

## ASSYRIAN OFFICIALS AND POWER IN THE NINTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

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Assyria experienced tumultuous times from about 830 to 745 B.C., gradually losing parts of her empire to Urartu and Babylonia, while domestically suffering a series of rebellions<sup>1</sup>. A peculiar feature of this troubled period is that a select few officials gained exceptional power in the state and threatened the very foundation of the Assyrian monarchy. Among these were such strong men as Šamši-ilu and Nergal-ilaiia, both now well known to students of Assyrian history thanks to recent discoveries<sup>2</sup>. In another place I have examined the question of why Assyria had these troubles at this time, suggesting that this select group of powerful officials was challenging the absolutism of Assyrian monarchy<sup>3</sup>. In the course of developing that theme, I had to reconstruct as best as possible the careers of these men and the role which they played in these momentous events. The results of this part of the investigation are presented in this paper. The first thing to be described is the information which is now available (1. *The Evidence*). Then I shall explain how this evidence was analyzed in order to track the career courses of individual officials and their activities in the affairs of state (2. *Officials and Power*). Finally, the careers of a few of the most important officials will be highlighted (3. *Prominent Protagonists*). Relevant to this study is the matter of the role of eunuchs

<sup>1</sup>) More colleagues and students than I can remember have helped me with this paper. I am grateful to all of them, and in particular to: Paul Dion, Grant Frame, Waldemar Heckel, and Ronald Sweet. My thanks go to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for supporting the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project, the resources of which greatly facilitated this research.

<sup>2</sup>) The abbreviations in this article follow those of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project. At the time of writing RIMA 3 was in the final stages of preparation.

<sup>3</sup>) *The Struggle for Power in Assyria: Challenge to Absolute Monarchy in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries*, to appear in a collection of papers presented at a symposium in Brussels, November, 1992.

in the Assyrian bureaucracy but this is too large a subject to discuss here<sup>4</sup>. The recent find of inscribed clay tablets and stone monuments at Suhu (Anat and surrounding regions) sheds light on the way in which Assyria attempted to control the middle Euphrates by means of her officials<sup>5</sup>. Another subject related to the present paper is the nature of the empire at the beginning of our time period, its geographical spread and settlement system, and this has been thoroughly analyzed by Liverani<sup>6</sup>.

### 1. *The Evidence*

The era with which this paper is concerned stretches from approximately 830 to 745 B.C. but, to provide a context, evidence was gathered from sources beginning with the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883) and going down to the end of the reign of Shalmaneser V (722), inclusive. A fundamental source is the eponym lists, which fortunately are complete for this period. Another major source is the numerous everyday documents discovered at Calah (Nimrud) during the 1950s and '60s as well as the smaller number discovered at Guzana (Tell Halaf) in the first quarter of this century. Additional sources of importance were the royal decrees, documents granting land and privileges to people who had pleased the king. The "private" inscriptions of some of the more powerful officials were, of course, a major source. References to these officials in royal inscriptions are rare, but by their nature, of exceptional interest for this study. As to Aramaic sources, while there must have been documents of relevance to this topic, almost all of them have either perished (as have all Aramaic scrolls in Mesopotamia) or not yet been recovered. The Aramaic inscriptions (epigraphs on clay tablets, inscribed bowls, etc.) which have been discovered in Mesopotamia are almost all from a date later than the period under study. A detailed list of the sources used will be found in Appendix A. Using these sources, I created a database containing the names, dates, titles, etc. of prominent officials in the Assyrian empire during the ninth and eighth centuries. A separate record was made for each piece of evidence about an individual (281 records to date). For a sample of a record see Appendix B.

<sup>4</sup> See my article *Eunuchs in the Assyrian Bureaucracy* which is in preparation.

<sup>5</sup> See Grayson, *Studies in Neo-Assyrian History II: The Eighth Century BC*, in *Studies in Honour of R. Morton Smith* (in press).

<sup>6</sup> M. Liverani, *Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, 2. Topographical Analysis* (Rome 1992).

## 2. *Officials and Power*

### a. Identity

Having extracted as much information as possible about powerful officials during the relevant period from the sources available, the next task was to identify just how many important people there were, since often the same name appears with different titles and in different contexts. How does one decide if these were the same people? This was difficult since nowhere are any of them given genealogies. The lack of genealogies is, I believe, in itself not of special significance. The people we are concerned with were all high officials and their titles alone were sufficient identification. No one in, let us say 800, would be in any doubt about who “Šamši-ilu the field marshal” was<sup>7</sup>. In order to make some progress, the following assumption was made: the same name appearing, albeit with different titles, over a reasonable period of time (no more than c. 40 years) probably means the same person. It is a bold assumption but without it one could go no farther. In support of this assumption, it is possible sometimes to prove that the same person was in office for 40 years or more. A case in point is Šamši-ilu who is attested as eponym and field marshal for various years from about 790, or earlier, to at least 752<sup>8</sup>. It is on this assumption, the same name appearing within a reasonable number of years means the same person, that the selection could be slimmed down to produce a total of 155 officials.

### b. Career courses

To study the career course of an individual Assyrian officer, an analysis of any change in his titles over a period of time can reveal much. In this regard one must remember that there are two types of titles, one for the office and the other for the province or provinces governed. The relationship between these will be discussed later. What we are concerned with here is the relative ranking in terms of prestige of offices and governorships. Judging by the order in which officials became eponyms (see below c. The highest offices), the top officials after the king were the field marshal (*turtānu*), the chief cupbearer (*rab šāqe*), the palace herald (*nāgir ekalli*), and the steward (*abarak-*

<sup>7</sup>) It is, nevertheless, interesting that the few officials, such as Šamši-ilu, who have their own inscriptions, never give genealogies. It is comparable to such Assyrian kings as Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II who do not give their genealogies, in this case because they almost certainly had no direct hereditary claim to the throne.

<sup>8</sup>) Another example is Adad-bela-ukin who was eponym twice (748 and 738) and there are documents dated in his *limmu* which add “in his second lot” (*ina 2 pūrišu*) (see Appendix C under his name.)

ku)<sup>9</sup>. As to provincial governorships, it is necessary to anticipate results of a later investigation (see below d. High offices and provincial governorships) by stating now that there was no direct correlation between a particular high office and a particular provincial governorship. What clearly happens in this regard is that the longer a man remained in high office, the greater the territory he was likely to control. Following is a statistical breakdown of the career courses of the 155 men in power during the 162 year period which we are studying. Details will be found in Appendix C "Career Courses".

Isolated <sup>10</sup>	Static <sup>11</sup>	Promotion	Demotion	Uncertain	Total
124	18	7	2	4	155

Drawing conclusions from these statistics is necessarily tentative, given the incompleteness of our documentation, but some points can be made. The high number of names which appear only once shows that most Assyrian officers had very short careers. The absence of almost any evidence of demotion indicates, moreover, that it was a case of "up or out". Indeed, "out" might in some cases mean execution as is known in the later Assyrian period<sup>12</sup>. This would enforce the traditional view of "oriental" monarchy that the king appointed and dismissed officials frequently. A revealing example of the short careers of the vast majority of Assyrian officers is Mutarriṣ-Aššur, chief eunuch under Šamši-Adad V. He was sufficiently in the king's favour to have his name recorded in the royal annals as leading a military campaign early in the reign (822)<sup>13</sup>. But that is the first and last we hear of him. He obviously fell from favour and possibly lost his life. Another example is Sîn-šallimanni who was eponym and governor of Rašappa in 747. That is the only time he appears in official Assyrian records. However, in a newly published text from Suhu it is said that Sîn-šallimanni, governor of Rašappa, led his army against an attacking body of Aramaeans but took fright and withdrew<sup>14</sup>. This, no

<sup>9</sup>) This ranking is borne out by the allocation of wine rations at the court. See Kinnier Wilson, *Wine Lists*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>10</sup>) Many high officials appear only once in the available documentation, usually the eponym lists.

<sup>11</sup>) There are a number of cases where individuals remain in the same office over a period of time and, within the limits of this database, there is no evidence that they ever moved to another office. To try and verify this last point, I searched the database for other men who might have held the same office during the years in question for any individual.

<sup>12</sup>) See, for example, the chronicle entry for the eleventh year of Esarhaddon: "In Assyria the king put his numerous officers to the sword": Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 86, IV, 29.

<sup>13</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.103.1 II 16b-34a.

<sup>14</sup>) Cavigneaux and Bahijah, *BaM* 21 (1990), p. 413, I, 33.

doubt, displeased his master the Assyrian king who removed him from office and possibly had him executed.

Of the few that remained in the king's favour and in office, the vast majority stayed in the same office for their entire careers. An outstanding case is Bel-Harran-beli-ušur who was in office for over fifty years (c. 782-727 B.C.)! Thus what we see in Assyria in this period is the empire being governed by the absolute monarch with the aid of a few men whom he trusted, a kind of oligarchy, and, to a lesser extent, with the assistance of a much larger group of men whose ranks were constantly changing. For the few who survived in the king's service over a long period of time, the opportunities for increasing personal power and wealth were immense.

### c. The highest offices

Much of our data for the period comes from the eponym lists and a study of the order in which officers and governors became eponyms is useful for establishing the relative importance of these positions. As can be seen in Appendix E, there was a definite order of titles for the early years of the king:

Regnal year <sup>15</sup>	Title
2	King
3	Field Marshal
4	Chief Cupbearer or Palace Herald
5	Chief Cupbearer or Palace Herald
6	<i>Abarakku</i>

For the few years after the sixth year governorships of certain provinces tend to appear, and in a specific order, namely Assur (seventh year), Rašappa (eighth year), and Našibina (ninth year). There is only one reign in which there is a radical departure from this established order of officers and governors, the reign of Aššur-dan III (772-755)<sup>16</sup>. It has been suggested that it was this change of order which was behind the rebellion which broke out during this time<sup>17</sup>. In sum, one can state that the most

<sup>15</sup>) The numbering of the regnal years follows Poebel, *JNES* 2 (1943), pp. 76-78. Even if the actual numbers should prove to be incorrect, the ranking would remain the same and that is what is important here.

<sup>16</sup>) Otherwise, there are only a few minor exceptions or uncertainties.

<sup>17</sup>) Garelli, *Studies Tadmor*, p. 47.

important offices in the Assyrian bureaucracy were that of the field marshal, chief cupbearer, palace herald<sup>18</sup>, and *abarakku*.

d. High offices and provincial governorships

It is commonly stated in studies of Assyria that appointment to high office brought with it a governorship over a province(s)<sup>19</sup>. Is this true for the period under study? To investigate this question I have analyzed the average length of term in an office and the average length of term as provincial governor. A comparison of specific offices with specific governorships to see if there is a correlation was also carried out. For these analyses the period of time was narrowed to begin with the reign of Shalmaneser III (before this the titles of eponyms are not usually given) and to end with the last year of Tiglath-pileser III. Shalmaneser V's reign was too short for analysis. To establish the average length of term as officer and as governor, a selection was made of offices and provinces which were of the highest importance and for which there was sufficient evidence to provide a meaningful set of statistics. Nevertheless, it is possible that not all names, titles, and dates are known and the statistics based on them cannot be regarded as completely accurate.

The offices selected were those of the *abarakku*, chief cupbearer, field marshal, and palace herald. The results of this investigation (see Appendix F 1 for details) are:

Office	Term (years)
<i>Abarakku</i>	13
Chief Cupbearer	18
Field Marshal	16
Palace Herald	19

<sup>18</sup>) The importance of the office of herald (*nāgīru*) extended beyond Assyria to the Aramaeans. Among the newly discovered texts from Suhu, there is a narrative of a group of invading Aramaeans being led by a man with the title "herald" (*nāgīru*) (Cavigneaux and Bahijah, BaM 21 [1990], pp. 321-456, text no. 2, I, 12; II, 23, etc.). On a Sfire stele "heralds" (*NGRY*) appear right after the ruler's sons (Lemaire and Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré*, pp. 118-147, stele III, line 10). I am grateful to Paul Dion for drawing my attention to this.

<sup>19</sup>) Forrer, *Provinz*, *passim*; Kinnier Wilson, *Wine Lists*, pp. 12-18.

Turning to provincial governorships, the criteria for the selection of specific places were high importance and the availability of sufficient evidence. The latter criterion meant that some significant places, such as Kalizi, had to be omitted for lack of data. The results of this investigation (see Appendix F 2 for details) are:

Province	Term (years)
Amedi	18
Arrapha	16
Arzuhina	27
Assur	19
Calah	15
Guzana	36
Kirruri	21
Mazamua	19
Našibina	17
Nineveh	27
Rašappa	25
Sallat	16
Tušan	35

The results here are much more uneven than those for offices. Note the particularly long average terms for Arzuhina, Guzana, and Tušan. That these could be reliable averages is supported by cases where it is reasonably certain that there is no gap in the evidence, such as Kirruri where the average term in office was 21 years and Nineveh which is 27 years. Indeed, if some other provinces, such as Kalizi, were included in this analysis, the average terms would be much higher; but it is quite possible that there is a gap in our evidence for such places. On the other hand, the average for Calah is 15 years, a fact which probably reflects the sensitive nature of this position during the period when Calah was the capital of the empire. The monarch would be concerned to keep the most able man as governor of Calah, and change the appointment quickly when his performance was unsatisfactory.

On the basis of this analysis, the average term in high office was 16 years while the average term in a provincial governorship was 22 years. This leads to the tentative conclusion that governors were in office longer, sometimes much longer, than high officers.

How does this affect the question of the correlation between appointment to high office and appointment to a provincial governorship? To investigate this, the cases of individuals whose names appear in both lists above (that is those who held one of the four high offices mentioned and who were governors of one of the listed provinces) were studied. Only four men emerged from this and the results were unsatisfactory because of the lack of precise dates during which they held offices and governorships (See Appendix F 3). However, two important facts resulted.

It is clear that a particular office did not bring with it a particular governorship. Thus Ninurta-kibsi-ušur and Bel-dan were each chief cupbearers, at different times, but the former was governor of Rašappa, among other provinces, while the latter was governor of Calah. Another governor of Calah, at an earlier time, was Nergal-ilaiia, but he was field marshal and not, so far as we know, ever chief cupbearer<sup>20</sup>.

A second significant result is that it seems it was possible for someone to be a governor of an important province before achieving high office. The evidence is provided by the case of Nergal-ilaiia, who was governor of Calah by 830 but was only appointed field marshal in 813 or later. A caveat, however, is that we do not know what office he held (presumably he did have one) before this.

### 3. *Prominent Protagonists*

#### a. Four strong men

Among the senior officials of the period the careers of four men are outstanding. What singles them out is that not only did they hold the same high office for a long period of time, but also they are named in royal inscriptions or have their own private inscriptions, or both.

Among the officials who gained exceptional power and wealth in this period, one of the earliest is Daiian-Aššur (c. 853-826). He was eponym and field marshal in 853, early in the reign of Shalmaneser III. Then late in that same reign the king records in his annals for the years 832 to 828 that Daiian-Aššur, the field marshal, led campaigns in place of the king<sup>21</sup>. Then in 826 (still the reign of Shalmaneser III) he was again eponym; unfortunately his title is broken off. But no one else is known to have held the office of field marshal between 856 (Aššur-bela-kain) and 821 (Iahalu). In other words Daiian-Aššur held that office at least from 853 to 828, and probably to 826 or later — the entire

<sup>20</sup>) Particular offices did bring with them, however, control of particular lands — prebends. These “houses”, as they were called, could be quite large, and they could be scattered through different provinces. See Postgate, *Mélanges Finet*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>21</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.102.13 lines 149-90.



length of the reign of Shalmaneser III. He had exceptional prestige, even for a field marshal, since Shalmaneser mentions him in his annals as leading the campaigns during that king's last years on the throne. It has been suggested (by Olmstead) that a main cause of the rebellion towards the end of Shalmaneser's reign was the prominence given to Daiian-Aššur; the sons were jealous and made a bid to break his hold<sup>22</sup>.

Another prominent protagonist, and one about which more is known, thanks to the recent discovery of two stelae in Turkey, is Šamši-ilu (c. 800-752). He had control over an extensive territory and campaigned sometimes together with the king, but on other occasions independently. Some scholars have attempted to identify him with Bar-Ga'yah, king of KTK, but I do not believe that this is valid<sup>23</sup>. He was appointed field marshal sometime in the reign of Adad-narari III (not too long a gap after Daiian-Aššur) for in the Antakya stele, Adad-narari mentions his name in connection with drawing up a boundary line between Hamath and Arpad, presumably just after Arpad had been reconquered (c. 800)<sup>24</sup>. He continued to hold the office of field marshal, apparently without interruption, during the reigns of Shalmaneser IV, Aššur-dan III, and Aššur-narari V, for he appears as eponym, with the title field marshal each time, for the years 780, 770, and 752. In 773 he is mentioned on the Pazarcık stele of Shalmaneser IV as having been on the campaign against Damascus<sup>25</sup>. The maximum period during which he could have been field marshal is after 808 (Nergal-ilaiia) and before 742 (Nabû-da'inanni). This is 66 years and too long, but at least we have the upper and lower limits and he was in office for at least 40 years. During this long period, he not only accompanied the king on campaign, but in his own inscriptions he boasts, without even mentioning the king, of having led a successful expedition against Argištu of Urartu<sup>26</sup>. In another fragmentary inscription he tells of erecting a new city near Assur which he named "The King Gave Me It" (Šarru-iddina)<sup>27</sup>. In his own inscriptions he has a grandiose list of titles: "field marshal, great herald, administrator of temples, chief of the extensive army, governor of the lands Hatti, Gutu, and Namri"<sup>28</sup>. That is, he claims to have governed the lands stretching all the way from central Anatolia, through Armenia, Kurdistan, as far as the East Tigris region around the Diyala River. Thus, this is an unusual case of someone remaining in the same position. When he first appears in our extant records, he already has one of the highest offices in the land. He goes on from there to become a virtual king in practice, if not in title.

Nergal-eriš's basic title "governor of Rašappa" never changes over a long period of

<sup>22</sup>) CAH 3/1, p. 268

<sup>23</sup>) See *Studies R. Morton Smith* (cf. n. 5 above).

<sup>24</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.2 line 5

<sup>25</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.105.1 line 4.

<sup>26</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.2010.

<sup>27</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.2012.

<sup>28</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.2010 lines 8-11.

time, 803 to 775 (he was eponym for each of these years, a stretch of 28 years), but he gradually adds more territory over which he is governor. These facts are all recorded in royal inscriptions showing, as in the previous cases, the exceptional importance of the man to have his name included in such documents. In 797 Hindanu was added to his governorship by a royal decree of Adad-narari III<sup>29</sup>. Two stelae, one from Saba'a and one from Tell Rimah, must date after this since among his titles the governorship of Hindanu is included. The Saba'a stele has the fuller titles: "Governor of Nemet-Ištar, Apku, Mari, Rašappa, Qatnu, Dur-duklimmu, Kar-Ashurnasirpal, Širqu, Laqê, Hindanu, Anat, Suhu, Ana-Aššur-uter-ašbat"<sup>30</sup>. The Tell Rimah has only: "Governor of Rašappa, Laqê, Hindanu, Anat, Suhu, Ana-Aššur-uter-ašbat"<sup>31</sup>. The regions omitted are Nemet-Ištar, Apku, Mari, Qatnu, Dur-duklimmu, Kar-Ashurnasirpal, and Širqu. By itself I doubt that this omission means much; the engraver simply could not be bothered to put in all the places, particularly since he went on to narrate that Adad-narari III had "granted to Nergal-eriš 331 further cities, including cities in the regions of Dur-duklimmu, Laqê, and Qatnu". In fact, this shows that the Tell Rimah stele is earlier in date than the Saba'a stele. At some later date, however, the Tell Rimah stele was deliberately effaced in an effort to erase Nergal-eriš's name and the fact that he had been granted these 331 cities. This erasure may have occurred after 775, the last time Nergal-eriš was eponym, for there is a seal of his dated to his "second eponymy" (which must be 775) in which he is called governor of Rašappa, Laqê, and Suhi<sup>32</sup>. In territorial terms, then, he controlled a vast region of the Jezireh: east to the Wadi Tharthar, west to the Habur river, north to the Jebel Sinjar, and south to the Euphrates.

Bel-Harran-beli-ušur (c. 782-727) is attested as palace herald over an exceptionally long period. He may have held that office as early as the reign of Adad-narari III<sup>33</sup>. In any case he is attested as palace herald in the reign of Shalmaneser IV<sup>34</sup> and again in 741, as eponym in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. It is also known that he was eponym and governor of Guzana in 727. As to his title palace herald, two others held this title in the eponyms for 778 and 751; either there could be more than one palace herald at a time or Bel-Harran-beli-ušur suffered a temporary setback. But it is the Tell Abta stele, found on the Wadi Tharthar, that tells us much about him<sup>35</sup>. His name appears first, before the

<sup>29</sup>) Postgate, *Royal Decrees*, pp. 115-17.

<sup>30</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.6 lines 23-25.

<sup>31</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.7 lines 13-14.

<sup>32</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.2007. There is no evidence for anyone being governor of any of these territories during the relevant period. Suhi and Mari must have come under the control of Šamaš-reša-ušur and Ninurta-kudurri-ušur after 775 and before 747 (the year in which Sin-šallimanni was eponym and governor of Rašappa for Sin-šallimanni is named in Ninurta-kudurri-ušur's stele).

<sup>33</sup>) See Postgate, *Royal Grants*, no. 1.

<sup>34</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.105.2.

<sup>35</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.105.2.

king's; and it is interesting that the king's name, Shalmaneser (IV), has been erased, and the name of Tiglath-pileser (III) inserted, after the latter ascended the throne. He records building a city, named after himself (Fort-Bel-Harran-beli-ušur), and says "I established *zakūtu* for this city ...". The granting of *zakūtu*, which roughly means tax-free status, was otherwise an exclusive privilege of the king.

Each of these four men was clearly a force to be reckoned with during these tumultuous times.

#### b. The royal family

Some members of the royal family, apart from the ruling monarch, had significant roles to play during this period. By far the most interesting are some of the Assyrian queens, notably Semiramis. She was the daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser III, wife of Šamši-Adad V, and mother of Adad-narari III. Her name is included next to the reigning monarch's, Adad-narari III, in the recently discovered Turkish stelae as having gone on a campaign to the west with the king<sup>36</sup>. This is completely unparalleled in Assyrian history. It indicates that she had some authority in the state, although it is still unjustified to think of her as being a regent in control of state affairs while her son was too young to do so<sup>37</sup>. Her name is included with that of the king in the royal dedication texts of Bel-tarši-ilumma<sup>38</sup>. She even had her own stele, with her titles, in the row of steles at Assur<sup>39</sup>. Relevant here is the fantastic legendary material that has come down to us about her<sup>40</sup>. I believe that these legends, coined in Aramaic, have an original basis in fact, although most facts were exaggerated beyond credulity, and that she was a truly outstanding figure comparable certainly to such prominent officials as Šamši-ilu.

The case of Semiramis draws attention to an often neglected factor in the exercise of power in Assyria, the role of royal women. While few could rival the influence that Semiramis enjoyed, nevertheless there is some evidence that the position of the queens was not negligible. In the royal tombs recently discovered at Calah, a tremendous wealth of jewellery was discovered and the vast majority of it came from the tombs of the queens. It is not surprising that the queens should have some valuable jewellery, but it is surprising that they should have had such a wealth of it.

Among these graves was found that of Mulissu-mukannišat-Ninua, wife of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III<sup>41</sup>. She tells us in her own inscription that she was the

<sup>36</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.3.

<sup>37</sup>) See CAH 3/1, pp. 271-272.

<sup>38</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.2002.

<sup>39</sup>) RIMA 3 A.0.104.2001.

<sup>40</sup>) See CAH 3/1, pp. 274-275.

<sup>41</sup>) Fadhil, BaM 21 (1990), pp. 471-82.

daughter of Aššur-nirka-da'ni, the chief cupbearer. The name of this official is otherwise unknown, but this does give some insight to the ties which bound senior officials and the king<sup>42</sup>.

There was another kind of tie between officialdom and the royal family, and that is instances where a member of the royal family was appointed to an office. A case in point is Bel-dan (See Appendix C). He was chief cupbearer and governor of Calah in the period 750 (when he was eponym) to 734. In two letters to him found at Calah, the sender calls him "father" and remarks that "our family is from the kings of Calah". This shows that both he, and his correspondent, who was another official (title unknown), were members of the royal family. There were probably other cases, indeed it may not have been uncommon, but the lack of genealogies prevents uncovering them.

Speculation by modern scholars as to other officials who might have been of royal birth has included Šamši-ilu. Von Soden has suggested that he might have been a younger son of Adad-narari III<sup>43</sup>. The discovery of a gold bowl with an inscription of Šamši-ilu in the grave of queen Mulissu-mukannišat-Ninua lends support to the idea that he had some connection with the royal family.

That Tiglath-pileser III might have first been governor of Calah and led his revolution to become king from that base was proposed many years ago by Forrer<sup>44</sup>. As attractive as this theory may be, there is as yet no evidence to support it.

This study was undertaken in the hope that at the end we would have a better understanding of what actually happened during this tumultuous time and in particular of the roles of the prominent officials in the rebellions of the eighth century. Despite the new sources available, this hope has not been realized. While we have a greater appreciation of the extent of the power of such figures as Šamši-ilu and the influence of Semiramis, the details of their roles in the rebellions are still lacking. One question in particular that still remains unresolved is the rise to power of Tiglath-pileser III: what was his origin and how did he become king? We must await more evidence.

<sup>42</sup>) Inscriptions of other kings were found in her tomb: two bricks of Shalmaneser III; a gold bowl of Šamši-ilu; a seal of a eunuch of Adad-narari; and a duck weight with an inscription of Tiglath-pileser. Fadhil identified the last as Tiglath-pileser "III", thus raising the question of how this could be in an earlier grave. But there is no reason why this inscription could not be of Tiglath-pileser II: no genealogy is given and the titles he bears ("strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria") are the same as those given to him (we have virtually no inscriptions of his own) by his son and heir, Aššur-dan II (RIMA 2, p. 132, 1; p. 138, 1; etc.). Similarly, the Adad-narari must have been the "II", not the "III", of this name. Precious objects, such as seals and weights, were kept for generations. As to the age of Mulissu-mukannišat-Ninua, she could still have been living around 800 when Šamši-ilu was in power. If she married at about 12 years of age, late in Ashurnasirpal II's reign, say c. 860, she would have been 72 years of age in 800. Cf. Adad-guppi, Nabonidus's mother, who was 95 years of age when she died.

<sup>43</sup>) Von Soden, «Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici» 2 (1985), pp. 137-138.

<sup>44</sup>) Forrer, *Provinz.*, p. 10.

## APPENDIX A

## SOURCES

1. *Eponym Lists*

## a) Texts

Ungnad, RLA 2, pp. 412-57: a detailed reconstruction of the lists. For corrections and additions see Weidner, AfO 13 (1939-41), pp. 308-318; Brinkman, N.A.B.U. 1989, no. 71.

Gurney, STT 1, no. 47, and AnSt 3 (1953), pp. 15-25, is a duplicate list, with variants.

Also note Andrae, *Stelenreihen*.

## b) Studies

Poebel, JNES 2 (1943), pp. 71-78.

Luckenbill, ARAB 2, 1194-1198.

Grayson, ARI 2, 870.

Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire: 910-649 B.C.* (an unpublished manuscript kindly shown to me by the author).

2. *Everyday Documents*

## a) Calah

Kinnier Wilson, *Wine Lists*.

Postgate, *Governor's Palace*.

Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*.

## b) Guzana

Weidner, *Tell Halaf*.

## c) Other Sites

Scattered references.

3. *Royal Decrees*

Postgate, *Royal Grants*.

4. *Private and Royal Inscriptions*

Grayson, RIMA 3 (in preparation).

5. *Aramaic Sources*

## a) Sefire

Lemaire and Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Šamši-ilu*, Paris, 1984.

## b) Tell Fekherye

Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard, *La Statue de Tell Fekherye*, Paris 1982: a bilingual (Aramaic and Akkadian) inscription on a statue. For bibliography see Grayson, RIMA 2, p. 390.

## c) Further Note

The texts edited by Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period (Studi Semitici NS 2)*, Roma 1986, are all from the seventh century. The Akkadian names in Aramaic documents listed by Maraqtan, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, Hildesheim-Zurich-New York 1988, date to the seventh century or later.

## APPENDIX B

## SAMPLE OF RECORD IN DATABASE "OFFICIALS"

Name	Šamši-ilu
Dates	773
Served	Shalmaneser IV
Titles	Field marshal ( <i>turtānu</i> )
King names	Yes
Own text	No
Text provenance	Pazarcık
Names king	N/A
Military	Damascus campaign
Building	None
Sources	RIMA 3 A.0.105.1
Bibliography	RIMA 3 A.0.105.1
Comments	—

## APPENDIX C

### CAREER COURSES

Reference is not usually given to the eponym lists, for which see Appendix A 1. For a chronological list of office holders and provincial governors see Appendix D.

#### a. *Static Careers*

There are a number of cases where individuals remain in the same office over a period of time and, within the limits of the available evidence, there is no evidence that they ever moved to another office. To try and verify this last point, I searched the database for other men who might have held the same office during the years in question for any individual. There were no such examples for any of the following names listed.

*Adad-bela-ukin*: In 748 he was eponym and called governor of Assur, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Ekallate, Itu, and Ruqaha on a stele in the row of steles (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 37). But in the eponym lists he was simply called governor of Assur (the land), as he was when he again held the office of eponym in 738. The eponym for 748 and 738 is the same man as evidenced by documents dated with this name and adding: "in his second lot" (*ina 2 pūrišu*). For example: Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, no. 98, 16-17; no. 106, 11-12.

*Aššur-bunaiia-ušur*: This is one of the most important examples. This name appears for the eponyms of 855, 844, 825, and 816. The entire stretch of time is 39 years, so it is possible that the same man is involved throughout. This assumption is supported by the fact that at both the beginning and end of the period, the years 855 and 816 respectively, he has the same title, "chief cupbearer" (for 844 no title is given and for 825 the title is broken). There is one caveat, and that is that for the year 838, the eponym of that year (Ninurta-kibsi-ušur) bore the title "chief cupbearer". The circumstances which might have caused this temporary change of officers are unknown. Cf. Reade, *Iraq 34* (1972), p. 94.

*Bel-dan*: There must be at least two different people of this name who were eponyms since the eponym for 820 could hardly be the same as that for 734. I think it is reasonable to assume that there were just two: 1) eponym and palace herald in 820 and 807; 2) eponym and chief cupbearer in 750 and then eponym and governor of Calah in 744 and 734. There are two letters addressed to Bel-dan (Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, nos.

201-202) in which the sender calls him “father” and says that “our family is from the kings of Calah”. The Bel-dan who is called the “major-domo of the house of the field marshal” in a list of witnesses dated to 797 (Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, no. 91, 30) must be yet a third man of this name<sup>45</sup>. Cf. Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, pp. 8-10.

*Bel-Harran-beli-ušur*: See above a) Four Strong Men.

Bibliography: 1969 Postgate, *Royal Grants*, no. 1 (?).  
1972 Reade, *Iraq* 34, p. 94.  
1982 Grayson, *CAH* 3/1, p. 279.

*Bel-tarši-ilumma*: This is an interesting case. It is well known that this man enjoyed such high prestige under Adad-narari III that he was able to dedicate some statues to him and his mother, Semiramis (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2002). Bel-tarši-ilumma's seal appears on a tablet dated in 808 (Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, no. 170). His name and title “governor of Calah” appear in tablets dated 803 and 793 (Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, nos. 90-91). He was eponym for the year 797, the only year he held this office. In the statues just mentioned he called himself governor of Calah, Hamedu, Sirgana, Temenu, Ialuna. He must have been appointed governor of Calah late in 808 for Mušezib-Ninurta held that title at the beginning of the year. At the other end, he could not have held the office beyond 772 for the governor of Calah in that year was Aššur-bela-ušur, the eponym of that year. Just out of interest, one can note that on a macehead he is simply called “scribe, eunuch of Adad-narari” (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2004).

Bibliography: 1969 Postgate, *Royal Grants*, no. 2.  
1973 Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, pp. 8-10.  
1982 Grayson, *CAH* 3/1, p. 274.  
1986 Lawrence, «Tyndale Bulletin» 37, pp. 121-32.

*Daiian-Aššur*: See above a. Four strong men.

Bibliography: 1972 Reade, *Iraq* 34, p. 94.  
1982 Grayson, *CAH* 3/1, p. 265-267.

*Mannu-ki-Aššur*: He was eponym and governor of Guzana in 793. His archive has been discovered at Guzana and the documents stretch over a few years (see Weidner, *Tell Halaf*). The name of one of his eunuchs, Adad-našir, is known (VA 511: see Ungnad, *RIA* 2, p. 450).

*Mušallim-Ninurta*: He was entered as eponym for each of 792 and 766 and each time he was given the title “governor of Tille”.

<sup>45</sup>) Cf. Garelli, «Annuaire du College de France» 1986-87, p. 507.



*Mušezib-Ninurta*: According to Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, pp. 8-11, he was the governor of Calah between c. 817 to 808.

*Nabû-bela-ušur*: He was entered as eponym for 745 and given the title "governor of Arrapha". He appears again as eponym for 732 where he is given the title "governor of Si'me". Since Arrapha and Si'me are both in the East Tigris region, relatively close to one another, this seems to be another case of essentially no change in prestige or power.

*Nergal-ilaiia*: This is the name for eponyms for the years: 861 (see Grayson, ARI 2, p. 210, n. 905), 830, 817, 808. Obviously two or more people are involved and it is possible that the same man is in question for the years 830 to 808. This is perhaps more likely than the same man for 861 and 830. The title "governor of [Cala]h(?)" is preserved for the eponym of 830. No title is known for the eponym of 817, but the eponym of 808 was "field marshal" and in a text on a duck weight Nergal-ilaiia is called "field marshal, chief of the [extensive] army, Media" (George, Iraq 41 [1979], pp. 122, 134, and pl. XVII b-d no. 47). The name of one of his eunuchs, Ištar-duri (who himself rose to eminence — see below sub b. Promotion), is known.

*Ninurta-ilaiia*: He was entered as eponym for 837 and 801 and each time he was given the title "governor of Arzuhina". Since the governor of Arzuhina in 839 was another person (Šulmu-beli-lamur, eponym of that year), Ninurta-ilaiia must have been appointed to that office in the interval (839 to 837).

*Pan-Aššur-lamur*: He was eponym and governor of Assyria in 776 and again eponym, but governor of Arbela, in 759.

*Qurdi-Aššur*: He is mentioned as the owner of some property in a royal land grant of Adad-narari III dating to 788 and his title is "palace prefect" (*ša pān ekalli*) (Postgate, *Royal Grants*, no. 27, 6). Much later, in 767, he is eponym and governor of Arzuhina.

*Šamaš-bela-ušur*: He was eponym for the years 864 and 851 and for each he is attested with the titles: "governor of Calah, Hamedi, Sirgani, and Ialuna" (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 42), the same titles to be held later by Bel-tarši-ilumma. There are some throne bases, dated to 844, which Šamaš-bela-ušur, still apparently with these titles (the texts are not published), dedicated to Shalmaneser III (Hulin, Iraq 25, p. 67).

*Šamaš-našir*: He was the *abarakku* of Assur in the year 809 (date not entirely certain) when he was granted a huge tract of land by a royal decree of Adad-narari III. He was still the *abarakku* of Assur in 788 when he was put in charge of the offerings for the Aššur temple by another royal decree of Adad-narari III (see Postgate, *Royal Grants*, nos. 27-29 and 42-45). Note that in 805 Aššur-taklak was called the *abarakku*, but "of Assur"

is not added. Was there a difference?

*Šamši-ilu*: See above a. Four strong men. For bibliography see my article *Studies in Neo-Assyrian History II* (cf. above n. 5).

*Šarru-duri*: He was governor of Calah during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and Postgate (*Governor's Palace*, p. 11 and nos. 132, 172-73, and pp. 249-50) estimates his period of office fell during 734 to 728.

#### b. *Promotion*

In each of the following cases, the change in titles over the years indicates that the individual has been promoted:

*Aššur-bela-ušur*: He was eponym and governor of Kurruri in 796 and by 772, when he was again eponym, he had moved up to be governor of Calah. There is a seal of Aššur-bela-ušur, "the officer" of Nergal-eriš, governor of Rašappa. Does the seal belong to the eponym for 796?

Bibliography: 1875 G. Smith, *The Assyrian Canon*, p. 82.  
1910 Delaporte, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, no. 354.  
1926 Unger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Kunst*, Abb. 47.  
1938 Ungnad, *RIA 2*, p. 457.  
1973 Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, p. 10.

*Bel-issia*: His archives were found in the Governor's Palace at Calah and from these it is clear that he was a wealthy man buying up property in the vicinity of Kurbail. He is called "chief of cities" (*rab alāni*) in some tablets, one dated in 791 and another in 756 (Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, nos. 15 and 22 respectively — cf. pp. 12-13). He is known to have been a eunuch of Bel-tarši-ilumma so his appointment as "chief of cities" was presumably a step up for him.

*Iahalu*: He first appears as an eponym for 833 and, on a curious clay die, he bears the lengthy titular: "Great *abarakku* of Shalmaneser king of Assyria, governor of Kipšuni, Qumeni, Mehrani, Uqi, Erimmu(?), chief of customs" (RIMA 3 A.0.102.2003). He appears again as eponym in 824 and in 821, but in both cases his title is not preserved. Fortunately, there is a document dated in 820 in which Iahalu's name appears with the title "great field marshal" (KAV 75, 9). Thus he had moved up as far as he could go<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Note that I remarked in *BiOr* 33 (1976), pp. 140-141, that there may be more than one man of this name involved; but of course this applies generally to the people discussed here.

- Bibliography: 1937 Stephens, YOS 9, no. 73.  
 1939 Lewy, HUCA 14, p. 145.  
 1949 Michel, WO 1, pp. 261-64.  
 1956 Lewy, HUCA 27, p. 42.  
 1969 von Soden, Or NS 38, p. 421.  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2, pp. 95-96.  
 1976 Grayson, BiOr 33, pp. 140-41.

*Ilima-le'*: He is mentioned as the owner of some property in a royal land grant of Adad-narari III dating to 788 (Postgate, *Royal Grants*, no. 27, 8) and his title is "chief of cities (*rab alāni*) of Šabbu" which is significant since in ADD 738 (r. 1) Šabbu is said to be the city of the king's mother. I strongly suspect that it is the same man who went on to become governor of Našibina and eponym for 782. This is also the opinion of Weidner, *Tell Halaf*, p. 10, n. 32, and Kinnier Wilson, *Wine Lists*, p. 15. Ilima-le' received a royal decree to prepare horses in his city for the king's use on a certain date (Weidner, *Tell Halaf*, pp. 9-10).

*Ištar-duri*: He first appears as the recipient of a seal (from a certain Birtaiia "eunuch of Adad-narari III") and his title is "eunuch of Nergal-ilaiia" (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2009), and this may well be the same Nergal-ilaiia who, in 808, was eponym and field marshal. The *šaknu* officer, known from a seal (Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, no. 21) might be the same man at some other early stage in his career<sup>47</sup>. Many years later, Ištar-duri appears as eponym for 774 with the title governor of Našibina.

*Marduk-šarra-ušur*: In 784 he was eponym and governor of Kurbail under Adad-narari III. Later, Aššur-narari V (754 to 745) mentions him in a broken royal inscription with the title "governor of [...]" (RIMA 3 A.0.107.1 line 5'). The fact that he is mentioned in a royal inscription at all indicates that he has moved up in prestige.

*Nergal-eriš*: This outstanding man added more and more provincial governorships to his titles as the years went by. See above a. Four strong men.

- Bibliography: 1875 G. Smith, *Eponym Canon*, p. 82.  
 1970 Postgate, Iraq 32, pp. 31-35.  
 1982 Grayson, CAH 3/1, pp. 273-274 and 278.  
 1986 Lawrence, «Tyndale Bulletin» 37, pp. 121-132.  
 1990 Cavigneaux and Bahijah Ismail, BaM 21, p. 325.

<sup>47</sup>) Regarding the rank *šaknu* see Postgate, AnSt 30 (1980), pp. 67-76.

c. *Demotion*

*Aššur-taklak*: He was eponym for 805 and called *abarakku*. There is a contract, dated in 802 (Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, no. 14), which is the sale of a house to a man of the same name but whose title is major domo (*rab bīti*). Are they the same men? If so, the move from *abarakku* to major domo would seem to be a demotion.

*Šar-patti-beli*: He was eponym in 831 and governor of Assur, Našibina, Urakka, Kahat, and Masaka (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 41). In 815 he was again eponym but only governor of Našibina; Assur and the three other places are not mentioned.

d. *Uncertain*

There are some individuals attested over a period of time but whose titles are either not given or are broken in the text.

*Bel-bunaiia*: For the year 850 he is listed as eponym and palace herald. For the year 823 he is listed as eponym and then the line is broken.

*Nergal-našir*: He was eponym and governor of Našibina in 746. It is possible, but perhaps stretching things a bit, that he is identical with the man of the same name mentioned in a royal decree of Adad-narari III, dated in 788, as the owner of property adjacent to the land being granted (Postgate, *Royal Grants*, no. 28, 1'). Unfortunately the titles in this last reference are broken away.

*Šamaš-abua*: He was eponym for each of the years 852 and 840. For the former he was given the title "governor of Našibina" but for the latter no title is preserved. In 788 a Šamaš-abua, "governor of [...]", appears in a royal decree of Adad-narari III as the owner of property adjacent to the land being granted. Postgate, *Royal Grants*, p. 59, says it is possible that this is the same person as the eponym for 852, the name simply remaining attached to the property after his death. However, they would hardly continue to give him the title "governor of [...]" if this were the case. I think that this must be a different person.

*Šepa-šarri*: He was eponym and governor of Kirruri in 835. A man of the same name is mentioned in a royal decree of Adad-narari III, date 788, as owning land adjacent to the land being granted (Postgate, *Royal Grants*, no. 27, 15). No title is preserved in the decree. If the same man is involved, perhaps his name came to be attached to the property even after his death since 47 years is rather a long time for him to be in office.

e. *Special Cases*

*Adad-it'i*: He was governor of Guzana about the time of Ashurnasirpal II although he does not mention the Assyrian king, or any other overlord, in his inscribed statue found at Tell Fekherye. See above Appendix A 5b.

*Mušeziḫ-Ninurta*: He was vice-regent [of Šadikanni ?] sometime in the later part of the ninth century. The name of this ruler is known from labels on two bull colossi and on a seal (Grayson, RIMA 2, pp. 392-393, A.0.101.2005-2007). Wine rations are issued to the field marshal and the vizier (*sukkalu*) of a Mušeziḫ-Ninurta (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, no. 144, 11-16), the titles indicating that a foreign ruler is involved and presumably the ruler of Šadikanni. As to date, his grandfather rendered tribute to Ashurnasirpal II which means he was probably in power towards the end of the century. The earliest date known for a Nimrud wine list is 784.

*Mušeziḫ-Šamaš*: His name appears in a fragmentary text on a broken stone with figures in relief found in a village (Anaz) a little east of Urfa in southern Anatolia. The inscription commemorates the building of a fortified city (URU.BAD) by “Mušeziḫ-Šamaš, the governor” (<sup>l</sup>*mu-še-zib*-<sup>d</sup>UTU LÚ.EN.NAM). The text should date to the late ninth or early eighth century.

Bibliography: 1907 Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, pp. 106-107 and pl. XXVI.  
 1908 Meissner, OLZ 11, 242-244.  
 1920 Meissner, BuA 1, p. 135 Taf-Abb. 72.  
 1920 Forrer, *Provinz.*, pp. 22 and 109.  
 1928 Unger, RIA 1, p. 106 and pl. 14 (opposite p. 81).  
 1965 CAD B, p. 318a, *sub* 2.  
 1967 Borger, HKL 1, p. 413.  
 1972 Reade, *Iraq* 34 (1972), p. 94.  
 1975 Taşyürek, AnSt 25, p. 176.

*Ninurta-kudurri-ušur*: He was governor of Suhu and Mari in the middle of the eighth century. See my article *Studies in Neo-Assyrian History II* (cf. above n. 5).

*Šamaš-reša-ušur*: He was the father of Ninurta-kudurri-ušur (*q.v.*) and also governor of Suhu and Mari beginning in about 774.

## APPENDIX D

Unless stated otherwise, the sources for these dates and titles are the eponym lists,

supplemented by the row of steles and Appendix C.

## TITLES

### I. SENIOR OFFICERS

#### 1. *Abarakku*

Date	Name
833	Iahalu
809	Šamaš-našir
805	Aššur-taklak
788	Šamaš-našir
777	Nabû-išdeia-ukin
749	Šamaš-kina-dugul
739	Sîn-taklak

#### 2. Chief Cupbearers

Date	Name
c. 880	Aššur-nirka-da'ini <sup>48</sup>
855	Aššur-bunaiia-ušur
838	Ninurta-kibsi-ušur
816	Aššur-bunaiia-ušur
806	Šilli-bel
779	Marduk-remanni
750	Bel-dan
740	Nabû-etiranni

<sup>48</sup> See Fadhil, BaM 21 (1990), pp. 471-82.

## 3. Field Marshals

Date	Name
856	Aššur-bela-kain
853 to 826	Daiian-Aššur
820	Iahalu
814	Bel-lu-ballit
808	Nergal-ilaiia
800 to 752	Šamši-ilu
742	Nabû-da'inanni

## 4. Palace Heralds

Date	Name
854	Abi-ina-ekalli-lilbur
850	Bel-bunaiia
820 to 807	Bel-dan
c. 782	Bel-Harran-bela-ušur
778	Bel-lišir
751	Marduk-šallimanni
741	Bel-Harran-bela-ušur

## II. PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

Following is a select list of provinces and their governors.

## 1. Amedi

Date	Name
799	Marduk-išmeanni
768	Aplaia
762	Ṭab-beli
726	Marduk-bela-ušur

## 2. Arrapha

Date	Name
829	Hubaiia ??
811	Šamaš-kumua
802	Aššur-bašti-ekurri <sup>49</sup>
769	Bel-ilaiia
745	Nabû-bela-ušur
735	Aššur-šallimanni

<sup>49)</sup> For this corrected reading of the name see Gurney, *AnSt* 3 (1953), p. 17.



## 3. Arzuhina (Ahizuhina)

Date	Name
839	Šulmu-beli-lamur
837 to 801	Ninurta-ilaiia
767	Qurdi-Aššur
731	Nergal-uballiṭ

## 4. Assur

Date	Name
831	Šar-patti-beli
c. 817 <sup>50</sup> to 804	Ili-ittiia
776	Pani-Aššur-lamur
768	Aplaia
748 to 738	Adad-bela-ukin

<sup>50</sup>) On an amulet found at Byblos he is called a "eunuch of Šamši-Adad (V)". See RIMA 3 A.0.103.2001.

5. Calah<sup>51</sup>

Date	Name
873	Nergal-apil-kumua
864 to 844	Šamaš-bela-ušur
830 to 808	Nergal-ilaiia
808 ??	Mušeziḫ-Ninurta
808 to 773	Bel-tarši-ilumma
772	Aššur-bela-ušur
762 ??	Tiglath-pileser (III) ?? <sup>52</sup>
744 to 734	Bel-dan
734 to 728	Šarru-duri
728	Marduk-remanni
713	Aššur-bani

## 6. Guzana

Date	Name
c. 871	Adad-it'i <sup>53</sup>
793	Mannu-ki-Aššur
763	Bur-Sagali
727	Bel-Harran-bela-ušur

<sup>51</sup>) Cf. Postgate, *Governor's Palace*, pp. 8-11.

<sup>52</sup>) See Postgate, *Royal Grants*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>53</sup>) Tell Fekherye statue: see above, Appendix A 5b.

## 7. Kalizi

Date	Name
832	Ululaiia
788	Adad-mušammir
760	La-qipu
724	Aššur-išmeanni

## 8. Kurruri

Date	Name
835	Šepa-šarri
813	Mušekniš
796	Aššur-bela-ušur
765	Ninurta-mukin-niši
729	Liphur-ili

## 9. Mazamua

Date	Name
828	Ili-mukin-ahi ?
810	Bel-qata-šabat
783	Ninurta-našir
768	Aplaia
733	Aššur-da'inanni

## 10. Našibina

Date	Name
852	Šamaš-abua
831 to 815	Šar-patti-beli
800	Šepa-Ištar
782	Ilima-le'
774	Ištar-duri
746	Nergal-našir
736	Ninurta-ilaia

11. Nineveh<sup>3</sup>

Date	Name
834	Nergal-mudammiq
789	Ninurta-mukin-ahi
761	Nabû-mukin-ahi
725	Mahdê

## 12. Rašappa

Date	Name
838	Ninurta-kibsi-ušur
803 to 775	Nergal-eriš
747	Sîn-šallimanni
737	Bel-emuranni

## 13. Sallat

Date	Name
836	Qurdi-Aššur
812	Ninurta-ašared
795	Marduk-šaduni
773	Mannu-ki-Adad

## 14. Tušhan

Date	Name
867	Ištar-emuqaiia
794	Mukin-abua
764	Sidqi-ili
728	Dur-Aššur

## APPENDIX E

## COMPARISON OF REGNAL YEARS OF EPONYMIES AND TITLES

The reign of Ashurnasirpal II has been omitted from this table because the titles of the eponymies are not given. The reign of Shalmaneser V has been omitted because it is too short to provide meaningful data.

Year	Shalmaneser III	Šamši-Adad V	Adad-narari III	Shalmaneser IV
2	857 King	822 King	809 King	781 King
3	856 <i>turtānu</i>	821 <i>turtānu</i>	808 <i>turtānu</i>	780 <i>turtānu</i>
4	855 <i>rab šāqe</i>	820 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>	807 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>	779 <i>rab šāqe</i>
5	854 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>	819 ???	806 <i>rab šāqe</i>	778 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>
6	853 <i>turtānu</i>	818 ???	805 <i>abarakku</i>	777 <i>abarakku</i>
7	852 Našibina	817 ???	804 Assur	776 Assur
8	851 Calah	816 <i>rab šāqe</i>	803 Rašappa	775 Rašappa
9	850 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>	815 Našibina	802 Arrapha	774 Našibina
10	849 ???	814 <i>turtānu</i>	801 Arzuhina	773 Sallat

Year	Aššur-dan III	Aššur-narari V	Tiglath-pileser III
2	771 King	753 King	743 King
3	770 <i>turtānu</i>	752 <i>turtānu</i>	742 <i>turtānu</i>
4	769 Arrapha	751 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>	741 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>
5	768 Mazamua	750 <i>rab šāqe</i>	740 <i>rab šāqe</i>
6	767 Arzuhina	749 <i>abarakku</i>	739 <i>abarakku</i>
7	766 Tille	748 Assur	738 Assur
8	765 Kirruri	747 Rašappa	737 Rašappa
9	764 Tušhan	746 Našibina	736 Našibina
10	763 Guzana	745 Arrapha	735 Arrapha

## APPENDIX F

## AVERAGE TERMS

## 1. Average term in high office

See Appendix D for a list of offices and dates.

Office	Dates	Total years	Number of men	Average term (years)
<i>Abarakku</i>	833 to 739	94	7	13
Chief Cupbearer	880 to 740	140	8	18
Field Marshal	856 to 742	114	7	16
Palace Herald	854 to 741	113	6	19

## 2. Average term as provincial governor

See Appendix D for a full list of provinces and dates.

Suhu has been omitted because of the fluctuating nature of Assyrian control over it.

Office	Dates	Total years	Number of men	Average term (years)
Amedi	799 to 726	73	4	18
Arrapha	829 to 735	94	6	16
Arzuhina	839 to 731	108	4	27
Assur	831 to 738	93	5	19
Calah	873 to 713	160	11	15
Guzana	871 to 727	144	4	36
Kirruri	835 to 729	106	5	21
Mazamua	828 to 733	95	5	19
Naşibina	852 to 736	116	7	17
Nineveh	834 to 725	109	4	27
Raşappa	838 to 737	101	4	25
Sallat	836 to 773	63	4	16
Tušan	867 to 728	139	4	35

## 3. Individual officers and governors

The following individuals held one of the offices listed in 1 and were governors of one of the provinces listed in 2. The governorship of Guzana has been included although the evidence is almost certainly incomplete.

Name	Titles	Date(s) Held	Maximum Dates Possible	Years in Office
Ninurta-kibsi-ušur	Chief Cupbearer	838	854 to 817	37
	Rašappa	838	??? to 804	34+
Bel-dan	Chief Cupbearer	750	778 to 741	37
	Calah	744 to 734	761 to 734	27
Nergal-ilaiia	Field Marshal	808	813 to 801	12
	Calah	830 to 808	843 to 808	35
Bel-Harran-beli-ušur	Palace Herald	741	750 to ?	9+
	Guzana	727	762 to ?	35+

## ADDENDA

The latest issue of BaM 24 (1993) arrived after this article was in proof and it contains two articles of direct relevance to this topic.

Deller and Millard, *Die Bestallungsurkunde des Nergal-āpil-kūmūja von Kalḫu* (pp. 217-42 and pls. 51-54) adds new documentary evidence about this official. He was already known to have been eponym, governor of Calah, and major domo of the palace



in 873 B.C. Deller and Millard have now shown that he was put in charge of the building of Calah by Ashurnasirpal II. There is also reason to believe that he was a eunuch.

Deller and Fadhil, *Neue Nimrud-Urkunden des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (pp. 243-70 and pls. 55-114) contains new texts relevant to the period under study. The only information which needs to be added to this article is the reference to an eponym called Paqaha who is called "Governor of Ashur (Inner City)" in p. 251 no. 7 rev. 13-14. Curiously, this name is unknown in the eponym lists although the editors suggest the reign of Tiglath-pileser III.

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- N.B. At the time of writing this paper the work by S. Ponchia, *Assyria and the Transeuphratic States* (Padova), had been announced but I had not seen it.