

PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, 2: THE MANY FACES OF NABŪ-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 Nabû-šarru-ušur¹. 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. 4², 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 Nabû-šarru-ušur in NA material are rather different. Streck suggested to view Nabû-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 caution³. To the contrary, Falkner (who dealt with Nabû-šarru-ušur in her classification of the sources on the post-canonical eponyms⁴) believed in a clear plurality of subjects bearing a single, frequently

¹) For the previous article in this series, cf. SAAB I (1987), pp. 93-114. the specific quest for Nabû-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 Nabûšarušur 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 Nabû-šarru-ušur as eponym.

bestowed, name (“Der Name Nabû-šarru-ušur 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-ušur. 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-ušur 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-ušur 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-ušur previous to 700 B.C. is scarce and comparatively uninteresting. Note, e.g., for ^{1d}PA-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 Urartian context; etc.; for ^{1d}AG-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-ušur writer of letters].

¹¹) *ADD* 840, 853, 854, 857, 860.

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. Pedersen, *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 contexts¹³— ^dAG-LUGAL-PAP :

ADD 646 (= NARGD 10), 11, 28, 52: LÚGAL SAG ša ¹Aš-šur-DÛ-A LUGAL KUR Aššur^{KI} (657 B.C.)¹⁴
 ABL 462, R. 27: M, ^{Id}AG-LUGAL-PAP LÚGAL ki-šir (age of Asb., 655>645)¹⁵

— ^dAG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ :

(a) AGS, 66, 2 etc.; (b) AGS 67, 1 etc.: LÚGAL mu-gi (672>)¹⁶
 (a) AGS 150, 2, etc.; (b) AGS 153, 2 etc.: LÚGAL SAG (age of Assurbanipal, connection with Manneans, Gambulu)¹⁷;
 ABL 275, R. 5: LÚGAL ki-šir (age of Asb., 655>645)¹⁸

— ^dAG-LUGAL-ú-šur :

ADD 741 (= CCENA 23), Obv. 31: (30) PAP 1700 A.ŠÀ 40 KIRI₆^{MES} GIS₆ til-liti 2-ta K[IRI₆ ^USAR (31) 6 É^{MES} ša ^{Id}AG.LUGAL-ú[-šur LÚGAL.SAG (?)]

— ^dAG-MAN-PAP :

ABL 770, 2: A (age of Assurbanipal: no prof.name, unc. context).
 ADD 215 (= NALK 144), 26-27: E (682), lim-mu ^{Id}AG-MAN-PAP / LÚGAR.KUR URU Mar-qa-si¹⁹)

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.

¹⁴ Cf. Fales, CCENA, p. 133 fn. 49 for the suggestion to equate this individual with the ^{Id}AG.LUGAL-ú[-šur LÚGAL.SAG (?)] in ADD 741 (=CCENA 23): Obv. 31, below.

¹⁵ Neo-Babylonian: sender Bêl-ibni. Notice that Nabû-šarru-ušur is here mentioned with Nabû-zêr-ibni, qurbutu (same as ADD 15 / NALK 311, archive of Silim-Aššur, 672??) and ŠEŠ-um-me-e, LÚEN.NAM, who could well be = PAP-im-me-e, LÚNAM of Hindanu in ADD 854, I, 14⁷.

¹⁶ Cf. most recently Parpola, LAS II, p. 249, who tends to equate the unnamed LÚGAL mu-gi (“general”) in LAS n. 252 (=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, LAS II, p. 238; and most probably 670). [Many thanks to G.B. Lanfranchi for his kind suggestions on these points].

¹⁷ Cf. Falkner, 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 Bêl-îqîša (665/664) or against his son Dunanu (10 years later).

¹⁸ Neo-Babylonian: sender Kudurru.

¹⁹ ADD 414 (= NALK 127), 56, pointed out by APN, p. 159a, reads ^{Id}Sag-gil-MAN-PAP LÚGAL ki-šir, according to Kwasman.

— ^dPA-LUGAL-PAP :

ADD 53 (= ARU 258), 6: W (673)²⁰.

— ^dPA-MAN-PAP :

ABL 413, 2: A (age of Assurbanipal: no prof.name, palace/temple²¹).

ABL 1249, Rev. 3-4: M (letter of Aššur-hamatu'a concerning Assurbanipal), (3) ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}rak¹⁷-si (4) *ša mu-gi-ia a-sa-pār*.

ADD 21 (= NALK 201), 7: E (date [?]), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-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.), Rev. 15-16 (Aram.): E (648>[?], archive of Taqûni), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / *l'm rbsrs nbsršr*²³.

ADD 132 (= NALK 62), 9:E (682, archive of Bahianu), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP¹.

ADD 136 (= NALK 64), 10: E (682, archive of Bahianu), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-P[AP].

ADD 143 (= NALK 63), 6': E (682, archive of Bahianu), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP²⁴.

ADD 152 (= NALK 73), R. 11-12: W (658, archive of Bêl-dûri), ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}qur<<ša>>-butu / ^{URU}Ba-laṭ-a+a²⁵.

ADD 160 (= NALK 205), 1:P (Post-C, judicial decision in front of the mayor of Nineveh²⁶), *de-e-nu ša* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}A.BA. Notice also, among the witnesses, ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}da-a+a-lu (u.e. 28).

ADD 202 (= NALK 237), R. 15²⁷:W (670, archive of Remanni-Adad), ^{LÚ}" (= 3.U₅, *tašlišu*).

ADD 211 (= NALK 129), 35-36: W (Post-C, archive of Kakkullânu), ^{Id}]PA-MAN-PAP / [^{LÚ}GAL] *ki-šir šá* MAN.

ADD 213 (= NALK 381), 21-23: E (681, archive of Tabni-Ištar), *lim-m[u šá]* / *ár-kat* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / ^{LÚ}GAR.KUR *Mar-qa-sa*.

²⁰) Witness, together with: Ahu-duri, Šumma-Adad, Ahu-mukin-amâti. Perhaps = archive of Silim-Aššur (unnoticed by NALK).

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 Nabû-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 Nabû-šarru-ušur "chief eunuch".

²⁴) ADD 166, l.e. 2, pointed out by APN, would in fact seem to read *lim-mu* ^{Id}ŠÚ-MAN-PAP (= Post-Can.), according to NALK, p. 233.

²⁵) Witness for the debtor (Obv. 5: ¹Nar-gi-i ša ^{URU}TI.LA^{MES}), and thus unlikely to correspond to other figures from Nineveh, e.g. the *qurbutu* in ADD 860 Rev. I, 5. Cf. already Falkner, AfO 17, p. 114 fn. 37 on this attestation.

²⁶) Archive of Nabû-šarru-ušur: cf. also ADD 1167 for homonymous "archive-holder" (NALK, p. xvii). For the mayor of Nineveh as judge, cf. Deller, *Fs. Volterra*, pp. 640, 643.

²⁷) Fales, SAAB I (1987), pp. 93 ff., text no. 9.

ADD 222 (= NALK 367), 14'-15': E (682, archive of Šumma-ilani), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / GAR.KUR *Mar-qa-si*.

ADD 266 (= NALK 235), 14'²⁸: W (671, archive of Remanni-Adad), ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}[GAL *ki-šir*].

ADD 267 (= NALK 408, AECT 34), 16': W (n.d., archive of *šakintu*, together with ^I*Lu-qu* ^{LÚ}[GAL *ki-šir*]²⁹), ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ} [].

ADD 276 (= ARU 532), 14-15: E (682, fragm. deed witnessed by various *rab kišris* and *kišir šarris*, among which *Sîn-bêlu-ušur*), *lim]-me* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / [^{LÚ}GAR.KUR] ^{URU}*Mar-qa-sa*.

ADD 342 (= ARU 351), R. 7: W (n.d., with *EN-na-tan*, *KU-ti-i*, *10-ša-i*, *Su-si-i*, *Nabû-eriba*, *Akullanu*, *Šangû-Ištar*).

ADD 344 (= ARU 364), R. 9': W (n.d., with *Idî tamkaru*³⁰, *Šalmu-šarru-iqbi rab kišir*), ^{LÚ}SAG.

ADD 349 (= NALK 118), R. 31: W (Post-C, archive of *Kakkullânu*), IGI ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP GAL *ki-šir*.

ADD 363 (= ARU 371), 11-12: E (682, fragm. deed witnessed by various *mukil appatis*, and *Riba-ahhê*, ^{LÚ}*qêpu ša* ^{URU}*Kar-Šamaš*), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP *šá* ^{URU}*Mar-qa-si*.

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

ADD 386 (= NALK 92), R. 26': W (n.d., archive of *Dayyan-Kurbail*), ^{LÚ}SAG.

ADD 437 (= ARU 440), 10': E (682, very fragm. conveyance deed), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP.

ADD 470 (= NALK 256), R. 33'³¹: W (663, archive of Remanni-Adad), " (= ^{LÚ}GAL *kišir*) *ša* ^{GIR}II *ša* A MAN.

ADD 477 (= NALK 261), R. 20'³²: W (n.d. [670-660], archive of Remanni-Adad), ^{LÚ}GAL ^Γ*ki-šir* [*šá* A MAN].

ADD 503 (= NALK 280), R. 22'³³: W (n.d. [670-660], archive of Remanni-Adad), [^{LÚ*}GAL *ki-šir šá* A MAN].

ADD 601 (= NALK 316), 3': W (n.d., archive of *Silim-Aššur*), with *Nusku-ilayya*, *Ahu-duri*³⁴.

²⁸) Fales, SAAB I (1987), pp. 93 ff., text no. 12.

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 I(d)di or Adî, a *tamkaru* by profession, in the (Post-C) archives of *Kakkullânu*, cf. most recently NALK, p. 144.

³¹) Fales, SAAB I (1987), pp. 93 ff., text no. 25.

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 ^I*Hu-ra-a+a*.

ADD 612 (= ARU 558), 15-16:W (686, with Nabuayyu, *ša narkabti ša šêpâ* and Urad-Ištar *šarrapu*), ^{LÚ}3-šú / *ša* SAL É.GAL.

ADD 622 (= NALK 105), 22: W (Post-C, archive of Girittu), with *Su-si-i*, Adallal, Aššur-bessunu, KUR-*ilayya*³⁵, etc.

ADD 627 (= NALK 173), 22':W (671, archive of Milki-nuri), ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}3.U₅.

ADD 711 (= NALK 124), R. 28'-29':E (Post-C, archive of Kakkullânu), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / A.BA KUR.

ADD 754 (n.d., adm. list of oxen): (10) 1 ME 10 GUD^{MEŠ} (11) *a-na* ^{LÚ}ENGAR^{MEŠ} (12) [ŠU^{II}] ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP

ADD 814, col. I (adm. list of metals): (12) [x] 10 MA * ^{Id}30-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}İR (13) [š]á ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}NAM.

ADD 840, col. II (approx. 670 B.C., adm. list of palace personnel): (2') ^İİR^I-10' ^{LÚ} [x x] (3') ^İr15'-SUM-PAP^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ} x [x x] (4') ^{Id}MAŠ.MAŠ-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ} [x x] (5') ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ} x [x x x] (6') ^ITu-qu-nu-KAM-e[š]^{LÚ}[x] x (7') ^{Id}AMAR. UTU-šal-lim ^{LÚ}qur-ZAG (8') ^IMAN-IGI.LAL-a-ni ^{LÚ}3-šú A MAN (9') ^ITa-bal-a-a ^{LÚ}qur-ZAG (10') ^IMan-nu-ki-Aš-šur ^{LÚ} " (11') ^{Id}P]A-kil-la-a-ni ^{LÚ}DIB.PA^{ME}[š]³⁶.

ADD 853, col. I (age of Esh. or Asb., list of governors and other personnel³⁷): (1) [1 ^IŠa-d^I]PA-šú-u⁷ (2) [1 ^IAš-šur]^I-ŠU-GUR ^{LÚ}IGI.DUB (3) 1 ^IPAP-DINGIR-a-a ^{LÚ}EN.NAM (4) ^{URUNINA}KI (5) 1 ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP EN.NAM ^{URUNINA}KI (6) *ki-šir* ^{Id}30-PAP^{MEŠ}-SU GIBIL³⁸.

ADD 854, col. I (age of Esh. or Asb., list of governors and other personnel): (5') [1 ^IŠá]-^rd^I]PA-šú-ú (6') [1 ^IAš-šur-š]U-GUR ^{LÚ}IGI.DUB 1 BLANK SPACE OF ONE LINE (7') [1 ^{Id}PA]-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ^{URUNINA}KI (8') [1 *ki-šir* *ša* ^I30-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-Aššur (described as ^{LÚ}DIB PA^{MEŠ}); while Nergal-šarru-ušur 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 ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}qur-ZAG x [x] or (2) *ibid.*, Rev. I, 18 ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}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 (^{III}AB UD.16.KÀM), and likewise no date. In this and the largely parallel text ADD 854, notice however: (a) the mention of the *kišri Sin-ahhe-eriba eššu*, which might point to the age of Esh.; (b) the reference to the *mar šarri*, possibly relevant to the crown princehood of Asb.; (c) the attestation in both texts of Dari-šarru, ^{LÚ}ša šêpâ, who might be the same person as the ^{LÚ}GIŠGIGIR DU₈ 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.

³⁸) For the É *ki-šir* GIBIL, "New Garrison" in texts of Assurbanipal's reign, cf. LAS II, pp. 128-129.

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

(a) col. II: (26) [¹A-da¹-a^{LÚ}ša GİR^{II} (27) ^rId^rPA-MAN-PAP [^{LÚ}G]AL ki-šir GAL SAG (28) ¹[SU]HUŠ-PAP^{MES} L^Ú[x x x x] (29) ^rId^r30^r-PAB-ir L^Ú]kal-lap (30) ¹Id^rPA-sa-lim L^Ú]qur-ZAG

(b) col. II: (44) [^d]PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}GAL GEŠTIN

(c) Rev. col. I: (18) ¹Id^rPA-MAN-PAP [^{LÚ} x AM]A MAN (19) ¹Id^rPA-kil-^ra^r-[ni] ^rL^Ú] x G]AL¹ (20) ¹Pu-ti-š[e¹-ri ^{LÚ}M]u¹-šur-a-a (21) ¹15-^rI^r ^{LÚ}qur-ZAG⁴⁰

ADD 860, Rev. col. I (adm. list of palace personnel, ca. 670)⁴¹: (1) ¹A-da-lál ^{LÚ} x [x x] (2) ¹Man-nu-ki-MAN ^{LÚ}[x x] (3) ¹Id^rAMAR.UTU-SU ^{LÚ}GAL Ki-ši[r] (4) (BLANK) GAL.SAG [0] (5) ¹Id^rPA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}qur-ZAG x [x] (6) ¹Rém-a-na-15 ^{LÚ}EN-G^r[^{IS}GIGIR] (7) ¹ARAD-PAP^{MES}-šú ^{LÚ}3-šú [(x)] (8) ¹Man-nu-ki-MAN ^{LÚ}GAR-[nu?] (9) PAP 6 mu-še-bi ^{LÚ}GAL [x]

ADD 860, Rev. col. I (adm. list of palace personnel [see above]): (17) ¹Id^rMAŠ.MAŠ-DU-PAB ^{LÚ}EN-^rG^r[^{IS}GIGIR] (18) ¹Id^rPA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}GAL ki-šir DUMU MAN ADD 899 (adm. list of personnel)⁴²:

(a) col. I: (6) ¹Hal-di-ia-a [0] (7) ¹15-SUM-PAP^{MES} (8) [^U]RU Bu-šá-a ^{URU}Hu¹-[x x] (9) [PAP]¹ 4 ¹Id^rPA-MAN-PAP KU⁴³ ¹Aš-šur- x [x x]

(b) col. II: (10^r) ¹Bu[l¹-l]i-i (11^r) ¹I[a²]-zi-nu (12^r) PAP ^r2^r [^U]RU[E]-gal-lat (13^r) ¹DU₆-MAN-da-hu (14^r) ¹Li-pu-šú (15^r) PAP 2 ^{URU}Kak-kab-Na-bu¹ (16^r) ¹PAP-u-nu (17^r) ina ^{URU}Qar-ti-hal-di (18^r) PAP 3 BI.GUD BÀD.MAN-ka (19^r)[PAP] ^r6^r ¹Id^rPA-MAN-PAP (20^r) [x x x x] x ^rbu¹ it^r

ADD 1006, Rev. 6: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?⁴⁴) ŠU^{II} ¹Id^rPA-MAN-PAP

of the queen mother (Naqī'a/Zakūtu) and the crown prince (Assurbanipal)". Since, moreover, various prosopographical links are discernible between this text and ADD 860 — cf. fn. 40, below — the present Nabū-šarru-ušur could well be the same person as ADD 860, R. I, 18 (and see also fn. 36, above, for relations with ADD 840/841).

⁴⁰ For the main connections between ADD 857 and 860, cf. *Mu-še-zib-Aš-šur*, ^{LÚ}SAG in 857, I, 38, and in ADD 860, 2, 22^r; *Gu-lu-su*, ^{LÚ}GAR-nu I-tu-'u in ADD 857, II, 11, and — only as ^{LÚ}GAR-nu — in ADD 860, R. I, 22; *Rem-ani-15*, ^{LÚ}EN^{GIS}GIGIR in ADD 857, II, 12, and *Rem-a-na-15*, same profession in ADD 860, R. I, 6; *Ga-^rda^r-a^r*, ^{LÚ}qurbutu in ADD 857, II, 34, and *Ga-da-a*, ^{LÚ}ša šêpâ, ADD 860, R. I, 23 — notice also id., *Ga-^rda^r-a^r* [, ADD 841, 5; Šulmu-Bêl-lašme, ^{LÚ}MU, ADD 857, II, 37 and ADD 860, R. I, 27; *Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i*, ^{LÚ}GAR-nu x-^ra^r-a, ADD 857, II, 39 and ADD 860, I, 19^r — only ^{LÚ}GAR-nu — and ADD 841, 2 — ^{LÚ}GAR-nu x [x —; perhaps also Šulmu-Bêl, ^{LÚ}ša šêpâ in ADD 857 R. I, 32 and ^{LÚ}2-ú of the above-mentioned Gadâ ^{LÚ}ša šêpâ in ADD 860 R. I, 24; Mannu-ki-Aššur, ^{LÚ}mukil appâte in ADD 857, R. I, 39 and ADD 860, I, 26^r; Nabû-šumu-iddina, ADD 857 R. II, 2 and ADD 860, II, 17^r, ^{LÚ}GISGIGIR (DU₈^{MES}); Marduk-eriba, ^{LÚ}rab kišir (*ša rab ša reši*) in ADD 857, R. II, 10 and ADD 860 R. I, 3.

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 *mušebe*) 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 Nabū-šarru-ušur as GAL *mugi* (cf. sub AGS 66 & 67).

⁴³ For an use of KU in much the same context, cf. e.g. ADD 929, 2, 4.

⁴⁴ 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^{II} ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP

ADD 1018, Rev. 16: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) [ŠU^{II}
^I] ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP [x x x x x]

ADD 1021, Rev. 7: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) ŠU^{II}
^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP

ADD 1024, Rev. 16: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) ŠU^{II}
^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP

ADD 1030, Rev. 11: (offering schedule: foodstuffs for the god Assur: date?) ša ŠU^{II}
^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP

ADD 1041 (adm. list): (10) (BLANK) ^IMan-ki-i-MAN (11) (BLANK) ^{Id}PA-MAN-
PAP (12) (BLANK) ^IMan-ki-i-Aš-šur (13) [x x x x] ^{rLÚ} ^IMus-ku²-a¹a¹⁴⁵

ADD 1158 (= NALK 307), 20: W (675, archive of Silim-Aššur) with Nusku-ilayya,
Ahu-duri, etc.⁴⁶

ADD 1167 (= NALK 4), 17: P (699⁴⁷), [ú]-piš-ma ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP.

Ass. 5847d (= ALA II, 97:4): E, *limmu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP A.BA.

Ass. 8473 (= ALA II, 108:3): E (loan).

Ass. 8603c (= ALA II, 110:4): E.

Ass. 9570b (= ALA II, 91:3): E (archive of Dadahi, 648>).

Ass. 9570k/VAT 14440 (= ALA II, 91:11): E (archive of Baṭuṭu: loan of silver).

Ass. 9570l/VAT 16517 (= ALA II, 91:12): E, *limmu* EGIR šá ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP.

Ass. 9570o (= ALA II, 91:15): E (loan of silver: witnesses Šakilya, Bisû'a, etc.⁴⁸), *limmu*
^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.

Ass. 9570w (= ALA II, 91:23): E (loan), *limmu* EGIR šà ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP.

Ass. 9571y (= ALA II, 92:49): E (loan of silver: witnesses Šakilya, Bisû'a, etc.), *limmu*
^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.

Ass. 9581 (= ALA II, 92:67): E (purchase), *limmu* EGIR šà ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP.

Ass. 9644 (= ALA II, 95:13): E (juridical settlement).

documents (Sennacherib as *terminus post quem*). The small group of people involved in the offering schedules (Nabû-šarru-ušur, Turī, 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 ^IHu-ra-a-a.

⁴⁷) Archive of Nabû-šarru-ušur 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 9560l *ibid.*). In ALA II, p. 91, on the other hand, the latter number corresponds to 9571l of Deller, *Fs. Volterra*, p. 641 and Falkner, AfO 17, p. 104. Finally, 9571l 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").

- Ass. 9648/VAT 16539 (= *ALA* II, 92:70): E (work-contract: witnesses Šakilya, Bisûa, etc.⁴⁹).
- Ass. 9661e (= *ALA* II, 92275): E (loan of silver and clothes: witnesses Šakilya, Bisû'a, etc.), *limmu* ^{Id}PA-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* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
- Ass. 11682ab (= *ALA* II, 122:27): E⁵⁰.
- Ass. 13319g (= *ALA* II, 12826): E⁵¹.
- Ass. 13850p/VAT 15506 (= *ALA* II, 134:42): E (conveyance: witness Bisû'a: 648>).
CT 33, pl. 15, (BM 103396; from Assur): E, ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.
CT 33, pl. 16, (BM 103394: from Assur): E, eponymy *ša* EGIR Nabû-šarru-ušur.
 ND 2080 (= Iraq 16,33), 11: E (contract text), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP⁵².
 ND 2091 (= Iraq 16, 35), 10: E (judicial decision by Arbayyu, mayor of Kalhu⁵³),
lim-mu ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP.
 ND 2093 (= Iraq 16, 35), 13: E (work-contract⁵⁴), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-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 2322 (= Iraq 16, 41): E (contract: loan of silver; creditor Laqipi, 648>).
 ND 2325 (= Iraq 16,42): E (conveyance): eponymy of Nabû-šarru-ušur, A.BA KUR.
 ND 2335 (= Iraq 16, 44-45), 16: E (contract: loan of silver): *lim-me* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP
 L^UA.BA <KUR?>.
 ND 2338 (= Iraq 16, 45), 12: E (contract: loan of silver), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP
 A.BA KUR.

⁴⁹) And thus probably relevant to the eponym Nabû-šarru-ušur 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 Pedersén 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 Pedersén, *ALA* II, p. 127.

⁵²) A Nabû-šarru-ušur with no title is attested as creditor in ND 2088 (= Iraq 13, p. 34; summary), dated Sin-šarru-ušur (648>).

⁵³) For an Arbayyu ^{L^U}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-ušur, *šangû* of the Nabû temple, Iddinya, *šangû* 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, ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}GAL.SAG.

ND 3441 (= Iraq 15, 143), 14: E, ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR Aš-šur-a+a⁵⁷.

ND 5448 (= *FNALD* 32), 20: W (contract text: 656), IGI ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}šá UGU É.

ND 5463 (= *AT*, II, 167:65), 25: W (conveyance: dedication to temple; 655), IGI ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}šá UG[U É]⁵⁸.

ND 5465 (= Iraq 19, 134), 14-15: E (contract: loan of barley), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / ^{LÚ}GAL SAG.

ND 7006 (= *TCS* 10), R. 21: W (contract-text, 648>), IGI ^{Id}P[A-MA]N[?]-PAP.

ND 7018 (= *TFS* 49), R. 8': E (fragm. conveyance: 648>?), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-[MA]N[?]-P[AP].

ND 7022 (= *TFS* 59), R. 13: E (contract-text, 648>), *lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR⁵⁹.

ND 7028 (= *TFS* 51), R. 26: E (conveyance text, archive of Nuha[ja: 648>?], *lim-me* ^{Id}PA-M[AN-PAP].

ND 7085 (= *TFS* 31), 1-2: P (Post-C, eponymy of Šalmu-šarru-iqbi⁶⁰: judicial decision) [d]e-e-[n]u ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}ha-za-nu / ša ^{URU}Kal-ha e-mid-u-ni.

ND 7095 (= *TFS* 45), R. 11: E (legal: 648>?) [*l*]im-me ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP.

ND 10006 (= *TFS* 84), R. 1-3 (letter, perh. 648>): (1) 7 1/2 MA.NA AN.BAR (2) a-na ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP (3) di-i-ni⁶¹.

TH 111, R. 1: E (648>), *lim-mu* / ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÚ}sar-tin.

VSI, 84 (= *ARU* 504), 28-29: E (conveyance, archive of ^{URU}Kannu', 648>), *lim-mu* ša EGIR / [^{Id}PA]-MAN-PAP A.BA KUR.

VSI, 85 (= *ARU* 505), 28-29: E (conveyance, archive of ^{URU}Kannu', 648>), *lim-mu* ša EGIR ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / A.BA KUR.

VSI, 88 (= *ARU* 209), 32-33: E (conveyance, archive of ^{URU}Kannu', 648>), [*lim-mu* ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP / [A.BA] KUR.

⁵⁶) Partial transliteration by Deller, *Or NS* 34, p. 193.

⁵⁷) This seems the sole definition of Nabû-šarru-ušur 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 Nabû-šarru-ušur occurring in this text and in the previous one is discussed by Menzel, *ATI*, 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 Nargî and Luqu/i, as in *ADD* 311 (= *NALK* 1), *ADD* 4 (= *NALK* 147), resp. from the eponymies of Marduk-šarru-ušur and Šamaš-da'inanni (= 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 Nabû-šarru-ušur, mayor of Kalhu (ND 7085), notice that the exhortation "Give 7 minas of iron to Nabû-šarru-ušur!", 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-ušur: 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-ušurs 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-ušur 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-ušur 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-ušurs 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-ušur — is consigned to the notes that follow, which are ordered by large brackets of professional designations.

Eponyms

Three eponymies mark the name Nabû-šarru-ušur in 7th century texts⁶². 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 century⁶³.

⁶² For the individuals named Nabû-šarru-ušur in the eponym canon, cf. Ungnad, *RIA* II (1938), p. 452a. Cf. also fn. 6, above.

⁶³ The archive of contract-texts of Bahianu at Nineveh ranges from 704 to 682: cf. *NALK*, pp. xxix-xxxi.

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 title⁶⁵, 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 service⁶⁷, and in two queries to the god Šamaš — 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 ^{LÚ}SAG acting as witness in Nineveh in two undated deeds (*C1), and a *rab kišri 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-ušur, 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-ušur, ^{LÚ}A.BA KUR, “palace scribe”, with no further specifications⁶⁹: this individual was attributed to 626 B.C. by M. Falkner⁷⁰. 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-ušur 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 Taqûni, dates to 682, goes back to A. Ungnad, *RLA*, 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-ušur 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.

eponymy⁷². As for the possible equation between the two *limmus*, it is now well known that the titles do not correspond, i.e. that *sartennu* cannot have been the reading of A.BA KUR⁷³. 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-ušur as a scribal misunderstanding, occurring in the provincial context of Guzana.

A “fourth *limmu*” Nabû-šarru-ušur is, unfortunately, represented in *D1 by no less than 16 cases in which the eponymic 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-ušur* could even refer to the governor of Marqasi⁷⁴. 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-ušur is represented by the attestations of ^{LÜ}GAL *mu-gi* (*A9) in queries to the sun-god dating to 670 B.C.⁷⁵. Given that a “final” interpretation of this professional term is yet to be found⁷⁶, it may be asked whether the passage in the letter *ABL* 1249, Rev. 3-4, of the age of Assurbanipal (^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LÜ}rak⁷⁷-si / ša *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-ušur, 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 *hazannûtu* in NA times.

⁷³) The equation between the two Nabû-šarru-ušurs 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-taqinanni, etc.). The text is also taken into account by Falkner, p. 115a, who however relates it to the Nabû-šarru-ušur 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 šêpâ) (ša mar šarri)*, “c.-c. of the bodyguards of the crown prince”, friend of Remanni-Adad (= *A5, ca. 671-660)
- 2) *rab kišri ša mar šarri*, “c.-c. of the crown prince”, in adm. lists (*A7, ADD 860, Rev. col. I, 18, approx. 670)
- 3) *rab kišri (ša) rab ša reši*, “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 šarri)*, “c.-c. of the king”, friend of Kakkullânu (*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 Nabû-šarru-ušur 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 Nabû-šarru-ušur. 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 ^{LÚ}*ša muhhi 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 ^{LÚ}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 = *strategós* (=“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 Nabû-šarru-ušur concerned with cultic matters in the offering schedules ADD 1006 ff. (*C5). [Addendum: also concerned with the cult is Nabû-šarru-ušur, *šangû* of the *bû-êqi* from Assur, K. 16, 1-3 (cf. Menzel, AT I, p. 204), who should be added to group *C4 in fig. 10].

⁷⁸) On the individual Balasî mentioned in this letter, a “majordomo” of the age of Assurbanipal, cf. Parpola, LAS II, p. 43 ad n. 37.

Friends and witnesses

Some of the Nabû-šarru-ušurs 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, *C3⁷⁹). On the other hand, given the abundance of persons named Nabû-šarru-ušur, 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 Nabû-šarru-ušurs 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 all⁸¹: thus, we cannot presume to find further connections along these lines.

4. The factual results reached above concerning Nabû-šarru-ušur 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 Nabû-šarru-ušur 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 some 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 Nabû-šarru-ušur 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, Nabû-šarru-ušur bears the title *tašlišu* (possibly by coincidence, like the witness in *A2, of 686), but elsewhere is a *rab kišri (ša) mar šarri* (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
NABÛ-ŠARRU-UŠUR
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> = 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, *tašlišu 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 kišir (ša šêpâ) (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 *tašlišu*, 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 (*tašlišu*)

(Fig. 10 ctd.)

*A7, perhaps = A5, in parallel adm. lists, also as *rab kišir rab ša reši*:

(670?) ADD 840, col. II, 5: ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LŪ}x [x x x]

(670?) ADD 860, Rev. col. I, 18: ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LŪ}GAL *ki-šir* DUMU MAN;

(670?) ADD 857, col. II, 27: ^{rId}PA-MAN-PAP [^{LŪ}G]AL *ki-šir* GAL SAG

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

(655>) ABL 275, R. 5: ^{Id}AG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ ^{LŪ}GAL *ki-šir*

(655>) ABL 462, R. 27: ^{Id}AG-LUGAL-PAP ^{LŪ}GAL *ki-šir*

*A9, perhaps = A5 and/or A7 and/or A10, *rab mugī ša mar šarri*, in undated royal texts (Ash/Asb)¹:

(672>) AGS 66, 2 etc.: ^{LŪ}GAL *mu-gi*

(672>) AGS 67, 1 etc.: ^{LŪ}GAL *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.: ^{LŪ}GAL SAG (Assurbanipal)

(657) ADD 646 (= NARGD 10), 11, 28, 52: ^{LŪ}GAL SAG *ša* ¹Aš-šur-DŪ-A LUGAL KUR
Aššur^{KI}

→[cf. B1]

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

(672>) ADD 853, col. I, 5-6: 1 ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP EN.NAM ^{URU}NINA^{KI} / *ki-šir* ^{Id}30-PAP^{MES}-SU
GIBIL

(672>) ADD 854, col. I, 7'-8': [1 ^{Id}PA]-MAN-PAP ^{LŪ}EN.NAM ^{URU}NINA^{KI} / [1 *ki-šir* *ša* ^{Id}30-
PAP^{MES}-SU GIBIL

(n.d.) ADD 814, col. I, 13: ... ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LŪ}NAM

*A12¹⁻³, in undated adm. lists (but 672>), various officials:

(672>) ¹ADD 857, col. II, 44: ^{Id}[^d]PA-MAN-PAP ^{LŪ}GAL GEŠTIN

(672>) ²ADD 857, Rev. col. I, 18: ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP [^{LŪ}x AM]A MAN

(672>) ³ADD 860, Rev. col. I, 5: ^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LŪ}*qur-butu*

*A13, in archive of Bêl-dûri, a *qurbutu* of ^{URU}Balaṭayya:

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

*A14, a ^{LŪ}*ša 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 (^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP)

(668>) ABL 770, 2, A (^{Id}AG-MAN-PAP)

(668>) ABL 1249, Rev. 3-4, M (^{Id}PA-MAN-PAP ^{LŪ}*rak*^r-*si* / *ša mu-gi-ia*: cf. *A9?)

B. post-canonical texts

*B1, post-648, *limmu*, *rab ša reši* (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],

^(d)*limmu* as *sartennu*:

- (648>) ^(a)ND 7085 (= TFS 31), 1-2, P³
 (648>) ^(b)ADD 711 (= NALK 124), R. 28'-29', E
 (648>) ^(b)Ass. 5847d (= ALA II, 97:4), E
 (648>) ^(b)Ass. 9570o (= ALA II, 91:15), E
 (648>) ^(c)Ass. 9570I/VAT 16517 (= ALA II, 91:12), E
 (648>) ^(c)Ass. 9570w (= ALA II, 91:23), E
 (648>) ^(c)Ass. 9581 (= ALA II, 92:67), E
 (648>) ^(b)Ass. 9571y (= ALA II, 92:49), E
 (648>) ^(b)Ass. 9661e (= ALA II, 92:75), E
 (648>) ^(b)Ass. 9996f (= ALA II, 96:26), E
 (648>) ^(b)Ass. 11634c (= ALA II, 120:3), E
 (648>) ^(b)Ass. 13319g (= ALA II, 128:6), E (?)
 (648>) ^(b)CT 33, pl. 15, E
 (648>) ^(b)ND 2093 (= Iraq 16, 35), 13, E
 (648>) ^(b)ND 2325 (= Iraq 16, 42), E
 (648>) ^(b)ND 2335 (= Iraq 16, 44-45), 16, E (^{LU}A.BA 'KUR²⁷)
 (648>) ^(b)ND 2338 (= Iraq 16, 45), 12, E
 (648>) ^(b)ND 3441 (= Iraq 15, 143), E
 (648>) ^(b)ND 7022 (= TFS 59), R. 13, E
 (648>) ^(b)VS I, 88 (= ARU 209), 32-33, E
 (648>) ^(c)VS I, 84 (= ARU 504), 28-29, E
 (648>) ^(c)VS I, 85 (= ARU 505), 28-29, E
 (648>) ^(c)CT 33, pl. 16, E
 (648>) ^(d)TH 111, R. 1, E

→[cf. D1]

*B3, post-648, *rab kišir (ša šarri)*, friend of Kakkullānu:

- (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 (^{LU}da-a+a-lu, "scout")

(Fig. 10 *ctd.*)

- (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

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-648 *limmu*, A.BA KUR by profession, was also suggested by K. Deller (cf. *TFS*, p. 82, note ad I).

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

⁵⁾ Formula: ŠU^{II} ^{ld}PA-MAN-PAP, or sim.