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Uşur-namkūr-šarri, a Career in the Service of the Assyrian Royal Administration

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1. *Introduction*

The reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I (1233-1197 BC) represents the climax of the Assyrian state during the Late Bronze Age, i.e., the Middle Assyrian (henceforth MA) period. From a territorial point of view, Tukultī-Ninurta I extended the possessions of the kingdom further than any of his predecessors; with the annexation of Babylonia, the Assyrian dominions stretched from the Gulf in the south-east up to the Euphrates-Balīh-Tigris line in the west and north, and to the Zagros mountains in the east. At home, Tukultī-Ninurta I undertook a series of building projects such as the construction of a new palace at Assur, and a new capital city Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (modern-day Tulūl al-‘Aqr) on the eastern bank of the Tigris.

Without doubt, one of the foundations of the strength of the kingdom during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I was its well-organized and effective administration. One of the major figures in this administration was the official Uşur-namkūr-šarri. From the attestations in the archival documentation we can follow his career, which reached its peak in the second part of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I. The recent attempts to order the eponyms during this reign have made it possible to arrange, at least partially, the archival documents mentioning Uşur-namkūr-šarri and to gain an idea of how his career unfolded.

I would like to dedicate the present contribution to Gregorio del Olmo as a token of my appreciation. I have known Gregorio for more than thirty years; he has been a decisive promoter of the study of the ancient Near East in Spain and we all are in his debt. I hope that he enjoys reading this paper in this tribute volume.

2. Name and its meaning

In descending order in terms of frequency, the written forms of the name of this official are the following (see appendix for a list of attestations). The most common form is:

- ^mPAP-*nam-kur-LUGAL*.¹ The following forms of his name are only attested once or twice each:
- ^mú-*ṣur-nam-kur-LUGAL*,²
- ^mú-*ṣ*]ur-*nam-kur*¹-LUGAL,³
- ^mrú²-*ṣ*[*u*²-*ur-nam-kur-LUGAL*²],⁴
- ^mPAP-NÍG.GA-MAN,⁵
- ^mPAP-NÍG[.GA]-MAN,⁶
- PAP-NÍG.[GA-MAN²],⁷
- ^mPAP-NÍG-LUGAL,⁸
- ^mPAP-NÍG-MAN,⁹
- [^m2PA]P-NÍG-MAN.¹⁰

The personal name Uṣur-namkūr-šarri means “Protect the possession of the king!”. This is a unique name, attested only for our official.¹¹ To date, no other personal names built with the noun *namkūru* (“possession”) have appeared in the MA onomastics,¹² nor do any personal names with *namkūru* seem to exist in Middle Babylonian.¹³ The term *namkūru* is not generally used to construct Akkadian personal names,¹⁴ so it appears to have been tailored specifically for our official. It seems as if this name (*nomen est omen*) indicates the function of the person bearing it, i.e., someone who guards the earthly possessions of the monarch.

Uṣur-namkūr-šarri is clearly the name of an official. As Edzard explained, the main characteristic of the name of an official is a statement in praise of the superior (usually the king) or a request on his

1. MARV 3, 7: 11; MARV 3, 57: 7; MARV 3, 59: 10; etc. see the appendix.
2. BATSH 9, 53: 39; BATSH 9, 79: 13.
3. TR 2031: 18.
4. MARV 4, 146: 20'; s. FREYDANK & FISCHER 2001: 39a.
5. KAH 2, 56: 4 = RIMA 1, A.0.78.29.
6. MARV 1, 40, legend of the seal on the envelope, s. FISCHER 1999: 129; 2000: 310.
7. KTN 89/41; FREYDANK *apud* BASTERT & DITTMANN 1995: 13 note 9.
8. Ass. 2001.D-1373: 16; s. FRAHM 2002: 65.
9. MARV 4, 173 X 2; s. FREYDANK, 2009: 26.
10. GÖRG 1995: 15.
11. See AMA U 97-105 (previously OMA I, 511-512 and NAOMA 138-139) and appendix below.
12. See AMA. See previously OMA 2, 140 and NAOMA 171, both under *namkūru*. The personal name Namkūr-Kūbe (DeZ 3438: 16, cited by JAKOB 2003: 551 *sub* 90) does not exist. SALAH 2014 (BATSH 18, 74: 16') reads Iqīša-Kūbe.
13. HÖLSCHER 1996:256.
14. In STAMM 1939: 358, this noun is absent as a constitutive element in Akkadian personal names. CAD N/II, 231-233, only cites the personal name of our official.

behalf.¹⁵ Our case appears to be an example of the latter, a request to the divine on behalf of the king. This name recalls similar names among officials of the MA period who were also in the service of the Assyrian king, for example:

- Adad-šarra-uşur, “O Adad, protect the king”;¹⁶
 Aššur-bēla-uşur, “O Aššur, protect the lord (i.e., the king)”;¹⁷
 Aššur-šarra-uşur, “O Aššur, protect the king”;¹⁸
 Bēl-šarra-uşur, “O Lord, protect the king”;¹⁹
 Ištar-šarra-uşrī, “O Ištar, protect the king”;²⁰
 Nabû-bēla-uşur “O Nabû, protect the lord (i.e., the king)”;²¹
 Šîn-lušallim-šarra, “May Šîn keep the king healthy”;²²
 Šamaš-šarra-uşur, “O Šamaš protect the king”;²³
 Šarra-pilaḥ, “Revere the king!”;²⁴
 Šarru-libūr, with one of the following meanings, according to different scholars: “May the king visibly endure”;²⁵ “May the king shine”;²⁶ “May the king stay in good health”;²⁷ “May the king be cheerful”;²⁸
 Šarru-ušanni, “The king has made double(?)” or “the king has changed(?)”;²⁹
 Šarru-lū-dari, “May the king be forever”;³⁰
 Tašmettu-šarra-uşrī, “O Tašmettu, protect the king”;³¹
 Tāb-dēn-šarri, “The sentence of the king is good”;³²

15. “Hauptkennzeichen des Beamtennamens ist eine preisende Aussage über den Vorgesetzten (gewöhnlich den König) oder auch eine Bitte für ihn”, EDZARD 1998-2001: 109-110.

16. OMA I, 62; NAOMA 21; AMA Suppl. 21.

17. OMA I, 107; AMA A, 302-303; AMA Suppl. 47.

18. AMA A, 412-413.

19. NAOMA 43; AMA B, 46-47; AMA Suppl. 71.

20. OMA I, 267; AMA I, 114-115; AMA Suppl. 135.

21. OMA I, 340; NAOMA 90; AMA N, 6-10; AMA Suppl. 182.

22. OMA I, 399; AMA S, 44; AMA Suppl. 226.

23. NAOMA 121; AMA Š, 74; AMA Suppl. 256.

24. NAOMA 122-123; AMA Suppl. 261.

25. AHw. 108b, sub *bāru* III, 3.

26. EDZARD 1998-2001: 105b.

27. CAD B 126; see Streck, 2018: 16 sub *bāru* III, “to appear, turn up; be durable; to stay firm, stable, in good health”

28. STAMM 1939:155-156.

29. The reading of this personal name is a matter of debate. NAOMA 123 and 178 sub *šanā’u* “cambiare”. However, Saporetti recently read this name as Šarru-šamšānī, and translates it as: “Il re (è) il mio disco solare”(?!); AMA Š, 98-99 and AMA Suppl. 263.

30. STAMM 1939: 315 with the example Hammurabi-lū-dari; CAD D, 116; NAOMA 123; AMA Suppl. 262.

31. NAOMA 129. The personal name Tašmettu-bēla-uşur is not attested, because WVDog 146, 57: 3 should be corrected to Amurru-šuma-uşur, a well-known official, s. FREYDANK 2017: 48. Consequently, Tašmettu-bēla-uşur should be erased in AMA T, 24.

Ṭāb-palāḥ-šarri, “It is good to revere the king”;³³
 Uṣur-ša-pî-šarri, “Protect the word of the king”;³⁴
 Uṣur-ša-šarri “Protect what is of the king”.³⁵

Scholars agree that this type of name was given to the bearer not at his birth, but later, when he took up the respective post in the administration.³⁶ However, according to Stamm, the families linked to the administration may have given such names to their children.³⁷

Uṣur-namkūr-šarri was a eunuch (see below, section 5).³⁸ It is possible that he received his name when he was castrated. To quote Deller: “Once these castrated boys were ready to enter the court service, they were presented to the *ša pān ekalli*, the palace overseer, for examination and inspection. Those who passed the test received a new name referring to the king”.³⁹ Deller also stated that the most frequent type of name for eunuchs was GN-šarru-uṣur, which he translated as “god NN, protect the king!” This clearly refers to the Neo-Assyrian period, because the evidence does not support this hypothesis for the MA period. The other eunuchs attested during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I are the following:⁴⁰

Abattu,⁴¹
 Adad-šar-nēmeqi,⁴²
 Aššur-dēna-dīn,⁴³
 Aššur-mušēzib,⁴⁴
 Atilama,⁴⁵
 Bēr-ilī,⁴⁶
 Da’āni-Aššur,⁴⁷

32. AMA Ṭ, 6-9; AMA Suppl. 286.

33. NAOMA 132; AMA Suppl. 287.

34. OMA I, 512; AMA U, 105-106; AMA Suppl. 301.

35. NAOMA 139; AMA Suppl. 301. See below note 113.

36. STAMM 1939: 315; Radner, 2005: 31.

37. “Denkbar ist es, daß ein Beamter einen solchen Namen mit der Übernahme seiner Würde annahm, wahrscheinlicher ist es jedoch, daß diese Art der Namengebung in den Familien der Beamten üblich war und die Namen schon dem Kinde gegeben wurden”, STAMM 1939: 315; with examples from the MA period (pp. 316-317).

38. On the eunuchs in the MA period see JAKOB 2003: 82-92.

39. DELLER 1999: 306.

40. For these eunuchs (*ša rēši*), only the attestations with the title are provided.

41. MARV 1, 1 iv 56 (*ša rēš šarre*).

42. MARV 1, 14: 33 (*ša rēš šarre*).

43. MARV 2, 6: 88" (*ša rēš šarre*), name reconstructed from MARV 4, 97 rev. 5'.

44. MARV 1, 12: 4 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*); MARV 4, 105: 8 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*); MARV 4, 172: 1 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*); MARV 9, 58: 5 (*ša rēš šarre*).

45. MARV 1, 47: 21 (*ša rēš šarre*).

46. MARV 4, 131 xi 12' (*ša rēš šarre*).

47. MARV 1, 27+ : 23 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*).

Eru-mušabši,⁴⁸
 Libūr-zānin-Aššur;⁴⁹
 Massuku,⁵⁰
 Ninurta-ālik-pāni,⁵¹
 Šamaš-bēl-kēnāte,⁵²
 Uššabbit-ilī.⁵³

Šarru-ušanni (or Šarru-šamšānī) is the only other eunuch living around the time of Ušur-namkūr-šarri whose name contained the element *šarru* (“king”). None of them, has a name containing *bēlu* (“lord”) in reference to the king. Libūr-zānin-Aššur (“May the provider of Aššur stay in good health”) is the only other eunuch whose name refers to the king. In fact, these 14 individuals (counting Ušur-namkūr-šarri) constitute the bulk of the evidence for eunuchs during the MA period; only six other eunuchs are attested in the Assyrian administration for the rest of the period: Mutta⁵⁴ and Sāmu⁵⁵ during the reign of Aššur-dān I (1168-1133 BC); Mudammiq-Bēl⁵⁶ during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BC). Sîn-uballit should possibly be dated to the thirteenth century BC,⁵⁷ while Šamaš-ēriš⁵⁸ and Marduk-išmanni⁵⁹ may have lived in the twelfth century BC.

The fact that most MA attestations of eunuchs are so conspicuously concentrated during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I may be a coincidence, but it may also reflect an intentional policy on the part of this king to favour the integration of these individuals in the royal administration. In fact, most of them are attested as representatives (sing. *qēpu*)⁶⁰ of the king, and some of them, as eponyms (*līmu*), just like Ušur-namkūr-šarri (see below, section 4). In fact, according to the extant evidence, Ušur-namkūr-šarri is the

48. MARV 9, 58: 1, 9 (*ša rēš šarre*).

49. KAJ 18: 2 (*ša rēš šarre*), 11 (*līmu*); KAJ 116: rev. 4 (*ša rēš šarre*); KAJ 266 = MARV 9, 28: 13' (*ša rēš šarre*) KAJ 318: 2 (*ša rēš šarre*), 15 (*līmu*); MARV 1, 1 iv 52 (*ša rēš šarre*), 56; MARV 8, 52: 9 (*ša rēš šarre*); RIMA 1, A.0.78.2001: 4 (*ša rēš šarre*).

50. BATSH 9, 87: 16 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*).

51. MARV 2, 20: 12 (*ša rēš šarre*), 32 (*ša rēš šarre*).

52. MARV 4, 27: 7 (*ša rēš šarre*); MARV 4, 30: 7 (*ša rēš šarre*); MARV 4, 39: 3 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*); MARV 8, 43: 7 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*); MARV 9, 33: 7 (*ša rēš šarre*); MARV 9, 52: 2' (*ša rēš šarre*); MARV 9, 88: 25' (*ša rēš šarre*).

53. MARV 4, 59: 21 (*ša rēš šarre, qēpu*).

54. The attestations are gathered in OMA I, 338-339; NAOMA 88-89, AMA M, 136-137. For this individual see POSTGATE, 2013: 196-197.

55. The attestations are gathered in OMA I, 389-390; NAOMA 105, AMA S, 15.

56. The attestations are gathered in OMA I, 327; NAOMA 86, AMA S, 88-93.

57. MARV 3, 11: 11; s. POSTGATE, 1988: no. 60.

58. WVDOG 146, 53: 8.

59. WVDOG 146, 69: 17.

60. See JAKOB 2003: 90 and 261-286 on the functions of the representatives; POSTGATE 2013: 28-29.

first and for the moment only eunuch attested in the position of a steward (*masennu*) and a governor (*bēl pāḫete, šakin māte*) in the MA royal administration (see below, sections 4-5).⁶¹

In his article on the Assyrian eunuchs Deller also explained that “by assuming their eunuch name, they relinquish their filiation, i.e., the identification by their fathers’ names. Eunuch of king RN or simply king’s eunuch is henceforth sufficient to identify themselves”.⁶² This statement, and the fact that none of the eunuchs attested in the MA period provide their filiation in the texts, poses a serious obstacle to the presumed filiation of Uṣur-namkūr-šarri in a text from Istanbul. Donbaz proposed the following reconstruction: ⁶ *li-mu* ^mPAP-*n*[*am-kur-LUGAL/MAN DUMU*] ⁷ *m*İR-DING[IR.MEŠ-*ni*], in the date of a tablet from Istanbul.⁶³

3. Early career

The name of Uṣur-namkūr-šarri appears for the first time in documents of the archive of the stewards (Assur M 7)⁶⁴ during the **second year** of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I (eponym Qibi-Aššur).⁶⁵ He bears no title in these documents. In a receipt dating from the eighth month of this year, Uṣur-namkūr-šarri and Ubru receive skins of goats and rams, sinews and tendons from a feltmaker for the palace.⁶⁶ In a second text from the eleventh month of the same year, Uṣur-namkūr-šarri and Adad-šumu-lēšir receive felt from the chief of the feltmakers.⁶⁷ In a receipt dating from Tukultī-Ninurta’s **fourth year** (eponym Adad-bēl-gabbe), Uṣur-namkūr-šarri and Ubru receive 310 pieces of felt with a total weight of ca. 23 kg from the same chief of the feltmakers as in the second year.⁶⁸

The similarity of these three texts suggests that Uṣur-namkūr-šarri held much the same position over the course of the first years of the reign, that is, supervising the armour and related supplies sent to the palace. All three texts describe him acting with a colleague. Unfortunately, no title for him or his colleague is given.

However, Uṣur-namkūr-šarri’s career in the Assyrian royal administration may have begun during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta’s predecessor, Shalmaneser I (1263-1234 BC). Donbaz has recently published a text, which may be dated during the last month of the 27th year of Shalmaneser I (eponym Usāt-Marduk⁷). According to this document, Uṣur-namkūr-šarri receives felt (ca. 37 kg in total) from the

61. See JAKOB 2003: 94-110; POSTGATE, 2013: 147-176 on the stewards. Samēdu (MARV 3, 9: 8) may be the second individual to be a eunuch and steward. He was in office during the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (eponym Erīb-Aššur, s. Freydank, 2016: 146-147).

62. DELLER 1999: 306.

63. A 1578. DONBAZ 1997: 107. Donbaz did not publish this tablet among the other MA tablets from Istanbul in WVDOG 146. The proposed filiation is cited in AMA U, 64.

64. MA archives are according to PEDERSÉN 1985; see also POSTGATE 2013.

65. The sequence of the eponyms is according to SALAH 2014: 60 and FREYDANK 2016: 8-10.

66. MARV 3, 7; see editions of this text in FAIST 2001: 88-89 and JAKOB 2003: 433-434.

67. MARV 3, 59; see editions of this record in POSTGATE 2000: 213 and JAKOB 2003: 435.

68. MARV 3, 53: 7; see editions of this document in CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 1999: 92 and POSTGATE 2000: 214.

chief feltmaker.⁶⁹ This context fits very well with Uşur-namkūr-şarri's functions described in the texts from Tukultī-Ninurta's second and fourth year above. However, the copy of the text shows the eponym Gadī'u (written *ga-di-ú*) in the date.⁷⁰ Gadī'u is the name of an eponym during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC).⁷¹ An eponym Gadī'u is also unlikely during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I because eponyms are already attested for almost all of the 37 years of his reign. On the other hand, the signs in the date of the text may be read: *ú-sat-d¹AMAR¹.UTU¹*, with some emendations. Usāt-Marduk was the eponym of the 27th year of Shalmaneser I.⁷² It is clear that collation of the text is necessary to justify this reading; if it is correct, this would mean that, Uşur-namkūr-şarri started his career during the last years of the reign of Shalmaneser I and continued in a similar post in Tukultī-Ninurta I's fourth year.

4. *Development*

Uşur-namkūr-şarri does not appear in the extant dated texts from the **fifth through ninth years** of Tukultī-Ninurta I. His duties seem to have changed in this period of time, because when he resurfaces in the record, he appears as the sender of a judicial summons pertaining to the archive Assur M 8.⁷³ Uşur-namkūr-şarri summons Šalipīya to court, where the latter is accused of stealing a donkey mare and three donkeys from a chariot maker whose name is damaged in the text. Šalipīya is required by Uşur-namkūr-şarri (who appears without a title) to come to court to defend himself against the accusation and to bring witnesses. The document bears the eponym Abattu in the date. During the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, there are two successive eponyms with this name but with different filiations; they have been placed during the **years 10 and 11** of this king.⁷⁴ From this text, it is clear that Uşur-namkūr-şarri exercised the functions and duties comparable to those of a judge.⁷⁵

During the **twelfth year** of Tukultī-Ninurta I (eponym Aššur-da' 'ān), Uşur-namkūr-şarri is mentioned three times in a tablet fragment, which Postgate has defined as a "citizenship statement".⁷⁶ The few sentences preserved read: "I have seen Uşur-namkūr-şarri in [...]. Uşur-namkūr-[şarri...*who*] stood repeatedly before Apil-Adad[...] and the inhabitants (lit. sons of) of Libbi-āli(?)[...]. A man [...]. I am an Assyrian [...]. I have said [...] that I am an Assyrian ... [...that] I fled. Uşur-namkūr-şarri [...] to the land of Assur".⁷⁷ From these lines, it is difficult to infer a conclusion. Perhaps these proceedings can be linked to Uşur-namkūr-şarri's newly acquired legal functions, but it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions.

69. WVDOG 146, 57: 8, 12; see the transliteration of the text in FREYDANK 2017: 48-49.

70. FREYDANK 2017: 49 has transliterated: GA DI Ú, but he has also noted that the eponym Gadī'u is improbable ("unwahrscheinlich") here in a text from Tukultī-Ninurta I's time.

71. FREYDANK 2017: 125, 129, 187-188.

72. SALAH 2014: 60.

73. HALL 1983. See also the translation of this text in CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2013: 68.

74. SALAH 2014: 60 and FREYDANK 2016: 8.

75. For similar texts see JAKOB 2003: 183-189 and CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2013.

76. MARV 3, 63: 4', 5', 12'; POSTGATE 2013: 156 sub no. 68.

77. MARV 3, 63: 4'-12'.

The next step in Ušur-namkūr-šarri's career was his appointment as eponym (*līmu*) in the **14th year** of Tukultī-Ninurta I. In fact, Ušur-namkūr-šarri appears in the dates of a series of documents (see appendix). The function of the eponym was to give a name to the year.⁷⁸ Other than this honorific function, no more is known about specific power of this post in the administration. Nonetheless, the post was a very prestigious one, bearing in mind the fact that the first eponym of a given reign was the king himself. Furthermore, during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I at least two other members of the royal house other than the king acted as eponyms: the two sons of the king, Adad-bēl-gabbe in the fourth and Aššur-nādin-apli (the future king) in the seventh year. So, this appointment shows that Ušur-namkūr-šarri had acquired an important and highly-esteemed post in the administration of the kingdom.

It is surprising, that no title defining Ušur-namkūr-šarri's functions has surfaced until this 14th year, previous to his eponymate, which would allow us to identify his precise role in the administration (see the table below for the titles he bore). Only the envelope of a tablet from Atmannu (modern Tell Ali) sheds any light in this respect. The text refers to the transfer of ca. 275 kg of wool from three flock-masters of Atmannu, through a representative of the king to Ušur-namkūr-šarri, to provide clothing for the Nairian troops.⁷⁹ Ušur-namkūr-šarri bears the title "steward" (*masennu*, ^{LÚ}AGRIG) on the envelope of the document,⁸⁰ but no title on the tablet. The date of the text is damaged. The eponym's name is not preserved on the envelope, and is damaged on the tablet: [...]-ilāni.⁸¹ Two eponyms of Tukultī-Ninurta I's reign are possible for the reconstruction of this name: [Urad]-ilāni (**eighth year**) or [Aššur-bēl]-ilāni (**15th year**).

It is difficult to choose between these dates, for several reasons. On the one hand, the rest of eponyms from the texts from Atmannu belong to the reign of Shalmaneser I and the first seven years of Tukultī-Ninurta I. Moreover, the activity that Ušur-namkūr-šarri carries out described in the text, that of providing textiles for the palace, is also similar to the one we saw in the texts from his early career (see above, section 3). Both these details would support an early date for this document, i.e., the year of Urad-ilāni (eighth year). On the other hand, Ušur-namkūr-šarri bears the title steward (*masennu*) in this text, which is also his title in the documents from the 19th year of Tukultī-Ninurta I (see section 5), but not earlier (other than in the present text). Moreover, Nairian troops were working at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta during the 13th year (eponym Etel-pî-Aššur) and 16th year (Aššur-zēra-iddina).⁸² These two latter details would favor a date of the text in the second decade, the 15th year, i.e., eponym Aššur-bēl-ilāni. In any case, this is the earliest evidence so far of Ušur-namkūr-šarri bearing the title of steward, and of his possible presence at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. The question arises of whether these two circumstances went hand in hand.

78. See Saporetti 1979; Millard 1994; Freydank 1991; Dercksen 2004: 52-62; Postgate 2013: 53.

79. Iraq 30, 175, no. 24E and 24T.

80. Iraq 30, 175, 24E: 18.

81. Iraq 30, 175, 24T: 24.

82. MARV 1, 1 I 58 and MARV 1, 27: 10, 15, see the editions of Freydank 1974: 55-78 and Freydank 2014b: 47.

However, although he appears in the texts from the archive of the stewards (see section 3), Uşur-namkūr-şarri bore no title and we know that Nabû-bēla-uşur⁸³ was steward during the third (eponym Mušallim-Adad)⁸⁴ and fourth years (eponym Adad-bēl-gabbe)⁸⁵ of Tukultī-Ninurta I. This seems to rule out the possibility that Uşur-namkūr-şarri was a steward at the time.

To close this section, Uşur-namkūr-şarri is mentioned as an eponym following Etel-pî-Aššur (year 13) and preceding Aššur-bēl-ilāni (year 15) in a yield statement from two donkey herdsmen from Dūr-Katlimmu (modern Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad).⁸⁶

5. Zenith

The most important responsibilities of Uşur-namkūr-şarri's career came at the beginning of the second half of Tukultī-Ninurta I's reign. The table below shows his titulary during this period.

Table with Uşur-namkūr-şarri's titles during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I (TN) arranged chronologically

Title	Year	Text
steward (<i>masennu</i>)	[Urad]-ilāni or [Aššur-bēl]-ilāni, TN 8 or 15	Iraq 30, 175, 24E: 18
eponym (<i>līmu</i>)	Uşur-namkūr-şarri, TN 14	A 1578: 7, etc. (see appendix)
eunuch (<i>ša rēši</i>)	Abī-ilī son of Katiri, TN 19	
governor (<i>bēl pāḫete</i>)	Abī-ilī son of Katiri, TN 19	MDOG 131, 128: 1-2 (seal of MARV 1, 40)
eunuch of the king (<i>ša rēš šarre</i>),	Abī-ilī son of Katiri, TN 19	MARV 1, 40: 19
representative (<i>qēpu</i>)	Abī-ilī son of Katiri, TN 19	MARV 1, 40: 19; MARV 4, 36+: 10'
steward (<i>masennu</i>)	Abī-ilī son of Katiri, TN 19	MDOG 131, 128: 1 (seal of MARV 1, 40) MARV 4, 31: 21-22; MARV 4, 89 + 114: 17'-18'
governor of the land of the city Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (<i>šakin māṭ</i> <small>URU</small> <i>kar-GiŠ</i> <i>tukul-ti-</i> <small>d</small> NIN.URTA)	Salmānu-šuma-uşur, TN 20	MARV 8, 21: 10

83. Nabû-bēla-uşur was also the eponym of the 26th year of Shalmaneser I; SALAH 2014: 60.

84. JCS 40, 80: 7; WVDOG 146, 76: 4.

85. VAT 19549: 8; see transliteration of CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 1999: 92-93; the date of the tablet is published in FREYDANK 1991: 108.

86. BATSH 9, 53: 13, 39; the definition of the document-type is according to POSTGATE 2013: 306.

governor of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (<i>bēl pāḥete ša kar-m.GIŠtukul-ti-^dNIN.URTA</i>)		KAH 2, 56: 3 (= RIMA 1, A.0.78.29)
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Ušur-namkūr-šarri is now attested in texts from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. A delivery note recording a present (*rīmuttu*)⁸⁷ of ca. 2000 litres of barley made by the king to two palace ladies, dated during the sixth month of Tukultī-Ninurta's **19th year** (eponym Abī-ilī son of Katiri)⁸⁸ was sealed by Ušur-namkūr-šarri, who acted there as a “representative” (*qēpu*) of the king.⁸⁹ According to the legend of the seal, Ušur-namkūr-šarri was “steward” (*masennu*), as we already knew, but the text provides further information on his titulary. We learn for the first time that Ušur-namkūr-šarri was a “eunuch of the king” (*ša rēš šarre*) and “governor” (*bēl pāḥete*).⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the name of the city of which Ušur-namkūr-šarri was governor is destroyed. Fischer proposed a reconstruction of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, in the light of the titles present in later texts (see below).⁹¹

According to a fragmentary record of the distribution of barley to workers at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, Ušur-namkūr-šarri acted as representative (*qēpu*) during the tenth month of the same 19th year.⁹² According to another report of distribution of barley to different groups of workers, also at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, during the twelfth month of the same year, Ušur-namkūr-šarri was in charge of the construction crews in the lower palace of the city.⁹³ In another report of the same month, Ušur-namkūr-šarri, bearing the title of steward, appears giving the order to distribute barley to 210 women working at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta.⁹⁴

A further document may be added to this year, although its date is damaged. According to a work contract in the form of a loan from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, two goldsmiths received 1.7 kg of gold to check (*ana ašāre*) the doors, presumably, of temples. This gold was weighed before Ušur-namkūr-šarri, the steward.⁹⁵ The document can be assigned to this precise moment because Ušur-namkūr-šarri bears the title of steward and because the document probably comes from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, where, as we have seen above, Ušur-namkūr-šarri was posted at that time.

87. On this kind of present, see LLOP 2003.

88. The year number is according to FREYDANK 2016: 9; cf. SALAH 2014: 60, places this eponym in the 18th year of Tukultī-Ninurta I.

89. MARV 1, 40: 19. see JAKOB 2003: 275-276. The seal was published by FISCHER 1999: 128-131 and 2000: 309-313.

90. Title is partially restored, see FISCHER 1999: 128 and 2000: 310.

91. The reconstruction of the name Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta in the seal legend is accepted by CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2014: 299.

92. MARV 4, 36 + 80 rev. 10'.

93. MARV 2, 17+: 50, 112; he is attested several times on the fragmentary envelope of the same tablet, s. appendix; s. FREYDANK 2015: 92-93, 99, 103.

94. MARV 4, 31: 21; s. FREYDANK 2014b: 62-63.

95. MARV 4, 114 + MARV 8, 89: 17'-18'; s. edition of the text in LLOP 2018: 248-252.

Uşur-namkūr-şarri's titulary shows that his career reached its peak in the **20th year** (eponym Salmānu-šuma-uşur) of Tukultī-Ninurta I's reign. A sealed delivery note of barley states the following (MARV 8, 21):

obv.

1) 1 ANŠE ŠE-UM *i+na* ^{GIŠ}BÁN SUMUN

2) *i+na* UGU ^m[q]i-bi-^dIŠKUR

3) DUMU ^da-šur-ŠEŠ-SUM-na

4) 1 ANŠE ŠE-UM

5) *i+na* ^rUGU ^mit-tab-ši

6) DUMU ^dIŠKUR-KAM

7) ŠU.NÍGIN 2 ANŠE ŠE-UM

8) *i+na* ^{GIŠ}BÁN *ḫi-bur-ni*

9) *ša* ^mPAP-nam-kur-LUGAL

lower edge

10) *ša-kín* KUR ^{URU}kar-^G[^{IŠ}TUKUL-ti]-^dNIN.URTA

11) *ša* ŠU ^mSU-^da-š[ur]

12) DUMU *ta-n[a]*

rev.

13) ^rú[?] *ša* ŠU ^mḫa-am-sa-nu

14) ^rLÚ^rDUB.SAR

15) *qe-pu-te*

16) *a-na ši-pár pi-ir-ke*

17) *ša ḫu-ur-ḫu-ra-a-te*

18) ^rša^r *a-ri-a-te*

19) *ta-ad-na-áš-šu*

20) *ú-ša-ku-lu*

21) NÍG.ŠID^{MEŠ}-*šu i-ša-bat*

22) *ù* DUB^[MEŠ]-*šu-nu*

23) *i-ḫap-[pi]-ú*

upper edge

24) ^{ITI}d^rNIN-É^r.GAL-*lì*

25) [UD].10.KÁM *li-mu*

26) [^m]^dDI-*ma-nu*-MU-^rPAP^r

“One donkey-load of barley (ca. 100 litres) in the old seah-measure is owed by Qibi-Adad, son of Aššur-aḫa-iddina. One donkey-load of barley is owed by Ittabši, son of Adad-ēriš. Altogether two donkey-loads of barley in the seah-measure of the *ḫiburnu*(-house) belonging to Uşur-namkūr-şarri, the governor of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, in the charge of Erīb-Aššur, son of Tana, and in the charge of Ḫamsānu, the scribe,

the representatives, (the barley) is given to him for the work of the *pirku* of the red dye of the shields. They will consume (lit. make eat) (the barley). He will execute his accounts and they will break their tablets. Month Bēlat-ekalle (VII), 10th day, eponym Salmānu-šuma-ušur”.

This text confirms what the seal of Ušur-namkūr-šarri (above) stated, namely that he was governor. Furthermore, we now learn that he was in charge of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. This fact also indicates the equivalence of the titles *šakin māti* (in the present document) and *bēl pāḫete* (on the seal legend above), which both had the similar meaning of governor.⁹⁶ In addition, we can now assign to Ušur-namkūr-šarri the title of “governor” (*šakin māti*), without a personal name, which appears in other texts from the years 19 and 20. The same record of distribution of barley in the 19th year, seen above, which stated that Ušur-namkūr-šarri was in charge of workers at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, mentions the governor (*šakin māti*) without giving his name. According to this document, 37 sorcerers, 17 diviners and 40 scribes were in the charge of the governor.⁹⁷ There is also the reference to the governor (*šakin māti*) on the heavily damaged envelope of the same text.⁹⁸ Interestingly, the same record states in the following line that 22 scribes are at the disposition of the steward. This is not the only instance: a list of chiefs of workers (*rab šābē*) records a chief of scribes at the disposition of the governor (*šakin māti*) and another at the disposition of the steward (*masennu*), again in consecutive lines, in the eighth month of the 20th year.⁹⁹ This shows clearly that, although Ušur-namkūr-šarri bore both titles (steward and governor) the spheres of the steward and of the governor were kept apart, administratively speaking, at least as far as the staff were concerned.

Finally, Ušur-namkūr-šarri bears the title of governor (*bēl pāḫete*) of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta in an undated inscription found on a large potsherd from Assur.¹⁰⁰ Due to the presence of this title, it is possible now to state, thanks to the archival documentation seen in this section, that this inscription was composed during these central years of his career. The simple name of Ušur-namkūr-šarri, this time without accompanying titles, has been found written on other potsherds, probably from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. These inscriptions may also belong to this time.¹⁰¹

Ušur-namkūr-šarri is mentioned several times in a tabular land register from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta of the eighth or tenth month of the **20th year**.¹⁰² According to this record, Ušur-namkūr-šarri was in charge of more than a hundred hectares (the exact amount is missing) of land in the area of this city.

In conclusion, Ušur-namkūr-šarri’s titular, as presented in the documents of the beginning of the second part of Tukultī-Ninurta I’s reign, reveals an exponential increase in his responsibilities. While at

96. See already JAKOB 2003: 135-140. The title of *šakin māti* Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta should be now added there.

97. MARV 2, 17: 36; s. FREYDANK 2015: 92.

98. MARV 2, 17 fragment 1, 4 + MARV 9, 68: 10.

99. MARV 1, 5: 4-5; s. FREYDANK 2015: 119-123.

100. RIMA 1, A.0.78.29; FREYDANK 1976-1980: 456a.

101. FREYDANK *apud* BASTERT & DITTMANN 1995: 13 n. 9; GÖRG 1995: 14-15.

102. MARV 4, 173 x 2, xvi 1, 6, 16 (the date is partially broken, but the eponym in the date is possibly Salmānu-šuma-ušur; s. FREYDANK 2009: 29; POSTGATE 2013: 42-44.

the beginning and in the early stages of his career Uşur-namkūr-şarri was entrusted mainly with the reception of materials for the palace (e.g., felt and its products), in this second stage, his responsibilities shifted to management of grain, people, land and construction in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. To the responsibilities of a steward, Uşur-namkūr-şarri added the governorship of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, this meant that he was at the head of the flagship project of Tukultī-Ninurta I, the construction of the new administrative capital of the kingdom and the agricultural development of the area east of the Tigris.

6. *Twilight*

After the glimpses we obtain of Uşur-namkūr-şarri's activities in the early twenties of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, it is especially frustrating that the final part of his career is so badly documented. Indeed, a series of difficulties arise for the study of this period of his life. Firstly, the order of eponyms for the second part of Tukultī-Ninurta I's reign is still under discussion and unclear, which prevents us from establishing a chronological sequence for the rest of texts in which he is attested. Moreover, in many of these texts in which Uşur-namkūr-şarri is present the dates are damaged, which also prevents us from assigning them to a specific year. Nor do we know how long Uşur-namkūr-şarri was governor of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta; it is possible that his governorship went on until the end of Tukultī-Ninurta I's reign, but we cannot be sure. A governor of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta is attested during the year of **Bēr-işmanni**,¹⁰³ but the name is broken off; possibly this governor was Uşur-namkūr-şarri.¹⁰⁴

What is clear, if the present reconstruction of the order of the eponyms is correct, is that Uşur-namkūr-şarri did not keep the title of steward (*masennu*) for very long after year 20. In fact, he may have left the post during this same year (eponym Salmānu-şuma-uşur) and his colleague Da''ānī-bēl-Ekur may have been appointed to replace him.¹⁰⁵ In any case, Da''ānī-bēl-Ekur bears the title of steward in a heavily damaged text on the reception of silver and stones for the palace in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta,¹⁰⁶ which should be placed after the 20th year. During the eponymate of Bēr-işmanni, Nabû-bēla-uşur is attested with the title of steward (*masennu*) in a work-contract regarding the dyeing of three garments for the palace.¹⁰⁷ Given that the name Nabû-bēla-uşur is rare, there should be little doubt that this is the same steward as the one we find in the third and fourth years of Tukultī-Ninurta (see above, section 4).

Uşur-namkūr-şarri appears without a title in documents dated with eponyms that have been placed after year 20 of Tukultī-Ninurta, but whose specific sequence is uncertain at present. This means that we do not know the exact position of Uşur-namkūr-şarri in the administration during this period. He is cited in a heavily damaged list of quantities of grain related to settlements in the year of Kastiliaš,¹⁰⁸ and he is

103. MARV 4, 115: 12. SALAH 2014: 60, places the eponymate of Bēr-işmanni directly after the one of Salmānu-şuma-uşur.

104. This possibility is supported by FREYDANK (2009: 75).

105. MARV 2, 17 fragment 5, l.e. 2'; cf. FREYDANK 2015: 116 reads "ù" in this position instead. The sign is damaged.

106. MARV 4, 78: 26', 39'.

107. Ass. 2001.D-2219: 4; s. FRAHM 2002: 80.

108. MARV 8, 19: 21.

mentioned in an unpublished text from Assur of the same year;¹⁰⁹ a heavily damaged royal edict, issued during the year of Ninuāyu, states the following:

“Uşur-namkūr-şarri, because of his [...] everything [...] ...before him... In the exterior, in the interior, he will not ... [...] to the king. [...] difficulties should he tell to the king. If Uşur-namkūr-şarri has told [...] ... [...] in the interior [...] ... they will hit in the mouth of Uşur-namkūr-şarri”.¹¹⁰

It is difficult to extract any reliable information from this record because of its fragmentary state. Jakob believes that it shows that Uşur-namkūr-şarri had direct access to the king.¹¹¹ On the other hand, Freydank takes this fragment as proof that Uşur-namkūr-şarri was obliged to report any difficulties outside and inside (the palace) to the king.¹¹²

7. Further documents

Uşur-namkūr-şarri is attested in a series of texts whose dates have completely broken away, making impossible to place them inside Tukultī-Ninurta’s reign. Here, I propose a hypothetical succession of these documents based mostly on their contents.

Uşur-namkūr-şarri’s name appears in a heavily damaged list of textiles which seems related to military units.¹¹³ This text should possibly be assigned to his early career.

The heavily damaged tablets found during the German excavations at Assur (Qal’at Şerqat) in September and October 2001,¹¹⁴ may also be related to the first part of Uşur-namkūr-şarri’s career, when he acted as a steward. Uşur-namkūr-şarri is mentioned in three of these records, with the common matter of the reception of metals for the palace. He receives rings (*kippātu*) and rods (*urāku*) of bronze,¹¹⁵ and collects an important amount (66 talents, ca. 1980 kg) of a metal or alloy (*şipputu*) for the palace;¹¹⁶ a third tablet seems to mention Uşur-namkūr-şarri and the palace, but it is too heavily damaged to extract more information.¹¹⁷ According to Reculeau, another tablet from Assur, from the German excavations of

109. VAT 19543 rev. 4'; s. FREYDANK 1991: 45, n. 113.

110. MARV 1, 17: 7-16; see the previous editions of JAKOB 2003: 88 and FREYDANK 2009: 73.

111. JAKOB 2003: 88.

112. FREYDANK 2009: 73.

113. MAH 16086 B ii 8'; s. POSTGATE 1979: 3-7; cf. POSTGATE (2001: 376-77) translates MAH 16086 A ii 5-6 as follows: “4 *lippu* garments (and) 6 ‘houses’, with coloured trim, which are in accordance with the writing board of Uşur-namkūr-şarri, cohort (? *gildu*) which is with Aşşur-tukulti-kēni”. This would mean that the personal name Uşur-ša-şarri, as Postgate read the name in this line originally, and Freydank and Saporetti gathered in NAOMA 139, should be corrected to Uşur-namkūr-şarri.

114. See MIGLUS 2002.

115. Ass. 2001.D-1373: 16; s. FRAHM 2002: 65.

116. Ass. 2001.D-1960: 8; s. FRAHM 2002: 73. For *şipputu* see CAD Ş 302 sub *şipputu* C, “(a metal or alloy)”.

117. Ass. 2001.D-1374: 6'; s. FRAHM 2002: 65-66.

this city by Andrae in the early twentieth century, mentioned Uşur-namkūr-şarri;¹¹⁸ however, after a collation of the tablet, Freydank corrected the reading of the personal name to Uşur-ša-pî-şarri.¹¹⁹

A group of texts probably belongs to Uşur-namkūr-şarri's time in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (s. above section 5). Seven hundred and forty-four soldiers are under the charge (*pittu*) of Uşur-namkūr-şarri, according to a delivery of barley to feed them.¹²⁰ These troops had participated in a campaign against Suhu and were now part of the garrison stationed at Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, working in the construction of the temple-tower and the palace in this city at the time of recording. Uşur-namkūr-şarri is also named in a fragment in which "technicians" (sing. *šalimpāyu*) and Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta are also mentioned,¹²¹ in a text reporting crop yields,¹²² and in a further text fragment listed with other important persons in the administration and cities of the kingdom, such as Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta.¹²³

Finally, Uşur-namkūr-şarri is the author of a letter on barley, but the contents are heavily damaged and barely four lines are preserved.¹²⁴ Another fragment of tablet shows Uşur-namkūr-şarri among other damaged personal names.¹²⁵

8. Conclusion

Without doubt, Uşur-namkūr-şarri was one of the most important figures during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I. His prominence bears witness to the king's policy of promoting eunuchs in key places of the administration during a crucial period of Assyrian history.

Uşur-namkūr-şarri began his career working in the office of the stewards, receiving felt and metals or metal products for the palace. He was involved in the administration of justice. He was appointed eponym in year 14 of Tukultī-Ninurta I and became steward around this period. From the evidence, it is not clear which appointment came first; this is matter for further research. Finally, around year 19, we have evidence of his appointment as governor of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, where he was involved in the administration of grain, people and building work, and in the agricultural development of the area around the city.

It is unclear how long he was governor of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, but there is evidence that he was no longer the steward after year 20 or shortly afterwards. Unfortunately, we do not know when, or how, the career of Uşur-namkūr-şarri came to an end.

118. WVDOG 130, 45: 6".

119. FREYDANK 2014a: 30.

120. MARV 4, 27: 20; s. FREYDANK 2011: 360-364.

121. MARV 4, 54: 3'.

122. MARV 4, 127: 5, 20; s. FREYDANK 2009: 43-48.

123. MARV 4, 143: 8', r. 8'; s. FREYDANK 1991: 62 n.159.

124. MARV 8, 45: 3'.

125. MARV 9, 47 r. 5'.

9. Appendix: table of attestations

Attestation	Title	Text	Bibliography
^m PAP-n[am-kur-LUGAL/MAN]	<i>līmu</i>	A 1578: 6	DONBAZ 1997: 107; AMA U 97
<i>Ú-šur-nam-kur-šarri</i>	<i>līmu</i>	A 1726	OMA I, 511
^m PAP-n[am-kur-LUGAL/MAN]	<i>līmu</i>	A 3218: 3'	DONBAZ 1998:186; AMA U 97 and 104
^m PAP-NÍG-LUGAL	-	Ass. 2001.D-1373: 16	FRAHM 2002: 65
[^m PAP-n]am ² -kur-LU[GAL]	-	Ass. 2001.D-1374: 6'	FRAHM 2002: 65
^m PAP-na]m-kur-LUGAL	-	Ass. 2001.D-1960: 8	FRAHM 2002: 73
^m PAP-nam-kur-LUGAL	<i>līmu</i>	BASTH 9, 53: 13	
^m ú-šur-nam-kur-LUGAL	<i>līmu</i>	BASTH 9, 53: 39	
^m ú-šur-nam-kur-LUGAL	<i>līmu</i>	BASTH 9, 79: 13	
^m PAP-nam-kur-LUGAL	<i>līmu</i>	BASTH 9, 79: 26	
^m PAP-nam-kur-LUGAL	<i>līmu</i>	BATSH 18, 57: 8	
[^m PAP]-nam-[kur-LUGAL]	<i>līmu</i>	Chuēra 39: 11	
^m PAP-nam-kur-LUGAL	-	DeZ 2527: 16	SALAH 2019: 374
^m PAP-nam-kur-LUGAL	^{LÚ} AGRIG	Iraq 70, 175, 24E: 14, 18; 24T: 16, 20	
^m PAP-NÍG.GA-MAN	<i>bēl pāḫete ša kar-m.GIŠ tukul-ti-^dNIN.URTA</i>	KAH 2, 56: 3	RIMA 1, A.0.78.29
PAP-NÍG.[GA-MAN [?]]	-	KTN 89/41	BASTERT & DITTMANN 1995: 13 n. 9
^m PAP-nam-kur-LUG[AL]	-	MAH 16086 B ii 8'	POSTGATE 1979: 95-97
^m rPAP-nam [?] -kur-LUGAL	-	MARV 1, 17: 7, 10, 15	

^m PAP-NÍG.[GA]-MAN	AGRIG, <i>šá</i> SAG	MARV 1, 40 sealing	FISCHER 1999: 129; FISCHER 2000: 310
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	<i>ša</i> SAG LUGAL, <i>qēpu</i>	MARV 1, 40: 18	
^m PAP- <i>nam</i> -[<i>kur</i> -LUGAL]	-	MARV 2, 17 Fragm. 2, l.e. 6	
^m]PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 2, 17 Fragm. 6: 2', 12' (+ MARV 4, 168)	
[^m PAP]- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 2, 17: 50, 112	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 3, 7: 11	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 3, 53: 7	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 3, 59: 10	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 3, 63: 4', 5', 12'	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 4, 27: 20	FREYDANK 1991: 62, n. 158
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	^{LU} AGRIG	MARV 4, 31: 21	FREYDANK 2014: 62-63 (no. 3)
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	<i>qēpu</i>	MARV 4, 36 + 80: 10'	
^m PAP]- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 4, 54: 3'	
^m PAP- <i>na</i> [<i>m</i>]- <i>kur</i> -LUGAL	<i>līmu</i>	MARV 4, 74: 52	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	^{LU} AGRIG	MARV 4, 114 + MARV 8, 89: 17'	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 4, 127: 5, 20	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 4, 143 obv. 8', rev. 8'	FREYDANK 1991: 62, n. 159
^m PAP- <i>nam-k</i>]ur-LUGAL	-	MARV 4, 167: 2'	
^m PAP-NÍG-MAN	-	MARV 4, 173 X 2	

^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	MARV 4, 173 XVI 1, 5, 16	
[^m PAP [?]]- <i>nam-kur</i> [-LUGAL]	-	MARV 8, 19: 21	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	<i>ša-kín</i> KUR URU <i>kar-</i> GIŠ <i>tukul-ti-</i> dNIN.URTA	MARV 8, 21: 9	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -L[UGAL]	-	MARV 8, 45: 3'	
^m PAP- <i>nam-ku</i> [r-LUGAL]	-	MARV 9, 47 rev. 5'	
PA]P-NÍG-MAN	-	Private collection	GÖRG 1995: 14-15
^m ú- <i>š</i>]ur- <i>nam-kur</i> ¹ -LUGAL	[<i>līmu</i>]	TR 2031: 18	SAGGS 1968: pl. 47
- <i>n</i>]am- <i>kur</i> -LUGAL	[<i>līmu</i>]	TR 2043: 3'	POSTGATE 1974: 72; NAOMA 139
PAP-NÍG-MAN	-	VA Ass. 4475 and 4476	JAKOB-ROST 1991: 58-59 and 61, nos. 27 and 28
^m PAP- <i>nam</i> [- <i>kur</i> - LUGAL/MAN]	-	VAT 19543 rev. 4'	FREYDANK 1991: 45, n. 113
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL	-	WVDOG 146, 57: 8, 12	
^m PAP- <i>nam-kur</i> -LUGAL- <i>ma</i>	-	ZA 73, 80: 3	

10. Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this paper are glossed in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.

A = Assur Collection, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, museum number.

AHw. = von Soden 1959-1981.

AMA = Saporetti & Mattini, 2017.

AMA Suppl. = Saporetti, 2020.

Ass. = Assur, excavation number. Frahm, 2002.

BATSH 9 = Röllig, 2008; 18 = Salah, 2014.

CAD = Oppenheim; Reiner, *et al.* 1956-2010.

Chuēra = Jakob, 2009.

DeZ = Dēr ez-Zōr, museum number.

Iraq 130 = Ismail & Postgate, 2008.

JCS 40 = Donbaz, 1988.

KAH 2 = SCHROEDER 1922.
 KAJ = EBELING 1927.
 KTN = Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, excavation number. BASTERT & DITTMANN 1995.
 MAH = Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, museum number. POSTGATE 1979.
 MARV 1 = FREYDANK 1976; 2 = FREYDANK 1982; 3 = FREYDANK 1994; 4 = FREYDANK & FISCHER 2001; 8 = FREYDANK & FELLER 2007; 9 = FREYDANK & FELLER 2010.
 MDOG 131 = FISCHER 1999.
 NAOMA = FREYDANK & SAPORETTI 1979.
 OMA = SAPORETTI 1970.
 RIMA 1 = GRAYSON 1987.
 TR = Excavation number: Tell ar-Rimah. SAGGS 1968.
 VAT = Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafeln, museum number, Berlin.
 WVDOG 130 = RECULEAU & FELLER 2012; 146 = DONBAZ 2016.

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