PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, 2:
THE MANY FACES OF NABU-ŠARRU-UŠUR

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1. The Neo-Assyrian archives exhibit many common names, but few formations are so widely attested as that of Nabu-šarru-ušur. However, despite the recent renewal of many NA textual editions, comparatively little work has hitherto been effected to solve the prosopographical and chronological ambiguities surrounding the figure(s) presenting this name. Thus, the main previous attempts at work on Nabu-šarru-ušur are still represented by a long footnote in M. Streck’s *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*, I, Leipzig 1916, p. CLIV fn. 4, and by a further, insightful, paragraph in the study by M. Falkner, *Die Eponymen der spätassyrischen Zeit*, AfO 17 (1954-56), pp. 114 ff.

The approaches of the two named scholars to the problems surrounding the plurality of attestations of Nabu-šarru-ušur in NA material are rather different. Streck suggested to view Nabu-šarru-ušur as one single figure, a contemporary and faithful official of Assurbanipal, in a variety of text-types, orthographical renderings, and professional designations, although with some caution. To the contrary, Falkner (who dealt with Nabu-šarru-ušur in her classification of the sources on the post-canonical eponyms) believed in a clear plurality of subjects bearing a single, frequently

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1) For the previous article in this series, cf. SAAB I (1987), pp. 93-114. The specific quest for Nabu-šarru-ušur arose from the philological work on the administrative texts of Nineveh (for the preparation of a forthcoming SAA volume, with J.N. Postgate). As in other cases, the personal computer was a not unimportant component in the process of research and elaboration: preliminary work was done with SCANBASE, a self-written routine for the search of a flat ASCII file input and the rapid transformation of the selected materials into DBMS Filecards.

2) And passim elsewhere in the commentary: cf. ibid., III, p. 710 for the list of specific passages.

3) Ibid., p. CLVI, fn. 4: “Bei der Beliebtheit des Namens Nabušarūṣur muss allerdings eine solche beschränkung inschriftl. Erwähnungen auf eine einzige Person fraglich bleiben”.

4) Cf. AfO 17, p. 104, for her list of texts bearing Nabu-šarru-ušur as eponym.
bestowed, name ("Der Name Nabû-šarru-usur begegnet in den Texten ausserordentlich häufig, wobei es sich aber um eine Reihe verschiedener Personen handelt")⁵).

In any case, none of the two quoted authors went to the length of assembling, charting, and comparing the known NA sources presenting the personal name Nabû-šarru-usur. Such will be the scope of the present article: to attempt to gain an overall view — philological, and, as far as possible, historical — of the many "faces" of Nabû-šarru-usur in NA documentation — also in the light of the recent growth of the corpus bearing this name in 7th century materials from Nimrud and Assur⁶.

The attestations of the name Nabû-šarru-usur span over many different types of text: at least one royal grant is represented⁷ as well as its possible accompanying "second sheet" in the form of a cadastral schedule of land and people⁸. Then, the name occurs in four oracle query texts and in six lists of offerings made to the Assur temple⁹. A handful of letters is also present, both in the Neo-Assyrian and in the Neo-Babylonian script and language¹⁰. As predictable, the major clusters of data are however to be found in administrative documents, among which a set of large lists of palace personnel must be noted¹¹; and in legal materials, not only the more frequent conveyance texts but also a few loan-documents and judicial decisions¹².

⁵) Ibid., p. 114,
⁶) The material concerning Nabû-šarru-usur previous to 700 B.C, is scarce and comparatively uninteresting. Note, e.g., for ḏPA-MAN-PAP, the limmu of 784 ( Cf. APN, s.v.), the EN.NUN serving the governor of Tille in the age of Tiglathpileser III (=NWL, p. 39, TFS 86), a Ninevite team commander of Sargon’s time (TFS 118), an individual mentioned in the administrative list (silver, etc.) ADD 922, Rev. II, 3; the author of ABL 769, of Urrâṭian context; etc.; for ḏAG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ, an official occurring in ABL 527 (of 713 B.C., cf. Dietrich, Aramäer, p. 53, fn. 2). These attestations will not be taken into detailed account in the context of this article.
⁷) ADD 646 / NARGD 10.
⁸) ADD 741 / CCENA 23.
⁹) AGS 66, 67, 150, 153; and ADD 1006, 1010, 1018, 1021, 1024, 1030, resp.
¹⁰) ABL 275, 413, 462, 769, 770, 1249; ND 10006. [Cf. also CT 54, 79 for a NB Nabû-šarru-usur writer of letters].
¹²) The latter are ADD 160, ND 7085, and TH 111; cf. also some of the Assur materials classified below (for many of which complete descriptions are still not available, despite the thorough attempt by O. Pedersén, ALA II, passim). For the definitions of the above-mentioned categories of legal texts, cf. J.N. Postgate, FNALD, 1-72, passim.
2. Attestations and contexts\textsuperscript{13}

--- \textsuperscript{d}AG-LUGAL-PAP :
\textit{ADD} 646 (\textit{NARGD} 10), 11, 28, 52: \textsuperscript{LU}GAL SAG \textit{ša} \textsuperscript{1}Aš-šur-DU-A \textsuperscript{LU}GAL KUR \textsl{Aššur}\textsuperscript{14} (657 B.C.)\textsuperscript{14}
\textit{ABL} 462, R. 27: M, \textsuperscript{1}dAG-LUGAL-PAP \textsuperscript{LU}GAL ki-šîr (age of Assb., 655>645)\textsuperscript{15}

--- \textsuperscript{d}AG-LUGAL-SËŠ :
(a) \textit{AGS}, 66, 2 etc.; (b) \textit{AGS} 67, 1 etc.: \textsuperscript{LU}GAL \textit{mu-gi} (672>)\textsuperscript{16}
\textsuperscript{(a) \textit{AGS} 150, 2, etc.; (b) \textit{AGS} 153, 2 etc.: \textsuperscript{LU}GAL SAG (age of Assurbanipal, connection with Manneans, Gambulu)\textsuperscript{17};}
\textit{ABL} 275, R. 5: \textsuperscript{LU}GAL ki-šîr (age of Assb., 655>645)\textsuperscript{18}

--- \textsuperscript{d}AG-LUGAL-ú-sur :
\textit{ADD} 741 (\textit{CCENA} 23), Obv. 31: (30) \textit{PAP} 1700 \textit{AŠÅ 40 KIRI}_{\textsuperscript{MEŠ}} \textit{GIš} {\textit{ši-liti} 2-ta \textit{K[IRI}_{\textsuperscript{EMEŠ}} \textit{ša} \textsuperscript{1d}AG.LUGAL-ú[šur \textsuperscript{LU}GAL.SAG (?)]}

--- \textsuperscript{d}AG-MAN-PAP :
\textit{ABL} 770, 2: A (age of Assurbanipal: no prof.name, unc. context).
\textit{ADD} 215 (\textit{NALK} 144), 26-27: E (682), \textit{lim-mu} \textsuperscript{1d}AG-MAN-PAP / \textsuperscript{LU}GAR.KUR \textit{URU} \textit{Mar-qa-di}\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{13) Abbreviations in the list below: E = eponym; P = party (to deed); W = witness (of deed); A = author (of letter); M = mentioned (in letter); DATE> = terminus post quem.
\textsuperscript{14) Cf. Fales, \textit{CCENA}, p. 133 fn. 49 for the suggestion to equate this individual with the \textsuperscript{1d}AG.LUGAL-ú[šur \textsuperscript{LU}GAL.SAG (?)] in \textit{ADD} 741 (\textit{CCENA} 23); Obv. 31, below.
\textsuperscript{15) Neo-Babylonian: sender Bēl-ibni. Notice that Nabû-ṣarru-ūṣur is here mentioned with Nabû-zēr-ibni, \textit{qurbutu} (same as \textit{ADD} 15 / \textit{NALK} 311, archive of Silim-Asšur, 672??) and \textit{ŠEŠ-um-me-e}, \textsuperscript{LU}EN.NAM, who could well be = \textit{PAP-im-me-e}, \textsuperscript{LU}NAM of Hindanu in \textit{ADD} 854, I, 14.'
\textsuperscript{16) Cf. most recently Parpola, \textit{LAS} II, p. 249, who tends to equate the unnamed \textsuperscript{LU}GAL \textit{mu-gi} ("general") in \textit{LAS} n. 252 (= \textit{ABL} 108) with this individual. Note further that the formula "Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria" given in both these texts can only refer to the years of Assurbanipal's "joint rule" with his father (maximally 672-669, cf. Parpola, \textit{LAS} II, p. 238; and most probably 670). [Many thanks to G.B. Lanfranchi for his kind suggestions on these points].
\textsuperscript{17) Cf. Falkner, \textit{AfO} 17, p. 114, for a date of the first of these two texts resp. to 660/659, year of the offensive against the Manneans; while the second could relate to the campaign against Bēl-iqiša (665/664) or against his son Dunanu (10 years later).
\textsuperscript{18) Neo-Babylonian: sender Kudurru.
\textsuperscript{19) \textit{ADD} 414 (= \textit{NALK} 127), 56, pointed out by \textit{APN}, p. 159a, reads \textsuperscript{1d}Sag-gil-\textit{MAN-PAP} \textsuperscript{LU}GAL ki-šîr, according to Kwasman.}
— dPA-LUGAL-PAP:

— dPA-MAN-PAP:
ABL 1249, Rev. 3-4: M (letter of Aššur-hamatu’a concerning Assurbanipal), (3) dPA-MAN-PAP LUr rak’iu si (4) ša mu-gi-ia a-sa-par.
ADD 21 (= NALK 201), 7: E (date [?]), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP.
ADD 124 (= NALK 309), 10: W (675, archive of Silim-Aššur) with Nusku-ilayya, Ahu-duri22.
ADD 129 (= NALK 383, AECT 2), Obv. 8 (Ass.): E (648> [?], archive of Taqūni), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP / I’m rbsrs nbsrsr23.
ADD 132 (= NALK 62), 9: E (682, archive of Bahianu), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP.
ADD 136 (= NALK 64), 10: E (682, archive of Bahianu), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP.
ADD 143 (= NALK 63), 6: E (682, archive of Bahianu), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP24.
ADD 152 (= NALK 73), R. 11-12: W (658, archive of Bēl-duri), 1dPA-MAN-PAP LUr qur (<ša>) -butu / URU Ba-lat-a+a25.
ADD 160 (= NALK 205), 1: P (Post-C, judicial decision in front of the mayor of Nineveh26), de-e-nu ša 1dPA-MAN-PAP / LUr A.BA. Notice also, among the witnesses, 1dPA-MAN-PAP LUr da-a+a-la (u.e. 28).
ADD 211 (= NALK 129), 35-36: W (Post-C, archive of Kakkullānu), 1dPA-MAN-PAP / LUr GAL ki-šiš ša MAN.

21) Cf. fn. 78, below.
22) Cf. fn. 20, above. Notice the presence of 1Gur-ra-a+a.
23) Falkner, cit., 104, ranges this text among the mentions of Nabū-šarru-ušur “ohne Titel”; but the Aramaic epigraph (cf. AECT, NALK) makes it unequivocally clear that the limmu here attested is to be classified with the other cases of Nabū-šarru-ušur “chief eunuch”.
24) ADD 166, i.e. 2, pointed out by APN, would in fact seem to read lim-mu 1dŠÚ-MAN-PAP (= Post-Can.), according to NALK, p. 233.
25) Witness for the debtor (Obv. 5: 1Nar-gi-i ša URU TILA MES), and thus unlikely to correspond to other figures from Nineveh, e.g. the qurbatu in ADD 860 Rev. I, 5. Cf. already Falkner, AfO 17, p. 114 fn. 37 on this attestation.
ADD 222 (= NALK 367), 14'-15’: E (682, archive of Šumma-ilani), lim-mu ¹dPA-MAN-PAP / GAR.KUR Mar-qa-si.

ADD 266 (= NALK 235), 14'-28: W (671, archive of Remanni-Adad), ¹dPA-MAN-PAP ¹L³U[GAL ki-šir].

ADD 267 (= NALK 408, AECT 34), 16': W (n.d., archive of šakin[tu], together with ¹L³u-qu ¹L³U[GAL ki-šir]²⁹), ¹dPA-MAN-PAP ¹L³U [ ].

ADD 276 (= ARU 532), 14-15: E (682, fragm. deed witnessed by various rab kišris and kišir šarris, among which Sin-belu-usur), lim]-me ¹dPA-MAN-PAP / ¹L³U[GAR.KUR] ¹UR³U Mar-qa-sa.


ADD 344 (= ARU 364), R. 9': W (n.d., with Idi tamkaru ³⁰, Šalmu-šarru-iqbi rab kišir), ¹L³U[SAG].

ADD 349 (= NALK 118), R. 31: W (Post-C, archive of Kakkullânu), IGI ¹dPA-MAN-PAP GAL ki-šir.

ADD 363 (= ARU 371), 11-12: E (682, fragm. deed witnessed by various mukil appatis, and Ribâ-ahhê, ¹L³U[qêpu ša ¹UR³U Kar-dSȧmȧs], lim-mu ¹dPA-MAN-PAP ša ¹UR³U Mar-qa-si.

ADD 370 (= ARU 114), 6'-7’: E (682, fragm. deed, sale of kirû with tax-formulae),[lim-mu ¹dPA-M]AN-PAP / GAR.KUR Mar-qa-si.

ADD 386 (= NALK 92), R. 26': W (n.d., archive of Dayyan-Kurbail), ¹L³U[SAG].

ADD 437 (= ARU 440), 10': E (682, very fragm. conveyance deed), lim-mu ¹dPA-MAN-PAP.

ADD 470 (= NALK 256), R. 33-34: W (663, archive of Remanni-Adad), ” (= ¹L³U[GAL kišir] ša GÎR²¹ ša A MAN.

ADD 477 (= NALK 261), R. 20³²: W (n.d. [670-660], archive of Remanni-Adad), ¹L³U[GAL ki₃ šir [ša A MAN].

ADD 503 (= NALK 280), R. 22³³: W (n.d. [670-660], archive of Remanni-Adad), [¹L³U[GAL ki-šir ša A MAN].


²⁹) According to NALK, p. 466, this individual is the same as the archive owner of ADD 233 and ADD 4 (=NALK 146-147), resp. of 659 and Post-Can.; but there is absolutely no evidence for this.
³⁰) For Ï(d)dí or Adí, a tamkaru by profession, in the (Post-C) archives of Kakkullânu, cf. most recently NALK, p. 144.
³²) Fales, SAAB I (1987), pp. 93 ff., text no. 27.
³³) Fales, SAAB I (1987), pp.93 ff., text no. 28.
³⁴) Cf. fn. 20, above. Notice presence of ¹Hu-ra-a+a.
ADD 612 (= ARU 558), 15-16: W (686, with Nabuayyu, ša narkabti ša šēpā and Urad-Ištar šarrapu), LÜ3-šū / ša SAL É.GAL.
ADD 622 (= NALK 105), 22: W (Post-C, archive of Gititu), with Su-si-i, Adallal, Aššur-bessunu, KUR-ılayyya35, etc.
ADD 711 (= NALK 124), R. 28'-29': E (Post-C, archive of Kakkullānu), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP / A.BA KUR.
ADD 754 (n.d., adm. list of oxen): (10) 1 ME 10 GUD MEŠ (11) a-na LÜ ENGAR MEŠ (12) [ŠÚ]11 1dPA-MAN-PAP
ADD 814, col. I (adm. list of metals): (12) (X) 1 ME 10 GUD MEŠ (13) [SUII] Id pA MAN-PAP
ADD 840, col. II (approx. 670 B.C., adm. list of palace personnel): (2') 1dR1-10 LÜ [ x x ] (3') Ir15'-SUM-PAP MEŠ LÜ [ x x x ] (4') 1dMAŠ.MAŠ-MAN-PAP LÜ [ x x x ] (5') 1dPA-MAN-PAP LÜ [ x x x ] (6') 1Tu-qu-nu-KAM-em[s] LÜ [ x ] (7') 1dAMAR. UTU-šal-lim LÜ qur-ZAG (8') 1dMAN-IGI.LAL-a-ni LÜ3-šū A MAN (9') Ta-bal-a-a LÜ qur-ZAG (10') Man-nu-ki-Åš-šur LÜ " (11') 1dP]A-kil-la-a-ni LÜ DIB.PA MEŠ[ ]36.
ADD 853, col. I (age of Esh. or Asb., list of governors and other personnel37): (1) [1 1dša,]1dPA-su-u (2) [1 'Åš-sur] ŠU-GUR LÜ IGI.DUB (3) 1dPAP-DINGIR-a-a LÜ EN.NAM (4) URU NINA KI (5) 1dPA-MAN-PAP EN.NAM URU NINA KI (6) ki-šir 1d30-PAP MEŠ-SU GIBIL38.
ADD 854, col. I (age of Esh. or Asb., list of governors and other personnel): (5') [1 1dša,]1dPA-su-u (6') [1 'Åš-sur ŠU-GUR LÜ IGI.DUB 1 BLANK SPACE OF ONE LINE (7') [1 1dPA] -MAN-PAP LÜ EN.NAM URU NINA KI (8') [1 ki]-šir ša 1d30-PAP MEŠ-SU GIBIL
ADD 857 (adm. list of palace personnel, approx. 67039):

35) Notice the archive of a person thus named in NALK 143a-b.
36) For same persons and professions, cf. resp. ADD 860, II, 7, Tabalayya; ibid., I, 18, Nabû-killanni; ibid., I, 26', Mannu-ki-Åššar (described as LÜ DIB PA MEŠ); while Nergal-Åššar-uṣur should be Remanni-Adad’s crony (cf. Fales, SAAB I, pp. 93 ff., passim). Accordingly, the N-š-u here could be either = (1) ADD 860, Rev. I, 5 1dPA-MAN-PAP LÜ qur-ZAG x [ x ] or (2) ibid., Rev. I, 18 1dPA-MAN-PAP LÜ GAL ki-šir DUMU MAN.
37) Cf. Parpola, LAS II, p. 456 fn. 698, who notes that ADD 851 (considered to stem from 650 B.C.) has same month/day date as this text (TT AB UD. 16.KAM), and likewise no date. In this and the largely parallel text ADD 854, notice however: (a) the mention of the kāri Sim-ahhe-eriba eššu, which might point to the age of Esh.; (b) the reference to the mar šarru, possibly relevant to the crown princehood of Asb.; (c) the attestation in both texts of Dari-sarru, LÜsašepā, who might be the same person as the LÜ GIGIR DUK of ADD 185 / NALK 244 (667 B.C., archive of Remanni-Adad). In view of these clues, it is plausible to suggest a date 672> for these materials.
39) Cf. a recent (but highly imprecise) transliteration of this text in NWL, pp. 101 ff. Cf. LAS II, p. 459, for date of text = approx. 670, and description “List of people (primarily military) attached to the households
of the queen mother (Naqi'a/Zakutu) and the crown prince (Assurbanipal)”. Since, moreover, various prosopographical links are discernible between this text and Nabu-sarru-usur could well be the same person as ADD 860, R. 1, 18 (and see also fn. 36, above, for relations with ADD 840-841).


For some reason, Streck, Asb., I, p. CLIV fn. 4, believed this text to present a further attestation of Nabû-šarru-usur as GAL mugi (cf. sub AGS 66 & 67).

For an use of KU in much the same context, cf. e.g. ADD 929, 2, 4.


41) Cf. fns. 36, 40, above, for links with ADD 840 and ADD 857. Notice further that the fragmentary ADD 841 has a similar structure (by mušēbe) as this text, as noticed by CAD M/2, p. 252.

42) For some reason, Streck, Asb., I, p. CLIV fn. 4, believed this text to present a further attestation of Nabû-šarru-usur as GAL mugi (cf. sub AGS 66 & 67).

43) Cf. G. van Driel, The Cult of Aššur, p. 207 for cautious considerations on the dating of this group of
ADD 1010, Rev. 16: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?)
UD.12.KÁM ŠU$^{11}$ IdPA-MAN-PAP
ADD 1018, Rev. 16: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) [ŠU$^{11}$ IdPA-MAN-PAP [ x x x x x ]
ADD 1021, Rev. 7: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) ŠU$^{11}$ IdPA-MAN-PAP
ADD 1024, Rev. 16: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) ŠU$^{11}$ IdPA-MAN-PAP
ADD 1030, Rev. 11: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) ša ŠU$^{11}$ IdPA-MAN-PAP
ADD 1041 (adm. list): (10) (BLANK) $^{1}$Man-ki-i-MAN (11) (BLANK) IdPA-MAN-PAP (12) (BLANK) $^{1}$Man-ki-i-As-sur (13) [ x x x x ] $^{15}$LU'Mus-ku$^{22}$-a' $^{145}$
ADD 1158 (= NALK 307), 20: W (675, archive of Silim-Aššur) with Nusku-ilayya, Ahu-duri, etc. 46
ADD 1167 (= NALK 4), 17: P (699$^{47}$), [á]-piš-ma IdPA-MAN-PAP
Ass. 5847d (= ALA II, 97:4): E, limmu IdPA-MAN-PAP A.BA.
Ass. 8603c (= ALA II, 110:4): E.
Ass. 9570b (= ALA II, 91:3): E (archive of Dadahi, 648$>$).
Ass. 9570l/VAT 16517 (= ALA II, 91:12): E, limmu EGIS šá IdPA-MAN-PAP.
Ass. 9570o (= ALA II, 91:15): E (loan of silver: witnesses Šakilya, Bisû’a, etc. 48), limmu IdPA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
Ass. 9570w (= ALA II, 91:23): E (loan), limmu EGIS šá IdPA-MAN-PAP.
Ass. 9571y (= ALA II, 92:49):E (loan of silver: witnesses Šakilya, Bisû’a, etc.), limmu IdPA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
Ass. 9581 (= ALA II, 92:67): E (purchase), limmu EGIS šá IdPA-MAN-PAP.

documents (Sennacherib as terminus post quem). The small group of people involved in the offering schedules (Nabû-šarru-uṣur, Turi, Šakilya, etc.) is recalled ibid., p. 209.
45) The three names given here all correspond to mukil appate in ADD 857 and similar texts.
46) Cf. fn. 19, above: notice presence of $^{1}$Hu-ra-a-a.
47) Archive of Nabû-šarru-uṣur himself: cf. ad ADD 160, and fn. 5.
48) Some problems with numbers regard this and a few other texts from archive N9 of NA Assur. Following ALA, the present text is probably 9 (b) in the list of K. Deller (BagM 15 [1984], p. 21, marked 95601 ibid.). In ALA II, p. 91, on the other hand, the latter number corresponds to 95711 of Deller, Fs. Volterra, p. 641 and Falkner, AfO 17, p. 104. Finally, 95711 of ALA II, p. 92 corresponds to the second text mentioned in Menzel, AT, II, p. 208$^*$ fn. 3426 (= limmu Šalmu-šarru-iqbi), a division of inheritance (given as 9571 “Buchstabe unbekannt”).
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Ass. 9648/VAT 16539 (= ALA II, 92:70): E (work-contract: witnesses Šakilya, Bisûa, etc. 49).
Ass. 9661e (= ALA II, 92:75): E (loan of silver and clothes: witnesses Šakilya, Bisû’a, etc.), limmu 1dPA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
Ass. 9996e (= ALA II, 96:25): E.
Ass. 9916f (= ALA II, 16:26): E.
Ass. 11634c (= ALA II, 120:3): E, limmu 1dPA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
Ass. 13319g (= ALA II, 12826): E (contract text), limmu 1dPA-MAN-PAP 52.
CT 33, pi. 15, (BM 103396; from Assur): E, lim-mu IdpA-MAN-PAP 52.
CT 33, pl. 15, (BM 103394: from Assur): E, eponymy Ša EGIR Nabû-šarru-usur.
ND 2080 (= Iraq 16, 33), 11: E (contract text), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP 52.
ND 2091 (= Iraq 16, 35), 10: E (judicial decision by Arbayyu, mayor of Kalhu 53), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP.
ND 2093 (= Iraq 16, 35), 13: E (work-contract 54), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
ND 2307 (= FNALD n. 14), 57: W (marriage conveyance: among notables, of the city Kalhu and of temples, etc. 55; 648>).
ND 2325 (= Iraq 16, 42): E (conveyance: eponymy of Nabû-šarru-usur, A.BA KUR.
ND 2338 (= Iraq 16, 45), 12: E (contract: loan of silver), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.

49) And thus probably relevant to the eponym Nabû-šarru-usur A.BA KUR etc. (fig. 1, "C1"): cf. on this overall archive K. Deller, BagM 15 (1984), pp. 225-251, passim.
50) Cf. also Ass. 11682r (=ALA II, 122:17), for which however Pedersen suggests the dates “672 B.C. (or perhaps 645/626 B.C.)”. If — as is probable — “672” is a typo for 682, then this source should be added to Fig. 1 ad "D1.
51) Doubtful attestation, according to Pedersen, ALA II, p. 127.
52) A Nabû-šarru-usur with no title is attested as creditor in ND 2088 (=Iraq 13, p. 34; summary), dated Sin-sarru-usur (648>).
53) For an Arbayyu LÚ EN.NAM, cf. ADD 857, II, 50. On the other hand, no NA judicial decision would seem to have been handed down by the provincial governor, while — as hazannu — Arbayyu is in good judicial company: cf. Deller, Fs. Volterra, pp. 643, 647.
54) Cf. J.N. Postgate, FNALD, p. 33: “apparently a contract for building work on the palaces”.
55) E.g. Arbayyu the hazannu (cf. e.g. ND 2091, above; etc.); and Nabû-šumu-usur, sangu of the Nabû temple, Iddinya, sangu of the Ninurta temple. Prosopographical lists of the “ruling class of Nimrud, ca. 640 B.C.” are provided by Deller, OrNS 34, pp. 191-192; Menzel, AT, I, 202 ff.
ND 3423 (= Iraq 15, 14056): E, 1dPA-MAN-PAP 1\ancel{L}U\text{\textcopyright}GAL.SAG.
ND 3441 (= Iraq 15, 143), 14: E, 1dPA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR At-\textup{s}ur-a+a57.
ND 5448 (= FNALD 32), 20: W (contract text: 656), IGI 1dPA-MAN-PAP 1\ancel{L}U\textup{s}ā UGU Ė.
ND 5463 (= AT, II, 167:65), 25: W (conveyance: dedication to temple; 655), IGI 1dPA-MAN-PAP 1\ancel{L}U\textup{s}ā UGU[U] Ė58.
ND 5465 (= Iraq 19, 134), 14-15: E, (contract: loan of barley), lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP / 1\ancel{L}U\text{\textcopyright}GAL SAG.
ND 7006 (= TCS 10), R. 21: W (contract-text, 648>), IGI 1dP[A-MA]N\text{\textcopyright}PAP.
ND 7018 (= TFS 49), R. 8': E (fragm. conveyance: 648?>), lim-mu 1dPA-[MA]\text{\textcopyright}N\text{\textcopyright}PAP.
ND 7028 (= TFS 51), R. 26: E (conveyance text, archive of Nuha[ ]: 648?>), lim-me 1dPA-M[AN-\text{\textcopyright}PAP.
ND 7085 (= TFS 31), 1-2: P (Post-C, eponymy of Šalmu-šarru-\textup{i}qbi60: judicial decision) d[e-e-[\text{\textcopyright}n]]d 1dPA-MAN-PAP 1\ancel{L}U\textup{ha-za-nu} / ša 1\text{\textcopyright}RU Kal-ha e-mid-u-ni.
ND 7095 (= TFS 45), R. 11: E (legal: 648?>) [l]im-me 1dPA-MAN-PAP.
ND 10006 (= TFS 84), R. 1-3 (letter, perh. 648>): (1) 71/2 MA.NA AN.BAR (2) a-na 1dPA-MAN-PAP (3) dī-i-ni61.
TH 111, R. 1: E (648>), lim-mu / 1dPA-MAN-PAP 1\ancel{L}sar-tin.
VS I, 84 (= ARU 504), 28-29: E (conveyance, archive of URU Kanna', 648>), lim-mu ša EGR / [1dPA]-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
VS I, 85 (= ARU 505), 28-29: E (conveyance, archive of URU Kanna', 648>), lim-mu ša EGR 1dPA-MAN-PAP / A.BA KUR.
VS I, 88 (= ARU 209), 32-33: E (conveyance, archive of URU Kanna', 648>), [lim-mu 1dPA-MAN-PAP / [A.BA] KUR.

56) Partial transliteration by Deller, Or NS 34, p. 193.
57) This seems the sole definition of Nabū-šarru-uṣur as “Assyrian scribe”, i.e. technician of the cuneiform script: cf. Falkner, cit., p. 104; NAT, 42:3; and NWL, 138: rev. 18-20, for a group of three different designations of scribes.
58) The Nabū-šarru-uṣur occurring in this text and in the previous one is discussed by Menzel, AT I, pp. 278-279 and II, p. 225* fns. 3727, 3747, 3748; and cf. already Deller, Or NS 34, p. 191.
59) As pointed out by T. Kwasman apud Postgate-Dalley, TFS, p. 120, this text presents the witnesses and/or parties Nargī and Luquī, as in ADD 311 (= NALK 1), ADD 4 (= NALK 147), resp. from the eponymies of Marduk-šarru-uṣur and Šamaš-da’i-aninni (=Falkner 636 in both cases). Cf. also NALK, p. 2.
60) Cf. Falkner, AFO 17, p. 119: attributed to 623 B.C.
61) On the possibility of a post-648 dating for this text, cf. TFS, p. 140, note ad 1. For the further possible connection with the Nabū-šarru-uṣur, mayor of Kalhu (ND 7085), notice that the exhortation “Give 7 minas of iron to Nabū-šarru-uṣur!”, is followed by “Give 7 minas of iron to the inhabitant(s) of Kalhu!” (ibid., R. 4-6).
3. From the mere proportions of the list above, it may be safely argued that Falkner's opinion was closest to a realistic view of the prosopographical situation surrounding Nabû-šarru-uṣur: the name was indeed very frequent, and was borne by many people of different walks of life during the 7th century B.C. So many, in fact, that the first impression of the assembled data is that of a veritable mayhem. How many Nabû-šarru-uṣurs must be reckoned in all? How many are resp. to be placed in the pre-648 and in the post-canonical period? How many of the attestations of Nabû-šarru-uṣur can be told apart with certainty? How many cases can — on the other hand — be mutually connected through chronological and professional-hierarchical considerations?

To begin to answer these questions, a synoptic view of the data was felt to be required, and is provided in fig. 1. In this chart, the material listed above by text and edition numbers has been subdivided, whenever possible, according to chronological-prosopographical criteria: thus, the attestations of individuals named Nabû-šarru-uṣur have been split up in separate lots, on the basis of similarities of detail (professional names, etc.) or of wider context (e.g. presence in same archives). In both cases, only clear-cut evidence for the conglomerates between the various Nabû-šarru-uṣurs has been taken into account in the chart: in other words, the latter is meant to reflect a cautiously objective state of affairs on the matter at present.

The result is, however, that we are faced with no less than 26 groups of data, which are further (i.e. even more dispersively) ranged into 4 partitions in connection with the dating of the texts (dates before 648 B.C., post-canonical, undated, dated but uncertain). Now it is obvious that such a parcelled outcome cannot be considered satisfactory from the viewpoint of historical reconstruction: all the more so, in that a number of groups shows distinct potential for mutual connections and merges, falling just short of absolute evidence. The exploration of this potential — i.e. the appraisal of a wider range of possibilities for links among the single attestations of Nabû-šarru-uṣur — is consigned to the notes that follow, which are ordered by large brackets of professional designations.

**Eponyms**

Three eponymies mark the name Nabû-šarru-uṣur in 7th century texts. The earliest is the *limmu* of 682 (*A3), often associated with the professional title of governor of Marqasi. Other attestations of this eponym are clear from his occurrence in the archive of the deeds of Bahianu, known for his long activity as lender in the early part of the 7th century.

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The second limmu does not occur in the range of the known eponym canon (up to 648), and is a rab ša reši (chief eunuch) by profession (*B1); the date reconstructed by Falkner for this individual was 645 B.C.\(^64\). Only three texts mention this eponym with his professional title\(^65\), and one of them (ADD 129) does so only in the Aramaic part of the document, while the Assyrian one merely provides the name of the limmu\(^66\). Now, it is reasonable to suggest that this official was the same person as a well-known rab ša reši of Assurbanipal (*A10), attested as recipient of a royal grant of land and people in reward for faithful service\(^67\), and in two queries to the god Šamas—all to be presumably dated between 660 and 650 B.C.\(^68\). Other references are much more open to doubt, but may nonetheless be brought forth: notice, for example, a LušAG acting as witness in Nineveh in two undated deeds (*C1), and a rab kisři ša rab ša reši of approx. 670, on which more will be said in the following section on officials.

The third limmu named Nabû-šarru-usaha, again from the period after 648, is hardly less enigmatic. As may be seen, the majority of texts in group *B2—more than 20 legal documents from Nineveh, Assur, and Kalhu—refers to the eponymy of one Nabû-šarru-usaha, LuA.BA KUR, “palace scribe”, with no further specifications\(^69\); this individual was attributed to 626 B.C. by M. Falkner\(^70\). Some difficulties, on the other hand, arise from the prospect of associating this eponym with two other persons of the same name: a mayor of Kalhu acting as judge in a text attributed to 623 B.C. (ND 7085) and a further eponym, by profession a sartennu (TH 111). In a way, the two latter cases are mutually connected through the sphere of the exercise of justice, since the sartennu is known as an official with frequent judicial functions in NA times, quite similarly to the hazannu\(^71\); and it would be hardly troubling, moreover, to envisage the palace scribe Nabû-šarru-usaha as hazannu, i.e. fulfilling other duties at the municipal level two years after his

\(^{64}\) Cf. AfO 17, p. 118 and fn. 50, for the justification of this date proposal.

\(^{65}\) Cf. however Fig. 10, fn. 2, for a possible addition.

\(^{66}\) The belief that this contract text, referring to a loan of corn by Taquni, dates to 682, goes back to A. Ungnad, RIA, loc. cit., thence to K. Tallqvist—although with doubts—(cf. APN, p. 20) and is taken up by NALK, p. 238. Contra, Falkner, p. 104, provides it with a post-648 date (cf. fn. 22, above, for a different misunderstanding by this author). See most recently Fales, AECT, pp. 135-140.

\(^{67}\) NARGD, n. 10; cf. ibid., p. 35, ad l. 11 (which, in view of the contents, is erroneously labelled “No. 9”) for the same suggestion of identification as the one offered here.

\(^{68}\) Cf. fn. 17, above, for the date of the two AGS texts; the grant is dated in the limmu of Labasi (657), on the same day and month (9/VIII) as other texts of this type (see NARGD 9:72; 10:72).

\(^{69}\) The specification Aššurayyu is attested only once (ND 3441); cf. fn. 57, above.

\(^{70}\) AfO 17, p. 119. Notice that in this case—as in *A3—a limmu of the year following Nabû-šarru-usaha is present (cf. ibid., 114).

\(^{71}\) Cf. Deller, Fs Volterra, pp. 648-652, passim, on the sartennu as judge and in NA texts in general. Notice that the translation of the term by CAD S (1984), pp. 185-186, is unequivocally “chief judge”. For the judicial function of the hazannu, cf. fn. 25, above.
eponymy\(^\text{72}\). As for the possible equation between the two limmuses, it is now well known that the titles do not correspond, i.e. that sartennu cannot have been the reading of A.BA KUR\(^\text{73}\). On the other hand, the identity of the persons involved should certainly be considered a likelier solution than postulating a further homonymous eponym in post-canonical years: it may thus be suggested to view the title sartennu given to Nabû-šarru-uṣur as a scribal misunderstanding, occurring in the provincial context of Guzana.

A “fourth limmu” Nabû-šarru-uṣur is, unfortunately, represented in *D1 by no less than 16 cases in which the eponymous notation is not accompanied by professional titles. As for the results of contextual analysis, only a few cases (Ass. 9570b, Ass. 13850p/VAT 15506, ND 2080, ND 2091, ND 2322) may be ascribed with reasonable certainty to the post-canonical period; in this case, on the other hand, the limmu intended could equally well have been the chief eunuch or the palace scribe. In other cases, as proven by the texts of the Bahianu archive, the indication limmu Nabû-šarru-uṣur could even refer to the governor of Marqas\(^\text{74}\). However, since approximately half of the documents of *D1 is formed by yet unpublished material from Assur, it is to be hoped that the information therein will allow more precise contextual connections in the future.

Officials of various rank

An intriguing case among the officials bearing the name Nabû-šarru-uṣur is represented by the attestations of LUGAL mu-gi (*A9) in queries to the sun-god dating to 670 B.C.\(^\text{75}\). Given that a “final” interpretation of this professional term is yet to be found\(^\text{76}\), it may be asked whether the passage in the letter ABL 1249, Rev. 3-4, of the age of Assurbanipal (A.MAN-PAP Lrak\(^\text{77}\)-si *a mu-gi-ia a-sa-par: *A15) might be taken to refer to the same individual, or not. Alternatively, one might consider one of a group of medium- to high-ranking officials named Nabû-šarru-uṣur, and operating no earlier than 670 B.C., as possibly endowed with a secondary title of this type.

\(^{72}\) Cf. NWL, pp. 7ff. for an overview of the institution of the hazannâtu in NA times.

\(^{73}\) The equation between the two Nabû-šarru-usurs was first brought forth and defended by Ungnad, AFO Beih. 6, pp. 58, 60, 62, on the basis of the presumed identity between the relevant professional titles; as such it is basically accepted by Falkner, AFO 17, p. 119 fn. 61. On the other hand, Deller (Fs. Volterra, pp. 651-652) has quoted a passage from ABL 568 which, in effect, rules out the possibility of correlating this title with that of A.BA KUR; cf. now SAA I, n. 34, Rev. 14'-19'.

\(^{74}\) Cf. possibly ADD 21, for which APN had already suggested a date in 682 (v. s.v. Nadin, Nabû-rimanni, Nabû-taqqînanni, etc.). The text is also taken into account by Falkner, p. 115a, who however relates it to the Nabû-šarru-uṣur chief eunuch.

\(^{75}\) For the date of the texts, cf. fn. 16, above.

\(^{76}\) Cf., e.g., the still tentative translation by CAD.M (1977), p. 171a-b, s.v. mugu, “(a high military official)”, and notice the relevant commentary, p. 171b: “From the texts it seems the rab mugi was a high military official who occasionally served as special envoy to foreign rulers”. Notice further the equation rab
Among these officials, a number of persons qualified as *rab kišri*, "cohort-commander, captain" should be singled out, insofar as the comparative analysis of their attestations could lead to hypotheses of more advanced regroupings than the ones provided in Fig. 1. The following data shall be considered:

1) *rab kišri* (*ša šēpā*) (*ša mar šarrī*), "c.-c. of the bodyguards of the crown prince", friend of Remanni-Adad (= *A5, ca. 671-660*)
2) *rab kišri* *ša mar šarrī*, "c.-c. of the crown prince", in adm. lists (*A7, ADD 860, Rev. col. I, 18, approx. 670*)
3) *rab kišri* (*ša*) *rab *ša rešī, “c.-c. of the chief eunuch”, in adm. lists (*A7, ADD 857, II, 27, approx. 670*)
4) *rab kišri*, "c.-c.", in NB letters to Assurbanipal re Babylonia (*A8, 655>645*)
5) *rab kišri* (*ša šarrī*), "c.-c. of the king", friend of Kakkullānu (*B3, post-648*)

Now, on essentially chronological grounds, the five groups of materials summarized above may reasonably be cut down to a smaller complex of three lots, which stand a fair-to-good chance of being reciprocally connected. The first cluster is formed by 1) and 2), which show in common a "cohort-commander" tied to the crown prince Assurbanipal in the years between 672 and 668. A second cluster may be organized around nos. 4) and 5): here we have a "cohort-commander" directly connected to the king, to the point of being sent on missions in wartime (no. 4). Finally, no. 3), of the age of Esarhaddon/Assurbanipal presents a Nabū-šarru-uṣur who is the *rab kišri* of the chief eunuch: could this be the man destined to become a chief eunuch himself, in the post-648 period? And could he be identical to one of the two other *rab kišris*?

Little or no information surrounds further officials of rank named Nabū-šarru-uṣur. They include a governor of the Nineveh region, from the age of Esarhaddon/Assurbanipal (*A11: ADD 853, col. I,5; ADD 854, col. I, 7); a LUG śa muthi biti (*A14, temple administrator or sim.) from Kalhu, 656-655 B.C., whose precise templar attachments in the city are unclear, but who appears important enough to be regularly mentioned after the LUG SANGA of Nabû or Ninurta in witness lists77; and the writer of a letter to Assurbanipal concerning the issuing of garments from the palace (ABL 413) -perhaps a person connected to a weaving establishment (*A1578*).

*mugi* = *strategés* (="commander") suggested by Parpola, *LAS II*, p. 249, on the basis of Benveniste. RÉJ 82, pp. 55ff.

77) Menzel, *AT I*, p. 279: according to this author, our man might have been a "profane Vertreter dieses Berufes". Notice a further Nabū-šarru-uṣur concerned with cultic matters in the offering schedules *ADD* 1006 ff. (*C5). *Addendum: also concerned with the cult is Nabū-šarru-uṣur, śangū of the bit-ēqi from Assur, K. 16, 1-3 (cf. Menzel, *AT I*, p. 204), who should be added to group *C4 in fig. 10*.

Friends and witnesses

Some of the Nabu-šarru-uṣurs listed above and in fig. 1, whether endowed with professional name or not, merely occur as witnesses in single legal documents, and thus are devoid of historical substance (*A2, *B5, *C3 79). On the other hand, given the abundance of persons named Nabu-šarru-uṣur, it is no surprise to encounter this name in connection with some of the major archives of legal texts from Nineveh, as regular witnesses for the deeds of sale or loan-contracts stipulated by specific parties. These Nabu-šarru-uṣurs in the position of cronies or friends in business occur in the large archive of Remanni-Adad (*A5, 671-660) 80, and in the smaller complexes of Silim-Aššur (*A4, 680-673) and of Kakkullanu (*B3, post-canonical). As has been known for a long time, prosopographical connections among these casually surviving Ninevite legal archives are quite elusive, if they exist at all 81: thus, we cannot presume to find further connections along these lines.

4. The factual results reached above concerning Nabu-šarru-uṣur do not require, in themselves, further comment. By way of conclusion, on the other hand, it may be stated that an investigation such as the present one offers first-rate material for a case study of the levels of information available at this time on Assyrian society of the 7th century B.C. As Fig. 1 amply shows, modern scholars can claim no real lack of primary documentation on the palatial elite and its multiple ranks and social niches; however, the perception of the regulating movements and mechanisms within this machinery still presents extremely complex aspects. In quite a few cases illustrated above, interconnections among the various references to Nabu-šarru-uṣur have been doubted, or at least proposed with many reservations, due to the lack of wider knowledge on the palatial level of Assyrian society: e.g. on the way promotions or even demotions in rank took place, on the possibilities for same persons to have multiple functions and activities, on the full hierarchical layout of professional titles (the Assyrian cursus honorum). On the other hand, it might be argued that the construction of this knowledge base stands to gain very much from the down-to-earth prosopographical quest, such as the one on Nabu-šarru-uṣur provided here. It may be hoped that this is indeed the case, so that a continuation of this type of investigation may find additional justification.

79) For the witness in *C1, cf. above, discussion of the eponyms.
80) Fales, SAAB I (1987), pp. 92-114; Kwasman, NALK, pp. 277-338. Notice that in ADD 202, of 670, Nabu-šarru-uṣur bears the title taššisu (possibly by coincidence, like the witness in *A2, of 686), but elsewhere is a rab kisri (ša) mar šarru (cf. discussion in the section on officials, above).
81) Cf. already M. Falkner, AfO 17, pp. 107-108, passim, for a historical and prosopographical appraisal of these groups of documents.
Fig. 10
NABŪ-ŠARRU-USUR
A CHRONOLOGICAL-PROSOPOGRAPHICAL CHART

Abbreviations in the list below: E = eponym; P = party (to deed); W = witness (of deed); A = author (of letter); M = mentioned (in letter); DATE>a = terminus post quem.

A. Texts dated prior to 648 B.C.

*A1, buyer, no prof. name:
(699) ADD 1167 (= NALK 4), 17, P

*A2, witness, taššišu ša ša ekalli:
(686) ADD 612 (= ARU 558), 15-16, W

*A3, limmu of 682, (a) šakin Marqasi, (b) no prof. name (prosopographical evidence), (c) limmu of year following [a]:
(682) (a) ADD 215 (= NALK 144), 26-27, E
(682) (b) ADD 132 (= NALK 62), 9, E
(682) (b) ADD 136 (= NALK 64), 10, E
(682) (b) ADD 143 (= NALK 63), 6', E
(682) (a) ADD 222 (= NALK 367), 14'-15', E
(682) (a) ADD 276 (= ARU 532), 14-15, E
(682) (a) ADD 363 (= ARU 371), 11-12, E
(682) (a) ADD 370 (= ARU 114), 6'-7', E
(682) (?) Ass. 8603c (= ALA II, 110:4), E
(681) (c) ADD 213 (= NALK 381), 21-23, E
→[cf. D1]

*A4, ca. 680-673, friend of Silim-Aššur, no prof. name:
(680>) ADD 601 (= NALK 316), 3', W
(675) ADD 124 (= NALK 309), 10, W
(675) ADD 1158 (= NALK 307), 20, W
(673) ADD 53 (= ARU 258), 6, W (??)

*A5, ca. 671-660, rab kišîr (ša šépā) (ša mar šarri), friend of Remanni-Adad:
(671) ADD 266 (= NALK 235), 14', W
(671>) ADD 477 (= NALK 261), R. 20', W
(671>) ADD 503 (= NALK 280), R. 22', W
(663) ADD 470 (= NALK 256), R. 33', W

*A6, perhaps = A5, but taššišu, in (a) archives of Milki-nuri, (b) Remanni-Adad:
(671) (a) ADD 627 (= NALK 173), 22', W
(670) (b) ADD 202 (= NALK 237), R. 15', W (taššišu)
A7, perhaps = A5, in parallel adm. lists, also as rab kišir rab ša reši:

(670?) ADD 840, col. II, 5:1PAM-PAP PA x [x x x]
(670?) ADD 860, Rev. col. I, 18:1PAM-PAP PGAL ki-šir DUMU MAN;
(670?) ADD 857, col. II, 27:1PAM-PAP [PGAL ki-šir GAL SAG

A8, perhaps = A5 and/or A7, in NB letters to Assurbanipal re Babylonia (655 > 645):

(655>) ABL 275, R. 5:2LUGAL-ŠEŠ1PAM-PAP ki-šir
(655>) ABL 462, R. 27:2LUGAL-PAM-PAP PGAL ki-šir

A9, perhaps = A5 and/or A7 and/or A10, rab mugi ša mar šarri, in undated royal texts (Ash/Asb):

(672>) AGS 66, 2 etc.:2LUGAL mu-gi
(672>) AGS 67, 1 etc.:2LUGAL mu-gi

A10, rab ša reši of Assurbanipal, in undated royal texts (but 668>):

(668>) AGS 150, 2, etc. (= next):
(668>) AGS 153, 2 etc.:2LUGAL SAG (Assurbanipal)
(657) ADD 646 (= NARGD 10), 11, 28, 52:2LUGAL SAG ša 1Aššur-DU-A LUGAL KUR AššurKI

→[cf. B1]

A11, governor of Ninua, in parallel adm. lists (but 672>):

(672>) ADD 853, col. I, 5-6: 1PAM-PAP EN.NAM URU-NINA2KI/ ki-šir 1PAMPES SU GIBIL
(672>) ADD 854, col. I, 7-8': [1PAM-PAP EN.NAM URU-NINA2KI / [1 ki]-šir ša 1PAMPES SU GIBIL
(n.d.) ADD 814, col. I, 13: ...1PAM-PAP 2LUGAM

A12, in undated adm. lists (but 672>), various officials:

(672>) 1PAM-PAP col. II, 44:1PAM-PAP PGAL GEŠTIN
(672>) 2ADD 857, Rev. col. I, 18:1PAM-PAP PGAL AM A MAN
(672>) 3ADD 860, Rev. col.I, 5:1PAM-PAP PGAL qur-buttu

A13, in archive of Bēl-dūrī, a qurbutu of URU Balaṭaya:

(658) ADD 152 (= NALK 73), R. 11-12, W

A14, a LUGša muhhi biti of Kalhu (656-655):

(656) ND 5448 (= FNALD 32), 20, W
(655) ND 5463 (= AT II, T167-68, n. 65), 25, W

A15, official(s) of Assurbanipal, in letters:

(668>) ABL 413, 2, A 1PAM-PAP
(668>) ABL 770, 2, A 1AG-PAP
(668>) ABL 1249, Rev. 3-4, M 1PAM-PAP PGAL rak-sti / ša mu-gi-ia: cf. *A9?*)
B. post-canonical texts

*B1, post-648, *limmu, rab ša rešî (perh. = A10)²:

(648?) ADD 129 (= NALK 383, AECT 3), Obv. 8 (Ass.), Rev. 15-16 (Aram.), E
(648?) ND 3441 (= Iraq 15, 143), E
(648?) ND 5465 (= Iraq 19, 134), 14-15, E

*B2, post-648, (a) judge as mayor of Kalhu, (b) *limmu as A.BA KUR, (c) *limmu of year following [b].

(a) *limmu as sartennu:

(648?) (a) ND 7085 (= TFS 31), 1-2, P³
(648?) (a) ADD 711 (= NALK 124), R. 28'-29', E
(648?) (a) Ass. 5847d (= ALA II, 97:4), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 9570o (= ALA II, 91:15), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 9570l/VAT 16517 (= ALA II, 91:12), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 9570w (= ALA II, 91:23), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 9581 (= ALA II, 92:67), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 9571y (= ALA II, 92:49), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 9661c (= ALA II, 92:75), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 9996f (= ALA II, 96:26), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 11634c (= ALA II, 120:3), E
(648?) (a) Ass. 13319g (= ALA II, 128:6), E (?)
(648?) (a) CT 33, pl. 15, E
(648?) (a) ND 2093 (= Iraq 16, 35), 13, E
(648?) (a) ND 2325 (= Iraq 16, 42), E
(648?) (a) ND 2335 (= Iraq 16, 44-45), 16, E (¹²) A.BA "KUR" 
(648?) (a) ND 2338 (= Iraq 16, 45), 12, E
(648?) (a) ND 3441 (= Iraq 15, 143), E
(648?) (a) ND 7022 (= TFS 59), R. 13, E
(648?) (a) VS I, 88 (= ARU 209), 32-33, E
(648?) (a) VS I, 84 (= ARU 504), 28-29, E
(648?) (a) VS I, 85 (= ARU 505), 28-29, E
(648?) (a) CT 33, pl. 16, E
(648?) (a) TH 111, R. 1, E
→[cf. D1]

*B3, post-648, *rab kîşîr (ša šarri), friend of Kakkullânu:

(648?) ADD 211 (= NALK 129), 35-36, W
(648?) ADD 349 (= NALK 118), R. 31, W

*B4¹-², post-648, in legal texts, personnel of various rank:

(648?) ¹ADD 160 (= NALK 205), 1, P
(648?) ²ADD 160 (= NALK 205), u.e. 20, W (¹²) da-a+a-šu, "scout")
| (648>)  | ND 2080 (= Iraq 16, 33), 11, E |
| (648>)  | ND 2091 (= Iraq 16, 35), 10, E |
| (648>)  | ND 2322 (= Iraq 16, 41), E   |
| (?)     | ND 7018 (= TFS 49), R. 8', E |
| (?)     | ND 7028 (= TFS 51), R. 26, E |
| (?)     | ND 7095 (= TFS 45), R. 11, E |

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1) Cf. Streck, *Asb.* I, p. CLIV fn. 4, for the suggestion of a prosopographical link of this individual with *A10*, below, due to their common occurrence in the *AGS* texts.

2) Falkner, p. 104, adds also "Assur 9165 [Photo Assur 1364]" as a further attestation in this category, but I cannot trace the text in Pedersen's *ALA*.

3) The correspondence between the mayor and the post-6481immu, *A. BA KUR* by profession, was also suggested by K. Deller (cf. *TFS*, p. 82, note ad 1).

4) The connection of these two texts with the dated ones presenting *Asb*'s *LUSAG* was first suggested by Streck, *Asb.* I, p. CLIV.

5) Formula: ŠU\(^{11}\) 12pA-MAN-PAP, or sim.