

23) Carian names in Babylonian records: some new analyses¹⁾ — Several groups of Carians are recorded in Babylonian texts from the mid-first millennium BCE. The evidence for the presence of Carians in the city of Borsippa, attested in several private archives mostly dating between the fifth year of Cambyses and the ninth year of Darius I, has been presented by Waerzeggers (2006), Zadok (2005, 80–95) and Zilberg (2019, 40–46). The historical context of the Carians living in the city of Nippur and its surrounding villages, attested in the so-called Carian Archive, was discussed by Zilberg (2019, 46–61). The Carian dossiers from Borsippa and Nippur are rich in onomastic material. Although Simon’s contribution (2016) covers an important part of the Borsippa material, the Carian dossiers from Borsippa and Nippur had not yet been investigated in full. Here, the analysis of several personal names addressed by Simon (2016) will be adjusted or supplemented where necessary. Additionally, a new Carian analysis for several other names in the Carian dossier from Borsippa will be presented.²⁾ On the basis of the analyses described below, an updated exhaustive list will be presented containing all names in Babylonian records that may have Carian origins.³⁾

- ^t*tu-tu-bu-e-su* (BM 26612 2x, BM 26756), ^t*tu-tu-bi-is-su* (VS 6 123), ^t*tu-tu-bu-ʿsu*¹ (BM 94832), ^t*tu-tu-ʿbi*¹-[*e-su*], (BM 82682), ^t*tu-tu-bé-e-su* (BM 109365)

All (but one) of these attestations are accompanied by the ethnonyms *karsāya* or *miširāya*, and in four out of six texts, her son Nadiršu occurs as well. Also, all of the attestations are from the same archive (IIa A+B). We therefore have no reason to think that these variant spellings refer to different persons, which must in turn mean that they are all different representations of the same name.

This name is generally connected to the Egyptian name *T3.dj(.t)b3st.t* ‘Given by Bastet’ (Schürr 1996, esp. 61–62). It clearly corresponds to a Carian name that is attested as *ttbazi*, *ttubazi* or *ttbazi[s]*, which is indirectly attested in Greek sources as *Τετοβαστις* /*tetobastis*/ (Adiego 2007, 423). Note that Carian *-z-* probably represented an affricate [ʃ] or something similar (Adiego 2007, 251). It is striking to see that, in spite of the many alternations in the Akkadian as well as the Carian spellings of this name, the last consonant is consistently spelled with *s* and *z* respectively. This, in combination with the Greek and Egyptian spellings with /*st*/, makes the correspondence of Carian *z* with Akkadian *s* fairly strong.

It is difficult to decide whether this name entered Akkadian directly from Egyptian or through a Carian intermediary; from a historical point of view, both are equally possible, since the name-bearer was a member of the Caro-Egyptian community. The fact that her son Nadiršu (*ʿna-di-ir-šū*) is a Caro-Egyptian bearing a Carian name (Schürr 1996, 65; Simon 2016, 278) cannot help in deciding on this matter, as it seems to have been possible for a Caro-Egyptian with an Egyptian name to have a son with a Carian name. However, the fact that the second consonant in Akkadian is *-t-* rather than *-d-* points into the direction of a Carian origin of this name (pace Simon 2016, 278 who eventually assumes Egyptian origins for this name).

- ^t*sis-i*^{ʿ1}-*mu-su* (BM 102030)

Simon (2016, 276) recognizes the element *-mu-* in this name, which is a frequent suffix in Carian (compound) names and which is thought to mean ‘might’. The element *-su-* could in his view be an Akkadian rendering of the Carian personal name suffix *-si-* or *-š-*. The gap in Simon’s analysis is formed by the element *sis-i-*, which is left unexplained. He therefore prefers an Egyptian explanation. However, I think a Carian parallel for this name can be found in *Σασσωμος* /*sassōmos*/ (indirectly attested in Greek sources (Adiego 2007, 462)). The vocalism of the first two syllables of the Carian form *Σασσωμος* forms a mismatch with that of the Akkadian form ^t*sis-i*^{ʿ1}-*mu-su*. Although this cannot be said with any certainty, these vowels could in theory represent underlying Carian vowels that were unknown in the Greek and Akkadian phonological systems (cf. Adiego 2007, 234–237).

With regard to the personal name suffix *-si-* or *-š-*, the latter form is probably more likely for the following reason: As we have seen above, Akkadian *s* corresponds to Carian *z*. However, there is no reason to assume that the Carian name that underlies *Σασσωμος* contained *z*, so Akkadian *s* in ^t*sis-i*^{ʿ1}-*mu-su* probably reflects something else. We could in theory assume that Akkadian *s* also reflected one of the other voiceless sibilants (or affricates) of Carian (e.g. *š*, or *ś*), that was interpreted as *s* in Akkadian because Akkadian phonology made other distinctions (note that the same goes for the Greek spelling, as Greek only had one sibilant /*s*/). It should be underlined, however, that our limited knowledge of the phonetic values of most of the Carian sibilants makes this theory quite uncertain.

- ^t*tar-ta-e-si* (BM 29107) In the same way, the name ^t*tar-ta-e-si* may be compared with the Carian name *Τερριτος* /*territos*/ which is attested in Greek sources (Adiego 2007, 513). Perhaps the presence of the vowel *-i-* in *Τερριτος* and the absence of a vowel between *-r-* and *-t-* in Akkadian may be explained as being reflexes of an underlying palatalized /*rʰ*/ in Carian, taken that the theory that Carian had such a phoneme is correct (Adiego 2007, 248). The final element *-si* in the Akkadian form may represent the Carian personal name suffix *-si-*, as Simon (2016, 275) has carefully suggested (but see above). In Greek, it was probably replaced by the nominative singular ending *-ς* /*s*/. The fact that the name-bearer is the mother of Nabū-silim, a Caro-Egyptian (BM 29107), may in this case support the hypothesis that her name has Carian origins.⁴⁾

- ¹*ul-ú-tu-e* (BM 29107)
The name ¹*ul-ú-tu-e* represents a good candidate for the Akkadian parallel of the Carian name *wljat/wliat* (*w*-representing a semivowel), which is also attested in Greek sources as *Ολιατος* /oliatos/ and *Υλιατος* /uliatos/ (Adiego 2007, 428) and perhaps also *Ολοητος* /oloētos/ and *Ολετας* /oletas/. Similar to what was described above, *-ς* /s/ in the Greek renderings was probably added since it is the Greek nominative singular ending (the Carian nominative singular being unmarked). The lack of *-s* in Akkadian is therefore not a problem for the proposed link with Carian *wljat/wliat*. Simon (2016, 279–280) proposed that the name Ulutue represents Carian *Oaloalos* < **Walwalla/i* (containing the Luwic root for ‘lion’ and the personal name suffix *-alla/i-*). This analysis, however, is less attractive because it neither explains the presence of the element *-tue* nor the absence of the second *-l-* in Akkadian. Furthermore, it is based on the Proto-Luwic word for ‘lion’ which, hypothetically, would have yielded Carian **walwa-*. This remains hitherto unattested, however.
- ¹*ku-un-na-at-te-e* (BM 102277)
This name is attested as the patronym of a certain person whose name is spelled as ¹*am-mar-x-is²-su*. The origins of the latter name are still unknown (perhaps Egyptian, cf. Zadok 2005, 84), but the name-bearer is designated as *karsāya*, i.e. a Caro-Egyptian. Therefore the possibility that ¹*am-mar-x-is²-su* and the patronym ¹*ku-un-na-at-te-e* are Carian names should be reckoned with. Simon (2016, 278–279) had already found that *ku-un-na-at-te-e* may be a Carian compound name, consisting of the element /kunnV-/ as found in non-Carian Luwic names such as *Kuna*, *Kunni* and compound names of the shape *Kunniya-X*.⁵⁾ Moreover, the Carian onomasticon contains a set of names ending in *-at*, such as *Mwsat* (Simon, *ibid.*). I would like to add to this that the Carian name *Αττης* /attēs/ is attested indirectly in Greek (Adiego 2007, 460; for an explanation of the final *-ς*, see above). The existence of a Carian parallel for the second element in ¹*ku-un-na-at-te-e* makes it even more likely that we are dealing with a Carian compound name.
- ¹*pir-ru-u* (BM 26568)
No analysis for this name is provided by Simon (2016). This name should be distinguished from the name ¹*pir-’u* (transliterated as Pir’u) which is commonly attested in Babylonian records (WAERZEGGERS, GROSS *et al.* 2019). The name ¹*pir-ru-u* as attested in the Carian dossier from Borsippa (BM 26568) should perhaps be compared with the Carian name Puorś (*-ś* being the Carian genitive ending), which is probably based on the Egyptian name *P^z-whr* ‘dog’ (Vittmann 2001, 41). In this case, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that the name ¹*pir-ru-u* in the Carian dossier from Borsippa was directly based on the Egyptian form. Interestingly, ¹*pir-ru-u* is attested with a patronym spelled ¹*pa-ad-e-mu-u*, which is likely a Carian name as was convincingly argued by Simon (2016, 279).⁶⁾ Still, the name ¹*pir-ru-u*, borne by a member of the ethnic group of Caro-Egyptians (cf. the designation *miširāya* on BM 26568), may be of either Carian (and indirectly Egyptian) or directly of Egyptian origin.
- ¹*ku-¹lut¹-tu-¹di¹-me-e-nu* (BM 102030)
Lastly, Simon has adduced a Carian account for the Akkadian name ¹*ku-¹lut¹-tu-¹di¹-me-e-nu*, along with the ethnonym *miširāya* (BM 102030). He draws a parallel with the Carian name *ktmno*, *ktmñōs*, and perhaps *ktmn*, rendered in Greek as *Ἑκατόμνως* /hekatomnōs/. Since the mismatch in consonantism between the Akkadian form and the Carian and Caro-Greek forms is obvious, the idea that ¹*ku-¹lut¹-tu-¹di¹-me-e-nu* is a Carian name cannot be accepted for now.

We have seen above that some of the analyses offered by Simon (2016) may be adjusted or supplemented, and that some names that were not discussed by Simon can be identified as Carian as well. These findings require an update of the list of personal names in Babylonian records that are found to have possible Carian origins:

¹*tu-tu-bu-e-su* (with varying spellings), ¹*sis-i¹-mu-su*, ¹*tar-ta-e-si*, ¹*ul-ú-tu-e*, ¹*ku-un-na-at-te-e*, ¹*pir-ru-u*, ¹*ku-¹lut¹-tu-¹di¹-me-e-nu* (see above);

¹*ak-ta-ti-ma-su*, ¹*lu-uk-šú*, ¹*na-dī-ir-šú*, ¹*pa-ad-e-mu-u*, ¹*pa-ne-is-si-i*, ¹*šá-am-mu*, ¹*šá-mu-ú* (discussed in Simon 2016).⁷⁾

Notes

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2. An investigation of the onomastic material in the Carian Archive (Nippur) has yielded no new insights on the origins of these names; as far as we are able to tell, this archive contains no Carian material.

3. The names are presented by means of a sign-by-sign transcription in order to prevent us from formally interpreting them from an Assyriological perspective.

4. For the interpretation of the ethnonyms *miširāya* and *karsāya* as denoting “Caro-Egyptians”, i.e. the group of Carians that lived in Egypt before they migrated to Babylonia, see WAERZEGGER 2006. The terms were probably used interchangeably since no correlation is found with the archive, scribe, or even individual; the scribe Nabū-zēru-iqīša, son of Kabtia, labels Tutubisu as *karsāya* in one text (BM 109365) and as *miširāya* in another (BM 26756).

5. The fact that this element is not found in Carian itself may well be a coincidence since Carian is only fragmentarily attested.

6. *'pir-ru-u'* is the only name addressed here whose bearer is recorded along with a patronym.
7. These names may be found in the Prosobab database by means of their sign-by-sign transcriptions, or alternatively by the following bound transcriptions: Tutubisu, Sisimusu, Tartaeši, Ulutue, Kunnattê, Pirrû, Kuluttudimenu, Akta-timasu, Lukšu, Nadiršu, Pademû, Panessî, Šammu and Šamû.

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