

Assyrian eponyms, 873-649 BC

(TAB. XI)

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A. Millard, SAAS 2, with contributions from R. M. Whiting, greatly facilitates use of the Neo-Assyrian eponym-lists, previously accessible in the edition by A. Ungnad, *RLA* 2: 412-457, with collations by J. A. Brinkman, *NABU* 1989/71. The following notes supplement and slightly amend our more general paper on this theme in *Iraq* 57 (1995) 167-172, and do not repeat references already provided by Millard. His classification of the sources as A1-9 and B1-10 is used. Millard (SAAS 2: 20) remarks that B1 and B4 may be part of one tablet, but this does not appear possible. On the other hand it is virtually certain that B6 and B7 are parts of one tablet. It should be noted that the copies in SAAS 2: pls 1-20 do not all accurately reflect the shape of the tablets.

In addition DT 142 is largely but not entirely illegible (cf. SAAS 2: 21). It is the upper left-hand corner of what appears to have been a two-column list of type B, and is therefore classified here as B11. The left-hand column appears to have contained about 14 lines, and one of them ends with the word [LU]GAL obtruding into column ii. The word *lim-mu* or part of it is visible five times on the left side of column ii, presumably at the beginning of five separate entries. On the reverse is a virtually illegible text of at least 6 lines, resembling in spacing some of the longer colophons on Aššurbanipal library texts.

We classify a further fragment as B12 (see appendix).

873. Nergal-āpil-kūmūa is listed in SAAS 2: 56 as governor of Kalḫu. As noted by K. Deller and A. R. Millard (*BaM* 24 [1993] 226-8), he was *rab ekalli ša muḫḫi āli ša kalḫi*, apparently in charge of the building work, but not *šaknu*, governor.

849. The eponym is known from *sikkatu* inscriptions as governor of Na'iri. The traces of his title on B5 (82-5-22, 526), line 11, given in SAAS 2: 28 as *ša āl []-ša-pa*, could on collation be read *ša ša URU 'na-'i'-[r]i* (Fig. 1). The city determinative is not otherwise applied to the land of Na'iri, but eponym-lists B1 and probably B2 apply it comparably to the land of Māzāmua, while it seems that Pilištu could also be preceded by URU as well as KUR (see below, 669).



Fig. 1. B5 (82-5-22, 526), line 11 (detail)

842-836. The names of the provinces governed by the eponyms for 839, 838, and 837 are given on B4 as *[aḫi-nārzu]-u-ḫi-na*, *[r]a-šap-pa*, and *[aḫi-]nārzu-ḫi-na*.

respectively. The entry for 838 is wrong, since Ninurta-kibsi-ušur, eponym of 838, is described on Aššur stela 47 (W. Andrae, *Die Stelenreihe in Assur* 53-4) not as governor of Rašappa, just west of Assyria proper, but as governor of the completely different region of Na'iri, on the upper Tigris. It is also suspicious that the eponyms of both 839 and 837 are described as governors of Aḫizuḫina. A probable explanation is dittography. On this tablet the second and third columns containing province names and "chronicle" entries were clearly written as separate operations, and presumably so was the lost left-hand column containing the eponyms' names. What appears to have happened is that the scribe, on reaching the province of the 838 eponym in the second column, erroneously repeated the province of the 840 eponym. The province of the latter is largely lost, but part of the last sign is preserved on B4, consisting of a horizontal wedge crossed by the tail of a vertical, arranged just as in the PA at the end of Rašappa two lines later. No other major province seems to end in a sign resembling this. We submit that the eponym of 840 was also listed as governor of Rašappa, and that B4 gave Rašappa (840), Aḫizuḫina (839), Rašappa (838), Aḫizuḫina (837). If so, not only the 838 entry but also the 837 entry would be wrong, and the correct province of the 837 eponym remains unknown. The scribe must have checked before going on to write the name of the 836 province; otherwise he would have given Na'iri as the 836 province, but he actually wrote Raqmat, which is presumably correct. He either failed to notice, or failed to correct, the two erroneous entries. When he came to write the third column with the "chronicle" entries, he did so without apparent error.

A possible cause of the dittography would be that the province of Adad-rēmānni, the 841 eponym preceding the 840 governor of Rašappa, ended like Aḫizuḫina in the sign NA, i.e. that he was probably governor of Aḫizuḫina, Gūzāna, Isana, Našibina, or Tamnunna. Gūzāna or Tamnunna seems most likely, since governors of the other three are certainly or almost certainly attested as eponyms during 839-830. The only known governor of Gūzāna in this general period, however, was not Adad-rēmānni but Adad-It'i or Adad-rēšū'a (A. Abou-Assaf et al., *La Statue de Tell Fekherye* [Paris 1982] 18-19).

The original eponym-list for 842-836 may therefore have read as follows:

842	Taklāk-ana-šarri	governor of Nēmed-Ištar
841	Adad-rēmānni	governor of [Gūzāna??]
840	Šamaš-abūa	governor of Rašappa
839	Šulmu-bēli-lāmur	governor of Aḫizuḫina
838	Ninurta-kibsi-ušur	governor of Na'iri
837	Ninurta-ilāya	governor of [.....]
836	Qurdi-Aššur	governor of Raqmat

The presence of Nēmed-Ištar and Rašappa so close together on the list suggests that at this time they were still separate provinces.

831. The first eponymate of Šarru-ḫattu-ipēl, when the Assyrians campaigned against Que (Cilicia). Note Reade's idea (*ZA* 68 [1978] 259-260) that the annotation in B4, *ilu rabū issu āl deri ittalka*, is misplaced, and should really belong with Šarru-ḫattu-ipēl's second eponymate in 815, as a reference to the capture of Der and the removal of its gods by Šamši-Adad V in his "fifth" campaign, which was directed against Babylonia. The reconciliation of this king's "annals" with details given in the eponym-lists remains problematic.

826. This eponym, Dayān-Aššur, is well known as *turtānu*. The last sign of his title is partly preserved on B4; it is the tail of a horizontal, i.e. [-n]u.

825-820. The eponyms were respectively *rab šāqē*, *turtānu*, *nāgir ekalli*, king, *turtānu* and *nāgir ekalli*, see *Iraq* 57 (1995) 168.

820. The "chronicle" entry on B4 is given in SAAS 2: 31 as [x-ri-is. Since this year saw the end of the "rebellion" noted for the previous years, and indeed for 820 itself on B10, we restore [si-ḫu-um d]a-ri-is, "the rebellion was suppressed". For copy, see Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978) 259, Fig. 3.

819-817. The reconstruction including a *šakin māti* tentatively proposed by us for 819-817 in *Iraq* 57 (1995) 169 carries no weight, because Aššur stela 41 shows that the eponym of 831 and 815 was not only governor of Našībina but also, in at least one of these years, probably 815 because of the political situation after the civil war, *šakin māti* as well. Moreover there is new information on B12, as follows.

819. Ninurta-ubla's title is entirely lost on B12, but the spacing on the tablet is compatible with him having been named as governor of a city.

818. Šamaš-ilāya was governor of a city, but its name is virtually lost.

817. Nergal-ilāya was governor of a city. It could have been Isana as he had probably been governor there in 830 (before reappearing as *turtānu* in 808); Isana had been one of the few major home provinces which did not participate in the opposition to Šamši-Adad V.

815-4. See above, 831. If the god left Der in 815, in accordance with Reade's emendation of B4, then it is reasonable that he returned in 814, as stated in the annotation on B1. B10 has only one of these events, the god's return to Der. It appears in line 29, which is assigned to 814 in SAAS 2: 32; effectively this must be correct, but it masks an emendation in the order, since the line is actually written between the eponyms of 815 and 814, as if it refers to the former year rather than the latter.

787-5. Three eponyms are attested in several eponym-lists: Šil-Ištar, governor of Arbailu (also attested in a text dated 4.iv) for 787; Nabû-šarru-ušur governor of Talmusi for 786; and Adad-uballiṭ, governor of Tamnunna for 785. One list, A3, adds Balaṭu between Šil-Ištar and Nabû-šarru-ušur. Balaṭu is also attested in a royal grant (SAA 12: 14, no. 11: [...-l]a-tu [šakin u]RU ši-ba-ni-ba). This raises the possibility that, after the death or disgrace of an eponym, a replacement could be appointed even after a year had commenced (see below, 748, 718, and in the following paper 628). Šil-Ištar is described in the Sultantepe text B10 as governor not of Arbailu but of *še? bi? šu*, whatever that may represent. Could Balaṭu have been substituted as second eponym in 787? It may be relevant that Neo-Assyrian governors of Šibaniba do not otherwise hold the title of eponym; so we might expect any eponym who was governor of this town to be a substitute.

E. Forrer (*MVAG* 20/3 [1915] 7-9) suggested that Balaṭu was originally intended to be eponym in 786, but was replaced by Nabû-šarru-ušur. Alternatively Balaṭu could have been substituted as second eponym rather than first, but if his name is misplaced on the list. The latter is not easily compatible with Parpola's very tentative proposal (*AOAT* 5/2: xxvii, referring to *Iraq* 15 [1953] pl. IX ND 3484 rev. 9-10), made for entirely independent reasons, that the date-formula *ša ur-ki* ndNabû-šarru-ušur was applied to the following year 785; this involves a bold emendation of a tablet, in the Iraq Museum, for which no collation is available.

Our own proposal in *Iraq* 57 [1995] 170-1, to identify Balaṭu with Adad-uḫallit, governor of Tamnunna, eponym of 785, is not easily compatible with K. Deller's observation (*NABU* 1990/66) that Tamnunna appears to lie north-west of Nineveh; Šibaniba was further east, so the two provinces cannot have been contiguous.

773. The name of the city of which this eponym was governor has been read by H. F. Russell on B10 as *Ra-qa?-ma?-tu* (citation from J. N. Postgate, in M. Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian Geography* 10). This offers support long needed for reading the name of this province, normally transliterated Raq-mat.

768. Aššur stela 34 of Aplāya, eponym of 768 (W. Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* 46, Abb. 60), has been thought to read *ša-kin KUR Za-mu-u-a URU a-me-di URU aššur*, "governor of (Mā)zamua, Amedi, and Aššur". This would indicate an extraordinary range of responsibilities, since Māzamua was in north-eastern Iraq (the Suleimaniye region) and Amedi in south-eastern Turkey (Diyarbakir). The text is abraded, however, and the second name may better be read *URU a-'rak'-di*. Aššurnāṣirpal II (*RIMA* 2: 207-8) captured Arakdi, one of the main towns in Māzamua, and founded Dūr-Aššur further east in the same province. So one might have expected Dūr-Aššur in the last line. There is a wide space between *URU* and *Aššur*. It hardly seems sufficient to accommodate *Dūr*, if written in the normal way as BÀD, but this sign is written in a markedly compressed manner on stela 44 (Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* 52, Abb. 77). Aššur stela 34 is not in Berlin and has not been collated.

763. B1 and B2 mention an eclipse of the sun in month iii. We are indebted to Professor F. R. Stephenson for confirmation that this event, which is the lynchpin of our chronologies, took place on 15 June, shortly after 11.00 a.m., with a magnitude of 94% at Aššur and 97% at Nineveh.

748. The *šakin libbi āli* was due to be eponym this year; he was duly Adad-bēlu-ka'in, attested from month iv. There is another eponym, Paqaḫa *šakin libbi āli*, only attested on a Kalḫu contract dated 22/i. Whiting (*SAAS* 2: 78) suggested that Paqaḫa was an eponym who died soon after taking office; this is what had apparently happened in 787. K. Deller and A. Fadhil (*BaM* 24 [1993] 266, no. 7) observed that, because of another attestation of the name of the first witness, Paqaḫa should be dated near 744 BC. So he may have been the original eponym in 748. The political crisis at the beginning of 745, when Kalḫu was probably still in rebellion, provides an alternative but much less likely explanation for his brief appearance; the first month of 745 is still vacant, as a text which is ascribed to l.i.745 in *SAAS* 2: 103 apparently belongs to l.i.732 (S. M. Dalley and J. N. Postgate, *CTN* 3: 22).

739. *SAAS* 2: 59, renders *URU bir-tu* simply as "citadel", but note that this word functions in its own right as a place-name in the Ulluba region (*S. Parpola, AOAT* 6: 74).

734-3. There is no line drawn between these years on B1 (despite *SAAS* 2: 19, and pl. 12).

723. It is remarkable that Shalmaneser V broke precedent in not becoming, as previous kings had done, eponym in his second regnal year, 725. One possible explanation, proposed by us in *Iraq* 57 (1995) 167, is that he was then abroad campaigning in the west. Another is that the *limmu* ceremony at Aššur was due at the same time as the New Year inauguration of the king at Babylon, and that in 725 and 724 it appeared more politically expedient to participate in the Babylon ceremony. In the event, of course, Shalmaneser lost his throne in 722.

722. This eponym comes immediately after the king, and one would expect him to be *turtānu*, the official who had followed the king as eponym in every other reign since that of Shalmaneser III. The last sign of his title is partly preserved on B3, and contains two vertical wedges. This is compatible with a reading [*tur-ta*]_n, though there are of course other possibilities.

721. Collation confirms Millard's copy of B4 (Rm 2, 97, r. 1). Note H. Tadmor's proposed restoration (*JCS* 12 [1958] 85): [*ana KUR Ħat-i*].

720. Note E. Forrer's proposal (*MVAG* 20/3 [1915] 17) on B4 (Rm 2, 97, r. 2): [*uššu ša bīt ilu kar*]-ru, i.e. foundation or renewal of a temple.

719. Note Forrer's proposal (*ibid.*) on B4 (Rm 2, 97, r. 3): [*ilu ... ana bītu eššu e*]-ta-rab, i.e. completion of the temple.

718. Since the king had been eponym in 719, one would have expected the *turtanu* as eponym in 718. Three eponym-lists, however, and texts dated by months v and vii, identify the eponym as Zēru-ibni, who was governor of Rašappa. One small eponym-list, A5 (82-5-22, 121) obv. col ii, line 5, has a name beginning Aššur-KUR- instead of Zēru-ibni (Fig. 2). Again the natural deduction is that the original eponym of 718 died or was removed from office (Ungnad, *RLA* 2: 416). Perhaps Aššur-KUR- was *turtānu*. The reading could just, with massive emendation, be "Aš-šur-māt-ka¹-GUR!!-ra; a man of this name was a senior official appearing in royal letters of the period (H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq* 18 [1956] 41-3).



Fig. 2. A5 (82-5-22, 121), obv. col. ii, line 5 (detail)

704. B6 (K 4446), rev. line 15, may read GAL.MEŠ *ina* UGU 'DUMU É.GAL-lum *qer*⁷¹-x[....], referring to some political problem within Assyria (Fig. 3).

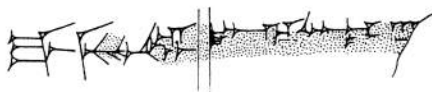


Fig. 3. B6 (K 4446), rev., line 15 (detail)

701. The fragmentary chronicle entry for 701 on B7 (K 10017), line 2', is given by Millard as *issu KUR ħal-zi ħi x*. The sign that has been read as *ħi* since George Smith is apparently *a*. We suggest *a-lal*-[*lum*], albeit without any determinative, as a reference to a source of materials for Sennacherib's palace (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. B7 (K 10017), line 2' (detail)

700. The first three signs of B7 (K 10017), line 9, look rather like *hu-us-ri*, and at this point one might have expected a reference to Sennacherib's canalization of the Khosr, but there is no space for a preceding determinative.

693. Iddin-aḥḥē on the eponym-list A9 (VA 8249, iii 4), though possibly identical with the Iddin-aḥḥē who was eponym and governor of Šimīra in 688, was not governor of [Ši-mi]r-r[a] in 693. Collation by J. Marzahn indicates that the published copy is correct, except that there is less of a gap between the two verticals at the beginning (¹MIN¹) and the sign KU. If there was indeed no intervening sign, then we may have *Dūr-ru*. The Assyrian province in Palestine is normally written *Du-u'-ru*, but there is a reference to a group of women ^{mi}*du-ru-a-a-te* (SAA 7: 24) who may derive from this place. It is uncertain that any place-name, let alone *Dūr-Šarrukīn*, is represented by traces in the line after Iddin-aḥḥē's name on the contract Bu 91-5-9, 59; these traces, which had been left uncopied by S. Parpola in *Assur* 2/5 (1979) 42, were read as [URU].BĀD-[UGAL-GIN] by T. Kwasman in *NALK* 43, no. 30, and as [URU.BĀD-LUGA]L'-[u'-k[in']] by Kwasman and Parpola in SAA 6: 96, with the latter repeated in SAAS 2: 95.

687-686. The odd appearance of Sennacherib and the *turtānu* as eponyms at this point in the reign could relate to the developments in the Aššur cult which followed the capture of Babylon in 689.

677. The eponym, with the title *sukkallu dannu*, seems to have been, at least nominally, governor of Ḥanigalbat (*Ḥal-lī-gal-bat*: R. Borger *AfOBh* 9: 67), hardly a real Neo-Assyrian province but an area once assigned to the Middle Assyrian *sukkallu rabū* (W. Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* 85, no. 129 and probably 61, no. 63).

672. The eponym is apparently governor of *Dūr-Šarruku* in northern Babylonia (also *Dur-Šarrukīn*, located near Opis, Ctesiphon and the Diyala, according to J. A. Black, *Northern Akkad Project Reports* 1 (1987) 19, and identified with *Sippar-Aruru*, see Parpola, *AOAT* 5/2: 299f. and A. R. George, *House Most High: the Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* p. 83, no. 269, and p. 145, no. 1042) rather than *Dūr-Šarrukīn* in Assyria. The form *dūr šarru-uk-ka* appears in several texts cited in SAAS 2, although K 13015, 3'.5' (= SAA 6 282) does have *dūr-šarru-kēn₂*. *Dūr-Šarruku* seems *difficilior*, hence *melior*.

669. The eponym is surely governor of *As-du-[du]*, misprinted as *Asdi[...]* in SAAS 2: 61. But on K388 the first sign of the city-name begins with a Winkelhaken. One might suggest *P[i-liš-ta]*; this is normally preceded by KUR but by URU in SAA 11: 1 (cf. above, 849).

666. The title *šakin bīti ešši* refers to Sennacherib's new South-West Palace at Nineveh.

664. The eponym is governor of *dūr-šarru₂-k[ēn₂]* on 80-7-19, 83, r. 10, and is cited as governor of "Dūr-Šarrukīn" on ND 2329 (*Iraq* 16: 43). In view of the 672 situation, and in the absence of other governors of Assyrian towns as eponyms in this immediate period, there must be some uncertainty whether *Dūr-Šarruku* may not be meant. The same must apply to *Kanūnāya*, a "post-canonical" eponym entitled governor of *dūr-šarru₂-ken₂*; according to the following paper, he held office in 627, when the Assyrians still controlled much of Babylonia.

POSTSCRIPT. Further suggestions on the years 723 and 718 are offered by S. Zawadzki, in: S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting, *Assyria 1995* (Helsinki 1997) 386-7.

81/2
693
Iddin

Appendix

B12 is a small flake, 4.8 cm wide, 4.3 high and 2.0 thick, from the middle of a tablet. The clay has a high chaff content, and it seems unlikely that the tablet came from Nineveh. It has been baked in modern times. It was acquired many years ago for a European private collection, and is published here by permission of the owner (Fig. 5, Pl. XI). The text is transliterated below, in order to facilitate comparison with SAAS 2, according to Millard's system.

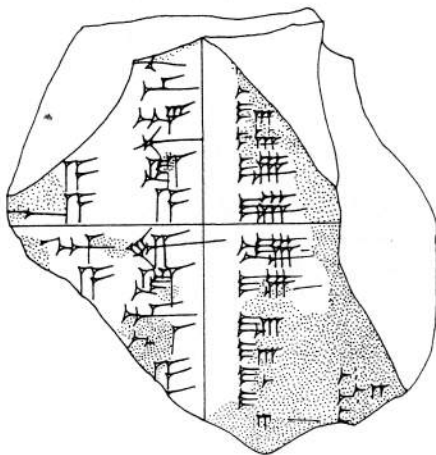


Fig. 5. Eponym-list B12: copy

828	1'.	[^m ilu-mukīn ₂]-[^r aḫi ₂]	[.....]
827	2'.	[^m šul-ma-nu]-ašarēd ₃	š[^{ar} mā ^a š+šur ^{K1}]
826	3'.	[^m dayān]-aš+šur	amēl[tur-ta-nu]
825	4'.	[^m aš+šur-būnāya]-uṣur ₂	amēl[rab šāqē]
824	5'.	[^m ia-ḫa]-a-lu	amēl[tur-ta-nu]
823	6'.	[^m bē]l-[^r būna ¹]-a-a	amēl[nāgir ekalli]
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822	7'.	[^m šam-š]i- ^d adad	šār [^m aš+šur ^{K1}]
821	8'.	[^m ia-ḫa]-a-lu	amēl[tur-ta-nu]
820	9'.	[^m bēl-dān] ^{an}	^r amēl[nāgir ekalli]
819	10'.	[^m ninurta ₂ -ub]-[^r la ¹]	amēl[.....]
818	11'.	[^m šamaš-ila-a]-a	am[^{el} šakin] ^d [lu....]
817	12'.	[^m nergal ₄ -ila-a]-[^r a ¹]	am[^{el} šakin] ^d lu[....]
816	13'.	[^m aš+šur-būnāya]-uṣur ₂	amēl[rab šāqē]

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