zu den Assur-Texten (StAT), 2. Berlin/Helsinki, Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft/Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001; in Kommission bei Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag," *Orientalia. Nova Series* 72/2 (2003): 274–282; Irene Huber, "Von Affenwärtern, Schlangenbeschwörern und Palastmanagern: Ägypter im Mesopotamien des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends," in Robert Rollinger and Brigitte Truschnegg (eds.), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, Oriens et Occidens 12, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 313; Evelyn Klengel-Brand and Karen Radner, "Die Stadtbeamten von Assur und ihre Siegel," in Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995, Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project (Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995)* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997), 137–138; Charles Draper, "Two Libyan Names in a Seventh Century Sale Document From Assur," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7.2 (2015): 1–15.

[11] Cited from StAT 2, p. 44f. with slight adaptations. Indicated controversial readings: "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" instead of "a Damacene"; "[son? of ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti{,?} from Guzana" instead of "[son of Ša]maš-bel-ketti from Guzana." The notation of the line numbering is slightly modified.

[12] On the double function of "witness" and "keeper of the tablet" see SAAS 6: 89–106; Simonetta Ponchia, "On the Witnessing Procedure in Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents," in Nicoletta Bellotto and Simonetta Ponchia (eds.), *Witnessing in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings of the Round Table Held at the University of Verona (February 15, 2008)*, Acta Sileni II (Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N, 2009), 132–135.

[13] See, e.g., Huber 2006, 303–329; or by denoting the identifier as *ethnicon* (e.g. implied in Ponchia 2003, 274–282; explicitly marked as such in Ponchia 2009, 169; Karen Radner, "The Assyrian King and His Scholars: The Syro-Anatolian and the Egyptian Schools," in Mikko Luukko, Sanna Svärd and Raija Mattila (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, And Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, Studia Orientalia 106 [Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society, 2009], 225) or *gentilic* (e.g. Draper 2015, 2; Jonathan Stökl, "Gender 'Ambiguity' in Prophecy?," in Jonathan Stökl and Corrine L. Carvalho (eds.), *Prophets Male and Female, Gender and Prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Ancient Near East*, Ancient Israel and its Literature [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013], 73).

[14] See PNA 3/2, 1422 (H. D. Baker and R. Mattila); Charles Draper argues for a possible Libyan etymology of the name of unknown meaning, though the evidence cited—a bronze axe in the Cairo Museum supposed to date from the so-called Libyan dynasties, 10th to early 8th century BCE—is slightly problematic. The object bearing the single attestation of the supposedly underlying name *Wsjrhrt* is of unknown provenance, manufactured according to Egyptian cultural tradition and inscribed in hieroglyphs. The name, which is etymologically non-Egyptian and written in group-writing characteristic for Egyptian renderings of foreign names and words, can be paralleled to names of the contemporary "Libyan" rulers and magnates of Egypt (Draper 2015, 2). Given a (likely) production of the axe in the early 1st millennium BCE, such an etymology seems probable, but as the information on the "Libyans" in Egypt all derive from Egypt and are rendered in Egyptian, an ascription as "Libyo-Egyptian" or similar would therefore be more appropriate (see also above/below, including note 31).

[15] For the Neo-Assyrian private documents explicitly mentioning "Egyptians," a series of brief discussions is planned by the author for the journal *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (*NABU*).

[16] Cf. Karen Radner, *Die Macht des Namens. Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung*, SANTAG. Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 29–32; Heather D. Baker, "Approaches to Akkadian Name-Giving in First-Millennium BC Mesopotamia," in Cornelia Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday, 4 October 2002*, Babylonische Archive 1 (Dresden: ISLET, 2002), 1–24.

[17] On Guzana as part of the Assyrian, Aramaen, and Anatolian sphere see, e.g., Mirko Novák, "Gozan and Guzana. Anatolians, Aramaeans and Assyrians in Tell Halaf," in Dominik Bonatz and Lutz Martin (eds.), *100 Jahre archäologische Feldforschungen in Nordost-Syrien—eine Bilanz*, Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 18 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 259–280. See also Edward Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 100 (Leuven—Paris—Sterlin, Virginia: Peeters, 2000). For introductions to the cultural diversity of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia see, e.g., A. C. V. M Bongenaar and Ben J. J. Haring, "Egyptians in Neo-Babylonian Sippar," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 46 (1994): 59–72; Muhammad A. Dandamayev, "Egyptians in Babylonia in the 6th–7th centuries B.C.," in Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien, Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations 1992), 321–325; Israel Eph'al, "The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th–5th Centuries B.C.," *Orientalia* 47 (1978): 74–90; Jan Tavernier, "Non-Elamite Individuals in Achaemenid Persepolis," *Akkadica* 123 (2002): 145–152; Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Carians of Borsippa," *Iraq* 68 (2006): 1–22; Melanie Wasmuth, "Egyptians in Persia," in Pierre Briant and Michel Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, Persika 14 (Paris: De Bocchard, 2009), 133–141; Donald J. Wiseman, "Some Egyptians in Babylonia," *Iraq* 28 (1966): 154–158; Ran Zadok, "On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 164–181; Ran Zadok, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam during the 1st Millennium B.C.," *Lingua Aegyptiae* 2 (1992): 139–146; Ran Zadok, "The Ethno-Linguistic Character of the Jezireh and Adjacent Regions in the 9th–7th Centuries (Assyria Proper vs. Periphery)," in Mario Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Quaderni die Geographica Storica 5 (Roma: Università di Roma "La Sapienzia," 1995), 217–282; Ran Zadok, "The Representation of Foreigners in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Legal Documents (Eighth through Second Centuries B.C.E.),"

in Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (Winonona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 471–589; Ran Zadok, "On Anatolians, Greeks and Egyptians in 'Chaldean' and Achaemenid Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 32 (2005): 76–106. See also various contributions in Jonathan Stökl and Caroline Waerzeggers (eds.), *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 478 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), which I unfortunately only had access to in the final stage of preparing this contribution, especially: Kathleen Abraham, "Negotiating Marriage in Multicultural Babylonia: An Example from the Judean Community in Āl-Yāhūdu," pp. 33–57; Johannes Hackl and Michael Jursa, "Egyptians in Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods,"pp.157–180; Laurie E. Pearce, "Identifying Judeans and Judean Identity in the Babylonian Evidence," pp. 7–32; Ran Zadok, "West Semitic Groups in the Nippur Region between c. 750 and 330 B.C.E.," pp. 94–156.

18 For a very concise introduction see, e.g., Jan Krzysztof Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours*, Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 12 (Warszawa: Warsaw University Faculty of Law and Administration, Institute of Archaeology, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2009), 11–27 (New Kingdom) and 104–117 (1st millennium BCE until Achaemenid rule). See also, e.g., Bernd Ulrich Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten in der Königszeit. Die kulturellen Kontakte von Salomo bis zum Fall Jerusalems*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 170 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1999); Michael G. Hasel, *Dominance and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C.*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 11 (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1998); Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). For the position of the southern Levant in between the cross-regional powers of Assyria and Egypt/Kush see also, e.g., the collection of essays in Nadav Na'aman (ed.), *Ancient Israel and Its Neighbors I: Interaction and Counteraction* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005); with focus on the later 7th century BCE also, e.g., Dan'el Kahn, "Why did Necho II Kill Josiah?," in Jana Mynářová, Pavel Onderka, and Peter Pavúk (eds.), *There and Back Again—The Crossroads II, Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15–18, 2014* (Praha: Charles University in Prague Faculty of Arts, 2015), 511–528.

19 All these potential etymologies have been pointed out and controversially discussed in the existing scholarly literature (PNA 2/1, 449 [H. D. Baker]; PNA 2/1, 443 [R. Mattila and A. Schuster (4.)] with further references; Draper 2015, 3–4). For a discussion of the identification of the various persons called Hanabeš/Hallabeš, see also Draper 2015, 3–4.

20 See the introductory article of this volume: Melanie Wasmuth, "The Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th–6th Centuries BCE: Setting an Agenda," and note 17, above.

21 An important issue, although beyond the scope of this contribution, would be a comparative analysis of the contemporary onomastic material across the whole Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity (see the introductory article of this volume). This may allow us to ascertain—or at least to discuss—whether the specific choice of un-Akkadian names represent cross-regionally common names or indicate more regionally specific naming practices.

22 Draper 2015, 3–4. The issues of mobility and multi-culturality implied by this specific document have been discussed by me within the scope of the workshop "Living in a Multi-cultural Society: The Case of the 'Egyptians' in Early Iron Age Mesopotamia" (Landgut Castelen, Switzerland, October/November 2013). For a brief presentation of the issues, participants and the format of the workshop, see Melanie Wasmuth, "'Living in an Ancient Multi-cultural Society: The Case of the Egyptians in Early Iron Age Mesopotamia—Rückblick auf ein Workshop-Experiment," *Collegium Beatus Rhenanus. EUCOR-Newsletter* 16 (2013): 9–10 (note that the title, given correctly here, was published with an error, "Egypt" for "Mesopotamia"); Melanie Wasmuth, "Interdisciplinary Communication: Discussion on a Workshop Format for Cross-Cultural Topics," *Collegium Beatus Rhenanus. EUCOR-Newsletter* 17 (2014): 6–7.

23 E.g., Draper 2015, 4–5.

24 See, e.g., Peter Dubovský, *Hezekiah and the Assyrian Spies: Reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian Intelligence Services and Its Significance for 2 Kings 18–19*, Biblica et Orientalia 49 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2006), 128. See also Israel Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs" Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent: 9th–5th centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press and Leiden: Brill, 1982); Winnicki 2009, 306–371.

25 For *A-la-ra-na-du* see Knut L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 43/1 (Helsinki: [Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae], 1914), 20.

26 For the evidence preserved for the Kushite king Alara see Alexey K. Vinogradov, "'[…] Their Brother, the Chieftain, the Son of Re', Alara […]'?," *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 20 (1999): 81–94; Dows Dunham and M. F. Laming Macadam, "Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of Napata," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (1949): 141, pl. XV.

27 For a discussion of the practice of people bringing and

later on also handling commodities based on the case study of Kushites and Kushite horses at the Assyrian court as early as ca. 730 BCE, see Lisa A. Heidorn, "The Horses of Kush," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56.2 (1997): 106–110.

28 As Simonetta Ponchia questions the likelihood of cross-regional relocations ("As to l. 3 it might be observed, however, that the situation resulting from the reading proposed by the authors is quite unlikely: Sama' a Damascene, being son of [^{ld}U]TU-EN-ZI *ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*. An alternative reading might perhaps be suggested, comparing r. 21 [where the EN.NAM of Guzana is listed among the witnesses]: [*ṣu-pur* L]Ú*.EN.NAM *ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*."; Ponchia 2003, 275–276), she proposes to reconstruct "*ṣupur* ('Fingernail')" instead of "son" of XY of/from Guzana. In addition, she suggests a reading of XY as function or title ("governor of Guzana"), not as a name or specifically a patronymic ("son of Šamaš-bel-ketti"). Given the text structure, a restitution as "Fingernail of XY of/from Guzana" is problematic: why should the fingernail and comment on the identification of the fingernail be inserted in between the identification of the first person attested by his fingernail, i.e. "[Fingernail] of Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a {insertion of additional fingernail line}* owner of the *tuanu* (bath) being sold"? The ascription of the last part of the identification to Sama' is certain, as his ownership is also referred to further down in the text (StAT 2, 53.7).

29 See Waerzeggers 2006, 1–22.

30 See, e.g., the references cited in note 13, above.

31 For an introduction into the history of Egypt at the times of the Assyrian and Kushite expansion politics toward the Mediterranean, including further references, cf. Dan'el Kahn, "Taharqa, King of Kush and the Assyrians," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 31 (2004): 109–128; Dan'el Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 34 (2006): 251–268; Jan Moje, *Herrschaftsräume und Herrschaftswissen ägyptischer Lokalregenten. Soziokulturelle Interaktionen zur Machtkonsolidierung vom 8. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 21 (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2014); Melanie Wasmuth, "Mapping Political Diversity: Some Thoughts on Devising a Historiographical Map of 7th c. BC Egypt," in Susanne Grunwald, Kerstin P. Hofmann, Daniel A. Werning and Felix Wiedemann (eds.), *Mapping Ancient Identities. Kartographische Identitätskonstruktionen in den Altertumswissenschaften*, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World (Berlin: Edition Topoi, forthcoming); Silvie Zamazalová, "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria," in Jana 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: Charles University, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, 2011), 297–328.

32 StAT 2, 53: 44–45 versus Ponchia 2003, 275–276 (cited also in Draper 2015, 1 including note 14). See the section here on "inferred identifications II."

33 StAT 2, 53: 44; Ponchia 2003, 275–276. On the equally problematic restitution by the latter, see note 28, above.

34 StAT 2, 53: 44; Ponchia 2003, 275–276. See also note 28, above.

35 Damascus: StAT 2, 53: 44 and—most prominently—the entries in PNA (see Table 2); Samaria: Ponchia 2003, 275 and, e.g., Draper 2015, 1 and especially note 14 (p. 12). As discussed by Simonetta Ponchia, the reading of ^{m}*sa-ma-a'* LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a* as "Sama', a Damascene," is not certain. As pointed out by her, the authors of the original text edition (see StAT 2, 53: 44) provide no comment on the identification of *si-me-ri-šu* "Damascus," which probably goes back to "a new spelling of the famous (and debated) KUR.*ša–imērīšu* of the royal inscriptions, or maybe, furthermore, the original form of the toponym, which provided the basis for the Assyrian scribes' writing-pun" (Ponchia 2003, 275). As already pointed out by Simonetta Ponchia herself, her alternative reading (which is cited as rather definite, corrected identification by Charles Draper; see reference previously cited in this note) also poses problems, which are equally large although different: They would require a hitherto unknown vowel change in the toponym, as Samerina is elsewhere always beginning with the syllable *sa*, not *si* (Ponchia 2003, 275).

36 Not an inserted identification statement for another person as, e.g., suggested in Ponchia 2003, 275–276 (for a discussion of this issue see note 28, above).

37 See note 28, above.

38 The only alternative that—to my knowledge—as been suggested so far is to be refuted (see note 28).

39 StAT 2, 53.2–7 (p. 44) with indications of controversial readings; see also above, note 11.

40 On the practice of testifying with the fingernail and on the issue of the witnesses testifying in advance their presence, not its validity after the conclusion of the contract, see SAAS 6, 36–39 respectively 32–33 (with further references).

41 One key result of the Swiss National Science Foundation: Marie Heim-Vögtlin project on "Constructions of Identity in Antiquity: 'Egyptians' in early Iron Age Mesopotamia" conducted by the author in 2012–2014.

42 As suggested in Draper 2015, 4–5 in accordance with the prevailing academic interpretation of such cases

(see above).

43 SAAS 6, 249.

44 StAT 2, 53.13–18, e. 19–20, r. 1–4 (p. 44–45).

45 As Karen Radner has pointed out, the practice to use not only property or persons but also contract records as pledges was quite common and included property sale records (SAAS 6, 390). For a discussion of private legal documents as object of value which could be part of an inheritance or used as pledge or means of payment cf. SAAS 6, 72–74.

46 Assyrian transcription cited from StAT 2, 53.2 (p. 44).

47 Assyrian transcription cited from StAT 2, 53.r7, r9 (p. 45).

48 StAT 2 53.r10, r15–17 (p. 45). See also the section on "the *ubaru* ('visitors')."

49 Ponchia 2003, 275. Her contribution unfortunately was only brought to my notice via Draper 2015. For their discussion and feedback of the potential implications of *ubaru*, I like to thank Tero Alstola, Jan-Gerrit Dercksen, Theo Krispijn, Mervyn Richardson, and Caroline Waerzeggers.

50 StAT 2, 123–124.

51 See note 15, above.

52 I would like to thank Karen Radner for pointing out that the juridical procedure implies consequences for the host Hakubaya for not (sufficiently) fulfilling his duties, i.e., protecting the "visitors."

53 Cf. CAD 20, 399 ("wabrūtu"); AHW 3, 1454 ("*wabrūtum*").

54 AHW 3, 1454 ("wabru(m), ubru(m)"); CAD 20, 398–399 ("wabru (*ubru*) in bīt wabrī (*bīt wabri*)"). SAA 1, 153 is explicitly cited in CAD 20, 399.

55 What are, e.g., the economic, administrative, and social implications of being perceived as *ubaru* versus *aḫû*, *nakru*, **ālû* or *mār* + place name, *ṣiddu u birtu*, *sekretu*, or coming from KUR(.KUR) *lišāna*, KUR *šanītu* etc.? How do they relate to similar termini in the semantic field "foreigner/guest" in other languages in the great area of connectivity as, e.g.. Hebrew *gēr*? (I would like to thank Theo Krispijn for bringing the latter to my attention.) For Egypt, starting points provide words/expressions such as *ḥmsj*, *wsḫ*, *ḫ3st(j/t)*, *(r3-)pḏt(j)*, *ʿ3w*, *šm3*, *ky*, *rwtj*, *(rmṯ/s) ḏrḏr*, *(jrj-)ḫppw*, *ḫftj*, etc. For Babylonia see also Kabalan Moukarzel, "Some Observations about 'Foreigners' in Babylonia during the VI Century BCE," in Markham J. Geller (ed.), *Melammu: The Ancient World in an Age of Globalization*, Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge Proceedings 7 (Berlin: Edition Open Access, 2014), 129–155. An insightful collection of essays on the ancient and academic perception of "Greeks and Barbarians" can be found in Thomas Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002).

56 On the *hapax tuanu* "bath" see Draper 2015, 1. As a word, *tuanu* actually is known from another Neo-Assyrian text, albeit there denoting a breed or color of horses (ABL 466:10 / SAA 05 171 / TCAE 279, 10); see CAD 18, 444 and AHW 3, 1364.

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Ašaia (mng. unknown)	?	♀	PNA 1/1: 139 [P.D. Gesche]	a) Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.38	a) line 6: MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur-tú* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
				b) Ass. 1990-36 = IM 124698	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.57	b) line 3: MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Ispiniša (mng. unknown?)	?	♀	not in PNA	Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	MS Radner WVDOG I.38	lines 6–8: [6] 6 GÍN MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur-tú* [7] 6 GÍN MÍ.*E-zib-tú* : [8] 6 GIN MÍ.*Is-pi-ni-šá* : [finances a trading mission]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Zateubatte (mng. unknown)	?	♂	PNA 3/2: 1439 [H.D. Baker]	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r20: [r16] ⌜IGI⌝ [m]*bur–ki-[bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [r17] IGI [m]*bu–ti?-na-ah* : [r18] IGI [m]*qi?-⌜ša?⌝-a-a* : [r19] IGI [m][*hat*]-*pi-na-pi* (":"' missing in text or edition?) [r20] IGI [m]*za-te-ú-bat-te :* [witness in a property sale]	Assur (618*)
Du'uzītu ("The one born in the month Tamūz/ Du'ūzu")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 3/2: 1309 no. 1 (of 2) [C. Jean]	Ass. 1990-18 = IM 124681	MS Radner WVDOG I.35	lines 9–10: [9] MÍ.ITU.ŠU-*te Mu-ṣur* [10] DUMU.MÍ [1]ARAD-*Na-na-a* [finances a trading mission, daughter of Urdu-Nanāja (see below)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Ezibtu ("The abandoned one")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 1/2: 410 no. 2 (of 3) [W. Pempe]	a) Ass. 1990-19 = IM 124682	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.41	a) line r1: MÍ.*E-zib-tú Mu-ṣur-tú* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
				b) Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.38	b) lines 6–7: [6] 6 GÍN MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur-tú* [7] 6 GÍN MÍ.*E-zib-tú* : [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Karānutu ("Grape cluster")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 2/1: 606 [A. Berlejung]	a) Ass. 1990-19 = IM 124682	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.41	a) line 3: MÍ.GEŠTIN-*nu-tú Mu-ṣur* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b)]	Assur (not dated; probably reign of Assurbanipal)
				b) Ass. 1990-17a = IM 124680	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.43	b) line r3: [MÍ.GEŠTIN-*nu*]-*tú Mu-ṣur* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a)]	Assur (not dated; probably reign of Assurbanipal)reign of Assurbanipal)
Urkittu-kallat ("The Urukite [= Ištar] is the daughter-in-law")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 3/2: 1416 [H.D. Baker]	Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	MS Radner WVDOG I.38	line 4: MÍ.*Ur-kit-kal-lat Mu-ṣur-tú* [finances a trading mission]	Assur (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Abši-Ešu (mng. unknown; may contain "Isis")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 1/1: 15 [R. Mattila]	83-1-18.461B = BM 83-1-18.461B	SAA 6, 311	lines 1–2: 1 m*lu–šá-kin* 2 [D]UMU mr*ab*?-*ši-e-šu* LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [father of Lu-šakin, seller in a house sale (see below)]	? (found at Nineveh; sale of a house in Bit-Eriba-ilu; 666)
Kiṣir-Aššur ("Host of Aššur")	Akkadian	♂	not in PNA under Kiṣir-Aššur; see Urdu-Nabû	Ass. 1990-120 = IM 124734	MS Radner WVDOG II.9	lines 5–8: 5 1*Ki-ṣir Aš-šur* 6 A 1ARAD–dPA *Mu-*[*ṣur*] 7 *ša* A*URU TA* *Aš-šur*.KI 8 [*iḫ*]-*li-ḫa-ni* [either: son of Urdu-Nabû, the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, son of Urdu-Nabû, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur, the son of Urdu-Nabû (see below)]	Assur etc. (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Lu-šakin ("May he be placed!")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 2/2: 671 no. 14 (of 22) [A. Berle-Jung]	83-1-18.461B = BM 83-1-18.461B	SAA 6, 311	lines 1–2: 1 m*lu–šá-kin* 2 [D]UMU mr*ab*?-*ši-e-šu* LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [seller in a house sale; son of the Egyptian Abši-Ešu and brother(?) of Issar-duri (see below, in this table)]	? (found at Nineveh; sale of a house in Bit-Eriba-ilu; 666)
Mannu-kī-Nīnua ("Who is like Nineveh?")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 2/2: 695, 696 no. 13 (of 28) [H.D. Baker]	ND 7089 = IM 75789	CTN 3 34	lines 1–2: 1 1*man-nu-ki-*uruNINA 2 lú*mu-ṣur-a-a* [father of an unnamed daughter who is sold to the queen's household]	Kalhu (642*)
Qīšāia (hypocor. or "Granted by Aia")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/1: 1015 no. 2 (of 2) [J. Llop]	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r18: r16 rIGI m*bur–ki-*[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* r17 IGI m*bu–ti*?*-na-ah :* r18 IGI m*qi*?-r*ša*?-*a-a :* [witness in a property sale]	Assur (618*)
Šarru-lū-dāri ("May the king be eternal!")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1247, 1248 no. 12 (of 38) [H.D. Baker]	K 1353 = BM K 1353	SAA 10, 112	lines r11–r12: r11 mLÚ-GAL–*lu-da-ru* LÚ.*mi-ṣir-a-a* r12 rEN–MUN *šá* md+EN–ŠUR-*ir*¬ LÚ.EN.NAM *šá* URU.HAR.KI EN–MUN *šá* m*sa-si-ia* [accused of being a friend/ally of Bel-eṭir and Sasî and co-conspirator of Šuma-iddin in a letter to the king]	? (no place specified, found at Nineveh; not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ṣil-Aššūr ("Shade [i.e. protection] of Aššur")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1171 no. 2 (of 10) [F.S. Reynolds]	K 294 = BM K 294	SAA 6, 142	lines 11–(e.)12: 11 mGIŠ.MI–*aš-šur* LÚ*.A.BA 12 LÚ*.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [scribe, buyer in a house sale]	Nineveh (692)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Sukkāia	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/1: 1153, 1155f. no. 43 (of 53) [K. Radner]	a) Ass. 1990-10 = IM 124673	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.33	a) line r5: ^{I}TE-*a-a Mu-ṣur-a*-[*a*] [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b), possibly the same as c)]	Assur (not dated; after reign of Assurbanipal)
				b) Ass. 1990-21 = IM 124684	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.42	b) line 12: TE-*a-a Mu-ṣur-a*-[*a*] [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a), possibly the same as c)]	Assur (not dated; after reign of Assurbanipal)
				c) Ass. 1990-20 = IM 124683	c) MS Radner WVDOG I.37	c) line 7: ^{I}TE-*a-a* A *Mu-ṣur-a-a* [finances a trading mission; "son of an Egyptian" or "son of Muṣuraiu"? If same person as a) and/or b), then "son of an Egyptian"]	Assur (not dated; after reign of Assurbanipal)
Ṭab-Bēl ("The/My lord is good")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1339 no. 8 (of 9) [J. Llop]	Ass. 13319o = IstM A 1845	StAT 2, 273	lines 1–2: ^{m}DÙG.GA–EN [LÚ].*mu-ṣur-a-a* [seller of a female slave]	Assur (636*)
Urdu-Nabû ("Servant of Nabû")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1408, 1410 no. 13 (of 27) [K. Radner]	Ass. 1990-120 = IM 124734	MS Radner WVDOG II.9	lines 5–8: ^{5} ^{I}*Ki-ṣir Aš-šur* ^{6} A ^{I}ARAD–^{d}PA *Mu*-[*ṣur*] ^{7} *ša* A*URU TA* *Aš-šur*.KI ^{8} [*iḫ*]-*li-ḫa-ni* [either: father of Kiṣir-Aššur, the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, father of Kiṣir-Aššur, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur, the father of Kiṣir-Aššur (see above)]	Assur etc. (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Urdu-Nanāja ("Servant of Nanāia")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1410, 1412 no. 20 (of 30) [K. Radner]	Ass. 1990-18 = IM 124681	MS Radner WVDOG I.35	lines 9–10: ^{9} MÍ.ITU.ŠU-*te Mu-ṣur* ^{10} DUMU.MÍ ^{I}ARAD-*Na-na-a* [father of Du'uzītu, who finances trading missions (see above)]	Assur (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Ta'lâ ("Fox" with hyper-cor.)	Aramaean	♂	PNA 3/2: 1305 no. 5 (of 5) [P. Talon]	Ass. 8520b = VAT 9685	SAAB 9, 77	line r13: IGI ^{I}*ta-al-la* LÚ*.*mu-ṣur-a‹-a›* [witness in a slave sale]	Assur (date lost; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Bur-Kūbi ("Son of Kubu")	West Semitic	♂	PNA 1/2: 354; see PNAu	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16: ^{r16} ^{r}IGI$^{¬}$ ^{m}*bur–ki*-[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [witness in a house sale]	Assur (618*)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	☥	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Šašmâ (hypocor based on *Ssm*)	(West) Semitic	☥	1253 no 1 (of 2) [M. Weszeli/R. Zadok (etym.)]	G/1696	T. Hadid, 2	line r4–r5: r4 [IGI m][*šá*]-*áš-ma*-A+A r5 rLÚ^{x}¬*mu-ṣur*-A+A [witness in a debt (with pledge) case]	Gezer? (place not mentioned; found at Gezer; 664)
Hatpi-Napi ("May the Beautiful One be satisfied")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 2/1: 466 [R. Mattila]	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r19: r16 rIGI¬ m*bur–ki*-[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* r17 IGI m*bu–ti*$^{?}$*-na-ah :* r18 IGI m*qi*$^{?}$-r*ša*$^{?}$¬*-a-a* : r19 IGI m[*hat*]-*pi-na-pi* (":" missing in text or in edition?) [witness in a house sale]	Assur (618*)
Ḫur-waṣi ("Horus is sound")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 2/1: 481, 482 no. 3 (of 11) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 1	lines II.3–7: ii.3 m*hu-u-ru* ii.4 [m]*ni-mur-a-u* [ii.5 m*hu*]*r*$^{?}$*-u-a-ṣu* [ii.6 PAB 3] A.BA.MEŠ [ii.7*m*]*u-ṣur-a-a* [scribe in a court circle list]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ḫūru ("Horus")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 2/1: 481 no. 1 (of 3) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 1	lines II.3–7: ii.3 m*hu-u-ru* ii.4 [m]*ni-mur-a-u* [ii.5 m*hu*]*r*$^{?}$*-u-a-ṣu* [ii.6 PAB 3] A.BA.MEŠ [ii.7*m*]*u-ṣur-a-a* [scribe in a court circle list]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Puṭi-Šīri ("The one whom Osiris has given")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 3/1: 1002 no. 1 (of 6) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 5	line r.I.20: r.i.20 m*pu-ṭi-š*[*i*$^{!}$*-ri* LÚ.*m*]*u*$^{!}$*-ṣur-a-a* [in list of officials]	Nineveh (no or lost date; late reign of Esarhaddon)
Tap-nahte ("His strength")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 3/2: 1311 no. 4 (of 4) [R. Mattila]	Ass. 18219pq = IstM A 1822	StAT 2, 77; StAT 3, 130	lines e7–8, r1: e7 m*pu-ṭi-bi-na*-[*x*] e8 A m*tap*$^{!}$*-na-aḫ*-[*te*] r1 LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [father of Puṭi-Bina[…], who is a borrower in a debt note (see below)]	Assur (643*)
Butinah (mng unknown)	Egyptian?	☥	not in PNA; see PNAu	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r17: r16 rIGI¬ m*bur–ki*-[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* r17 IGI m*bu–ti*$^{?}$*-na-ah :* [witness in a house sale]	Assur (618*)
Puṭi-Bina[…] (mng. uncertain, Egyptian element *p*^{3}*-dj*-?)	Egyptian?	☥	PNA 3/1: 1001 [R. Mattila]	Ass. 18219pq = IstM A 1822	StAT 2, 77; StAT 3, 130	lines e7–8, r1: e7 m*pu-ṭi-bi-na*-[*x*] e8 A m*tap*$^{!}$*-na-aḫ*-[*te*] r1 LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [borrower in a debt note, son of Tap-nahte (see above)]	Assur (643*)
Niḫarā'u (mng. and reading uncertain)	Egyptian?	☥	PNA 2/2: 960 [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 1; PNA 2/2, 960	lines II.3–7: ii.3 m*hu-u-ru* ii.4[m]*ni-mur/har-a-u* [ii.5 m*hu*]*r*$^{?}$*-u-a-ṣu* [ii.6 PAB 3] A.BA.MEŠ [ii.7 *m*]*u-ṣur-a-a* [scribe in a court circle list; SAA: *mur* / PNA: *har*]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhadon)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Uširiḫiuḫurti (mng. uncertain)	Egyptian?, probably Libyo-Egyptian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1422 [H.D. Baker/R. Mattila (etym.)]	Ass. 8642a = IstM A 1924	StAT 2, 53	line r9: ^{m}*ú-ši-ri-hi-ú-hur-ti* LÚ*.*mi-ṣir-ra-a-a* [witness in a property sale]	Guzana (700)
Persons usually referred to as (explicitly denoted as) "Egyptians" in academic works, although their identification is ambiguous							
X-gurši	?	♂	not in PNA	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 1, 7	lines I.12–15: $^{i.12}$ ^{rm}*x*$^{¬}$*-gúr^{i}-ši* $^{i.13}$ ^{mr}*ra*$^{¬}$*-a′-si-i* $^{ii.1}$ ^{mr}*ṣi*$^{¬}$*-ḫu-u* $^{ii.2}$ PAB 3 *ḫar-ṭi-bi* [*ḫartibi* at the court (SAA 7, 1); their being "Egyptians" is inferred from the Egyptian (word of the Egyptian) profession]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ra'sî (mng. unknown)	Egyptian?	♂	PNA 3/1: 1033 [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 1, 7	lines I.12–15: $^{i.12}$ ^{rm}*x*$^{¬}$*-gúr^{i}-ši* $^{i.13}$ ^{mr}*ra*$^{¬}$*-a′-si-i* $^{ii.1}$ ^{mr}*ṣi*$^{¬}$*-ḫu-u* $^{ii.2}$ PAB 3 *ḫar-ṭi-bi* [see X-gurši]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ṣi-ḫû ("The face [of DN] has said")	Egyptian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1177 no. 2 (of 4) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 1, 7	lines I.12–15: $^{i.12}$ ^{rm}*x*$^{¬}$*-gúr^{i}-ši* $^{i.13}$ ^{mr}*ra*$^{¬}$*-a′-si-i* $^{ii.1}$ ^{mr}*ṣi*$^{¬}$*-ḫu-u* $^{ii.2}$ PAB 3 *ḫar-ṭi-bi* [see X-gurši]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Issār-Dūrī ("Ištar is my [protective] wall")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 2/1: 568, 570 no. 26 (of 32) [H.D. Baker]	83-1-18.461B = BM 83-1-18.461B	SAA 6, 311	lines 1–2: ^{1} ^{m}*lu–šá-kin* ^{2} [D]UMU ^{mr}*ab*$^{?¬}$*-ši-e-šu* LÚ*.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [seller in a house sale; there is no explicit evidence delineating Issār-Dūrī from an Egyptian. The argumentation is based on the observation that joint house possession is typically due to joint inheritance. Issār-Dūrī owns the house jointly with Lu-šakin, son of Abši-Ešu, an/the Egyptian. Even if they were brothers, they need not have the same father! (see above)]	? (found at Nineveh; sale of a house in Bit-Eriba-ilu; 666)
Menas(s)ê (derived from *nšy* "forget")	West Semitic	♂	PNA 2/2: 748, 749 no. 3 (of 3) [E. Frahm]	Ass. 14067c = VAT 8274	StAT 3, 105	line 2: ^{m}*me-na-se-e* ^{KUR}*ṣur-ra-a-*^{r}*a*$^{¬}$ [seller in a slave sale; according to the collation by B. Faist (StAT 3, 105) the emendation underlying the reading in PNA is not justified: Menas(s)ê is denoted as KUR.*ṣur-ra-a-a* ("man belonging to Tyros")]	Assur (634*)

Table 2: The names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 *(continued on next page)*.

Name	Meaning of name	Origin of Name	Frequency of Occurrence	Bibliographic Reference (PNA)
Abba-…aya	?	?	?	not in PNA
Ni…ni	?	?	?	not in PNA
…ayâ	?	?	?	not in PNA
Huriri	mng. unknown	origin unknown	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	Ḫuriru; PNA 2/1, 480 [R. Mattila]
Qišeraya	mng. unknown	origin unknown	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53); in addition, 2 Qīšāia/Qīš-Aia known from Imgur-Illil (679) and Assur (618*)	PNA 3/1, 1015 [J. Llop]
Ribiṣiṣi	mng. unknown	origin unknown	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 3/1, 1015 [J. Llop][a]
Adad-ahu-uṣur	"O Adad, protect the brother!"	Akkadian	up to 4 further namesakes known: at Kurbail (791), Kalhu (734 + not dated) and Samana (reign of Assurbanipal)	PNA 1/1, 21f. no. 4 [P. Gentili]
Haya-ereš	"Haia has desired"	Akkadian	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	Ḫaia-ēreš; PNA 2/1: 439f. [C. Ambos][b]
Nabû-ahu-[…]	"Nabû […] the brother[s]" or "O Nabu, […] the brother[s]"	Akkadian	up to 10 further namesakes known: at Nineveh (687, 683?, 682?, 655, 7th c., probably 7th century), Assur (date lost), Kalhu (probably late 7th century), Dur-Katlimmu (probably late 7th century) and unknown/unprovenanced? (not dated)	PNA 2/2, 803 no. 4 [H.D. Baker][b]
Šamaš-bel-ketti	"Šamaš is the lord of justice"	Akkadian	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 3/2, 1193 [M. Groß]
Balliṭ-Ia	"Keep alive, O Ea!"; no comment in PNA	Akkadian; no comment in PNA	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNAu; cf. Balliṭ-Aššur (PNA 1/2, 260 [M. Luukko])
Il-nemeqi	"God is my wisdom"; no comment in PNA	Akkadian; no comment in PNA	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	Ilu-nēmēqī; PNAu
Ah-abi	"The father's brother"	West Semitic or Akkadian	frequent name, especially when including the Aram. or Arab. variant Ah-abû and the hypocor. Ahâ; in all up to 40 namesakes	PNA 1/1, 57 no. 3 [K. Fabritius]
Adda-bi'di	"Adda favors me"	Aramaean	up to 3 further namesakes known: at Guzana (late 9th or early 8th century), in the Balikh area (late 8th century) and as eponym (late 8th century)	PNA 1/1, 44 no. 3 [D. Schwemer]
Adda-sakâ	"Adda has looked out" or "Adda has looked at"	Aramaean	up to 6 further namesakes known: at Guzana (late 9th or early 8th century, early 7th century), Nineveh (± 700), Assur (mid-7th century), Dur-Katlimmu (early 7th century) and Abna[na?] (not dated)	PNA 1/1, 50 no. 2 [E. Lipiński / K. Radner (no. 5)]
Zanbalâ	"The carrier"	Aramaean	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	PNA 3/2, 1434 [E. Lipiński]

Table 2: The names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name	Meaning of name	Origin of Name	Frequency of Occurrence	Bibliographic Reference (PNA)
Mizi-Ia	mng. unknown	Aramaean?	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	or Mizia; PNA 2/2, 758 [H.D. Baker][b]
Ṣiranû	mng. unknown	Arabian?	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 3/1, 1177 [H.D. Baker / R. Zadok (etym.)]
(eponym: Mi[tunu])	("Where is Mitōn")	(Phoenician)	(up to 3 namesakes of the eponym)	(PNA 2/2, 758 no. 4d [M. Jursa])
Abarrâ	based on the root *'br* "to pile up"+*ā'*	West Semitic	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 1/1, 2 [T. Breckwoldt]; PNAu
Buraya	"Son of Ea"	West Semitic	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 1/2, 353 [H.D. Baker]
Gabrî	"Man" or "The strong one"	West Semitic	up to 7 namesakes: at Guzana (late 9th or early 8th century), at Kalhu (late 8th century, mid-7th century, late 7th century or later?), at Nineveh (early 7th century) and at Zamahu (early 8th century)	PNA 1/2, 416 no. 5 [M.P. Streck]
Sama'	"He has heard" or similar	West Semitic	up to 5 namesakes: at Imgur-Illil (710), Kalhu (late 8th century, 638*), Nineveh (± 700) and unknown place (not dated)	PNA 3/1, 1081 no. 4 [C. Ambos]
Mini-ahhe	"possibly 'Who is my brother?'"	West Semitic	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	or Mini-aḫi; PNA 2/2: 753 [H.D. Baker][b]
Hanabeš	Hanabeš: mng. unknown	"origin unknown"	Hanabeš only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53);	PNA 2/1: 449 [H.D. Baker]
	Hallabeše: mng. unknown	"possibly Libyan" (citing Leahy)	up to 4 namesakes known for Hallabeše: at Guzana (early 7th century?), Nineveh (634*, late 7th century or later?) and Assur (late 7th century?)	PNA 2/1: 443 [R. Mattila / A. Schuster (4.)]
	Han/llabeš(e): no comment on mng.	Libyan	potential identification of Hallabeše/Hanabeš as referring to the same person	Draper 2015, 3–4
	mng. unknown	Egypto-Libyan	all potential Libyan antetypes known from Egyptian sources	*see comment in text*
Uširihiuhurti	mng uncert., probably containing the Egypt. theophoric element *wsjr*	Egyptian	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	PNA 3/2: 1422 [H.D. Baker/R. Mattila]
	no comment on mng.	Libyan	*Wšjrhrt* on unprovenanced artifact supposed to date to the Egyptian "Libyan" dynasties, i.e. the 10th–8th centuries BCE	Draper 2015, 2–3
	mng. unknown	Egypto-Libyan	all potential Libyan antetypes known from Egyptian sources	*see comment in text*

Table 2: The names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 *(continued from previous page)*.

Name	Meaning of name	Origin of Name	Frequency of Occurrence	Bibliographic Reference (PNA)
Alara	no comment in PNA	no comment in PNA	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	PNAu
	mng. unknown	Hittite/Anatolian?, Kushite?	possibly related to Hittite name A-la-ra-na-du or Kushite royal name	*see comment in text*

[a] The information provided that Qišeraya is from Assur is unfounded, as this text is the only known evidence for this person, and it was written in Guzana, not in Assur. Whether it was still in the possession of Qišeraya when deposited in Assur is beyond assessment (see text, the section on "mobility of objects I: from Guzana to Assur").

[b] In all likelihood a resident of Guzana at the time, not of Assur as stated in PNA (see also note a).