

Tamás Dezső

THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ARMY

1. INFANTRY



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To the Memory of
P.R.S. Moorey
teacher, colleague, friend



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Tamás Dezső

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I.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ARMY

as Reconstructed from the Assyrian Palace Reliefs
and Cuneiform Sources

1. Infantry



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	13
INFANTRY	23
LIGHT INFANTRY	25
AUXILIARY ARCHERS	25
The representations (1–31)	25
Cuneiform sources	32
(1) <i>Itu'a</i>	32
(2) <i>Ruqaḥu</i>	37
(3) <i>Ḥallatu</i>	37
(4) <i>Iādaqu</i> and <i>Riḥiqu</i>	37
(5) <i>Rubu'u</i> and <i>Litāmu</i> (<i>Lita'u</i>)	38
AUXILIARY SPEARMEN	38
The representations (32–60)	40
(1) <i>Combing operations</i>	40
(2) <i>Battle scenes</i>	40
(3) <i>Marching scenes</i>	41
(4) <i>Siege scenes</i>	43
(5) <i>Guard scene 1: Siege wall scenes</i>	44
(6) <i>Guard scene 2: Stone quarry and escort scenes</i>	44
(7) <i>Escorting captives and carrying booty</i>	44
(8) <i>Parade scenes</i>	45
(9) <i>Other contexts</i>	46
Cuneiform sources	49
AUXILIARY SLINGERS	51
AUXILIARY TROOPS OF VASSALS	51
REGULAR INFANTRY	53
The early history of Assyrian regular infantry (883–745 B.C.)	53
The representations (61–70)	53
Cuneiform sources	56
(1) <i>Zūku</i> ('infantry')	57
(2) <i>Ummānu</i> ('army,' 'troops')	57
(3) <i>Gunu</i> ('horde')	58
(4) <i>Ašarēdu</i> (' <i>crack troop</i> '?)	58
(5) <i>Qurādu</i> ('warrior,' 'hero')	59
(6) <i>Mundaḥṣu</i> ('combat troop,' 'fighting men,' 'warrior')	59
(7) <i>Muqtablu</i> ('fighter,' 'man-at-arms')	60
(8) <i>Tidūku</i> ('warrior')	60
(9) <i>Kallāpu</i> ('light troops')	60

Regular infantry of the imperial period (745–612 B.C.) (71–89)	61
REGULAR INFANTRYMEN	61
The representations (73, 75, 78–82)	61
Cuneiform sources	64
Terms denoting infantrymen.....	64
(1) <i>Qurādu</i> ('warrior,' 'hero')	64
(2) <i>Mundahṣu</i> ('fighting man')	65
(3) <i>Tidūku</i> ('warrior')	66
(4) <i>Muqtablu</i> ('fighter,' 'man-at-arms')	66
(5) <i>Zūku</i> ('infantry')	66
(6) <i>Zakkū</i> ('exempt infantry')	67
(7) <i>Kallāpu</i> ('regular infantryman')	69
(a) <i>Kallāpu</i>	71
(b) <i>Kallāpu ša ekalli</i> (<i>kallāpu</i> of the palace)	72
(c) <i>Kallāpu šarri</i> (<i>kallāpu</i> of the king)	72
(d) <i>Kallāpu qurbu</i> (personal <i>kallāpu</i>)	72
(e) <i>Kallāpu qurbūte</i> (bodyguard <i>kallāpu</i>)	72
(f) <i>Kallāpu ša URU.Ub-[...]</i> (<i>kallāpu</i> of the town of <i>Ub-[...]</i>)	73
(g) <i>Kallāpu ša LÚ.EN.NAM</i> (<i>kallāpu</i> of the governor)	73
(h) <i>Kallāp šipirte</i> ('messenger' <i>kallāpu</i>)	73
(i) Officers of <i>kallāpu</i> troops	74
(I) <i>Rab kallāpāni</i> (commander of <i>kallāpu</i> -s)	74
(II) <i>Šaknu kallāpāni</i> (prefect of <i>kallāpu</i> -s)	75
(8) <i>Šāb šarri</i> (king's men)	75
Fields of employment	78
(1) <i>Garrison troops</i>	78
(2) <i>Forts</i>	79
(3) <i>Guard</i>	81
REGULAR ARCHERS	82
The representations (71, 72, 76, 77)	82
Cuneiform sources	83
(1) <i>Terms denoting archers</i>	85
(2) <i>Ethnic and social background</i>	85
(3) <i>Officers of archers</i>	88
REGULAR SPEARMEN	89
The representations (74, 83–89)	89
(1) <i>Enemy spearmen</i>	93
Cuneiform sources	95
(1) <i>Royal inscriptions</i>	95
(2) <i>Administrative texts</i>	96
(3) <i>Ethnic and social background</i>	97
HEAVY INFANTRY.....	99
ARMOURED ARCHERS.....	100
The early history of the Assyrian armoured archers (883–745 B.C.) (90–91).....	100
Armoured archers of the imperial period (745–612 B.C.) (93–109).....	102

ARMoured SPEARMEN (110—117).....	107
ARMoured SLINGERS (118—119).....	112
BODYGUARDS	115
The early history of bodyguards (883—745 B.C.) (120—126)	115
Bodyguards of the imperial period (745—612 B.C.)	116
The representations (127—137)	116
Cuneiform sources	120
<i>Ša—šēpē</i> ('personal guard')	120
(1) <i>Ša—šēpē</i> (<i>ša—šēpē</i> guard, 'personal guard')	121
(2) <i>Ša—šēpē mār šarri</i> (<i>ša—šēpē</i> guard of the crown-prince).....	122
<i>Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte</i> (<i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard).	123
(1) <i>Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte</i> (<i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard).....	124
(a) The <i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard's connection with other Assyrian officials	126
(b) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard as a court personnel.....	127
(c) The allocation of <i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguards to the cities of the empire.....	129
(d) <i>Qurbūtu</i> as a witness in private contracts.....	131
(e) <i>Qurbūtu</i> as a judge or witness of court decisions	133
(f) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard delivering written orders and messages.....	134
(g) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard delivering valuables.....	134
(h) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard gathering and escorting people	134
(i) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard providing escort and safety	135
(j) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard fetching deserters	136
(k) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard as supervisor.....	136
(l) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard collecting taxes	136
(m) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard in diplomatic context.....	137
(n) <i>Qurbūtu</i> bodyguard transporting horses	138
(o) Military aspect of the service of the <i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard	139
(2) <i>Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri</i> (<i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard of the crown prince)	141
(3) <i>Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte ummi šarri</i> (<i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard of the queen mother)	142
(4) <i>Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte ša—šēpē</i> (<i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard of the <i>ša—šēpē</i> guard)	142
OFFICERS OF THE INFANTRY	143
The early history of infantry officers (883—745 B.C.) (138—146)	143
Infantry officers of the imperial period (745—612 B.C.)	144
The representations (147—172)	144
(1) Statistical approach	146
(2) Contextual approach.....	149
(a) Military scenes	149
(b) Carrying spoil.....	149
(c) Bringing heads	150
(d) Escorting tribute bearers	150
(e) Escorting captives or deportees	150
(f) Escorting musicians	151

(g) Leading envoys to a royal audience	151
(h) Escorting the royal chariot	151
(i) Guarding the royal throne.....	152
(j) Executing captives	152
Cuneiform sources	154
Commander-of-10 (<i>rab ešerti</i>).....	154
Commander-of-50 (<i>rab ḥanšê</i>)	154
Cohort commander (<i>rab kišir</i>)	157
(1) Cohort commander (<i>rab kišir</i>).....	160
(a) Cohort commanders in military contexts.....	161
(b) Cohort commanders in other contexts	161
(c) Social status of cohort commanders	162
(d) Economic background of cohort commanders	163
(e) Cohort commanders in witness lists	164
(f) Private archives of cohort commanders	165
(2) Cohort commander of the king (<i>rab kišir ša šarri</i>)	170
(3) Cohort commander of the palace (<i>rab kišir ša ekalli</i>)	170
(4) Cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch (<i>rab kišir rab ša — rēšê</i>)	171
(5) Cohort commander of the <i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard (<i>rab kišir ša — qurbūte</i>)	173
(6) Cohort commander of the <i>ša — šēpē</i> guard (<i>rab kišir ša — šēpē</i>)	173
(7) Cohort commander of the <i>ša — šēpē</i> guard of the palace (<i>rab kišir ša — šēpē ša ekalli</i>).....	174
(8) Cohort commander of the left (<i>rab kišir šumēli</i>)	174
(9) Cohort commander of the crown prince (<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i>).....	175
(10) Cohort commander of the <i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard of the crown prince (<i>rab kišir ša — qurbūte ša mār šarri</i>)	176
(11) Cohort commander of the <i>ša — šēpē</i> guard of the crown prince (<i>rab kišir ša — šēpē ša mār šarri</i>)	177
(12) Cohort commander of the queen (<i>rab kišir ša MÍ.É.GAL</i>)	177
(13) Cohort commander of the queen mother (<i>rab kišir ummi šarri</i>).....	178
(14) Cohort commander of the Vizier (<i>rab kišir ša sukkalli</i>)	179
(15) Cohort commander of the ‘staff-bearers’ (<i>rab kišir [...] LÚ.PA.MEŠ</i>).....	179
(16) Cohort commander of the Cimmerians? (<i>rab kišir Gimirrāia</i>)	179
(17) Cohort commander of the town (<i>rab kišir ša āli</i>)	180
(18) Deputy of the cohort commander (<i>šanû ša rab kišir</i>)	180
Chiliarch (<i>rab līmi</i>)	180
Prefect (<i>šaknu</i>)	180
(1) Prefect of the crown prince (<i>šaknu mār šarri</i>)	185
(2) Prefect of the <i>ša — šēpē</i> guard (<i>šaknu ša — šēpē</i>)	185
(3) Prefect of the ‘staff-bearers’ (<i>šaknu ša LÚ.PA.MEŠ</i>)	186
(4) Prefects of foreign troops	186
(5) Prefect of the <i>kallāpu</i> troops (<i>šaknu kallāpāni</i>).....	186
(6) Prefect of the <i>māḥiṣāni</i> (<i>šaknu ša māḥiṣāni</i>)	187
Major-domo (<i>rab bēti</i>)	187
Governor (<i>bēl piḥati</i>)	189
(1) Troops of the governors	190

(2) Provincial and foreign units (king's men) of the <i>kišir šarrūti</i> stationed in the provinces.....	191
(a) Regular troops – king's men.....	191
(b) Auxiliary troops of governors.....	192
(c) Vassal units of the provinces.....	193
(3) Mobilization of provincial troops.....	194
(4) Campaigns of governors.....	195
(5) Borderguard duty.....	199
(6) Supply.....	201
Magnates (<i>rabûti</i>).....	202
(1) Troops of magnates assembling.....	205
(2) Magnates on campaign.....	206
(3) Magnates building forts.....	208
(4) Magnates bringing tribute.....	208
(5) Magnates of foreign rulers.....	209
(6) Working and other duties of magnates.....	210
High officials.....	210
(1) <i>Sartennu</i> (Chief Judge).....	211
(2) <i>Sukkallu</i> (Vizier).....	211
(3) <i>Masennu</i> (Treasurer).....	214
(4) <i>Nāgīr ekalli</i> (Palace Herald).....	216
(5) <i>Rab šāqê</i> (Chief Cupbearer).....	217
(6) <i>Turtānu</i> (Commander-in-Chief).....	218
(7) <i>Rab ša—rēšē</i> (Chief Eunuch).....	222
CHARTS.....	229
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	239
INDEX.....	269
Index of personal names.....	269
Index of the names of deities.....	278
Index of the names of people.....	279
Index of geographical names.....	280
PLATES.....	285
LIST OF FIGURES	
<i>Fig. 1.</i> The basic structure of the Assyrian army.....	20
<i>Fig. 2.</i> The development of regular infantry.....	62
<i>Fig. 3.</i> Different types of spearmen in the infantry of Assurbanipal.....	92
<i>Fig. 4.</i> Foreign infantrymen enlisted in the royal corps (<i>kišir šarrūti</i>).....	95
<i>Fig. 5.</i> Types of officers according to their equipment (statistical approach).....	145
<i>Fig. 6.</i> Relative list of importance provided by omīna.....	153

*“War is father of all (beings) and king of all, and so he renders
some gods, others men, he makes some slaves, others free.”*

Heraclitus

Introduction

Assyriologists and archaeologists have long been interested in the study of the history of the Assyrian army.¹ Despite this interest in the topic, however, very few monographic syntheses on the Assyrian army exist.² Generally speaking our knowledge about the military history of Assyria and the details of the structure of the Assyrian army is increasing, but no synthesis which covers all the aspects of the topic has yet been written. There is a large number of short articles on the Assyrian army, which include general summaries of the topic,³ and articles elaborating on certain aspects of the history of the Assyrian military, such as the history of certain campaigns,⁴ the branches of service (for example the chariotry,⁵ the supply, reserves and logistics),⁶ weaponry,⁷ the tactical reinterpretation of certain battles in Assyrian military history,⁸ reconstruction of the Assyrian (military) intelligence system,⁹ and nowadays the reconstruction of the different aspects of the structure of the Assyrian army.¹⁰ Much emphasis has been laid on the study of foreign elements in the Assyrian army.¹¹ Undoubtedly, the reason for the three hundred years of Assyrian military success is hidden in these details. However, little research has been conducted so far with a view to reconstruct the Assyrian army from its representations in Assyrian sculpture.

There are three major groups of sources which can be employed in the reconstruction of the Assyrian army: (1) the written (cuneiform) sources, (2) the pictorial evidence (palace reliefs and wall-paintings), and (3) the archaeological evidence (arms and armour).

(1) Written sources. The cuneiform corpus consists first and foremost of royal inscriptions, from which we can reconstruct the chronology of the campaigns, the geographical areas they

¹ PANCRITIUS 1904; MANITIUS 1910; HUNGER 1912.

² YADIN 1963; MALBRAN-LABAT 1982; ODED 1990; MAYER 1995; FALES 2010B.

³ SAGGS 1963, 145-154; VON SODEN 1963, 131-144; WISEMAN 1989, 36-53; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; LIVERANI 2002, 639-659; MAYER 2002, 3-24; FUCHS 2011, 380-401.

⁴ For example the 8th campaign of Sargon II (714 B.C.): LEHMANN-HAUPT 1917, 119-151; RIGG 1942, 130-138; WRIGHT 1943, 173-186; MAYER 1980, 13-33; MAYER 1983, 65-132; ZIMANSKY 1990, 1-21; VERA CHAMAZA 1992, 109-128; VERA CHAMAZA 1994, 91-118; VERA CHAMAZA 1995—1996, 235-267; LIEBIG 1996, 207-210; DUBOVSKÝ 2006A, 141-146; or the Egyptian campaign of Esarhaddon: NADALI 2006, 109-120; or the Elamite wars of Assurbanipal: NADALI 2007, 57-91.

⁵ MAYER 1979B, 175-186; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984B, 27-47; DALLEY 1985, 31-48; NOBLE 1990, 61-68; DE BACKER 2009, 29-46.

⁶ MAYER 1979A, 571-595; FALES 1990, 23-34; PARKER 1997, 77-88; FALES 2000, 35-62; DUBOVSKÝ 2004—2005, 61-67.

⁷ HENSHAW 1969, 1-24; POSTGATE 2001, 373-388; DUBOVSKÝ 2004—2005, 61-67; DEZSÓ 2006A, 87-130.

⁸ SMITH 1994, 229-239; SCURLOCK 1997, 491-517; NADALI 2005B, 181-224; DE BACKER 2007A, 69-115; CÓRDOBA 2008, 135-149; NADALI 2010, 117-152.

⁹ DUBOVSKÝ 2006B; *See* furthermore DEZSÓ 2004B (and the lecture delivered at Münster, 19. 07. 2006, at the 52th Rencontre Assyriologique: “Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien”: “Neo-Assyrian Military Intelligence”, forthcoming).

¹⁰ MATTILA 2000, 149-160; DEZSÓ 2006A, 87-130; DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140; POSTGATE 2007, 331-360; POSTGATE 2008, 83-92; FALES 2010A, 71-94.

¹¹ COLLON 2005, 66-77; NADALI 2005A, 222-244.

covered, a very few details about the Assyrian army, and arrive at some general conclusions about the organisation of the army.¹² However, this important group of sources containing general information has its own limitations, for example, the debate round the credibility and the biased manner of the numbers they use.¹³ The other larger text corpus that consists of administrative texts (lists of personnel or horses, for example, the Nimrud Horse Lists) contains valuable information on the details of the organisation of the Assyrian army.¹⁴ The third group encompasses a large number of private legal documents of military personnel, the witness lists of which provide information, for example, about the colleagues of the document's owner or his neighbours. The letters of the royal correspondence of the Sargonides fall into the fourth group of cuneiform texts. This well-defined, important, if not the most important group of written evidence, contains letters which shed light on various aspects and small details of the everyday practices of the Assyrian army, but, after all, will never provide a coherent picture, only small pieces of a puzzle. Unfortunately, this diagnosis is valid for the overall picture reconstructed from the complete corpus of cuneiform texts as well.

(2) Pictorial evidence. Our main group of sources from the period in question consists of more than a thousand reliefs and fragments from the palaces of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), and Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.). There are altogether more than 3.000 soldiers represented on these reliefs (for details *see vol. II, Charts 9–11*): 137 on the Nimrud sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, 244 on the Khorsabad sculptures of Sargon II, 1744 on the Nineveh sculptures of Sennacherib, and 943 on the sculptures of Assurbanipal. This massive database, whose importance cannot be ruled out, forms the basis of the present work.

Interestingly enough, this almost inexhaustible source of information has not yet been subjected to systematic analysis. There are two cultural historical monographs¹⁵ which touched marginally upon the question of Assyrian arms and armour. Yadin's work¹⁶ offered a more detailed analysis, but did not focus on the development of the structure and branches of service in the Assyrian army. However, there are several studies which deal with certain isolated aspects of the military scenes depicted on the Assyrian palace reliefs. These aspects include the representations of campaigns and battles,¹⁷ camp scenes,¹⁸ the depiction of revenge,¹⁹ and the analysis of short explanatory inscriptions.²⁰ There are altogether five articles which, partly with the help of cuneiform sources, attempt to classify the large number of soldiers depicted in Assyrian sculptures.²¹ A better-studied and a relatively independent aspect of the representational evidence are the siege scenes,²² and a

¹² Only the description of the 8th campaign of Sargon II (714 B.C.) contains detailed information and can thus be used for the reconstruction of the campaign and the types of troops involved, and for the understanding of the logic of the Assyrian stratagem.

¹³ *See* for example the study of DE ODORICO 1995. The present author believes that larger general numbers would easily be regarded as exaggerations, while the smaller rounded numbers – describing not only the number of, for example, captured chariots (30, 40, 50, 90, 100, 120, 150, numbers reappearing in administrative texts as well), but describing complete units (platoons and squadrons, *see vol. II, Chart 1*) – stand to logic and reason.

¹⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984B, 27-47; DALLEY 1985, 31-48; FALES 1990, 23-34; FALES 2000, 35-62; DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

¹⁵ HROUDA 1965; MADHLOOM 1970.

¹⁶ YADIN 1963.

¹⁷ OPITZ 1931–1932, 7ff.; READE 1976, 95-104; FRANKLIN 1994, 255-275; CÓRDOBA 1997, 7-18; KAELEN 1999; DUBOVSKÝ 2004–2005, 61-67; JEFFERS 2011, 87-116.

¹⁸ GADD 1935, 209-224; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN – DELLER – BLEIBTREU 1992, 291-356; FALES – RIGO 2010.

¹⁹ BLEIBTREU 1991, 52-61; COLE 1997, 29-40.

²⁰ GERARDI 1995, 31-36.

²¹ READE 1972, 87-112; BLEIBTREU 1993, 27-33; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; POSTGATE 2001, 373-388; DEZSÓ 2006A, 87-130.

²² BRUNNER 1952–1953, 253-262; OPPENHEIM 1955, 69-89; BARNETT 1958, 161-164; GUNTER 1960, 103-112; MADHLOOM 1965, 9-15; YADIN 1972, 88-94; USSISHKIN 1977, 28-60; USSISHKIN 1979, 137-142; USSISHKIN 1982; EPH'AL 1984, 60-70; USSISHKIN 1984A,

fair number of studies deal with the issue of ancient Near Eastern fortifications.²³ However, these studies concentrate mainly on the technical details of the sieges, and not on the reconstruction of weapons and armour or the various branches of the Assyrian military.

(3) Archaeological evidence. So far scientific work on the Assyrian military has focussed mainly on the analysis of the cuneiform sources. The archaeological evidence in itself is too limited to enable us to conceptualize the development of Assyrian arms and armour.²⁴ This archaeological record consists of 30 helmets and fragments (8 pointed bronze helmets and fragments, 2 pointed iron helmets, 4 crested bronze helmets, and 16 fragments of crested iron helmets).²⁵ In addition, there are considerable numbers of bronze and iron armour scales from the 1st millennium B.C. Near East, and from the Assyrian capitals.²⁶ The next group of archaeological evidence consists of a large 9th century B.C. bronze shield and several shield fragments (similar to the much later Greek *hoplon* shields) from Nimrud, now in the British Museum.²⁷ These Assyrian shields are the earliest known examples of this type. Similar bronze shields are known from 8th and 7th centuries B.C. Urartu (Eastern Turkey, Armenia, Northwest Iran).²⁸ It seems possible that metal belts²⁹ were part of the defensive armament of the soldiers. Pieces of scale armour – including Assyrian – were found in large quantities in the territory of the ancient Near East.³⁰ As for the rest of the Assyrian weaponry, a few swords and sword fragments,³¹ daggers,³²

48-65; KUTCHER 1986, 1-3; SCURLOCK 1989, 129-131; BLEIBTREU 1990, 37-44; BECK 1993, 53; EPH'AL 1997, 49-54; NADALI 2002—2005, 113-128; DE BACKER 2007B, 45-64; BATTINI 2008, 185-206; DE BACKER 2008A, 63-86; DE BACKER 2008B, 197-208; FUCHS 2008, 45-99; EPH'AL 2009; DE BACKER 2010, 1-25.

²³ BILLERBECK 1903; WASCHOW 1932—1933, 127-131; WASCHOW 1938; BRUNNER 1952—1953, 253-262; FITZGERALD 1954, 95-96; YADIN 1955, 23-32; BURNEY – LAWSON 1960, 177-196; GUNTER 1960, 103-112; OPIFICIUS 1964, 78-90; LAWRENCE 1965, 69-94; PARR 1968, 18-45; TURNER 1970, 68-85; ANDRAE 1973; KAPLAN 1975, 1-17; EPH'AL 1984, 60-70; USSISHKIN 1984B, 66-73; JACOBY 1991, 112-131; KLETTER 1991, 33-50; BLEIBTREU 1994, 7-14; USSISHKIN 1995, 118-127; ZERTAL 1995, 253-273; ABDUL-AMIR 1997, 219-222; PARKER 1997, 77-88; EPH'AL 1997, 49-54; LUCIANI 1999—2001, 87-114; TENU 2008, 151-176.

²⁴ The only comprehensive study written so far on Assyrian arms and armour (swords and daggers, spearheads, shields, armour, and helmets) is the PhD dissertation of Amy E. Barron (BARRON 2010), which discusses not only the archaeological but the pictorial evidence as well.

²⁵ DEZSŐ – CURTIS 1991, 105-126; DEZSŐ 2001, 18-55. At least 142 further pieces of Near Eastern (North Syrian, Urartian, Northwest Iranian, Iranian, Caucasian, Hasanlu and Persian) helmets are known. For additional pieces of the armament see: BORN – SEIDL 1995.

²⁶ DEZSŐ 2004A, 319-323. For earlier scale armour see DEZSŐ 2002, 195-216.

²⁷ WA 22484 (diam.: 89 cm), WA 22486, WA 22490.

²⁸ PIOTROVSKY 1950, 62; PIOTROVSKY 1952, 51-53; PIOTROVSKY 1955, 26-30; on further Urartian and Northwest Iranian shields: BOYSAL 1967, 71-75; BORN 1988, 159-172; DINÇOL – DINÇOL 1995, 23-55.

²⁹ The belts of the ancient Near East were made probably of leather with metal fittings. However, the wide belt made of metal could easily serve as a piece of armour protecting the belly. Metal belts are known mostly from Urartu and Transcaucasia (YESAÏAN 1984, 97-198; CULICAN – ZIMMER 1987, 159-199; KELLNER 1991; CURTIS 1996, 118-136; BONACOSI 1999, 88-100).

³⁰ DEZSŐ 2002, 195-216; DEZSŐ 2004A, 319-323.

³¹ Only a few fragments of Assyrian swords are known from excavations. See for example the Assyrian iron sword from Nimrud in the British Museum. However, large numbers of articles have been written on ancient Near Eastern swords. The main topics are the Bronze age Canaanite swords (MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1946, 1-65; SHALEV 1986; PHILIP 1989), the Hittite swords (GRÄSLUND 1967, 77-90; GEIGER 1993, 213-217; ÜNAL 1992A; ÜNAL 1992B, 256-257; SALVINI – VAGNETTI 1994, 215-236; ÜNAL 1999, 207-226), the sickle swords and two inscribed Mesopotamian pieces (GÜTERBOCK 1965, 197-198; MÜLLER 1987; MAUL 1995, 63-64; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 2002, 210-217), the Luristan (iron) swords (SPEELERS 1933, 111; MARYON 1961, 173-184; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1962, 126-131; BIRMINGHAM – KENNON – MALIN 1964, 44-49; LEFFERTS 1964, 59-62; TERNBACH 1964, 46-51; BIRD 1966, 175-176; MAXWELL-HYSLOP – HODGES 1966, 164-176; BIRD – HODGES 1968, 215-223; PLEINER 1969, 41-47; HUMMEL 1971, 125-127; MUSCARELLA 1989, 349-366; REHDER 1991, 13-19; RIEDERER 1992, 5-12), and the Urartian swords (POGREBOVA 1967, 137-145; POGREBOVA – ESAÏAN 1982, 85-96; METDEPENNINGHEN 1997, 109-136).

³² Similarly to the swords, no comprehensive study of Assyrian daggers has been made so far. The corpus consists of the studies of daggers of earlier periods. See GADD 1938, 36-38; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1946, 1-65; NAGEL 1959-1960, 95-104; MAXWELL-HYSLOP – HODGES 1964, 50-53; POGREBOVA 1966, 49-57; REINISCH 1967, 3-7; DIETZ 1971, 1-22; SEYRIG 1974, 229-230; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1978, 112-115; LOMBARD 1981, 87-94; BOEHMER 1983, 101-108; PHILIP 1989; SIEVERSTEIN 1992, 1-76; MÜLLER-KARPE 1993, 227-234.

spearheads,³³ maceheads,³⁴ and a large number of arrowheads³⁵ are known. As for other weapons, axes are known mainly from earlier periods of the ancient Near East.³⁶ Bows – except for a few items found in Egyptian tombs – can only be reconstructed from the pictorial evidence.³⁷ A relatively large number of horse trappings, harnesses and chariot fittings have been uncovered in various parts of the region, including Assyria and Urartu.³⁸ With the help of Assyrian sculptures and other pictorial evidence these finds shed light on the development of such important branches of the army as the chariotry and the cavalry.

This archaeological record undoubtedly only represents an insignificant portion of the hundreds of thousands of mass-produced Assyrian weapons and armour, but with the help of the palace reliefs we can construct a fairly coherent picture of the development of the Assyrian army itself. The questions left unanswered by the palace reliefs may be addressed with the aid of the archaeological finds. The details of the decoration of bronze and iron helmets, and the fact that from the end of the 8th century B.C. onwards Assyrian soldiers wore iron helmets and scale armour in increasing numbers may serve as a good example. With the mass-production of iron weapons and armour, the Assyrian ironworking industry reached a level that was not to be exceeded for centuries.³⁹

Such an ambitious title as *The Assyrian Army: I. The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army as Reconstructed from the Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Cuneiform Sources* poses questions that have to be answered. In the absence of written sources comparable to the classical authors (such as the ancient Greek and Roman historians) who provided detailed descriptions of the structure, and the marching and battle order of the Greek and Roman armies, we have to use other methods for our analysis. It is clear that we have to face certain limitations of the conclusions which can be drawn from the written and pictorial evidence. There are several aspects or levels of approach to the

³³ No study of Assyrian spearheads has been written. A few articles have been published on spearheads of other periods: WATKINS 1974, 188-192; DE MAIGRET 1976A, 31-41; DE MAIGRET 1976B; DE MAIGRET 1976C, 226-232; BILGI 1989, 29-31.

³⁴ Especially (votive) maceheads (insignia) are known from the Neo-Assyrian Period: KREBERNIK 1994, 5-12; CURTIS – HOOK – COWELL 2004, 57-66; NIEDERREITER 2005, 57-76.

³⁵ A large number of articles have discussed the arrowheads found in different regions of the Near East (PALADŽIAN 1955, 65-66; MILIK 1956, 3-6; TUBB 1977, 191-196; TUBB 1980, 1-6; MILLER 1983, 187-190; CURTIS 1987, 119-120; SASS 1989, 349-356; GICHON – VITALE 1991, 242-257; CROSS 1992, 57-62; DEUTSCH – HELTZER 1997, 111-112; KROLL 2000, 379-384; WRIGHT 2002, 373-378).

³⁶ SCHAEFFER 1939, 107-125; RICHARDSON 1943, 72; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1949, 90-129; HILLEN 1953, 211-215; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1953, 69-87; KENYON 1955, 10-18; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1955, 161; GOPHNA 1968, 47-49; KÜHNERT-EGGEBRECHT 1969; POGREBOVA 1969, 179-188; WALDBAUM 1971, 195-209; ERKANAL 1977; GUBEL 1983, 151-155; CURTIS 1984, 73-81; LÜTH 1989, 167-172; BILGI 1993, 253-254; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1998, 33-38.

³⁷ McLEOD 1970; HAAS 1989, 27-41; WILKINSON 1991, 83-99; ZUTTERMAN 2003, 119-165; COLLON 2008, 93-112. Much more fragments of bronze sheets, decorating quivers are known mainly from Urartu and Transcaucasia: VANDEN BERGHE 1982, 245-257; POGREBOVA – RAEVSKY 1997.

³⁸ STUDNICZKA 1907, 147-196; MOORTGAT 1930, 841-861; WOLF 1936—1937, 231-235; POTRATZ 1941—1944, 1-39; POTRATZ 1942, 169-234; BOTTI 1951, 192-198; CHILDE 1951, 177-194; FITZGERALD 1954, 95-96; ESAIAN 1962, 77-86; PIOTROVSKY 1962, 340-343; HROUDA 1963, 155-158; SCHULMAN 1963, 75-96; GHIRSHMAN 1964, 49-60; NAGEL 1966; POTRATZ 1966; PIGGOTT 1968, 266-318; KLENGEL-BRANDT 1970, 33-36; WEISNER 1970, 191-194; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1973, 102-126; WESTERN 1973, 91-94; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1974, 20-36; PIGGOTT 1974, 16-27; PIGGOTT 1975, 289-290; TARHAN – SEVIN 1975, 45-56; COLLON – CROUWEL – LITTAUER 1976, 71-81; LITTAUER 1976, 217-226; BELLI 1976—1977, 177-226; FARBER – LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1976—1980, 336-351; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1976—1980, 336-351; PINI 1976, 107-114; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1977A, 1-8; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1977B, 95-105; ZACCAGNINI 1977, 21-38; DEL OLMO LETE 1978, 47-51; SEVIN 1978, 111-132; BALKAN 1979, 49-58; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1979A; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1979B, 107-120; PIGGOTT 1979, 3-17; WINTER 1979, 101-102; PECORELLA 1980, 191-199; SCHULMAN 1980, 105-153; GROPP 1981, 95-123; BELLI 1983A, 361-371; BELLI 1983B, 373-386; DE SCHAUENSEE – DYSON 1983, 59-77; ÖZGEN 1983, 111-131; PIGGOTT 1983; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1984, 41-51; ÖZGEN 1984, 91-154; NAGEL 1984—1985, 143-151; SEIDL-CALMEYER 1985, 309-314; MOOREY 1986, 196; SEIDL 1986, 229-236; CROUWEL 1987, 101-118; MAASS 1987, 65-92; YILDIRIM 1987, 469-496; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1988, 169-171; DE SCHAUENSEE 1989, 37-52; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1989, 111-161; MACGINNIS 1989, 184-192; ÖZGÜÇ 1989, 409-419; MAASS 1990, 7-23; HROUDA 1994, 5-57; CURTIS 1997, 26-31; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 2002.

³⁹ DEZSŐ – CURTIS 1991, 105-126; DEZSŐ 2001, 33-37, 47-55.

reconstruction of the Assyrian army. These aspects represent different horizons or dimensions of the same problem, that is, the reconstruction of the army's structure. In our discussion of the cuneiform sources and representational evidence, it will be shown that there is little agreement between the pictures that emerge from the written sources and from the representational evidence. However, this contradiction is an illusory one, because it derives not from interpretational mistakes but from the different dimensions of the two types of sources.

The military scenes on the sculptures provide a great deal of information missing from the cuneiform sources. We can observe the different branches of service of the Assyrian army, the weaponry of the different types of soldiers, and where their services were put to use. We can trace the changes in weaponry (the changes of the armour styles, the shield types, the uniformisation of the weaponry including the helmet types with the advent of iron helmets known from the archaeological record,⁴⁰ etc.) connected most probably to certain army reforms, and the gradual transformation of the Assyrian military. This aspect, the identification and classification of the different branches of the Assyrian military from the representations of Assyrian soldiers depicted on the palace reliefs is virtually the only aspect of the 9th century B.C. Assyrian army that can be reconstructed (*vol. II, Fig. 10*). These being sources, we have to accept them but maintain, at the same time, a degree of scepticism of their truth. The picture of the army reconstructed from the sculptures is somewhat distorted, or, to be more precise, it cannot be applied to the whole army. The most important reasons for this are as follows:

a) The first and most important question is the credibility of the representations of palace reliefs in and of themselves, whether the scenes represented on the sculptures reflected the real life authentically or they belong to an independent world of the artistic freedom. The author of the present work believes that, the credibility as a source of the scenes depicted on the sculptures is unquestionable. This means that the credibility of the equipment and weaponry (represented with great care, emphasising all the small details) of the soldiers and the royal entourage is also to be taken without a doubt. Consequently, it is cannot be called into question either that the representations of the soldiers and their equipment rich in depicted details are not the results of artistic imagination. In a world where (plans of) important pieces of art-work (for example, sketches of royal and divine statues)⁴¹ were sent to the king for presentation and authorisation, it is, to my mind, simply unlikely/implausible that a central authority, if not the king himself, did not supervise and authorise how and what exactly will be represented on the most important art-work of the imperial propaganda (especially if the king himself was represented on the sculptures which happened frequently). It can therefore be hardly doubted that the representations of the soldiers and their equipment and weaponry are authentic.

The credibility of a composition in its entirety, and not only the details of it, is a much more difficult question to answer. The Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib show that certain depictions of towns/cities can be considered as authentic (*see* furthermore the representation of Nineveh, showing the façade of the palace of Sennacherib). It is not self-evident, however, that on the campaign scenes the number of the soldiers (represented otherwise in an authentic way, wearing authentic arms and armour), the composition and the proportion of different troops depicted refer to the real ratio of troops that participated in the campaign. Nevertheless, the author of this

⁴⁰ DEZSÓ 2001.

⁴¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 34 (CT 53, 41), 11-rev. 2.

book attempts to examine the ratio of the troops represented. However, the book poses further questions and shows the limitations of the approach:

b) The palace reliefs show almost exclusively the well-equipped units and soldiers of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), but the masses of the ill-equipped and inferior quality units of the regular/line infantry, which might form the bulk of the Assyrian army, scarcely appear on the reliefs. These troops enlisted from the subjects of the Assyrian Empire served on a seasonal basis in the far-flung provinces of the empire in garrisons, border fortresses, and hardly had a chance to appear on the palace reliefs in the escort of the king. In any case, the imperial propaganda might not have allowed the appearance of the masses of inferior quality troops on the Assyrian palace reliefs. Consequently, the conclusions we shall attempt to arrive at are valid only to the extent of the composition and the ratio of the different troops of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

c) We can reconstruct the different branches (infantry, cavalry and chariotry), but it is impossible to tell which units are shown in the palace reliefs. It goes without saying that it is impossible to reconstruct on the sculptures the more than hundred military ranks and/or military assignments⁴² known from cuneiform sources. It is hardly possible to tell whether a figure on the sculptures is an officer, or not: only their mace/staff and the context in which they were represented identify them. Since the weapons carried by Assyrian officers are similar (their mace or staff identifies them), it can scarcely be decided whether the figure identified as an officer is a *rab kišir* (cohort commander), a *qurbūtu* bodyguard, a *rab urâte* ('team commander'), a *šaknu ša ma'assi* ('prefect of stables'), or a *mušarkisu* ('recruitment officer'), or to which subcategory of the above ranks he might belong. Thorough examination of almost three hundred officers' representations⁴³ might render this picture more precise, but a break-through between the two interpretational dimensions is hardly likely.

d) A further problem deriving from the written sources is that these sources do not know those *termini technici* which may refer to the different types of soldiers appearing on the palace reliefs. Apart from the 'archer' and 'spearman/lancer' hardly any other *termini technici* are known from the cuneiform corpus. General terms, such as the 'warrior,' 'fighting man,' or the 'hero' are an exception from this.⁴⁴

e) Another problem of interpretation is that the unparalleled variegation of the different troop types known from the cuneiform texts cannot be made out on the sculptures. For example, cavalry archers, cavalry spearmen and cavalry bodyguards can unmistakably identified on the sculptures, but the multiplicity of the units known from the cuneiform texts cannot be reconstructed on the sculptures. We do not know, for example, which cavalry or chariotry unit known from the Nimrud Horse Lists is shown on the sculptures. Whether these cavalymen are members of one of the cavalry units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) or they belong to a provincial unit, whether they serve the king, a high official or a governor cannot be stated with utmost certainty.

⁴² According to his attributes the *rab kišir* ('cohort commander') occurs for example in 32 (*Charts 3—5*), the *qurbūtu/ša—qurbūte* ('*qurbūtu* bodyguard') in 27 (*Chart 2*), and the *ša—šēpē* ('*ša—šēpē* bodyguard') in 7 different versions with a further set of officers (*Chart 1*), not to mention the different types of chariotry personnel (*vol. II, Charts 3—6*).

⁴³ There are at least 149 infantry officers depicted in the sculptures of Sennacherib, and a further 134 in the sculptures of Assurbanipal (*Vol. II, Chart 9*).

⁴⁴ See chapters Cuneiform sources, (1)-(9) 56-60; and Terms denoting infantrymen, (1)-(8) 64-78.

f) Moreover, the palace reliefs show obviously only the successful attacks and pacifying operations and never show defensive operations. Military events outside the campaign season are also missing (winter scenes of the mountainous regions with soldiers wearing winter equipment, winter cloaks, etc. are not depicted either, as the problems caused by the severe cold with which the army had to face in winter and early spring months are known in details from the royal correspondence).

g) A further aspect of the organisation of the Assyrian military is the reconstruction of the marching and battle order of the army, which is undoubtedly part of the army's structure, and served to merge the units of different types into an army facing the enemy on the battlefield. It is unfortunately unknown whether the marching and battle order reflected the territorial arrangement of the army or not. In this field, the most important question is to make distinction between the marching order (known from the royal inscriptions referring to the units marching under the aegis of different deities) and the battle order (the battle line drawn up on the battlefield, which – following the rules of the military history – rendered the different types of units (auxiliary infantry, line/regular infantry, heavy infantry, chariotry and cavalry) into a battle order facing the enemy). Unfortunately, no written or representational evidence helps us to reconstruct confidently the marching and the battle order of the Assyrian army. This issue will be discussed in a separate volume.

We can approach the reconstruction of the army from two termini of the same problem; however, this approach could easily draw two controversial pictures, which seem hardly compatible with one another. The first terminus is the phase of conscription, which can be studied only or mainly from the administrative and sociological points of view. The written sources reflect almost exclusively this aspect of the reconstruction. The other terminus is the final stage of the long march of the soldiers, that is the order of battle drawn up on the battlefield. The army facing the enemy on the battleground in close order (by placing the different units of the army, the light/auxiliary, line/regular, and heavy infantry, cavalry, and chariotry into the appropriate positions) cannot be examined from the sociological point of view (as far as the sociological background or status of the soldiers is concerned), but – following strict rules – only from the military historian's point of view (the type of armament the soldiers were equipped with determined their place in the battle array). The pictorial evidence (palace reliefs) reflects much more this army.

Nevertheless, taking into account these limitations and especially the lack of appropriate *termini technici* for several types of soldiers, the most important thing to be pointed out is that no two Assyrian armies existed. There was no separate Assyrian army known from the palace reliefs and another one known from the cuneiform corpus. The soldiers represented on the sculptures are the same soldiers that are mentioned in the cuneiform texts and *vice versa*. For this reason, one of the most important tasks to undertake is to try to harmonise the information obtained from the cuneiform evidence, from the palace reliefs, and from the archaeological data, to reconstruct the structure of the single Assyrian army which ruled the ancient Near East for centuries.

This book follows the logic of the different branches reconstructed from the Assyrian palace reliefs as shown in *Fig. 1*. This reconstruction is based on the representations of more than 3,000 Assyrian soldiers depicted on the sculptures of various Assyrian kings. This picture is a fairly coherent one and can be considered as the archetype of the later armies of the ancient times,⁴⁵

⁴⁵ See for example the appearance of the Geometric helmet types and the round bronze shields in Argos during the third and fourth quarter of the 8th century B.C. – both inspired by Assyrian archetypes. DEZSÓ 1998.

which could also employ *auxiliary/light infantry*, *regular/line infantry* and *heavy infantry*. The division of the Assyrian infantry into these three types of infantry is verified by the Assyrian palace reliefs. The *auxiliary/light infantry* (1–60) consisted of conquered peoples (Itu'eans, other Aramean tribesmen, and Gurreans). They wore their national dress and used their weaponry (for example, the crested helmet, which was not an Assyrian type of piece of armour).⁴⁶ They were semi-professional soldiers. The *regular/line infantry* (61–89) was recruited among the (other) conquered people of the empire and Assyrians (peasants, etc.), who served in garrisons, border fortresses, provinces and formed the bulk of the Assyrian army on the campaigns and served probably on a seasonal basis. Their equipment consisted of the Assyrian type conical helmet, shield and spear or bow. The Assyrian type of conical helmet was a characteristic of those regular/line infantrymen who were represented on the sculptures. This type of helmet was not worn by auxiliary troops mentioned above. Some neighbours of the Assyrians, however, adopted this Assyrian type of weaponry (for example, the Urartians, and the North Syrian allies of the Assyrians). The elite units of the army constituted the units of the *heavy infantry* (90–119) who were most probably professional or semi-professional soldiers. Their weaponry consisted of the Assyrian conical helmet, scale armour made of bronze or iron, and the large, rounded bronze shield. The elite Assyrian bodyguard units of the sculptures obviously fall into this category. This picture will be complemented with the information provided by the cuneiform evidence.

TYPE	INFANTRY	CAVALRY	CHARIOTRY
Light	auxiliary archers		light (<i>pattûle</i>) chariotry
	auxiliary spearmen		
	auxiliary slingers?		
Regular	regular archers	archers	regular chariotry
	regular spearmen	lancers	
Heavy	armoured archers	archers	heavy (<i>tahlipu</i>) chariotry
	armoured slingers		
	armoured spearmen	lancers	
Bodyguard	armoured spearmen	cavalry bodyguard	chariotry bodyguard

Fig. 1. The basic structure of the Assyrian army.

This study attempts to examine all possible aspects of the same central problem: the reconstruction of the Assyrian army. However, several issues discussed above will form part of a separate study, the second volume of this monograph: *The Assyrian Army: II. The Neo-Assyrian Army on Campaign as Reconstructed from the Assyrian Palace Reliefs and the Cuneiform Sources*. This second volume will deal with important questions of the military history of Assyria and the

⁴⁶ DEZSŐ 2001, *passim*.

Assyrian army which nevertheless do not pertain closely to the topic of the reconstruction of the army's structure as such. These issues include campaign strategy and the campaigns themselves; marching order; battle order; fighting tactics and battles; siegecraft and sieges; fortresses and the border-guard system; the military intelligence system; the economic background of the army and the service; recruitment; logistics; horse breeding, and so on.

A third volume of this project entitled *The Assyrian Army: III. The Arms and Armour of the Neo-Assyrian Army as Reconstructed from Archaeological Finds, Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Cuneiform Sources* will include a systematic study of the weaponry of the Assyrian army based on archaeological, pictorial, and the scarce written evidence. This topic has only been partially discussed⁴⁷ and to date lacks a single comprehensive study.

⁴⁷ For helmets see DEZSÖ 2001, for scale armour see DEZSÖ 2002, 195-216; DEZSÖ 2004A, 319-323. See furthermore the PhD dissertation of A.E. Barron (BARRON 2010).

INFANTRY

As in the case of other ancient armies, the largest and most important part of the Assyrian army was the infantry.⁴⁸ The palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.)⁴⁹ and the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.)⁵⁰ show that the Assyrian army of the 9th century B.C. consisted of two infantry arms: regular infantry and heavy infantry. Regular infantrymen wore pointed bronze helmets, and were equipped with a rectangular wicker and wooden shield or a round bronze shield, spear, bow, and a short sword or dagger. The heavy infantry at this early period consisted mainly of armoured archers. The armoured archers wore scale armour and pointed helmets and fought with or without shield-bearers. 9th century B.C. helmets were made of bronze, but the scale armour was made of bronze and of iron as well.⁵¹ The regular infantry were probably recruited from the Assyrian peasantry, while the members of the heavy infantry were probably professional or semi-professional soldiers. The composition of the 9th century B.C. Assyrian army from the ethnic point of view was almost homogeneous: it consisted mainly of Assyrians.

However, the Assyrian army changed significantly in the second half of the 8th century B.C., following the extensive conquests of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.). Several new ethnic groups became Assyrian subjects, and the Assyrian army in its earlier form was no longer sufficient for the defence of the new territories, let alone for further conquests. From that period onwards large numbers of soldiers were recruited or hired as auxiliaries or mercenaries from the conquered territories, and were drafted into the ‘new-model’ Assyrian army. When Tiglath-Pileser III in his 13th–14th *palû* (732 B.C.) defeated Peqah, the king of Israel, he took a number of Israeli soldiers with him to Assyria (*see later*).⁵² Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) enlisted foreign contingents into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of his army as follows: in the year of his coronation (721 B.C.) 50 Samarian chariots,⁵³ on his 1st campaign, at the North Syrian Qarqar 200 chariots and 600 cavalry,⁵⁴ on his 5th campaign at Carchemish 50 chariots, 200 cavalry and 3,000 infantry,⁵⁵ on his 9th campaign at Tabal 100 chariots,⁵⁶ and on his 13th campaign 20,000 archers and 10,000 shield-bearing spearmen⁵⁷ from

⁴⁸ For a comprehensive study *see* FALES 2010B, 107-117.

⁴⁹ BUDGE 1914.

⁵⁰ KING 1915.

⁵¹ HROUDA 1965, 181 mentions a fragment of a glazed brick from Assur with a representation of a helmeted Assyrian soldier on it (Ass. 10756, ANDRAE 1925, pl. 9, no. 9e) as dating from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 B.C.). But the bronze helmet (painted yellow), the iron scale armour (painted blue) attached to the rim of the helmet and the characteristic spiked shield date the scene to the reign of Assurnasirpal II or Shalmaneser III.

⁵² TADMOR 1994, *Summ.* 4: 16’.

⁵³ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, line 15.

⁵⁴ FUCHS 1994, *Display Inscription*, lines 35-6.

⁵⁵ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, line 75.

⁵⁶ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, line 200.

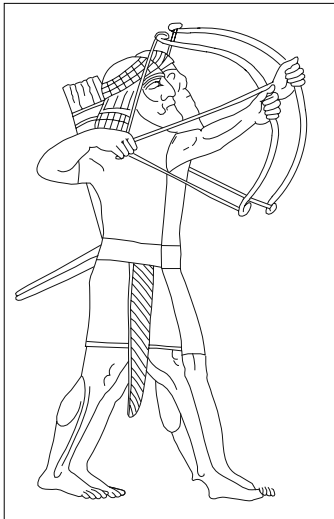
⁵⁷ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, lines 409-10.

Bīt-Iakīn. The armament of the foreign soldiers differed considerably from the traditional Assyrian equipment. The most obvious difference was that the Assyrians always wore pointed helmets, while the foreign (North Syrian and Southeast Anatolian) soldiers wore crested helmets. However, in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, these foreign soldiers wearing crested helmets appear in the Assyrian army as well. Their equipment consisted of a spear, a sword, a crested helmet, a round wicker or wooden shield, a round 'chest plate' (*kardio phylax*, 'heart protector') which was fastened to the chest by two leather bands crossing each other under the chest plate. However, there is a further type of foreign soldier to be found on the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III. These troops wore no defensive armour at all, only a head band and a short kilt. They were armed only with a bow, a quiver and a short sword. During the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III these foreign contingents became an integral part of the Assyrian army. It seems that – in spite of convincing theories for the ethnic affiliation of the two groups⁵⁸ – as time passed these two groups lost their ethnic homogeneity and became simply the light (auxiliary) infantry of the Assyrian army.

⁵⁸ READE 1972, 87-112; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108.

LIGHT INFANTRY

AUXILIARY ARCHERS



The auxiliary archers (archers of the Assyrian light infantry) first appear in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.).⁵⁹ Their appearance is characteristic: their long hair is fastened by a headband. They are barefooted, half-naked and wear a short kilt with a characteristic cloth pattern or a short tunic. Their weapons are a bow and a short sword. The strap of their quiver (sometimes with a different band) crosses their chest. However, this type of archer appears as early as in the 9th century B.C., in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), where these archers (*Plate 1, 1*) are shown fighting against the Assyrians in the ranks of their enemies. Their equipment is basically the same as the equipment and appearance of their 8th century B.C. descendants. This testifies to a remarkable continuity in these Aramean tribes, and to several hundred years of interaction between the Assyrians and their Aramean neighbours.

The representations (1–31)

As *vol. II, Chart 9* shows, there are altogether 545 auxiliary archers depicted in the Assyrian palace reliefs (Tiglath-Pileser III: 10; Sargon II: 32; Sennacherib: 350; Assurbanipal: 153). We can scarcely find two auxiliary archers – with the exception of those who are depicted in the same scene – wearing exactly the same garment, quiver, headband and hair. Further research will undoubtedly identify distinct groups according to the differences mentioned above. It is quite possible that these differences in the manner of wearing their hair, in the various types of headbands, in the diverse decoration and shape of the quivers, and in the manifold decoration of the kilts – apart from changes in fashion in the course of time – show ethnic, tribal, and clan differences. It is not clear whether

⁵⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962.

changes in the appearance of the auxiliary archers in the sculptures of subsequent rulers can simply be ascribed to changes in fashion, or to other factors. In general terms, however, the sculptures consistently depict the same type of soldier, the auxiliary archer (*Plate 1, 1* – *Plate 9, 31*).

Auxiliary archers are scarcely known in the 9th century B.C. sources (*see below*). The earliest representations of this type of soldier can be found in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) (*Plate 1, 1*) in the ranks of the enemy. The same Aramean archers appear on the bronze bands of the Mamu Temple of Assurnasirpal II at Balawat.⁶⁰ They do not appear in the ranks of the Assyrian army until the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.). These archers (*Plate 1, 2, 3*) are the archetypes of later representations. The main difference between the two types (*2* and *3*) is in the arrangement of their hair. The first type wears a wide headband, the second does not. Similar auxiliary archers (*Plate 1, 3*) wearing the same type of garment (short tunic), but with a fringed trimming, are shown fighting with similar (Chaldean) archers during the siege of a Babylonian town.⁶¹ The characteristic fringed or tasselled quiver of the first archer could be a tribal characteristic which disappeared in the sculptures of later Assyrian kings.

The auxiliary archers depicted in the sculptures of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) show a much more coherent picture (*Plate 2, 4–7*). They are half naked with a short kilt (made of a piece of cloth with a fringed trimming) around their hips. The typical geometric pattern of the fabric is shown on all the kilts (*Plate 2, 4–7*), and appears even in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib (*Plate 3, 8, 9*). This characteristic could indicate some ethnic/tribal continuity or relationship (as is known in case of the Itu'eans) and as has been mentioned above can be traced back to the 9th century B.C. (*Plate 1, 1*). However, the manner of wearing their hair divides them into two groups. In the first group the hair (secured by the headband) hangs down (*Plate 2, 4, 5*), but in the second group the hair is gathered up under the headband, and forms a kind of knot (*Plate 2, 6, 7*). This hairstyle later appears on two officers of the auxiliary archers (Sennacherib, *Plate 9, 29* and Assurbanipal, *Plate 9, 31*). It is interesting that all four quivers differ in small details. These two hairstyles are unquestionable signs of the tribal differences between the auxiliary archers of the Assyrian army.

The quivers of the huge number of auxiliary archers depicted in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) fall into only two types: a traditional one (*Plate 3, 8–10, Plate 4, 12, 13, Plate 5, 16–19*) and a quiver with a rounded cap (*Plate 3, 11, Plate 4, 14, 15*). The archers with the second type of quiver wear a tunic, which differs from the garment of the other auxiliary archers in one important detail: it is much longer at the back than the normal tunics, and looks as if a tassel is hanging down behind. So they are probably not Itu'eans, but auxiliaries from Ellipi (*Plate 4, 14, 15*), known from the sculptures of Sennacherib depicting his second campaign against Media.⁶² There are further characteristic differences among the headbands. In addition to the simple, undecorated headband, a wide headband decorated with a kind of chequered motif becomes common (*Plate 3, 8–10, Plate 4, 12, 13*). A new type of headband with two long, fringed tassels covering the ears appears in the sculptures of Sennacherib (*Plate 3, 9, 11*). This type of headband is characteristic of the Judaeans captives shown in the relief depicting the siege of Lachish.⁶³ It is interesting that there are auxiliary archers wearing this type of headband

⁶⁰ Aramean archers fighting against the Assyrians: CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 10 (Bīt-Adini, 7 archers), 20 (Bīt-Adini, 8 archers), 26 (Bīt-Adini, 7+ archers), 28 (Bīt-Iakin, 7+ archers).

⁶¹ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.

⁶² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 503.

⁶³ LAYARD 1853B, pls. 20-24.

fighting in the ranks of the Assyrian army besieging Lachish (*Plate 3, 9, 11*).⁶⁴ Four of them, however, wear a garment resembling the clothing of the Ellipians, and their quiver, with its rounded cap, is undoubtedly Ellipian (*Plate 3, 11*). This type of headband is shown on bodyguards of the Assyrian king in the Til-Barsip frescoes (*Plate 39, 129*), and in the sculptures of Sennacherib (*Plate 40, 130*).⁶⁵

Another conspicuous new feature are the crossbands on the upper body of the auxiliary archers (*Plate 3, 8, 9, Plate 4, 12, 13*). One of the bands might be a strap for the quiver, but the function of the other is unknown (it might be a rolled up garment).⁶⁶ The design of the fabric of the bands is similar to the chequered design of the headband. If the strap holding the quiver was made of leather, the design probably shows metal rivets. The same design can be seen on their belts as well, which could easily be made of leather or metal. These characteristics might again identify a tribal group.

The relative difference between the groups of auxiliary archers is best shown in the Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib mentioned above. There are altogether 40 auxiliary archers represented in the ranks of the Assyrian army besieging the town. They fall into 4 different types (*Plate 3, 8–11*). The simultaneous representation of the 4 types proves that there was more than one ethnic group, tribe or clan of auxiliary archers in the Assyrian army. Most of them might have belonged to different clans of Itu'eans (*Plate 3, 8, 9*) or other Aramean tribes (*Plate 3, 10*). Thus the ethnic diversity of the auxiliary archers of the besieging Assyrian army at Lachish can be reconstructed as follows: two Aramean tribes or clans probably of the Itu'eans (*Plate 3, 8, 9*), wearing similar dress but different headgear (archers of the second group wear headgear similar to that of the Judaeans, but kilts different from those of the Judaeans, *Plate 3, 9*), a third group wearing a different, undecorated kilt and longer beards (*Plate 3, 10*), and a group of probably Ellipian auxiliaries, who are identified by their characteristic quiver and tunic, but wear unusual headgear similar to the headgear of the Judaeans (*Plate 3, 11*). This simultaneous representation of more than one type of auxiliary archer in a single relief proves that the differences between them in the different sculptures of the same king might easily represent real differences over time, and not merely changes in fashion. It is conceivable that these differences indicate the different army units (*e.g.* cohorts) of the auxiliary archers – if they were organized into formal military units. It seems likely, however, that these units were invariably based on tribal groups or clans.

The auxiliary archers are frequently depicted in pairs – which means that on the march,⁶⁷ and during set-piece battles or sieges⁶⁸ they were deployed in formation in large numbers. At the same time there are palace reliefs which show them in their real light infantry capacity, fighting independently and pursuing the enemy,⁶⁹ combing a district (mountains or swamps)

⁶⁴ It is interesting to wonder whether they are Judaeans or Israeli mercenaries fighting against their fellow-countrymen, or not. In the present writer's view they are Arameans wearing the same type of headgear.

⁶⁵ For the possible identification of soldiers wearing this type of headband with Israeli/Judaeans soldiers of the Assyrian army *see* the chapter on bodyguards (The representations (127–137)).

⁶⁶ A Nimrud Letter from the reign of Sargon II tells us that the cloaks worn by the Itu'eans troops were different from the other cloaks (SAGGS 2001, 304-306, (ND 2735), Rev. 14'-16'. For a detailed study of the different types of military garments *see* POSTGATE 2001, 373-388). However, since the sculptures never depict winter scenes with soldiers wearing cloaks, but only the campaign season from spring to autumn, the cloaks of the Assyrian army are virtually unknown.

⁶⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 47, 100, 162, 193, 446, 454, 522, 728, 729.

⁶⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 49, 50, 70-72, 84, 90, 91, 214, 226-228, 238, 239, 241, 256, 365, 366, 368, 372, 428-431, 482, 626, 627, 652, 727, 730, 731.

⁶⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 196, 489.

for fugitives,⁷⁰ escorting captives,⁷¹ bringing in spoils,⁷² destroying palm groves,⁷³ or guarding workers.⁷⁴ As will be shown, these are the tasks which the Itu'eans are mentioned in connection with, in the cuneiform sources.

A very interesting scene in the sculptures of Sennacherib shows auxiliary archers and auxiliary spearmen encamped(?) on a hillside.⁷⁵ The same garment of the auxiliary archers appears in four versions (*Plate 5, 16–19*). In the first version (**16**) the garment is undecorated, in the second version (**17**) the kilt is chequered, in the third (**18**) the 'shirt' is chequered, and in the fourth (**19**) the whole garment is chequered. The reasons are unknown. The scene does not imply any difference between the soldiers – it is impossible to decide whether the degree of decoration also symbolized the rank of the garment's owner.

A row of large-scale sculptures decorated the passage leading from the Southwest Palace towards the Ishtar Temple. The slabs were decorated with a long procession scene, including a row of auxiliary archers⁷⁶ (*Plate 6, 20, 21*), spearmen⁷⁷ (*Plate 40, 130, 131*, see chapter on Bodyguards) and auxiliary spearmen⁷⁸ (*Plate 14, 47, 48*, see chapter on Auxiliary Spearmen). These larger scale figures (the height of the slabs is 180–186 cm), make it possible to study smaller details of the garments and equipment of the figures. There are clearly two distinct types of auxiliary archers depicted on the slabs: their hairstyles, clothing and equipment differ characteristically.

The first type (*Plate 6, 20*) consists of the typical auxiliary archers known from the smaller-scale sculptures of Sennacherib. Their hair differs characteristically from that of the Assyrians, being much longer and less curly. Their headband and the tasselled flaps covering the ears are made of a fabric decorated with a 'chequered' motif (concentric circles or squares set in a quadratic net).⁷⁹ Barnett proposed that they are Judaeans⁸⁰ on the basis of this headgear, but as has already been pointed out it was not only the Judaeans who wore this type of headband (*Plate 3, 9, 11; Plate 7, 24*), and the kilts of this type of auxiliary archer differ characteristically from the kilts of the Judaeans (see chapter on Bodyguards, *Plate 40, 130, 132*). This type of kilt lacks the tasselled fringe of the Judaeian kilt, and is decorated with the well known geometric design of the kilts of auxiliary archers from the reigns of Sargon II and Sennacherib recruited among the Aramean tribes (*Plate 2, 4–7; Plate 3, 8, 9*).⁸¹ This type of motif almost completely disappeared during the reign of Assurbanipal (see later). The motif on the headband and earflaps reappears on the fabric or band diagonally crossing the upper body of this figure. It seems that his belt was made of the same fabric or imitates the same design. This auxiliary archer wears an armband and two bracelets. It is not known whether this jewellery indicated his rank (he was an 'officer'), or designated him simply as a distinguished soldier who had served in several campaigns. His quiver is characteristic as well. It was reinforced on the inner side with a long rod decorated with

⁷⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 28, 63, 66, 611, 643.

⁷¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 83, 103, 104, 193, 228, 243, 366, 368, 369, 371, 448, 509, 606.

⁷² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 244, 370, 487, 645.

⁷³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 637.

⁷⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 63–68: Balatai stone quarry.

⁷⁵ LAYARD 1853A, pl. 70.

⁷⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 664–668.

⁷⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 668–671.

⁷⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 662, 663.

⁷⁹ In some cases this motif covered the whole kilt (*Plate 4, 12; Plate 5, 17*) or garment (*Plate 5, 18, 19*) as well.

⁸⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, 135, no. 662.

⁸¹ For Neo-Assyrian patterned fabrics in general see: GURALNICK 2004.

carved designs. A kind of tassel or a cap made of a soft, tasseled fabric is shown, but its exact function (if it was not purely decorative) is unknown. The strap of the quiver was made of leather and was decorated with rivets. The archer holds his bow in his hand as usual, since auxiliary archers never used (at least, there is no depiction of them using) the combined quiver and bow case known from representations of Assyrian cavalry. Judging by these characteristics and the obviously non-Assyrian appearance of these auxiliary archers, depicted in such an important place as this corridor, they may well have been the Itu'eans mentioned so frequently and in such important contexts in the cuneiform sources. Other similar types of auxiliary archers depicted in the palace reliefs may have represented other clans of the same Itu'ean tribe or more probably the auxiliary archers of the other Aramean tribes.

The second type of auxiliary archer depicted in the sculptures in this passage (*Plate 6, 21*) differs characteristically from the first type discussed above and gives the impression of being an Assyrian archer. His hairstyle is much more similar to that of the Assyrians. His headband is plain, undecorated. His garment is an Assyrian one with a tasselled fringe. He wears long, net-like 'stockings' and a decorated 'knee band,' which holds the long, laced up Assyrian military boot with a strap. He holds his bow in his hand. His quiver shows a much more standardized form⁸² without any tassels. His sword – like other swords in the Assyrian palace reliefs – is also standardized in form. His overall appearance gives the impression of an Assyrianized Aramean or an auxiliary archer wearing Assyrian (court) dress. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the auxiliary archers of the reign of Assurbanipal wore almost exclusively this type of dress, and the dress of the first type of auxiliary archer almost disappeared from the sculptures of this king (*see below*).

There are only a few representations in which auxiliary archer officers or other leaders can be identified. The auxiliary archer (Itu'ean?) officer represented here (*Plate 9, 29*) is escorting captives in one of the sculptures of Sennacherib. His staff shows his rank, but there are further details which prove that he is an officer, including his elaborate belt and his decorated quiver. He wears a kind of a diadem, and his hair is gathered up under this like a headband, and forms a knot. This hairstyle differs from that of the other auxiliary archers, but resembles that of a distinct group of auxiliary archers depicted on the sculptures of Sargon II (*Plate 2, 6, 7*). As will be discussed in the section on cuneiform sources, a few Itu'ean officers can be identified from written sources: the sheikhs, the village managers, and the prefects. Another interesting auxiliary archer is shown in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib (*Plate 9, 30*). He is equipped with a rod used to escort captives and wears probably a tunic decorated with a geometric design (made perhaps of a chequered fabric). If the rod and the garment indicate differences in his position he might well have been an officer of the auxiliary archers.

In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.) the relative variety of the auxiliary archers decreased (*Plate 7, 22–25*). Of the 153 auxiliary archers depicted on the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal only three (*Plate 8, 26, 27*) wore the traditional dress (a kilt decorated with the well known geometric design) of the auxiliary archers of the palace reliefs of Sargon II and Sennacherib. The chequered crossband of one of the auxiliary archers (*Plate 7, 22*) fighting in the battle of Til-Tuba (653 B.C.)⁸³ is reminiscent of the similar crossbands worn by auxiliary archers

⁸² Only a few studies has been written on the quivers of the ancient Near East (EHELOLF 1924, 46-47). A few fragments of Urartian bronze quiver coverings are known (VANDEN BERGHE 1982, 245-257).

⁸³ LAYARD 1853B, pls. 45-46.

in the sculptures of Sennacherib. As has been mentioned, one of the bands holds the quiver, but the other might be a garment wound around the upper body. The other archer (*Plate 7, 23*) fighting in the same battle wears a slightly different garment, but obviously not the original decorated Aramean tunic. This tendency to use more standardized Assyrianized dress has already been detected in the sculptures of Sennacherib (*see above*), where the two types of archers (the original Aramean/Itu'ean and the Assyrianized one) appear side by side. This change might indicate some change in the whole arm of the auxiliary infantry, especially in the employment of auxiliary archers. It should be mentioned that this type of standardized uniform was worn not only by the (Aramean) auxiliary archers of the Assyrian army but by other archers depicted in the palace reliefs as well: (1) This garment was worn by the Babylonian Arameans and Chaldeans, the enemies of the Assyrians,⁸⁴ (2) Assyrian hunters escorting Assurbanipal⁸⁵ also wore similar dress with two differences: their kilt is fringed and longer at the back, and they are often shown with a metal disc fastened on their breasts (*Plate 8, 28*) like the chest plates of the auxiliary spearmen. It is interesting that all of these hunters are eunuchs (eunuch escorts or bodyguards of the king?). (3) A few archers inspecting bows with the king also seem to be wearing similar dress.⁸⁶ (4) A similar garment was worn by men shown holding the royal horses, probably the animals' 'grooms.'⁸⁷ However, they were always equipped with a combined bowcase and quiver, which is unknown in the ranks of the auxiliary archers.

In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal the auxiliary archers are depicted in large numbers in processions. Such a (religious?) procession shows them – together with Elamite archers – wearing feathered headdresses.⁸⁸ Two important dress parade scenes make further important observations possible. The first such parade was held after the battle of Til-Tuba (653 B.C.), and shows the surrender of Elamite princes.⁸⁹ Six archers are standing behind a row of bodyguard spearmen. This context suggests that they are part of the royal bodyguard. All of them hold their bows in their hands, and their hair is secured with headbands. The six archers fall into at least four categories: (1) short archer in Assyrian dress; (2) tall archer with a crossband around his upper body (resembling the crossbands of the auxiliary archers); (3) two tall Elamite archers, one of them with a quiver and the other without; (4) two archers wearing standard Assyrian dress, but with quivers are reinforced with a rod.

The second dress parade is shown on a slab depicting the events of a Babylonian campaign.⁹⁰ One scene shows ten auxiliary archers marching in a row. They fall into three types: (1) the first three archers are Elamites (*Plate 7, 25*). It is a new development that the defeated and subdued Elamite archers appear in these processions, as well. The Elamite armies consisted almost exclusively of archers,⁹¹ so it is obvious that when they were enlisted into the Assyrian army,

⁸⁴ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXIV (fragment Berlin VA 210): "Chaldeans in a palm grove: one is surrendering his bow and quiver, two pairs are killing each other"; (fragment Marseilles, Musée Borély, 1519): "fragment showing two bearded Chaldeans facing right, one holding a quiver, to surrender it, the other raising his hand to ask for quarter while a spear is pointed at his breast."; (fragment BM 135202, Royal Geographic Society, 4): "Chaldean bowmen escaping to right through a palm grove".

⁸⁵ BARNETT 1976, pls. IX, XXXIX, XLII, XLIII, XLVIII, LVI.

⁸⁶ BARNETT 1976, pl. V.

⁸⁷ BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXVI, XVI, XXV, LX.

⁸⁸ BARNETT 1976, pl. LXII.

⁸⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 384.

⁹⁰ BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVIII (North Palace, Room V¹/T¹, Babylonian campaign); PLACE 1867, 59.

⁹¹ *See* for example the march of the Elamite army to battle (BARNETT 1976, pl. XXIII (North Palace, Room H, slabs 7-10), which scene includes no less than 56 Elamite archers).

they were hired in this capacity. The garment worn by the Elamite archers is characteristic: it is longer than the tunic of the auxiliary archers of the Assyrian army: it reaches below the knees, and is a little bit longer at the back. Their hair is shorter than the hair of the other soldiers. Their simple headband is tied in a knot at the back of their head. (2) Behind them there are four archers wearing standard dress with a headband terminating in 'fringed earflaps.' Their long hair is pulled back under the headband (*Plate 7, 24*). These archers wear a headband which resembles that of the Judaeans captives of Lachish, but with shorter earflaps. (3) Behind them march three archers wearing the same dress and headband, only their shorter curly hair and Assyrian military boots distinguish them from the second group.

These two dress parades show a wide variety of archers wearing a similar garment, which differs in small, but significant details. This trend obviously denotes the standardization of army equipment.

Not only the dress, but the fighting tactics of auxiliary archers appear to have become more standardized, as they became a more or less regular arm of the Assyrian infantry. The most important characteristic of these tactics was that in close-range fighting the auxiliary archers fought in pairs with auxiliary spearmen (*Plate 16, 55, 56*), regular spearmen (*Plate 27, 86–89*) or armoured spearmen (*Plate 35, 116, 117*) as well. The spearman fights with his spear, while the auxiliary archer shoots from behind the large standing shield of the spearman. They cover and protect each other. It seems that after the enemy line had disintegrated, the Assyrian infantry used this tactic to finish the battle. It also seems that their fighting tactics complemented each other, which increased the efficiency of their combined efforts. In addition to their fighting capacity in battles⁹² and sieges,⁹³ the auxiliary archers were undoubtedly used in their other capacity as easily deployable border guards in mountainous regions, or for police duty in the provinces. They were frequently depicted in man-hunting operations,⁹⁴ or transporting booty⁹⁵ and escorting or guarding captives,⁹⁶ or in procession scenes.⁹⁷

Officers of auxiliary archers appear very rarely in the sculptures of Assurbanipal. Since the auxiliary archer (*Plate 9, 31*) is wearing a similar dress and hairstyle to those of the officer in the palace relief of Sennacherib (*Plate 9, 29*) it is possible that this auxiliary archer escorting captives is an officer as well.

A new type of archer appears in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal. He wears the standard scale armour of the Assyrians, but wears a headband instead of the pointed helmet (*Plate 33, 108, 109*). An obvious question arises: is he an auxiliary archer officer clad in armour, or a new type

⁹² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 381-383 (Southwest Palace, Room XXXIII, battle of Til-Tuba, 653 B.C.); BARNETT 1976, pls. XXIV, XXV (North Palace, Room I, Elamite campaign); pl. XXXIII (Room L, Arab campaign). See furthermore BARNETT 1976, pl. XXIV, where an auxiliary archer is executing an Elamite officer named Ituni on the battlefield. Another similar scene is shown on another slab fragment (Louvre AO 22199).

⁹³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278, 282 (Southwest Palace, Court XIX, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pls. XVI, XVII, XXI (North Palace, Room F, Elamite campaign, siege of Ḫamanu and another town); XXXV, XXXVI (Room M, Egyptian campaign); LX, LXI (Room S¹, Elamite campaign); LXVII (Room V¹/T¹, Elamite campaign, Dīn-Šarri).

⁹⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 340 (Southwest Palace, Room XXVIII, Babylonian campaign, battle in the marshes).

⁹⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 319 (Southwest Palace, Room XXII, unknown hill-country); BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI (North Palace, Room S¹, Elamite campaign, Ḫamanu).

⁹⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 341 (Southwest Palace, Room XXVIII, Babylonian campaign); 383 (Room XXXIII, battle of Til-Tuba, 653 B.C.); BARNETT 1976, pls. XVIII, XIX (North Palace, Room F, Elamite campaign, Ḫamanu); XXVIII (Courtyard J, Elamite campaign).

⁹⁷ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXVI (North Palace, Room M, Egyptian campaign – leading horses of the king); LXII (Room S¹, procession in a feathered headdress).

of Assyrian armoured archer? The question can be answered, because this type of soldier appears as a slinger as well (*Plate 36, 119*), so the identification with an armoured auxiliary archer can be excluded. This type of soldier appears in larger numbers in procession scenes, for example after the battle of Til-Tuba. They give the impression of being members of one branch of the royal bodyguard (*Plate 41, 136, 137*).

Cuneiform sources

(1) *Itu'a* (LÚ.i-tu-'u-a)

Successful attempts have been made to identify the ethnicity of the auxiliary archers.⁹⁸ On the basis of their equipment they were probably Aramean semi-nomads. In the cuneiform sources, especially in the royal letters and administrative documents, *Itu'ean* (LÚ.i-tu-'u-a) is the Aramean tribe whose members appear most frequently in the Assyrian armed forces. It seems that this tribe provided most of the auxiliary archers of the Assyrian army. The first known mention of the *Itu'ean* tribe – living along the middle reaches of Tigris river – is in cuneiform sources dating from the early 9th century B.C.: the reigns of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).⁹⁹ A short administrative text from Tell Baqqaq 2, dated by its publisher, B.K. Ismail, to the reign of Shalmaneser III, mentions that the town of Bit-Ussu provided 2 *sūtu*-s of flour for the *Itu'eans* (KUR.Ú-tú-'a-a-a).¹⁰⁰ If the date of the tablet is correct, this is the earliest evidence of the military use of *Itu'ean* auxiliaries in the Assyrian army. If our reconstruction is correct, different territories (towns, villages or provinces) of the empire had to supply provisions for such auxiliary units as were stationed there. The territory of the *Itu'eans* was known as late as the reign of Esarhaddon.¹⁰¹ However, they appear only in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), who conquered the Aramean tribal territories along the Tigris river.¹⁰² While the royal inscriptions never list Aramean tribes as soldiers of the Assyrian army, the administrative documents mention them frequently as highly prized and probably permanent auxiliary units. Cuneiform sources, especially royal correspondence and administrative texts,¹⁰³ shed light on several important aspects of their use and make it possible to reconstruct some characteristics of their organisation.

(a) The importance of their role is indicated by the letters in which Assyrian governors almost begged the king to send them *Itu'ean* troops. These letters make it clear that the *Itu'ean* troops came under the direct control (and possibly the direct command) of the Assyrian king, and it was he who dispatched them to the various provinces of the empire. Several letters name them “the *Itu'eans* of the Palace” (*see below*).

⁹⁸ READE 1972, 87-112; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108.

⁹⁹ A cuneiform tablet found north of Nineveh, at Tell Baqqaq mentions the *Utu'āia* form (ISMAIL 1989, 61-64).

¹⁰⁰ ISMAIL 1989, 62-63 (IM 121892, 3).

¹⁰¹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 154 (ABL 572), 10'.

¹⁰² TADMOR 1994, Summ. 1:5; Summ. 2:4; Summ. 7:5; Summ. 11:5; Misc. I, 1:3. From the beginning of his reign till his 17th regnal year Tiglath-Pileser III conquered 15 additional Aramean tribes.

¹⁰³ The corpus contains some 50 texts mentioning the *Itu'eans*. Unfortunately most of them are incomplete, which makes the reconstruction difficult. Some texts are so fragmentary that only the ethnonym can be reconstructed; the context is almost indecipherable (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 258 (ABL 1225), 286 (CT 53, 341), 354 (CT 53, 360), 367 (CT 53, 67)).

(b) It seems that they were (semi-)professional soldiers, probably serving all year round. They are likely to have received cultivable land or pasture from the ruler in return for their services: a fragmentary letter of Bēl-lēšir mentions Itu'ean people controlling territories consisting of pasture in the province of the city of Kurbail, and grazing their own sheep (and the sheep of the Lady of the House?) there. Bēl-lēšir seems to have some difficulty keeping them under control, since he complained that the Itu'ean villages were negligent, and said that the king should question their tribal leaders (sheikhs) when they arrived at the Palace.¹⁰⁴ Ša-Aššur-dubbu, the governor of Tušhan (an Assyrian border province in Eastern Anatolia) petitioned Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) as follows: “The king, my lord, should send word that the prefects of the royal *Taziru* and *Itu'u* (troops) holding (fields) here should come and stand guard with me, ...”¹⁰⁵ Another governor, Našhur-Bēl, the governor of Amidi (another Assyrian border province in Eastern Anatolia), wrote to Sargon II that, as the king had ordered, the bow field (A.ŠÀ GIŠ.BAN) of the Itu'ean prefect was exempt from straw and barley tax.¹⁰⁶ Another letter of Našhur-Bēl mentions that he sent a contingent of Itu'eans with the village inspector for logs to the mountains, to Eziat. The village inspector had to fight for the logs: his deputy and nine of his soldiers were struck down by arrows; two of them died. They wounded three enemy soldiers. Furthermore: “The Itu'eans of the Palace at my disposal have returned from the Euphrates; they did not go with the Vizier. I have sent for them, but (men) of one or two houses only have come out of the town. Let the king, my lord, write to the sheikhs; they should bring the king's men out jointly, to keep watch with me in Laruba, until we have collected the harvest.”¹⁰⁷ The term ‘bow field’ indicates that the Itu'eans were really archers, and were exempt from certain taxes. Indeed, only a very fragmentary text mentions that they would have been assigned work during the construction of Dūr-Šarrukēn.¹⁰⁸

(c) These letters make it clear that the king exercised direct authority over their settlements. They lived in villages and occupied towns. The Itu'eans had military commanders (prefect, *šaknu*),¹⁰⁹ village inspectors and tribal leaders, or sheikhs.¹¹⁰ A single letter mentions a *rab Itu'aia* (GAL *I-tu-u'-a-a*) in a context which corroborates the police role of the Itu'eans.¹¹¹ The prefect (*šaknu*) might have been an Assyrian military official. The names of only a few Itu'ean prefects are known. One of them is Gul(l)usu, who was mentioned above. Two others are known from a controversial context. Mutakkil-Aššur, deputy priest and Issar-na'di, mayor of Assur accused two prefects of the Itu'eans, Bibā, and Tardītu-Aššur, and his deputy, who were sitting outside the Inner City, in front of the gate and drinking wine, eating bread and squandering the exit dues of the Inner City.¹¹² As this example shows, the Itu'eans and Gurreans may not have enjoyed a good reputation amongst the other peoples of the Empire. In one of his letters, Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Babylon, reported

¹⁰⁴ SAGGS 2001, 225-227, NL 87 (ND 2625).

¹⁰⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138+), 11-16.

¹⁰⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 16 (ABL 201), 4-7.

¹⁰⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424).

¹⁰⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 14 (ABL 711).

¹⁰⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:30: [...] LÚ.GAR-nu *I-tu'u*; II:11: [m] *Gu-lu-su* LÚ.GAR-nu *I-tu-'u*.

¹¹⁰ See furthermore an administrative text from Nimrud, which lists them together with prefects of other territories. DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 143 (ND 10030), ii:9'-10': LÚ.na-si-ka-a-ni ša KUR.i-tú-'a (the sheikhs of Itu'a).

¹¹¹ PARKER 1961, 42, ND 2657: (1) ERIM.MEŠ.MAN ša GIŠ.GIGIR-ka (2) a-di ša ku-tal-šū-nu (3) ki-i LÚ—GAL *I-tu-u'-a-a* (4) at-ta-ni LÚ.II-u-ka (5) iṣ-šab-bi-it-šū-nu-ti (6) ár-ḫiṣ (7) lu-bi-la-šū-nu (8) ^mKi-rib-tu-Mar-duk. (1) The royal soldiers of your chariot, (2) together with their substitutes, (3) when the *rab Itu'aia* (4) ... your deputy (5) arrests them (6) quickly (7) bring them (to me) (8) (addressed to) Kiribtu-Marduk.

¹¹² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 33 (ABL 419), 10-13.

to Sargon II that the men of the Chief Cupbearer did not allow into the city of Sabhānu the 50 Itu'eans and 50 Gurreans who were sent there by royal command.¹¹³

The only important person to be connected with the Itu'eans is Il-iada'. It is known from one of his letters to Sargon II that he equipped two forts and appointed 100 and 20 Itu'eans from his own Itu'eans, an unspecified number of Gurreans of the Palace, and 10 Gurreans of his own as garrison troops there.¹¹⁴ In another letter Il-iada' was accused of taking ('deporting?') all the Itu'eans from the presence of the author of the letter, and the writer sent his messenger who arrived back from Il-iada' to the king, who should question him about the matter.¹¹⁵ It seems that Il-iada' had the authority to give orders to the Itu'eans. It is interesting that only two Itu'eans individuals are known by name: one of them is Iada'-il, who is listed among the witnesses of a legal document,¹¹⁶ and the other is Iadi', who is known from a fragmentary letter written to Sargon II.¹¹⁷ The similarity is obvious. It may be supposed that the *iada'* element was a common part of the Itu'eans names, and in this case Il-iada' might well have been an Itu'eans, perhaps a prefect of the Itu'eans, or an Itu'eans-born Assyrian official. Their village inspectors and sheikhs were certainly Itu'eans.

(d) A fragmentary letter proves that they were stock-breeders: Mannu-kī-Adad, a governor of Sargon II mentioned that in accordance with the king's orders, he bought [ungelded bulls] from the Itu'eans with silver.¹¹⁸

(e) Border guard-duty was one of the most important tasks. This is clearly shown in a letter of Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra to Sargon II, which mentions that 100 Itu'eans of the governor of Arrapha stood guard at Sibtu. Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra asked Sargon II to write to the legate of Sibtu to send him 50 of them to stay with his carpenters until he returned.¹¹⁹ Further letters also emphasize the importance of the Itu'eans border guard service. In another letter Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra wrote to the king that he had sent his Itu'eans across the Euphrates, to stand guard at Sinnu.¹²⁰ Aššur-rēšūwa also asked Sargon II to send him a contingent of Itu'eans from Dūr-Šamaš and Barzaništa for border guard duties along the Urartian border and to transfer 50 Itu'eans to Sarduriani in Urartu.¹²¹ Ašipâ, governor of Tīdu, wrote to Sargon II as follows: "Of the Itu'eans in my country, there is a surplus of 500 men who should have kept watch with me. Why [did they go] [to] Guzana? Let the men be released to me."¹²² As can be judged from the royal correspondence of Sargon II, during his reign their most important field of deployment was undoubtedly the very sensitive security zone along the long Northern border region (Šubria, Urartu, Ukku, Kumme, Ḫubuškia) and the Northeastern frontier facing the *mātu* ('land') of the *nāgir ekalli* (Palace Herald) down to Māzamua. An interesting letter written by Sennacherib to his father Sargon II concerning the situation along the Urartian border refers to an Itu'eans, who has arrived or has been brought back probably from Urartu, and who told the crown prince that the Urartians were defeated on their expedition against the

¹¹³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 238 (ABL 388).

¹¹⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883). The fort was equipped with 30 bows, 20,000 [...] arrows, 10,000 arrow-shafts.

¹¹⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 190 (CT 53, 332 + 550 + 737).

¹¹⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 30 (ADD 416), Rev. 6': Iada'-il LÚ.i-tú-'a-a-a.

¹¹⁷ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 214 (ABL 962), Rev. 11: Iadi' LÚ.i-tú-'a-a-a.

¹¹⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 238 (ABL 903), Rev. 1-2.

¹¹⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 97 (ABL 95).

¹²⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 93 (ABL 482).

¹²¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 97 (ABL 147).

¹²² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 21 (ABL 506).

Cimmerians.¹²³ It is unfortunately not known whether this Itu'eān was a military scout from one of the border fortresses or garrisons, or simply a deserter.

(f) A very important aspect of border security was the building of forts.¹²⁴ Nabû-šumu-iddina wrote to Sargon II that he had drawn a sketch of the fort on leather and was herewith sending it to the king. Furthermore he informed the king that there were altogether 50 Itu'eāns and 30 Gurreans, as garrison troops in the fort.¹²⁵ In another letter Il-iada' wrote to Sargon II that the magnates had constructed two forts. They had raised 100,000 liters of barley from another fort, while Il-iada' had placed 1,000 liters of salt, 30 jugs of oil, 18 jugs of naphtha, 30 bows, 20,000 [...] arrows, 10,000 arrow-shafts, etc. there. He had appointed his official there accompanied by 100 Itu'eāns and the Gurreans of the Palace. The magnates had constructed another fort at the mouth of the Patti-Ilil canal. Its garrison consisted of Il-iada's 10 Gurreans and his 20 Itu'eāns.¹²⁶ Aššur-ālik-pāni also appointed Itu'eāns to garrison service in a fort, while he left with his king's men, cavalry and chariotry for a muster in Arbela.¹²⁷ A fragmentary letter written to Sargon II mentions an Itu'eān who was appointed as a GIŠ.TAB.BA-official(?) in a fort.¹²⁸ This office – which cannot be identified exactly – might be connected to a tribal companion system of the Itu'eāns'.

(g) The Itu'eāns appear in other guard capacities as well. At the other end of the Empire Adda-ḫāti, a governor, asked Sargon II for Assyrian or Itu'eān settlers or soldiers that he could settle in his province on the steppe¹²⁹ – probably to guard the desert frontier around the town of Šupat, since “there is no Assyrian city-overseer nor any Assyrian gate-guards in Šupat.”¹³⁰ This letter shows that the Itu'eāns enjoyed as much respect, as members of the Assyrian military, as the Assyrians themselves. Two other – unfortunately also fragmentary – letters mention Itu'eān troops in the context of collecting, storing and distributing barley rations.¹³¹ As the palace reliefs show, they frequently did escort duty. In one of his letters to Sargon II, Aššur-bēlu-taqin refers to a royal letter which ordered him to gather all the Assyrian and Aramaean scribes, and to detail cavalry and Itu'eān troops to escort them to Dūr-Bēl-ilā'ī, since the time for imposing the *iškaru*-tax is approaching.¹³² It seems that Dūr-Bēl-ilā'ī, was a local tax collection or administrative centre, and the cavalry and Itu'eāns would guarantee the safety of the scribes. In another case Aššur-bēlu-ušur asked the king whether the Itu'eān contingent of his territory would henceforward stand guard in the district in winter, or would join the rest of his troops carrying booty instead, and march with them to Babylon¹³³ (a well known scene in the sculptures).

(h) There is an obscure text, an administrative report, which lists (military) personnel (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ) and their equids (ANŠE.NITÁ.MEŠ) in two columns made up of various (ethnic) groups (Lidaeans, Itu'eāns, Ḫamaraneans) and different persons. The official who gathered these personnel and equids sent altogether 198 soldiers, 195 equids, and 120 dromedaries to the king.

¹²³ PARPOLA 1987, 32 (NL 46, ND 2608).

¹²⁴ PARKER 1997, 77-88.

¹²⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 136 (ABL 685).

¹²⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883). It is important to note that the garrison of a small fort or watchtower consisted of 30 light infantry. Further fragmentary letters mention Itu'eāns in garrison context (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 264 (CT 53, 856)).

¹²⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 152 (ABL 784).

¹²⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 74 (CT 53, 27).

¹²⁹ SAGGS 2001, 169-171, NL 20 (ND 2437), PARPOLA 1987, 176 (NL 20, ND 2437).

¹³⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 176 (NL 20, ND 2437), 31-33.

¹³¹ SAGGS 2001, 68-69, NL 73 (ND 2357), 132-134, NL 74 (ND 2648).

¹³² SAGGS 2001, 239-240, NL 86 (ND 2356).

¹³³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242), Rev. 16'.

The Itu'eans provided 18 soldiers and 18 equids.¹³⁴ Unfortunately no further details are known. The text does not mention cavalymen, so this contingent might well have been a (military) caravan with escort and pack animals or a group of workers detailed to perform some task.

(i) The Itu'eans, however, appeared in the Assyrian army as early as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) in their other capacities. In 731 B.C., during the Mukin-zēr revolt in Babylonia, they fought for Assyrian pay.¹³⁵ Šamaš-bunāia mentioned for example that 50 of the Itu'eans guarded the Tigris on the Assyrian side of the river.¹³⁶ A very interesting letter of Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur, governor of the Phoenician territories, mentions the Itu'eans in their police role. The governor informed Tiglath-Pileser III that the Sidonians had cut timber in the Lebanon range without permission (they chased the tax inspector away from the customs house). Thereupon the Assyrian governor dispatched an Itu'eian contingent into the Lebanon range, which terrorized the people. Afterwards the governor prohibited the Tyrians and Sidonians from delivering the lumber to the Egyptians or Philistines.¹³⁷ This document shows the Itu'eans' fearful reputation and the variety of ways in which they could be employed.

(j) The Itu'eans played a significant role not only in local conflicts, and in guarding the border, but during military campaigns as well. A very important letter, from Adad-issia to Sargon II, lists the Assyrian troops assembling in the province of Māzāmua. The local contingent consisted of 630 Assyrians, 360 Gurreans and 440 Itu'eans. This gathering army was waiting for the contingents of the magnates and provincial governors.¹³⁸ A similar, but unfortunately very fragmentary letter deals with the assembly of troops (probably in Arzuḥina). The unknown governor had to prepare his army, his chariot troops, the Gurreans, the Itu'eans, the *exempt* infantry (LÚ.zu-ku), and the *kallāpu* troops.¹³⁹ This assembling army was fairly similar to the army gathering in Māzāmua, and indicates a standard composition of provincial troops. A further fragmentary report lists a small concentration of troops including 300 Itu'eans.¹⁴⁰ The largest Itu'eian contingent known from the cuneiform evidence appears in a fragmentary Nimrud Letter, which tells us that the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*) probably has a contingent of 3,000 Itu'eans, and the unknown writer of the letter probably wants to send an Itu'eian contingent (of 300 men) to the neighbouring buffer state, Šubria, as well.¹⁴¹ The large size of this Itu'eian unit is better suited to the prestige and importance of a high official, like the Chief Cupbearer, whose *mātu* covered a sensitive border zone on the Šubrian and Urartian frontier. A further fragmentary letter probably reporting the situation along the Urartian border also mentions 1,000 Itu'eans.¹⁴² These two contingents, the 3,000 and 1,000 Itu'eian auxiliary archers, constituted a substantial fighting force, and were gathered not for simple border guard service, but more probably for a local campaign. The size of their units, ranging from 10 to 3,000, shows the manifold aspects of their use. Their duties ranged from garrison service

¹³⁴ SAGGS 2001, 241-242, NL 60 (ND 2366), 12'.

¹³⁵ SAGGS 2001, 64-66, NL 3 (ND 2700).

¹³⁶ SAGGS 2001, 26-28, NL 8 (ND 2663).

¹³⁷ SAGGS 2001, 155-158, NL 12 (ND 2715), 3-29. Another letter of Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur reporting the attack by Ionians on some coastal towns of Phoenicia mention Itu'eian troops also (SAGGS 2001, 164-166, NL 69 (ND 2370), Rev.).

¹³⁸ SAGGS 2001, 128-130, NL 89 (ND 2631); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215, NL 89 (ND 2631); POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; FALES 2000, 40-43.

¹³⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305).

¹⁴⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 95 (CT 53, 510), 8.

¹⁴¹ SAGGS 2001, 124-125 (ND 2488).

¹⁴² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 178 (CT 53, 124), Rev. 1.

(10 to 50 men) to border guard activities in detachments of 50 or 100, and they often appear in larger contingents (440, 1,000, or 3,000 men) as fighting units on campaigns.

(k) Although this type of warfare was almost exclusively connected to the Itu'eans, some documents mention other Aramean tribes as well. It can be assumed that members of these tribes also fought as members of the light infantry, probably as auxiliary archers of the Assyrian army. These tribes are the Taziru¹⁴³ mentioned above, the Ruqaḥu and Ḥallatu, the Iādaqu and Riḥiqu, the Rubu'u and the Litāmu (Lita'u).

(2) *Ruqaḥu* (KUR.*Ru-qa-ḥa-a-a*)

The Ruqaḥu tribe (its attribute, however, is KUR ('land') and not LÚ ('people')) is known from a letter from Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra to Sargon II, mentioning that he – concerning the royal order – sent an order to the reserves of the king's men of the Ruqaḥu and Ḥallatu tribes.¹⁴⁴ They provided king's men, so they provided auxiliary troops to the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). Another letter from Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra tells us that after the king left the Inner City, the Ruqaḥeans stayed and dined with Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra and Zēru-ibnī for seven days and entered into negotiations with the Assyrians probably concerning their military service, in view of the impending royal review.¹⁴⁵ These negotiations took place in Assur, in late winter or early spring (the letter mentions that it is raining continually), just before the campaign season. A third, fragmentary Sargonide letter also mentions them, probably in a guard duty context.¹⁴⁶

(3) *Ḥallatu* (KUR.*Hal-lat-a-a*)

They appear in the letter from Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra mentioned above, together with the Ruqaḥu. Nothing else is known about them, only the names of two of their prefects from administrative texts: Tarḥunda-pī¹⁴⁷ and Ḥaršešu¹⁴⁸ appear in lists of officials at court. The name Tarḥunda-pī seems to denote a man of Neo-Hittite origin. Whether this name has some connection with the location of the Ḥallataeans (who appear with both the determinative for land (KUR) and people (LÚ)) or not is unknown. More enigmatic is an administrative text listing officials. This text mentions Ḥarrānāiu [prefect?] of the Ḥallataeans, to whom three *ša-šēpē* guardsmen were assigned.¹⁴⁹ Zaliāiu, Quili, and Sarsā. These names do not appear to be Semitic, and if they were really members of the royal *ša-šēpē* bodyguard under the command of Ḥarrānāiu the [prefect] of the Ḥallataeans, this is an important example of foreigners serving in the royal *ša-šēpē* bodyguard.

(4) *Iādaqu* (LÚ.*Ia-a-da-qu-a-a*) and *Riḥiqu* (LÚ.*Ri-ḥi-qu-a-a*)

The Iādaqu tribe appears in a Sargonide letter written by Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu around 710 B.C., together with the Itu'a (LÚ.*Ú-tu-u'-a-a*) and Riḥiqu tribes. Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu wrote to the king that – since the rebellious Borsippeans killed one another – he keeps watch alone with the Itu'a, the Iādaqu, and the Riḥiqu, whom the king detailed for guard duty with him.¹⁵⁰ It seems possible that these two Aramean tribes served as auxiliary archers similarly to the Itu'eans.

¹⁴³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138+).

¹⁴⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 91 (ABL 94).

¹⁴⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 92 (ABL 1086).

¹⁴⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 262 (CT 53, 618).

¹⁴⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:38: ^m*Tar-ḥu-un-da—pi-i* LÚ.GAR-nu *ḥal-ta-a-a*; 11 (ADD 841), Rev. 2-3: ^m*Tar-ḥu-un-da—p[i-i]* LÚ.GAR-nu *ḥ[al-ta-a-a]*;

¹⁴⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), Rev. II:1-2: ^m*Har-še-šu* LÚ.GAR-nu LÚ.*Ḥal-ta-a-a*.

¹⁴⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 140 (ADD 872).

¹⁵⁰ DIETRICH 2003, 75 (ABL 349).

(5) *Rubu'ū*, and the *Litāmu* (*Lita'ū*)

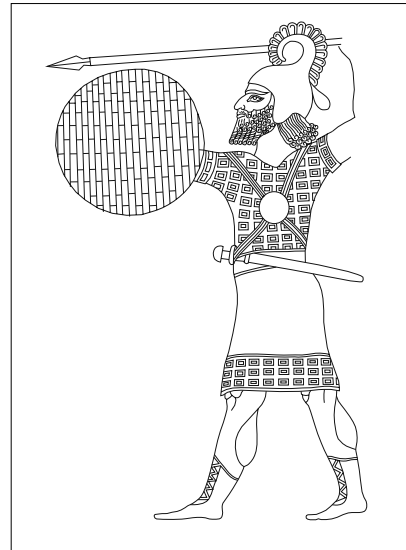
These two Aramean tribes are mentioned together with the Itu'eans in a report written by Šamaš-abu-ušur to a governor of Sargon II. When the son of Zēri crossed over at Bāb-Bitqi, the Itu'eans, the Rubu'ū and the Litāmu had crossed over before the son of Zēri. A fourth tribe, the Raḥiḥu were spending the night at the town of Nunak.¹⁵¹ A letter with an unknown author, sent from Babylonia to Tiglath-Pileser III during the Mukin-zēr rebellion (731 B.C.), mentions that the Litāmu tribe promised to an Assyrian official, that – since they are the servants of the Assyrian king – they would join the Assyrian army with a strong force when the king arrived.¹⁵² However, it is not known whether in this case these Aramean tribes, including the Itu'eans, were in Assyrian service or not.

It is clear from the royal correspondence that the Itu'eans were a mobile force, which could easily be deployed anywhere in the empire. The written sources show them primarily in their border guarding and police roles, but the Assyrian palace reliefs prove that the auxiliary archers were active during military campaigns as well. They are shown fighting at sieges, and in the midst of battles, pursuing the enemy, combing a district (mountains or swamps) for fugitives, or escorting captives.

AUXILIARY SPEARMEN

The auxiliary spearmen of the Assyrian army first appear in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.).¹⁵³ As shown on *vol. II, Chart 9*, there are altogether 653 auxiliary spearmen represented in Assyrian palace reliefs: 18 in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III; (1 in the Til-Barsip wall paintings); 37 in the sculptures of Sargon II; 352 in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib; and 245 in the sculptures of Assurbanipal.

Their equipment is characteristic: a crested helmet, a round wicker or wooden shield (covered with leather, and sometimes reinforced with a metal boss), a spear and a sword. Their 'armour' is a small round chest plate (*kardio phylax*)¹⁵⁴ which is fastened to the chest by two leather bands crossing each other. Their garment is a short dress. They are barefooted, or sometimes depicted wearing sandals or Assyrian military boots. The most typical feature of their armament is the crested helmet.¹⁵⁵ This has given rise to most theories about the origins of this type of soldier. Only auxiliary spearmen wear this type of helmet; it never appears on the soldiers of the heavy infantry, cavalry or chariotry.



¹⁵¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 186 (ABL 830).

¹⁵² SAGGS 2001, 19-21, NL 1 (ND 2632), Rev. 42: L[Ú]?.x.DAN.MEŠ.

¹⁵³ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962.

¹⁵⁴ The best candidate for this piece of armour is probably the Akkadian *irtu* ('pectoral'). See OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1960, 187-188, s.v. *irtu*, 3.

¹⁵⁵ DEZSŐ 2001, 37-55, Charts 3, 4.

The crested helmet probably had its origins in North Syria and Southeast Anatolia. According to one theory¹⁵⁶ it derives from the Late Bronze Age North Syrian and Hittite tradition which survived into the early 1st millennium B.C. North Syrian Neo-Hittite states. The earliest known Iron Age representations come from the sculptures of the palace of Katuwaš,¹⁵⁷ king of Carchemish (*ca.* 900–873 B.C.). Variants of the type are known from orthostates from Kültepe¹⁵⁸ and Zinçirli.¹⁵⁹ The further development of this type of crested helmet was not limited to the area of Carchemish. There are soldiers wearing crested helmets and fighting with (probably Assyrian) soldiers wearing pointed helmets among the early 8th century B.C. Karatepe sculptures as well.¹⁶⁰ Although the first depiction of this type of helmet in Assyrian art is in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), archaeological finds prove that this type was used in Assyria as early as the late 9th – early 8th century B.C. In addition to several representations,¹⁶¹ there are two Urartian crested bronze helmets¹⁶² bearing an inscription of Išpuini, king of Urartu (*ca.* 830–810 B.C.). Two Assyrian crested bronze helmets can be dated to the same period on the basis of stylistic analysis.¹⁶³ An Assyrian crested helmet¹⁶⁴ from the mid-8th century B.C. has a different, crescent-shaped crest, not curving forward (*e.g.* *Plate 10, 35; Plate 11, 37; Plate 12, 40, 41; Plate 14, 49, 50; Plate 17, 58*). One of the best known pieces is the Assyrian crest found at Lachish,¹⁶⁵ which dates from 701 B.C. The first ever known crested iron helmet is represented by 15 iron fragments from at least 3 Assyrian crested helmets from Nimrud.¹⁶⁶

The further development of this type of helmet can be observed in the Assyrian palace reliefs. The helmets depicted in the Assyrian sculptures show a tendency to develop from an initial diversity towards standardized form. While there are 10 basic forms of crested helmet shown in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, only 6 types remain in the sculptures of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), 12 variants of 4 basic types in the sculptures of Sennacherib (704–688 B.C.), and 9 variants, differing only in their decoration, of one single type in the sculptures of Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.).¹⁶⁷ The process is undoubtedly linked to the standardization of the weapons and armour of the Assyrian army, a process which started during the reign of Sennacherib and reached its peak during the reign of Assurbanipal.

Not only the Assyrian light infantry, or troops said to be North Syrian allies or associated with Anatolian¹⁶⁸ or Phrygian¹⁶⁹ auxiliaries of the Assyrian army, but also their enemies, recruited as auxiliary units after having been defeated, wore crested helmets.¹⁷⁰ With their integration into the Assyrian army their weaponry also spread. But, while at the end of the 9th century B.C. – first

¹⁵⁶ RITTIG 1994, 247-254; DEZSÓ 2001, 37-39, Charts, 1, 3.

¹⁵⁷ HOGARTH 1914, pls. B.2a, B.2b; WOOLLEY 1921, pl. B.26c; WOOLLEY – BARNETT, 1952, pls. B.44, B.45, B.46.

¹⁵⁸ BITTEL 1976, fig. 321.

¹⁵⁹ ORTHMANN 1971, 542-543, pls. 59b, 61b.

¹⁶⁰ ORTHMANN 1971, 491, pl. 16c, pl. XIII, no. 69, 493, pl. 18a, 494, pl. 18f.

¹⁶¹ DEZSÓ 2001, 94-95, Chart. 3, nos. 118, 119, 120-123.

¹⁶² DEZSÓ 2001, 94-95, Cat. nos. 109, 110, pls. 109, 110.

¹⁶³ DEZSÓ 2001, 37-47, Cat. nos. 13, 14, pls. 18-23.

¹⁶⁴ DEZSÓ 2001, 37-47, Cat. no. 15, fig. 3, pl. 24.

¹⁶⁵ DEZSÓ 2001, 37-47, Cat. no. 12, pl. 17.

¹⁶⁶ DEZSÓ – CURTIS 1991, 105-126; DEZSÓ 2001, 47-55, Cat. nos. 16-31, pls. 25-43.

¹⁶⁷ DEZSÓ 2001, Chart 3.

¹⁶⁸ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, xix, pls. XXXVI, XXXVIII, xxxiii, pl. LI.

¹⁶⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, xxxiii, pl. LII.

¹⁷⁰ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, xix-xx, fig. 2:1, pl. XLI (Eastern campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III, 2nd and 9th *palû*); xx-xxiv, fig. 2:2, pl. LI (Anatolian [Phrygian?] campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III, 3rd *palû*); xxii-xxiv, fig. 2:13, pl. LXV (Urartian warrior?), (Urartian campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III, 3rd *palû*) and pl. LXI.

half of the 8th century B.C. the crested helmet indicated the nationality of its wearer (Syrian, Anatolian or Phrygian), later, from the reign and army reform of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) and especially his successors it simply implied membership of a special unit, the auxiliary spearmen of the Assyrian light infantry. It is quite conceivable that from the end of the 8th century B.C. during the 7th century B.C. soldiers of any nationality could be recruited into the auxiliary spearmen. However, there is a theory which seems to contradict the conclusions outlined above, and which maintains that with the help of cuneiform sources – as in the case of the Itu'eans – it is possible to determine the ethnic identity of the auxiliary spearmen.

The representations (32–60)

Examining the Assyrian palace reliefs we can form an impression of the varied employment of auxiliary spearmen. Auxiliary spearmen appear in the following contexts:

(1) *Combing operations*

As a consequence of its characteristics, the light infantry could easily be deployed in military operations conducted on difficult terrain. Such occasions included fighting battles, or pursuing the enemy in mountainous areas. In the sculptures of Sennacherib, there are some scenes from western campaigns which show auxiliary spearmen and auxiliary archers combing a mountainous district (perhaps the Lebanon) for runaways (or “rounding up enemy soldiers”) (*Plate 13, 43–46*), and fighting the enemy.¹⁷¹ Similar combing operations were, however, conducted not only in the mountainous regions but in the South Babylonian marshlands as well. Such scenes depict Assyrian soldiers fighting from wicker rafts or boats, and searching the marshes for runaway Chaldeans.¹⁷² Similar combing operations are shown in one of the sculptures of Assurbanipal, where Assyrians are searching for fugitive Aramean inhabitants in the South Babylonian marshes. While the fugitive tribesmen seek safety in the reeds, the Assyrians are trying to find them on rafts and boats.¹⁷³ The Arab campaign of Assurbanipal shows auxiliary spearmen during a massacre of Arab tribesmen in the tents of their camp.¹⁷⁴ Light infantry obviously played an active role in the sack of cities. Such scenes are depicted in the palace reliefs of Sargon II (the famous scene of the sack of Muṣaṣir)¹⁷⁵ or the raid of Dilbat depicted on the sculptures of Sennacherib,¹⁷⁶ where the auxiliary spearmen are depicted on the rooftops of the city, and as cutting plam trees in the groves.

(2) *Battle scenes*

These scenes show that the auxiliary spearmen were an important component of the Assyrian army, and were used not only in their “light infantry capacity” as has been discussed above, but in formal battles as well. The earliest known battle scene showing auxiliary spearmen is depicted

¹⁷¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 20, 28.

¹⁷² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 611, 643.

¹⁷³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 340.

¹⁷⁴ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXIII.

¹⁷⁵ ALBENDA 1986, pl. 135.

¹⁷⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 45.

on the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.). This scene shows a battlefield during an eastern campaign in which auxiliary spearmen equipped with round wicker shields are attacking enemy infantry (who are similarly equipped) in close order.¹⁷⁷ The sculptures of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) show two battle scenes in which auxiliary spearmen were involved. Both scenes are connected to sieges during the 2nd campaign of the king.¹⁷⁸ During the siege of Gabbutunu and Ashdod (or Gaza) the Assyrian army fought a battle in front of the walls. The auxiliary spearmen are shown in close order, engaged in close combat with enemy infantry. The versatile aspects of their use is best shown on the sculptures of Sennacherib. Three scenes¹⁷⁹ show them engaged in close combat on wooded hillsides, sometimes on steep mountain slopes, where the Assyrians used the advantage of their mobility. The palace reliefs of Assurbanipal depict several pitched battles. In the famous sculptures depicting the defeat of the Elamite Te’umman at Til-Tuba (653 B.C.) the auxiliary spearmen appear as ‘battle infantry’ in the midst of the battle, engaged in close combat (*Plate 16, 55, 56*). An important change in their equipment is the appearance of a new type of shield, the heavy, wooden standing battleshield (*see later*) in addition to the round wicker shield. This battle scene shows three types of shields in use by the auxiliary spearmen: round wicker,¹⁸⁰ standing wicker¹⁸¹ and standing bronze.¹⁸² At this time the same type of standing shield was used by the regular and armoured spearmen as well. The spearmen are driving back the enemy infantry – into the waters of the River Ulai – with their spears from the cover of their large shields. Similar scenes are shown in the sculptures probably depicting the same battle in the North Palace of Assurbanipal.¹⁸³ As has already been mentioned, there are auxiliary archers with them shooting from the cover of their shields.¹⁸⁴ It seems that this combination – an auxiliary archer shooting from behind the cover of the large standing shield of a spearman – became a standard feature of the close combat engagements of the Assyrian army. Auxiliary spearmen are depicted in other pitched battles as well,¹⁸⁵ including the battle fought with the Arabs¹⁸⁶ during the Arab campaign of Assurbanipal. This scene shows auxiliary spearmen fighting in pairs not only with auxiliary archers, but with each other as well. The representation of two auxiliary spearmen fighting together might be the depiction of a phalanx tactic.

(3) *Marching scenes*

The auxiliary spearmen took part in formal military campaigns as well. Two series of interesting sculptures from the reign of Sennacherib show the whole Assyrian expeditionary force on the march. One series of scenes depicts the march culminating in a siege, the other in a battle. The structure of the siege scene (siege of Alammu) is the following: the marching Assyrian army is depicted in two registers. In the lower register from the rear there are 3 armoured cavalymen, then 12 armoured spearmen in close order, then 2 auxiliary spearmen, then 4 armoured slingers, then 6+1 armoured archers and finally the siege itself, in which several armoured archers (behind

¹⁷⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XLI-XLII.

¹⁷⁸ ALBENDA 1986, pl. 95 (URU. *Gab-bu-tu-nu*), 96 (Ashdod).

¹⁷⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 122 (unknown hillcountry); 196 (Phoenicia); 489 (unknown hillcountry).

¹⁸⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 381.

¹⁸¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 382, 383.

¹⁸² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 382.

¹⁸³ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXV.

¹⁸⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 381-383, 399; LAYARD 1853B, pls. 45, 46.

¹⁸⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 318; BARNETT 1976, pl. LXXI (WA 1316898; Birmingham?).

¹⁸⁶ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXIII.

siege-shields), auxiliary archers and spearmen are attacking the walls. In the fragmentary upper register there are 9 armoured spearmen in close order, then 2 auxiliary spearmen and then 4+ armoured slingers. Thus the auxiliary spearmen took a prominent part in sieges, but were depicted as reserve troops as well. The armoured spearmen did not play an active role during sieges.¹⁸⁷

The other series of slabs showing the Assyrian army on the march culminates in a battle on mountainous terrain.¹⁸⁸ The structure of the battle scene is as follows: the marching Assyrian army is depicted in two registers. In the lower register from the rear there are the following units: 13 auxiliary archers, then 7 auxiliary spearmen and then 22 armoured horsemen. The horsemen in the first lines are fighting a battle with the archers and spearmen of the enemy infantry. The representation of the charge of the cavalry on the last slab of the more than ten-slab-long scene is divided into several registers. This probably implies the extensive character of the battle. In the upper register of the beginning of the marching scene there is the Assyrian military camp. In front of the camp the king is shown with his entourage, which consists of 7 armoured horsemen (perhaps his mounted bodyguard), and 7 armoured spearmen standing in close order.

Further marching scenes show the auxiliary spearmen marching in a column behind auxiliary archers.¹⁸⁹ A fragmentary slab shows an army column marching along a riverbed. The column consists of two files of 5 + 5 auxiliary spearmen and 2+ auxiliary archers.¹⁹⁰ A 14-slab-long marching scene¹⁹¹ shows the Assyrian expeditionary force marching along a river in mountainous terrain in one column. The scene starts with 11 Assyrian officers probably carrying the royal chariot, then come 6 armoured spearmen (as a bodyguard), then 4 cavalymen (bodyguard cavalry) leading the king's horses, then the king himself on horseback (or the crown-prince if the king is represented standing in his chariot in front of this group), then 3 officers, then 6 armoured spearmen (as a bodyguard), then 4+ auxiliary spearmen, then 5 cavalymen (bodyguard cavalry and officers, including a eunuch (the chief eunuch?)), then the royal chariot with 3 officers, then 9 armoured spearmen, 9 auxiliary archers and finally 17 auxiliary spearmen. They obviously form the advance guard of the army column. The scene culminates in the siege and sack of a town with a display of the booty. This is followed by a scene with a long column of Assyrian soldiers carrying booty from the town. The last two slabs¹⁹² of the scene are extremely interesting, since they show the meeting of two Assyrian army columns. The booty column is headed by 3+ auxiliary archers, while another army column of 6+ auxiliary spearmen is descending from a steep hillside and meets the auxiliary archers. The rest of the arriving army column consists – as far as the fragmentary condition of the slabs makes the reconstruction possible – of 9+ armoured spearmen, 6+ of whom are climbing up a steep hillside with their shields fastened onto their backs, while the rest (3+) of them are descending from a steep hillside to the valley just to start the climb behind the rest of the column in front of them. As a further fragmentary slab shows, this army column additionally consisted of cavalymen, who are leading their horses across the riverbed (or along the river). The auxiliary spearmen are again depicted in the role of the advance guard.

¹⁸⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 234-241.

¹⁸⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 100-111.

¹⁸⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 193, mountainous terrain, Western campaign?

¹⁹⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 522.

¹⁹¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 441-455.

¹⁹² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 454 and 455.

Similar marching scenes are known from the sculptures of Assurbanipal, but unfortunately not a single long scene is extant, only a few single slabs or fragments. Such scenes depict auxiliary spearmen equipped with standing wicker shields fastened on their backs.¹⁹³

Marching scenes sometimes culminate in the crossing of a river. One of the sculptures of Assurbanipal shows the Assyrian army crossing a river. In addition to other soldiers there is an auxiliary spearman – with his battle shield fastened to his back – swimming with the help of an inflated animal skin.¹⁹⁴

(4) *Siege scenes*

With the help of the siege scenes a more detailed picture of the versatility of the auxiliary spearmen emerges. The sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III show auxiliary spearmen performing several different actions connected to siege operations. They are depicted in hand-to-hand combat outside the walls,¹⁹⁵ scaling ladders,¹⁹⁶ engaged in close combat on the parapet of the wall,¹⁹⁷ attacking from the top of the tower of a siege machine,¹⁹⁸ and destroying the wall with spears.¹⁹⁹

The palace reliefs of Sargon II show the auxiliary spearmen in four contexts. They are advancing towards the wall in close order,²⁰⁰ behind siege machines,²⁰¹ scaling ladders,²⁰² or waiting in a kneeling position.²⁰³

The same range of activities is shown on the palace reliefs of Sennacherib. Siege scenes of Sennacherib show auxiliary spearmen climbing the steep hillside leading to the city wall,²⁰⁴ approaching the wall,²⁰⁵ attacking the city gate,²⁰⁶ attacking behind archers and siege machines,²⁰⁷ attacking on siege-ramps,²⁰⁸ or even in a kneeling position, covering themselves with their shields²⁰⁹ (*Plate 12, 42*). The auxiliary spearmen could scale the city walls on ladders²¹⁰ or storm through the rooftops of houses (of probably the lower town).²¹¹ One of the auxiliary spearmen climbing the wall wears scale armour, which may well mean that he is an officer (*Plate 17, 58*). One of the sculptures of Sennacherib depicts the siege of a smaller town in unknown hill country.²¹² The fragmentary scene

¹⁹³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 307, 317.

¹⁹⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 273.

¹⁹⁵ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV (Babylonian campaign); XXXV, XXXVI (Eastern campaign); L, LI (Anatolian campaign); LXXIII (unknown campaign).

¹⁹⁶ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII (Eastern campaign); LXI (unknown hill country); LXXIX (unknown hill country).

¹⁹⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXXIX (unknown hill country).

¹⁹⁸ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXII (URU.*Ga-az-ru*).

¹⁹⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXXXVIII, XC, XCI (Western campaign).

²⁰⁰ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 95 (URU.*Gab-bu-tu-nu*), 96 (Ashdod or Gaza?), 98 (URU.*A`-am-qa-ru-na*), 101 (Western campaign), 124 (Median campaign), 126 (URU.*Ki-še-si-im* (Media)), 128 (Ganguhtu (Media)), 136 (URU.*Pa-za-ši* (Mannai, Media)).

²⁰¹ ALBENDA 1986, pl. 138 (URU.*Ki-šes-lu* (Media)).

²⁰² ALBENDA 1986, pls. 100 (Western campaign), 101 (Western campaign), 112 (URU.*Har-ha-ar* (Media)).

²⁰³ ALBENDA 1986, pl. 119 (Kindau (Media)).

²⁰⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 49 (Aranziaš, 2nd campaign (Eastern)).

²⁰⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 236 ([URU.*A*]-*al-am-mu*), 429 (URU.*La-ki-su*), 627 (unknown campaign), 652 (Babylonian campaign), 691 (unknown hill country), 737 (unknown hill country).

²⁰⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 241 ([URU.*A*]-*al-am-mu*).

²⁰⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 429-431 (URU.*La-ki-su*), 481 (Eastern campaign?), 482.

²⁰⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 228 (3rd campaign (Western)).

²⁰⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 240 ([URU.*A*]-*al-am-mu*).

²¹⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 70, 71 (Aranziaš, 2nd campaign), 91 (unknown hill country), 365, 366 (Eastern campaign?).

²¹¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 50 (Aranziaš, 2nd campaign), 239 ([URU.*A*]-*al-am-mu*), 488 (unknown hill country).

²¹² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 691.

shows only a single armoured archer covered by the siege-shield of his shield-bearer, the fragmentary figure of a horse, and no less than 13 auxiliary spearmen, who are attacking the wall, engaged in close combat with a native archer covered by the round shield of his shield-bearer, executing and escorting captives. This scene suggests that larger units of auxiliary spearmen could operate almost independently, and could carry out smaller tactical operations, even the siege of smaller towns.

The sculptures of Assurbanipal also show auxiliary spearmen approaching the wall,²¹³ advancing on a siege-ramp,²¹⁴ protecting an armoured archer with his shield,²¹⁵ scaling ladders and engaged in close combat on walls,²¹⁶ as well as working as sappers (breaking the walls with their swords under the cover of the big standing shield).²¹⁷

(5) *Guard scene 1: Siege wall scenes*

There are two interesting siege scenes depicted in the sculptures of Sennacherib. In the foreground of both siege scenes there is a low wall, with towers and battlements. On the top of the wall and the towers auxiliary archers alternate with auxiliary spearmen, guarding the wall. It is difficult to determine whether the wall is the outer wall of the besieged town, or a kind of siege-wall built by the Assyrians. The siege-wall theory is more likely, however, in which case this wall and the guards prevented the defenders from breaking out, or a relieving army from reaching the besieged town.²¹⁸ The function of guarding forts is well known from written sources.

(6) *Guard scene 2: Stone quarry and escort scenes*

The next role, closely related to the former, was guarding those captives who worked on big building (mining, etc.) projects. In one of the sculptures of Sennacherib, for example, auxiliary archers alternate with auxiliary spearmen standing guard on the edge of a quarry (probably the Balatai stone quarry), in which captives quarrying stone can be seen.²¹⁹ Auxiliary spearmen appear in the sculptures of Assurbanipal, guarding captives after the capture of Hamanu in Elam. They form a wall with their standing shields around the camp of resting Elamite captives.²²⁰

(7) *Escorting captives and carrying booty*

One of the most important functions of the light infantry was to escort the captives and booty which were taken in a campaign. This duty is predominantly assigned to auxiliary archers and spearmen;²²¹ it has two important aspects which can be identified in the palace reliefs: escorting captives and transporting booty with them, and carrying the severed heads of the defeated.

Escorting captives, carrying booty and leading animals²²² constitute one of the most significant scene types in the repertoire of Assyrian sculptures. These operations were conducted mostly by

²¹³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 282 (Babylonian campaign), BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXIV (hill country), LXXI (unknown campaign), LXVII (Elam, Dīn-Šarri).

²¹⁴ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXVI (Egyptian campaign (Memphis?)).

²¹⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 278 (Babylonian campaign).

²¹⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 316 (unknown campaign); BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII (Elam, Hamanu), XXI (Elam), XXXVI (Egyptian campaign), LX-LXI (Elam), LXX (unknown campaign), LXXI (Elam).

²¹⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 278 (Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII (Elam, Hamanu), XXI (Elam), XXXVI (Egyptian campaign), LX-LXI (Elam), LXVI (Elam, Hamanu), LXX (unknown campaign), LXXI (Elam).

²¹⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 214 (unknown hill country), 226, 227 (3rd campaign), 626 (unknown campaign).

²¹⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 152, 153, 156-158.

²²⁰ BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI, A, B(c, e).

²²¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 50, 83.

²²² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 294, 342, 368.

the auxiliary infantry, including auxiliary spearmen. The earliest known representation of auxiliary spearmen escorting tribute bearers is known from the Til-Barsip wall paintings²²³ (*Plate 10, 35*). The sculptures of Sennacherib show at least 12 booty scenes in which auxiliary spearmen escort captives and booty.²²⁴ In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal more than 15 booty scenes were depicted.²²⁵ A new development in the equipment of the auxiliary spearmen was that the shield (especially the new standing shield) could be fastened onto the spearman's back,²²⁶ which made marching easier and left the hands free. New emphasis was laid on those booty scenes in the sculptures of Sennacherib²²⁷ and Assurbanipal²²⁸ in which Assyrian soldiers, including auxiliary spearmen, carry severed heads. Military scribes counted these heads, which counted as incontrovertible proof of the soldiers' personal bravery. The reward for this bravery was the silver or gold bracelet – the only known (military) decoration – given by officers on the field.²²⁹ In some cases the auxiliary spearmen were equipped with a staff,²³⁰ which might have been a tool used to drive people and animals, or might have been an officer's staff (*Plate 17, 59, 60*).

(8) *Parade scenes*

Auxiliary spearmen are often seen in parade contexts, where – similarly to the marching scenes – the whole expeditionary army was reviewed. Such a scene is shown on the palace reliefs of Sennacherib, where units of the Assyrian army have been mustered in front of a burning city. The three-register scene shows cavalrymen leading their horses and carrying booty in the upper register, cavalrymen leading their horses with officers(?) heading them, and 7+ auxiliary spearmen (with cavalrymen behind them).²³¹

There are, however, muster scenes in which the auxiliary spearmen were depicted together with bodyguard infantry – in a bodyguard context. Such a parade (or procession) is shown on the walls of the Passage leading to the Ishtar Temple (Southwest Palace, Sennacherib), where the auxiliary spearmen are standing guard together with bodyguards (*Plate 40, 130, 131*) and auxiliary archers (*Plate 6, 20, 21*). Similar musters – but in a slightly different context: receiving and counting the booty – are shown on several sculptures of Assurbanipal. In these scenes auxiliary spearmen were depicted standing in front of the bodyguard heavy infantry.²³² Another scene shows them standing guard with their large standing shields behind bodyguard infantry (8 bodyguards and 14 auxiliary spearmen). The same scene shows them standing guard or forming a wall around the arena of Assurbanipal's lion hunt.²³³

²²³ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pl. XLIX.

²²⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 32, 72 (Aranziaš, 2nd campaign), 83-84, 103, 193, 229 (3rd campaign), 368-369, 371-372 (Eastern campaign), 432 (URU.La-ki-su), 504 (Media, 2nd campaign), 607 (Babylonian campaign), 613 (Babylonian campaign).

²²⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 285, 286 (Babylon), 293 (Babylon), 341, 342 (Babylon), 345 (Babylon); BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII (Elam, Ḫamanu), XIX (Elam, Ḫamanu), XX (Elam), XXII (Elam), XXVIII (Elam), XXX (Elam), XXXV (Babylon), XXXVI (Egypt, Memphis?), LX-LXI (Elam), LXVII (Elam, Dīn-Šarri), LXVIII (Babylon), LXX.

²²⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 345 (Babylonian campaign), 277 (Babylonian campaign), 283 (Babylonian campaign), 288 (Babylonian campaign), 310 (Babylon); BARNETT 1976, pl. XVIII.

²²⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 102, 193, 244 (Alammu), 368 (Eastern campaign), 487, 645 (Babylonian campaign, Saḫrina).

²²⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 284, (Babylonian campaign), 294 (Babylonian campaign), 319, 345, 346 (Babylonian campaign).

²²⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 346 (Babylonian campaign).

²³⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 277, 283, 285, 294.

²³¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 19 (unknown campaign).

²³² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 283, 342, 347, 348 (Babylonian campaign).

²³³ BARNETT 1976, pls. VI, IX.

It is known from the written sources (Sargon II) that there was a category or a unit of the auxiliary spearmen, who served the Palace (Gurreans of the Palace).²³⁴

(9) *Other contexts*

There are several other contexts in which the auxiliary spearmen were portrayed. One of the most interesting scenes is a scene from the sculptures of Assurbanipal. In this relief there are auxiliary spearmen with their heavy shields fastened to their backs and wearing a unique feather-crown on their crested helmets. This probably depicts a religious procession.²³⁵ During campaigns the auxiliary spearmen were active not only in military operations, but performing other duties which can partly be connected to their 'auxiliary' profile. These duties included sacking cities and temples,²³⁶ executing captives (*Plate 11, 38*),²³⁷ impaling corpses,²³⁸ or killing animals for food.²³⁹

The weaponry of the auxiliary spearmen hardly changed during the hundred years of their Assyrian representational tradition. The standardization of the helmet forms has already been discussed. In addition to this change only the shape and characteristics of their shields altered. In the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) and Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) the shape and structure of their shields was uniform: a round wicker or wooden shield with a wicker pattern on the inside (*Plate 11, 37; Plate 12, 40–42; Plate 13, 46; Plate 14, 49, 50; Plate 17, 57*) or the outside (*Plate 10, 35; Plate 11, 36, 38; Plate 13, 43, 44; Plate 14, 47, 48; Plate 15, 51–53*) of the shield, or without any indication of the wicker pattern (*Plate 10, 32–34; Plate 11, 39*), with a shield-boss (*Plate 10, 35; Plate 11, 38; Plate 14, 47, 48; Plate 15, 51–53;*) or without a shield-boss. A new type of shield appears on the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). This was a large and long wicker or wooden standing shield with a straight bottom and a rounded top (*Plate 16, 55, 56*). This type of shield was used, however, not only by the auxiliary spearmen, but by the regular and armoured spearmen as well. The shields of these two divisions might have been covered with bronze sheeting, and might have been reinforced with a metal shield-boss, but there is only one sculpture which shows an auxiliary spearman equipped with a large standing shield covered with bronze.²⁴⁰ The old, round wicker shields, however, also remained in use and were depicted (and used) together with the new type of shield, wicker and bronze.²⁴¹ These wicker standing shields were used not only in battles, but during lion hunts as well, where the hunter is stabbing a lion with his spear, while the king (Assurbanipal) is shooting from behind the shield of the hunter.²⁴²

Several sculptures testify that the shields of the Assyrian army could be fastened on the back of the soldiers. The auxiliary spearmen could even fasten their spears on their backs so that they could use their hands freely while marching, performing escort duty, or plundering.²⁴³

In the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III the auxiliary spearmen are characteristically barefoot, or sometimes wear sandals. The auxiliary spearman in the Til-Barsip frescoes (*Plate 10, 35*),

²³⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883).

²³⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 312.

²³⁶ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 141; ALBENDA 1986, pl. 133: sack of Muṣaṣir.

²³⁷ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 90; ALBENDA 1986, pl. 96: siege of Samaria?

²³⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 429, 430: Lachish.

²³⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 488, 489.

²⁴⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 382.

²⁴¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 381, 382 (Battle of Til-Tuba); BARNETT 1976, pls. XXI, XXVIII.

²⁴² BARNETT 1976, pl. LVI.

²⁴³ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 141; ALBENDA 1986, pl. 133: sack of Muṣaṣir.

however, wears Assyrian military boots. The first auxiliary spearman wearing real Assyrian military boots appears in the palace reliefs during the reign of Sargon II (*Plate 11, 36, 39*). This type of military boot is known from the reigns of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal. Unfortunately the reason for the difference between the barefooted auxiliary spearmen and the spearmen wearing boots (and ‘socks’ as well) is unknown. It can be assumed that it does not depend on the weather conditions, because there are auxiliary spearmen of both types represented side by side in the same reliefs (*Plate 11, 36, 38; Plate 12, 40, 41; Plate 13, 44–46; Plate 15, 51–53; Plate 16, 55, 56; Plate 17, 59, 60*).

Auxiliary spearmen normally never wore scale armour, in fact, except for their breastplate, they wore no armour at all. Yet we can find a few cases in the sculptures of Sargon II and Sennacherib, where an auxiliary spearman is depicted wearing scale armour. The earliest known case is to be found among the sculptures of Sargon II, in which the auxiliary spearman wears a garment whose upper part is reinforced with rectangular metal plates (*Plate 11, 36*). This is not classical scale armour. It is possible, however, that the rectangular motifs were not metal plates, but the design of the fabric, because these spearmen wore breastplates as well. The first real scale armour appears in a series of sculptures of Sennacherib showing a military clearing operation in hill country, discussed above (*Plate 17, 57*). The second is a siege scene, where an auxiliary spearman wearing scale armour reaches the top of the besieged wall first (*Plate 17, 58*). In the third case the auxiliary spearman is escorting captives.²⁴⁴ In these cases it is reasonable to assume that they are officers, perhaps the very commanders-of-50 (*rab hanšê*) known from written sources (*see later*). Those auxiliary spearmen who are depicted escorting captives are not necessarily officers, except those who carry a staff (officer’s staff?) in their hand (*Plate 17, 59, 60*). Furthermore there are two unique depictions of auxiliary spearmen with unusual equipment. The first spearman is shown carrying a bow (*Plate 13, 45*), the reason for which is unknown, but it is quite possible to believe that this represents a real-life situation. The second scene shows an auxiliary spearman escorting prisoners with a round bronze shield fastened on his back. The more auxiliary and less regular character of the auxiliary spearmen might well have made it possible for them to make use of captured equipment, including bronze shields.

Different units of auxiliary spearmen can only be identified by small details of their equipment. An obvious difference is the presence or lack of boots. The other difference might be the use of different types of helmets. There is a parade scene, however, which shows three different ‘types’ of auxiliary spearmen (*Plate 15, 51–53*). All of them are equipped with the same type of round wicker shield reinforced with a metal boss. Spearmen of the first type (**51**) wear boots, the second (**52**) and third (**53**) do not. The first (**51**) and second type (**52**) wear helmets with the same decoration (arcs at the front and at the back as well), while the helmet of the third type (**53**) is decorated with two horizontal ribs. No other indication of separate units is known from the sculptures in their present state, but the use of colour-coding may have been possible as a way to represent these differences: some sculptures of Sargon II showed traces of painted colours. One of the auxiliary spearmen, for example wears a helmet, the crest of which is – similarly to the coloured crest of the Til-Barsip auxiliary spearman (*Plate 10, 35*) – decorated with alternating blue and red tufts of horsehair.²⁴⁵ The different colours of the crests of the helmets

²⁴⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 229b. It has to be mentioned that the other drawing (229a) representing this scene shows the same spearman without scale armour.

²⁴⁵ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 61.

of auxiliary spearmen might indicate different units. It seems possible that auxiliary spearmen equipped with three types of shields (round and standing wicker and bronze) and appearing in the same scene belonged to different units.²⁴⁶

As has been discussed, the auxiliary infantry (archers and spearmen as well) were always depicted as marching or (in the case of sieges and battles) fighting in front of the armoured units of the Assyrian army. They occupied a position at the head of marching columns and in the front rows of the battle lines. Nadali²⁴⁷ has suggested that they were deployed in the front lines to prevent any possible desertion at crucial moments of the battle. He argues that they could have been easily controlled by the Assyrian units in their rear, who would prevent any desertions or retreats. This left them no choice but to fight under pressure from the Assyrian units behind them. It is true that casualties could easily have been replaced by new conscripts, masses of whom were enlisted into the Assyrian army from the ranks of defeated or conquered peoples. However, there were several other practical reasons for deploying them at the front of the marching and battle orders:

(a) Auxiliary infantry played an important role in military reconnaissance during campaigns. They marched in front of the main marching column of the army, and in this advance guard capacity they scouted for enemy units along the direction of the march and beyond, reconnoitred for possible enemy ambushes, controlled the roads, secured the mountain passes, and searched for fords. They searched for the ideal location for a camp and secured sources of water.

(b) They had to find and capture enemy scouts, so as to keep the route of the Assyrian army secret.

(c) As an advance guard they fought skirmishes for control of mountain passes, bridges or fords.

(d) In the battles of the ancient world the light infantry always had the same role. The auxiliary infantry of the Assyrian army tried to break the line of the enemy infantry with a shower of arrows (or spears like the *peltasts*) and to prevent the light infantry of the enemy from doing the same to the battle line of the Assyrians.

(e) During sieges the auxiliary infantry frequently occupied the first ranks, in front of the regular Assyrian units. They are shown climbing the walls and scaling ladders. It is obvious that the auxiliary infantry with its light equipment could storm the walls much more easily than the Assyrian heavy infantry (the armoured spearmen of which are always depicted standing in formation and watching the siege from a distance).

The battle scenes of Assurbanipal show auxiliary spearmen with different types of shields (round wicker, standing wicker (*Plate 16, 55, 56*) and standing bronze).²⁴⁸ One scene shows a mixture of different elements of equipment: there are armoured Assyrian spearmen equipped with standing bronze shields (*Plate 35, 117*), regular Assyrian spearmen wearing breast-plates (of the auxiliary spearmen) and equipped with standing bronze shields (*Plate 27, 87*) and standing wicker shields (*Plate 27, 88*), and a regular Assyrian spearman wearing Assyrian dress, equipped with a standing bronze shield (*Plate 27, 89*). The appearance of these seven types of spearmen in the same battle shows an unquestionable tendency, regarded by Nadali²⁴⁹ as a clear sign of the Assyrianization of the auxiliary troops, who became an integral part of the Assyrian world,

²⁴⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 381, 382 (Battle of Til-Tuba).

²⁴⁷ NADALI 2005A, 230.

²⁴⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 381-382 (Battle of Til-Tuba); BARNETT 1976, pls. XXI, XXVIII.

²⁴⁹ NADALI 2005A, 229-230.

subjects of the Assyrian Empire, and thus active in spreading Assyrian culture. From the military point of view, however, it can be understood as the standardization of equipment, and the reappearance of the regular infantry with their pointed helmets, breast-plates, and standing shields (*Plate 27, 87, 88*). It could mean that the characteristic equipment of the auxiliary spearmen which – judging from the correspondence of Sargon II – in the late 8th century B.C. could be connected with the Gurreans, by the middle of the 7th century B.C. at the latest had lost its presumably ethnic character and, devoid of any ethnic affiliation, became the equipment of one of the arms of the light infantry, the auxiliary spearmen.²⁵⁰

Cuneiform sources

Assyrian cuneiform sources mention a people called *Gurru* (LÚ.gur-ru)²⁵¹ already during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. Some scholars have argued convincingly that the Gurreans are identical with the auxiliary spearmen wearing crested helmets, and depicted in the Assyrian palace reliefs.²⁵² However, the North Syrian and Southeast Anatolian origin of the crested helmets does not entirely support this theory. Indeed, as has been mentioned, there are 15 variants of crested helmets (11 in the Assyrian army and 4 in the ranks of their enemies) represented in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III.²⁵³ This suggests that this kind of helmet can hardly be associated with a single ethnic group. The evolution of this helmet-type is the result of parallel developments which took place in a number of North Syrian and Southeast Anatolian city centres. Furthermore, it is hardly conceivable that a people of unknown origin²⁵⁴ (Aramean or non-Aramean, nomadic or semi-nomadic) supplied the Assyrian army with auxiliary spearmen (a complete arm of the light infantry), in numbers which could reach tens of thousands of men.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, the standardization of helmet types (and the other armour and weapons) of the Assyrian army noticeable from the reign of Sennacherib onwards was undoubtedly the result of a centralized army reform, and not of some spontaneous process which took place in a nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe. However, it is possible that the Gurreans – if they were a nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe or people – had adopted this characteristically non-nomadic type of weaponry in the Assyrian army, and became one of the most numerous groups of auxiliary spearmen.²⁵⁶ We may presume that some time later (during the 7th century B.C.) the unidentifiable *Gurrean* ethnonym would have lost its original function as a term identifying a group of people, and started to denote simply one of the auxiliary spearmen of the Assyrian army, without any allusion to a supposed ethnic origin.

The picture emerging from the cuneiform sources is similar to that of the Itu'eans. The Gurreans, like the Itu'eans (auxiliary archers), played an important part in the defence of the frontiers of the empire, and were probably deployed in the provinces in a policing role as well. However, it is

²⁵⁰ DEZSÓ – CURTIS 1991, 121; DEZSÓ 2001, 39.

²⁵¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53, 215, 277; FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5, 115.

²⁵² READE 1972, 105-106; FALES 2000, 42; POSTGATE 2000, 103-104.

²⁵³ DEZSÓ 2001, Charts 3-4, nos. 145-159.

²⁵⁴ POSTGATE 2000, 103.

²⁵⁵ As *vol. II, Chart 9* shows, of all the soldiers depicted in the Assyrian sculptures, the percentage of the auxiliary spearmen is as follows: Tiglath-Pileser III: 14.7%; Sargon II: 20.6%; Sennacherib: 23.2%; Assurbanipal: 30.2%.

²⁵⁶ POSTGATE 2000, 104. For further possibilities *see* FALES 2000, note 33.

known from the palace reliefs that they took a prominent part in campaigns and during sieges. A letter from the reign of Sargon II mentioned above lists the contingents of an Assyrian army gathering for an eastern campaign in the province of Māzāmua. In the ranks of the local, provincial units were 360 Gurreans and 440 Itu'eans.²⁵⁷ Gurreans are mentioned side by side with Itu'eans in the letters from the reign of Sargon II which list the army units of provincial governors,²⁵⁸ garrisons and equipment stored in three border forts. The garrison of the first fort consisted of 50 Itu'eans and 30 Gurreans,²⁵⁹ the second fort was guarded by 100 Itu'eans and the Gurreans of the Palace,²⁶⁰ and in the third fort there were 10 Gurreans and 20 Itu'eans.²⁶¹ In one of his letters to Sargon II Šarru-ēmuranni asked the king to send 50 Gurreans and 50 Itu'eans to Sabhānu (probably for garrison service).²⁶² An administrative text lists the daily stations of a journey along the high road from Kalhu (Nimrud) to Māzāmua province. The 9th station is the "fort of Gurreans."²⁶³ It is not known whether this fort was a former border fort or a regional Gurrean garrison. It is known, however, that the Gurreans owned estates. An administrative cuneiform text lists the name of Barbiri, a Gurrean soldier, who received 40 hectares of land in the town of Apiani.²⁶⁴ Between two campaign seasons the Gurreans were probably quartered in garrisons and/or in villages/towns. One of the letters written by a provincial governor to Sargon II mentions²⁶⁵ that a local lord, Atua, had duly set out to join the campaign led by the Assyrian king, but had turned back. 40 Gurreans, who a year before served the king and went to Ḫarda, disobeyed orders and did not come out from their own territory. Atua said to them: "You shall not go. You are my servants." The most interesting text, however, is a long letter²⁶⁶ from Aššur-dūr-pānīa (governor of the Assyrian province of Šabirēšu, next to the Šubrian border) in which he informs Sargon II that a commander-of-fifty (*rab ḫanšē*) of the Gurrean troops from Meturna killed the mayor of Meturna. When the expedition came, he took 15 Gurreans with him and went away to Urartu. The governor sent Il-dalā after them, who pursued them till they entered Marḫuḫa, the fort of the Šubrian king. Il-dalā met the Gurrean commander-of-fifty and made a sworn agreement with him. However, the commander-of-fifty went after Il-dalā with 100 Marḫuḫean hoplites, and attacked him on the road. But the Assyrians were on their guard, none of them were killed, and they wounded the commander-of-fifty, who turned back to Marḫuḫa. The Šubrian king did not hand over the deserters to the Assyrians.

Looking over the written sources it can be established that the Gurreans, in contrast to the ethnically identifiable auxiliary archers (Itu'eans and other Aramean tribes), had no identifiable tribal structure. While the Aramean auxiliary archers in addition to military commanders (prefect, *šaknu*), had villages, village inspectors and tribal leaders (sheikhs), it seems that the Gurreans were organized into regular Assyrian military units. Hence it is possible that they were deployed as formal military units, and not as tribal groups under the command of sheikhs. Both

²⁵⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, no. 215; FALES 2000, 40-43; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; SAGGS 2001, 128-130, NL 89 (ND 2631).

²⁵⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305).

²⁵⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 136 (ABL 685).

²⁶⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883).

²⁶¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883).

²⁶² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 238 (ABL 388).

²⁶³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 14 (ADD 1083).

²⁶⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918).

²⁶⁵ SAGGS 2001, 130-132, Nimrud Letter 43 (ND 2635).

²⁶⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, no. 53 (ABL 252).

groups had Assyrian military commanders, the prefects (*šaknu*),²⁶⁷ but besides these the Gurreans had only military officers, for example the commander-of-fifty (*rab ḥanšē*),²⁶⁸ and no tribal leaders. Larger units of Gurreans are unknown. However, two administrative texts mention brigades of 500²⁶⁹ and 1,500²⁷⁰ of the Gurreans, which might refer to units of 500 men.

AUXILIARY SLINGERS

This group consists of four slingers represented on the sculptures of the North Palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. It is, however, not known, whether these four slingers – represented in the same position: standing alone behind the row of auxiliary archers²⁷¹ during sieges – represent an independent auxiliary arm, or whether they were simply auxiliary archers using a sling instead of their bow.

AUXILIARY TROOPS OF VASSALS

The picture drawn of the Assyrianization of the auxiliaries in the previous chapter is somewhat distorted by the fact that only the Assyrian units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), the auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans) and auxiliary archers (Itu'eans and other possibly Aramean tribes) are represented in the sculptures. Mixed equipment, so characteristic of the picture of ancient armies, appears only in a few cases (which cases are always indicated in this book). Assyrian sculptures never feature poorly equipped Assyrian troops, however, it seems unquestionable that the levied provincial units equipped by the governors or high officials (and known only from written sources)²⁷² must have been inferior in their equipment, and their military value did not reach the standard of the probably professional or semi-professional troops of the *kišir šarrūti*. The only group which could be understood as inferior in its equipment to the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) is the regular infantry (equipped with shields and Assyrian pointed helmets but not with scale armour). The proportion of these soldiers in the palace reliefs is, however, so low²⁷³ that it cannot represent their real strength in the Assyrian army.

Furthermore, only a few cases are known where auxiliary troops of Assyrian vassals are depicted in the Assyrian sculptures. One such well-identified group was the unit of Judaeans/

²⁶⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:20: Ad[ad-...] LÚ.GAR-*nu Gur-ri*; MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11), Rev. 18 (630 B.C.): Tabní LÚ.GAR-*nu ša* LÚ.Gur-*ra-a-a*.

²⁶⁸ LÚ.GAL—50 ... *ša* LÚ.Gur-*ra-a-a*: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53 (ABL 252), 4.

²⁶⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 115 (ADD 953), II:18.

²⁷⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 112 (ADD 680), Rev. 2.

²⁷¹ BARNETT 1976, pls. XVI (Room F, slabs 1-2, Elam: siege of Ḥamanu); XXI (Room F, slab 15, siege of an Elamite city); XXXVI (Room M, slabs 19-20, Egyptian campaign, siege of Memphis?); LXVII (Room V¹/T¹, slab A, Elam: siege of Dīn-[Šarri]).

²⁷² See for example those units which were reconstructed in the chapter on Cavalry.

²⁷³ See vol. II, Chart 9, which shows a clear tendency for the number and proportion of regular infantry to decrease, which could indicate either their decreasing importance during the 7th century B.C. or a change in the pictorial tradition.

Israelite spearmen serving the king as a bodyguard (*see* below, in chapter on Bodyguards, *Plate 39, 129, Plate 40, 130, 132*). Further groups could be reconstructed in the ranks of auxiliary archers, for example the ‘Ellipian archers’ in the Lachish reliefs (*Plate 3, 11*) and other sculptures (*Plate 4, 14, 15*) or the subjugated Elamite archers (*Plate 7, 25*) who served the Assyrians. These few cases, however, could not represent the real scale of auxiliary troops provided by vassals which can be deduced from the written evidence.

The royal correspondence of Sargon II for example mentions auxiliary troops sent by conquered states or vassal kings serving in the Assyrian army. These troops are virtually unknown from Assyrian palace reliefs. Nabû-riḫa-aḫḫē for example wrote a letter to the crown prince (Sennacherib), in which he complained of the Sidonians, who neither went with the crown prince to Calah nor serve the garrison of Nineveh, but loiter in the centre of the town.²⁷⁴ The letter from Nergal-uballit to Sargon II mentions that the Philistines whom the king formed into a cohort refused to stay with him, but went to the village of Luqaše near Arbela.²⁷⁵ Another letter, written by Nabû-išqurni, probably gives details of the muster of auxiliary troops of the land of Sūḫu: it numbered 6 chariots, 1 wagon, 11 teams of horses, 3 teams of mules, 120 donkeys, and 60 camels. He has not counted the soldiers, but there are about 400 of them in his presence.²⁷⁶ Another Nimrud Letter gives a report about the bread and fodder supplies stored in a provincial granary. [Bēl-dūri] stored grain for not less than 2,000 Kummuhean *zakku* soldiers.²⁷⁷ Samnuḫa-bēlu-uṣur wrote a letter about the Šadikanneans to Sargon II, mentioning that they are hirelings; they work for hire, they perform the *ilku* duty and supply king’s men from among themselves. The fragmentary letter continues with a passage asking the king to give orders, that “each of them should go to his government department – the army must not be weakened, not a single man [should be missing] from the campaign, they should all together come t[o the king, my lord]!”²⁷⁸ A fragmentary account of a ceremonial banquet probably mentions the soldiers of the king of the land of Sallat.²⁷⁹

It can be concluded that the picture of the Assyrian army deduced from the sculptures is so clear and logical, and so devoid of any disturbing element (the diversity of its equipment and ethnic composition) that the tendency towards Assyrianization, obvious though it is, cannot be reconstructed in its every aspect.

²⁷⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 153 (ABL 175).

²⁷⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 155 (ABL 218).

²⁷⁶ SAGGS 2001, 283-284, NL 17 (ND 2647), 9-20.

²⁷⁷ SAGGS 2001, 173-175, NL 88 (ND 2495).

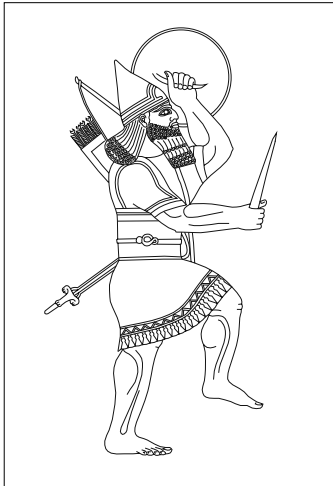
²⁷⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 223 (CT 53, 87).

²⁷⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 154 (ADD 970+), Rev. II:17’.

REGULAR INFANTRY

The early history of Assyrian regular infantry (883—745 B.C.)

The representations (61—70)



The most important characteristic of the regular infantry is that its members never wore armour, and were equipped only with a pointed helmet, a bow, a quiver, a spear and a shield. This typically Assyrian weaponry (especially the pointed helmet) proves that the members of this arm depicted on the palace reliefs were primarily Assyrians: they differ from the auxiliary archers (Itu'eans) and auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans) discussed above, whose ethnic identity and weaponry is dissimilar to that of the Assyrians. The origins of this medium-weight weaponry and the arm of the regular infantry can be traced back to the conscripted Assyrian (peasant) soldiers, who are depicted in large numbers in the 9th century B.C. palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.). In the Nimrud sculptures of Assurnasirpal II only a few soldiers of the elite troops wear scale armour. The ordinary soldier's equipment consisted of a pointed helmet, a shield, a sword, a spear and/or a bow with a quiver.²⁸⁰ The equipment of the masses of conscripted Assyrian peasants was probably never characterized by the widespread use of scale armour.

It can be assumed that scale armour made of bronze, and later of iron, was primarily used by the elite arms of Assyrian army, the armoured spearmen, archers, slingers, the cavalry and the chariotry.

9th century B.C. regular infantrymen always wore a short-sleeved tunic reaching to the knee or in the case of some officers below (*Plate 43, 145, 146*). Most of the tunics were decorated with different types of tasselled fringes, but there are a few depictions in which the fringe of the tunic is not tasselled (*Plate 19, 67, 69; Plate 43, 142*). The diverse decoration of the tunics shows that the soldiers equipped

²⁸⁰ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. CXVIII, CXIX, CXXII.

themselves and wore their local costumes. It is important to note that the decoration of a few tunics (or kilts) shows the same geometric design (*Plate 18, 63; Plate 19, 68; Plate 42, 141*), as can be seen on the kilts of their contemporary Aramean enemies (*Plate 1, 1*), and the Itu'ean and other Aramean auxiliary archers of the 8th century B.C. In some cases the decoration of the kilt and a tasselled cross band (*Plate 42, 138*) show typical Assyrian designs: rosettes and other border motifs found in sculptures and wall-paintings. This could indicate ceremonial dress,²⁸¹ but the possibility of a different ethnic background underlying the different kilt designs cannot be excluded. Besides the conical bronze helmets²⁸² the only piece of armour worn by the regular infantrymen is the wide bronze belt, a few examples of which are known from the outlying parts of Assyria.²⁸³

Three types of regular infantrymen, or three types of equipment can be reconstructed from the 9th century B.C. pictorial evidence: regular archers, regular spearmen, and infantrymen whose equipment is mixed. A Tell Halaf document, for example, lists 10 bows, 10 daggers, 10 hauberks, 10 quivers, and 10 shields, which hints at the possible reconstruction of a 10-man unit (*eširtu*) of the local regular infantry.²⁸⁴ Judging from the wide range of their activities, it seems possible that the division of the universal regular infantrymen into the two main types (regular archers and regular spearmen) known from the 8th–7th centuries B.C. evidence started in the 9th century B.C. Assyrian armies.

The sculptures of Assurnasirpal II show them engaged in a wide range of military activities. Equipped with swords and rectangular wicker or rounded bronze shields they fight hand to hand in a battle outside the walls of a besieged city (*Plate 18, 65*).²⁸⁵ A siege-scene shows regular infantrymen in a sapper context, digging a shaft (*Plate 19, 69*), or pulling back the shaft of a siege-machine (*Plate 19, 68*).²⁸⁶ Another scene shows half-naked regular infantrymen counting heads (*Plate 18, 63*). Regular spearmen protected themselves with rectangular wicker (*Plate 19, 66*) or rounded bronze shields (*Plate 19, 67*) in close combat, for example in siege scenes.²⁸⁷ Regular archers are shown shooting at the walls of a besieged city from the ground (*Plate 18, 61*), or from the tower of a siege-machine (*Plate 20, 70*), some of them are protected by the rectangular wicker shield of a shield-bearer (*Plate 18, 62, Plate 20, 70*). An interesting siege-scene shows regular infantrymen equipped with bows and quivers in close combat on a ladder wielding swords and protecting themselves with rounded bronze shields (*Plate 18, 64*) or setting fire to the gate.²⁸⁸ Regular archers equipped with rounded bronze shields prove the existence of a versatile regular infantry. It is obvious therefore that in comparison with the fully-fledged infantry (auxiliary archers, auxiliary spearmen, regular archers, regular spearmen, armoured archers, armoured slingers, and armoured spearmen) of the late 8th century – 7th century B.C. Assyrian armies, this regular infantry (together with the armoured archers of the heavy infantry) shows a relatively low level of tactical diversity: it can be assumed that the regular infantry of the 9th century B.C. were general-purpose troops used for various tasks.

²⁸¹ This scene (LAYARD 1853A, 26), however, shows not a ceremonial procession but a battle, in which cavalry archers wearing a similar, highly decorated garment are chasing enemy infantry. These two infantry officers are rushing behind them.

²⁸² DEZSÓ 2001, 18-30, Cat. nos. 3-7.

²⁸³ Metal belts are known mostly from Urartu and Transcaucasia (YESAIAN 1984, 97-198; CULICAN – ZIMMER 1987, 159-199; KELLNER 1991).

²⁸⁴ FRIEDRICH ET AL. 1940, 48 (Tell Halaf 30 + 81).

²⁸⁵ LAYARD 1853A, 13.

²⁸⁶ LAYARD 1853A, 19.

²⁸⁷ LAYARD 1853A, 20.

²⁸⁸ LAYARD 1853A, 29.

Officers of the regular infantry can be identified by their maces or officer's staffs which end in rosettes (*Plate 42, 138–141, Plate 43, 142*), or by the context in which they appear. Sometimes they wear a very elaborate dress (kilt decorated with rosettes: *Plate 42, 138*), and they are usually equipped with bows (*Plate 42, 138–141, Plate 43, 142, 145, 146*). Their quivers are decorated, sometimes containing not only arrows but – from the 9th century B.C. onwards – battle axes as well (*Plate 42, 139, 140*). The context in which they appear is almost exclusively procession scenes (escorting the chariot of the king, leading prisoners or booty). Only a few scenes show them marching in pairs in battle contexts²⁸⁹ (*Plate 42, 138, 139*), or supervising the crossing of a river by the army²⁹⁰ (*Plate 43, 144*).

The same picture is revealed from the two Balawat Gates (palace and Mamu Temple) of Assurnasirpal II. Regular archers are shown shooting at the city wall of besieged cities;²⁹¹ regular spearmen appear in siege context as scaling ladders during the siege,²⁹² and regular infantrymen are shown in sapper context,²⁹³ as fighting close quarters²⁹⁴ or dragging tribute.²⁹⁵

Hundreds of soldiers are depicted on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).²⁹⁶ Though the small scale of the images makes the study of details almost impossible, an attempt at reconstructing the regular infantry has some chances of success. Regular infantrymen are identified by their pointed helmets and short kilts while the heavy infantry are clad in long armour coats. The emerging picture is similar to that reconstructed from the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II: concerning their equipment and weaponry, three types of regular infantryman are depicted on the bronze bands.

(1) Regular infantrymen equipped with pointed helmets and swords are depicted in various contexts. They are shown engaged in close combat with Ḫamateans,²⁹⁷ setting fire to the city of Arzaškun, the Urartean capital of king Arame,²⁹⁸ cutting down palm groves with axes²⁹⁹ or putting their unarmed enemies to the sword.³⁰⁰ More peaceful contexts include 12 regular infantrymen dragging a huge vessel fastened onto a four-wheeled chariot,³⁰¹ carrying an object hanging on a rod,³⁰² or performing their tasks in camp.³⁰³

(2) Regular archers³⁰⁴ appear in large numbers but mainly in 'secondary' contexts. Only a single scene is known in which they are shooting at the enemy infantry in front of the walls of Arzaškun from behind cover provided by two types of shield bearers: one of them holds a spiked

²⁸⁹ LAYARD 1853A, 14, 26.

²⁹⁰ LAYARD 1853A, 16.

²⁹¹ CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 12 (Ḫatti, 4 archers), 76 (Bīt-Adini, 3 pairs of regular archers with shield-bearers, 2 regular archers without shield-bearers).

²⁹² CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 12 (Ḫatti, 1 spearman), 76 (Bīt-Adini, 1 spearman).

²⁹³ CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 12 (Ḫatti, 1 infantryman), 76 (Bīt-Adini, 1 infantryman), 86 (Bīt-Adini, 1 infantryman).

²⁹⁴ CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Fig. 26 (Bīt-Adini, a regular infantryman is fighting against Aramean archers).

²⁹⁵ CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Fig. 72 (unknown (Western?) campaign, 8 helmeted infantrymen are dragging timbers).

²⁹⁶ For a detailed study of the chariots shown on the Balawat Gates see SCHACHNER 2007, 160-172 (6.3.4.3 Die Streiwagen).

²⁹⁷ KING 1915, pl. XLVIII, Band IX, 1.

²⁹⁸ KING 1915, pl. XXXIX, Band VII, 3.

²⁹⁹ KING 1915, pl. VIII, Band II, 2.

³⁰⁰ KING 1915, pl. XVII, Band III, 5.

³⁰¹ KING 1915, pl. VII, Band II, 1.

³⁰² KING 1915, pl. LI, Band IX, 4.

³⁰³ KING 1915, pls. LI, Band IX, 4; LXXI, Band XII, 6.

³⁰⁴ SCHACHNER 2007, 169-172 (Bogenschützen). He realized the difference between the archers examining their garmets (short tunic, long garment, short and long scale armour), Tabs. 44-48, Abbs. 106-108.

rounded bronze shield, the other holds a rectangular wicker shield.³⁰⁵ They also appear in several siege-scenes with shield-bearers,³⁰⁶ but it is very difficult to distinguish the high-ranking officials from the ordinary regular archers. Several scenes show them engaged in close combat with swords with Urartian infantrymen wearing crested helmets.³⁰⁷ Some of the Assyrian regular archers are equipped with spiked rounded bronze shields.³⁰⁸ A similar scene shows regular archers putting their Urartian enemies to the sword.³⁰⁹ In these contexts their quivers identify them as regular archers. A further scene shows them with their bows on their shoulders marching behind a horse.³¹⁰

(3) Regular spearmen are equipped with rounded bronze shields, spears and swords.³¹¹ They are depicted in three contexts: marching behind chariots³¹² or cavalrymen,³¹³ escorting prisoners from Qarqar with swords and shields hanging on their backs,³¹⁴ and putting enemies to the sword in front of the walls of Kulisi.³¹⁵ The shields in this case are also hanging on the back of the infantrymen.

Concluding the representational evidence, the two main arms of the regular infantry, the regular archers and the regular spearmen, seem to have developed from a general regular infantry during the 9th century B.C.

Cuneiform sources

The most important problem in the study of the (Assyrian) infantry is that the written sources do not allow an exact reconstruction of the different services of this arm. A detailed picture similar to that which emerges from the sculptures cannot be extracted from the cuneiform texts. These do not make a distinction between the different arms of the infantry (regular infantry, regular archers, regular spearmen, armoured archers, slingers, or spearmen), and Akkadian (as far as we know) does not know such *termini technici*. Assyrian royal inscriptions of the late 2nd and early 1st millennium B.C. use only a limited number of expressions to describe infantry. These stereotyped terms refer to the infantry as a general category and are used to distinguish them from the chariotry. The terminology consists of abstract, collective terms such as ‘infantry,’ ‘army,’ ‘troops’ (‘crack troops,’ ‘combat troops’), ‘armed forces,’ or ‘camp,’³¹⁶ and individual terms which reflect a heroic attitude, and not a technical aspect, for example the ‘warrior,’ ‘fighting man,’ ‘man-at-arms,’ ‘soldier.’

³⁰⁵ KING 1915, pl. XL, Band VII, 4.

³⁰⁶ KING 1915, pls. II (3 archers, 3 shield-bearers); III (2 archers, 2 shield-bearers, one of them armoured); VIII (3 archers, 3 shield-bearers, 2 quiver-bearers); IX (2 archers, 4 shield-bearers (with rounded bronze and rectangular wicker shields); XVI (1 archer, 1 armoured shield-bearer with a standing siege-shield); LI (4 archers, 3 shield-bearers); LXX-LXXI (4 archers, 4 shield-bearers).

³⁰⁷ KING 1915, pls. IX, Band II, 3; XXXVII—XXXVIII, Bands VII, 1-2; XL—XLII, Bands VII, 4-6.

³⁰⁸ KING 1915, pls. XL—XLII, Bands VII, 4-6.

³⁰⁹ KING 1915, pl. X, Band II.4.

³¹⁰ KING 1915, pl. XXI, Band IV, 3.

³¹¹ SCHACHNER 2007, 161, Tabs. 44-45, Abb. 102.

³¹² KING 1915, pl. LIX, Band X, 6.

³¹³ KING 1915, pls. V, Band I, 5; LXXIV, Band XIII, 3.

³¹⁴ KING 1915, pl. L, Band IX, 3.

³¹⁵ KING 1915, pl. LVI, Band X, 3.

³¹⁶ Such general terms, as *emūqu* (‘force’) or *karāšu* (‘camp’) are excluded from the present discussion since they could easily have denoted the whole army including chariotry and cavalry as well.

(1) *Zūku* ('infantry')³¹⁷

The most explicit term denoting infantry is probably the Neo-Assyrian *zūku* ('infantry'),³¹⁸ which appears during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. in a more explicit form: *zūk šēpē* ('infantry of the feet'). This term appears twice in the early records. Its earliest appearance is known from the Synchronistic Chronicle, which tells of Nebuchadnezzar I marching with his chariotry and infantry (GIŠ.GIGIR.<MEŠ> *ù zu-ki*) on Īdu, a border fortress of Assyria. Aššur-rēš-iši I (1132–1115 B.C.), however, sent his chariotry and infantry (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *zu-ki*) to rescue the fortress and defeated Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104 B.C.).³¹⁹ The other entry is the inscription of Assurnasirpal II, which lists the troops, chariots, cavalry and infantry (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *pit-ḫal-lu LÚ.zu-ku*) of Bit-Baḫiāni, Adad-'ime of Azallu, Aḫūnī of Bit-Adini, Carchemish, and Lubarna of Patinu, which were taken by the Assyrian king on his campaign to Lebanon.³²⁰

(2) *Ummānu* ('army,' 'troops')

Assyrian royal inscriptions of the 11th – early 8th centuries B.C. use the ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ logogram, which usually means *šābu* ('group or contingent of people or troops'). Several royal inscriptions of the period, however, make it clear that the ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ means *ummānu* ('army').³²¹ Furthermore, parallel passages of royal inscriptions use alternately the terms ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ or *ummānu*.³²² *Ummānu* is the term most frequently used to denote infantry troops.³²³ A more explicit form comes from a royal inscription of Adad-nērārī II (911–891 B.C.), which mentions the "field troops of the Aḫlamû Arameans" (ERIM.MEŠ EDIN KUR.*aḫ-la-me-e* KUR.*ar-ma-a-ia*.MEŠ).³²⁴ Royal inscriptions usually start the description of a campaign with the standard form: "I mustered my chariotry and troops", which again emphasizes the infantry meaning of the term.³²⁵ This phenomenon is known from the descriptions of the armies of the enemies of Assyria,³²⁶ which shows that their armies were similar in structure. Royal inscriptions frequently use the word *ummānu* with epithets emphasizing the size of the army. Such a construction is ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-

³¹⁷ Most recently see the comprehensive study: FALES 2010A, 82-84.

³¹⁸ OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1961, 153-154.

³¹⁹ GLASSNER 2004, 178-180, Synchronistic Chronicle (A), 5", 8".

³²⁰ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:58, 60, 63, 68-69, 77: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *pit-ḫal-lu LÚ.zu-ku*.

³²¹ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.18, 2': GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*te* (*ummanâte*) DAGAL.MEŠ-*te* (*rapšâte*); A.0.101.18, 14', 20': ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*te*; GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.6, iv:8-12: ERIM.MEŠ-*ni-šú*; GRAYSON 1996, Adad-nērārī III, A.0.104.6, 12: KUR *ad-ki* ERIM.ḪI.<A>-*at* KUR.*Aš-šur* DAGAL.MEŠ.

³²² GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.14, 149: *um-ma-ni-ia* KARASŠ-*ia*; A.0.102.16, 272'-273': ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*ia* KARASŠ-*ia*; A.0.102.14, 160: ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia*, ERIM.ḪI.A DAGAL; A.0.102.16, 292'-293': ERIM.ḪI.A DAGAL, *um-ma-ni-ia*.

³²³ GRAYSON 1989, Shalmaneser I, A.0.77.1, 95: *ka-ra-aš* ERIM.MEŠ-*ia* (my army's camp); GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, ii:105; A.0.101.17, iv:61-62: *ina gi-piš* ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*a*; GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.2, ii:73-74: ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú*; A.0.102.8, 3"-4"; A.0.102.12, 22: ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú*; A.0.102.14:49: ERIM.ḪI.A-*šú*; A.0.102.28:27: ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú*; A.0.102.28:34, 43: ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú-nu*. In other constructions: GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.19, 87: *ḫal-lu-up-tu* ERIM.MEŠ ("equipment for troops"); GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.14:153-154; A.0.102.16:279'-280': ERIM.MEŠ EN *ḫi-i-ti*, ERIM.MEŠ ("guilty soldiers"); GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iv:41-42: *si-dir-ta ša* ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú* GAR-*un* ("battle line of troops").

³²⁴ GRAYSON 1991, Adad-nērārī II, A.0.99.2, 33.

³²⁵ GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, ii:42-43: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù um-ma-na-te-ia*.MEŠ (Katmuḫu); A.0.87.1, iii:93 (Murattaš); A.0.87.1, iv:68-71 (Nairi); GRAYSON 1991, Adad-nērārī II, A.0.99.1, 10: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*ia*; A.0.99.2, 10; GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, i:45, 77, 104, ii:51, 60-61, 76-78, 86, 95-96; A.0.101.17, i:64-65, iii:31-33, 98-101, iv:31-33: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ; GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.2, i:15, 18, 21-22, ii:39-42: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*ia*; A.0.102.6, i:29.

³²⁶ GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, iv:83-85: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù um-ma-na-te-šu-nu*.MEŠ (23 kings of the lands Nairi); GRAYSON 1991, Aššur-dān II, A.0.98.2, 9': GIŠ.GI[GIR.MEŠ *ù um-ma-na-te-šu-nu*]; GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:34-35: GIŠ.GIGIR-*šú-nu* ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú-nu*.

te (*ummanāte*) DAGAL.MEŠ-*te* (*rapšāte*)³²⁷ (*rapšu* = ‘wide,’ ‘broad’: ‘extensive troops,’ ‘extensive army’). This attribute is sometimes combined with numbers: Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) for example fought with 20,000 ‘extensive’ troops (20 LIM *um-ma-na-te-šu-nu* DAGAL.MEŠ)³²⁸ of Qumānu at Mount Tala and defeated them. He broke up their mighty force (*ki-šir-šu-nu gap-ša*) and pursued them as far as Mount Ḥarusa. 20,000 infantry was unquestionably a substantial force concentrated against the Assyrians. Royal inscriptions, however, use other attributes alongside *rapšu*. One such standard formula is found in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, which mention the ‘extensive muster’ of the troops of Ḥazael of Damascus (841 B.C.): ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú *a-na ma-a’-diš*,³²⁹ or a combination with ‘innumerable’ or ‘multitudinous’: ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-*nu* ḪI.A.MEŠ *a-na la ma-ni*.³³⁰ Besides the armies of the coalition of the 12 kings of the sea-coast the largest army the Assyrian king met was a coalition army on the campaign of 856 B.C., when the Assyrians on their way from Nairi to Zamua routed 44,000 troops with their officers.³³¹ The Assyrians mustered not only their chariotry and army, but “weapons and army,”³³² and the “army and camp”³³³ as well.

(3) *Gunu* (‘horde’)

Another term designating infantrymen in a collective form is *gunu*, which means ‘horde.’ It appears in the royal inscriptions of Šamši-Adad V (823–811 B.C.) and refers to the defeated enemy soldiers who were killed or captured in battles fought against the Assyrian army.³³⁴

(4) *Ašarēdu* (‘crack troop’?)

This term appears in this context only in the royal inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II.³³⁵ The obscure entry lists a sequence of strong chariots, cavalry and some type of unit, which might well have been an infantry unit, a vanguard³³⁶ or ‘crack troops.’ This type of élite unit cannot be confidently identified in the sculptures, but those infantrymen who were equipped with rounded bronze shields, bows and spears as well (*Plate 18, 64; Plate 43, 143*) are good candidates for this role. The existence of some type of élite infantry unit can be presumed, since the inscriptions of Tiglath-

³²⁷ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.18, 2’. See furthermore: GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.14:141-142; A.0.102.16:228’-229’: ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia*, ERIM.ḪI.A DAGAL; A.0.102.14:149; A.0.102.16:272’: ERIM.ḪI.A DAGAL; GRAYSON 1996, Adad-nērārī III, A.0.104.6, 12: KUR *ad-ki* ERIM.ḪI.<A>-*at* KUR.*Aš-šur* DAGAL.MEŠ (“I mustered the land (and) commanded the extensive troops of Assyria to march to the land of Ḫatti”).

³²⁸ GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, v:87-92.

³²⁹ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.12, 22; see furthermore: GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.14, 144; A.0.102.16, 233’: *um-ma-ni-šú ma-a’-di*.

³³⁰ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.10, iii:20-21; see furthermore GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iv:39: ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú *ma-a’-di a-na la [ma-ni]* (“multitudinous troops”).

³³¹ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.5, ii:2: 44,000 LÚ.ERIM GAL.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-*nu*. It must be mentioned, however, that it is hard to make distinction between “defeated soldiers” and “people routed or deported”.

³³² GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, ii:26: GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ.

³³³ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.14, 157; A.0.102.16, 287’: ERIM.ḪI.A KARAŠ; A.0.102.14:176; A.0.102.16, 322’-323’: ERIM.ḪI.A DAGAL, ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia* KARAŠ-*ia*; GRAYSON 1996, Adad-nērārī III, A.0.104.7, 4: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ KARAŠ.MEŠ.

³³⁴ GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iv:43: 5 LIM *gu-ni-šú ú-pel-liq* (“I slaughtered 5,000 of his hordes”) (and) captured 2,000 alive.

³³⁵ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, ii:52-54, 103-104; A.0.101.17, iii:36-37; iv:61-62: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KAL-*tu pit-ḫal-lu* SAG.KAL-*su*.

³³⁶ Written sources of the period mention the rear guard as well, which can not be identified in the sculptures. GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.28, 31: “The king, without waiting for the rear guard” (*ar-ka-a ul ú-qa-a*’).

Pileser I, for example, mention that the king abandoned his chariots, and took the lead of his warriors (*qu-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ) and commanded an infantry action in the mountains of Katmuḫu.³³⁷

(5) *Qurādu* ('warrior,' 'hero')

Qurādu was a standard epithet of gods or was used in connection with the heroes of gods (esp. Erra, Ningirsu, Enlil, Ninurta, Šamaš, and Adad).³³⁸ Besides the epic literature the term appears almost exclusively in royal inscriptions, which provide a sublime context for a term which did not have an everyday relevance, and was not a *terminus technicus* used in administrative texts. In the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I *qurādu* is one of the most frequently used terms for the individual infantrymen who formed the core of the Assyrian army together with chariotry.³³⁹ The term acquires a heroic aspect or seems to denote elite troops in royal inscriptions as well, since one of the inscriptions of this king describes them as "warriors trained for successful combat"³⁴⁰ in connection with a chariotry unit escorting the king – probably a bodyguard unit. In another case the king abandoned his chariots and himself took the lead of his warriors.³⁴¹ Adad-nērārī II besieged Našibina, the royal city of Nūr-Adad, the Temānu with his warriors (UR.SAG.MEŠ-*ia*). This passage also contains a heroic element: the Assyrian warriors encircled the moat dug by Nūr-Adad around his city "like a flame."³⁴² A similarly heroic description is found in the "Epic of Shalmaneser III", where he gives the following order to a military commander: "[Divide] my furious warriors (*šam-ru-te qu-ra-du-ú-a*) into companies (KIŠ-*ri*)."³⁴³ It must be mentioned that the Assyrian royal inscriptions in some cases identified the enemy warriors with the same phrase.³⁴⁴ The term *qurādu* was used in a similar, general and heroic context in the late 8th – 7th centuries B.C. royal inscriptions as well.

(6) *Mundahṣu* ('combat troops,' 'fighting men,' 'warriors')

Similarly to *qurādu* discussed above, the term *mundahṣu* was used almost exclusively in royal inscriptions in a similarly 'abstract' sense. It was used for both Assyrian³⁴⁵ and enemy soldiers. In the case of enemy troops royal inscriptions list them as large numbers of casualties (fallen in battle)³⁴⁶ or captives.³⁴⁷

³³⁷ GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, ii:73-77.

³³⁸ REINER ET AL., 1982, 312-315, s.v. *qurādu*, 1'-3'.

³³⁹ GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, i:71: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù qu-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ (defeat of 20,000 Mušku and their five kings); A.0.87.1, ii:6: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù qu-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ; A.0.87.1, v:44-45: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù qu-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ; A.0.87.1, vi:22-23: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù qu-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ.

³⁴⁰ GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, ii:65-68: 30 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*ia a-li-kàt i-di gam-ma-ri-ia er-ḫu-te ù qu-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ *ša mit-ḫu-uš dāb-de-e li-tam-du*.

³⁴¹ GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, ii:73-77: *qu-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ.

³⁴² GRAYSON 1991, Adad-nērārī II, A.0.99.2, 63-68.

³⁴³ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.17:18.

³⁴⁴ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102, 14:144: *qu-ra-di-šú*; A.0.102.28:33: *qu-ra-di-šú-nu*; GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iv:31: (*qu-ra-di-šú*).

³⁴⁵ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, ii:107; A.0.101.17, iv:61-62: *ina šip-si ù da-na-ni mun-daḫ-ši-a* ("with might and main my combat troops"); GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.5, iii:5-6: LÚ.mu-daḫ-ši-*ia*.

³⁴⁶ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.12:23-24: 16,000 ERIM.MEŠ *mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú* ("fighting men") *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit* ("I put to the sword") – Ḥazael of Damascus; A.0.102.28:41: 13,500 *mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú* – Arame of Urartu; A.0.102.40, 16-17: 29,000 *a-li-li mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú* ("brave warriors") – Ḥadad-ezer of Damascus; GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii:39: 1,070 *mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú* ("fighting men") – Munirsuarta of Araziaš; A.0.103.1, iv:27-28: 13,000 *mu-un-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú* – Dūr-Papsukkal.

³⁴⁷ GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iv:31: 3,000 (I captured 3,000 (soldiers) alive) – Dūr-Papsukkal.

(7) *Muqtablu* ('fighter,' 'man-at-arms')

This term almost exclusively denotes the defeated and fallen soldiers of the enemy armies.³⁴⁸

(8) *Tidūku* ('warrior')

Similarly to the *muqtablu* in 9th century B.C. royal inscriptions this term also denoted only defeated and fallen enemy soldiers.³⁴⁹ This term was, however, used only as a composite with ERIM(*šābu*): *šāb(ē) tidūki* ("group of warriors").

(9) *Kallāpu* ('light troops')³⁵⁰

This word is one of the most controversial terms denoting some type of infantryman. It is considered to be a kind of light infantryman, but Postgate³⁵¹ proposed an identification with the armoured spearmen. The *kallāpu* appear in two contexts in the royal inscriptions of the period. Assurnasirpal II, for example, sent his cavalry and *kallāpu* troops ('light troops') to set an ambush, which resulted in the killing of 50 combat troops of Ameka.³⁵² This entry, however, does not let us decide what type of infantrymen the *kallāpu* were. From this period originates the standard formula for Assyrian losses³⁵³ attached to the 'letters to gods' known from the 8th century B.C. as well. For a detailed discussion see chapter Regular infantry of the imperial period.

Examining the written evidence, it can be concluded that no technical information concerning the different arms of the infantry is coded in the texts. It is known that the units were probably organized into 'companies' (*riksu*)³⁵⁴ and were commanded by officers (LÚ.GAL)³⁵⁵ whose depictions are also present in the palace reliefs.

Concluding the representational and written evidence it seems plausible that the Assyrian infantry of the period consisted mainly of regular infantry (recruited from the Assyrian peasantry or consisting of semi-professional Assyrians), and only a few élite units were equipped with heavy armament (see chapter Heavy Infantry). Only a few text entries mention vassal auxiliaries, but not a single foreign auxiliary unit is known from the sculptures.

³⁴⁸ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:34-35: 6 LIM 5 ME *muq-tab-li-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit* ("6,500 of their men-at-arms I put to the sword"); GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.28:43: LÚ.*muq-tab-li-šú-nu*; A.0.102.5, iii:1; A.0.102.28:44: LÚ.*muq-tab-li-šú*.

³⁴⁹ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii: 20: 3,000 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú-nu*; A.0.101.1, iii:39-40: 1,000 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú*; GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.5, iii:1: 3,000 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú*; A.0.102.6, ii:30-32; A.0.102.8, 18'; A.0.102.10, ii:24-25: 25,000 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit* ("I put to the sword"); A.0.102.6, iii:8-10; A.0.102.10, iii:5: 10,000 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú-nu*; A.0.102.8, 9"-10": 16,000 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú*; A.0.102.10, iii:51-52: 16,020 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú*; A.0.102, 14:66: 20,500 ERIM.MEŠ *tī-du-ki-šú*; GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii:32: 2,300 GAZ.MEŠ; A.0.103.1, iv:16: 330 GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-duk* ("I massacred"); A.0.103.1, iv:20: 330 GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-duk*; A.0.103.2, iii:11': 650 GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-duk*.

³⁵⁰ FALES 2010B, 108-109.

³⁵¹ POSTGATE 2000, 104-105.

³⁵² GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, ii:70; A.0.101.17, iii:84-85.

³⁵³ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser IV, A.0.105.3, Rev. 1'-2': [one charioteer, two] *ša pit-ḫal-li* [LÚ.*kal-la-pu*] *de-e-ku*.

³⁵⁴ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.17:12: *lu-u KAL-an ri-kis-ka* ("keep your companies secure").

³⁵⁵ GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.17:17: "He kept meeting with his officers so that they would bring discipline to [his troops]".

Regular infantry of the imperial period (745—612 B.C.) (71—89)

REGULAR INFANTRYMEN

The representations (73, 75, 78—82)

As has been shown in the previous chapter, the first signs of the independent arms of the regular archers and the regular spearmen have already been identified in the 9th century B.C. Assyrian armies. Summing up the information derived from the pictorial evidence, *Fig. 2* shows the development of the regular infantry of the Assyrian army. As in the case of the 9th century B.C. evidence, altogether three types of regular infantrymen may be identified in the 8th century B.C. sculptures: (1) the *par excellence* regular infantryman (equipped with a pointed helmet, a sword, a bow/quiver, a spear, and sometimes a shield), (2) the regular archer (equipped with a pointed helmet, a sword and a bow/quiver), and (3) the regular spearman (equipped with a pointed helmet, a sword, a spear and a shield).

This threefold division can be identified in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, where all the three types of the regular infantry (the traditional regular infantrymen equipped with shields and swords (*Plate 22, 73, 75*), the archers (*Plate 21, 71, 72*) and the spearmen (*Plate 22, 74*)) are shown. A relatively large number of soldiers appear in the palace reliefs without their weapons, which makes it impossible to identify them as regular archers or spearmen. They are depicted in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III in several other contexts and capacities, for example as sappers (*Plate 22, 75*) connected to military campaigns.³⁵⁶

The sculptures of Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) display a mixed picture: the dominance of 'general' regular infantrymen and the absence of the regular spearmen. Some Assyrian regular infantrymen – if they were not officers, who would have been equipped with both shield, spear, and bow as well – appear in the sculptures of Sargon II. Regular infantrymen (together with regular archers and spearmen) are characterised by the lack of scale armour. The first depiction (*Plate 24, 79*) shows an Assyrian soldier equipped with a spear, a rectangular wicker shield, a sword, a bow and a quiver. His equipment gives the impression of nobility, but in the siege-scene he covers an auxiliary archer shooting at the wall of the besieged town with his rectangular wicker shield. A similar infantryman is shown on a badly damaged slab.³⁵⁷ This infantryman is equipped with a bow, a spear and a rectangular wicker shield. He is standing on top of a hill, watching the siege of a town. The second infantryman (*Plate 24, 80*) carries a large, rounded

³⁵⁶ Escorting prisoners (BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII, URU.*U-pa*?, Eastern campaign); executing prisoners (BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII, URU.*U-pa*?, Eastern campaign); bringing heads to be counted (BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XLVIII, XLIX, Anatolian campaign, this is the only scene on which the quiver identifies the soldiers as archers); carrying statues of deities (BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. VII, Babylonian campaign, XCII, XCIII, Western campaign); or carrying spoil (BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXXXVIII, XC, XCI, Phoenicia?).

³⁵⁷ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 70.

	REGULAR INFANTRYMAN	REGULAR ARCHER	REGULAR SPEARMAN
Assurnasirpal II	63–65, 68, 69	61, 62, 70	66, 67
Shalmaneser III	+	+	+
Tiglath-Pileser III	73, 75	71, 72	74
Sargon II	78–82	76, 77	–
Til-Barsip	145, 146	–	–
Sennacherib	–	–	83–85
Assurbanipal	–	–	86–89

Fig. 2. The development of regular infantry.

bronze shield, a spear and a quiver on his back. He is shown marching in front of the king's chariot, however, which means that he was probably not a regular infantryman, but rather an officer. There are other images in which regular infantrymen are portrayed. These depict siege-scenes, where regular infantrymen are covering themselves with rounded bronze shields³⁵⁸ (Tiglath-Pileser III: *Plate 22, 75*, Sargon II: *Plate 25, 81, 82*) and are destroying the city wall with their swords, or setting fire to the gate. Their rounded bronze shields might possibly indicate that they are regular spearmen employed in a sapper capacity, for which they did not need to use their spears. Another scene, however, shows a regular archer in a similar sapper context (*Plate 24, 78*). He can be identified by the rectangular wicker shield used by the shield-bearers of the archers, and his quiver. He is shown destroying the wall with his sword under the cover of his shield. It must be admitted, however, that the sapper context makes it impossible to identify them with certainty as regular archers or spearmen.

The Til-Barsip wall-paintings disclose a somewhat different world. Several soldiers are represented in various contexts, including serving as escorts (*Plate 44, 149*),³⁵⁹ or during the execution of captives (*Plate 44, 150*). All of them are equipped similarly to the regular infantry in the sculptures of Sargon II: they wear no armour, but only a pointed iron helmet, and carry a sword, a bow and a quiver. Only the single soldier executing captives with his sword (*Plate 44, 150*) differs in this respect: he wears a shirt resembling a coat of mail, and his short kilt is the same as the kilts worn by the Judaeans/Israelite bodyguards in the sculptures of Sennacherib (*Plate 40, 130, 132*), who appear on another panel of the Til-Barsip wall-paintings (*Plate 39, 129*), though not in battle dress. The soldier's curved sword is unprecedented in the Assyrian army. These characteristics admit the conclusion that this soldier was a foreign (Judaeans/Israelite) mercenary in Assyrian service. There are further soldiers in the royal entourage who do not wear helmets, and are equipped with large decorated rounded bronze shields, spears,³⁶⁰ and quivers³⁶¹ as well.

³⁵⁸ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 68.

³⁵⁹ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pls. XLIX (panel XXIV *abc*) three soldiers; L (panel XXIV *gh*); LI (panel XXIV *i*) two soldiers.

³⁶⁰ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pl. XLIX.

³⁶¹ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pl. LII (panel XLVII *abc*).

The real Assyrian regular spearman can only be confidently identified in the sculptures from the reign of Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.). Two types of regular spearmen appear in the sculptures of this king. The first wears a pointed helmet and is equipped with a spear and a round bronze (*Plate 26, 84*) or wooden shield (*Plate 26, 83*). The second type is depicted without a helmet (*Plate 26, 85*). They sometimes wear Assyrian military boots but are sometimes barefoot.

The sculptures of Assurbanipal show a profound change in the ranks of the regular infantry. The regular archer – the unarmoured archer wearing an Assyrian pointed helmet – disappeared from the sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, and was probably replaced by auxiliary archers in a broader sense. The equipment of the regular spearmen underwent a profound change during the reign of Assurbanipal. Four subtypes of regular spearmen appear simultaneously in the sculptures of this king. All of them wore pointed helmets. One subtype was equipped with a rounded bronze shield (*Plate 27, 86*), while the other three were equipped with large standing battle shields (*Plate 27, 87—89*). The equipment of these three subtypes differs in several details. The first of them was equipped with a large standing battle shield and wore the same chest plate as is found in the equipment of the auxiliary spearmen (*Plate 27, 87*). The second wore the same chest plate secured by two leather straps, but his large standing battle shield was made of wood and was reinforced with a metal shield boss (*Plate 27, 88*). The third wore no chest plate, his clothing was much more Assyrian than that of the two previous subtypes, and he was equipped with the large standing battle shield made of bronze (*Plate 27, 89*). This intermingling of the equipment of auxiliary and regular spearmen shows a new development and a new step towards the standardisation of the Assyrian infantry.

The sculptures reveal the declining importance of this arm in the representational tradition – which might reflect real changes in the infantry of the Assyrian army. As *vol. II, Chart 9* shows, the 59 regular soldiers in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III represent 48.3% of the infantry depicted. This proportion is much smaller in the sculptures of Sargon II, where 47 regular soldiers comprise 25.7% of the total infantry depicted. The proportion is even smaller in the sculptures of Sennacherib (35 regular soldiers constitute only 2.2% of the infantry), and Assurbanipal (where 23 regular soldiers constitute 2.9% of the infantry). These changes – especially during the reign of Assurbanipal – might reflect a kind of fusion of the regular infantry and the auxiliary infantry, which by the middle of the 7th century B.C. had most probably already lost its distinctive ethnic character (Gurreans) and become a kind of line infantry in the Assyrian army.

It must be mentioned that the division of the regular infantry into archers and spearmen is supported by the written sources as well, which, unlike the pictorial evidence, do not recognise the category of the general regular infantryman (*see below*).

Cuneiform sources

Terms denoting infantrymen

Terms such as *qurādu*, *mundaḥṣu*, *tidūku*, and *muqtablu* found in the 9th century B.C. cuneiform sources discussed above appear from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) as general, ‘heroic’ terms denoting ‘warriors’ as were used in the previous period.

(1) *Qurādu* (‘warrior,’ ‘hero’)

During the reign of Sargon II the term *qurādu* was used in various contexts to denote infantrymen in both the Assyrian³⁶² and enemy armies. Two inscriptions mention them as marching by the king’s side³⁶³ (as a kind of bodyguard infantry together with the bodyguard cavalry, *see* chapter Cavalry bodyguard (*pēḫal qurubte*). The term appears in enemy contexts as well.³⁶⁴ When Sargon II captured Tarḫunazi, king of Meliddu in his 10th *palû* (712 B.C.), he captured with him 5,000 of his warriors.³⁶⁵ In his 13th *palû* (709 B.C.) during the siege of Dūr-Iakin Sargon II surrounded Merodach-baladan and his royal corps (*kišir šarrūtišu*) and massacred his warriors (LÚ.*qu-ra-di-šu*) at his feet.³⁶⁶ The phenomenon of enemy armies including elite troops in a form similar to the Assyrian standing army or royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) appears in his Letter to God describing the 8th campaign led against Rusa, king of Urartu. This inscription mentions that when in the battle of Wauš the Assyrian king led a cavalry charge against the battle lines of Rusa, “he did not fear the mass of his troops (*gi-piš ERIM.ḪI.A-šu*) he thought little of his cavalry, and he did not consider the large number of his armoured elite troops (*qu-ra-di-šu ša tāḫ-lu-up-ti*).”³⁶⁷ This term obviously does not describe the regular infantry of the Urartian army, but the heavy infantry, probably Rusa’s bodyguard units. The term *qurādu* is known from the inscriptions of Sennacherib only in stereotyped contexts.³⁶⁸ The royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon use this term only in an enemy context (even if these enemies were Assyrians serving in the army of Urdu-Mulissi and his brother),³⁶⁹ and in two cases provide details of how the corpses of the fallen warriors were left unburied on the battlefield.³⁷⁰ The inscriptions of Assurbanipal used the term in a similar enemy context, both times in connection with defeated Elamite armies, soldiers of which were killed by the Assyrian king.³⁷¹ It must be mentioned, however, that this period, the reign of Sargon II,

³⁶² “My fierce warriors” (THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 224, 255: *qu-ra-di-ia ek-du-ti*); “my warriors” (LIE 1929, 338: LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia*; and THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 130: LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia*).

³⁶³ When the Assyrian king led a campaign against Iamani of Ashdod: “my warriors, who did not budge from my side, (neither in enemy nor) in friendly country” (FUCHS 1994, Prunk, lines 97-101: LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia a-šar sa-al-me Á.II-a-a la ip-par-ku-ú*); and during the 8th campaign (714 B.C.), when the king led an expeditionary force to Mušasir: “My warriors and cavalry, who are marching at my sides, let them march in a row” (THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 332: LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia a-di ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ a-li-kut i-di-ia*).

³⁶⁴ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 123, 302; LIE 1929, 451.

³⁶⁵ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 213, and Prunk 80-81.

³⁶⁶ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 343-345.

³⁶⁷ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 131.

³⁶⁸ “Merciless warriors” (1st campaign, against Merodach-baladan, LUCKENBILL 1924, 51:25: LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia la ga-me-lu-ti*), 6th campaign, Nagitu, Elam: LUCKENBILL 1924, 74:69, 76; 75:84; 75:91. Concerning the enemy soldiers: LUCKENBILL 1924, 46 vi 90 (8th campaign, battle of Ḫalulê).

³⁶⁹ BORGER 1956, “Bauinschrift Ninive”, Episode 2, 44 i 70 (LÚ.*qu-ra-di-šu-un*).

³⁷⁰ BORGER 1956, “Bauinschrift Ninive”, Episode 17, 56 iv 70 (*pa-gar LÚ.qu-ra-di-šu-un*), 18, 58 v 6 (*qu-ra-di-šu-un*).

³⁷¹ STRECK 1916, 26 iii 38-39: “I killed his (Te’umman’s) warriors without number and captured his fighting men alive” (*ina la me-ni a-duk qu-ra-di-e-šu ina ŠU.II.TI.MEŠ ú-šab-bit mun-daḥ-še-e-šu*); STRECK 1916, 48 v 109-110: “I killed his (Ummanaldaš’s)

witnesses the first appearance of this term complemented by *termini* which have already been used for the special services of the regular infantry, the regular archers and the regular spearmen.³⁷²

(2) *Mundahṣu* ('fighting man')

The term *mundahṣu* is known almost exclusively from royal inscriptions. Only a single example comes from administrative documents.³⁷³ Tiglath-Pileser III used the term only in an enemy context similarly to other terms for unspecified types of soldiers.³⁷⁴ Sargon II used this designation twice for Assyrian³⁷⁵ and five times for enemy soldiers.³⁷⁶ The annals mention that Sargon II counted into the booty 30 chariots and 7,350 warriors (LÚ.*mun-dah-še-šú*) of Kiakki of Šinuhtu,³⁷⁷ while the Letter to God tells us that Metatti, king of Zikirtu gathered his battle-hardened soldiers (LÚ.*mun-dah-še-šu le-'u-ut ta-ḥa-zi*) to help the vast army (*um-ma-an-šu ma-a'-du*) of Rusa, king of Urartu.³⁷⁸ The same phenomenon – the unspecified use of the term for labelling soldiers – can be identified in the inscriptions of Sennacherib,³⁷⁹ Esarhaddon,³⁸⁰ and Assurbanipal,³⁸¹ but, similarly to *qurādu*, *mundahṣu* can be complemented with *termini* which explicitly designated these warriors as archers or spearmen. The very first example appears in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III describing the army of Rezin of Damascus (13th *palū*, 733 B.C.): "His warriors ([*mun*]-*dah-še-šu*), carrying bow (*na-ši GIŠ.qaš-ti*), bearing shield and spear ([*na*]-*ši ka-ba-bi az-ma-re-e*) I captured, and their battle array I dispersed."³⁸² Sargon II described the Urartian soldiers of Rusa with the same terms, when he massacred the "mainstay of the Urartian army, warriors carrying bows (and) lances in front of Rusa" (LÚ.*mun-dah-še-šu tu-kul-ti um-ma-ni-šu na-áš GIŠ.BAN az-ma-re-e*)³⁸³ in the battle of Wauš with his cavalry charge. These are the first instances where the Assyrian royal inscriptions start to make a distinction between the general ('heroic') and the specific ('technical') terms. This awareness can obviously be connected to the development of Near Eastern armies and the separation of these two arms of the regular infantry.

warriors without number and cut down their innumerable fighting men with a sword (weapon)" (*ina la me-ni a-duk qu-ra-di-e-šu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-ras-sip mun-dah-še-e-šú DAGAL.MEŠ*).

³⁷² THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, line 289 (8th *palū*, 714 B.C.) "(Rusa) stationed in these fortresses his battle-experienced warriors, carrying shields and spears, the best troops of his army, the confidence of his country" (LÚ.*qu-ra-di-šu a-ša-re-tú um-ma-ni-šu le-'u-tu ta-ḥa-zi na-áš ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-i tu-kul-ti KUR-šú*).

³⁷³ PARPOLA 1993, 111 (ABL 1237), Rev. 13: „Deserters outnumber fighting men among the enemy" (*mu-uš-ta-ḥal-qú-ti ina UGU mun-dah-šu-ti*).

³⁷⁴ ROST 1893, 8:38 (LÚ.*mun-dah-še-e-šú-nu*); 10:48 (LÚ.*mun-dah-še-šú*).

³⁷⁵ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 343-345: "I let my warriors (LÚ.*mun-dah-še-ia*) fly over these rivers" (during the siege of Dūr-Iakīn, 13th *palū*, 709 B.C.); FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 408 (against Muttallu, king of Kummuḥ, 11th *palū*, 711 B.C.)

³⁷⁶ LIE 1929, 74:5; 212:69; LYON 1883, 14:33.

³⁷⁷ FUCHS 1994, Prunk, line 28.

³⁷⁸ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 103-104.

³⁷⁹ LUCKENBILL 1924, 51:23: „The warriors manning his (Merodach-baladan's) wall (LÚ.*mun-dah-ši sa-ḥi-ir BÀD-šu*)", 1st campaign, the siege of Kutha; 52:34: "I sent my warriors (LÚ.*mun-dah-ši-ia*) to the marshland of Guzammanu".

³⁸⁰ BORGER 1956, "Gottesbrief" 106 iii 14: "Šubrian warriors (LÚ.*mun-dah-ši*) experienced in strife and battle I took prisoner and enrolled in the Assyrian army".

³⁸¹ STRECK 1916, 32 iii 131 (against Šamaš-šumu-ukīn), 222 no. 17:9 (against Te'umman).

³⁸² TADMOR 1994, Annales 23, 6'-8'.

³⁸³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 136.

(3) *Tidūku* ('warrior')

Only three examples of the term are known, exclusively from the royal inscriptions of Sargon II, and only in (defeated) enemy context.³⁸⁴ This term obviously lost its importance and disappeared from the royal inscriptions of the 7th century B.C.

(4) *Muqtablu* ('fighter,' 'man-at-arms')

The term appears only once, in the Letter to God of Sargon II describing the defeated Urartian soldiers (*muq-tab-li*) in the battle of Wauš.³⁸⁵ The context and the wording are clearly literary and not technical.

(5) *Zūku* ('infantry')³⁸⁶

The term *zūku* was in all probability a general category denoting infantry (possibly including all the different arms of the infantry). The first standard context in which the term was used is the infantry attack during sieges.³⁸⁷ In 717 B.C. Sargon II drafted 50 chariots, 200 horsemen, and 3,00(0) infantry (LÚ.zu-uk ĠİR.II) from Carchemish into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).³⁸⁸ When in 714 B.C., on his 8th campaign Sargon II led his expeditionary army including battle-experienced foot soldiers,³⁸⁹ the mountain passes were too narrow even for the advance of the foot soldiers,³⁹⁰ who sometimes could cross only sideways.³⁹¹

One of the most important entries is a letter of Bēl-ušēzib to king Esarhaddon. This letter – dealing with an omen – describes a tactic which has to followed during an expedition to Mannea. Bēl-ušēzib “advised” to the king that “... the whole army should not invade (Mannea); (only) the cavalry and the professional troops (LÚ.zuk*-ku-ú) should invade. ... [The cha]riots and wagons should stay side by side [in] the pass, while the [ca]valry and the professionals (LÚ.zuk-ku-ú) should invade and plunder the countryside of Mannea and come back and take up position [in] the pass.”³⁹² Fales – referring to the *zūku* of the Palace (LÚ.zu-ku ša É.GAL)³⁹³ – proposed, that „the *zūku* were not (or not necessarily) recruitable elements and to the contrary should have had the status of professional troops. This context – concerning the present writers view –, however, does not imply anything else that the chariotry has to take position in a safe pass blocking the road, while the cavalry and the infantry (LÚ.zuk(k)u) of the expeditionary force plunders the countryside of Mannaia.

³⁸⁴ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 386-387: 1,000 warriors (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šu*) of Mita with war horses were taken by the eunuch of Sargon II (13th *palū*, 709 B.C.); FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 61: Metatti of Zikirtu, gave his warriors (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šu*) and cavalry to the coalition fighting against Iranzû, the Assyrian vassal king of Mannai (3rd *palū*, 719 B.C.); THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 86: “Metatti of Zikirtu, his wild warriors (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šu ek-du-ti*) who guarded the pass of Uašdirikka as a vanguard I massacred” (8th *palū*, 714 B.C.).

³⁸⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 144.

³⁸⁶ Most recently see the comprehensive study: FALES 2010A, 82-84.

³⁸⁷ Tiglath-Pileser III: ROST 1893, 18:108; 20:7: “By means of Infantry attack (*ina mit-ḥu-uš zu-ki ĠİR.II*); Sennacherib: LUCKENBILL 1924, 33 iii:22: *mit-ḥu-uš zu-uk ĠİR.II* (Jerusalem, 701 B.C.); 62 iv:80 (*Ḥilakku*, 698 B.C.); 63 v:11 (Til-Garimmu, 695 B.C.).

³⁸⁸ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 75.

³⁸⁹ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 150: “With my single chariot, with my 1,000 bodyguard cavalry, and my battle-experienced foot soldiers” (*i-na 1 ĠIŠ.GIGIR-ia ù 1 LIM ANŠE.pét-ḥal ĠİR.II-ia šit-mur-ti LÚ.zu-uk—ĠİR.II-ia le-’u-ut ta-ḥa-zi*).

³⁹⁰ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 22, 325: The narrow passage was too difficult even for the advance of the foot soldiers (*a-na me-te-eq LÚ.zu-uk ĠİR.II*).

³⁹¹ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 330: The narrow passage was so difficult that the foot soldiers could cross only sideways (*ša zu-uk ĠİR.II se-la-niš e-ti-qu-ma*).

³⁹² PARPOLA 1993, 111 (ABL 1237), 12-19.

³⁹³ PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304), 6.

The tendency to replace the 9th century B.C. ‘heroic’ terms with more specific ‘technical’ terms during the late 8th century B.C. can clearly be identified from the written evidence. However, terms like “archers, and carriers of shield and spear, my brave warriors experienced in battle,”³⁹⁴ describing the expeditionary army of Sargon II, which conquered Mušašir, were still labels of general categories and did not specify the types of archers and spearmen, the ‘brave warriors’ of this expeditionary force. The sculptures depicting the sack of Mušašir, for example, do not show armoured or regular spearmen, only auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans).³⁹⁵

(6) *Zakkû* (‘exempt infantry’)

Assyrian administrative texts use further terms denoting (regular) infantry. An important letter written by an unknown official to Sargon II lists those troops which had to be assembled for a campaign or muster: chariot troops, Gurreans, Itu’eans, ..., exempt infantry ([LÚ].*zu-ku*), *kallāpu* troops and ...³⁹⁶ It seems clear that only the word *zūku* (translated by Lanfranchi and Parpola as ‘exempt infantry’) might have denoted regular infantry troops. Another term which has to be discussed is *zakkû*.³⁹⁷ The meaning of *zakkû* is most probably ‘exempt,’ people exempted from various tasks, duties and taxes, privileges for which they would have to serve in the army.³⁹⁸ These people might have formed the basis of the regular troops. Zēru-ibnî, in one of his letters to Sargon II, complains that his cavalry was dissolved three years ago and the king knows that the “riverside people are all serving for themselves, none of them are exempt (*za-ku-u*).”³⁹⁹ The letter of Nabû-šumu-iddina informed the king that the fort, the exempts (LÚ.*za-ku-u*), and the servants of the king are well.⁴⁰⁰ It is, however, not known whether the *zakkû* category was a general one and included such troops as the Gurreans and Itu’eans as well (both are mentioned in this letter), who were most probably also exempt from various taxes and duties,⁴⁰¹ or designated a special category of people who served in the army. This letter seems to connect the *zakkû* category with fort and military service. Another letter corroborates this theory: “since the exempts (LÚ.*zak-ku*) have been installed we have been garrisoned in the fortress.”⁴⁰² Concluding these fortress entries of the *zakkû* infantrymen,⁴⁰³ Fales supposed that this type of soldier “could be associated with the armed protection of the local population, at times operating from the fortresses.”⁴⁰⁴

One of the most important letters in this context was written by Sargon II to Mannu-kī-Adad. In this letter the king accuses the governor Mannu-kī-Adad of turning those 1,119 able-bodied men – who were given to the exempts of the Palace and were entrusted to his charge – into

³⁹⁴ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 320-321: *ša-ab* GIŠ.BAN *ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-e* LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia ek-du-ti mu-du-ūt ta-ḥa-zi*.

³⁹⁵ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 141.

³⁹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305).

³⁹⁷ OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1961, 22-23 refers to it, as a class of Assyrian officials, but admits that it served (in the occupied Babylonia) for military officials performing police duties. The original meaning of the word is ‘freedman’.

³⁹⁸ The most famous exemption text is the royal decree of Aššur-etelli-ilāni, in which he exempted the fields, orchards, buildings and people of Tāb-šar-Papāḥi, cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch (Sîn-šumu-lēšir) from taxes. KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), 36 (ADD 692 + 807). However, the exemption was not an automatic privilege of Assyrian military officials. It is known for example from a letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, deputy of Isana, that the local *qurbūtu* (LÚ.*gur-bu!-tū*) was not exempt from taxation; only those who were within the royal decree were exempt (SAGGS 2001, 132-134, NL 74 (ND 2648)).

³⁹⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154), Rev. 16.

⁴⁰⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 136 (ABL 685), 4, Laḥiru, 710 B.C.

⁴⁰¹ For the exemption of the bow field of an Itu’eans from straw and barley tax see: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 16 (ABL 201).

⁴⁰² HARPER 1892, 459, Rev. 3.

⁴⁰³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199 (ABL 311); FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 136 (ABL 685).

⁴⁰⁴ FALES 2010A, 85.

recruits, to chariot-men, and others to cavalrymen, into his own troops.⁴⁰⁵ Furthermore, the king sent him an explicit order to summon them wherever they were, because he would send a eunuch to review them. It is clear from this letter that the king sent 1,119 able-bodied men to the exempts (to form a basis for royal recruitment), but the governor used them as if they were his own men and turned them into soldiers of his own troops. A similar case is also known from the reign of Esarhaddon, when Taršî, the scribe of Guzana, took the exempts and gave them to the household of an official of Guzana.⁴⁰⁶ In one of his letters to Sargon II Issar-dūri quotes a royal order concerning the recruits (LÚ.rak-su-te) of the Chief Eunuch: “They are to be exempt; [no]body may litigate [against them] (and) [no]body may exact [corn taxes from them]!”⁴⁰⁷ When Issar-dūri was accused by some exempts of taking out their brothers to Dūr-Šarrukēn as brickmasons, he replied: “which [recru]it’s brother, or (even) cousin, [has been tak]en out?”⁴⁰⁸ One letter written by Taklāk-ana-Bēli to the Vizier testifies that the exempts were not the poorest segment of society but could provide oxen, “for Bēl-lū-balaṭ has received oxen from them, one from each,” after which “the whole local population has become a one-legged man.”⁴⁰⁹ These three texts may indicate that the exempt status of some people and communities formed the basis of royal recruitment (probably of the king’s men, *see* below), and these people were exempted from providing manpower for the troops of the local governors.

An obvious question emerges: is it possible that these exempts were Assyrian settlers? One letter mentions [x] persons with exemptions (LÚ.za-ku-e) in Samaria.⁴¹⁰ Another letter lists provisions issued to Assyrian officials serving in the territory between Ḥamath and Damascus. This list contains 600 homers of bread for 2,000 exempts of the (king) of Commagene (Kummuḥ).⁴¹¹ It seems that they were settlers who might have served as a border-guarding military colony along the desert border in an Assyrian province. Unfortunately not a single *zakkû* is known by name, so we cannot reconstruct their ethnic background.

Two important texts provide further details concerning this socio-economic and/or military status of the *zakkû*-s. One of them is a query to the Sungod regarding the threat of a possible rebellion against prince Assurbanipal. This text lists court and military personnel as follows: “[his family], his fa[ther’s line], or junior members of the royal line, or the ‘third men,’ chariot drivers (and) chariot fighters, [or the recruitment officers, or] the prefects of the exempt military, or the prefects of the cavalry, or the royal bodyguard, or his personal guard, [or the keepers] of the inner gates, or the keepers of the outer gates, or the ... eunuchs, [or ...], or the palace superintendents, the staff-bearers (and) the wa[tch]men, or the mounted scouts (and) the trackers, [or the lackeys, tailor]s, cup-bearers, cooks, (and) confectioners, the entire body of craftsmen, or the Itu’eans and the Elamites, the mounted bowmen, the Hittites, [or] the Gurreans, or the Arameans, [or the Cimmerians, o]r the Philistines, or the Nubians (and) the Egyptians, or the Šabuqeans, [or the eunuchs who b]ear [arms], or the bearded (officials) who bear arms and stand guard for the king, [or any of the exempt, the troops] who plotted sedition and rebellion, or their brothers, (or) their sons, [or their nephews, or the]ir [friends] and guests, or those who are in their confidence.”⁴¹² This list gives a sequence of

⁴⁰⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304).

⁴⁰⁶ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 63 (CT 53, 46).

⁴⁰⁷ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709), 3-7.

⁴⁰⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709), Rev. 5-6.

⁴⁰⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 244 (ABL 1263).

⁴¹⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 255 (CT 53, 458).

⁴¹¹ SAGGS 2001, 173-175, NL 88 (ND 2495); PARPOLA 1987, 172; *see* furthermore POSTGATE 1974, 242-243; FALES 2010A, 84-85.

⁴¹² STARR 1990, 142 (PRT 44), 5-13. 6: LÚ.GAR.MEŠ *zak-ke-e*.

military personnel in which the prefects of the exempts (LÚ.GAR.MEŠ *zak-ke-e*) are listed together with but separately from chariotry personnel and the prefects of the cavalry (which might show an infantry connection). The *zakkû* ('exempt') in this text (and another similar text, a partial duplicate of this one),⁴¹³ can be perceived as a general category describing all of those soldiers (most probably infantrymen), who – as has been explained above – served in the army in exchange of being exempted from various tasks and services. These entries corroborate Fales' view that *zakkû* is a term oscillating between a socio-economic and military perspective, but "basically point to the employment in the military sphere, to full-time and/or professional commitment in this context, and to activities pertaining to the infantry unit."⁴¹⁴ This notion is further corroborated by an entry of the Zakûtu treaty, which lists the *zakkû* in a similar context but together only with court personnel.⁴¹⁵

There are further terms which designate military units. These include the cohort (*kišru*) formed by the king,⁴¹⁶ the king's troops (*e-mu-qi ša LUGAL*),⁴¹⁷ or the troops of Assyria (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ KUR—Aš-[šur.KI]),⁴¹⁸ but these terms are too general to help us to form a concept of regular troops.

(7) *Kallāpu* ('regular infantryman')

This term is one of the most controversial expressions denoting some sort of infantryman. It is generally considered to be a kind of light infantryman, but Postgate⁴¹⁹ proposed an identification with the Assyrian spearmen. *Kallāpu* appears in two contexts in the royal inscriptions of the 9th century B.C. Assurnasirpal II, for example, sent his cavalry and *kallāpu* troops ('light troops') to lay an ambush, which resulted in the destruction of 50 combat troops of Ameka, king of the city Zamru in the plains.⁴²⁰ From Zamru he took with him the same cavalry and *kallāpu* infantry and marched to the cities of Ata, king of the city Arzizu.⁴²¹ This entry, however, does not allow us to decide what type of infantryman the *kallāpu* was. This period saw the first use of the standard formula for Assyrian losses⁴²² attached to the 'letters to gods' known from the 8th—7th centuries B.C. as well. This sequence, which lists 1 chariot owner, 2 cavalrymen and 3 *kallāpu* troops killed during the campaign, strongly supports the infantryman identification. Several text editions translate the word as 'light troops.' The sculptures of Assurnasirpal II and the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III, however, do not include such 'light troops' or 'outriders,' who could have laid an ambush, only regular archers (*Plate 18, 61, 62*), infantrymen (*Plate 18, 63—65*), and spearmen (*Plate 19, 66, 67*) or armoured Assyrian infantrymen/archers (*Plate 28, 90—92*).

⁴¹³ STARR 1990, 144 (AGS 109), 13: all of the *zakkû*-s (LÚ.*zak-ke-e gab-bu*).

⁴¹⁴ FALES 2010A, 87.

⁴¹⁵ PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, 8 (ABL 1239+), 6-7: with the magnates and the governors, the bearded and the eunuchs, the royal entourage, with the exempts and all who enter the Palace, with Assyrians high and low: (6: LÚ.GAL.MEŠ LÚ.NAM.MEŠ LÚ.šá—*ziq-ni*, 7: LÚ.SAG.MEŠ LÚ.GUB—IGI TA LÚ.*zak-ke-e*).

⁴¹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 182 (CT 53, 891), Rev.6.

⁴¹⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 129 (CT 53, 872).

⁴¹⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 266 (CT 53, 459), 4' (710 B.C.).

⁴¹⁹ POSTGATE 2000, 104-105.

⁴²⁰ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:70-71; A.0.101.17, III:84-85.

⁴²¹ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:72.

⁴²² GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser IV, A.0.105.3, Rev. 1'-2': [one charioteer, two] *ša pit-ḫal-li* [LÚ.*kal-la-pu*] *de-e-ku*; THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 426: "1 chariot owner, 2 cavalrymen, 3 *kallāpu* soldiers were killed" (Sargon II); BORGER 1956, 107 iv 25: "1 chariot owner, 2 cavalrymen, 3 *kallāpu* soldiers were killed" (Esarhaddon); LIVINGSTONE 1989, 45 (CT 53, 26), Rev. 4: "[One chariot fighter, two cavalrymen, and three] *kallāpu* soldiers [were] ki[lled]" (Assurbanipal).

A Tell Halaf administrative text⁴²³ mentions shields which were drawn from the *rab kallapāni* (chief *kallāpu*), which means that the chief of the *kallāpu* troops or the *kallāpu* soldiers themselves were equipped with shields. It can thus be concluded that the 9th century B.C. evidence most probably identifies the *kallāpu* troops with the regular infantry of the Assyrian army.

The 8th century B.C. evidence shows them in a somewhat different context. When Sargon II launched his campaign against Rusa, king of Urartu, he listed the following units in two sections: (1) chariotry (GIŠ.GIGIR), (2) cavalry (*pit-ḫal-lum*), and (3) bodyguard units (“fighting troops marching by my sides”, *ša-ab ta-ḫa-zi a-li-kut i-di-ia*).⁴²⁴ These troops were followed by (4) the *ḫupšu* troops⁴²⁵ and *kallāpu* troops⁴²⁶ with the camels and donkeys. This entry, the ‘train’ context fostered those theories which identified the *kallāpu* troops as messengers,⁴²⁷ or other type of non-combatant units. Another entry, however, lists the *kallāpu* troops within a section of fighting units (*ḫupšu*, *kallāpu*, archers, and shield-bearers) which were intended to scale the walls of besieged towns.⁴²⁸ In that context the term *kallāpu* does not mean ‘messenger’ or ‘outrider,’ but surely an infantry fighting unit. As has been discussed above, the phrases used in royal inscriptions unfortunately differ from the phrases used in administrative texts. The latter texts and palace reliefs identify the light infantry with Itu’eans and Gurreans. Such categories as *ḫupšu* and *kallāpu* are unknown or cannot be identified in the sculptures (if the *kallāpu* is not the armoured spearman). This sequence – if it shows the infantry as a whole – may be reconstructed as light infantry (*ḫupšu*), heavy and/or regular infantry (*kallāpu*).

The list of troops given in the inscription of Esarhaddon unfortunately does not offer any further help in the identification of *kallāpu* troops. The inscription lists bodyguard chariotry, bodyguard cavalry, stable officers, eunuch officials, service engineers, craftsmen, *kallāpu* troops, shield-bearers, scouts, farmers, shepherds, and gardeners⁴²⁹ which were added to the huge Assyrian army (*e-mu-qi* ^d*Aš-šur gap-šá-a-te*). This list is obviously not limited to units of the royal army (*kišir šarrūti*), nor does it offer a complete list of all the units in the army. It seems that it lists (1) a bodyguard section (chariotry and cavalry), (2) a section of officials (stable officers and eunuch officials), (3) technical staff (service engineers and craftsmen), (3) an infantry section (*kallāpu* troops and shield-bearers), (4) an intelligence section (scouts), (5) and the provision or supply section (farmers, shepherds, and gardeners). There are two possibilities which need to be reconsidered. (1) This entry probably lists those units which the king added to the army (not to the royal contingent, *kišir šarrūti*) for a campaign. This is the reason for the appearance of the ‘semi-fighting’ units such as military engineers and craftsmen, who could have repaired the equipment. (2) The second possibility is that the king provided the basic provisions for the units staying at home or going on campaign. This is the reason for the appearance of non-fighting units, such as farmers, shepherds, and gardeners who might have been added to the army to provision the units at home and during campaigns as well. This entry lists the *kallāpu* troops in the first half of the list, in the fighting section, which makes it

⁴²³ FRIEDRICH ET AL. 1940, 51 (Tell Halaf 11), 1-3.

⁴²⁴ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 25.

⁴²⁵ OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1956, 241, *s.v.* *ḫupšu* translates it as a member of a lower social class or a person serving the vanguard of the army.

⁴²⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 26.

⁴²⁷ MAYER 1983, 26.

⁴²⁸ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 258: *ša-ab ḫup-ši kal-la-bu n[a-aš GIŠ.BAN as-ma-re-e a-na] BĀD.MEŠ-šu-nu ú-še-li-ma*.

⁴²⁹ BORGER 1956, 106 III:16-18: L[Ú.xxx L]Ú.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te* LÚ.*pét-ḫal qur-ub-te* LÚ.GAR-*nu-te ša ma-’a-si* LÚ.SAG.MEŠ LÚ.*kit-kit-tu-u* LÚ.*um-ma-ni* LÚ.*kal-la-pu* LÚ.*a-ri-ti* LÚ.*da-a-a-lu* LÚ.APIN LÚ.SIPA LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR

clear that they were not the shield-bearers (the sources do not differentiate between the shield-bearing spearmen and the shield-bearers of the archers). *Kallāpu* troops also appear in a report written to Sargon II, in which an order from the king is quoted. The king sent instructions to a provincial governor(?) to assemble his army: the chariot troops, the Gurreans, the Itu'eans, [...], the exempt infantry ([LÚ].zu-ku), and the *kallāpu* troops (LÚ.kal-[la-pu]).⁴³⁰ This text lists *kallāpu* troops together with fighting units, and makes it clear that these troops were to be assembled for a campaign.

The cuneiform documents frequently mention them by the hundred, which seems to contradict the identification as 'messenger.' Their number is sometimes roughly equal to the number of actual fighting units. A fragmentary line in a Nimrud administrative text probably mentions 2,079 *kallāpu*-s,⁴³¹ which was a formidable force – two regiments. This number – if indeed it denoted *kallāpu*-s – also excludes the 'messenger,' 'mounted messenger,' 'outrider,' and 'dispatch rider' identification.

Eight types of *kallāpu* soldiers are known from the 8th–7th centuries B.C. cuneiform evidence:

(a) *Kallāpu*.⁴³² The earliest known 8th century B.C. entry dates from around 784 B.C.⁴³³ This fragmentary wine list – like other similar wine lists⁴³⁴ – contains a limited range of military personnel. Only a few *kallāpu* soldiers are known by name.⁴³⁵ When the city rulers petitioned Sargon II to let them go home from Milqia, because the king's work had been a great burden for them, they mentioned that the *kallāpu* soldiers and the trackers (LÚ.UŠ(*rādi*) *kib-si-a-ni*) did not allow them to do the work.⁴³⁶ The *kallāpu* appears together with the *rādi kibsi* in a group of texts (queries to the Sungod), which, however, do not give us a better understanding of the word. These texts list the *kallāpu* together with other military personnel: the palace superintendent, the staff-bearers, the (gate)guards, the *kallāpu*-s and the scouts/trackers (*rādi kibsi*).⁴³⁷ These two contexts – and the regular sequence of the officials in the list – imply a connection with palace service (see *kallāpu ša ekalli*), but not a messenger function. This palace connection is corroborated by a letter to Esarhaddon from Nergal-ibnî in Babylonia. Nergal-ibnî complained about his situation: he was a 'treaty partner' of the king, but he had to tolerate a "*kallāpu* carrying an arrow" (LÚ.kal-la-bi šil-ta-ḥu na-ši), who had been standing over him for seven months.⁴³⁸ The arrow was most probably the symbol of his authority – also known from representations of Assyrian kings. The arrow represented royal authority, part of which was delegated to the *kallāpu* and made him probably the (plenipotentiary) envoy of the king. An administrative text dealing with a survey of a large estate being sold mentions the *kallāpu* Bēl-aḥḥēšu, who bought 40 hectares of land, which, judging from other sources, might easily have been a standard size of an estate for military

⁴³⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305), 11'.

⁴³¹ PARKER 1961, 15-66, ND 2646, side B, 3: PAP 2 LIM 79 *kal-la-pu*.H1A.

⁴³² For a most recent study see FALES 2010A, 88-91.

⁴³³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 119:12: [*kal*]-*la-pu*.

⁴³⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 124 Rev. 5: [*kal-la-b*]a-ni?; KINNIER WILSON 1972, 34:9: LÚ.kal-la-[pa-ni].

⁴³⁵ POSTGATE 1973, 110:5: Busilu LÚ.kal-la-pu; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 222 (ADD 806), 7': Bēl-aḥḥēšu LÚ.kal-la-pu; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 257 (ADD 1194), 9-12: Daiiān-Kurbail LÚ.kal-la-pu, Dauli LÚ.kal-la-pu, Quqūa LÚ.kal-la-pu (680 B.C.); and two texts from Tall Šēh Hamad: RADNER 2002, 23: 3'-4': Ḥanunu *kal-lap*; 121 Rev. 6: Še-[x]-ki *kal-la-pa-nu*.

⁴³⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 147 (ABL 526), Rev. 1: LÚ.GAL *kal-la-pa-ni*.

⁴³⁷ STARR 1990, 142 (PRT 044), 8: [lu-ú LÚ.x x x x x] lu-ú LÚ.šá—IGI—É.GAL.MEŠ LÚ.šá—GIŠ.PA.MEŠ LÚ.šá—EN.NUN.MEŠ lu LÚ.kal-lab.MEŠ LÚ.UŠ—*kib-sa-ni*; see also 144 (AGS 109), 7-8.

⁴³⁸ REYNOLDS 2003, 153 (ABL 1404), 18-21.

personnel and officials.⁴³⁹ This transaction shows that the *kallāpu* was not necessarily a soldier whose status was located in the lower registers of society or the military establishment.

The famous letter of Adad-issia to Sargon II lists the royal troops (king's men) stationed in Māzama.⁴⁴⁰ The first section of the letter lists 106 chariotry personnel, the second 343 cavalry personnel, the third 69 domestics, the fourth 8 scholars, 23 donkey drivers, 1 information officer, and 80 *kallāpu*. The fifth section contains 360 Gurreans and 440 Itu'eans. The first two sections list equestrian units, the third contains non-fighting personnel, the fourth is a mixed section, while the fifth contains the light infantry. The first four sections list altogether 630 Assyrians. Consequently the 80 *kallāpu*-s were Assyrians, but they were not equestrian soldiers ('outriders' or 'mounted messengers'), since they were not listed in the equestrian section, and there were no horses listed with them. 80 Assyrian 'outriders,' 'dispatch riders' or 'mounted messengers' would have too many for such a military unit consisting of 1,430 soldiers and military personnel. The *kallāpu*-s were not light infantrymen either, since 800 auxiliary soldiers were attached to the local Assyrian troops. The Assyrians moreover – as far as can be reconstructed – did not provide light troops for the army. The only thing missing from the list is the Assyrian infantry – regular or heavy.

(b) *Kallāpu ša ekalli* (*kallāpu* of the palace). This type of *kallāpu* appears only in a single text, which lists three types of *kallāpu* soldiers (personal *kallāpu*, *kallāpu* of the town of ..., and *kallāpu* of the palace).⁴⁴¹ Compared to other types of soldiers serving in 'palace units,' this *kallāpu* might have served in the royal entourage together with the bodyguard *kallāpu* and the personal *kallāpu*.

(c) *Kallāpu šarri* (*kallāpu* of the king). This type of *kallāpu* appears in a single text in a broken context and in a somewhat obscure form (L[Ú.k]al-la LUGAL).⁴⁴² His epithet, *kallāpu* of the king, does not lead us closer to the understanding of the word; it simply means that he served in a royal unit. This portfolio of *kallāpu* soldiers (of the palace, of the king, bodyguard, and personal) resembles the set of units which are known from the equestrian part of the army, but not from among infantry units.

(d) *Kallāpu qurbu* (personal *kallāpu*). This phrase appears twice in the Neo-Assyrian record. One of these appearances is the administrative text mentioned above, which lists three types of *kallāpu* soldiers (personal *kallāpu*, *kallāpu* of the town of ..., and *kallāpu* of the palace, see above). In this context it seems useless to translate it as 'present.' The other entry⁴⁴³ lists the term between other military officials, where the 'present' status of the listed personnel is out of question. The translation of this type is most probably 'personal' which makes it hard to distinguish this subtype from the *kallāpu qurbūte* (bodyguard *kallāpu*).

(e) *Kallāpu qurbūte* (bodyguard *kallāpu*). This type of *kallāpu* is mentioned in only a single, very controversial text, which was analyzed in detail by Dalley and Postgate.⁴⁴⁴ This administrative

⁴³⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 222 (ADD 806), 7'. Similar 40-hectare estates are known from other census tablets: FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), II:22' mentions a *rab mūgi* – similarly to such high ranking officials as the treasurer of the Aššur Temple or the governor of Tamnuna – got a substantial estate of 40 hectares; while FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918), 4'-6' lists 40 hectares of land in the town of Sela, which was assigned to the *ša—šēpē* guardsman Kalhāiu, and 40 hectares of land in the town of Apiani, which was assigned to the Gurrean Barbiri.

⁴⁴⁰ LANFRANCHI - PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); SAGGS 1966, no. 89; FALES 2000, 40-43; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

⁴⁴¹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 90 (CT 53, 150), 7'-10'. Reign of Esarhaddon. The text mentions that there are a lot of *kallāpu* soldiers (LÚ.kal-lap ma-a'-da) available and lists these three types.

⁴⁴² DIETRICH 2003, 116 (ABL 264), Rev. 3'.

⁴⁴³ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:28. Sin-nāšir L[Ú.kal]-lap qur-bu.

⁴⁴⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 126 (ADD 855); DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984B, 43-45.

text lists military personnel in at least five sections: [unknown officials]; bodyguard *kallāpu* (*kallāpu qurbūte*); trackers (*rādi kibsi*); recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) of the chariotry; [further broken section(s)]. It is interesting to see that the *kallāpu* soldiers appear together with trackers again.⁴⁴⁵ The tablet lists names in the first column with numbers arranged in three more columns. The numbers in the last column are the sums of those in the second and third columns. The *kallāpu* section lists 7 names⁴⁴⁶ with a sum of 1,800+. These large numbers (taking into account the section of recruitment officers with a sum of 25,900) surely did not stand for horses or equids. Two other possible meanings of these numbers have to be considered: they might have stood for soldiers or bricks. If the numbers meant soldiers, the *kallāpu qurbūte* as a unit was at least two regiments strong, which was a formidable force. In this case the seven persons – with whom the numbers were connected – were officers, most probably *rab kallāpi qurbūte*. If the numbers denoted bricks, every *kallāpu qurbūte* had to provide or mould 300 or 400 bricks. The trackers' section contains a single number: 500, which might well have denoted the number of trackers. The appearance of such a bodyguard unit – disregarding its strength – raises the question of whether the *kallāpu qurbūte* were bodyguard 'outriders,' or 'mounted messengers' serving in such huge numbers, or were bodyguard infantrymen, which is a much more probable alternative, the 'bodyguard messenger' itself being an otherwise unbelievable option.

(f) *Kallāpu ša URU.Ub-[...]* (*kallāpu* of the town of ...). The same text, which listed the *kallāpu* of the palace and the personal *kallāpu*, contains a fragmentary reference to a *kallāpu* who served or arrived from the town of Ub-[...]. Since the Assyrian army was based on a territorial system it is not surprising that *kallāpu* units were stationed or organized in different parts of the empire. We know of two *kallāpu* soldiers, for example, who served in Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēh Hamad).⁴⁴⁷

(g) *Kallāpu ša LÚ.EN.NAM* (*kallāpu* of the governor). Indirect evidence (commander of the *kallāpu*-s of the governor, *see below*) shows that *kallāpu* soldiers or units served not only certain towns, but the provincial governors of the empire as well.⁴⁴⁸

(h) *Kallāp šipirte* ('messenger' *kallāpu*). The word *šipirtu* means not only 'message,' but 'order,' and 'legal document' as well. It seems plausible that the *kallāp šipirte* was not simply a messenger (for which Akkadian uses the expression *mār šipri*), but much more an authorized if not plenipotentiary official, in this case a *kallāpu* soldier. It must be mentioned that no other military personnel are known to have served as *šipirtu*. As has been discussed, the *kallāpu* could have been authorized to serve as a plenipotentiary of the king ("kallāpu carrying an arrow"). Contexts found in Neo-Assyrian letters may corroborate this theory: Adad-ibnî sent Sargon II four eunuchs escorted by a 'messenger' *kallāpu*,⁴⁴⁹ while a similar 'messenger' *kallāpu* escorted the messenger of the Ellipean king, Daltâ, who took a number of horses with him, probably as an audience gift for Sargon II.⁴⁵⁰ Such an official or 'messenger' was, however, not only an Assyrian characteristic. Nergal-êtir, in one of his reports to Sargon II, informed the king that [...]*ragāia*, the 'messenger' *kallāpu*⁴⁵¹ of Humbê, lord of Bît-Zualza came to him with a message, and he sent him to Sargon II for questioning. Similarly to other military personnel 'messenger' *kallāpu*-s would appear in

⁴⁴⁵ See furthermore UNGER 1931, 285, 26 iv 9 for a Neo-Babylonian entry listing the *kallāpu* and *rādi kibsi* together.

⁴⁴⁶ 2' Sîn-erība [x], 3' [PN] 400, 4' ARAD(Urda)-[x] 300, 5' *Mu-šal-[lim-...]* 300, 6' DINGIR-a-a-id-ri / ^dA-a-id-ri la te₄-hu, 7' PA(*Nabû*)-[...] 400, 8' ERÍN.MEŠ.[SIG₃](Šābu-[damqu]) 400, 9' LÚ.kal-la-pu qur-b[u-te] (1800+x).

⁴⁴⁷ RADNER 2002, 23: 3'-4': Ḫanunu *kal-lap*; 121 Rev. 6: Še[x]ki *kal-la-pa-nu*.

⁴⁴⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 59 (ABL 1104), 4': LÚ.GAL *kal-la-pa-ni*.

⁴⁴⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 184 (ABL 322), Rev. 2: LÚ.kal-lap *ši-bir-t[ú]*.

⁴⁵⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 66 (ABL 227), Rev. 1: LÚ.kal-la-pu *ši-bir-te*.

⁴⁵¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 68 (ABL 983+), 8-9: LÚ.kal-lap *ši-[bir-te]* [ša] KUR.É(Bît)-Zu-al-za.

groups for example as witnesses,⁴⁵² which means that they might have been organized into units. It is not known whether there was any difference between the *kallāpu* and the *kallāp šipirte* or not. In administrative lists the *kallāp šipirte* appears in the same position as the *kallāpu* together with the trackers (*rādi kibsi*).⁴⁵³

(i) Officers of *kallāpu* troops. Similarly to other military units two types of *kallāpu* officers are known: the *rab kallāpāni* (commander of *kallāpu*-s) and the *šaknu ša kallāpāni/kallāpī* (prefect of *kallāpu*-s).

(I) *Rab kallāpāni* (commander of *kallāpu*-s). The commander of *kallāpu*-s is known from the cuneiform evidence as early as 797 B.C.⁴⁵⁴ The earliest names appear exclusively in legal documents⁴⁵⁵ and administrative texts (wine lists).⁴⁵⁶ Unfortunately relatively few sources shed any light on the activities and duties of the commander of *kallāpu* troops. One of the Sargonide letters mentions that a governor is sending his *kallāpu* commanders to the king together with prefects who are transporting the stone thresholds.⁴⁵⁷ Another letter mentions someone who is in the custody of the *kallāpu* commander, which means that he served as an authorised official.⁴⁵⁸ In his intelligence report concerning Urartian troop movements Aššur-rēšūwa listed the troops of Setini, the governor opposite him, which set out towards Mušašir: there were 3,000 foot soldiers, their prefects, and the commanders of the *kallāpu* troops (LÚ.GAL—*kal-lab*.MEŠ).⁴⁵⁹ This letter also corroborates the theory that the *kallāpu* troops were fighting units. In the 7th century B.C. *kallāpu* commanders are known only from legal documents.⁴⁶⁰

A fragmentary tablet of the Nimrud Horse Lists⁴⁶¹ dated to 711 B.C. probably lists on its obverse *rab kišir Arraphāia* (cohort commanders of the *Arraphāia* unit) and the horses they obtained. The reverse, however, lists 15 *kallāpu* commanders⁴⁶² and 32 teams (*urû*) of horses they got. Consequently every *kallāpu* commander got 2 teams and a spare pair remained. These teams mean only, however, that the *kallāpu* commanders might have served on chariots (befitting their rank) and it cannot be concluded that the *kallāpu* troops were mounted soldiers. The large number of the *kallāpu* commanders suggests that the *kallāpu* troops had a real fighting capacity exceeding the 'mounted messenger,' 'dispatch rider,' or 'outrider' role.

⁴⁵² MATTILA 2002, 183 (ADD 171), Rev. 2'-3': Daddi-nā'id/Daddi LÚ.*kala-pu šī-pi-ri-ti*, 5': [...] LÚ.*kala-pu šī-pi-ri-ti*].

⁴⁵³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 121 (ND 10032), 2: *kal-la-pu šī-pir-te*. His wine quota was exactly the double as the quota of the trackers.

⁴⁵⁴ POSTGATE 1973, 51 (ND 263), 5: Ibašši-ilāni LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pi* (797 B.C.). For further early entries see: DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 9 (ND 684), Rev. 5': Ēreš-ilu GAL—*kal-la-bi* (790 B.C.); 19 (ND 711), Rev. 8: Mār-Issar LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-bi* (788 B.C.); 20 (ND 717), Rev. 3: Adad-šāpir LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pi* (Adad-nērārī III); Rev. 5: Banunī LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pi* (Adad-nērārī III).

⁴⁵⁵ POSTGATE 1973, 9 (ND 474), 16: Bēl-āli GAL LÚ.*kal-la-pi*; 23 (ND 229), Rev. 28: Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-bi* (754 B.C.).

⁴⁵⁶ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 1 (ND 6229), II:8: LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pi*; 6 (ND 6219), Rev. 29: LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pi*; 9 (ND 10048), Rev. 16: [LÚ.G]AL—*kal-l[a-pa]-ni* (786 B.C.); 18 (ND 10052), 18: LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pi*; 19 (ND 10051), Rev. 12: LÚ.GAL—*ka[l-la-pi]*.

⁴⁵⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 59 (ABL 1104), 4': LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pa-ni*.

⁴⁵⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 37 (CT 53, 92), Rev. 1': LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-bi*.

⁴⁵⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 88 (ABL 380), 4-5.

⁴⁶⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 57 (ADD 253), Rev. 2': [...] LÚ.GAL—*kal-lap* (Sennacherib); MATTILA 2002, 466 (ADD 485), Rev. 5': [...] LÚ.GAL *kal-lap*; 7 (ADD 494), Rev. 10: Qurdi-Nergal LÚ.GAL—*kal-la[p šī-pir-te]*? (Assurbanipal); AHMAD 1996, 30 (Aššur 12), 20: Aššur-nādin-aḥi GAL—*kal-la-ba*.

⁴⁶¹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 112 (ND 10076).

⁴⁶² DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 112 (ND 10076), Rev. 3. [...] *ba-ad?*, Marduk-erība, 4. Šulmu-šarri, Ilu-pīa-ušur, 5. Šamaš-šēzib, Ninurta-pilā, 6. Aḥu-lāmur, Lipušu, 7. Pāni-Issar, Zaiā, 8. Kiqilānu, Ilu-apli-ušur, 9. Pāni-šarri, Kabbūtu, 10. Aḥi-lēšir. No. 114 was probably a (partial) duplicate of this text.

Similarly to the *kallāpu* the commanders of *kallāpu* also served towns, provinces, and various officials. Two commanders of *kallāpu* soldiers are known, for example, who served in Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šeh Hamad),⁴⁶³ and two entries show that the provincial governors also had their own commanders of *kallāpu* troops.⁴⁶⁴ A Nimrud legal document dated to the reign of Adad-nērārī III lists several military officials in its witness section.⁴⁶⁵ It seems that all the witnesses came from Šabirēšu, including 2 *rab kallāpī*, a recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*), a *qurbūtu* bodyguard, 3 commanders-of-50 (*rab 50*), and a commander of troops (*rab šābē*). In that case at least two *kallāpu* commanders served the town/province of Šabirēšu. A short note from Nimrud lists 4 *kallāpu* commanders who served various officials including *mušarkisāni*.⁴⁶⁶

(II) *Šaknu kallāpāni* (prefect of *kallāpu*-s). The highest rank of the *kallāpu* system is mentioned in a single administrative text.⁴⁶⁷ This census tablet lists the estate of the prefect of *kallāpu* together with such high officials as the *rab šāqê*, *nāgir ekalli*, *sartennu*, treasurer of the crown prince, governor of Nineveh, governor of Birtu, governor of Tamnuna, and various officers, for example the *rab mūgi* (cavalry commander). Since – similarly to the high officials – the names of the *rab mūgi* and the prefect of *kallāpu* are not given in the text, and they are identified only by their ranks, it is quite reasonable to suppose that they were well-known figures of the local military establishment. It is unfortunately not known whether the *šaknu kallāpāni* served a single province or whether his office covered larger territories of the empire.

As a conclusion to the analysis of the written evidence (and the lack of representational evidence) it can be said that these texts question, indeed almost preclude, the possibility of the ‘messenger’ identification. No evidence explicitly proves the ‘messenger,’ ‘mounted messenger,’ ‘outrider,’ and ‘dispatch rider’ identification.⁴⁶⁸ On the contrary, they are frequently mentioned as (or among) combat units or in a context which presupposes a fighting capacity. Malbran-Labat⁴⁶⁹ identified them as ‘estafettes’ or ‘émisaires rapides’ serving in a military hierarchy, which might come from their ‘light infantry’ (infanterie légère) profile. Since there is no Akkadian *terminus technicus* for heavy infantry, for armoured spearmen, or even for infantrymen Postgate – realising the absurdity of the question – attempted to solve the problem.⁴⁷⁰ After looking over the expressions that were possible – but rarely used, considering the importance of the question – (*šābē šēpē*, *zūk šēpē*, *zūku*), he concluded that the best candidate for the Assyrian infantryman was the word *kallāpu*. No evidence shows that they were ‘light troops’ in the same sense as the auxiliaries. If my reconstruction is correct – following the logic of Postgate – the term *kallāpu* might denote Assyrian infantryman, regular or heavy.

(8) *Šāb šarri* (king’s men).⁴⁷¹ Regular infantrymen could be found both in the armies of provincial governors and in the royal armies as well. The contexts discussed above dealt mainly

⁴⁶³ RADNER 2002, 127, Rev. 3: Adad-balliṭ LÚ.GAL—*kal-lap*; Rev. 9: [...L]Ú GAL—*kal-lap* (691/686 B.C.).

⁴⁶⁴ POSTGATE 1973, 98 (ND 218), Rev. 8-9: Dādī LÚ.GAL—*kal-la-pi ša* LÚ.EN.NAM (738 B.C.); FALES 1983, 235, no. 3 (K.7375), Rev. 3: [...] LÚ.GAL—*kal-lap ša* LÚ.EN.N[AM ...] (Assurbanipal).

⁴⁶⁵ DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 20 (ND 717).

⁴⁶⁶ PARKER 1961, 45, ND 2706, (9) PAB 4 LÚ.GAL—[*kal*]-*lap-pa-ni*; (4) *a-na* LÚ.mu-*šar-kis-te*.

⁴⁶⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), III:13’: LÚ.GAR-*nu kal-lap*. [MEŠ].

⁴⁶⁸ The only thing which links them in any way to the equestrian part of the army is that – according to a single text – they have recruits, and the text uses the same Akkadian word for the recruit (*raksu*) as in the context of cavalry and chariotry (see vol. II, the chapter *Raksu* (recruit)). KINNIER WILSON 1972, 35, II:8 (*rak-su*.MEŠ *ša kal-lapa*); see also PARKER 1961, ND 2489, Col. II:8; 8th century B.C.

⁴⁶⁹ MALBRAN-LABAT 1982, 53, 82-83.

⁴⁷⁰ POSTGATE 2000, 89-108.

⁴⁷¹ POSTGATE 1974, 219-226; POSTGATE 2007, 345-347; FALES 2010A, 77-82.

with provincial troops. There is, however, a category which is probably the best candidate to cover the regular infantry of the royal troops. It is known that large numbers of soldiers were recruited for the royal armies from the provinces of the empire. The first comprehensive study of the problem was published by Postgate,⁴⁷² who identified all of the most important aspects of the problem (*see* below), and pointed out, that the term designated not a profession, but a temporary employment. In his recent article Fales provided a new comprehensive study of the category, in which he offered a definition: "The term designates all elements of the male population liable for recruitment or other forms of conscription within the armed forces of Assyria."⁴⁷³

These troops, called 'king's men' (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ—MAN), were recruited from among the local population of either Assyrians or foreigners. Providing soldiers for the local royal troops – within the framework of the *ilku*-system or outside it – was a duty imposed upon the local communities. When Aššur-bēlu-da''in made peace with the Ušḫaeans and Qudaeans he wrote a letter to Sargon II saying: "Those obliged to provide labour have provided it, and those obliged to provide king's men (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ—MAN) have provided them."⁴⁷⁴ It is obvious that the local communities concerned provided labour and military personnel as well under the terms of a royal treaty (of vassalage), and that the latter were used – as has earlier been discussed in detail – for border guard purposes. In the same letter Aššur-bēlu-da''in asked the king whether he could release the troops (LÚ.*e-mu-qi*) at his disposal, or whether they should (continue to) keep watch?⁴⁷⁵ It can be concluded that he had at his disposal king's men recruited from the local population and his own troops which he had brought with him. Both might well have been regular, and not elite armoured troops. To provide king's men was most probably a burden for the local communities since in one of his letters to Sargon II, Aššur-dūr-pānīa (the governor of Šabirēšu) reported to the king that the Šubrian emissaries had listed on clay tablets the names of those king's men and other Assyrian subjects who in the previous three years had run away from labour duty and military service (ERIM.MEŠ MAN-te), and fled to Šubria.⁴⁷⁶ Other letters list king's men and local provincial armies of governors together. Aššur-ālik-pāni for example answered a royal order as follows: "I shall assign my king's men ([LÚ].ERIM.MEŠ—LUGAL-ia), chariotry (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) and cavalry (BAD-ḪAL-lum) as the king wrote me, and I shall be in the [ki]ng my lord's presence in Arbela with my king's men and army by the [dea]dline set by the king, my lord."⁴⁷⁷ This letter draws a clear picture of the local provincial troops: the infantry consisted of king's men (provincial troops of the royal army)⁴⁷⁸ and the troops of the governor.⁴⁷⁹ The governors kept the king's men under their supervision and under strict control, and did not lend them to anyone. In one of his letters to Sargon II Aššur-šarru-ibnî complains that the governor of Arbela does not agree to give him those 120 king's men, who did not go on the campaign with the king.⁴⁸⁰ Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Māzamuā, also complained to Sargon II that in the "last

⁴⁷² POSTGATE 1974, 219-226.

⁴⁷³ FALES 2010A, 77.

⁴⁷⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 78 (ABL 246), 16-Rev. 3.

⁴⁷⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 78 (ABL 246), Rev. 7-10.

⁴⁷⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 52 (ABL 525).

⁴⁷⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 152 (ABL 784).

⁴⁷⁸ DEZSÓ 2006B. *See* furthermore *vol. II*, chapter Foreign units of the Assyrian cavalry (*kišir šarrūti*): the 'provincial units'.

⁴⁷⁹ DEZSÓ 2006B. *See* furthermore *vol. II*, chapter Cavalry of the high officials and governors and Chariotry of the high officials and governors.

⁴⁸⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 149 (CT 53, 108): 30 men from Tillê, 60 from Ḫamudu, 30 from [...].

year the son of Bēl-iddina did not go with me on the expedition but kept the best men at home and sent with me young boys only.”⁴⁸¹

These troops were employed on a seasonal basis and were released (or were relieved by other troops) after a certain period of service, or at the end of the campaign season. An Assyrian official received a royal order to keep watch with his troops in Meturna. However, when he was in Dūr-Anunīti between Meturna and Dūr-Bēl-ilā’ī, in the foothills, he wrote a letter to Sargon II complaining that he could not release his king’s men to collect their provisions.⁴⁸² Another letter also written to Sargon II mentions that there were 1,000 king’s men (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ—LUGAL) among the captives in Arrapha. The Chief Eunuch went with them to Arzuḫina to review them.⁴⁸³ This letter proves again that king’s men were recruited from the ranks of captives or deportees as well, and the appearance of the Chief Eunuch implies that this group – taken to Assyria – would have been incorporated into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), which was commanded by the Chief Eunuch.⁴⁸⁴ It is known from a letter written by Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra to Sargon II that the Assyrians recruited king’s men even among the “sons of bought slaves.”⁴⁸⁵ According to this letter they provided 370 men, 90 of whom were king’s men, 90 were (their) reserves (*ša ku-tal*), and 190 did the king’s work. The community provided 180 military personnel and a workforce of 190 men.

The king’s men category included all types of troops stationed in the provinces who belonged to the royal army, even if they were under the command of the local governor.⁴⁸⁶ The report from Adad-issā to Sargon II reviews the troops of Māzama, ⁴⁸⁷ listing all the troops (chariotry, cavalry, infantry, including Itu’eans and Gurreans) as king’s men. The letter from Našur-Bēl (governor of Amidi) to Sargon II also makes it clear that the Itu’eans could likewise belong to this category. The governor reported to the king that the Itu’eans of the Palace at his disposal did not go with the Vizier. He had sent for them, but only (men) from one or two houses had come out of the town. He asked the king to write an order to the sheikhs: they should bring the king’s men out jointly, to keep watch with him in Laruba.⁴⁸⁸

King’s men were recruited from the ranks of conquered or allied peoples as well. Samnuḫa-bēlu-ušur reported to Sargon II that the Šadikanneans are hirelings and not runaways, they perform *ilku* duty and supply king’s men from their midst.⁴⁸⁹ Other terms, such as *raksu* (for detailed study see *vol. II*, the chapter *Raksu* (recruit)), identified conscripts of probably the same category. Sargon II sent an order to Šarru-ēmuranni to Babylonia to mobilize and bring the conscripts of Dūr-Ladini, Dūr-Biliḫai and Larak.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 200 (ABL 312).

⁴⁸² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 30 (ABL 455), Rev. 14.

⁴⁸³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 18 (CT 53, 217). There are two short notes concerning the review of king’s men probably from the reign of Sargon II: ERIM.MEŠ MAN *āš-ru-te* (“king’s men reviewed”): DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 21 (ND 7032), 22 (ND 7033). These king’s men were under the orders of two officials, one of whom was a prefect (Issar-dūri, the *šaknu*).

⁴⁸⁴ DEZSÓ 2006B. See furthermore *vol. II*, the chapters of Cavalry and Chariotry.

⁴⁸⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 99 (ABL 99).

⁴⁸⁶ Only a single entry uses the general category: king’s troops (*e-mu-qi ša* LUGAL) in a Northern context during the reign of Sargon II: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 129 (CT 53, 872).

⁴⁸⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); SAGGS 1966, 177-191, no. 89; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130; FALES 2010A, 79-80.

⁴⁸⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424).

⁴⁸⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 223 (CT 53, 87).

⁴⁹⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 18 (ABL 1292).

King's men served in return for provisions. Sargon II sent an order to Šarru-dūri, governor of Kalḫu, to give all the king's men serving under him 1 homer (*emāru*, 100 l) of corn each.⁴⁹¹ He had to divide this amount between the king's man and his family as follows: 3 seahs (*sūtu*, 30 l) were given to the soldier as his 'campaign-flour' (ZÍD.KASKAL.MEŠ), 7 seahs (70 l) were left with his family. Another fragmentary letter informs us that someone issued 90 minas of copper for 30 reserves of the king's men (LÚ.ku-tal ERIM.MAN).⁴⁹² This amount most probably served as their rations for a longer period. The orders sent to Šarru-dūri by Sargon II shed light on the recruitment and mobilization system of the provinces. At least two levels of mobilization can be reconstructed from this correspondence: a set of letters ordered the mobilization of provincial troops,⁴⁹³ while another letter was sent by a provincial governor to one of his subordinates in which the governor ordered the mobilization of his troops.⁴⁹⁴ They had to supervise the provisions ('campaign-flour') of the troops⁴⁹⁵ and prepare them for the campaigns.

It can be concluded that the king's men were a general category of soldiers conscripted from the ranks of local Assyrian and foreign communities, as well as from the ranks of captives. King's men formed the bulk of the Assyrian army, most probably as regular units, and provided labour for local and central building projects and other work assignments as well. In a more general sense this category could incorporate all soldiers who belonged to the royal troops of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

Fields of employment

The cuneiform evidence, especially the royal correspondence of the Sargonides, offers some clues to reconstruct the ways in which regular infantry units were employed. As can be judged from the letters, one of the most important concerns of the Assyrian army was guard duty in city garrisons and forts along the borders or in the open countryside. It is relatively difficult to make a distinction between these three activities, since all of them can be categorized as guard duties. Their common feature was that probably all these responsibilities were performed by local, regular units, sometimes the local units of vassals, and as has already been discussed, by auxiliary units. It may be supposed that the élite units of the *kišir šarrūti* never played a similar role and only in a few exceptional cases might have performed guard duties.

(1) *Garrison troops*. The cuneiform sources provide some evidence of the ways in which the regular infantry depicted in the sculptures might have been employed. One possibility is that they were to be found among the large numbers of garrison troops who manned the forts⁴⁹⁶ and kept their neighbourhood – in the border regions of the empire – secure. Garrison troops in the provinces might well have been recruited from the ranks of the local units of the regular infantry. As has already been discussed, different units of auxiliary archers and spearmen might also have

⁴⁹¹ POSTGATE 1973, 185 (ND 437), 1-13.

⁴⁹² POSTGATE 1973, 141 (ND 453), 9-10.

⁴⁹³ POSTGATE 1973, 186 (ND 454), mentions the troops of the provinces of Kalḫu, Ḫalzi, and Šabirēšu.

⁴⁹⁴ POSTGATE 1973, 190 (ND 418): a governor sent an order to Šil-šarri to mobilize his troops and muster them on the 15th of Addaru in Šilšil. Not a single man must be missing.

⁴⁹⁵ POSTGATE 1973, 203 (ND 439).

⁴⁹⁶ For a reconstruction of fort building activity see PARKER 1997, 77-88.

played such a role (*see* above), but the bulk of these garrison troops may have consisted of regular infantry. Elite units – such as the armoured infantry of the *kišir šarrūti* – probably never served in remote garrisons. Manpower for these forts or city garrisons were provided by the local troops of inferior quality (provincial units or vassal units). The Akkadian term for garrison troops (*šulūtu*) appeared in the cuneiform record in the second half of the 8th century B.C. Garrison troops had been a category since when Sargon II led a campaign against Merodach-baladan in 710 B.C. (12th *palū*). The Chaldean gathered his units (*ú-pa-aḫ-ḫi-ra ki-iš-re-e-šu*) and probably lacking enough field troops moved against Sargon II with 600 cavalry and 4,000 garrison troops, the vanguard of his army (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *šu-lu-ti a-li-kut pa-an um-ma-ni-šu*).⁴⁹⁷ It is not clear whether these garrison troops were elite units or, on the contrary, were of inferior quality and Merodach-baladan did not hesitate to sacrifice them to slow down the movements of the Assyrians. As has been discussed above, it is known from the Letter to God of Sargon II, that Rusa – after his defeat at Wauš in 714 B.C. – stationed in these fortresses “his battle-hardened warriors, carrying shields and spears, the best troops of his army, the confidence of his country”⁴⁹⁸ to stop the march of the Assyrians against Mušašir, though this was probably an unusual measure. However, Mita (Midas), king of Phrygia, used a similar tactic to block the advance of the Assyrian governor of Que, who (in the 13th *palū*, 709 B.C.) massacred these battle-experienced garrison troops (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *šu-lu-ti-šu e-piš ta-ḫa-zi*)⁴⁹⁹ in the fortresses. On his 7th *girru* Sennacherib advanced against Elam. On the Elamite border he conquered the towns of Bīt-Ḫa’iri and Rasâ, which had been taken by the Elamites by force during the reign of Sargon II. He stationed garrison troops⁵⁰⁰ inside them. A letter from a certain Nabû-taklāk makes it clear that there was some difference between the garrison troops and the other troops. In the letter to his lord, the governor (of Marad?) stated that he would never send garrison troops (L[Ú.š]u-lu-tu) to Bīt-Dakkuri, but/and he had distributed the food rations to the soldiers of Nabû-ēreš who were guarding the fort (instead of his garrison troops?).⁵⁰¹ A fragmentary letter refers to a campaign during which an unknown enemy (Daltâ?) burnt down four towns and killed the soldiers of the garrisons (LÚ.ERIM.ME EN.NUN.ME) who were stationed in these towns.⁵⁰² Some letters make it clear that not only Assyrians, but also foreign troops may have served in city garrisons, even in the capital. Nabû-rība-aḫḫē, for example, reported to the crown prince (Sennacherib) that “the Sidonians and the(ir) heads did not go to Calah with the crown prince, my lord, nor are they serving in the garrison (*ma-šar-te*) of Nineveh. They loiter in the centre of the town, each in his lodging place.”⁵⁰³ A few extant texts mention a certain É—*ma-šar-te ša URU*, usually translated as city garrison.⁵⁰⁴ It is, however, not known whether this meant a city arsenal-type building or fortress (not a palace), or whether it was surrounded by a district where the lodgings of the garrison troops were situated.

(2) *Forts*. Letters arriving from the Western, Northern, and Eastern border regions often dealt with the question of the condition of forts. Dozens of letters start with the standard formula: “the

⁴⁹⁷ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, lines 265-269.

⁴⁹⁸ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 289: (LÚ.*qu-ra-di-šu a-ša-re-tú um-ma-ni-šu le-'u-tu ta-ḫa-zi na-áš ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-i tu-kul-ti KUR-šú*).

⁴⁹⁹ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, line 387a-b.

⁵⁰⁰ LUCKENBILL 1924, 39 iv:59: ERIM.MEŠ *šu-lu-ti-ia*.

⁵⁰¹ DIETRICH 2003, 62 (ABL 898), Rev. 2'-S. 1.

⁵⁰² SAGGS 2001, 106-107 (ND 2384), 25-26.

⁵⁰³ PARPOLA 1987, 153 (ABL 175).

⁵⁰⁴ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 100 (*Iraq* 4, 189), Rev. 14.

king's forts are well, the king, my lord, can be glad indeed,⁵⁰⁵ or "all the king's garrisons are well."⁵⁰⁶ Similarly to the city garrisons, the troops manning the (border) forts might well have been recruited from the local population. Nabû-ḥamātū'a (deputy governor of Māzama) reported to Sargon II that he brought out the subjects of Bēl-iddina, the ruler of Allabria from six Allabrian forts and told them: "Go! Each one of you should build (a house) in the field and stay there!"⁵⁰⁷ Afterwards he made the Assyrian king's subjects enter these forts, to ensure that the guard would be strong. One of the fragmentary letters written to Sargon II from an Eastern province mentions, for example, that the legate (*qēpu*) of Dēr sent an order to the writer of the letter to send him 2,000 men (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ). The unknown writer, however, complained that the local men did not suffice (even) for the fortresses. Whence should he take the men to send to the legate?⁵⁰⁸ A legate of Dēr, Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, is known from a letter in which he reported to Sargon II that following royal orders he had called the people to arms around Dēr. He brought bowmen and shieldmen (ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN ù GIŠ.a-ri-ti) into the king's fort.⁵⁰⁹ Another letter written by Nabû-dūru-ušur(?) to Sargon II in 707 B.C. mentioned that the king of Elam was marching against Bīt-Bunakka, and asked the king to send him 500 soldiers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ) to garrison the fort, and further 200 men for unknown reasons.⁵¹⁰ A further letter written to Sargon II discussed the details of how a commander (governor) made 90 soldiers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ) enter the tower of Eziat (on the Urartian border) and brought 30 soldiers out of it.⁵¹¹ These soldiers might have belonged to the vanguard of an expeditionary force. Gabbu-ana-Aššur, the Palace Herald (*nāgīr ekalli*) reported to Sargon II that six of his soldiers (LÚ.ERIM.[MEŠ-ni]) who were moving provisions up to the fort had been captured by the Urartians.⁵¹² The most important text, however, is the letter from Dūr-Aššur to Sargon II, which describes in detail the building of a fort along the Tigris (in Tušḥan?).⁵¹³ Dūr-Aššur asked the king to send troops for the fortresses – as if these were special garrison troops. The letter mentions [x hundred and] sixty two soldiers of the town of Rašappa, Arzuḥina, while the troops of the governors of Guzana, Arrapha, and the *rab šāqê* were coming to their assistance. The text uses the neutral term LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ which makes the identification of these troops impossible. However, the types of troops listed in this letter might well have been composed of regular troops and not of the elite soldiers of the *kišir šarrūti*. Similarly, those units which were taken to the forts on the campaigns of the magnates⁵¹⁴ were probably regular infantrymen recruited in the provinces, and not the elite units of the *kišir šarrūti*. They were capable not only of guarding the border and looking for deserters⁵¹⁵ but of fighting

⁵⁰⁵ See for example PARPOLA 1987, 31 (ABL 197), 1 (ABL 200), 2 (548), 3 (424); FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 156 (ABL 503+), 223 (ABL 315), 208 (CT 53, 94); SAGGS 2001, 204-205, NL 31 (ND 2792); 125-128, NL 46 (ND 2608); 147-148, NL 55 (ND 2798).

⁵⁰⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 80 (ABL 247), 4: "The forts and the [ga]rrison (URU.Bi-ra-a-te a-na ma-šar-te) of the king, my lord, are well."; 101 (ABL 645+).

⁵⁰⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 210 (ABL 208).

⁵⁰⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 142 (ABL 868), 8'-9'; for further letters dealing with the city and fort of Dēr see FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 131 (ABL 1093); 119 (CT 53, 77): [Šamaš-bēlu-ušur] to Sargon II (710 B.C.); SAGGS 2001, 41-42, (ND 2761).

⁵⁰⁹ DIETRICH 2003, 120 (ABL 1335+), 14-23, Rev. 4-6.

⁵¹⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 129 (CT 53, 110+).

⁵¹¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 5 (CT 53, 478).

⁵¹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 115 (ABL 579).

⁵¹³ SAGGS 1963, 70-80, NL 67 (ND 2666), lines 32-41; SAGGS 2001, 215-218; PARKER 1997, 77-87.

⁵¹⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 162 (ABL 441): Upaq-Šamaš(?) on Fort Adad-rēmāni; 199 (ABL 311): Šarru-ēmurāni (governor of Māzama) to Sargon II; 210 (ABL 208): Nabû-ḥamātū'a (deputy governor of Māzama) to Sargon II on the strong guard of the forts of Allabria; FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 30 (ABL 455): Nabû-bēlu-ka" in in Meturna in 710 B.C.: my troops are with me.

⁵¹⁵ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 148 (ABL 434), 9-18. This letter deals with the border forts along the Urartian, Mannaeen, Median and Ḥubuškian border (9. *ina* UGU(*muhḫi*) EN.NUN.MEŠ(*maššarte*) *ša* *ina* UGU(*muhḫi*) URU.ḪAL.ŠU, 10. *ša* KUR.URI(*Urarti*) *ša* KUR.Man-na-a-a Mad-a-a, 11. KUR.Ḫu-bu-uš-ki).

battles⁵¹⁶ as well. Along the Northern border of the Empire a further aspect of their garrison service was to participate in expeditions across the border. One such typical occasion might have been the story of Ša-Aššur-dubbu (governor of Tušhan) who sent his ‘third man’ to fell 500 roof beams on Urartian territory.⁵¹⁷ Ša-Aššur-dubbu released 100 men to enter Urartian territory to throw the beams in the river, while he left the rest of his troops in their garrisons and ambush positions. To send troops across the border to fell beams or set up ambush positions might have been a daily routine for the regular troops who were stationed in the border fortresses.

The fact that these forts were commanded by fort commanders (LÚ.GAL *bir-te*)⁵¹⁸ shows that an established organization of garrison troops was used for these purposes. One of the letters of Našur-Bēl, governor of Amidi, to Sargon II explicitly refers to garrison troops of forts (LÚ ša ḪAL.ŠU.[MEŠ]), who were brought into the town conquered by Ša-Aššur-dubbu.⁵¹⁹ These troops – as has already been indicated – were most probably composed of regular soldiers recruited from the region or province of the fort. Only a single letter mentions a guard (LÚ.šá—EN.NUN),⁵²⁰ who may have been hired by the servants of the king, but he might have been a gate guard, or something similar and not a regular soldier of the army serving in a garrison or a fort.

(3) *Guard*.⁵²¹ Similarly to garrisons and forts, large numbers of letters dealt with the question of border security and border guard duties. Several letters assured the king that “the guard is strong,” “the troops keep watch,” and “the guard is in excellent condition.”⁵²² The troops who kept watch along the borders of Assyria were the same troops who provided the guards of the fortresses and city garrisons. They were recruited from the local population probably on a seasonal basis, since some letters indicate that they could have been released. For example Aššur-bēlu-da⁵²³ in asked Sargon II whether he should release his troops or whether they should continue to keep watch.⁵²³ This means that these troops served on a seasonal basis, to be released after they had served for a certain period, and that they were recruited from the province or the nearby territories. In some cases, as is known from a letter from Ašipâ (governor of Tidu?) to Sargon II, soldiers of local units would have been assigned as scouts (LÚ.da-a-a-li) to guard the mountain passes as well.⁵²⁴

A further aspect of guard duty was the defence of desert frontiers and marshlands. One letter written to Esarhaddon(?) mentions that an Assyrian official sent the men of Birâte, servants of the king (ERIM.MEŠ URU.bir-ta-a-a ARAD.MEŠ šá LUGAL),⁵²⁵ for guard duty to the marshy plain of Babylon, where they were attacked by the troops of the king of Babylon. This type of duty was mentioned primarily in connection with archers (*see* below chapter Regular archers). This

⁵¹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 273 (CT 53, 795).

⁵¹⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 705), Rev. 1-12.

⁵¹⁸ SAGGS 2001, 155-158, NL 12 (ND 2715): Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur to Tiglath-Pileser III on the appointment of a royal eunuch as a garrison commander (LÚ.SAG(ša—rēšē) LUGAL(šarri) GAL(rab) bi-ir-te) in the town of Kašpuna; PARPOLA 1987, 45 (ABL 173): Tāb-šar-Aššur to Sargon II; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 12 (ABL 1043): [Našur-Bēl (governor of Amidi)] to Sargon II; 204 (CT 53, 56): [Šarru-ēmuranni (governor of Māzama) to Sargon II]. An interesting detail is known from a Nimrud Letter of Šulmu-Bēl, who mentions the Chief of the fortresses (LÚ.GAL ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ) of the land of the Urartians who deserted to Assyria ((SAGGS 2001, 107-108, ND 2402).

⁵¹⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 4 (CT 53, 210).

⁵²⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 2 (ABL 1056), 4-7.

⁵²¹ OPPENHEIM – REINER 1977, 333-340, s.v. *mašartu* offers a wide range of contexts in which the term was used.

⁵²² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 18 (CT 53, 217); 294 (ABL 153+); PARPOLA 1987, 173 (ABL 224), 175 (ABL 225).

⁵²³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 78 (ABL 246), Rev. 7.

⁵²⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 24 (ABL 509).

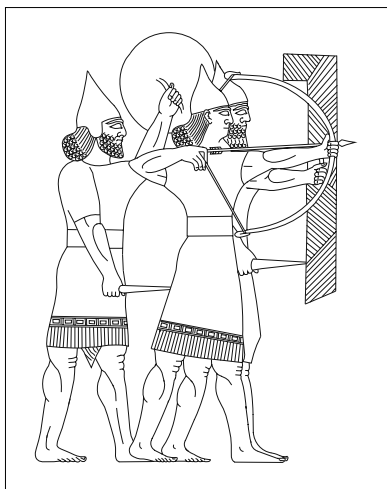
⁵²⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 146 (ABL 259), 6-16.

case proves again that the Assyrians primarily used local regular troops or troops of vassals for guard duties.

Concluding the evidence discussed above it can be assumed that the *šāb šarri* (king's men) category of soldiers incorporated all of those soldiers (and workers) who were recruited or conscripted for a royal service in the army. They stationed mainly in the provinces but they were distinguished from the troops of the governors and high officials. They were conscripted from the local population and even from deportees. The *zūku* – in its technical aspect – meant probably simply infantryman, while the *zakkû* – describing the soldier not from the technical, but from the social background or status view – denoted the type of soldier (most probably infantryman), who served in the army for being exempted from various tasks or duties of the state. The most difficult task is the identification of the *kallāpu*. This category of soldier was listed in too large numbers to be a member of a specialised service (for example a member of a messenger or intelligence service),⁵²⁶ consequently this term can be used to fill in the gaps found in the identification of infantry services (Assyrian spearmen known from the sculptures, etc.).

REGULAR ARCHERS

The representations (71, 72, 76, 77)



The archers of the regular infantry are shown only in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). They can be identified by their Assyrian-type pointed helmets (or the very rare hemispherical helmets: *Plate 21, 71*). This type of helmet distinguishes them from the auxiliary archers. Not a single regular archer appears in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) or Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.). To understand the reason for this phenomenon, there are two possibilities which have to be considered. First, if the palace reliefs show the real picture or at least tendencies, it can be asserted that the regular archers had lost their importance by the time of the armies of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, and were replaced by auxiliary archers and armoured archers. It is, however, also possible that from the reign of Sennacherib, the Assyrian sculptors were unwilling to depict the regular archers,

who were probably recruited from local people and shepherds, whose equipment was inferior to that of the armoured infantry, and whose military value might have been less than that of the professional or semi-professional soldiers of the two other arms. So, from the reign of Sennacherib, the image of the regular infantry was overshadowed in the sculptures by the auxiliary and armoured infantry. The first hypothesis seems to be the more plausible, since regular spearmen – who may also have been recruited from the ranks of the (Assyrian) peasantry and whose equipment was also of lower quality – appear several times in the sculptures of Sennacherib, and especially of Assurbanipal (*see below*).

⁵²⁶ POSTGATE 2000, 104-105; FALES 2010A, 91.

It is interesting to see that in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (*Plate 21, 71, 72*) and Sargon II (*Plate 23, 76, 77*) the archers of the regular infantry are always represented together with shield bearers. This does not necessarily mean that archers of the regular infantry always fought in pairs with shield bearers. It is rather that these regular archers are usually depicted in siege scenes,⁵²⁷ where as usual, they shoot from behind the huge siege-shields, or are protected by other types of shield bearers. It must be noted, however, that both regular archers depicted in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III might be high officials who due to their rank would have been protected by shield bearers. The siege-shields in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III are exclusively large standing wicker or wooden shields with a rectangular top shelter.⁵²⁸ They provide cover for three soldiers: one shield-bearer and two archers (*Plate 21, 71*) or one archer and another shield-bearer equipped with a rounded bronze shield (*Plate 21, 72*). The sculptures of Sargon II show two types of regular archers: the first is escorted by a shield-bearer equipped with a large standing wooden siege-shield (*Plate 23, 76*), while the other is escorted by a soldier who is equipped with rounded (wicker) shield and a spear (*Plate 23, 77*) – he might well have been a regular spearman.

As has been mentioned above the regular archer – an archer wearing a pointed helmet and no scale armour – disappeared from the sculptures of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.). The role of the regular archers was probably taken over by the different types of auxiliary archers distinguished in the previous chapter by their garments.

However, the iconographical tradition of these sculptures – depicting large, symbolic figures – makes it hard to decide whether the figures shown were well-known high ranking military personnel or common soldiers. As has been discussed above, the palace reliefs – at the latest from the reign of Sennacherib – might have depicted almost exclusively the elite professional or semi-professional units of the *kišir šarrūti* (royal corps) and omitted those masses of Assyrian provincial and vassal units which probably consisted of local enlisted regular troops and were equipped with weaponry of inferior quality.

Cuneiform sources

This arm can hardly be identified in the written sources. It is difficult to decide whether the general term ‘archers’ (*šābē qašti*) used in cuneiform sources denoted the auxiliary archers, the regular archers, the armoured archers or all three of them. Regular archers or simply archers appear in cuneiform texts during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. The earliest examples found in his royal inscriptions still connect the description of archers to the “heroic warrior tradition”: “warriors carrying bows and carrying shield and spear” (*[mun]-dah-še-šu na-ši GIŠ.qaš-ti [na]-ši ka-ba-bi az-ma-re-e*).⁵²⁹

The Assyrian royal inscriptions mention troops of archers and spearmen in very large numbers. The annals of Sargon II mention that during his 13th campaign, after defeating Muttallu, king of Kummuh, in addition to 150 chariots and 1,500 horsemen he drafted into the Assyrian army 20,000

⁵²⁷ With wooden siege-shields: Tiglath-Pileser III: BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XI, XII (Babylonian campaign); XXXI, XXXII (Babylonian campaign); LXII (Gezer (URU.*Ga-az-ru*)); LXXIII (unknown campaign); LXXV (unknown campaign); Sargon II: BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 145 (URU.*Pa-za-ši* (Mannai, Media), 7th *palū*); with rounded wicker shields: BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 147 (URU.*Ki-šes-lu* (Mannai, Media), 7th *palū*). The rounded wicker shields might have been used as occasional protection for higher ranking officers, as shown in this sculpture, where two regular infantrymen or spearmen provide cover for two higher ranking officers (eunuchs?).

⁵²⁸ Only a single depiction is known, in which the top of the siege-shield is curved: BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LIV, LV.

⁵²⁹ TADMOR 1994, *Annals* 23, 5'-8' (13th *palū*, 733 B.C., Damascus, Rezin).

archers (ERIM.MEŠ(*šābē*) GIŠ.BAN(*qašti*)) and 10,000 shield-bearer spearmen (*na-āš* GIŠ.*ka-ba-bi* ù GIŠ.*az-ma-re-e*)⁵³⁰ from the defeated forces, and gave these troops to the newly established office of the *turtānu* of the left (*turtānu ša bīt šumēli*). These 20,000 archers were probably local Anatolians or Arameans. It is a characteristic feature of ancient Near Eastern military history that the enemies of Assyria employed large numbers of archers, who formed the bulk of their armies. Besides the Aramean and Chaldean armies the Elamite armies consisted almost exclusively of archers.⁵³¹ Assyrian palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal depict Elamite archers in large numbers (Plate 7, 25). The royal inscriptions of Sargon II mention that after the death of Daltâ, king of Ellipi, one of the sons of his sister Nibê asked Šutur-Nahundu, king of Elam, for help, while his brother Išpabâra asked for the help of Sargon II. The Assyrian king sent 7 eunuchs with their army against them. Nibê escaped with 4,500 Elamite archers (ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN) and sought refuge in the town of Marubištu.⁵³² The description of the battle of Wauš in 714 B.C. emphasizes that the mainstay of the Urartian army (which was, however, famous for its cavalry), consisted of warriors carrying bows (and) spears (LÚ.*mun-daḥ-še-šu tu-kul-ti um-ma-ni-šu na-āš* GIŠ.BAN *az-ma-re-e*), who were massacred at the feet of Rusa by the Assyrians.⁵³³ During the same campaign Sargon II with his single chariot, and 1,000 experienced cavalry, with archers, and carriers of shield and spear, his brave warriors hardened in battle (*it-ti 1-et* GIŠ.GIGIR ĜÌR.II-*ia e-de-ni-ti* ù 1 LIM *pet-ḥal-lì-ia šit-mur-ti ša-ab* GIŠ.BAN *ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-e* LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia ek-du-ti mu-du-út ta-ḥa-zi*), took the road to Mušasir.⁵³⁴

The royal inscriptions of Sennacherib help us to reconstruct further details of the structure of the Assyrian army, especially concerning the regular infantry. Infantry units appear in his royal inscriptions in two contexts: in depictions of the Assyrian army and in lists of defeated troops drafted into the Assyrian army. According to the description of his two *limmu* campaigns⁵³⁵ Sennacherib sent his royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) consisting of “bowmen, bearers of shield and lance, chariots, horses” (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN *na-ši tuk-ši* ù *as-ma-ri-e* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ) against the enemy. The second context is the list of those units which were incorporated into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) from among the defeated soldiers. Sennacherib added 10,000 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN) and 10,000 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tú*) to the royal corps during his Western campaign in 701 B.C.,⁵³⁶ 30,000 bowmen (GIŠ.B[AN]) and [10,000] shield bearers ([GIŠ].*a-ri-tu*) during his Western campaign in 695 B.C.,⁵³⁷ and 30,500 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN) and 30,500 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tú*) during his Elamite campaign.⁵³⁸ As has already been discussed in a separate study⁵³⁹ and will be discussed in detail in *vol. II*, the chapters on Cavalry and Chariotry, every part of the Assyrian royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of Sargon II – infantry, cavalry and chariotry – consisted of Assyrian troops and provincial troops which were recruited from the newly conquered territories. However, the units which were listed in the royal inscriptions of Sennacherib were

⁵³⁰ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410, (13th *palû*, 709 B.C.), cf. Prunk 116-117.

⁵³¹ Assyrian royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal often associate Elamite troops and king with their bows: the Elamite king boasted with their bows before the battle (WEIDNER 1932—1933, 196 ii 28), and broke his bow after the defeat as a sign of submission (WEIDNER 1932—1933, 184 iv 4). The bow was also the attribute of the Elamite noblemen (WEIDNER 1932—1933, 182 ii 10).

⁵³² FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 418-420, (13th *palû*, 709 B.C.).

⁵³³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 136 (8th *palû*, 714 B.C.).

⁵³⁴ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 320-321 (8th *palû*, 714 B.C.).

⁵³⁵ LUCKENBILL 1924, 61 iv 69-71 (698 B.C., *limmu* of Šulmu-bēli against Ḫilakku); LUCKENBILL 1924, 62 v 6-8 (695 B.C., *limmu* of Aššur-bēlu-ušur against Til-Garimmu, Tabal).

⁵³⁶ LUCKENBILL 1924, 60:59 (3rd campaign).

⁵³⁷ LUCKENBILL 1924, 63 v 15-18 (695 B.C., in the *limmu* of Aššur-bēlu-ušur, against Til-Garimmu, Tabal).

⁵³⁸ LUCKENBILL 1924, 76:103 (6th campaign, Nagitu, Elam).

⁵³⁹ DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

characteristically infantry units. One reason for this might have been that the Assyrian army of Sennacherib most probably needed large numbers of regular infantrymen, or that these territories could not provide chariotry or cavalry units for the Assyrian army. These numbers were very high (70,500 archers within 8 years), which shows that the imperial army needed large numbers of regular troops. These foreign infantrymen joined the imperial army, and could thus acquire a new identity. However, it is not known whether these regular units served (most probably) for a certain period and were sent home after completing of their service, or became standard units of the army. The empire was obviously in need of more and more soldiers, and the only limit to the expansion of the army became the limit of the logistical support capacity (provisions) of the provinces. Esarhaddon also needed large numbers of vassal troops. He used the archer units (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN-šú) of the vanquished Bēl-iqīša, the chief of Gambulu, for example, as garrison troops in the fort of Ša-pî-Bēl, to guard the Elamite border.⁵⁴⁰ A fragmentary royal inscription of Esarhaddon lists those units which were mobilised for a campaign, including ‘third men’ (LÚ.3.U₅.MEŠ), ‘chariot men’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ú-rat), chariot drivers ([LÚ.mu-kil a-pa]-a-ti), archers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN), and spearmen (GIŠ.a-rit).⁵⁴¹ This, however, might have included both the auxiliary and regular archers and spearmen.

The royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal mention archers only a few times,⁵⁴² but as can be seen, the royal inscriptions remained conservative from this point of view, used ‘heroic terms,’ and never used *termini technici* which would help us identify the different arms of the Assyrian army that appear in the sculptures.

(1) *Terms denoting archers*

There are only two terms (*māhiṣu*, and *mušēzibu*) which, according to some interpretations, meant ‘archer.’ It must be added, however, that the word *māhiṣu* (‘archer’) was the only term denoting a Bowman. Yet those few instances, listed for example in CAD,⁵⁴³ or known from administrative texts⁵⁴⁴ do not offer a coherent picture of military relevance. The other term, *mušēzibu* or *ša—mušēzibāte* (‘shielded archer’)⁵⁴⁵ similarly to the *māhiṣu* does not have – at least for the author of this book – obvious military connotations.

(2) *Ethnic and social background*

If we wish to identify the ethnic background of the masses of (regular and auxiliary) archers – besides the Itu’ans, the Suteans,⁵⁴⁶ and Elamites – the Chaldean and Aramean tribes remain obvious choices. The palace reliefs of Assurbanipal depict them in several contexts – both in enemy armies and as Assyrian vassals.⁵⁴⁷ The armies of Merodach-baladan⁵⁴⁸ consisted mainly

⁵⁴⁰ BORGER 1956, 53 iii 80-82, 110 § 72:13.

⁵⁴¹ BORGER 1956, § 80:7-8.

⁵⁴² STRECK 1916, 108 iv:80: LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN; 62, vii:79-80: ana GIŠ.BAN ak-šur-šu-nu-ti UGU ki-šir LUGAL-ú-ti-ia ... ú-rad-di (‘I enlisted them (the Elamites) as archers into my royal corps’); BAUER 1933, 87, edge ζ: LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN.

⁵⁴³ OPPENHEIM – REINER 1977, 102-103, s.v. *māhiṣu* (‘weaver,’ ‘plowman,’ ‘hunter (using a bow)’). Only the late NB scout meaning would have had military relevance.

⁵⁴⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 263 (ABL 1206), 10 mentions a certain Qurdi-Iss[ar], the archer (LÚ.ma-ḫi-ši), who had to be encouraged with the donation of a house, a plough and a field.

⁵⁴⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 76 (ADD 689), 1: 9 minas for the shielded archers (*ša—mu-še-zib-te*).

⁵⁴⁶ FUCHS 1994, Prunk 82: LÚ.Su-te-e ša-ab GIŠ.BAN. The inscription of Sargon II recognized the Suteans as archers, who were deported to the Western border region after the rebuilding of Til-Garimmu to perform border guard duties.

⁵⁴⁷ For detailed description see 9-10, 14-15.

⁵⁴⁸ DIETRICH 2003, 199 (CT 54, 447), Rev. 8’-9’.

or almost exclusively of these archers. There is a letter written by a certain Marduk-apla-iddina probably to Sargon II is, which was reconstructed as a letter from Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon,⁵⁴⁹ to his lord, the Assyrian king. It was alleged that Merodach-baladan's soldiers, when penetrating the inner city, had covered the temple wall with arrows.⁵⁵⁰ He replied that he himself had stationed his soldiers by the temple wall. It is obvious that these soldiers were mainly archers. One of the letters written to Assurbanipal(?) mentions the archers of the Puqūdu (GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ ša LÚ.Puqūdu).⁵⁵¹ A fragmentary Assyrian letter from the reign of Sargon II or Sennacherib mentions a relatively large number (20,000) of Chaldean archers (from Bīt-Dakkuri?).⁵⁵² Several Babylonian cities provided vassal troops for the Assyrians, especially for local border guard purposes. Administrative texts (letters) mention the archers of Borsippa and especially of Nippur. Illil-bānī, governor of Nippur, Aššur-bēlu-taqqin, prefect and the people of Nippur wrote several letters to Esarhaddon asking for troops, since they had kept watch along a long stretch of border along the Euphrates without cavalry, supported only by archers.⁵⁵³ Two letters from the reign of Assurbanipal mention the archers of Uruk⁵⁵⁴ while another letter written to Esarhaddon deals with two officials (Bēl-īpuš and Bēl-uballit) who had to mobilise archers (ERIM.MEŠ ša GIŠ.BAN) in Dilbat.⁵⁵⁵ One of the letters to Esarhaddon deals with a certain Hinnumu, the 'commander of Uruk,' who was accused by some fellow Urukians of having sided with the Elamite king. A fragmentary part of this letter mentions him in the context of [X] hundred spearmen and 300 archers.⁵⁵⁶ The latter were probably Babylonian city archers, possibly Urukians (this theory is supported by the appearance of spearmen, which suggests that these were regular units). Further fragmentary Babylonian documents mention smaller or larger numbers of archers, even from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods as well,⁵⁵⁷ but the Neo-Assyrian system of recruiting vassal or auxiliary troops from the Babylonian cities seems clear: the conquered Babylonian cities, for example Nippur, Borsippa or Uruk – as allied partners of Assyria – equipped units of archers for the campaigns of the Assyrian army, for local police duties, for the defence of the cities, and above all for the border guard duties discussed above.

⁵⁴⁹ DIETRICH 2003, XXXI.

⁵⁵⁰ DIETRICH 2003, 158 (ABL 1339), 6-13.

⁵⁵¹ HARPER 1892, 1028, Rev. 4.

⁵⁵² DIETRICH 2003, 70 (CT 54, 64), 4-11. See furthermore 109 (ABL 1319), Rev. 7'-11'.

⁵⁵³ REYNOLDS 2003, 196 (CT 54 141), 5'-12': "From there is a half a shekel of territory (ca. 1 km) until the magnates. The second watch is from Dume-il to Šadirtu, a league (and) half a shekel of territory (ca. 11 km), pasture-land of the Euphrates. I keep telling Bēlšunu, 'Give me troops and assign them to my watch'; 197 (ABL 617+), 6-Rev. 4: "The territory before us is extensive, five stages of territory square. It is a watch for cavalry and archers. We have several times written to the house of our lords about the horses. Now we are keeping watch with archers (ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN) (only) and praying to the gods of the king, our lord."; 198 (CT 54 454), 6'-12': "Now then I have stationed [...] upon [...]. We are praying to the gods of the king our lord. [However], this territory where we are keeping watch, its [...] is very extensive indeed. [The king], my lord, knows it."; 200 (ABL 797), 14-20: Illil-bānī, the king's servant, and all the archers of Nippur with him are on watch where the king assigned him. And to his rear I keep guard for the king, my lord, in the city and open country."

⁵⁵⁴ HARPER 1892, 754, 10: UNUG.KI-a-a ĪR.MEŠ ša LUGAL be-li-ia LÚ.GIŠ.PAN 5 ME 6 ME ina ŠU.II-ia LÚ ki-i aš-ba-tu („when I seized the people of Uruk, servants of the king, five or six hundred archers"); HARPER 1892, 267, 14: [...] GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ ša UNUG.KI, Rev. 13: Bēl-ibnī ... LÚ.GIŠ.PAN.M[EŠ ... it]-ti-šū ul-tu KUR.ELAM.MA.KI [il-li-ik]-ū-ni.

⁵⁵⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 54 (ABL 1255), 22-Rev. 10.

⁵⁵⁶ REYNOLDS 2003, 125 (ABL 965), Rev. 25.

⁵⁵⁷ HARPER 1892, 1000, Rev. 5: 4 ME GIŠ.PAN; HARPER 1892, 291, 20: GIŠ.PAN-ka; HARPER 1892, 1009, 10, 21: 3 LÚ.PAN; Rev. 6: 5 GIŠ.PAN; CONTENAU 1927, 114:11: PAP(naphar) si-im-ma-nu-ū ša 8 LÚ.PAN.MEŠ (the total equipment of the 8 archers); TREMAYNE 1925, 65:33 and passim – Uruk: Time of Cyrus and Cambyses (538-521 B.C.): PAP(naphar)-ma 39 LÚ.PAN.ME ina pa-ni^m DŪ(Bānī)-DINGIR.XV(Issar), (39 archers under the supervision of Bānī-Issar); DOUGHERTY 1920, 151:15: ša a-di UD.20.KĀM LÚ.PAN-su a-na É ka-a-du, 16: la ib-ba-ku-ū-ma ma-aš-šar-tum ša LUGAL, 17: la i-na-aš-ša-ru (anyone who does not bring one of his archers to the outpost by the twentieth day and does not perform the service of the king (commits a crime against the king).

Some texts identify not only the vassal, for example Chaldean or Babylonian, regular archers, but the Assyrian units as well. A fragmentary letter mentions the archers of the king (GIŠ.PAN ša šarri)⁵⁵⁸ another from the time of the Mukin-zēr rebellion (731 B.C.) lists the units of the šandabakku who went with him to a muster(?) or campaign in Babylonia. His army consisted of 3 chariots, [x] cavalry and 500 archers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN).⁵⁵⁹ An administrative text⁵⁶⁰ dating probably from the reign of Esarhaddon lists military personnel at the disposal of various officials. The text lists 17 bow(men), at the disposal of Nabû-erība, prefect of the crown prince; 17 cavalry, 1 bow(man) from the village of Ḥanê, at the disposal of Silim-Aššur, Vizier (*sukkallu*); 6 bowmen from the town of Til-Raḥawa, at the disposal of Aia-iababa, the prefect of the staff-bearers. It is not known whether these archers were auxiliary archers or the archers of the regular infantry. Nor, unfortunately, is it known whether the villages mentioned above – as has been shown in the case of the Itu'eans – were special archers' villages, or simply denoted that the Assyrian army was organized in a territorial system and recruited archers from several (or all?) villages. This text shows that in the Neo-Assyrian period not only the cities, but also the estates, villages, and towns had to provide archers for the army of various Assyrian (military) officials. Two further administrative texts listed archers and spearmen. One of them is a note which summarizes that 350 shield(-bearers) and 240 archers had not arrived for some event, probably a muster or a campaign.⁵⁶¹ The other text is a much more detailed list, which records groups of archers (in a strength of hundreds) under the command of six Assyrian officials.⁵⁶² The appearance of military officials (for example a bodyguard) at the beginning of the text may refer to the establishment of an infantry detachment consisting of 208 shield-bearers (spearmen) and [x hundred] archers. These two texts most probably recorded regular units, which were – similarly to the text discussed above – recruited from various Assyrian villages and towns to perform military service.

As far as the social background of these regular archers is concerned, two segments of society can be identified from the cuneiform evidence: the independent or semi-independent shepherds and the semi-professional archers who served for bow-fief. Large numbers of independent or semi-independent shepherds (Itu'eans, Suteans, and other Aramean and Chaldean tribes) pastured flocks all over the Near East. They formed a huge basis for the 'human resources' of the Near Eastern armies. Their primary weapon was probably the bow (the spear was used mainly by the regular troops of the state armies). These shepherds provided large numbers of auxiliary archers (Itu'eans and other Aramean tribes) and regular archers for the Assyrian army. A letter from Dādī to Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal complained that "Arbailāiu and Girittu, the shepherds responsible for the cultic meals, from Luddin-ilu – refuse to come in for tax collection. Ten men run around with them, draped with weapons, saying: 'Whoever comes against us we will cut down with (our) bows.'" ⁵⁶³ Many more sources prove that in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods the different groups of shepherds provided archers from among themselves for the local troops or for the royal armies.⁵⁶⁴ Relatively large numbers of archers (primarily shepherds) were connected to Babylonian temples. These *temple archers* appear in the documents of the Neo-

⁵⁵⁸ HARPER 1892, 210, Rev. 3; GIŠ.PAN ša LUGAL

⁵⁵⁹ SAGGS 2001, 22-25, NL 2 (ND 2717), 54'-57a'.

⁵⁶⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+).

⁵⁶¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 127 (ADD 856).

⁵⁶² FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 128 (ADD 947), Rev. 6'-12': Tardītu-Aššur, Tāb-aḥḥē, Na'di-ilu, Dādī-ibnī, Zēru-ukīn, Ḥudada.

⁵⁶³ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 20 (ABL 727), Rev. 4-11.

⁵⁶⁴ STRASSMAIER 1889B, 220: 2; CONTENAU 1927, 112:6; TREMAYNE 1925, 7 iv 142 (Uruk, reign of Cyrus and Cambyses (538-520 B.C.) PN ša muḥ-ḥi LÚ.PAN.MEŠ ša LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ(*rē'ē*) ša it-ti LUGAL(*šarri*).

Babylonian and Persian periods. The Eanna archive of Uruk contains information about them. One of these texts lists 29 archers of the shepherds under the supervision of the overseer of flocks.⁵⁶⁵ They performed guard duty along the Tigris. Another text lists 40 archers who were issued with a large amount of silver to acquire provisions for six months.⁵⁶⁶ Two other texts also list the names of Eanna temple archers.⁵⁶⁷ A further text proves that not only the Eanna, but other temples also employed archer shepherds to guard their flocks. One such text deals with the temple archers of the Ebabbar at Sippar.⁵⁶⁸ Another text probably mentions the chief of the archers of Ebabbar.⁵⁶⁹ The third source of archers were the bowmen who served in a *bow fief* system: the king granted land to which the obligation to outfit an archer was attached.⁵⁷⁰ As has already been mentioned, the 'bow field' as a phenomenon appeared in the context of the Itu'eans as well: according to the king's (Sargon II) order, the bow field (A.ŠA GIŠ.BAN) of the Itu'ean prefect was exempt from straw and barley tax.⁵⁷¹ Much more data concerning the bow fief system come from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.⁵⁷² One document, dated to the reign of Darius I, reveals that a chief of archers (LÚ.GAL PAN, *see below*) belonged to the chariot fief (É GIŠ.GIGIR) of the official (*qēpu*) of Ezida.⁵⁷³ It is clear that at least in the Persian period, several types of fiefs provided units of archers for the army.

(3) *Officers of archers*

Not a single Assyrian document names the officers of archer units. However, officers of archers are known from those neighbouring countries whose armies were primarily based on large numbers of archers. Royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal mention Elamite officers of archers several times. His inscriptions list *chiefs of archers* (LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ) captured during the Elamite campaigns.⁵⁷⁴ Several Neo-Babylonian administrative documents (dating from the reign of Nabonidus) mention Šadunu the chief of archers (LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN) in various contexts.⁵⁷⁵ The same officer appears as the chief of the archers of shepherds (LÚ.GAL GIŠ.P[AN] ša LÚ.SIPA.[x].MEŠ) as well.⁵⁷⁶ Another contemporary chief of archers, Arad-Anunītu, is known from a few documents.⁵⁷⁷ A further document mentions another type of officer. This document deals with 8 men, who were the *commanders-of-10* (LÚ.GAL 10.MEŠ) of 70 archers of the shepherds of a deity.⁵⁷⁸ These commanders-of-10 had to muster those 70 archers and turn them over to the chief of the archers, their commander. Consequently the archers were organized in

⁵⁶⁵ CONTENAU 1929, 140:4: 29 LÚ.GIŠ.PAN.ME ša LÚ.SIPA.ME.

⁵⁶⁶ CONTENAU 1927, 110:2.

⁵⁶⁷ DOUGHERTY 1920, 116:8: GIŠ.DA(*lē'u*) ša LÚ.PAN.ME[Š] ša LÚ.GAL—LÚ.SAG, 9: *ina UGU-ḫi šaṭ-ra-tu* ("the list on which the archers of the Chief Eunuch are inscribed"); TREMAYNE 1925, 65: 39 archers.

⁵⁶⁸ DANDAMAYEV 1999, 95-98.

⁵⁶⁹ CLAY 1912C, 101:24ff. (Dareios I).

⁵⁷⁰ POSTGATE 1974, 263.

⁵⁷¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 16 (ABL 201), 4-7; POSTGATE 1974, 263.

⁵⁷² For royal soldiers levied on bow fiefs: KRÜCKMANN 1933, 180:2; 183:2, 12; 184:5; 187:3; 188:3, 9; 189:3; 220:2; 221:9; UNGNAD 1907, 96:1; UNGNAD 1908, 96:1; 160:7; 194:7; 302:1; HILPRECHT – CLAY 1898, 60:5; STRASSMAIER 1893, 199:3; STRASSMAIER 1890, 13:6.

⁵⁷³ UNGNAD 1908, 155:3: LÚ.GAL.PAN ša É GIŠ.GIGIR ša^{md}AMAR.UTU-MUŠ LÚ.*qe-pi É-zi-da*.

⁵⁷⁴ STRECK 1916, 56 vi 86: LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ; PIEPKORN 1933, 76 vii 17: ^m*At-ta-me-tu* LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN (Attametu, the chief of the archers); WEIDNER 1932—1933, 198:23: ^m*Ut-te-di* LÚ.[GAL GIŠ.PAN ...], 24: ^m*Te-um-man* LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN ša É *Hal-la-a*-[...] (Te'umman the chief of the archers of the House of Ḫalla- [...]).

⁵⁷⁵ STRASSMAIER 1889A, 215:2: Šadunu LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ; 228:13; 288:11: Šadunu LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ à LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ-šú; 82-7-14, 43:3; 82-7-14, 1794:7.

⁵⁷⁶ 82-7-14, 1467:4; *see* REINER ET AL., 1982, 155.

⁵⁷⁷ STRASSMAIER 1889A, 1058:4; 82-7-14, 1630:5.

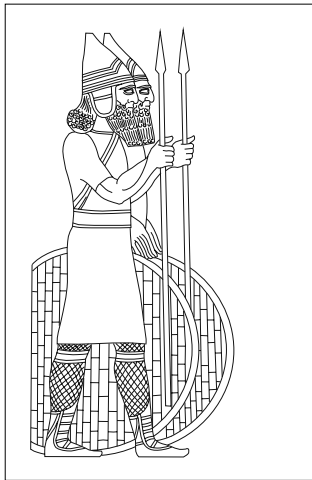
⁵⁷⁸ DOUGHERTY 1920, 151:9: LÚ.GAL—10.MEŠ ša 70 LÚ.PAN.MEŠ ša LÚ.SIPAD.MEŠ, 10: ša DINGIR.GAŠAN ša UNUG.KI.

tens and cohorts, commanded by a chief of archers. The Assyrian terms for cohort (*kišru*) and cohort commander (*rab kišir*) are missing from the cuneiform evidence. The lack of contemporary information, however, does not mean that the archer units of the Assyrian army were not commanded by officers. Concluding the cuneiform evidence Chicago Assyrian Dictionary probably draws the correct conclusion when it states that the Elamite chiefs of archers were high ranking military commanders (commanding larger units), while the Neo-Babylonian chiefs of archers were local commanders of fiefs and performed local police or border guard duties.⁵⁷⁹ The Persian documents, however, seem to refer to archer units which were based on private or temple fiefs and provided soldiers for the Persian army.

The Assyrians most probably organised the units of regular archers – at least the peasant soldiers of the Assyrian provinces, and the city dwellers – into regular units with regular officers. Only the auxiliary archers (Itu'eans and other tribes) could serve in their tribal system and were commanded by village inspectors,⁵⁸⁰ their deputies, sheikhs,⁵⁸¹ prefects (*šaknu*),⁵⁸² and commanders (GAL *I-tu-u'-a-a*)⁵⁸³ discussed above. However, on campaign these troops could serve like the other regular units under the command of Assyrian officers. It is unfortunately not known whether the large numbers of archers who were recruited from defeated enemies – including Aramean tribesmen – served in the Assyrian regular system under Assyrian officers or, similarly to the Itu'eans, could retain some elements of their tribal system.

REGULAR SPEARMEN

The representations (74, 83–89)



Unlike the regular archers, the spearmen of the regular infantry were depicted in the Assyrian sculptures throughout the period, although in decreasing numbers. The characteristic feature of their equipment is that they never wear armour, only a pointed helmet. Their weapons are the spear and the sword, and they carry a rounded bronze shield (*Plate 22, 74; Plate 26, 84, 85; Plate 27, 86*), a rounded wicker shield (*Plate 23, 77; Plate 26, 83*), a standing bronze shield (*Plate 27, 87, 89*), or a standing wicker or wooden shield (*Plate 27, 88*).

The palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) show only a few soldiers who can be identified as regular spearmen. They carry spears and swords, and rounded bronze shields are fastened on their backs (*Plate 22, 74*). They are escorting the chariot of the king, so they might have been employed as bodyguards. Two other infantrymen are shown providing shelter with their rounded

⁵⁷⁹ REINER ET AL., 1982, 156, s.v. *qaštu*.

⁵⁸⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424).

⁵⁸¹ See furthermore an administrative text from Nimrud, which lists them together with sheikhs of other territories. DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 143 (ND 10030), ii:9'-10': LÚ.na-si-ka-a-ni ša KUR.i-ti-'a (the sheikhs of Itu'a).

⁵⁸² FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), i:30: [...] LÚ.GAR-nu I-tu'u; II:11: [m]Gu-lu-su LÚ.GAR-nu I-tu-'u.

⁵⁸³ PARKER 1961, 42, ND 2657: 3.

bronze shields for a eunuch counting heads (*Plate 22, 73*). Unfortunately the slab is too fragmentary to decide whether they were equipped with spears or only with swords. An unpublished relief fragment from Nimrud shows in its upper register a (regular) spearmen equipped with a rounded shield and a spear, but he does not wear any kind of helmet.⁵⁸⁴

In the palace reliefs of Sargon II there are no figures who can be definitely recognised as regular spearmen. As has been discussed above, three regular infantrymen (*Plate 24, 79, 80*) were identified on the Khorsabad sculptures, who were equipped with spears, shields and bows as well. They were considered to be general infantrymen, or most probably officers.

Examining the regular spearmen depicted in the sculptures of Sennacherib, it is noticeable that the relative diversity of the equipment of the regular infantry (several types of shields and the bow) displayed in the palace reliefs of Sargon II had disappeared, and was replaced by a more regular picture of standard weaponry. At that time regular spearmen wore pointed helmets, boots (or were barefoot) and the rounded shield remained their only type of shield. However, two types of regular spearmen can be identified in the sculptures of that king: the first is characterised by a rounded wicker shield (*Plate 26, 83*), while the second was equipped with a rounded bronze shield with a decorated rim and boss (*Plate 26, 84, 85*) similar to the Uartian shields which were found in Karmir Blur.⁵⁸⁵ Regular infantrymen equipped with rounded wicker shields appear in two of the sculptures of Sennacherib: the first scene shows them standing guard while deportees are counted during an Eastern campaign (*Plate 26, 83*). The second scene shows a regular infantryman (most probably a spearman, since archers are not seen at all) in a sapper context. He is protecting himself with the same kind of rounded wicker shield.⁵⁸⁶ The other type of regular spearman is shown in marching scenes together with other types of spearmen. In the first scene (“rounding up enemy soldiers”) they are coming down a hill in two rows.⁵⁸⁷ The first row consists of four regular spearmen wearing pointed helmets (*Plate 26, 84*) and four regular spearmen with no helmets at all (*Plate 26, 85*). The second row consists of four regular spearmen and four auxiliary spearmen. 8 more auxiliary spearmen are shown searching the forest for enemy soldiers. The second scene is a marching scene: the Assyrian army approaches the city of Alammu.⁵⁸⁸ The column consists of two parallel rows of soldiers. Both registers contain the same units from the back to the front as follows: 3 dismounted cavalymen (cavalry bodyguard) → 8 armoured spearmen → 4 regular spearmen → 2 auxiliary spearmen → 4 armoured slingers → 4 armoured archers (with shield-bearers). The march culminates in the siege of the city. The large number of different types of spearmen and the ratio between the types (4 auxiliary, 8 regular, and 16 armoured spearmen) shows that this column was probably the core of the army. It is not known whether the regularity of the numbers of different types of spearmen implies a conscious arrangement only in the sculpture as such or was a deliberate organizing principle in the infantry as well. It shows the spearmen predominating over the archers in the core of the army. However, this concentration of spearmen makes the possibility of a special bodyguard unit plausible. This bodyguard theory is supported if we examine the 8 regular spearmen. The helmet, the rounded bronze shield, the spear and sword are the same as the weaponry of the armoured spearmen. Even their crossband appears on some of

⁵⁸⁴ BLEIBTREU 1980, 89-90, NA/12/76, Taf. 6 a).

⁵⁸⁵ PIOTROVSKY 1950, 62; PIOTROVSKY 1952, 51-53; PIOTROVSKY 1955, 26-30; On further Uartian and Northwest Iranian shields: BOYSAL 1967; DINÇOL – DINÇOL 1995, 23-55; BORN 1988, 159-172.

⁵⁸⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 49a.

⁵⁸⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 20.

⁵⁸⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 234-246.

the armoured spearmen. However, their characteristic garment is unique. It consists of a shorter upper kilt and a longer lower kilt (*Plate 40, 132*), the most important characteristic of which is that this garment is exactly the same as that worn by the Judaeans captives of Lachish.⁵⁸⁹ The same short garment is shown on a Judaeans bodyguard depicted in the sculptures of Sennacherib, who is also identified as a Judaeans by his characteristic 'turban'-like headdress (*Plate 40, 130*; for a detailed study see chapter Bodyguards of the imperial period (745–612 B.C.)). It seems quite possible that these Judaeans spearmen wore the Assyrian pointed helmet on campaign, and their own headdress on ceremonial occasions and in everyday life. A regular officer in the Til-Barsip wall-paintings (*Plate 44, 150*) wears the same Judaeans garment with a pointed helmet.

Large numbers of regular infantrymen (most probably spearmen) are depicted in several other contexts connected to campaigns. The problem with their identification is that they do not carry shields or spears, but the context of their employment: escorting prisoners,⁵⁹⁰ cutting trees,⁵⁹¹ or bringing heads⁵⁹² makes the representation of their weaponry unnecessary.

Three types of regular spearmen appear in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal. (1) The first type is equipped with the traditional rounded bronze shield (*Plate 27, 86*), (2) the second carries the large standing (battle) shield made of or covered with bronze (*Plate 27, 87, 89*), (3) while the third has the same battle shield made of wood (*Plate 27, 88*). The first type is shown in the sculptures in a few characteristic contexts, such as swimming in a river on inflated animal skins with shields fastened on their backs,⁵⁹³ escorting prisoners with the shields hanging on their backs,⁵⁹⁴ fighting in close combat in a set-piece battle (with Arabs),⁵⁹⁵ and destroying the wall with swords while protecting themselves with rounded bronze shields.⁵⁹⁶ The equipment of the second and third types of regular spearmen shows a more uniform picture. Their huge battle shields – made of bronze or wood – almost entirely standardised the appearance of this arm. It is an interesting new feature, however, that the breast-plate (*kardio phylax*) – which has already been discussed in the chapter on auxiliary spearmen as a characteristic feature of their equipment – appears on regular spearmen as well (*Plate 27, 87, 88*). It is interesting to see that the regular spearmen who were equipped with breast plates fought barefoot (*Plate 27, 87, 88*), while those who wore no breast plates wore Assyrian military boots (*Plate 27, 89*). Furthermore, in the sculptures of Assurbanipal the auxiliary spearmen use the heavy battle shield, too (*Plate 16, 55, 56*). It is possible, however, that this large and heavy standing shield in the ranks of the regular and auxiliary spearmen was not for everyday use.⁵⁹⁷ It would have been too heavy for daily duty (going on patrol in hill country, escorting captives, etc.). This type of shield was excellent in battles, where the infantry

⁵⁸⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 430.

⁵⁹⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 20 (unknown hill country).

⁵⁹¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 45 (Dilbat, Babylonia, 1st campaign); 637, 638 (Babylonian campaign).

⁵⁹² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 102 (unknown hill country).

⁵⁹³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 273 (Babylonian campaign).

⁵⁹⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 284 (Babylonian campaign), BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII, (North Palace, Room F, slabs 3-4, Ḥamanu, Elam); LXX (Berlin, VA 966, unknown campaign).

⁵⁹⁵ BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXII (North Palace, Room L, slabs 3-7), XXXIII (North Palace, Room L, slabs 9-13).

⁵⁹⁶ BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII, (North Palace, Room F, slabs 3-4, Ḥamanu, Elam); XXI (North Palace, Room F, slab 15, Elamite campaign).

⁵⁹⁷ In battle context: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 381, 382 (battle of the River Ulai); BARNETT 1976, pl. XXI, (North Palace, Room F, slab 15, Elamite campaign: pursuing fugitives in the marshes). Escorting captives on campaign: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, 291, 292 (Babylonian campaign). Auxiliary spearmen appear, however, in other contexts as well – without their equipment: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 340, 341 (executing prisoners in the Babylonian marshes); BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXII, (North Palace, Room L, slabs 3-7, Arab campaign: cutting palm trees).

could easily use them to form a wall, a phalanx tactic which had a long history in Mesopotamian and Assyrian warfare (e.g. the Stele of Vultures).

This uniform appearance of the Assyrian infantry during the reign of Assurbanipal – which is witnessed most characteristically in the ranks of the auxiliary and regular spearmen – can be understood on the technical level as a sign of standardisation, but on the ideological level as a sign of the expansion of the Assyrian world. The auxiliaries – similarly to other ‘imperial citizens’ of the Assyrian Empire – via the Assyrian army became part of the Assyrian microcosm,⁵⁹⁸ and fought for the expansion of the ordered cosmos, to civilise the uncivilised (the ‘chaotic world’). It was most probably in this period, at the latest, that the different arms of the Assyrian army lost their ‘ethnic character.’ Foreign units served in the ranks of the cavalry and chariotry in the 8th century B.C. as well⁵⁹⁹ (*see later*). The number of auxiliary archers who can be identified as Itu’eans decreased in the sculptures of Assurbanipal, and the proportion of auxiliary archers who were recruited from the ranks of other Aramean citizens of the empire increased. Therefore, the intermingling of the equipment of the auxiliary and regular spearmen, for example – from the technical point of view – can be understood as a sign of the process which, by the late 7th century B.C., probably led to a certain degree of ethnic homogenization in the Assyrian Empire. In the sculptures of Assurbanipal, for example in the battle of the River Ulai, several types of spearmen fought together. *Fig. 3* shows the variety of spearmen (and probably units) who served in the army of Assurbanipal.

SPEARMAN TYPE	SHIELD	HELMET	ARMOUR	WEAPON	NO.
auxiliary spearman I	rounded wicker shield	crested helmet	breast plate	spear	51
auxiliary spearman II	standing wicker shield	crested helmet	breast plate	spear	55
auxiliary spearman III	rounded bronze shield	crested helmet	breast plate	spear	54
regular spearman I	rounded bronze shield	pointed helmet	—	spear	86
regular spearman II	standing bronze shield	pointed helmet	—	spear	89
regular spearman III	standing bronze shield	pointed helmet	breast plate	spear	87
regular spearman IV	standing wicker shield	pointed helmet	breast plate	spear	88
armoured spearman I	rounded bronze shield	pointed helmet	scale armour	spear	114
armoured spearman II	standing bronze shield	pointed helmet	scale armour	spear	117
armoured spearman III	standing wicker shield	pointed helmet	scale armour	spear	115

Fig. 3. Different types of spearmen in the infantry of Assurbanipal.

It is obvious that this variety – the most important feature and strength of the Assyrian army – was technical in nature, and from the middle of the 7th century B.C. probably did not denote an ethnic diversity at all. Indeed, on the contrary, from a technical point of view this shows a strong tendency towards regularisation of the infantry, and the whole army. These soldiers were

⁵⁹⁸ LIVERANI 1979, 297-317; LAMPRICHS 1995, 314; NADALI 2005A, 229-231.

⁵⁹⁹ DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

Assyrian subjects, soldiers of the empire without respect to their (former) mixed ethnic background. The different units lost their ethnic character, and the Assyrians might have kept only a few important units of the cavalry, chariotry, or armoured infantry in the *kišir šarrūti*, the royal corps, for themselves.

Concerning the officers of the regular infantry it must be mentioned that while in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (*Plate 44, 147, 148*), Sargon II and (*Plate 45, 152–155*), and in the Til-Barsip wall paintings (*Plate 44, 149–151*) there are depictions which – if our identification is correct – probably show the officers of the regular infantry. In the sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal there are no officers who can be positively assigned to the same army unit. The bases for identification are obviously the equipment, especially the mace, which is an unquestionable symbol of status (*Plate 44, 147; Plate 45, 152, 153*), and the context, for example a eunuch or a bearded officer leading captives (*Plate 44, 148, 149; Plate 45, 154*).

(1) *Enemy spearmen*

Enemies of Assyria rarely deployed infantry units equipped with shields and spears against the Assyrian armies. The palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II do not feature a single enemy spearman. On the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III large numbers of shielded spearmen are depicted fighting against the Assyrians in the Northern (Urartian) mountain regions.⁶⁰⁰ These warriors, equipped with small rounded shields and spears and wearing hemispherical crested helmets were most probably Urartians.

The palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III show enemy spearmen equipped with rounded (bronze?) shields three times in Anatolian and Eastern contexts, engaged in close combat with Assyrian auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans).⁶⁰¹ The most important characteristic of these enemy spearmen is that they wear crested helmets similar to the helmets of the auxiliary spearmen, which may hint at the Anatolian and North Syrian origin of this type of helmet.⁶⁰² Only a single scene shows an Anatolian defender equipped with spear and rounded shield with a conical cap on his head.⁶⁰³

Sculptures of Sargon II are an abundant source of information concerning the use of spearmen, who are characteristically represented in three regions. On his Eastern campaigns in the Zagros region Sargon II encountered an enemy wearing peculiar animal-skin cloaks which covered half of the body; their weaponry consisted of rectangular wicker shields and spears. They are shown defending their besieged cities⁶⁰⁴ or being pursued by Assyrian chariotry or cavalry across open terrain, probably in open battle.⁶⁰⁵ As Sargon II's sculptures show, these territories were horse-breeding regions and the primary source of horses for the Assyrian army. On his Western campaign (in 721/720 B.C.) Sargon II met the (coalition) forces of Hamath.⁶⁰⁶ The Assyrians fought at least one battle against this army, which consisted of infantrymen equipped with oval shields, spears and curved swords. In the sculptures the Assyrian chariotry and cavalry are attacking this infantry, which stands in formation.⁶⁰⁷ Sargon II – during his Western campaigns –

⁶⁰⁰ KING 1915, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII, XLI, XLII.

⁶⁰¹ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XLI, XLII, L, LI, LXI.

⁶⁰² DEZSÓ 2001, 37-47.

⁶⁰³ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XLV, XLVI.

⁶⁰⁴ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, Room II: pls. 61: 5+ defenders; 68: 5 defenders; 70: 4 defenders; Gate H: pl. 77: 5 defenders; Room XIV: pl. 145: 7 defenders.

⁶⁰⁵ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, Room II: pls. 56: chariot attack; 65: cavalry attack.

⁶⁰⁶ FRANKLIN 1994, 255-275.

⁶⁰⁷ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, Room V, pl. 92: chariot attack; Gate O, pls. 99, 100: chariotry and cavalry attack.

encountered Egyptian (Nubian) troops who aided the Philistine cities against the Assyrians. As the sculptures of Sargon II show, the Nubian warriors were equipped with two throwing spears. The Assyrians besieged them⁶⁰⁸ and fought them in open battles as well.⁶⁰⁹ All of the cases listed above share the same feature: no archers are depicted beside the spearmen at all.

In the sculptures of Sennacherib the number of enemy spearmen depicted is much smaller than in the sculptures of his predecessors. Such enemy warriors are shown during his Phoenician campaign, fighting in formation together with archers⁶¹⁰ probably against Assyrian cavalry, and in unknown hill country, where Assyrian armoured and auxiliary spearmen are fighting against fugitives from a besieged city.⁶¹¹ It is possible that the army of Hezekiah, king of Judah, consisted mainly of archers and spearmen of this type, as the siege-scene of Lachish shows large numbers of rounded shields hanging on the battlements of the city,⁶¹² and the Judaeen spearmen have been identified in the armies of Sargon II and Sennacherib as possible bodyguards (*see below*, the chapter on Bodyguards).

According to the sculptures of Assurbanipal, the Assyrian army did not fight against enemy infantry which were equipped with shields and spears. Shielded spearmen appeared typically only during his Egyptian campaigns, where – in a siege scene – small rounded shields are visible in the hands of Nubian warriors. Their design shows a cross or animal skin motif.⁶¹³ Spears appear in his palace reliefs as items of booty – a sheaf of spears is shown in a Babylonian booty context.⁶¹⁴

One of the reasons for this lack of spearmen might be that – as has been mentioned in the chapter on Auxiliary Spearmen – the use of shield and spear as the primary weapons of a soldier was not typical of nomadic communities, but of the urban societies of the Near East. This type of warfare – similarly to the much later hoplite warfare – did not favour single warriors fighting alone: it was most effective to deploy shielded spearmen in formation, which needed drill and discipline. In the early period of their conquests the Assyrians encountered armies equipped with shields and spears. In conquered territories the Assyrians probably did not support the traditional military training of young men, which was essential for the effective use of this type of infantry. Effective military training could become an Assyrian monopoly, and so did the mastery of hoplite warfare (*see below*). Only everyday practice in archery remained widespread in the ranks of the nomadic and semi nomadic tribes, in villages and shepherd communities, etc. Consequently archers became the most important arm of the enemy armies within the empire. In the border regions, however, enemy armies still deployed units of shielded spearmen.

In contrast to this picture, the royal inscriptions of these kings continuously discuss the details and numbers of the enemy units who were added to the standing army, including spearmen. Mention of spearmen enlisted from the Western, North-Western, and Northern peripheries is by no means unusual. As has been discussed, Urartu had a long tradition of equipping and drilling troops with shields and spears. However, the mention of shield-bearing spearmen added to the Assyrian army from Elam, and especially the large number of these soldiers, is surprising, since no Elamite shield-bearing spearmen appear in the sculptures of the Assyrian kings.

⁶⁰⁸ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, Room V, pls. 86: 5 defenders, 89: 2 defenders.

⁶⁰⁹ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, Room V, pls. 87-88: cavalry attack.

⁶¹⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 196.

⁶¹¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 489.

⁶¹² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 430, 431.

⁶¹³ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXVI – Egyptian campaign, siege of a city.

⁶¹⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 283.

KING	COUNTRY	SPEARMEN	ARCHERS	TEXT
Tiglath-Pileser III	Damascus (733)	+	+	TADMOR 1994, Annales 23, 5'-8'
Sargon II	Kummuḫ (709)	10,000	20,000	FUCHS 1994, Annales, 409-410
Sennacherib	Judah (701)	10,000	10,000	LUCKENBILL 1924, 60:59
Sennacherib	Tabal (695)	10,000	30,000	LUCKENBILL 1924, 63 v 16
Sennacherib	Elam (693)	30,500	30,500	LUCKENBILL 1924, 76:103
Sennacherib	Til-Garimmu (695)	20,000	30,000	HEIDEL 1953, 150:45
Esarhaddon	Elam	+	+	BORGER 1956, § 68, III:18
Assurbanipal		+	+	STRECK 1916, 60 vii 2

Fig. 4. Foreign infantrymen enlisted in the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

Cuneiform sources

(1) Royal inscriptions.

As has already been discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the arm of spearmen carrying shields appeared in the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III in an enemy context.⁶¹⁵ During his 13th campaign in Kummuḫ, in addition to 150 chariots and 1,500 horsemen Sargon II added to the troops of the newly established office of the *turtānu* of the left 20,000 archers (ERIM.MEŠ(*šābē*) GIŠ.BAN(*qašti*)) and 10,000 shield-bearing spearmen (*na-āš* GIŠ.*ka-ba-bi* ù GIŠ.*az-ma-re-e*).⁶¹⁶ These infantrymen were probably local spearmen, but their number seems too high to indicate exclusively local origin. The third context in which shield-bearing spearmen appear is the 8th campaign of this king. The description of the battle of Wauš in 714 B.C. describes the Urartian army, the main body of which consisted of warriors carrying bows (and) spears (LÚ.*mun-daḥ-še-šu tu-kul-ti um-ma-ni-šu na-āš* GIŠ.BAN *az-ma-re-e*).⁶¹⁷ It is known that the garrisons of the Urartian fortresses consisted mainly of infantrymen carrying shields and spears.⁶¹⁸ When during the same campaign Sargon II attacked Mušašir he took with him 1,000 experienced cavalry, with archers, and carriers of shields and spears (1 LIM *pet-ḫal-li-ia šit-mur-ti ša-ab* GIŠ.BAN *ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-e*).⁶¹⁹ However, as has already been mentioned, this expeditionary force might well have contained auxiliary troops (archers and spearmen) as well, since the sculptures depicting the sack of Mušašir almost exclusively depict auxiliary spearmen.⁶²⁰ Sennacherib sent his

⁶¹⁵ "Warriors carrying bows and carrying shield and spear" ([*mun-daḥ-še-šu na-ši* GIŠ.*qaš-ti* [*na-ši ka-ba-bi az-ma-re-e*] TADMOR 1994, Annales 23, 5'-8' (13th *palū*, 733 B.C., Damascus, Rezin).

⁶¹⁶ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410, (13th *palū*, 709 B.C.), cf. Prunk 116-117.

⁶¹⁷ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 136 (8th *palū*, 714 B.C.).

⁶¹⁸ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 289: (Rusa) stationed in these fortresses his battle-hardened warriors, carrying shields and spears, the best troops of his army, the confidence of his country (LÚ.*qu-ra-di-šu a-ša-re-tú um-ma-ni-šu le-'u-tu ta-ḫa-zi na-āš ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-i tu-kul-ti* KUR-*šú*).

⁶¹⁹ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 320-321 (8th *palū*, 714 B.C.).

⁶²⁰ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 141. It is worth mentioning that the description of the sack of Mušašir lists large quantities of votive military equipment, such as "96 silver spears, silver armour, silver bows, silver arrowheads decorated with gold inlays and gold fittings" (96 *šu-ku-re* KÛ.BABBAR *qur-pi-si* KÛ.BABBAR GIŠ.BAN KÛ.BABBAR *šil-ta-he* KÛ.BABBAR *ša né-eḫ-si ù iḫ-zi*

royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) consisting of “bowmen, bearers of shield and lance, chariots, horses” (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN *na-ši tuk-ši ù as-ma-ri-e* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ) against his enemies during his two *limmu* campaigns.⁶²¹ These were most probably regular units of his standing army, including Assyrians as well. Sennacherib, like his predecessors, drafted large numbers of foreign spearmen into the Assyrian standing army: 10,000 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN), 10,000 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tú*) during his Western campaign in 701 B.C.,⁶²² 30,000 bowmen (GIŠ.B[AN]) and [10,000] shield bearers ([GIŠ].*a-ri-tu*) during his Western campaign in 695 B.C.,⁶²³ and 30,500 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN) and 30,500 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tú*) during his Elamite campaign.⁶²⁴ This last record – supposing that ‘shield-bearer’ (GIŠ.*a-ri-tú*) denotes spearmen and not the shield-bearers of the archers – is very interesting, since not a single Elamite spearman equipped with a shield as well appears in the Assyrian palace reliefs. Two entries in the royal inscription of Esarhaddon give details of his forces. One of these lists the units which were mobilised for a campaign, including ‘third men’ (LÚ.3.U₅.MEŠ), ‘chariot men’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ú-rat*), chariot drivers ([LÚ.*mu-kil a-pa*]-*a-ti*), archers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN), and shield-bearing spearmen (GIŠ.*a-rit*).⁶²⁵ This, however, might have included both the auxiliary and regular archers and spearmen. The other entry lists the military and civilian personnel whom he added to the army of Assyria and to the Empire, including shield-bearers (LÚ.*a-ri-ti*).⁶²⁶ The royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal also give details of troops taken from Elam and added to the Assyrian standing army.⁶²⁷ In contrast to the sculptures of this king, the text mentions Elamite spearmen again, who are completely unknown in the representational evidence and are missing from the sculptures. One of the letters of Aššur-dūr-pānīa (governor of Šabirēšu?) to Sargon II also mentions 100 foreign shield-bearing spearmen, who from the fort of Marḥuḥa (Šubria)⁶²⁸ attacked Il-dalâ, an Assyrian official pursuing a renegade Assyrian officer (a commander-of-50 of the Gurreans), who had murdered the mayor of Meturna.

(2) Administrative texts

The earliest appearance of Assyrian shield-bearing spearmen is in a Middle-Assyrian administrative text from Tell Billa, a note of rations for troops. This text mentions a unit of 10 shield-bearing spearmen,⁶²⁹ who were probably recruited in Šibaniba. Another source is an administrative text found at Nimrud, probably dating from the reign of Sargon II. The obverse of the tablet is apparently a short note of mules, while the reverse most likely lists an army

GUŠKIN, THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 378); or “305,412 bronze swords, heavy and light, bronze bows, bronze quivers, bronze arrowheads” (3 ME 5 LIM 4 ME 12 GÍR.MEŠ URUDU *dan-nu-ti qa-al-lu-te* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ URUDU *a-za-na-te* URUDU *ù šil-ta-ḥe* URUDU, THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 394).

⁶²¹ LUCKENBILL 1924, 61 iv 69-71 (698 B.C., *limmu* of Šulmu-bēli against Ḫilakku); LUCKENBILL 1924, 62 v 6-8 (695 B.C., *limmu* of Aššur-bēlu-ušur against Til-Garimmu, Tabal).

⁶²² LUCKENBILL 1924, 60:59 (3rd campaign). On the same campaign (LUCKENBILL 1924, 60:57) he got chariots, shields, spears, and armours (*narkabâte ga-ba-bi az-ma-ri-e si-ri-ia-am*).

⁶²³ LUCKENBILL 1924, 63 v 15-18 (695 B.C., in the *limmu* of Aššur-bēlu-ušur, against Til-Garimmu, Tabal).

⁶²⁴ LUCKENBILL 1924, 76:103 (6th campaign, Nagitu, Elam).

⁶²⁵ BORGER 1956, § 80, I:7-8.

⁶²⁶ BORGER 1956, § 68, III:18.

⁶²⁷ STRECK 1916, 60 vii 2: “Bowmen and shield-bearers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN GIŠ.*a-ri-ti*) whom I had taken from Elam I added to my standing army.”

⁶²⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53 (ABL 251), 27-Rev. 1: LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ša* GIŠ.*a-ri-te* URU.*Mar-ḥu-ḥa-a-a*.

⁶²⁹ FINKELSTEIN 1953, 41 (33-58-24), 2: 10 ERIM.MEŠ *ša a-ra-a-[te]*. Further texts of the Tell Billa corpus mention Assyrian infantry troops levied probably for a campaign (48, 49). One of these texts explicitly mentions that 204 soldiers were sent on a campaign to Ḫanigalbat (49, 10-13). Another text in the archive lists 10 names under the command of a commander-of-10 (Adad-nūr-ina-māti GAL—10 ERIM.MEŠ).

contingent (and not only the weapons) of 3 chariots, 20 cavalrymen, 100 shields (shield-bearing spearmen), 50 bows (archers) and 50 KAL (*kallāpu* soldiers?) stationed in Kalḫu.⁶³⁰ It seems that this text describes a complete detachment of 3 chariots (for officers?) 20 cavalrymen and 200 infantrymen. In comparison with auxiliary troops (Itu'eans and Gurreans) and regular archers, in the Neo-Assyrian period only a few administrative texts mention shield-bearing spearmen, probably belonging to the regular infantry, almost exclusively in garrison contexts. One of these letters, written to Sargon II by an unknown official from the Urartian border, informed the king that the writer had ordered his deputy to bring him 500 shield-bearing troops (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ ša GIŠ.a-ri-te)⁶³¹ possibly to garrison a fort. Another letter from Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, the legate of Dēr, tells us that he was under orders to call the people to arms from the trail of Dēr as far as the mouth of the river Nergal.⁶³² He brought archers and shield bearers (ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN ù GIŠ.a-ri-ti) into the king's fort guarding the Elamite border. These infantrymen, the archers and shield-bearers were obviously regular infantrymen recruited from the local population. The shield-bearing spearmen defending Dēr are mentioned in a letter of Nabû-dūru-ušur written in 707 B.C., when the king of Elam mobilized his troops.⁶³³ Another letter from the reign of Esarhaddon also mentions an unknown number of spearmen (GIŠ.as-ma-ra-a-né-e) and 300 archers,⁶³⁴ but these letters do not provide enough information for us to reconstruct the background of regular infantry, including spearmen.

An administrative text is the only source for an officer of the shield-bearing spearmen of the eunuchs(?).⁶³⁵ This text, however, does not help us to reconstruct the line of command of the regular infantry, so – judging from the above-mentioned numbers – it can be supposed that the regular infantry was organised into cohorts, and was led according to the same command structure (commanders-of-50, cohort commanders), as the other units of the infantry.

(3) *Ethnic and social background*

The royal inscriptions do not give details of the social background of the regular spearmen. However, as has been mentioned, the social background of the majority of the Assyrian regular infantry is most likely to have been the Assyrian subjects (peasantry) of the homeland. If the same families always provided the necessary quota, the system would have become semi-professional. The system worked on a territorial, provincial basis. The governors and high officials were in charge of supplying troops for local purposes (border guard or garrison duties) and campaigns as well. One of the letters to Sargon II complains that the magnates did not provide replacements for dead and invalid soldiers: "As to the replacement of the dead, concerning which the king told the magnates: 'Provide the replacements!' – nobody has given us anything. The deficit of our dead [and] invalid soldiers who did not go on the campaign with us is [1],200; the magnates won't give it to us, [nor] have they given their straw, [nor] have they worked with us."⁶³⁶ Another letter, from Sargon II to an unknown official, probably a governor, gives the following orders: "[...] your [...], [enqui]re and investigate, [and write down] and dispatch to me [the names] of the [sol]diers killed and their [sons and d]aughters. Perhaps

⁶³⁰ PARKER 1961, 36, ND 2499, (1) 3 GIŠ.GIGIR, (2) 20 BAD.ḪAL, (3) 100 a-ri-tu, (4) 50 BAN, (5) 50 KAL, (6) URU.Kal-ḫa.

⁶³¹ SAGGS 2001, 120-124 (ND 2487), Rev. 18'.

⁶³² DIETRICH 2003, 120 (ABL 1335+), 14-23, Rev. 4-6. In another letter an unknown writer told Sargon II that the legate of Dēr ordered him to send him 2,000 men, but the men from his territory do not suffice even for the fortresses.

⁶³³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 130 (ABL 1315), Rev. 12.

⁶³⁴ REYNOLDS 2003, 125 (ABL 965), Rev. 25.

⁶³⁵ KWASMAN 1988, 425 (ADD 641), 3: Mannu-de'iq EN a-riti LÚ.SAG.

⁶³⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 143 (ABL 1180).

there is a man who has subjugated a widow as his slave girl, or has subjugated a son or a daughter to servitude. Enquire and investigate, and bring (him/them) forth. Perhaps there is a son who has gone into conscription in lieu of his father; this alone do not write down. But be sure to enquire and find out all the widows, write them down, define (their status) and send them to me."⁶³⁷

Short notes written in the provinces or muster centres summarized the troops who had not come to the musters and did not go on the campaign. One of these notes states that 350 shield-bearers and 240 archers, a total of 590 soldiers, did not go,⁶³⁸ apparently a group which was missing from the quota of a governor or a magnate.

Some administrative texts list groups of soldiers who were recruited from a certain town or village and ordered to serve military officials or officers. One of these texts lists 208 shield-bearers in groups (49, 6, 61, 10) under the command of 7 officials or officers.⁶³⁹ A similar text also lists shield-bearers in groups (18, 16, 11) under the command of 4+ officials or officials.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 21 (CT 53, 128).

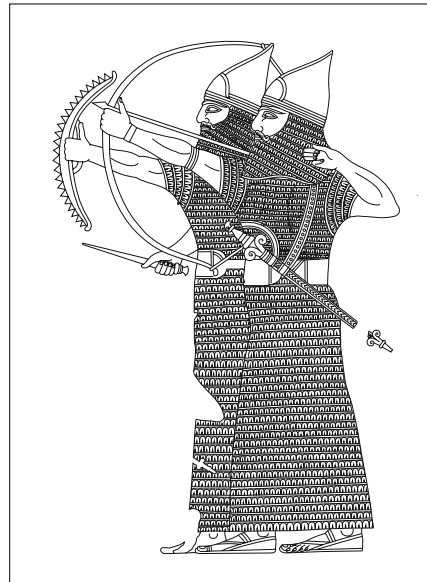
⁶³⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 127 (ADD 856).

⁶³⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 128 (ADD 947+), 8'-Rev. 5. The same text lists an unknown number of archers under the command of 6 officials and officers (Rev. 6-12). The regular archers were obviously recruited in the same system.

⁶⁴⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), Rev. II:3'-7', 17'-18'. This text lists archers as well (Rev. II:19'-20', III:6'-8'). The archers were at the disposal of the prefect of the crown prince and a cohort commander.

HEAVY INFANTRY

The heavy infantry constituted the most important arm of the Assyrian army. Their distinctive equipment consisted of pointed helmets (initially made of bronze, later of iron)⁶⁴¹ and scale armour covering the upper body (made of bronze or iron). Soldiers of the heavy infantry – like the cavalry and chariotry – only wore pointed helmets. The scale armour and the pointed helmet were already the main characteristics of the heavy infantry in the 9th century B.C. These heavy infantrymen are shown in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) (*Plate 28, 90–92; Plate 37, 121; Plate 38, 125, 126*), and on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).⁶⁴² The Assyrian pointed helmet prevailed during the 9th–7th centuries B.C. Unfortunately it is uncertain whether the pointed helmet indicated the (Assyrian) nationality of its wearer or not, and it can be assumed that after the army reform of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), when large numbers of foreign soldiers were drafted into the Assyrian army, this type of helmet probably also lost its original function as an indicator of ethnic identity (*see* for example the Judaeen or Israeli bodyguards of Sennacherib (*Plate 40, 132*)). As has been mentioned above, the key arms of the army – heavy infantry, cavalry and chariotry – always wore pointed helmets. At the same time it is known from the cuneiform sources that large numbers of foreign soldiers or even complete units were drafted into the Assyrian army. The royal inscriptions of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) mention that in the first year of his reign 50 Samarian chariots,⁶⁴³ on his 1st campaign at Qarqar 200 chariots and 600 cavalymen,⁶⁴⁴ and on his 5th campaign at Carchemish 50 chariots and 200 cavalymen⁶⁴⁵ were drafted into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). Yet there is no visible sign of these foreign cavalymen or chariot crews in the sculptures – the equipment of these units must have been the same as that of the Assyrian cavalry and chariotry.



⁶⁴¹ DEZSÓ – CURTIS 1991, 105-126; DEZSÓ 2001, 18-47.

⁶⁴² KING 1915, *passim*.

⁶⁴³ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, line 15.

⁶⁴⁴ FUCHS 1994, *Display Inscription*, lines 35-6.

⁶⁴⁵ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, line 75.

The palace reliefs tend to depict the elite units, the well equipped troops of the *kišir šarrūti*, and consequently display large numbers of armoured infantrymen. While the armoured heavy infantrymen appear in the sculptures in large numbers, the written sources hardly mention them at all. The *termini technici* denoting armoured infantry (infantrymen, archers, spearmen, or slingers) are almost completely missing, and only a few attempts were made to identify Akkadian words which could have denoted armoured infantrymen.⁶⁴⁶ The Nuzi archives show that scale armour had been used from the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.⁶⁴⁷ The earliest reference to armoured soldiers in the Assyrian sources is a passage of the Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta, which mentions that his soldiers were not clad in armour.⁶⁴⁸ When Sargon II led his army against Rusa, king of Urartu in 714 B.C., according to his inscription, in the battle of Wauš “he did not cast a glance at the mass of his armoured warriors,” but with his single chariot led the ferocious cavalry charge of his cavalry bodyguard against them.⁶⁴⁹ Unfortunately it is not known whether the armoured Urartians were archers or spearmen.⁶⁵⁰ Sennacherib himself wore scale armour and a helmet (a metal crown?) at the battle of Ḫalulê.⁶⁵¹ The same phrase appears in an inscription of Esarhaddon describing the defeat of Tirḫaka.⁶⁵² The booty list of Sennacherib mentions quantities of armour as well.⁶⁵³ A single Neo-Babylonian letter lists a set of equipment (scale armour, helmet, and shield)⁶⁵⁴ which hints at the equipment of armoured spearmen. Besides these few texts there is no substantial written evidence which would facilitate the reconstruction of the heavy infantry.

As can be assessed from the sculptures, the Assyrian heavy infantry was divided into three arms: archers, spearmen, and slingers, who wore the same defensive equipment and differed only in their weapons.

ARMOURED ARCHERS

The early history of the Assyrian armoured archers (883—745 B.C.) (90—91)

9th century B.C. Assyrian art shows large numbers of armoured archers; so much so that only a single armoured soldier is depicted who carries no bow, but is identified by his equipment as a spearman: he is a bodyguard of Assurnasirpal II (*Plate 37, 121*). Not a single armoured slinger is represented in the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II or on the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III.

⁶⁴⁶ POSTGATE 2000, 104-105.

⁶⁴⁷ DEZSÓ 2002, 195-216; DEZSÓ 2004A, 319-323.

⁶⁴⁸ Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (CAMPBELL THOMPSON – MALLOWAN 1933, No. 107, 119), iii 39: *sa-ri-ia-ma-a-ti ul it-taḫ-li-pu*.

⁶⁴⁹ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 131: *ana mu-'u-de-e qu-ra-di-šu ša táḫ-lu-up-ti ni-iš GIŠ.II ul ar-ši*.

⁶⁵⁰ For Urartian armour finds see: PIOTROVSKY 1955, 9 fig. 2, 30-36 fig. 21-24; PIOTROVSKY 1970, pl. 50 (Karmir Blur, Argišti I, ca. 789 - 766 B.C.); BARNETT – GÖKÇE 1953, 125 f. fig. 6, pl. 18, 2 (Altın Tepe: 52 pieces in bronze, 4 in iron).

⁶⁵¹ LUCKENBILL 1924, 44 v 68-69: *at-tal-bi-ša si-ri-ia-am ḫu-li-ia-am si-mat ši-il-ti a-pi-ra ra-šú-ú-a* (I put on armour, and the helmet, fit for battle I placed upon my head).

⁶⁵² BORGER 1956, 65, § 28, 7: *at-tal-bi-š si-ri-ia-am ḫul-ia-am si-mat [ši-il-ti a-pi-ra ra-šú-ú-a]* (I put on armour, and the helmet, fit for battle I placed upon my head).

⁶⁵³ LUCKENBILL 1924, 60, 57.

⁶⁵⁴ CLAY 1919, 190:28: *ši-ir-a-ni gur-sip-pi u a-ra-a-ta*.

The Assyrian scale armour of the 9th century B.C. was a very heavy, long coat fastened by a wide metal belt, reaching to the ankles (*Plate 28, 90–92*) or the knees (*Plate 37, 121*). The soldiers wearing the shorter version are characteristically not archers, but the shielded bodyguards of the king, or high officials (the chief eunuch?).⁶⁵⁵ The armour has a separate ‘hood-piece’ attached to the rim of the pointed helmet. This ‘hood-piece’ covered the face of the soldier, leaving only the eyes and the nose free. There is a 9th century B.C. glazed brick from Assur⁶⁵⁶ depicting an Assyrian soldier equipped with a characteristic 9th century B.C. spiked shield, and a pointed helmet with a scale armour ‘hood’ attached to its rim. It is important to note that the shield and the helmet are coloured yellow, which means that they were made of bronze, but the colour of the scale armour attached to the rim of the helmet is light blue, which means that in the 9th century B.C. scale armour might well have been made of iron.

According to the representational evidence this heavy scale armour was exclusively used in siege contexts. The armoured archers of the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II were always escorted by armoured shield bearers, who protected the archers with their shields (*Plate 28, 90, 91, Plate 37, 121*). An interesting feature of the 9th century B.C. use of this heavy scale armour was that in addition to the archers and shield-bearers it was also used by soldiers depicted in a sapper context (*Plate 28, 92*).⁶⁵⁷

On the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III large numbers of freestanding armoured archers and armoured archers escorted and protected by shield-bearers are depicted.⁶⁵⁸ The context is always a siege scene, and the archers and shield-bearers wear the long, heavy scale armour reaching to the ankles. The freestanding armoured archers are always depicted in larger groups deployed in formation on one or two sides of a city under siege.⁶⁵⁹ The largest group of such archers consists of 10 soldiers.⁶⁶⁰ Armoured archers escorted by shield-bearers also appear in large groups in front of the walls of besieged towns.⁶⁶¹ The armoured shield-bearers are equipped with three types of shields: spiked rounded bronze shields,⁶⁶² large rectangular wicker shields,⁶⁶³ and large standing siege-shields. It is interesting to note that the first appearance of the large standing siege-shield in Assyrian context is on the Balawat Gates.⁶⁶⁴ The depiction of large numbers of armoured archers means that Shalmaneser III deployed large units of elite heavy archers.

The almost complete lack of written evidence makes any further reconstruction difficult. A 9th century B.C. administrative text⁶⁶⁵ from Tell Baqqaq 2 lists military equipment probably belonging to the local military units of Bit-Usu. The tablet lists 20 suits of copper scale armour, 20 bows, and 20 quivers. The equipment obviously belonged to the armoured archers of the local military contingent, which means that the provinces provided not only regular, but sometimes heavy units as well.

⁶⁵⁵ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. CXIX, CXXII.

⁶⁵⁶ ASS. 10756, ANDRAE 1925, pl. 9, no. 9e. HROUDA 1965, 181 dated the fragment to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 B.C.), but the characteristic spiked shield, the helmet and the scale armour dates it to the 9th century B.C.

⁶⁵⁷ See furthermore: LAYARD 1853A, pl. 29.

⁶⁵⁸ For a comprehensive study of the military scenes, soldiers and their equipment depicted on the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III see SCHACHNER 2007, 160–172. For heavy archers see Tab. 48, Abbs. 109–114.

⁶⁵⁹ KING 1915, pls. LXIV: 3 archers; LXXV: 5 archers; LXXVI: 6 archers; LXXVII: 6 archers.

⁶⁶⁰ KING 1915, pls. XX: 10 archers; XX–XXII: 10 + 10 archers on both sides of a besieged town; XLIII–XLIV lower register: 10 archers (5 helmeted, 5 bareheaded), upper register: 10 + 2 archers.

⁶⁶¹ KING 1915, pls. L–LI: 3 archers, 3 shield-bearers, 1 shield bearer with siege shield, 2 archers, 2 shield-bearers; LXVII–LXX: 7 archers, 7 shield-bearers + 8 archers, 8 shield-bearers; LXX, LXXI: 4 archers, 4 shield-bearers; LXXIII: 2 archers, 1 shield-bearer with siege shield, 1 shield-bearer.

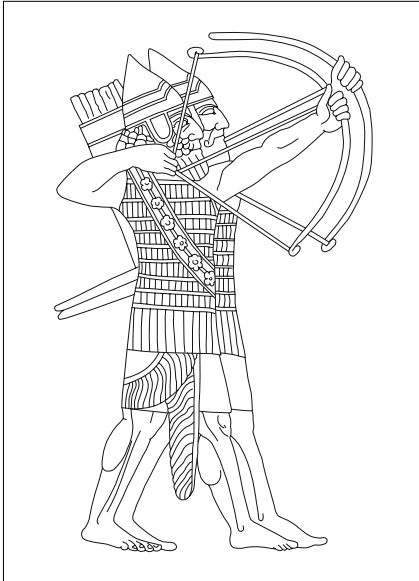
⁶⁶² KING 1915, pls. L–LI: 4 shield-bearers; LXVII–LXX: 3 shield-bearers; LXXIII: 1 shield-bearer.

⁶⁶³ KING 1915, pls. LXVII–LXX: 4 + 8 shield-bearers; LXX, LXXI: 4 + 4 shield-bearers.

⁶⁶⁴ KING 1915, pls. XVI, L, LI, LXXIII, XLIII, XLIV.

⁶⁶⁵ ISMAIL 1989, 61–64, IM 121891, 833/824/821 B.C.

Armoured archers of the imperial period (745—612 B.C.) (93—109)



The long, heavy scale armour which hindered the movements of the soldier had virtually disappeared by the middle of the 8th century B.C., and was replaced by the short scale armour waistcoat. As has been discussed, iron scale armour already appeared during the 9th century B.C. and it may be supposed that during the 7th century B.C. it largely, though never completely, replaced bronze armour, which remained in use at least in the ranks of provincial troops. The other important change is that a new feature, the large standing siege-shield – which had already sporadically been employed by Assyrian troops during the reign of Shalmaneser III at the latest – appears in large numbers in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III. As has been discussed in the chapter on regular archers, the siege-shield is a large (taller than a man) standing shield made of wicker or wood, and sometimes reinforced with bronze or iron fittings. Masses of armoured archers (and sometimes auxiliary archers) are approaching the

besieged walls under cover of these huge shields. The shields, which placed tightly side by side could form a kind of siege wall, remained a characteristic feature of Assyrian siege equipment for a long time.

The sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III show armoured archers exclusively with shield-bearers (*Plate 29, 93*), since the only context in which they appear are siege-scenes. All eight siege-scenes show them shooting at besieged walls from the cover of shield-bearers. The shield-bearers are equipped with standing wicker or wooden siege-shields,⁶⁶⁶ which are sometimes complemented by shield-bearers carrying rounded bronze shields.⁶⁶⁷ The sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III depict 14 armoured archers, with 15 shield-bearers, with a relatively large proportion of eunuchs (4 out of 14) represented as armoured archers. This phenomenon should be interpreted as the emphasis which the iconographical concept behind the sculptures laid on the symbolic representation of high officials, and not as meaning that large numbers of eunuchs were deployed as armoured archers. This, however, might also be true for the whole group. Because of the artistic concept of the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (and Sargon II as well: a few large figures often with symbolic meaning) it is unfortunately not known whether they were high officials protected by their attendants or simply the representation of the members of the armoured archer arm of the Assyrian heavy infantry.

⁶⁶⁶ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. X (Babylonian campaign, 2 archers, 1 shield-bearer); XXXIX-XL (Eastern campaign, URU.U-pa[?], 2 archers, 2 shield-bearers); LII (Anatolian campaign, 2 archers, 2 shield-bearers); LIV-LV (Anatolian campaign, 2 archers, 2 shield-bearers); LXXII (unknown campaign, 2 archers, 1 shield-bearer); LXXVI (unknown campaign, 1 archer, 1 shield-bearer); LXXVII (unknown campaign, 1 archer, 1 shield-bearer); LXXXVIII-LXXXIX, XCIV (Western campaign, 1 archer, 1 shield-bearer);

⁶⁶⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXXIV (Babylonian campaign, king as archer, 1 shield-bearer with standing wicker siege-shield, 1 shield-bearer with rounded bronze shield); LXXXVIII-LXXXIX, XCIV (1 archer, 1 shield-bearer with standing wicker siege-shield, 1 shield-bearer with rounded bronze shield).

Similarly to the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, the sculptures of Sargon II show armoured archers primarily in siege contexts. There are, however, a few scenes which depict them without shield-bearers, escorting tribute bearers or prisoners (they are serving probably as officers: *Plate 45, 153, 154*),⁶⁶⁸ or in a single case shooting at the wall of a besieged town without the protection of a shield-bearer (*Plate 33, 106*). Such an independent deployment of armoured archers later became more frequent, and indeed, during the reign of Assurbanipal their number exceeded the number of armoured archers shown with shield-bearers in the sculptures. The figures who escorted prisoners or tribute-bearers were most probably officers. The majority of the scenes, however, show them as shooting at the walls from behind the cover of shield-bearers. No less than 13 such scenes can be identified in the sculptures of Sargon II, which provide a wide variety of combination of the different types of shields used to protect the archers. Archers could be covered by shield-bearers equipped with (1) standing siege-shields made of wicker or wood (*Plate 30, 95*);⁶⁶⁹ (2) large rectangular wicker shields (*Plate 31, 100, 101*);⁶⁷⁰ (3) rounded bronze shields (*Plate 31, 98, 99*);⁶⁷¹ (4) rounded wicker shields;⁶⁷² (5) or a combination of standing siege-shields and rounded bronze shields (*Plate 29, 94; Plate 30, 96, 97*)⁶⁷³ or rounded wicker shields.⁶⁷⁴ The shield-bearers who carried rounded bronze shields were probably armoured spearmen, who – according to the palace reliefs – were rarely sent directly into action during the sieges.

These combined scenes depicting armoured archers with more armoured shield-bearers (*Plate 29, 94; Plate 30, 96, 97; Plate 31, 99*) most probably do not show ordinary soldiers, but military officials or officers. A further important feature – not only in the case of these scenes but most probably applicable to the reconstruction of the whole Assyrian army, is that almost half of the 13 scenes depicting armoured archers with armoured shield-bearers show eunuch archers⁶⁷⁵ wearing long garments, not so practical in close quarters (*Plate 29, 94; Plate 30, 95; Plate 31, 99?, 101*). This concentration of eunuchs does not indicate a high proportion of eunuch soldiers in the ranks of the army, but most probably implies a high concentration of eunuch military officials and officers in the Assyrian military bureaucracy.

The sculptures of Sennacherib witness a sudden increase in the number of armoured archers, a consequence of an army reform of the king, which – as can be judged from the palace reliefs – affected all the branches of service of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), and resulted in changes to military ideology, the standardisation of equipment, and the appearance or disappearance of certain branches of the army (for a detailed discussion see *vol. II*, chapter Summary: The development of the Assyrian army).

⁶⁶⁸ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 92, 94, 100.

⁶⁶⁹ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 94 (Room 5, slabs 3-2, Raphia?, 2. *palū*); 96 (Room 5, slabs 7-6, Samaria?, 2. *palū*); 96 (Room 5, slabs 7-6, Ashdod or Gaza?, 2. *palū*); 100 (Room 5, slabs 22-21, Western campaign, 2. *palū*); 107 (Room 1, slabs 3-1, unknown campaign); 118 (Room 2, slab 13, Median campaign, 6. *palū*); 136 (Room 14, slabs 1-2, URU.*Pa-za-ši*, (Mannai, Media), 7. *palū*).

⁶⁷⁰ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 107 (Room 1, slabs 3-1, unknown campaign); 124 (Room 2, slab 2, door H, Median campaign, 6. *palū*).

⁶⁷¹ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 94 (Room 5, slabs 3-2, Raphia?, 2. *palū*); 100 (Room 5, slabs 22-21, Western campaign, 2. *palū*); 102 (Room 5, slab 1, door O, URU.*A`-am-qa-ru-na*, 2. *palū*); 107 (Room 1, slabs 3-1, unknown campaign).

⁶⁷² ALBENDA 1986, pl. 138 (Room 14, slab 12, URU.*Ki-šes-lu* (Mannai, and Media), 7. *palū*, 2 archers).

⁶⁷³ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 112 (Room 2, slabs 5-7, URU.*Har-ḥa-ar* (Media), 6. *palū*); 118 (Room 2, slab 13, Median campaign, 6. *palū*); 124 (Room 2, slab 2, door H, Median campaign, 6. *palū*); 128 (Room 2, slabs 28-29, Ganguḥtu (Media), 6. *palū*).

⁶⁷⁴ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 102 (Room 5, slab 1, door O, URU.*A`-am-qa-ru-na*, 2. *palū*).

⁶⁷⁵ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 94 (Room 5, slabs 3-2, Raphia?, 2. *palū*); 102 (Room 5, slab 1, door O, URU.*A`-am-qa-ru-na*, 2. *palū*); 118 (Room 2, slab 13, Median campaign, 6. *palū*); 118 (Room 2, slab 13, Median campaign, 6. *palū*); 119 (Room 2, slabs 14-15, Kindau (Media), 6. *palū*); 124 (Room 2, slab 2, door H, Median campaign, 6. *palū*).

Altogether 100 armoured archers with 100 shield-bearers and 102 freestanding armoured archers are shown on the sculptures of this king. 90 of the shield-bearers carry the large wicker or wooden siege-shield, 9 are equipped with rounded wicker and a single soldier is equipped with a rounded bronze shield.

The shield-bearers of armoured archers of Sennacherib's army used the uniform standing siege-shield (*Plate 32, 102, 103*). Not only are the shields similar in shape, but the large number of them depicted on the sculptures makes it clear that this arm – similarly to the other arms of the army – had become considerably standardized. This standardisation of equipment was – as has been mentioned – probably the result of an army reform of Sennacherib which led to uniformity among the different arms of the army – infantry and cavalry – and reduced the importance of the chariotry. The large number of armoured archers depicted⁶⁷⁶ implies that the heavy infantry – including the armoured archers – took the leading role in royal campaigns, and also became the most numerous arm of the Assyrian army.

Armoured archers with shield-bearers were deployed in formation – forming solid walls from the siege-shields in one or more rows. Sometimes they approached the walls behind siege-machines. The shield-bearers are always shown with either a spear (*Plate 32, 102*) or a sword (*Plate 32, 103*) in their hands, so there is no doubt that after breaking through the walls they fought as heavy infantry in close combat.

A smaller number of armoured archers are represented with armoured shield bearers equipped with rounded wicker shields, which probably shows a much more ad hoc situation, where the light shields of the auxiliary infantry were used by the armoured shield-bearers (who might well have been armoured spearmen since they are equipped with spears) to protect the archers. This situation – as displayed by the sculptures – might have occurred during surprise attacks, when there was no chance or not enough time to collect or manufacture a sufficient number of large siege-shields. Five such scenes depict 9 archers with 9 such shield-bearers (*Plate 32, 104*).⁶⁷⁷ A single scene shows an armoured archer with an armoured shield-bearer, who – being probably an armoured spearman – is equipped with a large rounded bronze shield (*Plate 32, 105*).⁶⁷⁸

The most important change besides the change of artistic concept discussed above is the appearance of large numbers of freestanding armoured archers (*Plate 33, 107*). The first representation of an armoured archer without a shield-bearer is found on the sculptures of Sargon II (*Plate 33, 106*). Such an independent deployment of armoured archers later became more frequent, and indeed, during the reign of Assurbanipal their number exceeded the number of archers represented with shield-bearers on the sculptures. The number of freestanding armoured archers is almost the same as the number of armoured archers accompanied by shield-bearers. The 102 archers were depicted in various contexts, with the largest proportion placed in siege-context, standing in formation and shooting at the walls of besieged towns⁶⁷⁹ or

⁶⁷⁶ 28 scenes depict 90 archers with 90 shield-bearers: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 32 (1), 33 (2), 41 (1), 47-48 (2+), 50 (4), 72 (6), 84 (2), 85 (3+), 227 (5), 238 (4), 240 (2), 241 (5), 260 (1), 364 (1), 368 (2), 429-430 (16), 481 (3), 482 (9), 488 (4), 627 (5), 652 (3), 691 (1), 721 (3), 722 (1), 723 (1+), 724 (1), 725 (1), 726 (1). (The numbers mean pairs).

⁶⁷⁷ In siege context: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 365 (Room XXXII, slab 2, Eastern campaign?, 2 pairs); 366 (Room XXXII, slab 2, Eastern campaign?, 1 pair); 448 Room XXXVIII, slab 13, unknown hill country, 4 pairs). In battle context: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 611 (Court LXIV, slab 5, Babylonian campaign, battle in the marshes, 2 pairs are shooting from rafts).

⁶⁷⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 366 (Room XXXII, slab 2, Eastern campaign?, 1 pair).

⁶⁷⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 227 (2), 236 (1), 238 (3), 256 (2), 364 (4), 365 (4), 366 (1), 368 (2); 428 (17), 429-430 (21), 431 (19), 448 (2), 481 (4), 482 (2). (The numbers mean archers).

in battles.⁶⁸⁰ Further scenes show them in secondary capacities, thus their identification is based only on their equipment (armour, bow and/or quiver). These contexts include the bringing of heads after the sieges or battles,⁶⁸¹ escorting prisoners,⁶⁸² killing or torturing captives,⁶⁸³ or cutting palm trees.⁶⁸⁴ A quite unique scene shows 4+ archers standing on board a Phoenician warship, probably as 'marines.'⁶⁸⁵

A similar picture unfolds from the sculptures of Assurbanipal, where large numbers of uniform archers are depicted in similar contexts. The number of armoured archers shown with shield-bearers has decreased: altogether 13 pairs are depicted in siege contexts.⁶⁸⁶ Much larger numbers of armoured archers are depicted without shield-bearers. 12 archers are shown in battle contexts,⁶⁸⁷ while 28 archers are represented in secondary contexts,⁶⁸⁸ where – as in the sculptures of Sennacherib – their identification is based only on their equipment (armour, bow and/or quiver). Several of these contexts (for example the Arab campaign) raise the question of whether the armoured archers depicted were infantrymen or dismounted armoured cavalry archers.

An important feature of the development of this arm is that in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal there are armoured archers who wear headbands instead of pointed helmets (*Plate 33, 108, 109*). These archers were presumably not Itu'eans, because the rest of their equipment – scale armour, Assyrian kilt and boots – is the same as the equipment of the armoured archers. These archers appear in the same contexts as the helmeted archers,⁶⁸⁹ but rather give the impression of being some sort of bodyguard.

⁶⁸⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 611 (Court LXIV, slab 5, Babylonian campaign, battle in the marshes; shooting from wicker raft, 1 archer).

⁶⁸¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 51 (Room V, slab 7, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 2+ archers); 244 (Room XIV, slab 14, [URU.A]-*al-am-mu*, 1 archer); 368 (Room XXXII, slab 6, Eastern campaign?, 1 archers); 369 (Room XXXII, slab 7, Eastern campaign, 1 archer); 645 (Room LXX, slab 3, Babylonian campaign, URU.*Sa-ah-ri-na*, 1 archer).

⁶⁸² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 59 (Room V, slab 14, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 1 archer).

⁶⁸³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 432 (Room XXXVI, slab 9, URU.*La-ki-su*, 4 archers).

⁶⁸⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 45 (Room III, slab 8, Dilbat, 1st campaign, 2 archers).

⁶⁸⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 39 (Room I, slab ?).

⁶⁸⁶ BARNETT 1976, pls. XVI (Room F, slabs 1-2, Ḥamanu, Elam, 1 pair); XXI (Room F, slab 15, Elamite campaign); XXII (Room G, slabs 3-5, Elamite campaign, 2 pairs); XXXVI (Room M, slab 17, Egyptian campaign, 2 pairs); XXXVI (Room M, slabs 19-20, Egyptian campaign (Memphis?), 2 pairs); LX-LXI (Room S¹, slabs A-B, Elamite campaign, 1 pair); LXXI (unknown campaign, Sennacherib?, 2 pairs). BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 278 (Court XIX, slab 15, Babylonian campaign, protecting an auxiliary archer with his shield); 282 (Court XIX, slab 12, Babylonian campaign, 1 pair).

⁶⁸⁷ In siege context: BARNETT 1976, pls. XXII (Room G, slabs 3-5, Elamite campaign, 2+ archers); XXXIV (Room M, slabs unidentified, unknown hill country (Elam?), 1 archer); XXXVI (Room M, slab 17, Egyptian campaign, 2 archers); XXXVI (Room M, slabs 19-20, Egyptian campaign (Memphis?), 1 archer shooting from behind an auxiliary spearman); in battle context: XXVIII (Courtyard J, slabs 3-4, Elamite campaign); XXXIV (Room M, slabs unidentified, unknown hill country (Elam?), 2 archers); BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 318 (Room XXII, slab ?, unknown hill country, attribution to Sennacherib is possible).

⁶⁸⁸ Bringing heads: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 277 (Court XIX, slab 19, Babylonian campaign); 342 (Court XXVIII, slab 6, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pl. XXII (Room G, slabs 3-5, Elamite campaign); escorting captives: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 286 (Court XIX, slab 8, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pl. XX (Room F, slab 14, Elamite campaign); bringing and burning booty: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 346 (Court XXVIII, slab 9, Babylonian campaign); 347 (Court XXVIII, slab 10, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXV (Room M, slabs 12-13, surrender of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and Ummanaldaš); demolition of walls: BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI (Room S¹, slab A, Ḥamanu, Elam); felling palm trees: BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXII (Room L, slabs 3-7, Arab campaign); standing guard in front of the royal chariot between cavalry and armoured spearmen: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 349 (Court XXVIII, slab 12, Babylonian campaign); killing Arabs in tents: BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXIII (Room L, slabs 9-13, Arab campaign).

⁶⁸⁹ In a siege context: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 278 (Court XIX, slab 15, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXIV (Room M, slab 7, unknown hill country); LX-LXI (Room S¹, slabs A-B, Elamite campaign); LXVII (Room V¹/T¹, slabs A-B, Elam: URU.*Dīn-Šarri*); battles: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 340 (Room XXVIII, slab 3, Babylonian campaign); 407 (Court XXXIII, slab ?, Til-Tuba); BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVIII (Room V¹/T¹, slab E, Babylonian campaign); bringing heads: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 346 (Court XXVIII, slab 9, Babylonian campaign); escorting prisoners and

To establish the proportion of armoured archers in the Assyrian infantry as a whole, we can employ two methods. We can establish their ratio either in proportion to all the infantrymen depicted in the existing palace reliefs (as a statistical base), or in proportion to the number of infantrymen represented in a particular scene, in a compact composition, for example a major siege scene.

As shown on *vol. II, Chart 9* the ratio of armoured archers in proportion to the Assyrian infantry as a whole is as follows: in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III the percentage of heavy infantry is 28.8% of the Assyrian infantry as a whole. The percentage of armoured archers is 23.8% of the infantry as a whole, so the ratio of the armoured archers in proportion to the heavy infantry is very high, almost 80% (actually this is the only arm of the heavy infantry represented in the sculptures in large numbers). The proportion of armoured archers in the palace reliefs of Sargon II is 31.25% of the infantry as a whole (the percentage of the heavy infantry within the army is 36.3%). In the palace reliefs of Sennacherib, the numbers of heavy infantry suddenly rise. The 775 heavy infantrymen who appear constitute 51.4% of the infantry as a whole. The ratio of the armoured archers is 19.8% (in proportion to the infantry as a whole), which is very high. In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal the 323 heavy infantrymen depicted constitute 39.9% of the infantry as a whole. It is interesting to note, however, that the percentage of the armoured archers fell to 11%. While the artistic and representational concept behind the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II mentioned above might raise questions about the accuracy of the statistical results, it can be assumed that the different structuring concept behind the palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, namely the large number of soldiers depicted (there are 1512 and 810 infantrymen in the palace reliefs of these two kings respectively) makes the statistical results more reliable in this case. So the change in the proportion of armoured archers in the sculptures of these two kings cannot be interpreted simply as a distortion which derives from the ideological difference behind the representation.

If we examine one particular scene, for example a major siege scene, in addition to the relative sizes of the different arms of the Assyrian army, we can form a notion of the use of the armoured archers in Assyrian warfare. There are nearly 200 Assyrian soldiers in the Lachish reliefs (depicting the siege of Lachish in 701 B.C.) of Sennacherib. The composition consists of three scenes: 1. preparation and the shooting at the walls; 2. siege; 3. post-siege events.

There are altogether 74 soldiers in the first scene. Soldiers of the light and heavy infantry are depicted in three registers. 4 auxiliary spearmen (*Plate 12, 40, 41*) are approaching the wall – their role in this phase is secondary. The remaining 70 soldiers are slingers and archers: 32 auxiliary archers, 14 armoured slingers (*Plate 36, 118*), 17 armoured archers without shield-bearers (*Plate 33, 107*), and 4 armoured archers with shield-bearers. They are depicted in pairs, possibly the iconographical code for close formations and large numbers of soldiers. All of them are shooting at the wall. The four types of auxiliary archers (*Plate 3, 8–11*) constitute nearly 50% of all the archers represented in this scene. It is obvious that they were deployed in larger numbers farther back from the walls, at a safe distance. The 14 armoured slingers are represented in the back rows, behind the archers. This suggests that the range of the slingers exceeded that of the archers (large quantities of sling-stones were found in Lachish).⁶⁹⁰ The 17 armoured archers are represented behind the 4 armoured archers

carrying booty: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 277 (Court XIX, slab 18, Babylonian campaign); 385 (Court XXXIII, slab 5, Til-Tuba); BARNETT 1976, pls. LXVI (Room S¹, slab A, Ḫamanu, Elam); LXVII (Room V¹/T¹, slabs A-B, Elam: URU.Dīn-[-Šarri]); executing prisoners with maces: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 381 (Court XXXIII, slab 1, Babylonian campaign).

⁶⁹⁰ USSISHKIN 1982, 55-56, Fig. 47.

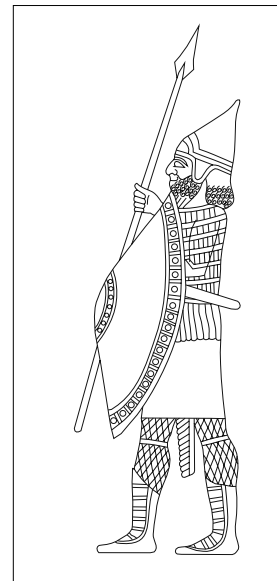
and their shield-bearers. So during the sieges the order of the position of archers and slingers seems to have been the following: in the first row there were armoured archers with shield-bearers (equipped with large siege-shields), behind them were the units of armoured archers and auxiliary archers (in close order), and behind them the armoured slingers, also in close order. We must mention the possibility, however, that the large number of armoured archers at this siege scene represents not only armoured archers of the heavy infantry but dismounted cavalry archers as well. The equipment of the armoured and the cavalry archers is essentially the same: pointed helmets and scale armour. The only difference between them is that while the horsemen always wear boots (*vol. II, Plate 7, 13, 14; vol. II, Plate 8, 15, 16*), the armoured archers in this siege scene do not. A further difference is that the quiver of the cavalry archers also served as a bow case; this feature, however, does not help resolve the problem in the case of this particular siege scene.

The second scene shows the siege. The Assyrians built two siege-ramps with 10 paved tracks for 7 siege-engines. The Assyrian soldiers attack the walls under cover of the siege-engines. The scene contains 8 auxiliary archers, 16 auxiliary spearmen, 8 armoured slingers, 26 armoured archers (+ 6 on the siege-engines), and 12 armoured archers with shield bearers. It is understandable that the number of unarmoured auxiliary archers (8) decreases as the siege advances towards the walls, while the number of armoured archers (44) increases. The reason for the relatively large number of auxiliary spearmen (16) is their important role in close combat on the top of the ramparts or after breaking through the walls.

The third scene shows the procession of the booty, thus it is of minor military importance. However, some horsemen are depicted in this scene (*vol. II, Plate 8, 15, 16*). Since the cavalry did not play a direct role during sieges, there are no horsemen in the first and second scenes. As these cavalymen are standing in the immediate vicinity of the king, they were probably part of the cavalry of the royal bodyguard (*pēthāl qurubte, see below*).

ARMOURED SPEARMEN (110—117)

The armoured spearmen formed the most important arm of ancient regular armies. They were equipped with bronze or iron helmets, and rounded or rectangular bronze or bronze-plated wooden shields. As the history of hoplite warfare demonstrates, this equipment was most effective when used by infantrymen fighting in formation, in close order and not individually in a duel, and consequently called for large numbers of disciplined and well-drilled soldiers. The armoured spearmen (the 'Assyrian hoplites') were undoubtedly the elite arm of the Assyrian army. Their battle tactics – advancing in close order, like a wall of armour, and wearing down the lines of the enemy, who could hardly deploy similarly heavy troops – needed considerable skill and discipline to maintain close order, shield by shield, and keep the pace. This probably made them the most skilled and experienced soldiers in the Assyrian army. As can be seen in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal depicting the defeat of Te'umman, king of Elam in the battle of Til-Tuba (653 B.C.), after the disintegration of the battle array of the enemy, the armoured spearman (*Plate 35, 117*) could fight in close combat outside



the front-line alone, in pairs, or in pairs with regular and auxiliary spearmen, but always under cover from an auxiliary archer.⁶⁹¹ In close combat this formation combined the safety provided by the armoured spearman equipped with a large battle-shield, and the 'fire power' of the auxiliary archer in a very useful way.

The weaponry of the armoured spearman consisted of a pointed helmet, scale armour, a large rounded bronze shield, a spear and a sword. Their main combat weapon was the thrusting spear. They were barefoot (wearing only sandals) (*Plate 34, 110, 111, Plate 35, 116*) or wore Assyrian military boots (*Plate 34, 112, Plate 35, 113–115, 117*).

Armoured spearmen of the 9th century B.C. appear only on the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) in a bodyguard context. They wear long heavy scale armour reaching the knees and covering the face. One of the few depictions shows an armoured spearman providing cover for the king, who is aiming his bow, with a rectangular wicker shield (*Plate 37, 121*). Two other depictions show two armoured infantrymen equipped with rounded bronze shields providing cover for eunuchs. These two heavy infantrymen, however, are equipped solely with swords, and their identification as armoured spearmen is only hypothetical (*Plate 38, 125, 126*). Virtually no armoured spearmen can be identified on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III, which, however, does not necessarily indicate the complete absence of this arm, yet it can be concluded that it did not play such an important role in the Assyrian armies of the 9th century B.C. as in the 7th century B.C.

The armoured spearmen were not as prominent in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II as in the sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal. Their proportion in the palace reliefs of the two former kings is very low indeed.⁶⁹² The question is whether this 'under-representation' derives simply from the absence or lesser importance of this arm in the armies of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II, or derives from the differences in representational concept and the characteristic representational style (a small number of large, symbolic figures) of the sculptures of these two kings.

There are three armoured infantrymen in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III. Two of them are shown in a pair, fighting in close combat (*Plate 34, 110*). One of them uses a spear and a shield, the other a sword. The third armoured infantryman is shown in a siege-scene, advancing behind three armoured slingers.⁶⁹³ It should be mentioned that there are altogether 6 armoured shield-bearers in the sculptures of this ruler.⁶⁹⁴ They are equipped with large standing siege-shields and swords only. It is quite possible that they are also armoured infantrymen, who at the time of the storming of the besieged town also fought as heavy infantrymen.

In the palace reliefs of Sargon II there is only a single armoured spearman within a group of armoured archers, protecting the archers with his rounded wicker shield (*Plate 34, 111*). In addition to his shield and spear, he is also equipped with a bow and a quiver. It is possible that this scene shows an infantry officer or a universal heavy infantryman. In addition to this

⁶⁹¹ LAYARD 1853B, pl. 46.

⁶⁹² Out of the 122 infantrymen represented on the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III there are only 3 soldiers who can be identified as armoured infantrymen/spearmen, which is only a very small proportion: 2.5% of the infantry. The same proportion in the sculptures of Sargon II is 4.95%, which means 9 armoured infantrymen/spearmen (out of the 182 infantrymen represented).

⁶⁹³ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXXXIX, XCIV.

⁶⁹⁴ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LII (Anatolian campaign, 2 shield-bearers); LXXII (unknown campaign, 1 shield-bearer); LXXVI (unknown campaign, 1 shield-bearer); LXXVII (unknown campaign, 1 archer, 1 shield-bearer); LXXXVIII–LXXXIX, XCIV (Western campaign, 3 shield-bearers).

armoured infantryman 13 further armoured infantrymen are depicted in the sculptures of Sargon II in similar shield-bearer contexts. They are equipped with spears, swords or both.⁶⁹⁵ The case of these armoured shield-bearers is quite similar to that of the armoured shield-bearers of Tiglath-Pileser III: they were probably armoured infantrymen who – in case of close combat – left the archers behind and fought as armoured spearmen.

A fragmentary Til-Barsip fresco shows two armoured Assyrian spearmen on board a Phoenician warship⁶⁹⁶ fighting a naval battle with an unidentified enemy. These two soldiers might have served as marines.

The sculptures of Sennacherib show a profound change – at least in the artistic conception, but most probably in the Assyrian army as well. The different arms of the heavy infantry (archers, spearmen, and slingers) were separated from each other only during the reign of Sennacherib. This change could easily be attributed to a possible army reform of Sennacherib (*see below*), which – on the primary level of the representations – resulted in (1) the standardization of equipment (helmets, armour, etc.); (2) the appearance of a new, clear-cut distinction between army units, at least of the *kišir šarrūti*, which separated for example the arms of the heavy infantry: archers, spearmen, and slingers; (3) the growing importance of the uniformly armoured cavalry at the expense of the chariotry. This army reform resulted in changes not only in the structure, but also in the organisation of the army (*see below*). And indeed, in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib the uniformly equipped armoured spearmen appear in large numbers (of the 1512 infantrymen depicted in the sculptures, the 157 + 101 armoured spearmen constitute a very high proportion: 17.2%). Their equipment became standardized: a pointed helmet (which at this time could have been made of iron), a large rounded bronze shield, a scale armour waistcoat, boots with some kind of stockings, a spear and a sword (*Plate 34, 112*).

157 armoured spearmen appear in the sculptures of Sennacherib in five contexts: (1) marching in front of the royal chariot in marching order in a column behind other units;⁶⁹⁷ (2) descending and climbing hills in single file on a campaign;⁶⁹⁸ (3) approaching a besieged town in an army column;⁶⁹⁹ (4) standing guard in formation in front of the royal chariot;⁷⁰⁰ (5) standing

⁶⁹⁵ ALBENDA 1986, pls. 94 (Room 5, slabs 3-2, 1 shield-bearer with spear); 100 (Room 5, slabs 22-21, 1 shield-bearer with spear and sword); 102 (Room 5, Door O, slab 1, 1 shield-bearer with sword, 1 shield-bearer with spear and sword); 112 (Room 2, slabs 5-7, 2 shield-bearers); 118 (Room 2, slab 13, 2 shield-bearers with spears, 2 shield-bearers with swords?); 119 (Room 2, slabs 14-15, 1 shield-bearer with sword); 124 (Room 2, Door H, slab 2, 2 shield-bearers with spears and swords); 136 (Room 14, slabs 1-2, 1 archer equipped with a sword).

⁶⁹⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, frontispiece (Vestibule du palais assyrien).

⁶⁹⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 41 (Room III, slab 4, Dilbat, 1st campaign, 1+); 66a (Room V, slab 30, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 2+); 193 (Room VII, slab 13, unknown hill country, 5+); 442 (Room XXXVIII, slab 4, unknown hill country, 6); 444 (Room XXXVIII, slab 6, unknown hill country, 4); 445 (Room XXXVIII, slab 9, unknown hill country, 2); 445-6 (Room XXXVIII, slab 10a, unknown hill country, 7); 452 (Room XXXVIII, slab 17, unknown hill country, 3+); 520 (Room XLVIII, slab 7, Western campaign, 6).

⁶⁹⁸ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 455 (Room XXXVIII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 9+).

⁶⁹⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 234 (Room XIV, slab 4, [URU.A]-*al-am-mu*, 2); 235 (Room XIV, slab 5, URU.A]-*al-am-mu*, 13).

⁷⁰⁰ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 51a (Room V, slab 7, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 3+); 102 (Court VI, slab 11, unknown hill country, 7); 193 (Room VII, slab 14, unknown hill country, 2); 206 (Room IX, slab ?, unknown hill country, 3); 219 (Room XII, slab 5, unknown campaign, 16+); 220 (Room XII, slab 6, unknown campaign, 1); 252 (Room XVII, slab 3, unknown campaign, 6+); 450 (Room XXXVIII, slab 15, unknown hill country, 6); 483 (Room XLIV, slab 1, unknown campaign, 4+); 497-498 (Room XLVI, slabs 6-7, 2nd campaign, Media, Elam, 11+); 508 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 2+); 511 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 2+); 550 (Room LI, slab ?, Babylonian campaign, 3); 554 (Room LI, slab ?, Babylonian campaign, 3); 627 (Room LXVII, slab 2, unknown campaign, 1+); 646 (Room LXX, slab 4, Babylonian campaign, 2).

guard in formation during deportee and booty-counting scenes.⁷⁰¹ In these contexts the armoured spearmen are always depicted in a passive role, standing or marching in formation. There is not a single scene which shows them in battle or close combat. All of these contexts place them in the entourage of the king, which makes the reconstruction of a (temporary) bodyguard function quite likely. However, this role might be the early sign of a transition from an elite unit/arm to a bodyguard unit. Judging from the palace reliefs of Sennacherib, these two roles – at least on the representational level – had not been separated. The final division of the two troop types and the two roles appears only in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal, where separate armoured spearmen (*Plate 35, 113–117*) and bodyguard units (*Plate 41, 133–137*) can be identified.

Large numbers of armoured soldiers are represented in the palace reliefs in a neutral context without any direct sign (weapons) which could assign them to a specific unit. Their equipment (pointed helmet, scale armour waistcoat) is the basic equipment of armoured archers, spearmen, and slingers alike. In the previous chapter soldiers who were depicted out of their original military context in which they used their distinctive weapons, but wore some distinctive element of their weaponry (e.g. a quiver on their back) were listed as armoured archers. Those armoured soldiers who do not wear any distinctive element of their weaponry (quiver, bow, shield, or spear) are consequently listed as spearmen. Altogether 101 such armoured soldiers are depicted in the sculptures of Sennacherib in different contexts. Some of these are primary military contexts, others are secondary. The primary military contexts show these soldiers (1) participating in a muster in front of a burning city;⁷⁰² (2) fighting in close combat;⁷⁰³ or (3) standing guard on top of a tower.⁷⁰⁴ The secondary contexts include (4) escorting prisoners in the battle of the marshes;⁷⁰⁵ (5) carrying spoil;⁷⁰⁶ (6) transporting heads;⁷⁰⁷ (7) demolishing towns and burning spoil;⁷⁰⁸ carrying statues of deities;⁷⁰⁹ and felling trees.⁷¹⁰ It must be mentioned that these contexts obviously cover only those aspects of their duties which fit into the artistic concept serving the ideological message of the sculptures.

The palace reliefs show changes in the ranks of the armoured spearmen. The most obvious one is the appearance of the large battle shield discussed above. In the battle of Til-Tuba (the defeat of Te'umman, king of Elam in 653 B.C.), similarly to the regular and auxiliary spearmen, the armoured spearmen also carry large standing shields with a curved profile, a flat bottom and an arched top. These 'battle shields' were probably made of wood, covered with bronze sheet or leather, and furnished with bronze or iron fittings and sometimes with a shield boss as well. From these large standing shields a wall of shields could be formed (similarly to the shields of the

⁷⁰¹ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 72a (Room V, slab 37, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 1); 214 (Room X, slab 11, unknown hill country, 1+); 244 (Room XIV, slab 14, [URU.A]-*al-am-mu*, 1); 245 (Room XIV, slab 15, [URU.A]-*al-am-mu*, 10); 370 (Room XXXII, slab 8, Eastern campaign?, 12).

⁷⁰² BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 19 (Room I, slabs 1-2, unknown campaign, 5) – officers?

⁷⁰³ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 489 (Room XLV, slab 6, unknown hill country, 1).

⁷⁰⁴ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 509 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 1).

⁷⁰⁵ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 611 (Court LXIV, slab 5, Babylonian campaign, 1).

⁷⁰⁶ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 45 (Room III, slab 8, Dilbat, Babylonia, 1st campaign, 12); 229 (Room XII, slab 15, 3rd campaign, 6); 431 (Room XXXVI, slab 8, URU.*La-ki-su*, 5); 432 (Room XXXVI, slab 9, URU.*La-ki-su*, 2); 524-525 (Room XLVIII, slabs 12-13, Western campaign?, 8+12).

⁷⁰⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 450 (Room XXXVIII, slab 15, unknown hill country, 1).

⁷⁰⁸ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 508 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 7); 509 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 7); 524-525 (Room XLVIII, slabs 12-13, Western campaign?, 3).

⁷⁰⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 487-488 (Room XLV, slabs 4-5, unknown hill country, 12).

⁷¹⁰ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 45 (Room III, slab 8, Dilbat, Babylonia, 1st campaign, 6+); 489 (Room XLV, slab 6, unknown hill country, 6); 520 (Room XLVIII, slab 7, Western campaign?, 3+); 523 (Room XLVIII, slab 11, Western campaign?, 3); 525 (Room XLVIII, slab 13, Western campaign?, 2).

Roman legionaries). Armoured spearmen appear with this type of standing shield made of bronze (*Plate 35, 116, 117*), or wicker or wood (*Plate 35, 115*).⁷¹¹ While 11 armoured spearmen are depicted with standing bronze shields and a further 10 with wicker or wooden standing shields, 38 Assyrian armoured spearmen were represented with the large rounded bronze shields (*Plate 35, 113, 114*) which were used side by side with the standing battle shields.⁷¹² A fourth type of shield appears during the reign of Assurbanipal: the huge rounded bronze shields – almost the height of a man – which were, however, used exclusively by bodyguards (*Plate 41, 133, 135, 136?*).

In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal armoured spearmen appear in 9 contexts. (1) The first is the battle scene mentioned above. It is interesting that the standing bronze shield is depicted only in a battle context,⁷¹³ which means that this probably quite heavy shield was only used during combat and nowhere else, and that either the spearmen were armed with it only for battles, or those units which carried such a shield were rarely used in secondary capacities, such as, for example, carrying booty. Armoured spearmen equipped with this type of shield appear only on the sculptures of the Southwest Palace at Nineveh. The two other types are also represented in battle contexts.⁷¹⁴ Further contexts include (2) a marching scene, where the marching spearmen carry their spears on their shoulders and their shields probably strapped to their backs;⁷¹⁵ (3) siege scenes where they are scaling ladders or approaching the walls (these siege scenes are known exclusively from the North Palace at Nineveh);⁷¹⁶ (4) standing guard in front of the chariot of the king.⁷¹⁷ Further secondary contexts feature armoured spearmen and armoured infantrymen without weaponry. These situations necessitated no use of weapons, which consequently might have been frequently omitted. These contexts include: (5) the destruction of walls (these scenes are known exclusively from the North Palace at Nineveh);⁷¹⁸ (6) setting a tent on fire;⁷¹⁹ (7) felling trees;⁷²⁰ (8) escorting prisoners (the shields are frequently hanging on the spearmen's backs);⁷²¹ and (9) escorting booty.⁷²²

⁷¹¹ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 345 (Room XXVIII, slab 8, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXIV (Room M, slab 7, unknown hill country); XXXV (Room M, slabs 12-13, Babylonian campaign); LX-LXI (Room S1, slabs A-B, Elamite campaign); LXVIII (Room V¹/T¹, slab E, Babylonian campaign); LXX (unknown context).

⁷¹² One of the sculptures of the North Palace shows soldiers escorting prisoners with their shields (standing bronze and rounded bronze) on their backs: BARNETT 1976, pl. LX.

⁷¹³ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 184 (Court VI, slab ?, Babylonian campaign); 302 (Court XIX, slab ?, Babylonian campaign); 381-383 (Room XXXIII, slabs 1-3, Elam: battle of Til-Tuba); 390 (Room XXXIII, slab ?, Elam: battle of Til-Tuba); 399 (Room XXXIII, slab ?, Elam: battle of Til-Tuba).

⁷¹⁴ Standing wicker shield: BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVIII (Room V¹/T¹, slab E, Babylonian campaign); rounded bronze shields: BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 340 (Room XXVIII, slab 2, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pl. XXV (Room I, slabs 5-7, Elamite campaign); XXXII (Room L, slabs 3-7, Arab campaign).

⁷¹⁵ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 271 (Court XIX, slab 23, Babylonian campaign).

⁷¹⁶ BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXIV (Room M, slab 7, unknown hill country); XXXVI (Room M, slabs 17, 19-20, Egyptian campaign); LX-LXI (Room S1, slabs A-B, Elamite campaign); LXX (Vatican 14985 + 14996, unknown campaign).

⁷¹⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 342 (Room XXVIII, slab 6, Babylonian campaign); 348-349 (Room XXVIII, slabs 11-12, Babylonian campaign).

⁷¹⁸ BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXVI (Room M, slab 17, Egyptian campaign); LX-LXI (Room S1, slabs A-B, Elamite campaign); LXVI (Room S1, slab A; Ḫamanu, Elam); LXX (Vatican 14985 + 14996, unknown campaign).

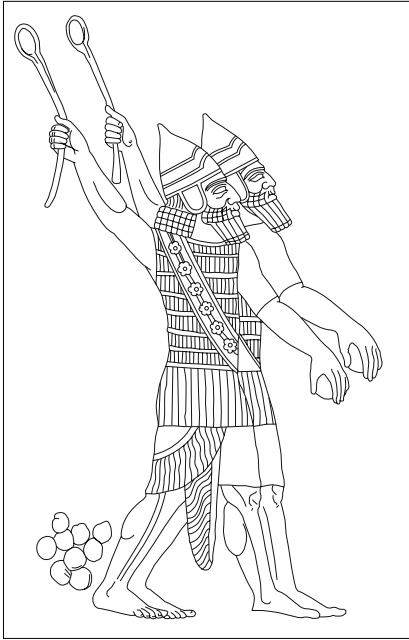
⁷¹⁹ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXII (Room L, slabs 9-13, Arab campaign).

⁷²⁰ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXII (Room L, slabs 3-7, Arab campaign).

⁷²¹ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 284 (Court XIX, slab 10, Babylonian campaign); 287 (Court XIX, slab 7, Babylonian campaign); 345 (Room XXVIII, slab 8, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pl. XX (Room F, slab 14, Elamite campaign); XXXV (Room M, slabs 12-13, Babylon: surrender of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and Ummanaldaš); LX-LXI (Room S1, slabs A-B, Elamite campaign); LXX (Vatican 15007, unknown context).

⁷²² BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 346 (Room XXVIII, slab 9, Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pl. XXVIII (Courtyard J, slabs 3-4, Elamite campaign); XXXV (Room M, slabs 12-13, Babylon: surrender of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and Ummanaldaš); LXVI (Room S1, slab A; Ḫamanu, Elam).

ARMoured SLINGERS (118—119)



The sling is one of the simplest and most ancient of weapons, mentioned only in passing by the few monographs which deal with the history of weapons.⁷²³ The sling played an important role in the Bible.⁷²⁴ Iron age representations apart from the Assyrian sculptures are hardly known.⁷²⁵

Three armoured slingers are shown in a fragmentary siege-scene from the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III.⁷²⁶ The palace reliefs of Sennacherib show a large number (66) of armoured slingers,⁷²⁷ among others those 20 soldiers who are depicted on the Lachish siege-scenes discussed above (*Plate 36, 118*). All the slingers are depicted in siege contexts. Similar armoured archers are also shown in the sculptures of Assurbanipal,⁷²⁸ however, a new type of armoured slinger appears in addition to the earlier type. The main characteristic of the new armoured slinger is that he does not wear a helmet, but only a headband, and the well-known scale armour waistcoat, kilt, and boots (*Plate 36, 119*).⁷²⁹ These slingers are similar to the armoured archers of Assurbanipal who do not wear a helmet, only a headband.

In the case of armoured slingers the same question arises as in the case of the armoured archers: were they a separate arm of the heavy infantry, or simply soldiers of other arms (*e.g.* armoured spearmen, cavalry and chariotry) who were not put into action in the first phase of sieges, shooting at the walls? Indeed, the same must be true for armoured archers as well, where units of dismounted armoured cavalry and chariot archers could have been deployed next to the archers of the heavy infantry during the sieges. This question cannot be answered, since the armour of the heavy infantry, cavalry and chariotry became standardized during the reign of Sennacherib, which meant that they probably wore the same type of scale armour and pointed helmet. The only difference is that some of the soldiers were barefoot, while some wore boots. Furthermore it can be assumed that the skill of using the sling was widespread in the ranks of the Assyrian army. As has been mentioned, the equipment of armoured slingers (similarly to the armoured archers) can be distinguished from the equipment of armoured spearmen, cavalry and

⁷²³ BONNET 1926, 114-117; YADIN 1963, 9-10, 64, 296.

⁷²⁴ KORFMANN 1986, 129-149.

⁷²⁵ An important representation is known from the 10th century B.C. orthostate of the palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf. It shows an Aramean slinger throwing a stone. YADIN 1963, 364.

⁷²⁶ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXXXIX, XCIV.

⁷²⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 32 (Room I, slab ?, unknown campaign, 2); 33 (Room I, slab ?, unknown campaign, 2); 47-48 (Room V, slabs 1-3, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 7+); 72 (Room V, slabs 37, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 1+); 85 (Room V, slab ?, unknown hill country, 12); 228 (Room XII, slab 14, 3rd campaign, 3); 236 (Room XIV, slab 6, [URU.A]-al-ammu, 6+); 428 (Room XXXVI, slab 5, URU.La-ki-su, 12+); 429-431 (Room XXXVI, slabs 6b-8, URU.La-ki-su, 8); 481-482 (Room XLIII, slab ?, Eastern campaign?, 3+3); 516 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 2); 627-628 (LXVII, slabs 2-3, unknown campaign, 5).

⁷²⁸ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXVI (Room M, slabs 17-18, Egyptian campaign, 2+2).

chariotry only in a few sculptures of Assurbanipal: the slingers (*Plate 36, 119*) and archers (*Plate 33, 108, 109*) wear headbands instead of a pointed helmet.

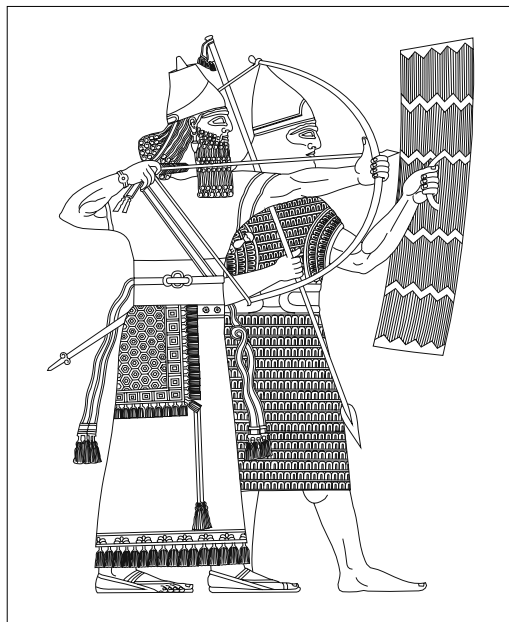
As can be seen in the Lachish reliefs, the slingers are standing behind the archers, in the rear rows of the battle array, and at the base of the siege-ramp. The range of the sling therefore must have been greater than that of the bow. Quantities of large sling-stones were found during the excavations of Lachish,⁷³⁰ and these were roughly dressed, to give them a better trajectory. There are 22 slingers depicted in the Lachish reliefs, which makes up 14.1% of the infantry depicted in this scene. Large numbers of armoured slingers could open such a barrage that the hail of stones prevented any living creature (people and animals) from leaving their shelter. This barrage – together with the shower of arrows from the archers – prevented the defenders from defending their walls against the attacking Assyrians and their siege-engines.

⁷²⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 278 (Court XIX, slab 17, Babylonian campaign, 1); BARNETT 1976, pl. XVI (Room F, slabs 1-2, H̄amanu, Elam, 1); XX (Room F, slab 15, Elamite campaign, 1); XXXIV (Room M, slab 7, unknown hill country, 2); LXIX (Room V¹/T¹, slab A, Elamite campaign, 1).

⁷³⁰ USSISHKIN 1982, 55-56, Fig. 47.

BODYGUARDS

The early history of bodyguards (883—745 B.C.) (120—126)



Soldiers identified as bodyguards first appear in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.). They can be found predominantly in the ranks of the shield-bearing spearmen or infantrymen. Their identification is based primarily on the two contexts in which they are depicted: siege and escort scenes. In siege scenes they appear mostly as shield-bearers protecting the king or other important members of the royal entourage with their shields before the walls of a besieged town. They are equipped with rounded bronze shields (*Plate 37, 120; Plate 38, 125, 126*) or rectangular wicker shields (*Plate 37, 121, 122*). They might wear armour (*Plate 37, 121; Plate 38, 125, 126*) – their scale armour reaches well below the knee. Its hood-piece is attached to the rim of their pointed helmets, and covers almost the whole of the warrior's head, leaving only the face free. One of the bodyguards wears no armour, only the pointed helmet with a

scale armour hood-piece (*Plate 37, 122*). Most of them, however, are unarmoured. These bodyguards wear a short (*Plate 37, 122; Plate 38, 125, 126*) or a long tunic (*Plate 37, 120*). The second situation is the escort context, where pairs of bodyguards are escorting the king. One of these scenes shows two infantrymen equipped with pointed helmets, rounded bronze shields, and bows (*Plate 37, 123*). These two infantrymen are escorting the king in a hunting scene – they are stabbing the wounded lion(s) with daggers. The other scene shows two infantrymen equipped with bows and swords, with spiked bronze shields hanging on their backs (*Plate 37, 124*), escorting the empty chariot of the king. It must be mentioned, however, that each of them carries a mace or staff – a symbol of their authority, of their officer status. It is quite possible that they are not mere bodyguards, but officers of bodyguard units.

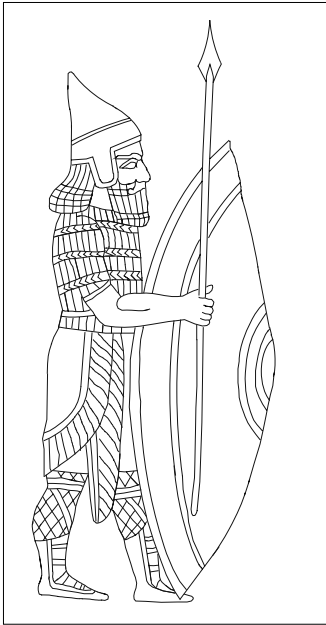
Bodyguards served not only the king (*Plate 37, 120, 121*), but other members of the royal entourage as well. The appearance of the bodyguard of the crown prince (*Plate 37, 122*) is not

surprising, but there are two scenes which show armoured bodyguards protecting eunuchs with their shields (*Plate 38, 125, 126*). One of these eunuchs – if not both – was probably the Chief Eunuch wearing a headband (*Plate 38, 125*). This early depiction shows a unique feature – bodyguards guarding the Chief Eunuch. It is quite reasonable to suppose that this actually happened, but later tradition hardly ever depicted even the Chief Eunuch himself, let alone his bodyguards. However, 7th century B.C. cuneiform evidence shows that these three individuals – the king, the crown prince, and the Chief Eunuch – had their own units within the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) (*see below*).

In this period the bodyguards were depicted almost exclusively as personal guards and hardly ever as a unit. In contrast, the representational emphasis in late 8th and 7th century B.C. art shifted from their bodyguard character to their appearance as a unit.

Bodyguards of the imperial period (745–612 B.C.)

The representations (127–137)



Both bodyguard contexts identified in 9th century B.C. Assyrian art are also known from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.). There is a single scene in which two Assyrian soldiers wearing pointed helmets and equipped with spears and swords, with rounded bronze shields hanging on their backs, are shown – as in the 9th century B.C. examples – escorting the empty chariot of the king (*Plate 22, 74*). It is, however, hard to decide whether they were regular spearmen on duty, or members of a royal bodyguard unit. The other context – shield-bearing infantrymen protecting important members of the royal entourage during sieges – also appears in the sculptures of this king. The most important person receiving protection was obviously the king himself, who appears on a fragmentary slab behind the large standing siege-shield, but an additional shield-bearing bodyguard covers him with his rounded bronze shield as well.⁷³¹ Another bearded (high) official wearing the rare hemispherical helmet appears in a similar context, but his identification is doubtful.⁷³² The third person who appears in a similar situation is probably the Chief Eunuch himself. The Chief Eunuch – wearing the same headband as may

be seen in the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II (*Plate 38, 125*) – appears in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III as well.⁷³³ He is depicted standing behind the crown prince together with a bearded

⁷³¹ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXXIV.

⁷³² BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXXV.

⁷³³ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. VIII. *See* furthermore pl. LXXXIV where a eunuch, probably the Chief Eunuch himself, is standing behind the crown prince in front of the king.

official wearing a kind of headband, in front of the king. Eunuchs are shown being protected during sieges, where two shield-bearers cover them with their shields (*Plate 21, 72*),⁷³⁴ or an additional soldier stands side by side with them behind the large standing siege-shield (*Plate 21, 71*). The most important, though very fragmentary, scene might have been the slab showing an armoured archer guarded by two armoured shield-bearers. Another armoured archer is shown in front of them, who was probably also accompanied by one or two shield-bearers.⁷³⁵ The identification of the two armoured archers is doubtful, but their long garments show their importance (king, crown prince, and Chief Eunuch).

As has been mentioned, 9th century B.C. evidence shows the bodyguards primarily as personal guards. During the reign of Sargon II – following the logic of the representational concept of his sculptures – the personal guard aspect of the bodyguards was still predominant. The fragmentary state of the sculptures makes a full reconstruction impossible, but probably only three people, the king, the crown prince, and the Chief Eunuch, were accompanied by bodyguards in the reliefs. Most probably the king (or another bearded magnate) was shown with two shield-bearers (a standing siege-shield and a rounded bronze shield) in a siege-scene (*Plate 30, 96*). Two other scenes are too fragmentary to permit the identification of the archer (*Plate 30, 97*; *Plate 31, 99*), but eunuch archers still appear as heavily guarded people (*Plate 29, 94*).

This representational concept changed at the end of the 8th century B.C. The sources reveal that Sargon II had a mounted bodyguard consisting of 1,000 cavalymen (*see vol. II, chapter Cavalry*). Already in the Til-Barsip wall paintings we can observe some soldiers in the royal entourage (*Plate 39, 129*), who are undoubtedly members of the royal bodyguard units.⁷³⁶ The most interesting figures are the four who march in front of the king in formation, and whose garments are typically Judaeian, especially their headgear. The basis of their identification is the Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib, which show Judaeian captives from Lachish wearing exactly the same headgear.⁷³⁷ This is a kind of turban, made of a long scarf which was wound around the head, with the two ends hanging down onto the ears. The same headgear appears in other sculptures of Sennacherib, probably showing the same Judaeian captives, and there are royal bodyguards wearing the same headgear, equipped with spears and large rounded bronze shields (*Plate 40, 130*) depicted in a series of very interesting sculptures of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.). The headpiece in this case is a headband, but the characteristic ‘earflaps’ are the same. These sculptures decorated the walls of the passage which led to the Ishtar Temple, and may show the impressive ceremony when the crown prince was led to the *bīt redūti*, the ‘House of Succession.’⁷³⁸ The same bodyguard soldiers appear in another palace relief of Sennacherib, this time not in a festive procession, but on campaign. This campaign scene shows the siege of Alammu.⁷³⁹ The Assyrian army approaches the besieged town in two registers in the following order (from the back to the fore): 3 + [x] bodyguard cavalry, 9 + 9 armoured spearmen, 3 + 3 Judaeian bodyguard spearmen, 2 + 2 auxiliary spearmen. Further units in front of them are besieging the town. These units – exclusively spearmen – together with the bodyguard cavalry have a bodyguard character, since the par excellence bodyguard units were composed of armoured spearmen (*see below*), and the Judaeian

⁷³⁴ See furthermore BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXXIII.

⁷³⁵ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXXXIX, XCIV.

⁷³⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pl. LII.

⁷³⁷ LAYARD 1853B, pls. 20-24.

⁷³⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 133.

⁷³⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 234-246. See furthermore NADALI 2002–2005, 113-128.

spearmen have already acquired a bodyguard role. The whole scene can be reconstructed as bodyguard units (cavalry and three types of spearmen) marching in front of the royal chariot. The 6 (3 + 3) Judaeen spearmen (*Plate 40, 132*) who are marching in two files together with other spearmen are not wearing the characteristic headgear described above, but the standard Assyrian pointed helmet⁷⁴⁰ with earflaps (helmet in action and turban-like headgear on ceremonial occasions). These earflaps might cover the earflaps of the 'turban' if it was worn under the helmet, but the main characteristic of these Judaeen spearmen is not the headgear but the garment. The Judaeen captives at Lachish and the Judaeen bodyguard spearmen (*Plate 40, 130*) wear the same double kilt: a shorter and a somewhat longer kilt still much shorter than its Assyrian counterpart. It appears on the spearmen (*Plate 40, 132*) approaching Alammu and identifies them as Judaeans. These Judaeen spearmen were equipped with the Assyrian-type large rounded bronze shield but wore no armour. The same kilt appears on a solitary tall figure in the Til-Barsip wall paintings (*Plate 44, 150*), who wears a kind of 'chain mail' as armour, a pointed iron helmet (its material indicated by light blue paint) and uses his curved western-type sword to execute a man painted black. This garment identifies the Judaeen soldiers much more accurately than the headgear, since the Lachish reliefs show that the Assyrian army enlisted members of Aramean tribes who also wore this type of headband with fringed earflaps (*Plate 3, 9*).

An obvious question arises: where did these soldiers come from? Why do they first appear in the ranks of the Assyrian army in the Til-Barsip wall paintings, which due to stylistic peculiarities can be dated to the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). It is known that Tiglath-Pileser III led campaigns against Israel in 734, 733, and 732 B.C. respectively. From the Kingdom of Israel he formed three Assyrian provinces and a vassal or puppet state centered at Samaria. Judah became an Assyrian vassal too. It is known from his royal inscriptions that when Tiglath-Pileser III defeated Peqah, king of Israel, in 732 B.C., he took large numbers of Israelite soldiers with him to Assyria.⁷⁴¹ It is possible that he enlisted Israelite bodyguards into the royal entourage at that early time. Sargon II also led campaigns to the West, and fought in the territories of Israel, Judah and Philistia (721–720, 712 B.C.). Sargon II also deported the Jewish people of Samaria and brought foreign peoples to take their place.⁷⁴² It is known furthermore from the Nimrud tombs of the Assyrian queens that one of the wives of Sargon II, Atalia, was probably an Israelite or Judaeen princess.⁷⁴³ It is possible, that – in addition to the deported, enlisted or mercenary soldiers – she took Israeli or Judaeen bodyguards with her. Furthermore Sargon II mentions in his royal inscriptions that in 721 B.C. he drafted 50 Samarian chariots (with their crews) into the Assyrian royal corps, into the *kišir šarrūti*.⁷⁴⁴ This Samarian unit is known from the Nimrud Horse Lists as well⁷⁴⁵ (*see below*), and another possibility is that these Israeli or Judaeen bodyguards arrived in Assyria with this chariot troop. The spearmen shown on the walls of the passage leading to the Ishtar Temple (*Plate 40, 130*) and in the siege scene of Alammu (*Plate 40, 132*) prove that units of Israeli or Judaeen bodyguards served in the Assyrian court during the reign of Sennacherib as well.

⁷⁴⁰ The original drawings (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 236a) indicate a somewhat different 'chequered' motif on the helmet, but close examination of the slab shows that the decoration of these helmets was actually the same as that of the other Assyrian pointed helmets.

⁷⁴¹ TADMOR 1994, Summ. 4: 16': [... *tī-il-lut* LÚ[.ERIM.ĪLA ...] ('auxiliary forces').

⁷⁴² 2Kings 17.

⁷⁴³ DAMERJI 1999, 6-8, 17; DALLEY 1998, 83-98.

⁷⁴⁴ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 15.

⁷⁴⁵ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 99, II:16-23.

In addition to the Judaeen/Israelite bodyguards there are two other scenes in the Til-Barsip wall paintings depicting soldiers in a bodyguard context (*Plate 39, 127, 128*). Both scenes show unarmoured soldiers equipped with highly decorated rounded bronze shields, spears and swords. The bodyguard in the first scene does not wear a headband, and the inner side of his rounded bronze shield is decorated in concentric bands (*Plate 39, 127*). The two bodyguards in the second scene wear headbands, and their equipment consists of rounded bronze shields, spears, swords, bows, and quivers (*Plate 39, 128*). The inner rim of their shields is decorated with geometrical motifs similar to the shield decorations of the sculptures of Sargon II (*Plate 30, 96, 97; Plate 31, 98*).⁷⁴⁶ Similar guards appear side by side with the Judaeen/Israelite guards in the sculptures of Sennacherib which decorated the walls of the passage to the Ishtar Temple mentioned above. They do not wear helmets or armour, and are equipped with the same large rounded bronze shields and spears (*Plate 40, 131*). On the basis of their equipment all three soldiers (*Plate 39, 127, 128; Plate 40, 131*) can be identified as Assyrian members of the royal bodyguard. Bodyguards are known in somewhat earlier West Semitic and Neo-Hittite contexts,⁷⁴⁷ but pictorial evidence does not offer any other opportunity to identify other ethnic groups – at least not in their own, ethnic military dress – in the ranks of the Assyrian army.⁷⁴⁸

The evolution of the royal bodyguard which culminated in the armoured spearman equipped with a huge rounded bronze shield almost the height of a man (reign of Assurbanipal, *Plate 41, 135*) started during the reign of Sennacherib, when large numbers of different scenes show armoured Assyrian spearmen equipped with large rounded bronze shields standing guard in front of the king (*Plate 34, 112*). As has been discussed above armoured spearmen are often depicted marching⁷⁴⁹ or standing⁷⁵⁰ in formation in front of the royal chariot in a quasi-bodyguard capacity.

In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal there are 5 types of figures represented in a bodyguard context. Three of them wear armour (*Plate 41, 135–137*), and two of them do not (*Plate 41, 133, 134*). By analyzing the equipment and context of these soldiers they can be divided into two groups. Those who wear pointed helmets and scale armour and carry large rounded bronze shields (*Plate 41, 135*) appear mainly in campaign contexts,⁷⁵¹ while the remaining four types (*Plate 41, 133, 134, 136, 137*) all appear in the same scene, where they are standing in formation at a triumphal march following the defeat of Te'umman, king of Elam in 653 B.C. It is interesting that the two armoured types (*Plate 41, 136, 137*) and the two unarmoured types (*Plate 41, 133, 134*) are standing side by side.

⁷⁴⁶ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, 55, 60, 63; vol. II, 86, 95.

⁷⁴⁷ See for example the inscription of “Tarkondai, chief of the bodyguard (*rb mšm 't*)” engraved on a bronze shield. KREBERNIK – SEIDL 1997, 101-111, LIPIŃSKI 2000, 511. For representational evidence see for example the bodyguards of the Carchemish and Zincirli slabs: ORTHMANN 1971, Taf. 28, e, f, 29, a, b.

⁷⁴⁸ No pictorial evidence shows for example a possible Mede contingent (LIVERANI 1995, 57-62).

⁷⁴⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 41 (Room III, slab 4, Dilbat, 1st campaign, 1+); 66a (Room V, slab 30, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 2+); 193 (Room VII, slab 13, unknown hill country, 5+); 234 (Room XIV, slab 4, [URU.A]-*al-am-mu*, 2); 235 (Room XIV, slab 5, URU.A]-*al-am-mu*, 13); 442 (Room XXXVIII, slab 4, unknown hill country, 6); 444 (Room XXXVIII, slab 6, unknown hill country, 4); 445 (Room XXXVIII, slab 9, unknown hill country, 2); 445-6 (Room XXXVIII, slab 10a, unknown hill country, 7); 452 (Room XXXVIII, slab 17, unknown hill country, 3+); 520 (Room XLVIII, slab 7, Western campaign, 6).

⁷⁵⁰ BARNETT – FALKNER – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 51a (Room V, slab 7, Aranziaš, 2nd campaign, 3+); 102 (Court VI, slab 11, unknown hill country, 7); 193 (Room VII, slab 14, unknown hill country, 2); 206 (Room IX, slab ?, unknown hill country, 3); 219 (Room XII, slab 5, unknown campaign, 16+); 220 (Room XII, slab 6, unknown campaign, 1); 252 (Room XVII, slab 3, unknown campaign, 6+); 450 (Room XXXVIII, slab 15, unknown hill country, 6); 483 (Room XLIV, slab 1, unknown campaign, 4+); 497-498 (Room XLVI, slabs 6-7, 2nd campaign, Media, Elam, 11+); 508 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 2+); 511 (Room XLVII, slab ?, unknown hill country, 2+); 550 (Room LI, slab ?, Babylonian campaign, 3); 554 (Room LI, slab ?, Babylonian campaign, 3); 627 (Room LXVII, slab 2, unknown campaign, 1+); 646 (Room LXX, slab 4, Babylonian campaign, 2).

Therefore it can be assumed that at least four infantry units of the royal bodyguard were depicted in this scene. The two types of shields indicate further differences between these units. Both the huge rounded and standing shields were probably made of or covered with bronze. Their rims were decorated with rivets, and at least three of them were decorated or fitted with a shield boss.⁷⁵² These bodyguards were depicted in full dress and probably wore the parade uniform of their unit. Since they played an important part in royal representation, they appear in large numbers in the sculptures of Assurbanipal. As shown in *vol. II, Chart 9*, they constitute 7.6% of all the infantrymen depicted in the sculptures, which may be somewhat exaggerated.

Cuneiform sources

In Assyrian cuneiform sources there are three expressions which can be connected to some kind of bodyguard context: the *ša—šēpē*, the *qurbūtu (ša—qurbūte)*, and the *qurbūtu (ša—qurbūte) ša—šēpē*. The two basic categories, the *ša—šēpē* and the *qurbūtu*, appear together in various lists, which shows their relatively close connection as different types of bodyguards.⁷⁵³ However, during the reigns of different Sargonide rulers, this relatively simple picture became more and more complex as different subtypes of these three major categories appeared.

Ša—šēpē ('personal guard')

This type of bodyguard appeared in the cuneiform records (administrative lists) as early as 791 B.C.⁷⁵⁴ During the 8th century B.C., until the reign, and a possible army reform, of Sargon II no other types of the *ša—šēpē* guard are known.⁷⁵⁵ During the reign of Sargon II, however, signs of equestrian *ša—šēpē* types appear in the cuneiform corpus. We find the 'chariot man of the *ša—šēpē* personal guard' (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša—šēpē*),⁷⁵⁶ and the 'cavalry of the personal guard' (*pēthalli šēpē*, or *pēthal šēpēia*).⁷⁵⁷ The reign of Sennacherib – as a consequence of another army reform – witnessed the further complication of the system, the appearance of the '*qurbūtu* of the personal guard' (*qurbūtu (ša—)šēpē* or *qurbūtu šēpēia*),⁷⁵⁸ which might have combined the capacities of the two 'basic' types of bodyguards (*see below*). This was followed by the appearance of the 'chariotry of the *qurbūtu* of the personal guard' (*qurbūtu šēpē mugerri*)⁷⁵⁹ and the 'open chariotry of the *qurbūtu* of the personal guard' (*qurbūtu šēpē mugerri pattūte*).⁷⁶⁰ Although the chariotry units

⁷⁵¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278-279, 282-283.

⁷⁵² These shields certainly had a polished metal (probably bronze, or even silver) cover. It is known that Assyrian bronze and iron crested helmets were decorated with pseudo-rivets even when they were made of a single piece of bronze, or were made with a different technique. *See* for example the Karlsruhe Assyrian bronze helmet with its repoussé pseudo-rivets (DEZSŐ 2001, Cat. no. 13, pls. 18-19), or the Nimrud iron helmet fragments, on which the rivets were represented by bronze inlay decoration (DEZSŐ 2001, 47-55, Cat. nos. 16-31, pls. 25-43).

⁷⁵³ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6 (ND 6219), 7; 8 (ND 10047), 8; STARR 1990, 139 (AGS 108), 7; 142 (PRT 44), 6; 144 (AGS 109), 6-7.

⁷⁵⁴ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 8 (ND 10047), 8.

⁷⁵⁵ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6 (ND 6219), 7; 10 (ND 10057), E. 2; 16 (ND 10033+), 18; 19 (ND 10051), 18; 26 (ND 10069), 1'.

⁷⁵⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 37 (CT 53, 307), 7; LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GÌR.2.

⁷⁵⁷ LIE 1929, 26:150; FUCHS 1994, Ann. 150; *see also* the Ashdod epizode: LIE 1929, 40:256-257.

⁷⁵⁸ LUCKENBILL 1924, 2, 74: *qurbūtu* (LÚ.qur-bu-tu.MEŠ) *šēpē*(GÌR.2)-ia; 36, III:81: *qurbūtu* (LÚ.qur-bu-ti) *šēpē*(GÌR.2)-ia.

⁷⁵⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), I': 4': *qurbūtu (qur-ZAG) šēpē*(GÌR.2) GIŠ.GIGIR (of the chariotry).

of *ša—šēpē* guard are known from the reign of Sennacherib their importance would not have been too great. There are two pieces of evidence for this. The first is that out of the more than 130 occurrences of the *ša—šēpē* phrase, only 19 are set in chariotry contexts (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*, etc.). The second piece of evidence is that in the more than 700 known sculptures and sculpture fragments of Sennacherib not a single chariot is depicted except for the royal chariot. Accordingly the chariot arm was not represented at this time at all (*see later*). The last change can be detected during the reign of Assurbanipal, most probably in the post-canonical period, with the appearance of a new type of personal guard, the ‘personal guard of the crown prince’ (*ša—šēpē mār šarri*).⁷⁶¹

The bodyguard units which do not belong to the infantry will be discussed in the chapters on the cavalry (*see vol. II*, chapter Cavalry bodyguard) and the chariotry (*see vol. II*, Chariot man / horse trainer of the *ša—šēpē* guard), Chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard (GIŠ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*). The second type of chariotry bodyguard, Chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*qurbūtu šēpē* GIŠ.GIGIR), Open chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*qurbūtu šēpē* DU_g.MEŠ).

(1) *Ša—šēpē* (*ša—šēpē* guard, ‘personal guard’)

As its etymology shows, the *ša—šēpē* category corresponds better to the units of the infantry bodyguard. The *ša—šēpē* phrase appears frequently in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus, but never in a ‘position of trust’ like the *qurbūtu* guards. They might have been dependable guardsmen of the king, but hardly ever appear in a context similar to those of the *qurbūtu* / *ša—qurbūte* guards who could serve as plenipotentiary envoys, judges, etc. of the king. An estate assignment shows, however, that the *ša—šēpē* guardsmen could obtain estates for their services. The *ša—šēpē* guardsman Kalhāiu, for example, received 40 hectares of land in the town of Šelâ, together with other soldiers.⁷⁶² As has been discussed, it seems that these 40 hectares of land might have been a standard estate size assigned to soldiers for their services(?).⁷⁶³ Šalam-aḥḥē, another *ša—šēpē* guard, bought an estate, probably also in the countryside.⁷⁶⁴ One of the texts of the Kakkullānu archive lists two *ša—šēpē* witnesses who were affiliated with the town of Ḫubaba (URU.Ḫu-bab-a).⁷⁶⁵ These texts raise the question of whether these *ša—šēpē* guardsmen lived in the countryside or simply owned estates there. It seems from the last text that they lived in the countryside, or in different towns and provinces, and not in the capital in the vicinity of the king. Is it possible that different *ša—šēpē* units residing in different parts of the Assyrian home provinces(?) probably served as guards in the capital or around the king in a rotational system and relieved each other monthly or yearly (*see for example the story of Sardanapallos*)?⁷⁶⁶ A possibly very important, but unfortunately very fragmentary letter of Sargon II also mentions a *ša—šēpē* guardsman in a remote territory context as a trusted person of the king(?).⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), I': 5': *qurbūtu* (*qur-ZAG*) *šēpē*(GÌR.2) DU_g.MEŠ (of the open chariotry).

⁷⁶¹ MATTILA 2002, 50 (ADD 312), Rev. 11': Aḫi-ilā'ī *ša—šēpē* (GÌR.2) *mār šarri* (A—MAN); 12': Urdu-Bēlet *ša—šēpē* (GÌR.2) *mār šarri* (A—MAN); 157 (ADD 352), Rev. 8': Manzarnē *ša—šēpē* (GÌR.2) *mār šarri* (A—MAN).

⁷⁶² FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918), 4'-6': LÚ.šá—GÌR.2(*šēpē*). The same text mentions that a similar 40 hectares of land was assigned to Barbiri, the Gurrean in the town of Apiani.

⁷⁶³ *See for further examples* FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), II:22'; 222 (ADD 806), 7', Rev. 5.

⁷⁶⁴ MATTILA 2002, 114 (ADD 373), 634 B.C. *See furthermore* 115 (ADD 217).

⁷⁶⁵ MATTILA 2002, 36 (ADD 446) Rev. 15: Ḫaldi-taiâ *ša—šēpē* (LÚ.šá—GÌR.2), Rev. 24: Issar-nādin-aḥḥē *ša—šēpē* (šá—GÌR.2).

⁷⁶⁶ OLDFATHER 1933, *Diodorus Siculus*, Book II. 24:6.: “When the year’s time of their service in the king’s army had passed and, another force having arrived to replace them, the relieved men had been dismissed as usual to their homes ...”

⁷⁶⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 8 (CT 53, 229), 12: LÚ.GÌR.2.

56 *ša—šēpē* guardsmen are known by name. They appear – with the exception of two or three texts – exclusively in neutral contexts: witness lists, administrative lists or ‘horse lists,’⁷⁶⁸ which upon close examination supply additional information about the guardsmen. Some of the witness lists mention them in groups,⁷⁶⁹ which shows that – similarly to other soldiers or officers – they served as witnesses for their officers or colleagues.⁷⁷⁰ There is one tablet, a note of unknown purpose, which lists *ša—šēpē* guards or their slaves or belongings assigned to various officials, for example to Ḫarrānāiu [prefect] of the Ḫallateans, or Nabû-bēlšunu, palace scribe.⁷⁷¹

An important administrative text⁷⁷² dating most probably from the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) and listing military personnel at court sheds some light on the evolution of the bodyguards as an arm. This text lists 4 *ša—šēpē* guards,⁷⁷³ 16 royal bodyguards (*qurbūtu*), 4 bodyguards of the queen mother (*qurbūtu ummi šarri*), and 5 bodyguards of the crown prince (*qurbūtu mār šarri*). The numbers are regular, but the most important thing about the text is that it shows the division of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard arm into three sections: the royal bodyguard (*qurbūtu*), the bodyguard of the crown prince (*qurbūtu mār šarri*), and the bodyguard of the queen mother (*qurbūtu ummi šarri*) probably during the reign of Esarhaddon, while the division of the *ša—šēpē* arm into two sections: *ša—šēpē* guard of the king and the *ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince (*ša—šēpē mār šarri*) happened somewhat later, during the post-canonical period (648–612 B.C.) (see below).

Summing up the evidence, it seems that the *ša—šēpē* guard was the regular infantry guard escorting and guarding the king. It corresponded to the shield-bearers who protected the king with their shields in siege scenes, and to the armoured spearmen who stand guard in formation in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal.

(2) *Ša—šēpē mār šarri* (‘*ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince’)

The most important characteristic of this title is that bodyguards of this type are known exclusively from the post-canonical period (after 648 B.C.). The appearance of this subtype shows – similarly to other arms – the division of this bodyguard unit between the crown prince and the king. This title appears in only two texts, one of which can probably be dated to 627 B.C.⁷⁷⁴ The date of the second⁷⁷⁵ is unknown but it belongs to the Kakkullānu archive, dated to between 630 and 617 B.C. It is not known whether this title was invented by Aššur-etelli-ilāni (630–627 B.C.) or Sîn-šar-iškun (626–612 B.C.) and the identity of the crown prince who was guarded by this

⁷⁶⁸ Since these tablets list horses assigned to officers it seems most probable that they were not *ša—šēpē* guardsmen (foot soldiers), but much more likely officers of the chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard (see vol. II, chapter Chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard).

⁷⁶⁹ MATTILA 2002, 319 (ADD 608) lists 4 cohort commanders, 2 third men, and 3 *ša—šēpē* guards (LÚ.šá—GİR.2); 43 (ADD 400), 12’: Nabû-tāriš *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2), 16’: Inurtū *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2), 17’: Aḫi-ilā’i *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2), 18’: Urdu-apli *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2), 19’: Qarhā *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2), Rev. 15’: Mannu-kī-Nabū *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2).

⁷⁷⁰ MATTILA 2002, 15 (ADD 105), Rev. 1: Bēl-šarru-ušur *ša—LÚ.GİR.2*, Rev. 6: Šalam-šarri-iqbī *ša—GİR.2*, Rev. 7: Uqur-aḫḫē *ša—GİR.2*, Rev. 8: Šer-lutbē *ša—GİR.2*, Rev. 10: Šamaš-nūri *ša—GİR.2*, L.E. 1-2: Šamaš-[...] *ša—LÚ.GİR.2*. This text is a court decision in 641 VII 13 against Bēl-šarru-ušur the *ša—šēpē* guard, whose colleagues were his witnesses.

⁷⁷¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 140 (ADD 872), 1: Zaliāiu, *ša—šēpē* (*ša—GİR.2*), 2: Quili *ša—šēpē* (*ša—GİR.2*), 3 Sarsā *ša—šēpē* (*ša—GİR.2*), 6 Ninuāiu, *ša—šēpē* (*ša—GİR.2*).

⁷⁷² FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857).

⁷⁷³ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:21: Dannu-Nergal, Rev. I:32: Šulmu-bēli, Rev. I:33: Mannu-kī-Issar-lē’i, Rev. II:17: Bēl-šarru-ušur.

⁷⁷⁴ MATTILA 2002, 157 (ADD 352), Rev. 8’: Manzarnē *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2) *mār šarri* (A—MAN).

⁷⁷⁵ MATTILA 2002, 50 (ADD 312), Rev. 11’: Arbailāiu *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2) *mār šarri* (A—MAN) (he is known from another text in the archive dated 624 B.C. with a title of *ša—šēpē* (MATTILA 2002, 43 (ADD 400), 17’), Rev. 12’: Urdu-Bēlet *ša—šēpē*(GİR.2) *ša mār šarri* (A—MAN).

unit is also unknown. He might have had a full retinue since the witness list of one of the texts⁷⁷⁶ lists several officers of his units: 3 cohort commanders of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*) including Kakkullānu himself, ‘chariot men/chariot horse trainers of the crown prince’ (GIŠ.GIGIR *ša mār šarri*) and the two ‘ša—šēpē guards of the crown prince’ (*ša—šēpē mār šarri*) mentioned above. The first two titles appear much earlier – at least in the reign of Sennacherib – than the ‘ša—šēpē guards of the crown prince.’ Other texts of the Kakkullānu archive identify further officers of the crown prince’s units, for example the ‘cohort commander of the ša—qurbūte bodyguard of the crown prince’ (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri*)⁷⁷⁷ or the ‘third man of the crown prince’ (*tašlišu ša mār šarri*).⁷⁷⁸

Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte (qurbūtu bodyguard).

This category of bodyguard – hitherto discussed in only a few articles⁷⁷⁹ – appears in the cuneiform records as early as 797 B.C.,⁷⁸⁰ which means that similarly to the ša—šēpē bodyguard this group must have existed in the 9th century B.C. (or appeared during the reign of Adad-nērārī III). It is interesting that *qurbūtu* is one of the few Assyrian military titles which survived the fall of the empire and is known from later periods as well. The use of this title is attested for example in Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēh Hamad)⁷⁸¹ from the *limmu* of Sē’-ilā’ī (post-612 B.C.). A Neo-Babylonian text⁷⁸² dating from the reign of Nabonidus deals with 5 shekels of silver as *ilku* payment amounting to half of the *qurbūtu*’s (*mišil qurbūti*). According to some interpretations these 5 shekels were half of a Neo-Babylonian *qurbūtu*’s salary,⁷⁸³ or this amount was half of the amount of the *ilku* duty a *qurbūtu* had to perform. Unfortunately no Neo-Assyrian evidence concerning the ‘salary’ or the *ilku* duty of a *qurbūtu* exists.

Written sources use more Akkadian terms possibly denoting similar capacities, but a few clear distinctions may be attempted. There are three words which need to be discussed: *qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte*, *qurrubūtu*, and *qur(r)ubtu*. (1) The *qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte* is the most widespread word in this group, denoting the par excellence *qurbūtu* bodyguard. 95% of the entries use this form. It is written syllabically or using the form *qur-ZAG*,⁷⁸⁴ where the ZAG sign has to be read as *būtu*. (2) The term *qurrubūtu* might have been a variant of the former. It was used mainly in the late 8th and 7th centuries B.C. cuneiform sources⁷⁸⁵ dating from the reigns of Sennacherib,

⁷⁷⁶ MATTILA 2002, 50 (ADD 312).

⁷⁷⁷ Kišir-Aššur *rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri* is known from the Kakkullānu archive as witness (MATTILA 2002, 49 (ADD 235), Rev. 9), and from his own archive as an owner (MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207), 6).

⁷⁷⁸ MATTILA 2002, 38 (ADD 711), Rev. 3’: Adad-abu-ušur *tašlišu ša mār šarri*.

⁷⁷⁹ KLAUBER 1910, 105-111; MALBRAN-LABAT 1982, 52-53, 141-145; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984B, 32-33; POSTGATE 2007, 341-343.

⁷⁸⁰ POSTGATE 1973, 51 (ND 263), Rev. 4: Kakkullānu LÚ.ša—*qur-bu-te*; for further early references see: KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 76 (NARGD 51), 14’: LÚ.*qur-bu-te* (793 B.C.); POSTGATE 1973, 15 (ND 203), Rev. 21: Izbu-lēšir LÚ.ša—*qur-bu-ti* (791 B.C.); KINNIER WILSON 1972, 8 (ND 10047), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* (791 B.C.); 9 (ND 10048), 7: L[Ú.*qur*]-*bu*-[*t*] (786 B.C.); 3 (ND 6218), 1:14: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* (784 B.C.); 4 (ND 6212), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* (787 or 765 B.C.); 5 (ND 6214), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu*-[*t*] (779 B.C.); DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 119 (ND 10036), 2, Rev. A:3: LÚ.*qur-bu-te* (ca. 784 B.C.).

⁷⁸¹ RADNER 2002, 199 (SH 98/6949 II 246), Edge 1: Šarru-nūri LÚ.*qur-bu-u-te*.

⁷⁸² STRASSMAIER 1889A, 962:2: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*.

⁷⁸³ REINER ET AL., 1982, 317, s.v. *qurbūtu*.

⁷⁸⁴ LANDSBERGER – REINER – CIVIL 1969, 239, V:7: LÚ.*qur-ZAG* = LÚ.*qur-bu-u-te*.

⁷⁸⁵ DIETRICH 2003, 17 (ABL 721), Rev. 1, 7: LÚ.šá—*qur-ru-bu-ti* (Sennacherib); COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 179 (ABL 968), Rev. 3’, 4’: LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-ti* (Esarhaddon / Assurbanipal); REYNOLDS 2003, 89 (CT 54, 34), 24’: LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-tu* (Esarhaddon); HARPER 1892, 866, 1, 5-9: Urad-Nanā LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-tu*; HARPER 1892, 964, 15-17: Aššur-erība LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-ti*; HARPER 1892, 275, 14,

Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. The texts show a kind of Babylonian context which makes it possible that *qurrubūtu* was a variant of the form *qurbūtu*, and both forms were used together, mainly in Babylonia. The interpretation of the third term, the *qur(r)ubtu* is much more difficult. Dictionaries display it as a separate entry. Although Kinnier Wilson made an attempt to bridge the gap between the two forms, the *qurbūtu* and the *qur(r)ubtu* – he read the UB sign as *ubu*⁷⁸⁶ – it is almost certain that there were two separate meanings behind them. The most important reason for this theory is that the two forms appear in the same text, which shows that they denoted two separate groups of soldiers. One of the Nimrud Horse Lists lists two *qurbūtu* officers in its first, headquarters' staff section, the *qurbūtu* of the right, and the *qurbūtu* of the left.⁷⁸⁷ The same text, in one of its sections containing fighting units, lists the horses of the bodyguard cavalry (*pēthāl qurubte*).⁷⁸⁸ (3) The *qurubtu* form appears predominantly in equestrian contexts (for detailed discussion see vol. II, Cavalry bodyguard (*pēthāl qurubte*), and Chariotry bodyguard).⁷⁸⁹ Only four persons are known who bear the *qurubtu* title without any indication of its equestrian character.⁷⁹⁰ However, nothing excludes their equestrian background. The following theory can be propounded: there were two separate services, the *qurubtu* as a regular cavalry and chariotry unit,⁷⁹¹ and the *qurbūte* as an office (see below), members of which also could form equestrian bodyguard units.⁷⁹²

The following types of *qurbūtu* bodyguard can be reconstructed from cuneiform evidence: (1) *ša—qurbūte* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard), (2) *ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri* ('*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince'), (3) *ša—qurbūte ummi šarri* ('*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the queen mother'), and (4) *ša—qurbūte ša—šēpē* ('*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard').

(1) *Qurbūtu* / *ša—qurbūte* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard)

Texts mentioning *qurbūtu* bodyguards form one of the largest corpora of texts: there are at least 197 entries with names and 111 entries without. From this huge corpus 135 *qurbūtu* bodyguards can be identified by their names and the names of a further 24 *qurbūtu* bodyguards are fragmentary.

Earlier research identified *qurbūtu* bodyguards confidently as bodyguards serving as confidential agents of the king.⁷⁹³ Some entries make it clear that – at least in the earliest period

18: LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-tu*; HARPER 1892, 752, Rev. 19: LÚ.*qur-ru-<bu>-tu*; DELITZSCH 1908, 2:9: Nabû-balāssu-iqbī LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-ū-tu ša muḥ-ḥi kar-ra-nu*, 11: Aššur-ālik-pāni LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-ū-tū ša muḥ-ḥi URU.bir-ra-na-a-ti* (6th year of Aššur-nādin-šumi); REINER ET AL., 1982, 317: BM 113929, 35: LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-tu*; WISEMAN 1967, 496, III:17: LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-tū*.

⁷⁸⁶ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 34 (ND 2371), 7: *qur-ru-ubu-tū*; 35 (ND 2489), 8: *qur-ubu-tū*.

⁷⁸⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 108 (ND 9910+), Obv. I:7: LÚ.*qur-bu-te ZAG(imitti)*, 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-te GÛB(šumēli)*.

⁷⁸⁸ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 108 (ND 9910+), Obv. II:47: 1 ME 28 *pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tū*.

⁷⁸⁹ Especially DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 99 (ND 10002), §A, Obv. i:1-18 (*pēthāl qurubte*); 101 (ND 10004), I:14-15 (*pēthāl qurubte*); 103 (ND 10001), Obv.: (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*); 108 (ND 9910+), II:47: *pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tū*; 119 (ND 10036), 10: A.SIG *ša qur-rub*: ('chariot warrior of the *qurubtu* chariotry'); KINNIER WILSON 1972, 34 (ND 2371), 8: EN.GIGIR.MEŠ *qur-ru-ub-tū*; BORGER 1956, 106 III:16: GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te*; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 110 (ADD 700), 2: Nabû-šarru-ušur BAD.ḤAL *qur-ub*.

⁷⁹⁰ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 34 (ND 2371), 7: *ša qur-ru-ub-tū*; 35 (ND 2489), 8: *ša qur-ub-tū* (both Sargon II); K WASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 97 (ADD 66), LE. 2-3: Šamaš-aḥu-ušur *ša* LÚ *qur-ub-te* (693 B.C.); HARPER 1892, 462, Rev. 27-28: Nabû-zēru-ibnī LÚ.*qur-ru-ub* (652–648 B.C.); DE VAAN 1995, 261-265.

⁷⁹¹ REINER ET AL., 1982, 320 s.v. *qurubtu* judging from the syntax proposed a collective meaning for the word.

⁷⁹² For *qurbūtu* chariotry: KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6 (ND 6219), 12: EN.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *qur-bu-ti*; 19 (ND 10051), 15: EN.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-ti*; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 134 (ND 10060), 10': EN.GIŠ.GIGIR.ME[Š] *qu[r]-b[u-te]* (all of them Sargon II); MATTILA 2002, 397 (BM 134524), 10': [...]-za LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-te URU.Ši-šil-a-a* (Assurbanipal); for *qurbūtu* cavalry: FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), Rev. I:10: BAD.ḤAL(*pēthalli*) LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁷⁹³ The most detailed and comprehensive study of the topic was written by F. Malbran-Labat (MALBRAN-LABAT 1982), who identified them as 'garde-royal'. Volumes of the State Archives of Assyria project use the term 'bodyguard' or 'royal bodyguard'. K. Radner (RADNER 2002, 13-14) emphasized the confidential agent of the king aspect and used the 'Vertrauter des Königs' form.

– *qurbūtu* bodyguards were recruited from among the Assyrian population. A possibly very early text, an edict appointing Nergal-apil-kūmū'a,⁷⁹⁴ states that from among the Assyrian craftsmen who were listed in the preceding section of the text, Nergal-apil-kūmū'a should provide some for chariot fighters, some for *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁷⁹⁵ The same text in a fragmentary passage mentions the patrimony of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards (É – AD ša LÚ.qur-bu-ti) which together with clothing should be apportioned by Nergal-apil-kūmū'a.⁷⁹⁶ This entry suggests that – at least at this early period – the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were recruited from Assyrian citizens. This original picture changed in the imperial period (post 745 B.C.), when large numbers of West Semitic people joined the imperial service.⁷⁹⁷ A Sargonide letter gives further information on the status of *qurbūtu* bodyguards: Bēl-iqīša complained to Esarhaddon, that Atamar-Marduk, whom the king promoted to the rank of *qurbūtu* bodyguard⁷⁹⁸ was a drunkard. It is not the fact that he was a drunkard that is interesting, but the way he became *qurbūtu* bodyguard: he was promoted by the king.

An administrative tablet (a schedule of land assigned to officials) from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun (626–612 B.C.) lists estates which were transferred to new owners. The original owners included high officials (*sartennu*, *sukkallu*, Chief Eunuch) and military personnel (4 cohort commanders and 2 *qurbūtu* bodyguards). The estates in the first section of the text were transferred to relatives.⁷⁹⁹ It is possible that these estates came with the service and the relatives inherited them. The other group of estates was not transferred to relatives but to other owners. The estates of three cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) and a *qurbūtu* bodyguard were given to the princess of the New Palace. It seems that these estates may have been confiscated and assigned to a new owner.⁸⁰⁰ The economic background of the status of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard is relatively unknown. There is a single letter from Šarru-ēmuranni, the deputy (governor) of Isana, to Sargon II, which mentions that Barruqu, Bēl-apla-iddin, and Nergal-ašarēd, who formerly used to pay the barley tax, drove away the administrator.⁸⁰¹ Šarru-ēmuranni supposed that the king might say that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard was not exempt from taxation; only those *qurbūtu* bodyguards were exempt who were named in a royal decree. In his fragmentary letter Šarru-ēmuranni lists the fields which were probably given to the three *qurbūtu* bodyguards listed above and were not subject to barley tax. Šarru-ēmuranni needed the barley from these fields to feed the pack animals which were constantly coming to him. It can be concluded that the fields of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were not automatically exempt from taxation, but only if specifically listed in a royal decree.

Qurbūtu bodyguards as official agents of the king were provided with every means they needed to perform their duties and to complete their missions. They could use the communication

⁷⁹⁴ Some reconstructions identify him with the *limmu* of 873 B.C. (DELLER – MILLARD 1993, 217-242, esp. 218-219. For other fragments see GRAYSON – POSTGATE 1983, 12-14), but this date would precede the earliest dated appearance of the title of *qurbūtu* bodyguard by almost eighty years. However, there is no reason to exclude the possibility of such an early appearance of the title, since the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II depict several soldiers, who can be identified as personal bodyguards (Plate 37, 120–122; Plate 38, 125, 126).

⁷⁹⁵ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 83 (BaM 24, 239), Rev. 24: LÚ.qur-bu-ti.

⁷⁹⁶ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 84 (CTN 4, 256), 15': LÚ.qur-bu-ti; 83 (BaM 24, 239), 14': [LÚ.qur-bu-ti].

⁷⁹⁷ See for example FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 118 (ADD 993), Rev. II:3: Azar-lā'u (¹A-zar₄-ia-u qur-ZAG).

⁷⁹⁸ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 115 (ABL 85), Rev. 2: LÚ.qur-ZAG.MEŠ.

⁷⁹⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 4'-5': Bār-Šarūri (Būr-Šarūru) LÚ.GAL—ki-šir assigned to Ki[qil]ānu, his son; 9'-10': Barbarāni LÚ.qur-ZAG; assigned to Mannu-kī-nīše, his brother; 11'-12': Zabdānu, chariot driver; assigned to Sa'ilā, his son.

⁸⁰⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 14'-18': Nabū-tāriš, LÚ.GAL—ki-šir, Aḫi-rāmu, ditto, Balasī (Balāssu), ditto; Ariḫu LÚ.qur-ZAG. Nabū-tāriš and Balasī are known from the Kakkullānu archive as well.

⁸⁰¹ SAGGS 2001, 132-134, ND 2648 (NL 74).

system, the express service of the empire. Maḥdê (governor of Nineveh) wrote to Sargon II concerning his team of equids which he used to provide for official missions. The *qurbūtu* bodyguard Nabū'a told him that by royal command he should go as far as Šabirēšu. The governors' teams were used up, so he provided the *qurbūtu* bodyguard with his own team of equids, his chariot, and his driver to get to Calah, but the bodyguard took them as far as Šabirēšu. The governor complains that he now has no teams, no chariot and no driver, so if the king calls him he will go on foot!⁸⁰² A similar letter was sent to Sargon II by Šamaš-bēlu-ušur (governor of Arzuḫina) saying that he had provided Ubru-Ḫarrān, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, who was going to Arrapha with a swift mule.⁸⁰³

The deputy of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard is mentioned in a single text from Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēh Hamad)⁸⁰⁴ dated to 661 B.C. Unfortunately no further information is available concerning his duties. He most probably helped the *qurbūtu* bodyguard with his work and might “eventually” have been promoted to the rank of *qurbūtu* bodyguard, but probably never acted as his substitute.

As for the types of texts: the *qurbūtu* bodyguards appear in the following types of cuneiform sources: ration lists (corn, fodder, and wine), horse lists, other administrative texts, legal documents, letters and royal inscriptions. Some of these texts are too fragmentary to use in an analysis,⁸⁰⁵ but a relatively large portion of the corpus can be used to reconstruct the following profiles of their duties:

(a) The *qurbūtu* bodyguard's connection with other Assyrian officials. As confidential agents of the king they were among the few officials who could take measures against other Assyrian officials. When the governor of Dūr-Šarrukku broke the seals and took 10 minas of silver, 1,400 sheep and 15 oxen belonging to the gods Šimalu' and Ḫumḫum, Mār-Issar, Esarhaddon's agent in Babylonia, asked the king to send a trustworthy *qurbūtu* bodyguard to investigate the case, punish the man who had put the governor up to this, and frighten the other governors who wanted to dissipate the treasures of the temples.⁸⁰⁶ The trustworthy *qurbūtu* bodyguard appears in another letter, in which Marduk-šākin-šumi asked the king (Esarhaddon), to send him the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Marduk-šarru-ušur, who was a trustworthy and reliable man.⁸⁰⁷ Mār-Issar asked Esarhaddon several times to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to take measures against other Assyrian officials. When the shepherds of Borsippa bribed the commander (LÚ.GAR—UMUŠ) and the prelate (LÚ.[ŠĀ.TAM]) of Borsippa and did not make an account of the bulls and sheep, but supplied the regular ram offerings from the estates of the citizens of Borsippa as in olden times, and did not even sacrifice the king's offerings, the ungelded bulls in the month of Nisan,

⁸⁰² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 74 (NL 62), 5, R. 5: LÚ.qur-bu-ti.

⁸⁰³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 227 (ABL 408), 7: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁸⁰⁴ RADNER 2002, 109 (SH 98/6949 I 247 / 943), Rev. 2: Sîn-šarru-ušur LÚ.2-u šá LÚ.qur-bu-u-te.

⁸⁰⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 222 (ABL 938), 9: LÚ.qur[-bu-ti]; 238 (ABL 980), 10: LÚ.qur[-bu-ti]; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 31 (ABL 139+), 14, 21: LÚ.qur-bu-ti; 109 (CT 53, 394), 11: [LÚ.qur]-bu-te; 208 (CT 53, 527), 3': LÚ.qur-bu-te; 262 (CT 53, 676), 7': LÚ.qur-bu-ti; 279 (CT 53, 403), Rev. 2', 8': LÚ.qur-bu-ti; FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 21 (ADD 835), 1': LÚ.qur-ZAG; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 130 (BM 99249), 5: Rēmanni-Issar LÚ.qu[r-ZAG]; 145 (CT 53, 173), 9: Bēl-lū-balaṭ LÚ.qur-bu-tu; COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 184 (ABL 861), Rev. 3: LÚ.qu[r-bu-te]; FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 21 (CT 53, 887), 7: [LÚ].qur-bu-ti; 132 (CT 53, 917), 6: [LÚ].qu[r-bu-te]; 213 (CT 53, 877), Rev. 8': LÚ.qur-[bu-te]; 256 (CT 53, 844), 4': LÚ.qur-bu-ti; 276 (CT 53, 879), Rev. 8', 9': [LÚ.qu]-r-bu-ti-[i]; 296 (CT 53, 566), 2, 6: Man[nu-kī...] LÚ.qur-[bu-ti]; 342 (CT 53, 431), 6': LÚ.qur-bu-u-ti; LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 93 (CT 53, 182), Rev. 6: LÚ.qur-[bu-te]; 135 (ABL 1422), Rev. 8': LÚ.qur-b[u-te]; 199 (ABL 1055), 9': LÚ.qur-bu-ti; REYNOLDS 2003, 89 (CT 54, 34), 24': LÚ.qur-ru-bu-tu.

⁸⁰⁶ PARPOLA 1993, 369 (ABL 339), Rev. 11: LÚ.qur-bu-ti tak-lu.

⁸⁰⁷ PARPOLA 1993, 253 (ABL 956), Rev. 13-15: LÚ.qur-bu-ti LÚ.tak-lu ú-mu-ru šu-ú.

Mār-Issar asked the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to the commander and the prelate and order them to prepare an account of the bulls and sheep belonging to Nabû.⁸⁰⁸ Something similar might have happened when a *qurbūtu* bodyguard called Nergal-šarru-ušur arrived at Mār-Issar and following the king's orders dismissed the delegates (LÚ.*qe-e-pa-a-ni*) of the temples of Sippar, Kutha, Hursagkalama, and Dilbat, and appointed others instead.⁸⁰⁹ *Qurbūtu* bodyguards could also confiscate the property of Assyrian magnates. A *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought shocking news to Nashur-Bēl, governor of Amidi: the royal command to give up the property, the well and the arable land, the patrimony of Aššur-rēmāni.⁸¹⁰ In another case, Aššur-nāšir sent a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to the governor of Laḥiru and Dūr-Šarrukku with an order concerning their work. However, only the governor of Laḥiru obeyed, while the governor of Dūr-Šarrukku did not.⁸¹¹ Sargon II called upon Ša-Aššur-dubbu, a governor, to account for four oxen, saying that he had appropriated them on value. The *qurbūtu* bodyguard who brought the royal order was delayed by the governor.⁸¹² A single case is known when the *qurbūtu* bodyguard was chased away and the king (Sargon II) gave orders for the case to be investigated.⁸¹³

The king frequently sent his orders to governors and high officials via *qurbūtu* bodyguards. A fragmentary letter to Sargon II mentions that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Sîn-kēnu-ušur brought the royal command to the magnates to set out and go (probably on campaign).⁸¹⁴ Nabû-aḥu-ušur, who is known from another letter as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard⁸¹⁵ also brought orders to magnates (including Šarru-ēmuranni and Nabû-ḥamātū'a) concerning the review of their troops and horses.⁸¹⁶ Some of the magnates would not obey orders unless they had been brought by a *qurbūtu* bodyguard or were sealed with the royal seal. This happened when Nabû-ušallim would not hand over the renegade soldiers and men of Šamaš-ibnî without receiving a sealed document from the king by hand of a *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁸¹⁷

Qurbūtu bodyguards were not only confidential representatives of the king, but sometimes the local agents of his authority as well. A royal decree probably of Sargon II to the chapter, congregation and senior officials of an unknown town and to the Babylonians orders them to pay heed to Na'di-ilu the *qurbūtu* bodyguard until the king arrives. The decree also informed them that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard was to arrive on the 26th of the month.⁸¹⁸

(b) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard as court personnel. Ration lists of the 8th century B.C. contain valuable information on officials who received (daily) rations at court. ND 2803, for example, is an administrative tablet, a long ration list, in which different amounts of bread and fodder were issued to different personnel. In the section starting with Col. II:17' the text lists (travel) provisions for several *qurbūtu* bodyguards who went on different official missions.⁸¹⁹ As is generally known,

⁸⁰⁸ PARPOLA 1993, 353 (ABL 1202), 14: LÚ.*qur-bu-tú*.

⁸⁰⁹ PARPOLA 1993, 364 (ABL 1214), Rev. 4-5: LÚ.*qur-bu-tú*.

⁸¹⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 15 (CT 53, 65), 10: LÚ.*qur-bu-u-ti*.

⁸¹¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 124 (ABL 558), Rev. 3: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*.

⁸¹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 37 (CT 53, 101), 19: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁸¹³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 369 (CT 53, 453), 3': [LÚ.*qur-b*]u-te.

⁸¹⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 34 (ABL 598), 3': LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁸¹⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 204 (CT 53, 56), 7-8, 12: LÚ.*qur-bu-tú* (reign of Sargon II). See furthermore KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 43 (ADD 19), 6: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 44 (ADD 20), 5: *qur-ZAG* (both 684 B.C.).

⁸¹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884).

⁸¹⁷ REYNOLDS 2003, 56 (ABL 336), 13: LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁸¹⁸ SAGGS 2001, NL 54 (ND 2438), 16, 32: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁸¹⁹ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Col. II:17'-18': [x] homers and 7 *sūtu* (70 litres) bread were issued to Sapunu, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, for cow's milk in the town of Qumbuna ...; 26'-27': [x homers and x *sūtu* bread was issued to] Ibnia, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of

the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were sent by the king to perform their duties throughout the empire. This text probably lists the travel provisions assigned to them from the royal granaries. A separate passage of this text lists the provisions of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards who brought horses from different parts of the empire.⁸²⁰ In this case the rations are probably fodder for horses, and not bread rations for *qurbūtu* bodyguards. Two further bread lists are known from the Nimrud archives. ND 2489 lists court personnel (including the *qurbūtu* bodyguard) and staff who received daily rations from the court.⁸²¹ The list includes the king himself, with the queen and the Chief Eunuch as well. Another bread list (ND 2371) lists high officials and military personnel (including ‘third men,’ and ‘chariot owners of the bodyguard’). This list allocates a similar amount of (daily) bread to the *qurbūtu* bodyguard as the previous text did.⁸²² This amount is much larger than a person’s daily needs and can probably be attributed to the importance of his office. The ration list tablets list single persons (or categories, as the *qurbūtu* bodyguard) and groups (for example ‘third men,’ and ‘chariot owners of the bodyguard’) as well, consequently the amounts cannot be compared with each other, and it is hard to determine the prestige of the offices on the basis of the amounts they obtained.

The other type of ration list is the wine list. 33 wine lists are known listing the court officials who received daily wine rations from the court. It seems that some of them received rations *ex officio*, some of them *ad hominem* (their office is unknown). The *qurbūtu* bodyguard received rations *ex officio*, the ration lists never mention their names. They are mentioned in a singular form (lacking the sign for the plural, but it is possible that the *qurbūti* form is the plural). The wine lists raise the same question as the bread lists: whether there was a single *qurbūtu* bodyguard on duty at the court who received rations or there was a unit or collective body. The amount of wine is far more than enough for a single person and probably relates to the office of the *qurbūtu*.⁸²³ The *qurbūtu* bodyguard is always listed in the first section (around the 7th–8th line) of the lists,⁸²⁴ together with other military personnel, and in a few cases next to the Chief Eunuch.⁸²⁵

the crown prince, who went to Samaria (and)? the town of Si[don?]; 28': 1 homer (100 litres) to Issar-Bābilāṯ, *qurbūtu* bodyguard [...]; Rev. Col. 1-3: 20 homers, 4 *sūtu* (240 litres) to the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for a man [...] who from the town of [...] travelled to the country of Ḫarḫar; 4-5: 4 homers (400 litres) to Issar-dūri the *qurbūtu* bodyguard going to the country of Marbanai, who was given it in Nineveh; 8-9: [...] the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince who came from across the river (i.e. Euphrates); 11-12: 6 homers, 1 *sūtu* (610 litres) [to ...] *qurbūtu* bodyguard for cows' milk for the house in the lower country; 33: [...] -ilī- [...] the *qurbūtu* bodyguard [...]; 35-36: [...] Šulmu-ēreš the *qurbūtu* bodyguard [...] from Laḫīru.

⁸²⁰ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Rev. Col. II:14-15: [x] homers, 1 *sūtu* (10 litres) to Gaia, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for horses from Bīt-Daltā; 17-19: 1 homer, 4 *sūtu* (140 litres) to Kanūnāiu, *qurbūtu* bodyguard for horses which he brought from Arzuḫina.

⁸²¹ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 35 (ND 2489), 8'; PARKER 1961, ND 2489, Col. I:7': the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*qur-ub-tū*) got 1 *sūtu* 3 *qā* (13 litres) grain.

⁸²² KINNIER WILSON 1972, 34 (ND 2371), 7'; PARKER 1961, ND 2371, 7': the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*ša qur-ru-ub-tū*) got 1 *sūtu* 5 *qā* (15 litres) grain.

⁸²³ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3 (ND 6218), I:14: 4 *sūtu* (40 litres); 8 (ND 10047), 8: 3 *sūtu* 4 *qā* (34 litres); 13 (ND 10027+), 2: 3 *sūtu* 5 *qā* (35 litres); 22 (ND 10061), 11: 3 *sūtu* (30 litres); 33 (ND 6213+), I:4: 1 *sūtu* (10 litres).

⁸²⁴ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 1 (ND 6229), I:8: [LÚ.*qur-b*]u-te; 2 (ND 6230), I:5: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 3 (ND 6218), I:14: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 4 (ND 6212), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 5 (ND 6214), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 6 (ND 6219), 7: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 8 (ND 10047), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 9 (ND 10048), 7: L[Ú.*qur*]-bu-[*ti*]; 13 (ND 10027+), 2: LÚ.*qur*-[*bu-ti*]; 16 (ND 10033+), 6: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 19 (ND 10051), 7: LÚ.*qur-b*[*u-ti*]; 20 (ND 10053), 2': [LÚ.*qur*]-bu-[*ti*]; 22 (ND 10061), 11: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 28 (ND 10071), 1': LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*; 33 (ND 6213+), I:4: LÚ.*qur-bu-te*; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 119 (ND 10036), 2, Rev. A:3.

⁸²⁵ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 1 (ND 6229), I:7-8; 4 (ND 6212), 8-9; 6 (ND 6219), 5-7; 8 (ND 10047), 7-8; 9 (ND 10048), 6-7; 16 (ND 10033+), 5-6; 22 (ND 10061), 10-11;

Summing up the information collected from ration lists, it is important to note that high officials and large numbers of military personnel received daily rations from the court. These ration lists probably allocated supplies only to people who stayed at court. A further question is whether these lists designated the amounts of daily rations in general categories (daily rations for each of several *qurbūtu* officers), or whether it is possible that there was always a single *qurbūtu* officer on duty at the court who received this amount. Since at least three of the lists are dated to the same day (11th of Nisan)⁸²⁶ it is possible that they fixed the amount of rations for a certain period of time (a month or year).

A different type of administrative text lists large numbers of court personnel, including the military. One of these texts, ADD 857, lists 16 *qurbūtu* bodyguards (of the king),⁸²⁷ 5 *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the crown prince (LÚ.*qur*-ZAG DUMU—MAN), and 4 *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the queen mother (LÚ.*qur*-ZAG AMA—MAN). Further texts of a similar character also list *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁸²⁸ This high concentration of *qurbūtu* bodyguards shows either that relatively large numbers of them served at court at a given time, or that they were assembled there for a special occasion. These numbers – as far as it can be reconstructed from a fragmentary tablet – seem to identify regular groups of 4 or 5. However, no conclusion can be drawn concerning a possible organisation of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards.

A somewhat different fragmentary administrative tablet similarly lists officials, including military ones, divided into groups according to their lodgings. These groups of military personnel include 6 *qurbūtu* bodyguards,⁸²⁹ so the text might list officials who were invited from different cities or towns of the empire for a special occasion, and were quartered in different residences, probably in Nineveh. It is possible that during these banquets the guests brought audience gifts to the king. A fragmentary tablet listing audience gifts contains a few entries showing that both types of bodyguards brought presents for the king. A *ša—šēpē* guard brought a dagger, while a *qurbūtu* bodyguard⁸³⁰ brought the decorative element of a bed. The text does not give the names of the two bodyguards, which could mean that they were the bodyguards on duty. The tablet lists further items presented by other (military) personnel but they are identified only by name.

(c) The allocation of *qurbūtu* bodyguards to the cities of the empire. As is obvious from the previous section reconstructing their status as court personnel, relatively large numbers of *qurbūtu* bodyguards lived attached to the Palace in the capitals of Assyria. A few Sargonide letters explicitly link them to towns and cities of the empire. The Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēh Hamad) archive, for example, refers to a certain Ḥam-il, who was a Ninevite *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁸³¹ There is an interesting letter written by a priest called Urdu-Nabû to Esarhaddon, which reports to the king that the priest had seen two beautiful girls in the Temple. One of them was Urkitu-rēmīni,

⁸²⁶ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 2 (ND 6230), 5 (ND 6214), 6 (ND 6219)?; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 119 (ND 10036).

⁸²⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I: 19: Nabû-zēr- [...], I:31: [...], I:37: Bābilāiu, II:1: Nergal-zēru-ibnī, II:3: [...], II:5: [...], II:9: Urad-Nanā, II:18: Šēpē- [...], II:19: Sil- [...], II:22: Sē'[-qam]u, II:29: Nabû-sālim, II:33: Gadā, II:41: Arbailāiu, II:44: Lā-qēpu, II:47: Ḥadīdu, Rev. I:21: Issar-na'di, I:30: [...]-rusu.

⁸²⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 6 (ADD 840+858), I:2': Za[...], I:3': Mu[...], II:7': Marduk-šallim, II:9': Tabalāiu, II:10': Mannu-kī-Aššur; 7 (ADD 833), I:5': [...], Rev. II:6': [...-šar]ru-ušur.

⁸²⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), II:4': Aḥḥē-šallim, II:6': Aššur-iddina, II:7': Tabalāiu, II:18': Mušēzib-Aššur, II:25': Rēmāni-Adad, Rev. I:8: Nabû-šarru-ušur. A similar text also lists *qurbūtu* bodyguards: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 10 (ADD 850), I:9': [...], II:6'-7': Aḥu-lāmur.

⁸³⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 29 (ADD 1041), 2: LÚ.*qur*-ZAG.

⁸³¹ RADNER 2002, 47 (SH 98/6949 I 874), Rev. 8-9: Ḥam-il LÚ.[*qur*-ZA]G) *ša* NINA.KI (649 B.C.)

daughter of a *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁸³² The priest had her home inspected. This shows that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard and his family lived in Nineveh. When Aḥi-ṭalli, the governess of the Inner City harem, bought three slaves, four of her witnesses were *qurbūtu* bodyguards,⁸³³ who might also have lived in Nineveh.

Further letters mention Abi-ul-īdi, a Chaldaean *qurbūtu* bodyguard,⁸³⁴ whose toponymical affiliation probably reveals his origin, Nabû-qātī-šabat, a *qurbūtu* bodyguard from Ḥarrān,⁸³⁵ Aššur-šarru-ušur, a *qurbūtu* bodyguard from Ballatu,⁸³⁶ and Nergal-nā'id, a *qurbūtu* bodyguard from Parḥu.⁸³⁷

The largest number of *qurbūtu* bodyguards appear in the archive found at Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēh Hamad). 14 *qurbūtu* bodyguards are mentioned by name, mainly in the witness lists of legal documents within a time-span of 50 years (661—611 B.C.).⁸³⁸ The largest archive belongs to Šulmu-šarri, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, who referred to in 8 texts dated between 634—632 B.C.⁸³⁹ There were at least 3 *qurbūtu* bodyguards living in Dūr-Katlimmu at the same time, since they appear together in the same text dated to 661 B.C. as witnesses.⁸⁴⁰ They owned houses and fields there, and were called to service in certain periods. This service involved two major kinds of activities: being a confidential representative of the king with all the duties that this entailed, and military duty, when the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were summoned for military service (*see* below).

Much more informative is the letter of Mār-Issar from Uruk, which reports to Esarhaddon that the prelate and the officials of Dēr have been pushing the building work of the temple onto each other, and nobody has set about it. Mār-Issar asks the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard and an Assyrian master builder to live there.⁸⁴¹ This information is very useful for understanding the system of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards: the king appointed *qurbūtu* bodyguards to different cities, towns or regions of the empire, where – within the (geographical, administrative and ideological) sphere of their authority – they represented certain aspects of royal authority and carried out the commands of the king. Ideally, the king delegated *qurbūtu* bodyguards to all the important territories, cities, and towns of the empire to live and serve there, and invested them with part of his royal power.

⁸³² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 65 (ABL 494), Rev. 11: LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁸³³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 89 (ADD 232), 6: Aḥu-illika LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 7: Nabû'a LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 8: Adad-issīa LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 10: Šarru-rē'ū'a LÚ.*qur-ZAG*.

⁸³⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 59 (ABL 742), 4-5: LÚ.*qur-bu-te* URU.*Kal-dà-a-a*.

⁸³⁵ MATTILA 2002, 169 (ADD 50), 11: LÚ.*qur-ZAG* KASKAL-*a-a* (619 B.C.).

⁸³⁶ MATTILA 2002, 23 (ADD 152), Rev.1: LÚ.*qur- \ll ša \gg -ZAG* URU.*Bal-lat-a-a* (658 B.C.).

⁸³⁷ POSTGATE 1973, 95 (ND 219), 5: LÚ.*qur-bu-te* URU.*Par-ḥa-a-a* (740 B.C.).

⁸³⁸ RADNER 2002, 95 (SH 98/6949 I 918), Rev. 5: Sagibi LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 14: Zārūtī [LÚ.*qur-ZAG*] (around 661 B.C.); 45 (SH 98/6949 I 887), Rev. 14: Šašin LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (650 B.C.); 141 (SH 98/6949 I 140), Edge 1: [...] *ki* LÚ.*qu[r-ZAG]* (643/624 B.C.); 166 (SH 98/6949 I 366), Rev. 2: Kišir-Aššur LÚ.*qur-[ZAG]* (643/624 B.C.); 68 (SH 98/6949 I 886), Rev. 1: Dādī LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (630 B.C.); 90 (SH 98/6949 I 889), Edge 1: Zārūtī LÚ.[*qu*]-*bu-u-t[ū]*; 115 (SH 98/6949 I 877), Rev. 7: Adad-upaḥḥer; 151 (SH 98/6949 I 214), 1: Marduk-eṛiba LÚ.*qur-[ZAG]*; 186 (SH 98/6949 I 930), Rev. 3: Salman-abu-ušur *qur-bu-tū*; 187 (SH 98/6949 I 935), Rev. 6-7: Aššur-usuranni LÚ.*qur-bu-u-tū*; 199 (SH 98/6949 II 246), Edge 1: Šarru-nūri LÚ.*qur-bu-u-te* (post 612 B.C.).

⁸³⁹ RADNER 2002, 8 (DeZ 10461), Rev. 5: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 62 (SH 98/6949 I 902), 4: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 63 (SH 98/6949 I 883), 6: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 64 (SH 98/6949 I 884), 6: LÚ.*qur-bu-tū*; 65 (SH 98/6949 I 885), 5: LÚ.*qur-bu-tū*; 66 (SH 98/6949 I 886), 5: LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-tū*; 69 (SH 98/6949 I 879), 7: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 70 (SH 98/6949 I 931), 11-12: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*.

⁸⁴⁰ RADNER 2002, 109 (SH 98/6949 I 247 / 943), Rev. 3: Amanī LÚ.*qur-bu-u-te*, 4: Sagibi LÚ.*qur-bu-u-te*, Edge 1: Bēl-šarru-ušur LÚ.*qur-bu-u-te*.

⁸⁴¹ PARPOLA 1993, 349 (ABL 476), Rev. 23: LÚ.*qur-bu-tū*.

(d) *Qurbūtu* as a witness in private contracts. As important members of the local communities, the *qurbūtu* bodyguards often appear in legal documents (contracts) as witnesses.⁸⁴² In some cases the seller, buyer, deliverer, etc. is a member of the military. In these cases they appear together with other military personnel.⁸⁴³ When for example the team commander (LÚ.GAL—*ú-rat*) Atar-ili sold a complete village named Baḥāia, 7 of his witnesses were soldiers: 2 cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), 3 ‘third men’ (*tašlīšu*), and 2 *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁸⁴⁴ These soldiers were probably comrades of the seller or members of the local military. In another (already mentioned) case, when Aḫi-talli, governess of the central city harem, bought three slaves four of her witnesses were *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁸⁴⁵ This concentration of *qurbūtu* bodyguards in a witness list shows that the governess was an important person and the *qurbūtu* bodyguards served in the ‘central city.’ This ‘central city harem’ (of Nineveh) probably belonged to the Palace, and it is possible that the royal ladies of Sennacherib lived there.⁸⁴⁶ In this case the appearance of these four *qurbūtu* bodyguards is not at all surprising, although the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the queen or queen mother is not mentioned in the cuneiform corpus.

Only two documents are known in which *qurbūtu* bodyguards buy or sell something. One of them is Risāia, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*) who in 700 B.C. bought three women.⁸⁴⁷ The second text is a loan document, in which the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (LÚ.<mu>-*qur-bu-te*) Aḫ-abû raised a loan of 1 mina and 4 shekels of silver.⁸⁴⁸ A third document may refer to another *qurbūtu* bodyguard, Ululāiu, who bought 10 slaves.⁸⁴⁹ In this document Ululāiu’s title is not given, but another document mentions him as a witness,⁸⁵⁰ and there is some overlap between the two witness lists.⁸⁵¹ At least three *qurbūtu* bodyguards appear in the witness lists of the documents of Silim-Aššur’s private archive.⁸⁵² They appear in several witness lists of the corpus, but only one document gives their titles.⁸⁵³

The highest concentration of military personnel can obviously be found in the large private archives of officers. These are the archives of Šumma-ilāni (709—680 B.C.), Mannu-kī-Arbail (680—673

⁸⁴² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 11 (ADD 394), Rev. 15’: Sē’-[...] LÚ.*ša—qur-bu-ti* (717 B.C.); 19 (ADD 415), 7: [...] LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* (734 B.C.); 28 (ADD 1164), Rev. 2’: [...] LÚ.*qur-bu-te* (710 B.C.); 97 (ADD 66), LE. 2-3: Šamaš-aḫu-ušur *ša* LÚ *qur-ub-te* (693 B.C.); 185 (ADD 506), Rev. 10: Šarru-ēmuranni LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 240 (ADD 11), Rev. 5: Nabū-natkil LÚ.*qur-bu-te* (676 B.C.); MATTILA 2002, 1 (ADD 472), Rev. 9: Adad-[...]ani LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (668 B.C.); 135 (ADD 56), Rev. 5: Sîn-šarru-ušur LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (663 B.C.); 166 (ADD 481), Rev. 7’: Ḥattušu-aldī LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (621 B.C.); 425 (TIM 11,1), Rev. 21: Liblutu LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 466 (ADD 485), Rev. 9: [...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; Aššur-bēssunu LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (FALES – JAKOB-ROST 1991, 35 (VAT 9398), 5 (635 B.C.); FAIST 2007, 18 (VAT 9930), Rev. 26 (629 B.C.)); Rēmāni-ilu LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (FAIST 2007, 102 (VAT 8241), Rev. 21 (655 B.C.)); [...] *qur-ZAG* (DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 110 (A 2573), Rev. 3’).

⁸⁴³ MATTILA 2002, 27 (ADD 358+), Rev. 8’: Aqru LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 69 (ADD 27), TE. 1: Šamaš-nā’id *qur-ZAG* together with 3 chariot drivers (667 B.C.); 100 (ADD 177), Rev. 7: [...] LÚ.*qur-bu-u-ti*; 153 (ADD 193), Rev. 2’: Attā-idri LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 318 (ADD 607), Rev. 3’: [...] *qur-ZAG*; 324 (ADD 694), Rev. 7’: [...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG*;

⁸⁴⁴ MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627), Rev. 7’: Šulmu-šarri LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 8’: Adda-lādin LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (666 B.C.).

⁸⁴⁵ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 89 (ADD 232), 6: Aḫu-illika LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 7: Nabū’a LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 8: Adad-issīa LÚ.*qur-ZAG*, 10: Šarru-rē’ū’a LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (686 B.C.).

⁸⁴⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, XXI.

⁸⁴⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 116 (ADD 294), 6.

⁸⁴⁸ MATTILA 2002, 71 (ADD 1186), 3-4.

⁸⁴⁹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 177 (ADD 230), 684 B.C.

⁸⁵⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 164 (ADD 612), Rev. 6: Ululāiu LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*, (686 B.C.).

⁸⁵¹ Mannu-kī-Issar-lē’i cohort commander (of the queen), Kusišī, and Nurtī. It is possible that a certain Risāia, who appears as a witness in one of these two documents (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 177 (ADD 230), Rev. 10) is the same *qurbūtu* bodyguard who was discussed above.

⁸⁵² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 221-238.

⁸⁵³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 221 (ADD 113), Rev. 4: Salamame LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* (680 B.C.); 238 (ADD 168), Rev. 4: Nabū’a LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*, Rev. 5: Nušku-ilā’ī LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

B.C.), Rēmanni-Adad (671—660 B.C.), Kišir-Aššur (637—618 B.C.), and Kakkullānu (630—617 B.C.). The archive of Šumma-ilāni,⁸⁵⁴ the chariot driver (*mukil appāte*) (Chart 7) includes references to altogether 30 officers/soldiers, mainly equestrians, and only two *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁸⁵⁵ The archive of Mannu-kī-Arbail (Chart 5),⁸⁵⁶ a cohort commander (*rab kišir*), includes references to 16 military witnesses: 7 cohort commanders, 2 *ša—šēpē* bodyguards, 2 chariot owners (*bēl mugerri*), 2 chariot drivers (*mukil appāte*), 1 ‘third man’ (*tašlīšu*), and 2 recruits (*raksu*). The archive of Rēmanni-Adad (Chart 6),⁸⁵⁷ the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (*mukil appāte dannu ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur*) includes references to a large number of military witnesses – similarly to the previous archive – almost exclusively equestrian in character: 24+ chariot drivers of different types, 17+ ‘third men’ of different types, 3 chariot warriors, 11+ chariot men of different types, 10+ cohort commanders of different types, 1 deputy team commander, and 1 ‘recruit.’ The archive mentions no *qurbūtu* bodyguards, only cohort commanders of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards. The archive of Kišir-Aššur, cohort commander (of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard) (*rab kišir (ša—qurbūte)*) also mainly lists equestrian military personnel as witnesses: 2 cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), 8 chariot men (LÚ.GIGIR), 6 chariot men of the *ša—šēpē* guards (LÚ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*), and 2 chariot drivers (*mukil appāte*). The archive of Kakkullānu (Chart 4),⁸⁵⁸ cohort commander (of the crown prince) (*rab kišir (ša mār šarri)*) is the largest, and mentions 54+ military personnel in its witness section, including 10 *qurbūtu* bodyguards. 8 of the latter appear only as witnesses, four of them in different texts,⁸⁵⁹ and four of them in a single document.⁸⁶⁰ Several other texts show a relatively high concentration of *qurbūtu* bodyguards,⁸⁶¹ which means that they belonged to the military elite, and – as ADD 857 also shows⁸⁶² – served in larger numbers at least in the capital, and were probably attached to the royal court. Two of the 10 *qurbūtu* bodyguards mentioned in the archive of Kakkullānu, Aššur-killāni and Balasî, however, appear in several capacities, which shows that – if there was only one Aššur-killāni and one Balasî – they changed service several times during the period of the archive. Aššur-killāni, for example, started as a royal chariot man (630-II-20), in the same year he was both promoted to the rank of a cohort commander (630-V-22) and registered as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard. In 625 he appears as a cohort commander (625-II-20), as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard (625-III-17), and as a cohort commander of the crown prince (625-X-3), and a *qurbūtu* bodyguard again (625-XI-13). In the following years he appears as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard (624-II-15, 623-XI-6).⁸⁶³ It would be quite

⁸⁵⁴ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 34-56.

⁸⁵⁵ II-qatar LÚ.*qur-bu-tú* (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 36 (ADD 34), Rev. 4); Nabû-aḫū-ušur LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 43 (ADD 19), 6; 44 (ADD 20) 5).

⁸⁵⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 201-220.

⁸⁵⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 296-350.

⁸⁵⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 34-50.

⁸⁵⁹ Nabû-erība LÚ.*qur-bu-tú* (MATTILA 2002, 36 (ADD 446), E. 3); Aššur-šumu-ka” in LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (MATTILA 2002, 38 (ADD 711), Rev. 12); Šin-šarru-ušur LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (MATTILA 2002, 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 16); Nabû-nā’id LÚ.*qur-ZAG* (MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 10; 42 (ADD 414), Rev. 32).

⁸⁶⁰ MATTILA 2002, 35 (ADD 349), Rev. 7: Šulmu-aḫḫē *qur-ZAG*, 12: Šamaš-rēmanni *qur-ZAG*, 13: Šarru-lū-dāri *qur-ZAG*, 14: Nabû-rēḫtu-ušur *qur-ZAG*.

⁸⁶¹ MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325): 3 *qurbūtu* bodyguards with 7 cohort commanders, 2 ‘third men’ and 1 *ša—šēpē* bodyguard; 42 (ADD 414) 3 *qurbūtu* bodyguards with 5 cohort commanders; 43 (ADD 400), 2 *qurbūtu* bodyguards with 6 *ša—šēpē* bodyguards.

⁸⁶² FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857) lists 16 *qurbūtu* bodyguards (of the king), 5 *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the crown prince (LÚ.*qur-ZAG* DUMU—MAN), and 4 *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the queen mother (LÚ.*qur-ZAG* AMA—MAN).

⁸⁶³ Aššur-killāni: MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 12: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN; 35 (ADD 349), Rev. 10: GAL—*ki-šir*; 37 (ADD 309), Rev. 4’: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 6: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 9: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 41 (ADD 623), Rev. 18’: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* A—MAN; 42 (ADD 414), Rev. 31: LÚ.*qur-bu-tú*; 43 (ADD 400), Rev. 13: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 46 (ADD 361), Rev. 16: *qur-ZAG*.

logical to suppose the existence of two Aššur-killānis, one cohort commander and another *qurbūtu* bodyguard, but there is another witness, named Balasî, who underwent exactly the same changes of service together with Aššur-killāni. Balasî started as cohort commander (630-II-20). Five years later he was still a cohort commander together with Aššur-killāni (625-II-20). He appears as *qurbūtu* bodyguard (625-III-17), and as a cohort commander of the crown prince (625-X-3), and a *qurbūtu* bodyguard again (625-XI-13) – in each case together with Aššur-killāni. In the next year he is still mentioned as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard with Aššur-killāni (624-II-15), but later their ways parted. In 624 B.C. Balasî appears in the same document as Aššur-killāni, but as a cohort commander (623-XI-6) instead of a *qurbūtu* bodyguard. In an undated document Balasî is listed as a cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard.⁸⁶⁴ These parallel changes of service exclude the possibility of the existence of two Aššur-killānis and two Balasîs (one a cohort commander and another a *qurbūtu* bodyguard), but show the interchangeability of the two services in these hectic years of Assyrian history.

(e) *Qurbūtu* as a judge or witness of court decisions. Some administrative (legal) documents show that *qurbūtu* bodyguards – as important representatives of local authority – could serve as judges of courts of the first instance. One such interesting case comes from 694 B.C., when five men committed a theft and were caught red-handed with goods worth 14 minas and 30 shekels of silver. They were brought for judgement before Issaran-zēru-ibnî and Issar-na'di, both *qurbūtu* bodyguards, and Giritu, the deputy (governor), who sent them to Nineveh for judgement before the Vizier and the *sartennu*. They did not consent and pleaded guilty. They were consequently fined 44 minas and 10 shekels of silver. The first two witnesses were also *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁸⁶⁵ There are other court decisions with witness sections which list *qurbūtu* bodyguards as witnesses.⁸⁶⁶ One such document, a court decision made by the *sukkallu* and the *hazannu* (mayor) of Assur lists in the first place of its witness section a certain Lu-balaṭ, who – as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard – was the messenger of the *sukkallu* (LÚ.qur-ZAG A.KIN šá LÚ.SUKKAL).⁸⁶⁷ This title is otherwise unknown and shows a special connection between the *sukkallu* (Vizier, serving here as a judge) and the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (probably acting as an official court messenger for the vizier). It seems that *qurbūtu* bodyguards not only served as first instance judges in their own territory, but were also sent by the king to settle lawsuits in other parts of the empire. Šallāia, the major-domo and Asalluḫi-ēreš the scribe, for example, wrote to Esarhaddon asking him to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard who could settle the lawsuit concerning their lord's house, because the governors had squandered the household of their lord, and the governor of Arrapha had taken the gift the king gave to their lord.⁸⁶⁸ In a similar case an unknown letter writer reported to Esarhaddon that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Šarru-ḫussanni gave back the field of the gods, but the other *qurbūtu* bodyguard who was sent to him to settle his case did not do him justice at all, because the writer's adversaries talked nonsense to him.⁸⁶⁹ In a similar case Nergal-ētir – who had

⁸⁶⁴ Balasî: MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 9: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 8: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 13: LÚ.qur-ZAG; 41 (ADD 623), Rev. 17: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* A—MAN; 42 (ADD 414), Rev. 30: LÚ.qur-bu-tú; 43 (ADD 400), Rev. 14: LÚ.qur-ZAG; 46 (ADD 361), Rev. 13: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; 49 (ADD 235), Rev. 14: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša—GÎR.2.

⁸⁶⁵ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 133 (Iraq 32,2), 5: Issaran-zēru-ibnî, *qur-ZAG*, 6: Issar-na'di, LÚ.qur-ZAG (judges), Rev. 6: [...] *qur-ZAG*, 7: [...] *qur-ZAG* (witnesses).

⁸⁶⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 265 (ADD 161), Rev. 9: Šēpē-Aššur LÚ.qur-ZAG, court decision of the *sukkallu* (679 B.C.); MATTILA 2002, 123 (ADD 165), Rev. 4': Marduk-ēreš (630 B.C.).

⁸⁶⁷ FAIST 2007, 3 (VAT 9759), Rs. 21. Post Canonical *limmu* of Sîn-kēnu-īde.

⁸⁶⁸ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 42 (ABL 415), Rev. 14: LÚ.qur-bu-tú.

⁸⁶⁹ REYNOLDS 2003, 9 (CT 54, 176), 11', 14', Rev. 2. Furthermore 8 (ABL 1123), 11': Šarru-ḫussanni LÚ.qur-bu-tú, Rev. 14: LÚ.qur-bu-tú.

been guarding Aššur-etel-šamê-eršeti-muballissu for Esarhaddon for six years – petitioned the king concerning his lost property. He asked the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard with him to help him settle his case, to bring out his brother and retrieve his fortune.⁸⁷⁰ An obvious violation of law happened when a man sold his daughters in Karalla, but later sent his seal to them with instructions to run away and come home. The case was denounced to a *qurbūtu* bodyguard who wrote a report to the king.⁸⁷¹

It is quite clear even from this small corpus that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard could serve as a first instance judge for his local community, could serve as a witness in court decisions of the high officials (*sukkallu*, *sartennu*), or could be sent by the king to settle legal cases. Bodyguards as witnesses could even testify if someone spoke untruthfully to the king, for example.⁸⁷²

(f) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard delivering written orders and messages. Only two letters state explicitly that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard delivered written messages of the king. Aššur-rēšūwa, the royal delegate (and intelligence chief), wrote to Sargon II that after the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Adad-aplu-iddina⁸⁷³ delivered the sealed order of the king to him, they went to Arīe, the vassal ruler of Kumme, who did not give them any orders. The *qurbūtu* bodyguard left and went to the Palace, so the king could question him. The other instance is a note that Balasī and Nabû-aḥḥē-erība had received the letter which the *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought on the 19th of Kislev (IX).⁸⁷⁴ Despite the scarcity of evidence, this task must have been one of the most important duties of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards. It can be supposed that not all of the royal correspondence, but only confidential messages were delivered by *qurbūtu* bodyguards or other trustworthy officials of the king.

(g) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard delivering valuables. *Qurbūtu* bodyguards delivered not only letters but precious stones and metals as well. A single example of this activity is known from a letter of Mār-Issar, the influential agent of Esarhaddon in Babylonia. He wrote a report about the arrival of a shipment of 26 eyestones of serpentine belonging to the king and 1 mina of gold belonging to the queen mother for the tiara of Nabû on the 2nd of Ab (V). He received them with the seal intact from the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Nabû-lē'i.⁸⁷⁵

(h) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard gathering and escorting people. This part of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard's duties is well known from the cuneiform records. *Qurbūtu* bodyguards were sent by the king to gather and/or escort people from one place to another. (1) These people might have been foreigners submitting to the Assyrian king, from whom the Assyrians demanded military service and labour. An example of this is found in the letter of Aššur-bēlu-da''in to Sargon II, where he reports that the Ušḥaeans and Qudaeans, who were not submissive before, have now submitted to the king and the *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought them over. The governor made peace with them. Those obliged to perform labour have done so, those obliged to provide king's men (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ—MAN) have provided them.⁸⁷⁶ In this case the *qurbūtu* bodyguard gathered labourers and soldiers from among the conquered people. A similar case is described in the letter from Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra to Sargon II, in which he reported that he made a list of the 'sons of bought (slaves)' and the 'sons of palace maids.' Their number is 370. 90 of them are king's men, 90 of

⁸⁷⁰ PARPOLA 1993, 165 (ABL 228), Rev. 4: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁸⁷¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 74 (CT 53, 27), 10', 11': LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁸⁷² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 179 (ABL 968), Rev. 3'-4': LÚ.*qu-ru-bu-ti*.

⁸⁷³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 98 (CT 53, 42), 4, 7: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁸⁷⁴ PARPOLA 1993, 63 (K 496), Rev. 3-4: LÚ.*qur-ZAG*.

⁸⁷⁵ PARPOLA 1993, 348 (ABL 340), 13: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁸⁷⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 78 (ABL 246), 14: LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

them are reserves, and 190 should do the king's work. He asked the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard or a guard (LÚ.ša – EN.NUN), to deliver these men to him.⁸⁷⁷ In other cases the duty to provide labour for the king caused the Assyrian officials great anxiety. Samnuḥa-bēlu-ušur, for example, wrote to Sargon II that the work of the king had become a great burden on him. He released his men in early winter. Those who were released fled to strongholds to escape the work. Now, he asks the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to bring the people out and make them do the king's work.⁸⁷⁸ Nabû-bēlu-ušur and Dīnānu also sent 276 men with the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Bār-Šarūri (Būr-Šarūru) to Sargon II.⁸⁷⁹ (2) The second group of texts deals with people who were transferred from one province to another by a *qurbūtu* bodyguard. As we know from his report to Sargon II, Ina-šar-Bēl-allak went as far as Šabirēšu to meet the people and oxen who were brought to him from Guzana. However, 15 people were missing from his writing board. He sent the *qurbūtu* bodyguard from Šabirēšu back to Guzana to capture the absentees and bring them to him.⁸⁸⁰ When the town Lapisa did not provide men (for local provincial duties), and did not obey to the king's order the local Assyrian official went to Nineveh to obtain the order of the king: "Bring (them)! I want to give two or three of their towns to Bēl-dūri, and shall give you (others) instead." But when the people fled, the official asked Sargon II to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to them and order them to provide men from among them as they had done earlier.⁸⁸¹ Two further fragmentary letters mention 32 farmers⁸⁸² and 7 people⁸⁸³ brought by a *qurbūtu* bodyguard. A further fragmentary report also mentions people in connection with *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁸⁸⁴ (3) The third group of texts deals with captives/deportees escorted by a *qurbūtu* bodyguard. In one of his letters to Sargon II, Issar-dūri reported to the king that the captives entrusted to the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Guḥuru were on their way to Dūr-Šarrukēn. The *qurbūtu* bodyguard received orders from the governor to take the captives to Baqarru, stay there with them, let them eat bread and drink water and send a report about them to the Palace.⁸⁸⁵ Šarru-ēmuranni reported to Sargon II that the 70 Urartian men and their dependents who were brought by the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Aḥu-bānî had been settled in Sippar.⁸⁸⁶ Another fragmentary text mentions a *qurbūtu* bodyguard who brought some Bašimeans to Kār-Nergal.⁸⁸⁷ Another letter lists the Tabolean captives who arrived with a caravan from Kār-Šarrukēn, occupied the houses of the deceased and got oxen, sheep, and women. The *qurbūtu* bodyguard took advantage of their oxen, sheep, and women and they ran away. The unknown letter writer asks the king to send him a *qurbūtu* bodyguard, because he got 2,000 men.⁸⁸⁸

(i) *Qurbūtu* bodyguards provided escort and safety to people who asked the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to escort them for security reasons. Nabû-zēru-ušur, the scribe of the palace supervisor, wrote to Esarhaddon complaining that the governor of Nineveh did not let the herders of donkey mares – who used to stand in front of the entrance of the palace – sell their

⁸⁷⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 99 (ABL 99), Rev. 17': LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁸⁷⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 224 (ABL 888), 10: LÚ.qur-bu-ti.

⁸⁷⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 258 (ABL 860), 10: LÚ.qur-bu-ti.

⁸⁸⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 128 (ABL 167), E. 20: LÚ.qur-bu-ti.

⁸⁸¹ PARPOLA 1987, 240 (ABL 610), Rev. 8: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁸⁸² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 317 (ABL 1019), 3': [LÚ.qur]-bu-te.

⁸⁸³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 309 (CT 53, 325), 4': [LÚ].qur-bu-te.

⁸⁸⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 7 (ABL 708), 8-9: Inurta-šākin-[... LÚ.qur-b]u-te.

⁸⁸⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 12 (ABL 552), 5, Rev. 4': LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁸⁸⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 232 (ABL 760), 4: LÚ.qur-bu-[te].

⁸⁸⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 207 (ABL 761), 4-6: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁸⁸⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 54 (ABL 556), 11'-12', Rev. 18: LÚ.qur-bu-te ša LUGAL.

covered donkeys. He told them to crush their skulls if he saw them in the Palace. Therefore the scribe asked the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard (to escort them), otherwise they would not go there.⁸⁸⁹ Preparing the Akītu festival, Urad-Ēa asked the king to give him the royal robes to transport them to the Akītu Temple and place them in front of Sîn. Furthermore, he asked the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard with him because of the traitors.⁸⁹⁰

(j) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard fetching deserters. *Qurbūtu* bodyguards not only escorted groups of people from one place to another, but sometimes they had to find and fetch them. There were problems with the men obliged to serve Assyrian officials or work for them. Mannu-kī-Ninua asked Sargon II to appoint a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to the service of the scribe and the recruitment officers, to fetch and give them their men.⁸⁹¹ These men were obviously local people recruited to serve in the (equestrian) units of the ‘recruitment officers.’ Another letter to Esarhaddon deals with runaway workers (*kallāpu* soldiers obliged to work?) and the unknown letter writer asks the king to send *qurbūtu* bodyguards to fetch them.⁸⁹² The third example is a fragmentary note of various transactions, at the end of which Aššur-bēlu-taqqin and Il-iada’ gave orders to Ēreš-īlu the eunuch to bring someone out and put him in the hands of a *qurbūtu* bodyguard. In this case the *qurbūtu* bodyguard had to detain the man.⁸⁹³

(k) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard as supervisor. *Qurbūtu* bodyguards not only escorted people but often supervised their activities. In his letter to Esarhaddon Marduk-šarru-ušur mentions the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina, who was sent by the king to supervise the weavers of the magnates.⁸⁹⁴ Another letter mentions a *qurbūtu* bodyguard supervising the proper performance of a ritual.⁸⁹⁵ In a letter probably written to Esarhaddon, Rāši-il accused the *qurbūtu* bodyguard who ordered him to give an account of being part of a conspiracy with the city overseer and the mayor against him to take away every single piece that he had received (from the king).⁸⁹⁶ The *qurbūtu* bodyguard obviously had the right to order an inventory. An interesting case is known when the *qurbūtu* bodyguard⁸⁹⁷ brought an order about killing locusts and securing the harvest, and probably supervised its execution.

(l) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard collecting taxes. *Qurbūtu* bodyguards were obviously not tax collectors. However, there are a few texts which mention them doing similar work. The first example is the case of a newly resettled town. The king had made a newly rebuilt town and its people exempt from taxes but the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Zārūtī⁸⁹⁸ and his messengers were holding the people to extort 10 talents of silver from them. In other cases the *qurbūtu* bodyguard collected the corn tax of the territory of Šulmu-bēli-lašme,⁸⁹⁹ and collected reeds (probably for the construction works of Dūr-Šarrukēn), as described in the letter from Gabbu-ana-Aššur (*nāgir ekalli*) to Sargon II.⁹⁰⁰ A similar letter mentions that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard had to collect logs

⁸⁸⁹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 88 (CT 53, 151), 14: LÚ.qur- ZAG.

⁸⁹⁰ PARPOLA 1993, 338 (ABL 667), Rev. 3: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁸⁹¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 105 (ABL 127), 4: LÚ.qur-bu-ti.

⁸⁹² LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 90 (CT 53, 150), Rev. 8: L[Ú.qu]r- ZAG.MEŠ.

⁸⁹³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 182 (ABL 638), 6'; 15': LÚ.qur-[bu-te].

⁸⁹⁴ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 83 (ABL 714), 5-6: LÚ.qur- ZAG.

⁸⁹⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 136 (ABL 1297), 11': 5 LÚ.qur-bu-tú, Rev. 12'-13': LÚ.qur-bu-tú.

⁸⁹⁶ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 182 (ABL 1034), 7', 12': LÚ.qur-bu-tu.

⁸⁹⁷ SAGGS 2001, 199-200, NL 103 (ND 2617), 6: LÚ.qur-bu-tú.

⁸⁹⁸ REYNOLDS 2003, 114 (CT 54, 508), Rev. 7'-8': LÚ.qur-bu-tu.

⁸⁹⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 82 (ABL 1012), 8-10: Mannu-kī-aḥḥē ([LÚ.qu]r-bu-te).

⁹⁰⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 120 (ABL 124), 6: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

(probably also for the construction works of Dūr-Šarrukēn).⁹⁰¹ It seems that collecting logs was a main concern, since two further letters mention the topic. In the first letter a *qurbūtu* bodyguard had to check whether the author of the letter was hiding some logs from the king or not,⁹⁰² while in the second Šamaš-bēlu-ušur reported to Sargon II that he had raised the 400 door beams which the bodyguard had ordered him to raise.⁹⁰³ A few reports, however, question the legality of his activities. A note dealing with the (controversial) activities of Šulmu-šarri, a Kushite eunuch, contains a passage according to which Šulmu-šarri sent a *qurbūtu* bodyguard to someone and received from him 20 minas of silver by force.⁹⁰⁴ Am-iata' the deputy governor complained that Batulu brought 250 Chaldeans and a *qurbūtu* bodyguard with him and they broke into his house, slaughtered the pigs and molested the slave-girls, and ravaged the town of Am-iata'.⁹⁰⁵

(m) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard in diplomatic context. Several Sargonide letters deal with diplomatic missions, foreign envoys and emissaries arriving to Assyria. In these cases a *qurbūtu* bodyguard was usually sent by the king to escort the foreign envoys to the capital. One such note tells us that Buzî, delegate of Kitipata, Gikî, interpreter of the Mannaeans, and Adda-kupa, envoy of the Zikirtean(s) were escorted by Mannu-kî-Aššur, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁹⁰⁶ It is probably the same *qurbūtu* bodyguard, Mannu-kî-Aššur, who appears in a similar context in a letter from Sargon II to Nabû-dūru-ušur. This letter mentions that the king is now sending Mannu-kî-Aššur to those Urartian emissaries whom he will bring to Arzuḫina.⁹⁰⁷ When the ruler of Karalla was on his way to Calah with his tribute in his hands he was also escorted by a *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁹⁰⁸ Aḫu-illika, who sent this report to Sargon II, writes: if the king should ask why the *qurbūtu* bodyguard did not come on ahead, he would answer, because first he has to cross the river with the ruler of Karalla. Consequently the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were supposed to reach the Palace in advance to let the king know the exact date of the arrival of the envoys. An interesting report sent by Tāb-šil-Ēšarra to Sargon II informed the king that the emissaries bringing the treaty tablet of Gurdî arrived together with the *qurbūtu* bodyguard⁹⁰⁹ and the messenger of the palace superintendent to the Inner City and brought the tablet into the courtyard of the temple. Another letter, sent by Sargon II probably to a governor called Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, mentions that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Aššur-rēš-iši⁹¹⁰ met with the dignitaries of Bīt-Barrūa, dined with them and emptied a cup in the presence of Kibabaše. After that he wrote a report to the king. It is not known whether he negotiated anything or not, but another letter states explicitly that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard had to listen to what the Zalipaeans said and negotiate the details of a possible shipment of horses.⁹¹¹ Another way in which the *qurbūtu* bodyguard could be involved in diplomatic affairs was when he acted as messenger. An interesting letter of Šarru-ēmuranni (governor of Māzama) to Sargon II recounts the details of one such secret operation. The king sent a (secret) diplomatic message addressed to Insabri in Izirtu via Nabû-aḫu-ušur, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁹¹² The *qurbūtu*

⁹⁰¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 43 (CT 53, 283), 7: [...]balliṭ LÚ.qur-bu-tú.

⁹⁰² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 108 (CT 53, 66), 6': [LÚ.qur]-bu-te.

⁹⁰³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 123 (ABL 581), Rev. 1': [LÚ.qur]-bu-te.

⁹⁰⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 47 (ADD 1076), II:5-6: qur-ZAG.

⁹⁰⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 168 (ABL 564), 7': LÚ.qur-bu-tú.

⁹⁰⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 31 (ADD 865), 2: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁹⁰⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 10 (ABL 306 + CT 53, 221), 3, 12: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁹⁰⁸ SAGGS 2001, NL 44 (ND 2677), 15: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁹⁰⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 76 (ABL 90), 4': [LÚ.qur]-bu-te.

⁹¹⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 14 (CT 53, 823), 10': LÚ.qur-bu-[ti].

⁹¹¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 53 (ABL 165), 8: LÚ.qur-bu-te.

⁹¹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 204 (CT 53, 56), 7-8, 12: LÚ.qur-bu-tú.

bodyguard went to Māzama, where – together with the governor – they chose a trustworthy man of the fort commander, Šamaš-ukīn, who was skilled at speaking. They implanted the very words the king had sent to them into the mouth of this messenger, who eventually went to Izirtu. In this case the *qurbūtu* bodyguard was the bearer of a secret message, but he delivered it only as far as the frontier of the empire.

An interesting letter from Nabû-šumu-iddina to Sargon II features the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Bēl-šarru-ušur on a partly diplomatic, partly intelligence mission. He approached the city walls of Mušēzib and told the people to bring out Mušēzib, who was going to be taken to the king, and let the Assyrians bring in troops.⁹¹³

Two letters deal with affairs in Kumme in which *qurbūtu* bodyguards were involved. Three powerful men of the Kummeans had an audience with Nabû-ušalla, the governor, and Mār-Issar, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard. The Kummeans asked the Assyrians to take them to the royal Palace for an audience with the king, because there was a matter concerning another country which they would not discuss with them, but only with the king.⁹¹⁴ In another letter of Nabû-ušalla there appears another *qurbūtu* bodyguard, Issar-dūri, who together with the governor also took an active part in the diplomatic discussions with the Kummean leaders.⁹¹⁵

(n) *Qurbūtu* bodyguard transporting horses. It seems that the *qurbūtu* bodyguards played an important part in delivering horses from various locations. It appears that they only escorted the horses and did not have an active role in purchasing them. A Nimrud horse list shows that *qurbūtu* bodyguards brought horses (to collection points, to the court or even to a muster?) from different officials. This text mentions that a royal *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought 16 horses from Aššur-ālik-pāni.⁹¹⁶ These horses – together with others – went to the Palace. As has been mentioned in connection with ration lists, *qurbūtu* bodyguards received fodder for horses,⁹¹⁷ probably for the horses which they brought to the palace. ND 2803⁹¹⁸ mentions the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Sapunu, who has been mentioned above as receiving provisions from the royal court, but he appears in a horse list without his title, bringing 5 horses.⁹¹⁹ It is possible that this horse list (ND 2788) lists horses brought by *qurbūtu* bodyguards. Other shorter notes also mention *qurbūtu* bodyguards in charge of horses. One of these notes mentions 175 horses in the charge of Nabû-šarru-ušur, and concludes somewhat enigmatically: 3 cavalry bodyguards (3 BAD.ḪAL *qur-ub*).⁹²⁰ It is not known whether this means that horses were delivered to three cavalry bodyguards, or three of the horses belonged to the cavalry bodyguard. Nabû-šarru-ušur might be the same man who appears in an administrative text as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁹²¹ A letter from Nergal-ēṭir to Sargon II also mentions a *qurbūtu* bodyguard who arrived at his place on the 6th of Iyyar (II), and the horses set out on the next day, on the 7th of Iyyar with him.⁹²² A *qurbūtu* bodyguard, Marduk-bāni-aḫḫē, appears in

⁹¹³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 136 (ABL 685), Rev. 3: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁹¹⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 104 (ABL 206), 7, Rev. 9: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁹¹⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 105 (ABL 544), 6: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁹¹⁶ PARKER 1961, ND 2482, 4-7.

⁹¹⁷ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Rev. Col. II:14-15: [x] homers, 1 *sūtu* (10 litres) to Gaia, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for horses from Bīt-Daltā; 17-19: 1 homer, 4 *sūtu* (140 litres) to Kanūnāiu, *qurbūtu* bodyguard for horses which he brought from Arzuḫina.

⁹¹⁸ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Col. II:17'-18': [x] homers and 7 *sūtu* (70 litres) bread were issued to Sapunu, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, for cow's milk in the town of Qumbuna

⁹¹⁹ PARKER 1961, ND 2788, 10: 4 NÍTA, 1 SAL.KUR.

⁹²⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 110 (ADD 700), 3: BAD.ḪAL *qur-ub*.

⁹²¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), Rev. I:8: Nabû-šarru-ušur LÚ.*qur-ZAG*.

⁹²² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 65 (ABL 226), 9: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

another short note listing horses (14) for their meat.⁹²³ A further Nimrud administrative document tells us that the *qurbūtu* bodyguards, or at least Nabû-šumu-lēšir, had to provide sheep (242) for some reason, or perhaps this document lists missing sheep and their owners.⁹²⁴ It seems obvious from these entries that – similarly to other aspects of their service – *qurbūtu* bodyguards served as official and legitimate agents with different missions.

(o) Military aspect of the service of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard. The aspects of the duties of *qurbūtu* bodyguards discussed above mainly emphasize the profile of a civilian official rather than a military officer. However, cuneiform sources provide sufficient information to reconstruct the military aspect of the service of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.

The primary military aspects of the cavalry bodyguard's and the chariotry bodyguard's activities are discussed in separate chapters (*vol. II*, Cavalry bodyguard (*pēḫal qurubte*), and Chariotry bodyguard). As has been mentioned, there might have been some difference between the meaning of the *qurubtu* and *qurbūtu* forms: the former probably denoted regular cavalry and chariotry bodyguard units, while the latter denoted a special bodyguard/military-based confidential office, members of which might also form military units, including equestrian ones.⁹²⁵ One of the Nimrud Horse Lists includes both forms (*qurubtu* and *qurbūtu*): in its first, headquarters staff section two *qurbūtu* officers, the *qurbūtu* of the right, and the *qurbūtu* of the left, are listed,⁹²⁶ while in one of its other sections, containing fighting units, it lists the horses of the bodyguard cavalry (*pēḫal qurubte*).⁹²⁷

The two *qurbūtu* officers of the headquarters staff section of CTN III, 108 show that – similarly to other services – there might have been a military or administratively-based division of the service. This division (*qurbūtu* of the right and the *qurbūtu* of the left) might have been connected to campaigning (to the division of the army into right and left flanks), or to the military-administrative division of the empire into two recruiting and logistical districts or regions. However it may be, this entry in an officers' list shows that a primarily military aspect can be connected to the duties of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards. These two officers could serve on the headquarters staff as officers in charge of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards who served in the right and left divisions or administrative regions of the army. The *qurbūtu* of the left appears in another administrative text listing shield-bearers and archers. The first section of this text lists numbers and military personnel who were in charge of them. The summary section tells us that the numbers referred to 208 shield-bearers altogether. The line which gives the *qurbūtu* of the left, unlike the other lines, does not contain his name, but only the title,⁹²⁸ which may mean that the *qurbūtu* of the left was a military-administrative title.

Two entries in the royal inscriptions of Sennacherib mention *qurbūtu* bodyguards in a campaign context.⁹²⁹ It must be admitted that there is no indication whether the *qurbūtu*

⁹²³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 68 (Iraq 27, 16, no. 6), 1: LÚ.*qur-bu-tú* (717 B.C.).

⁹²⁴ PARKER 1961, ND 2414.

⁹²⁵ For *qurbūtu* chariotry: KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6 (ND 6219), 12: EN.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *qur-bu-ti*; 19 (ND 10051), 15: EN.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-ti*; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 134 (ND 10060), 10': EN.GIŠ.GIGIR.ME[Š] *qu[r]-b[u-te]* (all of them Sargon II); MATTILA 2002, 397 (BM 134524), 10': [...]za LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-te* URU.Ši-šil-a-a (Assurbanipal); for *qurbūtu* cavalry: FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), Rev. I:10: BAD.ḪAL(*pēḫalli*) LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁹²⁶ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 108 (ND 9910+), Obv. I:7: LÚ.*qur-bu-te* ZAG(*imitti*), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-te* GÙB(*šumēli*).

⁹²⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 108 (ND 9910+), Obv. II:47: 1 ME 28 *pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú*.

⁹²⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 128 (ADD 947+), 4': *qurbūtu* ([LÚ.*qu*]r-ZAG) KAB(*šumēli*).

⁹²⁹ LUCKENBILL 1924, 36, III:81: *qurbūtu* (LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*) *šēpēia* (699—698 B.C.), and 74:66: *qurbūtu* (LÚ.*qur-bu-tu*.MEŠ) *šēpēia* (697—696 B.C.).

bodyguards served in the army as a cavalry unit⁹³⁰ or – similarly to the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards – formed an infantry unit.

There are other important texts that shed light on the military aspect of the duties of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards. When Aššur-bēlu-daʿin (governor of Ḫalziatbar) decided to visit Sargon II, he was turned back at the town of Alite by the *qurbūtu* bodyguard Kakkullānu, who brought the royal order to let the troops of the governor go, for fear that they would die of hunger if they were not released. The governor supplied them with 5 months' worth of stored grain. The fragmentary letter furthermore mentions that the troops were about to enter in the city with the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.⁹³¹ Other cases are also known when the *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought troops to the assembly point of an expeditionary army. In the letter of Adad-issia which reports on the review of the troops of Māzamuā, he mentions that the 1,430 king's men who have already been summoned there include the troops which the *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought.⁹³² A letter from Marduk-šumu-iddina to the king (Sennacherib or Esarhaddon) on campaign (the unusual greeting formula addresses the king, the horses and the soldiers) mentions that Marduk-šumu-iddina sent those 10 Ḫatallaeān men with the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the king whom the king had ordered to be sent.⁹³³ These 10 men probably joined the Assyrian army on campaign.

An early decree, dating from 793 B.C. but copied during the reign of Sennacherib, mentions that the *qurbūtu* bodyguards⁹³⁴ (together with other non-military groups of society, for example palace servants) had to provide a certain number of arrowheads to the Palace Herald, who distributed [x] to the people of Nineveh, 80 to the city. It is unfortunately not known whether this was an *ilku* duty, or something else.

The military aspect of the duties of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard can be further diversified by a legal document dating from the 6th year of Aššur-nādin-šumi, king of Babylon. The witness section of this text lists two *qurbūtu* bodyguards. The first, Nabû-balāssu-iqbî, was the *qurbūtu* bodyguard in charge of the harbours (LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-ú-tu šá muḫ-ḫi kar-ra-nu*), while the other, Aššur-ālik-pāni was the *qurbūtu* bodyguard in charge of the outposts/fortresses (LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-ú-tú šá muḫ-ḫi URU.bir-ra-na-a-ti*).⁹³⁵

These entries may corroborate the theory that *qurbūtu* bodyguards might have had a direct military role, probably as a fighting bodyguard unit recruited from the ranks of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards escorting the king together with the regular bodyguard units during campaigns, and they also had military-administrative roles in the Assyrian military bureaucracy. In comparison with the *ša—šēpē* guard, which was defined as a regular heavy infantry bodyguard unit represented in Assyrian palace reliefs, the *qurbūtu* bodyguards might form an 'elite' bodyguard unit (infantry and/or cavalry), which might be compared in its character to the *hetairoi* cavalry of Alexander the Great.

⁹³⁰ The only explicit entry appears in an administrative text: FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), Rev. I:10: BAD.ḪAL(*pēthalli*) LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁹³¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 126 (ABL 243), 8: LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁹³² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89), Rev. 2: LÚ.*qur-bu-te*. See furthermore SAGGS 1966, 89; POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

⁹³³ DIETRICH 2003, 17 (ABL 721), Rev. 1, 7: LÚ.*šá—qur-ru-bu-tu šá* LUGAL.

⁹³⁴ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 76 (NARGD 51), 14'-16': LÚ.*qur-bu-te*.

⁹³⁵ DELITZSCH 1908, 2:9, 11.

(2) *Qurbūtu* / *ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince)

Only 5 *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the crown prince are known by name, and 6 further names are preserved in a fragmentary state. The earliest example of this title dates back to the reign of Sargon II. A letter from Šarru-ēmuranni to Sargon II about the people of Barik-il mentions Umadi, the bodyguard of the crown prince (LÚ.*qur-bu-tu ša DUMU—LUGAL*).⁹³⁶ This early entry shows that this title existed during the reign of Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) and was probably connected to the person of the crown prince, Sennacherib. In one of his letters to his father, Sargon II, Sennacherib reports that the king of Arzabia wrote to him saying that the ruler of Ukku was trying to destroy him. Sennacherib sent his *qurbūtu* bodyguard to the Ukkean ruler, saying: “I shall arbitrate between you, until the king comes.”⁹³⁷ This letter shows that the crown prince used his *qurbūtu* bodyguards in much the same capacities as the king did. The *qurbūtu* bodyguard was his trusted envoy, the personification of his authority. A fragmentary entry in an administrative text from the reign of Sennacherib (700 B.C.) might prove the existence of such a title during his reign, as well.⁹³⁸ Another very fragmentary letter from the reign of Esarhaddon mentions the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince.⁹³⁹ In this case the crown prince might have been Assurbanipal (giving a post-672 B.C. date), but it is unbelievable that no crown prince (the designated heir of the throne) existed before the succession treaty so there is no reason to doubt the continuous existence of this office. A ration list discussed above lists four *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the crown prince⁹⁴⁰ who probably obtained rations from the court. This administrative text makes no distinction between the *qurbūtu* bodyguards and the *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the crown prince as far as their duties were concerned: both received rations for similar duties. All the remaining entries concerning the *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the crown prince appear in three similar administrative texts listing military officials at court.⁹⁴¹ These texts testify to some kind of division of certain units between the members of the royal family, or more probably only to the existence of some military entourage (consisting above all of bodyguard units) for the crown prince and the queen mother (*vol. II, Fig. 9*). The fourth person who had an active role in the system was the Chief Eunuch, who commanded a part (the city units) of the *kišir šarrūti*.⁹⁴² There is no doubt that the upheavals in the history of the Sargonide dynasty (tragic deaths (705, 694, 681 B.C.) and chaotic successions (681, 631—627 B.C.)) justified the existence of an arm which was supposed to guarantee the safety of the crown prince. For a detailed discussion of the army reforms see *vol. II, The development of the Assyrian army*.

⁹³⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 236 (ABL 600), 9-10.

⁹³⁷ PARPOLA 2001, 29 (ABL 198 + CT 53, 120 + CT 53, 438), Rev. 15': [LÚ.*qu*]*r-bu-te-ia*.

⁹³⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 116 (ADD 294), 6-7: Ḫusa-[...] LÚ.*qur-bu-ti ša* [...].

⁹³⁹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 149 (CT 53, 190), 5'-6': Nabū-aḫu-iddina [LÚ.*qur-b*]*u-ti ša DUMU—LUGAL*.

⁹⁴⁰ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Rev. I:1: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti ša DUMU—MAN*, I:8: LÚ.*qur-bu-te ša DUMU—MAN*; Col. II:14-15: [x] homers, 1 *sūtu* (10 litres) to Gaia, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for horses from Bīt-Daltā; and Rev. I:33: [...] LÚ.*q[ur-b]u-te [ša mār] šarri*. A third entry might also mention a *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince: II:28' Issar-Bābilā'ī LÚ.*qur-bu-te ša* [...].

⁹⁴¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:17: [...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG DUMU—MAN*, II:45: Marduk-šarru-ušur LÚ.*qur-ZAG DUMU—MAN*, Rev. I:2: Adad-[...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG DUMU—MAN*, I:8: [...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG DUMU—MAN*; 7 (ADD 853), Rev. II':3': [...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG DUMU—MAN*; 9 (ADD 860), Rev. II:8: [...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG A—MAN*, II:20: [...] LÚ.*qur-ZAG A—MAN*.

⁹⁴² DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

(3) *Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte ummi šarri* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the queen mother)

Only 4 *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the queen mother are known by name and a further name is fragmentary.⁹⁴³ This type of bodyguard appears exclusively in two administrative texts (lists of court officials).⁹⁴⁴ Taking the historical situation into account, these two texts can most probably be dated to the reign of Esarhaddon, since no queen mother other than Zakūtu is known to have achieved such an important role at the Assyrian court. Although other members (queens and sons of the king) of the royal family might also have possessed their own retinues, including bodyguards, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard was not a simple bodyguard but much more an ‘office.’ When Issar-dūri, the scribe of the queen mother, bought a large estate, his witnesses were the ‘third man of the queen mother’ (*tašlīšu ummi šarri*), the ‘cohort commander of the queen mother’ (*rab kišir ummi šarri*), a *qurbūtu* bodyguard, and a *ša—šēpē* guard.⁹⁴⁵ It is, however, not known whether these two types of bodyguard served the queen mother or not.

(4) *Qurbūtu ša—šēpē* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard)

During the 7th century B.C. a new combination of the two types of bodyguards appears in the cuneiform sources. The intermingling and merging of the two phrases used in the bodyguard context can be observed after the army reform of Sennacherib. At that time the *qurbūtu* (LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*) *šēpēia* (*‘qurbūtu* bodyguard of my feet’)⁹⁴⁶ appears in the royal inscriptions of Sennacherib. Somewhat later it is followed by the *qurbūtu ša—šēpē*⁹⁴⁷ and its chariotry counterpart, the *qurbūtu šēpē ša narkabte/mugerrī* (GIŠ.GIGIR),⁹⁴⁸ and *qurbūtu ša—šēpē* LÚ.GIGIR DU₈.MEŠ (of open chariotry).⁹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, while the differences between the meaning and context of *qurbūtu* and *ša—šēpē* in the 8th century B.C are relatively clear, it is not known what changes took place in the 7th century B.C. Whether the difference between the two categories survived, or – as the fused *qurbūtu ša—šēpē* phrase suggests –, the two types of guards merged, is a question that remains unanswered.

⁹⁴³ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:42: [...] LÚ.*qur*-ZAG AMA—MAN; 43: Issar-na’di LÚ.*qur*-ZAG AMA—MAN; II:32: Mutakkil-Aššur LÚ.*qur*-ZAG AMA—MAN; Rev. I:42: Inurta-ilā’i LÚ.*qur*-ZAG AMA—MAN; 9 (ADD 860), Rev. I:22: Wazaru LÚ.*qur*-ZAG AMA—MAN.

⁹⁴⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), 9 (ADD 860).

⁹⁴⁵ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 253 (ADD 428), Rev. 11: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*.

⁹⁴⁶ LUCKENBILL 1924, 36, III:81: LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* GÌR.II-*ia* (699—698 B.C.), and 74:66: LÚ.*qur-bu-tu*.MEŠ GÌR.II-*ia* (697—696 B.C.).

⁹⁴⁷ MATTILA 2002, 100 (ADD 177), 6-7: Kabar-ili LÚ.*qur-bu-ti* *ša—GÌR*.II (644 B.C.).

⁹⁴⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), R. I’:4’.

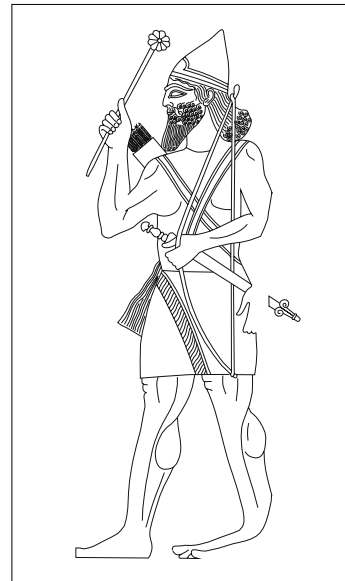
⁹⁴⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 154 (ADD 970 + ADD 1138), R. II’:21’.

OFFICERS OF THE INFANTRY

The early history of infantry officers (883—745 B.C.) (138—146)

9th century B.C. representations of officers show a consistent and fairly coherent picture. Officers dress similarly to regular soldiers, but can be distinguished from them by their more ornate short (*Plate 42, 138—141; Plate 43, 142—144*) and long kilts (*Plate 43, 145, 146*), more ornate weaponry (*Plate 42, 138—141*), and above all by their maces, the symbol of their authority (*Plate 42, 138—141; Plate 43, 142*).⁹⁵⁰ These maces exhibit a uniform design: a shaft ending in a rosette-shaped head. Some of them were fitted with a leather strap forming a loop at the end of the shaft, which was used to fasten the mace to the wrist of the officer or served as a whip. It is unknown whether these maces were real maces or decorated officer's staffs. Officers depicted in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II never wear armour, so they are probably officers of the Assyrian regular infantry.

Officers appear in a relatively standard set of contexts: they are marching in pairs (*Plate 42, 138, 139*) or alone (*Plate 42, 140*) in a battle context in front of chariots and behind cavalymen,⁹⁵¹ marching in front of and behind the royal chariot,⁹⁵² supervising the crossing of a river by the army (*Plate 43, 144*),⁹⁵³ escorting captives (*Plate 42, 141; Plate 43, 145, 146*),⁹⁵⁴ and as bodyguard officers marching beside (*Plate 43, 143*) or behind the royal chariot (*Plate 37, 124*).⁹⁵⁵



⁹⁵⁰ NIEDERREITER 2005, 57-76.

⁹⁵¹ LAYARD 1853A, pls. 14, 26, 30.

⁹⁵² LAYARD 1853A, pl. 21.

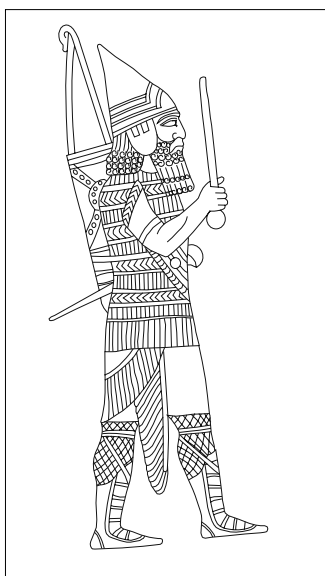
⁹⁵³ LAYARD 1853A, pl. 16.

⁹⁵⁴ LAYARD 1853A, pls. 20, 24.

⁹⁵⁵ LAYARD 1853A, pls. 18, 23.

Infantry officers of the imperial period (745—612 B.C.)

The representations (147—172)



The identification of the officers in the Assyrian palace reliefs of the Sargonide period presents one of the most difficult tasks. It is relatively easy to distinguish between regular soldiers and officers, but much more difficult to make a distinction between the various types of officers. It is simply impossible to find equivalents of the officers known from written sources in the ranks of the officers depicted in the palace reliefs, which means for example that no commander-of-50, or cohort commander can be identified in the sculptures.

In the absence of a possible colour code for the palace reliefs the garments and equipment of the officers cannot be distinguished from those of the soldiers.⁹⁵⁶ Seemingly both wore the same or very similar scale armour and similar pointed helmets. The palace reliefs, however, provide no clues that would help identify the material of the armour and the helmet (bronze, iron, iron with bronze inlay,⁹⁵⁷ silver or silver/gold plated, etc.), which might distinguish officers from ordinary soldiers. Officers can be set apart from soldiers by silver or golden bracelets, which were given to them as decorations for bravery, and other services.⁹⁵⁸ Unfortunately the decoration of the helmets does not offer any clue to make distinction between soldiers and the different types of officers.

Consequently the officers of the Assyrian troops (regular and heavy infantry) can be identified only or mainly (a) by their weaponry (the statistical approach) or (b) by the context in which they were depicted (contextual approach). They wore pointed helmets, scale armour, and could carry spears, bows/quivers, swords, and maces. The primary symbol of their authority was the mace.⁹⁵⁹ Following a statistical approach, the following weaponry combinations identifying officers appear in the palace reliefs (*Fig. 5*). If these representations are based on real knowledge, and the weaponry combinations are not *ad hoc*, at least seven major groups of officers can be classified. It must be admitted, however, that some of the categories of *Fig. 5* are based on a contextual approach. Thus soldiers or officers are also included who – lacking the primary symbol of their status (the mace) but judging by their representational context and the overall examination of the scene – can be classed as possible officers.

⁹⁵⁶ It is important to note that minor differences in the equipment of the officers can, however, be detected. (1) The uniform of eunuch officers differs from the uniform of the non-eunuch officers only in its skirt: the skirt of the eunuch officers is a plain skirt (or the lower end of an ‘undergarment’ worn under the scale armour), while the traditional skirt of the other officers (and soldiers) was probably a piece of material twisted around the waist with a fringed end hanging down.

⁹⁵⁷ DEZSÓ 2001, 18-55.

⁹⁵⁸ Not only officers, but ordinary soldiers of various arms were decorated for bravery (measured by the number of decapitated human heads collected) with golden or silver bracelets. LAYARD 1853B, pl. 35.

⁹⁵⁹ It is not known, however, whether the mace was carried by all types of officers, or was the attribute of the senior officers (for example the cohort commanders and above).

	TYPE	HELMET	ARMOUR	SPEAR	BOW/QUIVER	SWORD	MACE	BOOTS	NUMBER
Tiglath-Pileser III		+	-	-	+	+	+		3
		+	-	-	+	+	-		2
Sargon II		+	+	-	+	+	-	-	2
		+	+	-	-	-	+	-	2
		+	shield	+	+	+	-	-	1
Sennacherib	I/1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2
	I/2	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	4
	I/4	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	1
	I/7	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	1
	II/1	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	22
	II/3	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	1
	II/4	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	1
	II/5	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	1
	III/1	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	34
	III/2	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	17
	III/3	+	+	-	-	+	staff	+	2
	III/4	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	30
	III/5	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	7
	V/1	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	4
	V/2	-	+	-	-	+	staff	-	1
	V/3	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	15
Assurbanipal	I/1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	1
	I/3	+	+	+	-	+	staff	+	1
	I/4	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	2
	I/5	+	+	+	+	-	staff	+	1
	I/6	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	1
	I/7	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	6
	I/8	+	+	+	+	+	staff	+	1
	I/9	+	+	+	+	+	staff	-	2
	I/10	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	6
	I/11	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	1
	I/12	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	8
	I/13	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	2
	II/1	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	4
	II/2	+	+	-	+	+	staff	+	11
	II/3	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	22
	II/4	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	3
	III/1	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	1
	III/4	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	7
	III/6	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	4
	III/7	+	+	-	-	-	axe	+	2
	IV	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	1
	V/1	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	8
	V/3	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	27

Fig. 5. Types of officers according to their equipment (statistical approach).

An important preliminary observation is that – as has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter – the representational concept of the palace reliefs underwent a profound change during the reign of Sennacherib. In contrast with those few figures, who can be identified as officers in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II, large numbers of officers are depicted on the sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal. With the help of the statistical approach at least 293 Assyrian officers can be identified in the palace reliefs of Assyrian kings: Tiglath-Pileser III: 5, Sargon II: 5, Sennacherib: 149, Assurbanipal: 134. This disproportionate difference in numbers is a consequence of the diverging representational concepts.

(1) Statistical approach

The sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III – owing to the representational concept of the reliefs – depict a relatively small number of officers. These officers fall into two types: the first type is a bearded officer wearing a pointed helmet but no scale armour and is equipped with a sword, bow, quiver, and a mace, which he holds upside down, using its whip end to escort booty and captives (*Plate 44, 147*).⁹⁶⁰ The other type of officer is a eunuch, who wears a pointed helmet and no scale armour, and is equipped similarly with sword, bow, and quiver, but carries no mace – probably because he is introducing captives to the king and in one of his hands holds two heads, while with his other hand he grips the beard of a captive (*Plate 44, 148*).

Til-Barsip wall-paintings show a similar picture: only a few officers can be identified via the context they are placed in. The characteristic scenes in which they appear depict processions, where they escort tribute bearers. It is, however, uncertain whether they were officers or regular soldiers,⁹⁶¹ consequently only one of them, who is leading the column of tribute bearers, is classified as an officer (*Plate 44, 149*). They wear pointed iron helmets decorated with bronze inlay (painted light blue with yellow decoration)⁹⁶² and are equipped with swords, bows, and quivers. A uniquely represented soldier is given further emphasis since he is carrying out the execution of captives in front of the king. His dress consists of a Judaeen or Israelite kilt, he wears the Assyrian iron pointed helmet and a unique upper garment, which resembles chain-mail armour. His sword has a characteristic western (Syrian) type curved blade (*Plate 44, 150*).

The palace reliefs of Sargon II, similarly to those of Tiglath-Pileser III, show a small number of officers. There are altogether five soldiers who can be identified as officers. Three of them are eunuchs, who are represented as escorting captives. Two of them wear pointed helmets and scale armour and are equipped with bow, quiver and sword (*Plate 45, 154*),⁹⁶³ while the third also carries a mace (*Plate 45, 153*). A bearded officer also represented in a similar tribute bearer / captive escort scene wears a pointed helmet and scale armour, but his equipment consists only of a mace (*Plate 45, 152*). A further scene shows a soldier who can be classified as a regular spearmen (*Plate 24, 80*) or an officer as well. He does not wear scale armour but carries a large rounded bronze shield, and a spear. A few fragmentary scenes probably also show officers.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶⁰ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XXVII, LXVIII. See furthermore pl. LXXVIII, where a similar soldier or officer is bringing heads.

⁹⁶¹ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pls. XLIX, L, LI. The iron helmets might have been the privilege of officers, but by the end of the 8th century B.C. iron had probably become so cheap that larger groups of Assyrian soldiers might have been equipped with iron helmets.

⁹⁶² DEZSÓ 2001, 33-37.

⁹⁶³ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 94, 100.

⁹⁶⁴ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 69: helmet, bow, quiver, sword; 70: bow, spear, rectangular wicker shield.

A profound change in the representational concept and in the number and types of officers depicted started during the reign of Sennacherib and continued during the reign of Assurbanipal. The number of represented officers rose to 149 on the sculptures of Sennacherib and 134 on the sculptures of Assurbanipal. This change is mainly the consequence of the growing number of scenes (*see below*) in which the officers were characteristically represented, and a new emphasis might have been laid on the representation of the body of officers who were the backbone of the imperial army. Following a statistical approach, *Fig. 5* shows at least five major representational groups or categories of officers:

(I) The main characteristic of the first group is that its members are equipped with spears. This group consists of at least 13 subgroups. Those officers who are equipped with a spear, bow, quiver, sword and wear boots (groups I/1, I/4–8) were most probably officers of the cavalry bodyguard, since with the exception of the bodyguard cavalry not a single arm of the army of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal was equipped with both spears and bows. One of the officers shown on the Lachish reliefs (*Plate 46, 158*), is for example equipped with spear, bow, quiver and mace and wears a unique suit of scale armour which is shorter than the norm, and its lower end forms a saw-tooth design. He is most probably a dismounted cavalry officer. Another scene of the Lachish reliefs also shows cavalry bodyguards equipped with spears and bows (*vol. II, Plate 8, 15, 16*), with one of their officers standing among them (*Plate 47, 164*). He is most probably a cohort or squadron commander (*rab mūgi ša—pēṭhalli, rab kišir ša—pēṭhalli, or rab pēṭhalli*) of the cavalry bodyguard. A similar officer or cavalryman without scale armour is represented on the Til-Barsip wall paintings (*Plate 44, 151*). He is equipped with a spear, a bow and quiver, and a sword, and carries a whip which could either be the sign of his officer status or simply be used to drive the horses who feature in this scene.

The missing sword is not characteristic and due probably to a representational anomaly. The mace is a primary distinguishing feature of officer status, but it is not known whether the staff used to escort prisoners was an ordinary, everyday object, or designated status. Those officers, who were equipped with spears but not with bows or quivers, were most probably the officers of the infantry spearmen. It is not known whether there was any difference between officers who wore boots and those who were barefoot (groups I/9, 10, 13). The only rule which can be observed is that cavalrymen always wore boots.

(II) The second group consists of officers equipped with bows, quivers, and swords, and carrying a mace or staff (*Plate 46, 156, 157, 159, 160; Plate 49, 168, 169*). They are relatively numerous (25 + 40). They may represent a rank who would still fight in battles and sieges. Although this does not necessarily mean that they were officers of archer units, it is still the most probable option. They would represent different categories or ranks, since the same scene (the Lachish scene, *see below*) shows officers of this type equipped with different types of maces (*see for example the elaborate mace-heads of Plate 46, 160* in contrary to the other mace-heads of the same category of officers: *Plate 46, 157, 159*). These officers would also have been relatively high in rank: probably cohort commanders (*Plate 46, 157, 159*) and prefects (*Plate 46, 160*), or even higher ranking officers (*Plate 48, 165*).

(III) The third group consists of those officers who were equipped only with swords and maces. They are very numerous in the sculptures of Sennacherib (53 + 37) but very rare in the sculptures of Assurbanipal (1 + 7). This large group is divided into subgroups according to such characteristics as the presence or absence of the mace or the boots. The group – from the contextual point of view – falls into two main categories: high ranking officers and regular officers. The largest group obviously consists of regular officers of various infantry units. The context and the elaborate equipment, however, distinguish some of this group from these regular

officers. These higher ranking officers (*Plate 46, 159, 160; Plate 47, 161–163; Plate 48, 166*) are always represented in the entourage of the king and – within the possibilities provided by the small scale representations – their equipment (for example their maceheads) may be identified as superior to the equipment of the regular officers. A well defined group of them appears in large numbers next to the royal chariot (holding the wheel of the chariot (*Plate 49, 171d*), or marching in front of it (*Plate 49, 172*)). These high ranking officers probably belong to the prefect (*šaknu*) or the governor category. As will be discussed below, a special category of this group consists of the high officials who can be distinguished by their equipment: they carry maces and staffs as well (*Plate 48, 167*).

(IV) The fourth group consists of a single officer who wears no scale armour, only a pointed helmet and is equipped with a spear, bow, quiver, and a sword, and is bringing heads to a tent on the battlefield. It must be admitted that it is hard to decide whether he is an officer or a regular cavalryman.⁹⁶⁵

(V) Group five consists of officers who wear no helmet but only scale armour, and are equipped with swords and maces. They appear in relatively large numbers in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib (20+) and Assurbanipal (35). In the palace reliefs of Sennacherib they appear carrying booty and escorting the royal chariot.⁹⁶⁶ In the sculptures of Assurbanipal they are shown escorting the royal chariot in a triumphal procession (following the battle of Til-Tuba).⁹⁶⁷ These officers might well have been high officials or magnates – for example governors – who represented the body of the empire during triumphal processions.

The officers represented in the sculptures cannot be identified with military ranks known from written sources on their own. However, – combining the statistical and contextual approaches – some scenes make it possible to reconstruct a kind of system in their ranks. The Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib,⁹⁶⁸ for example, show 13 officers and 3 high officials around the king. At least four levels of rank can be reconstructed: (1) Three officers represent the lowest rank in this scene. Two of them are marching in the file of captives, escorting them (*Plate 46, 157, 158*). The third officer (*Plate 47, 164*) is standing between his subordinates: the cavalry bodyguards of the king (*vol. II, Plate 8, 15, 16*). This is probably the level of cohort commanders (*rab kišir*). It seems possible that the cohort commander was the first rank for which the mace was an established symbol of authority. (2) The next level consists of 8 officers, who are represented in pairs. Two pairs are wearing boots and are equipped with quivers and bows as well (*Plate 46, 159, 160*), while two pairs are barefoot or wearing sandals (*Plate 47, 161, 162*). They are represented in a somewhat different context to the officers of the previous level: they are executing captives, the leaders of the rebellion, in front of the king, while the others are standing in pairs. They are distinguished from the previous group by their elaborate maceheads and equipment. They are most probably higher in rank than the cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), and did not perform such duties as escorting captives and booty. If so, they might have been the prefects (*šaknu*) of various (infantry) arms. (3) The third level consists of two officers, who are marching uphill to appear before the king (*Plate 48, 165, 166*). The context shows that they are much more important than the officers in the previous two groups: they could speak to the king and could receive orders directly from him. Their equipment (one of them has a bow) enables them to lead their troops in battle. They

⁹⁶⁵ LAYARD 1853B, pl. 45.

⁹⁶⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 214, 554, 648-649, 694.

⁹⁶⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 384-386, 413.

⁹⁶⁸ LAYARD 1853B, pls. 22-24.

probably belong to the category of ‘generals,’ which means that they might be governors, who led their own troops in campaigns. (4) The fourth and highest level of officers is represented by three high officials (*Plate 48, 167*). They are standing in front of the royal throne, receiving orders from the king. They are distinguished from any other categories of officers by their equipment: each of them is carrying a staff and a mace as well – the symbols of their high status and authority. They were probably the high officials of the empire. It is tempting to identify them with those high officials who are mentioned in the Bible: the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*), and the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*). The Bible also mentions the Chief Eunuch, (*rab ša—rēšē*) who might well have been a eunuch. In this case the third bearded officer was another high official (for example the *masennu*, or the *nāgir ekalli*).

(2) Contextual approach

The contextual approach shows a limited number of contexts in which the officers were represented:

(a) Military scenes. It is interesting that from the contextual point of view officers were hardly ever represented in battle contexts. In the palace reliefs of Sennacherib only a few muster scenes fall into this category. However, all of those scenes show the officers standing in front of the cavalry outside the wall of the military camp⁹⁶⁹ or a burning city⁹⁷⁰ – consequently they might well have been cavalry officers, most probably the officers of the bodyguard cavalry. The sculptures of Assurbanipal show a much wider range of military or battle contexts. The most important scene showing Assyrian officers in action is obviously the depiction of the battle of Til-Tuba,⁹⁷¹ where (infantry) officers engage in close combat with Te’umman, his son (and their bodyguards), then behead the Elamite king. The Assyrian officers are shown fighting with battle axes, double axes, and maces. The scene also shows an Assyrian officer who is executing an Elamite with his mace: one of the rare examples of the use of the mace as a weapon (*see below*). Assyrian officers are shown giving orders to archers burning booty,⁹⁷² or shouting orders from a raft in the Babylonian marshes.⁹⁷³ The same scene shows a further officer who is waiting on the shore for the rafts bringing captives.⁹⁷⁴ One of the most famous scenes of an officer shouting orders is a siege scene, where an Assyrian officer on horseback or a cavalry officer is shouting orders or negotiating with the defenders of the besieged city (*vol. II, Plate 11, 22*).⁹⁷⁵ Another type of campaign scene represents a genre picture of a military camp, where two Assyrian officers are drinking in the tents.⁹⁷⁶ Apart from these scenes, the Assyrian officers are represented mainly in standard symbolic contexts.

(b) Carrying spoils. This context is one of the standard symbolic scenes of imperial propaganda designed to show the power of Assyrian arms. It appears on the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III.⁹⁷⁷ A characteristic scene showing soldiers or officers carrying statues of deities

⁹⁶⁹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 68 (Aranziaš, 2nd campaign): 1 officer.

⁹⁷⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 19 (unknown campaign): 6+ officers.

⁹⁷¹ LAYARD 1853B, pl. 46: 3 + 4 officers.

⁹⁷² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 348 (Babylonian campaign).

⁹⁷³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 340.

⁹⁷⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 341.

⁹⁷⁵ PLACE 1867, pl. 61. *See furthermore* BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVIII, where a cavalry spearman riding a galloping horse is shouting something.

⁹⁷⁶ BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI.

⁹⁷⁷ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XXVII–XXVIII (Arab campaign).

appears in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, but is shown in the sculptures of Sennacherib as well.⁹⁷⁸ Further characteristic contexts are the siege scenes showing Assyrian soldiers led by officers carrying spoil.⁹⁷⁹ A relatively large group of Assurbanipal's sculptures show Assyrian soldiers and officers carrying the spoil of the Elamite campaigns,⁹⁸⁰ and the spoil taken from Babylonia after the surrender of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and Ummanaldaš.⁹⁸¹ Scenes showing booty horses led by Assyrian officers receive much the same emphasis as the carrying of the statues of deities did.⁹⁸²

(c) Bringing heads. The bringing of heads was a standard motif of the Assyrian imperial propaganda repertoire. These scenes already appeared in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II,⁹⁸³ and depict an event of central importance in the service of the soldiers, who were granted golden or silver bracelets for their bravery according to the number of heads collected on the battlefield or during the campaign.⁹⁸⁴ Palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III,⁹⁸⁵ Sennacherib,⁹⁸⁶ and Assurbanipal⁹⁸⁷ depict not only common soldiers, but probably also Assyrian officers bringing heads.

(d) Escorting tribute bearers. This important aspect of the duties of Assyrian officers is surprisingly underrepresented in the palace reliefs. Altogether only two scenes show officers escorting tribute bearers.⁹⁸⁸

(e) Escorting captives or deportees. Unlike the tribute bearer scenes, much larger numbers of scenes show officers escorting captives or deportees. This was primarily a military duty and convoys of captives were escorted by military units under the supervision of officers. This type of scene appears in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III⁹⁸⁹ and Sargon II.⁹⁹⁰ Since five of these six scenes show eunuch officers it is quite possible that these officers served in the central military administration and not with the fighting units. The sculptures of Sennacherib exhibit a sudden increase in the number of these scenes and the number of officers depicted in this capacity (38 officers).⁹⁹¹ The sculptures of Assurbanipal contain an even larger number of scenes depicting

⁹⁷⁸ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 214 (unknown hill country): 6 officers, 606 (Babylonian campaign): 7 + 3 + 9 officers.

⁹⁷⁹ Sennacherib: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 432 (Lachish), 694 (camp scene, unknown hill country), Assurbanipal: BARNETT 1976, pls. LX-LXI (Elamite campaign), LXVII (Elam, Dīn-[Šarri]).

⁹⁸⁰ BARNETT 1976, pls. XX, XXVIII.

⁹⁸¹ BARNETT 1976, pl. XX.

⁹⁸² BARNETT 1976, pls. XX., XXXV, LXVII.

⁹⁸³ LAYARD 1853A, pl. 22.

⁹⁸⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 346.

⁹⁸⁵ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXXVIII (unknown campaign).

⁹⁸⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 370 (Eastern campaign).

⁹⁸⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 341 (Babylonian campaign: 5 officers), 381 (battle of Til-Tuba), 383 (battle of Til-Tuba); BARNETT 1976, pls. XXII (Elamite campaign: 2 officers), XXXVI (Egyptian campaign: 2 officers), LX-LXI (Elamite campaign: 1 officer), LXVII (Elam, Dīn-[Šarri]: 2 officers),

⁹⁸⁸ Tiglath-Pileser III: BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXVIII-LXIX (Astartu); Assurbanipal: BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI (Elam, Ḥamanu).

⁹⁸⁹ BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LIX (Urtian campaign): eunuch officer.

⁹⁹⁰ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 91, 92, 94, 100 (all of them 2nd *palū*, Western campaign): 3 eunuch officers, 1 bearded.

⁹⁹¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 28 (unknown hill country), 70 (Aranziaš, 2nd campaign), 71 (Aranziaš, 2nd campaign), 83 (unknown hill country), 103 (unknown hill country), 104 (unknown hill country), 129 (unknown hill country), 214 (unknown hill country), 227 (West, 3rd campaign), 229 (West, 3rd campaign), 260 (unknown campaign), 366 (Eastern campaign), 368 (Eastern campaign), 369 (Eastern campaign), 433 (Lachish, 3rd campaign), 434 (Lachish, 3rd campaign), 435 (Lachish, 3rd campaign), 448 (unknown hill country), 487 (unknown hill country), 493 (Media, Elam, 2nd campaign), 555 (Babylonian campaign), 608 (Babylonian campaign), 643 (Babylonian campaign), 652 (Babylonian campaign, Sahrina), 752 (unknown campaign), 753 (unknown campaign).

officers leading captives.⁹⁹² The number of officers (47) depicted in this context is larger than those of Sennacherib's. This shift in emphasis probably reflects the growing importance of deportations and their depictions, a tendency well known from the royal inscriptions.⁹⁹³

(f) Escorting musicians. Only a single scene of the palace reliefs of Sennacherib shows an Assyrian officer escorting musicians. To escort musicians might not have been a characteristic duty of officers, but this scene depicts them in a typical campaign context, in unidentified hill country.⁹⁹⁴

(g) Leading envoys to a royal audience. This feature of the officers' duty appears twice in Assyrian sculptures. One scene from the reliefs of Sennacherib shows an Assyrian officer leading a group of officials or envoys to a royal audience in a camp during a Western campaign.⁹⁹⁵ Assurbanipal's sculptures depicting the battle of Til-Tuba show an interesting scene of an Assyrian eunuch officer introducing an Elamite (Ummanaldaš?) to the surrendering Elamite army.⁹⁹⁶ The same scene found in one of the sculptures of the North Palace shows four Assyrian officers receiving the surrender of the Elamites.⁹⁹⁷ It seems from these representations that during campaigns officers performed duties which were normally performed by other officials.

(h) Escorting the royal chariot. From the ideological point of view this subtype is one of the most important scenes of the iconographical repertoire of the Assyrian palace reliefs. The royal chariot was always escorted by court personnel and bodyguards and – especially during campaigns – by officers of the army. It must be admitted that in campaign contexts court personnel are frequently represented in armour, so it is relatively difficult to make a distinction between military officers and court officials represented on palace reliefs. Furthermore, as has been discussed, the iconographical concept of the palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal shows a profound change in the representation of the royal scenes as well. From the reign of Sennacherib onwards the large-scale figures of the royal entourage wearing beautiful garments to emphasize their importance were replaced by large numbers of small scale figures, frequently represented as wearing standardized arms and armour. Such uniform figures appear in the entourage of the king. This scene became much more important during the 7th century B.C. The sculptures of Sargon II show only a single scene when an officer is shown marching in front of the royal chariot,⁹⁹⁸ and the emphasis is laid on those scenes where the royal chariot is escorted by cavalry bodyguards or high officials riding on horseback.⁹⁹⁹ On the contrary, the sculptures of Sennacherib show 19 scenes depicting officers escorting the royal chariot¹⁰⁰⁰ with a relatively large number of officers (45) represented in this context. As was discussed in the previous

⁹⁹² BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 277 (Babylonian campaign), 341 (Babylonian campaign); BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII (Elam, Ḫamanu), XVIII (Elam, Ḫamanu), XIX (Elam, Ḫamanu), XX (Elam), XXII (Elam), XXV (Elam, battle of Til-Tuba), XXVIII (Elam), XXXVI (Egypt), LX-LXI (Elam), LXVII (Elam, Dīn-[Šarri]), LXVIII (Babylonian campaign):

⁹⁹³ ODED 1979, 20.

⁹⁹⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 511.

⁹⁹⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 529.

⁹⁹⁶ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 385.

⁹⁹⁷ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXV (battle of Til-Tuba).

⁹⁹⁸ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 63. A hunting scene (pls. 113-114) shows further officials marching in front of the royal chariot carrying spears (2) and maces (2).

⁹⁹⁹ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 53, 63, 72-73, 112-113, 142-143.

¹⁰⁰⁰ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 101 (unknown hill country), 102 (unknown hill country), 193 (unknown hill country), 221 (unknown campaign), 441 (unknown hill country), 442 (unknown hill country), 445 (unknown hill country), 452 (unknown hill country), 485 (unknown hill country), 507 (unknown hill country), 518 (Western campaign?), 522 (Western campaign), 551 (Babylonian campaign), 554 (Babylonian campaign), 628 (unknown campaign), 646 (Babylonian campaign, Sahrina), 648-849 (Babylonian campaign, Sahrina), 704 (unknown campaign), 741 (unknown campaign).

chapter, the statistical examination of the weaponry of these officers and the context in which they were represented show that they were officers of higher rank: they belonged to the personal escort of the king (eunuch attendants, prefects, and governors). The sculptures of Assurbanipal lay a similar emphasis on this type of scene. They appear in the Southwest Palace sculptures depicting exclusively the king's Babylonian campaigns. The sculptures of Assurbanipal represent them in two characteristic contexts. The first is similar to the scenes which were depicted in the sculptures of Sennacherib.¹⁰⁰¹ Four such scenes show 15 officers in this context. These officers are represented as standing behind or marching in front of the royal chariot. *Plate 49, 171a-d* and *172* illustrates this scene. The scene¹⁰⁰² shows 4 armoured bodyguards equipped with huge rounded bronze shields and spears, 5 high officials (governors?) marching or standing in front of the chariot with their hands crossed in front of them (and resting on their swords?), 2 officials (stable officers or grooms?) represented frequently in front of the royal chariot, 1 officer holding the wheel of the chariot (a governor or a high official), 3 eunuch attendants (two are equipped with spears, one with a bow), and 2 mounted bodyguards. These scenes consequently represent only the higher-ranking officers, who had the right to march in front of, beside or behind the royal chariot. The other scene subtype is similarly representative. It shows triumphal processions following the battle of Til-Tuba where Assyrian officers/officials are marching in front of the royal chariot. They do not wear helmets, but only scale armour, and are marching in front of the chariot in large numbers.¹⁰⁰³ They are probably high-ranking officers or officials (prefects, governors) representing the executive branch of the empire.

(i) Guarding the royal throne. Such scenes are very rare, since the Assyrian king was hardly ever represented sitting on his throne in a campaign context. The most important scene of this category is to be found in the Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib, where the king is shown sitting on his throne and guarded by his officers patrolling in pairs around the throne (*Plate 46, 160; Plate 47, 162*).¹⁰⁰⁴

(j) Executing captives. This group consists of scenes which show the mace, a symbol of authority, being used as a weapon. The sculptures of Sennacherib have one scene in which Assyrian officers are executing captives with their maces¹⁰⁰⁵ and similar scenes appear in the sculptures of Assurbanipal as well.¹⁰⁰⁶ Another scene in the Til-Tuba battle sculptures shows Assyrian officers carrying out executions on the battlefield: one of them uses his mace to kill an Elamite, while the other is beheading another Elamite with his sword.¹⁰⁰⁷ Further officers are also represented as executing prisoners with their swords,¹⁰⁰⁸ and a single case is known where the weapon used for the execution is a spear.¹⁰⁰⁹ Some scenes depict prisoners being tortured by Assyrians, which was probably not a privilege of the officers and cannot be connected directly to them.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰¹ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278 (Babylonian campaign), 282 (Babylonian campaign), 283 (Babylonian campaign), 348 (Babylonian campaign).

¹⁰⁰² LAYARD 1853B, pl. 42.

¹⁰⁰³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 384: 13 officers, 385: 6 officers + 11 officers, 386: 2 officers, 413: 3 officers.

¹⁰⁰⁴ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 435.

¹⁰⁰⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 493 (2nd campaign, Media, Elam): 5+ officers.

¹⁰⁰⁶ BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXVI (Egypt, Memphis), BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 381 (battle of Til-Tuba).

¹⁰⁰⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 383.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Sennacherib: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 434 (3rd campaign, Lachish): 2 officers.

¹⁰⁰⁹ BARNETT 1976, pl. LXXI (unknown context).

¹⁰¹⁰ Sennacherib: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 432, 433 (3rd campaign, Lachish): 4 officers(?); Assurbanipal: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos 384, 385 (battle of Til-Tuba): 3+ officers(?).

It can be concluded that officers are hardly ever represented in their expected capacities – fighting in battles or leading troops on campaigns – but much more in *symbolic* contexts which emphasize certain aspects of the imperial propaganda and those aspects with which the army contributed to this iconographical portfolio.

STARR 1990	144	139	142	145
high officials	1			
governors	2			
eunuchs	3	1	1	
bearded officials	4	2	2	
entourage (<i>manzaz pāni</i>)	5	3	3	
senior members of the royal line	6		4	
junior members of the royal line	7		5	1
prefects	8	4		
recruitment officers	9	5	9	2
team commanders	10	6		3
chariot drivers	11		8	
'third men'	12		6	
chariot fighters	13		7	
king's chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LUGAL)		9		4
[...] chariot men				5
prefects of the exempt military (<i>zakkē</i>)			10	
prefects of the cavalry			11	
cohort commanders	14			
<i>qurbātu</i> bodyguards	15	7	12	
<i>ša—šēpē</i> guards	16	8	13	
keepers of the inner gates	17	10	14	
keepers of the outer gates	18	11	15	
<i>kallapāni</i>	19		19	
trackers (<i>rādi kibsi</i>)	20		20	
palace superintendents	21		16	
staff bearers	22		17	6
watchmen	23		18	7
eunuchs bearing arms	24		21	
bearded officials bearing arms and standing guard over the king	25		22	

Fig. 6. Relative list of importance provided by omnia.

Cuneiform sources

Only a few administrative texts help us identify a chain of command or a line of relative importance. Such a 'list of importance' is known from some omīna listing military personnel probably also according to their place in the military hierarchy (*Fig. 6*). This list – if it really does list officers according to their rank – makes it clear that the first group consists of high officials, governors and high-ranking court personnel. The second group consists of prefects and equestrian officers, the third of cohort commanders and bodyguards. The fourth group contains not officers but other military personnel connected to the court. This text and the other similar ones (*vol. II, Fig. 5*), however, provide insufficient information to reconstruct a chain of command. The following reconstruction is based on a much larger group of cuneiform sources.

Commander-of-10 (rab ešerti)

The smallest known unit is the group of ten men, the commander of which is known only from the 'civilian sector' (for example among scribes,¹⁰¹¹ craftsmen and shepherds, and even, probably, the decurio of a craftsmen community, of the Aššur Gate of Assur)¹⁰¹² of Assyrian and Babylonian society.¹⁰¹³ Not a single case is known when the term commander-of-10 (decurio) denoted a military officer. The Hurrian term of *emanti* (a group of ten men) and their commander, the *emantuḫlu*¹⁰¹⁴ known from Nuzi are the only allusions in a military context of a group of ten. In spite of the lack of definitive evidence Assyrian army units might also have organised into groups of ten on a basic level.

Commander-of-50 (rab ḫanšê)

The commander-of-50 is the lowest rank of the Assyrian army known from the cuneiform sources. He was the commander of 50 men, probably an infantry platoon consisting of 50 soldiers. However, this rank is known not only in the ranks of the infantry, but in the ranks of the chariotry as well. Two major types of commanders-of-50 are known in chariotry units: the 'commander-of-50 of chariotry' (GAL—50.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ),¹⁰¹⁵ and the 'commander-of-50 of third men,' which itself includes three variants: the 'commander-of-50 of 'third men' (GAL—50 3-šú.MEŠ),¹⁰¹⁶ the 'Assyrian commander-of-50 of third men' (KUR.AŠ GAL—50.MEŠ ša 3-šú.[MEŠ]),¹⁰¹⁷ and the '[commanders-of-50] of the third men of the ša—šēpē guard' (GAL—50.MEŠ ša 3-šú ĠIR.2).¹⁰¹⁸ Apart from these few equestrian examples, the commander-of-50 is known only in the ranks of the infantry.

¹⁰¹¹ DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 14 (A 1843), 3: [...]-āia GAL—10-te ša A.BA.MEŠ.

¹⁰¹² DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 14 (A 1843), 13': [...LÚ.]GAL—10-te ša KÁ—Aš-šur.

¹⁰¹³ OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1958, 365, s.v. *eširtu*.

¹⁰¹⁴ OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1958, 137, s.v. *emanti* and *emantuḫlu*.

¹⁰¹⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:10'.

¹⁰¹⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:19'; 157 (ADD 838+), Rev. II:6: GAL—50.MEŠ 3-šú.MEŠ[Š ...].

¹⁰¹⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), Rev. II':8'.

¹⁰¹⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148 (ADD 1083), Rev. II:6'.

The earliest known examples of this title are dated to the early 8th century B.C., to the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.). The earliest text mentioning a commander-of-50 dates back to 791 B.C.¹⁰¹⁹ These early texts are exclusively administrative documents of the royal court from Nimrud, distributing wine rations¹⁰²⁰ to court officials including groups of officers at court.

Several types of commanders-of-50 are known from the cuneiform sources, which show that platoon leaders served in almost every type of infantry unit, including the auxiliary spearmen ('commander-of-50 of the Gurreans'¹⁰²¹ (*see above*)), the governor,¹⁰²² the provincial units of the *turtānu* ('commander-of-50 of the *turtānu*'),¹⁰²³ the units of the crown prince ('commander-of-50 of the ... unit of the crown prince'),¹⁰²⁴ and the 'commander-of-50 of *māḫiṣāni*,'¹⁰²⁵ in which case it is left undecided whether the *māḫiṣu* is used in a civilian context (weaver, hunter, etc.) or in an unidentified military context. A single document mentions the 'commander-of-50 of the deputy' or a 'deputy commander-of-50.'¹⁰²⁶

The text corpus referring to commanders-of-50 contains a large number of legal texts, which list them in their witness sections,¹⁰²⁷ and a few administrative texts.¹⁰²⁸ Sometimes they appear in groups together with other military personnel,¹⁰²⁹ which shows a kind of military concentration at the court or in other cities. Similarly to other officers discussed above and below, the commanders-of-50 could also own fields,¹⁰³⁰ but it is unknown whether these fields were given

¹⁰¹⁹ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 8 (ND 10047), 24: LÚ.GAL—5[0.MEŠ-ni].

¹⁰²⁰ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 1 (ND 6229), II:9: GAL—50.MEŠ-ni; 5 (ND 6214), Rev. 8: LÚ.GAL—50.ME-ni (779 B.C.); 6 (ND 6219), Rev. 31: LÚ.GAL—50.MEŠ-ni; 12 (ND 10055), 11: [LÚ.]GAL—50.MEŠ-ni; 14 (ND 10031), 23: LÚ.GAL—50.MEŠ-ni; 19 (ND 10051), Rev. 2: [LÚ.G]AL—50.[MEŠ-ni]; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 124 (ND 10031), Rev. 12: LÚ.GAL—5[0].MEŠ-ni (around 780 B.C.); 145 (ND 6218), III:7: LÚ.GAL.50.MEŠ-ni (784 B.C.).

¹⁰²¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53 (ABL 251), 4, 15, 20, 27, Rev. 5, 7: LÚ.GAL—50-ia šú-u ša LÚ.Gur-ra-a-a.

¹⁰²² WISEMAN – KINNIER WILSON 1951, 111, ND 442.

¹⁰²³ POSTGATE 1973, 112 (ND 442), 1-4: Nabû-gimilli-tēre LÚ.GAL—50 ša LÚ.t[ur-ta-ni?]

¹⁰²⁴ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1), Rev. 23: Kur-ilā'ī LÚ.GAL—50 [x x] šá DUMU—MAN.

¹⁰²⁵ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1), Rev. 22: Pilaqqānu LÚ.GAL—50 šá LÚ.ma-ḫi-ša-a-ni.

¹⁰²⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 124 (ADD 238), Rev. 6': Nergal-aḫu-uṣur LÚ.GAL—50 ša 2-u(šanū).

¹⁰²⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 289 (ADD 181) Rev. 9: witness [...]nāiu GAL—50 (670 B.C.); MATTILA 2002, 27 (ADD 358+), Rev. 10: Baḫāia GAL—50; 318 (ADD 607), Rev. 7': [...] LÚ.GAL—50 (together with 3 'third men', 1 *qurbātu* bodyguard, and 2 prefects of the crown prince). MATTILA 2002, 24 (ADD 233), Rev. 15: Iamannū LÚ.GAL—50; Large number of such witnesses are known from Assur: DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 167 Rev. 6: Urdu-Aššur GAL—50, 181 Rev. 8: Kidin-Šamaš LÚ.GAL—50, Rev. 10: [...] LÚ.GAL—50, 182 Rev. 10: Kidin-Šamaš LÚ.GAL—50, Rev. 12: [...] LÚ.GAL—50, 183 Rev. 6: Lā-turamanni-Aššur GAL—50, 184 Rev. 3: LÚ.GAL—50-e-šū (his officer), Rev. 8: Lā-turamanni-Aššur LÚ.GAL—50, 204 Rev. 4: Mannu-kī-Aššur [LÚ].GAL—50, 207 Rev. 10 and S. 1: Pinaiawa GAL—50, 214 Rev. 5: Kišir-Aššur GAL—50, 230 S. 2: [...] GAL—50. From the Assur archives: FAIST 2007, 22 (VAT 10013), Rev. 6': [...] LÚ.GAL—50 (758 B.C.); 10 (VAT 9780), Rev. 27: Issar-šallim-aḫḫē LÚ.GAL—50 (749 B.C.); 102 (VAT 8241), Rev. 18: Na'di-Aššur LÚ.GAL—50, Rev. 33: Baqi-Aia LÚ.GAL—50 (655 B.C.); 103 (VAT 8266), Rev. 20: Bāni-Aššur LÚ.GAL—50 (622 B.C.); 40 (VAT 9318), Rev. 10: Šamaš-bēlu-uṣur LÚ.GAL—50 (618 B.C.); DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 214 (A 1858), Rev. 5: Kišir-Aššur GAL—50 (615 B.C.); 183 (A 315), Rev. 6: Lā-turamanni-Aššur GAL—50 (and servant of the commander-of-50 in 184 (A 310), Rev. 8!); 204 (A 1854), Rev. 3-4: [...] son of Mannu-kī-Aššur GAL—50; 230 (A 1870), S. 1: [...] GAL—50; AHMAD 1996, 10 (Aššur 28), Rev. 34: Ḫani GAL—50. In these cases, however, it is not known whether they were military personnel or commanders-of-50 of some groups of labourers.

¹⁰²⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 137 (ADD 1048), 4-5: an account of wine and beer lists Ušebišuna, the commander-of-50 (LÚ.GAL—50.MEŠ); while at least 8 displaced or deported persons were in charge of Aḫ-abū GAL—50 (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 183 (ADD 893), 6); SCHROEDER 1920, 132 (VAT.10469), 1: Ame-atar LÚ.GAL—50.

¹⁰²⁹ DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 20 (ND 717), Rev. 7—9: [...]ha-me LÚ.GAL—50, Qadasu LÚ.GAL—50, Minatkira LÚ.GAL—50. Reign of Adad-nērārī III.

¹⁰³⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 226 (ADD 629), 9: A field rented by Silim-Aššur adjoined the field of Puṭi[...] (an Egyptian?) commander-of-50 (LÚ.GAL—50) (676 B.C.). The Kakkullānu archive gives us another example. When Kakkullānu in 625 B.C. bought 20 hectares of land in Abi-ilā'ī, two of his neighbours were cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) and the third, Baḫāia was a commander-of-50 (MATTILA 2002, 42 (ADD 414)), which shows that military personnel could own estates next to each other, indicating the deliberate distribution of estates in the ranks of military. The witness list of this document consists of 5 cohort

in exchange for military service or were family estates. When Gir-Ḥâ, a commander-of-50, bought a Tabolean slave, one of his witnesses was a colleague, Pisin-Eši, who was also a commander-of-50.¹⁰³¹ It is interesting that their names hint at a possible Egyptian origin, which can be observed in the case of other commanders-of-50 as well,¹⁰³² while there are some commanders-of-50 with Assyrian names in clear Egyptian contexts.¹⁰³³ It is not, however, known whether they commanded Egyptian units or were simply mercenaries, vassals or Assyrian citizens. Another commander-of-50 of foreign origin is known from a legal text, in which Nabû-sâkip donates two slaves and an estate to Nabû, the estate adjoins the field of Adumu, a Sidonian, and one of the witnesses was Ba'al-ḥalušu, commander-of-50, probably also of Sidonian origin.¹⁰³⁴ For the third example of a foreign (Gurrean) commander-of-50 *see* below. Postgate supposed that the commander-of-50 was an officer, the rank compatible with that of the cohort commander (*rab kišir*) but their sphere of activity connected them to auxiliary troops of the Assyrian army.¹⁰³⁵ The relatively large number of foreign commanders-of-50, however, does not provide sufficient evidence to exclude the possibility that an even larger number of commanders-of-50 bearing Assyrian names served in the Assyrian regular troops.

The other large group of texts consists of letters and reports of royal correspondence. These reports – including several fragmentary entries¹⁰³⁶ –, however, provide hardly any valuable information concerning the commanders-of-50. It is interesting that two texts mention renegade commanders-of-50 who deserted with their men. One of them was a Gurrean commander-of-50, who after killing the mayor of Meturna, took 15 of his Gurrean men and deserted to Šubria, where they entered the fort of Marḥuḥa. When Aššur-dūr-pānīa sent Il-dalâ and his men to pursue them they went to Šubria and met the renegade commander-of-50, but the Gurrean laid a trap to the Assyrians after a sworn agreement and attacked them with 100 Marḥuḥean spearmen. In the ensuing fight he was wounded, but never returned to Assyria.¹⁰³⁷ The other text is a memorandum of clothing, which also mentions Gurrean troops (1,500 wraps of the Gurreans), and lists 11 men who ran away with a commander-of-50 and came to the official who wrote the note.¹⁰³⁸ In this case the commander-of-50 and his men deserted from an unknown place of service to an Assyrian official.

commanders and 3 *qurbūtu* bodyguards. For detailed discussion *see* in section about the Cohort commander. Probably the same Baltāia GAL—50 appears in another legal text (MATTILA 2002, 27 (ADD 260), about the purchase of a vacant lot, 640 B.C.).

¹⁰³¹ MATTILA 2002, 91 (ADD 197), 4: Gir-Ḥâ GAL—50, Rev. 3': Pisin-Eši GAL—50 (648 B.C.).

¹⁰³² MATTILA 2002, 442 (TIM 11, 15), Rev. 12: Puṭiše GAL—50 (634 B.C.); KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 226 (ADD 629), 9: Puṭi-[...] LÚ.GAL—50 (676 B.C.). FAIST 2007, 95 (VAT 20769), Rev. 12: Pir-mute LÚ.GAL—50 (658 B.C.); DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 207 (A 1841), Rev. 10, S. 1: Pinaiawa GAL—50 (618 B.C.)

¹⁰³³ DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 167 (A 311), Rev. 6': Urdu-Aššur GAL—50 (with an Egyptian father in DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 207 (A 1841), 12-13); DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 181 (A 314), Rev. 8, 182 (A 2485), Rev. 10: Kidin-Šamaš LÚ.GAL—50 (629); DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 181 (A 314), Rev. 10: [...] LÚ.GAL—50.

¹⁰³⁴ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 96 (Iraq 19, 135), 10: Ba'al-ḥalušu LÚ.GAL—50.

¹⁰³⁵ POSTGATE 2007, 344-345.

¹⁰³⁶ SAGGS 2001, 181-182, ND 2733, 9': the commander-of-50 (LÚ.GAL—50) of somebody in a Damascene context; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 43 (CT 53, 283), 12: LÚ.GAL—50 in a beam cutting context; FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 368 (CT 53, 345), 1: LÚ.GAL—50.

¹⁰³⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53 (ABL 251).

¹⁰³⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 112 (ADD 680), S. 1.

Cohort commander (rab kišir)

The cohort (*kišru*)¹⁰³⁹ system provided the basic structure of the army. Assyrian royal inscriptions frequently use the term in the general sense of ‘troops.’ Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) mentions for example when he destroyed the troops of the Qumānu at the battle of Mount Tala.¹⁰⁴⁰ Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) also used the term for enemy troops.¹⁰⁴¹ These terms probably denoted enemy troops of a regular type who were organized enough (into cohorts) to fight a formal battle against the Assyrians. The titulary of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) also uses this term to designate the cohorts of the enemy to be dispersed.¹⁰⁴²

Sargon II also used the term to refer to troops of regular character. Describing his campaign against Rusa, king of Urartu, he states that when he launched his campaign he did not even assemble his troops (muster the *kišir šarrūti?*).¹⁰⁴³ In another passage the text mentions the mobilization of the cohorts of the Assyrian eunuch(s and?) governors.¹⁰⁴⁴ The cohort system was obviously used by other nations, enemies of Assyria, as well. A further passage of the 8th campaign of Sargon II, describing the Urartian troops of Rusa, uses the same term¹⁰⁴⁵ emphasizing the regular character of these troops. The same regularity appears in the army of another enemy of the Assyrians, Merodach-baladan. The annals of Sargon II tell us that Merodach-baladan strengthened his fortresses and collected his cohorts to meet the Assyrian advance.¹⁰⁴⁶ His organizing principle reappears during the reign of Sennacherib as well. When during the first campaign of Sennacherib Merodach-Baladan and his Elamite, Chaldean and Aramean allies seized Kutḥa as a stronghold to stop the advancing Assyrian army, Merodach-Baladan organized the countless host of his Chaldean and Aramean allies into cohorts.¹⁰⁴⁷ The Elamite army was already organized into cohorts since Šutur-Nahundū, king of Elam, his ally sent to Babylonia under the command of his *turtānu* Imbappi, 10 cohort commanders, who were captured after the battle of Kutḥa.¹⁰⁴⁸ The royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal clearly shows the Assyrian practice that defeated or surrendered enemy soldiers or units were organized into Assyrian type cohorts and incorporated into the Assyrian army.¹⁰⁴⁹ The royal corps itself was named *kišir šarrūti* (for detailed discussion see vol. II, Summary: The development of the Assyrian army).

Early 8th century B.C. administrative texts (wine and bread lists) list court personnel, including military officials who received daily wine and bread rations at the court. A standard item of the lists is the ‘cohort of Šamaš,’ member(s) of which got a standard ration of between

¹⁰³⁹ This chapter deals only with the military aspects of the question. For further contexts of the use of the word (in literary and omen texts) see OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1971, s.v. *kišru*, 2.

¹⁰⁴⁰ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, v:90: *ki-šir-šu-nu gap-ša lu-pe-ri-ir*.

¹⁰⁴¹ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, i:40: *ú-par-ri-ru ki-šir mul-tar-ḥi* (who ... broke up the forces of the rebellious).

¹⁰⁴² GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.28, 8: *mu-pa-ri-ir ki-ši-ir*.

¹⁰⁴³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 130: *la ú-paḥ-ḥi-ra ki-iš-ri-ia* (I did not assemble my troops).

¹⁰⁴⁴ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 333: LÚ. šu-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ *a-di ki-iš-ri-šu-nu ur-tu ú-ma-er-ma ḥit-mu-ṭi-iš áš-pur* (I sent an order to my eunuchs, governors together with their troops).

¹⁰⁴⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 301: LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-šu *a-di ki-iš-ri-šu-nu i-na lib-bi ú-še-li-ma* (he (Rusa) stationed his governors with their troops (in these fortresses)).

¹⁰⁴⁶ FUCHS 1994, Annals 266: *ú-paḥ-ḥi-ra ki-iš-re-e-šu*.

¹⁰⁴⁷ LUCKENBILL 1924, 50:18: *e-mu-qi la ni-bi it-ti-šu-nu-ti-ma ú-dan-ni-in ki-iš-ri-šu-un*.

¹⁰⁴⁸ LUCKENBILL 1924, 49:8: 10 LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ; 51:17: 10 LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ [LUGAL(*šar*)] KUR.ELAM.MA.KI(*Elamti*).

¹⁰⁴⁹ STRECK 1916, 82 iv:126: *a-na ki-šir ak-šur-ma UGU(eli) ERIM.ḪI.A-ia(unmanāteia) ... ú-rad-di* (I formed them (the rest of the people of Akkū) into a contingent and added them to my army.).

2.5 and 3 *qâ* (2.5–3 litres) daily.¹⁰⁵⁰ This amount was enough for one or two persons so the possibility of rationing a whole unit can be excluded. This unit might have been a contingent of soldiers or workers attached to the god or an army contingent bearing the name of the god, a practice known from the cuneiform evidence (see *vol. II*, Summary: The development of the Assyrian army).

Several texts mention cohorts formed by the king.¹⁰⁵¹ These cohorts included not only Assyrians, but foreigners as well. Sargon II for example formed a cohort from Philistines.¹⁰⁵² They, however, were not obedient to their commander, who reported it to the king. In another case the king formed a cohort from the people of Arzâ and gave them to Gabbu-ana-Aššur, the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekalli*). The king sent him a writing board with the names of those men who were members of the cohort, while ordering the Palace Herald to give the rest of the people, whose names were not written on the writing board, to Arzâ.¹⁰⁵³

However, subjects of the Assyrian king or conquered people were organized into cohorts not only by the king, but the governors as well. Sargon II for example sent an order to Aššur-bēlu-ušur in 710/709 B.C. who was dragging tribute with his troops via Bīt-Hamban to Babylon to form a cohort (from captured people?).¹⁰⁵⁴ When the Elamite king launched a campaign in 707 B.C. and marched to Bīt-Bunakka with his army, the Assyrian governor sent an order to Dēr, to Nabû-dūru-ušur to strengthen the guard and the walls, and form a cohort.¹⁰⁵⁵ The tablet is unfortunately too fragmentary to reconstruct the type of cohort and the ethnic background of the soldiers. Sometimes governors appropriated men who belonged to the Palace, and used them for their own purposes. Sargon II for example called Mannu-kī-Adad to account for 1,119 able bodied men, some of whom the official turned into recruits without permission, others into charioteers, and others again into cavalymen, in his own cohorts.¹⁰⁵⁶

A few administrative texts list men who were assigned to royal cohorts. When Sîn-bēlu-ušur, a cohort commander, appeared in the witness list of a slave sale, four of his men were also listed with him.¹⁰⁵⁷ Another administrative document lists a cohort commander, Zarutī and one of the soldiers, Milki-Issar, assigned to his cohort, explicitly identified the cohort as the cohort of Zarutī.¹⁰⁵⁸ Not only infantrymen, but also a ‘third man of the royal cohort’ are known from an administrative document.¹⁰⁵⁹ It seems that membership of a royal cohort conferred a status which could be indicated in a legal document. These are the only examples when a regular soldier of the Assyrian army can be identified by name. The witness section of a legal document found at Tall Šēh Hamad (Dūr-Katlimmu) lists a further example of a member of a royal cohort: Zimrâ was a member of a

¹⁰⁵⁰ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3 (ND 6218), 1:26: *ša ki-iš-ri ša* ^dUTU (2.5 *qâ*), 784 B.C.; 6 (ND 6219), 14: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU (3? *qâ*); 8 (ND 10047), 19: *ki-šir* ^dUTU, (791 B.C.); 10 (ND 10057), Rev. 8: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU (2.5/3 *qâ*); 13 (ND.10027+), 13: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU (3 *qâ*); 19 (ND 10051), 16: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU; 35 (ND 2489), 8: *ki-šir* [*ša* ^dUTU] (6 *qâ* bread).

¹⁰⁵¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 182 (CT 53, 891), 5-7: cohort formed by the king (*ki-iš-r[u š]a LUGAL be-lí ik-šur-u-ni*).

¹⁰⁵² PARPOLA 1987, 155 (ABL 218), letter of Nergal-ballit to Sargon II.

¹⁰⁵³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 121 (ABL 121), 3-14.

¹⁰⁵⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242), Rev. 4’.

¹⁰⁵⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 129 (CT 53, 110+), E. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304), 9. *an-nu-ti a-na LÚ.rak-su-ti*, 10. *an-nu-ti a-na LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ*, 11. *an-nu-ti a-na ANŠE.ša—BAD.ĪAL-la-ti*, 12. *a-na ki-iš-ri ša ra-mi-ni-ka*, 13. *tu-ta-ar-šú-nu*.

¹⁰⁵⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 192 (ADD 276), R. 4’: Sîn-bēlu-ušur LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 5’: Īnnumu *ki-šir*—MAN, 6’: Šumāia *ki-šir*—MAN, 7’: Rēmūtu *ki-šir*—MAN, 8’: Aḫūni *ki-šir*—MAN (682 B.C.). See furthermore a fragmentary entry: MATTILA 2002, 314 (ADD 600), Rev. 1’-2’: *Ilu-dusu* [...] *ki-šir*—LUGAL

¹⁰⁵⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 64 (ADD 938+), Rev. II’:15’: Milki-Issar *ša ki-šir* ^mNUMUN-*u-te*, 16’: Zārūtī LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁵⁹ MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 12: Marduk-šarru-ušur LÚ.3-šú KA.KEŠDA(*kišir*) LUGAL(*šarri*), (625 B.C.).

royal cohort from the town of Kipšuna.¹⁰⁶⁰ The question is whether the royal cohort was formed from the people of Kipšuna or simply stationed there. This example again clearly indicates that the Assyrian army, including the *kišir šarrūti*, was organized on a territorial basis.

The cohort (*kišru*) system was, however, the basic structure not only of the army, but of part of the civilian sector as well. As has been emphasized by Postgate,¹⁰⁶¹ the cohort system was expanded by Esarhaddon, who included into the royal corps not only fighting units, but also groups of civilians, for example craftsmen, scribes, farmers, shepherds, and gardeners.¹⁰⁶²

The cohort system included groups of craftsmen and professionals such as blacksmiths, scribes, tailors, domestics, and shepherds. A letter of complaint written by 17 blacksmiths to Esarhaddon shows that they were organized in a cohort system.¹⁰⁶³ A letter written by scribes to Assurbanipal refers to the prefects and cohort commanders of the scribes¹⁰⁶⁴ and to the cohorts they belonged to.¹⁰⁶⁵ A single text mentions the cohort commander of the chief confectioner, who might also have been a civilian official.¹⁰⁶⁶ A further civilian cohort commander: cohort commander of the tailors(?),¹⁰⁶⁷ is known from another administrative text. The letter of Bēl-liqbî mentions a cohort of craftsmen¹⁰⁶⁸ living in the town of Ḫesa to be moved out and settled in the town of Argite. The term *rab kišir ša bīt šanê* ('cohort commander of the second house') probably also designated a cohort commander of domestic servants.¹⁰⁶⁹ The early use of the cohort system in both military and civilian contexts is attested by the date (788 B.C.) of one of these entries.

The cohort system and the cohort commander are known in the ranks of shepherds as well. Ina-šar-Bēl-allak informed Sargon II that the continual sheep offerings organized by the king for the Nabû Temple have regularly been provided by the cohort within his city.¹⁰⁷⁰ This was most probably a cohort of shepherds. A fragmentary memorandum about domestic animals mentions a cohort commander in a context which lists those animals (sheep and donkeys) which had to be brought in.¹⁰⁷¹ A court decision concerning the case of Ḫanî, who owed the crown prince 300 sheep, in the standard formula section of the text mentions his prefect and cohort commander.¹⁰⁷² If Ḫanî was a shepherd, his prefect and cohort commander were the superiors of shepherds.

Similarly to other communities (of craftsmen) organized into cohorts, shepherds also took part in construction work. A letter probably written by Taklāk-ana-Bēli to Sargon II mentions at least two cohort commanders of shepherds: Nagâ and Ilu-pīa-ušur.¹⁰⁷³ Ilu-pīa-ušur was appointed

¹⁰⁶⁰ RADNER 2002, 56 (SH 98/6949 I 884), Rev. 18-19: Zimrâ ša ki-šir—MAN T[A Š]Ā URU.Kip-š[u-ni] (637 B.C.).

¹⁰⁶¹ POSTGATE 1980, 72. See furthermore POSTGATE 1979, 210-212.

¹⁰⁶² BORGER 1956, 106 III:16-18.

¹⁰⁶³ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 40 (CT 53 13), Rev. 12: LÚ.GAL—ki-šir-a-ni.

¹⁰⁶⁴ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 43 (ABL 557), Rev. 5: a-na LÚ.GAR-nu.MEŠ a-na LÚ.<GAL>—ki-šir.MEŠ.

¹⁰⁶⁵ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 43 (ABL 557), 3-4: LÚ.A.BA ša ina IGI [...] ki-šir ša [...] [...] the scribe who is in the service of [...], the cohort of [...].

¹⁰⁶⁶ MATTILA 2002, 81 (ADD 618), Rev. 11-12: Aššur-šumu-iddina LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša LÚ.GAL SUM.NINDA.

¹⁰⁶⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 24 (SAAB 6, 3), Rev. 6-7: Aḫi-pada LÚ.GAL—ki-šir TÚG.ME? Note that MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627), Rev. 2: [... LÚ.]GAL—KA..KÉ[Š] translates 'chief tailor.'

¹⁰⁶⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 177 (ABL 414), 11-12: LÚ.DUMU—ki-it-ki-te-e 1-en LÚ.ki-šir.

¹⁰⁶⁹ DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 16 (ND 704), Rev. 18: Abat-šarri-lā-teni GAL—KA.KEŠDA ša É 2-e (788 B.C.); KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 270 (ADD 534), Rev. 1': Nabû-bēlu-ka" in LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša É-2-e (678 B.C.).

¹⁰⁷⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 129 (ABL 1087), 9: ki-iš-ri.

¹⁰⁷¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 95 (ADD 762), 1': [LÚ.]GAL—ki-šir[r].

¹⁰⁷² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 264 (ADD 164), Rev. 1: LÚ.GAL—ki-šir-šú (680 B.C.). Similar passages are known from several legal documents: MATTILA 2002, 36 (ADD 446), 22: GAL—ki-šir-šú; 176 (ADD 498), 4': LÚ.GAL—ki-šir.MEŠ-[šú-nu]; 218 (ADD 509), Rev. 1: LÚ.GAL—ki-šir-šú-nu; 443 (TIM 11, 14), 13: GAL—ki-šir; AHMAD 1996, 4 (Aššur 4), 18: GAL—ki-šir.

¹⁰⁷³ PARPOLA 1987, 236 (ABL 639), Rev. 1: LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ(rē'î).

by Taklāk-ana-Bēli to the service of Nagâ, another cohort commander. Ilu-pīa-ušur, however, did not agree since he wanted to serve in his own community. Furthermore, when Taklāk-ana-Bēli imposed on him a levy of 300 bales of straw and reeds for the bricks (of Dūr-Šarrukēn), he fled, stole the sheep in his charge, and took refuge in a temple. Another letter of Taklāk-ana-Bēli assured the king that he did not remove Ilu-pīa-ušur, the shepherd from his position of cohort commander (of the shepherds),¹⁰⁷⁴ but he stole the sheep dues of his colleague, fled, and took refuge in a temple. When Taklāk-ana-Bēli promised to exempt him from his dues, if he came out and brought his men to do their work in Dūr-Šarrukēn, he came out but brought only half of his men (from the cohort), so their work assignment was in arrears. It is clear from these examples that the cohort system was the basis of mobilization for war or labour.

This quasi military system – represented also by other, lower ranking officers discussed above – might well have originated from the mid-2nd millennium B.C. Mitannian quasi military organization of for example the Nuzi militia,¹⁰⁷⁵ but during the early 1st millennium B.C. in the Assyrian Empire it lost its original primary military role and served as an administrative tool for controlling of craftsmen and other professionals. Only the shepherds – including nomadic or semi-nomadic Aramean tribes –, the inexhaustible source of auxiliary archers, might have retained some quasi or paramilitary aspect of the cohort system.

(1) Cohort commander (*rab kišir*)

217 cohort commanders are known by name from the sources, with another 80 fragmentary names (including cavalry cohort commanders) and a further 50 entries which do not give the names. The earliest known cohort commander appears on the stele of Marduk-balāssu¹⁰⁷⁶ found at Assur, dated possibly to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.). The text is fragmentary but probably refers to the father of Marduk-balāssu, Issar-aplu-iddina, who was a cohort commander. Another Assur stele belonged to Lumaššiki(?), the son of Barruqu, the cohort commander.¹⁰⁷⁷ One of the cohort commanders, Milki-rāmu¹⁰⁷⁸ achieved high status when in 656 B.C. he became the *limmu* of the year.

The place of the cohort commander in a chain of command can be located between the commander-of-50 and the prefect. One of the omen texts – enquiring into the possibility of a rebellion against Esarhaddon – lists several military personnel as potential rebels in groups, showing a ranking in prestige (*Fig. 6*). The first group consists of high officials of the court: magnates, governors, eunuchs, bearded (officials), the king's entourage. The second group consists of members of the royal line: senior members of the royal line, and junior members of the royal line; the third group consists of equestrian personnel: prefects, recruitment officers, team commanders, chariot drivers, 'third men,' and chariot fighters. The most important group is the fifth, consisting of cohort commanders,¹⁰⁷⁹ *qurbūtu* bodyguards, and *ša—šēpē* guards. This last group is formed from officers or bodyguards of the royal entourage, most probably the infantry, but they could appear in cavalry contexts as well.¹⁰⁸⁰ They may be placed on a similar (important) level of the military hierarchy. Some administrative texts also list large numbers of

¹⁰⁷⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 235 (ABL 1432), 6: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir-ú-te*, 9, 11.

¹⁰⁷⁵ KENDALL 1975.

¹⁰⁷⁶ ANDRAE 1913, no. 57 (17707), 9: [GAL?] *ki-iš-ri*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ ANDRAE 1913, no. 58 (17708), 4: GAL *ki-iš-ri*.

¹⁰⁷⁸ MILLARD 1994, 101; PARKER 1954, 43, ND 2328, ND 2330; PARKER 1957, 128, ND 5448, 27-29.

¹⁰⁷⁹ STARR 1990, 144 (AGS 109), 6: GAL—KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ.

¹⁰⁸⁰ The cohort commanders of equestrian units (cavalry cohort commanders (*rab kišir ša—pēthalli*) are discussed separately in *vol. II*, chapters *Rab kišir ša—pēthalli* (cohort commander of the cavalry) and Cohort commander (*rab kišir*). A few text show a

military personnel, but some of these – for example the accounts from ceremonial banquets¹⁰⁸¹ – do not show a conscious organizing principle which could be used for a possible reconstruction of a command structure.

Cohort commanders appear in several fragmentary or neutral texts,¹⁰⁸² but they can be investigated under a number of different aspects, as follows:

(a) Cohort commanders in military contexts. It is important to note that – in comparison with other types of officers, for example the *qurbūtu* bodyguard – the cohort commander appears significantly more frequently in military or quasi-military contexts. One of these is an administrative text listing captives escorted by cohort commanders. The text reports booty from a campaign led against Šamsi, queen of the Arabs: The booty escorted by two Assyrian cohort commanders consisted of 125 camels.¹⁰⁸³ A further administrative text lists on its reverse side military and civilian personnel assigned to various high officials and officers, including several cohort commanders. Aššur-rā'im-šarri got a farmer, Zārūtī got a staff bearer of the village of the gods, another cohort commander obtained further staff-bearers, and yet another cohort commander got 23 persons.¹⁰⁸⁴

Some letters discuss them in action. The letter from Ša-Aššur-dubbu (governor of Tušhan) to Sargon II tells the story of Assyrian deserters who fled to Šubria. The governor sent two eunuchs, six soldiers and two cohort commanders after them. They had the men brought down, dined together with the brother of the Šubrian king, but when they set out and were on their way home, the Šubrians attacked them from an ambush, captured two eunuchs and the six soldiers, only the two cohort commanders escaped.¹⁰⁸⁵ A further letter written by Nabû-bēlu-ka'in mentions cohort commanders sent by Sargon II on a mission, during which – if the reconstruction of the fragmentary text is correct – they were killed.¹⁰⁸⁶

(b) Cohort commanders in other contexts. Disregarding some fragmentary entries,¹⁰⁸⁷ only a few texts show them in other capacities. These capacities, however, emphasized the official character of the rank: some aspects of the administration – which today would be considered part of the civilian sphere – belonged to the military administration. The cohort commander for example would serve as a local authority to investigate certain things and send reports to the king.¹⁰⁸⁸ He was

possible connection of cohort commanders with horses: Šarru-ēmuranni for example in accordance with a royal order fitted out ten lone horses and sent them with a cohort commander to Qudanati (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 223 (ABL 315)). Two horses were assigned to Mār-Issar, another cohort commander (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 126 (ADD 1040), 6-7: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*), and concerning a few letters from the reign of Assurbanipal two cohort commanders brought (200) horses to Uruk during the campaign of Aššur-gimilli-tēre, the *masennu*: HARPER 1892, 273, Rev. 1-5: ¹⁰⁸¹EN(*Bēl*)-KAR(*ētir*)-ir ¹⁰⁸²Ar-ba-ia LÚ.GAL(*rab*) KA.KÉŠ(*kišir*); see furthermore: 543, Rev. 14-15; 1108, Rev. 15-16; 1244, Rev. 7-8, and 462, Rev. 24-28, but these texts do not necessarily mean that these cohort commanders were cavalry officers.

¹⁰⁸¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I':2': GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ, 10': GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ A—MAN; 154 (ADD 970+), Rev. II':18': GAL—*ki-šir* KAB(*šumēli*) ša KI-šū(*issišū*) (cohort commander of the left with his colleague); 155 (ADD 898), 8: [LÚ.G]AL—*ki-šir*; 157 (ADD 838+), Rev. II:1: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.[MEŠ].

¹⁰⁸² FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 160 (ADD 831), Rev. 5: [GA]L *ki-šir*; 185 (ADD 876), Rev. 3: Nusku-iddina [GAL *ki-šir*]; FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 179 (K.18554), II':4': GAL *ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁸³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 162 (ABL 631), 9: Ia-rapā GAL—*ki-šir*, 10: Ḥašilānu GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁸⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), Rev. III:22': Aššur-rā'im-šarri GAL—*ki-šir*, 27': Zārūtī LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 29': [...]a LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, IV:6': [...]LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁸⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138+), 10, Rev. 3: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ.

¹⁰⁸⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 35 (ABL 169), 13: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ.

¹⁰⁸⁷ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 368 (CT 53, 345): 3': LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 209 (CT 53, 270), E. 2': [L]Ú.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁸⁸ DIETRICH 2003, 50 (ABL 930), Rev. 11': LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; 168 (CT 54, 125), 2: [L]Ú.GAL—*ki-šir*.

furthermore authorized to deliver not only messages but commands as well. Ṭāb-šar-Aššur reported to the king that the cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch delivered the sealed message of the king to him.¹⁰⁸⁹ The governor of Kār-Aššur sent a report to Sargon II in which he listed the troops which had arrived in his province in preparation for a campaign (they were ready to be drawn up in line of battle). The letter mentions that this governor sent his cohort commander to the king, most probably to deliver news or bring orders.¹⁰⁹⁰ A fragmentary letter to Sargon II mentions that the writer was ready to set up for the review, but Išmê-ilu, the cohort commander, brought them the king's golden stamp seal and held them up continually, saying: "bring barley rations to Māzama!"¹⁰⁹¹ The fourth such example is known from the reign of Esarhaddon. In this case the cohort commander of the crown prince had to deliver a confidential report with the names of the deserters on the Urartean and Mannaeian borders to the crown prince.¹⁰⁹²

(c) Social status of cohort commanders. A small group of administrative texts sheds light on the relatively high status of cohort commanders. One of these texts (List of audience gift and a memorandum) mentions Mannu-kī-abi, a cohort commander who was not dressed in purple. This dress, which would have been worn during a ceremony or audience at the court would befit his status, or was simply a decoration.¹⁰⁹³ Such a decoration appears in another list, where Šumma-ilu, a cohort commander got 1 hand-ring of gold, 1 mina less 4 shekels; 1 arm-ring of gold, 1/3 mina less 1/3 shekel, a necklace, and 3 shekels.¹⁰⁹⁴ Such a gold treasure might have been stolen from Ilumma-lē'i, a cohort commander.¹⁰⁹⁵ The case was investigated by Esarhaddon. The importance of the status is emphasized by the fact that soldiers were promoted to the rank of cohort commander by the king. One such case is documented in a letter, from which it is known that Tabalāiu, son of Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur, whom the king promoted to the rank of cohort commander,¹⁰⁹⁶ together with two other officers (a permanent third man, and a *qurbūtu* bodyguard) promoted by the king, are drunkards. Bēl-iqīša's letter was probably intended to persuade the king to remove them from their posts. The letter from Taklāk-ana-Bēli mentioned above assured the king that he did not remove Ilu-pīa-ušur the shepherd from his position of cohort commander (of the shepherds).¹⁰⁹⁷ It seems that the promotion of Assyrian soldiers or officers to the rank of cohort commander was a royal privilege, but the right to relieve them might have been delegated to high officials.

A letter from Bēl-dūri to Sargon II mentions the story of Ilu-bī'di, a cohort commander¹⁰⁹⁸ serving the governor in Ḥatarikka or Damascus, who during an epidemic killed a horse (for food?). The governor made up for the horse in his stead and the cohort commander promised to pay the money back. He then, however, died and his widow married a young boy, who had been serving under the governor as a cook. The letter unfortunately does not say whether the widow inherited anything from her husband to pay the debt, or whether the marriage with a young cook was a good party for the young boy or not.

¹⁰⁸⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 45 (ABL 173), 14-15: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG, see furthermore HARPER 1892, 274, 22-Rev. 5.

¹⁰⁹⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290), 18: [LÚ].GAL—*ki-šir-ia*; FALES 2000, 48-49.

¹⁰⁹¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 234 (ABL 582), 4': LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁹² LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 148 (ABL 434), Rev. 14-15: Aḥu-dūr-enši LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša* A—MAN.

¹⁰⁹³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 29 (ADD 1041), Rev. 3-4: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁹⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 73 (ADD 931), 5: GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁹⁵ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 67 (ABL 1291), 9': LÚ.GAL—[*ki-šir*]. He is also known from a legal document dated to 666 B.C.: MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627), Rev. 6': Ilumma-lē'i LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁰⁹⁶ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 115 (ABL 85), 7-8: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir-u-tú*.

¹⁰⁹⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 235 (ABL 1432), 6: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir-ú-te*, 9, 11.

¹⁰⁹⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 171 (NL 18); SAGGS 2001, 227-229, NL 18 (ND 2645), 15-17: LÚ.GAL—[*ki-šir* ditto š[*u*]-ú [š*a*] ŠU.2-*ia*.

(d) Economic background of cohort commanders. One of the most important issues regarding not only cohort commanders but the whole army is the question of economic background. The relatively high social status of cohort commanders implied a relatively secure economic background. The main issue here is the identification and separation of estates and privileges connected to the service from private estates.

Neo-Assyrian sources do not explicitly identify estates given in exchange for service.¹⁰⁹⁹ Aššur-etelli-ilāni (630–627 B.C.) donated estates¹¹⁰⁰ to those cohort commanders¹¹⁰¹ of the Chief Eunuch, Sîn-šumu-lēšir, who helped him seize the throne. These texts make it clear that the Chief Eunuch supported the succession of Aššur-etelli-ilāni with troops from his own house/estate (*bīt ramānišu*).¹¹⁰² This entry unfortunately does not make it clear whether the Chief Eunuch armed the men from the income of his own estates or the estates connected to his office (if this type of estate existed at all). An administrative text dating from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun (schedule of estates assigned to officials) lists estates which include the estates of some military personnel (including *qurbūtu* bodyguards and the estates of high officials as well!). These estates were assigned to other personnel: to sons, brothers or the state in the form of a palace.¹¹⁰³ It is not known whether these estates were confiscated from the officers, or whether they died and the estates were inherited by their relatives or passed to the state. Nor is it known whether these properties were estates connected to their office, and the relatives (sons and brothers) inherited a kind of service as well, or were private estates. Some texts in the private archives, however, hint at the practice of donating service fields which could later have been sold.

Private estates. Some of the texts of the Kakkullānu archive provide valuable information about the economic background of the Assyrian officers. Kakkullānu, the cohort commander bought several houses and estates, which shows that his financial background was strong. The most important feature of these texts is, however, that they enable the reconstruction of the geographical distribution of the estates of military personnel. As these texts show military personnel lived in certain (dedicated?) districts of cities or regions of the countryside. Kakkullānu bought his neighbour's house in Nineveh.¹¹⁰⁴ His neighbour was Šarru-lū-dārī the chariot man of the Chief Eunuch of the crown prince (LÚ.GIGIR šá LÚ.GAL—SAG šá A—MAN), while his neighbours were Sîn-šarru-ušur probably a *qurbūtu* bodyguard and Kanūnāiu a cohort commander (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*). When Kakkullānu leased 20 hectares of land in Qurubi,¹¹⁰⁵ among his neighbours appear a certain Nabû-balāssu-iqbî and a certain Urdu. Two cohort commanders by these names are known from other texts of the archive. A similar picture can be drawn from another text of the archive: Kakkullānu bought 20 hectares of land in several pieces in Abi-ilāṭ¹¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁹⁹ This chapter deals only with the economic background of cohort commanders. The question of the economic background of the army (including the estates of different officers and high officials) will be discussed in the second volume of this project.

¹¹⁰⁰ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), Rev. 14-18: “All these fields, orchards, buildings and people Aššur-etelli-ilāni king of Assyria exempted (from taxes) and sealed with his royal seal, which is not to be altered, and gave it to Tāb-šar-Papāhi, cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch, the son of Lā-qēpu.”

¹¹⁰¹ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), Rev. 16: Tāb-šar-Papāhi LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—SAG; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), Rev. 24': [... L]Ú.GAL—*ki-šir* [LÚ.GAL—SAG ...]; 39 (ADD 1250), Rev. 2': [...LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—S]AG.

¹¹⁰² KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), 23-24; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), 15-16.

¹¹⁰³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 4': Bār-Šarūri (Būr-Šarūru) LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 14': Nabû-tāriš LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 15': Aḫi-rāmu LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 16': Balasî LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*. Two of them: Nabû-tāriš and Balasî are known from the Kakkullānu archive, see below.

¹¹⁰⁴ MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325).

¹¹⁰⁵ MATTILA 2002, 41 (ADD 623).

¹¹⁰⁶ MATTILA 2002, 42 (ADD 414).

and his new fields became adjacent to his own estates and several estates of two other cohort commanders: Kišir-Aššur and Ubru-Nabû known from several texts of the archive (*Chart 4*), a commander-of-50, named Balṭāia, and with the field of Aššur-mātu-taqqin, the *limmu* of 623 B.C. The same neighbours appear when Kakkullānu leased more land in Abi-ilā'ī.¹¹⁰⁷ These texts reinforce our view concerning the territorial organization of the Assyrian army and probably hint at a conscious practice of donating 'service fields' to Assyrian officers, estates which could be increased by them, and could consequently be put on the market.

The career of Mannu-kī-Arbail as a cohort commander started in 680 B.C., when he purchased two vineyards during the year in Kipšuna,¹¹⁰⁸ which might be connected to his family estate. During the next year, however, he bought a garden in Nineveh,¹¹⁰⁹ which may show his links to the capital and to the royal court. However, no text proves that he possessed a house there. Instead he bought a house in the town of Zidada.¹¹¹⁰ Mannu-kī-Arbail bought several estates during the years 678–676 B.C.¹¹¹¹ including two larger ones (32 and 20 hectares respectively),¹¹¹² which were probably larger than the usual size (about 20 hectares) of 'military service fields.'

A further text shows a different aspect of donating fields to the military. Rēmāni-Adad the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal bought an entire village in 663 B.C. The owners of the village were as follows: the deputy of the town Dannāia, the scribe of the queen mother, one chariot driver (*mukil appāte*), one third man (*tašlišu*), three chariot warriors (*māru damqu*), and three cohort commanders.¹¹¹³ It seems unbelievable that any spontaneous market mechanism should have resulted in such a concentration of military personnel in the body of owners of a village; more probably they had received the village as a donation from the king, or as a share of booty. This estate, whatsoever its origin may have been, similarly to the above mentioned cases, was also put on the market.

(e) Cohort commanders in witness lists. Almost half of the Assyrian cohort commanders are known from the witness lists of 7th century B.C. legal documents.¹¹¹⁴ These documents belong mainly to private archives; only a few of them were issued by the king.¹¹¹⁵ The most informative archives are obviously the private ones of Assyrian military personnel, where large numbers of

¹¹⁰⁷ MATTILA 2002, 45 (ADD 621).

¹¹⁰⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 201 (ADD 360), 202 (ADD 359).

¹¹⁰⁹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 364).

¹¹¹⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 210 (ADD 330), (676 B.C.).

¹¹¹¹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 207 (ADD 1240), (678 B.C.), 211 (ADD 460), (679 B.C.)?

¹¹¹² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 217 (ADD 378), 218 (ADD 375).

¹¹¹³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470), 5: Nabû-rēmāni LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*, 6: Issar-ilā'ī LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*, Milki-idri [LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*].

¹¹¹⁴ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 125 (ADD 1179+), Rev. 11: Riba-aḥḥē LÚ.GAL—*KĀD-ri* (698 B.C.); 132 (ADD 616), 11-12: Aššur-aḥu-iddina LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (695 B.C.); 163 (ADD 453), Rev. 12: Usi' LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (686 B.C.); 177 (ADD 230), Rev. 4: Nurānu (684 B.C.), 5: Mannu-kī-Issar-lē'i LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; 192 (ADD 276), Rev. 4': Sîn-bēlu-ušur LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (682 B.C.) and 287 (ADD 625), Rev. 8: Sîn-bēlu-ušur LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir] ša KUR* (670 B.C.); 199 (ADD 273), Rev. 2': Abilu LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; 283 (ADD 425), Rev. 13: Šumma-ilu LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (672 B.C.); 289 (ADD 181), Rev. 12: [...]a GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (670 B.C.); 294 (ADD 268), Rev. 4': Zanzānu LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*, 5': Gabrī LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627), Rev. 3': [...]Allatu LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*, 6': Ilumma-lē'i LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; 54 (ADD 344), Rev. 5': Marduk-šarru-ibnī GAL—*ki-š[ir]*, 6': Šalam-šarri-iqbī GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; 65 (ADD 284), Rev. 4': [...]ilā'ī LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (668 B.C.); 66 (ADD 537), Rev. 3': [...]ilā'ī LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (668 B.C.); 139 (ADD 387), Rev. 7': Sîn-aplu-ušur GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (653 B.C.); 157 (ADD 352), Rev. 6': [...]ramma LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (627 B.C.); 292 (ADD 557), Rev. 5': [...] LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir] ša [...]*; 325 (ADD 706), Rev. 1: Šamaš-nā'id LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; 370 (ADD 1238), Rev. 2': [...] LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; 371 (ADD 1239), Rev. 2': [...] LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; 413 (K.20539), Rev. 4': [...] LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*; AHMAD 1996, 5 (Aššur 6), Rev. 23: Nā'id-Issar GAL—*ki-š[ir]* (666 B.C.); RADNER 2002, 127 (SH 98/6949 I 903), Rev. 10: Ululāia [LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*] (691/686 B.C.); 199 (SH 98/6949 II 246), 4: Sîn-šumu-[... GAL—*ki-š[ir]*] (post 612 B.C.).

¹¹¹⁵ Kudurru inscription (land grant) of Aššur-nādin-šumi (699-694 B.C.) from Babylon. The witness section lists several military personnel, including 3 cohort commanders: BRINKMAN – DALLEY 1988, 76-98, (Ashmolean 1933. 1101), III: 6': [...]nāšir

officers and soldiers – the colleagues or subordinates of the owner of the archive – served as witnesses. These archives will be discussed below.

An important aspect of the analysis of these legal documents is the geographical distribution of the transactions. The question which has to be answered is whether the witnesses – including military personnel – served at the location where the subject of the legal transaction (regarding fields or houses) was situated, or whether they served in the capital or larger cities of the empire, where the legal transaction was taking place. The witness section of a legal document of the governess of the Kilizi harem, for example, contains the names of at least 5 cohort commanders.¹¹¹⁶ It is not known, however, whether the governess of the Kilizi harem lived or stayed in Nineveh, or the cohort commanders served in Kilizi. A group of legal documents found at Balawat lists four cohort commanders as witnesses.¹¹¹⁷ Balawat (Imgur-Enlil) was probably the first road station to the north, but it is also unknown whether these cohort commanders were stationed there or owned estates in the neighbourhood.

The high concentration of military personnel in witness lists shows that an important agent in the contract (the buyer or the seller) was an important official of the court (e.g. the governess of the Kilizi harem, or a eunuch), or himself an officer. One such example comes from a fragmentary witness list containing the names of 4 cohort commanders and 3 *ša—šēpē* guardsmen.¹¹¹⁸ A similar, very fragmentary witness list probably includes at least 6 cohort commanders.¹¹¹⁹ For further examples and a detailed study of the phenomenon *see* the next chapter on private archives.

(f) Private archives of cohort commanders. Private archives belonging to members of the Assyrian military shed light on several aspects of the organisation of the Assyrian army. Six cohort commanders (Kakkullānu, Kišir-Aššur, Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina, Luqu, Aššur-šumu-ka'in, and Mannu-kī-Arbail) are known, whose legal documents form smaller or larger archives. The archives of two other military personnel, two chariot drivers (Rēmanni-Adad, and Šumma-ilāni) also provide valuable information about cohort commanders of their age.

The Kakkullānu archive (630–617 B.C.)¹¹²⁰ of the Post-Canonical period is one of the most important private archives of the Assyrian military. Private archives consisting of legal documents – which at first glance would be considered a neutral type of source – could provide essential data for the reconstruction of different aspects of military organisation. This archive provides important information about the different types of officers, including different types of cohort commanders, and about private military careers and probable changes of service. The following aspects of this information will be discussed below: the numbers of personnel and units, and the changes in careers of the officers.

LÚ.GAL—KA.KÉŠ, 10': Bissunu LÚ.taš-li-šú, 10': Kandar LÚ.GAL—KA.KÉŠ, 11': Abi-ram LÚ.GAL—KA.KÉŠ, 13': [...]
LÚ.mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti. For a similar royal decree *see* the chapter on cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard.

¹¹¹⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 247 (ADD 1188), 7: Mannu-kī-Arbail, Rev. 2: Mamī, 3: Qurdi-Issar LÚ.GAL—KA.KÉŠ, 5: Arzēzu, 6: Nabû'a LÚ.GAL—KA.KÉŠ (679 B.C.). The same cohort commanders appear in the witness section of another document: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 249 (ADD 602), Rev. 1': Mannu-kī-Arbail [...], 5': Nabû'a [...], 6': Qurdi-Issar [...], 7 Mamī LÚ.GAL—KA.K[ÉŠ].

¹¹¹⁷ PARKER 1963, BT.101, Rev. 13: Bēl-dān LÚ.GAL—KA.KÉŠDA; BT 118, 12: Nabû-nādin-aḫi LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 13: Urad-Issar LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; BT 124, 14: Issar-šumu-lēšir LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹¹¹⁸ MATTILA 2002, 319 (ADD 608), 1': [...LÚ.GAL]—*ki-šir*, Rev. 1: Aššur-šarru-ušur LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* (he can be connected to the Kakkullānu archive), 3: [...LÚ].GAL—*ki-šir*, 7: [...LÚ].GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹¹¹⁹ MATTILA 2002, 351 (ADD 1184+), R. 3': [...]-bēlu-ušur GA[L]—*ki-šir*, 4': Ikkaru GA[L...], 5': Šagim GAL—[...], 6': Marduk-tēr GAL—*ki-šir*, 7': Inurti GA[L—...] (he is also known from the Kakkullānu archive), 8': Barru[qu GAL—...].

¹¹²⁰ MATTILA 2002, 34-52.

Numbers and unit sizes. As *Chart 4* shows, not less than 53 officers are known by their names and a further 4 fragmentary names can be reconstructed from the witness lists of this archive. This is one of the largest concentrations of officers known from private archives, and the largest concentration of officers to be found anywhere at such a late date. At different periods in their careers they served in different units: their names fall into 5 officer categories (cohort commanders) and 10 categories designating other military personnel: (1) cohort commander (*rab kišir*): 24 persons; (2) cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*): 7 persons; (3) cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte*): 5 persons; (4) cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri*): 1 person; (5) cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*rab kišir ša—šēpē*): 9 persons; (6) *qurbūtu* bodyguard: 10 persons; (7) *ša—šēpē* guard: 10 persons; (8) *ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince (*ša—šēpē ša mār šarri*): 2 persons; (9) chariot man (LÚ.GIGIR): 1 person; (10) chariot man of the king (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MAN): 2 persons; (11) chariot man of the crown prince (GIŠ.GIGIR *ša mār šarri*): 2 persons; (12) third man (*tašlišu*): 3 persons; (13) third man of the crown prince (*tašlišu ša mār šarri*): 1 person. The texts of the Kakkullānu archive show a large concentration of officers. ADD 349 for example lists 5 cohort commanders and 4 *qurbūtu* bodyguards, ADD 325 lists 9 cohort commanders, 3 *qurbūtu* bodyguards, and 1 *ša—šēpē* guard, ADD 414 lists 6 cohort commanders and 3 *qurbūtu* bodyguards, ADD 621 lists 4 cohort commanders of the crown prince, ADD 361 lists 1 cohort commander of the crown prince, 7 cohort commanders and 1 *qurbūtu* bodyguard, ADD 211 lists 1 cohort commander of the crown prince, 1 cohort commander and 5 cohort commanders of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, and finally ADD 235 lists 1 cohort commander, 1 cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince and 9 cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard. These relatively large numbers show that all of the five large services of the Assyrian infantry – the royal corps, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, the *ša—šēpē* guard, the corps of the crown prince and the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince – were represented by their cohort commanders in a strength of several companies, if not a regiment. Furthermore, the joint appearance of these officers¹¹²¹ implies a larger corps comprising these five services of the Assyrian elite armoured infantry concentrated around the royal court in the capital.

Changes in careers. As has partly been discussed (in chapter *Qurbūtu* as a witness in private contracts) the witness lists show several changes of service in the careers of officers. As *Chart 4* shows, several officers changed service together, which means that these changes occurred in their private careers not as a consequence of private decisions, but most probably because their whole unit was transferred from one service to another. Aššur-killāni and Balasî, for example, served in a unit which was transferred at least four times in 625 B.C. They served as cohort commanders (II. 20.), as *qurbūtu* bodyguards (III. 17.), as cohort commanders of the crown prince (X. 3.), and as *qurbūtu* bodyguards again (XI. 3.). These changes show that this year was a hectic one in the history of their unit (and probably in the history of the Assyrian Empire as well). In this case a question would necessarily have to be answered: were status and duty two parallel aspects in the Assyrian army or not? Is it possible that the status of Aššur-killāni and Balasî was *qurbūtu* bodyguard and they were given an assignment or duty as cohort commanders of the regular troops? Furthermore, the rank of the ‘cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard’ shows that the *qurbūtu* bodyguards had their own cohort commanders. To answer these

¹¹²¹ They appear together in other legal documents which do not belong to the archives of Kakkullānu and Kišir-Aššur: MATTILA 2002, 27 (ADD 358+), Rev. 5’: Sagiru GAL—*ki-sir*, 6’: Aššur-šarru-ušur GAL—*ki-sir*; 8’ Aqru LÚ.*qur*-ZAG, Nabû-balāssu-iqbî.

questions further research is needed and further sources have to be found. Other officers on the archive's witness lists changed service probably with their units: Unzarḫi-Aššur and Ubru-Nabû appear as cohort commanders and cohort commanders of the crown prince within the same year (623 B.C.), which witnessed a change in the Assyrian central military administration: units of several cohort commanders (Kakkullānu, Kišir-Aššur, Unzarḫi-Aššur, and Ubru-Nabû) joined the service of the crown prince during 624/623 B.C. and were transferred back to their normal service (cohort commander) later that year. Towards the end of 623 B.C. several other officers were transferred from various services to the regular royal service: Balasî, who appears in 624 B.C. as a *qurbûtu* bodyguard, Mannu-kî-Nabû, and Inurtî, who served as *ša—šēpē* guards during 624 B.C. are listed at the end of 623 B.C. as cohort commanders. The end of this year shows the strengthening of the royal corps, a tendency which lasted at least to 617 B.C. or to the fall of the Empire.

Kakkullānu himself changed service several times, but he never appears as a *qurbûtu* bodyguard, only as a cohort commander (630, 625, 623 B.C.) or a cohort commander of the crown prince (630, 623 B.C.). It seems that he started his career as the cohort commander of the crown prince in 630 B.C. and returned to this service in 623 B.C. Unfortunately it is not known under which crown prince he served in 630 B.C. or 623 B.C. It is interesting that only a single text can probably be dated to the reign of Aššur-etelli-ilāni (630—627 B.C.). Not only the cohort commanders, but their deputy officers changed their service at least two times.

The Kišir-Aššur archive (637—618 B.C.) contains only six texts,¹¹²² the witness lists of which include only a limited number of military personnel, including a single cohort commander.¹¹²³ His archive must have been contemporary with the archive of Kakkullānu, since Kišir-Aššur appears several times in the former's archive (*Chart 4*). He, or someone of the same name, appears in the witness lists of the legal documents of Kakkullānu as cohort commander in 625 B.C.,¹¹²⁴ as a cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*)¹¹²⁵ and cohort commander again in 623 B.C.,¹¹²⁶ as a cohort commander of the *qurbûtu* bodyguard (*rab kišir ša—qurbûte*),¹¹²⁷ and as a cohort commander of the *qurbûtu* bodyguard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—qurbûte ša mār šarri*).¹¹²⁸ His earliest title, however, dates from 636 B.C. when in one of his legal documents he appears under the same title: cohort commander of the *qurbûtu* bodyguard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—qurbûte ša mār šarri*).¹¹²⁹

They were probably colleagues, since he always appears as the first or second witness of the legal documents of Kakkullānu, and they appear together in two further legal documents as well.¹¹³⁰ He underwent the same changes during the years 625—623 B.C. as Kakkullānu did, and appears in 618 as a cohort commander again.¹¹³¹ Similarly to Kakkullānu he may have been a wealthy man, since he lent silver several times to various people. His witness lists do not contain large numbers of military personnel who can be connected to him. When he bought a woman

¹¹²² MATTILA 2002, 28-33.

¹¹²³ MATTILA 2002, 32 (ADD 151), Rev. 6: Aššur-kettu-iram GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹¹²⁴ MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 7; 42 (ADD 414), Rev. 25.

¹¹²⁵ MATTILA 2002, 45 (ADD 621), Rev. 12.

¹¹²⁶ MATTILA 2002, 46 (ADD 361), Rev. 9.

¹¹²⁷ MATTILA 2002, 48 (ADD 211), Rev. 12.

¹¹²⁸ MATTILA 2002, 49 (ADD 235), Rev. 9.

¹¹²⁹ MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207), 6-7.

¹¹³⁰ MATTILA 2002, 57 (ADD 110), 5-6, 155 (ADD 619), Rev. 9-10 (627 B.C.).

¹¹³¹ MATTILA 2002, 32 (ADD 151), 3: GAL—*ki-šir*.

from Bēl-aḥḥēšu, chariot man of the *ša—šēpē* guard (LÚ.GIGIR—GĪR.2), the legal record of this transaction contains the names of 7 chariot men / horse trainers (LÚ.GIGIR) and 5 chariot men of the *ša—šēpē* guard (LÚ.GIGIR—GĪR.2), who can probably be connected not to him, but to the seller of the woman, himself a chariot man.¹¹³²

Kiṣir-Aššur appears as late as 613 B.C. in a Ninevite context together with two other cohort commanders known from the Kakkullānu archive: Nabû-ballussu-iqbî, and Nabû-šallim-ahhē. Kiṣir-Aššur and Nabû-ballussu-iqbî were the witnesses, when Mannu-kī-māt-Aššur seized his debtor Nabû-šallim-ahhē in the centre of Nineveh.¹¹³³ This text corroborates our view concerning the importance of the role that Kakkullānu, Kiṣir-Aššur, and their cohort commander colleagues played in the last decades of the Assyrian Empire.

The Asalluḥi-šumu-iddina archive (638—630 B.C.) consists of two texts. He was a cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the palace (*rab kiṣir ša—šēpē ša ekalli*). When Asalluḥi-šumu-iddina in 638 B.C. bought 12 slaves from a Kummuhean merchant all the identifiable witnesses were merchants.¹¹³⁴ However, when he bought land in 630 B.C. in Nabû-šemanni,¹¹³⁵ his witnesses were mainly military personnel: 3 cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*rab kiṣir ša—šēpē*),¹¹³⁶ who were probably his colleagues, a prefect of the Gurrians, a prefect of the *maḥiṣāni* (mounted archers?), a *qurbūtu* bodyguard, a commander-of-50 of the *maḥiṣāni*, another commander-of-50. This text indicates that Asalluḥi-šumu-iddina was cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the palace (*rab kiṣir ša—šēpē ša ekalli*) and the son of Asalluḥi-aḥḥē-iddina, the Chief Judge (*sartennu*). Attâ-qāmū'a, cohort commander and his brothers including a 'third man,' owners of the people being sold, are identified as gentlemen (LÚ.MEŠ) in a legal document known from the Šumma-ilāni archive (*see below*). These examples show that the cohort commanders of the royal court might have partly been recruited from the ranks of the Assyrian elite.

The archive of Luqu (659—648 B.C.) consists of only three tablets,¹¹³⁷ the first of which designates him as a cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kiṣir ša mār šarri*). He bought a woman and lent silver, but his witness lists include only a single commander-of-50 – the other persons are most probably civilians, so his texts do not help us to reconstruct a role similar to that of Kakkullānu and Kiṣir-Aššur for him.

Only a single text survives from the archive of Aššur-šumu-ka'in, the king's cohort commander (*rab kiṣir ša šarri*).¹¹³⁸ He bought three slaves for one good horse, and the witness section of the document is too fragmentary to draw any conclusions from. Only the titles of a chariot driver and a chariot fighter are extant. He appears in another legal document probably as a witness without title,¹¹³⁹ and a certain Aššur-šumu-ka'in is known as a witness (with his title broken off) from a legal document of the Mannu-kī-Arbail archive dated to 679 B.C.¹¹⁴⁰

The Mannu-kī-Arbail archive (680—673 B.C.)¹¹⁴¹ is a much smaller archive than the Kakkullānu archive: as *Chart 5* shows only 17 officers and military personnel are known by name: 9 cohort

¹¹³² MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207).

¹¹³³ MATTILA 2002, 171 (ADD 102).

¹¹³⁴ MATTILA 2002, 424 (TIM 11, 2).

¹¹³⁵ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1).

¹¹³⁶ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1), Rev. 14: Nabû-tukultī, 15: Šalam-šarri-iqbî, 16: Kiqillānu.

¹¹³⁷ MATTILA 2002, 24 (ADD 233), 7-8: LÚ.GAL—*ki-ṣir ša A—MA[N]*; 25 (ADD 111), 2; 26 (ADD 4), 2.

¹¹³⁸ MATTILA 2002, 56 (ADD 252), 3': LÚ.GAL—*ki-ṣir ša LU[GAL]*.

¹¹³⁹ MATTILA 2002, 58 (Bu 91-5-9, 154), Rev. 7'.

¹¹⁴⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 364), Rev. 3': Aššur-šumu-ka[']in ...].

¹¹⁴¹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 201-220.

commanders (*rab kišir*), 1 *rab mūgi* officer, 2 chariot owners (*bēl mugerri*, EN.GIŠ.GIGIR), 2 *ša—šēpē* guards, 1 ‘third man’ (*tašlišu*), 1 third man of the Chief Cupbearer (*tašlišu ša rab šāqê*), 2 chariot drivers (*mukil appāte*), and 2 ‘recruits’ / ‘recruits of the Chief Eunuch’ (*raksu / raksu ša rab ša—rēšē*). It is interesting that a Cimmerian cohort commander (*rab kišir gi-mir-a-a*) appears in his archive.¹¹⁴² His name is Akkadian, so it is not known whether he himself was of Cimmerian origin or commanded a squadron of Cimmerian cavalry. The context is Ninevite, so it is possible that a contingent of Cimmerian soldiers (probably cavalymen) served in the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

Mannu-kī-Arbail served Esarhaddon from the beginning of his reign (680 B.C.) as a cohort commander, but only the earliest text in his archive lists his rank.¹¹⁴³ It is not known whether he kept his title during the later part of his career or not. *Rab kišir* officers appear in the witness lists of his texts only in the year 679 B.C. and from another group of texts (the archive of the harem governess of Kilizi) dated to the same year, when he appears as a witness together with his colleagues.¹¹⁴⁴ A further broken text listing cohort commanders can also be dated to the same year and not to 676 B.C.¹¹⁴⁵ However, several officers and military personnel appear in the witness lists of the texts of his archive until 676 B.C. showing his connection to the military. Two texts dated to 678 B.C. contain no officers at all (the lists are broken), but as *Chart 5* shows, the years following 678 B.C. introduce other military personnel, for example a *ša—šēpē* guard, ‘third men’ (*tašlišu*), chariot drivers (*mukil appāte*), and ‘recruits’ / ‘recruits of the Chief Eunuch’ (*raksu / raksu ša rab ša—rēšē*), and omit the cohort commanders. It is possible that he resigned from the office of cohort commander during 678 B.C.; however, since he did not lose his estates, but on the contrary bought fields,¹¹⁴⁶ houses,¹¹⁴⁷ gardens,¹¹⁴⁸ and vineyards,¹¹⁴⁹ it can be concluded that he was a supporter of Esarhaddon during the fratricidal war, and an officer of those Assyrian contingents who helped Esarhaddon seize the throne.

The Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.)¹¹⁵⁰ is the largest known archive of an Assyrian officer. As *Chart 6* shows 77 Assyrian officers and military personnel are known by their names from the archive. Since Rēmanni-Adad was the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (*mukil appāte dannu ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur*) the witness lists of his archive contain mainly chariotry personnel: 26 chariot drivers (*mukil appāte*), 22 ‘third men’ (*tašlišu*), 12 chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR), 3 chariot warriors (*māru damqu*), 1 deputy of the team commander (*šanû ša rab urâte*), 1 recruit (*raksu*), and at least 10 cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), who represent 5 types of cohort commanders: cohort commander (*rab kišir*), cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*), cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte*), cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri*), and cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*rab kišir ša—šēpē ša mār šarri*). The most important thing to be observed is that – in contrast with the hectic careers of the cohort commanders of the Kakkullānu archive during the last decade of the empire – there was minimal fluctuation between the different

¹¹⁴² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 364), Rev. 8': Ubru-Ḫarrān.

¹¹⁴³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 201 (ADD 360), 7-8: Mannu-kī-Arbail LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹¹⁴⁴ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 247 (ADD 1188), 249, (ADD 602).

¹¹⁴⁵ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 211 (ADD 460), 676 B.C.?

¹¹⁴⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 207 (ADD 1240), 678 B.C., 209 (ADD 617), 211 (ADD 460), 676 B.C.?, 217 (ADD 378), 218 (ADD 375).

¹¹⁴⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 210 (ADD 330), 676 B.C.

¹¹⁴⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 364), 679 B.C., 213 (ADD 489), 676 B.C.

¹¹⁴⁹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 201 (ADD 360), 202 (ADD 359), 680 B.C.

¹¹⁵⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 297-350.

services of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) and the bodyguard infantry. Of the ten cohort commanders only Zārūtī (Zēru-utī) is known to have changed service: he is mentioned as cohort commander in 669 B.C., as a cohort commander of the crown prince in 666 B.C., and held this office during the following years. However, he is mentioned in the following year as the cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince. All the other members of the witness lists hold their office for longer periods. It must, however, be mentioned that this reconstruction is valid if the scribes always used his full title and not a short cohort commander form for every service. It is unfortunately not known which crown prince they served.

The Šumma-ilāni archive (709–680 B.C.)¹¹⁵¹ is the earliest known private archive of an Assyrian officer. As *Chart 7* shows it lists at least 30 officers and military personnel, including 4 cohort commanders.¹¹⁵² This archive does not contain any specific information about the background of the cohort commanders.

(2) Cohort commander of the king (*rab kišir ša šarri*)

A single entry of the Post-Canonical period knows the rank of cohort commander of the king.¹¹⁵³ In this case the normal title is complemented by an apposition which probably does not designate a new service, but merely identifies him as a cohort commander of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

(3) Cohort commander of the palace (*rab kišir ša ekalli*)¹¹⁵⁴

The question is whether this title – similarly to the cohort commander of the king discussed above – simply identified its holder as an officer of a unit of the royal corps (with an apposition), or as the officer of a unit with special palace duties, which also belonged to the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). Such palace units are known in the ranks of the chariotry (*see vol. II*, chapter Palace chariotry). Since the context of this single entry is mainly equestrian: it lists a team commander (LÚ.GAL—ú-rat), a ‘third man’ of the palace (LÚ.3.U₅ É.GAL), a commander of the chariotry (LÚ.GAL—mu-gi ša GIŠ.GIGIR), a commander of the cavalry (LÚ.GAL—mu-gi ša—BAD-ḫal-li), cohort commanders of the palace (LÚ.GAL—ki-šir.MEŠ ša É.GAL), a chariot driver (LÚ.mu-kil—PA.MEŠ), 2 cavalrymen of the personal guard (2 BAD.ḫal GÌR.2(ša—šēpē)), and a cavalryman of the bodyguard ([BAD].ḫal ša LÚ.qur-bu-te), it may be supposed that these cohort commanders served in the palace chariotry. However, there is no definite proof to establish the equestrian connection between them. The cohort commanders are otherwise hardly known from a chariotry context. Only the cohort commander of the recruits (of chariotry),¹¹⁵⁵ a single cohort commander of the chariot warriors of the queen (*rab kišir ša māru damqu ša MÍ.É.GAL*)¹¹⁵⁶ and a cohort commander of the ‘large wheeled’ chariots (*rab kišir ša uttarāte*)¹¹⁵⁷ are known.

¹¹⁵¹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 34–54.

¹¹⁵² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 46 (ADD 127), Rev. 2: Bēl-aḫu-ušur LÚ.GAL—ki-šir, 3: Aḫi-nūri LÚ.GAL—ki-šir; 52 (ADD 246), 3: Attā-qāmū a LÚ.GAL—ki-šir; 53 (ADD 236), Rev. 7: Sīn-nā’id LÚ.GAL—ki-šir.

¹¹⁵³ MATTILA 2002, 14 (ADD 252), 3’: Aššur-šumu-ka” in LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša LU[GAL].

¹¹⁵⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), III:19: LÚ.GAL—ki-šir.MEŠ ša É.GAL

¹¹⁵⁵ DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 1 (ND 666), Rev. 5: Ḫarmaku GAL—ki-iš-ri ša rak-su-te (Adad-nērārī III); 6 (ND 678), 22–23: Apil-ēreš LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠDA ša LÚ.rak-su-te, 24: Musalimanu LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠDA ša LÚ.rak-su-te (788 B.C.); PARPOLA 1987, 235 (ABL 1432), E. 7: LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša LÚ.rak-su GIGIR.MEŠ.

¹¹⁵⁶ MATTILA 2002, 7 (ADD 494), Rev. 7–8: Lit-il LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša LÚ.A.SIG ša MÍ.É.GAL.

¹¹⁵⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 37 (ADD 427), 9–10: [...]—zēru-ibnī LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša GIŠ.ut-tar.MEŠ (694 B.C.).

(4) Cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch (*rab kišir ša rab ša—rēšē*)

As can be reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists, the Chief Eunuch – whose military role/capacity goes back to the end of the 9th century B.C. (*see below*) – commanded a division of the *kišir šarrūti*, the city units.¹¹⁵⁸ The key text is CTN III, 101, where a section break makes it clear that the 13 team commanders (*rab urâte*) who were listed in this section were the cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) of the Chief Eunuch.¹¹⁵⁹ Three of them are known as *rab kišir* officers of the *Armāia* unit,¹¹⁶⁰ and three other officers are known as *rab kišir* officers of the *Arbailāia* unit.¹¹⁶¹ Consequently it may be supposed that the officers of the so-called city units, the *Aššurāia*,¹¹⁶² *Arraphāia*,¹¹⁶³ *Armāia*,¹¹⁶⁴ *Arzuḫināia*,¹¹⁶⁵ and *Arbailāia*,¹¹⁶⁶ were cohort commanders. Since cohort commanders only served in infantry and cavalry units (*see vol. II*, chapter *Rab kišir ša—pēthalli* cohort commander of the cavalry) – and the cohort commanders of the chariotry are unknown¹¹⁶⁷ – the city units might well have been cavalry units.

Another group of administrative texts makes it clear that following an army reform of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, leading members of the royal family (including the king, crown-prince, queen/queen mother) acquired real (king, crown-prince) or symbolic (queen/queen mother) military authority. The third person who commanded substantial military units was the Chief Eunuch, who was the commander of at least one division of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). One of these administrative texts ('officials at court'),¹¹⁶⁸ probably from the reign of Esarhaddon, lists military personnel allocated to the king, crown-prince, Chief Eunuch, and the queen mother (*vol. II*, Fig. 9). These military personnel included 3 cohort commanders of the king,¹¹⁶⁹ 8 cohort commanders of the

¹¹⁵⁸ DEZSÓ 2006B, 127-128, 135-137.

¹¹⁵⁹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:13-28;

¹¹⁶⁰ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:13: Qurdi-ilāni; ii:17: Akkadāia; ii:19: Aplāia.

¹¹⁶¹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:24: Ubru-aḫḫē; ii:25: Qurdi-Issar-lāmur; ii:26: [Nan]nī.

¹¹⁶² DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 102, ii:2': [...]šallim-aḫḫē; ii:3': Lunate; ii:4': Nergal-šumu-iddina; ii:5': Aḫu-lā-amašši; 111, Obv. 7'-17': [...], 18': Marduk [...], 19': [...].

¹¹⁶³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 102, ii:8': Adad-kāšir, 9': Ba'di-ili, 10': Ili-kabar; 11': Mannu-kī-Adad, 12': Sunbāia, 13': [...]erība, 14': Aḫi- [...], 15': Baiasa- [...], 16': Nabū-zēru-iqīša, 17': Ḫarmaku; 108, ii:1: Mannu-kī-Adad, 2: Aššur-šabtanni, 3: Aḫu-erība, 4: Bēl-ibnī, 5: Tāb- [...], 6: Za- [...], 7: Nabū- [...]; 111, Obv. 22': Sapiru, 23': Nabāia, 24': Issar-aplu- [...], 25': Nergal-aḫu-iddina, 26': Aḫu-erība, 27': Dal[i...], 28': Nabū- [...], 29': Za- [...], 30': [...], 31': [...]; 112, Obv. 2: Adad-kāšir, 3: Bēl-nā'id, 4: Adad-bēlu-ušur, 5: Mannu-kī-Adad, 6: Marduk-išmēanni, 7: Banni, 8: [...]itme?, 9: Nergal-rēmēni, 10: [...]bēl, 11: [...]ili; 113, Rev. 4': Marduk-išmēanni, 5': Mannu-kī-Adad, 6': Bēl-išmēanni, 7': [...], 8': Nergal-rēmēni, 9': Bēl-nā'id, 10': Mis-Bēl, 11': Šamaš-šallimanni; 114, Obv. 1': Mannu-kī-Adad, 2': Bēl-nā'id, 3': Mis-Bēl, 4': Šamaš-šallimanni.

¹¹⁶⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 102, ii:20': Qurdi-ilāni, ii:21': Aššur-aplu-iddina, ii:22': Ma- [...], ii:23': Kabti, ii:24': Šamaš-nāšir, ii:25': Akkadāia, ii:26': Būr-Atar; 108, ii:9: Aplāia, ii:10': Pulī, ii:11: Mutakkil-Šamaš, ii:12: Gaia, ii:13: Sin-ēreš, ii:14: Aššur-iqbī, ii:15: Kubaba-ilā'ī; 111, Rev. 1-7: [...].

¹¹⁶⁵ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 102, iii:2': Sē'-rāmu, iii:3': Kubaba-sūri, iii:4': Uarkaza, iii:5': Babi, iii:6': Ḫamaqa, iii:7': Nergal-aḫu-ušur; iii:8': Adad-altu, iii:9': Sē'-qatar, iii:10': Nabū-nādin-aḫḫē; 110, iii:1': Aššur- [...], iii:2': Šarru- [...], iii:3': [...], iii:4': [...]bi; 111, Rev. 10-16: [...].

¹¹⁶⁶ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 102, iii:13': Aššur-bēlu-taqqin, iii:14': [...]bēlu-ušur, iii:15': [...]šumi, iii:16': Urdu, iii:17': Ubru-Issar, iii:18': Qurdi-Issar-lāmur, iii:19': Sukumu; 108, ii:17: Nabū-nāšir, ii:18: Ubru-aḫḫē, ii:19: Urdu, ii:20: Qurdi-Issar-lāmur, ii:21: Dadusu, ii:22: Pān-Issar-lēšir, ii:23: Issar-tuklatūa, 110, iii:7': Aššur-tuklassu, iii:8': [...], iii:9': Urdu, iii:10': Qurdi-Issar-lāmur, iii:11': Dadusu, iii:12': Pān-Issar-lēšir, iii:13': Nannī; 111, Rev. 19: [...].

¹¹⁶⁷ As the above mentioned text (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii: 13-28) implies, the team commanders (*rab urâte*) served as 'cohort commanders of the chariotry.' Judging from this text, there was a certain degree of interchangeability between the posts of team commander and of cohort commander (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 186: "*rab kiširi*-captains are a sub-group of the *rab urâte*.").

¹¹⁶⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857).

¹¹⁶⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:44: Abdi-Limu, Rev. I:23: [...], II:4: Nabū-daiān. Further fragmentary lists know cohort commanders (of the king) in relatively large numbers: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 6 (ADD 840+858), I:6': Nabū-natki, 7 (ADD 833), I':2': [...], 6': [...], 10 (ADD 850), I:5': Nergal-šarru-ušur, I:6': Zuarzuarza, I:8': [...]šarru-ušur; 12 (ADD 866), 2': [...]aḫḫē.

crown-prince, 1 cohort commander of the queen mother, and 6 cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch.¹¹⁷⁰ This text corroborates the fact that – as has been pointed out in the case of the Nimrud Horse Lists – the Chief Eunuch commanded a substantial military force within the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). The cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch is known from another similar, but fragmentary list as well,¹¹⁷¹ and also appears in contemporary (685 B.C.) legal documents.¹¹⁷²

Several letters in the royal correspondence provide further information about the cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch. One of these, from Tāb-šar-Aššur to the king, mentions that the cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch¹¹⁷³ delivered the king's sealed message to him in the city of Anisu. This mission shows the confidential character of the duties of the Chief Eunuch and his officers. The other letter shows that the recruits of the Chief Eunuch and his cohort commanders are exempt from taxes and *ilku* duties.¹¹⁷⁴ A further fragmentary letter mentions a cohort commander in a Chief Eunuch context.¹¹⁷⁵ Deaf people appealed to the king for their missing food allowance, which was probably withheld(?) by the Chief Eunuch. The role of the cohort commander is not clear: it is possible that he was in charge of a (military?) granary (of the Chief Eunuch). Another letter also written to Esarhaddon mentions Aššur-nāšir, the Chief Eunuch and (his) cohort commander¹¹⁷⁶ together on a mission in Babylonia. These letters show that the cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch could play an active role in the (military) administration of the empire. The letter from Bēl-ušēzib, probably written to Esarhaddon, deals with the activities of the Chief Eunuch in Mannaea. This letter mentions that Mardā, the president of the court of the house of the Chief Eunuch had left his lord and entered under Nergal-ašarēd; he is bringing 'third men' and cohort commanders before Nergal-ašarēd and they are taking an oath of loyalty.¹¹⁷⁷ This case shows not only the practice of officers taking a loyalty oath, but also the imminent role of the Chief Eunuch and his cohort commanders not only in the standing army, but in the military administration of a border region as well.

The key role played by the Chief Eunuch and his cohort commanders in the succession of the royal throne can be reconstructed from three decrees of Aššur-etelli-ilāni (630–627 B.C.). After the 'departure' of Assurbanipal in 631/630 B.C. the Chief Eunuch Sîn-šumu-lēšir "installed safely on the throne" Aššur-etelli-ilāni, who donated estates to three cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch¹¹⁷⁸ and exempted them from taxes. These texts make it clear that the Chief Eunuch helped the succession of Aššur-etelli-ilāni with the battle troops of his own house/estate (*bīt ramānišu*).¹¹⁷⁹ This phrase (his own house/estate) might imply merely a sphere of military authority, or might mean that the Chief Eunuch – at least in the Post-Canonical Period – had to raise and supply battle troops at his own expense. However, it may be, the reconstruction of the economic background of the Assyrian army needs further research.

¹¹⁷⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:48: Ubru-Nergal, II:7: Ša-lā-mašē, II:10: Ḫanunu, II:27: Ubru-aḫḫē, Rev. I:1: [...], II:11: Marduk-erība.

¹¹⁷¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 880), Rev. I:6: Marduk-erība.

¹¹⁷² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 174 (ADD 1170+), Rev. 9: Nuḫšāia LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša LÚ.GA[L—S]AG.

¹¹⁷³ PARPOLA 1987, 45 (ABL 173), 4-5: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša LÚ.GAL—SAG.

¹¹⁷⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709).

¹¹⁷⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 121 (CT 54, 433), 7: Tiranu LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹¹⁷⁶ REYNOLDS 2003, 125 (ABL 965), 14': Nūrta LÚ.[GAL]—*ki-šir*.

¹¹⁷⁷ PARPOLA 1993, 113 (ABL 1109+), Rev. 12-16, esp. 15: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ.

¹¹⁷⁸ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), Rev. 16: Tāb-šar-Papāḫi LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—SAG; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), Rev. 24': [... L]Ú.GAL—*ki-šir* [LÚ.GAL—SAG]; 39 (ADD 1250), Rev. 2': [... LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—S]AG.

¹¹⁷⁹ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), 23-24; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), 15-16.

(5) Cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte*)

The earliest known appearance of this type of cohort commander is known from the reign of Assurbanipal (664 B.C.). The lack of earlier evidence, however, does not necessarily mean that it was Assurbanipal who first organised the *qurbūtu* bodyguards into cohorts and formed regular units from them.¹¹⁸⁰ The system remained in use during the Post-Canonical period, probably up to the fall of the Empire. The first cohort commanders of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard are known from the Rēmāni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.). Aššur-ilā'ī held this title during the years 664—663 B.C.¹¹⁸¹ If the reconstruction is correct, in 664 B.C. he certainly held the office, while in the case of his two other appearances it cannot be decided whether he was a cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, or a 'simple' cohort commander.¹¹⁸² The other cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard known from the same archive, Šarru-ilā'ī, appears only in two documents, dated to 660 B.C.¹¹⁸³ They appear mainly in the witness lists of private archives in fairly large numbers: one of the tablets of the Kakkullānu archive (630—617 B.C.) discussed above in detail, for example, lists 5 of them.¹¹⁸⁴ Another, unfortunately fragmentary legal document lists at least two of them, but two further lines might also contain the names of cohort commanders of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.¹¹⁸⁵ They are mentioned in two other texts,¹¹⁸⁶ one of which is an account of a ceremonial banquet,¹¹⁸⁷ but none of them can be dated.

(6) Cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*rab kišir ša—šēpē*)

Similarly to other regular military units the *ša—šēpē* guard was also organised in cohorts and probably regiments as well. Two officers of the *ša—šēpē* guard are known: the 'cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard' and the 'prefect of the *ša—šēpē* guard.' Altogether 15 cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard are known from the cuneiform corpus. They are known exclusively from administrative texts, with a single exception from the witness lists of legal documents. The earliest known document mentioning such a cohort commander dates probably from the late 8th or early 7th centuries B.C. This text is a fragmentary list of debts.¹¹⁸⁸ When Sennacherib in 682 B.C. donated people to the newly built Akītu Temple, in the witness list of the document – together with some high officials of the court – two cohort commanders appear: one of them is surely a cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard.¹¹⁸⁹ It is obvious that a bodyguard commander of the king would appear in the witness list of a royal donation. Further entries are without exception dated to the Post-Canonical period. The cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard appear in witness lists of private legal documents. One such fragmentary witness list includes

¹¹⁸⁰ For the military aspect of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards see chapter Military aspect of the service of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.

¹¹⁸¹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 323 (ADD 115), Rev. 7: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir qur-ZAG*; 324 (ADD 116), Rev. 8: [LÚ.GAL]—KA.KÉŠ LÚ.*qur-ZAG*.

¹¹⁸² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 326 (ADD 471), Rev. 18: LÚ.[GAL—*ki-šir*]; 327 (ADD 611), Rev. 2': [...].

¹¹⁸³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 329 (ADD 444), Rev. 9-10: L[Ú.GAL—*ki-šir*] *ša* LÚ.*qur-ZAG*; 330 (ADD 445), Rev. 5': [...].

¹¹⁸⁴ MATTILA 2002, 48 (ADD 211), Rev. 11: 3': Kišir-Aššur, 13: [...], 14: [...], 15: [...]ili-šallimšunu, 16: Aššur-šarru-ušur.

¹¹⁸⁵ MATTILA 2002, 412 (K.18375), Rev. 3': [... LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*] [...], 4': [... LÚ.GA]L—*ki-šir* [...], 5': [... LÚ.GA]L—*ki-šir qu[r-ZAG]*, 6': [... LÚ.GAL—*k*] *i-šir qur-ZAG*].

¹¹⁸⁶ MEEK 1920, 194a (Ki. 1904-10-9, 30):6: *rab kišir qur-ZAG*

¹¹⁸⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), III':5': GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ *qur-ZAG*.

¹¹⁸⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 33 (ADD 1123), I:1'-2': [... LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*] [...] LÚ.*ša*—GÌR.2.

¹¹⁸⁹ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 86 (PKTA 27-30), Rev. 24: Aššur-šimanni LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša*—GÌR.2. The previous line of the text also lists a cohort commander who might well have been another cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard: [...]damqu LÚ.(GAL)—*ki-šir ša*—[...].

cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard together with other types of cohort commanders,¹¹⁹⁰ which indicates a kind of collegiality between the cohort commanders of different infantry arms. It is interesting that the two other texts listing them in their witness list section also list them in groups. One of these texts is a legal document of the Kakkullānu archive (*Chart 4*), which lists no less than 10 cohort commanders in its witness section, 9 of whom belong to the *ša—šēpē* guard.¹¹⁹¹ Since Kakkullānu himself was a cohort commander it is obvious that he asked his colleagues from another arm to act as his witnesses. These 9 cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard may represent a regiment of the *ša—šēpē* guard. 7 of them do not appear in other sources, but two of them (Balasī¹¹⁹² and Lā-qēpu/Liqipu¹¹⁹³) appear in the Kakkullānu archive as other types of cohort commander, which indicates a certain interchangeability between the services at the court (*see* above). Another archive, the archive of Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina, who was himself a cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard (of the Palace),¹¹⁹⁴ contains further names. When he bought an estate in the countryside, in the village of Nabû-šemanni in 630 B.C., he listed three of his colleagues as witnesses.¹¹⁹⁵ Since – as is known from this document – his father Asalluḫi-ahhē-iddina was the *sartennu* (Chief Judge), the position of the cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard might well have been a confidential one.

(7) Cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the palace (*rab kišir ša—šēpē ša ekalli*)

The only known example of this rank is in a legal document of the Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina archive, which defines Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina as a cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the Palace.¹¹⁹⁶ In this case the ‘palace’ attributive is an appositive complement of the general *ša—šēpē* category and probably does not designate a separate service.

(8) Cohort commander of the left (*rab kišir šumēli*)

This rank is known from two administrative tablets (‘accounts from ceremonial banquets’).¹¹⁹⁷ The origin of a possible division of army units into left and right can be dated back to the late 15th – early 14th century B.C., when inventory texts of the Nuzi archive which list relatively large numbers of chariots, grouped them as chariots of the left and chariots of the right.¹¹⁹⁸ One of the

¹¹⁹⁰ MATTILA 2002, 412 (K 18375), Rev. 7: [... LÚ.GAL—*k*]i-šir GİR.2. He appears in the list together with at least four other cohort commanders (lines 3-6), two of whom were the cohort commanders of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.

¹¹⁹¹ MATTILA 2002, 49 (ADD 235), Rev. 9: Kišir-Aššur cohort commander of the bodyguard of the crown prince (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá qur-ZAG ša A—MAN*) is followed by the 9 cohort commanders of the *ša—šēpē* guard (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá—GİR.2*): Mardū, Liqipu, Ilu-nā'id, Mār-šarri-ilā'ī, Balasī, Ḫubasāte, ^{msd}[...]PAP'.PAP, [...], Aqru.

¹¹⁹² If there was a single Balasī, he was known as cohort commander (MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 9 (630 B.C.); 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 8 (625 B.C.); 46 (ADD 361), Rev. 13 (623 B.C.)), he was cohort commander of the crown prince (MATTILA 2002, 41 (ADD 623), Rev. 17: (625 B.C.)) so in 625 B.C. he changed service for a period. Unfortunately ADD 235 can not be dated, so we do not know when he held the third office, the cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard. Furthermore, a certain Balasī of the same archive appears three times as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard (MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 13 (625 B.C.); 42 (ADD 414), Rev. 30 (625 B.C.); 43 (ADD 400), Rev. 14 (624 B.C.)). If he was the same person, the years between 625 and 623 B.C. might have been a very turbulent period at court.

¹¹⁹³ He appears as cohort commander side-by-side with Balasī in MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 8 (630 B.C.), and 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 7 (625 B.C.).

¹¹⁹⁴ MATTILA 2002, 424 (TIM 11, 2), 14: Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá—GİR.2*; 425 (TIM 11, 1), 19-20: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá—GİR.2 šá É.GAL*.

¹¹⁹⁵ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1), Rev. 14-16: Nabû-tukulti, Šalam-šarri-iqbī, Kiqillānu: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá—GİR.2 šá É.GAL*.

¹¹⁹⁶ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1), 19-20: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá—GİR.2 šá É.GAL*.

¹¹⁹⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:1' LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir KAB*; 154 (ADD 970+), Rev. II':18': LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir KAB ša KI-šú (issišu)* (with his colleague).

¹¹⁹⁸ LACHEMAN 1955, 99: line 9: ŠU.NIGIN 58 GIŠ.GIGIR *ša šu-me-li* (total: 58 chariots of the left), line 16: ŠU.NIGIN 36 GIŠ.GIGIR *ša ZAG(imitti)* (total: 36 chariots of the right).

Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 108) shows the division of the army, or at least the *ša—qurbūte* units, into *ša—qurbūte* right and *ša—qurbūte* left.¹¹⁹⁹ Another phrase, the ‘third man’ of the left, regular or permanent (*tašlīšu šumēli* SAG.UŠ.MEŠ),¹²⁰⁰ might also refer to the division of the battle or marching order (or recruitment district?) into a left and right wing. The annals of Sargon II mention that he established the office of the *turtānu* of the left with a force of “150 chariots, 1,500 cavalry men, 20,000 bowmen and 10,000 shield-bearers and lancers,”¹²⁰¹ but this act does not necessarily refer to the division of the army into two parts, only to the establishment of the office of ‘transeuphratene’ *turtānu*. It is quite probable that the cohort commander of the left shows a kind of division of the army into cohorts of the left and right, and does not refer to the cohort commanders of the *turtānu* of the left.

(9) Cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*)

The troops of the crown-prince appeared probably during the reign of Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.), when the troops (and the officials) of the army were divided between the king (the ‘new corps of Sennacherib’), the crown-prince and the queen.¹²⁰² This division is known from the reign of Esarhaddon as well (*see below*) and remained in use until the fall of the empire.

The relatively large number of sources fall into three categories: a letter of the royal correspondence, administrative texts, and witness lists of legal documents. The earliest known appearance of this rank is in a letter written to Esarhaddon,¹²⁰³ where the cohort commander of the crown prince had to deliver a confidential report with the names of the deserters of the Urartean and Mannaeian borders to the crown prince, which means that this border region was under the supervision of the crown prince (of Assyria: Assurbanipal), and one (or more) cohort commander(s) of his troops stationed there.

The cohort commander of the crown prince appears in administrative tablets also dated to the reign of Esarhaddon. These tablets show the first signs of the division of military units between the leading members of the royal family (the king, the crown prince, and the queen mother) and the Chief Eunuch himself was the commander of at least one division of the *kišir šarrūti* (for a detailed discussion *see vol. II*, chapter Summary: The development of the Assyrian army). One of these administrative texts (‘list of officials at court’) lists 2 cohort commanders of the king, 8 cohort commanders of the crown-prince,¹²⁰⁴ 1 cohort commander of the queen mother and 6 cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch. This shows that the units of the crown-prince formed a substantial force (judging from this list at least a regiment strong). Other administrative texts of probably the same period also list them in groups.¹²⁰⁵

¹¹⁹⁹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. i:7-8.

¹²⁰⁰ 3-šú.MEŠ KAB(*šumēli*) SAG.UŠ.MEŠ (permanent), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+), II:2’.

¹²⁰¹ LIE 1929, 72:9-12; FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410; Prunk, lines 116-117; 13th *palū*, 709 B.C.

¹²⁰² FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 4 (ADD 854), II:7’-12’. For the ‘new corps of Sennacherib’ *see* 3 (ADD 853), 115 (ADD 953), 148 (ADD 1083),

¹²⁰³ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 148 (ABL 434), Rev. 14-15: Aḥu-dūr-enši LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša* A—MAN.

¹²⁰⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:49: Silim-ili LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* DUMU—MAN, II:21: Nabū-[...], 51: Aḥu-dūri, Rev. I:38: Kinanni-Issar, II:7: Urad-Nabū, II:9: Nabū-šarru-ušur, II:12: Ubbuku, II:13: Mardī. Nabū-šarru-ušur appears in another administrative text (‘list of lodgings for officials’) as well: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), Rev. I:21: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* A—MAN.

¹²⁰⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:7’: [x GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ A—MAN; 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’:10’: 2, GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ A—MAN.

The largest group of sources listing cohort commanders of the crown prince consists of the witness list sections of legal documents in private archives. The earliest of these is the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671–660 B.C.). Two cohort commanders of the crown prince are known who were witnesses of various transactions of Rēmanni-Adad. The first of them, Nabû-šarru-ušur, appears in three documents dated between 671 and 669 B.C. probably as a cohort commander of the crown prince,¹²⁰⁶ while the other, Zārūtī (Zēru-utī) started his career as a cohort commander (669 B.C.),¹²⁰⁷ then, during the years 666–664 B.C. served as the cohort commander of the crown prince during the years 666–664 B.C.,¹²⁰⁸ then in 663 B.C. he switched to the position of cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince.¹²⁰⁹ It is known from the archive of Luqu that he served as a cohort commander of the crown prince in 659 B.C.¹²¹⁰ Unfortunately the name of the crown-prince of Assurbanipal whom they served remains hidden. The next group of texts is dated to the Post-Canonical Period. Cohort commanders of the crown-prince appear only in the archive of Kakkullānu (630–617 B.C.). As shown in *Chart 4*, Kakkullānu himself started his career as the cohort commander of the crown prince (630 B.C.), but changed position during the same year and served as a cohort commander until 623 B.C., when he changed service again and became cohort commander of the crown-prince. Another cohort commander, Kišir-Aššur started his career as a cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown-prince (636 B.C.),¹²¹¹ but he appears in the Kakkullānu archive as a cohort commander (625 B.C.), a cohort commander of the crown-prince (623 B.C.) and a cohort commander again in the same year. Two other cohort commanders, Aššur-killāni and Balasī moved parallel between different services. Within a single year (625 B.C.), they appear four times in different capacities: cohort commander, *qurbūtu* bodyguard, cohort commander of the crown-prince, and cohort commander again. Three other cohort commanders, Unzarḫi-Aššur, Ubru-Nabû, and Mannu-kī-Nabû also saw changes of service (between cohort commander of the crown-prince and cohort commander) during these years. Il-iaḏīni, who is known in the Kakkullānu archive as a cohort commander, in another text appears as a cohort commander of the crown-prince.¹²¹² The crown-prince of Sīn-šar-iškun whom they served is unfortunately unknown. The possible reasons behind these changes of service have been discussed above; they show a high degree of mobility between the different services of cohort commanders.

(10) Cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri*)

Similarly to the cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, the cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince first appeared during the reign of Assurbanipal, in the Rēmanni-

¹²⁰⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 297 (ADD 266), Rev. 3: LÚ.[GAL—*ki-šir šá* A—MAN]; 298 (ADD 503), Rev. 9': [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá* A—MAN]; 299 (ADD 477), Rev. 5': LÚ. GAL—*ki-šir [šá* A—MAN].

¹²⁰⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 304 (ADD 366), Rev. 4': [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*]; 305 (ADD 183+), Rev. 10: LÚ.GAL—*ki-[šir]*; 306 (ADD 187), Rev. 9': [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*]; and probably 326 (ADD 471), Rev. 17: LÚ.[GAL—*ki-šir*]. Two further undated administrative texts mention probably the same Zārūtī as cohort commander: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), R. III:27' (in charge of a staff bearer); 64 (ADD 938+), R. II:16'.

¹²⁰⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 312 (ADD 801), Rev. 9: [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*] *r šá* (DUMU)—MAN; 320 (ADD 377), Rev. 2: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir [šá* DUMU—MAN]; 321 (ADD 439), Rev. 5': LÚ.GA[L—*ki-šir šá* DUMU—MAN]; 323 (ADD 115) Rev. 8: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* A—MAN; 324 (ADD 116) Rev. 9: [LÚ.GAL]—KA.KÉŠ *šá* DUMU—LUGAL.

¹²⁰⁹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470), Rev. 19': LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša* LÚ.*qur-ZAG š[á* A—MAN].

¹²¹⁰ MATTILA 2002, 24 (ADD 233), 7-8: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir šá* A—MA[N].

¹²¹¹ MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207), 6-7: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir qur-ZAG ša* A—MAN.

¹²¹² MATTILA 2002, 53 (ADD 345), E. 7: GAL—*ki-šir* A—MAN.

Adad archive (671—660 B.C.). Zārūtī (Zēru-utī) appears in the historical record in 669 B.C. when he served as a cohort commander.¹²¹³ It is known from the archive that he held the office of the cohort commander of the crown prince during the years 666—664 B.C.,¹²¹⁴ then in 663 B.C. he switched to the service of the cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince.¹²¹⁵ The other Assyrian officer, Kišir-Aššur, who is known to have served as a cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince, appears in his own archive (637—618 B.C.) and in the Kakkullānu archive (630—617 B.C.). As is known from these archives discussed above in detail, Kišir-Aššur served as a cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince in 636 B.C.,¹²¹⁶ and sometime between 630 and 617 B.C.¹²¹⁷ Within this timespan he also served as cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*)¹²¹⁸ and cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte*),¹²¹⁹ but the degree of interchangeability of these services is unknown.

Since – similarly to the *qurbūtu* bodyguard – the appearance of the service of *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince (*qurbūtu ša mār šarri*) can be dated much earlier, in this case to the reign of Sargon II (721—705 B.C.),¹²²⁰ it cannot be ruled out that the military organisation of these two *qurbūtu* bodyguard services was established much earlier (at the latest during the reign of Sargon II) than the first appearance of the cohort commanders of these two services during the reign of Assurbanipal.

(11) Cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—šēpē ša mār šarri*)
There is a single known officer who in 663 B.C. served as a cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince. This man, Nabû-šarru-ušur appears in the Rēmanni-Adad archive (he was the (chief) chariot driver of Assurbanipal) together with other high officials and four other cohort commanders.¹²²¹ The identity of the crown prince is, however, unknown.

(12) Cohort commander of the queen (*rab kišir ša MÍ.É.GAL*)

The cohort commander of the queen appeared during the reign of Sennacherib. The first attested examples can be dated to 686 B.C., when two fragmentary legal documents listed cohort commanders of the queen in their witness sections.¹²²² Their number – at least 4 cohort commanders

¹²¹³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 304 (ADD 366), Rev. 4': [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*]; 305 (ADD 183+), Rev. 10: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*]; 306 (ADD 187), Rev. 9': [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*]; and probably 326 (ADD 471), Rev. 17: LÚ.[GAL—*ki-šir*]. Two further undated administrative texts mention probably the same Zārūtī as cohort commander: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), R. III:27' (in charge of a staff bearer); 64 (ADD 938+), R. II':16'.

¹²¹⁴ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 312 (ADD 801), Rev. 9: [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*]r šá (DUMU)—MAN; 320 (ADD 377), Rev. 2: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* [šá (DUMU)—MAN]; 321 (ADD 439), Rev. 5': LÚ.GA[L—*ki-šir* šá (DUMU)—MAN]; 323 (ADD 115) Rev. 8: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* A—MAN; 324 (ADD 116) Rev. 9: [LÚ.GAL]—KA.KÉŠ šá DUMU—LUGAL.

¹²¹⁵ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470), Rev. 19': LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša LÚ.qur-ZAG š[a A—MAN].

¹²¹⁶ MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207), 6-7: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* qur-ZAG ša A—MAN.

¹²¹⁷ MATTILA 2002, 49 (ADD 235), Rev. 9: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša LÚ.qur-ZAG ša A—MAN.

¹²¹⁸ MATTILA 2002, 45 (ADD 621), Rev. 12.

¹²¹⁹ MATTILA 2002, 48 (ADD 211), Rev. 12.

¹²²⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 236 (ABL 600), 9-10.

¹²²¹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470), Rev. 20': Nabû-šarru-ušur LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša—GĪR.2 ša A—MAN; further cohort commanders of the witness list are: 5: Nabû-rēmāni, 6: Issar-ilā'ī, and 7: Milki-idri cohort commanders (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*); and Rev. 19': Zārūtī cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša LÚ.qur-ZAG š[a A—MAN]).

¹²²² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 164 (ADD 612), Rev. 3-4: Mannu-kī-Issar-lē'i LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša MÍ—É.GAL; 5: Banunu LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša MÍ—É.GAL (686 B.C.); 165 (ADD 594), Rev. 6: [...] GAL—*ki-šir* ša MÍ.KUR, 7: Nabû-nā'id GAL—*ki-šir*

are attested at the same time in the same text – show that they were not simply personal attendants of the queen, but formed a unit (at least 4 cohorts strong) serving the queen most probably as a bodyguard. Similarly to the units of the queen mother (*see below*), the units of the queen were probably established as part of the *kišir šarrūti* during the reign of Sennacherib as a result of an army reform (for detailed discussion *see vol. II*, chapter Summary: The development of the Assyrian army). An important, but unfortunately fragmentary administrative text lists high officials, governors and other court personnel divided between the ‘new corps of Sennacherib,’ the crown prince and at least four officials were assigned to the Lady of the House (É GAŠAN—É).¹²²³ In contrast with the cohort commanders of the queen, this fragmentary list – at least those officials, a eunuch, a chief fuller, a major-domo, and a village manager, who were assigned to the Lady of the House – does not give the impression that its members were officers of military units.

As confirmed by a legal document from the reign of Assurbanipal¹²²⁴ and a late Post-Canonical text from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun¹²²⁵ – this concept of dividing part of the *kišir šarrūti* between the members of the royal family – remained in use during the 7th century B.C. until the fall of the empire.

(13) Cohort commander of the queen mother (*rab kišir ummi šarri*)

This rank probably appeared during the reign of Esarhaddon and was intended to provide a kind of military escort – a bodyguard – to the queen mother (Nakia/Zakūtu). Two administrative texts show the earliest appearance of military personnel dedicated to the service of the queen mother. These personnel include 5 *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the queen mother (*qurbūtu ummi šarri*),¹²²⁶ ‘third man’ of the queen mother (*tašlišu ummi šarri*),¹²²⁷ 2 chariot drivers of the queen mother (*mukil appāte ummi šarri*),¹²²⁸ and 2 cohort commanders of the queen mother (*rab kišir ummi šarri*).¹²²⁹ When Issar-dūri, the queen mother’s scribe, bought a large estate,¹²³⁰ among his witnesses were the queen mother’s ‘third man,’ the queen mother’s cohort commander (*rab kišir ummi šarri*), another scribe of hers, a *qurbūtu* bodyguard and a *ša—šepē* guard. The ‘third man’ could be the personal ‘third man’ of the queen mother, and the chariot drivers listed in the administrative list could also serve her as personal drivers. The *qurbūtu* bodyguards could also serve her personally as her delegates and could form a bodyguard unit, but the cohort commander obviously refers to the existence of a unit, at least one cohort, which might have served her as a bodyguard. It is not known, however, whether the queen mother raised this unit from the income from her own estates, or whether it was financed by the king from the units of the *kišir šarrūti*, for example. The development of units belonging to the queen mother can be connected to the wider range army reforms of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (for detailed discussion *see vol. II*, chapter Summary: The development of the Assyrian army).

ša MÍ.KUR, 8: Banunu GAL—*ki-šir ša* MÍ.KUR, 9: Mannu-kī-Issar-lē’i GAL—*ki-šir ša* MÍ.KUR. Two years later, in 684 B.C. Mannu-kī-Issar-lē’i together with Nurānu appeared as cohort commanders (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*): KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 177 (ADD 230), Rev. 4-5.

¹²²³ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 4 (ADD 854), II:7’-12’. For the ‘new corps of Sennacherib’ *see* 3 (ADD 853), 115 (ADD 953), 148 (ADD 1083),

¹²²⁴ MATTILA 2002, 286 (ADD 547+), Rev. 6’: [... LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* (*ša* MÍ.É.GAL).

¹²²⁵ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 96 (ND 5550, Iraq 19, 135), S. 2: Šumu-ukīn LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša* É MÍ.É.GAL (cohort commander of the house of the Lady of the Palace).

¹²²⁶ LÚ.*qur*-ZAG AMA—MAN: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:42, 43, II:32, Rev. I:42; 9 (ADD 860): Rev. I:22.

¹²²⁷ LÚ.3-*šu* AMA—MAN: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), Rev. I:7.

¹²²⁸ LÚ.DIB—PA.MEŠ AMA—MAN: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), Rev. II:5, 10.

¹²²⁹ LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* AMA—MAN: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:30: Salamānu; 9 (ADD 860): I:7’: [...].

¹²³⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 253 (ADD 428), Rev. 9: [...] LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* AMA—MAN.

(14) Cohort commander of the Vizier (*rab kišir ša sukkalli*)

This rank is also only known from a single document, a letter written by Il-iada' to the Vizier (*sukkallu*) of Sargon II, in which Il-iada' explains to the Vizier that the two sons of Sîn-uballiṭ (who himself was the mayor of Dūr-Šarrukku) are serving as the cohort commanders of the Vizier.¹²³¹ This passage again corroborates our theory that the Assyrian elite provided the bulk of the officer corps of the Assyrian army. Since the cohort system was a general phenomenon in the regular and heavy infantry of the Assyrian army, cohort commanders served not only the Vizier, but all of the army units of other high officials, magnates, governors, etc. One such example is known from an enigmatic letter written by Kudurru probably to Esarhaddon(?). This letter tells the story of Kudurru, who was deported by the king. He remained in confinement until the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*) sent a cohort commander¹²³² to release him. He was taken to the temple of Bēl Ḥarrān by the cohort commander, where he met the Chief Cupbearer, the major domo, the chamberlain and the city overseer. He was forced to perform a divination in front of Šamaš: his detainers wanted to know whether the Chief Eunuch would take over the kingship or not. He was scared and gave the answer which they were waiting for: yes, the Chief Eunuch would take over the kingship. However, later on, Kudurru confessed to the king that his divination was nothing but a colossal fraud, because he thought the Chief Cupbearer (or the cohort commander) would kill him. This letter shows some details of an interesting conspiracy against the Chief Eunuch, but our study focuses on the role of the cohort commander, who was most probably a confidential officer of the Chief Cupbearer.

(15) Cohort commander of the 'staff-bearers' (*rab kišir [...]* LÚ.PA.MEŠ)

A single entry in an administrative text shows the existence of the cohort commander of the 'staff-bearers.' This administrative text mentions that one staff-bearer of the village of the gods served under Zārūtī, the cohort commander, while [x] staff-bearers of the town of Ḥamuna were at the disposal of a cohort commander in charge of the 'staff-bearers.'¹²³³ One of the tablets of the Nimrud Horse Lists listed on its obverse 11 cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) possibly belonging to the *Arraphāia* unit, while the reverse was occupied by further two units of the LÚ.PA.MEŠ (mace bearers) and the LÚ.GAL(*rab*) *kallāpāni*.¹²³⁴ It is not known whether the 'staff-bearers' were organised into cohorts commanded by cohort commanders, or a certain number of 'staff-bearers' served the cohorts and cohort commanders of the army.

(16) Cohort commander of the Cimmerians? (*rab kišir Gimirrāia*)

A single legal document in the Mannu-kī-Arbail archive dated to 679 B.C. (*see above*) mentions this type of cohort commander.¹²³⁵ The important question which cannot be answered with certainty is whether he was a regular cohort commander of Cimmerian origin (his name, Ubru-Ḥarrān, does not help us), or whether he was a cohort commander of a unit formed from Cimmerian soldiers (mercenaries?). In the latter case this unit might well have been a cavalry unit, since the Cimmerians – similarly to the Scythians – fought mainly on horseback.

¹²³¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 169 (ABL 505), 6: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*:MEŠ ša LÚ.SUKKAL.

¹²³² PARPOLA 1993, 179 (ABL 755), 13, 15, Rev. 8': LÚ.GAL—*ka'-šir*.

¹²³³ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), III:26'-30'.

¹²³⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 112.

¹²³⁵ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 368), Rev. 8': Ubru-Ḥarrān LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir gi-mir-a-a*.

(17) Cohort commander of the town (*rab kišir ša āli*)

This title does not exist in an explicit form. However, when Gimillu asked Esarhaddon not to let him die of hunger in his imprisonment, he listed those officials to whom he had sent a letter of appeal: the scout, the chief scout, the city scribe, the city overseer, the mayor, and the cohort commander.¹²³⁶ If the cohort commander was a military one, and not the cohort commander of his craft, it suggests that there had been a cohort commander in the city/town on duty. This theory can be corroborated by the appearance of the title: cohort commander of the town Adin (*rab kišir ša URU.Adin*),¹²³⁷ which explicitly shows a garrison system, in which a cohort commander would play an important role.

(18) Deputy of the cohort commander (*šanû ša rab kišir*)

Only two deputies of the cohort commander are known from the cuneiform corpus. One of them, Dārî-šarru appears in an administrative list (he owed 200 sheep probably to the court),¹²³⁸ while the other, Zizî appears in at least 8 legal documents of the Kakkullānu archive as witness.¹²³⁹ He was most probably the deputy of Kakkullānu, and appears – following the career of his commander Kakkullānu – as a deputy of the cohort commander of the crown prince,¹²⁴⁰ and the deputy of the cohort commander of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard.¹²⁴¹ Unfortunately no further information helps us to understand his place in the command structure of the Assyrian army.

Chiliarch (rab lîmi)

This officer is attested in Neo-Assyrian sources¹²⁴² only in a single letter written to Sargon II., or Sennacherib by local tribal leaders from Babylonia. This letter asks for the military help of the king, since the units guarding the border and the land have dissolved and only 200 scratch soldiers remain, who guard Fort Sama'unu. One of the writers mentions that he is sitting together with Indabîa, the chiliarch,¹²⁴³ trodden down, and waiting for help. This title is still unknown in the Assyrian army, and it is possible that it was used in the Babylonian/Aramean system of administration. However, the military or civilian (shepherds?) aspect of this title still remains unknown.

Prefect (šaknu)

The first attempts to make a distinction between the *šaknu* as a governor and the *šaknu* as a prefect were made by R.A. Henshaw¹²⁴⁴ and more successfully by J.N. Postgate.¹²⁴⁵ Similarly to the cohort commander, the prefect played an important role not only in military but also in 'civilian'

¹²³⁶ REYNOLDS 2003, 94 (ABL 530), 13: [L]Ú.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹²³⁷ PARPOLA 1993, 167 (ABL 500), 5-6: Aššur-natkil LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša URU.A-di-i[n]*.

¹²³⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), II:6': LÚ.2-*u ša* LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹²³⁹ MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 11: LÚ.2-*e ša* GAL—*ki-šir*; 37 (ADD 309), 2': LÚ.2-*u ša* LÚ.ditto; 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 9: LÚ.2-*ú ša* LÚ.ditto; 46 (ADD 361), R. 17': LÚ.2-*e ša* GAL—*ki-šir*; 48 (ADD 211), Rev. 18: 2-*u*.

¹²⁴⁰ MATTILA 2002, 41 (ADD 623), Rev. 19': LÚ.2-*ú ša* LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* A—MAN.

¹²⁴¹ MATTILA 2002, 45 (ADD 621), R. 16-7: LÚ.2-*i ša* GAL—*ki qur*-ZAG.

¹²⁴² For the few earlier (mainly Hittite) uses of a similar title for an officer commanding 1,000 men see OPPENHEIM ET AL., 1973, 198, *s.v. lîmu* B, c) and *rab lîmi*.

¹²⁴³ DIETRICH 2003, 152 (ABL 774), Rev. 7: Indabîa LÚ.GAL—1.LIM.

¹²⁴⁴ HENSHAW 1967, 517-525.

¹²⁴⁵ POSTGATE 1980, 67-76.

administration. It must be supposed that the office of a prefect serving in the military sphere and probably leading military units and the office of a prefect of a group of craftsmen or a labour force in the ‘civilian sphere’ of the administration were not totally compatible with each other, if they were compatible at all.

The detailed discussion of the ‘civilian governmental’ aspect of the activities of a prefect, however, exceeds the possibilities of this book, and only a few elements of the portfolio will be presented here. The most explicit references to the prefect system of the ‘civilian sector’ of the government can be found in the penalty clauses of legal documents which list the official superiors of the person(s) in question, including their cohort commander and prefect.¹²⁴⁶ Several names of prefects are known from the witness lists of legal documents,¹²⁴⁷ but it is simply impossible to decide whether they were prefects of army units or labour groups. In addition to these legal documents several letters give further details of their position in the ‘civilian sphere’¹²⁴⁸ of the government of the empire.

Prefects probably played an important role in levying taxes from the local population and in organizing the *ilku* and other types of (labour) duties of the groups they were in charge of. The letter from Adda-ḫāti to Sargon II reported to the king that the silver dues which were imposed upon the local population by prefects and village managers (altogether 18 minas of silver) were handed over to him.¹²⁴⁹ A letter written by Nādin-Aššur reports to the king that the one-fifth tax of Barḫalzi did not arrive at the temple. He calls the attention of the king to the problem that “if a prefect does not bring in the one-fifth tax and give it to your temple, the rest of the magnates, observing him, will also go on strike against your temple(s).”¹²⁵⁰ A short note of silver from sheep shows that the prefect Bēl-šarru-ušur was in charge of “20 talents 13 minas and 18 1/3 shekels of silver of sheep, price of the shorn wool, penalty.”¹²⁵¹ It is possible that he was the prefect of the shepherds, since they are the only civilian group which is known to have had cohort commanders and prefects.¹²⁵²

¹²⁴⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 15 (ADD 405), Rev. 1: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú-nu*; 23 (ADD 1156), 11: GAR-*nu*; 31 (TCL 9, 58), Rev. 8: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú-nu*; 32 (ADD 350), Rev. 6: LÚ.*šak-nu* (1 talent of tin as a penalty); 82 (ADD 223), 8’: LÚ.*šak-an-šú*; 96 (ADD 244)13: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú*; 101 (ADD 474+)14’: LÚ.GAR-*nu*; 251 (ADD 804) 13’: LÚ.*šak-nu-šú-nu*; 257 (ADD 1194) 17: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú-nu*; 264 (ADD 164) Rev. 1: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú* (prefect of shepherds); 299 (ADD 477) 8’: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú*; 326 (ADD 471) Rev. 1: LÚ.GAR-*n[u-šú-nu]*; 328 (ADD 1153) 17’: LÚ.GAR-*in-šú-nu*; 334 (ADD 429), Rev. 11: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú-[nu]*; 335 (ADD 418), Rev. 5: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú-nu*; 336 (ADD 419), Rev. 6: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú-nu*; 344 (ADD 271), Rev. 4: LÚ.GAR-*nu-[šú-nu]*; MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 1: LÚ.GAR-*šú-nu*; 36 (ADD 446), 22: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú*; 40 (ADD 325), 19: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šu*; 161 (ADD 307), Rev. 3: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú*; 163 (ADD 88), Rev. 2: *ša-ka-šú*; 164 (ADD 87), 7: *ša-ka-šú*; 190 (ADD 1181), 14: LÚ.GAR-*šú*; 198 (ADD 426), Rev. 4: GAR-*nu-šú*; 214 (ADD 478), 3’: *ša-kan-šu*; 216 (ADD 85), 8: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šu*; 443 (TIM 11, 14), 11’: LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú*.

¹²⁴⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 139 (ADD 32), 2: Šin-šarru-ušur LÚ.GAR-*nu* lent silver while one of his witnesses was another prefect (Aššur-ālik-pāni LÚ.GAR-*nu*), probably one of his colleagues. MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207), Rev. 4: Šamaš-rē’ū’a GAR-*nu*, 5: Sukki-Aia GAR-*nu*; 38 (ADD 711), S. 1: Issar-ilā’i GAR-*n[u]*; 167 (Iraq 32, 9), 3: Da-[...] LÚ.GAR-*ni*; 435 (TIM 11, 3), Rev. 12-13: Abdi-Samsi LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú šá Ḥa-la-be-e-še*.

¹²⁴⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 59 (ABL 1104), 6’: LÚ.GAR-*nu*.MEŠ; 177 (ABL 414), 10: Nabū-šalla LÚ.GAR-*nu*; 189 (ABL 1227+), 9-10: Nūri-Šin LÚ.GAR-*nu*; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 213 (ABL 1407), Rev. 3: LÚ.*šak-nu*; COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 143 (ABL 533), Rev. 8: LÚ.GAR-*nu-ú-tú*; FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 116 (ABL 1044), 10’: LÚ.GAR-*nu-te*; 168 (ABL 564), Rev. 15: LÚ.*šak-nu*.MEŠ-*šú*; LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 43 (ABL 557), Rev. 5: LÚ.GAR-*nu*.MEŠ; 64 (CT 53, 78), 6: LÚ.*šak-ni-šu*; for further fragmentary entries see: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 57 (CT 53, 346), 9: *a-na* GAR-*nu-u-ti*; 268 (CT 53, 836), Rev. 6: LÚ.GAR-*nu*; FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 242 (CT 53, 237), 11’: LÚ.GAR-*nu* LÚ.GAR-*nu*.MEŠ-*ia*; 299 (CT 53, 865), 6’: LÚ.GAR-*nu ša* LÚ.[...]; 364 (CT 53, 416), 3’: LÚ.GAR-*nu-te ša* [...].

¹²⁴⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 176 (NL 20), 4: LÚ.GAR-*nu*.ME-*te*.

¹²⁵⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 31 (ABL 532), Rev. 5: LÚ.GAR-*nu*.

¹²⁵¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 100 (SAAB 6, 4), 1-5: GAR-*nu*.

¹²⁵² PARPOLA 1987, 236 (ABL 639), 2’-9’: Nagā LÚ.GAL-*ki-šir*, LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú*; COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 21 (CT 53, 129), Rev. 2: LÚ.*ša-ak-ni*.

A letter from an unknown writer to Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal explains the details of the shortage of bread for deaf people. It is clear from this letter that a prefect was in charge of a city (*see* below) or the deaf people themselves, and provided bread for them only when a seal(ed document) was presented to him.¹²⁵³

A single entry shows that the prefect could play some role in the system of court decisions – serving probably as a first instance court.¹²⁵⁴

An interesting letter from Aplāia, the temple steward of Ishtar of Arbela, to Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal shows that the chief of servants (LÚ.GAL—ARAD.MEŠ) was equivalent to the office of prefect, since the servants of Ishtar gathered and unanimously dismissed their chief, saying “You will not exercise the office of prefect.”¹²⁵⁵ This could hardly have happened in the military administration. The only letter which specifies the workforce commanded by a prefect states that 125 men worked in a ditch with a single prefect on a building project.¹²⁵⁶ This number is, however, an *ad hoc* figure as usual in the civilian sphere and does not help us to specify the size of military units commanded by a prefect (if such a size existed at all in the regular system of units).

It seems that the prefect system covered not only groups of persons (military or civilian) but was also used in a territorial sense. A few texts show prefects attached to towns of the empire.¹²⁵⁷ Several examples show, however, a prefect title, which includes the ‘land’ element (LÚ.GAR—KUR), and has been translated as ‘prefect,’ ‘prefect of the land,’ or ‘governor.’ One of these examples probably refers to a prefect of a temple but uses the LÚ.GAR—KUR formula.¹²⁵⁸ Another letter shows that the prefect Aššur-iddina, held 1 hectare of land and three orchards.¹²⁵⁹ The third letter, however, hints that the ‘prefect of the land’ was a more important person than an ordinary prefect. Mār-Issar reported to Esarhaddon that the governor of Dūr-Šarrukku opened the seals of the temple treasury and took 10 minas of silver (with 1400 sheep and 15 oxen). Mār-Issar reminded the king: “If the Prefect of the land and the governors of Nineveh and Arbela took silver from the temples, then he too might take it. If the treasure belongs to the god and the king, why is it being squandered?”¹²⁶⁰ This entry seems to emphasize the importance of this office: the prefect of the land and the governors could take silver from temple treasuries.¹²⁶¹ The first two examples shed no light on the meaning of the expression or on the difference between the two types of prefects, so no clear distinction can be made between the types of prefects (if there were more than one). The third group of officials described with the LÚ.GAR—KUR formula most probably denotes governors. A few examples of this are shown here: a land grant of Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.) for example lists in the ‘neighbours section’ of the grant the governor of the town [...]na, the governor of Kalḫu, the governor of the Inner City, the governor of Našibina.¹²⁶² The governor of

¹²⁵³ REYNOLDS 2003, 123 (CT 54, 397), 3: LÚ.šá-kin.

¹²⁵⁴ *See* the lawsuit when Aššur-mātu-taqqin litigated with Abiri before the prefect (AHMAD 1996, 32 (Aššur 13), 3: ina IGI LÚ.GAR-nu).

¹²⁵⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 143 (ABL 533), Rev. 1-9: LÚ.GAR-nu-ú-tú.

¹²⁵⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 143 (ABL 1180), 10’: LÚ.GAR-ni.

¹²⁵⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 172 (ADD 274), 2: Tiri LÚ.GAR-nu URU.KASKAL-a-a (prefect of Ḫarrān); FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 161 (CT 53, 68), Rev. 7’-8’: LÚ.GAR-nu ša URU.Nu-gul (prefect of Nugul).

¹²⁵⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 44 (ABL 611), Rev. 11: LÚ.GAR—KUR.

¹²⁵⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 316 (CT 53, 881), 8’: LÚ.GAR—KUR-šu-nu.

¹²⁶⁰ PARPOLA 1993, 369 (ABL 339), Rev. 5-10: LÚ.GAR—KUR.

¹²⁶¹ A letter written by probably a governor reports the king that Aššur-bēlu-taqqin a prefect (LÚ.GAR-nu) took 18 homers of barley and a pile of straw, and seized the farmers of the Palace (PARPOLA 1987, 105 (ABL 871)).

¹²⁶² KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 1 (KAV 94), 6: Šamaš-abu’a LÚ.GAR—KUR URU[...]na; 7: LÚ.GAR—KUR URU.Kal-ḫi, LÚ.GAR—KUR URU.ŠÀ—URU; 2 (KAV 117), 6: LÚ.GAR—KUR URU.Na-ši-bi-na; 6 (NARGD 2), 8: [LÚ.GAR]—KUR [UR]U.Kal-ḫa.

Šibaniba appears in one of these documents as the *limmu* of 786 B.C.,¹²⁶³ the governor of Tillê appears as *limmu* (730 B.C.) in one of the land grants of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.),¹²⁶⁴ and the governor of Que appears also as *limmu* in grants of Aššur-etelli-ilāni.¹²⁶⁵ The LÚ.GAR—KUR formula appears in the list of rebellious officials in a document granting exempted land to cohort commanders by Aššur-etelli-ilāni. Even the translations of these texts differ in identifying the LÚ.GAR—KUR as prefect or governor.¹²⁶⁶ A fragmentary administrative tablet listing estates in various provinces assigns to a prefect or governor [x]+400 hectares of land and 2 vineyards. One can read on the tablet the following signs: LÚ.GAR.[x x], but it is not known whether this refers to the prefect of something or a governor (LÚ.GAR[—KUR]).¹²⁶⁷ The size of the estate suggests that he served as a governor and not as a prefect.

As has been mentioned, prefects served towns and cities, and were probably subordinates of the governors appointed there. Illil-bānî, governor of Nippur, Aššur-bēlu-taqqin, the prefect appointed in Nippur¹²⁶⁸ and the people of Nippur wrote several letters to Esarhaddon asking for troops, since they kept watch along a long stretch of border along the Euphrates without cavalry, but only with archers.¹²⁶⁹ The example of Nippur clearly shows that a prefect assigned to a city might have served as a military commander (attached to a governor) and was engaged in various military duties, for example guarding a stretch of the border. The letter of Šumāia, however, shows that a prefect could be strong enough the “lay hands on a city.”¹²⁷⁰

Two letters show that they not only played an important role in keeping the military balance in the city and its region, but they also occupied an important place in the royal chain of command, since they served as one of the channels by which royal letters and orders reached their addressees.¹²⁷¹

From our point of view, the reconstruction of the military aspect of the office of prefect is much more important. He was a relatively high ranking officer, probably the highest ranking officer who might be active on the field, leading regular army units. It is clear from the cuneiform evidence that the prefect was a superior of the cohort commanders,¹²⁷² who were probably superiors of the commanders-of-50.

The position of a prefect was important enough to be mentioned in *omina*¹²⁷³ as a potential source of danger (if he instigates a rebellion) to the king. These *omina* list the Assyrian (military) officials in groups of importance (Fig. 6): the first group consists of high officials, governors, eunuchs, bearded officials, royal entourage, senior members of the royal line and junior members of the royal line. The second group consists of equestrian personnel (including recruitment

¹²⁶³ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 11 (NARGD 3), Rev. 2'-3': Ballātu [LÚ.GAR—KUR UR]U.Ši-ba-ni-bi.

¹²⁶⁴ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 14 (NARGD 7), Rev. 10'-11': Bēl-lū-dāri [LÚ.GAR]—KUR URU.Til-[e].

¹²⁶⁵ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (NARGD 13+), Rev. 33: [LÚ.GAR]—KUR.Qu-e; 41 (NARGD 22), Rev. 7': [LÚ.GAR]—KUR.Qu-e; 42 (82-3-23, 132), Rev. 2': [GAR—KUR.Q]u-e; 43 (NARGD 26), Rev. 1': [GAR—KUR.Q]u-e;

¹²⁶⁶ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (NARGD 13+), 18: [LÚ.GAR—KUR URU.Kar-...]; 36 (NARGD 14), 12: LÚ.GAR—KUR URU.Kar-[...];

¹²⁶⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 225 (ADD 774), 11': LÚ.GAR[x x].

¹²⁶⁸ REYNOLDS 2003, 192 (ABL 238), Rev. 8': Aššur-bēlu-taqqin LÚ.šak-nu.

¹²⁶⁹ REYNOLDS 2003, 196 (CT 54 141), 5'-12'; 197 (ABL 617+), 6-Rev. 4; 198 (CT 54 454), 6'-12' 200 (ABL 797), 14-20.

¹²⁷⁰ REYNOLDS 2003, 113 (ABL 846), 13: Nabū-šarru-ibnī LÚ.šak-na.

¹²⁷¹ REYNOLDS 2003, 192 (ABL 238), Rev. 8'-12': Aššur-bēlu-taqqin LÚ.šak-nu. See also 172 (CT 54, 105), Rev. 15': LÚ.šak-nu.

¹²⁷² An equestrian example shows for example that Kišir-Aššur, a cohort commander (*rab kišir*), was the subordinate of Aššur-rēmāni the prefect of the *tahlīpu* charioteers (GAR-nu LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḥ-līp*, DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 101, 1:18-19). This helps us to determine the place of the prefect and the cohort commander in a chain of command.

¹²⁷³ PARPOLA 1993, 113 (ABL 1109+), 13: LÚ.šak-nu, Rev. 1: LÚ.šak-[nu].

officers, team commanders, chariot drivers, ‘third men,’ chariot fighters, and king’s chariot men). This second group contains three different entries for prefects.¹²⁷⁴ The third group lists the cohort commanders, *qurbūtu* bodyguards, and *ša—šēpē* guards. This sequence of groups shows the importance of prefects (in this context primarily the military prefects), who had a relatively high status in the Assyrian government.

A few letters could emphasize their role in summoning and reviewing groups of people probably for military reasons. A fragmentary letter written to Sargon II, for example, mentions that the writer (whose name is lost but who was probably a governor) sent the prefect of a mountain people the following order: “Come! Let me review you, take you down into the mother (town) and give you equipment!”¹²⁷⁵ They did not obey but attacked their prefect.

An unknown official (probably a governor) reported to Sargon II that he sent his prefects to fetch the men at their command but they did not arrive. Consequently he has only 527 horses and 28 men.¹²⁷⁶ Nothing indicates, however, whether they were cavalry prefects or the prefects of infantry troops (prefects of the cavalry and chariotry are discussed in *vol. II*. Some texts show that prefects – similarly to other officials – would provide horses to the king,¹²⁷⁷ but nothing proves that these prefects were the prefects of the cavalry or chariotry.

The Assyrians used the term to denote those foreign officials – military and civilian as well – whom they considered to be the equivalents of the Assyrian prefects. From the military point of view there is a very important set of letters dealing with Urartian issues. These letters are intelligence reports providing details of Urartian troop movements. One of them was sent by Aššur-rēšūwa to Sargon II giving details of Urartian troop movements: 3,000 foot soldiers, their prefects, the commanders of the *kallāpu* troops of Setini, and the governor opposite him set out towards Mušašir.¹²⁷⁸ One of the letters of Ša-Aššur-dubbu, the Palace Herald, also mentions the prefects of the Urartian king, who have returned to their territories.¹²⁷⁹ The third letter, from the ruler of Ukku to Sennacherib, who forwarded it to Sargon II, deals with the defeat that the Urartian king suffered at the hands of the Cimmerians. This letter also lists the prefects of the country,¹²⁸⁰ who were with the king in the battle. These entries show an Urartian system similar to the Assyrian one: troops of the Urartian army probably the size of a regiment (*see* the 3,000 foot soldiers) and possibly consisting of 5 to 10 companies were commanded by a prefect, who might have been the equivalent of a modern colonel.

Several prefects are listed in administrative texts. A text listing officials at court, for example, lists large numbers of prefects: 6 prefects,¹²⁸¹ 3 prefects of the crown prince (*see* below), and 6 prefects of foreign people (*see* below). The ratio of these prefects (6–3–6) within this text – similarly to other officers listed in it – shows a deliberate organizing principle. If these prefects were military officers – as will be shown below in the case of foreign contingents – the ratio of royal

¹²⁷⁴ STARR 1990, 139 (AGS 108), 6: [GAR-*nu*].MEŠ; 144 (AGS 109), 5: GAR-*nu*.MEŠ; 142 (PRT 44), 6: LÚ.GAR.MEŠ *zak-ke-e* (prefects of the exempt military?), LÚ.GAR.MEŠ BAD.ĪHAL (prefects of the cavalry).

¹²⁷⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 240 (ABL 610), 3'-10', 3': LÚ.šá-kan-šú-nu, 9': LÚ.šak-ni-šú-nu.

¹²⁷⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 241 (ABL 563), 2'-Rev.2.

¹²⁷⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 94 (ABL 374), 7-8: 14 Kushite horses from the prefects (LÚ.GAR-*nu*.MEŠ); 113 (ABL 973), 11-12: 4 Kushite horses from Aššur-bēlu-taqīn, the prefect (LÚ.GAR-*nu*).

¹²⁷⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 88 (ABL 380), 4-7: 3-*lim* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ ĠĪR.2.MEŠ LÚ.GAR-*nu-te* LÚ.GAL—*kal-lab*.MEŠ ša^m *Se-ti-ni* LÚ.EN.NAM ša *pu-tu-u-a*.

¹²⁷⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 34 (CT 53, 95), 22-23: LÚ.GAR-*nu*.MEŠ ša KUR.URI-*a-a*.

¹²⁸⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 31 (ABL 197), 17: LÚ.GAR-*nu-te* ša KUR-šú.

¹²⁸¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:18: Nabû-aḫū-ēreš LÚ.GAR-*nu*, 25: Marduk-[...] [LÚ.GAR]-*nu*, 29: [...] -ā LÚ.GAR-*nu*, 39: Ša-lā-mašē LÚ.GAR-*nu*, II: 34: Mannu-kī-aḫḫē LÚ.GAR-*nu*, Rev. I:4: Upaqa-[...] LÚ.GAR-*nu*.

contingents and the contingents of the crown prince is 12:3 (4:1). Similar, but fragmentary administrative texts also list relatively large numbers of prefects.¹²⁸² From the nature of the texts and the concentration of the military officials listed it can be supposed that these texts list primarily or exclusively military prefects of the king, of foreign troops under the command of the king, and prefects of the crown prince (*see* below). This division reflects those changes in the military administration of the empire, which will be discussed in *vol. II*, chapter Summary: The development of the Assyrian army.

In a letter written by Bēl-iddina to Assurbanipal the writer complains that while he was in the service of Lubullit, the king's prefect¹²⁸³ for 12 years, his enemies (Ḫaḫḫuru's men) kept on denigrating his father's house in Babylon. It is not known what type of duty in the service of a prefect lasted 12 years and prevented Bēl-iddina from going home to Babylon.

(1) Prefect of the crown prince (*šaknu mār šarri*)

The prefect of the crown prince is known only from a few texts: administrative lists (partly discussed above),¹²⁸⁴ and the witness section of a legal document.¹²⁸⁵ One of these entries mentions an 'Assyrian prefects of the crown prince' (KUR.AŠ GAR-*nu*.MEŠ A—MAN),¹²⁸⁶ which might distinguish him from non Assyrian prefects (*see* below). Judging from the relatively large numbers of officers known to have been attached to the crown prince, he had quite substantial military units. Consequently it is quite reasonable to suppose that those three prefects or the other prefects who were listed in the administrative lists were the prefects of military units and not groups of craftsmen. In this case they could represent (infantry) units of the size of three regiments.

(2) Prefect of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*šaknu ša—šēpē*)

There is a single entry mentioning the prefect of the *ša—šēpē* guard.¹²⁸⁷ This administrative text ends with a memorandum on teams of cavalry horses which were in service and which were to be given to the prefect of the *ša—šēpē* guard. The prefect was probably a higher rank than the cohort commander, probably commanding more cohorts or a whole regiment(?). If so, this text proves that the *ša—šēpē* guard had more prefects, consequently it might have been a military unit several regiments strong. There is nothing surprising in this entry: the prefects of the *ša—šēpē* guard might well have gone on horseback, as befitted their rank, and the cavalry and chariotry units of the *ša—šēpē* guard are also known (*see vol. II*, chapters *Ša—šēpē* ('personal guard'); Cavalry bodyguard (*pēthal qurubte*); and Chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard).

¹²⁸² FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 6 (ADD 840+858), I:9': Aššur-zāqip LÚ.GAR-*nu*, 10': Adad-lē'i LÚ.GAR-*nu*; 7 (ADD 833), I':3': [...] LÚ.GAR-*nu*, 4': [...] Issar LÚ.GAR-*nu*, II:1': [...] LÚ.GAR-*nu*; 8': [...] šarru-ušur LÚ.GAR-*nu*; 9 (ADD 860), I:10': [...] LÚ.GAR-*nu*, 21': Adad-lē'i LÚ.GAR-*nu*, Rev. I:11': Mannu-kī-šarri LÚ.GAR-[*nu*]; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 131 (K.16475), 3': LÚ.GAR-*nu*.

¹²⁸³ REYNOLDS 2003, 95 (ABL 780+), 12: LÚ.GAR-*nu* LUGAL.

¹²⁸⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:33: Ibnī-[...] LÚ.GAR-*nu* DUMU—MAN, 34: Rēmāni-ilu LÚ.GAR-*nu* DUMU—MAN, Rev. I:31: Qurdi-Aššur LÚ.GAR-*nu* DUMU—MAN. He appears in another administrative text: 6 (ADD 840+858), I:5': Qurdi-Aššur LÚ.GAR-*nu* A—MAN; 148 (ADD 1083), Rev. II:4': GAR-*nu*.MEŠ *ša* A—MAN; 150 (ADD 834+++), II:17': GAR-*nu*.MEŠ A—MAN.

¹²⁸⁵ MATTILA 2002, 318 (ADD 607), Rev. 5': [...] LÚ.GAR-*nu* DUMU—MAN, 6': [...] LÚ.GAR-*nu* DUMU—MAN.

¹²⁸⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), R. II':6'.

¹²⁸⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 29 (ADD 1041), Rev. 11-12: LÚ.NU.GAR.MEŠ(*šaknē*) *ša*—GİR.2.MEŠ (*ša—šēpē*).

(3) Prefect of the 'staff-bearers' (*šaknu ša LÚ.PA.MEŠ*)

The prefect of the staff-bearers is known from two administrative texts.¹²⁸⁸ One of these texts (a list of debts) shows the military character of the prefect of the staff-bearers: 6 bowmen were at his disposal from the town of Til-Raḥawa.¹²⁸⁹ The staff-bearers were probably attached to the army but unfortunately no written or pictorial evidence sheds light to their role.

(4) Prefects of foreign troops

Several entries show prefects commanding groups of foreigners. These cases could be considered as examples of military units formed from foreign troops. The highest ranking known officer of these groups was the prefect. Such groups are for example the Itu'eans¹²⁹⁰ and the Taziru,¹²⁹¹ whose role has already been discussed. One of these texts makes it clear that the prefect of the Itu'eans has a deputy as well.¹²⁹² An order sent by Sargon II to Naṣur-Bēl shows that the bow-field of an Itu'eian prefect was probably exempt from straw and barley taxes.¹²⁹³ Further Aramean groups commanded by prefects¹²⁹⁴ are known from the royal correspondence, but in these cases it is impossible to decide whether these prefects were military commanders or administrative leaders, or both. These groups were Aramean nomadic tribes, but the origin of a further group, the Gurreans, the auxiliary spearmen of the Assyrian army who – according to the same administrative text (ADD 857) – were also commanded by prefects, is unknown.¹²⁹⁵ The prefect of the Gurreans appears in a legal document as late as 630 B.C.¹²⁹⁶ The next group commanded by a prefect, the Ḫallateans, also appears in ADD 857 and related texts.¹²⁹⁷ It is interesting that the name of one of their prefects, Tarḫunda-pî shows a Neo-Hittite origin. The fifth ethnic group with a prefect were the Elamites.¹²⁹⁸ These were most probably Elamite mercenaries or allies serving in the Assyrian army. It is quite reasonable to suppose that these groups – judging especially from the appearance of Itu'eans and Gurreans – were military contingents and not groups of craftsmen.

(5) Prefect of the *kallāpu* troops (*šaknu kallāpāni*)

A single administrative text mentions the highest rank of the *kallāpu* system.¹²⁹⁹ As has been discussed above, this census tablet – similarly to the high officials – does not give the name of the prefect of *kallāpu*-s, who was identified only by his rank. It is quite reasonable to suppose that they

¹²⁸⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 28 (ADD 814), I:10-11: Marduk-erība LÚ.GAR-*nu ša* LÚ.PA.MEŠ.

¹²⁸⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), Rev. III:6'-8': Aia-iababa LÚ.GAR-*nu ša* LÚ.PA.MEŠ.

¹²⁹⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:30: [...] LÚ.GAR-*nu I-tu-'u*, II:11: Gullusu LÚ.GAR-*nu I-tu-'u*; 9 (ADD 860), Rev. I:25: Gullusu LÚ.GAR-*nu*.

¹²⁹¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138), 11-13: LÚ.GAR-*nu.MEŠ-šú-nu*.

¹²⁹² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 33 (ABL 419), 9-12: Bibia prefect of the Itu'eans (LÚ.*šak-nu ša* LÚ.*I-tu-'a-a-a*), Tardītu-Aššur prefect of the Itu'eans (LÚ.*šak-nu ša* LÚ.*I-tu-'a-a-a*), and his deputy (2-šú).

¹²⁹³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 16 (ABL 201), 4-7.

¹²⁹⁴ Such a case is known, when Balāssu, the prefect of the Labdudaeans is mentioned in a letter written to Sargon II (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 121 (ABL 537), 8: Balāssu LÚ.GAR-*šú-nu*). Leaders (not sheikhs) of other Aramean tribes, for example the Puqūdeans were also regarded by the Assyrians as prefects (REYNOLDS 2003, 187 (ABL 1365), Rev. 11': [LÚ.š]ak-*nu-ti ša* URU.*Pu-q[u-du]*).

¹²⁹⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:20: Ad[ad-...] LÚ.GAR-*nu gur-ri*.

¹²⁹⁶ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1), Rev. 18: Tabnî LÚ.GAR-*nu ša* LÚ.*gur-ra-a-a*.

¹²⁹⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:38: Tarḫunda-pî LÚ.GAR-*nu ḫal-ta-a-a*; 9 (ADD 860), I:19': Tarḫunda-pî LÚ.GAR-*nu*, II:1: Ḫaršešu (Ḫur-ši-Ēšu, an Egyptian) LÚ.GAR-*nu ḫal-ta-a-a*; 11 (ADD 841), Rev. 2: Tarḫunda-pî LÚ.GAR-*nu ḫ[al-ta-a-a]*.

¹²⁹⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), Rev. I:11: [...] *-gi* LÚ.GAR-*nu NIM.MA-a-a*, 12: [...] *-šir* LÚ.GAR-*nu NIM.MA-a-a*; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 130 (BM.99249), 2: Apliku LÚ.GAR-*nu N[IM.MA-a-a]*.

¹²⁹⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), III:13': LÚ.GAR-*nu kal-lap*. [MEŠ].

were well-known figures of the local military establishment. His subordinate officer was the *rab kallāpāni* (see above).

(6) Prefect of the *māhīšāni* (*šaknu ša māhīšāni*)

A single legal text mentions the prefect of the *māhīšu*¹³⁰⁰ which has been translated as ‘mounted archer,’ but several other meanings of the word are known,¹³⁰¹ so – in consequence of the inadequate nature of the data – the present writer cannot offer a solution.

*Major-domo (rab bēti)*¹³⁰²

The major-domo appears in the cuneiform record during the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 B.C.) and is known throughout the 8th–7th centuries B.C. as well.¹³⁰³ Several types of major-domo are known from the cuneiform evidence. A major-domo could serve the crown prince,¹³⁰⁴ the queen,¹³⁰⁵ the Chief Eunuch,¹³⁰⁶ the Vizier,¹³⁰⁷ the governors¹³⁰⁸ and other officials who are known only by name.¹³⁰⁹ Major-domos, however, appear as attached not only to officials, but to cities (like Carchemish),¹³¹⁰ and provinces (such as Laḥiru)¹³¹¹ as well. They appear in a few characteristic contexts: in legal documents as buyer/seller¹³¹² or witness.¹³¹³ Major-domos are listed in a few

¹³⁰⁰ MATTILA 2002, 425 (TIM 11, 1), Rev. 17: Nabû-balāssu-iqbî GAR-nu. *ša LÚ.ma-ḫi-ša-a-ni* ((mounted) archers?).

¹³⁰¹ OPPENHEIM – REINER 1977, 102-103, s.v. *māhīšu*: weaver, ploughman, hunter, scout.

¹³⁰² For the first identification of the military aspect of the major-domo see DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 193, no. 102, III:22’.

¹³⁰³ POSTGATE 1973, 14 (ND 401 + 402), Obv. 4: Aššur-taklāk major-domo (LÚ.GAL—É), 802 B.C.; 51 (ND 263), Rev. 39: Witness Daiiān-Ninurta major-domo (LÚ.GAL—É), 797 B.C.; 17 (ND 496), Rev. 36: Witness Sîn-ēṭir major-domo of the Chief Eunuch (LÚ.GAL—É *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG), 783 B.C.

¹³⁰⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148 (ADD 1083), II:2’, an account from a ceremonial banquet lists the major-domo of the crown prince (GAL—É A—MAN).

¹³⁰⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 4 (ADD 854), Rev. II’ 10’ lists Man-kī-Ḥarrān major-domo (LÚ.GAL—É) in the third section of an administrative text listing the officials who belonged to the ‘new corps of Sennacherib,’ to the crown prince, or to the queen. The major-domo was assigned to the household of the Lady of the House (É.GAŠAN—É).

¹³⁰⁶ POSTGATE 1973, 17 (ND 496), Rev. 36 lists Sîn-ēṭir major-domo of the Chief Eunuch (LÚ.GAL—É *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG) as a witness (783 B.C.). In one of the Nimrud horse lists (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 102 (ND 10019) iii:22’) at the end of the city units section mentions a major-domo together with the commander of the deportees (*rab šaglūte*) who were under the command of the Chief Eunuch. An administrative text (list of debts, FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 35 (ADD 923), 1) lists Mannu-kī-šābē, recruit of the major-domo of the Chief Eunuch (LÚ.rak-su *ša* GAL—É *ša* GAL—SAG).

¹³⁰⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 183 (ADD 47): Mannu-kī-Issaran major-domo of the Vizier (GAL—É *ša* SUKKAL.MEŠ) borrows two minas of silver (683 B.C.).

¹³⁰⁸ Several letters implies that the major-domo served the province or the governor. See for example LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 67 (CT 53, 85), 126 (ABL 243), 215 (NL 89 (ND 2631)), FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242). For detailed study see below.

¹³⁰⁹ A letter of Sennacherib written to Sargon II mentions Nabû-lē’i, the major-domo of Aḫat-abiša, who sent a letter from Tabal (PARPOLA 1987, 31 (ABL 197), 26ff.); another letter written by Bēl-liqbî to Sargon II mentions Sîn-iddina, the major-domo of Adda-ḫāti (PARPOLA 1987, 177 (ABL 414), 17ff.); a fragmentary purchase document of Issar-dūri mentions a witness: Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur, major-domo (LÚ.GAL—É) of Nabû-ašarēd (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 254 (ADD 507), Rev. 2).

¹³¹⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 46 (ADD 127): Aššur-bēlu-ušur, the major-domo of Carchemish (LÚ.GAL—É *ša* URU.gar-ga-miš) borrows 6 homers (1,200 litres) of pressed oil. His witnesses include a ‘third man of the palace’ (LÚ.3-šú É.GAL) and two cohort commanders (LÚ.GAL—ki-šir). The contract is dated to 681 B.C.

¹³¹¹ PARPOLA 1993, 359 (ABL 746): The letter of Mār-Issar written to Esarhaddon mentions the deputy major-domo [of] Laḥiru (LÚ.II-i LÚ.GAL—É [*ša*] URU.La-ḫi-ri):

¹³¹² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 46 (ADD 127): Aššur-bēlu-ušur; 166 (ADD 285): Sē’-NU; 183 (ADD 47): Mannu-kī-Issaran; 267 (ADD 194): Sē’-sakâ; MATTILA 2002, 465 (ADD 467): Bēl-dūri; POSTGATE 1973, 14 (ND 401 + 402): Aššur-taklāk; 23 (ND 229): Mannu-kī-māt-Aššur. It is interesting that his witnesses were military personnel: a chariot driver, two third men, and a *kallāpu* officer (754 B.C.).

¹³¹³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 254 (ADD 507), Rev. 2: Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur; MATTILA 2002, 17 (ADD 214), Rev. 7: [...] -šī-ibnī (633 B.C.); 72 (ADD 128), Rev. 6: Balāssu (665 B.C.); POSTGATE 1973, 17 (ND 496), Rev. 36: Sîn-ēṭir (783 B.C.); 51 (ND 263),

administrative texts,¹³¹⁴ but the most informative sources are the letters. In royal correspondence they appear in a series of capacities.¹³¹⁵ Unfortunately the texts which mention them do not permit the construction of a coherent profile of this position, but a very well-defined duty can surely be identified: several letters discuss the major-domos' role of leading army units or groups of people. These letters show that the major-domo played a key role in the mobilisation of the troops of the provincial governors. The unknown writer of a report to Sargon II promised the king that his major-domo would assemble the troops¹³¹⁶ the king had ordered to summon (and to muster for a campaign). When Adad-issia wrote a report to Sargon II he listed the troops which had already arrived and joined the assembling expeditionary army. At the end of his report, he excused himself, saying that his (the governor's) major domo had been delayed but would later bring the rest of the troops.¹³¹⁷ When Sargon II ordered Aššur-bēlu-ušur to set out with his troops and tribute (which was drawn by recruits, chariot fighters, and king's men), the official assured the king that he had given orders to his major-domo to set out with the camp after his departure.¹³¹⁸ Dūr-Aššur received a similar, but much more explicit order from the king: "Let your major-domo come." He answered his lord that he had mustered his troops, as many as there were, so they were setting out and coming.¹³¹⁹ Aššur-bēlu-uda'an received an order from Kakkullānu the *qurbūtu* bodyguard to release his troops because if they did not go they would die of hunger. The troops were about to enter a city with Kakkullānu. When the king asked him, why his major-domo did not stay with the troops, Aššur-bēlu-uda'an answered that he was engaged with ten fierce city lords.¹³²⁰ The major-domo of Aššur-lē'i entered Birdunu to collect the numerous troops who fled. No one knew how many of them were killed or were taken prisoner.¹³²¹ A legal document found at Balawat shows that the governor of Arzuḫina borrowed a large amount of silver from the crown prince and a local person. The first witness was Bēl-lē'i, his major-domo.¹³²² The major-domo would, however, also have played an active role in missions. When the Urartians captured six Assyrian soldiers, Gabbu-ana-Aššur sent word to the major-domo not to take them by force but instead to write to Abilē the Urartian commander to release them.¹³²³ It is obvious that the major-domo would have led an expeditionary force to free the captured Assyrians. One of the Nimrud Horse Lists also proves that the major-domo would have been part of the military command structure of the Assyrian army. He appears at the end of the City units section together with the *rab šaglūte* (commander of deportees) under the command of the Chief Eunuch. This section summarizes a command structure in which the major-domo (of the

Rev. 39: Daiiān-Ninurta (797 B.C.); DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 99, Rev. 7: LÚ.GAL—É (755 B.C.); 234, Rev. 20: Bār-rakub [x] LÚ.GAL—É (762 B.C.); DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 99 (A 920), Rev. 7: [...] LÚ.GAL—É (755 B.C.); 234 (A 1863), 20: Bār-rakub [...] LÚ.GAL—É.

¹³¹⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 4 (ADD 854), Rev. II' 10' Man-kī-Harrān major-domo (LÚ.GAL—É); 148 (ADD 1083), II:2' major-domo of the crown prince (GAL—É A—MAN).

¹³¹⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 12 (ABL 1042), 30 (ABL 1079), 31 (ABL 197), 177 (ABL 414), 240 (ABL 610), 264 (CT 53, 214); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 34 (CT 53, 95), 152 (ABL 784); PARPOLA 1993, 165 (ABL 228), 359 (ABL 746), 364 (ABL 1214); COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 50 (ABL 1078), 143 (ABL 533); LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 42 (ABL 415), 112 (ABL 84); REYNOLDS 2003, 44 (CT 54, 271), 56 (ABL 336); POSTGATE 1973, 67 (ND 250).

¹³¹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 67 (CT 53, 85), 9ff.

¹³¹⁷ SAGGS 1966, NL 89 (ND 2631); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215; SAGGS 2001, ND 2631.

¹³¹⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242).

¹³¹⁹ SAGGS 2001, 148-149, NL 28 (ND 2799). Dūr-Aššur, as a governor of Tušḫan was the *limmu* of 728 B.C.

¹³²⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 126 (ABL 243).

¹³²¹ SAGGS 2001, 115-116, NL 75 (ND 2448).

¹³²² PARKER 1963, BT 124, 13; LÚ.GAL—É.

¹³²³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 115 (ABL 579).

Chief Eunuch) commanded 10 officers.¹³²⁴ Two other texts prove that the major-domo commanded military units. Both texts mention the recruit of the major-domo.¹³²⁵

Concluding the evidence we can say that a well defined military aspect of the major-domo of provincial governors and the Chief Eunuch can be identified from written sources. They led and commanded units both in the provincial section and the royal section (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army.

Governor (bēl pīhati)

The governors were the backbone of the Assyrian (military) administration. They served under the direct control of the king. Local administrative systems (for example the *mātu* system of the Assyrian high officials along the Northwestern, Northern, and Northeastern borders of the Empire), however, would double the chain of command, but the governors could communicate directly with the king, not only through the high officials.¹³²⁶ Some administrative texts show the signs of an army reform of Sennacherib during which the magnates of the empire (including the high officials and the governors as well) were formally divided between the king ('the new corps of Sennacherib'),¹³²⁷ the crown prince and partly the queen (for detailed discussion *see vol. II, Summary: The development of the Assyrian army*), but the impact of this decision on the military administration is unknown.

The correspondence of the king and the governors forms a large part of the royal correspondence. Several aspects of the service of the governors (for example such 'civilian' aspects as the organization of building projects) can be reconstructed, but this chapter will only discuss the letters revealing their military importance. There is, however, a group of semi-military aspects, which although listed here, will be discussed in the second volume of this enterprise (*see Introduction*). Governors of the (Northern) border regions were active in collecting information about the enemies of Assyria. They (together with other important members of the administration) sent military intelligence reports¹³²⁸ (1) about the troop movements of the enemy,¹³²⁹ (2) about the defeat of the Urartians by the Cimmerians,¹³³⁰ (3) about the position of the Urartian king,¹³³¹ (4) about

¹³²⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 102 (ND 10019) iii:22'.

¹³²⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 35 (ADD 923), 1: Mannu-ki-šābē, recruit of the major-domo of the Chief Eunuch (LÚ.rak-su šá GAL—É šá GAL—SAG); HARPER 1892 1009, Rev. 17 mentions 209 men, whom the recruit of the major-domo has brought.

¹³²⁶ DEZSÓ 2004B (and the lecture delivered at Münster, 19. 07. 2006, at the 52th Rencontre: Assyriologique "Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien": "Neo-Assyrian Military Intelligence", forthcoming).

¹³²⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853), 4 (ADD 854).

¹³²⁸ DUBOVSKÝ 2006B; *See* furthermore DEZSÓ 2004B (and the lecture delivered at Münster, 19. 07. 2006, at the 52th Rencontre: Assyriologique "Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien": "Neo-Assyrian Military Intelligence", forthcoming).

¹³²⁹ Reports of Našur-Bēl, governor of Amidi: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 2 (ABL 548), 3 (ABL 424), 4 (CT 53, 210); report of Ašipā: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 21 (ABL 506); report of Nabū-šarru-ušur: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 83 (ABL 769); reports of Aššur-rēšūwa: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 84 (ABL 381), 86 (ABL 492), 87 (ABL 444), 88 (ABL 380), 89 (ABL 1196); report of Gabbu-ana-Aššur, Palace Herald: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 114 (CT 53, 7); furthermore: 167 (CT 53, 615), 168 (ABL 1081), 177 (CT 53, 122), 178 (CT 53, 124), 187 (CT 53, 427); 223 (ABL 596).

¹³³⁰ Several reports were collected by Sennacherib and forwarded to Sargon II: PARPOLA 1987, 30 (ABL 1079); 31 (ABL 187); 32 (NL 46); furthermore: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 90 (ABL 646), 92 (ABL 146+), 144 (GPA 243), 145 (ABL 112), 173 (CT 53, 99), 174 (CT 53, 583).

¹³³¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 55 (ABL 741), 84 (ABL 381), 91 (ABL 144), 93 (CT 53, 365+), 112 (CT 53, 114), 113 (ABL 123), 128 (CT 53, 215), 164 (ABL 515), 165 (ABL 1298+), 166 (ABL 1325).

spying activities in Urartu and in the buffer states,¹³³² and (5) about the activities of the Urartian vassal kings of the buffer states.¹³³³ Governors of other border provinces – especially in Babylonia and on the Elamite border – were also active: it seems from the correspondence that they fought their own wars – led expeditions or defended their territory.

The most important question is how to distinguish between the governors' own, provincial troops and the royal troops (king's men), who were mostly recruited from the local population for a certain period of service. Reconstructions show¹³³⁴ that the Assyrian army was made up at least three elements: (1) city units (commanded by the Chief Eunuch) and bodyguard units of the *kišir šarrūti*, (2) provincial units of the *kišir šarrūti*, and (3) provincial units (commanded by the governors, high officials, and the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief)). The aim of this chapter together with the following ones is to reconstruct this third, provincial element forming the local troops of the governors (3) and to reconstruct the units of the *kišir šarrūti* which were stationed in the provinces (2).

(1) Troops of the governors

Several letters mention the troops of the governors without any specification,¹³³⁵ but some letters of the royal correspondence make it clear that the governors built up their own forces, which were not 'private' troops but belonged to their office. Sargon II for example accused Mannu-kī-Adad of obtaining 1,119 able-bodied men, who had been given to the exempts of the Palace (LÚ.zu(za)-ku ša É.GAL) and entrusted to his care, but he had appropriated them, turning some into recruits (LÚ.rak-su-ti), others into chariot warriors (LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ), and still others into cavalymen (ANŠE.ša—BAD.ḪAL-la-ti), in his own cohorts (*ki-iš-ri ša ra-mi-ni-ka*).¹³³⁶ This entry makes it clear that governors tried to fill the ranks of their own troops with king's men. Aššur-bēlu-da''in, governor of Ḫalziatbar, asked Sargon II whether he should release the troops at his disposal or whether they should continue to keep watch.¹³³⁷ It is, however, not known, whether these troops were king's men or the provincial troops of the governor. They were recruited from among the local population, served probably for a certain period and could be released when the period of their service expired.

Esarhaddon sent an order to Nippur and reminded the *šandabakku* of the city (governor of Nippur) to mobilize his troops and join the forces of Nabû-ētir, the governor of the Northern Sealand, as the former *šandabakkus* had.¹³³⁸ This letter – together with others – makes it clear that the *šandabakku* of Nippur – whether an Assyrian or a native Babylonian – commanded his own troops, who were equipped by the city.

The governors might have commanded substantial military forces, since following the death of Sennacherib (681 B.C.), the governor of Assur roused his garrison troops, dressed in armour and wearing iron swords, and took control of the city.¹³³⁹ It seems that during the turbulent period

¹³³² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 11 (ABL 1083), 12 (ABL 1043), 24 (ABL 509), 85 (ABL 148), 130 (CT 53, 918), 131 (CT 53, 454), 133 (ABL 890), 134 (ABL 931), 135 (ABL 1466), 136 (ABL 891), 179 (ABL 1295), 180 (CT 53, 799), 181 (CT 53, 586), 184 (CT 53, 445), 185 (CT 53, 789), 188 (CT 53, 272).

¹³³³ Report of Sennacherib: PARPOLA 1987, 29 (ABL 198+); furthermore: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 31 (ABL 139+), 95 (CT 53, 172+), 96 (ABL 145), 146 (ABL 768), 147 (ABL 409), 162 (ABL 441), 192 (CT 53, 415), 195 (CT 53, 581).

¹³³⁴ DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

¹³³⁵ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 68 (CT 53, 80), 15'-19' lists troops of the governor, including 'third men,' recruits, a chariot fighter, and the horse trainer.

¹³³⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304), 2-12.

¹³³⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 78 (ABL 246), Rev. 7-10.

¹³³⁸ REYNOLDS 2003, 3 (ABL 540).

¹³³⁹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 95 (ABL 473).

following the murder of the king he was the only military official in Assur who possessed enough authority and troops to act (unfortunately it is not known on whose behalf he took over the city). A fragmentary letter from Babylonia written by an unknown official refers to a royal order asking him to send 1,000 archers (to the royal camp?). This royal order refers furthermore to Aššur-bēlu-taqīn who got [x] horses and 20,000 archers in a cloister.¹³⁴⁰ These numbers show substantial military forces under the command of Assyrian governors. A letter from Amēl-Nabû to Sargon II suggests that 300 horses and 12 chariots befitted the social standing of a governor.¹³⁴¹

(2) Provincial and foreign units (king's men) of the *kišir šarrūti* stationed in the provinces

(a) Regular troops – king's men. Several letters provide accounts of king's men stationed in the provinces. This category of people was recruited mainly from the local population and deportees, and the troops were used for building projects and military service as well. This service was burdensome, so king's men sometimes deserted from labour duty and military service.¹³⁴² The account of Ṭāb-šil-Ēšarra, governor of Assur sent to Sargon II lists those king's men, who were recruited from among 'sons of bought men' and the 'sons of palace maids.' "They are 370 men: 90 are king's men, 90 are reserves, 190 should do the king's work."¹³⁴³

Aššur-šarru-ibnî reported to the king that 120 king's men of the governor of Arbela (30 (men from) Tillê, 60 (from) the land of Ḥamudu of the governor of Calah, 30 from the city of [...]ba) had not gone on the campaign with the king. The governor of Arbela would not agree to give them to Aššur-šarru-ibnî, so he asks permission of the king, because these men have neither rations nor work.¹³⁴⁴ Našur-Bêl, governor of Amidi received an order from Sargon II to bring 100 king's men from Bît-Zamāni,¹³⁴⁵ and Aššur-ālik-pāni also had a contingent of king's men with him with whom he had to appear at a muster in Arbela.¹³⁴⁶

The most comprehensive overview of provincial troops is known from a report from Adad-issīa to Sargon II. The report lists the king's men who were stationed in the province of Māzama.¹³⁴⁷ The chariotry contingent consisted of 10 chariots, 20 large-wheeled chariots (10 horse-drawn, 10 mule-drawn), and 30 teams of horses; 11 chariot drivers, 12 'third men,' 30 chariot fighters, 53 grooms, altogether 106 men and 30 chariots. The cavalry of Adad-issīa consisted of 97 cavalry horses, 161 cavalymen, 130 grooms, 52 *zunzurahi*, altogether 343 grooms. The regular infantry consisted almost exclusively of supply staff: 8 lackeys, 12 tailors, 20 cupbearers, 12 confectioners, 7 bakers, 10 cooks: altogether 69 domestics. Furthermore: 8 scholars, 23 donkey drivers, 1 information officer. A relatively large number of 80 *kallāpu* soldiers forms the only possible fighting unit of the regular infantry. The summary section distinguishes these units (chariotry, cavalry, and infantry) identified as 630 Assyrians from the auxiliary units formed of 360 Gurreans and 440 Itu'eans. This army consisted of a platoon of chariotry, a squadron of cavalry, 100 domestics, 1 information officer, 80 *kallāpu* soldiers and 800 auxiliary infantrymen. It is unfortunately not known what role the supply staff played – their number (100), however, seems to be too large for the size of the fighting contingent (449 equestrians, 1 information officer, 80 *kallāpu* soldiers (a cohort?) and

¹³⁴⁰ DIETRICH 2003, 70 (CT 54, 64), 4'-11'.

¹³⁴¹ DIETRICH 2003, 48 (ABL 925), Rev. 3'-6'.

¹³⁴² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 52 (ABL 252), 16-Rev. 1: Aššur-dūr-pāniā refers to the people who ran away to Šubria from labour duty.

¹³⁴³ PARPOLA 1987, 99 (ABL 99), Rev. 12-16.

¹³⁴⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 149 (CT 53, 108), 4-Rev. 6.

¹³⁴⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 14 (ABL 1193).

¹³⁴⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 152 (ABL 784).

800 auxiliary infantrymen). The grand total of the text: 1,430 king's men makes it clear that these contingents belonged to the provincial contingents of the royal army (*kišir šarrūti*). A similar large-scale muster – including chariot troops, Gurreans, Itu'eans, the (exempt?) infantry (LÚ.zu-ku), *kallāpu* troops – is known from a fragmentary letter.¹³⁴⁸ It is, however, not known whether these troops were royal troops garrisoned in a province or the troops of the local governors.

Mannu-kī-Ninua, governor of Kār-Šarrukēn, reported to Sargon II that he had brought the trainees (LÚ.tar-bi-a-ni) to Calah and appointed them to the service of the recruitment officers.¹³⁴⁹ They were probably king's men who were sent to Calah for training.

(b) Auxiliary troops of governors. Several letters sent by governors to the king mention auxiliary troops stationed in their provinces. Most of the auxiliary troops – especially the Itu'eans and Gurreans – were royal troops who were sent to the provinces by the king to serve there. These troops followed the orders of the governors but remained under the control of the king.

Babylonian auxiliaries. Probably a governor reported to Sargon II that he was writing to Šarru-ēmuranni (who served as the governor of Babylon, and a 'general' of Sargon II, *see* below), who was going to mobilize and bring all the king's men of Dūr-Ladini, Dūr-Biliḫai and Larak including those of Bīt-Amukāni.¹³⁵⁰ A letter written by Na'di-ilu also refers to him to assembling the whole Bīt-Amukāni contingent.¹³⁵¹ These troops were the Babylonian (Aramean) auxiliaries of the Assyrians: king's men under the command of a governor. A similar case is known from a letter of Tāb-šil-Ēšarra, governor of Assur, which reports that following a royal order he wrote to the reserves of the king's men of the Ruqaḫai and Ḫallatai tribes to summon them.¹³⁵²

Itu'ean and Gurrean auxiliaries. Judging from the cuneiform evidence, among the auxiliary forces stationed in the provinces the Itu'eans were the most important element. They are frequently mentioned in the royal correspondence. As has been discussed in detail (chapter Auxiliary archers), the Itu'eans were used not only as an effective fighting force on campaigns (*see* for example the representations), but for border guard¹³⁵³ and police duties too, as well as providing escorts for various errands. These Itu'eans were the subordinates of the king, since when Našhur-Bēl, the governor of Amidi wrote a report to Sargon II, he mentioned that the Itu'eans of the Palace at his disposal had returned from the Euphrates. They had not gone with the Vizier (on campaign), and when Našhur-Bēl asked them to go with him to keep watch at Laruba, they refused and only one or two houses had come out of the town. The governor asked the king to send an order to their sheikhs to bring the men out.¹³⁵⁴ They were stationed in the provinces in fairly large numbers. The vassal king Ašipâ petitioned Sargon II that concerning the Itu'eans in his country, there was a surplus of 500 men, whom the king had ordered to march to Guzana. Ašipâ asked the king to release these Itu'eans, because they should keep watch with him. When Šarru-ēmuranni sent for a royal order 50 Gurreans and 50 Itu'eans to Sabḫānu, the men of the Chief Cupbearer did not let them in. Šarru-ēmuranni asked the king to send an

¹³⁴⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130. They reconstruct different numbers for chariots and teams of horses belonging to them.

¹³⁴⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305).

¹³⁴⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 105 (ABL 127), Rev. 4-11.

¹³⁵⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 18 (ABL 1292), 4-7.

¹³⁵¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 63.

¹³⁵² PARPOLA 1987, 91 (ABL 97), 12-Rev. 5. *See* also another letter of Tāb-šil-Ēšarra dealing with the Ruqaḫeans: 92 (ABL 1086).

¹³⁵³ In the letters of Tāb-šil-Ēšarra: PARPOLA 1987, 93 (ABL 482), 97 (ABL 95); Našhur-Bēl, governor of Amidi: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424).

¹³⁵⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424), Rev. 10-20.

order.¹³⁵⁵ The letter from Adda-ḫāti, governor of Ḫamath, shows how essential it was to have Assyrian and Itu'ean people in a newly organized province: he asked the king to send him Assyrian and Itu'ean people, because there was no Assyrian city-overseer or any Assyrian gate-guards in Šupat.¹³⁵⁶

Other units of auxiliary forces. Such a group might be those Philistines, whom – according to a letter from Nergal-balliṭ – the king formed into a cohort, but who refused to stay with Nergal-balliṭ, instead they stayed in a village near Arbela.¹³⁵⁷ Another large contingent of foreign auxiliary soldiers was garrisoned in the province of Damascus. Bēl-dūri, governor of Damascus, reported to Sargon II, that 2,000 *zakku* soldiers of the king of Kummuh consumed 600 homers of bread per month.¹³⁵⁸ A third group were the Šadikanneans. Samnuḫa-bēlu-ušur, governor of Šadikanni reminded Sargon II that the Šadikanneans were hirelings, performed *ilku* duty and supplied king's men from their midst. He asked the king not to command them somewhere else, because the army must not be weakened, not a single man should be missing from the campaign."¹³⁵⁹ Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, who guarded the 'mule house' of the house of Nabû-lē'i at Borsippa, wrote a letter to Sargon II, in which he reported to the king that – while the rebellious Borsippeans killed one another – he still stood guard with the Itu'u, the Iādaqu and the Riḫiqu whom the king stationed for the guard with him.¹³⁶⁰ These auxiliaries were most probably also king's men stationed in the provinces under the command of the local authorities.

Deportee units. Some letters of the provincial administration deal with the problem of deportees, some of whom were organized into working and military units. Nabû-pāšir for example received a royal order to review the people whom the Commander-in-Chief brought forth and select men from their midst.¹³⁶¹

(c) Vassal units of the provinces. It seems quite obvious that the vassal kings of the Assyrians also kept units under arms. This category does not include those vassal kings who sometimes provided auxiliary troops for the Assyrian army, but the city lords, who were under the direct control of the Assyrian governors or high officials. Aššur-rēšūwa, an intelligence chief of Sargon II on the Northern front, for example, sent a letter to the king in which he reported that the equipment of the troops of Arīe and of Arišâ (city lords of Kumme) was in order but they had not departed yet. If they set out, the messenger of Aššur-rēšūwa would report it to the king.¹³⁶² A fragmentary report refers to royal troops (*emūqi ša šarri*) which were brought by the city lord of Ukku. A fragmentary letter refers to troops from Mušašir summoned by the king¹³⁶³ – this order must have reached Mušašir after the defeat of Rusa, king of Urartu and the sack of the city during the 8th campaign of Sargon II, when Urzana, the king of Mušašir became an Assyrian vassal at least for a certain period.

A fragmentary letter of Issar-dūri refers to a cavalry unit of Nibê (of Ellipi), which must have joined to the Assyrian expeditionary army in Media.¹³⁶⁴ This cavalry unit was probably a cavalry unit of a vassal, which must have joined the Assyrians on their campaign.

¹³⁵⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 238 (ABL 388).

¹³⁵⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 176 (NL 20), Obv. 20-Rev. 34.

¹³⁵⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 155 (ABL 218).

¹³⁵⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 172 (NL 88), Rev. 22-29.

¹³⁵⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 223 (CT 53, 87), 4-Rev. 13.

¹³⁶⁰ DIETRICH 2003, 75 (ABL 349), 1-9.

¹³⁶¹ PARPOLA 1987, 195 (ABL 701), 6-9.

¹³⁶² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 97 (ABL 147), 4-15.

¹³⁶³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 139 (ABL 448).

¹³⁶⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 3 (ABL 159).

Mannu-kī-Ninua, governor of Kār-Šarrukēn wrote a letter telling Ramatī, city-lord of Uriakka, to bring his people to Kār-Šarrukēn and reported to Sargon II that he was going to bring him (with his troops) to the review.¹³⁶⁵ This letter is one of the rare entries which prove that vassal units were summoned for different purposes.

(3) Mobilization of provincial troops

The most frequent orders that came from the royal court were orders to summon the provincial troops and march to the meeting point to review them.¹³⁶⁶ Several fragmentary letters refer to royal orders which summoned the provincial troops to reviews. When Sargon II accused Mannu-kī-Adad of turning 1,119 able-bodied king's men into his own cohorts, he ordered him to summon them wherever they were, as they must be there before the royal eunuch arrived to review them.¹³⁶⁷

Sometimes the Assyrian governor could not provide replacements for dead and invalid soldiers. In one such case Sargon II sent an order to the magnates to provide replacements to a governor for those 1,200 dead and invalid soldiers, who did not go on the campaign, but they refused.¹³⁶⁸

Nabû-aḥu-ušur (*qurbūtu* bodyguard) brought the order of the king to Šarru-ēmuranni, who was encamped with the magnates (on a campaign) in Ir[š]umu: "Not one of your horses and men may be missing if they are to pass before the king."¹³⁶⁹ This letter mentions Šarru-ēmuranni, probably in his unit commander (Unit 1) capacity, which was evidently in connection with the governorship of – from the strategic point of view – one of the most important Assyrian provinces, Māzama.

An unknown official, most probably a governor, received an order to set out for the review. Išmê-ilu, a cohort commander carrying the king's golden seal, however, stopped him and ordered to bring barley rations to Māzama.¹³⁷⁰ This fragmentary letter refers to an order to march to a review and another order to bring barley rations to Māzama – a rendezvous of the expeditionary armies – which needed supplies.

The orders sent to Šarru-dūri by Sargon II shed light on the recruitment and mobilization system of the provinces. At least two levels of mobilization can be reconstructed from this correspondence. A set of letters ordered the mobilization of provincial troops,¹³⁷¹ while another letter was written by a provincial governor to one of his subordinates, ordering the mobilization of the latter's troops.¹³⁷²

One of the letters of Aššur-bēlu-ušur refers to an early date for the mobilization of troops. He received an order to set out with his troops and tribute (recruits, chariot fighters and king's men are mentioned as drawing the tribute, including horses) and go to the king. He was, however, hindered by the snow at Bīt-Ḥamban, which blocked the roads. He gave orders to his major-domo to bring the troops.¹³⁷³ This episode shows that this mobilisation must have happened in early spring, when the snow still blocked the roads.

¹³⁶⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 101 (ABL 645+), Rev. 8-14.

¹³⁶⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 230 (CT 53, 240), 240 (ABL 905).

¹³⁶⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304), Obv. 18-Rev. 8.

¹³⁶⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 143 (ABL 1180), Rev. 1-15.

¹³⁶⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884), Obv. 18-Rev. 4.

¹³⁷⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 234 (ABL 528).

¹³⁷¹ POSTGATE 1973, 186 (ND 454), mentions the troops of the provinces of Calah, Ḥalzi, and Šabirēšu.

¹³⁷² POSTGATE 1973, 190 (ND 418): a governor sent an order to Šil-šarri to mobilize his troops and muster them on the 15th of Addaru in Šilšil. Not a single man was to be absent.

¹³⁷³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242).

In one of his reports to Sargon II, Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Dēr, mentioned that he was gathering troops in Meturna and waiting for the command of the king.¹³⁷⁴ This concentration of forces may be connected to the activities of the king of Elam along the Eastern border of Assyria.

(4) Campaigns of governors

Governors of the empire led smaller or larger independent campaigns. They used their own troops and the provincial troops of the *kišir šarrūti*, the king's men. For larger campaigns they might have received additional units from other provinces. These campaigns were planned moves or spontaneous reactions to enemy incursions.

Planned expeditions of the governors (sometimes together with other high officials) are known from the royal inscriptions and palace reliefs of Sargon II. A palace relief from Room XIV, Khorsabad,¹³⁷⁵ palace of Sargon II, for example could reinforce this view. This relief shows a walled military camp with an inscription inside it: *uš-man-nu šá mTāk*-[...]. The inscription identifies the camp probably as the camp of Taklāk-ana-Bēli.¹³⁷⁶ In the camp two priests offer sacrifice in front of two military standards (which are known from chariots). Outside the camp two scribes and a high ranking Assyrian official (probably Taklāk-ana-Bēli himself) receive the procession of the captives and the booty. These military camps served as bases for Assyrian military operations in foreign lands during the campaigns. It seems that Taklāk-ana-Bēli led an expeditionary force into Mannaea and/or Media during the 716 or 715 B.C. campaigns. Taklāk-ana-Bēli was the governor of Našibina and the eponym (*limmu*) of 715 B.C.¹³⁷⁷ He wrote a series of letters to Sargon II.¹³⁷⁸ He is known furthermore as a commander of Unit 5 reconstructed from Nimrud Horse Lists.¹³⁷⁹ He also appears in a similar capacity, as a general of Sargon II in an important letter¹³⁸⁰ which lists army units arriving to Kār-Aššur and joining the assembling Assyrian expeditionary force which is going to launch a campaign (probably to Mannaea).¹³⁸¹ The letter makes a distinction between the following three types of troops: 1. the troops of the high officials: the troops of the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief), [...], and the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer); 2. the troops of two generals, Taklāk-ana-Bēli and Išmanni-Aššur who are identified by their names instead of their governmental titles (governor of a province as follows); 3. the troops of four governors: Si'immê, Tillê, Guzana, and Isana, who are on the other hand identified by their administrative position (governor) and not by their names. It is quite plausible that Taklāk-ana-Bēli and Išmanni-Aššur are mentioned as the commanders of two provincial units of the royal corps, the Assyrian home army (*kišir šarrūti*), as in the Nimrud Horse Lists, and not simply as provincial governors (if Taklāk-ana-Bēli was still governor of Našibina around 710 B.C.). This camp scene emphasizes the importance of Taklāk-ana-Bēli, since the occurrence of Assyrian officials named in the royal inscriptions or palace reliefs of Sargon II is restricted to a few occasions. It is known from the royal inscriptions for example that in 708 B.C. (13th *palû*), the governor of Que (Aššur-šarru-ušur) defeated Mita of Mušku¹³⁸² and of course, that

¹³⁷⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 116 (ABL 1044), S. 1-3.

¹³⁷⁵ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 146: Room XIV, slab 10.

¹³⁷⁶ The inscription was identified by the name of Taklāk-ana-Bēli by READE 1976, 98-99; ALBENDA 1986, 111; RUSSEL 1999, 116.

¹³⁷⁷ MILLARD 1994, 47, 123: Taklāk-ana-Bēli – LÚ.šá-kin URU.na-ši-bi-na.

¹³⁷⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 235-236, 238-239, 244, 249.

¹³⁷⁹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:24-26; DEZSŐ 2006B, 103-104.

¹³⁸⁰ CT 53, 47+ABL 1290: PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250; FALES 2000, 48-49.

¹³⁸¹ The letter makes it clear that they received an order to draw the battle line up (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+), Rev. 21'-23').

¹³⁸² FUCHS 1994, Annales 385-386.

the brother of the king, *Sîn-aḥu-ušur* led the cavalry bodyguard of the king in 714 B.C. (8th *palû*).¹³⁸³ The mention or depiction of an Assyrian official in the royal inscriptions or on palace reliefs was obviously a kind of reward for his military success.

Another famous Assyrian governor, who served Sargon II as a general leading expeditionary forces, was *Šarru-ēmuranni*.¹³⁸⁴ He is known from the Nimrud Horse Lists: he served as a unit commander (unit 1)¹³⁸⁵ in the same army division as *Taklāk-ana-Bēli* mentioned above. He was the governor of *Māzama*, the eponym of 712 B.C.,¹³⁸⁶ and later became the governor of Babylon (710–708 B.C.). It is known from the royal correspondence of Sargon II that *Šarru-ēmuranni* wrote a series of letters to the king from *Māzama*,¹³⁸⁷ and later from Babylonia as well (710–707 B.C.).¹³⁸⁸ From *Māzama*, which was a military assembling and departure region of the Assyrian military campaigns on the Eastern border of the Empire, he launched campaigns together with other Assyrian governors,¹³⁸⁹ for example to *Parsua*. Sargon II asked him in a letter why he had not waited for the governor of *Arrapha*, and *Šarru-ēmuranni* explained that the road of the governor of *Arrapha* was very slow: it took him three days to get there, while he could make a round-trip to *Parsua* going on the other road. His first stop was a (border)fort. He asked the king whether he should take the free men and horses with him and go down to *Māzama* and reap the harvest or not.¹³⁹⁰ It is interesting that at least during the first phase of the campaign the governors and the expeditionary armies received instructions from the king. Another letter written by the king ordered him to organize his army, be on the alert, and if it was feasible, to take the road to *Ḫirite*. *Šarru-ēmuranni* replied that this road was not usable, since “the waters are constricted and the current is strong, not fit for using either wineskins or keleks.”¹³⁹¹ The soldiers couldn’t swim. Consequently he led his troops to *Sumbi* and to *Bīt-Ḫamban*. He made complaints in the same letter against a certain *Bēl-iddina*, who had not gone with him the previous year on expedition, kept the best men at home and sent only young boys to the assembling army. If the king did not send him an order he would again send only young boys to the expedition.

An interesting but fragmentary letter also refers to a campaign led by governors to **Mannaea**. In this letter Sargon II asked, possibly from *Ṭāb-šar-Aššur* “why are the names of the governors not fixed on [the reliefs]?”¹³⁹² The answer of *Ṭāb-šar-Aššur* is too fragmentary, but most probably referred to a previous campaign led by them to *Mannaea*, details of which were depicted on the walls of the Old Palace. This entry refers to a practice of indicating the names of the governors leading campaigns in the palace reliefs, which practice – with the exception of the camp of *Taklāk-ana-Bēli* mentioned above – is virtually unknown.

¹³⁸³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133.

¹³⁸⁴ Several officials of this name are known from the reign of Sargon II. 1. The governor of *Māzama*, later Babylon (probably our unit commander), 2. the “stable officer” (*šaknu ša ma’assi*) of Section IV in CTN III, 99, 3. the governor of *Bīt-Zamāni* (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 47), 4. the city lord of *Qumbuna* (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 243), 5. the deputy of (the governor) of *Isana* (NL 74, LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 132-134). It is possible, however, that these are different stages in the careers of two or three officials by the same name.

¹³⁸⁵ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. i:19—ii:6, 172-173, 177; DEZSÓ 2006B, 99-101.

¹³⁸⁶ MILLARD 1994, 47, 120: *Šarru-ēmuranni* – governor of *KUR.za-mu*[-...]; *šá-kin* *KUR.lul-lu-mi-e*.

¹³⁸⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199-209.

¹³⁸⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 217-239.

¹³⁸⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199-200.

¹³⁹⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199 (ABL 311).

¹³⁹¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 200 (ABL 312), 8-13.

¹³⁹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 282 (CT 53, 387), 4-5.

Adad-issīa reported to Sargon II the details of the launching of a campaign.¹³⁹³ When he encamped on the Assyrian side of the Mannaeen border, the son of the widow (of the Mannaeen king) encamped opposite him on the other side of the border. When Nergal-bēlu-ušur (probably a *qurbūtu* bodyguard) came to him on the Mannaeen border with the king's order to set off, he entered the territory of Mannaea. He sent a message to the son of the widow to depart and join his troops, to which the son of the widow replied that he was sick. Adad-issīa sent another order to send his son instead, yet he was also ill, but offered to send his brother instead of him. This brother, however, did not appear. Adad-issīa assured the king that the rest of the troops of the city lords had already joined him. This letter refers to a campaign launched by a governor following a royal order with the auxiliary troops of the Assyrian vassals. There are other fragmentary reports which may also refer to campaigns led by governors.¹³⁹⁴

One such planned expedition was the campaign of an unknown Assyrian official on the **Elamite border**. Sargon II sent instructions to him to encamp in the pass of Urammu. This pass was very difficult to march through, and there was absolutely no way for the Elamites to get to the Assyrians. Furthermore, the place was very good for camping and grazing horses, and very good for reconnaissance expeditions. The king warned the official that if the enemy (an unknown traitor) came to negotiate or sent his messenger, the Assyrian should not allow him into the camp.¹³⁹⁵ A fragmentary letter presumably refers to a campaign of provincial troops and the troops of the Palace Herald, and gives the details of building a camp.¹³⁹⁶

The **Northern, Šubrian, Uartian and Hubuškian border** of Assyria was probably the most turbulent zone of the Empire during the years preceding the 8th campaign of Sargon II. Not only did skirmishes take place (*see* below), but some smaller scale expeditions might also have been conducted. Such an expedition can be reconstructed from a fragmentary report, which refers to an unsuccessful campaign: the Assyrians could not trespass on a pass in Uartian territory.¹³⁹⁷

The **Babylonian front** of the empire was a turbulent region. Governors were frequently involved in local campaigns pacifying the Chaldaean and Aramean tribes of Merodach-baladan. Bēl-iqīša, for example, reported to Sargon II that the *šandabakku* and Nabû-lē'i, the governor, together with the troops of Bīt-Iakīn, marched to Bāb-Bitqi and brought the charioteers of Bīt-Dakkuri over to their side.¹³⁹⁸ Nabû-ḥamātū'a (probably the deputy governor of Māzama) and his troops marched down along the Tigris against the Litāmu tribe, who in response threatened the towns of Bīt-Dakkuri with an attack.¹³⁹⁹

The queries to the Sungod during the reign of Esarhaddon, frequently awaiting a "firm positive answer" concerning the chances and results of a possible attack of the governors and magnates leading the army of Esarhaddon against various enemies (for example the Medes or the Mannaeans).¹⁴⁰⁰ These queries also probed the chances of an expedition led by governors (with their armies and horses) to collect the tribute of horses in Media and the neighbouring regions.¹⁴⁰¹

¹³⁹³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217 (ABL 342).

¹³⁹⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 220 (CT 53, 250).

¹³⁹⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 13 (CT 53, 76).

¹³⁹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 160 (CT 53, 914).

¹³⁹⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 176 (CT 53, 133).

¹³⁹⁸ DIETRICH 2003, 22 (ABL 542), 6-18.

¹³⁹⁹ DIETRICH 2003, 106 (ABL 436), 6-18.

¹⁴⁰⁰ STARR 1990, 62 (PRT 14), 6-12, 68 (PRT 23), 2-3.

¹⁴⁰¹ STARR 1990, 64 (PRT 21), 2-16; 66 (PRT 20), 2-5; 67 (AGS 31), Rev. 4-8; 69 (PRT 15), Rev. 5-7; 70 (PRT 19); 71 (AGS 30), 2-7.

The Babylonian correspondence of Assurbanipal shows examples of local authorities, probably governors (or their equivalents), engaging in fighting along the border. Nabû-šumu-iškun for example, following a royal order, defeated the Qedarites.¹⁴⁰² The governors were not only active leading campaigns but prepared the field for royal campaigns as well. An unknown official gave advice to the king about pitching camp at two places at Opis and Dūr-Šarrukku.¹⁴⁰³

A spontaneous reaction to an enemy incursion is known from the letter of Adda-ḥāti, governor of Ḥamath. Ammili'ti the son of Amiri (an Arab chieftain) planned to attack the booty on the way from Damascus to Assyria with 300 she-camels. The governor heard of this and sent a message instructing Bēl-iqbī, the governor of Damascus, to escort the booty column together. The Arabs ambushed them from behind and they engaged in a skirmish. The fragmentary letter gives some details of the losses (it lists large numbers of sheep, the fate of which is unknown). The Assyrian equestrian contingents went in pursuit of Ammili'ti, getting as far as Il[...]ani, but they could not catch up with the Arabs because the terrain was too difficult, and fit neither for horses nor for chariots.¹⁴⁰⁴ Such patrol duties and local skirmishes would have been part of the everyday activity of the provincial troops. Auxiliary units, especially Itu'eans, frequently escorted loggers to fell trees in the Northern border region (sometimes on Urtian territory) and transport back the logs. Naṣḥur-Bēl, the governor of Amidi, for example, sent Itu'eans with a village inspector to Eziat for some logs. The village inspector had to fight to get them through: the deputy of the village inspector and nine of his soldiers were hit by arrows, two of them died. They wounded three enemy soldiers.¹⁴⁰⁵ A similar case is known from a report of Ša-Aššur-dubbu, governor of Tušḥan. He sent two eunuchs, two cohort commanders and six soldiers to Šubria, to bring back the Assyrian deserters who had fled to Penzâ. They got the deserters and were on their way home when the Šubrians attacked them from ambush and captured the two eunuchs and the six soldiers. Only the two cohort commanders escaped. The governor set out on their trail in person, but the Šubrians had already taken them up to the fort.¹⁴⁰⁶ It is fortunate that a further letter of the governor quotes the king's order "to capture his (the Šubrian king's) men in equal number to your men, until he releases them."¹⁴⁰⁷ A very similar case is known from the report of Aššur-dūr-pānīa. A commander-of-50 of the Gurrean troops of Meturna killed the mayor of Meturna, took 15 Gurrean soldiers with him and fled to Šubria, to the fort of Marḥuḥa. Aššur-dūr-pānīa sent Il-dalâ in pursuit of them. Il-dalâ met the commander-of-50 and they reached a sworn agreement, but the commander-of-50, with the help of 100 Marḥuḥean hoplites, went after the Assyrians and attacked them. The Assyrians, however, were on their guard, none of them were killed and they wounded the commander-of-50.¹⁴⁰⁸ The Assyrians, however, turned back empty-handed, because the Šubrians – as in several other cases¹⁴⁰⁹ – provided asylum for the commander-of-50. One of the reports of Gabbu-ana-Aššur, the Palace Herald, shows that this problem was part of everyday service along the Northern border region: the Urtians captured six Assyrian soldiers who were moving provisions up to the forts. The Palace Herald, however, sent an order to his major-domo:

¹⁴⁰² REYNOLDS 2003, 143 (ABL 350). See furthermore: 144 (CT 54, 498).

¹⁴⁰³ REYNOLDS 2003, 154 (K 20566).

¹⁴⁰⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 175 (NL 19).

¹⁴⁰⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424), Rev. 1-9.

¹⁴⁰⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138), 7-Rev. 11.

¹⁴⁰⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 33 (ABL 705), 6-12.

¹⁴⁰⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53 (ABL 251).

¹⁴⁰⁹ DEZSÓ 2006C, 33-38.

not to try to take them back by force, but to start negotiations with the Urartian governor, Abilê.¹⁴¹⁰

The Babylonian correspondence of Assurbanipal details such spontaneous skirmishes. When – probably during the rebellion of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn – Nabû-šumu-lēšir sent the men of Birāte to stand guard on the marshy plain of Babylon, the men of the king of Babylon attacked them, but the Birāteans killed four and captured nine of them.¹⁴¹¹ Nabû-šumu-lēšir was, however, engaged not only on the Babylonian front, but along the Arab desert region as well, where the Arabs regularly attacked caravans.¹⁴¹² When the Arabs attacked Assyrian merchants who were on their way to do business in Birāte and took away from them 50 Assyrians and 20 Birāteans from Ḫalulê, Nabû-šumu-lēšir, inflicted a defeat on them.¹⁴¹³

A few sources refer to a practice of using terror tactics against disobedient or rebellious people. A fragmentary letter of Sargon II contains detailed orders to terrorize a village (“and if this village is not yet suffering make it suffer!”).¹⁴¹⁴ When Šarru-ēmuranni sent an order to the people of Kibatki, and they did not appear in front of him, he sent troops to terrorize the town. They put some people to the sword, and the rest became afraid and wrote to the governor.¹⁴¹⁵ It must be mentioned that such activities could not be connected exclusively to the governors, and as is shown in the palace reliefs were mainly performed by the auxiliary troops of the Assyrian army.

(5) Border guard duty

Assyrian governors played an important role in the border guard system of the Assyrian Empire. While the Northwestern, Northern, and Northeastern border regions were under the control of the lands of the high officials (*māt turtāni*, *māt masenni*, *māt rab sāqê*, and *māt nāgir ekalli*) of the empire, all of them including several provinces, the Southern border regions of the empire along the desert regions inhabited mainly by Arabs, were guarded by governors. It is interesting that it was not only the governors whose provinces lay immediately along the border that had to guard it,¹⁴¹⁶ but also those whose provinces (at least the capital of their provinces) were situated farther away (for example Assur and Calah). One of the letters of Tāb-šil-Ēšarra, governor of Assur indicates that he assigned territory to the Arabs under his jurisdiction in the vicinity of Ḫindānu, and along the banks of the Tharthar river. However, they did not obey, but moved further downstream and plundered territories. The Arabs did not pay heed to the chief scout whom the governor appointed over them. Furthermore, he asked the king to send an order to the governor of Calah, to appoint a eunuch over those Arabs who were under his jurisdiction.¹⁴¹⁷ A further letter of Tāb-šil-Ēšarra quotes the legate of Birāte, who received a royal order because he had not attacked the raiding Arabs who had plundered Sippar.¹⁴¹⁸ The primary means of the defence along the desert frontiers were mobile forces (cavalry) which could react quickly in case of an enemy incursion

¹⁴¹⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 115 (ABL 579).

¹⁴¹¹ REYNOLDS 2003, 146 (ABL 259).

¹⁴¹² REYNOLDS 2003, 149 (ABL 260).

¹⁴¹³ REYNOLDS 2003, 148 (ABL 262). See furthermore 151 (ABL 1445).

¹⁴¹⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 18 (ABL 1292), Rev. 8'-9'.

¹⁴¹⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 202 (ABL 310), Rev. 2'-16'.

¹⁴¹⁶ See for example the letters of Adda-ḫāti, governor of Ḫamath (PARPOLA 1987, 173 (ABL 224), 174 (ABL 225), 175 (NL 19), 178 (ABL 953)), and Bēl-liqbī (PARPOLA 1987, 179 (CT 53, 10), 180 (CT 53, 199)) concerning the Arabs.

¹⁴¹⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 82 (ABL 547).

¹⁴¹⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 84 (ABL 88).

or a simple raid. One example of this is discussed above (the Arab raid on the booty column from Damascus). When Il-Iada' was ordered by Sargon II to be attentive for two months (somewhere in Babylonia), he deployed troops and horses to stand guard in the district.¹⁴¹⁹

The correspondence of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal describes a similar situation along the desert border of Babylonia. Illil-bānī, governor of Nippur, asked the king to help by providing troops because the stretch of border under his supervision was too long¹⁴²⁰ to be watched without cavalry, only with archers. He asked the king to send cavalry units¹⁴²¹ because only the archers of Nippur were at his disposal.¹⁴²² On another occasion – probably during the rebellion of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn – he asked the king not to withdraw troops from Nippur, because the enemy had already occupied the countryside.¹⁴²³

The situation along the long Northern border region was quite different. This region (along the borders of Šubria, Ukku, Kumme, Urartu, Ḫubuškia, Mušašir, etc.) was characterised by high mountain ranges and narrow passes. The primary line of defence consisted of forts, fortified towns, and towers manned by the garrison troops of the Assyrian governors and high officials. Naṣḥur-Bēl, governor of Amidi reported to Sargon II that he entered the tower of Eziat (a border town) with 90 soldiers and brought out 30.¹⁴²⁴ Naṣḥur-Bēl himself reminded the king that he had erected a fort.¹⁴²⁵ The Assyrians erected forts during campaigns as well. Šarru-ēmuranni and another official of the same name reported to Sargon II that they were building and equipping a fort.¹⁴²⁶ Nabû-ḥamātū'a, deputy governor of Māzamia, reported to Sargon II that he had brought out the local population of Allabria from six forts, sent them to build houses for themselves in the fields and had the subjects of the king enter into the forts to provide a strong guard.¹⁴²⁷

Nabû-bēlu-ka'in, governor of Lubda refers to his guard duty in several letters to Sargon II. He attended an expedition of 3,000 men (and horses) and went with them to the mountains as far as Zabban and Daduni.¹⁴²⁸ He often reported to the king about his guard activities. He often kept watch with his troops on a piedmont between Meturna and Dūr-Bēl-ilā'i, in Dūr-Anunīti.¹⁴²⁹ His troops consisted of king's men, and had to be released to collect their provisions.¹⁴³⁰ He was probably the official who, in a fragmentary letter, reported to the king that they managed to break through the wall of an enemy town.¹⁴³¹

The border guard duty of the governors of Dēr was somewhat different from the duties of the other governors. The city of Dēr was the most important stronghold ('the gate') on the Eastern border of Assyria. The governors of the city collected information on the king of Elam and his military activities.¹⁴³² Afraid of an imminent Elamite incursion, they kept watch and were ready

¹⁴¹⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 156 (ABL 503+), 7-14.

¹⁴²⁰ REYNOLDS 2003, 196 (CT 54, 141), 5-12; 197 (ABL 617+), 13: five stages of territory square; 198 (CT 54, 454), 6-12.

¹⁴²¹ REYNOLDS 2003, 197 (ABL 617+), 14-Rev. 5.

¹⁴²² REYNOLDS 2003, 200 (ABL 797).

¹⁴²³ REYNOLDS 2003, 199 (CT 54, 15).

¹⁴²⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 5 (CT 53, 478). Other letters of Naṣḥur-Bēl also refer to the garrison troops of forts: 6 (ABL 732).

¹⁴²⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 15 (CT 53, 65), Rev. 5-6.

¹⁴²⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 220 (ABL 762).

¹⁴²⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 210 (ABL 208), Rev. 7-18.

¹⁴²⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 25 (CT 53, 19).

¹⁴²⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 27 (ABL 810), 30 (ABL 455).

¹⁴³⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 30 (ABL 455), 12-18; *see furthermore*: 36 (ABL 170).

¹⁴³¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 137 (K 19588).

¹⁴³² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 112 (CT 53, 893), 113 (CT 53, 89), 114 (ABL 1348), 115 (ABL 800), 118 (ABL 1063), 120 (CT 53, 306), 129 (CT 53, 110+), 130 (ABL 1315).

to defend the border. In one of his reports to Sargon II, Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Dēr mentioned that the Elamite troops had besieged and taken the town of Malaku and it was not clear whether they would proceed to Dēr or were going to return to Elam.¹⁴³³ In any case, he sent cavalrymen to Malaku to reconnoitre. He provisioned the fort: not a litre of straw remained outside the walls.¹⁴³⁴ Nabû-dūru-ušur, a fort commander also monitored the military activities of the king of Elam, gathered provisions and strengthened the walls with towers. He offered to reinforce the local forces of the governor (Šamaš-bēlu-ušur) with the cavalry and chariotry units which had been in the service of Aššur-rēmāni, the cavalry commander (*rab pēthalli*) of the deputy governor.¹⁴³⁵ Another letter from Nabû-dūru-ušur to the governor tells us that the garrison troops of Dēr included shield-bearer spearmen as well.¹⁴³⁶ A report from Nabû-šumu-lēšir and Aqār-bēl-lūmur to Sargon II mentions Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Dēr who sent them a message about an imminent attack by the Elamite king. He organized troops: he was under orders to call to arms “everybody from the trail of Dēr as far as the mouth of the river Nergal”.¹⁴³⁷ It is clear that in case of emergency the governors or local authorities could call to arms large numbers of the local population. During this campaign the Elamites took the territory of Bīt-Ḫa’iri. Later on Nabû-dūru-ušur raised the question to the governor of the recapture of Bīt-Ḫa’iri from the Elamites.¹⁴³⁸ This means that even a fort commander was in charge of sufficient forces to conduct smaller campaigns along the border. The size of the fort garrisons has already been discussed, but Nabû-šumu-iddina, another fort commander, sent the sketch of a new fort drawn on leather to Sargon II and reported to him that the garrison consisted of 50 Itu’eans and 30 Gurreans.¹⁴³⁹ The fortresses needed large numbers of garrison troops. When the legate of Dēr asked an unknown official to send him 2,000 men, he replied to the king that the men from there would not suffice even for the fortresses.¹⁴⁴⁰ Aqār-bēl-lūmur who commanded a fort reported to Sargon II that the brother of Ku[durru?] had come with many archers and entered the fort.¹⁴⁴¹ The garrisons of the forts in Babylonia were recruited among the local tribal troops, the troops of the Babylonian cities, or the king’s men enlisted from among the local population.

(6) Supply

Besides the recruitment of soldiers the feeding of local troops (the troops of the governor and the king’s men) was obviously the largest burden on the provincial administration.¹⁴⁴² They had to supervise the provisions (‘campaign-flour’) of the troops,¹⁴⁴³ and prepare them for campaigns. Aššur-bēlu-uda’an had just left to meet the king when he was stopped by Kakkullānu, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, who brought the order from the king: “Go and release your troops: if they do not go, the men will die of hunger.”¹⁴⁴⁴ Aššur-bēlu-uda’an replied that his men could not go

¹⁴³³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 118 (ABL 1063).

¹⁴³⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 119 (CT 53, 77).

¹⁴³⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 129 (CT 53, 110+).

¹⁴³⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 130 (CT 53, 110+).

¹⁴³⁷ DIETRICH 2003, 120 (ABL 1335+), 18-20.

¹⁴³⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 131 (ABL 1093).

¹⁴³⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 136 (ABL 685), Rev. 15-23.

¹⁴⁴⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 142 (ABL 868).

¹⁴⁴¹ DIETRICH 2003, 109 (ABL 1319), Rev. 7’-11’.

¹⁴⁴² See chapters Major-domo (*rab bēti*), and vol. II, Recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*).

¹⁴⁴³ POSTGATE 1973, 203 (ND 439).

¹⁴⁴⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 126 (ABL 243), 11-13.

because of the snow, furthermore he gave them 5 months' worth of stored grain, 1 litre of oil, 1 litre of bread, and 1 litre of cress [for a certain period]. The troops were probably fed from royal granaries, but a fragmentary letter¹⁴⁴⁵ refers to the fields of a fort, which means that the garrison troops might have owned fields in the neighbourhood of the fort or that these fields – cultivated by the local population – were intended to maintain the garrison troops.¹⁴⁴⁶ A report from Šarru-ēmuranni refers to a royal order to set aside 200 homers of wine for the garrison, which was carried out by the governor.¹⁴⁴⁷ The most detailed report on provisions is known from a letter written to Sargon II discussed above by an unknown author, which lists stored grain for soldiers and fodder for horses – as the king asked – detailed in calendar months.¹⁴⁴⁸ The total amount of provisions amounted to 38,490 homers of fodder and stored grain per month for the king's men plus the amount the magnates [brought?]. The report made a distinction between the provincial units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), and the provincial troops of the high officials and governors (the magnates). The grain was collected and stored partly around Kār-Aššur and arrived partly from Laḫiru province. It is clear from this report that the local military authorities (high officials and governors) were supposed to store large amounts of provisions to prepare for military campaigns. When the magnates built 2 forts and raised 1,000 homers of barley from Minu' the governor Il-Iada' supplied 10 homers of salt, 16 [...] of *kudimmu* salt, 30 jugs of oil, 18 jugs of naphtha, 30 bows, 20,000 [...] arrows, 10,000 arrow-shafts, 100 [...], 2 talents of [...], 3 talents of ... They placed 100 Itu'eans and the Gurreans of the Palace as a garrison inside one of the forts, and 10 Gurreans and 20 Itu'eans in the other fort.¹⁴⁴⁹ A fragmentary letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, the governor of Babylon at that time, also refers to the equipping of a fort with [x] thousand [x] hundred arrows.¹⁴⁵⁰ The governors provided provisions not only for the royal campaigns, or their own campaigns, but for the garrisons which they placed in newly built forts.

Magnates (rabūti)

The magnates as a general category denoting the military and administrative establishment of a country are known from the 2nd millennium B.C. cuneiform sources as well.¹⁴⁵¹ It appears in early Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions as a general category incorporating the magnates (in Grayson's translation 'nobles') of the Assyrian king.¹⁴⁵² A few clear references help us identify this category in the Neo-Assyrian period. Magnates are a category of higher ranking officials including high officials of the empire, governors and other important members of the administration who are always mentioned as a collective body. An early instance of the term is known from the treaty of Aššur-nērārī V (754–745 B.C.) with Matī'-ilu, king of Arpad, in which the text uses the term as a general category designating the (military and administrative) elite of Assyria.¹⁴⁵³ The most

¹⁴⁴⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 109 (CT 53, 394).

¹⁴⁴⁶ The economic background of military service in Assyria needs further research and will be discussed in the second volume of this project.

¹⁴⁴⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 203 (ABL 387), 4-9.

¹⁴⁴⁸ CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290; PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250; FALES 2000, 48-49.

¹⁴⁴⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883).

¹⁴⁵⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 220 (ABL 762).

¹⁴⁵¹ REINER ET AL., 1999, 36-37, s.v. *rabū* 7a-b.

¹⁴⁵² GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2, 76: LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-šú (Adad-nērārī II).

¹⁴⁵³ PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, 2 (AfO 8, 17 + Iraq 32, pl. 36), Rev. V:4

general perception of this category is known from a letter of Esarhaddon written to Urtaku, king of Elam, in which the Assyrian king uses the term to denote the military and official elite of the empire (“my country and magnates are well”), and wishes the same to the Elamite king and his magnates.¹⁴⁵⁴ The royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon also use this general meaning frequently, dividing his subjects into magnates and the people of Assyria.¹⁴⁵⁵ Magnates are listed in queries to the Sungod in the first, most important category of the royal court, together with governors, eunuchs and bearded officials of the king’s entourage, senior and junior members of the royal lineage.¹⁴⁵⁶ One of these pieces of court poetry mentions the magnates together with governors, making the two categories parallel.¹⁴⁵⁷ The same parallelism is known from the Accession Treaty of Esarhaddon,¹⁴⁵⁸ the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon,¹⁴⁵⁹ and the Zakūtu Treaty¹⁴⁶⁰ as well. Assurbanipal mentions in his royal inscriptions that as a crown prince during the reign of his father he used to give orders to the magnates.¹⁴⁶¹ It is interesting, however, that an early royal edict – dating probably from the reign of Assurnasirpal II¹⁴⁶² – listing the obligations of Nergal-apil-kūmū’a probably including the guarding of the king even from the magnates(?). Using the cuneiform sources the category of magnates can partly be reconstructed in detail.

Considerably more details of the structure of this category are known from some administrative sources. The most important text in this category is ADD 854, listing high officials, governors and other officials assigned to the king, the crown prince and the Lady of the House. The first section summarizes the ‘new corps of Sennacherib’ (including the high officials of the empire: [...] the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*), Aplāia, the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekalli*, LÚ.600—É.GAL), [...]—āia, the Chief Eunuch (*rab ša—rēšē*, LÚ.GAL—SAG), Ša-Nabû-šû, Aššur-gimilli-tēre, the Treasurer (*masennu*, LÚ.IGI—DUB), and Nabû-šarru-ušur, the governor of the capital, Nineveh.¹⁴⁶³ The second section is much more informative for the reconstruction of the category of magnates, since it summarizes “in all 49 higher-ranking magnates of the crown-prince” (LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ DUMU—LUGAL), including several governors of the empire: Misu, governor of Arbela, Marduk-erība, governor of Upumu, Bēl-iddina, governor of Kulimneri, Abdā, governor of Rašappa, Aššur-ālik-pāni, governor of Barḫalzi, Etrīa/Atarīa, governor of [...], Nergal-šarru-ušur, governor of [...], Šarru-nūri, governor of Tušḫan, Šillāia, governor of [...], Aḫu-immê, governor of Ḫindānu, Treasurer (of the crown-prince?), Šamaš-šarru-ušur, Chief Eunuch of the crown prince, and a fragmentary list of 5/8 other officials.¹⁴⁶⁴ The broken part of this section, however, most probably included several officials of the 49 who – in spite of the fact that they were not governors – fall into the category of magnates. Two administrative texts list large amounts of wool which had not been provided by the magnates.¹⁴⁶⁵ The second text gives a long

¹⁴⁵⁴ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 1 (ABL 918), 1-8.

¹⁴⁵⁵ BORGER 1956, 6:26, 63 vi:49. See also 106 iii:21.

¹⁴⁵⁶ STARR 1990, 144 (AGS 109), 3-4; 148 (AGS 111), 4-5.

¹⁴⁵⁷ LIVINGSTONE 1989, 32 (ZA 43,1), 4.

¹⁴⁵⁸ PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, 4 (JCS 39, 187), Rev. 5’.

¹⁴⁵⁹ PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, 6 (ND 4336), 77, 321.

¹⁴⁶⁰ PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, 8 (ABL 1239 + JCS 39, 189), 6.

¹⁴⁶¹ STRECK 1916, 258 i:27.

¹⁴⁶² KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 83 (BaM 24, 239), 23’; DELLER – MILLARD 1993, 217-242, esp. 218-219. For other fragments see GRAYSON – POSTGATE 1983, 12-14.

¹⁴⁶³ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853), I:1’-6’; 4 (ADD 854), I:1’-8’.

¹⁴⁶⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853), I:7’-Rev. II:2’; 4 (ADD 854), I:9’-Rev. II:6’.

¹⁴⁶⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 115 (ADD 953), 116 (ADD 951).

list of provinces, the governors of which are counted as magnates. Some administrative texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists also provide details of the construction of the category.

Dalley and Postgate,¹⁴⁶⁶ and Kinnier Wilson¹⁴⁶⁷ realised early on the importance of the tendency of this category to extend the category from those “provincial governors and the other highest officers of the state who held eponym office,” to those other court officials who were listed in ADD 854 and in the Nimrud lists. Two texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists mention magnates. One of these lists 18 guards (*ša* EN.NUN), who served 22 magnates (GAL.MEŠ). These magnates were probably governors, but the text attaches the guards to cities, and only the summary caption makes it clear that they served magnates. These magnates are as follows:¹⁴⁶⁸ the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*), the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekalli*), the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*), the (governors of the) cities Rašappa, Našibina, Si’immê, Tillê, Guzana, Arzuḫina, Kurruri, Arpad, Kurbail, Kunalia, Sam’al, Kilizi, Tuimme, Ḫalziatbar, Tamnuna, Talmusa, Isana, Šaḫupa, and Arba’il. The other text is slightly different: it lists 14 (16) team commanders (*rab urâte*) who – concerning the caption of this section – were serving magnates, 14 (16) magnates (LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ) who are identified only by their names and not by their titles.¹⁴⁶⁹ Four of them can be – very uncertainly, as Dalley and Postgate have emphasized¹⁴⁷⁰ – identified with important officials or officers of the state, but not with high officials or governors: Paqiḫi is known as *rab ālāni*, Sîn-nā’id as *sārip duḫšê*, Abi-lēšir as *karkadinnu*, Nergal-šarru-ušur as *murabbānu*. This extension of the category to other officials as high officials and governors is known from other texts as well. A similar picture emerges in a letter from Akkullānu to the Assyrian king listing the magnates who had not provided the constant sheep offering, the regular deliveries of barley and emmer, the regular deliveries to Aššur: the governors of Barḫalzi, Rašappa, Kilizi, Isana, Tillê, Kullania, Arpad, Diquqina, Ḫalziatbar, Birtu, Arzuḫina, Arbela, Guzana, Šaḫuppa, Tamnuna, Talmusa, the chief of granaries, and Daiiān-Adad.¹⁴⁷¹ These texts make it clear that not only the governors but other higher ranking officials also belonged to this category.

The magnates as a general category appear in neutral context – but always attached to the king – in court poetry.¹⁴⁷² Magnates are mentioned twice in the Epic of Sargon II, but the context is too fragmentary – the only fixed point is that the magnates are mentioned in connection with the king.¹⁴⁷³ A similar case is known from an “Epic Narrative Relating Assurbanipal’s Elamite Wars,” when the magnates are mentioned several times – also in connection with the king, who acts in the presence of a collective body of the magnates, who represent the collective body of the Assyrian military establishment.¹⁴⁷⁴

The idea of the collective body of the magnates is reinforced by two fragmentary entries in two lists of lodgings for officials, probably in Nineveh, which following the logic of the texts possibly mention a ‘residence’ of the magnates.¹⁴⁷⁵ Some early texts (778 B.C.) of the Nimrud

¹⁴⁶⁶ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 171.

¹⁴⁶⁷ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 40.

¹⁴⁶⁸ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 86 (ND 10005), 1-20.

¹⁴⁶⁹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 99 (ND 10002), 1-17: Paqiḫi, Kanūnāiu, Abi-lēšir, Sîn-aḫḫê, Nergal-šarru-ušur, Kalḫāiu, Aḫi-ilā’i, Dada, Šarru-lū-dārī, Bibīa, Ḫarmaku, Sasī, Sîn-nā’id, Aḫi-uqur, Bēl-Ḫarrān-šadūa, Bēl-dūri.

¹⁴⁷⁰ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 171.

¹⁴⁷¹ PARPOLA 1993, 96 (ABL 43), 5-25. See furthermore REYNOLDS 2003, 186 (ABL 750), Rev. 4’-9’.

¹⁴⁷² LIVINGSTONE 1989, 14 (TIM 9, 54), 9-11.

¹⁴⁷³ LIVINGSTONE 1989, 18 (81-2-4,320), 5, 10.

¹⁴⁷⁴ LIVINGSTONE 1989, 20 (SAAB 1, 14), 9, 14, Rev.5, 7, 8, 11; see furthermore 22 (K 3093), 23; 23 (CT 54, 513), 3, 8.

¹⁴⁷⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), II:21; 10 (ADD 850), I:7’.

Wine Lists also make clear that magnates (as an unidentified collective body?) got daily rations from the royal court.¹⁴⁷⁶ However, they not only received rations from the court, but also provided wine offerings for example to the Aššur Temple.¹⁴⁷⁷

A letter of Nādin-Aššur to Esarhaddon complains that no one is bringing in the first fruits or the one-fifth tax from Barḫalzi. He explains the logic of the need for a possible punishment: “if a prefect does [not] bring in the one-fifth tax and give it to your temple, the rest of the magnates, observing him, will also go on strike against your temple(s)”.¹⁴⁷⁸ This letter makes it clear that the prefects also belonged to the category of magnates.

Some letters used the term in the sense of advisors or councillors – including probably the whole royal entourage.¹⁴⁷⁹

A further meaning of the term can be connected to a letter written by the magnates of the Ḥamureans from Babylonia.¹⁴⁸⁰ These magnates were the entourage of the sheikh or most probably the elders of the tribe. Another letter mentions the magnates of Chaldea¹⁴⁸¹ without any further reference to the meaning of the term.

Another aspect of the term is known from a letter written to Esarhaddon listing the crimes of different officials of Guzana. In this letter the writer accuses Taršî of taking away the servants of the household of the magnates.¹⁴⁸² This refers most probably to the magnates of the city or province of Guzana. Magnates of a city are known from other sources as well.¹⁴⁸³

A letter written by Mār-Issar to Esarhaddon mentions a magnate whom the shepherds have been associated with.¹⁴⁸⁴

(1) Troops of magnates assembling

Several letters of the royal correspondence mention the troops of the magnates which are assembling for a campaign in one of the provinces.¹⁴⁸⁵ Sargon II sent orders to his magnates with Nabû-aḫu-ušur. He reported to the king that the magnates were encamped at the town of Irsunu, which was in their hands. In his letter Nabû-aḫu-ušur gives details of the royal orders sent to two of the magnates, two governors, Šarru-ēmuranni and Nabû-ḥamātū’a, to bring the booty and the horses to the king for a muster. The king let the magnates keep 50 riding horses each, but the rest of the horses had to be sent to him. The magnates, however, refused saying, “(If) they go, they will die along the way; they will come with us”.¹⁴⁸⁶ Another letter also gives details of the magnates whose troops had reached the assembly point at Kār-Aššur: the Commander-in-Chief, [...], the Chief Cupbearer, Taklāk-ana-Bēli, Išmanni-Aššur, and the governors of Si’immê, Tillê, Guzana and Isana.¹⁴⁸⁷ It is clear from this letter that the magnates in this case included three categories: high officials, military commanders identified by their names and not by their ranks,

¹⁴⁷⁶ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 5 (ND 6214), 5 (778 B.C.); 21 (ND 10054), Rev. 16.

¹⁴⁷⁷ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 80 (KAV 79).

¹⁴⁷⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, Rev. 4-10.

¹⁴⁷⁹ DIETRICH 2003, 23 (CT 54, 66), 21’.

¹⁴⁸⁰ DIETRICH 2003, 81 (CT 54, 12).

¹⁴⁸¹ REYNOLDS 2003, 69 (CT 54, 527), 3.

¹⁴⁸² LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 63 (CT 53, 46), Rev. 18-21.

¹⁴⁸³ SCHROEDER 1920, I, VI:62; 2, III:35. Magnates are mentioned together with the *ḥazannu*.

¹⁴⁸⁴ PARPOLA 1993, 353 (ABL 1202), Rev. 6.

¹⁴⁸⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 69 (CT 53, 125);

¹⁴⁸⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884), esp. Rev. 17-21.

¹⁴⁸⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+), 4-10.

and governors. The assembled troops – as one of the letters of the royal correspondence shows¹⁴⁸⁸ – set out after receiving the royal order to start the campaign.

A letter whose author is unknown reported to the king that the magnates – in spite of a royal order – had not provided replacements for those 1,200 dead or invalid soldiers who had not gone on the campaign with the writer. The magnates had neither given them straw nor worked with them.¹⁴⁸⁹ In this case the magnates acted simultaneously with the writer, who probably commanded a royal unit (a provincially based unit of the *kišir šarrūti*) consisting of king's men, while the magnates acted on their own with their provincial troops, and did not want to hand over their men to a “rival” commander.

Not only the king, but the magnates themselves could assemble troops for local campaigns. Such assembled troops were stationed in several regions of the empire, for example in Babylonia during the reigns of Esarhaddon¹⁴⁹⁰ and Assurbanipal.

One of the Nimrud Horse Lists shows the details of such a muster: it lists 16 magnates and their 16 subordinate officers (team commanders). They formed a separate unit, which – judging from the parallel passages in other texts – was a cavalry unit of the *qurubtu* cavalry.¹⁴⁹¹ These magnates were assembled with their subordinate officers for a royal campaign.

(2) Magnates on campaign

Several letters make it clear that the magnates (including or excluding high officials!) led campaigns on their own in the border regions of the empire. One such case is known from a letter of Upaq-Šamaš in which he reported to Sargon II that the magnates had departed from Iēri on the 20th of Tammuz (IV) and had gone to Fort Adad-rēmāni and Ēa-šarru-ibnī had gone with them.¹⁴⁹²

One of the most important territories where the magnates and their troops were active is the Eastern border region of the Zagros mountains. Magnates, together with or without high officials, frequently led campaigns along the border regions on their own to defend the frontier or more frequently to collect tribute in vassal or enemy countries. An unknown author from the reign of Sargon II also referred to magnates campaigning in Ellipi, probably in the vicinity of Bīt-Barrūa. This letter mentions 600 homers of barley probably stock-piled for rations for a campaign.¹⁴⁹³ Another letter written to Sargon II reports that the magnates on the 3rd day of the month Tishri (VII) went on to the land of Iadburu.¹⁴⁹⁴ One such expeditionary army was based during the reign of Esarhaddon in Bīt-Kāri (and Saparda), and entered Media and Sikriš to collect a tribute of horses. These texts frequently use the governors and magnates formula.¹⁴⁹⁵ They led an expedition with their men, horses and army to Media, against Kašaritu city lord of Karkašši,¹⁴⁹⁶ or to collect a tribute of horses.¹⁴⁹⁷ An unknown writer asked Sargon II to send word to the magnates stationed somewhere in the Zagros to proceed against Kuluman. The fragmentary

¹⁴⁸⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 34 (ABL 598).

¹⁴⁸⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 143 (ABL 1180), Rev. 1-15.

¹⁴⁹⁰ REYNOLDS 2003, 8 (ABL 1123).

¹⁴⁹¹ See vol. II, chapter Cavalry bodyguard (*pēḫal qurubte*); DEZSÖ 2006B, 94-99.

¹⁴⁹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 162 (ABL 441), 4-13.

¹⁴⁹³ PARPOLA 1987, 14 (CT 53, 823).

¹⁴⁹⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 69 (ABL 174), Rev. 11-16.

¹⁴⁹⁵ STARR 1990, 65 (PRT 22) Rev. 7-9; 66 (PRT 20), 2-5; 68 (PRT 23), 2-3; 70 (PRT 19), Rev. 1'-6'; 71 (AGS 30), 2-Rev. 7'.

¹⁴⁹⁶ STARR 1990, 61 (PRT 13), 5; 62 (PRT 14), 2-5, 6-11. See also 105 (AGS 113), 3-4.

¹⁴⁹⁷ STARR 1990, 67 (AGS 31), 4-6; 69 (PRT 15), 5-7.

section of this text mentions Elam, Ellipi and a reinforcement of 3,000—4,000 soldiers which indicates larger troop movements than the simple expedition to collect a tribute of horses that is indicated in the first half of this letter.¹⁴⁹⁸ A letter of Mannu-kī-Ninua reveals that in spite of the royal order he did not go with the magnates to Media but stayed in Kār-Šarrukēn and built the grand hall from the bricks which were delivered to him by the magnates.¹⁴⁹⁹ Governors like Mannu-kī-Ninua reported to the king the details of the campaigns of the magnates. In one of his other letters for example he reported to Sargon II that after the magnates moved on from the court of Irtukkanu, the city-lord of Uriakka, they marched to Ellipi.¹⁵⁰⁰

Magnates campaigned on their own on the Western edge of the empire as well. Queries to the Sungod list magnates of Esarhaddon who set up camp against Mugallu of Meliddu.¹⁵⁰¹ Sometimes the Chief Eunuch (for example Ša-Nabû-šû) is mentioned as leading magnates and the army of Esarhaddon against Mugallu of Meliddu and Išcallû of Tabal.¹⁵⁰² In this case Ša-Nabû-šû probably led the units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) with the magnates attached to them. Consequently the magnate category could easily include those higher ranking officers (for example prefects) who commanded various units of the *kišir šarrūti*.

The third important territory where magnates were repeatedly deployed with their troops to pacify the land or keep the *status quo* was Babylonia. When the sheikhs of Tubliaš wrote a letter to the Chief Tailor, they asked him to persuade the magnates to come with the army to Tubliaš within five days, because the people were revolting in great numbers and the Assyrians were going to lose the land.¹⁵⁰³ These magnates were obviously those officials and officers who led the expeditionary army to Babylonia and/or served in garrisons with their troops. It is known from a letter of the *šandabakku* that when Nippur was cut off from the water and closed its gates because the countryside became hostile, the king (probably Esarhaddon) sent the Vizier (*sukkallu*) with the magnates to relieve the city.¹⁵⁰⁴ Troops of the magnates were stationed in Babylonia in later times, during the reign of Assurbanipal as well.¹⁵⁰⁵ The letter of a certain Marduk[...] informed Assurbanipal that the magnates (of the expeditionary army) were planning to set up a camp in Dilbat. Marduk[...] did not consider it a good idea because he feared their armies would plunder the caravans. He offered instead to place their camp within the enclosure of the camp of Babylon of last year.¹⁵⁰⁶ A letter from the *šandabakku* of Nippur mentions an expedition which the palace supervisor (LÚ.šá—IGI—É.GAL) and the magnates led to Chaldea.¹⁵⁰⁷ The troops of the magnates also served as border guard forces in Babylonia. An unknown author reported probably to Assurbanipal from Nippur, that the first watch was half a shekel of territory until the magnates, while the second watch was from Dume-il to Šadirtu, a league and half a shekel (ca. 11 km) of pasture land along the Euphrates.¹⁵⁰⁸

¹⁴⁹⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 84 (NL 42, ND 2655).

¹⁴⁹⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 94 (ABL 126).

¹⁵⁰⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 95 (ABL 1046).

¹⁵⁰¹ STARR 1990, 5 (PRT 29), 4-7, Rev. 4-7; 8 (PRT 27), Rev. 3-5; 9 (AGS 57), 2-13.

¹⁵⁰² STARR 1990, 9 (AGS 57), 2-13.

¹⁵⁰³ DIETRICH 2003, 150 (ABL 906). See furthermore 151 (ABL 1112).

¹⁵⁰⁴ REYNOLDS 2003, 70 (ABL 327).

¹⁵⁰⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 147 (ABL 1117), Rev. 2'-8'. See furthermore 153 (ABL 1404), 13.

¹⁵⁰⁶ REYNOLDS 2003, 175 (ABL 804), Rev. 8'-18'.

¹⁵⁰⁷ REYNOLDS 2003, 202 (ABL 328), 9-10.

¹⁵⁰⁸ REYNOLDS 2003, 196 (CT 54, 141), 5'-12'.

Magnates appear in the royal campaigns as well. A very important, though fragmentary, text instructs the king (probably Esarhaddon) not to advance into the battle personally, but – as his royal fathers did – to stay on the hill, and let his magnates do the fighting.¹⁵⁰⁹ This text obviously refers to those magnates (high officials, governors, prefects, and other military commanders) who were active on the battlefield and/or served as a headquarters staff. This attitude is very important and is represented in the palace reliefs as well. The father of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib, is depicted on the Lachish relief in a similar position: he is sitting at the top of the hill, watching the battle and giving instructions to his magnates, who are standing in front of him (*Plate 48, 165–167*) including the three high officials: *rab šāqê*, *turtānu*, and a third unknown high official (not the *rab ša–rēšē*) (*Plate 48, 167*). The Lachish reliefs show the largest number of officers who most probably belong to the category of magnates (*Plate 46, 156–160, Plate 47, 161–163*). At the beginning of his reign, Sennacherib led his forces to Babylonia against Merodach-baladan and his huge coalition army (including Elamites, Arameans, Babylonians, and Arabs). The king sent the chief-cupbearer (*rab šāqê*) with governors and a detachment of the Assyrian army (the provincial troops) to watch the enemy at Kish, while he stayed at Kutḥa (with the *kišir šarrūti*). The detachment engaged in battle with the troops of Merodach-baladan on the plain of Kish. The text at that point refers to the Assyrians as magnates,¹⁵¹⁰ using this category to denote high officials and governors.

The magnate category included some military commanders – who sometimes are known holding other offices, for example that of governor, as well, but are mentioned in cuneiform texts not primarily in their official role, but as military leaders. The example of Taklāk-ana-Bēli and Išmanni-Aššur has been discussed in detail, but the commanders (e.g. Marduk-šarru-ušur, Adallal, Nergal-šarrāni, Šarru-ēmuranni, Nabû-bēlu-ka''in) of the provincial units are also listed in one of the Nimrud Horse Lists.¹⁵¹¹

(3) Magnates building forts

Magnates of the empire were not only active in leading campaigns in the border regions of Assyria but also built and maintained forts to secure the frontier under their supervision. Il-iada' reported to Sargon II that the magnates had built the fort of Minu' and raised 1,000 homers of barley and stored it there, while Il-iada' provided a further 10 homers of salt, 16 [...s] of *kudimmu* salt, 30 jugs of oil, 18 jugs of naphtha, 30 bows, 20,000 [...] arrows, 10,000 arrow-shafts, 100 [...], two talents of [...] wool, and three talents of [...], and appointed a commander with 100 Itu'aens and the Gurreans of the Palace.¹⁵¹² The magnates departed from Minu' and went to the Patti-Illil canal where they constructed another fort which was garrisoned by 10 Gurreans and 20 Itu'eans of Il-iada'.¹⁵¹³

(4) Magnates bringing tribute

The campaigns of the magnates were mostly intended to collect tribute, mainly horses. One such case is known from queries to the Sungod mentioned above: armies of magnates based in Bīt-Kāri (and Saparda) entered Media and Sikriš to collect a tribute of horses.¹⁵¹⁴ This is corroborated by

¹⁵⁰⁹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 77 (CT 53, 958), 3-8.

¹⁵¹⁰ LUCKENBILL 1924, 50:21.

¹⁵¹¹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, i:19-iii:6; DEZSÖ 2006B, 94-111, 134, Fig. 1.

¹⁵¹² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883), 6-23.

¹⁵¹³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883), 24-Rev. 9.

¹⁵¹⁴ STARR 1990, 65 (PRT 22) Rev. 7-9; 66 (PRT 20), 2-5; 68 (PRT 23), 2-3; 70 (PRT 19), Rev. 1'-6'; 71 (AGS 30), 2-Rev. 7'.

a letter of Nabû-šumu-iddina which also refers to the horses from the magnates in Bīt-Kāri.¹⁵¹⁵ It seems that Bīt-Kāri was a base for tribute-collecting expeditions by the magnates' armies. Another letter of Nabû-šumu-iddina refers to the household of the magnates where shipments of horses for the cavalry arrived from.¹⁵¹⁶ This reference is not clear, but probably also alludes to the tribute brought by the magnates. The magnates obviously transported not only tribute but – following a successful campaign – deportees as well.¹⁵¹⁷

(5) Magnates of foreign rulers

Magnates of foreign rulers appear in the treaty of Aššur-nērārī V (754–745 B.C.) with Matī'-ilu, king of Arpad as a general category probably denoting all the high officials and aristocrats(?) of the court of Matī'-ilu.¹⁵¹⁸ Some passages of the treaty make it clear that they would play a military role within the state of Arpad.¹⁵¹⁹ A similar meaning of this collective category of (military) officials (including probably high officials and governors) appears in a letter from Sennacherib to his father in which he quotes the report of Aššur-rēšūwa, mentioning that after the terrible defeat that Rusa, king of Urartu, suffered at the hands of the Cimmerians, each of the Urartian magnates had gone to his province. The same letter of Sennacherib quotes another report, in this case of Nabû-lē'ī governor of Birāte, which reveals that in the same battle three of the magnates of the Urartian king had been killed along with their troops.¹⁵²⁰ Another unfortunately very fragmentary letter refers to a possible coup d'état, when presumably the magnates of the Urartian king killed the king at the outskirts of Waisi and enthroned the right-hand commander-in-chief of the family of Sarduri II.¹⁵²¹ The Assyrian sources apply this term not only to the military officials of the Urartian king but to the officials of for example the Hūbuškian king¹⁵²² or Šamaš-šumu-ukīn as well.¹⁵²³ The royal inscription of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) also mentions an early example of a coup d'état: the magnates of Amme-ba'li, ruler of Bīt-Zamāni rebelled against him and killed him.¹⁵²⁴ Describing his 8th campaign, Sargon II lists the establishment of the king of the Mannaeans, including his magnates and *šakkanakkus*.¹⁵²⁵ Sennacherib, describing the battle of Hūlalū, mentions the magnates of the king of Elam.¹⁵²⁶ They were commanded by Hūmban-undaša, the *nāgīru* of the king of Elam and wore – as a sign of their importance – golden girdle-daggers and heavy golden hand/wrist rings which were taken by the Assyrians as plunder after the battle. Esarhaddon – after beheading Abdi-milkutti and Sanduarri – hung their heads around the necks of their magnates and displayed them to the people of Nineveh in a triumphal procession.¹⁵²⁷ It can be concluded that in the case of foreign rulers, the Assyrians used the term 'magnates' as the same general category of the military, administrative and other types of establishment of the country.

¹⁵¹⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 102 (ABL 67).

¹⁵¹⁶ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 82 (ABL 546).

¹⁵¹⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 69 (ADD 765).

¹⁵¹⁸ PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, 2 (AfO 8, 17 + Iraq 32, pl. 36), I:8', 18', Rev. IV:17.

¹⁵¹⁹ PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, 2 (AfO 8, 17 + Iraq 32, pl. 36), I:8', 18', Rev. IV:2.

¹⁵²⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 31 (ABL 197), 28, Rev. 12. For further references mentioning the magnates of the Urartian king see 165 (ABL 1298+), 173 (CT 53, 99).

¹⁵²¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 93 (CT 53, 365).

¹⁵²² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 164 (ABL 515), Rev. 7.

¹⁵²³ LIVINGSTONE 1989, 44 (CT 35, 13), 10.

¹⁵²⁴ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:118: LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ti-šú.

¹⁵²⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 33: LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-šú.

¹⁵²⁶ LUCKENBILL 1924, 45 v:84, 46 vi:16: LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-šú.

¹⁵²⁷ BORGER 1956, 50, A iii:37.

(6) Working and other duties of magnates

When Tāb-šar-Aššur following a royal order mustered the chariots of the magnates, he mustered 100 chariots of the Comm[ander-in-Chief], the Chief Judge, the Vizier, the Palace Herald, the Chief [Cupbearer], the Treasurer, and the governor of [Calah]. The chariots of the Chief Eunuch and the governor of Nineveh were missing.¹⁵²⁸ This report makes it clear that the category included the high officials and the governors as well.

Other texts also mention their work quota including the carving of bull colossi,¹⁵²⁹ moving¹⁵³⁰ or guarding them.¹⁵³¹ Other letters show that they were obviously involved in building projects¹⁵³² and even had master builders at their disposal.¹⁵³³ The weavers of the magnates known from a letter written to Esarhaddon¹⁵³⁴ refer to an unknown aspect of the everyday activities of the magnates.

Tāb-šil-Ēšarra reported to Sargon II that he had to stand guard with his Itu'eans in the town of Sinnu so he could not cut the timber with the magnates.¹⁵³⁵ Another text refers to the officers of the magnates (also cutting timber), but these officers were the leaders of working groups and not military officers.¹⁵³⁶

A letter also written to Sargon II hints that the magnates could serve as a court of justice. The unknown author reports to the king that the magnates had assembled to settle the case of Ilu-pīa-ušur, the cohort commander of the shepherds, in the presence of the Treasurer.¹⁵³⁷ It seems quite plausible that the collective body of magnates including a high official (in this case the Treasurer) could serve as a court. Other letters corroborate this role of the magnates.¹⁵³⁸ In one of these, three writers complain to the king that the magnates – in spite of a royal order – had not done justice for them.¹⁵³⁹

High officials

The study of high officials goes back to a century ago, when Ernst Klauber published his pioneering monograph on the Assyrian administration,¹⁵⁴⁰ culminating in the comprehensive study of Raija Mattila.¹⁵⁴¹ Since all the aspects of the service of high officials were discussed in this study, the following chapter deals only with the military aspects. High officials acquired an important military role at the latest during the late 9th – early 8th centuries B.C., when the system of border guard territories (*mātu*) started to take shape. These territories were the bases of the military power of the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief), the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer), the *masennu* (Treasurer), the *nāgir*

¹⁵²⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 49 (CT 53, 112), 4-16.

¹⁵²⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 145 (CT 53, 327), Rev. 6'-7'; 164 (CT 53, 465), 7.

¹⁵³⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 298 (ABL 1362).

¹⁵³¹ PARPOLA 1987, 163 (ABL 1417), 6'.

¹⁵³² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 291 (CT 53, 38), Rev. 9; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 19 (CT 53, 429+), 3; 21 (ADD 691), Rev. 3'.

¹⁵³³ PARPOLA 1987, 165 (ABL 955), 11'-13'; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 56 (CT 53, 33), 4-7.

¹⁵³⁴ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 83 (ABL 714), 7-8.

¹⁵³⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 93 (ABL 482), 6-14.

¹⁵³⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 295 (ABL 467), Rev. 13-14: IGI(*pān*) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ(*šābē*) ša LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ(*rabūti*).

¹⁵³⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 236 (ABL 639), Rev. 10-13.

¹⁵³⁸ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 62 (ABL 1308), 4'-8'.

¹⁵³⁹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 41 (ABL 1101).

¹⁵⁴⁰ KLAUBER 1910.

¹⁵⁴¹ MATTILA 2000.

ekalli (Palace Herald). Only the military roles of the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief) and the *rab ša – rēšē* (Chief Eunuch) differ characteristically from the military duties of the other high officials. One of the most important questions is whether the high officials commanded their own *ex officio* standing units or were in charge only of those troops which the governors provided for them or which were temporarily placed under their command for campaigns.

(1) *Sartennu* (Chief Judge)¹⁵⁴²

Similarly to the *masennu* (see later), the office of the *sartennu* is known from 14th century B.C. Nuzi documents, where he was connected to the town of Luṣti.¹⁵⁴³ Since a letter from Nergal-uballit to Tiglath-Pileser III mentions the estates of the *sartennu* (*bīt sartenni*) and the *sukkallu* (*bīt sukkalli*) next to the Radānu River, south of the province of Arzuḥina, a debate has started about the possible existence of administrative districts connected to the posts of these two officials, with the town Lubda as the official residence of the *sartennu*. There is no direct evidence, however, to link Lubda with the *sartennu*, as it seems more plausible to refer to these lands owned by them as *ad hominem* estates and not *ex officio* provinces.¹⁵⁴⁴ Because of the lack of an *ex officio* territory under his control the military aspect of the office of the *sartennu* is hardly known. Only a few references show that the *sartennu* was involved in military matters or campaigns. A fragmentary stele inscription mentions the *sartennu* Mušallim-Marduk who – during the reign of Shalmaneser IV (782–773 B.C.) – might have been involved in the campaign of the *turtānu* Šamši-ilu against Argišti I, king of Urartu.¹⁵⁴⁵ Similarly to other high officials he might frequently join the armies of the magnates.¹⁵⁴⁶ The *sartennu* was – like other magnates – active on the Northern, Urartian border of the Empire during the reign of Sargon II. One of the letters from Upaq-Šamaš to Sargon II reported complex troop movements along the Urartian border: the magnates departed from Iēri and went to Fort Adad-rēmanni, while Upaq-Šamaš (with his troops) stayed in Iēri to keep watch over Zaba-iqīša. The *sartennu* also stayed in Iēri, since the messenger of the Ḫubuškian king came to him and reported that Zaba-iqīša had departed and was on his way to Rusa.¹⁵⁴⁷ Another fragmentary letter mentions Azâ, king of Mannaea, the Urartian king on one side, and the Palace Herald and the *sartennu* on the other.¹⁵⁴⁸ The *sartennu* is mentioned in a report listing the chariots of the Comm[ander-in-Chief], the *sartennu* (Chief Judge), the Vizier, the Palace Herald, the Chief [Cupbearer], the Treasurer, and the governor of [Calah]. The chariots of the Chief Eunuch and the governor of Nineveh were missing.¹⁵⁴⁹ He mustered these chariots, however, not for their military, but more probably for their carrying capacities.

(2) *Sukkallu* (Vizier)¹⁵⁵⁰

The *sukkallu* is one of the earliest known administrative titles of Mesopotamian societies.¹⁵⁵¹ The first *sukkallu* known by name in Neo-Assyrian times is Sîn-aḫu-uṣur the (twin)brother of Sargon

¹⁵⁴² MATTILA 2000, 77-90.

¹⁵⁴³ LACHEMAN 1950, 99:6: *sartennu*; 140:15-16: *širtennu*.

¹⁵⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion see MATTILA 2000, 81-82.

¹⁵⁴⁵ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.104.2011, 13': ^m*Mu-šal-lim-š* AMAR.UTU LÚ.sar-tin-nu.

¹⁵⁴⁶ See for example a fragmentary letter (HARPER 1892, 1241) referring to the *sartennu*, the magnates and the crown prince in probably a Damascene context from the reign of Esarhaddon.

¹⁵⁴⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 162 (ABL 441).

¹⁵⁴⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 216 (CT 53, 885).

¹⁵⁴⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 49 (CT 53, 112), 4-16.

¹⁵⁵⁰ MATTILA 2000, 91-106.

¹⁵⁵¹ For a representative list of earlier examples see REINER ET AL., 2000, 354-361, s.v. *sukkallu* and *sukkalmahḫu*.

II, who is attested as *sukkalmahhu*¹⁵⁵² – the only known appearance of this form of the title. As reconstructed from the description of the 8th campaign of Sargon II, *Sîn-aḫū-ušur*¹⁵⁵³ was most probably the commander of the cavalry bodyguard of the king:¹⁵⁵⁴ he was the commander of a cavalry regiment (*kitullu perru*) which escorted the king under all circumstances, and never left his side, either in enemy or in friendly country.¹⁵⁵⁵ The king broke the battle lines of Rusa in the battle of Wauš (*Ú-a-uš*) with the charge of probably this cavalry and led an expeditionary force, consisting of 1,000 cavalry, archers and spearmen¹⁵⁵⁶ to capture the city of Mušašir. Sargon's annals also mention this cavalry bodyguard as 1,000 ANŠE.BAD.ḪAL(*pēthal*) GĪR.II-*ia*(*šēpēia*).¹⁵⁵⁷ This cavalry unit of 1,000 horsemen is obviously the regiment of *Sîn-aḫū-ušur* mentioned above, the cavalry bodyguard (*pēthal qurubte*), or at least one of its regiments (for a detailed description see vol. II, chapter Cavalry bodyguard). If the brother of the king was in 714 B.C. the commander of the cavalry bodyguard he might have been promoted to the rank of *sukkallu* after the campaign or held these two offices together.

During the reign of Sargon II the *sukkallu* – when acting in his own military capacity – was active on two fronts of the Empire: the Urartian border and Babylonia. The *sukkalu* – in spite of owning no province along the Urartian border – appears in military reports arriving from this region. One of these explicit reports written by Našhur-Bēl, governor of Amidi says that “The governor opposite us is keeping watch with the deputy governor in the city of Ḫarda, opposite the Vizier; levied(?) troops are positioned town by town in battle array as far as Turušpâ.”¹⁵⁵⁸ The same letter refers to an Itu'eān contingent of the Palace who served under Našhur-Bēl, and did not go with the *sukkallu* (to an unknown destination). This entry refers to a certain contingent of royal soldiers or private/official troops commanded by the *sukkallu*. Although he did not rule over a territory or a province, his office or the size of his own estates (*bēt sukkalli*)¹⁵⁵⁹ – similarly to the office or estates of the Chief Eunuch (see below) – would be substantial enough to equip some troops under his command, to which royal and/or provincial troops would have been

¹⁵⁵² Three dorslab inscriptions from Palace L, Khorsabad, the residence of *Sîn-aḫū-ušur*: LOUD – ALTMAN 1938, 104, 2:1; FUCHS 1994, 285.

¹⁵⁵³ NIEDERREITER 2005, 57-76.

¹⁵⁵⁴ DEZSŐ 2006B, 96, 98, 103, 104.

¹⁵⁵⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133: “With my single chariot and my cavalry, which never left my side, either in enemy or in friendly country, the regiment of *Sîn-aḫū-ušur*” (*it-ti* GIŠ.GIGIR GĪR.II-*ia e-de-ni-ti* ù ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *a-li-kut i-di-ia ša a-šar nak-ri* ù *sa-al-mi la ip-pa-rak-ku-ú ki-tul-lum per-ra* ᵐ*Sîn-aḫū-ušur*). See also line 332: LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *a-li-kut i-di-ia il-tén-nu-ú ú-qa-tin-ma* (My warriors and horses marching on both sides of me marched in single file through the pass). Similar phrasing (*it-ti* GIŠ.GIGIR GĪR.II-*ia u* ANŠE.*pēt-ḫal-li-ia ša a-šar sa-al-me* Á.II-*a-a la ip-par-ku-ú*, “With my chariot and cavalry, who never left my side, (either in enemy or) in friendly country”) appears on his display inscription from Khorsabad (FUCHS 1994, Prunk, lines 85-86), describing the events of the 11th regnal year (711 B.C.) when the Assyrian king attacked Muttallu of Gurgum, and in the same inscription describing the attack led against Muttallu of Kummuh during the same campaign (FUCHS 1994, Prunk, lines 113-114), and in the annals (FUCHS 1994, lines 248-249), when in the same year Sargon II led a campaign against Ashdod.

¹⁵⁵⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 320-321: “With my single chariot, and 1,000 experienced cavalry, with archers, and carriers of shield and spear, my brave warriors experienced in battle, I took the road to Mušašir” (*it-ti 1-et* GIŠ.GIGIR GĪR.II-*ia e-de-ni-ti* ù 1 LIM *pet-ḫal-li-ia šit-mur-ti ša-ab* GIŠ.BAN *ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-e* LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia ek-du-ti mu-du-út ta-ḫa-zi*). A similar phrasing appears during the description of the same campaign against Mušašir (THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 332), when the Assyrian expeditionary force crossed a mountain: “My warriors and cavalry, who are marching on both sides of me (LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *a-li-kut i-di-ia*), let them march in a row.”

¹⁵⁵⁷ LIE 1929, 26:150; FUCHS 1994, Ann. 150: “With my single chariot, with my 1,000 bodyguard cavalry, and my battle-experienced foot soldiers” (*i-na* 1 GIŠ.GIGIR-*ia* ù 1 LIM ANŠE.*pēt-ḫal* GĪR.II-*ia šit-mur-ti* LÚ.*zu-uk*—GĪR.II-*ia le-'u-ut ta-ḫa-zi*); see also the Ashdod episode: LIE 1929, 40:256-257.

¹⁵⁵⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424), 9-14.

¹⁵⁵⁹ SAGGS 2001, 208-211, NL 41 (ND 2734+), 17; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 19 (ADD 415), Rev. 11’.

attached. Another report of Urartian troop movements written by Adâ, a local vassal ruler to the *sukkallu*, also corroborates his involvement in the military affairs along the Urartian border.¹⁵⁶⁰

The most significant theatre of his military activity, however, was Babylonia.¹⁵⁶¹ He was involved in the Babylonian campaigns of Sargon II against Merodach-baladan (711–708 B.C.). Marduk-nâsir, for example, sent a military report to the *sukkallu* concerning Elamite troop movements (the entire Elamite army with the Palace Herald) in Bît-Imbia and asked for troops to be sent to Dêr.¹⁵⁶² The Eponym Chronicle tells us that the *sukkallu* and the magnates destroyed and plundered Bît-Iakîn in 707 B.C.¹⁵⁶³ Two further references show the involvement of the *sukkallu* in Babylonian military affairs. One of them is an administrative text dated to 698 B.C. which mentions [x] hundred minas of copper for the maintenance of those captives whom the *sukkallu* put on board a ship.¹⁵⁶⁴ A letter written to Esarhaddon by the *šandabakku* mentions the *sukkallu* and the magnates who were sent to Nippur.¹⁵⁶⁵

One of the most important questions is, however, the function of Nabû-bêlu-ka''in, who may have been a *sukkallu*. He was active in Babylonia and wrote several letters to the king. He often appears together with Il-iada' (the legate of Dêr?). One of his letters mentions that he is going to go to the review with Il-iada'.¹⁵⁶⁶ Il-iada' sent a letter to Nabû-bêlu-ka''in reporting to him that an expedition of 3,000 men came up to him. The men and the horses are in the mountains. He will go all the way to them to Zabban, as far as Daduni, attend to them and establish guards.¹⁵⁶⁷ This entry is a little obscure: the function of these 3,000 men is unknown. His position was important enough to receive intelligence reports from other officials, for example from Nabû-iqīša, on Elamite troop movements.¹⁵⁶⁸ One of his letters shows that Nabû-bêlu-ka''in commanded king's men: he kept watch in the foothills of Lubda with his king's men, who were going to be released once the caravan they were waiting for had arrived.¹⁵⁶⁹ His border guard role appears in another, unfortunately fragmentary, letter, which refers to a royal order: "Be in Meturna and keep watch!" He was, however, in Dūr-Anunīti, between Meturna and Dūr-Bêl-ilā'i, in the foothills with his troops including his king's men, who could not be released to collect their provisions. He reported to the king that the son of Iakîn (Merodach-Balaban) was in Babylon.¹⁵⁷⁰

From the military point of view, the most important entry mentions Nabû-bêlu-ka''in as the commander of provincial unit 4¹⁵⁷¹ of one of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 99). This unit, as its name, *Sāmerināia* indicates, was composed at least partly of Samaritan Jews, who (50 chariots) were enlisted into the royal contingents (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army¹⁵⁷² in the first year of Sargon II's reign, after the fall of Samaria, the capital of Israel. This unit was probably composed

¹⁵⁶⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 168 (ABL 1081).

¹⁵⁶¹ See for example DIETRICH 2003, 20 (ABL 844); 21 (ABL 1431); 95 (ABL 1316); 142 (ABL 1052); 177 (CT 54, 186).

¹⁵⁶² DIETRICH 2003, 136 (ABL 781), Rev. 1-12.

¹⁵⁶³ MILLARD 1994, 48, 60: *limmu ša Ša-Aššur-dubbu*, governor of Tušhan.

¹⁵⁶⁴ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 123 (ADD 468).

¹⁵⁶⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 70 (ABL 327), Rev. 1-4.

¹⁵⁶⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 24 (ABL 168), Rev. 13-16. He appears together with Il-iada' in other letters as well: 36 (ABL 170), Rev. 7-14.

¹⁵⁶⁷ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 25 (CT 53, 19), 4-16.

¹⁵⁶⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 32 (ABL 1453+), 4-12.

¹⁵⁶⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 27 (ABL 810), Rev. 1'-6'.

¹⁵⁷⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 30 (ABL 455), Rev. 4-18.

¹⁵⁷¹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:16-23; for detailed study see DEZSŐ 2006B, 102-103, Fig. 1.

¹⁵⁷² FUCHS 1994, Annales 15.

of these Samarian chariots or horsemen, and remained a regular unit of the home army.¹⁵⁷³ Its 13 officers make it the strongest unit in this review. As far as it can be reconstructed, CTN III, 108 lists the same names in its parallel section.¹⁵⁷⁴ The number of the officers here is 9+x (2-3). As has been shown above, the commander of the unit, Nabû-bēlu-ka''in is known from the Assyrian royal correspondence. He was a high ranking Assyrian official operating in the Diyala region, and was the governor of Kār-Šarrukēn (Ḫarḫar),¹⁵⁷⁵ where he was replaced by Mannu-kī-Ninua.¹⁵⁷⁶ Later he became governor of Arrapha.¹⁵⁷⁷ He wrote a series of letters to Sargon II,¹⁵⁷⁸ and was mentioned in several letters written by other officials from the region.¹⁵⁷⁹ It has been suggested that he was the Vizier (*sukkallu*),¹⁵⁸⁰ but – as has been discussed – it seems that this title was held by the king's brother, Sîn-aḫu-ušur.¹⁵⁸¹

An administrative text provides the most important details concerning the military authority of the *sukkallu*. King's men in his troops are recorded in an administrative text listing 1,802 Aramean troops at the disposal of the *sukkallu*, including [x] cavalymen and 11 chariot drivers from Bīt-Adini, and 271 cavalymen from Larak. These units under the command of the *sukkallu* formed a substantial army. The whole contingent listed in the text consists of altogether 1,669 cavalymen, 577+ chariot drivers and 1,164 'third men' (shield-bearers) from Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Dakkuri, Dūr-Ellatia, Larak, Sabḫānu, Našibina, and Til-Barsip.¹⁵⁸²

Cohort commanders of the Vizier (*rab kišir ša sukkalli*) are known from a single document, a letter from Il-iada' to the Vizier (*sukkallu*) of Sargon II¹⁵⁸³ (for a detailed discussion *see* above). It is, however, unknown whether these cohort commanders were the officers of his standing units or were the officers of a unit (for example of king's men) attached to him temporarily for a campaign.

(3) *Masennu* (Treasurer)

The exact function of the *masennu* is unknown, but – judging from some texts discussed by Mattila¹⁵⁸⁴ – he most probably held an office which can be described as a Treasurer. A *masennu* is known as early as the 14th century B.C.,¹⁵⁸⁵ and from two administrative texts dated to the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.),¹⁵⁸⁶ but his military activities are attested only from the reign of Sargon II. From the military point of view he was active mainly on the Northern, Urartian border of the Assyrian

¹⁵⁷³ Of the 13 names of the unit at least 3 are of Hebrew origin: Iāu-gā, Abdi-milku, and Aḫi-Iāu; and two of them are Aramaic: Aḫi-idri and his namesake, Aḫi-idri.

¹⁵⁷⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, iii:33-41.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Probably from 716 B.C. (POSTGATE – MATTILA 2004, 251-252). For the best summary of his career *see* MATTILA 2001, 815-817 and POSTGATE – MATTILA 2004, 251-253.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Mannu-kī-Ninua, the governor of Kār-Šarrukēn wrote a series of letters to Sargon II (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 90-107). He is probably the same person who appears in CTN III, 101 III:4-9 as a *šaknu ša ma'assi* (*see* later) and in CTN III, 107 I:1'-11' as the commander of a *ša-šēpē* unit consisting of 10+X officers.

¹⁵⁷⁷ POSTGATE – MATTILA 2004, 251, note 50.

¹⁵⁷⁸ From Lubda and the Hamrin area (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 24-27, 30, 32, 35-36, 40-45) and from Kār-Šarrukēn (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 83-88).

¹⁵⁷⁹ MATTILA 2001, 816-817.

¹⁵⁸⁰ PARPOLA 1981, Chart 3; MATTILA 2000, 91, 98, 103-104; POSTGATE – MATTILA 2004, 251-253.

¹⁵⁸¹ SUKKAL GAL-*u*. Inscription of a mace head (AO 21368). NIEDERREITER 2005, 58-61.

¹⁵⁸² PARKER 1961, ND 2619.

¹⁵⁸³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 169 (ABL 505), 6: LÚ.GAL—*ki-sir*:MEŠ *ša* LÚ.SUKKAL.

¹⁵⁸⁴ MATTILA 2000, 13-28.

¹⁵⁸⁵ From Nuzi: CHERA 1929, 61:16 mentions the *masennu* of the crown prince.

¹⁵⁸⁶ SCHROEDER 1920, 135, 4, rev. 4'; 160:13.

Empire. As the letters of Tāb-šar-Aššur, the *masennu* of Sargon II show,¹⁵⁸⁷ he was involved not only in direct military activities but in (military) intelligence as well. He wrote several reports to the king, collecting intelligence concerning the affairs of vassal kings,¹⁵⁸⁸ the position of the Urartian king,¹⁵⁸⁹ and the condition of the Assyrian border provinces.¹⁵⁹⁰ His military role is represented by one of his reports to the king. According to this he was involved – at the head of a vanguard – in finding a place to cross a river in flood, in finding a place for the camp on the opposite side of the river and in building a bridge to bring the camp over and make the crossing of the king possible.¹⁵⁹¹ Another letter makes it clear that together with governors and probably with other high officials he was involved in a campaign conducted in Mannaea and Media (716 or 715 B.C.) as well.¹⁵⁹² If ABL 630 was written by him, he asked the king whether the team-commanders – be it the prefects or the recruitment officers – should go to the king or whether they should come straight to him (for a muster preceding a campaign).¹⁵⁹³ He was in a hurry because he wanted to save time for the campaign, which was probably led by him. Another report lists the chariots of the Comm[ander-in-Chief], the Chief Judge, the Vizier, the Palace Herald, the Chief [Cupbearer], the Treasurer, and the governor of [Calah]. The chariots of the Chief Eunuch and the governor of Nineveh were missing.¹⁵⁹⁴ He mustered, however, these chariots not for their military but more probably for their carrying capacities.

Mattila supposed that if the official (^m*Man-ni-ki-i* [...]), who was – according to some queries¹⁵⁹⁵ – sent with the magnates and the Assyrian army against Mugallu of Meliddu during the reign of Esarhaddon was Mannu-kī-Aššur, he might well have been the *masennu* of Esarhaddon. In this case the *masennu* commanded the expeditionary army and led the campaign against Mugallu. Another case is known when the *masennu* conducted a campaign on his own. During the revolt of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn (652–648 B.C.) Assurbanipal sent Aššur-gimilli-tēre to Babylonia, with an expeditionary army to relieve Uruk.¹⁵⁹⁶ It is clear from these references that the *masennu* could lead expeditionary forces (including his own troops, and the troops of other magnates) independently, sometimes (as in case of Uruk) far from his own *mātu*.

¹⁵⁸⁷ He was the eponym of 717 B.C., and as Sargon's Letter to God shows he still held the office of the *masennu rabiu* in 714 B.C. (THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 427).

¹⁵⁸⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 41 (ABL 101); 42 (ABL 104), 44 (CT 53, 82); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 96 (ABL 145); 97 (ABL 147); 110 (CT 53, 127).

¹⁵⁸⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 43 (488).

¹⁵⁹⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 45 (ABL 173).

¹⁵⁹¹ PARPOLA 1987, 47 (ABL 100).

¹⁵⁹² PARPOLA 1987, 70 (ABL 107); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 282 (CT 53, 387).

¹⁵⁹³ PARPOLA 1987, 48 (ABL 630).

¹⁵⁹⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 49 (CT 53, 112), 4-16.

¹⁵⁹⁵ STARR 1990, 4 (PRT 31), 4-6; 5 (PRT 29), 4-7.

¹⁵⁹⁶ HARPER 1892, 273, 6-7: ^{md}*Aš-šur-ŠU(gimilli)-GUR-ra(tēre)* LÚ.IGI.DUB(*masennu*) LÚ.*e-muq-qi is-si-šū*; 543, Rev. 9-10: ^{md}*Aš-šur-ŠU(gimilli)-GUR-ra(tēre)* LÚ.IGI.DUB(*masennu*) *u e-muq-qi is-si-šū*; 1108, Rev. 9-10: ^m*An-šár-ŠU(gimilli)-GUR'(ter)-ra* LÚ.IGI.DUB(*masenni*) *u e-muq-qi*; 1244, Rev. 2: ^m*AN.ŠÁR(Aššur)-ŠU(gimilli)-GUR(tēre)* *mas-en u e-muq-qi*.

(4) *Nāgir ekalli* (Palace Herald)¹⁵⁹⁷

The *nāgir ekalli* belonged the group of high officials who were responsible for their own *mātu* (land),¹⁵⁹⁸ but the *bētu* (house or household) of the *nāgir ekalli* is also known.¹⁵⁹⁹ The office of *nāgir ekalli* is known as early as probably 854 B.C. and frequently appears in the limmu lists of the 9th and first half of the 8th centuries B.C.¹⁶⁰⁰ Similarly to those high officials who served in their *mātu* territories along the Northern border, the *nāgir ekalli* was involved in the military intelligence system of the Empire during the reign of Sargon II. The *nāgir ekalli* of Sargon II, Gabbu-ana-Aššur received or was mentioned in several reports,¹⁶⁰¹ he himself¹⁶⁰² and his deputy, Šulmu-bēli also wrote several reports to the king.¹⁶⁰³

The military aspect of the office of the *nāgir ekalli* can be reconstructed from administrative texts and the royal correspondence as well. One of the horse lists (ND 2386 + 2370) lists among other military officials¹⁶⁰⁴ Bēl-dūri, a prefect of the stables (*šaknu ša ma'assi*) serving the land of the *nāgir ekalli*.¹⁶⁰⁵ This entry means that stable officers were assigned to the land of the *nāgir ekalli*. A letter of Gabbu-ana-Aššur mentions further officers under the command of the *nāgir ekalli*: his recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) were running after him to get straw for the pack animals.¹⁶⁰⁶ Since these were equestrian officers, the *nāgir ekalli* had equestrian units at his disposal. Furthermore, according to the horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina, the Palace Herald – similarly to other high officials – provided large numbers of horses for the central bureaucracy, probably for the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).¹⁶⁰⁷ He had other officials as well (including the major-domo¹⁶⁰⁸ (see above) and guards¹⁶⁰⁹) who might have had military connotations. The only entry which contains explicit information about the direct military activity of the *nāgir ekalli* is a fragmentary letter probably describing the location of a military camp built by the Palace Herald and the magnates.¹⁶¹⁰

¹⁵⁹⁷ MATTILA 2000, 29-43.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Letter of Gabbu-ana-Aššur, *nāgir ekalli* of Sargon II: LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 119 (ABL 122), 4: *i-na* KUR-*ia*. See furthermore PARKER 1961, ND 2386+, Rev. i:5: *ina* KUR LÚ.NIGIR—KUR; PARKER 1954, ND 2335, 10: KUR LÚ.NIGIR—É.GAL; see also an entry of Tiglath-Pileser III mentioning the province (NAM) of the *nāgir ekalli*: TADMOR 1994, Ann. 9, 9-10: NAM LÚ.NIGIR—É.GAL (745 B.C.). For the debate on the existence of the ‘land of the Palace Herald’ during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III see MATTILA 2000, 36.

¹⁵⁹⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 30 (ABL 1079), Rev. 6: É LÚ.600—É.GAL; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 159 (ABL 785), 5: É LÚ.600—É.GAL; 227 (ABL 408), Rev. 27: É LÚ.ŠÚ.NIGIR—É.GAL; FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 162 (ABL 502), Rev. 2: É LÚ.NIGIR—É.GAL.

¹⁶⁰⁰ For detailed study see MATTILA 2000, 29-31.

¹⁶⁰¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 44 (CT 53, 54); 130 (CT 53, 918); 145 (ABL 112); 147 (ABL 409); 216 (CT 53, 885).

¹⁶⁰² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 113-117.

¹⁶⁰³ PARPOLA 1987, 30 (ABL 1079); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 133-136.

¹⁶⁰⁴ DEZSÓ 2006B, 95-96, Fig. 2.

¹⁶⁰⁵ PARKER 1961, ND 2386 + 2370, Rev. i:4-5. MATTILA 2000, 42 reads another horse report (PARKER 1961, ND 2768, 8) as follows: 477 horses KUR LÚ.600—KUR *tal*-ME instead of KUR LÚ.LAL KUR *Tal-meš*. In this case another entry shows that the *mātu* of the *nāgir ekalli* provided large numbers of horses. See furthermore PARKER 1961, ND 2785, 2': 8 (horses?) 600—KUR.

¹⁶⁰⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 119 (ABL 122).

¹⁶⁰⁷ The Palace Herald sent 162 Kushite horses (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 97 (ABL 373), 9-10; 113 (ABL 973), 7-8), 64 horses trained to the yoke (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 103 (ABL 682), 10-12; 114 (ABL 1017), 7), and [x] cavalry mounts (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 105 (ABL 1122), 13-14) to the collecting point.

¹⁶⁰⁸ WATANABE 1993, no. 7:7.

¹⁶⁰⁹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 86, 3, Rev. 3.

¹⁶¹⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 160 (CT 53, 914).

(5) *Rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer)¹⁶¹¹

The earliest Neo-Assyrian¹⁶¹² appearance of the title is known from 855 B.C., when the *rab šāqê*, Aššur-būnāia-ušur was *limmu*.¹⁶¹³ The *rab šāqê* also belonged to the category of high officials who served in their own *mātu* (land)¹⁶¹⁴ along the Northern, Urartian and Šubrian border of the Empire. Similarly to other high officials active on the Urartian border, the *rab šāqê* also collected intelligence about Urartian affairs.

The land of the *rab šāqê* and the neighbouring vassal states were important sources of horses for the Assyrian army. A few administrative texts list horses sent by the Chief Cupbearer to reviews. One of these texts – a horse report from the reign of Esarhaddon – mentions 69 Kushite horses sent by the Chief Cupbearer.¹⁶¹⁵ Na'di-ilu, who was most probably *rab šāqê* during the reign of Sargon II, for example, reported the details of the arrival of the 120 horses of Nabû-rēmāni in Arzuḫina. Na'di-ilu brought them across the river to Sarê and kept them there until the rest of the horses arrived.¹⁶¹⁶ Equestrian officers of the *rab šāqê* are hardly known and in most cases it cannot be decided whether for example members of the chariot crew assigned to the high officials¹⁶¹⁷ were officers of chariot units under their command or were in their personal service. Similarly to the *nāḡir ekalli* the office (*bētu*, 'house') of the *rab šāqê* also appears in one of the horse lists (ND 2386 + 2370) listing equestrian military officers according to their place of service.¹⁶¹⁸ Following the logic of the text¹⁶¹⁹ this section contains recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) who were in charge of the recruitment of horses. A single letter of Na'di-ilu mentions a chariotry unit from Que stationed in his territory and being provisioned by him.¹⁶²⁰ This chariotry unit was probably a foreign unit of the *kišir šarrūti* garrisoned in the territory of the *rab šāqê*. Another letter from Na'di-ilu records a similar case: he asked the king to send the following order to an unknown official: "Assemble the whole Bīt-Amukāni, stay with the Chief Cupbearer, and do whatever he commands you!"¹⁶²¹ In one of his letters, Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Babylon, reported to Sargon II, that the men of the Chief Cupbearer did not let those 50 Itu'eans and 50 Gurreans into the city of Sabḫānu who had been sent there by a royal order.¹⁶²² This information, however, only corroborates the view that the Itu'eans and Gurreans served all over the Empire, including the territories under the control of the high officials.

Further officers of the *rab šāqê* are known from the royal correspondence. An interesting letter written by a certain Kudurru, a divination priest, tells us that he was deported by the king (Esarhaddon), but was taken from his confinement by the cohort commander (*rab kišir*) of Nabû-killanni, the *rab šāqê*, who led him to the temple of Bēl Ḥarrān, where the *rab šāqê* made him perform a divination in front of Šamaš asking: "will the Chief Eunuch take over the monarchy?"¹⁶²³

¹⁶¹¹ MATTILA 2000, 45-60.

¹⁶¹² For earlier entries see REINER ET AL., 1992A, 30-32 s.v. *šāqû* A.

¹⁶¹³ For a detailed discussion of his later eponyms in 825 and 816 B.C. see MATTILA 2000, 45-46.

¹⁶¹⁴ For a detailed discussion see MATTILA 2000, 48-51.

¹⁶¹⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 97 (ABL 373), 11-12. Other administrative texts might also refer to horses brought by the Chief Cupbearer: PARKER 1961, ND 2785, 3': 3, 4 GAL.KAŠ.LUL.

¹⁶¹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 64 (ABL 192), 4-Rev. 4.

¹⁶¹⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 210 (ADD 330), Rev. 7-8: *Kišir-Issar* 'third man' of the *rab šāqê*.

¹⁶¹⁸ PARKER 1961, ND 2386 + 2370, i:16'-17'.

¹⁶¹⁹ DEZSŐ 2006B, Fig. 2.

¹⁶²⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 68 (CT 53, 40).

¹⁶²¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 63 (ABL 194), Rev. 1-6.

¹⁶²² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 238 (ABL 388).

¹⁶²³ PARPOLA 1993, 179 (ABL 755+), Rev. 4'-5'.

This was obviously a plot against the Chief Eunuch,¹⁶²⁴ in which the cohort commander of the *rab šāqê* as a confidant of his lord played an active role. The *rab šāqê* had other officials as well (including guards)¹⁶²⁵ who – as in the case of other high officials listed in the same text – might have had military connotations.

Several texts mainly from the reign of Sargon II give details of reviews in which the troops of the *rab šāqê* are mentioned. An unknown writer listed the troops which arrived at Kār-Aššur (probably in preparation for a campaign), including the troops of the following magnates: the Commander-in-Chief, [the ..., the Chief Cupbearer, Taklāk-ana-Bē[li, Išmann]i-Aššur, and the governor[s of Si'imm]ê, Tillê, Guzan[a and Isa]na.¹⁶²⁶ A letter, written probably by Na'di-ilu, refers to an explicit royal order: "[Your troops] should be as[sembled; come to me, quickly]."¹⁶²⁷ He gave orders to his major-domo to assemble the troops. Another royal letter ordered him to place his unit at the head of his [...] and move on.¹⁶²⁸ A very important letter of Dūr-Aššur describing the building and garrisoning of a fort (in Tušhan?) also mentions the troops of the *rab šāqê* together with the troops of other cities (including Rašappa, Arzuḥina, Guzana, Arrapha).¹⁶²⁹

In comparison to other high officials discussed above, a relatively large number of sources refer to the direct military activity of the *rab šāqê*. He was active in his own territory along the Urartian border of the Empire. An unknown letter-writer for example reported to Tiglath-Pileser III that when the *rab šāqê* entered Urartian territory, Rusa, the king of Urartu defeated him and set up camp against the (border)fortresses of the *rab šāqê*.¹⁶³⁰ The *rab šāqê* appears in one of the reports written to Tiglath-Pileser III about the Mukin-zēr rebellion (731 B.C.) as commanding Assyrian troops in Babylonia.¹⁶³¹ However, the most famous military achievement of a *rab šāqê* is recorded in the Bible,¹⁶³² describing the siege of Jerusalem during the 3rd campaign of Sennacherib (701 B.C.), when the king sent an expeditionary army with the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief), the *rab ša—rēšê* (Chief Eunuch), and the *rab šāqê* to capture the city. He is probably represented as standing in front of Sennacherib on the Lachish reliefs (Plate 48, 167).

(6) *Turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief)¹⁶³³

The office of the *turtānu* differs from the offices of the other high officials in one very important respect: his role was primarily a military one, as he was the military commander of the Assyrian army¹⁶³⁴ for a long period, until the Assyrian kings (at the latest from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III or Sargon II) divided the army into two: a provincial army commanded most probably by the *turtānu*, and a central standing army (royal corps, *kišir šarrūti*) commanded by the *rab ša—rēšê* (Chief Eunuch).¹⁶³⁵

¹⁶²⁴ See RADNER 2003, 173-174.

¹⁶²⁵ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 86, 4, Rev. 4.

¹⁶²⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47), 4-10.

¹⁶²⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 67 (CT 53, 85), 1'-3'.

¹⁶²⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 69 (CT 53, 125), 4-10.

¹⁶²⁹ SAGGS 2001, 215-218, NL67 (ND 2666). For a detailed study of the letter see PARKER 1997, 77-88.

¹⁶³⁰ SAGGS 2001, 119-120, NL 47 (ND 2463).

¹⁶³¹ SAGGS 2001, 59-60 (ND 2421).

¹⁶³² II Kings 18:17; II Chron 32:9-19; Isaiah 36.

¹⁶³³ MATTILA 2000, 107-125.

¹⁶³⁴ Sometimes explicitly emphasized by an auxiliary title: 'commander of the vast army' (*rab ummāni rapši*): Daiiān-Aššur (in his *limmu* of 828 B.C.), Bēl-lū-balaṭ (*limmu* of 814 B.C.), and Šamši-ilu (*limmu* of 752 B.C.).

¹⁶³⁵ MATTILA 2000, 149-154; DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

The earliest Neo-Assyrian¹⁶³⁶ appearance of the title is known from 856 B.C., when the *turtānu*, Aššur-bēlu-ka''in held the office of *limmu*.¹⁶³⁷ The *turtānu* also belonged to the category of high officials who served in their own *mātu* (land)¹⁶³⁸ along the Western border of the Empire. The capital of his *mātu* was Ḫarrān and/or Til-Barsip, on the left bank of the Euphrates.¹⁶³⁹ When the frontier of the Empire was extended further westward and this territory partly lost its importance as a border region, Sargon II in 708 B.C., after the capture of Kummuh and Meliddu established a new office, the office of the left *turtānu* (*turtān bēt šumēli*, 'turtānu of the left house,' later called *turtān Kummuhī*, 'turtānu of Kummuh'),¹⁶⁴⁰ while the former office of the *turtānu* was named *turtānu*, or *turtānu* of the right (*turtān imitti*).¹⁶⁴¹ This expansion followed the logic of the shifting of the border towards the interior of Anatolia, far away from the former border region of the *turtānu* along the Western curve of the Euphrates. Sargon II – as befitted the newly acquired importance of the office – equipped the left *turtānu* with a large army: 150 chariots, 1,500 cavalymen, 20,000 bowmen, and 10,000 shield-bearing spearmen.¹⁶⁴² This entry is the only entry showing the strength of a *turtānu*'s army, which might have been partly recruited from the armies of local governors, vassals, and the local population.

Similarly to the territories of other high officials, the Western territories, including the land of the *turtānu* were also important sources of horse reserves. He himself probably commanded large equestrian units (see above, and one of the Tell Halaf texts dated to the reign of Adad-nērārī III, which mentions 6 cavalymen of the *turtānu*).¹⁶⁴³ A royal decree sent by Tiglath-Pileser III contains an order to Alla-ušur to check and receive all the horses, as many as the *turtānu* delivers to him.¹⁶⁴⁴ According to the horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina, the *turtānu* – similarly to other high officials – provided large numbers of horses (almost five hundred) for the central bureaucracy, probably for the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).¹⁶⁴⁵ A report listing the chariots of the Comm[ander-in-Chief], the Chief Judge, the Vizier, the Palace Herald, the Chief [Cupbearer], the Treasurer, and the governor of [Calah] has already been discussed.¹⁶⁴⁶ These chariots were, however, used not for military but more probably for carrying purposes.

¹⁶³⁶ For earlier entries see REINER ET AL., 2006, 489-490 s.v. *turtānu*.

¹⁶³⁷ For the detailed list of *turtānus* serving as *limmu* officials see MATTILA 2000, 107-113.

¹⁶³⁸ For a detailed discussion see MATTILA 2000, 48-51.

¹⁶³⁹ MATTILA 2000, 114-116.

¹⁶⁴⁰ As *limmu* officials: Mār-larēm (*turtānu*, 668 B.C.; MATTILA 2002, 1 (ADD 472), Rev. 22-23: [LÚ.]*tur-tan* URU.*Ku-mu-ḫi*), Šalam-šarri-iqbī (MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 6-7: LÚ.*tur-ta-nu* KAB(*šumēli*); MATTILA 2002, 36 (ADD 446), S. 1: LÚ.*tur-ta-nu* URU.*Ku-mu-ḫi*); [xxx] (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 137 (ADD 1070), 2: *turtānu šumēli*). See furthermore FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 136 (ADD 683), 4'-5'; 137 (ADD 1070), 2; MATTILA 2002, 1 (ADD 472), Rev. 23; 8 (ADD 208), Rev. 18; 9 (ADD 190), Rev. 10'-11'; 34 (ADD 308), 7; 36 (ADD 446), E. 1; 37 (ADD 309), E. 1; 425 (TIM 11,1), L.E. 2.

¹⁶⁴¹ Bēl-ēmuranni *turtānu imitti* (*limmu* of 686 B.C.). FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 57 (ADD 928), i:4-5 lists both the left (*turtānu šumēli*) and right *turtānu* (*turtānu imitti*).

¹⁶⁴² FUCHS 1994, Annales 410-411.

¹⁶⁴³ FRIEDRICH ET AL. 1940, 25:7-8.

¹⁶⁴⁴ SAGGS 2001, 175-177, NL 23 (ND 2644), 3-5.

¹⁶⁴⁵ The *turtānu* sent 122 cavalry mounts (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 88 (ABL 71), 7-11; 39 cavalry mounts (93 (ABL 684), 2-3); [x] cavalry mounts (105 (ABL 1122), 10-12); 49 cavalry mounts and 11 Kushite horses (108 (ABL 393), 4-9); 104 Kushite horses (97 (ABL 373), 7-8); [x] Kushite horses from the Commander-in-Chief of the left and [x]+5 Kushite horses and 33 cavalry mounts (112 (ABL 649), 2'-5', 11'-Rev. 3); 9 horses trained to the yoke (103 (ABL 682), 7-9); 122 horses trained to the yoke (114 (ABL 1017), 5-6) to the collecting point. For an administrative text listing probably horses see PARKER 1961, ND 2785, L.E. 2': 7 (horses?) *tur-tan*.

¹⁶⁴⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 49 (CT 53, 112), 4-16.

The *turtānu* – similarly to other high officials – appears in an administrative text listing guards attached to high officials and provinces¹⁶⁴⁷ who – as Mattila supposed¹⁶⁴⁸ – collected horses/troops from the provinces.

The earliest cuneiform entries showing the *turtānu* as a military leader, as Commander-in-Chief, date from the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). A literary text (Shalmaneser III's Campaign to Urartu) describes the king speaking to Aššur-bēlu-ka' in the *turtānu* after the capture of Til-Barsip as follows: "Let the fortresses be entrusted to you; let your vigilance be steady, and your organisation strong! Receive their tribute!"¹⁶⁴⁹ The importance of the *turtānu* during the last years of Shalmaneser III rose so high, that Daiiān-Aššur ('chief of the extensive army') led four campaigns, while the king stayed in Calah.¹⁶⁵⁰ This high status probably made the crown prince jealous and led to a revolt. The career of the most famous *turtānu* Šamši-ilu started during the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 B.C.), when he established the border between Zakur of Hamath and Atar-šumki, son of Adramu.¹⁶⁵¹ During the reign of Shalmaneser IV (782–773 B.C.) – as recorded in his own inscription – Šamši-ilu led a campaign on his own against Argišti I, king of Urartu.¹⁶⁵² Another campaign of Šamši-ilu, which he led against Damascus, is mentioned on the Pazarcik stele of Shalmaneser IV.¹⁶⁵³ This especially high status of Šamši-ilu (at the expense of royal authority) during the reign of four Assyrian kings resulted in the decreasing importance of the office of *turtānu* as the commander of the whole Assyrian army during the reign of the Sargonides (probably already from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, who restored the prestige of central authority), and the increasing importance of the Chief Eunuch (who, as will be discussed later, had already led the Assyrian army during the reign of Adad-nērārī III). During the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) the *turtānu* played an active role in the crushing of the Mukin-zēr rebellion in Babylonia. He acted jointly with Aššur-šallimanni, governor of Arrapha. At first they effected an opening of the fortress, later they penetrated the great gates (and) went on to inflict a defeat. They killed Mukin-zēr and his son Šumu-ukīn and left a royal garrison in the captured city.¹⁶⁵⁴ A letter of Nergal-ētir written to his lord, the governor reports that the *turtānu* conquered Rapiqu, a Babylonian border town on the Euphrates.¹⁶⁵⁵

The *turtānu* might have exercised authority over the troops of the region and in case of war, over the provincial troops of larger regions as well. Two Tell-Halaf letters show that the *turtānu* was a superior of Mannu-kī-māt-Aššur, governor of Guzana.¹⁶⁵⁶ The *turtānu* might appear in campaigns (probably as a commander), where the king was not present. Inurta-ilā'ī, governor of Našibina (during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III) also reported to the king that the *turtānu* gave orders to him to send off the booty at his disposal.¹⁶⁵⁷ A royal decree sent by Tiglath-Pileser III to Alla-ušur mentions that the *turtānu* seized Arabs.¹⁶⁵⁸ A letter from Nergal-ētir to his lord the

¹⁶⁴⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 86, 1, Rev. 1.

¹⁶⁴⁸ MATTILA 2000, 122.

¹⁶⁴⁹ LIVINGSTONE 1989, 17 (STT 43), 11-12.

¹⁶⁵⁰ GRAYSON 1996, A.102.14: 27th year (832 B.C.): Urartu; 28th year (831 B.C.): Pattina; 30th year (829 B.C.): Hūbuškia, Mannaea, Parsua; 31st year (828 B.C.): Hūbuškia, Mušašir, Parsua, Gilzānu, Namri.

¹⁶⁵¹ GRAYSON 1996, A.0.104.2, 4-8.

¹⁶⁵² GRAYSON 1996, A.0.104.2010; 2011.

¹⁶⁵³ GRAYSON 1996, A.0.105.1.

¹⁶⁵⁴ SAGGS 2001, 45-46, NL 65 (ND 2385), 4-18.

¹⁶⁵⁵ POSTGATE 1973, 194.

¹⁶⁵⁶ FRIEDRICH ET AL. 1940, TH 3, TH 9.

¹⁶⁵⁷ SAGGS 1955, NL 15 (ND 2696).

¹⁶⁵⁸ SAGGS 2001, 175-177, NL 23 (ND 2644), 9-10.

governor¹⁶⁵⁹ makes it clear that the *turtānu* allocated tribute from military operations led probably by the *turtānu* in the vicinity of Rapiqu (Babylonia) to those governors who took part in the campaign. Further letters written to Sargon II refer to captives and recruits of the *turtānu*.¹⁶⁶⁰

During the reign of Sargon II an unknown writer listed the troops which had arrived at Kār-Aššur (and probably prepared for a campaign), including the troops of the *turtānu* and other magnates (*see above*).¹⁶⁶¹ The text mentions that the royal entourage had not arrived. An enigmatic letter, probably from the king, refers to an Urartian governor who defected to Assyria and became *turtānu*.¹⁶⁶² There was a similar Commander-in-Chief in the Urartian military hierarchy whom the Assyrians called *turtānu*.¹⁶⁶³

The *turtānu* obviously played an important role in the western campaigns. It is known from the Bible, that he led an expeditionary army to capture Ashdod (713/712 B.C.),¹⁶⁶⁴ he joined the army of Sennacherib during his 3rd campaign (701 B.C.), when – together with the *rab ša—rēšē* (Chief Eunuch), and the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer) – he led an expeditionary contingent to capture Jerusalem.¹⁶⁶⁵ He was probably represented standing in front of Sennacherib in the Lachish reliefs (*Plate 48, 167*). It is known from the royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal, that the *turtānu* and governors under his command with their troops were sent to Egypt to fight against Tarqu and to recapture Memphis (667 B.C.).¹⁶⁶⁶ According to the letter of Bēl-ibnî Assurbanipal also sent his *turtānu* to the Sealand with an army.¹⁶⁶⁷

The duties of the *turtānu* – similarly to the duties of other high officials – included border guard duty as well. When an unknown *turtānu*, probably during the reign of Sargon II, left his office for two days, he appointed an official in his own place as a deputy commandant and placed him in charge of the horses and fortresses. The deputy was also responsible for the watch (along the border).¹⁶⁶⁸

The role of the *turtānu* as Commander-in-Chief of the Assyrian army was unquestionable during the 9th century B.C. – only a single example is known when the Chief Eunuch conducted a major campaign (*see below*). This importance remained undisputable during the first half of the 8th century B.C. when Šamši-ilu the *turtānu* served four Assyrian kings and led campaigns of his own. During the reign of Sargon II the *turtānu* remained an active military leader, although explicit entries show that he commanded provincial troops while the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) was commanded by the Chief Eunuch (*see below*).

¹⁶⁵⁹ POSTGATE 1973, 194.

¹⁶⁶⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 194 (ABL 1073), 195 (ABL 701).

¹⁶⁶¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47), 4-10.

¹⁶⁶² PARPOLA 1987, 8 (CT 53, 229), Rev. 8.

¹⁶⁶³ PARPOLA 1987, 31 (ABL 197), 13, Rev. 1: Kaqqadānu, the Urartian *turtānu* was taken prisoner by the Cimmerians after the defeat of the Urartian army. LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 86 (ABL 492), 4-12 reports that Kaqqadānu went to Waisi, while the whole Urartian army went to Elizada with the king. LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 91 (ABL 114), mentions Uršenê, the deputy Commander-in-Chief. Furthermore, similarly to Assyria, the Urartian army had two Commanders-in-Chief, one of whom, a right-hand Commander-in-Chief was crowned after a rebellion and became king. *See furthermore* LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 131 (CT 53, 454), 166 (ABL 1325).

¹⁶⁶⁴ Isaiah 20:1.

¹⁶⁶⁵ II Kings 18:17; II Chron 32:9-19; *see furthermore* Isaiah 36.

¹⁶⁶⁶ STRECK 1916, 158, 10-14.

¹⁶⁶⁷ HARPER 1892, 795+ (DIETRICH 1979, 555), 5-6; DE VAAN 1995, 289-292.

¹⁶⁶⁸ SAGGS 2001, 240-241 (ND 2361).

(7) *Rab ša—rēšē* (Chief Eunuch)¹⁶⁶⁹

The earliest Neo-Assyrian¹⁶⁷⁰ appearance of the title is known from 821 B.C., when the *rab ša—rēšē*, Mutaqqin-Aššur is mentioned in the royal annals. However, the importance of the *rab ša—rēšē* had been emphasized much earlier, during the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.), when most probably the Chief Eunuch is represented in the palace reliefs in a characteristic dress and head-gear attacking a city with his bow and escorted by his bodyguards, a sign of importance (Plate 38, 125).

It is interesting to see that the first appearance of the *rab ša—rēšē* coincides with the temporary reduction of the importance of the *turtānu* resulting from the overexpansion of the power of Daiiān-Aššur, who led four campaigns during the last years of Shalmaneser III, while the king stayed in Calah.¹⁶⁷¹ This was probably one of the causes of the rebellion (827—824 B.C.) led by the crown prince, Aššur-dānin-apla. The annals of Šamši-Adad V give further emphasis to the role of Mutaqqin-Aššur, the first *rab ša—rēšē* holding the *limmu* office, reporting that in the same year he (a clever and experienced soldier) led the army and the camp against Nairi.¹⁶⁷² The *rab ša—rēšē* appears as an eponym (*limmu*)¹⁶⁷³ during the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.) but his possible military importance was overshadowed by the powerful *turtānu* Šamši-ilu. The next account to mention the military role of the *rab ša—rēšē* dates from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.), when the king sent him to Tabal to re-enforce the vassal duties of Uassurme, king of Tabal,¹⁶⁷⁴ and to Tyre.¹⁶⁷⁵ One of the Nimrud Letters probably also mentions the *rab ša—rēšē* giving orders to the guards of Riblah (and Qadesh?).¹⁶⁷⁶ It is important to note that these territories traditionally belonged to the sphere of action of the *turtānu*. The only explanation is that the *rab ša—rēšē* led units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), while the *turtānu* became the commander of the provincial troops. The reason for such an intensive presence of the *rab ša—rēšē* in the Western territories of the Empire might be the overall importance of the Western expansion witnessed during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (743—740, 738, 734—732 B.C.). During the reign of Sargon II some administrative texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists shed light on the role played by the *rab ša—rēšē* in the new command structure of the Assyrian army of the Sargonides. It was reconstructed earlier¹⁶⁷⁷ that the Assyrian army, at the latest during the reign of Sargon II, was split into a royal contingent (royal corps, standing army, *kišir šarrūti*) under the command of the *rab ša—rēšē* and a provincial part composed of the army units of the governors and the high officials. The latter part might have been formally under the control of the *turtānu* (vol. II, Chart 2). It has been furthermore reconstructed that the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) itself was split into two divisions, one of which was commanded by the *rab ša—rēšē*.¹⁶⁷⁸ As vol. II, Chart 2 shows, this division (Division 1) was composed of a headquarters staff section (including a chariotry element and a bodyguard element) and the city units (for the detailed discussion of the structure of the

¹⁶⁶⁹ MATTILA 2000, 60-76.

¹⁶⁷⁰ REINER ET AL., 1999, 289-290 s.v. *rēšu* in *rab ša rēši*.

¹⁶⁷¹ GRAYSON 1996, A.102.14: 27th year (832 B.C.): Urartu; 28th year (831 B.C.): Pattina; 30th year (829 B.C.): Hūbuškia, Mannaea, Parsua; 31st year (828 B.C.): Hūbuškia, Mušašir, Parsua, Gilzānu, Namri.

¹⁶⁷² GRAYSON 1996, A.0.103.1, II:16-21.

¹⁶⁷³ Mutakkil-Marduk 798 B.C. For the detailed list of the few *rab ša—rēšē* officials who served as *limmu* officials see MATTILA 2000, 60-65.

¹⁶⁷⁴ TADMOR 1994, Summ 7, Rev. 14'.

¹⁶⁷⁵ TADMOR 1994, Summ 7, Rev. 16'.

¹⁶⁷⁶ SAGGS 1963, 79-80, NL 70 (ND 2766), 3: LÚ.GAL—SAG.

¹⁶⁷⁷ DALLEY—POSTGATE 1984B, 27-47; MATTILA 2000, 149-154; DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

¹⁶⁷⁸ DEZSÓ 2006B, 123-138, Figs. 6-7.

equestrian units of the standing army *see vol. II*. The *rab ša—rēšē* and the units of the *kišir šarrūti* were most probably involved in the 8th campaign of Sargon II (714 B.C., Urartu), although the royal inscription describing the campaign refers explicitly only to one of its elements, the cavalry bodyguard led by the king's brother *Sîn-aḫu-ušur*. Mattila argues¹⁶⁷⁹ that a letter of *Ṭāb-šar-Aššur*, the *masennu* of Sargon II, in which he mentions that a cohort commander of the *rab ša—rēšē*¹⁶⁸⁰ delivered to him a letter from the king, refers to the presence of the *rab ša—rēšē* on the Urartian campaign. The other theatre of his military activity during the reign of Sargon II was Babylonia. Several letters refer to his involvement in the military activities of the Assyrians on the Southern front of the Empire. A fragmentary letter refers to the *rab ša—rēšē* in connection with the Gambuleans,¹⁶⁸¹ while another letter¹⁶⁸² mentions him as counting 4,100 captives who had arrived at Arrapha and reviewing 1,000 king's men among them. It is possible that the *rab ša—rēšē* recruited king's men (soldiers) from them for the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). Sennacherib also sent the *rab ša—rēšē* to Babylonia in 702, when he marched against Merodach-baladan. The king sent the *rab ša—rēšē* with the governors (and their troops), as a vanguard of the main army to Kish, to block Merodach-baladan's way and keep a close watch over him. Merodach-baladan, however, sallied out of the Zamana Gate and defeated them.¹⁶⁸³ The battle of Kutha followed. In 701 B.C., during the 3rd campaign of Sennacherib, the *rab ša—rēšē* was one of the commanders (together with the *rab šāqê* and the *turtānu*) who led the Assyrian army detachment sent by the king from the Lachish camp to Jerusalem to ask Hezekiah to surrender or lay siege to the city.¹⁶⁸⁴ During the reign of Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.) the *rab ša—rēšē* led his troops (probably part of the *kišir šarrūti* and provincial troops as well) to various parts of the Empire. The earliest known entry is a Babylonian letter from Uruk which mentions Aššur-nāšir, the *rab ša—rēšē* and (his) cohort commander Nūrīa. It is possible that at that time the *rab ša—rēšē* and an Assyrian army contingent commanded by the cohort commander stayed at Uruk or somewhere in Southern-Babylonia.¹⁶⁸⁵ Another letter example refers to the presence of the *rab ša—rēšē* in Mannaea (probably during the Mannaeen war of 675 B.C.).¹⁶⁸⁶ A whole set of queries gives further information on the military achievements of the *rab ša—rēšē* in Egypt (671 B.C.),¹⁶⁸⁷ in Meliddu,¹⁶⁸⁸ in Media,¹⁶⁸⁹ Elam and Ellipi.¹⁶⁹⁰ The reign of Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.) saw similar military activity by the *rab ša—rēšē* on several theatres of war along the different borders of the empire. He was sent by the king to

¹⁶⁷⁹ MATTILA 2000, 73.

¹⁶⁸⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 45 (ABL 173), 4-5: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG(*rab ša—rēšē*).

¹⁶⁸¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 145 (CT 53, 588).

¹⁶⁸² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 18 (CT 53, 217).

¹⁶⁸³ LUCKENBILL 1924, 50-51, lines 20-22.

¹⁶⁸⁴ II Kings 18:17; II Chron 32:9-19; Isaiah 36.

¹⁶⁸⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 125 (ABL 965), 14': ^mNu-ri-ia LÚ.[GAL]—*ki-šir* ù ^mAš-šur—ŠEŠ-ir LÚ.GAL—SAG.MEŠ.

¹⁶⁸⁶ PARPOLA 1993, 113 (ABL 1109+).

¹⁶⁸⁷ STARR 1990, 88 (PRT 36+). This query looks for the possibility of an attack by Šarru-lū-dārī or Necho against Ša-Nabū-šū, the *rab ša—rēšē* who was sent on a mission to Egypt by Esarhaddon.

¹⁶⁸⁸ STARR 1990, 3 (AGS 55). This query asks the Sungod whether the *rab ša—rēšē* and his troops and the army will drive away Mugallu of Meliddu from the walls of the fortress. Another query (STARR 1990, 9 (AGS 57)) asks the Sungod whether Ša-Nabū-šū, the *rab ša—rēšē* and the eunuchs, magnates and army of Esarhaddon will be attacked by Mugallu of Meliddu or Iškalū of Tabal.

¹⁶⁸⁹ STARR 1990, 63 (PRT 9+) asks the Sungod whether Ša-Nabū-šū, the *rab ša—rēšē* and the army at his disposal will capture the city of Amul. Another query (STARR 1990, 78 (BM 098988+)) asks the Sungod whether Ša-Nabū-šū, the *rab ša—rēšē* and the army as great as he wishes will break the siege of Šišširtu, a fortress of Ḫarḫar.

¹⁶⁹⁰ STARR 1990, 79 (AGS 75) asks the Sungod whether Assurbanipal the crown prince of Assyria should send Ša-Nabū-šū, the *rab ša—rēšē* and the army as great as he wishes to Ellipi. *See furthermore* 80 (AGS 23+).

Egypt in 667 B.C. against Tarqu, where he led a coalition army composed of the troops and fleet of Assyrian governors, the kings of Ebir-nāri, and the Egyptian vassal kings.¹⁶⁹¹ Similarly to the reign of Esarhaddon, queries also provide information about the theatre of the military activity of the *rab ša—rēšē*. Nabû-šarru-ušur, Chief Eunuch of Assurbanipal appears in Mannaea, where with the men, horses, and army at his disposal he had to recover fortresses conquered by the Mannaeans.¹⁶⁹² A whole set of queries show that he was also active in Gambulu.¹⁶⁹³ The Babylonian activity of the Chief Eunuch can most probably be connected to the rebellion of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and the following years. The Babylonian military enterprise of the *rab ša—rēšē* is known from a letter of Assurbanipal which he sent to the citizens of Uruk. This letter mentions the *rab ša—rēšē*, the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer), and the *rab mūgi* (cavalry commander) in connection with (a) thousand(s) of archers.¹⁶⁹⁴ This campaign was probably a relatively large one since the letter mentions not only high officials and officers but the great army of Assyria as well. The Southern front obviously meant not only Babylonia but also Elam, the instigator of several Babylonian revolts, the ally of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. A letter written from Gambulu to Assurbanipal reports to the king that the writer and the *rab ša—rēšē* took Bīt-Imbia, an Elamite border fortress.¹⁶⁹⁵ This action can be connected to the Elamite campaign (647/646 B.C.) following the suppression of the Babylonian revolt.

As has been reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists, large numbers of equestrian units served under the control of the *rab ša—rēšē* (see above). These units needed a great many horses. A certain Kabar, for example, wrote a report from Assur to his lord, the *rab ša—rēšē*, about the horses which had arrived from Kilizi and Arbela and were reviewed at a muster.¹⁶⁹⁶

The military profile of the office of high officials is reflected in the number and character of military personnel attached to them. The officers of the high officials are discussed in separate chapters, but a brief summary shows the military aspects of their authority. From this point of view the military character of the office of the *rab ša—rēšē* is clearly indicated by the large number of his officers.

Concerning the cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) written sources mention altogether 13+ *rab urâte* officers, who were cohort commanders¹⁶⁹⁷ of the Chief Eunuch (see chapter Cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch (*rab kišir ša rab ša—rēšē*)) from the Nimrud Horse Lists and dozens of other cohort commanders of the City Units from the same corps. Another administrative text lists 3 cohort commanders of the king, 8 cohort commanders of the crown-prince, 1 cohort commander of the queen mother, and 6 cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch.¹⁶⁹⁸ The cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch is also known from another similar, but fragmentary list,¹⁶⁹⁹ and appears in contemporary (685 B.C.) legal documents as well.¹⁷⁰⁰ Royal correspondence relatively frequently mentions cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch. These letters include the letter of Ṭāb-šar-Aššur to the king which mentions the cohort commander of

¹⁶⁹¹ STRECK 1916, 160, 25-26.

¹⁶⁹² STARR 1990, 267 (AGS 150).

¹⁶⁹³ STARR 1990, 270 (AGS 152), 271 (AGS 153), 272 (BM 98981), 273 (BM 99053).

¹⁶⁹⁴ DIETRICH 1979, 230, 19-20.

¹⁶⁹⁵ DIETRICH 1979, 177, 6-8.

¹⁶⁹⁶ SCHROEDER 1920, 133.

¹⁶⁹⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, II:13-28. See furthermore no. 12, 5: Nabû-da''inanni LÚ.GAL u-rat šá GAL—SAG.

¹⁶⁹⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:48: Ubru-Nergal, II:7: Ša-lā-mašê, II:10: Ḫanunu, II:27: Ubru-aḫḫê, Rev. I:1: [...], II:11: Marduk-erība.

¹⁶⁹⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 880), Rev. I:6: Marduk-erība.

¹⁷⁰⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 174 (ADD 1170+), Rev. 9: Nuḫšāia LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša LÚ.GA[L—S]AG.

the Chief Eunuch,¹⁷⁰¹ another letter tells us that the recruits of the Chief Eunuch and his cohort commanders are exempt from taxes and *ilku* duties,¹⁷⁰² while a third, fragmentary letter mentions a cohort commander in a Chief Eunuch context.¹⁷⁰³ A fourth letter mentions Aššur-nāšir, the Chief Eunuch and (his) cohort commander¹⁷⁰⁴ together on a mission in Babylonia. A fifth letter from Bēlušēzib probably to Esarhaddon deals with the activities of the Chief Eunuch in Mannaea. This letter mentions that Mardīa, the president of the court of the house of the Chief Eunuch, has left his lord and entered service under Nergal-ašarēd; he is bringing ‘third men’ and cohort commanders before Nergal-ašarēd and they are taking an oath of loyalty.¹⁷⁰⁵ Three very important decrees of Aššur-etelli-ilāni (630–627 B.C.) donating estates to three of the cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch¹⁷⁰⁶ and exempting them from taxes are discussed above. From that point of view the military importance of the *rab ša—rēšē* as the commander of the royal corps is overwhelming (since only the *sukkallu* is known in an explicit form to whom cohort commanders were attached, *see* above).

Examining the distribution of different officers and other military personnel among the high officials an interesting phenomenon can be identified: only the Chief Eunuch commanded recruits. Furthermore, the recruits of the Chief Eunuch (*raksu ša rab ša—rēšē*) appeared in the written record as early as 791 B.C.,¹⁷⁰⁷ which means that the military authority of the *rab ša—rēšē* and his role as the commander of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) started or was known – at least in an embryonic form – from the reign of Adad-nērārī III. The recruits of the Chief Eunuch (*see vol. II, Recruits of the Chief Eunuch (raksu ša rab ša—rēšē)*) are known from several documents during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.¹⁷⁰⁸

In the case of the officers of chariotry, or the chariot crews the representation of the other high officials is much more balanced. It should be emphasized that all of the high officials commanded chariot troops, but there may be a difference between them: a few of them (probably only the *rab ša—rēšē* and the *turtānu*) had standing, regular chariotry units, while the other high officials probably commanded only such chariotry units as were summoned for a campaign. Written sources mention the chariot driver¹⁷⁰⁹ of the Chief Eunuch (*mukil appāte ša rab ša—rēšē*),¹⁷¹⁰

¹⁷⁰¹ PARPOLA 1987, 45 (ABL 173), 4-5: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG.

¹⁷⁰² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709).

¹⁷⁰³ REYNOLDS 2003, 121 (CT 54, 433), 7: Tiranu LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

¹⁷⁰⁴ REYNOLDS 2003, 125 (ABL 965), 14': Nūrīa LÚ.[GAL]—*ki-šir*.

¹⁷⁰⁵ PARPOLA 1993, 113 (ABL 1109+), Rev. 12-16, esp. 15: LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ.

¹⁷⁰⁶ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), Rev. 16: Tāb-šar-Papāhi LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—SAG; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), Rev. 24': [... L]Ú.GAL—*ki-šir* [LÚ.GAL—SAG]; 39 (ADD 1250), Rev. 2': [... LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—S]AG.

¹⁷⁰⁷ LÚ.*rak-su-ti* LÚ.GAL—SAG, KINNIER WILSON 1972, 8, 9 (791 B.C.). *See* furthermore KINNIER WILSON 1972, 1, II:7; 4, 14; 28, 2; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 145, III:1 (784 B.C.).

¹⁷⁰⁸ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 1, II:7; 4, 14; 28, 2; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 145, III:1 (784 B.C.). Mannu-kī-abi LÚ.*ra-ka-su ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 210 (ADD 330), Rev. 10 (676 B.C.); In another text of the same archive dated to the same year, however, he appears as a recruit (LÚ.*rak-su*) KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 212 (ADD 502), Rev. 3'. The witness lists of the same two texts list another recruit, Mannu-kī-aḥḥē (ADD 330, Rev. 10, ADD 502, Rev. 2'). *See* furthermore Mannu-kī-Allāia, *raka-su ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG.MEŠ, MATTILA 2002, 64 (ADD 310), 7-8 (669 B.C.); Mannu-kī-šābē, FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 35 (ADD 923), I:1-2; FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709), 3-6.

¹⁷⁰⁹ For detailed discussion *see vol. II, chapter* Chariot drivers of the high officials.

¹⁷¹⁰ Aššur-šallim-aḥḥē [LÚ.*mu*]-*ki* KUŠ.PA.MEŠ (*ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 1 (ADD 75), Rev. 10-11, (742 B.C.); Mušallim-Marduk LÚ.3.U₅ *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG, POSTGATE 1973, 17 (ND 496), 50 (783 B.C.); Ša[maš-...] *mu*-DIB.PA GAL—SAG, FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 141 (ADD 1118), 5'-6'; Aššur-šarru-ušur LÚ.*mu-ki* KUŠ.PA *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG; KWASMAN 1988, 426 (ADD 642), Rev. 12'.

the chariot driver of the Commander-in-Chief (*mukil appāte ša turtāni*),¹⁷¹¹ and the chariot driver of the cupbearer (*mukil appāte ša šāqê*).¹⁷¹² In these cases it is hard to decide whether they were personal chariot drivers, or whether they belonged to a chariotry unit under their command. The same question arises in the case of the chariot warrior, who is known only from the Chief Eunuch context¹⁷¹³ but it is clear that chariot warriors could also belong to other high officials. A much larger number of sources mention the ‘third men’ of high officials. Administrative and legal documents mention the ‘third man’ of the Commander-in-Chief (*tašlišu ša turtāni*),¹⁷¹⁴ and the ‘third man’ of the Chief Cupbearer (*tašlišu ša rab šāqê*) as well.¹⁷¹⁵ They might well have been their personal ‘third men,’ but other sources¹⁷¹⁶ make it clear that they commanded chariotry units as well. A relatively large number of ‘third men’ served the Chief Eunuch (*tašlišu ša rab ša—rēšê*).¹⁷¹⁷

The *rab ša—rēšê* belonged to the category of high officials who did not have their own ‘land’ (*mātu*).¹⁷¹⁸ His territorial background was his *bētu* (‘house’), which might well have consisted of *ex officio* estates (if this category in its modern sense existed at all)¹⁷¹⁹ and not only *ad hominem* grants. This supposed territorial background was strong enough to equip troops, as the case of Sîn-šumu-lēšir, *rab ša—rēšê* of Aššur-etelli-ilāni (630–627 B.C.) shows: concerning his land grants, Aššur-etelli-ilāni donated estates to three of the cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch¹⁷²⁰ and exempted them from taxes, because after the ‘departure’ of Assurbanipal (631/630 B.C.) the Chief Eunuch, Sîn-šumu-lēšir with the battle troops of his own house/estate (*bēt ramānišu*)¹⁷²¹ “installed him safely on the throne.” An administrative text explicitly mentions 2 cavalrymen at the disposal of Ša-lā-mašê, of the estate of the Chief Eunuch.¹⁷²² This may also refer to a system of recruiting soldiers from (official?) estates. Two other references show that not only members of the military establishment but even ‘recruits’ (consequently fighting units) belonged to the ‘house’ of the Chief Eunuch.¹⁷²³ The question is whether in these cases this phrase (his own house/estate) would

¹⁷¹¹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 338 (ADD 1189), Rev. 8’-9’.

¹⁷¹² Zazī LÚ.mu-k[il PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ.KAŠ.LU[L]; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 41 (ADD 240), Rev. 7-8; 40 (ADD 238), Rev. 15-16; 39 (ADD 239), Rev. 7’-8’. 694—693 B.C.

¹⁷¹³ Eridāiu LÚ.A—SIG₅ ša GAL—LÚ.SAG.MEŠ, POSTGATE 1973, 15 (ND 203), 46, (791 B.C.).

¹⁷¹⁴ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 86 (ADD 261), Rev. 16’.

¹⁷¹⁵ Kišir-Issar LÚ.3.U₅ ša LÚ.GAL KAŠ.LUL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 210 (ADD 330), Rev. 7-8, (676 B.C.).

¹⁷¹⁶ See vol. II, chapter ‘Third men’ of high officials.

¹⁷¹⁷ Mušallim-Marduk LÚ.3.U₅ ša LÚ.GAL—SAG (‘third man’ of the Chief Eunuch), POSTGATE 1973, 17 (ND 496), L.E. 50, (783 B.C.); Sîn-iddina LÚ.3.U₅ (ša LÚ.GAL—SAG), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 1 (ADD 75), Rev. 11 (742 B.C.); Aḫū-lā-amašši [LÚ.3-šū] LÚ.GAL—SAG, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 334 (ADD 429a-b-c), Rev. 24’, 671—660 B.C. He appears in the Rēmanni-Adad archive as ‘third man’ (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 315, 316, 325, 326, 332), and as ‘third man’ of the crown prince (*tašlišu mār šarri*) as well (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 317); Abdi-Ēl LÚ.3-šū KUR.Īš-qa-lu-na-a-a GAL—SAG, PARKER 1961, 28-29, ND 2451, 20 (707 B.C.); A further entry mentions the ‘third man’ of Ša-Nabū-šū Chief Eunuch of Esarhaddon: Marduk-bēlu-ušur [LÚ.3].U₅ ša šā-⁴PA-su-u(Ša-Nabū-šū), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 295 (ADD 71), 4’-5’.

¹⁷¹⁸ It is a question, however, whether the *mātu* meant an *ex officio* territory including *ex officio* estates or meant simply the office of the high official, or – from the military point of view – refers to a special military/administrative structure, territory and office in the borderguard system. It is a further question whether those high officials, who did not have *mātus*, used their *bētu* (‘house’) in a similar sense and for similar purposes without a well-defined territorial background.

¹⁷¹⁹ MATTILA 2000, 66 refers to the ‘town of the *rab ša—rēšê*’, which might refer to an *ex officio* estate.

¹⁷²⁰ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), Rev. 16: Tāb-šār-Papāhi LÚ.GAL—ki-šir LÚ.GAL—SAG; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), Rev. 24’: [... LÚ.GAL—ki-šir [LÚ.GAL—SAG]; 39 (ADD 1250), Rev. 2’: [... LÚ.GAL—ki-šir LÚ.GAL—S]AG.

¹⁷²¹ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), 23-24; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), 15-16.

¹⁷²² FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), Rev. iii:24’-25’.

¹⁷²³ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 96 (ABL 64), 8-10: LÚ.rak-su.MEŠ ša Ē—LÚ.GAL—SAG (‘recruits of the military establishment of the Chief Eunuch’). See furthermore the ‘recruit of the mayor-domo of the Chief Eunuch’: LÚ.rak-su ša GAL—Ē ša GAL—SAG, FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 35 (ADD 923), I:1-2.

imply merely a sphere of military authority, or would mean that the Chief Eunuch – at least in the Post-Canonical Period – had to raise and supply battle troops at his own expense, from the income of his *bētu* ('house').

Concluding the evidence the officers of the Assyrian army can be divided into two main groups. The first group consists of those officers who were probably professional soldiers (commander-of-50, cohort commander, and their deputies) and can be connected to groups of people (military or civilian). This group probably includes the highest ranking professional soldier, the prefect. The second group, the highest ranking officers, are characterized by their connection not to military units, but to offices, administrative roles and territories. This group includes the major-domo, the governor, the members of the 'magnates' category, and the high officials of the empire.

A very important question is furthermore a possible change in the identity of those higher ranking officers of the army who held offices and were connected to administrative and/or territorial roles. It is not known whether they changed identity from the official to the officer, when on campaign or in battle they led their own troops. Did they shed their identity of a governor and acquire the new identity of a general? Did they command their own troops or take command of other troops as well? The Nimrud Horse Lists show a mixed picture: these officials/officers commanded their own troops, but they formed larger units of a more regular character (*see* for example the division formed by the 120 officers of 7 unit commanders (governors?), 4 prefects of stables, 14 magnates).¹⁷²⁴ These texts and a few royal letters hint at the existence of some independent army officers, who in these texts were designated only by their names and not by their titles (as governors).

¹⁷²⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99; DEZSÖ 2006B, 94-111, 134, Fig. 1.

CHARTS

Ša-šēpē guards

Chart 1

	Adad-nērāri III	Tiglath-Pileser III	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Assurbanipal	PC
ša-šēpē	791		721-705	698	680-669		PC
<i>rab kišir ša-šēpē</i>			721-705	682		668-630, 638	PC
<i>rab kišir [...] ša-šēpē (LÚ.šá-GÌR.2)</i>						?	
<i>rab kišir ša-šēpē ša ekalli</i>						630	
<i>šaknē ša-šēpē</i>				ADD 1041?	ADD 1041?	ADD 1041?	
<i>ša-šēpē mār šarri</i>							PC
<i>rab kišir ša-šēpē ša mār šarri</i>						663	
<i>LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR ša-šēpē</i>			721-705	699, 686		636	PC
<i>qurbūtu ša-šēpē (qurbūtu šēpēia)</i>				699-696	ADD 177, ADD 50?	ADD 177, ADD 50?	
<i>rab 50.MEŠ ša 3-šú ša-šēpē</i>				ADD 1083?	ADD 1083?	ADD 1083?	
<i>qurbūtu ša-šēpē LÚ.GIGIR DU_s.MEŠ</i>				ADD 971, ADD 970?	ADD 971, ADD 970?	ADD 971, ADD 970?	
<i>qurbūtu šēpē GIŠ.GIGIR</i>				ADD 971?	ADD 971?	ADD 971?	
<i>BAD.ĤAL(pēthalli) šēpē</i>				ADD 1036?	ADD 1036?	ADD 1036?	
<i>EN.GIŠ.GIGIR ša-GÌR.2? ÌR.KUR</i>		745-727					

Qurbūtu bodyguards (ša-qurbūte)

Chart 2

	Adad-nērārī III	Tiglath-Pileser III	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Assurbanipal	PC
<i>qurbūtu</i>	797	734	721–705	704–681	680–669	668–630	PC
<i>qurbūtu ša šarri</i>			721–705				
<i>qurbūtu ša-šēpē / šēpēia</i>				699–696			PC
<i>rab kišir ša-qurbūte</i>						664–660	PC
<i>qurbūtu ša mār šarri</i>			721–705		(ADD 857)	668–630	
<i>rab kišir ša-qurbūte ša mār šarri</i>			721–705			664, 663	PC
<i>qurbūtu ša ummi šarri</i>					(ADD 857)	668–630	
<i>qurbūtu Kaldāia</i>			721–705				
<i>qurbūtu Ḫarrānāia</i>							619
<i>qurbūtu ša URU.Bal-lat-a-a</i>						658	
<i>qurbūtu URU.Par-ḪA(nun)-a-a</i>		740					
<i>qurbūtu imitti</i>			721–705				
<i>qurbūtu šumēli</i>			721–705				
<i>LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR qurbūte</i>				704–681			
<i>LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR qurbūte URU.Ši-šil-a-a</i>						668–630	
<i>EN.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ qurbūte</i>			721–705				
<i>qurbūtu ša-šēpē ša LÚ.GIGIR.DUš.MEŠ</i>						668–630?	
<i>qurbūtu ša-šēpē ša GIŠ.GIGIR</i>						668–630?	
<i>A.SIG ša qur-rub</i>			721–705				
<i>LÚ.3-šú q[ur-bu]</i>						668–630?	
<i>mušarkisāni GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte</i>			721–705				
<i>pēḫalli ša-qurbūte</i>					(ADD 1036)?		
<i>pēḫal qurubte – rabūti</i>			721–705				
<i>pēḫal qurubte – rab urâte</i>			721–705				
<i>kallāpu qurbūte</i>							
<i>šanū ša rab kišir qurbūte</i>							PC
<i>šanū ša-qurbūte</i>						661	

	Adad-nērāri III	Tiglath-Pileser III	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Assurbanipal	PC
<i>rab kišir</i>			721–705	704–681	680–669	668–630	PC
<i>rab kišir ša šarri</i> (MAN)							PC
<i>rab kišir ša KUR</i> (palace)					670		
<i>rab kišir ša ekalli</i>					?(ADD 1036)		
<i>rab kišir rab ša-rēšē</i>			721–705	685	?(ADD 857)	668–630	630–627
<i>rab kišir ša-qurbūte</i>						664–660	PC
<i>rab kišir ša-šēpē</i>				682		668–630, 638	PC
<i>rab kišir [...] ša-šēpē</i> (LÚ.Šá-GĪR.2)						?	
<i>rab kišir ša-šēpē ša ekalli</i>						630	
<i>rab kišir šumēli</i> (KAB)					680–669?	668–630?	
<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i>					671–669	666–664, 659	PC
<i>rab kišir ša-qurbūte ša mār šarri</i>						664, 663	PC
<i>rab kišir ša-šēpē ša mār šarri</i>						663	
<i>rab kišir ša MÍ.É.GAL</i>				686			
<i>rab kišir ša bīt MÍ.É.GAL</i>							627–612
<i>rab kišir ša MÍ.KUR</i>				704–681 (686?)			
<i>rab kišir ummi šarri</i> (AMA.MAN)					680–669		
<i>rab kišir ša sukkalli</i>			721–705				
<i>rab kišir [...] LÚ.PA.MEŠ</i>						668–630	
<i>rab kišir gi-mir-a-a</i> (Cimmerian)					679		
<i>rab kišir ša URU.Adinni</i>					ABL 500	ABL 500	
<i>rab kišir (ša āli)</i>					ABL 503		
<i>rab kišir ša LÚ.A.SIG ša MÍ.É.GAL</i>						668–630	
<i>rab kišir ša LÚ.raksu mugerri</i>			721–705				
<i>rab kišir ša raksūte</i>	788		721–705				
<i>rab kišir ša uttarāte</i>				694			
<i>rab kišir</i> (of šaknu of taḫlīpu charioteers)			721–705				
<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>						652–648	
<i>rab kišir ša pēḫalli</i>							
<i>šanū ša rab kišir</i>						668–630	PC
<i>šanū rab kišir mār šarri</i>							PC
<i>šanū rab kišir ša-qurbūte</i>							PC

Cohort commanders of the Kakkullānu archive (630–617 B.C.)

SAA 14 ADD date year (SAA 14)	34 308 II. 20. 630	35 349 V. 22. 630	36 446 XI. 18. 630	37 309 [...] 630	38 711 I. 19 629	39 318 II. 20. 625	40 325 III. 17. 625
Kakkullānu	2	1	1	?	?	1	?
Kiṣir-Aššur							1
Aššur-killāni	GM	1		Q		1	Q
Balasi	1					1	Q
Unzarḫi-Aššur							
Ubru-Nabû					?		1
Il-iaḏini							
Mannu-kî-Nabû							
Inurtî							
Lâ-qêpu / Liqipu	1			?		1	
Nabû-natkil	?1?						
Nergal-ašarêd		1					
Nabû-balāssu-iqbî		1					
Aqru							
Mardû							
Ilu-nā'id							
Mār-šarri-ilā'i							
Ḫubasāte							
¹⁸ [...].PAP.PAP							
¹⁹ [...]							
Nabû-šarru-ušur		1					
[...]ili-šallimšunu							
Aššur-šarru-ušur							
[...]							
[...]							
Zēr-Issar							
Urdu							1
Mušēzib-Aššur							1
Nabû-šallim-aḫḫē							1
Marduk-ēṭir							1
Aššur-balliṭ							1
Kanūnāiu							1
Saggil-šarru-ušur							

Chart 4A

41 623 X. 3. 625	42 414 XI. 13. 625	43 400 II. 15. 624	44 — V. 18. 623	45 621 X. 7. 623	46 361 XI. 6. 623	47 327 II. 10. 617	48 211 VII. 26. [...]	49 235 [...] [...]	50 312 [...] [...]
1	1	?	1	2	2	?	2	1	2
	1			2	1		3	4	
2	Q	Q			Q		?		
2	Q	Q			1			5	
				2	1	1			2
	1			2	1	1		?	Gmš
					1				
		š			1				2
		š			1				
								5	
								5	
								5	
								5	
								5	
								5	
								5	
							1		
							3		
							3		
							3		
							3		
						1			
?									
			?						
	1								

Cohort commanders of the Kakkullānu archive (630–617 B.C.)

SAA 14 ADD date year (SAA 14)	34 308 II. 20. 630	35 349 V. 22. 630	36 446 XI. 18. 630	37 309 [...] 630	38 711 I. 19 629	39 318 II. 20. 625	40 325 III. 17. 625
Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur							
Mannu-kī-abi							
Zizī	1/2		?	?/2		1/2	
Šulmu-aḫḫē		Q					
Šamaš-rēmanni		Q					
Šarru-lū-dārī		Q					
Nabû-rēhtu-ušur		Q					
Nabû-erība			Q				
Nabû-nā'id							Q
Aššur-šumu-ka''in					Q		
Sīn-šarru-ušur						Q	
Ḫaldi-taiā			Š				
Issar-nādin-aḫḫē			Š				
Šumma-ili							Š
Ili-gabarī						Š	
Arbailāiu							
Urdu-Bēlet							
Urdu-apli							
Qarḫā							
Nabû-tāriš	GM			GM			
Il-mananī		G					
Adad-abu-ušur					Tmš		
Marduk-šarru-ušur							T/I
Nergal-šarru-ušur							T
Šarru-ēmuranni							

- 1 *rab kišir*
 2 *rab kišir ša mār šarri*
 3 *rab kišir ša-qurbūte*
 4 *rab kišir ša-qurbūte ša mār šarri*
 5 *rab kišir ša-šēpē*
 Q *qurbūtu*
 Tmš *tašlišu ša mār šarri*

- Š *ša-šēpē*
 Šmš *ša-šēpē ša mār šarri*
 G LÚ.GIGIR
 GM LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MAN
 Gmš GIŠ.GIGIR ša mār šarri
 T *tašlišu*

Chart 4B

41 623 X. 3. 625	42 414 XI. 13. 625	43 400 II. 15. 624	44 — V. 18. 623	45 621 X. 7. 623	46 361 XI. 6. 623	47 327 II. 10. 617	48 211 VII. 26. [...]	49 235 [...] [...]	50 312 [...] [...]
	1								
	1								
2/2				3/2	1/2		3/2		
	Q								
		Š							Šmš
									Šmš
		Š							
		Š							
		Š					Gmš		Gmš
									T

Cohort commanders of the Mannu-kī-Arbail archive (680–673 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	201 360 680. II. 28.	202 359 680. IV. 18.	204 364 679. VII. 13.	206 150 679. XI. 15.	211 460 676?	247 1188 679. VIII	249 602	
Mannu-kī -Arbail	RK	?	?	?	?	?	?	
Aššur-šumu-ka''in			[RK]					
Qurđi-Issar			[RK]			RK	[RK]	
Adad-nādin-šumi			RK					
Ubru-Ḫarrān			RKG					
Bibī			BM					
Nabû-kēnu-dugul			BM					
Ahi-ilā'ī			Š					
[...]-dia								
[...]-ta'								
Arzēzu				RK	RK	?		
Mamī				RK		?	RK	
Aššur-ilā'ī				RK?				
[...]								
[...]								
Kiṣir-Issar					RK			
Mannu-kī-aḫbē								
Mannu-kī-abi								
Nabû'a						RK	[RK]	
Ina-šar-Aššur-allak						RM		

RK *rab kišir*
RKG *rab kišir gimirrāia*
BM *bēl muḡerri* (EN.GIŠ.GIGIR)
Š *ša-šēpē*
T *tašlīšu*

Trš *tašlīšu ša rab šaqē*
MA *mukil appāte*
Rak *raksu*
Rakr *raksu ša rab ša-rēšē*
RM *rab mūgi*

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INDEX

Index of personal names

A

- Abat-šarri-lā-teni 159
Abdâ 203
Abdi-Ēl 226
Abdi-Limu 171
Abdi-milku 214
Abdi-milkutti 209
Abdi-Samsi 181
Abi-ilā'ī 155, 164
Abilê 188, 199
Abi-lēšir 204
Abilu 164
Abi-ram 165
Abirî 182
Abi-ul-īdi 130
Adâ 213
Ad[ad-...] 51, 186
Adad-[...] 141
Adad-[...]-ani 131
Adad-abu-ušur 123, 234
Adad-altu 171
Adad-aplu-iddina 134
Adad-balliṭ 75
Adad-bēlu-ušur 171
Adad-ibnî 73
Adad-idri *see* Ḫadad-ezer
Adad-'ime 57
Adad-issia 36, 72, 77, 130, 131, 140, 188, 191, 197
Adad-kāšir 171
Adad-lē'i 185
Adad-nādin-šumi 236
Adad-nērārî II 57, 59, 202
Adad-nērārî III 57, 58, 74, 75, 123, 155, 170, 182, 187, 219, 220, 222, 225, 229, 230, 231
Adad-nūr-ina-māti 96
Adad-šāpir 74
Adad-upaḥḥer 130
Adallal 208
Adda-ḫāti 35, 181, 187, 193, 198, 199
Adda-kupa 137
Adda-lādin 131
Adramu 220
Adumu 156
Aḫ-abû 131, 155
Aḫat-abiša 187
Aḫḫē-šallim 129
Aḫi-[...] 171
Aḫi-Iāu 214
Aḫi-idri 214
Aḫi-ilā'ī 121, 122, 204, 236
Aḫi-lēšir 74
Aḫi-nūri 170
Aḫi-pada 159
Aḫi-rāmu 125, 163
Aḫi-ṭalli 130, 131
Aḫi-uqur 204
Aḫu-bānî 135
Aḫu-dūr-enši 162, 175
Aḫu-dūri 175
Aḫu-eriba 171
Aḫu-illika 130, 131, 137

- Aḥu-immê 203
 Aḥu-lā-amašši 171, 226
 Aḥu-lāmur 74, 129
 Aḥūnī 57, 158
 Aia-iababa 87, 186
 Aia-idri 73
 Akkadāia 171
 Akkullānu 204
 Alexander the Great 140
 Alla-ušur 219, 220
 Amanī 130
 Ame-atar 155
 Ameka 60, 69
 Amēl-Nabû 191
 Am-iata' 137
 Amiri 198
 Amme-ba'li 209
 Ammili'ti 198
 Apil-ēreš 170
 Aplāia 171, 182, 203
 Apliku 186
 Aqār-bēl-lūmur 201
 Aqru 131, 166, 174, 232
 Arad-Anunītu 88
 Arame 55, 59
 Arbaia 161
 Arbailāiu 87, 122, 129, 234
 Argišti 100, 211, 220
 Arīe 134, 193
 Ariḥu 125
 Arišâ 193
 Arzēzu 165, 236
 Asalluḥi-aḥḥē-iddina 168
 Asalluḥi-ēreš 133
 Asalluḥi-šumu-iddina 165, 168, 174
 Assurbanipal 13, 14, 18, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38,
 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 62, 63,
 64, 65, 68, 69, 74, 75, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88,
 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107,
 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 119, 120, 121, 122,
 123, 124, 132, 139, 141, 145, 146, 147, 148,
 149, 150, 151, 152, 157, 159, 161, 164, 169,
 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 185, 198,
 199, 200, 203, 204, 206, 207, 215, 221, 223,
 224, 226, 229, 230, 231
 Assurnasirpal II 23, 25, 26, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58,
 59, 60, 62, 69, 93, 99, 100, 101, 108, 115,
 116, 125, 143, 150, 157, 203, 209, 214, 222
 Ašipâ 34, 81, 189, 192
 Aššur-[...] 171
 Aššur-aḥu-iddina 164
 Aššur-ālik-pāni 35, 76, 124, 138, 140, 181, 191,
 203
 Aššur-aplu-iddina 171
 Aššur-balliṭ 232
 Aššur-bān-apli *see* Assurbanipal
 Aššur-bēlu-da'in 76, 81, 134, 140, 190
 Aššur-bēlu-ka'in 219, 220
 Aššur-bēlu-taqqin 35, 86, 136, 171, 182, 183,
 184, 191
 Aššur-bēlu-uda'an 188, 201
 Aššur-bēlu-ušur 35, 84, 96, 158, 187, 188, 194
 Aššur-bēssunu 131
 Aššur-būnāia-ušur 217
 Aššur-dān II 57
 Aššur-dānin-apla 222
 Aššur-dūr-pānīa 50, 76, 96, 156, 191, 198
 Aššur-erība 123
 Aššur-etelli-ilāni 67, 122, 163, 167, 172, 183,
 225, 226
 Aššur-etel-šamē-eršeti-muballissu 134
 Aššur-gimilli-tēre 161, 203, 215
 Aššur-iddina 129, 182
 Aššur-ilā'i 173, 236
 Aššur-iqbī 171
 Aššur-kettu-iram 167
 Aššur-killāni 132, 133, 166, 176, 232
 Aššur-lē'i 188
 Aššur-mātu-taqqin 164, 182
 Aššur-nādin-aḥi 74
 Aššur-nādin-šumi 124, 140, 164
 Aššur-nāšir 127, 172, 223, 225
 Aššur-natki 180
 Aššur-nērārī V 202, 209
 Aššur-rā'im-šarri 161
 Aššur-rēmāni 127, 183, 201
 Aššur-rēš-iši 137
 Aššur-rēš-iši I 57
 Aššur-rēšūwa 34, 74, 134, 184, 189, 193, 209
 Aššur-šabtāni 171
 Aššur-šallim-aḥḥē 225
 Aššur-šallimāni 220
 Aššur-šarru-ibnī 76, 191
 Aššur-šarru-ušur 130, 165, 166, 173, 195, 225,
 232

- Aššur-šimanni 173
 Aššur-šumu-iddina 159
 Aššur-šumu-kaʿin 132, 165, 168, 170, 234, 236
 Aššur-taklāk 187
 Aššur-tuklassu 171
 Aššur-usuranni 130
 Aššur-zāqip 185
 Ata 69
 Atalia 118
 Atamar-Marduk 125
 Atar-ili 131
 Atarīa 203
 Atar-šumki 220
 Attâ-idri 131
 Attâ-qāmūʿa 168, 170
 Attametu 88
 Atua 50
 Azâ 211
 Azar-Iāʿu 125
- B**
- Baʿal-ḥalušu 156
 Babi 171
 Bābilāiu 129
 Baʿdi-ili 171
 Baiasa-[...] 171
 Balasî 125, 132, 133, 134, 163, 166, 167, 174, 176,
 232
 Balāssu 125, 186, 187
 Ballaṭu 183
 Baḥṭāia 155, 156, 164
 Bānî-Aššur 155
 Bānî-Issar 86
 Banni 171
 Banunî 74
 Banunu 177, 178
 Baqi-Aia 155
 Barbarāni 125
 Barbiri 50, 72, 121
 Barik-il 141
 Bār-rakub 188
 Barruq(q)u 125, 160, 165
 Bār-Šarūri 125, 135, 163
 Batulu 137
 Bēl-aḥḥēšu 71, 168
 Bēl-aḥu-ušur 170
 Bēl-āli 74
- Bēl-apla-iddin 125
 Bēl-dān 165
 Bēl-dūri 52, 135, 162, 187, 193, 204, 216
 Bēl-ēmuranni 219
 Bēl-ētir 161
 Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur 162
 Bēl-Ḥarrān-šadûa 204
 Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur 187
 Bēl-ibnî 86, 171, 221
 Bēl-iddina 77, 80, 185, 196, 203
 Bēl-īpuš 86
 Bēl-iqbî 198
 Bēl-iqīša 85, 125, 162, 197
 Bēl-išmēanni 171
 Bēl-lēʿi 188
 Bēl-lēšir 33
 Bēl-liqbî 159, 187, 199
 Bēl-lū-balaṭ 68, 126, 218
 Bēl-lū-dārî 183
 Bēl-nāʿid 171
 Bēl-šarru-ušur 122, 130, 138, 181
 Bēlšunu 86
 Bēl-uballit 86
 Bēl-ušēzib 66, 172, 225
 Bibî 236
 Bibīa 33, 186, 204
 Bissunu 165
 Būr-Atar 171
 Busilu 71
 Buzî 137
- C**
- Cambyses 86, 87
 Cyrus 86, 87
- D**
- Da-[...] 181
 Dada 204
 Daddi *see* Daddi-nāʿid
 Daddi-nāʿid 74
 Dādî 75, 87, 130
 Dādî-ibnî 87
 Dadusu 171
 Daiiān-Adad 204
 Daiiān-Aššur 218, 220, 222
 Daiiān-Kurbail 71
 Daiiān-Ninurta 187, 188

Dal[i...] 171
 Daltâ 73, 79, 84
 Dannu-Nergal 122
 Dârî-šarru 180
 Darius I 88
 Daulî 71
 Dînānu 135
 Dūr-Aššur 80, 188, 218

E

Ēa-šarru-ibnî 206
 Ēreš-ilu 74, 136
 Eridāiu 226
 Esarhaddon 13, 32, 61, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72,
 81, 85, 86, 87, 95, 96, 97, 100, 122, 123, 124,
 125, 126, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140,
 141, 142, 159, 160, 162, 169, 171, 172, 175,
 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 187, 190, 197, 200,
 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213,
 215, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226, 229, 230, 231
 Etrîa *see* Atarîa

G

Gabbu-ana-Aššur 80, 136, 158, 188, 189, 198, 216
 Gabrî 164
 Gadâ 129
 Gaia 128, 138, 141, 171
 Gikî 137
 Gimillu 180
 Gir-Ḥâ 156
 Girittu 87, 133
 Guḥuru 135
 Gul(l)usu 33, 89, 186
 Gurdî 137

H

Hezekiah 94, 223

Ḥ

Ḥadad-ezer 59
 Ḥadidu 129
 Ḥaḥḥuru 185
 Ḥalabēše 181
 Ḥaldi-ṭaiâ 121, 234
 Ḥam-il 129
 Ḥamaqa 171
 Ḥanî 155, 159

Ḥanunu 71, 73, 172, 224
 Ḥarmaku 170, 171, 204
 Ḥarrānāiu 37, 122
 Ḥaršešu 37, 186
 Ḥašilānu 161
 Ḥattušu-aldî 131
 Ḥazael 58, 59
 Ḥinnumu 86, 158
 Ḥubasāte 174, 232
 Ḥudada 87
 Ḥumban-ḥaltaš *see* Ummanaldaš
 Ḥumban-undaša 209
 Ḥumbê 73
 Ḥur-ši-Ēšu *see* Ḥaršešu
 Ḥusa[...] 141

I

Ia-rapâ 161
 Iada'-il 34
 Iadi' 34
 Iakîn 213
 Iamani 64
 Iamannû 155
 Iāu-gâ 214
 Ibašši-ilāni 74
 Ibnî[...] 185
 Ibnia 127
 Ikkaru 165
 Il-dalâ 50, 96, 156, 198
 Il-iada' 34, 35, 136, 179, 200, 202, 208, 213, 214
 Il-iadîni 176, 232
 Il-manani 234
 Il-qatar 132
 Ili-gabarî 234
 Ili-kabar 171
 Illil-bānî 86, 183, 200
 Ilu-apli-ušur 74
 Ilu-bi'di 162
 Ilu-dusu 158
 Ilu-nā'id 174, 232
 Ilu-pīa-ušur 74, 159, 160, 162, 210
 Ilumma-lē'i 162, 164
 Imbappi 157
 Ina-šar-Bēl-allak 135, 159
 Indabîa 180
 Insabri 137
 Inurta-ilā'i 142, 220

Inurta-šākin 135
 Inurtî 122, 165, 167, 232
 Iranzû 66
 Irtukkanu 207
 Issaran-zêru-ibnî 133
 Issar-aplu 160, 171
 Issar-aplu-iddina 160
 Issar-Bābilā'î 128, 141
 Issar-dûri 68, 77, 128, 135, 138, 142, 178, 187, 193
 Issar-ilā'î 164, 177, 181
 Issar-na'di 33, 129, 133, 142
 Issar-nādin-aḥḥē 121, 234
 Issar-šallim-aḥḥē 155
 Issar-šumu-lēšir 165
 Issar-tuklatūa 171
 Iškallû 207, 223
 Išmanni-Aššur 195, 205, 208, 218
 Išmê-ilu 162, 194
 Išpabāra 84
 Išpuini 39
 Ituni 31
 Izbu-lēšir 123

K

Kabar 224
 Kabar-ili 142
 Kabbūtu 74
 Kabti 171
 Kakkullānu 121, 122, 123, 125, 132, 140, 155,
 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174,
 176, 177, 180, 188, 201, 232, 234
 Kalḥāiu 72, 121, 204
 Kandar 165
 Kanūnāiu 128, 138, 163, 204, 232
 Kapara 112
 Kaqqadānu 221
 Kaštaritu 206
 Katuwaš 39
 Ketti-ilāni 256
 Kiakki 65
 Kibabaše 137
 Kidin-Šamaš 155, 156
 Kinanni-Issar 175
 Kiqil(l)ānu 74, 125, 168, 174
 Kiribtu-Marduk 33
 Kišir-Aššur 123, 130, 132, 155, 164, 165, 166,
 167, 168, 173, 174, 176, 177, 183, 232

Kišir-Issar 217, 226, 236
 Kitipata 137
 Kubaba-ilā'î 171
 Kubaba-sūri 171
 Kudurru 179, 201, 217
 Kur-ilā'î 155
 Kusišî 131

L

Lā-qēpu 129, 163, 174
 Lā-turamanni-Aššur 155
 Liblutu 131
 Lipušu 74
 Lit-il 170
 Lu-balaṭ 133
 Lubarna 57
 Lubullit 185
 Lumaššiki 160
 Lunate 171
 Luqu 165, 168, 176

M

Ma-[...] 171
 Maḥdê 126
 Mamî 165, 236
 Man-kî-Ḥarrān 187, 188
 Mannu-de'iq 97
 Man[nu-kî-...] 126
 Mannu-kî-abi 162, 225, 234, 236
 Mannu-kî-Adad 34, 67, 158, 171, 190, 194
 Mannu-kî-aḥḥē 136, 184, 225, 236
 Mannu-kî-Allāia 225
 Mannu-kî-Arbail 131, 132, 164, 165, 168, 169,
 179, 236
 Mannu-kî-Aššur 129, 137, 155, 215
 Mannu-kî-Issar-lē'i 122, 131, 164, 177, 178
 Mannu-kî-Issaran 187
 Mannu-kî-māt-Aššur 168, 187, 220
 Mannu-kî-Nabû 122, 167, 176, 232
 Mannu-kî-Ninua 136, 192, 194, 207, 214
 Mannu-kî-nīše 125
 Mannu-kî-šābē 187, 189, 225
 Mannu-kî-šarri 185, 238
 Manzarnê 121, 122
 Mardî 175
 Mardīa 172, 225
 Mardû 174, 232

Marduk-[...] 171, 184, 207
 Marduk-apla-iddina *see* Merodach-baladan
 Marduk-balāssu 160
 Marduk-bāni-aḥḥē 138
 Marduk-bēlu-ušur 226
 Marduk-ēreš 133
 Marduk-erība 74, 130, 172, 186, 203, 224
 Marduk-ēṭir 232
 Marduk-išmēanni 171
 Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē 74
 Marduk-nāšir 213
 Marduk-šākin-šumi 126
 Marduk-šallim 129
 Marduk-šarru-ibnī 164
 Marduk-šarru-ušur 126, 136, 141, 158, 208, 234
 Marduk-šumu-iddina 140
 Marduk-tēr 165
 Mār-Issar 74, 126, 127, 130, 134, 138, 161, 182, 187, 205
 Mār-larēm 219
 Mār-šarri-ilā'ī 174, 232
 Mati'-ilu 202, 209
 Merodach-baladan 64, 65, 79, 85, 86, 157, 197, 208, 213, 223
 Metatti 65, 66
 Midas *see* Mita
 Milki-idri 164, 177
 Milki-Issar 158
 Milki-rāmu 160
 Minatkira 155
 Mis-Bēl 171
 Mīsu 203
 Mīta 66, 79, 195
 Mu[...] 129
 Mugallu 207, 215, 223
 Mukin-zēr 36, 38, 87, 218, 220
 Munirsuarta 59
 Musalimanu 170
 Mušal[lim-...] 73
 Mušallim-Marduk 211, 225, 226
 Mušēzib 138
 Mušēzib-Aššur 129, 232
 Mutakkil-Aššur 33, 142
 Mutakkil-Marduk 222
 Mutakkil-Šamaš 171
 Mutaqqin-Aššur 222
 Muttallu 65, 83, 212

N

Na'di-Aššur 155
 Na'di-ilu 87, 127, 192, 217, 218
 Nā'id-Issar 164
 Nabāia 171
 Nabonidus 88, 123
 Nabû-[...] 73, 171, 175
 Nabû'a 126, 130, 131, 165, 236
 Nabû-aḥḥē-erība 134
 Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina 136
 Nabû-aḥu-ēreš 184
 Nabû-aḥu-iddina 141
 Nabû-aḥu-ušur 127, 132, 137, 194, 205
 Nabû-ašarēd 187
 Nabû-balāssu-iqbî 124, 140, 163, 166, 187, 232
 Nabû-ballussu-iqbî 168
 Nabû-bēlšunu 122
 Nabû-bēlu-ka''in 80, 159, 161, 200, 208, 213, 214
 Nabû-bēlu-ušur 135
 Nabû-da''inanni 224
 Nabû-daiān 171
 Nabû-dūru-ušur 80, 97, 137, 158, 201
 Nabû-ēreš 79
 Nabû-erība 87, 132, 234
 Nabû-ēṭir 190
 Nabû-gimilli-tēre 155
 Nabû-ḥamātū'a 80, 127, 197, 200, 205
 Nabû-iqīša 213
 Nabû-išqurni 52
 Nabû-kēnu-dugul 236
 Nabû-killanni 217
 Nabû-kudurri-ušur *see* Nebuchadnezzar
 Nabû-lē'i 134, 187, 193, 197, 209
 Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur 234
 Nabû-nā'id 132, 177, 232
 Nabû-nāšir 171
 Nabû-nādin-aḥḥē 171
 Nabû-nādin-aḥi 165
 Nabû-natkil 131, 171, 232
 Nabû-pāšir 193
 Nabû-qātī-šabat 130
 Nabû-rēḥtu-ušur 132, 234
 Nabû-rēmāni 164, 177, 217
 Nabû-riḥa-aḥḥē 52, 79
 Nabû-sākip 156
 Nabû-sālim 129

Nabû-šalla 181
 Nabû-šallim-aḥḥē 232
 Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu 37, 193
 Nabû-šarru-ibnî 183
 Nabû-šarru-ušur 124, 129, 138, 175, 176, 177,
 189, 203, 224, 232
 Nabû-šemanni 119, 174
 Nabû-šumu-iddina 35, 67, 138, 201, 209, 216, 219
 Nabû-šumu-iškun 198
 Nabû-šumu-lēšir 139, 199, 201
 Nabû-taklāk 79
 Nabû-tāriš 122, 125, 163, 234
 Nabû-tukulti 168, 174
 Nabû-ušalla 138
 Nabû-ušallim 127
 Nabû-zēr-[...] 129
 Nabû-zēru-ibnî 124
 Nabû-zēru-iqīša 171
 Nabû-zēru-ušur 135
 Nadbi-Iā'u 254
 Nādin-Aššur 181, 205
 Nagâ 159, 160, 181
 Nakia *see* Zakūtu
 Nannî 171
 Našur-Bēl 33, 77, 81, 127, 186, 189, 191, 192,
 198, 200, 212
 Nebuchadnezzar I 57
 Necho 223
 Nergal-aḥu-iddina 171
 Nergal-aḥu-ušur 155, 171
 Nergal-apil-kūmū'a 125, 203
 Nergal-ašarēd 125, 172, 225, 232
 Nergal-balliṭ 158, 193
 Nergal-bēlu-ušur 197
 Nergal-ētir 73, 133, 138, 220
 Nergal-ibnî 71
 Nergal-nā'id 130
 Nergal-rēmēnî 171
 Nergal-šarrāni 208
 Nergal-šarru-ušur 127, 171, 203, 204, 234
 Nergal-šumu-iddina 171
 Nergal-uballiṭ 52, 211
 Nergal-zēru-ibnî 129
 Nibê 84, 193
 Ninuāiu 122
 Ninurta-pilâ 74
 Nuḥšāia 172, 224

Nūr-Adad 59
 Nurānu 164, 178
 Nūri-Sîn 181
 Nūria 172, 223, 225
 Nurtî 131
 Nusku-iddina 161
 Nušku-ilā'i 131

P

Pān-Issar-lēšir 171
 Pāni-Issar 74
 Pāni-šarri 74
 Paqīḥi 204
 Peqah 23, 118
 Pilaqqānu 155
 Pinaiawa 155, 156
 Pir-mute 156
 Pisin-Eši 156
 Puli 171
 Puṭi-[...] 155, 156
 Puṭiše 156

Q

Qadasu 155
 Qarḥâ 122, 234
 Qudanati 161
 Quili 37, 122
 Quqūa 71
 Qurdi-Aššur 185
 Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur 36, 81
 Qurdi-ilāni 171
 Qurdi-Issar 85, 165, 236
 Qurdi-Issar-lāmur 171
 Qurdi-Nergal 74

R

Ramatî 194
 Rāši-il 136
 Rēmanni-Adad 129, 132, 164, 165, 169, 173,
 176, 177, 226
 Rēmanni-ilu 131, 185
 Rēmanni-Issar 126
 Rēmūtu 158
 Rezin 65, 83, 95
 Riba-aḥḥē 164
 Risāia 131
 Rusa 64, 65, 70, 79, 84, 95, 100, 157, 193, 209,
 211, 212, 218

S

- Sa'ilâ 125
 Saggil-šarru-ušur 232
 Sagibi 130
 Sagiru 166
 Salamame 131
 Salamānu 178
 Salman-abu-ušur 130
 Samnuḥa-bēlu-ušur 52, 77, 135, 193
 Sanduarri 209
 Sapiru 171
 Sapunu 127, 138
 Sardanapallos 121
 Sarduri II 209
 Sargon II 13, 14, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35,
 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52,
 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72,
 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86,
 88, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103,
 104, 106, 108, 109, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,
 124, 125, 126, 127, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138,
 139, 140, 141, 145, 146, 150, 151, 157, 158,
 159, 161, 162, 175, 177, 179, 180, 181, 184,
 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194,
 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205,
 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214,
 215, 216, 218, 221, 222, 223, 229, 230, 231
 Sarsâ 37, 122
 Sasî 204
 Sē'-[...] 131
 Sē'-ilā'î 123
 Sē'-NU 187
 Sē'[-qam]u 129
 Sē'-qatar 171
 Sē'-rāmu 171
 Sē'-sakâ 187
 Sennacherib 14, 17, 18, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30,
 31, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49,
 52, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 74, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85,
 86, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 103, 103,
 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 112, 117, 118,
 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 131, 139, 140, 141,
 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152,
 157, 171, 173, 175, 177, 178, 180, 184, 187,
 189, 190, 203, 208, 209, 218, 221, 223, 229,
 230, 231
 Setini 74, 184
 Shalmaneser II 57
 Shalmaneser III 23, 32, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62,
 69, 93, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 157, 220, 222
 Shalmaneser IV 60, 69, 211, 220
 Sil-[...] 129
 Silim-Aššur 87, 131, 155
 Silim-ili 175
 Sîn-aḥḥē 204
 Sîn-aḥu-ušur 196, 211, 212, 214, 223
 Sîn-aplu-ušur 164
 Sîn-bēlu-ušur 158, 164
 Sîn-ēreš 171
 Sîn-eriba 73
 Sîn-ētir 187
 Sîn-iddina 187, 226
 Sîn-kēnu-īde 133
 Sîn-kēnu-ušur 127
 Sîn-nā'id 170, 204
 Sîn-nāšir 72
 Sîn-šar-iškun 122, 125, 163, 176, 178
 Sîn-šarru-ušur 126, 131, 132, 163, 181, 234
 Sîn-šumu-[...] 164
 Sîn-šumu-lēšir 67, 163, 172, 226
 Sîn-uballit 179
 Sukki-Aia 181
 Sukumu 171
 Sunbāia 171

Š

- Šābu-[damqu] 73
 Šalam-aḥḥē 121
 Šalam-šarri-iqbî 122, 164, 168, 174, 219
 Šallāia 133
 Šelâ 121
 Šil-šarri 78, 194
 Šillāia 203
- Š
 Ša-Aššur-dubbu 33, 81, 127, 161, 184, 198, 213
 Šadunu 88
 Šagim 165
 Ša-lā-mašē 172, 184, 224, 226
 Ša[maš-...] 225
 Šamaš-[...] 122
 Šamaš-abu-ušur 38
 Šamaš-abu'a 182
 Šamaš-aḥu-ušur 124, 131

Šamaš-bēlu-ušur 80, 97, 126, 137, 155, 195, 201
 Šamaš-bunāia 36
 Šamaš-ibnī 127
 Šamaš-ilā'ī 256
 Šamaš-nā'id 131, 164
 Šamaš-nāšir 171
 Šamaš-nūri 122
 Šamaš-rē'ū'a 181
 Šamaš-rēmāni 132, 234
 Šamaš-šallimāni 171
 Šamaš-šarru-ušur 203
 Šamaš-šēzib 74
 Šamaš-šumu-ukīn 65, 105, 111, 150, 199, 200,
 209, 215, 224
 Šamaš-ukīn 138
 Šamsi 161
 Šamši-Adad V 57, 58, 59, 60, 222
 Šamši-ilu 211, 218, 220, 221, 222
 Ša-Nabû-šû 203, 207, 223, 226
 Šarru-[...] 171
 Šarru-dūri 78, 194
 Šarru-ēmurāni 33, 50, 67, 76, 77, 80, 81, 125,
 127, 131, 135, 137, 141, 161, 192, 194, 196,
 199, 200, 202, 205, 208, 217, 234
 Šarru-ḥussāni 133
 Šarru-ilā'ī 173
 Šarru-lū-dārī 132, 163, 204, 223, 234
 Šarru-nūri 123, 130, 203
 Šarru-rē'ū'a 130, 131
 Šašin 130
 Še-[x]-ki 71, 73
 Šēpē-[...] 129
 Šēpē-Aššur 133
 Šer-lutbē 122
 Šulmu-aḥḥē 132, 234
 Šulmu-bēl 81
 Šulmu-bēli 84, 96, 122, 136, 216
 Šulmu-bēli-lašme 136
 Šulmu-ēreš 128
 Šulmu-šarri 74, 130, 131, 137
 Šumāia 158, 183
 Šumma-ilāni 131, 132, 165, 168, 170
 Šumma-ili 234
 Šumma-ilu 162, 164
 Šumu-ukīn 178
 Šutur-Naḥundu 84, 157

T

Tabalāiu 129, 162
 Tabnī 51, 186
 Taklāk-ana-Bēli 68, 159, 160, 162, 195, 196,
 205, 208, 218
 Tardītu-Aššur 33, 87, 186
 Tarḥunazi 64
 Tarḥunda-pī 37, 186
 Tarkondai 119
 Tarqu 221, 224
 Taršī 68, 205
 Te'umman 41, 64, 65, 88, 107, 110, 119, 149
 Tiglath-Pileser I 57, 58, 59, 157, 160
 Tiglath-Pileser III 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 36, 38,
 39, 40, 41, 43, 46, 49, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,
 81, 82, 83, 89, 93, 95, 99, 102, 103, 106, 108,
 109, 112, 116, 118, 145, 146, 149, 150, 183,
 211, 216, 218, 219, 220, 222, 229, 230 231
 Tiranu 172, 225
 Tirḥaka 100
 Tirī 182
 Tukulti-Ninurta I 23, 101
 Tukulti-Ninurta II 32

T

Tāb-[...] 171
 Tāb-aḥḥē 87
 Tāb-šil-Ēšarra 34, 37, 77, 134, 137, 191, 192,
 199, 210
 Tāb-šar-Aššur 81, 162, 172, 196, 210, 215, 223,
 224
 Tāb-šar-Papāḥi 67, 163, 172, 225

U

Uarkaza 171
 Uassurme 222
 Ubbuku 175
 Ubru-aḥḥē 171, 172, 224
 Ubru-Ḥarrān 126, 169, 179, 236
 Ubru-Išsar 171
 Ubru-Nabû 164, 167, 176, 232
 Ubru-Nergal 172, 224
 Ululāiu 131, 164
 Umadi 141
 Ummanaldaš 64, 105, 111, 150, 151
 Unzarḥi-Aššur 167, 176, 232
 Upaq-Šamaš 80, 206, 211

Upaqa-[...] 184
 Uqur-aḥḥē 122
 Urad-Ēa 136
 Urad-Issar 165
 Urad-Nabû 175
 Urad-Nanâ 123, 129
 Urda-[x] 73
 Urdu 163, 171, 232
 Urdu-apli 122, 234
 Urdu-Aššur 155, 156
 Urdu-Bēlet 121, 122, 234
 Urdu-Mulissi 64
 Urdu-Nabû 129
 Urkittu-rēminni 129
 Uršenê 221
 Urtaku 203
 Urzana 193
 Ušebišuna 155
 Usi' 164
 Utedi 88

Z
 Za[...] 171
 Zaba-iqīša 211
 Zabdānu 125
 Zaiâ 74
 Zakur 220
 Zakūtu 69, 142, 178, 203
 Zaliāiu 37, 122
 Zanzānu 164
 Zārūtī 130, 136, 158, 161, 170, 176, 177, 179
 Zazî 226
 Zēri 38
 Zēr-Issar 232
 Zēru-ibnî 37, 67
 Zēru-ukīn 87
 Zēru-utî *see* Zārūtī
 Zimrâ 158, 159
 Zizî 180, 234
 Zuarzuarza 171

W
 Wazaru 142

Index of the names of deities

A
 Adad 59
 Aššur 70

B
 Bēl Ḥarrān 179, 217

E
 Enlil 59
 Erra 59

I
 Ishtar of Arbela 182

Ḫ
 Ḫumḫum 126

N
 Nabû 127, 134, 156
 Ningirsu 59
 Ninurta 59

S
 Sîn 136

Š
 Šamaš (Sungod) 59, 68, 71, 157, 179, 197, 203,
 207, 208, 217, 223
 Šimalu 126

Index of the names of people

A

Aḥlamû Arameans 57
 Anatolians 24, 39, 40, 84, 93
 Arabs 40, 41, 91, 105, 161, 198, 199, 200, 208, 220
 Arameans 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 37, 38, 40, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 68, 84, 85, 87, 89, 92, 112, 118, 157, 160, 186, 192, 197, 208, 214
 Assyrians 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 44, 48, 50, 52, 53, 58, 60, 64, 69, 72, 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 86, 89, 93, 94, 96, 107, 113, 119, 130, 134, 138, 152, 156, 157, 158, 184, 186, 188, 191, 192, 193, 197, 198, 199, 200, 207, 208, 209, 221, 223

B

Babylonians 86, 87, 127, 154, 192, 201, 208, 224
 Bašimeans 135
 Birāteans 199
 Borsippeans 37, 193

C

Chaldeans 26, 30, 40, 79, 84, 85, 86, 87, 137, 157
 Cimmerians 35, 68, 169, 179, 184, 189, 209, 221

E

Egyptians 36, 68, 94, 155, 156, 186, 224
 Elamites 30, 39, 44, 51, 52, 64, 68, 79, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 94, 96, 151, 152, 157, 158, 186, 197, 200, 201, 208, 213
 Ellipians 27, 52, 73

G

Gambuleans 223
 Gurreans 20, 33, 34, 35, 36, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 77, 93, 96, 97, 121, 155, 156, 168, 186, 191, 192, 198, 201, 202, 208, 217

H

Hittites 68

Ḥ

Ḥallateans 37, 122, 186, 192
 Ḥallatu *see* Ḥallateans
 Ḥamaraneans 35

Ḥamateans 55
 Ḥamureans 205
 Ḥatallaeans 140
 Ḥubuškians 209, 211

I

Iādaqu 37, 193
 Ionians 36
 Israelites 23, 27, 52, 62, 99, 118, 119, 146
 Itu'eans 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 77, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 97, 105, 186, 191, 192, 193, 198, 201, 202, 208, 210, 212, 217

J

Jews 118, 213
 Judaeans 26, 27, 28, 31, 51, 62, 91, 94, 99, 117, 118, 119, 146

K

Kummeans 138
 Kummuḥeans 52, 168
 Kushites 137

L

Labdudaeans 186
 Lidaeans 35
 Litāmu 37, 38, 197

M

Mannaeans 137, 197, 209, 224
 Marḥuḥeans 50, 156, 198
 Medes 119, 197

N

North Syrians 20, 24, 39
 Nubians 68, 94

P

Philistines 36, 52, 68, 94, 158, 193
 Phrygians 39, 40
 Puqūdeans 86, 186
 Puqūdu *see* Puqūdeans

Q

Qedarites 198
 Qudaeans 76, 134
 Qumānu 58, 157

R

Raḥiḥu 38
 Riḥiqu 37, 193
 Rubu'ū 37, 38
 Ruqaḥeans 37, 192
 Ruqaḥu *see* Ruqaḥeans

S

Samarians 23, 99, 118, 213, 214
 Scythians 179
 Sidonians 36, 52, 79, 156
 Suteans 85, 87
 Syrians, 40

Š

Šabuqeans 68
 Šadikanneans 52, 77, 193
 Šubrians 50, 65, 76, 161, 198

T

Tabaleans 135, 156
 Taziru 33, 37, 186
 Temānu 59
 Tyrians 36

U

Ukkeans, 141
 Urartians 20, 34, 39, 56, 64, 65, 66, 74, 80, 81,
 84, 93, 95, 100, 135, 137, 157, 184, 188, 189,
 190, 198, 199, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 221
 Urukians 86
 Ušḥaeans 76, 134

Z

Zalipaeans 137
 Zikirteans 137

Index of geographical names

A

Abi-ilā'ī 155, 163, 164
 Adad-rēmāni, Fort 80, 206, 211
 Addaru 78, 194
 Adin 180
 Akītu Temple 136, 173
 Akkū 157
 Alammu 41, 43, 45, 90, 105, 109, 110, 112, 117,
 118, 119
 Alite 140
 Allabria 80, 200
 Altin Tepe 100
 Amidi 33, 77, 81, 127, 189, 191, 192, 198, 200, 212
 Amqaruna *see* Ekron
 Amul 223
 Anatolia 39, 40, 43, 61, 64, 93, 102, 108, 219
 Anisu 172
 Apiani 50, 72, 121
 Aranziaš 43, 45, 105, 109, 110, 112, 119, 149, 150
 Araziaš 59
 Arba'il *see* Arbela
 Arbela 35, 52, 76, 182, 191, 193, 203, 204, 224
 Argite 159
 Armenia 15
 Arpad(da) 202, 204, 209

Arrapḥa 34, 77, 80, 126, 133, 196, 214, 218, 220,
 223
 Arzâ 158
 Arzabia 141
 Arzaškun 55
 Arzizu 69
 Arzuḥina 36, 77, 80, 126, 128, 137, 138, 188,
 204, 211, 217, 218
 Ashdod 41, 43, 66, 103, 120, 212, 221
 Ashkelon *see* Išqaluna
 Assur 23, 33, 37, 57, 101, 133, 154, 155, 160,
 190, 191, 192, 199, 224
 Aššur Gate 154
 Aššur Temple 72, 205
 Assyria 13, 16, 20, 23, 39, 54, 57, 58, 69, 76, 77,
 81, 84, 86, 93, 96, 118, 124, 129, 132, 137,
 156, 157, 163, 169, 175, 189, 195, 197, 198,
 200, 202, 203, 208, 221, 223, 224
 Assyrian Empire 18, 49, 92, 160, 166, 168, 199,
 214
 Astartu 150
 Azallu 57

B

Bāb-Bitqi 38, 197
 Babylon 33, 35, 45, 81, 86, 87, 111, 140, 158,
 164, 185, 192, 196, 199, 202, 207, 213, 217
 Babylonia 26, 30, 31, 36, 38, 40, 43, 44, 45, 61,
 67, 71, 73, 77, 83, 86, 87, 91, 94, 102, 104, 105,
 106, 109, 110, 111, 113, 119, 124, 126, 134,
 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 157, 172, 180, 190,
 191, 196, 197, 200, 201, 205, 206, 207, 208,
 212, 213, 215, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225
 Baḥāia 131
 Balatai 28, 44
 Balawat 23, 26, 55, 69, 93, 99, 100, 101, 108,
 165, 188
 Ballatu 130
 Baqarru 135
 Barḥalzi 181, 203, 204, 205
 Barzaništa 34
 Berlin 91
 Birāte 81, 199, 209
 Birdunu 188
 Birmingham 41
 Birtu 75, 204
 Bīt-Adini 26, 55, 57, 214
 Bīt-Amukāni 192, 217
 Bīt-Baḥiāni 57
 Bīt-Barrūa 137, 206
 Bīt-Bunakka 80, 158
 Bīt-Dakkuri 79, 86, 197, 214
 Bīt-Daltā 128, 138, 141
 Bīt-Ḥa'iri 79, 201
 Bīt-Ḥalla[...] 88
 Bīt-Ḥamban 158, 194, 196
 Bīt-Iakīn 24, 26, 197, 213
 Bīt-Imbia 213, 224
 Bīt-Kāri 206, 208, 209
 Bīt-Uṣu 32, 101
 Bīt-Zamāni 191, 196, 209
 Bīt-Zualza 73
 Borsippa 86, 126, 193

C

Calah *see* Kalḥu
 Carchemish 23, 39, 57, 66, 99, 119, 187
 Chaldea 205, 207
 Commagene *see* Kummuḥ

D

Daduni 200, 213
 Damascus 58, 59, 65, 68, 83, 95, 162, 193, 198,
 200, 220
 Dannāia, town 164
 Dēr 80, 97, 130, 158, 195, 200, 201, 213
 Dilbat 40, 86, 91, 105, 109, 110, 119, 127, 207
 Dīn-Šarri 31, 44, 45, 51, 105, 106, 150, 151
 Diquqina 204
 Diyala, river 214
 Dume-il 86, 207
 Dūr-Anunīti 77, 200, 213
 Dūr-Aššur 188, 218
 Dūr-Bēl-ilā'i 35, 77, 200, 213
 Dūr-Biliḥai 77, 192
 Dūr-Ellatia 214
 Dūr-Iakīn 64, 65
 Dūr-Katlimmu 71, 73, 75, 123, 126, 129, 130,
 158
 Dūr-Ladini 77, 192
 Dūr-Papsukkal 59
 Dūr-Šamaš 34
 Dūr-Šarrukēn 14, 33, 68, 90, 135, 136, 137, 160,
 190, 195, 212
 Dūr-Šarrukku 126, 127, 179, 182, 198

E

Eanna 88
 Eastern Anatolia 33
 Eastern Turkey 15
 Ebabbar 88
 Ebir-nāri 224
 Egypt 13, 16, 31, 44, 45, 51, 94, 105, 111, 112,
 150, 151, 152, 221, 223, 224
 Ekron 43, 103
 Elam 31, 44, 45, 51, 64, 79, 80, 84, 85, 86, 88,
 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110,
 111, 113, 119, 150, 151, 152, 157, 190, 195,
 197, 200, 201, 203, 204, 207, 209, 223, 224
 Elizzada 221
 Ellipi 26, 84, 193, 206, 207, 223
 Euphrates 33, 34, 86, 128, 183, 192, 207, 219,
 220, 259, 273
 Eziat 33, 80, 198, 200
 Ezida 88

G

Gabbutunu 41, 43
 Gambulu 85, 224

Ganguhtu 43, 103
 Gargamiš *see* Carchemish
 Gaza 41, 43, 103
 Gazru *see* Gezer
 Gezer 43, 83
 Gilzānu 220, 222
 Gurgum 212
 Guzammanu 65
 Guzana 34, 68, 80, 135, 192, 195, 204, 205, 218, 220

H

Hasanlu 15

Ḫ

Ḫallatai 192
 Ḫalulê 64, 100, 199, 209
 Ḫalzi 78, 194
 Ḫalziatbar 140, 190, 204
 Ḫamanu 31, 44, 45, 51, 91, 105, 106, 111, 113, 150, 151
 Ḫamath 68, 93, 193, 198, 199, 220
 Ḫamrin 214
 Ḫamudu 76, 191
 Ḫamuna 179
 Ḫanê 87
 Ḫanigalbat 96
 Ḫarḫar *see* Kār-Šarrukēn
 Ḫarda 50, 212
 Ḫarrān 130, 182, 219
 Ḫarusa 58
 Ḫatarikka 162
 Ḫatti 55, 58
 Ḫesa 159
 Ḫilakku 66, 84, 96
 Ḫiluku *see* Ḫilakku
 Ḫindānu 199, 203
 Ḫirite 196
 Ḫubaba 121
 Ḫubuškia 34, 200, 220, 222
 Ḫursagkalama 127

I

Iadburu 206
 Īdu 57
 Iēri 206, 211
 II[...]ani 198
 Imgur-Enlil *see* Balawat
 Inner City 33, 37, 86, 130, 137, 182

Irsunu 205
 Ir[š]umu 194
 Isana 67, 125, 195, 196, 204, 205, 218
 Išqaluna 226
 Israel 23, 118, 213
 Ishtar Temple 23, 28, 45, 117, 119
 Izirtu 137, 138

J

Jerusalem 66, 218, 221, 223
 Judah 94, 95, 118

K

Kalḫu 14, 15, 33, 39, 50, 52, 53, 71, 75, 78, 79, 89, 90, 96, 97, 118, 120, 126, 128, 137, 139, 155, 171, 175, 179, 182, 188, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 199, 204, 206, 208, 210, 211, 213, 215, 219, 220, 222, 224, 227
 Kār-[...] 183
 Kār-Aššur 162, 195, 202, 205, 218, 221
 Kār-Nergal 135
 Kār-Šarrukēn 43, 103, 128, 135, 192, 194, 207, 214, 223
 Karalla 134, 137
 Karatepe 39
 Karkašši 206
 Karlsruhe 120
 Karmir Blur 90, 100
 Kašpuna 81
 Katmuḫu 57, 59
 Khorsabad *see* Dūr-Šarrukēn
 Kibatki 199
 Kilizi 165, 169, 204, 224
 Kindau 43, 103
 Kipšuna 159, 164
 Kirruri 204
 Kišeslu 43, 83, 103
 Kišessim 43
 Kish 208, 223
 Kulimmeri 203
 Kulisi 56
 Kullania 204
 Kulnia *see* Kullania
 Kuluman 206
 Kumme 34, 134, 138, 193, 200
 Kummuh 65, 68, 83, 95, 193, 212, 219
 Kunalia 204
 Kurbail 33, 204
 Kutha 65, 127, 157, 208, 223
 Kültepe 39

L

Lachish 17, 26, 27, 31, 39, 43, 45, 46, 52, 91, 94,
105, 106, 110, 112, 113, 117, 118, 147, 148,
150, 152, 208, 218, 221, 223
Lahiru 67, 127, 128, 187, 202
Lakisu *see* Lachish
Lapisa 135
Larak 77, 192, 214
Laruba 33, 77, 192
Lebanon Mountains 36, 40, 57
Lubda 200, 211, 213, 214
Luddin-ilu 87
Lupti 211
Luqaše 52
Luristan 15

M

Malaku 201
Mannaea 43, 66, 80, 83, 103, 162, 172, 175, 195,
196, 197, 211, 215, 220, 222, 224, 225
Mannai *see* Mannaea
Marad 79
Marbanai 128
Marḥuḥa 50, 96, 156, 198
Marubištu 84
Māt Nāgir ekalli 34
Māzamua 34, 36, 50, 72, 76, 77, 80, 81, 137,
138, 140, 162, 191, 194, 196, 197, 200
Media 26, 43, 45, 83, 103, 109, 119, 150, 152,
193, 195, 197, 206, 207, 208, 215, 223
Meliddu 64, 207, 215, 219, 223
Memphis 44, 45, 51, 105, 152, 221
Meturna 50, 77, 80, 96, 156, 195, 198, 200, 213
Milqia 71
Minu' 202, 208
Mitanni 160
Murattaš 57
Mušašir 40, 46, 64, 67, 74, 79, 84, 95, 184, 193,
200, 212, 220, 222
Mušku 39, 59, 79, 195

N

Nabû Temple 159
Nabû-šemanni 168, 174
Naḡitu 64, 84, 96
Nairi 57, 58, 222
Namri 220, 222
Našibina 59, 182, 195, 204, 214, 220
Near East 15, 16, 19, 29, 87, 94

Nergal, river 97, 201
Nimrud *see* Kalḥu
Nineveh 14, 17, 32, 51, 52, 75, 79, 111, 126, 128,
129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 140, 163, 164, 165,
165, 168, 182, 203, 204, 209, 210, 211, 215
Nippur 86, 183, 190, 200, 207, 213
North Palace 30, 31, 41, 51, 91, 111, 151
North Syria 39, 49
Northern Sealand 190
Northwest Iran 15
Nugul 182
Nunak 38
Nuzi 100, 154, 160, 174, 211, 214

O

Opis 198

P

Parḥu 130
Parsua 196, 220, 222
Patinu *see* Pattina
Patti-Illil 35, 208
Pattina 57, 220, 222
Pazarcik 220
Pazaši 43, 83, 103
Penzâ 198
Philistia 118
Phoenicia 36, 41, 61, 94
Phrygia *see* Mušku

Q

Qadesh 222
Qarqar 23, 56, 99
Que 79, 183, 195, 217
Qumānu 58, 157
Qumbuna 127, 138, 196
Qurubi 163

R

Rašappa 80, 203, 204, 218
Radānu, river 211
Raphia 103
Rapiqu 220, 221
Rasâ 79
Riblah 222

S

Sabḥānu 34, 50, 192, 214, 217
Saḥrina 45, 105, 150, 151
Sallat 52

Sam'al 204
 Sama'unu 180
 Samaria 46, 68, 103, 118, 128, 213
 Saparda 206, 208
 Sarduriani 34
 Sarê 217
 Sealand 190, 221
 Sela 72
 Sidon 128
 Si'immê 195, 204, 205
 Sibtu 34
 Sikriš 206, 208
 Sinnu 34, 210
 Sippar 88, 127, 135, 199, 264
 Southeast Anatolia 24, 39, 49
 Southwest Palace 28, 31, 45, 111, 152
 Sūhu 52
 Sumbi 196

Š

Šelâ 121
 Šiṣirtu 223
 Šupat 35, 193

Š

Šabirêšu 50, 75, 76, 78, 96, 126, 135, 194
 Šadikanni 193
 Šadirtu 86, 207
 Šahup(p)a 204
 Ša-pî-Bêl 85
 Šibaniba 96, 183
 Šilšil 78, 194
 Šinuḥtu 65
 Šišil 124, 139
 Šubria 34, 36, 50, 76, 96, 156, 161, 191, 197, 198, 200, 217

T

Tabal 23, 84, 96, 187, 207, 222, 223
 Tala 58, 157
 Tall Šêh Hamad *see* Dūr-Katlimmu
 Talmeš 216
 Talmusa 204
 Tamnuna 72, 75, 204
 Tell Ḥalaf 54, 70, 112, 219, 220
 Tell Baqqaq 32, 101
 Tell Billa *see* Šibaniba

Tharthar, river 199
 Tīdu 34, 81
 Tigris 32, 36, 80, 88, 197
 Til-Barsip 27, 38, 45, 46, 47, 62, 91, 93, 109, 117, 118, 119, 146, 147, 214, 219, 220
 Til-Garimmu 66, 84, 85, 95, 96
 Tillê 76, 183, 191, 195, 204, 205, 218
 Til-Raḥawa 87, 186
 Til-Tuba 29, 30, 31, 32, 41, 46, 48, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152
 Transcaucasia 15, 16, 54
 Tubliaš 207
 Tuimme 204
 Turušpâ 212
 Tušḥa *see* Tušḥan
 Tušḥan 33, 80, 81, 161, 188, 198, 203, 213, 218
 Tyre 222

U

Uašdirikka 66
 Ub-[...] 73
 Ukku 34, 141, 184, 193, 200
 Ulai, river 41, 91, 92
 Upa[?] 61, 102
 Upumu 203
 Urammu, Pass of 197
 Urartu 15, 16, 34, 39, 50, 54, 59, 64, 65, 70, 94, 100, 150, 157, 163, 175, 190, 193, 197, 200, 209, 211, 218, 220, 222, 223
 Uriakka 194, 207
 Uruk 86, 87, 88, 130, 161, 215, 223, 224

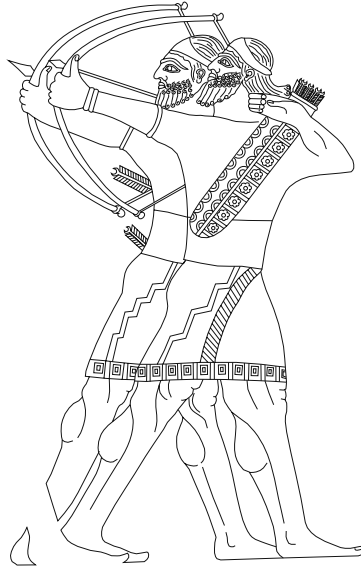
W

Waisi 209, 221
 Wauš 64, 65, 66, 79, 84, 95, 100, 212

Z

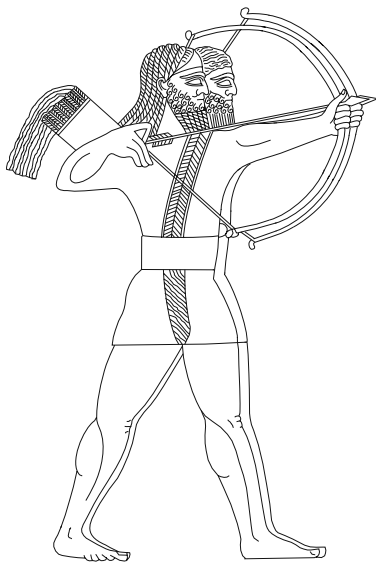
Zabban 200, 213
 Zagros, mountains 93, 206
 Zamana Gate 223
 Zamru 69
 Zamua 58
 Zidada 164
 Zikirtu 65, 66
 Zinçirli 39, 119
 Ziyaret Tepe *see* Tušḥan

PLATES

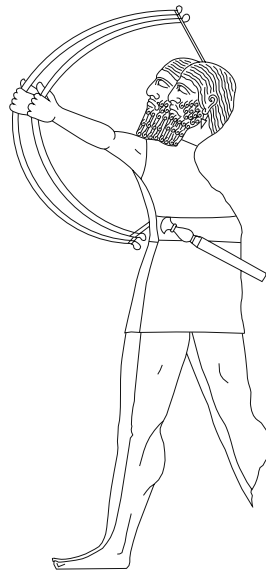


1. Layard 1853A, 27

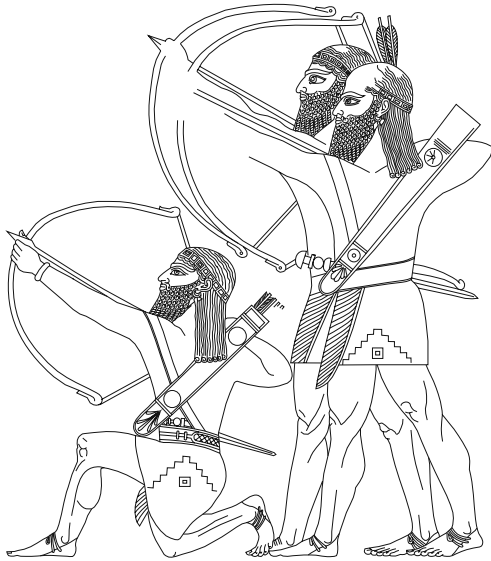
Tiglath-Pileser III



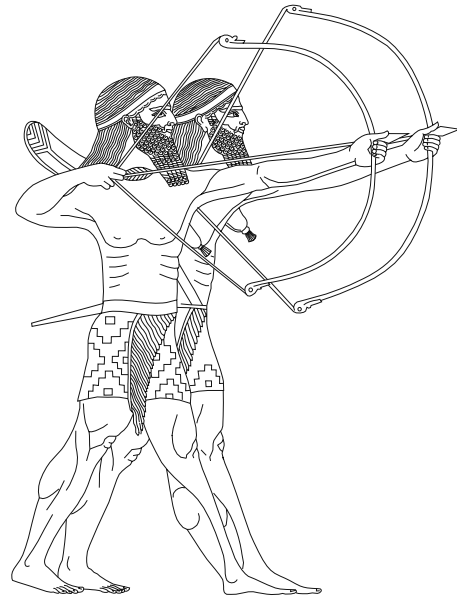
2. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XXXV



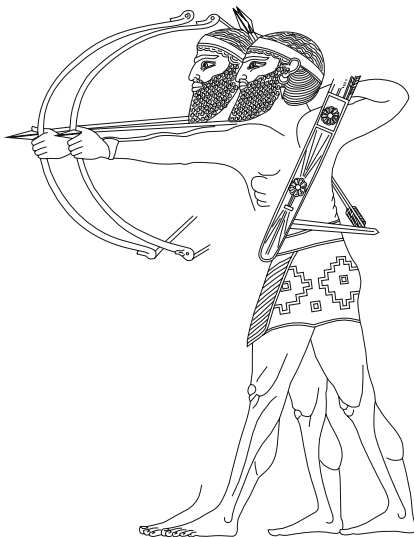
3. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XLI



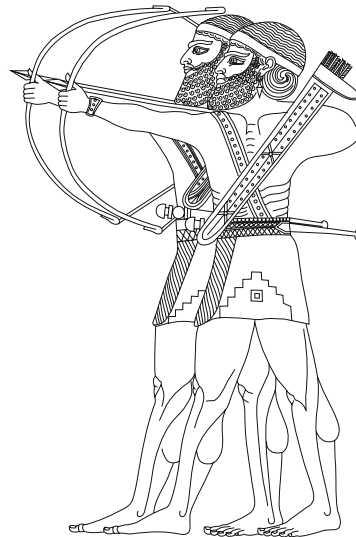
4. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 89



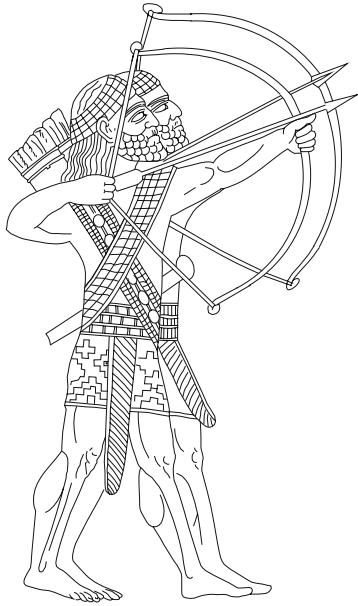
5. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 145



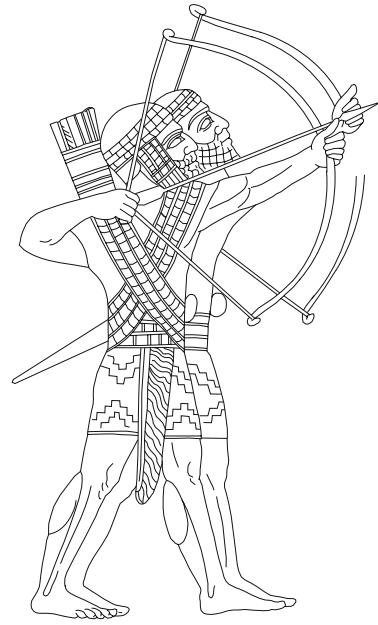
6. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 77



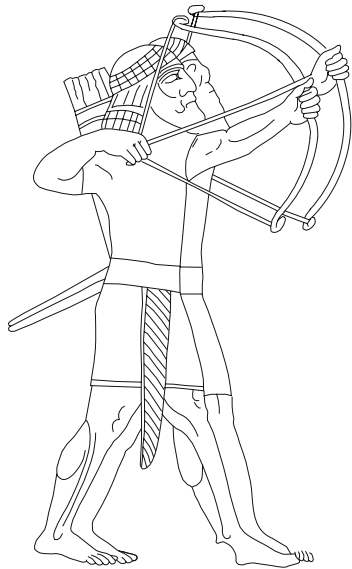
7. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 99



8. Layard 1853B, 20



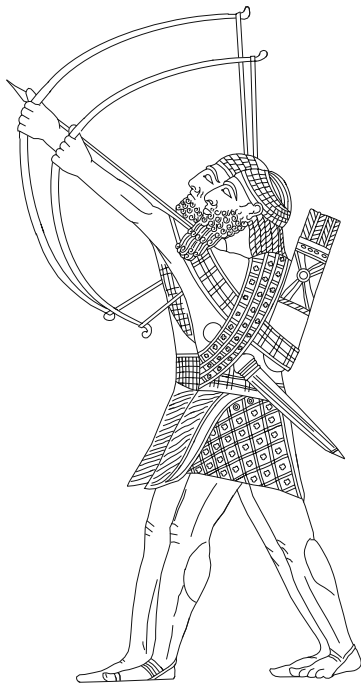
9. Layard 1853B, 20



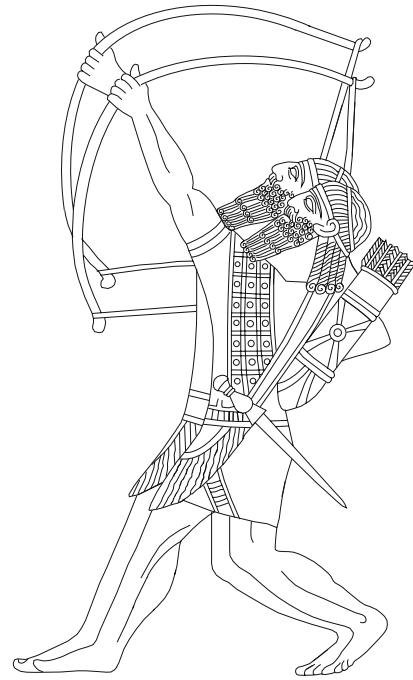
10. Layard 1853B, 20



11. Layard 1853B, 20



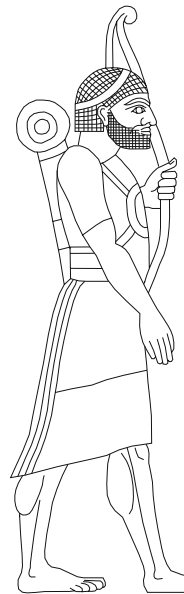
12. Layard 1853A, 78



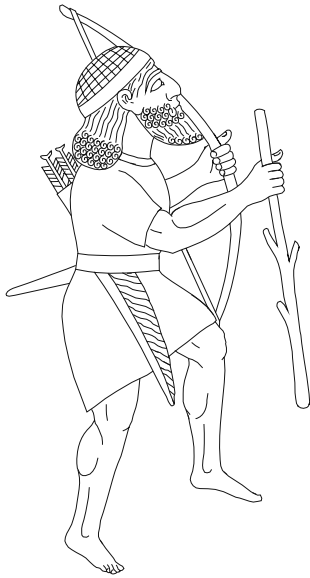
13. Layard 1853A, 79



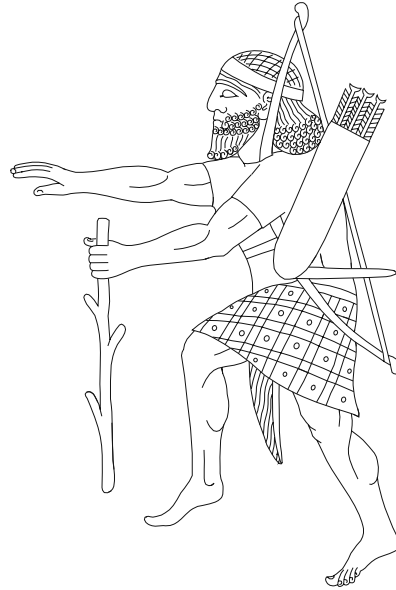
14. Layard 1853A, 83



15. Layard 1853B, 33



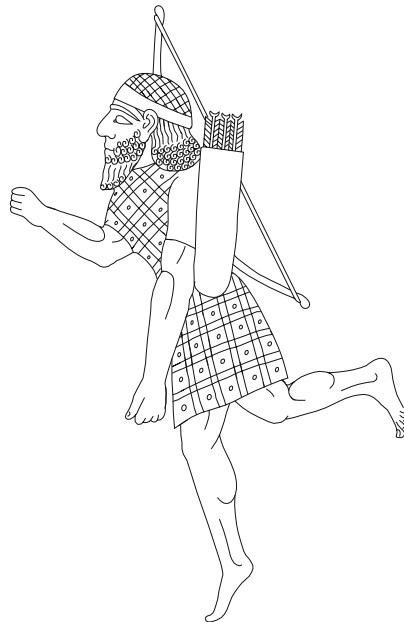
16. Layard 1853A, 70



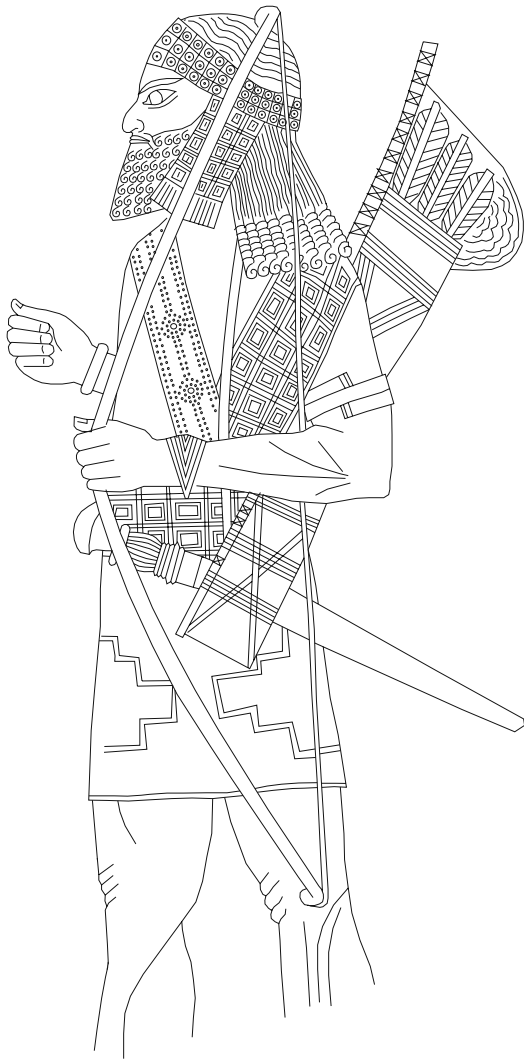
17. Layard 1853A, 70



18. Layard 1853A, 70



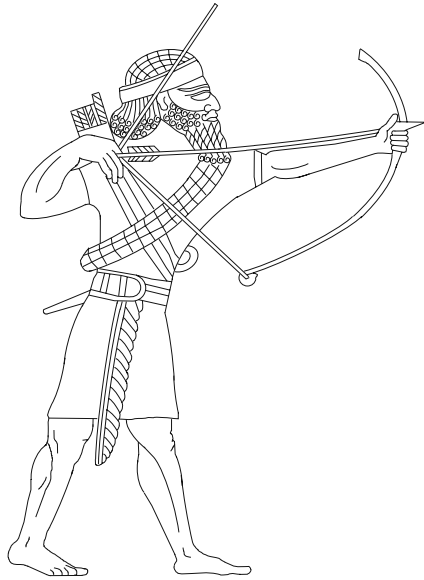
19. Layard 1853A, 70



20. Barnett, et al. 1998, 665



21. Barnett, et al. 1998, 668



22. Layard 1853B, 45



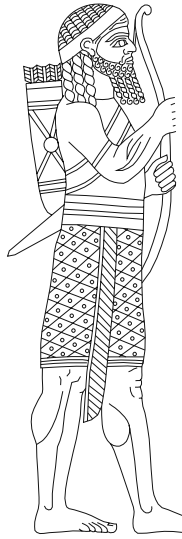
23. Layard 1853B, 45



24. Place 1867, 59



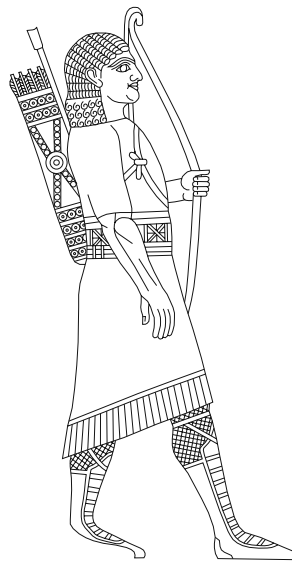
25. Place 1867, 59



26. Place 1867, 66



27. Place 1867, 66



28. Place 1867, 62



29. Layard 1853B, 19



30. Layard 1853B, 18

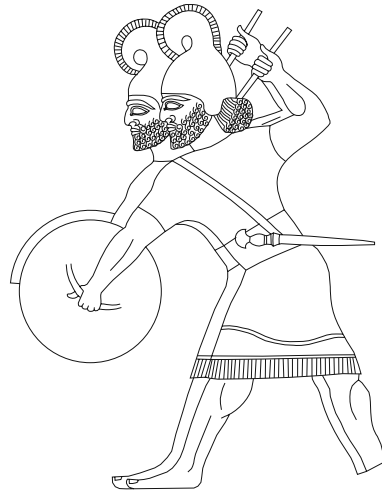
Assurbanipal



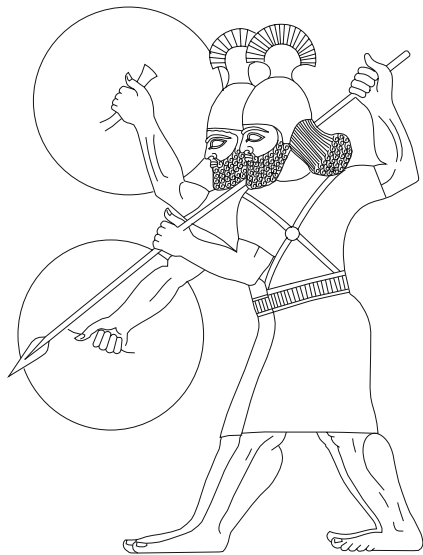
31. Layard 1853B, 26



32. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XXXV



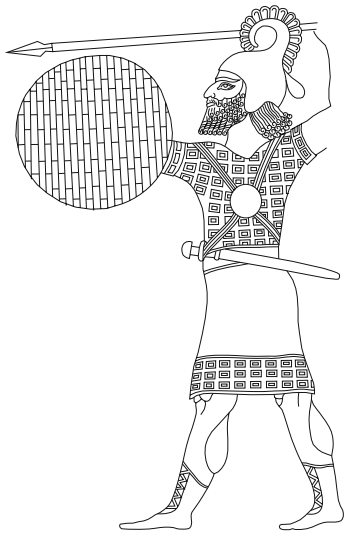
33. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XLI



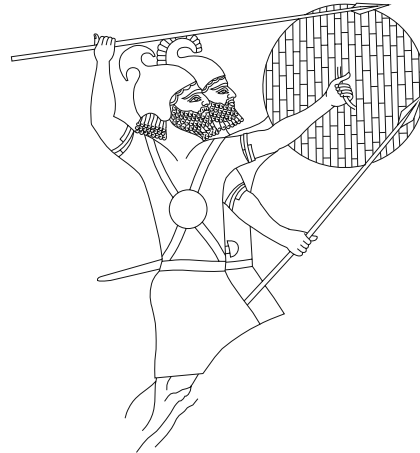
34. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XC



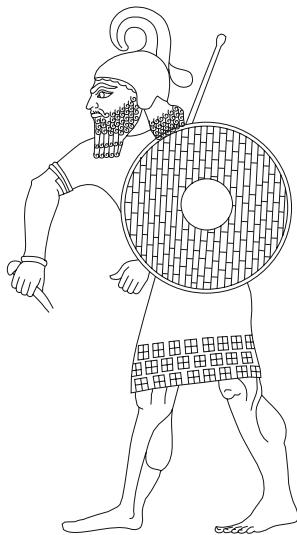
35. Thureau-Dangin - Dunand 1936, XLIX



36. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 90



37. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 90



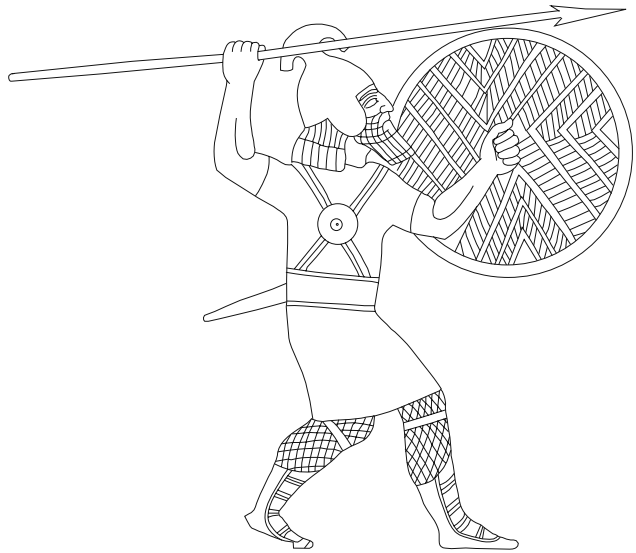
38. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 90



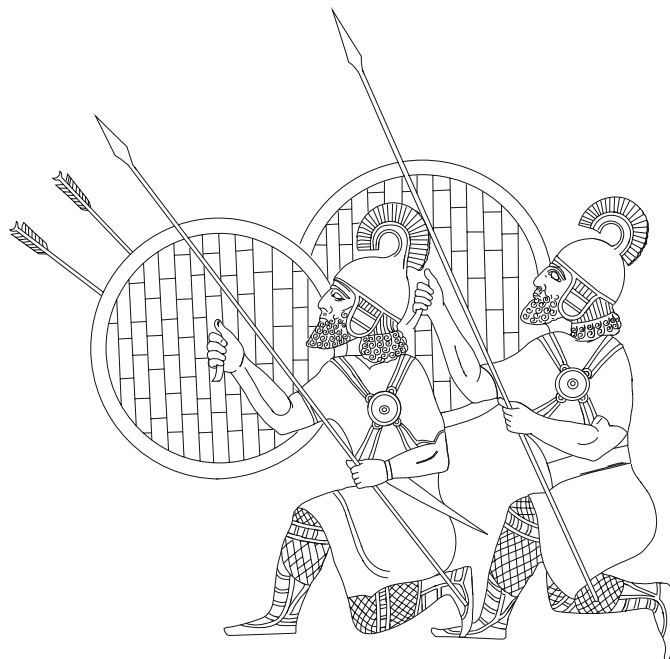
39. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 93



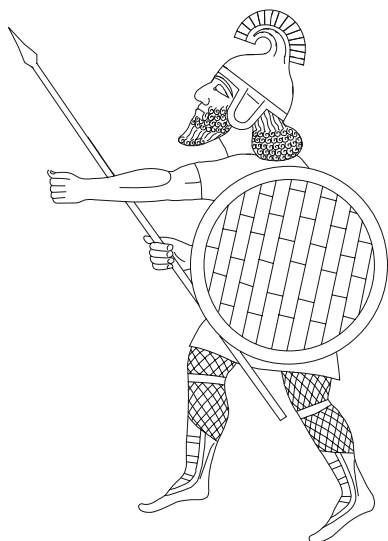
40. Layard 1853B, 20



41. Layard 1853B, 20



42. Layard 1853A, 78



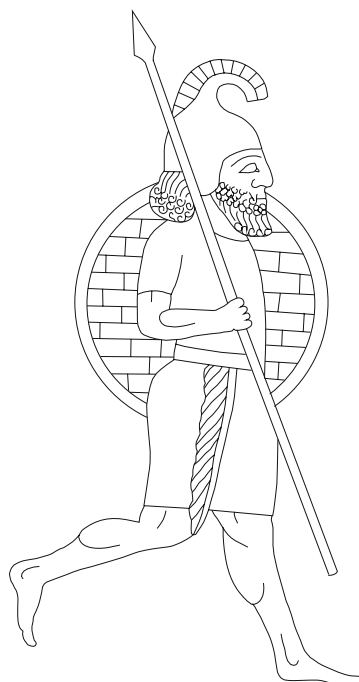
43. Layard 1853A, 70



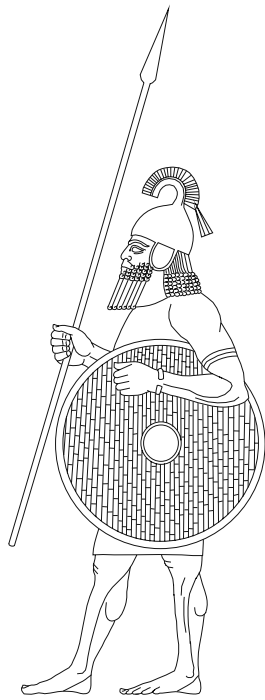
44. Layard 1853A, 69



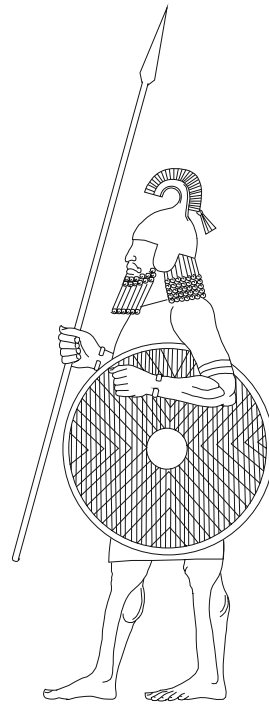
45. Layard 1853A, 69



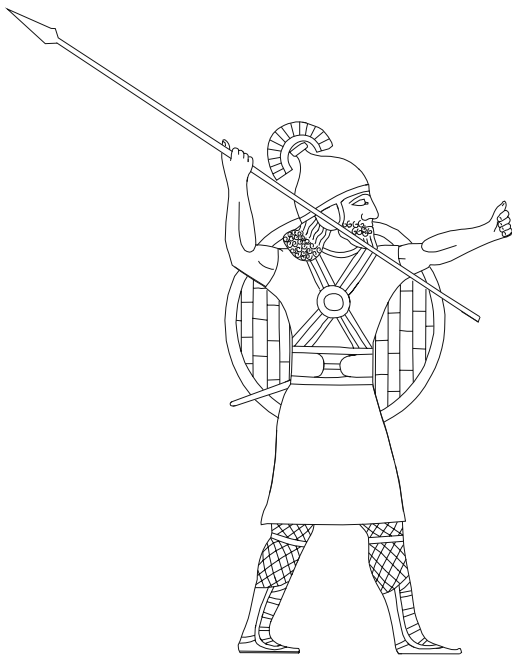
46. Layard 1853A, 69



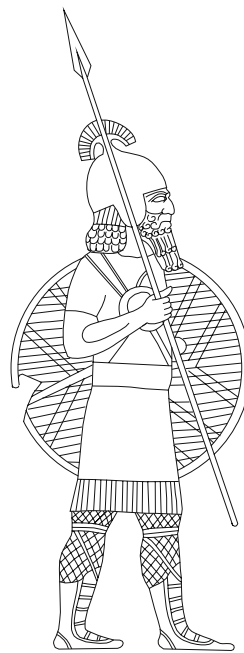
47. Barnett et al. 1998, 662-3



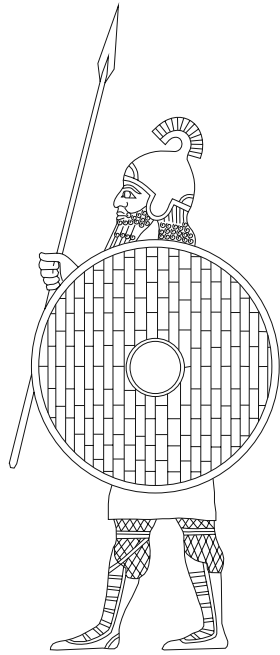
48. Barnett et al. 1998, 662-3



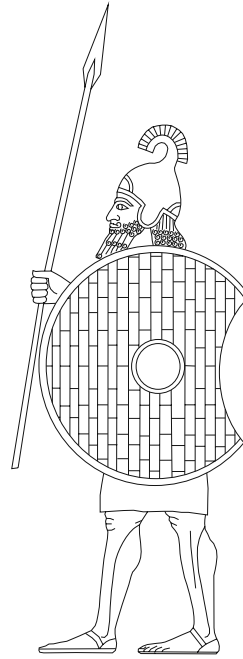
49. Layard 1853A, 68



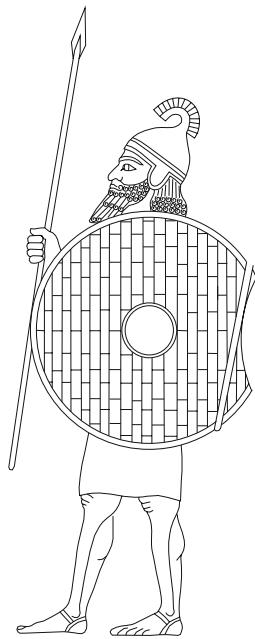
50. Layard 1853B, 22



51. Barnett et al. 1998, 348



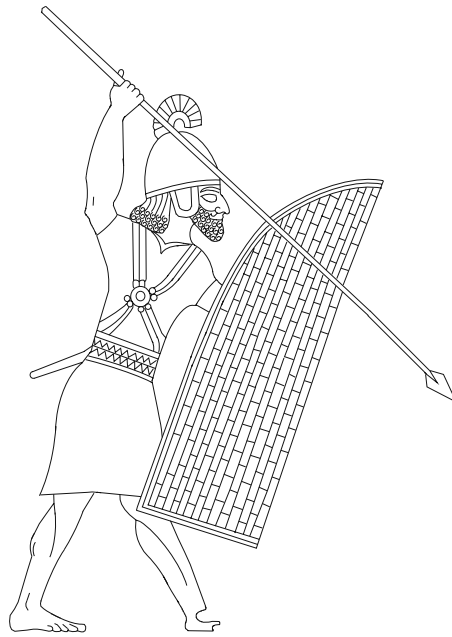
52. Barnett et al. 1998, 348



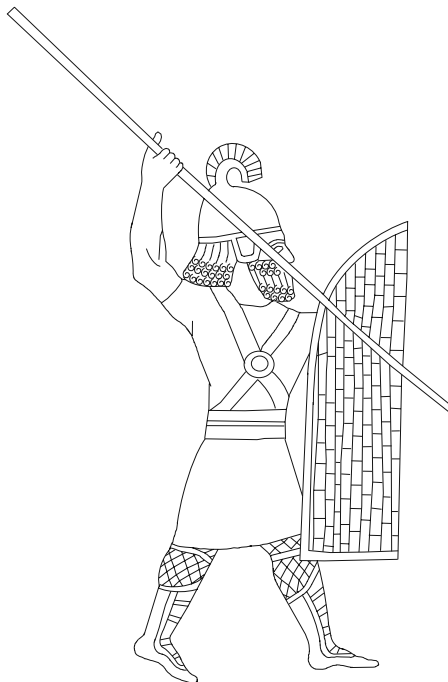
53. Barnett et al. 1998, 348



54. Barnett et al. 1998, 345



55. Layard 1853B, 45



56. Layard 1853B, 46



57. Layard 1853A, 70

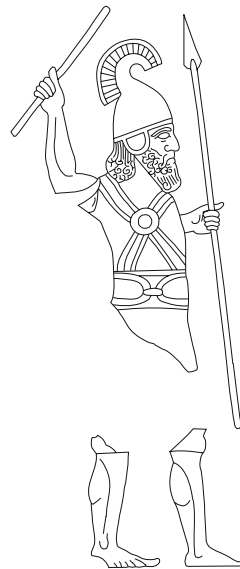


58. Layard 1853A, 75

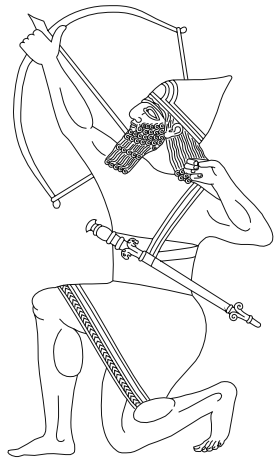
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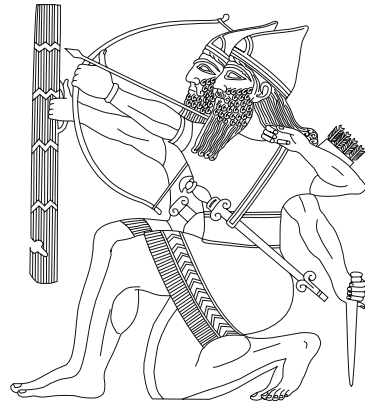
59. Layard 1853B, 26



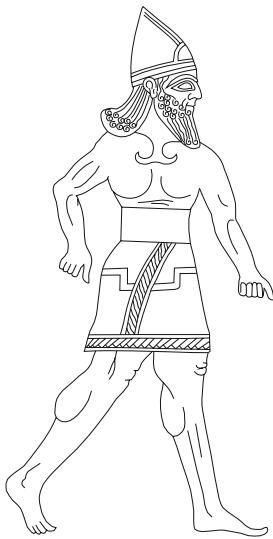
60. Layard 1853B, 26



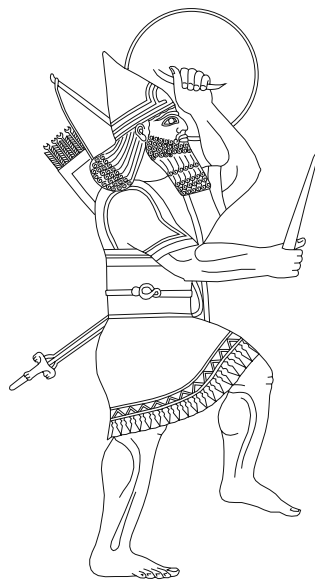
61. Layard 1853A, 18



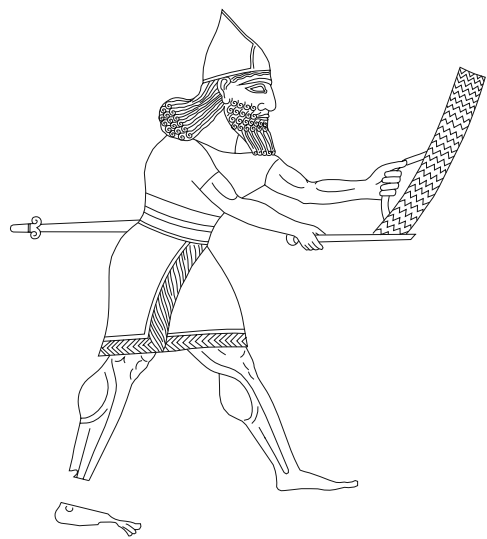
62. Layard 1853A, 19



63. Layard 1853A, 22



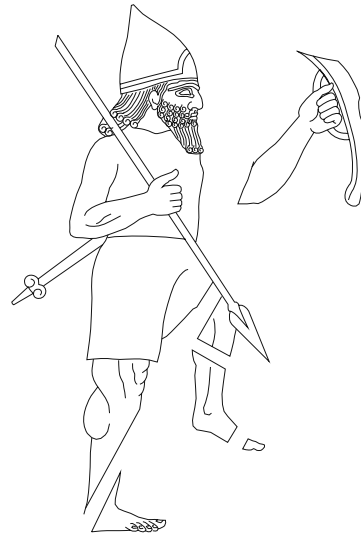
64. Layard 1853A, 29



65. Layard 1853A, 13



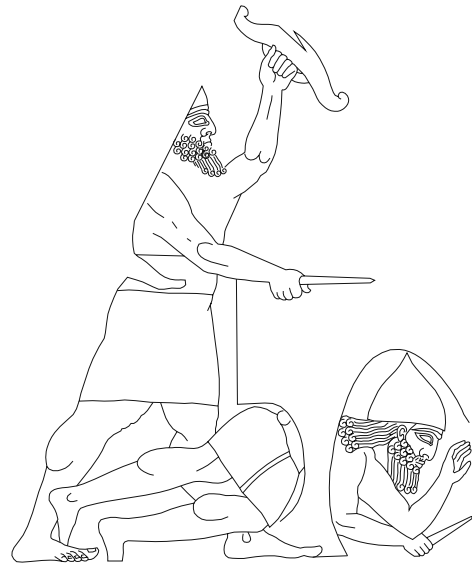
66. Layard 1853A, 20



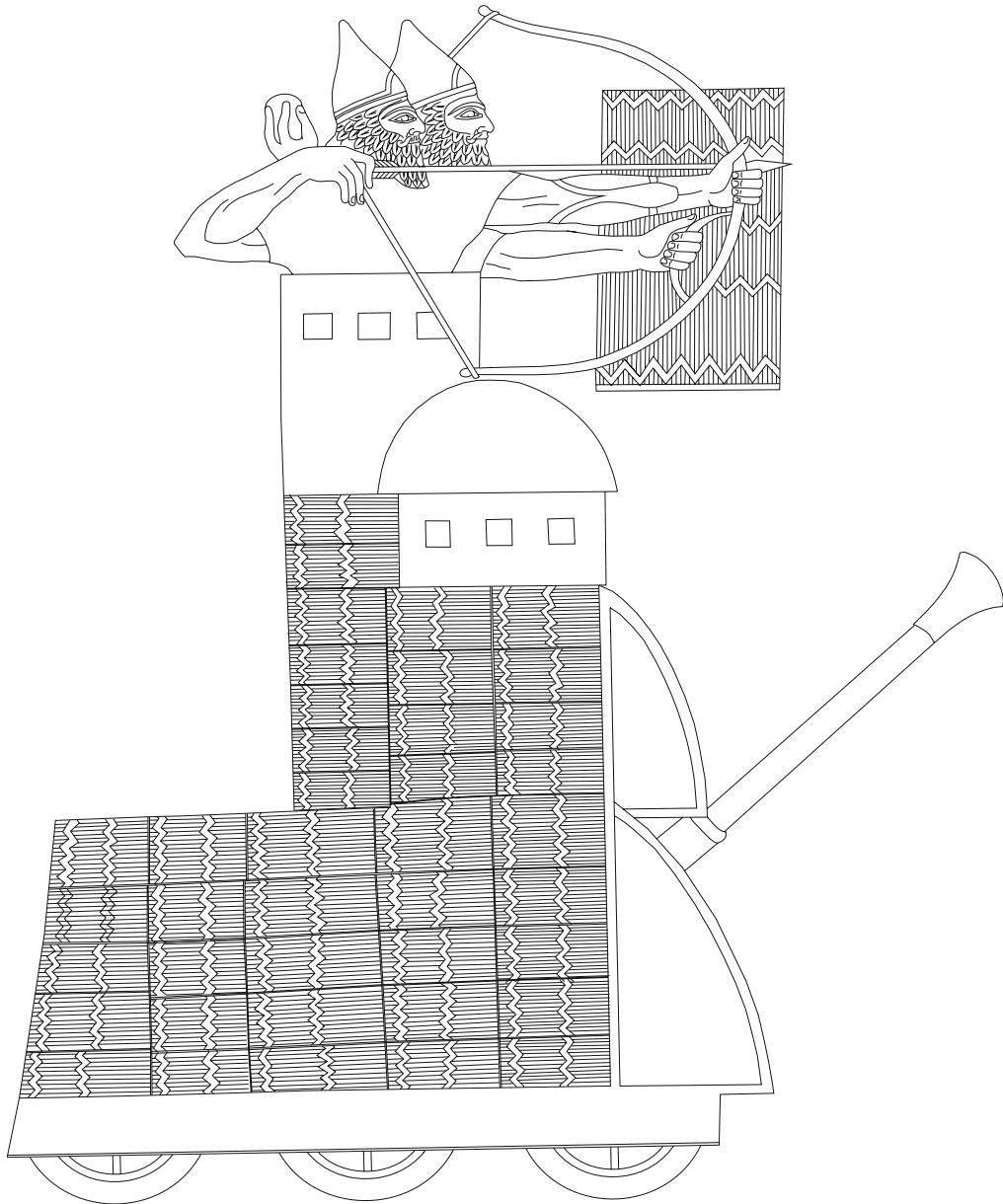
67. Layard 1853A, 20



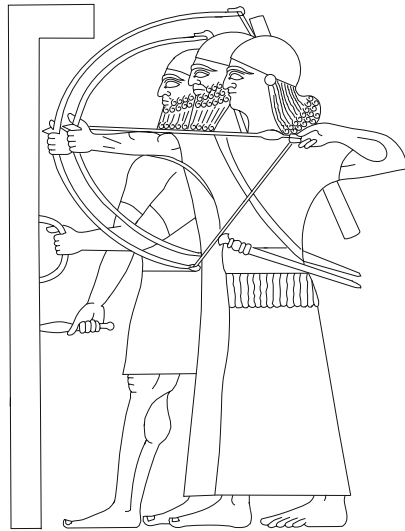
68. Layard 1853A, 19)



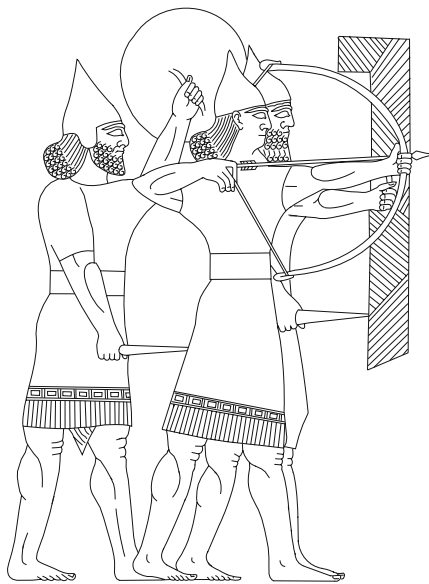
69. Layard 1853A, 20)



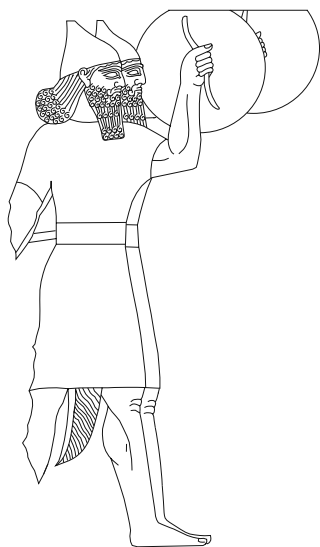
70. Layard 1853A, 17



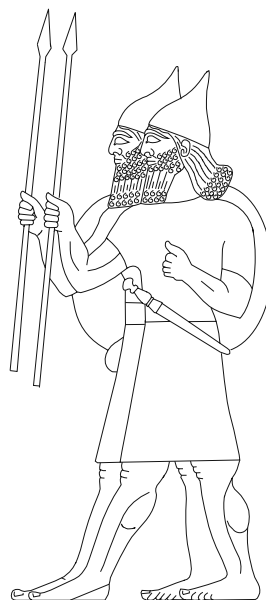
71. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XI



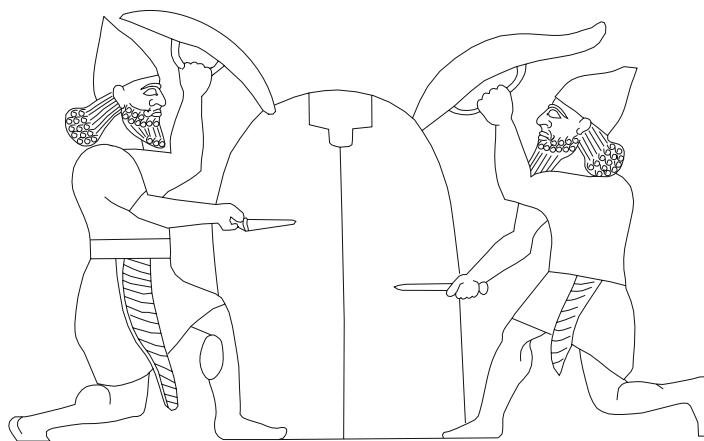
72. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XXXI



73. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XLVIII

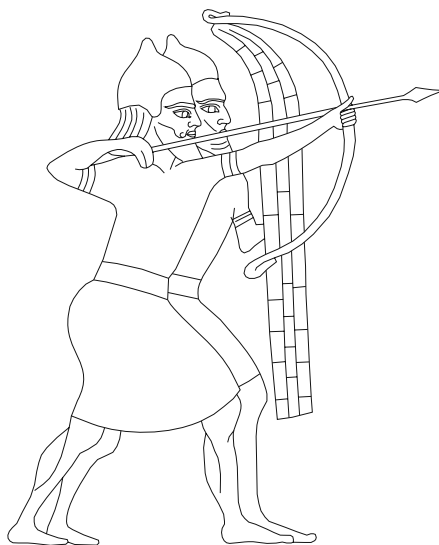


74. Barnett - Falkner 1962, IX



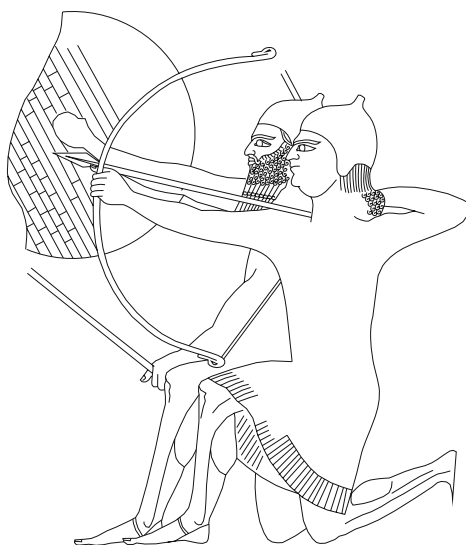
75. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XC

I

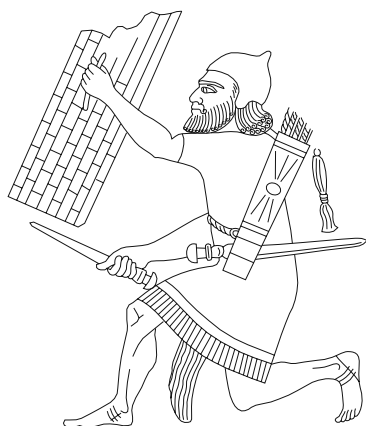


76. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 145

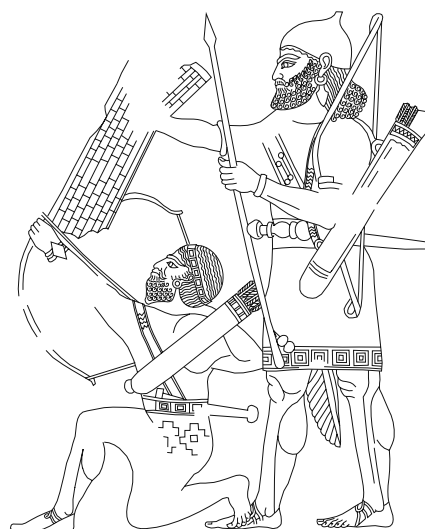
II



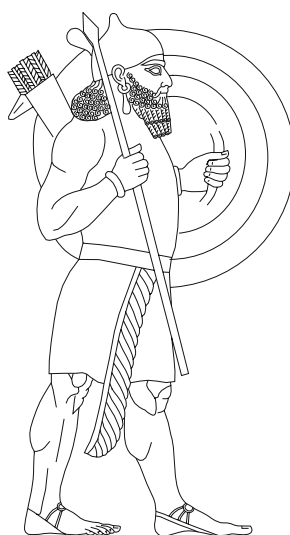
77. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 147



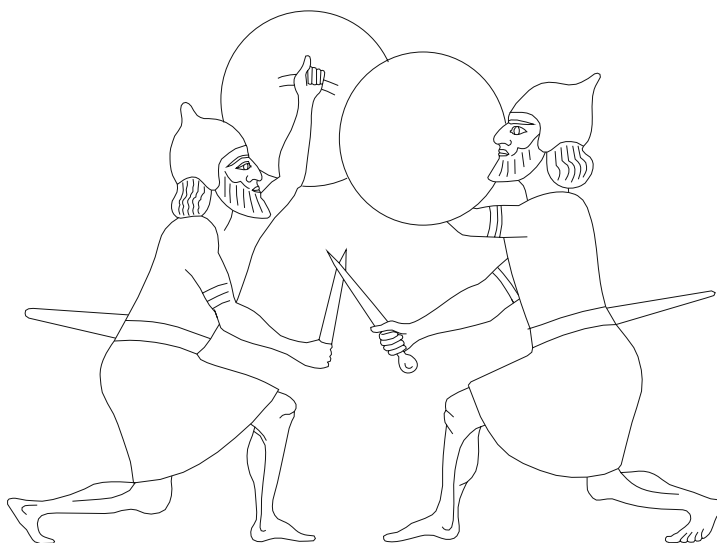
78. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 68



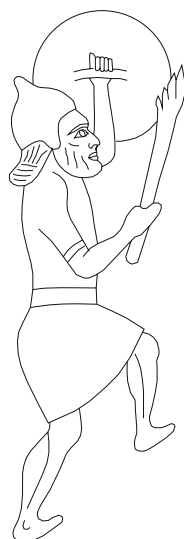
79. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 62



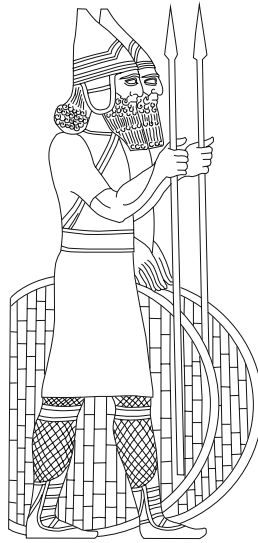
80. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 63



81. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 145



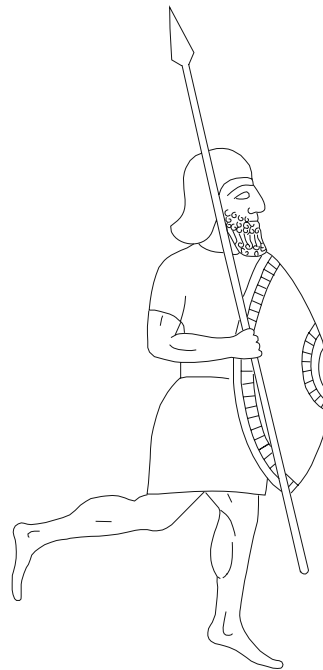
82. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 145



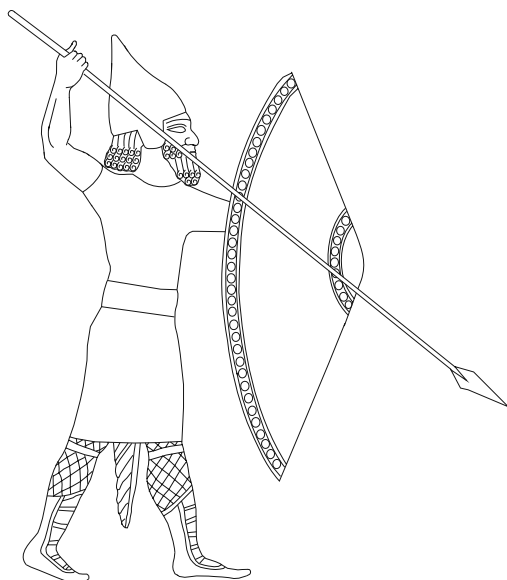
83. Layard 1853A, 83



84. Layard 1853A, 69



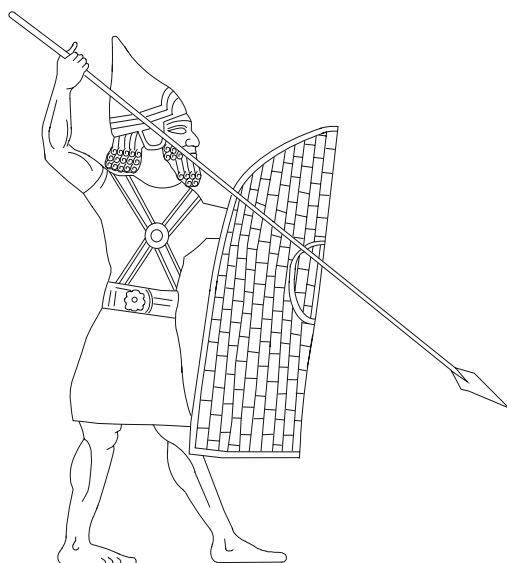
85. Layard 1853A, 69



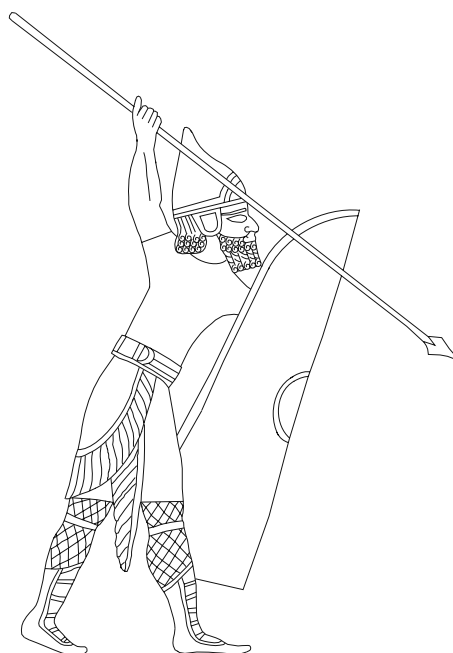
86. Barnett 1976, XXXII



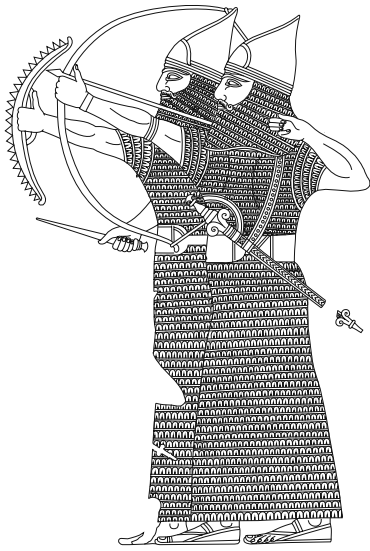
87. Layard 1853B, 45



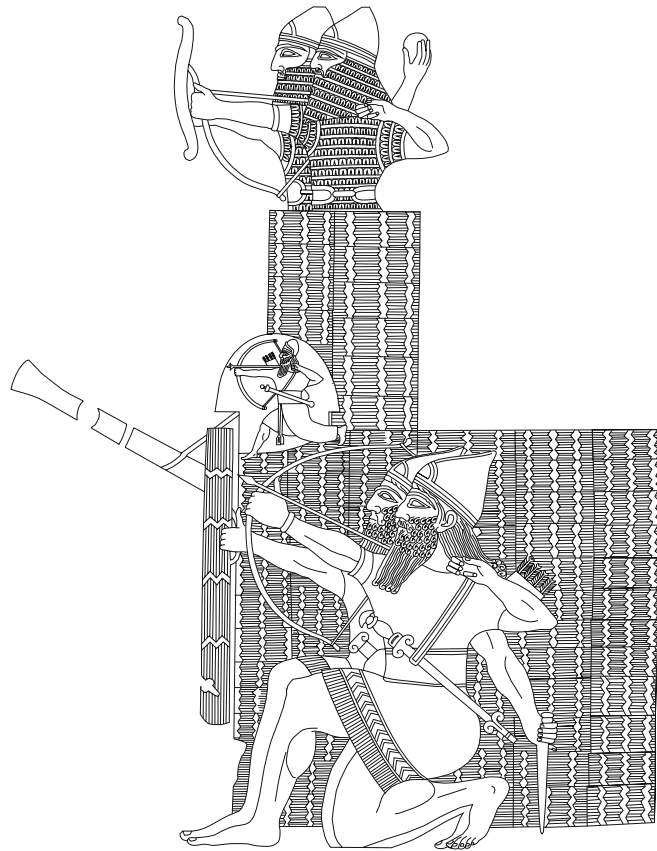
88. Layard 1853B, 45



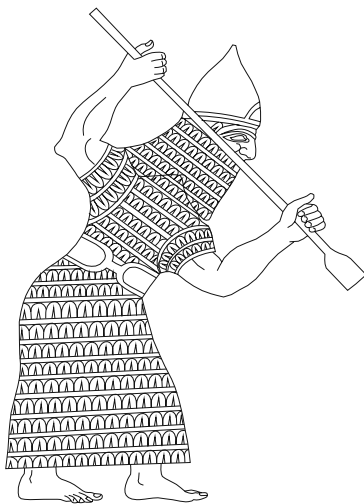
89. Layard 1853B, 45



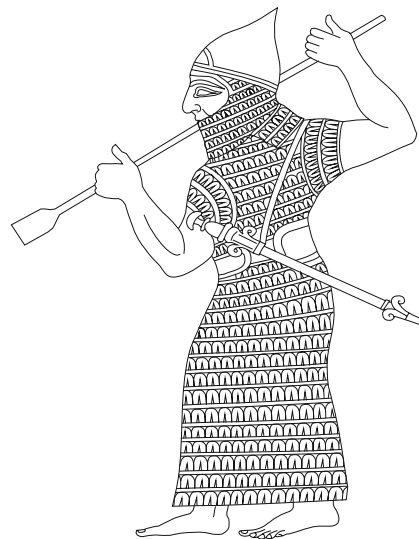
90. Layard 1853A, 18



91. Layard 1853A, 19



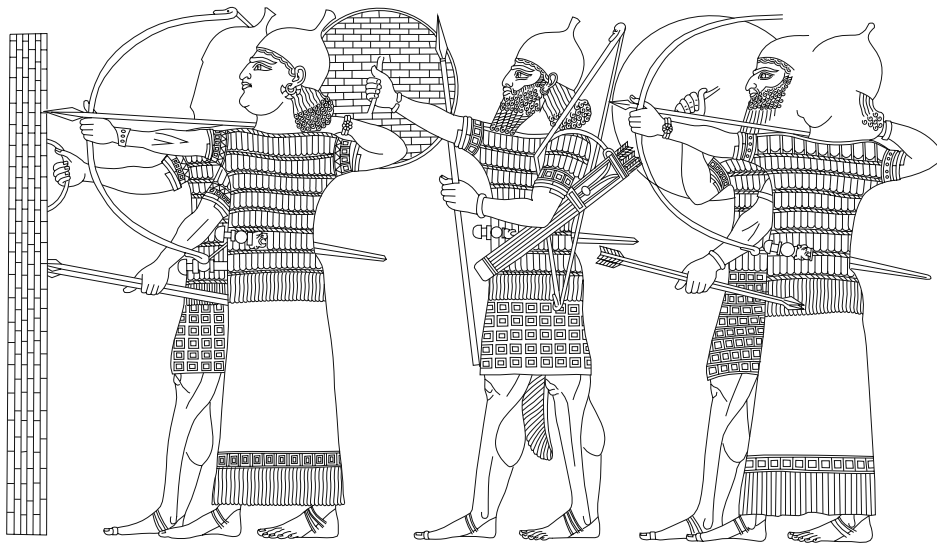
92. Layard 1853A, 19



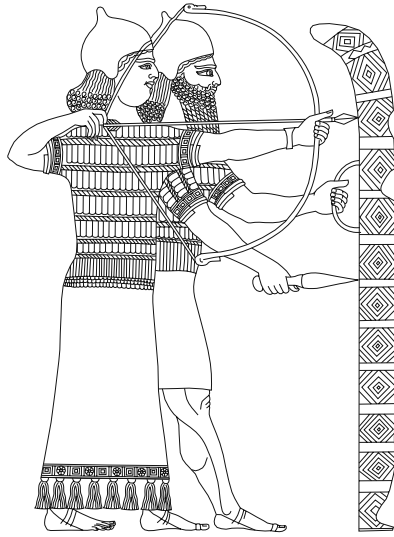


93. Barnett - Falkner 1962, LIV

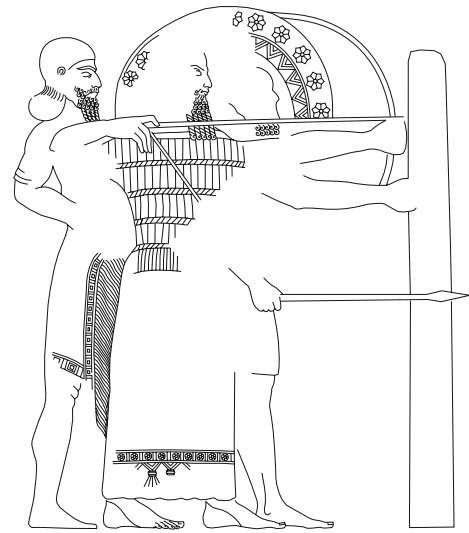
Sargon II



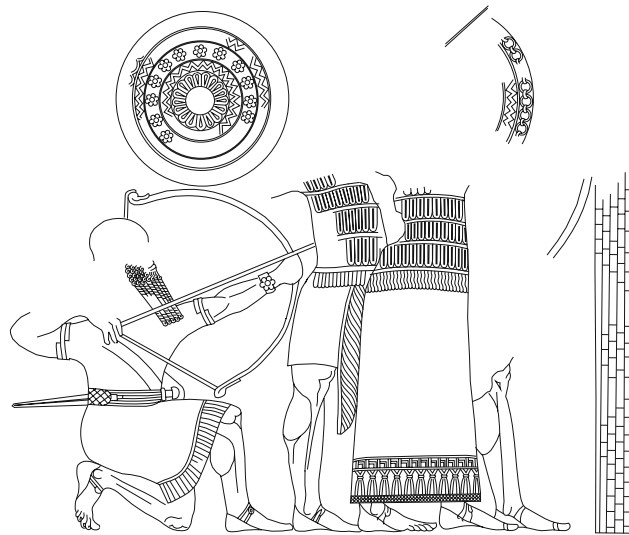
94. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 99



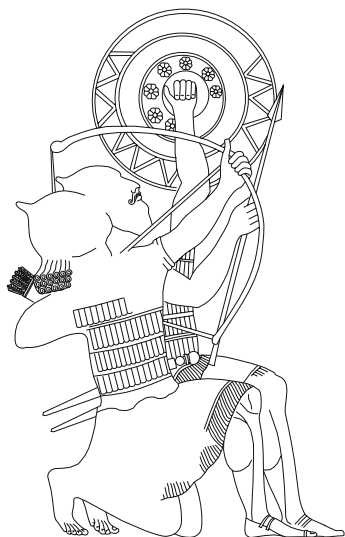
95. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 145



96. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 60



97. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 55



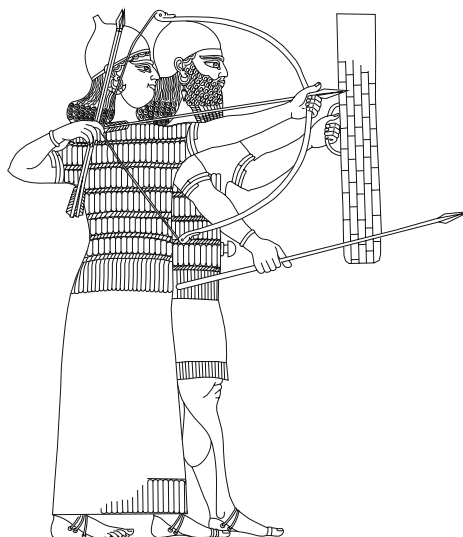
98. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 86



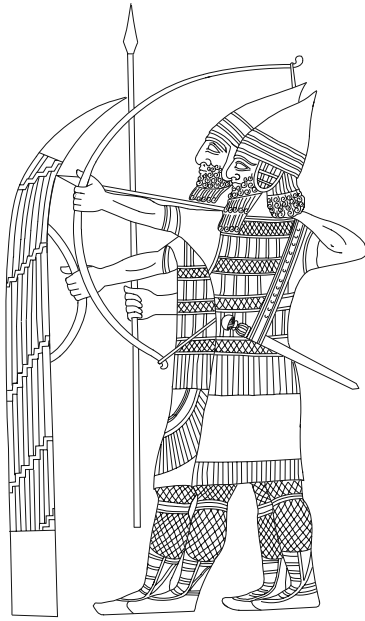
99. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 95



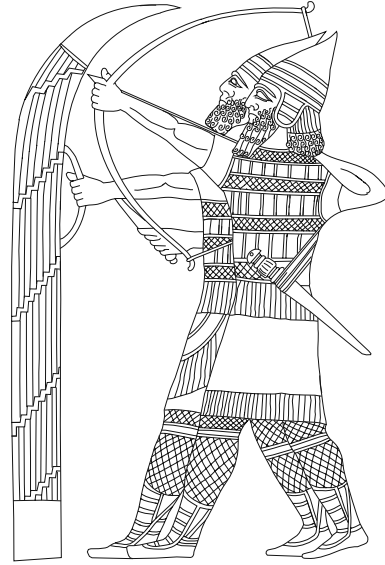
100. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 49



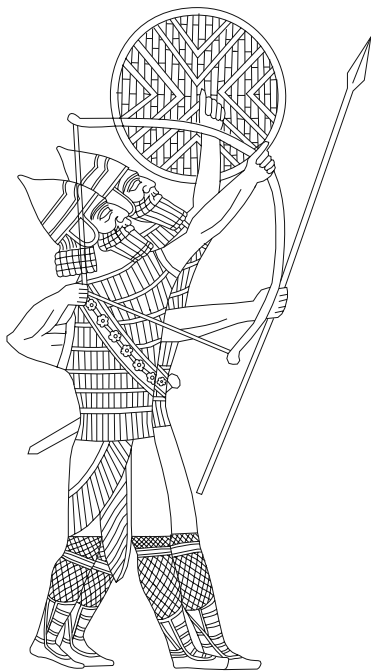
101. Botta - Flandin 1849, I, 77



102. Layard 1853A, 78



103. Layard 1853A, 78

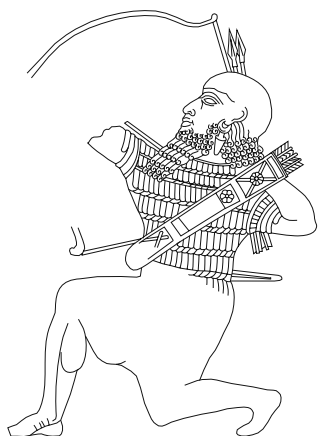


104. Layard 1853B, 31



105. Layard 1853B, 31

Sargon II



106. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 88

Sennacherib



107. Layard 1853B, 20

Assurbanipal

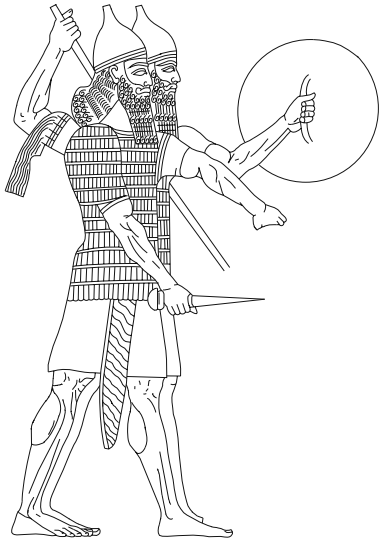


108. Place 1867, 61



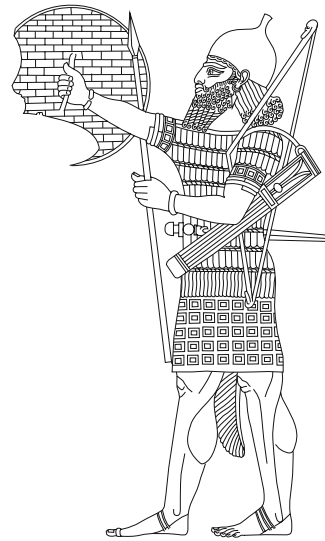
109. Layard 1853B, 43

Tiglath-Pileser III



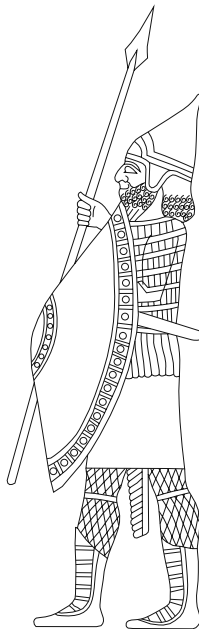
110. Barnett - Falkner 1962, LVIII

Sargon II



111. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 99

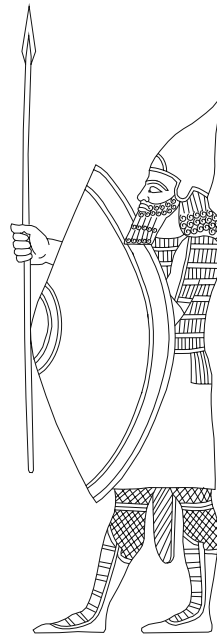
Sennacherib



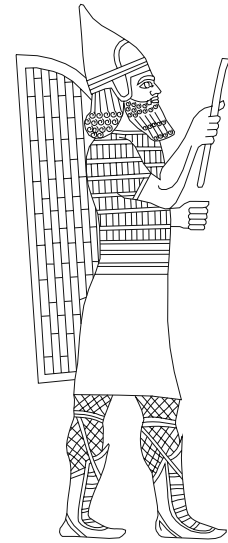
112. Layard 1853B, 19



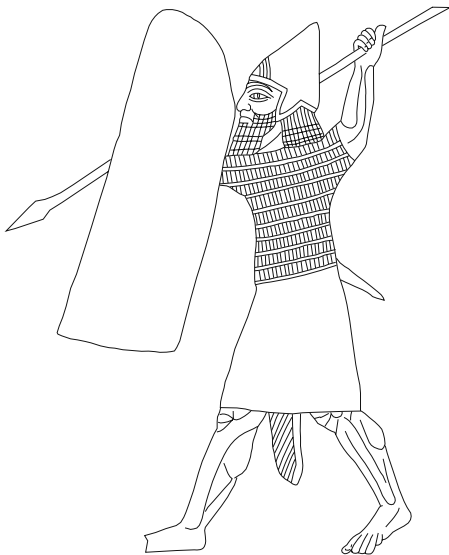
113. Layard 1853B, 35



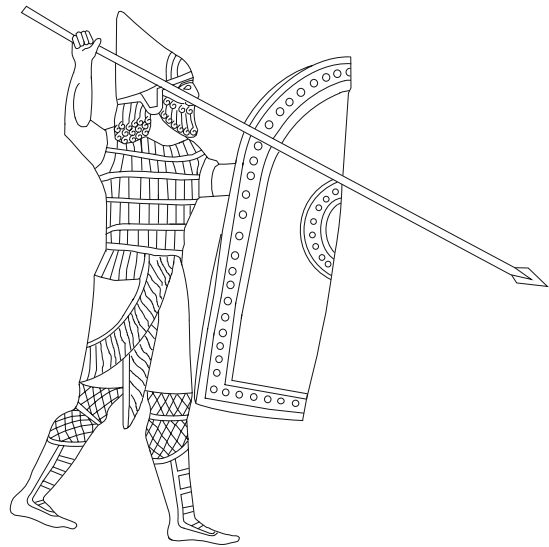
114. Barnett et al. 1998, 348



115. Layard 1853B, 35



116. Place 1867, 59



117. Layard 1853B, 46

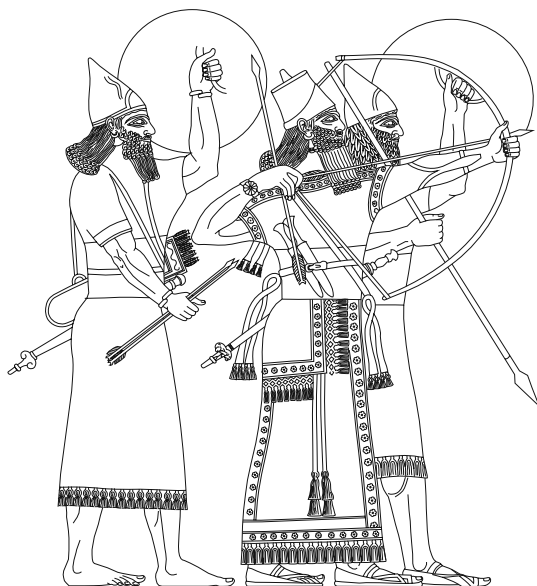


118. Layard 1853B, 20

Assurbanipal



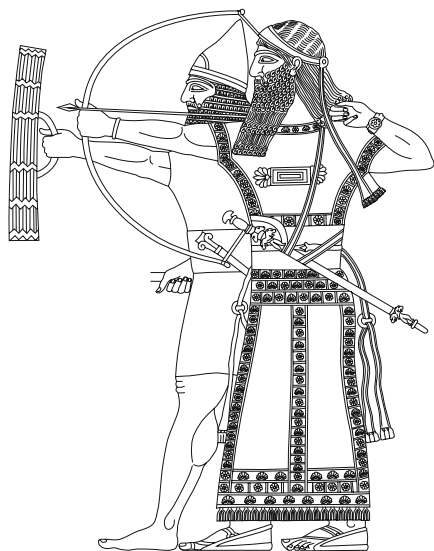
119. Place 1867, 61



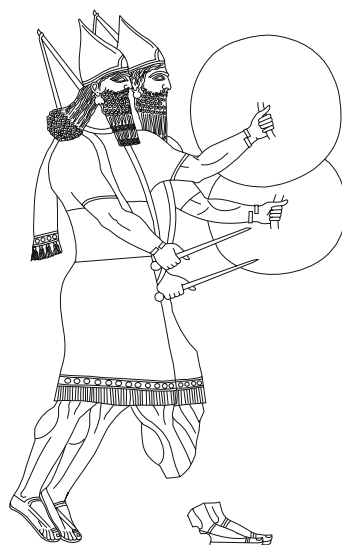
120. Layard 1853A, 17



121. Layard 1853A, 20



122. Layard 1853A, 19



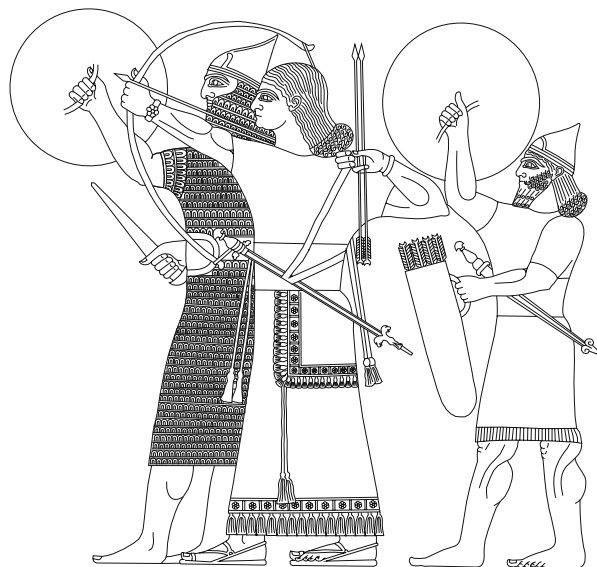
123. Layard 1853A, 10



124. Layard 1853A, 18



125. Barnett - Falkner 1962, CXXII



126. Barnett - Falkner 1962, CXIX



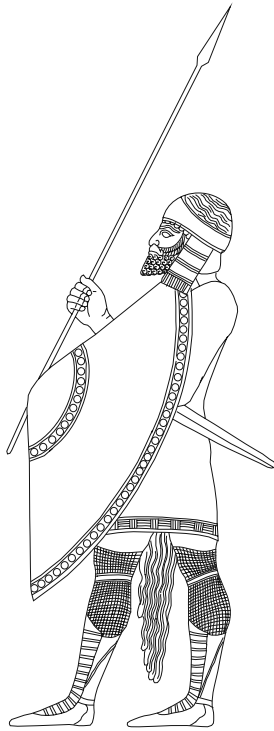
127. Thureau-Dangin - Dunand 1936, XLIX



128. Thureau-Dangin - Dunand 1936, LII



129. Thureau-Dangin - Dunand 1936, LII



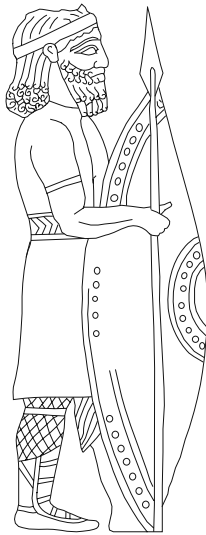
130. Barnett, et al. 1998, 670



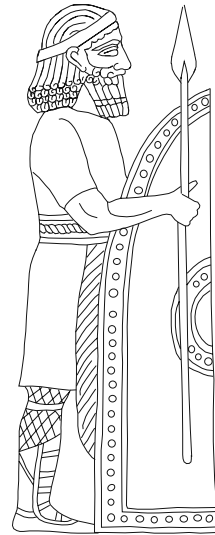
131. Barnett, et al. 1998, 670



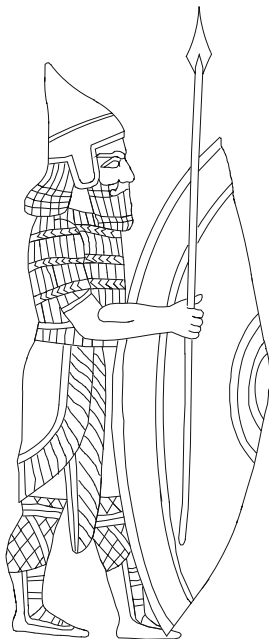
132. WA 124784



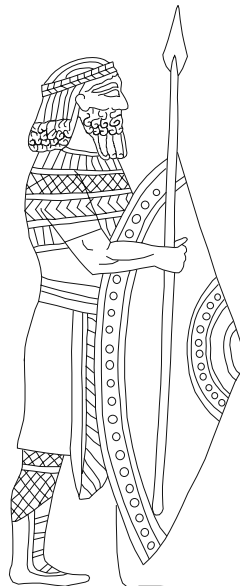
133. Layard 1853B, 47



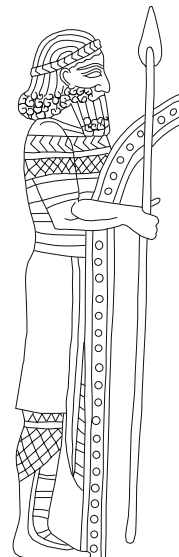
134. Layard 1853B, 47



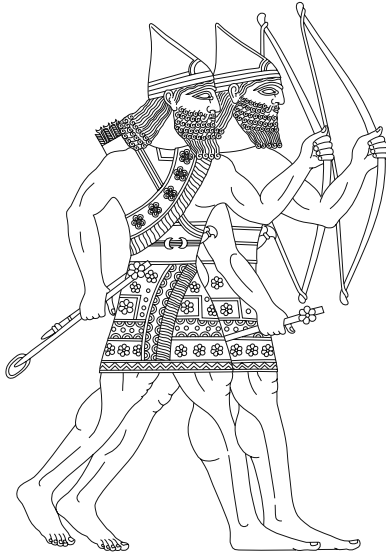
135. Layard 1853B, 43



136. Layard 1853B, 43



137. Layard 1853B, 43



138. Layard 1853A, 26



139. Layard 1853A, 13



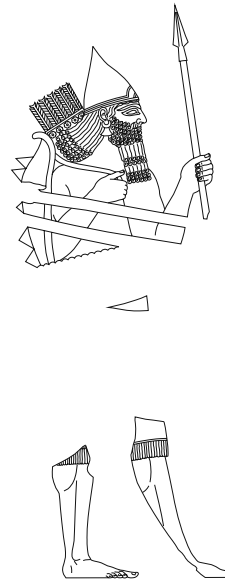
140. Layard 1853A, 14



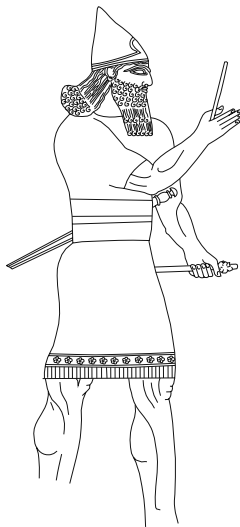
141. Layard 1853A, 20



142. Layard 1853A, 21



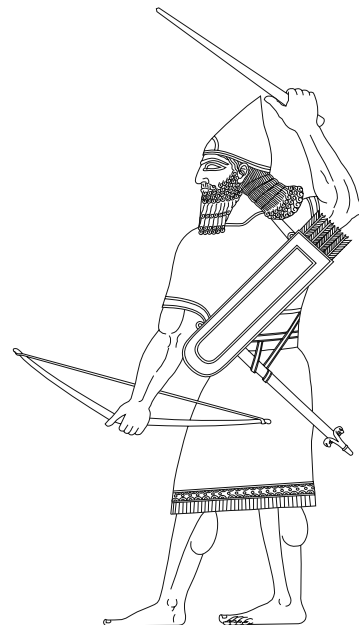
143. Layard 1853A, 23



144. Layard 1853A, 16



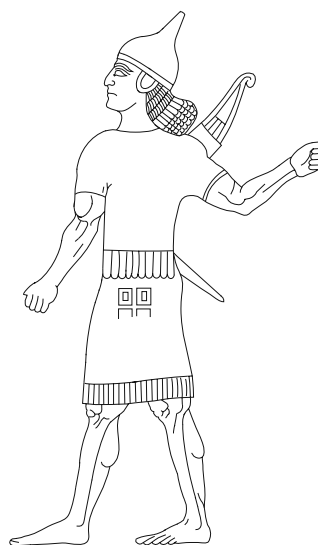
145. Layard 1853A, 24



146. Layard 1853A, 24



147. Barnett - Falkner 1962, XXVII



148. Barnett - Falkner 1962, LIX

Til-Barsip



149.

Thureau-Dangin - Dunand 1936, XLIX



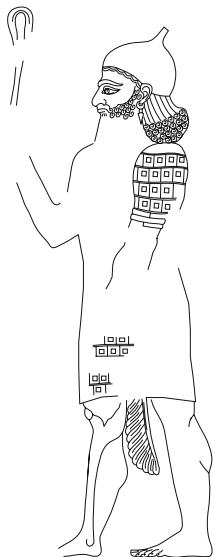
150.

Thureau-Dangin - Dunand 1936, XLIX

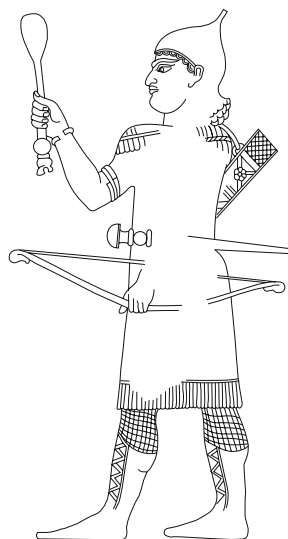


151.

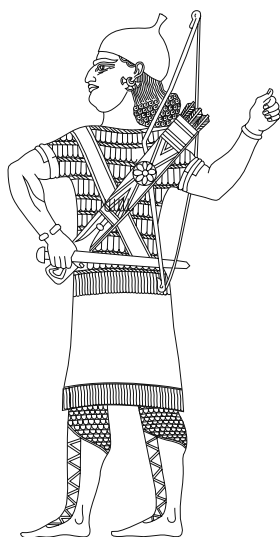
Thureau-Dangin - Dunand 1936, XLIX



152. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 91



153. Botta - Falndin 1849, II, 92



154. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 100



155. Botta - Flandin 1849, II, 146



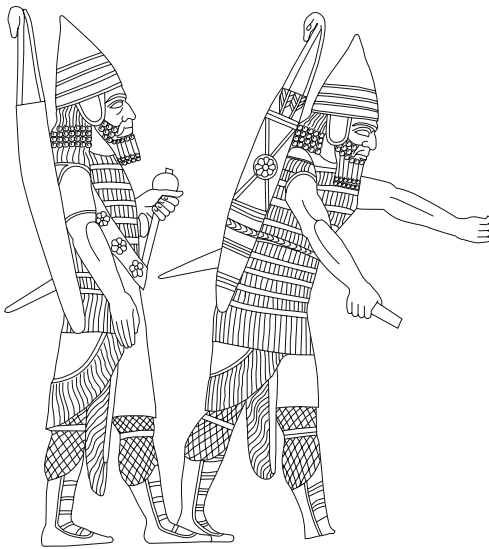
156. Layard 1853B, 19



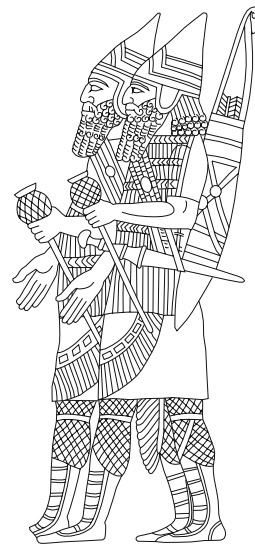
157. Layard 1853B, 22



158. Layard 1853B, 22



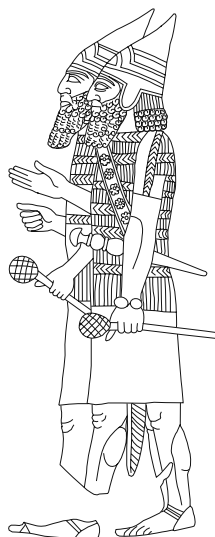
159. Layard 1853B, 23



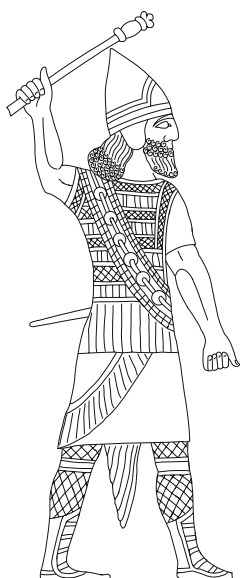
160. Layard 1853B, 23



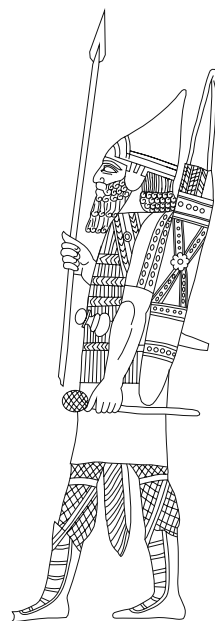
161. Layard 1853B, 23



162. Layard 1853B, 23



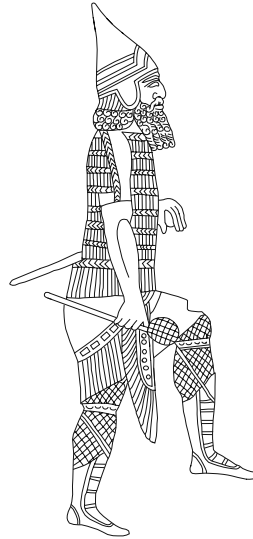
163. Layard 1853A, 69



164. Layard 1853B, 24



165. Layard 1853B, 23



166. Layard 1853B, 23



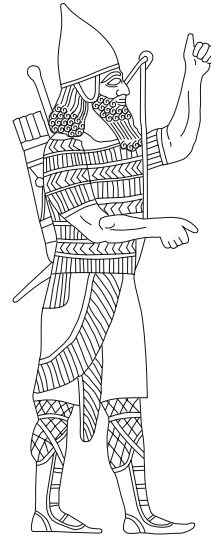
167. Layard 1853B, 23



168. Layard 1853B, 26



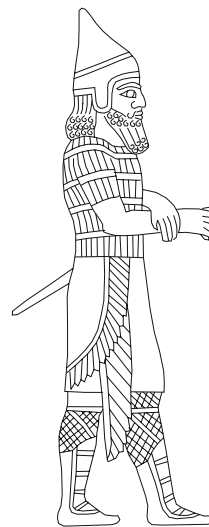
169. Layard 1853B, 26



170. Layard 1853B, 26



171a-d. Layard 1853B, 42



172. Layard 1853B, 42



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